



Research Article

Authenticity of Commodified Heritage: A Case Study of Khon Sala Chalermkrung of Thailand and Sendratari Ramayana Prambanan of Indonesia in the Context of Cultural Heritage Tourism

Anak Agung Lindawati Kencana

Thai Studies Center, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, e-mail: lindakencana@yahoo.com

Received: January 15, 2020

Revised: July 10, 2020

Accepted: September 18, 2020

Published: December 25, 2020

Abstract

In the context of tourism, cultural performances are predominantly a form of entertainment to be traded on the marketplace. A central question to this argument is, what happens to cultural performances when they become tourist attractions? This question concerns the authenticity of cultural performance; Is authenticity really an intrinsic quality which constitutes a genuine local or traditional culture, and can tourists recognize this quality? This paper attempts to investigate how the invention of authenticity in the case of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* illustrates the notion of constructive authenticity. The case study is conducted in the context of cultural heritage tourism. This study suggests that the commodification of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* does not necessarily lead to a loss of “authenticity” and meaning as cultural heritage products. It finds that the cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan as the centers of the case study have effectively maintained the specific attributes of authenticity, representing the heritage of the nations. The significant attributes or qualities which are associated with the genuine tradition of local cultures are the sacred rituals and the artistic features of the art forms which include story, dance, music, and costumes. This study argues that authenticity can be manifested by adapting traditional culture in modern context. It demonstrates how authenticity is constructed, reconstructed and negotiated.

Keywords: Constructive authenticity, Commodified heritage, Cultural producers, *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan

Introduction

Tourism performs a fundamental role in the growth of various economies across the globe. Global tourism is growing, and so is cultural tourism. They seem to be on the rise in equivalent proportion (Smith, 2016, p. 15). Cultural tourism itself is a global phenomenon which to a certain degree manifests differently in the various parts of the world. There are historical, geographical, and

political reasons for the diverse manifestation of cultural tourism. It begins with the notion that culture can denote different things to different people (Ibid.). Smith suggests that historical processes have generated distinctive legacies, social processes have created diverse value systems and not all political systems have reinforced culture in the same manner.

The importance of cultural tourism as major growth industry has been recognized by various international organizations, such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). UNWTO has forecasted a continuous growth for international tourism, projecting 1.8 billion international tourists in 2030 and an average of 43 million new tourists every year from 2010 to 2030 (UNWTO, 2011). The majority of developing countries play their part in the global economy through tourism. Southeast Asian nations promote cultural tourism as an external revenue supply. Cultural tourism also reflects the political status of a country. In this context, cultural tourism legitimizes itself as a territorial entity. Bureaucrats, intellectuals and artists endeavor to specify and highlight unique cultural identities representing the most favorable and distinctive characteristics of their nations. In this region, each country attempts to attract international and domestic tourists through national tourism marketing campaigns such as Malaysia Truly Asia, Laos Simply Beautiful, Vietnam-Timeless Charm, Myanmar Be Enchanted, Your Singapore, Amazing Thailand and Wonderful Indonesia. Amazing Thailand and Wonderful Indonesia, as two examples, have been successful marketing campaigns accentuating the uniqueness of each country's cultural traditions.

Many have argued that nearly all tourism trips can be regarded as cultural (Smith & Robinson, 2006; Richards, 2007; Smith & Richards, 2013). This suggests an expansion of the definitions of cultural tourism, especially if culture is delineated as the whole way of people's life (Williams, 1958 as cited in Smith, 2016, p. 15). Richards (1996) has proposed two definitions of cultural tourism based on technical and conceptual definitions:

Technical definition: All movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as museum, heritage sites, artistic performances, and festivals outside their normal place of residence. Conceptual definition: The movements of persons to cultural manifestation away from their normal place of

residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs.

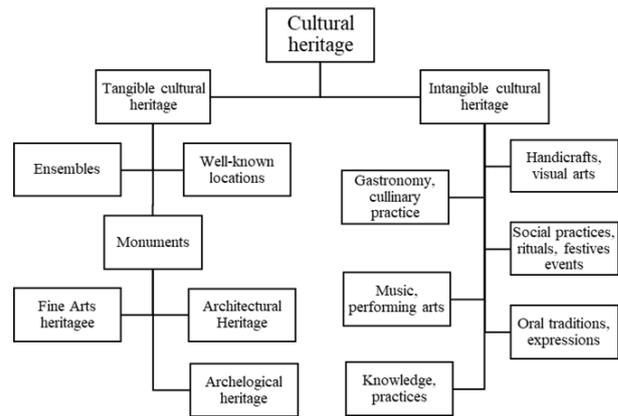
The International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism (ICOMOS) suggests a clear differentiation between cultural and recreational travel, defining the former as:

Activity which enables people to experience the different way of life of other people, thereby gaining at first hand an understanding of their customs, traditions, the physical environment, the intellectual ideas and those places of architectural historic, archeological or other cultural significance which remain from earlier times. Cultural tourism differs from recreational tourism in that it seeks to gain an understanding or appreciation of the nature of the place being visited (ICOMOS Charter for Cultural Tourism, Draft April 1997).

Du Cros and McKercher (2015, p. 16) have proposed a more recent definition of cultural tourism along these lines: "A form of tourism that relies on a destination's cultural heritage assets and transform them into products that can be consumed by tourists". Smith (2016, p. 17) suggests that this definition fits well in the case of heritage tourism, including some forms of arts. However, this definition works less considering the everyday lives of people. Heritage indicates that a culture belongs to the past and this notion is not suitable to the practices of many communities today which attract cultural tourists (Smith, 2016). It clearly suggests that defining cultural tourism is relatively challenging. One of the significant reasons this issue is rooted in the definition of culture itself that has not been clearly defined and accepted by the host community as a whole (Raj et al., 2013 cited in Smith, 2016, p. 17). Sarup (1996, p. 140) notes that "culture is not something fixed and frozen as the traditionalist would have us believe, but a process of constant struggle as cultures interact with each other and are affected by economic, political and social factors".

Smith (2016, p. 18) recognizes the diversity and the complexity of cultural tourism. She defines cultural tourism as follows: "Passive, active and interactive engagement with heritage, arts and the culture(s) of communities, whereby the visitor gains new experiences of an educational, creative, and/or entertaining nature." In "Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies," cultural tourism is divided into a number of sub-sectors or typologies. These include heritage tourism, art tourism, creative tourism and indigenous tourism. These sub-sectors of cultural tourism are easily overlapping (Smith, 2016, p. 17). For instance, in many ways, the arts and heritage are intricately linked. It is difficult to distinguish between the heritage and the arts component of cultural tourism (Smith, 2016).

