

GAZING UPON THE OTHER:
THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTING THE *IGOROT* IN PHILIPPINE MODERNISM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
IN
ART HISTORY MAY 2017

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Keywords: Philippines, Modernism, colonialism, nationalism, art, painting, primitivism

ABSTRACT

Philippine modernism and the artwork of Victorio Edades, Galo Ocampo, and Carlos Francisco, known collectively as the Triumvirate of Philippine modernism, are often discussed in terms of formal artistic aspects. The formalist analysis of modernist paintings does not consider the contributions of American colonialism and collaborating elites to the symbolic politics of Philippine painting during the 1920s and 1930s.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the polyvalent nature of the gaze in the paintings of the Triumvirate of modern Philippine art in relation to the image of the ethnic, Philippine “Other,” also known as the *Igorot*. Emphasised in this thesis are the development and use of American colonial racial formations that allowed Philippine cultural and political elites to deploy the discourse of “Othering” to refine, perform, and perpetuate the presumed characteristics of civilisation associated with Hispanic-Catholic Philippine culture.

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INTRODUCTION

There is a group of Filipino painters today who find this revival of Oriental form a source of courage and inspiration in their effort to create a new virile art. These progressive artists have taken their cue from Western masters and are turning their eyes to our own Oriental isles.

-Victorio Edades, "Towards a Virility in Art," 1948

In a series of published debates between Victorio Edades (1895-1985) and Guillermo Tolentino (1890-1976) regarding the nature and legitimacy of modernism in the Philippines, Edades highlighted the stagnant mimesis of Philippine academic art and its lack of "virility." In the statement above, Edades appropriates and reclaims the colonial gaze and its visual codes in order search for new, dynamic language that attests to the modernity of the newly independent Philippines. Although these debates were published, they were deployed to discuss the rising popularity of modernist idioms in Philippine art during the 1930s and late 1940s. This statement alone highlights the complexity and multivalent nature of Philippine cultural life in the immediate post-independence period. Edades's argument in favour of Philippine modernism demonstrates the intersection, interaction, and reaction to colonial subjugation and collaboration, as well as the desire to develop an artistic language that reflects the Philippine nation. Within this attempt to search and find a visual language representative of the nation is a multivalent gaze in which early Philippine modernists were historical actors participating and reacting to colonial discourses on race, "civility," and nation-ness.

Painting in the Philippines has its basis in Spanish colonial activities. Its roots and development are closely tied to colonialism and its cultural hegemony. The traditional

(and nationalist) narrative of the development of modern Philippine painting emphasises a fracture with the academic traditions of both the Spanish and American institutions, seemingly tied to established colonial idioms, through a reformulation of the formal visual language.¹ This narrative highlights the formal elements of modern Philippine painting: the stylisation of forms, flatness and distortion, and personal use of colour and surface. In the current discourse of Philippine art history, modernism is described as a movement introduced in 1928 with a “bang” as Victorio Edades, who is considered as the father of Philippine modernism, “found inspiration in the modernist idiom of Cezanne, Picasso, and Gauguin. His works departed entirely from the classicism of de la Rosa and the pastoral style of Amorsolo.”² The introduction of modernism is seen as a celebration, as it broke from past academic traditions and became representative of the repudiation of the colonial past and thereby de-emphasises the American colonial and Commonwealth context.³

The nationalist narrative of Philippine modernism emphasises the appropriation of European modernism into a local, “Filipinised” visual language mainly through a formalist perspective. However, it does not account for the multiple shifting codes of

¹ I am referring to the Spanish institution Academia de Dibujo y Pintura founded in 1870 and the University of the Philippines founded by the American government in 1908. Both institutions promoted a specific style and subject matter (see Juan Luna and Fernando Amorsolo, respectively, for examples of the styles promoted by these institutions).

² Lourdes Ruth Roas, “The Leap to Modernism (1890-1950),” in *Art Philippines*, eds. Juan T. Gatbonton, Jeannie E. Javelosa, Lourdes Ruth Roas (Manila: The Crucible Workshop, 1922), 107-111.

³ Spanish exploration of the Philippines began in 1521, however the conquering of the Philippines begins with the establishment of the colonial capital of Manila in 1570. The Spanish colonial period ended in 1898 after American victory in the Spanish-American war. From February 4, 1899 to July 2, 1902 the First Philippine Republic fought against American forces in the Philippine-American war. After the destruction of the First Philippine Republic, American colonialism began in 1902 and “officially” ended in 1946.

interpretation and reception, nor the exogenous nature of the visual language Edades introduced and appropriated in the Philippines. Another issue pertaining to the study of Philippine modernism is the lack of critical analyses regarding the gaze, and its assumed power relations between the artist and subject as well as the viewer and subject. The localisation of Gauguinesque, and primitivist visual language in order to (re)present the essence of Philippine identity within the context of modernism, as well as the relationship of the “gaze” to the representation of ethnic minorities is commonly exhibited and created within the metropole.⁴ The concept of the “gaze” in relation to Philippine modernism is polyvalent in nature, and can be identified and analysed as three types: the colonial gaze, the colonised-collaborator gaze, and the nationalist gaze. In other words, the form of the gaze varies according to its historical context. The gaze is constructed within an asymmetrical relationship of power. In the context of the colonial gaze, power is set across an axis between the American colonial viewer and the Philippine-colonised Other, or the object of the gaze. The colonised-collaborator gaze is marked by the relationship between the colonised-collaborator viewer (the lowland Hispanic-Catholic elites known as the *principales* and *ilustrados*) and the ethnic minority Philippine Other (the *Igorot*) as the viewing object. Finally the nationalist gaze utilises a similar viewing relationship as the colonised-collaborator gaze, but employs the discourse of nationalism in order to project the “essence” of Philippine identity back to the nation and out to the world.

Similar to the development of primitivism in Europe, primitivism in the Philippines during the early to mid-twentieth century was used to celebrate modernism

⁴ The metropole of the Philippines is the capital city, Manila, which is both the economic and cultural centre of the Philippines.

and modernity, as well as to romanticise societies deemed as “less civilised” than European societies. In this context Philippine artists inscribed the physical, national, ethnic, and geographic Philippine body with a modernist language. Philippine modernism and modernity thereby became associated with the colonial, metropolitan centre of Manila, where elites created and continuously affirmed an encompassing view of history, culture, and society that attested to their legitimacy and hierarchy.⁵ The (re)presentation of the Philippine Other was used in order to outline the peripheries of the nation (and colony) through the indigenous “primal” body. The use of the indigenous “primal” body represented and displayed the “essence” of Philippine identity through a formal visual language as well as signs to indicate their position in terms of viewing and representing. This visual language of nation-ness and power, though rooted in colonial discourses of the Other, was adopted and adapted in order to perform the “Philippine nation” to the world and back to itself. In other words, Philippine modernism utilised the image of the *Igorot* as a demarcation of the national, cultural, and imagined Philippine geo-body.

The complexity of the American colonial and Commonwealth period in the Philippines has been discussed at length in terms of political and cultural discourses, and analyses of American colonial visual culture are readily available.⁶ However, scholarly

⁵ Flaudette May V. Datuin, “Imaging/Restaging Modernity: Philippine Modernism in An/Other Light,” in *Perspectives on the Vargas Museum Collection: An Art Historical and Museological Approach*, ed. Brenda V. Fajardo (Quezon City: Department of Art Studies, College of Arts and Letters and the Jorge Vargas Museum, 1998), 49-50.

⁶ For studies of the visual development of a Philippine Other within the American Empire, see Jose D. Fermin, *1904 World’s Fair: The Filipino Experience*, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2004; Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, Helen Toribio, *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons*, San Francisco: T’boli Publishing and Distribution, 2004; and Servando D. Halili Jr., *Iconography of the New Empire: Race and Gender Images and*

work on the social, cultural, and political influences of American Othering in the context of the development of Philippine art is scarce. The purpose of this thesis is twofold. First it is to discuss the development of a Philippine “Other” and its relationship to American colonialists and Philippine cultural, political, and economic elites residing in Manila. Second, it is to analyse the polyvalent, or multifaceted, nature of the gaze found in the work of the Triumvirate of modern Philippine painting during the American colonial period and incipient period of Philippine sovereignty following World War II, and especially in relation to the presentation of ethnic divisions.⁷ With inspiration from the analysis of race under American colonialism by Paul A. Kramer in his seminal book *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (2006), this research intends to investigate the development, use, and politics of the polyvalent gaze in Philippine modernist painting, and representations of the *Igorot* as the Philippine, ethnic “Other” in paintings by the Triumvirate of Philippine modernism, as well as the intersection and interaction of modernist representations of the Philippine, ethnic “Other” with the colonial imaginings of the non-Christian “Other.”

The Development of Philippine Modernism

The first instance of the Philippine appropriation of European modern art modes is evident in the art of Victorio Edades. Edades was an American-trained Filipino artist born in Pangasinan (a province located within the boundaries of Spanish colonial rule), now known as the “father” of Philippine modern art. During the American colonial

the American Colonization of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2006.

⁷ The Triumvirate of modern Philippine painting refers to Victorio Edades (1895-1985), Galo Ocampo (1913-1985), and Carlos Francisco (1912-1969).

period, Edades received his art education at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he earned his Master of Fine Arts degree in 1928. He was introduced to modernist and primitivist visual languages through the travelling Armoury Show exhibition in 1922. The Armoury Hall and its subsequent travelling exhibition, America's first major encounter with European modernist traditions, presented a narrative of the development of European modernism through the display of paintings by, among others, Paul Cezanne (1839-1906), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), and Henri Matisse (1869-1954).⁸ Through his exposure to modernism, Edades transferred this visual language and his colonial education to a Philippine context. Edades's appropriation of colonial mindset, rhetoric, discourse, and artistic approach was used to represent the Philippine civilised and educated "Self," associated with the metropole, through the creation of a "primitive" Philippine "Other" located on the peripheries of the Philippine geographical and national body. His paintings, along with those by his first students, Carlos V. Francisco (1912-1969) and Galo Ocampo (1913-1985), consistently affirmed the Philippine metropole as characterised by the civilised, educated masses in contrast to the peripheries of the Philippine nation-state, where the "primal," "embryonic," and "uncivilised" cultural minorities reside. The use of Manila as the centre of Philippine civilisation reflects its necessity to the forming and performing of a civilised national identity by Manila elites for American colonisers.

The exposure of Edades to the work of Cezanne and Gauguin drew him to a modernist visual language, as evident in his M.F.A. thesis painting *The Builders*, 1928

⁸ Rodolfo Paras-Perez, *Edades and the 13 Moderns* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1995), 8-9.

(fig. 0.1).⁹ By using techniques similar to those of Cezanne, Edades's heavily textured painting depicts men, in distorted forms, working in a quarry. Edades's return to the Philippines was marked by his solo exhibition (1928) at the Philippine Columbian Club in Manila, which sparked the interests of younger artists who desired to move away from the idyllic rural scenes promoted by the Amorsolo School, which dominated the elite Philippine art scene during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰ In 1934, Edades was introduced to Galo B. Ocampo and Carlos V. Francisco, creating what is now known as the "Triumvirate of Modern Art."¹¹ Ocampo and Francisco were students of the School of Fine Arts and the University of the Philippines. Although they were born and raised in the provinces of Pampanga and Rizal respectively, Ocampo and Francisco, like Edades, were still located within the boundaries of Hispanic-Catholic culture and within provinces deemed as "pacified" by American colonialists due to previous Spanish control. After their introduction, the three artists began receiving commissions for murals, the first being for the Capitol Theatre and entitled *Rising Philippines*. As the Triumvirate of Modern Art, Edades, Ocampo, and Francisco's art activities and patronage were located in and around Manila. Through their modernist visual language, Edades, Ocampo, and Francisco emphasised the idea of being "Filipino" by focussing on images of Philippine life in both the urban centre and in the more rural, and peripheral, regions of the Philippines.

