

## **Contestation Between Theater Artists and the State in Representing Heroic Identity in History Books**

**Sahrul N.<sup>1\*</sup>, Yusril<sup>1</sup>, Afrizal H.<sup>2</sup> and Cameron Malik<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Art Studies, Indonesia Institute of the Arts Padangpanjang, Guguk Malintang, East Padangpanjang, 27118 Padangpanjang, West Sumatera, Indonesia*

<sup>2</sup>*Department of Theater, Indonesia Institute of the Arts Padangpanjang, Guguk Malintang, East Padangpanjang, 27118 Padangpanjang, West Sumatera, Indonesia*

<sup>3</sup>*Department of Visual Communication Design, Metamedia University Padang, Khatib Sulaiman 1, 25136 West Sumatra, Indonesia*

### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the contestation between theatre artists and the state in representing heroic identities within history books, focusing on how these portrayals obscure heroes from their social realities. Using Wisran Hadi's theatrical performance of Imam Bonjol as a case study, this qualitative research collects primary data through interviews with key stakeholders and secondary data from media reports and documentation. Employing an intertextual approach, the study explores hypograms and cohypograms to reveal tensions between state narratives and artistic interpretations. The findings indicate that while state narratives maintain rigid and idealized portrayals of heroism, artistic representations challenge this by humanizing historical figures. The research contributes to cultural memory and performativity studies, demonstrating how theatrical counter-narratives act as ideological resistance. Aligning with Ricoeur's (1984) theory of narrative identity and White's (1987) historiographical perspectives, this study highlights how artistic reinterpretations subvert state-controlled historical representations. Furthermore, it underscores the role of intertextuality in shaping cultural memory and the performative nature of historical discourse. These findings suggest that history books should adopt a more nuanced portrayal of heroes, integrating their complexities to foster a more objective and grounded understanding of heroic identity.

### **ARTICLE INFO**

#### *Article history:*

Received: 29 August 2024

Accepted: 03 March 2025

Published: 19 September 2025

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.33.4.17>

#### *E-mail addresses:*

sahruln@isi-padangpanjang.ac.id (Sahrul N.)

yusril@isi-padangpanjang.ac.id (Yusril)

afrizalharun@gmail.com (Afrizal H.)

cameronmalik@proton.me (Cameron Malik)

\* Corresponding author

*Keywords:* Artistic counter-narratives, contestation of historical narratives, fictionality, heroic identity, heroic identity construction

### **INTRODUCTION**

In contemporary society, the portrayal of historical figures plays a crucial role in shaping collective memory and cultural

identity. Heroes are often depicted as idealized individuals embodying moral excellence, courage, and resilience, symbolizing national pride and unity. However, these portrayals are not merely historical recollections but are shaped by cultural, political, and artistic discourses that reflect the values and ideologies of their time. The state often assumes the authority to define and preserve these representations, ensuring they align with national narratives. This dynamic can lead to tensions, particularly when alternative interpretations emerge through art and literature, challenging the static and idealized versions of heroism that often prevail.

Amid this context, the contestation between state-sanctioned narratives and artistic reinterpretations becomes increasingly relevant. As a form of creative expression, theatre often serves as a space to re-imagine historical figures, offering nuanced perspectives that humanize them while questioning dominant ideologies. The case of Imam Bonjol exemplifies this tension, where the theatrical reinterpretation of a national hero has sparked debates over the boundaries of historical fidelity and artistic freedom. Understanding these contestations is vital in addressing broader questions about who controls historical narratives, how they evolve, and their role in inspiring contemporary audiences, particularly younger generations, to redefine heroism more relatably and inclusively.

History books about heroes have further intensified the contestation between artists and the state. This context highlights the

state's power and even authority to determine who is worthy of being called a hero. For the state, a hero is undoubtedly someone who has made significant contributions to the nation and is often portrayed as flawless and morally upright. On the other hand, artists frequently present a different perspective, emphasizing heroes' flaws and human complexities. While offering a more nuanced depiction, this approach can make their artistic works seem controversial, further exposing the tension between static state narratives and dynamic artistic interpretations.

The history book "Encyclopedia of National Heroes" includes 90 national heroes, showcasing their excellence and greatness (Hadi & Sustianingsih, 2015; Said & Wulandari, 1995). This excellence serves as a guide for the younger generation in understanding the spirit of heroism. However, focusing solely on their strengths distances these heroes from their social lives. In the theatrical performance titled "Imam Bonjol" by Wisran Hadi, the hero is portrayed as an ordinary human with faults and flaws. Consequently, differing opinions arise regarding the interpretation of hero history. Opponents of the performance argue that Tuanku Imam Bonjol, as a hero, should be depicted as flawless. The West Sumatra Regional Government even sent a letter to the organizers of the Istiqlal II Festival in 1995, urging the cancellation of the "Imam Bonjol" theatrical performance. This difference in attitude has led to a contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero

(Setianto, 2019). Therefore, this study must examine the state's influence on historical determination, particularly state intervention in the arts, specifically theatre, during the New Order era.

The facts in the literature are related to tangible evidence surrounding 'Imam Bonjol's performance. This evidence is found in writings (newspapers) that highlight the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero (Roy, 2021; Saputra & Habib, 2021; Setianto, 2019). Newspaper clippings containing brief and straightforward reviews of 'Imam Bonjol's theatrical performance are important inputs as data for this research. These data provide an overview of the differing understandings of historical symbols. This has led to a contestation between artists and the creators of history (the government) (Jaja, 2014; Novrizal et al., 2022; Puspitasari, 2012). It contrasts with what is presented in Wisran Hadi's theatrical performance of Imam Bonjol. The director attempts to offer an alternative perspective different from the long-held beliefs of society regarding historical figures (Hidayat et al., 2022; Sahrul, 2005).

The contestation between art and the state influences the purpose of this writing, which is to explain the nature of the prohibition against the 'Imam Bonjol theatrical performance, the differences in perception, and the depth of substance in history books. The government's prohibition of the 'Imam Bonjol theatrical performance was based on the belief that the performance demeaned heroism. The differing perceptions

of heroes in history compared to those in theatrical performances must be further elaborated to show that the performance is countercultural to the government's view of heroes. This performance, of course, went viral because it was opposed by many, especially the government (authorities). The next goal is to discuss the depth of substance in the history book 'Encyclopedia of National Heroes,' which contains values that artists and the government perceive differently. It will generate the idea that history is written based on interests. The research question in this writing is: What is the nature of the contestation between theatre artists and the state in representing heroic identity in history books?

The Imam Bonjol theatrical performance by Wisran Hadi has sparked significant contestations of interests and differing interpretations, reflecting varied understandings of a single artistic work. Representatives from different stakeholder groups hold their version of the truth, leading to clashes within the performance and the broader societal context. This contestation is demonstrated by the governor's prohibition of the performance, which underscores a deeper conflict between the state and the arts. The tension highlights fundamental differences in how the history of heroes is understood and extends into other critical areas, such as politics and religion. Stakeholders' perspectives on these issues shape their interpretations of the performance, resulting in complex conflicts. While some of these conflicts take visible forms, like the outright ban on the play,

others are subtler, manifesting as shifts in the understanding and reinterpretation of the nation's historical struggles.

The urgency of this study lies in its potential to uncover the broader implications of these contestations for cultural memory and the construction of national identity. In an era where historical narratives are increasingly questioned and re-imagined, understanding how artistic reinterpretations challenge or complement state narratives is vital. The Imam Bonjol performance is a critical case study to explore how differing views on heroism, politics, and religion shape collective memory and inform the ongoing dialogue between the state and cultural producers. This research sheds light on the role of art in questioning dominant ideologies and fostering a more nuanced understanding of history, which is essential for the younger generation navigating a complex and evolving cultural landscape.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Contestation of Views

The Indonesian government has a history of banning or restricting performances that are deemed politically or morally controversial. During the New Order regime, theatrical performances with political commentary were often censored (Bodden, 2007, 2010). Even after Suharto's fall, debates about morality in performances continued, as exemplified by the controversy surrounding dangdut dancer Inul Daratista in 2003. The government's approach to cultural expressions has been complex, with some

events gaining official support while others face restrictions. For instance, Chinese New Year celebrations, including spirit-medium parades, have become tourist attractions in some areas since becoming a national holiday in 2002 while facing limitations in others (Chan, 2009). This inconsistent approach to cultural performances reflects broader challenges in governance, as evidenced by the overall unsatisfactory performance of e-government services in Indonesia (Winet, 2009).

