

**BALI PAINTING MARKET: A BRIEF HISTORY AND EXPLORATION
OF VARIOUS FACTORS AFFECTING ITS DEVELOPMENT**

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Abstract

This article presents a brief history of the art market in Bali and explores the various factors that have influenced its development. We also examine how local culture, the tourist market, village networks, government policies, and the global art market have shaped the trajectory of Balinese art. These forces include the assumption of local culture to art, the commercialization along with the opening of the tourist market, the local network based on village lives, the state policy to promote Balinese art and culture, and the effects brought by the booming of the global art market dominated by financial capital. Local concepts with cultural specificity are pivotal in our analysis, for example, the role culture plays in art practice nowadays and before, and what influence it brings to the transformation from art for religious purposes to cultural products for commerce. In conclusion, we highlight that the Balinese art market stands apart from other local art markets worldwide due to its close connection with Bali's reputation as a renowned tourist destination. The interplay of dynamic forces has shaped the market's growth, structure, and uniqueness over the years.

Keywords: *Bali; painting; market; tourism; creativity.*

Abstract

Artikel ini menyajikan sejarah singkat pasar seni di Bali dan mengeksplorasi berbagai faktor yang mempengaruhi perkembangannya. Kami juga meneliti bagaimana budaya lokal, pasar wisata, jaringan desa, kebijakan pemerintah, dan pasar seni global telah membentuk arah seni Bali. Faktor-faktor ini meliputi asumsi budaya lokal terhadap seni, komersialisasi seiring dengan pembukaan pasar wisata, jaringan lokal berdasarkan kehidupan desa, kebijakan pemerintah untuk mempromosikan seni dan budaya Bali. Dampak dapat membawa booming pasar seni lokal-global yang didominasi modal finansial. Konsep-konsep lokal dengan kekhususan budaya sangat penting dalam analisis kami, misalnya peran budaya dalam praktik seni saat ini dan sebelumnya, serta pengaruh transformasi pertukaran nilai ekonomi dari seni untuk

tujuan religius menjadi produk budaya untuk perdagangan. Kesimpulannya, kami menyoroti bahwa pasar seni Bali berbeda dari pasar seni lokal lainnya di seluruh dunia karena hubungannya yang erat dengan reputasi Bali sebagai tujuan wisata terkenal. Interaksi kekuatan dinamis ini telah membentuk pertumbuhan, struktur, dan keunikan pasar selama bertahun-tahun.

Kata kunci: Bali; lukisan; pasar; pariwisata; kreativitas

Introduction

The Balinese painting market began to emerge when painting came into contact with the pattern of developing Western-style painting. The buying and selling process is carried out with the influence of the procedures of foreign artists living in Bali, that painting can be exchanged and valued with money. This development made Balinese artists start to put names on their works of art which used to collectively belong to the style of the village where the artist lived. This change also drastically led to the appearance of the individual style in Balinese paintings. However, the production of art for sale has long been regarded as a sign of tourism's negative impact on the island of Bali, responsible for the degeneration of cultural practices as art went from being a sacred or religious pursuit into a commodity for tourist consumption (Campbell, 2015).

Art and religion in Bali are intertwined in the same rhythm, art is a tool for the success of rituals in religious celebrations. In recent times, art and commodification have increased the creation and production of Balinese art. Based on a historical approach, this research is diachronic and synchronic to study the art market in Bali. Before the development of the Balinese tourist industry and art market in the

1920s-1930s, the purpose of Balinese "art" was not for commodity. Various forms of Balinese "art", no matter painting, dancing, music, or crafts for offerings, function as parts of ceremonial practices. Thus, painters in the past usually didn't put individual names on their works. The anonymity of the artists was derived from the collectivity valued much by the village culture and social lives. Painters drew for temples and the royal families as duties they contributed to the society. Until now artists and villagers working collectively in a ceremony are regarded as *gotong royong*, that is, working together and helping each other as members of a community. For example, a *bade* (coffin) in a *Ngaben* (cremation ceremony) sometimes is worked collaboratively by a group of villagers to reduce cost. The benefit of a village is more important than the individual reputations of artists.