Csapo (2012, p. 210) states that cultural heritage tourism is a significant part of cultural tourism. It is majorly concerned with the interpretation and representation of the past (Smith, 2016, p. 18). Cultural heritage tourism is a relatively new phenomenon emerging within the sphere of cultural tourism. Essentially, it is a modern movement of tourism which highlights the production and consumption of "authentic" national culture. Cultural heritage tourism, according to the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is a journey to come into contact with places, objects and activities (the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2015). While embracing natural resources and cultural historic, the entire activity authentically embodies the stories and people of the past and present (Ibid.). Essentially, in this context, culture is regarded as one of the principal assets in cultural heritage tourism development by promoting both tangible and intangible elements (see figure 1).



Source Glemža (2002, p. 157), UNWTO (2012)

Figure 1 Clarification of cultural heritage

MacCannel (1976) claims that the issue of authenticity in tourism begins with the tourist's consumption of authenticity. Chhabra et al. (2003) identifies authenticity as a pivotal issue takes place in its correlation with the commodification of culture. Commodification in this context is the process in which a cultural practice or expression is adapted to the demands of tourists in the context of cultural tourism. Commodification has become a prominent subject matter in today's worldwide society, as it coincides with consumerism (Smith & Robinson, 2005, p. 185). The issues of authenticities are present in various sectors of the tourism industry, for instance, heritage tourism, ethnic tourism, etc. It is important to note that the issues of authenticities are relevant to most of the world's destinations (Smith & Robinson, 2005).

The cultural heritage tourism industry targets the authenticity of cultural products today by combining two essential factors: (1) duplicating the original; (2) modifying the duplication to serve the needs of the tourists (Cohen, 1998; Sharpley, 1994). The process of constructing authenticity involves the tourism industry and its associated media as a part of the product presented to tourists. Nevertheless, every aspect of culture is nowadays transformed into a commodity whether it involves tangible objects, for instant archeological heritage sites or intangible products, such as traditional performances. In Southeast Asia,

traditional performances have to adapt to changing social and political circumstances which lead to changes in the patronage of dance and the need to cater to international audiences. Since dance is regarded as a traditional and distinctive expression of the host culture, dance fits effortlessly into the 'tourist package' (O'Connor, n.d., p. 122). Graburn (1976) defines this type of production as "Tourist Art". There are various dance forms which have been commoditized for international art markets, such as Cambodia's Apsara, Thailand's *Khon*, and Indonesia's *Sendratari Ramayana*.

Khon and *Sendratari Ramayana* are the central focus of this study. *Khon* is a dynamic and innovative performance of *Ramakien*. *Sendratari Ramayana*, on the other hand, is a creative and vibrant performance of *Serat Rama*. *Ramakien* and *Serat Rama* are Thai and Indonesian variants of the Hindu epic *Ramayana*. These remarkable dance drama performances are regarded as complex performing arts in Thailand and Indonesia. *Khon* has evolved from a court performance to a commercialized performance produced for tourists. It is conditioned by social and political changes in Thailand. *Sendratari Ramayana*, however, is an artistic invention of dance drama derived from the classical court dance drama of *Wayang Wong*. *Sendratari Ramayana* was initially created, designed and promoted exclusively for tourist consumption. A central question to this argument is, what happens to cultural performances when they become tourist attractions? This question concerns how tourism affects the authenticity of the culture and the production of cultural goods presented for tourists. So, how does the invention of authenticity in the case of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* illustrate the notion of constructive authenticity? The finding of this research reflects the main theoretical approach of constructive authenticity. This study argues that authenticity can be manifested by adapting traditional culture to modern contexts. It demonstrates how the authenticity of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* is constructed, reconstructed and negotiated.

Objectives

1. To investigate how the invention of authenticity in the case of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* illustrates the notion of constructive authenticity.
2. To explore the issues of authenticity and commodification of cultural heritage within global cultural heritage tourism through a case study of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan.

Methodology

This research uses the qualitative-descriptive method, based on in-depth interviews and a documentary research within cultural and historical approaches. The technique for validating data in this research is triangulation, which is a comparison of various sources in order to establish the validity. The fieldwork was undertaken in Bangkok, Thailand and Yogyakarta, Indonesia between 1 August 2016 to 31 December 2019. It involved interviews with selected experts in classical Thai and Javanese dance as well as cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan. In this study, cultural producers are defined as teams of coordinated actors whose work is to 'fabricate authenticity' which include teams of dancers and musicians, managers, and other artistic support staffs. The participation observation was undertaken by attending *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* performances during the fieldwork period.

Unlike the earlier studies about authenticity in tourism from the tourists' perspective, this research principally focuses on the view of cultural producers.

Conceptual Framework

Heritage, Dance and Tourism

Davison (2008, p. 31) points out that in the correlation with culture, the initial denotation of the word 'heritage' signified the physical assets or heirlooms inherited from parents to children. By extension of analogy, heritage would also make reference to an intellectual or spiritual legacy. Heritage is essentially a word manifesting a

connection with the past, originated from the traditional societies where the values were derived from ancestral relationships (Davison, 2008). In tourism, the term 'heritage' refers not only to landscape, building, artefacts, natural history, cultural traditions and other related entities, but include cultural products invented and manufactured for consumption in a tourism context. As a term, 'heritage' came to be the center of attention in Europe during the 1970s and developed progressively in the course of 1980s to incorporate other aspects used increasingly for commercial purposes (Prentice, 2004, p. 86). Prentice writes that the benchmark of this heritage tourism realm possibly was the events of European Architectural Heritage Year 1975. Heritage centers during this year were promoted. These include British cathedrals and castles which have been popular tourist places and predate 1975 by four decades or more. Scottish Tourist Board (1990) records that within Scotland, in 1989 fifteen out of twenty of the most visited attractions with admission fees could be described as heritage attractions, including six castles.

The concept of heritage has been broadened extensively by means of international agencies, in particular the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO defines cultural heritage in its Draft Medium-Term Plan 1990-1995 as:

The cultural heritage may be defined as the entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience. The preservation and the presentation of the cultural heritage are therefore a corner-stone of any cultural policy (UNESCO, 1989, p. 57).

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2007, p. 206), heritage is feasibly used not simply as cultural for its fundamental value, but also as a political instrument to legitimize ideologies of state, as a financial resource, an industry of its own accord or to gain locational priorities for other commercial activities. Hence, heritage transforms from a cultural value into a 'political' concept which "asserts a public or national interest in things traditionally regarded as private" (Davison, 2008, p. 36). In this context, Wong (2013, p. 254) provides an example in the application of heritage entities as a national project during the 19th century. Heritage may be regarded in the use of public agencies of high culture, for instance, museums.