During the New Order era, theatrical arts underwent significant changes. The theatre began to be directed toward conveying political and nationalistic messages. These changes led to a contestation of views (Luger, 2019). Shin further notes that contestation refers to a situation in which two or more people hold differing views or opinions on a particular issue and actively debate to defend their respective viewpoints (Shin & Hutzler, 2018). The contestation of the views is crucial to understanding how a historical process in the context of culture (art) intersects with the needs or agendas of the ruling regime (Landau-Donnelly, 2022). Quoting Luchian (2021), public contestation and resistance, and deep political interaction between artists and audiences to promote active citizenship play an important role in developing community-based interventions. Budiyaniti et al. (2022) also explain that the contestation of views can be seen based on three characteristics: related to national development discourse, cultural modernization, and the role of culture in various sectors of society.

The contestation of views (in art) occurs when the state attempts to control or restrict content, classifying some works as controversial or inconsistent with the values promoted by the state (Burke, 2019). Further contestation arises when theatre artists are seen as sources of inspiration and opinion leaders in society, facing demands to comply with state norms. Lotina (2016) explains that many artists experienced censorship and arrest because their works were seen as threatening to the regime, given the pressure to reflect communist ideology and support the government agenda. Censorship or persecution of artists threatening the government is a common issue in this context. Artists who explore themes that offend or insult certain religious beliefs may face pressure and legal actions (Hadley & Gattenhof, 2011; Hertel, 2014; Jaakkola, 2021). Thus, it can be seen that many theatre artists struggle for artistic freedom and contest with the state to defend their right to express themselves.

### **Artists and Government**

Artistic activities have long depended on patrons or private funding and market mechanisms. This funding often comes from the government, creating a significant relationship between artists and the state. Perkasa (2020) explains that before the birth of Indonesia, artists and political activists were already working hand in hand to fight for the interests of the majority of the people. J. K. Taylor (2021) mentions that artists collaborated with political activists and also took part in combating colonialism,

imperialism, and capitalism. Besides the politically aligned artists, anti-political artist movements promoted universal humanism with the slogan 'art for art's sake.' This led to a contestation between artists and the government due to differences in views, values, and objectives in art (Orr, 2021).

Furthermore, Duester (2020) explains that the contestation between artists and the government is caused by the government restricting artists from creating works deemed controversial, provocative, or critical of the government. This includes censorship, the arrest of artists, or the banning of specific artworks. Similarly, contestation also arises when the government reduces budgets for arts and culture, making it difficult for artists to create new works (Léger, 2011; Rebellato, 2020).

Artists are considered to create works that reflect social and political issues, which become the primary source of conflict. The government feels threatened by works that criticize their policies or create social tension (Bravo, 2013). In line with Gould-Davies' (2019) writing, artists have become a strong voice opposing the government. Authoritarian governments try to suppress these voices, while in democratic systems, artists play an important role as social critics. The government's response to art that criticizes its policies can be significant. Artworks criticizing the government can quickly spread through social media, putting pressure on the government and leading them to respond to international demands concerning the artists (Ahimsa-Putra, 2015; Gray, 2019; Kumagai & Clammer,

2019). However, artists still produce new works. Dos Santos (2016) mentions that despite opposing government policies, artists believe their role is to promote positive change in society. Therefore, the government must respect freedom of expression and facilitate open dialogue with artists in this context.

### **Hero Identity**

A hero is defined as a person who stands out due to their courage and sacrifice in defending the truth. Heroes are often considered brave because they perform actions that require extraordinary courage (Kolotaev, 2021). Their bravery, dedication, or contributions to society form the basis of their heroic identity. Beyond bravery, heroes can positively influence others, becoming a source of inspiration for their community. In line with Rodríguez (2020), the heroic identity is associated with selfless service to society. Their actions are not driven by a desire for praise or recognition but by a belief in justice and truth. Heroes exhibit high empathy toward the suffering of others, willing to feel and understand their pain, and take action to alleviate it (McKay et al., 2023; Sayer et al., 2019; Setianto, 2019).

Heroic identity is influenced by historical figures who played crucial roles in the formation of the state, such as those who fought for independence, political leaders, or social activists who played key roles in changing the nation's fate (Kerr et al., 2019). This identity is attributed to heroes who sacrificed their lives for the nation, performing heroic deeds that

resulted in outstanding achievements and contributions to the country's development and progress. Bahari (2020) mentions that national identity is often portrayed in theatre performances, films, television, and literature, depicting a hero's image. Heroes are made the central figures in artistic works and stories that help reinforce their image in society. There are three types of heroes: national heroes, independence heroes, and heroes of national awakening and revolution (Thiel & Boland, 2017). Thus, a hero's identity can vary depending on the culture, with each type of hero having their own story and achievements that significantly contribute to the nation.

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study of the contestation between theatre artists and the state in representing heroic identity within history books necessitates a nuanced understanding of hermeneutics, particularly as it applies to performance texts. Hermeneutics, as a theory of interpretation, provides a powerful lens to analyze the divergent representations and meanings ascribed to historical figures by different stakeholders, namely, the state and theatre artists (Gadamer, 1975; Ricoeur, 1984). This framework allows us to critically examine how performance interacts with and challenges the dominant narratives imposed by the state, revealing underlying tensions between political interests and artistic autonomy (Fischer-Lichte, 2008; Schechner, 1985).

At the core of this analysis is the hermeneutic circle, which underscores



the iterative process of interpretation, wherein understanding the parts of a text (or performance) is inextricably linked to the whole (Gadamer, 1975). In the context of this research, the “text” includes both the performance itself and the broader historical and political narratives within which it is situated. The state’s portrayal of heroic figures in history books often serves a political purpose, shaping collective memory to align with nationalistic or ideological goals (White, 1987). In contrast, theatre artists may reinterpret these figures to expose alternative truths, question dominant ideologies, or present counter-narratives that challenge the state’s authority (Ricoeur, 1984; Schechner, 1985).

The notion of “prejudice” and “pre-understanding,” as articulated by Hans-Georg Gadamer, is crucial for interpreting the performances of these artists (Gadamer, 1975). Each stakeholder—the state or the artists—approaches the representation of heroism with their assumptions, values, and interests. For the state, these prejudices are often aligned with maintaining a cohesive national identity, reinforcing the legitimacy of the ruling power, and ensuring the continuity of a particular historical narrative (C. Taylor, 1985). Conversely, theatre artists may enter the interpretive process with a critical stance, aiming to deconstruct state-sanctioned histories and offer alternative interpretations that resonate with contemporary social or political concerns (Fischer-Lichte, 2008; Ricoeur, 1984).

Finally, the “fusion of horizons” is an essential concept in this theoretical framework, as it illustrates the potential

for a dialogic engagement between these competing perspectives (Gadamer, 1975). Through hermeneutic interpretation, this research seeks to uncover how the performance text mediates between the artist’s and the state’s horizons, potentially leading to a synthesis that reflects a more complex and multifaceted understanding of heroic identity. This fusion, however, is not without conflict; the contestation between these horizons highlights the ongoing struggle over who gets to define history and, by extension, the collective memory of heroism (Gadamer, 1975; White, 1987).

## **METHOD**

### **Material Objects**

The data used in this writing consists of newspaper clippings, hero books, and the ‘Imam Bonjol theatrical performance by Wisran Hadi. The newspaper clippings document the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero. The Encyclopedia of National Heroes book serves as data critiqued by the director through the theatrical performance. Wisran Hadi’s Imam Bonjol theatrical performance showcases differing perceptions of history. These three material objects are interconnected: the newspaper clippings report on the societal conditions, the hero books teach about heroic characters to the public, especially the younger generation, and the theatrical performance offers an alternative perspective, showing that heroes are also ordinary humans who are not free from mistakes.

## **Research Design**

This research employs a qualitative design, which emphasizes the observation of phenomena and delves into the substance and meaning of these phenomena, following Creswell and Creswell's (2018) idea that the power of the words and sentences used dramatically influences the analysis and sharpness of qualitative research. The focus of qualitative research is on the process and the interpretation of the results. Qualitative research pays more attention to human elements, objects, and institutions and the relationships or interactions among these elements to understand events, behaviors, or phenomena (Fadli, 2021).