⁹ Purita Kalaw-Ledesma and Amadis Ma. Guerrero, *Edades: National Artist* (Manila: Security Bank and Trust Company and Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1979), 25.

¹⁰ Roas, "Leap to Modernism," 111.

¹¹ Winfield Scott Smith, *The Art of the Philippines, 1521-1957* (Manila: Associated Publishers, 1958), 45.

In June of 1937, Edades, Ocampo, and another artist by the name of Diosdado Lorenzo (1906-1984) established the Atelier of Modern Art in Manila.¹² The main goal of the Atelier was to educate the public and fine arts student about the formal language of modernism combined with emphasis on utilising Philippine landscape, culture, and people as the subject matter.¹³ Following the development of the Atelier of Modern Art was the formation of the informal group of modernists known as the Thirteen Moderns, which consisted of Edades, Ocampo, Francisco, Lorenzo, Hernando R. Ocampo (1911-1978), Anita Magsaysay-Ho (1914-2012), Cesar Legaspi (1917-1994), Demetrio Diego (1909-1988), Ricarte Puruganan (1912-1998), Jose S. Pardo (1916-2002), Bonifacio Cristobal (1911-1977), and Arsenio Capili (1914-1945). The founding of the Atelier and the formation of the Thirteen Moderns represented the first attempt to organise modern Philippine artists within a cohesive group, although attention is more often placed on the Triumvirate of modern art in the discourse of Philippine art history. According to the standard narrative of modern art, these artists were reacting to the academism of the beaux-arts tradition exemplified by Juan Luna y Novicio (1857-1899) and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo y Padilla (1855-1913), as well as the idyllic pastoral scenes of Fernando Amorsolo (1892-1972).

This general overview of the development of modern painting in the Philippines adheres to the traditional narrative of Philippine art history. As is evident, it is devoid of issues pertaining to class, gender, and ethnicity that are prevalent in historical analysis of the American colonial period. For example, discussions of Edades's *The Builders* merely

¹² The use of the word “atelier” is intentional, recalling art institutions within France as a means of asserting legitimacy.

¹³ Kalaw-Ledesma and Guerrero, *Edades*, 104.

position it as one of the paintings in his solo exhibition that introduced modernism to the Philippines. As a result, the standard narrative does not address questions regarding representation. Where were Edades, Ocampo, and Francisco's lives and professional practices situated, and how did that inform their work? Why does Edades tend to portray men as more active than women, who often appear as passive subjects? Was it the goal of the Triumvirate to display modernity, and the modern nation through industrialisation and active physical labour performed by men? How was the modernist language adapted in a multicultural setting as means of representing the "essence" of being Filipino? What was the role and significance of representing Philippine indigenous peoples in a Gauguinesque visual language? The goal of this research is to rethink Philippine modernism through an analysis of the gazes and power relations attached to these gazes that will result in an understanding of how the Philippine Other was utilised as a means of marking civility, how meanings were attached to the signs of the Other within the metropole, and how the Philippine "Other" was used to highlight the modernity of the Philippine nation.

The Issue of Gender in Philippine Art

Although the main subject of this thesis is the portrayal of ethnicity in the service of particular ideologies, it is also necessary to address related representations of gender. Most of the paintings discussed here render the ethnic, Philippine "Other" through the use of female imagery. All three of the Triumvirate artists, Victorio Edades, Galo Ocampo, and Carlos V. Francisco, were men employing colonial-period concepts of gender. In a break from the masculine politics of the Philippine-American war, women occupied a place, as

cultural agents, in the colony's symbolic politics.¹⁴ The use of the Filipino woman, or Filipina, as the subject and object in Philippine painting reveals the role of the image of women in the production of symbolic meaning. It is important to note that a majority of the paintings presented in this thesis attempt to define, embody, or construct particular idealised images of the "Filipino woman". These presentations of women continuously romanticise images of women through the imagining of their realities.

The representations of women by Edades, Ocampo, and Francisco, as well as by other artists, operate from the position of the male gaze in a conscious decision to display women in specific contexts. According to Brenda V. Fajardo, the most common subjects were the woman as mother, the ideal Filipina, the ethnic woman, and the undressed woman.¹⁵ The use of the image of the woman as mother reflected indigenous and Catholic connotations regarding the role and significance of a maternal figure. The image of the mother was often allegorised through the image of Virgin Mary or the Holy Mother and Child. As stated by Fajardo, "woman as mother is a favorite theme among Filipino artists, especially because we have been socialized to accept motherhood as the epitome of a woman's fulfilment."¹⁶ These imaginings of the Philippine woman-as-mother recalls the virtues associated with the ideal Christian mother: love, self-sacrifice, and a total acceptance of the will of God.

¹⁴ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 186.

¹⁵ Brenda V. Fajardo, "Filipina As Mother And Other Identities," in *Perspectives on the Vargas Museum Collection: An Art Historical and Museological Approach*, ed. Patrick D. Flores (Quezon City: Department of Art Studies, College of Arts and Letters and Jorge Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Centre, 1998), 63-67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

Another way to imagine Philippine women was through the depiction of the ideal Filipina, often described as *dalagang bukid*.¹⁷ The term *dalaga* refers to a virginal maiden (young and unmarried) while *bukid* means “rural area” or “farm land.” A literal translation of *dalagang bukid* would therefore be “rural maiden.” However, Fajardo states that the English equivalent to *dalagang bukid* is “sweet woman.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, the concept of the ideal Filipina equates purity with less developed regions outside of modernised Manila. Paintings that present the *dalangang bukid* bathed in a warm, tropical light imply a sweet, virginal quality. In these images, the ideal Filipina is pure and fertile, like the rural farmlands surrounding the metropole, and docile as she passively interacts with the eye of the male artist and viewer.

A third way the Philippine female body was represented was through the image of the ethnic-minority woman. Artists of various periods often displayed the native female body as naked and beyond the realm of the *dalagang bukid* in order to emphasise the perceived exoticism of the peripheries of the Philippine colony, nation, and geo-body. Portrayal of women in stages of undress and in the nude presents the woman as an object and asserts the male painters’ and viewers’ control over the body of the Philippine woman.

A Brief Historical Overview of the American Colonial Period

As a result of various forms of foreign domination – Spanish, American, and Japanese – the Philippines was continually drawn into unequal political, economic, and intercultural relations. After the defeat of the Spaniards in the Spanish-American War,

¹⁷ Ibid., 64.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. The Treaty of Paris signed in December 1898 allowed the United States to “purchase” the Philippine colony from Spain for 20 million dollars, thus ignoring the independence declared by Filipino revolutionaries earlier that year on June 12. Philippine reaction to American desires of foreign imperialism reflected an ideology of an emerging nation-state, as seen in the formation of the Constitutional Republic of the Philippines on January 23, 1899.¹⁹ Through the shared experience of Spanish colonialism, Filipinos, especially those in the lowlands of Luzon and Visayas, developed a sense of national identity. Due to this conception of a shared identity, the Malolos Constitution was supported in the regions surrounding Manila and in other Tagalog speaking areas.²⁰ However, the constitution also protected Philippine elites as evident in the articles on property rights, which were designed to protect what was owned after a century of land accumulation during the Spanish colonial period. The rhetoric of the constitution therefore reflected and propagated the social stratification established in the context of Spanish colonialism.

A month after the formation of the Constitutional Republic of the Philippines (January 23, 1899-March 23, 1901), war was declared between the burgeoning nation and the United States. The brutality and severity of the Philippine-American war devastated the Philippines and broke down the revolutionary government. With the disintegration of the government came the start of collaboration between Philippine elites and American imperialists. In January 1899, President McKinley appointed a Philippine Commission

¹⁹ Ironically, the first Philippine Republic developed a constitution similar to the United States (“The Malolos Constitution”), as they believed that the United States emulated their desired form of governance for their new nation-state.

²⁰ Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005) 113-115.

headed by Cornell University president Jacob Schurman, to meet with educated and elite Filipinos (hence known as the Schurman Commission). Though the first group of collaborators formed a party that positioned itself as nationalistic, they testified before the Philippine Commission on the need for American governance in the Philippines for the “good of these ignorant and uncivilised people.”²¹ That President McKinley shared this sentiment is evident in his Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation of 1898. McKinley’s message set the tone for American public and political discourse on the Philippines. The proclamation clarified American objectives, assured the Philippine people that the American colonial project was for their benefit, and promised that America’s new subjects would be educated in good governance and civility to ensure their future prosperity.²² The Second Philippine Commission, established on March 16, 1900, was directed by William Howard Taft (hence the Taft Commission) and was given legislative and executive functions that became the core of the post Philippine-American war government. A section of the First Philippine Commissions report, issued in January 1900, asserted the incivility of the Philippine peoples, which was later heavily critiqued by the *ilustrado* class.²³ This back and forth between Philippine elites and American colonisers in terms of understanding and creating race is reflective of use of race as a means of undermining the Philippine right to self-governance.²⁴

²¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

²² Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila 1898-1921* (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2010), 28-29.

²³ The *ilustrado* class refers to middle class men educated in Spanish. This class was composed of native-born intellectuals. *Ilustrado* was the name this group gave to themselves, and translates to “the enlightened ones.”

²⁴ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 120-122.

After the self-proclaimed victory in the Philippine-American war in 1902 by President Theodore Roosevelt, the American tutelary colonial project began.²⁵ The first manifestation was through the formal transfer of all executive governmental functions from the military to the civil government under the Philippine Commission, with William Howard Taft as the first “civil governor” in the archipelago. The Spanish bureaucracy of Manila was first replaced with the military regime, beginning the implementation of a mimicry found within the capital city, Manila, that can be described as “Americanisation.”²⁶ In 1902, the United States’ Congress passed the Army Appropriations Act and the Spooner Amendment, which authorised the establishment of a civil government in the Philippines. Following this was the Cooper Act, or the Philippine Bill of 1902, which allowed Filipinos to enter into state-level politics.²⁷

In contrast to Spanish colonialism, the fact that American governance allowed for Filipino participation may have seemed benevolent. However, American officials retained control of the education system and army, which provided means of covert and overt pacification and control. As an important foundation for democratic government, free public education at the elementary and secondary levels was aimed at achieving mass literacy. The “uplifting” mission provided a space for the colonised to become similar, but not equal, to the American colonisers. This was also achieved by the use of

²⁵ Sporadic guerrilla resistance persisted throughout the archipelago against American colonialism. Tutelary colonialism is defined by Julian Go in his book *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008, as a form of colonialism in which the coloniser fashions the politics in the colonies to reflect and mirror the governmental structures of the metropole. The main narrative and reasoning behind tutelary colonialism is one of moral “uplift,” in which American colonial officials taught political elites the values of democracy and American institutions.

²⁶ Homi Bhabha *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994): 85-90.

²⁷ Torres, *Americanization*, 34.

English as the language of instruction in order to equip Filipinos with a “common language with which they could communicate readily with each other. This was regarded as an essential step in making them capable of nationality.”²⁸ By using English as the medium of instruction, American officials equated higher learning and political advancement with their own language. The first Filipinos enrolled at a secondary level were given special attention because they would be the first generation of American-trained Filipino teachers.

Another education initiative that reflected the project of tutelary colonialism and assimilation into American values was the *pensionado* program, started in 1903, which sent Filipino students to the United States for government-funded higher education. After four years of college education and living with American families, students of the *pensionado* program were required to return to the Philippines as teachers and other civil servants.²⁹ This program enacted America’s vision of uplifting their Philippine subjects as well as reorienting the Philippine elite toward American customs, values, and loyalties. Along with the establishment of free public education and the *pensionado* program, the American colonial government established the University of the Philippines in 1908.