Dance as cultural heritage is 'intangible' in terms of its continuance over 'performativity' (Wong, 2013, p. 306). Dance is viewed in performances and inventive productions as the 'documentary' perception of culture (Ibid.). Dance is viewed as "the body of intellectual and imaginative work" (Williams, 1961, p. 57 cited in Wong, 2013, p. 306). Wong elaborates:

One may hence see it as a representing certain achievement in human expressions by way of its ideals and physical forms, or by embodying certain memories of the past. At a community level or a national level, dance becomes a kind of symbol that serves as a marker of identity, while at the same time associated with the relevant ideals in cultural values (Wong, 2013, p. 305)

Based on this, it can be argued that dance has been significant to both "tourist imaginary and practice" (O'Connor, n.d., p. 122).

Defining Authenticity

Discussions of authenticity and commodification have been fundamental to investigations of the sociocultural impact of tourism since Boorstin introduced the notion of "pseudo-events" in 1961 and the publication of the influential text *The Tourist* in 1976 by Dean McCannel. Authenticity has come to be a principal notion in tourism

studies. A number of comprehensive books and articles have extensively debated and discussed this concept. Debates on tourism impacts of the authenticity of cultures is caused by the intensifying effect of the tourism industry on traditional cultures. As MacLeod analyzed (2005, p. 177), the debates on authenticity center around how tourism affects the authenticity of the tourists' experience of places and culture. The debates also highlight the authenticity of the culture of the hosts themselves and the production of cultural goods, as well as events presented for tourists.

What is authenticity? Within the context of tourism, a number of commentators have analyzed and criticized the concept of authenticity due to the complexity of its notions. Theories of authenticity are used to study tourists' motivation for traveling to certain places, and to rationalize their experience at these places. The term 'authentic' is used to evaluate whether the objects are what they are claimed to be. Sharpley (1994, p. 147) suggest that authenticity is a product, a commodity. "It is not a quality or a condition of something but, for many, an essential ingredient of the tourist experience" (Sharpley, 1994). Tourism is often viewed as having a negative impact on the authenticity of culture. Taylor (2001, p. 15) argues that the authenticity of culture is diminished when it is recognized as a product of tourism. However, according to Cole (2007, p. 3), authenticity does not possess objective quality. It is socially constructed and for that reason negotiable. It varies in accordance with the tourists' assessment and interpretation (Cohen, 1998).

In tourism literature studies, Wang (1999) has described two conventional concepts of authenticity: object-related and subject-related. Wang (1999) says object-related authenticity is divided into two forms: objective authenticity and constructive authenticity. In terms of subject-related authenticity, Wang introduced the concept of existential authenticity to change the standpoint of the concept of object-related authenticity

in tourism experiences towards a focus on the personal quest of the tourists.

The three mentioned concepts of authenticity: objectivism, constructivism and existentialism (see figure 2) are beneficial means to investigate the discourse of authenticity in the following manner:

1. Objective Authenticity

Smith and Robinson (2005, p. 182) argue that the idea of the existence of the real and genuine experience and products of culture is profoundly related to the question of tourism's impact on authenticity. However, the genuine, real experience and products of culture are perhaps more challenging to be found in contemporary society. Therefore, the objective approach of authenticity is designed for those who acknowledge the authenticating signs. This notion is based on the fact that the objective authenticity focuses on the original objects that offer genuine touristic experiences (Wang, 1999, p. 352). Objective authenticity signifies the authenticity of origins (Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p. 10).

In other words, objective authenticity is when particular objects as authentic. This method of authenticity is primarily based on the museum orientation. The objects are analyzed by an expert/specialist to verify their true nature (Leite & Graburn, 2009). Objective authenticity highlights the indigenous culture conservation with the purpose of satisfying the tourists' romanticism of the past. Central to this notion is objects regarded to as authentic, produced by indigenous craftspeople. These include rituals or events that tourists perceive to be traditional, genuine culture productions (Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p. 10). The tourist then becomes the explorer in search of the authenticity and value that may be nonexistent in their own lives.

2. Constructive Authenticity

Experts can evaluate the cultural objects as "authentic" or "artificial" in the initial phase of objective authenticity

as mentioned earlier. This justifies the fundamental principal of objective authenticity. However, Wang (1999) has described that authenticity can be an extension of tourists' beliefs, expectations, aspirations, and typical images onto toured objects. Tourists' perception and expectations on a destination or object are the central points of the constructive concept of authenticity. This concept emphasizes the role of tourism entrepreneurs in shaping the visitors' imaginations to serve tourist demands or expectations (Cohen, 1998).

Wang (1999) says that the tourists' perception of constructive authenticity of cultural objects is 'symbolic authenticity.' Bruner (1994) explains that cultural objects appear genuine not because they are authentic, but because they are promoted and certified as "authentic". It involves a complex process that includes negotiating the meaning, interpretation and agreement. This notion is illustrated by Grunewald's case study of the Southern Brazil's Pataxó people's handicraft production (Grunewald, 2015, p. 201). In this case study, McLeod (2015, p. 185) concluded that there were three different types of products made and recognized by both producer and consumer: (1) There are products signifying indigenous; (2) Transitional items that are made by native people but receiving influence from outside; (3) Nonindigenous objects reflecting the influences of global tourism. These notions of authenticity are not simply an individual's perception but are constructed and shared within communities (Grunewald, 2015, p. 184). At this point, constructive authenticity is the result of social construction; a subject of the "power" of who possesses the authority to authenticate (Appadurai, 1986).

In the notion of constructive authenticity, the cultural objects may subsequently turn into "emergent authenticity" (Cohen, 1988). This notion is also illustrated by the same case study of Grunewald. This case study shows the tourism impacts on communities concerning the commodification of culture. This study finds the benefits

of the emerging sense of identity and new traditions which illustrated by the handicrafts production of the Pataxó people. This study shows that culture is a dynamic entity. In this context, all forms of culture are accountable to change over period of time in order to adapt to community's environmental settings.

3. Existential Authenticity

Wang (1999) has developed and introduced the concept of existential authenticity where the objective-related authenticity is changed towards subject-related authenticity. This change is the main objective of this concept which is due to the in which activities tourists engage. Wang explains that it "involves personal or intersubjective feeling activated by the liminal process of tourist activities" (Wang, 1999, p. 350). Through this process, what tourists see and experience subjectively is authentic regardless whether it is a kind of commodification in any form (Chhabra, 2010, p. 806). In other words, the existentialist views the concept of authenticity as that of the tourists' perception.