Regarding the above-mentioned collectivity and religiosity, *Ngayah* is the foremost ethic and value of art. "*Ngayah*" is to contribute with no consideration for taking and giving. Normally *Ngayah* is with hierarchy aspects, for example, the commoners to the royal, individuals to the society, or persons to gods. From every perspective, *Ngayah* contribution includes no money. In the past, painters only received offerings with *sesari* put in the middle when working for a temple,

that is, *pis bolong* (Balinese Chinese coins) in the past, and small bills or coins today. Although in money forms, the values of *sesari* are diverse from today's currency. *Sesari* is taken as the essence of an offering, the inner core of materials offered to gods. *Pis bolong* contains the five elements constituting the material worlds, thus in ceremonies, they function to transfer the material to the spiritual. Their value is not of exchange, but of spiritual and ceremonial.

Balinese are talented in creating and producing paintings with a diversity of expressions, but they are not buyers. The major buyers for Balinese art are mainly tourists and art collectors from overseas, while Balinese buyers mainly play the role of middlemen in the market. If the Balinese buy paintings, they will put them for sale again in the tourist market. Thus, it is widely said in Bali as a tourist destination "the painting follows prosperity, and a prosperous economy follows the good development of the paintings". In these circumstances, it would be very interesting to ask who are the ultimate buyers, and where are they selling paintings. How do they sell them? There is no article discussing this matter in the field of marketing paintings among academics and artists in Bali. Therefore, this article aims to discuss the Balinese painting market from a historical point of view to clarify the phenomena of the painting market and to plan and build further market strategies for the future.

The method of this research qualitative research includes observation, interviews, and literature reviews.

Interviewees engaged include personnel such as intellectuals, artists, gallery owners, managers, and curators working in the industry. Questions about the development of local art markets were directly raised and answered in the interview, or further exemplified by examples of personal experiences and career histories or cases of particular institutions gained during the conversation. Local concepts with cultural specificity were also well discussed in the conversations. For example, the values questions raised by Balinese arts, in which the Anthropological approach plays an important role. The arrangement of the article follows the trajectory of a short history of the local art market, which is constructed both through subjective and objective points of view. The former comes from interviews with insiders of the industry and the latter comes from a more objective analysis of the literature review.

***Ngayah*: Balinese Traditional "Transaction" and Practice**

In Bali, art is an important means of transferring and bridging cosmoeses. Even today Balinese consider the value of art as a way of *Ngayah*, that is, to contribute or offer to connect to the divine. In Balinese cosmology, there are the *Atman* and *Brahman*, the microcosmos and macrocosmos, and between them, symbols play important roles in bridging the two. Just like in offerings, *sesari* function to transfer and connect the *Atman* and *Brahman*, in artistic practice, the materiality and symbolism of art also

played an important role in bridging the microcosmos to the macrocosmos. That is to say, art not only bridges the artist's inner self to the larger cosmos, but it also plays an important role in bridging people. *Tat Twam Asi* means you are *Brahman*, you are me as one and we are one. In village life, art is also a way to unite and bring people to collaborate in ritual making and Balinese Hindu ceremonies as they believe working collectively manifests the divine which/who can protect them from bad spirits and energies. This is a different system of exchange or reciprocity in terms of economic practice.

DISCUSSION

Western Influence Transaction

To discuss the rise of Balinese modern art, we should first look at the Pita Maha Association supported and nurtured by the Ubud Palace in the 1930s. The "Balinese Modern Paintings" refers to styles of paintings constructed through cooperation between the Balinese and Western artists and intellectuals living in Bali in the 1930s, among them anthropologists Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson as well as painters Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet. According to I Wayan Sukma Winarya Prabawa and I Wayan Winaja (2018), as early as 1910 the Dutch Government started to develop tourism in Bali. The Dutch colonial regime hoped to pacify the destruction of Balinese culture and society caused by colonial conquest in the 1890s and 1908, the regime started to promote cultural revival and tourism

in Bali under the banner of *Baliseering*. Images of Bali as a "paradise" were shaped by the conduct. Balinese music, fine arts, and dances were all revived at the time with the support of colonial powers.

The Pita Maha Association, founded in the 1930s by Ubud Palace, local artists, and Western painters Rudolf Bonnet and Walter Spies, played a crucial role in shaping Balinese art and culture (Karja, 2022). Its main purpose was twofold: to foster a cultural and artistic renaissance by encouraging local artists to refine their techniques and blend traditional themes with modern influences, and to promote and sell Balinese artworks to international markets. This partnership not only elevated the quality of Balinese art but also constructed an enduring image of "Bali," which continues to influence the island's identity, particularly within the context of mass tourism. By promoting artistic development and creating avenues for commercial success, Pita Maha contributed to Ubud's emergence as Bali's cultural center. However, the association's dual role in fostering artistic growth while navigating the demands of the market has sparked debate, highlighting the tension between artistic authenticity and commercialization.