## **Data Source**

The data sources in this research are texts from newspaper clippings that discuss the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero. This condition is supported by the Imam Bonjol theatrical performance, whose text highlights the differing perceptions between the government and artists. This data is then compared with the content of hero books. The research data sources are indirectly obtained through intermediary media (newspaper clippings, performances, and history books). This data consists of evidence, notes, or historical reports compiled in archives or documentary data. The data is acquired by requesting permission to borrow the clipping evidence stored by the studio that performed the theatre, and the books used for recording national heroes.

The research employed a qualitative method, with interviews serving as the primary data collection technique. The data sources included two key actors involved in the Imam Bonjol performance and members of Bumi Theater, namely Fira Susanti (aged 53) and Yondi Fitria (aged 55), both of whom have extensive experience in theatre and significant involvement in Wisran's theatre group. Additionally, Hendra Gusfia, a 50-year-old representative from the Government Tourism Office, provided insights from a governmental and cultural policy perspective. The interviews were conducted between late November and early December, concluding around December 5. This timeframe allowed for an in-depth exploration of their perspectives, enriching the study with diverse viewpoints on the intersection of cultural performance and historical representation.

## **Data Collection Technique**

The data collection method used in this study is documentation. It involves collecting newspaper clippings highlighting the controversy between the government and artists in understanding national hero history and the theatrical performance 'Imam Bonjol' by Wisran Hadi. Documentation study is a way for qualitative researchers to describe subjective views through written materials (newspaper clippings and history books) or documents (theatrical performances) produced directly by the people involved in the contestation.



## Data Analysis

Data analysis uses triangulation, which combines various existing data and sources (Sondak, 2019). Data triangulation in analyzing the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. This involves exploring various related aspects, such as examining the presence of Wisran Hadi's 'Imam Bonjol' theatrical performance and comparing it with the national hero books, all documented in newspaper clippings as the primary data source. Through triangulation, a researcher can conduct a more in-depth analysis.

This study employs an intertextual approach to analyze the Indonesian government's ban on Wisran Hadi's 'Imam Bonjol' theatre performance. This approach involves examining the performance of other relevant texts, including historical accounts, cultural narratives, and political discourses, to uncover deeper meanings and connections. The analysis focuses on identifying the hypograms, or underlying themes, within 'Imam Bonjol,' such as nationalism, cultural identity, and political resistance, which may have contributed to its controversial nature and subsequent banning. Additionally, the study explores cohippograms, or the interplay between 'Imam Bonjol' and other banned performances or cultural works, to understand how these interactions shape public perception and governmental response. By enriching the research method with these intertextual elements, the study aims to provide a comprehensive and

nuanced understanding of the impact and implications of banning the performance.

## RESULT

The data highlighting the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero is derived from the following realities: (1) The reality of the government's prohibition of the Imam Bonjol theatrical performance based on the belief that the performance demeaned heroism, (2) The reality of the 'Imam Bonjol' performance as a counterculture to the government's view of a hero, and (3) The reality of the substance of the 'National Heroes' history book, which contains values perceived differently by artists and the government.

### **The Government's Prohibition of the 'Imam Bonjol' Theatrical Performance Based on the Belief that the Performance Demeaned Heroism**

Due to the prohibition by the West Sumatra regional government, the Imam Bonjol contestation in 1995 received extensive news coverage. The performance had entered the political arena, and the governor's rejection led to massive exposure in local and national media. Table 1 shows news articles related to the prohibition of the Imam Bonjol theatrical performance.

Table 1 shows that the government banned the theatrical performance (Imam Bonjol) based on the belief that the performance demeaned heroism. Wisran Hadi's creativity in altering, defying, subverting, and challenging myths was

Table 1

*Collection of news articles related to the prohibition of the 'Imam Bonjol' theatrical performance*

No.	Title of the Article and Dates	Media
1.	Grounding Imam Bonjol, 22 October 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
2.	Countering Myths and Controversies of Wisran Hadi, November 12, 1995	Kompas Newspaper
3.	Imam Bonjol in TIM (Ismail Marzuki Park), 17 October 1995	Republika Newspaper
4.	Imam Bonjol Drama, October 18, 1995	Republika Newspaper
5.	The Figure of Imam Bonjol in Everyday Life, October 19, 1995	Republika Newspaper
6.	The Story of Imam Bonjol Held, October 18, 1995	Terbit Newspaper
7.	Imam Bonjol Still Performed at FI II (Istiqlal Festival), October 17, 1995	Media Indonesia Newspaper
8.	History Lessons Have Separated Figures from Their Lives, October 18, 1995	Media Indonesia Newspaper
9.	Self-Critique of West Sumatra, Agility of Aceh, October 18, 1995	Kompas Newspaper
10.	From Clippings to Bonjol, October 22, 1995	Gatra Magazine
11.	The Human Side of Imam Bonjol, October 25, 1995	Tiras Magazine
12.	We Reject Wisran Hadi's Version of the Imam Bonjol Performance, September 17, 1995	Canang Weekly
13.	The Failure of Tuanku Imam Bonjol in Wisran Hadi's Mind: An Epic Struggle Turned Upside Down, September 24, 1995	Canang Weekly
14.	Wisran Hadi's Version of the Tuanku Imam Bonjol Performance Can Distort Perceptions, October 1, 1995	Canang Weekly
15.	Two Contradictory Letters, October 8, 1995	Canang Weekly
16.	Master of Reversal, DKSB, and the Dialogue Surrounding the Imam Bonjol Script, October 15, 1995	Canang Weekly
17.	Minang Figures Regret Imam Bonjol Performance, October 22, 1995	Canang Weekly
18.	The Performance Was Revised Without an Announcement, October 29, 1995	Canang Weekly
19.	Imam Bonjol Might Be Banned, October 5, 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
20.	40 'Bumi Theater' Personnel Depart, Committee: 'Imam Bonjol' Is Not Banned, October 11, 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
21.	Governor on 'Imam Bonjol': Regional Government Does Not Suppress Creativity, October 15, 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
22.	Imam Bonjol: A Leadership Tragedy, October 17, 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
23.	From the 'Imam Bonjol' Discussion by Bumi Theater Padang: Imam Bonjol, a Symbol of Minangkabau Egalitarianism, October 18, 1995	Singgalang Newspaper
24.	There Are Doubts Among the Istiqlal Festival Committee About Staging the Tuanku Imam Bonjol Drama, October 1, 1995	Haluan Newspaper
25.	Imam Bonjol Will Still Be Performed If Approved by the Indonesian Ulema Council, October 9, 1995	Haluan Newspaper
26.	Finally, the Imam Bonjol Drama Was Also Staged in Jakarta, October 14, 1995	Haluan Newspaper

*Source:* Documentation of Bumi Theater West Sumatra (1995 archives)

acceptable to the public. However, he faced criticism when he applied this approach to the historical figure Tuanku Imam Bonjol, a national hero cherished by the Minangkabau community. Peto Syarif, known as Imam Bonjol, is recognized as a strong figure who fervently opposed colonialists. As a great leader (imam), Peto Syarif is also depicted as a brave and steadfast man. However, in Wisran Hadi's portrayal, Imam Bonjol appears indecisive, cowardly, and hesitant in his actions, even being mocked by other Bonjol figures. The fiction writer expressed a different perspective on the matter, in this case, the heroic history of Imam Bonjol. Wisran Hadi's version of Imam Bonjol is a natural interpretation, not intended to demean his heroism.

In Indonesia, elevating historical symbols is a way to awaken the spirit of nationalism and national identity. History



*Figure 1.* Wisran Hadi, the director of the theatrical performance Imam Bonjol, triggered the contestation between theatre artists and the state in representing the identity of heroes in history books

*Source:* Bumi Theater West Sumatra, 1995

showcases past glories, guiding society to escape the colonial experience. This is different from what is presented in Wisran Hadi's script (Figure 1). The author tries to offer an alternative to the traditional view of heroes in history held by the public. On October 13, 1995, around 150 spectators began gathering at the location of the Imam Bonjol performance at 7:30 PM. At the Closed Theater of Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) in Jakarta, security officers from Kodam Jaya (Regional Military Command) were already on guard for any eventuality. Ultimately, the Imam Bonjol Theatre was performed on the following nights. The theatre was full of curious people about Imam Bonjol's performance. On October 17, 1995, a discussion was held about Wisran Hadi's Imam Bonjol theatre performance. This discussion sought the director's accountability in creating the artwork.