Wang (1999) highlights that existential authenticity is a feeling developed through participating, rather than spectating or observing. In Hughes-Freeland's case study of tourists' participation in dances, one of her focuses is Javanese Tayuban dance (2012) which highlights how the dance becomes more meaningful as spectators participate in the touristic version of the dance. Daniel (1996, p. 789) states that performing within a culture generates an existential authenticity based on a "sensation of well-being, pleasure, joy, or fun, and at a times, frustration as well." As Wang (1999, p. 364) argues, "tourists are not merely searching for authenticity of the Other. They also search for an authenticity of, and between, themselves." Therefore, this concept views tourists as part of the indigenous community while experiencing culture intimately.

Consideration of this overview of theories of authenticity, suggests that they are three different ways of attaching meaning to commodified cultural products. This study finds that the concept of constructive authenticity is suitable in exploring the interplay between cultural producers and tourists, and the emerging traditions of performing arts of Khon and Sendratari Ramayana, reflecting the constructed nature of authenticity (see figure 2).

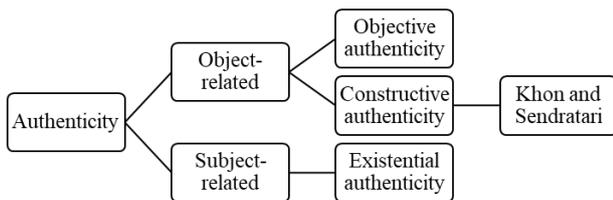


Figure 2 The notions of authenticity

Results and Discussion

Heritage and commodification

The arts of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* embody a comprehensive form of performing arts where dancing, music, narration, dialogue and singing are collaborated (Miettinen, 1992; Rutnin, 1996). *Khon* is one of the oldest forms of Thai classical performing arts dating to the Ayuthaya Period (1350-1767). *Khon* was originally performed only during royal ceremonies. The actors wear masks and enact assigned roles through expressive gestures without speaking lines themselves.¹ On the other hand, *Sendratari Ramayana* was a new creation of Javanese court-derived dance drama without spoken dialog. Similar to *Khon*, the dialogue is replaced by hand gestures and facial expressions.

Khon and *Sendratari Ramayana* are performing arts that integrate some field of knowledge and art forms. M.R. Chakrarot Chitrabongs, Thailand’s former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and a grandson of Prince Naris and Prince Damrong, a lifelong advocate of

classical Thai culture, states that there are three majors of art forms which influenced the creation and development of *Khon*: “(1) *Chak Nak Duekdamban* (an ancient court-ritual enactment of war between angels and demons performed in the *Indraphisek* ceremony as a blessing for the longevity of the king). The costumes and characters of *Khon* are derived and influenced by *Chak Nak Duekdamban*; (2) *Krabi Krabong* (a traditional Thai martial art). Its combat style inspired *Khon*’s acrobatic dance figures and movements; (3) *Nang Yai* (the large shadow play). It influenced *Khon* in terms of music, recitation, narration (dubbed), dialogues, and movement”² In terms of characters, *Chak Nak Duekdamban* comprises the three major characters of *yak* (demon), *ling* (monkey) and *thewada* (gods). *Khon* characters, on the other hand, include *phra* (male human), *nang* (female human), *yak* (demon), and *ling* (monkey) (Tanticharoenkiat, 1986, p. 4; Sowat, 2018, p. 52) (see figure 3).

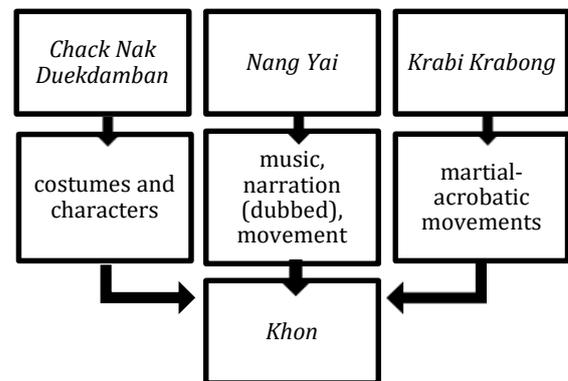


Figure 3 The Origins of Khon

Sendratari was a new name for the Javanese court-derived dance drama without any spoken dialog. The term *Sendratari* itself, an Indonesian acronym made up the words *seni* (art), *drama* (drama) and *tari* (dance), translates as “the art of dance drama”. As Tejo Sulisty, a senior dancer and choreographer of Yayasan Roro Jongrang who has been supporting *Sendratari Ramayana*

¹ In the past, almost all the players had to wear masks. Later on, those who performed men and god stopped wearing masks.

² Interview, Bangkok, 4 May 2018.

performance as Rama or Rahwana since 1970's, states that "the production of *Sendratari Ramayana*" was inspired by the "Royal Ballet du Cambodia" (a form of theatre established in the royal courts of Cambodia) and "Son et Lumiere" (sound and light show) in Egypt. The Royall Ballet du Cambodia inspired the creation of tourist performance based on the temple setting for traditional performance and the Son et Lumiere in Egypt for the employment of a sound and modern lighting system. Dance drama without spoken dialogue, which was commonly called "Ballet" in the West, also inspired this creation. The experimental origins of *Sendratari Ramayana* can be discerned in the combination of traditional *Wayang Wong* movements with movements from other dancing styles in Java and Bali, incorporating *kreasi baru* (new composition) into gamelan accompaniment. The makeup and costumes were also influenced by "*Wayang Wong*" (see figure 4).³

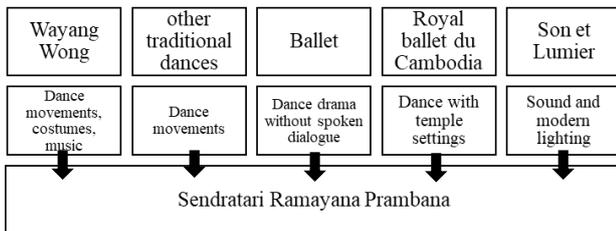


Figure 4 The origin and the inspirations of *Sendratari Ramayana*

Cohen (1998, p. 380) says that heritage commodification is the process that takes place explicitly within the realm of cultural tourism. In this process, cultural subjects and manifestations come to be evaluated in terms of their exchange value. Richards (1996, p. 26) notes that the commodification of culture consists of

'culture as process' and 'culture as product'. 'Culture as a process' is the main goal wherein tourists search for authenticity and meaning through their tourism experiences. Hence, this leads to the production of cultural products purposely for tourist consumption. Subsequently, 'culture as a process' is transformed through tourism into 'culture as product' (Richards, 1996).