American colonial politics was marked by collaboration between Americans and Filipinos in which the American colonial officials recognised both provincial and Manila-based elites. State-funded ceremonies elevated embryonic, collaborating politicians with banners expressing patriotism to the concept of the Philippine nation while also diverting attention from active forms of nationalism (i.e. revolution) to more covert forms of

²⁸ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 120.

²⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 204-205.

nationalism (i.e. nationalist-colonialism and public displays of patriotism).³⁰ For post Philippine-American war society, recognition of the Filipino elites and collaboration with them guaranteed the stability of the American colonial structure. Therefore, a large portion of the pacified state was surrendered to politically powerful Filipinos who had formerly resisted American invasion and conquest. The recognition of the *principale* and *ilustrado* classes by the American colonial regime allowed for the rapid absorption of Philippine elites into the new colonial governmental structures.³¹

The establishment of collaborative elites at the municipal, provincial, and insular levels reflected the politics of moral and governmental “uplift” by American colonialists. However, it is important to note that there was still hostility towards the new regime. Filipinos were openly suspicious of the intentions of the new colonial state and challenged it through organised protests as well as the emergence of a critical press that investigated and exposed state abuses and corruption and asserted the capacity of Filipinos for self-governance.³² The American colonial-state required three narratives to ensure the inclusion of racial formations in the colonial ideology and these were later appropriated by Philippine colonial elites. The three narratives are as follows: familial, in which the colonial-state is a “family” and the Filipino masses are “children;” evolutionary, where social-evolutionary history provided legitimacy for the colonial-state and sought to present the Philippines as in need of further social progression towards ethnographic-homogeneity and tutelary-assimilation; and tribal chaos and fragmentation which characterised a region that is not ready for nationhood, as nationhood is

³⁰ Ibid., 160.

³¹ *Principale* refers to Spanish colonial economic elites that later received political positions under American colonialism.

³² Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 176-177.

characterised by homogeneity.³³ The discourse of racial formations in the American colonialist state provides insight into the domestication of notions of “race” in the Philippines especially in relation to the use of “science” as a means of proving, or disproving, notions of savagery and civility. The use of “expertise” in the context of ethnology, as seen in the career of Dean C. Worcester, and the appropriation by Filipino elites of wave migration theory in discussing the civilisation attained by specific groups, as well as their temperament, provided intellectual, cultural, and political imaginings of the “tribal” fragmentation of the Philippines and the “savagery” of specific “tribes” due to their perceived lack of ethnological-homogeneity.³⁴

The nature of Filipino government participation shifted under the guidance of Governor General Francis Burton Harrison in 1913. During his administration, the civilian government began to become Filipinised. Harrison broadened Filipino power by strong-arming American colonial officials into resigning by cutting salaries as well as giving the Nacionalista Party control over the appointment of local and provincial governmental seats. In 1916 the United States Congress approved the Philippine Autonomy Act, also known as the Jones Law, which placed control of domestic affairs in the hands of Philippine politicians. This law diminished the power of the Governor General and mandated that all executive bureaus were to be headed by Filipinos.³⁵ Though the Jones Law provided more autonomy to Philippine politicians, it is important to recognise that a majority of the individuals that made up this new Filipinised government were from the lowlands. These Filipino politicians were therefore from

³³ Ibid., 200-201.

³⁴ Ibid., 201.

³⁵ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 140.

regions deemed earlier as friendly to American colonial interests as well as from regions that profited from the free labour policies that subjugated and freely extracted labour from minorities living in the peripheries. As such, the policies and laws put in place by the new government, which anticipated the government of the Commonwealth, provided more opportunities for economic, political, and cultural advancement of political elites in their respected regions, further marginalising the already marginalised ethnic and cultural minorities of the Mountain and Moro Provinces.

The rising power of Filipino political leaders led to the lobbying of American officials in Washington D.C. for self-governance. Washington responded in March 1934 with the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which created a transitional, ten-year Commonwealth of the Philippines and scheduled independence for 1945. In 1935 elections for the Commonwealth president, vice president, and National Assembly were held. Manuel Quezon, an already established politician working in the American colonial government, became the first recognised president of the Philippines.³⁶ Under the presidency of Manuel Quezon, the official process of nation building began.

The Igorot: Issues with Terminology and its Relationship with Colonialism

Etymologically speaking, the term *Igorot* comes from a Tagalog exonym, an external term for a geographical place, derived from the old Tagalog word *golot*, rendered variously as *gulut*, *gurut*, and *golod*, meaning mountain or cordillera, with the

³⁶ Ibid., 149.

prefix *i-* denoting dweller.³⁷ From an etymological context, the word *Igorot* situates individuals living in the highlands of northern Luzon in a geographically limited space. The term may have developed in the context of highland-lowland trade as a means of labelling outsiders. In this reciprocal relationship, highlanders labelled as *Igorot*, or mountain dwellers, in turn labelled their outsiders, lowlanders, as *Piscao*, or “fish-eaters.”³⁸

The meaning of *Igorot* shifted from an exonym used to label peoples outside the Tagalog region to a term delineating race and Christian “civility” through Catholic missionary activities and the Catholic conversion process of the lowlands of Luzon and Visayas. According to the information given to Spanish colonisers by native lowland informants in the sixteenth century the word *Ygolote* (a Hispanicised version of *Igorot*) was used to denote mountain dwellers, however in the nineteenth century it was used to describe non-Christian groups inhabiting the Cordillera Administrative Region. Later, the term *Igorrote* became more common. When the United States colonised the Philippines, the term morphed again from *Igorrote* to *Igorot* and became widely applied in American ethnography.³⁹ In time the word *Igorot* became a more specific ethnic designation, though the original etymology is rooted in situating outsiders (relative to Tagalog society) in a geographical place. Eventually it became restricted to the native peoples of

³⁷ P. Juan de Noceda and P. Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala, Compuesto por Varios Religiosos Doctos y Graves* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), 128.

³⁸ Gerard A. Finin, *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2005), 22.

³⁹ Eric Moltzau Anderson, *In the Shape of Tradition: Indigenous Art of Northern Philippines* (Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2010), 14-15.

the modern provinces of Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province, and the Kayapa municipality of Nueva Vizcaya.⁴⁰

Due to village-level resistance on the part of residents of the Cordillera to over three hundred years of Spanish colonialism, the idea of a single *Igorot* “group” became a widely accepted category in the lowlands of the Philippines, predominately among the populations of the lowlands surrounding the Cordillera, including Ilocos Norte and Sur, La Union, Pangasinan, and Manila. From the perspective of Spanish colonisers, the ambiguity in divisions between ethnicities and collaborators (i.e. baptised Christians) required a refinement of the divisions between Christian and non-Christians, and by the eighteenth century this also included a measure of Hispanised traits.⁴¹ Though some ethnographic reports were written in the eighteenth century, and the meaning and signs related to the *Igorot* and notions of non-Christian and “uncivilised” were joined, it was only during the American colonial that the Cordilleran region became integrated into the Philippine “geo-body.”⁴²

During the American colonial period, racial formulations maintained the socio-cultural divisions of the Spanish empire. The Philippine population was divided into Hispanicised, or Christian, peoples and non-Hispanicised, or non-Christian peoples as a means of creating an inclusionary racial formation that emphasised the benevolent and tutelary nature of American colonialism. The development of this racial formation under American imperialism also reflects the colonial desire for assimilation into a gradualist trajectory of Filipino progress that would eventually lead to self-governance. Racial

⁴⁰ William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), 171.

⁴¹ Finin, *The Making of the Igorot*, 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 16-17.

formations were institutionalised with colonial categories utilised and performed by collaborating elites in a distinct pattern of administration. Christian and non-Christians were ruled by different means called “dual mandates.” Racial differences were highlighted through the establishment of two “special provinces”: the Moro province in Mindanao and Sulu, founded in 1903, and the Mountain province in northern Luzon, founded in 1908.⁴³ The constabulary units, the Philippine police unit developed out of the American military and under the command of American officials, joined the army to help govern the two military-controlled special provinces.

The use of provincial classifications has its roots in late Spanish colonial civil and military provinces. The populations of the military provinces were not completely colonised by Spain, and thereby were classified as “uncivilised,” or “savage” in contrast to the lowland, Christian Filipinos who were classified as belonging to civil and pacified provinces. The military control of the Moro and Mountain province was due in part to active collaboration between Americans and Muslim and Cordilleran elites, who saw an opportunity to shelter their trading activities and local resources from Christian Filipino control. This uneasy collaboration bounded the peripheries of America’s empire, and allowed for American racial classification and state structures to perpetuate the outsider status of Cordillera residents.⁴⁴ As a result of the activities of the American military, the Philippine “geo-body” was fully realised through the racialisation of territory and the territorialisation of race. This politico-military control over the two Special Provinces

⁴³ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 160-161.

⁴⁴ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 123-124.

ended in 1913 when Harrison implemented the transfer of authority from the United States' Army to the civilian Filipino officials, who began to receive more governmental power.⁴⁵

Prior to 1913, as the American colonial regime consolidated and established its authority in the two politico-military provinces, colonial officials developed a homogenous notion of lowland Hispanicised regions to reflect the cultural differences between Hispanicised and non-Hispanicised regions. This development was related to imaginings about the contributions of the Spanish empire toward “civilising” lowland areas. Unlike the Spanish, however, American colonial officials defined non-Christian tribes for the purpose of governance. The use of the word “tribe” to refer to non-Christian peoples suggests the fragmentary character of non-Hispanicised and Christianised people outside the boundaries of Hispanic-Catholic Philippines. The dichotomy set up between Christian and non-Christian by American colonial officials provided lowland *ilustrado* and *principale* classes with a racialised language in terms of determining the boundaries of the Philippine nation and national identity. Through the use of a nationalist-colonial discourse, Philippine political and cultural elites after 1913 and during the Commonwealth Period sought to replicate the discourse of “uplift” that was provided by American colonialists in an internal form of colonialism seeking to transform upland, northern Luzon peoples into a more homogenised notion of the Philippine “Self” while utilising the image of a Philippine “Other” to present their capabilities as internal colonialists and nationalists to uplift the entire nation.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 140.

Though the term “Igorot” was first used as an exonym to describe the residents of the Cordillera region, it has become an autonym to refer to a collective identity for the Cordilleran peoples, similar to the use of the term *Lumad* to refer to indigenous peoples in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. The reclamation of the exogenous term *Igorot* became a term of pride as it recalls the history of resistance against colonial subjugation.⁴⁶ Throughout this thesis, I use the term *Igorot* to refer to these imaginings of an ethnic, Philippine Other, not derogatorily, but to reference a specific set of visual codes that allude to an image cultivated by American colonial officials and Philippine cultural and political agents in the lowlands of an Other that reified their “civilised” Self.

Structure of Thesis

The nature and power of the gaze consistently shifts, depending on the historical and cultural context in which it is created and is deployed. In each of the gazes discussed, there is a “politics of recognition” that requires the recognition of the space of the coloniser and the space of the colonised.⁴⁷ When these spaces become porous or destabilised, the politics of recognition adapts and assimilates the new associations related to the image of the *Igorot* in Philippine modernism. The politics of recognition displays a historical intersection of race and empire that requires the recognition of the

⁴⁶ See Gerard A. Finin’s *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness* for an analysis of the historical basis and development of *Igorotism* and its relationship to political activism in the Cordillera.