Besides these two opinions, the local context should not be ignored. The influence of Pita-Maha during the 1920s and onward is spread through the densely local village networks, where the village ethic of collectivity, such as *banjar* and *sanggar* plays a pivotal role. A *banjar* is a traditional Balinese

village organization focused on managing communal affairs, social events, and religious ceremonies, with mandatory participation by residents. In contrast, a *sanggar* is an artistic collective or studio where individuals voluntarily gather to practice and create art, focusing on nurturing cultural expression rather than community governance. While both reflect ethnic collectivity, *banjar* emphasizes social responsibilities, whereas *sanggar* is dedicated to the arts. On the one hand, the new Pita-Maha techniques and styles were introduced by expatriate artists, and on the other, it was also fostered locally by Balinese artists and the culture they impregnated. *Sanggar*, local informal institution groups organized through village networks for business collaboration, wielding important influence on spreading the new techniques, styles, and standards of aesthetics for Balinese artists, such as perspective and anatomy. While Clifford Geertz described *sanggar* in the 1950s Tabanan area as a social organization promoting local cooperation in commercial and economic development, not all *sanggar* institutions in Bali align with this view (Geertz, 1963). In Tabanan, these *sanggar* acted as cooperative groups supporting economic collaboration in agriculture and small businesses. However, in many other parts of Bali, especially today, *sanggar* are primarily artistic spaces focused on cultural preservation, education, and creative expression in dance, music, painting, and sculpture. While they share a collective spirit, these artistic *sanggar*

emphasize cultural development rather than economic activities, reflecting a broader role beyond the commercial focus Geertz observed in Tabanan. In cases of painting in the Ubud area *sanggars* sometimes merely referred to the ethos or situations of a group of village painters working collectively and sitting in the surround of a long table. In the case of Pita Maha, not only the member artists themselves were influenced by Bonnet and Spies', but the standard of aesthetic, technique, and style was also bought back through the village networks and shared with their villagers who usually worked in a group.

In the 1930s, efforts were made by the Pita Maha Association to introduce Balinese cultural arts to several countries in Europe, including France and the Netherlands, and Walter Spies alongside the Ubud Palace played important roles in these events. Exhibitions were organized at the Opening of the Sono Budoyo Museum in Yogyakarta, Batavia, and Bandung. Other exhibitions were in Surabaya, Tegal, Medan, Balikpapan, Holland, England, and America. Among them, the most worth-mentioning is the Colonial Art Exhibition in Paris in 1937, in which two members of Pita Maha, Ida Bagus Gelgel and Ida Bagus Kembeng, received Silver Medals (Lasminah 1981). This achievement is a milestone for Balinese painters, which marks the first international recognition of their presence and existence in the art world.

According to Pastika, the last exhibition before the disbanding of the Pita Maha group was held in Surabaya

on December 3, 1941 (Pastika, 2010). Other activities of Pita Maha besides the exhibition, for example, painting and sculpting schools were also held in several villages in the Ubud area, such as in Peliatan, and Batuan (ibid.). Pita Maha's life could not last long, due to the outbreak of the Second World War, and in 1942, Rudolf Bonnet could no longer be active in the association due to being a Japanese prisoner, so Pita Maha's activities stopped and then from 1956 it began to fade (Ibid.). Since the inaugural exhibition in 1936 and then successively continued in 1937, Pita Maha then regularly held exhibitions in Batavia and Bandung, in 1938, 1939, and 1941.

During the Japanese occupation, several Balinese paramilitary groups were set up in 1943 to help the Japanese in local security and to defend the island against "The Western Allies" The Japanese also established the Bali Cultural Research Society, the Balinese Cultural Association Reference Museum, and the Bali Spirit Cultural Promotion Society for improving Balinese lifestyle, literature and art. Back in the USA, Robert Koke's photographs and Louise Koke's paintings of Bali were exhibited at the Eggleston Galleries in New York City in 1943 (Kam, 2007).

Indonesian Art Collector

After World War II the Dutch reestablished tourism in Bali and the policy of building Bali as a tourist destination continued after independence. In 1948-1949 amidst the Dutch military aggression after the proclamation of 1945, the Dutch government again

made a series of exhibitions promoting Indonesian art to America which Bali was also included, for example, the exhibition entitled "Indonesian Art: a loan exhibition from the Royal Indies Institute, The Art Institute of Chicago, Amsterdam, the Netherlands", in Asia Institute New York in 31 Oct.-31 Dec., 1948 and Chicago, Feb. 16-Mar., 1949.