In the context of 'culture as a process', *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* represent national dramatic arts. They contribute to the development of cultural heritage tourism. In the notion of 'culture as a product,' these performing arts represent cultural expressions. Their aspects of heritage become "cultural goods." They transformed into cultural products, to be purchased, sold and profited in the cultural heritage tourism industry. This is observed in the production of *Khon Sala Chalermkrung* and *Sendratari Ramayana Prambana*.

In paper "*Khon* (Masked Dance): Management to Promote Tourism in the Central Region of Thailand", Mounghboon et al. (2016, p. 29) analyze that *Khon* experienced three phases of development from its early production in the 19th century up to present time: (1) ritualistic performance; (2) commercial shows; (3) tourism support show.⁴

This study has found that the tourism support show highlights the national identity, which promotes "Thainess" ideology. For this reason, the government supports cultural tourism by sponsoring *Khon* performances on various occasions, such as royal ceremonies, cultural celebrations, tourist festivals, etc.

³ Interview, Yogyakarta, 26 March 2018.

⁴ The commercial show category, *Khon* productions for business purposes, began in the time of King Rama V (1868-1910). This period saw the productions held in theatres and the audiences were required to buy tickets. The organizers were royal family members or courtiers who managed the performance and bore the production cost and fees. The performances for this purpose were adjusted to suit the audience. The tourism support show category is the current role of *Khon* in supporting the tourism industry. The performances are managed by the Government and public companies (Mounghboon et al., 2016, p. 29).

Launched in 1933, Sala Chalermkrung Royal Theater was a royal gift from H.M. King Rama VII (1925-1935) to the Thai public as a venue for entertainment. Its history has been interwoven with the monarchy and Thai society. The theater was entering old age and renovation was required to restore its original glory. It underwent major renovation during its 60th anniversary in 1993. The renovation focused on significant modifications and additions for various functions to which theater would be put. For instance, stage was enlarged by 6 meters to accommodate live shows and a hydraulic system allowed stage elevating for the special effects. Seating is tiered with sequential rows staggered for spectator's convenience without an interrupted view of the stage. The number of seats has also been reduced for theater's amenity. Finally, the walls and ceiling have been modified in order to install performance equipment (Kallayanapongsa et al., 2006, p. 143).

After the completion of the renovation, Sala Chalermkrung emerged again with *Khon Jintanarumit* - Fantasy dance drama on 2 July 1993 (Kallayanapongsa et al., 2006, p. 145). *Khon Jintanarumit* combines traditional Thai performing arts with high technology. As part of the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of H.M. Thai King Rama IX (1946-2016), the Sala Chalermkrung Foundation in conjunction with the Tourism Authority of Thailand, the Crown Property Bureau, and public and private sectors, organized the *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung Project. The first episode of *Chakravata* was performed between December 2005 and June 2006. Since then, the *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung Troupe has been carrying out *Khon* performances consistently. The main objectives of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung's performances are to provide more opportunities for the Thai public to enjoy this Ramakien dance drama which is seldomly staged today. This performance is also presented to attract both Thai and foreign audiences.

Prof. Dr. Timbul Haryono, Director of Yayasan Roro Jongrang, the pioneer and the "original" of dance troupe who has performed in *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan since 1961, states that "the Indonesian Ministry of Post, Telecommunication and Tourism launched a project to build an open-air theater for a new dance drama genre called *Sendratari Ramayana*. The objective was to support Indonesia tourism industry for both the domestic and foreign tourists."⁵ This new form of dance drama has been well-known as the "Ramayana Ballet" for marketing purposes (Hersapandi, 2000; Moehkardi, 2011; Nuraini, 2003). Its name is suitable for a genre where the overall dramatic performance with its remarkable scenes and settings of modern stage are modelled after the Western fairy-tale ballet performance. The first performance was staged outdoors in 1961. The stage was erected in front of the Hindu temple of Prambanan in Central Java with the temple's immense silhouette structure as background. Overall impressions of *Sendratari Ramayana* from a formal perspective quite often lead to its categorization as a form of dance, which derives its style and aesthetic from the court dance *Wayang Wong*.

In terms of performers, those of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung, unlike the regular *Khon* troupe, are not permanent troupe members. They are selected through open auditions. As Pornrat Damrhung, Artistic Director of the Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* Project in 2005, states that a majority of the performers are students from national art institutions. A number of them come from the Dramatic Arts Colleges and the Bunditpatanasilpa Institute. Some are current students at these art institutions and others are fresh-graduates.⁶ On the other hand, *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan is supported by thirteen dance troupes. Each dance troupe performs in a single show. The majority of the members of the troupes are professional dancers with traditional Javanese dance background. However, *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan

⁵ Interview, Yogyakarta, 12 March 2018.

⁶ Interview, Bangkok, 3 May 2018.

also provides a chance for amateur dancers, especially those of young age, to participate in the show. They can take part in the open audition held by Yayasan Roro Jonggrang.

In the context of ‘experiencing identity through tourism’, *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* underline the role of heritage as the grandeur of the past and the spirit of the place. Cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan state that these art forms are venerated as Thailand’s and Indonesia’s national heritage based on three fundamental attributes: (1) a representation of tradition; (2) a connection between Ramayana epic and dance drama; (3) a connection between ‘place’ and performance (see Table 1). Prof. Dr. Supachai Chansuwan, a National Artist and Artistic Director of Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* says that *Khon* Thai heritage is associated with three crucial factors; first, *Khon* is a comprehensive form of classical dance drama dating back to the Ayutthaya period. Second, it is closely related to the *Ramakien* mural painting at Wat Phra Kaew (Emerald Buddha Temple). Third, it is staged at Sala Chalermkrung Royal theater, one of Thailand’s oldest theaters, founded in 1933. Thai Theater performances during its history reflect, and are intertwined with, the monarchy and Thai society.⁷

For *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan, the heritage attributes are attached to three central features, according to Jayeng Legowo, General Manager of stage and theater unit. First, *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan is a derivation of *Wayang Wong*, a classical court dance drama of Yogyakarta. Second, it connects Ramayana epic and dance with Prambanan temple bas-reliefs. Third, it is staged at the area of the Prambanan temple (a UNESCO World Heritage site).⁸

Table 1 Heritage attributes of Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan.