⁴⁷ I am utilising Paul Kramer’s definition of the politics of recognition in which the American colonial government defined the boundaries of political inclusion and exclusion, which affirmed the characteristics of civility, race, and organisational structures in the Philippines and in turn collaborating elites performed and recognised the limitations of these boundaries in order to assert and maintain their own identity which would then be recognised by the colonial government.

relations of power. The hegemon, both in the context of the American colonial and national metropole, granted and withheld specific standards of civilisation and nation, especially in relation to imagining the colonised and national-self.⁴⁸

In Chapter 1, the imagining of the Philippine Other is historicised and situated within its historical, colonial, cultural, and ethnographic context. Combined with a study of the development of the Philippine Other through the American colonial lens will be examination of the visualisation of a “native” essence as seen in the work of Paul Gauguin that was appropriated into the discourse of Philippine modernism by the Triumvirate of Philippine modernism, Victorio Edades, Galo Ocampo, and Carlos V. Francisco. Unfortunately, due to the nationalistic perspective of the development of Philippine modernism, critical discussions regarding American colonial visual culture and its relationship to the Philippine modern art typically falls to the background. As previously stated, the narrative of Philippine modernism is often seen as a break from colonial discourse, however it important to discuss and analyse it from within the perspective of the colonial gaze. This is due to Edades’s appropriation of European modes of visualising modernity and the language of primitivism. Also, because of the tutelary component of the American empire, Philippine colonial subjects and collaborators were exposed to and absorbed notions of American visual culture and ethnography.

Chapter 2 discusses the colonised-collaborator gaze through Homi Bhabha’s theory of mimicry. It begins by outlining the development of this gaze with a brief analysis of how it functioned in the Spanish colonial period. In the context of Spanish

⁴⁸ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 18.

colonialism, a majority of sources relevant for understanding the colonised-collaborator gaze comes from the cultural production of the *ilustrados*, or “enlightened” ones. The writings and art produced by this class express a sense of pity for the “uneducated” Philippine masses, or a pity for the native Philippine “motherland” and a desire to become like the Spanish “fatherland.”⁴⁹ Following this is a discussion of how the United States promoted a Philippine nationalist ideology that intertwined tutelary colonialism with the desire for sovereignty and consideration of how the educational policies like the *pensionado* program ensured that Philippine political and cultural elites worked for the good of the imagined Philippine “nation” as well as the American empire. This interpretation of Philippine modernism and its use of the Philippine “Other” mirrors the ideologies of the American empire as a means of reflecting desires for sovereignty and applies the processes of American empire-building in Philippine nation-building projects through a shared imagining of the Philippine geo-body in the Philippine, internal, colonial metropole. The third chapter focuses on the use of the image of the *Igorot* in the nationalist gaze and its relationship to the discourses of the national and imagined Philippine geo-body.

⁴⁹ I am equating the term motherland with the Philippines and fatherland with Spain to mirror Don Crisotomo’s soliloquy in Jose Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere*.

CHAPTER 1

**THE AMERICAN COLONIAL GAZE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PHILIPPINE “OTHER”**

Paul Gauguin’s painting *Ia Orana Maria (Hail Mary)*, 1891 (fig. 1.1), depicts three Tahitian women (two of them topless), a nude child, and a fully dressed angelic figure. The figures are set within a lush tropical setting with a thatched building hidden in the background, all of which imply the French colony of Tahiti.⁵⁰ Indicated by the halos surrounding the heads of the two figures in the foreground are the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ rendered as Tahitian. Unlike the two other women, Mary is depicted fully clothed in adherence to European notions of the Virgin’s purity and innocence. The two topless figures display a different notion of purity, one that is removed from the perceived degradation of industrialism that characterized Europe during the nineteenth century, thereby combining the polarities of Christianity and heathenism in one visual field. Gauguin’s attraction to the “primitive” exemplifies the desire by European artists to work in and reveal a purer form of thought and emotion, in hopes of returning to an “original state.”⁵¹ Such a state could only be attained by depicting societies deemed as “primitive” or by utilising visual materials and language from said societies. Though it appears unrelated to the development and analysis of the American colonial gaze, Gauguin’s primitivist visual language was significant to the development of Victorio Edades’s

⁵⁰ The reason for using Paul Gauguin as an example of modern primitivism is due to his influence on Victorio Edades, who saw his paintings in a travelling Armory Show exhibition in 1922.

⁵¹ Steven Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues in Art: Frames for Understanding* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 29.

modernist tendencies. Galo Ocampo also appropriated aspects of Gauguin's style and iconography in *Ia Orana Maria* in order to perform nation-ness that is seen in *Brown Madonna* (fig. 1.2).

Ocampo's *Brown Madonna* recalls Gauguin's *Ia Orana Maria*, both in subject matter and in meaning. Ocampo and Gauguin's renditions of non-European Madonnas created room for the representation of an Other, a brown Madonna situated outside the boundaries, or margins, of European-ness, American-ness, and white-ness. Like Gauguin's Tahitian Madonna, Ocampo's Mother and Child are given distinct features to correspond with the physical appearance of Filipinos. Ocampo positions the Madonna as a mother living among the people, outside the metropole (both the colonial metropole and Manila) and without the trappings of Euro-American modernity. Similar to Gauguin's representation of a Tahitian Madonna, Ocampo's Filipino Madonna is dressed in native wear; she appears to be wearing a *tapis*, a brightly coloured shirt, and a veil covering her hair.⁵² The shirt and veil are not found in traditional dress and recall the still-present European iconographic features of the Madonna: a chaste, and pure woman whose body must be covered, thereby equating states of "undress" with notions of purity or impurity that echo European and American notions of the non-white Other. Ocampo's Madonna stands in a lush tropical setting of banana and coconut trees. The background is populated with distant mountains that evoke the mountainous landscape of northern Luzon. However, unlike Gauguin's Tahitian Madonna who appears within the landscape, Ocampo's Madonna is set apart from it, and the mountainous landscape appears

⁵² A *tapis* is a general term for a wraparound skirt found in the traditional clothing of cultural minorities in northern Luzon. Though it is often decorated with beads, shells, and embroidery work, the basic design of a *tapis* is a series of black, red, yellow, blue, or white stripes.

miniscule in comparison to the size of the Madonna and Child. This manipulation of scale creates a sense of distance between a major Catholic figure and a region home to indigenous belief systems. Through the composition of the painting and the Madonna's state of dress, it becomes apparent that, although the Madonna is a "Brown Madonna," she is located within the Christian lowlands and outside the territory and dress traditions of the Philippine "Other." Another reason for the comparison between Gauguin's 1891 painting and Ocampo's 1938 Madonna is due to the reference to *Ia Orana Maria* within Ocampo's work. In Filipinised Madonna's hand is a banana leaf inscribed with the words "Binabati kita, Maria," which translates to "I hail you, Mary," echoing Gauguin's title and the text found on his *Ia Orana Maria*.

Due to the relationship with and active borrowing from European art by the first Philippine modernists, it is necessary to discuss the politics surrounding the representation of the colonised Other that permeated both European and American fine art and visual culture. It is also important to note that, although the pivotal turning point in the introduction of a Modernist visual language in Philippines is the influence of Gauguin's Primitivist imaginings of the French colonised Other, an "Othering" language was also being developed within the American empire. This is not to say that Philippine artists were passive receptors of the visual language of European and American empires. However, it is important to historicise the development of a Philippine Other and the reception and adaptation of these cultural and ethnic boundaries through the colonial experience.

This chapter will discuss the development and representation of the "ethnic" Philippine Other in American art and visual culture through a variety of sources. First, it

will situate the use of the colonial gaze within European and American fine art as a means of delineating cultural and ethnic boundaries found on the margins of empire. It will then analyse the development of a general Philippine Other in the beginning of the United States' conquest and occupation of the Philippine islands. However, like other imaginings of cultural boundaries at the turn of the twentieth century, the Othering became more refined and evolved into multiple categories for organising differences between cultural and ethno-linguistic groups. These boundaries also became more porous, allowing specific groups to be absorbed into the category of "civilised" as defined by American cultural standards. This categorisation of "civilised," "semi-civilised," and "uncivilised" was visualised in multiple ways with both voluntary and involuntary participation by the colonised subjects. The chapter will conclude with discussion of how the colonial gaze was manifested in modern Philippine painting.

The Colonial Gaze in Euro-American Painting Traditions

In colonial visual culture the language of the gaze was utilised as an Othering tool to distinguish between the colonial or imperial "Self" and the colonised "Other" in order to inscribe a sense of superiority within the "Self's" identity. Similar to the dichotomies that designate male and female spaces or forms found within the male gaze, the power relations between the colonial "Self" and the colonised "Other" are unequal. Examples of the colonial gaze found in American imperial visual culture include racialised cartoons, photographs, postcards, world's fairs exhibitions and related ephemera, and ethnographic research. However, the phenomenon of the colonial or imperial gaze is not limited to visual culture; rather it permeated fine art traditions and signified the move to modernity

in art and society. In both visual culture and fine arts, the “Other” is defined and visualised by the parameters of the “Self.”⁵³ In the case of the American colonial gaze the “Self” is defined as civilised, modern, Christian, and educated whereas the Philippine “Other” is classified, by the American colonial “Self,” as uncivilised, uneducated, pagan, and without culture.

Inherent in primitivism is a network of ideological, aesthetic, anthropological, and political discourses that determine, or influence, cultural by-products. The discourse of primitivism, like every discourse, has a relationship of power thereby establishing authority over what is determined as “primitive.” At the turn of the twentieth century, the characteristics of “primitive” often related to cultural nuances found in colonised regions.⁵⁴ Therefore, in the context of the “Self” and the “Other,” the perceived power of the “Self” allows for it to decide whether the “Other” is primitive or not. The label “primitive” was used in the nineteenth century to distinguish contemporary European societies from others that were considered less civilised. Often, these “primitive” cultures were thought to be closer to nature than the European “Self.”

By contrast, the term primitivism refers to Western interest in societies designated as “primitive” through the imagined power relations between the civilised, European “Self” and the “uncivilised,” colonised “Other.”⁵⁵ Such binary views regarding culture became further reinforced by Social Darwinism, which sought to classify the level of civilisation attained by differing racial categories. Though it would be easy to state that primitivism, and its use within the colonial metropole, merely saw the colonised Other as

⁵³ Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues*, 27.

⁵⁴ Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry, *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 3-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

“barbaric” and “uncivilised” in nature due to their perceived lack of cultural progress, it is important to note that some imaginings of the colonised Other were romanticised. As seen in Gauguin’s work in Tahiti, the “Other” was often viewed as pure due to the nature of “primitive” life, unsullied by the trappings of rapid modernisation, and representative of the “noble savage”.⁵⁶

Gauguin can be viewed as the archetype of modern primitivism and its relationship to European expansionist policies and colonial desires.⁵⁷ Gauguin’s Tahitian work presents French expansionism in Polynesia made for the consumption of the colonial gaze within the metropole. In viewing *Ia Orana Maria* and his other works set in Tahiti, it is evident that naked or semi-naked native women represent Gauguin’s imagining of the “primitive.” Gauguin’s consistent use of native, Tahitian women within his corpus of work points to the feminisation of the “primitive,” wherein the “savage” or “primitive” woman becomes a locus of nature, femininity, and spirituality. In other words, the “primitive” woman is Edenic in presentation, and the naked, native woman is linked to nature and embryonic cultures.⁵⁸ Gauguin’s presentation of Tahiti equates the land with Eden, removing any sense of modern development in order to evoke a sense of exoticism and a demarcation of the “savage” “Other.” This stasis, like the presentation of the Edenic woman, becomes integral in primitivist imaginings. This imaginary return to origins became a visual representation of the ideology of colonialism and modernist movements, as well as a means of asserting European identity and modernity.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, “Going Native,” in *Race-ing Art History*, ed. Kimberly Pinder (New York: Rutledge Press, 2002), 140-141.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 143.

The technique employed by Gauguin also involved the evocation of primitiveness through artistic style. Gauguin believed that his use of simplistic forms and lack of naturalistic scale were symbolic of the “primitive” he sought to represent.⁶⁰ He thereby linked the simplicity of form and technique to the purity of societies untouched by modernisation.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the search for “primitive” or “Other” culture was often marked by travel to the margins of civilisation or to remote or rural regions within a nation.⁶¹ Elizabeth Keith’s (1887-1956) renderings of the “East” are similar to Gauguin’s romanticisation of the peripheries of civilisation. However, unlike Gauguin, Keith evokes romantic notions of the “mysterious Orient.” Through her contacts with Christian missionaries in China, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, she was able to visit remote regions that were seemingly removed from interactions with European and American traders and colonisers.⁶² Keith, though born in Scotland, exhibited largely in the United States and England. Demonstrating the “seductive and naturalised appeal of visual iconographies of Orientalism,” her works are representative of what Mari Yoshihara calls the feminine Orient.⁶³ Keith’s presentation of the “Orient” can be read as imagining geographies and boundaries of Asian nations and, in the case of the Philippines, colonies.