### **Preparation of the Performance as a Counterculture to the Government's View of Heroes**

The theatrical performance of Imam Bonjol begins with a prologue in the form of a song accompanied by music. This prologue depicts the condition of the Bonjol region before the Padri War occurred. The initial part also introduces Peto Syarif, the leader of Bonjol, who later becomes known as Tuanku Imam Bonjol. In addition to Tuanku Imam Bonjol as the primary leader, Bonjol has three other leaders: Tuanku Hitam, Tuanku Gapuak, and Tuanku Keluat. These four leaders are known as Barampek Selo Bonjol.

After the song ends, all the performers are on stage and clap as if it were the end of a ceremonial event. Then, they leave the stage, and journalists who attended the event rush to ask questions about it. The stage is empty for a moment, and then a commotion is heard, growing louder and louder.

Several men are seen running on top of the fortress. Then, two characters enter with drawn swords and are confronted by the leaders of Bonjol. A dialogue ensues about the massacre at Alahan Panjang Mosque due to the clash between the traditionalists and the Padri (religious) faction. The debate finds no resolution, so the leaders of Bonjol suggest that the two characters meet directly with Tuanku Imam Bonjol. The two characters, later known as Tuanku Bandaharo and Malin Basa, who have a spirit of jihad, successfully incite the people of Bonjol to fight against injustice. This offends the leaders of Bonjol. However, Tuanku Imam Bonjol himself cannot do anything. As a result, Tuanku Gapuak and Tuanku Keluat hand over their ceremonial swords to Tuanku Imam Bonjol, signifying their resignation from Barampek Selo Bonjol (F. Susanti & Y. Fitria, personal communication, December 1, 2024).

This issue increasingly amplified the doubts within Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Meanwhile, the two characters who arrived later grew bolder and decided to invite one of the Harimau Nan Salapan, Tuanku Nan Renceh, known for his ferocity. Amidst these doubts, a peace envoy disguised as an Arab merchant selling perfume, carpets, emeralds, diamonds, and other goods

arrived. Tuanku Imam Bonjol's wife was deceived and persuaded her husband to buy these goods. However, before the transaction could take place, Tuanku Bandaharo arrived and chased the peace envoy away, causing him to flee the stage in panic.

In the next part, the issue shifts from the war between the traditionalists and the Padri faction to a battle between the people of Bonjol and the Dutch colonizers. The traditionalists, who previously harbored a deep hatred for the Padri, began to unite in the fight against Dutch colonialism. Datuk Sati, who once killed Padri members at the Alahan Panjang Mosque, also joined the fight. The Dutch had surrounded Bonjol from all directions, causing the people of Bonjol to suffer from hunger and hold their plates up to the sky. This situation made Tuanku Imam Bonjol increasingly anxious.

In dire conditions, a letter from Colonel Elout, the Dutch Army Commander, requested the people of Bonjol to surrender. If they refused, the Dutch army would launch a massive attack. The conflict within Bonjol intensified; on one side, Tuanku Bandaharo and his followers wanted to surrender, while on the other side, Datuk Sati and his group wanted to continue fighting against the Dutch. This led to both leaders drawing their weapons. At the same time, Tuanku Imam Bonjol drew his sword to break up the fight between the two leaders. Imam Bonjol's sword was thrown to the ground, resulting in his retreating to Lubuk Sikaping. Upon his return from Lubuk Sikaping, the situation in Bonjol had changed. The people of Bonjol no longer

respected Tuanku Imam Bonjol as a leader. Tuanku Hitam and Tuanku Bandaharo had been appointed as leaders by the Dutch, while Tuanku Gapuak and Tuanku Keluat were planning a mass assassination of the Dutch. Datuk Sati also had a cunning plan to exploit the situation.

After the killings, Tuanku Keluat approached Tuanku Imam Bonjol with two swords in hand. In his right hand was the ceremonial sword of Bonjol, and in his left hand was his sword. The two significant figures of Bonjol quarreled and were about to kill each other. Fortunately, a young man intervened, stopping the fight and uniting them. Both leaders raised their weapons, signaling that the war was about to begin. Amidst the chaos of the great war, there was still a conflict between the desire to surrender and continue fighting. Even the female warriors of Bonjol showed their presence. As a result, they quarreled and fought with each other (Figure 2). For the

second time, Tuanku Imam Bonjol's sword fell. This time, the female warriors hoisted the sword on a flagpole. At the end of the story, Tuanku Imam Bonjol said, "That great name has only magnified my failure. Peto Syarif is my name; call me that. Imam Bonjol is a man who failed at the equator." After saying these final words, Tuanku Imam Bonjol disappeared behind the stage, leaving the audience stunned by his departure (F. Susanti & Y. Fitria, personal communication, December 1, 2024).

***The Substance of the 'National Heroes' History Book Contains Values Perceived Differently by Artists and The Government***

The history book, 'Encyclopedia of National Heroes,' was written by Julinar Said and Triana Wulandari and edited by Sri Sutjiatiningsih. The book was published by the Sub-directorate of History, Directorate of History and Traditional Values, Directorate



Figure 2. Final scene of the 'Imam Bonjol' Theatrical Performance by Wisran Hadi  
Source: Bumi Theater West Sumatra, 1995



General of Culture in 1995. The book covers 90 national heroes, from Sultan Agung to Colonel Anumerta Sugiyono. Knowledge about the world, as gleaned from history books, does not exist for someone who has never seen it firsthand. Most of human knowledge is acquired through interactions with parents, friends, school, newspapers, books, conversations, speeches, and television, which are received verbally. This constitutes a second world, known to humans indirectly.

Not only does the book Encyclopedia of National Heroes portray heroes as perfect figures, but it is also used in other school textbooks. For example, the book 'History of National Heroes' was authored by F. Ramadhan and edited by the Serat Bahasa Team. This book provides a way to learn more about national heroes (H. Gusfia, personal communication, December 3, 2024). It explains the Indonesian heroes who contributed significantly to the struggle for Indonesia's independence. The history of national heroes is taught in schools, from elementary to high school levels. By reading the history books presented in this writing, we can impart knowledge to the younger generation to increase their awareness of heroes and thereby broadening their perspective and fostering a greater love for this country. The stories about the history of these heroes start from the Dutch, British, and Japanese colonial periods up to the present day (Figure 3).

The evidence that Tuanku Imam Bonjol existed and fought against Dutch colonialism is derived from textbooks.

The events described in these textbooks were not witnessed directly by the people who wrote about them but were based on other reports (H. Gusfia, personal communication, December 3, 2024). With so many intermediaries through which the events were passed, the level of distortion also increased. It depends on the conditions and appreciation of the historical actors. These conditions could have been influenced by specific interests they wanted to promote. For example, colonizers who wrote history books about Tuanku Imam Bonjol had the clear objective of maintaining their presence in the colony. They would portray the natives as always wrong and would never refer to themselves as colonizers. The

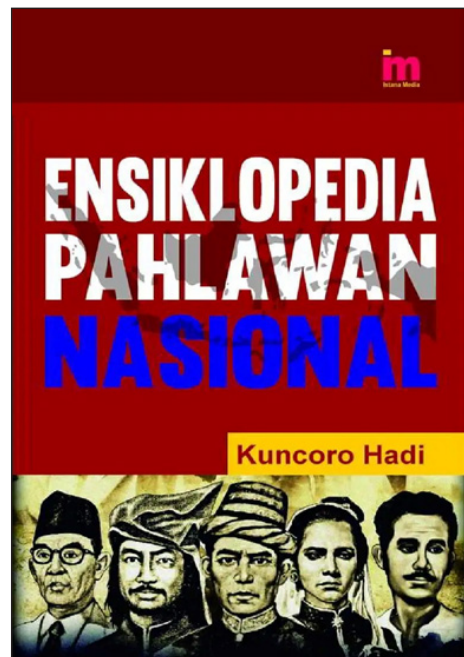


Figure 3. A history book of heroes containing the heroic narrative of national heroes, including Tuanku Imam Bonjol  
Source: Hadi, 2017



history of Tuanku Imam Bonjol, written by Indonesians, is also not free from the influence of power interests.