In Ubud, Museum Puri Lukisan was opened in 1956 under the effort of Rudolf Bonnet in collaboration with Ubud Palace. By displaying Balinese paintings, mostly collections owned by Bonnet, along the trajectory of Kamasan to Pita Maha styles, Balinese art history and discourse have been constructed, and thus the differentiation between art and souvenirs. Kamasan style painting is a traditional form of Balinese art that originated in Kamasan village, Klungkung. Characterized by its narrative quality, this style depicts stories from Hindu epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, as well as local myths and religious themes. Kamasan paintings are created on cloth or paper using natural pigments, featuring intricate details, vibrant colors, and flat, two-dimensional compositions. The figures are stylized with expressive facial features and elaborate costumes, serving both aesthetic and cultural purposes by preserving and conveying central stories of Balinese Hindu beliefs. Among them, the images of Bali created by Pita-Maha painters now continue to be important elements in shaping the national image of the newly independent Republic of Indonesia and the reference of contemporary art in Bali.

Galleries and Museums.

After difficulties in the 1960s caused by several disasters including the Agung eruption in 1963 and the political turmoil in 1965, life in Bali had been difficult for a few years. Lots of Balinese suffered and worked hard to survive. In the Early 1970s mass tourism started in Bali under the government's plan, the promotion of Balinese tourism was under the banner of cultural tourism, which caused the rise of the local painting market. At this stage, people could survive by becoming painters, and there have been lots of transformations in Balinese art and its practice. This was the golden age for the Balinese village painters, while the tourists, mostly Westerners, went to the local compounds, the dwelling places of the artists and their families, to buy paintings. In Penestanan village, Young Artist styles were established following the leadership of Arie Smit. Smit, originally from the Netherlands, served as a lithographer in the Dutch Army during the colonial era before relocating to Indonesia, where he embraced his new home and became an Indonesian citizen. As a lecturer at the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Smit influenced a new generation of artists and played a significant role in bridging the gap between traditional Balinese art and modern practices.

Dewa Nyoman Batuan is a prominent Balinese painter from Pengosekan village in Gianyar, known for his intricate and detailed artworks that depict traditional Balinese life, mythology, and rituals. Batuan's work reflects Bali's cultural

richness and spiritual essence, appealing to both local and international audiences. In addition to his painting career, he has contributed to the art community by teaching and mentoring younger artists, helping to advance Balinese art in the contemporary scene. When Mount Agung erupted in 1963 Dewa Nyoman Batuan moved to teach at Loddunduh Elementary School, Ubud. Suffering, deep sadness, hunger, and poverty plagued the Balinese people at that time, and had to raise three children. The difficulties of life began to be felt, and the salary earned as a teacher was not enough to support three children. In 1964 he sold paintings; and tried to start selling paintings to areas where tourists vacationed, such as Denpasar, Kuta, and Sanur. Anak Agung Gde Rai, the owner of the ARMA museum stated: "I was with the late Ajik Batuan (how he called Dewa Nyoman Batuan) selling paintings for quite a long time from the 1970s, I understand his paintings and character. Hardworking, tenacious, assertive, and progressive". Besides Anak Agung Gde Agung, Pande Wayan Suteja, Neka's art dealer and the founder of Neka Art Museum, appreciation and view the form and theme of Dewa Nyoman Batuan's artwork: "I was the same age as him (Dewa Nyoman Batuan), we were both teachers" (Neka on an interviewed, 2015). Dewa Batuan loved to study Hindu literature, a person who loved to study things related to traditional medicine or herbal medicine, explore the philosophy of Balinese culture and religious teachings (Hinduism), and traditional architecture. His artworks are about philosophical

values that are full of religious meaning. Dewa Batuan is known for his mandala painting (Ruta & Karja, 2023).

Gallery sectors in Bali maintained growth in the late 1960s and 70s, a period when the Indonesian government accelerated its cultural and economic plans to turn Bali into an international tourist destination under the banner of developmental projects. Jusuf Wanandi, an **activist dan senior researcher in Indonesia** started to collect Balinese paintings in 1963 in Jakarta (interview on 17 February 2023), and later on, gave a big impact on the development of the painting market in Bali. Neka Art Gallery opened in 1966 in Ubud, and Pandy's Art Gallery in Sanur respectively (interviewed with Arie Smit, 1983). Although in the context of tourism, the view that Balinese paintings are tourist art remained taking weight, the adoption of museum and gallery techniques, for example, hanging artworks in a gallery environment with special lightening and designs, to differentiate artworks into high arts sold in galleries rather than souvenirs sold on the street. In the Neka Art Gallery, Balinese paintings have been displayed in different rooms according to the category of styles from different villages. The connoisseurship of Balinese paintings was also developed in the processes of gallery and museumization.