Though Keith’s work has been read in the wider context of Orientalism, there are important distinctions between her representation of “civilised” Asian nations and the

⁶⁰ Harrison et. al., *Primitivism*, 19.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶² Richard Miles, *Elizabeth Keith: The Printed Works* (Pasadena, California: Pacific Asia Museum, 1991), 9-10.

⁶³ Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 62.

“uncivilised” peripheries of the Philippine colony. Keith’s portrait-print entitled *Lama Priest, Peking* (fig. 1.3), 1922, displays a priest in a three-quarters pose seated with his elbow leaning against a red lacquered tea table. In his left hand he holds a string of jade prayer beads and in his right a pair of iron meditation balls, while a blue and white teacup sits on the table. He wears a muted robe with a yellow fur-lined vest and a felt hat. He appears contemplative, with attention paid to the wrinkles on his forehead and the lines around his eyes.

In contrast to the subdued portrait of a Lama priest is Keith’s print entitled *After the Dance, Benguet Man* (fig. 1.4), 1924.⁶⁴ In terms of her compositional choices it appears more like an ethnographic photograph than a portrait. In contrast to the Lama priest, Keith does not identify the “Benguet man’s” status within his society. He appears dishevelled, and his only accoutrement is a pipe hanging precariously out of his mouth. Keith’s Benguet man also reveals inconsistencies in presenting local inhabitants in their traditional wear and customs. In order to cover his partial nudity, he is wearing a shirt that does not seem to be locally made or representative of northern Luzon material culture. When comparing the faces of the Lama priest and the Benguet man, it appears that Keith was reliant on caricatures of native Filipinos that appeared in American visual culture. His face is weathered, and his eyes appear animalistic in comparison to the contemplative Lama priest.

In Keith’s depictions of northern Luzon culture there appears to be a fascination with the theme of intoxication. Her other known print pertaining to northern Luzon, *The Kanoui Baguio Banquet Dance* of 1924 (fig. 1.5), illustrates a festive event where men

⁶⁴ Benguet refers to a Cordilleran province in the southern tip of the Cordilleran Administrative Region.

and women are dancing, people are seated eating and watching, and two individuals are beating drums. The dancers and musicians appear frenzied and do not interact with the viewer as seen in the last two prints discussed. Similar to her portrait of a Benguet man, Keith applies an ethnographic reading in her description of the cultural life of Benguet,

“The whole family begins to beat drums and gongs, so that neighbors may hear and know, and presently all join in the feast. . . .they just drink and dance, lie down and sleep, get up again and dance and drink, . . . The women do the waiting, and take no drink.”⁶⁵

Her observations of Northern Luzon culture in relation to this print reiterate similar statements found in the ethnographic research undertaken by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes during the early years of the American colonisation of the Philippines.⁶⁶ This ethnographic vision is further emphasised in Keith’s print by the subjects’ surroundings: thatched buildings that remove any notion of modernity from imaginings of the non-Christian “Other.” Though her title suggests that this scene is located in Baguio, a city built as a summer capital for American colonialists, her representation of the peripheries of the American empire do not indicate a colonial presence: there are no roads, no indication of governmental buildings for American colonial officials escaping the heat of the lowlands, nor any indication of occupation by the United States army.⁶⁷ Rather, the scene appears to render the people in a state of stasis, presents a place lacking in development, and is indicative of the titillation felt by colonial tourists who visited the region.

⁶⁵ Miles, *Elizabeth Keith*, 54.

⁶⁶ See observations regarding non-Christian tribes in the 1903 Census of the Philippine islands, discussed later in this chapter.

⁶⁷ See Robert Ronald Reed’s *City of Pines: The Origins of Baguio as a Colonial Hill Station and Regional Capital*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1976 for the history and development of Baguio City.

The Other in the American Colonial Gaze

A primary source that describes this type of American colonial gaze and its fascination with a non-Christianised Philippine Other is Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart: A Personal History*, first published in 1946. In the semi-autobiographical novel, the narrator, Allos, travels to Baguio City, a major tourist destination prior to and after World War II, looking for work. His first means of making money is by presenting himself as "conspicuously ugly" in hopes of earning "ten centavos." However, his attempts to profit from the curious gaze of the colonial tourist became undermined as the narrator proclaims, "they were not interested in Christian Filipinos like me." Rather the colonial gaze, as evident in the visual culture material of pre-World War II, was fixated on the "primitive" and "pagan" "Igorot":

But what interested the tourists most were the naked Igorot women and their children. Sometimes they took pictures of the old men with G-strings... They seemed to take particular delight in photographing young Igorot girls with large breasts and robust mountain men whose genitals were nearly exposed, their G-strings bulging large and alive.⁶⁸

In Bulosan's novel, the colonial gaze is aroused by the primitive Philippine "Other," and titillated by nudity, which is in direct opposition to the presumed qualities of a civilised race. In Bulosan's description of colonial tourists, it is apparent that there is a curiosity in the American colonial "Self" that required the performance of non-American sensibilities only found in the activities and dress of the Philippine "Other." Yet, this Philippine "Other" developed into a specific set of criteria in which the Christianised, lowland Filipinos did not fit into the imaginings of the "Other" according to the American

⁶⁸ Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart: A Personal History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 67.

colonial worldview. The development of these specific sets of categories pertaining to the development of the *Igorot* Philippine “Other” happened after the official end of the Philippine-American War, announced by President Roosevelt in 1902, when American colonial officials required the help of Philippine lowland elites in colonial state-building.

Before the official colonisation of the Philippines and the formation of a civilian colonial government (the Philippine Commission led by Governor-General William Howard Taft), the American government and the American public developed an imagined Philippine “Other” that was ascribed to the entire nation. It was only later, after the colonisation of the Philippines and subsequent ethnographic research and mass production of images of “pagans” in the early twentieth century, that the American colonial imagination separated and distinguished differing regions and groups. By ascribing certain characteristics to distinct groups, the American colonial gaze became fixated and fascinated by the non-Christian populations found outside Manila and the areas Christianised by the Spanish. By highlighting the fragmentary nature of the Philippine population and the Spanish colonial project, American imperialists rhetorically eradicated earlier claims to a sovereign and united Philippine Republic as a legitimate state. Related to conventional evolutionary theory of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the transition from “savagery” to “civilisation” was highlighted politically through a progression towards national unity that reflected, in theory, an ethnological homogeneity, based on the borders of Hispanic-Catholic cultures, i.e. the

lowlands of Luzon and Visayas.⁶⁹ Such distinctions were then adopted and adapted in order to suit the needs of the colonised-collaborating elite, located in the Christianised regions or belonging to the Christianised ethno-linguistic groups.

Imagining the Philippine “Other” within the context of American expansionism began as early as August 1898. After the so-called “Mock Battle of Manila” between the United States and Spain, and the American victory over Spain in the Spanish-American war, the United States had to decide whether or not to annex the Philippines and Spain’s other colonies. Surrounding this decision was a series of debates from both sides of the argument. The pro-imperialist camp in the Senate, led by President William McKinley, argued for the annexation of the Philippines under the ideology of Manifest Destiny as well as the “science” of Social Darwinism, though there were also other reasons for the desired annexation of the Philippines, such as the archipelago’s strategic location in the Pacific that could facilitate trade with China and Western colonies in South and Southeast Asia.⁷⁰ Such ideology permeated not only the political debates surrounding the annexation of the Philippines, but the mass media as well, where it helped generate public support for American expansionist policies. In an article from 1898 in *Harper’s Weekly*, John Bass describes the Philippine “Other’s” moral fibre as “the web of the pineapple gauze of which the women make their dresses.” Bass then likens the “native” behaviour to that of a child and thus signals the supposed, and imagined, racial inferiority of Filipinos as a means of justifying the need for American intervention in the archipelago.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 122.

⁷⁰ Jose D. Fermin, *1904 World’s Fair: The Filipino Experience* (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2004), 21-22.

⁷¹ John Bass, “Magazine Dispatch filed August 30, 1898,” *Harper’s Weekly* (October 15, 1898): 1008.

American politicians in favour of the annexation of the Philippines utilised similar rhetoric in order to sway other senators to vote for the beginning of American imperialism.

Like John Bass's characterization of the Philippine peoples as immoral, the speech/essay entitled "This Strenuous Life" by Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt in 1900 utilised the ideology of Manifest Destiny, an ideology that fuelled the expansionist policies into the American West, and the concept of colonial "uplift" as a means of justifying annexation and American Imperialism. Manifest Destiny also provided another means of delineating between the American colonial "Self" and the Philippine "Other." Within the ideology of Manifest Destiny is the notion that there is a special virtue found among the American people and its institutions. Because of this "special virtue," the duty of the United States was construed as remaking the world into the image of agrarian America, and it was the moral duty of the American nation to spread American ideas. Manifest Destiny was thus America's "right and divinely ordained mission" to expand and become an agent of progress, government, and Protestant ideals.⁷² It reflected the idea of the "White Man's Burden," which emphasised the racial superiority of Euro-America, and promoted the use of colonialism as a means of elevating non-white, non-western, and supposedly uncivilised colonial subjects.⁷³ Through political and public means, the imagining of the Philippine "Other" coincides with the desires of American

⁷² Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, Helen Toribio, *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (San Francisco: T'boli Publishing and Distribution, 2004), 9-10.

⁷³ The "White Man's Burden" is a poem written by British imperial-apologist, Rudyard Kipling about and in support for the American colonisation of the Philippines.

imperial expansionism, reflecting the imagined morality of the American government and its role as a “benevolent” father figure to backward races in need of guidance for the project of nation-building.

Political Cartoons as the First Depiction of the Imagined Philippine “Other”

Tapping into the media’s ability to promote ideology, the first images depicting the Philippine “Other” were for mass consumption. Political cartoons from 1898 to 1900 pictorialise the development of the American colonial “Self” and the desire to colonise the Philippine “Other.” In each of these cartoons, the Philippine “Other” is depicted most commonly as a small child, to symbolise the developmental stage of civilisation that is discussed in the rhetoric of Social Darwinism. Often these racialised depictions render Uncle Sam or Columbia as the “parents” or “teachers” of their “unruly,” “uneducated,” and “uncivilised” colonies. The use of caricatures in promoting American expansionist policies overseas allowed for the articulation of political arguments in order to target the public.⁷⁴ In the discourse of the colonial gaze the caricatures provide a stereotyped image associated with “savagery” that justifies conquest and colonisation.

The political cartoon entitled *School Begins* (fig. 1.6) is coupled with a caption, “Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization) – Now, children, you’ve got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel glad to be here as they are!” The caption along with the cartoon reflects President McKinley’s goal to educate, uplift, and civilise

⁷⁴ Servando D. Halili Jr., *Iconography of the New Empire: Race and Gender Images and the American Colonization of the Philippines* (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 37-38.

the Filipinos. Pro-imperialist cartoonists displayed their support by portraying Filipinos as the proper colonial subjects for American tutelary colonialism.⁷⁵ In *School Begins*, Uncle Sam appears as a teacher attempting to provide the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Cuba with the necessary tools to become like the “class ahead,” which is represented by the states that were absorbed into the nation due to America’s domestic expansionist policies. The Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Cuba appear as small, short children with distorted faces, exhibiting the racist caricatures that recall images of Native and African Americans. In contrast, the students in the “class ahead” are taller, paler in skin tone, and better dressed in long neat dresses, all of which supports visually the perceived racial divide between the American “Self,” which is civilised, refined, and educated and the colonised “Other,” who appear as childlike, unrefined, darker in skin colour, and uneducated. By applying the caricatures associated first with portrayals of African and Native Americans to the Filipinos, American mass media was able to justify the conquest and colonisation of the Philippine archipelago through an existing visual language. The infantilisation of the recent colonised countries reflects Social Darwinist ideology that utilised this trope in order to indicate cultural development in an ideology that, as previously mentioned, was evident in the advocacy of American expansionism.⁷⁶

The book on Uncle Sam’s desk is entitled *U.S. First Lessons in Self-Governance* and above the entrance to the school is an inscription about the Confederate states needing to be governed with or without their consent. On the blackboard are three quotes that display the ideology of Manifest Destiny and the White Man’s Burden:

⁷⁵ Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 65-66.