The state's perspective in prohibiting the theatrical staging of Imam Bonjol stems from its role as the guardian of national identity and historical narratives. The government views national heroes like Imam Bonjol as symbols of unity and moral excellence, and their portrayal is often confined to idealized representations aligned with state-sanctioned historical accounts. The fictionalized elements and creative reinterpretations in the theatre performance may be perceived as undermining this idealized image, creating a risk of misrepresentation or distortion of national values. Additionally, the government likely seeks to maintain control over how historical figures are remembered and interpreted, fearing that alternative narratives could spark controversy or dilute the intended message of heroism. This rigid approach to historical representation underscores the tension between the state's desire for ideological consistency and the artists' pursuit of creative freedom to present a more complex and humanized depiction of history (H. Gusfia, personal communication, December 3, 2024).

## DISCUSSION

This research provides insight into the contestation of views between artists and the government in defining the figure of a hero. The government banned the theatrical performance of 'Imam Bonjol' because it was perceived as demeaning

the figure of a national hero. Two-thirds of those who opposed the 'Imam Bonjol' performance were people employed by government institutions, while only a quarter of those who supported it were government employees. The human ability to analyze a problem is crucial. When confronted with history, Wisran Hadi offered freedom and democratized thoughts about reality (Pramayoza, 2022). From this, people realize that they are not the product of inherent personality traits but of how they are constructed within society. Although people learn a lot from history, they often become complacent (Fitri et al., 2012; Muslim, 2019; Syam, 2017). The 'Imam Bonjol' theatre depicts a new history of the Padri War.

### **Imam Bonjol: From Textbook Icon to Stage Persona**

This clash creates a conflict between the rulers and the ruled. The ruled attempt to challenge the thoughts of the rulers, while the rulers, of course, do not remain passive and take action supported by their power (Arranz, 2020; Wallace, 2022; Winkler, 1990). The imaginative strength of Imam Bonjol's theatre is evident in its effort to liberate the work from the reality believed by society. The public was jolted when they saw Wisran Hadi's Imam Bonjol performance, which did not reflect their imagination. This work is powerful because it is supported by strong imagination. Expressing imagination based on history is indeed challenging if artists who wish to develop their imagination are bound by

historical accuracy (Arsa, 2021). Therefore, presenting historical figures and their human behaviors on the theatre stage is fine. The preparation of the performance serves as a counterculture to the government's view of heroes (Cinque & Nyberg, 2021). The way artists explore history is different from the academic approach. Wisran Hadi redefined the history of Imam Bonjol through theatre, achieving a balanced understanding of history. As a theatre artist, Wisran Hadi tried to use historical objects to activate his imagination (Murdowo, 2015; Rinjani, 2020; Sugiarti, 2017).

Positioning the figure of Imam Bonjol as different from the Imam Bonjol in history textbooks makes the character more imaginative. Imam Bonjol merely adopts the historical symbol of the struggle for power to reflect on the current condition of Indonesian society. The function of the Imam Bonjol Theatre is to re-imagine historical issues to reveal today's realities. Such imagination is creative (Belvage, 2015; Damayanti & Engliana, 2022; Ibrahim, 2006). The events in the Imam Bonjol theatre are tied to a specific situation, namely the Padri War that occurred in West Sumatra in 1830, which was triggered by civil war. The effort to see the human side of Tuanku Imam Bonjol is a rebuttal to the existence of history that only highlights valor. The connection between the Padri War and the Imam Bonjol theatre reflects historical truth.

The substance of the 'National Heroes' history book contains values that artists and the government perceive differently. History has specific interests when it is

written. Fundamental aspects are left out or intentionally omitted because they conflict with those interests. Therefore, history does not possess absolute truth—the long interval between the events and the writing further compounds this. The history of Imam Bonjol occurred in 1830, while the history referred to today was written in 1995 (Khusniawati et al., 2021; Murdowo, 2015; Muslim, 2019). Even if there are Dutch books that include writings about Imam Bonjol written during their colonization of Indonesia, they cannot be considered to contain the whole truth, as the colonizers had their interests regarding the colony (Arsa, 2021).

The world's reality in history books reflects what is understood in everyday life. In other words, historical reality is constructed by those behind the history books. From history, perceptions about reality, the world, or facts may unconsciously be built (Sullivan et al., 2008). History has played a role in constructing or even fabricating its narrative. The world feels full of crises, as much of history depicts a face of crisis. Even though this crisis may have existed for a long time, history books can make it seem more dramatic (Asari, 2018; Clare & Hallewas, 2023; Hassanzadeh et al., 2023). History is influenced by power and exploits textual reality. The past becomes a historical commodity that politically benefits the ruling power or hegemony. History is shaped by an ideological touch that constructs the meaning of events to serve the interests of the ruling hegemony.

## **Intertextuality and the Contestation of Heroic Identity**

The contestation between theatre artists and the state in representing heroic identity in history books emerges as a negotiation of narrative authority, where intertextuality plays a critical role in shaping the discourse. By examining the Imam Bonjol performance through the lens of intertextuality, hypograms, and cohypograms, it becomes evident that the artists' creative interpretation and the state's ideological framework are grounded in distinct textual references and cultural narratives. Theatre artists utilize fictionality not merely as a tool for dramatization but as a means of critiquing and re-imagining the official historical narrative, challenging its rigidity and exclusivity.

From an intertextual perspective, the Imam Bonjol performance draws on several hypograms, including historical documents, oral traditions, and religious teachings, which serve as foundational sources for constructing heroic identity. These hypograms are often reinterpreted in the performance, blending factual historical accounts with fictionalized elements to humanize Imam Bonjol and highlight his moral and spiritual struggle against colonial forces. For example, imagined dialogues and dramatized moments introduce narrative flexibility that contests the state's portrayal of Imam Bonjol as a static, one-dimensional figure in official history books. This intertextual dialogue between historical and fictional elements underscores the dynamic process of constructing a heroic identity.

The use of cohypograms, or the broader cultural and political narratives that coexist with the performance, further amplifies this contestation. These narratives include discourses on nationalism, religious resistance, and post-colonial identity, which provide a complex framework within which the Imam Bonjol performance operates. By juxtaposing Imam Bonjol's fictionalized personal struggles with his historical role as a resistance leader, the performance reveals the tensions between the state's utilitarian depiction of heroes and the more nuanced, multifaceted identities that emerge from cultural and artistic reinterpretation. This layered approach allows the audience to engage with history critically, questioning the power structures that dictate how heroes are remembered and celebrated.

Through this intertextual strategy, Wisran Hadi's work challenges the hegemonic state narrative, offering a space for alternative interpretations that acknowledge the fluidity of history and the multiplicity of truths. The interplay between hypograms and cohypograms highlights the capacity of theatre to reinterpret historical figures in a way that resonates with contemporary audiences. By doing so, the performance critiques the state's monopoly over historical discourse and redefines the heroic identity as dynamic, human, and relevant to ongoing struggles for justice and freedom. This reimagining invites a deeper reflection on the societal and political forces that shape historical narratives, fostering a dialogue that bridges the past and the present.

### **Negotiating Authority: Theatre as a Site of Historical Discourse**

Cohypograms, on the other hand, represent the broader cultural and political narratives that coexist with the performance. These include other theatrical works addressing colonial resistance, contemporary debates about nationalism, and media discourses surrounding cultural heritage. The Imam Bonjol performance situates within these cohypograms, contributing to and drawing from their themes and ideological tensions. For instance, while the state may emphasize Imam Bonjol's role as a national hero to promote unity, theatre artists may foreground his personal sacrifices and moral dilemmas to critique modern political power structures. The friction between these cohypograms reflects the contested nature of historical memory and the competing interests in shaping national identity.

This tension highlights how cultural production becomes a site of negotiation between state authority and artistic expression. Cohypograms offer a lens to explore how narratives in different mediums—literature, media, and theatre—interact to create a layered understanding of history. For example, while state narratives often sanitize history to maintain a cohesive identity, theatre can expose those accounts' contradictions and moral ambiguities. The Imam Bonjol performance leverages these broader cultural narratives to reframe the hero not as a monolithic figure but as someone shaped by complex social, political, and personal struggles, thereby challenging the state's ideological rigidity.

Moreover, this dynamic interplay reveals the power of fictionality in theatre to question established truths and provoke critical engagement with historical narratives. By intertwining hypograms (specific historical texts) with cohypograms (cultural and political themes), the Imam Bonjol performance enables audiences to reconsider the constructed nature of heroism. The performance critiques the hero as a symbol and invites reflection on the processes through which historical figures are immortalized and simplified. In doing so, it opens a space for marginalized or alternative perspectives to emerge, enriching the discourse on national identity.