In the 1960 and 1970 art in Bali became more and more intertwined with the tourist sector. As early as the 1920s and 1930s a smaller scale of tourism already developed in Bali, in which Walter Spies played the role of an agent

introducing guests from abroad, mostly Western artists and intellectuals, to visit Bali. For these foreigners, Bali was not just a place of spirituality and inspiration; they also played a role in shaping Bali's image. For example, Anthropologist Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson as well as dance researcher Beryl de Zoete were all guests of Walter Spies and were involved in studying, preserving, selling, buying, and creating Balinese paintings. After World War II, the trend of cultural tourism continued, with the Balinese painting industry thriving through local workshops, known as *sanggars*. By the 1970s, hotel tourism began to dominate, becoming the mainstream of the tourist industry in Bali. The construction of new hotels further promoted the Balinese painting industry, as these hotels required artwork for decoration, leading to an increase in orders. The rise in mass tourism also boosted the sales of Balinese paintings, with tourists becoming a significant market for these artworks.

A Short History of the Neka Art Museum for instance, in 1966 can be a business model of commercial galleries in the period. Suteja Neka, a young schoolteacher and son of a well-known Balinese wood carver, began selling paintings and other works of art as an after-hours business. In the same year, the Bali Beach Hotel, the island's first large resort hotel, opened and three years later, an international airport began operation in the southern part of Bali. These events triggered a sustained period of rapid growth in international tourism, a trend with implications that

were recognized by Neka. His sideline became his main occupation. Neka's early success in selling paintings on behalf of local artists led him to recognize the need for a place where he could display paintings for sale, so in 1966 he established a commercial gallery in Ubud, a town forty kilometers from the main resort areas on the southern coasts. The Neka Gallery, now one of many art galleries in Ubud, is located on the main street in the center of town. The Bali Art Festival (Pesta Kesenian Bali), a dream of Bali governor Profesor Ida Bagus Mantra, began in 1979 to showcase visual arts at Taman Budaya Bali. (Kam, 2007). These were only the start of a more dimensional selling of Balinese art we found in Today's Balinese art Market.

Contemporary: Multiple Channels for Marketing Balinese Painting

Many people do not recognize the value of abstract paintings. In Indonesia during the mid-1960s, abstract art was even labeled a 'cultural sin.' While abstract painting, spanning from the end of Impressionism to Minimalism, has been a significant aspect of modern art (Daval, 1989), it has never fully gained acceptance in Indonesian public consciousness. Despite its central role in Western art history, abstract painting faced substantial resistance in Indonesia. However, by the 21st century, Contemporary Art has risen to prominence, overtaking Impressionist and Modernist works as a major profit source for international auction houses (Adam, translated by Xiang Yourong, 2016: 43-

45). The high value of contemporary art has also made it an attractive option for investors seeking to hedge against economic uncertainty and financial crises. Given Indonesia's emerging position in the global market, there is significant potential for growth in local art investment, art galleries, and the broader art industry in the future.

The 1991 Indonesian Art Exhibition in the United States was an important effort for the government in its efforts to promote Indonesian art, including Balinese paintings (Fischer, 1991). Balinese paintings are also marketed in exhibitions in big cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Surabaya, and several other cities. An annual exhibition is also organized by the government at the Bali Arts Festival. Works by foreign artists who have lived in Bali and several works by Balinese artists are included in auction houses such as Borobudur, Larasati, Sidarta, Christie's, and Sotheby's. Likewise, private exhibitions that are global cannot be recorded with certainty, such as exhibitions in European countries, America, Australia, Japan, and others.

1994 Tata Ubud, one of the key players in the Cahaya Dewata, Kedewatan Gallery, was followed simultaneously by the opening of exhibitions in galleries and artist studios. In 2006, to promote post-bombing Bali painting in Ubud, a festival was held centered on the soccer field in Ubud and was followed by an exhibition of a million paintings in museums, galleries, artist studios, art

shops, and art markets. Then Komaneka Fine Art Gallery was opened (Kam, 2007). 2013 Bali Act Art in Culture and Tradition: Exhibition performance art project & entrepreneurship was held, which aimed to simultaneously exhibit art and tradition in places such as museums, galleries, art institutions, art spaces, and artist studios. Apart from encouraging creativity and growth in the competitiveness of the cast, this is also a mass marketing event throughout Bali.