⁷⁶ Halili Jr., *Iconography of Empire*, 39-40.

The consent of the governed is a good thing in theory, but very rare in fact.

England has governed her colonies whether they consented or not. But not waiting for their consent she has greatly advanced the world's civilization. The U.S. must govern its new territories with or without their consent until they can govern themselves.

The blackboard utilises British imperialism as a model and justification for American colonialism. The cartoon thus promotes the belief that colonisation is necessary in order to advance the world; it also displays the tutelary colonial policies that were to be undertaken within the Philippines. Uncle Sam is shown towering over the schoolchildren as the schoolmaster, signifying his (and the American nation's) authority and knowledge. There are other racialised caricatures within the cartoon: a Native American holding his book upside down, exhibiting the perceived intellectual incapacity to assimilate with the American system; the African-American janitor climbing a ladder, symbolic of lagging behind in the evolutionary ladder; and a Chinese child looking in at the lesson from the doorway, representative of China's willingness to assimilate into American culture, while simultaneously cast as a perennial outsider. The political cartoon reveals the racial hierarchy in the colonial gaze of American expansion policies and the supposed superiority of the United States in terms of culture and civilisation.⁷⁷

While political cartoons did not distinguish between ethnicities, and chose to actively represent the Philippine population through caricatures used to portray African Americans, ethnographic research and photography promoted by the

⁷⁷ Ibid., 52-53.

United States government after the end of the Philippine-American War in 1902 created divisions between the different ethno-linguistic and religious groups in the Philippines.

Ethnography and the Census: Categorising Ethnicity

During the American colonial period in the Philippines, ethnography and its use of racialised rhetoric played a significant role in American expansionist culture. Thus race was deployed as a rhetoric for dominance and control over the American empire. Shortly after the fall of the Philippine Republic in 1901 and the subsequent colonisation of the Philippines, the American colonial government established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes as a means of conducting investigations of “pagans” and “Mohammedans” inhabiting regions outside of the metropolis. The research conducted by this bureau, deemed necessary to the justification of American imperialism, employed racialised ideology under the guise of “expertise” in ethnography.⁷⁸ Through this ideology, civilised groups were characterised by Euro-American ideals, Christianity, and modernity (i.e. Manileños) while “savage” groups were characterised as “uncivilised” and “underdeveloped” (i.e. “pagans” and “Mohammedans”).⁷⁹

The racialised delineation between Christian and non-Christian groups was necessary to the post-Philippine-American war collaboration with Philippine elites living in areas of Hispanic-Catholic influence. As stated earlier, the early imaginings of the Philippine “Other” homogenised the multicultural nature of the archipelago by deeming

⁷⁸ Mary Jane B. Rodriguez, “Reading a Colonial Bureau: The Politics of Cultural Investigation of the Non-Christian Filipinos,” *Social Science Diliman* 6.1 (2010): 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

Filipinos in general as “savage.” Due to the ethnographic research and use of the pseudo-sciences of Social Darwinism and wave migration theory, American colonialists managed to create and enforce separate distinctions between Christian and non-Christian groups. Christian groups were deemed as civilised as a result of the Christianising process of Spanish colonialism whereas non-Christian groups were seen as “uncivilised” or “semi-civilised.”⁸⁰ The organising of civilisations related to the development and popularity of Social Darwinism that permeated colonial ethnography. Social Darwinism was integral in defining the notion of the “primitive.” Cultures were organised in ascending order of importance according to race or development. In this context, “primitive” or “savage” races, as defined by the West, were seen as examples of embryonic types reflective of the West’s ancient past.⁸¹ Due to the popularity of Social Darwinism, the plurality of “civilisations” fascinated colonial ethnographers, and the first general superintendent of education, Fred W. Atkinson, saw the Philippines as “an ethnic museum, in which we can study the human race in its manifold forms.”⁸²

The Bureau’s investigation of Philippine ethnic groups focused on classifying groups into particular racialised categories: Negritos, Indonesians, and “true” Malays. These classifications were based on specific levels of civilisational attainment. Dean C. Worcester, then Secretary of the Interior Department, argued that divisions in Philippine tribes were evident in both physical characteristics and cultural traditions. He described Negritos as “subhuman,” the Indonesians “physically superior to Negritos” who “inhabit

⁸⁰ See Paul Kramer’s discussion of the shift in terminology pertaining to Philippine elites in his chapter “Dual Mandates: Collaboration and the Racial State,” in *The Blood of Government*.

⁸¹ Colin Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1994), 14-15.

⁸² Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippines* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1905), 227.

northern Luzon and Mindanao,” and the Malays as lowland Christianised groups.⁸³ Worcester’s book *The Philippine Islands and Their People* emphasises the variety of Philippine societies, comprised of people in different stages of civilisation. Worcester’s book concluded that the Philippine peoples were unfit for self-governance. According to his belief that the modern nation-states of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were built on ethnological homogeneity, the Philippines’ diversity and assumed lack of ethnological homogeneity meant that the Philippine nation-state did not and could not exist until cultural unity developed between distinct ethno-linguistic and cultural groups.⁸⁴ The contrast between the “civilised” and “uncivilised” is further emphasised through the Bureau’s classification of seven “civilised tribes” – the Ibanags, Ilocanos, Pangasinanes, Pampangos, Tagalogs, Bicolanos, and Visayans – based on their Christian religiosity and assimilation into American colonial cultural and political life.⁸⁵ Ethnography during the American colonial period thereby created a divide in which civilised groups were equated with Christianity, modernity, and assimilation into colonial regimes, whereas “uncivilised” groups were equated with paganism and Islam, the peripheries, and opposition to American colonial control.

In the 1903 census, undertaken by the American colonial government, the “wild peoples” of the Philippines could be divided into four groups: “savage and nomadic,” for example the “head-hunters of Luzon”; “peaceful and sedentary,” including many of the Igorots; “peaceful, nomadic, and timid” like the Negritos, Mangyans, and “pagans” of

⁸³ Rodriguez, “Reading a Colonial Bureau,” 17.

⁸⁴ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 122.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

Mindanao; and finally the “outlaw element found in Christian towns.”⁸⁶ This statement reveals contradictions in the census. The “head-hunters of Luzon” belonged to the Igorot groups; therefore two mutual exclusive categories were applied to the same people and for discussing and interpreting Igorots. The census also dedicated sections to the characteristics of Christian and non-Christian tribes. The section on non-Christian tribes is further divided into subsections: Negritos, Igorots, Ilongots, Mangyans, Tagbanuas, Tirurayes, Subanos, Bilans, Bagobos and Mandayas, and finally Moros. Through the lack of division in the section on Christians and the finely delineated divisions in the non-Christian tribe section, it becomes evident that Christian groups were seen as erroneously “homogenous,” all sharing in the characteristics of American civility. In fact, the census declared the term “Filipino” to be only applicable to Christian peoples, actively dividing and classifying what the term “Filipino” refers to within the multitude of classified races.⁸⁷

The section on non-Christian tribes displays Social Darwinist tendencies, first by utilising the wave migration theory to discuss the levels of civilisation attained by specific groups. It discussed how the Negritos as the archetype of the primitive “man” were displaced by the arrival of the Malays in the Philippines.⁸⁸ In the census, the Igorots are treated as a Malayan sub-tribe, and they vary in terms of the level of civilisation attained. The census claimed that the Igorots living closer to more Christianised areas, such as Ilocos Sur and Norte and La Union, are the “most highly civilised,” whereas

⁸⁶ United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903 Volume 1: Geography, History, and Population* (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1903), 22-23.

⁸⁷ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 124.

⁸⁸ Bureau of Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 533-534.

those living in Bontoc were the “least advanced.”⁸⁹ Interestingly, the census imposed artificial race and religion-based categories that did not reflect the lived cultures, histories, and interactions of various groups. They made an important distinction between “Igorot” and “Ilongot,” though both reside within the Cordillera mountain range and interact consistently with each other. Such categorisation provided a range of Philippine Others from which Christian groups could create an image of the Self based on contrasts with what was believed to characterise the “uncivilised.” Because the census demarcated the boundaries of the “civilised,” which included lowland, Christian, Philippine elites, these concepts of race, ethnicity, and civilisation also allowed for less anxiety, on the part of the American coloniser, in their collaboration with these groups. The census moreover provided a basis for the Filipinisation of American colonial policies that emphasised the burden placed on civilised Filipinos to enlighten “uncivilised” groups.

According to American ethnographers and colonial officials, the criteria for inclusion in the category of “civilised” were conversion to Christianity and assimilation into American value, political, and cultural systems. Somewhat similar to the traditional “mandalic model” of kingship in Southeast Asian, the gradations of civilisation were believed to radiate out from maximum concentration at the centre, and become more and more diluted as distance from the centre increases.⁹⁰ The peripheries were understood by the American colonial gaze, and later Philippine collaborators, to be zones of less “developed” or “primal” Philippine civilisations.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1999), 27-30.

Bringing the Philippine “Other” into the Colonial Metropole

Similar to the use of mass produced images, popular entertainment in the form of spaces for performing nation-ness through the portrayal of the “Other” was a vehicle for displaying and disseminating images of the American empire. Performance sites such as colonial expositions materialised the abstract characteristics of American colonial subjects by transferring populations to - and displaying them at - the colonial centre.⁹¹ In 1904, the United States held a World’s Fair which was utilised as a platform for presenting to the world and American public the colonial project that the United States government had decided to undertake. In the case of the Filipino, the display of Philippine bodies in the human zoos of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition provided the general American public an in-person exhibit of the “savagery” of the then imagined “Other” pulled straight from the source. This exposition also provided the American public with examples of the civilising process and programs set up by the United States government through the use of voluntary and willing Philippine participants that were deemed “civilised” prior to the World’s Fair, for example, the instructor for the Model School, the Philippine Constabulary, and the Philippine Scouts.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition itself was a display of the history of American expansionism, spanning from the Louisiana Purchase on the continent to the overseas expansion to the Philippines. At this World’s Fair, the ideology of Manifest Destiny and Benevolent Assimilation collided. The “God-given” right for the United States to expand, America’s moral duty to educate, and give to the world the gift of American institutions

⁹¹ Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905,” *Radical History Review* 73 (1999): 81.

was visualised in the exhibitions and layout of the exposition.⁹² The success of United States expansionist policies was thus celebrated during the World's Fair. In this context, the United States, embracing its new role as an imperial power, decided to display nations and peoples for comparative purposes. The exhibits combined the comparison between the American, civilised "Self" and the general, Philippine "Other" presented in political cartoons with the images of different levels of civilisation attained by different "tribes" in the Philippines as seen in the colonial ethnography research and use of mass-produced images such as photography and postcards. The fair organisers, and the American colonial officials in the Philippines, imported and exploited 2,000 indigenous peoples from around the world and placed them in human-zoos. In the planning and organising stages of this display, the United States' colonial government, in collaboration with Filipino state officials, deliberated and selected specific ethno-linguistic groups to be displayed. Involuntary participants were exhibited in their native dress and were made to "perform" their daily life for the fair visitors.