Ultimately, the Imam Bonjol performance illustrates how theatre can serve as a counter-narrative to state hegemony, fostering a more nuanced understanding of cultural memory. By challenging the state's monopoly over historical representation, the performance asserts the role of the arts in democratizing history and questioning power structures. This dialogical engagement between state-sanctioned history and artistic reinterpretation underscores the importance of preserving creative freedom in shaping a more inclusive and multifaceted national identity. It invites ongoing dialogue about how history is remembered, whose voices are amplified, and how cultural memory evolves.

### **CONCLUSION**

The analysis of Wisran Hadi's theatrical performance of Imam Bonjol reveals a significant gap in portraying national

heroes within history books, such as the *Encyclopedia of National Heroes*. While these books emphasize historical figures' heroic values and struggles, they often neglect the human aspects that render these figures relatable and multifaceted. The performance of Imam Bonjol serves as a counterculture, challenging the state's idealized representations by highlighting the imperfections and human vulnerabilities of the hero, thereby offering a more grounded and realistic portrayal.

### **Theoretical Implication**

This study extends existing theories on cultural memory and narrative identity by demonstrating how theatre functions as a critical space for historical reinterpretation. Drawing from Ricoeur's (1984) theory of narrative identity, this research illustrates how theatrical representations construct and reconstruct historical figures in response to contemporary sociopolitical conditions. Ricoeur's argument that identity is shaped through narratives aligns with the contestation between state-controlled history books and artistic reinterpretations of heroism (Ezzy, 1998; Ricoeur, 1984).

Furthermore, this research builds upon White's (1987) historiographical theory, which posits that historical narratives are constructed through rhetorical strategies rather than objective truth (Canning et al., 2010). The theatrical performance of Imam Bonjol exemplifies this by reconfiguring established historical accounts, thereby exposing the inherent subjectivity of historical representation (Ezzy, 1998; La

Greca, 2023). This finding supports the notion that history is not a fixed account, but a dynamic discourse shaped by competing ideologies.

Additionally, Schechner's (1985) performance theory provides a valuable framework for understanding how the embodied nature of theatrical performances challenges dominant historical discourses. The physical enactment of Imam Bonjol disrupts the textual authority of history books, positioning theatre as a medium that fosters alternative engagements with the past (Scorese, 2021). This aligns with Fischer-Lichte's (2008) concept of performative transformation, which highlights the ability of theatre to reshape audience perceptions of historical figures (Fischer-Lichte, 2008; Scorese, 2021).

The integration of these theoretical perspectives reinforces the idea that theatre operates as a space of ideological resistance, challenging the hegemony of state-controlled narratives. By questioning the authenticity and objectivity of historical accounts, theatre enables alternative interpretations of heroism that better reflect the complexities of human identity and struggle (Eva et al., 2023). This study underscores the importance of viewing history as an evolving discourse shaped by ongoing social and political negotiations.

Ultimately, this research highlights the necessity for historical discourse to incorporate multiple perspectives, fostering a more inclusive representation of national heroes. The dynamic interplay between performance and history demonstrates

that memory is not passively received but actively reconstructed through cultural expression. Recognizing the performative nature of historical reinterpretation opens pathways for a more nuanced and critical engagement with the past, ensuring that diverse voices are acknowledged and represented. Drawing from Ricoeur's (1984) theory of narrative identity, this research illustrates how theatrical representations construct and reconstruct historical figures in response to contemporary sociopolitical conditions. Ricoeur's argument that identity is shaped through narratives aligns with the contestation between state-controlled history books and artistic reinterpretations of heroism (Ezzy, 1998; McMahon, 2008).

### **Implications for Theory and Practice**

Theoretically, this study contributes to discussions on cultural memory, performativity, and historiography. It emphasizes how cultural memory is shaped through performative acts, demonstrating theatre's role in constructing and challenging dominant historical narratives. By positioning theatre as a dynamic tool for reinterpreting history, this study underscores its capacity to reshape collective memory and identity through artistic expression.

This study highlights the importance of integrating artistic perspectives into history education for practical applications, particularly in education and cultural policy. By doing so, educators can encourage students to critically engage with history, recognizing it as a contested and evolving discourse rather than a static record of the

past. This approach fosters critical thinking and a deeper understanding of how narratives are shaped and reshaped over time.

Additionally, cultural policymakers should recognize the role of artistic expressions in shaping national identity. Ensuring that diverse perspectives are acknowledged and preserved in cultural and educational frameworks can promote inclusivity and a more representative historical consciousness. By valuing theatre and other artistic forms as legitimate means of historical interpretation, this study calls for policies that support creative engagements with history, ultimately contributing to a more nuanced and multifaceted understanding of the past.

### **Limitations and Recommendations**

One limitation of this study is its focus on a single theatrical performance—Wisran Hadi's *Imam Bonjol*—as a case study. While this performance is emblematic of broader trends in the contestation between state narratives and artistic expression, future research could benefit from a comparative analysis of multiple theatrical works addressing historical figures in different sociopolitical contexts. Further studies could also explore the reception of these performances among audiences and their influence on historical consciousness.

In conclusion, this research underscores the need for history books to present heroes not as flawless icons but as complex individuals shaped by their social realities. By doing so, future editions of history books can bridge the gap between state-



sanctioned narratives and the diverse perspectives offered by the arts, ultimately fostering a more prosperous and inclusive understanding of national history.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to BUMI Theater Padang, Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI) Padang Panjang, and Metamedia University Padang for their invaluable support and collaboration throughout the course of this research. Their contributions, insights, and encouragement have greatly enriched the development of this paper.

## REFERENCES

- 40 'Bumi Theater' personnel depart, Committee: 'Imam Bonjol' is not banned. (1995, October 11). *Singgalang*, 7.
- Ahimsa-Putra, H. S. (2015). Seni tradisi, jatidiri dan strategi kebudayaan [Traditional art, identity, and cultural strategy]. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan*, 4(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.22202/mamangan.v4i1.1195>
- Arranz, M. D. (2020). Kingdom: un teatre postdramàtic polític? 452°F. *Journal of Literary Theory and Comparative Literature*, (22), 79-95.
- Arsa, D. (2021). Wisran Hadi, representasi Padri, & suara-suara moderasi: Telaah atas empat naskah sandiwara [Wisran Hadi, Padri representation, & voices of moderation: An analysis of four drama manuscripts]. *JENTERA: Jurnal Kajian Sastra*, 10(1), 73-93. <https://doi.org/10.26499/jentera.v10i1.2613>
- Asari, H. (2018). *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam, membangun relevansi masa lalu dengan masa kini dan masa depan* [History of Islamic Education: Building relevance from the past to the present and the future]. Perdana Publishing.
- Bahari, E. (2020). Archetype and hero's journey in Herman Hesse's *Demian*. *LITERA KULTURA: Journal of Literary and Cultural Studies*, 8(1), 1-8.
- Belvage, R. H. (2015). Pada suatu drama: Studi seni pagelaran dalam wacana pergerakan [In a drama: A study of performing arts in the discourse of the movement]. *Jurnal Kajian Seni*, 1(2), 166-178. <https://doi.org/10.22146/art.11640>
- Bodden, M. H. (2007). 'Tradition,' 'modernism,' and the struggle for cultural hegemony in Indonesian National Art Theatre. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 35(101), 63-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810701233854>
- Bodden, M. H. (2010). *Resistance on the national stage: Theater and politics in late New Order Indonesia*. Ohio University Press.
- Bravo, M. C. (2013). La crítica ocasión de la II Biental Hispanoamericana de Arte [The second biennial of Spanish-American Art: A critical moment]. *Revista de Historiografía*, 19, 37-55.
- Budiyanti, S., M. Siahaan, H., & Nugroho, K. (2022). Contesting space and power: Rethinking Habermas's public sphere on the Madurese paternalistic ideology. *Simulacra*, 5(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v5i1.12218>
- Burke, S. (2019). Re-imagining the local in national cultural policy formulation – the case of the Anglophone Caribbean. *Cultural Trends*, 28(4), 269-280. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2019.1644782>
- Canning, C. M., Postlewait, T., & Postlewait, T. (Eds.). (2010). *Representing the past: Essays in performance historiography*. University of Iowa Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20mvg5m>
- Chan, M. K. (2009). Chinese New Year in West Kalimantan: Ritual theatre and political circus. *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, 3, 106-142.