Heritage Attributes	Khon Sala chalermkrung	Sendatari Ramayana Prambanan
representation of tradition	a comprehensive form of classical dance drama dating back to the Ayutthaya Period	a derivation of <i>Wayang Wong</i> , a classical court dance drama of Yogyakarta
connection with “authentic” art forms that purport to faithfully represent <i>Ramayana</i> epic	closely related to the <i>Ramakien</i> mural painting at Wat Phra Kaew (Emerald Buddha Temple)	connected to bas-reliefs of Prambanan temple
connection between ‘place’ and performance	staged at Sala Chalermkrung Royal theater, founded in 1933, one of Thailand’s oldest theaters	staged at the area of the Prambanan temple (UNESCO World Heritage site)

The sustainability of cultural heritage tourism is believed can be developed and maintained when a culture has attributes that are attractive to tourists (MacCannell, 1976; Csapo, 2012; Richards, 2007). In this context, the challenge in retaining a ‘continuity’ of dance heritage would rest in “the contestation between accommodating a plurality of expressions and interpretations on the one hand and preserving some particular social or cultural value and identity, . . . on the other” (Wong, 2013, p. 306). This notion is legitimized by the interpretations of history and communicated through representations of the past.

In tourism dance performance, one of the critical issues to be resolved is what “authentic” dance is in a tourism sense. One seeks to discover authenticity and for whom it is authentic, as well as under what circumstances and for what motive (McDonald, 1993 as cited in Chhabra, 2005, p. 66). Daniel (1996, p. 782) argues that artistic forms intended for tourists are typically designed to appear more “authentic” or “genuine.” In accordance to this pivotal issue, the issue concerning the authenticity of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan will be discussed, as follows.

⁷ Interview, Bangkok, 23 May 2018.

⁸ Interview, Yogyakarta, 5 January 2017.

The authenticity

As Williams states (1994), “authenticity” of dance in the tourism setting is intended for historical, geographical, and cultural precision. Gestures, rhythmic motifs and sequences, which represent the choreography or dance movements, support the notion of authenticity. These dance features are expected to be perceived as old and original. The dances are associated with a specific social group, the movement sequences handed down through the generations. Thus, various dance traditions from particular geographical regions and cultural groups are associated with the authentication.

Authentication implies a process in which certain qualities or attributes are selected, promoted, and accepted by a particular circle of people to be indicators of authenticity. In this context, whether intently or not, social actors exhibit a particular adaption of their culture they regard as suitable and relevant. Hence, performers convey meanings of authenticity to the audience (Chhabra, 2005, p. 66).

Appadurai (1996) emphasized the power embedded in the notion of authenticity by addressing McDonald’s question “Who defines authenticity?” (1993). For *Khon*, the Thai Government and royal family have promoted the ‘authentic’ “Thainess” through the aesthetics of their art forms, determined by formal court etiquette under royal patronage. Siamese (Siam became Thailand in 1939) kings played an active role in the restoration and preservation of this traditional genre of performative art. After a brief decline, *Khon* as a cultural heritage was restored and became popular again under the reign of King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI, 1910-1925). In present-day Thailand, there are three prodigious organizations that hold vital roles in protecting and preserving *Khon* performance as a significant cultural heritage and a prominent national art. They are *Khon* Krom Silpakorn (the Thai Department of Fine Arts *Khon* Troupe), Her

Majesty Queen Sirikit’s SUPPORT Foundation, *Khon* Project and the *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung Troupe.

Authentication requires several critical aspects. Authenticity of *Khon* lies on the evolvement of the traditional culture where the “non-commodified” form of *Khon* existed in Thai history and continues to exist in contemporary Thailand (such as *Khon* performance for the royal cremation). In this case, there exists a prototype that Thai people can refer to as the “authentic” form of *Khon*, while the “commodified” *Khon*, such as *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung, has experienced alterations in a way to meet the requirements of the market. On the other hand, *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan is a newly constructed dance drama and was not passed down through generations. Even though it is a new creation, classical Javanese dance drama of *Wayang Wong*’s elements are fused in this tourist performance. *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan has been promoted as authentic Indonesian performing arts.

In the context of authentication, cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan have endeavored to maintain the specific attributes of the authenticity, which represent the heritage of the nations. The significant attributes or qualities associated with genuine traditions of local cultures are the sacred rituals and the artistic features of the art forms which include story, dance, music, and costumes:

1. The sacred rituals

For *Khon* troupe, the custom and rite of “Paying Homage to Teachers” - Wai Khru - is considered a sacred ceremony, a practice that has been passed down from generations (Pidokrajit, 2011, p. 12). The term Wai indicates the action of paying respect and *Khru* (teacher) derives from the Sankrit term *Guru*. (Pidokrajit, 2011, p. 10). Although *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung is performed for the tourism industry, Professor Supachai points out that “*Khon* Sala Chalermkrung has maintained this

ceremonial respect to teachers.”⁹ The *Wai Khru* ceremony consist of three steps: (1) The procedure of worshipping the three jewels; the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. (2) The worship of the *Khru*, a manifestation of the influence of Brahmanism and spiritual beliefs. The fundamental aspect of this step is the invitation of *Khru* Gods and spirits to the ceremony and offerings to the *Khru*. (3) The procedure of anointing and holding students’ hands to perform music (Yupho, 2010; Pidokrajit, 2011). Professor Supachai explains that the offerings are prepared according to the tradition and customs of the *Wai Khru* ceremony in theatrical arts. The customs have been recorded in the royal treatises of several reigns. These include a document from the reign of King Rama IV (1804-1868) and Rama VI (1910-1925), and the ancient treatise of Indian performing arts *Natya Sutra*, written by Bharata Muni¹⁰ where details and procedures of worshipping Gods and Goddess are described (Pidokrajit, 2011, p. 13). The offerings consist of cooked food, fruits, flowers, liquor, fresh water, soft drink and tea. Black and purple fruits are prohibited in this ceremony.