The layout for the Philippine Exposition (fig. 1.7) was designed to show the dichotomies of the Philippine colony: industry and nature, "civilised" and "uncivilised." In the central site were buildings dedicated to the colonial projects such as government, education, ethnology, and industry. The main road surrounded the core buildings, and outside this road were exhibits of Filipino villages with Luzon and Visayas on the East, "non-Christian" groups (Igorots and Negritos) in the South near the base for the Philippine Scouts, and Moros in the north of the exhibit. The layout of the Philippine

⁹² Ibid., 84.

exposition therefore reflected the imperial logic of centre/periphery in the microcosm of the exposition and displayed to viewers the changing nature of Philippine colonial subjects under American tutelary colonialism.⁹³

The “Igorot” village in the Exposition was made to be a spectacle; newspapers carried sensationalised accounts of the daily dog eating feasts in which the “Igorots” had to participate. After the story broke, widespread shock and anger spread among the residents of St. Louis, Missouri, and some wanted to ban the “Igorot” from the World’s Fair. Rumours claiming that these “Igorots” were stealing pets and consuming them also appeared.⁹⁴ Though there was outrage, the dog-eating feasts were incredibly popular, drawing in curious onlookers who wanted to see the newly acquired colony. These displays were fuelled by exploitative promotion of the Other as well as by the public’s preconceptions of Philippine civilisation based on mass-produced images and articles that emphasised the unrefined nature of Philippine peoples. From a profit and academic standpoint, the spectacle of the Philippine exhibition was considered to have been successful. According to the final report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission:

“The exhibit was an honest one. There were the least civilised people in the Negritos and the Igorotes; the semicivilised in the Bagobos and the Moros, and the civilised and cultured in the Visayans, as well as in the constabulary and scout organisations. In all other respects the exhibit was a faithful portrayal.”⁹⁵

Mirroring the language of the 1903 Census, and the ethnographic research facilitated by the Bureau of Non-Christianised Tribes, the Commission believed that the exhibition of

⁹³ Ibid., 94.

⁹⁴ Fermin, *1904 World’s Fair*, 1-2.

⁹⁵ Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 1123.

the Philippine colony accurately represented the current state and status of all ethno-linguistic groups and thereby generated a model of another “Other” by which voluntary Philippine participants, educated according to American perspectives, could gauge their own level of civilisation.

The people chosen for the Exposition were selected from the four classifications made by American ethnographers – Negritos, Indonesians, Malaysians, and European Mestizos – as a means of representing the multiple “tribes” that inhabit the Philippine archipelago. Along with these individuals chosen, the president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, David R. Francis, requested to display the Philippine Scouts as well, in order to show to the American public the accomplishments of the American civilising mission.⁹⁶ The divide between the Philippine Constabulary Band and Scouts, on the one hand, and the “uncivilised” Philippine subjects, on the other, was heavily advertised as a means of displaying the changes made to Philippine subjects under American tutelary colonialism. For example, the Philippine Exposition brochure (fig. 1.8) juxtaposes the “civilised” American-trained Philippine scout with the “uncivilised” Igorot.

Within the Philippine exhibition were multiple sites including a model of Intramuros, a display of the public education system that was instituted by American colonial officials, and multiple “villages” housing different types of “tribes.” The Model School, supervised by a Tagalog woman named Miss Pilar Zamora, conducted two daily classes in order to display the civilising process of “uncivilised” Filipino groups by American and American-taught teachers.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Ibid., 44-45.

⁹⁷ Exposition Commission, *Final Report*, 1125.

The politics of the gaze within the context of the World's Fair demonstrates the complexity of American engagement with the Philippine "Other," in which the Othering shifts from a general view of the Philippine nation as represented by child-like figures in political cartoons to that of delineating and specifying which ethno-linguistic group were considered as "civilised," "close to civilised," and "uncivilised." Highest priority was devoted to display of those deemed "uncivilised," thus the *Igorots* of Cordilleran region were chosen and intensely promoted. However, the Exposition also displayed the "civilising mission" of the United States through demonstrations of the public education system institutionalised by American colonial officials, and the end result of said "civilising mission" exemplified by the Philippine Scouts.

Photography and Postcards: The Mass Production of Multiple "Others"

The racial classification established by the Bureau presented itself visually through photography, and thereby the documentation and classification, of the "civilised" and the "uncivilised." In this corpus of mass-produced images, there are instances of the demarcation between Philippine groups that have assimilated into Euro-American notions of civilisation and groups that were deemed as primitive due to a lack in assimilation. The use of photography as a medium of disseminating information regarding the colonisation of the Philippines and its inhabitants conveyed a sense of authority also present in political cartoons as well as stricter notions of race as evident in the ethnographic discourse and expositions. Photography's authority comes from mirroring what the eye sees; yet there was a blatant misrepresentation of reality. Colonial photography removed the subjects from their contexts and placed them under the viewer's gaze, thus

objectifying the subject.⁹⁸ Photography and postcards enabled the mass consumption of images of the Philippines as well as a means of displaying the “Self’s” worldliness and the spectacle of the “Other.”

In such postcards and photographs, the distinction between the Christian and non-Christian Filipino is made clear through a Social Darwinist viewpoint. Print media and informal communication tools became important in increasing and maintaining interest in products, services, and cultures of the Philippines. Postcards shaped and reflected general concepts of the Philippines and its people. Colonial postcards displayed the “mysterious” or “primitive” nature of this relatively unknown Southeast Asian country.⁹⁹ Buyers and producers of this mass-produced media sought cards that not only displayed the natural landscape of the country, but also displayed the civilising mission of the American colonialist regime and the “primitive” nature of tribes that were not yet civilised.¹⁰⁰ Such images reflect the classifications by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and the need to visually reproduce the divide between racialised categories developed by colonial officials.

Filipinos in the metropole and Christianised areas, presented as mestizos in elegant dress, were utilised in advertisements and as examples of productive individuals (i.e. teachers, nurses, and factory workers) in the American colony (fig. 1.9).¹⁰¹ In contrast, images of indigenous groups deemed as “primitive” were predominantly staged in a timeless space devoid of spatial contexts, accompanied with racialised captions, and

⁹⁸ Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 23.

⁹⁹ Jonathan Best, *Philippine Picture Postcards 1900-1920* (Makati: Bookmark Inc., 1994), vi.

¹⁰⁰ Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos*, 4-5.

¹⁰¹ Best, *Picture Postcards*, 43.

appearing in their native dress (or lack thereof) (fig. 1.10). The unnamed *Tattooed Igorrote Woman* is adorned with tattoos (Bontoc: *fatek*, or Kalinga: *batek*) that mark her status in her respective society. While these tattoos highlight her beauty and attest to her womanhood (e.g., her fertility, bravery, and strength to endure the tattooing process) within the context of Bontoc culture, images of tattooed *Igorrote* women entered into the colonial gaze as a means for indicating the Otherness of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera.¹⁰² When comparing the presentation of Christianised and non-Christianised groups it is evident that the main idea presented to the American public was one of the civilising mission of American colonialists. Colonial postcards rendered the civilising process in these “primitive” groups through the representation of mission schools (fig. 1.11). Such images visually present a strong dichotomy between the civilised Euro-American world, and the world of the “primitive.”

One postcard captioned “Typical Manila Girl and Her Uncivilised Sister” (fig. 1.12) exemplifies the divide created by American colonial officials. On the viewer’s left is an unadorned woman dressed simply in a white blouse. She is presented, by the image and caption, as civilised. In contrast, the woman on the viewer’s right is heavily adorned in beaded ornaments and she is undressed, both of which were typical of the presentation of indigenous women in postcards and photographs from the early twentieth century. The contrast created by the images and the caption displays the institutionalised divide that was underscored by American colonial officials.

Ethnographic research and photography of the various “tribes” of the Philippines also provided the American colonial government with more justification for the conquest

¹⁰² Lane Wilcken, *Filipino Tattoos: Ancient to Modern* (Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2010), 51-52.

and continued colonialism of the Philippines.¹⁰³ In such reports are claims that Filipinos do not constitute a nation or a people due to the plurality of their culture, and thus claims of nationhood were undermined by state-funded research and through the dissemination of mass media.¹⁰⁴ Through the use of mass-produced images, the American colonial regime also displayed their “successes” and the progress that American institutions were believed to have had in the Philippine landscape and among its people.

The series of photographs from Frederick C. Chamberlin’s *The Philippine Problem 1898-1913* (fig. 1.13) shows the cosmetic changes caused by the exposure to the “civilised” institutions of the United States. The civilising process of the “Bontoc Igorot,” as mention in Chamberlin’s caption, appears merely as physical, and includes increasingly shorter hair, addition and change of clothes, and adjustment of the type and position of headwear (a *suklong* or basket hat that delineates the marital status of the wearer). The leftmost image poses an unnamed *Igorot* man, slouching and shirtless. In the middle image, he sits more upright and is dressed in the white cotton uniform of a low-ranking Constabulary officer. In the third, and final, image he appears seated fully erect and dressed in a lieutenant’s uniform.¹⁰⁵ These images of developing “civilisation,” or contrasts between the Christian and non-Christian groups, display the colonised, non-Christian other as “uncivilised,” “savage,” and “uneducated.” However such images also imply the possibility of “improvement” through collaboration with American

¹⁰³ Elizabeth Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas: Nineteenth-Century Representations of the Philippines in Western Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 100-101.

¹⁰⁴ Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos*, 50.

¹⁰⁵ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 320.

colonialists.¹⁰⁶ The image of the constable also suggests the breaking down of divisions between Christian and non-Christian through colonial tutelage. This series of photographs displays the perceived value of the Philippine Constabulary, a police-type force that was managed by the U.S. Army. Under the guidance of the American military, the racialised divisions broke down. The breaking down of colonial prescribed racial divisions allowed for the reinforcement of the message of assimilation into American values and customs as well as homogenisation, a key feature of colonial discourses on the modern nation.

The Colonial Gaze and Philippine Painting

Though the main issue of this chapter pertains to the colonial gaze, it is necessary to understand the development of ethno-linguistic racial and culture divides that were utilised by the United States in order to inform the American public about their new colonies. This divide created and sustained by American ethnographic research and mass media did not just permeate the imaginations of the American public, but also influenced notions of the “Self” and “Other” among the people of the Philippines. Those perceived as civilised by virtue of their religion and proximity to Manila were informed about the “Other” situated in the hinterlands of Luzon or in Mindanao. Philippine elites and colonised-collaborators contributed to colonial racialised policies.

The colonial gaze can be used to read the development of Philippine modernism within the context of the American empire. Victorio Edades’s painting currently entitled *Bulul at Babae*, circa 1920s (fig. 1.14), portrays an unknown woman turning to look at

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 104-06.

the standing wooden statue. She appears in a timeless space devoid of any clear setting. The depiction of the bulul, a rice guardian, does not indicate the maker, cultural group affinity, or location of the setting.¹⁰⁷ Similar to the European primitivist visual language, Edades utilises the bulul as a marker of the Other, as it is outside of the cultural production of the United States and the Philippine metropole. The image of the bulul does not appear in discussions of Philippine art, but rather in ethnographic and anthropological studies of indigenous groups.¹⁰⁸ In this context, the bulul became a representation of the Philippine Other and a marker of the margins of the Philippine nation and the American empire. The title of the painting itself has undergone changes. In earlier publications, it is referred to as *Woman and Idol*, implying the paganistic nature of the statue rendered by Edades¹⁰⁹ The change in terminology can also imply a shift in the meaning of the work to have more nationalistic implications through the use of the Tagalog word for woman (babae) as well as a sense of greater cultural accuracy, or “expertise,” by replacing the word “idol” for “bulul”.