- Cinque, S., & Nyberg, D. (2021). Theatre's radical potential: A study of critical performativity. *Culture and Organization*, 27(2), 115-131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759551.2020.1827257>
- Clare, C., & Hallewas, A. (2023). Creativity, COVID-19, and care: An examination of theatre as care during lockdown. *Theatre Research in Canada-Recherches Theatrales Au Canada*, 44(1), 119-125. <https://doi.org/10.3138/TRIC-2022-0014>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Damayanti, C., & Engliana, E. (2022). Seni, sastra, dan imajinasi untuk pengembangan emosi dalam pandangan Martha Nussbaum [Art, literature, and imagination for emotional development in Martha Nussbaum's view]. *Jurnal Filsafat*, 32(2), 223-254. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.68959>
- Dos Santos, R. G. C. (2016). As charges antiperonistas de Tribuna da Imprensa (1949-1955) [Anti-Peronist cartoons by Tribuna da Imprensa (1949-1955)]. *Tempo e Argumento*, 8(18), 215-248. <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180308182016215>
- Duester, E. (2020). *The politics of migration and mobility in the art World: Transnational baltic artistic practices across Europe*. Intellect. <https://doi.org/10.1386/9781789383409>
- Eva, Y., Noversar, J. M. S., Ari, L. B., & Cameron, M. (2023). Visual game character design to engage Generation Z in an effort to develop anti-corruption behavior in Indonesian Society. *Journal of Urban Culture Research*, 25, 64-82. <https://doi.org/10.14456/jucr.2022.21>
- Ezzy, D. (1998). Theorizing narrative identity: Symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 39(2), 239-252. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1998.tb00502.x>
- Fadli, M. R. (2021). *Memahami desain metode penelitian kualitatif* [Understanding qualitative research method design]. *HUMANIKA*, 21(1), 33-54. <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v21i1.38075>
- Finally, the Imam Bonjol drama was also staged in Jakarta. (1995, October 14). *Haluan*, 3-6.
- Fischer-Lichte, E. (2008). *The transformative power of performance: A new aesthetics*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203894989>
- Fitri, N. S., Syahrul, R., & Zulfadhli, Z. (2012). Resepsi sastra naskah drama Kau Tunggu Siapa, Nilo karya Wisran Hadi [Literary reception of the drama script Who are you waiting for by Wisran Hadi]. *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 1(1), 44-51.
- From clippings to Bonjol. (1995, October 22). *Gatra*, 9.
- From the 'Imam Bonjol' discussion by Bumi Theater Padang: Imam Bonjol, a symbol of Minangkabau egalitarianism. (1995, October 18). *Singgalang*, 3.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1975). *Truth and method* (2nd ed.). Continuum.
- Gould-Davies, N. (2019). The politics of Eurasianism: Identity, popular culture, and Russia's foreign policy. *International Affairs*, 95(5), 1186-1187. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz157>
- Governor on 'Imam Bonjol': Regional government does not suppress creativity. (1995, October 15). *Singgalang*, 9-10.
- Gray, B. C. (2019). The Canadian alternative: Cartoonists, comics, and graphic novels. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 49(4), 579-581. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2019.1701842>
- Hadi, K. (2017). *Ensiklopedia Pahlawan Nasional* [Encyclopedia of National Heroes]. Istana Media.
- Hadi, K., & Sustianingsih. (2015). *Ensiklopedia pahlawan nasional* [Encyclopedia of national heroes] (Qoni, Ed.). Istana Media.
- Hadi, W. (1995, October 22). Grounding Imam Bonjol. *Singgalang Newspaper*, 1.

- Hadley, B. J., & Gattenhof, S. (2011). Measurable progress? Teaching artists to assess and articulate the impact of their work. *M/C Journal*, 14(6). <https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.433>
- Hassanzadeh, H., Boyle, J., Khanna, S., Biki, B., Syed, F., Sweeney, L., & Borkwood, E. (2023). A discrete event simulation for improving operating theatre efficiency. *International Journal of Health Planning and Management*, 38(2), 360-379. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hpm.3589>
- Hertel, R. (2014). *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing national identity*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315610511>
- Hidayat, D., Gustini, L. K., & Putra, H. P. (2022). Pendekatan relasi antarpribadi sutradara dan aktor teater Koma Jakarta [Interpersonal relationship approach of director and actor of teater Koma Jakarta]. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 19(1), 103-120. <https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v19i1.3699>
- History lessons have separated figures from their lives. (1995, October 18). *Media Indonesia*, 6.
- Ibrahim, J. (2006). Teater rakyat sebagai media kritik sosial: Fungsi humor dalam seni pertunjukan Lenong Betawi [Folk theater as a medium of social criticism: The function of humor in the performing arts of Lenong Betawi.]. *Humaniora*, 18(1), 7-14.
- Imam Bonjol Drama. (1995, October 18). *Republika*, 5-6.
- Imam Bonjol in TIM (Ismail Marzuki Park). (1995, October 17). *Republika*, 2-3.
- Imam Bonjol might be banned. (1995, October 5). *Singgalang*, 10-12.
- Imam Bonjol still performed at FI II (Istiqlal Festival). (1995, October 17). *Media Indonesia*, 7-8.
- Imam Bonjol will still be performed if approved by the Indonesian Ulema Council. (1995, October 9). *Haluan*, 6.
- Imam Bonjol: A leadership tragedy. (1995, October 17). *Singgalang*, 6-7.
- Jaakkola, M. (2021). Forms of culture (Culture Coverage). *DOCA - Database of Variables for Content Analysis*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.34778/2x>
- Jaja, J. (2014). Pengaruh kebijakan pemerintah dan kreativitas seniman terhadap kesenian tradisional Jawa Barat [The influence of government policy and artist creativity on traditional arts of West Java]. *Jurnal Ilmiah Seni Makalangan*, 1(2), 47-58.
- Kerr, D. J. R., Deane, F. P., & Crowe, T. P. (2019). Narrative identity reconstruction as adaptive growth during mental health recovery: A narrative coaching boardgame approach. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(994), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00994>
- Khusniawati, S., Fathoni, W., Muhammad, S., & Ma'ruf, M. I. (2021). Kaum Padri dalam pembaharuan Islam dan Muhammadiyah di Minangkabau [The Padri in Islamic renewal and Muhammadiyah in Minangkabau]. *Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Kemuhammadiyah*, 1(1), 29-38. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jasika.v1i1.3>
- Kolotaev, V. A. (2021). The hero's way, identity and stages of the life cycle in cinema. *Kul'turologiya i Iskustvovedenie*, (43), 75-87. <https://doi.org/10.17223/22220836/43/5>
- Kumagai, N., & Clammer, J. (2019). Perspectives on Japan's Anti-Nuclear movements: The effectiveness of social movements? In J. Clammer, M. Chakravorty, M. Bussey, T. Banerjee (Eds.), *Dynamics of dissent: Theorizing movements for inclusive futures* (pp. 88-104). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429290473-7>
- La Greca, M. I. (2023). With or against Hayden White? Reflections on theory of history and subject formation. *History and Theory*, 63(1), 25-44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.12333>
- Landau-Donnelly, F. (2022). Politics of (dis) assembling – (re)moving European borders.