The sacred offering ritual of *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan, on the other hand, is less comprehensive compared to *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung’s in terms of the ritual process itself. According to Professor Timbul, “Yayasan Roro Jongrang troupe has maintained the form of *Sesajen* ritual (offering ritual) since this art form was

first staged in 1961. This ritual is intended as the continuation of the sacred practice of Javanese courts and Javanese traditions in general. The ritual consists of prayers and *Sesajen*, interpreted as offerings. This ritualistic practice reflects the acculturation of Islam and animistic beliefs where the prayers are Islamic, and the offerings are animistic in nature.”¹¹ Similar to *Wai Khru* ceremony, the offerings of this ritual also consist of flowers, incense, cook food, traditional Javanese sweets, water, and coffee.¹² This sacred ritual is carried out behind the stage mainly before the *Sendratari Ramayana* performance by Yayasan Roro Jongrang begins. Professor Timbul Haryono clarifies that “the purpose of this ritual is to seek the blessings of salvation from the Almighty Allah ‘God’ for the performers during the show.”¹³ Unlike *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung, the offerings of this ritual are showcased as a part of the opening session of the performance. The sound of the gamelan (a set of traditional Javanese music instruments) accompanies the offering ceremony carried out by *penggerong* (chorus singers who carry the offerings) and escorted by *nyutran* dancers (soldiers). They walk from behind the stage towards the center with beautiful choreography.¹⁴ Audiences can witness the uniqueness of Javanese traditions of sacred ritual wrapped in an entertaining manner.¹⁵ This illustration exhibits the layers of traditions in tourism settings; first, an authentic tradition of Javanese sacred ritual and second, a part of the entertainment show.

⁹ Interview, Bangkok, 23 May 2018.

¹⁰ Bharata Muni was an Indian theatrologist and musicologist. He is recognized as the father of Indian theatrical art forms.

¹¹ Interview, Yogyakarta, 28 August 2018.

¹² Author’s observation. In general, for Javanese, coffee is a compulsory item for the offering rituals. It holds a sacred interpretation. They believe coffee is a connecting medium as people in the past favored coffee as beverage. Coffee is offered to their ancestors who live in the “other” world in order to please them. Therefore, the ancestors will protect them during the ceremony (Mas Lurah Jayeng Sumekto, abdi dalem Yogyakarta court, interview, 10 December 2016).

¹³ Interview, Yogyakarta, 16 March 2018.

¹⁴ Author’s observation. This part of the show is available on the YouTube video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RLjtD71LhJU>

¹⁵ Author’s observation.

In both cases, sacred rituals predicate authenticity through the notion of 'continuance of past traditions.' In this context, *Wai Khru* ceremony of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sesajen* rituals of *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan are forms of sacred ritual practices which have been passed down from generations. Although both performances are staged for tourism industry, the practices of the sacred rituals are still maintained. As Pemberton stated (1994), while rituals appear to determine some form of continuity from the past, they could signify a sort of displacement and the imagination of the "authentic."

2. The story

Ramakien is the sole source of the *Khon's* story. *Ramakien* represents the Thai version of the Indian epic *Ramayana*. According to Dr. Pairoj Thongkamsook, Head of Academic Division of Office of the Performing Arts and the scriptwriter and director of Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* Project in 2005, the first episode performed at the Sala Chalermkrung, between December 2005 and June 2006, was *Cakravatar*. The episode relates the incarnation of Vishnu or God Narai, who was believed to be represented or personified by Thai kings. It is an episode depicting the war between Rama, king of Ayodhya, and Totsakan, king of demons, of Langka. It illustrates Tospith Rajadham, the Ten Virtues of the Monarch and the ultimate victory of righteous over evil.¹⁶ Afterwards, inspired by the Fine Arts Department *Khon*, Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* selected only a handful of episodes: Hanuman the Mighty, Hanuman Becoming Phra Chakri's Devotee and Hanuman.

As mentioned earlier, *Sendratari Ramayana* derived from a classical dance drama of *Wayang Wong* where the plots are drawn from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. However, *Ramayana* is the only source for *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan. The story consists of four episodes as follows: The abduction of Sita, Hanuman's Mission, The Death of Kumbakarna and Sita's Trial of Purity.

A reference to *Ramayana/Ramakien* in the case of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan defines the authenticity of these art forms. The *Ramayana* epic signifies the splendor of Thai and Indonesian national arts and cultures, which reflects the grandeur of the past. The epic reflects the way of life, customs, and social values of Thai and Indonesian cultures.

3. The dance

As Professor Supachai elaborates, *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung tends to be more contemporary, compared to *Khon* Krom Silpakorn, by increasing the dance tempo.¹⁷ However, as Saksom Panthong points out, a *Khon* performer of Fine Arts Department who also performs at Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* regularly, Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* remains faithful to the old traditions and guidelines of *Khon* dance traditions.¹⁸ This faithfulness can be observed in the posture language of the performers which is divided into three types as noted by the Sala Chalermkrung Foundation (n.d., p. 36), namely:

- 1) Posture correlated to actions; standing, walking, sitting and greeting with *Wai* gesture.
- 2) Posture correlated to feelings and inner state of mind expressed by different characters; smiling, being in love, shy, angry, sad, and bullying.
- 3) Postures used in replacement of words; negotiation, invitation, and giving and receiving object.

The connection with *Wayang Wong* is one of many "authentic" features of *Sendratari Ramayana* from the viewpoint of producers. Anggara Wisnu, a dancer of *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan, states that the dance movements of *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan are influenced by *Wayang Wong* dance drama. However, *Sendratari Ramayana* exhibits greater emphasis on dance and narrative in comparison with *Wayang Wong*.¹⁹ Tejo Sulistyono says that despite the fundamental reliance

¹⁶ Interview, Bangkok, 26 April 2018.

¹⁷ Interview, Bangkok, 23 May 2018.

¹⁸ Interview, Bangkok, 9 June 2017.

¹⁹ Interview, Yogyakarta, 12 March 2018.

on *Wayang Wong* techniques and staging, *Sendratari Ramayana* seems more similar to the nineteenth-century classical ballet in its use of body gesture and facial expression to narrate the story.²⁰

4. The music

Another fundamental component of *Khon* is the music. *Na Phat* music is used for the performance of *Khon* at Sala Chalermkrung. The music ensemble that plays *Na Phat* is a traditional Thai *Piphat* ensemble since the Ayuthaya Period. All the *Na Phat* music is played to accompany the dance postures and movements. The music is clearly fixed with rhythms, melodies, and timing to accompany gestures, emotions and changes of the movements, such as walking, flying in the air, or for special effects like thunder (Sala Chalermkrung Foundation, n.d., p. 54).

Javanese *gamelan* is the main musical ensemble played in the performance. Similar to the dance movements, it has also received some influences from *Wayang Wong*. The characteristics of the rhythms are also influenced by Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts, as Jayeng Legowo remarks.²¹ In Yogyakarta style, *gamelan* is played loud and hard, which reflects of the masculinity, while Surakarta style tends to be softer, romantic and includes so many variations of rhythms.²² These different types of rhythms are blended to accompany gestures, emotions and changes of the movements (Moehkardi, 2011, p. 98).