Marketing places at the museum level are Museum Puri Lukisan, Museum Neka, Museum Arma, Museum Blanco, Museum Gunarsa, Museum Sidik Jari, Museum Rudana, and Museum Batuan. The galleries are Ganesha, Paros, Puri Menggah, Bidadari, Danesh Art Veranda, Gedung Tua Pelabuhan Buleleng, Guwet, Infinity, Kampus Bawah Undiksa, Kayu, Maha Art, Oms Fine Art, Oracle, Pranoto, Sand Fine Art, Sika, Sudakara, Trah, Wine, and Toni Raka. Private Art Spaces include Bentara Budaya, Karja Art Space, Artmorrow, Batu Belah, Hitam Putih, Seniwati, Bledog, Gk, Lingkar, Luden, Warung Yayaa, Pojok Artist, and Uhero. Apart from museums, galleries, and art spaces, exhibitions were simultaneously opened in 42 artist studios. Other Galleries are Gaya, Titian Galeri, Ubud Diary, and Santrian Galeri, AB. BC Building, Nusa Dua Bali, Point Two Gallery (Bali Act, 2013).

From the discussion above, the spread of the Balinese painting market has been carried out institutionally and individually by the government and the private sector. Being an international

tourist destination the channels of local, national, and global painting markets intertwined in Bali. Painting as a result of the artist's sense of initiative is not only for inner satisfaction for art lovers and painting collectors but also as a commodity product to support tourism needs. The range of painting as pure art and tourist art has developed mixed amid the fast and frenetic development of tourism in Bali. (Yuliman, & Kent, 2022)

John Lea (1988) noted that tourism market pressures always result in the decreasing quality of physical cultural products, and this also happened in Ubud, Bali. Painting art in Ubud and Bali started to receive unbearable side effects from tourism activities; patterns, styles, production processes, and even marketing management were forced to change to satisfy the demand of the tourism market. As a result of the influence of tourism, paintings also appear as handicraft products painted on handicraft objects. Nowadays, one could say that Ubud paintings are not a pure art form coming from the hearts and souls of the painters. However, Pita Maha still plays a role in inheriting the traditional Balinese culture, both in forms and discourses, within the colonial and capitalist contexts.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the painting market in Bali is influenced by and connected to the Indonesian market. Although the art market in Bali is intertwined with the tourist industry, the buyers are not only tourists but also wealthy

people from other Indonesian cities. In terms of the art world, Bali is well connected to Bandung and Yogyakarta, intellectually or in business. However, as a tourist destination, Bali is special for its' well-developed infrastructure to attract international visitors to stay in Bali and become a hub environment for foreign artists and art practitioners. For example, there are several art spaces or institutions including Karja Art Space and Devfto Printmaking Institute receive foreign artists for residency.

The marketing of Balinese paintings has evolved through channels crossing global and local scales. Different levels of marketing places ranged from the earlier family compounds, local art communities, private art spaces, museums, and galleries, to auction houses, all are entwined with tourist context in different degrees. Village communities such as Kamasan, Klungkung Regency; Nagasepaha, Buleleng Regency; Batuan, Ubud, Kutuh, Peliatan, Tebesaya, Pengosekan, Penestanan, Tegalalang, Keliki, Sayan, Gianyar Regency; Bongkasa, Badung Regency; and other areas also provide display places for marketing of paintings. Among them, the Monkey Forest Gallery Ubud, Gianyar is the marketplace that is classified as very busy and visited by tourists. These various places for marketing provide different levels of experiences for the tourists and collectors, from more intimate and local compounds, that emphasize personal connections and traditional practices, and village-based communities associated with village artists, as well as museums and galleries, both more contemporary and a more art-history

orientated that elevate Balinese art to professional connoisseur, to the auction houses based locally and selling via the internet. All these channels for marketing Balinese paintings were based on the hustle and bustle of tourist commerce in Bali. Although the Pita Maha Modern Balinese paintings become a hybridity of the preserved tradition and the innovated, it also gradually developed into a way to express local identity.

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- Wayan Karja, interview with Mr. Jusuf Wanandi, 17 February 2023, in Ubud, Bali.
- Wayan Karja, interview with Paul Nagano, 2016, in Ubud Bali.
- Wayan Karja, interview with Arie Smit, 1983, Sanur, Bali.