- Cultural Geographies*, 29(4), 585-602. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14744740221076523>
- Léger, M. J. (2011). *Culture and contestation in the new century*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Lotina, G. P. (2016). The agonistic objectification: Choreography as a play between abundance and lack. *Performance Research*, 21(4), 34-40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13528165.2016.1192865>
- Luchian, A. D. (2021). Museum as counter-public space: Performing direct testimony. *Ekphrasis*, 25(8), 104-124. <https://doi.org/10.24193/EKPHRASIS.25.8>
- Luger, J. D. (2019). When the creative class strikes back: State-led creativity and its discontents. *Geoforum*, 106, 330-339. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.04.012>
- Master of reversal, DKSB, and the dialogue surrounding the Imam Bonjol script. (1995, October 15). *Canang Weekly*, 3-4.
- McKay, L., Riley, T., King, J., Bamford-Mareroa, A., & Licence, S. (2023). Navigating a pathway of professional learning: Travelling the Hero's journey with first-year pre-service teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 122, Article 103973. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2022.103973>
- McMahon, C. S. (2008). Mimesis and the historical imagination: (Re)staging history in Cape Verde, West Africa. *Theatre Research International*, 33(1), 20-39. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0307883307003379>
- Minang figures regret Imam Bonjol performance. (1995, October 22). *Canang Weekly*, 2.
- Moenir, D. (1995, November 12). Countering myths and controversies of Wisran Hadi. *Kompas Newspaper*, 10.
- Murdowo, S. (2015). Objektivitas imajinasi dalam seni [Objectivity of imagination in art]. *Imaji*, 4(1), 114-120. <https://doi.org/10.21831/imaji.v4i1.6706>
- Muslim, K. L. (2019). Gugatan terhadap kepahlawanan Tuanku Imam Bonjol [Lawsuit Against the Heroism of Tuanku Imam Bonjol]. *Majalah Ilmiah Tabuah: Ta'limat, Budaya, Agama Dan Humaniora*, 23(1), 17-26. <https://doi.org/10.37108/tabuah.v23i1.212>
- Novrizal, A., Wibawanto, W., & Nugrahani, R. (2022). Multimedia interaktif mengenal pahlawan nasional Indonesia [Interactive multimedia getting to know Indonesian national heroes]. *Journal of Animation and Games Studies*, 8(1), 83-98. <https://doi.org/10.24821/jags.v8i1.4979>
- Orr, N. (2021). Deception and Reception in the Commemorative Landscape of Newcastle, Australia, 1970 to 2020. *Index-Journal*, (5). <https://doi.org/10.38030/index-journal.2021.3.1>
- Perkasa, A. (2020). Panji in the age of motion: An investigation of the development of Panji-related arts around Java. *Wacana*, 21(2), 214-234. <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v21i2.887>
- Pramayoza, D. (2022). The aesthetics of eternal paradox: Endless dialogue between Islamic and Minangkabau thought in Wisran Hadi's dramaturgy. *Cogito*, 14(2), 160-180.
- Puspitasari. (2012). Kontestasi pemakaian teks pluralisme dalam arena media sosial [Contestation of the meaning of pluralism texts in the social media arena] [Doctoral Dissertation, Indonesia University]. Universitas Indonesia Library. <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20306855&lokasi=lokal>
- Rebellato, D. (2020). European playwriting and politics, 1945-89. In M. M. Delgado, B. Lease, & Rebellato (Eds.), *Contemporary European Playwrights* (pp. 12-25). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315111940-1>
- Ricoeur, P. (1984). *Time and Narrative* (Vol. 1; K. McLaughlin & D. Pellauer, Trans.). University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226713519.001.0001>

- Rinjani, N. F. (2020). Perubahan peran seniman dalam Dinamika Ruang Publik di Taman Ismail Marzuki (1968-2018) [The changing role of artists in the Dynamics of Public Space at Taman Ismail Marzuki (1968-2018)]. *Umbara*, 5(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.24198/umbara.v5i1.28268>
- Rodríguez, M. A. (2020). The function of the name and its changes in the configuration of the hero's identity in Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra's Espejo de príncipes y Caballeros. *Tirant* 23, 151-165. <https://doi.org/10.7203/tirant.23.19116>
- Roy, H. (2021). Kontestasi pandangan budaya dalam sejarah kongres kebudayaan di Indonesia [Contestation of cultural views in the history of cultural congress in Indonesia]. *Saskara: Indonesian Journal of Society Studies*, 1(1) 67-94. <https://doi.org/10.21009/Saskara.011.04>
- Sahrul, N. (2005). Kontroversial Imam Bonjol [The controversial Imam Bonjol]. Garak.
- Said, Y., & Wulandari, T. (1995). *Ensiklopedi pahlawan nasional* [National heroes encyclopedia] (S. Sutjiatiningsih, Ed.). Pusat Kajian Sejarah.
- Saputra, I., & Habib, D. P. S. (2021). Kontestasi dan ideologi alternatif dalam Novel Wanasitu Anni Imra'ah karya Ihsan Abdul Qudus: analisis hegemoni Gramsci [Contestation and alternative ideology in Wanasitu Anni Imra'ah Ihsan Abdul Qudus' Novel: Gramsci's hegemoni analysis]. *Kibas Cenderawasih*, 18(2), 136-150. <https://doi.org/10.26499/kc.v18i2.301>
- Sayer, D., Sebo, E., & Hughes, K. (2019). A Double-edged sword: Swords, bodies, and personhood in early medieval archaeology and literature. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 22(4), 542-566. <https://doi.org/10.1017/eea.2019.18>
- Schechner, R. (1985). *Between theater and anthropology*. University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812200928>
- Scorese, P. (2021). The act of sepulcher: Effigies and other affects toward a theory of historiographic performance. *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, 35(2), 193-206. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dtc.2021.0017>
- Self-critique of West Sumatra, agility of Aceh. (1995, October 18). *Kompas*, 4.
- Setianto, Y. (2019). Pendidikan karakter melalui keteladanan pahlawan nasional [Character education through the role models of national heroes]. *Publikasi Pendidikan*, 9(2), 177-186. <https://doi.org/10.26858/publikan.v9i2.9267>
- Shin, R., & Hutzel, K. (2018). Editorial – Borderless: Global narratives in art education. *Journal of Cultural Research in Art Education*, 35(1), 8-12. <https://doi.org/10.2458/jcrae.4859>
- Sondak, S. H. (2019). *Triangular data* [Data triangulation]. *Jurnal EMBA: Jurnal Riset Ekonomi, Manajemen, Bisnis dan Akuntansi*, 7(1), 671-680.
- Sugiarti, S. (2017). Representasi identitas dan etnisitas Minang dalam Novel Persiden Karya Wisran Hadi [Representation of Minang identity and ethnicity in the novel Persiden by Wisran Hadi]. *JENTERA: Jurnal Kajian Sastra*, 2(2), 26-38. <https://doi.org/10.26499/jentera.v2i2.406>
- Sullivan, J., Petronella, S., Brooks, E., Murillo, M., Primeau, L., & Ward, J. (2008). Theatre of the oppressed and environmental justice communities: A transformational therapy for the body politic. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 13(2), 166-179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105307086710>
- Syam, E. Y. (2017). Makna budaya Minangkabau dalam Novel Tamu Karya Wisran Hadi. *Jentera: Jurnal Kajian Sastra*, 6(2), 163-180.
- Taylor, C. (1985). *Philosophy and the human sciences: Philosophical Papers 2*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139173490>
- Taylor, J. K. (2021). Art practice as policy practice: Framing the work of artists embedded in

- government. *Journal of Arts Management Law and Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2021.1925193>
- The failure of Tuanku Imam Bonjol in Wisran Hadi's mind: An epic struggle turned upside down. (1995, September 24). *Canang Weekly*, 2.
- The figure of Imam Bonjol in everyday life. (1995, October 19). *Republika*, 1.
- The human side of Imam Bonjol. (1995, October 25). *Tiras*, 8.
- The performance was revised without an announcement. (1995, October 29). *Canang Weekly*, 7.
- The Story of Imam Bonjol Held. (1995, October 18). *Terbit*, 1.
- There are doubts among the Istiqlal Festival Committee about staging the Tuanku Imam Bonjol drama. (1995, October 1). *Haluan*, 6.
- Thiel, K., & Boland, R. J. (2017). Identity transformation on a hero's journey: Experiencing a mid-career doctoral program. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.5465/AMBPP.2017.13363abstract>
- Two contradictory letters. (1995, October 8). *Canang Weekly*, 4.
- Wallace, C. (2022). Introduction: Dialogue, performance and the body politic in contemporary theatre. *Litteraria Pragensia*, 32(63), 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.14712/2571452X.2022.63.1>
- We reject Wisran Hadi's version of the Imam Bonjol performance. (1995, September 17). *Canang Weekly*, 4.
- White, H. (1987). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Winet, E. D. (2009). Between Umat and Rakyat: Islam and Nationalism in Indonesian modern theatre. *Theatre Journal*, 61, 43-64. <https://doi.org/10.1353/tj.0.0129>
- Winkler, J. (1990). Representing the body politic, the theater of manhood in classical Athens. *Perspecta*, 26, 215-228. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1567164>
- Wisran Hadi's version of the Tuanku Imam Bonjol performance can distort perceptions. (1995, October 1). *Canang Weekly*, 2.