5. The costumes

Dance costumes which consist of clothing, headdresses and ornaments are very fundamental in the *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* performances. The *Khon* costumes were inspired by the royal attire of Thai monarchs of the Ayuthaya Period. The costumes of *Khon* characters

consist of different elements and differ depending on social status and role of the characters (Sala Chalermkrung Foundation, n.d., p. 28). According to Dr. Pairoj Thongkamsook the distinguishing features of *Khon* costumes of Sala Chalermkrung center around the sleeves and armor, which contain different patterns and colors. *Khon* costumes were inspired by the costumes of *Nang Yai* characters. On the other hand, *Khon* costumes of Fine Arts Department use the same patterns and colors.²³ Suporntip Spornkul, Head of Costumes Section, Office of the Performing Arts and the Costume and Props Designer of the Sala Chalermkrung Project in 2005, says that the creation of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung costumes was also inspired by the armor suits exhibited in the National Museum.²⁴ The collaboration of the armor suits with the concept of *Nangyai* costumes are assumed to represent the early Rattanakosin era's clothes and costumes. The *Khon* costumes creation and design of the Sala Chalermkrung Project in 2005 are still valid, according to Vasa Kuwong, the head of the Costume Department of Sala Chalermkrung Theater.²⁵

The costumes of *Sendratari Ramayana Prambanan* are mainly derived from *Wayang Wong* and *Wayang Kulit* (shadow puppet). Indah Nuraini, senior dancer and dance instructor of Yayasan Roro Jongrang reveals that there are several costume attributes of *Wayang Wong* that are intentionally omitted to prevent disruption the beauty of the movements.²⁶ Indah clarifies that *Sendratari Ramayana* also adopted the costume attributes illustrated on the bas-reliefs of Prambanan temple. For instance, the headdresses, or *irah-irahan*. The *irah-irahan* of king character in *Sendratari Ramayana Prambanan* is *mekutha (tropong)* which is similar to the *irah-irahan* of *Wayang Wong*

²⁰ Interview, Yogyakarta, 27 March 2018.

²¹ Interview, Yogyakarta, 5 January 2017.

²² Interview, Yogyakarta, 5 January 2017.

²³ Interview, Bangkok, 26 April 2018.

²⁴ Interview, Bangkok, 7 May 2018.

²⁵ Interview, Bangkok, 10 May 2018.

²⁶ Interview, Yogyakarta, 22 March 2018.

Yogyakarta's style.²⁷ Hence it includes the incorporation of old traditions.

Overall, cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan claim, the commodification of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* does not essentially lead to a loss of their "authenticity" and meaning as cultural heritage products. This is because authenticity is a designation rather than an inherent quality. The presentation of Sala Chalermkrung *Khon* is not essentially artificial since it has followed the old guidelines of "authentic" tradition of *Khon* performance. On the other hand, even though *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan is a new creation, classical Javanese dance drama of *Wayang Wong's* elements are fused in this tourist performance. The performance of *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan is an embodiment of Javanese spirit and the performance itself is traditional in its nature. Hence, both performances have senses of origin and value firmly deep-rooted within cultural traditions. In this context, the cultural heritage is "authentic" because it is promoted and received as such, not because it is intrinsically authentic. Sharpley (1994, p. 154) argues that "the commodification or commercialism of cultural performances cannot, and should not, lead to accusation of inauthenticity. Indeed, many art forms require financial support to survive and it is often tourism that provides that support".

Conclusion

The illustration of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* in the cultural heritage tourism settings exhibits a broader process of the globalization of dance cultures where authenticity holds an important role. This study finds that the concept of constructive authenticity is suitable in exploring the correlation between cultural producers

and tourists, and the emerging traditions of performing arts of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana*, which reflects the constructed nature of authenticity. This research has found that the cultural producers of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan have effectively maintained the specific attributes of authenticity, meaning they represent the heritage of the nations. The significant attributes or qualities which are associated with the genuine tradition of local cultures are the "authentic" sacred rituals and the artistic features of the art forms which include story, dance, music, and costumes.

Although *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana* performances have evolved in a dynamic environment of tourism settings, their authenticity can be traced to the historical roots. Despite being modernized, they still preserve the traditional elements by following the old guidelines of traditions in a remarkable way. These aspects provide evidence of authenticity from the perspective of cultural producers. Therefore, it can be argued that authenticity can be manifested in the adaptation of traditional culture in modern context. It indicates how authenticity is constructed, reconstructed and negotiated in the notion of constructive authenticity. This approach has proposed a different way of attaching meaning to commodified cultural products.

Altogether, the productions of *Khon* Sala Chalermkrung and *Sendratari Ramayana* Prambanan signify the impact of globalization in terms of the adoption of Western styles. This notion is visible in the traditional performing arts performed for tourists. Therefore, as Smith and Robinson point out (2005, p. 192), authenticity is a modern Western ideology associated with the effect of modernity. Modernity is the drifting from tradition toward the sphere of creativeness and innovation. Modernity and tradition are antithetical concepts. Their meanings are

²⁷ Interview, Yogyakarta, 22 March 2018.

apparent when they are positioned in contradistinction to one another. Modernization turns inherited cultural practices and customs on the verge of extinction, into “authentic” tradition. This sentiment underscores the economic value of tradition in modern society. Nevertheless, “authenticity is rooted as much in the present as it is in the past and, as more and more countries develop and modernize, their emerging culture and modernity must be accepted as authentic” (Sharples, 1994, p. 161).

Acknowledgement

This study is a part of my Ph.D. dissertation entitled, A Comparative Study of *Khon* and *Sendratari Ramayana*: Change and Innovation in the Context of Cultural Heritage Tourism. Thai Studies Center, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. I am grateful to my supervisors Dinar Boontharm, Ph.D. and Kanya Wattanagun, Ph.D. for their feedbacks and helpful suggestions.

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Interviewer

- Anggara Wisnu, interviewed March 12th, 2018
- Chakrarat Chitrabongs, interviewed May 4th, 2018
- Indah Nuraini, interviewed March 22nd, 2018
- Jayeng Legowo, interviewed January 5th, 2017
- Pairoj Thongkamsook, interviewed April 26th, 2018
- Pornrat Damrhung, interviewed May 3rd, 2018
- Saksom Panthong, interviewed June 9th, 2017
- Supachai Chansuwan, interviewed May 23rd, 2018
- Suporntip Spornkul, interviewed May 7th, 2018
- Tejo Sulisty, interviewed March 26th, 2018
- Tejo Sulisty, interviewed March 27th, 2018
- Timbul Haryono, interviewed March 12th, 2018
- Timbul Haryono, interviewed March 16th, 2018
- Timbul Haryono, interviewed August 28th, 2018
- Vasa Kuwong, interviewed May 10th, 2018