Victorio Edades’s *Two Igorot Women*, 1947, (fig. 1.15) stages two women in a mountainous landscape, which connotes the landscape of the Philippines’ (and American

¹⁰⁷ The term bulul can only be applied to wooden statues created by Ifugao people for the purpose of protection and cultivation of rice.

¹⁰⁸ Though more recently there have been attempts to include a discourse on the art of Northern Luzon, the *bulul* has yet to enter into the art historical canon of the Philippines which tends to highlight, in a similar fashion to European models, painting and sculpture (metal and marble). See Manuel D. Duldulao, *A Century of Realism in Philippine Art*. Quezon City: Legacy Publishers, 1992 and *Art Philippines*, edited by Juan T. Gatbonton, Jeannie E. Javelosa, and Lourdes Ruth Roas, Manila: The Crucible Workshop, 1992 for examples of the canon of Philippine fine art.

¹⁰⁹ The title *Woman and Idol* is found in Purita Kalaw-Ledesma and Amadis Ma. Guerrero’s *Edades: National Artist*. Manila: Security Bank and Trust Company and Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1979.

empire's) peripheries.¹¹⁰ The landscape, removed from spatial and temporal modernisation, signifies the lack of development (by American standards) associated with “uncivilised” and “semi-civilised” groups. The timelessness of the background is also associated with Gauguin's representation of the Edenic, native woman as well as Keith's depictions of northern Luzon. By reading this painting through the colonial gaze there is a sense of the mysterious, or mystical, as Edades was heavily influenced by Gauguin's primitivist gaze and visual language. Edades appears to be utilising signs as a means of referencing a Edenic paradise, removed from the fast-paced modernisation of the Philippine metropole through his presentation of two women at leisure, half clothed in a lush mountainous landscape. Edades's approach, like Gauguin's, simplifies the forms of the individuals and evokes Gauguin's Tahitian paintings as a means of indicating the simplicity of life found on the margins of national and colonial peripheries.¹¹¹

The title of Edades' painting presents the ethnicity of the figures and signifies the racial categorisation already extensively utilised by American colonial visual culture. The use of the term “Igorot” attaches the power relations between differing ethno-linguistic groups created by American colonial ethnography and colonial displays to the painting. The categorisation applied by Edades thereby creates a border surrounding the Philippine (and colonial) “Self” defined by being situated in the lowlands, of Christian religiosity,

¹¹⁰ This painting was created a year after the establishment of Philippine sovereignty. There were, however, several stipulations imposed by American officials. The first was the continued use and control of several American military bases, and the second was that the Philippine government must give American business Philippine citizenship; because of this many nationalist histories argue that the Philippines had yet to receive total sovereignty. Another issue that arises is CIA counterinsurgency in the Philippines and its relationship with the Philippine government due to the fear of rising communist sentiment.

¹¹¹ Harrison et. al., *Primitivism*, 19.

fully dressed, contributing to the agricultural and economic industrialisation, and distinct from the Philippine “Other,” located in the highlands, away from modernisation, and devoid of the industrialisation being undertaken by Philippine political and cultural elites.

By reading the paintings created by the Triumvirate of modern Philippine art through the colonial gaze, we can see the shift in power relations and interpretations of the depiction of the Philippine Other. By using the colonial gaze, the image of the Philippine Other can read as primal, removed from trappings and modernisation of European and American industrialisation and colonialism. Lounging in Edenic settings, the *Igorot* as the Philippine Other appears at the bottom rung of the evolutionary ladder. The purpose of the representation is thus twofold. First, it is to represent the essence of primal Philippine culture through existing peoples, reflective of ethnographic research and racialised notions of cultural development. Second, it is to represent the mirroring, or mimicry, of Western trends in painting in order to display the civility of the Christian Philippine metropole in contrast to the areas dominated by non-Christian groups living beyond the colonial and national economic and political centre.

This dichotomy becomes further evident when looking again at Ocampo’s *Brown Madonna*, in which a Filipinised, Christian mother is located within the borders of Hispanic-Catholic Philippines. Along with associations pertaining to the ideal Christian mother, the *Brown Madonna* presents the territorialisation of race and ethnicity as bounded within the confines of the established expertise of American colonial ethnography. Yet, the imagining of a Filipino Madonna exhibited with *kayumanggi* (brown skin) is also a form of resistance and celebration as Ocampo confronts the image of the Madonna as white and European by Filipinising her image. Through this process of

Filipinisation, the sacred and holy (and “European”) Madonna becomes a reflection of her Catholic Filipino worshippers. Ocampo thereby subverts the associations with white, beauty, and sacrality through his interpretation of revered Mother of God as brown-skinned woman living amongst the people in rural, lowland Philippines.

CHAPTER 2

THE COLONISED-COLLABORATOR GAZE: DISTINGUISHING THE PHILIPPINE “SELF” FROM THE PHILIPPINE “OTHER”

In the development of colonial policies in America’s new colony, civilised, educated Philippine elites were perceived as allies for state building, and they were assimilated into American colonial politics. “Civilised” Filipinos played an integral role in compiling information regarding non-Christian tribes and in enforcing and implementing America’s “civilising” projects to ensure that Filipinos would be ready for self-governance. This assimilation occurred as a result of Governor Francis Harrison’s campaign in 1914 to “Filipinise the ‘White Man’s Burden’ vis-à-vis non-Christians.”¹¹² The collaboration between American colonial officials and “civilised” Filipino groups widened the divide between groups deemed as civilised Christianised groups and those regarded as savage, non-Christian tribes. The ethnographic programme of the colonial government and the subsequent collaboration with “civilised” Filipinos thereby created images of non-Christian groups as “noble savages” or “primitive Philippine tribes” that would eventually be invoked in the visual culture of the Philippines. In fact, the census of 1903, declared the term *Filipino* to be only applicable to Christian peoples, thus planting the idea of the Philippine “Self” as Christian and by association, civilised.¹¹³ The collaboration between the colonialist and colonised-collaborator (or, the Philippine “Self”) was also developed through the education system put in place by American

¹¹² Rodriguez, “Reading a Colonial Bureau,” 17-20.

¹¹³ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 123-24.

colonial officials. Public education was a pivotal institutional pillar that ensured widespread pacification of the Philippine nation through the education and creation of collaborators in the guise of elevating the Philippine nation.

Homi Bhabha's *Location of Culture* provides a vantage point to examine Philippine elites and artists as active agents in colonial racialised discourse. It also provides a framework for the analysis of the colonised-collaborator gaze. Bhabha's conception of mimicry, a metonym for performance, describes the process in which the colonised state takes on the culture of the colonisers. According to the notion of mimicry, there is a double articulation in which state actors appropriate the Other to visualise power. Through this double articulation, the Other is created to sustain the identity of the empire, whereas within the colonised state there is a desire to appear "authentic" through the mimicry of the empire.¹¹⁴ Understanding the mimicry of the colonised-collaborator allows for the reading of a third space, between the sites of the coloniser and the colonised, in which colonised-collaborators attempt to perform the coloniser's characteristics of civility in a process that rearticulates and fixes the presence of the *Igorot* Other.

In the context of the Philippines, the mimicry of the colonised-collaborator replicated the position of the coloniser, in which the colonised-collaborator became a representative of the civilised (as categorised by the coloniser). In the relationship between the coloniser-collaborator-Other, there is a sense of fluidity in position, where the identity of the "Other" shifts depending on the position of power. The colonised-collaborator performed Philippine nation-ness through the appropriation of Euro-

¹¹⁴ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 85-90.

American visual discourse and its use of categorisation in order to understand the “Self” within a wider world-view. Through the “Other-ring” of cultural groups outside Manila and the surrounding Catholic lowlands, and their representation as the “primal Filipino,” the colonised-collaborator attempted to mirror the coloniser’s performance of civility. The tensions in the colonised-collaborator gaze and activities highlight the ambivalence of colonial social structures. Though the colonised-collaborator mimics the culture and power structures of the coloniser in order to become similar, though not equal, to the coloniser, mimicry can also be interpreted as a site of resistance as well as a site for covert nationalism through the appropriation of discourses on “civility” and nation-ness.

The American narrative of “Benevolent Assimilation” provided a discourse that accepted and assimilated Manila elites into the colonial government. As proclaimed by President McKinley, the discourse of “Benevolent Assimilation” was intended to assure that American colonialists do not appear as “invaders or conquerors but as friends, to protect the natives...assuring them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild swat of justice and right for arbitrary rule.”¹¹⁵ The rhetoric surrounding “Benevolent Assimilation” therefore called for the pacification of the Philippine population through the construction of a “modern” political system that assimilated colonial subjects into a form of tutelary colonialism which sought to project and develop an American form of democracy and governance. In using tutelary

¹¹⁵ Vicente Rafael, “Mimetic Subjects: Engendering Race at the Edge of Empire,” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 7.2 (1995): 127-128.

colonialism, American colonialist policies sought to create a bond between the coloniser and the colonised which would allow for the colonised to mimic the characteristics of American civilisation.¹¹⁶

The colonised-collaborator gaze is marked by the mimesis of colonial culture and politics; however, the main justification for this mimicry among Filipino elites was their desire to establish a sovereign nation through the development of a social, cultural, and political environment that reflected the United States. In this environment, the modernist tendencies of Edades, Ocampo, and Francisco manifest a visual language that actively appropriated the visual culture of a modern American nation. The process of appropriation by the Triumvirate was reflected it back to the metropole to indicate the ability to become a mirror image of the coloniser and thereby become a modern nation by the coloniser's standards. However, this colonised-collaborator gaze was not simply developed within the context of the American colonial period; this gaze has its roots in the Spanish colonial period when the upper classes associated with the culture of Hispanic-Catholic Philippines attempted to reconcile being, or becoming, Filipino with Spanish colonial racial understandings.

The Colonised-Collaborator Gaze During the Spanish Colonial Period

Issues pertaining to the colonial gaze and the colonised-collaborator gaze in painting were not a new development under American colonialism; rather they were evident in the politics and cultural environment of the Spanish empire. The Catholic Church and colonial institutions informed artistic trends in the Philippines. Isabelo de los

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 128.

Reyes, an Ilocano politician and *ilustrado* (enlightened or educated ones), founded the newspaper *El Ilocano* in 1889 as a means of promoting his ideology. Though critical of the Spanish church and government, his writings reflect the delineation of the Philippine, Hispanised, Christian “Self” (i.e. Ilocanos and Tagalogs) versus the Philippine, “uneducated,” and “animalistic” Other (the *Igorot*). De los Reyes’ categorisation of the *Igorot* Other failed to acknowledge the highlanders’ successes in resisting Spanish colonisation and hegemony. De los Reyes claimed that “because the igorots or people from the forest work less, they are different from the townspeople who are more educated, and have better food, clothes, and homes.”¹¹⁷ In this statement, de los Reyes equates industriousness with the more desirable traits of the “townspeople,” or, Hispanised Filipinos of the lowlands. He thereby characterises the *Igorot* in a way that would continue with American racial concepts and visual culture. For de los Reyes the *Igorot* represented the antithesis of the desired colonial subject. Related to the lack of industriousness de los Reyes associated the *Igorot* with their perceived animalistic quality. In the same article, de los Reyes states, “the igorots have few needs because they are like animals who do not mind if their nakedness and pitiful condition will bring them shame.”¹¹⁸ Here, de los Reyes anticipates the animalistic qualities associated with Philippine Other in American political addresses and cartoons before, during, and after the Philippine-American War (1899-1902). By dehumanising the Other through the colonised-collaborator gaze, the colonised-collaborator assumes an identity that is desired and mimics the discourse of the coloniser.

¹¹⁷ Finin, *The Making of the Igorot*, 22.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

A key Philippine artist who is representative of the colonised-collaborator context of the Spanish colonial period was the painter and *ilustrado*, Juan Luna, who resided in Europe from 1877 to 1894. His works reflect both the grand manner of salon painting and the airiness of the Impressionist paintings he was exposed to during his stay in France. His works exhibit a visual discourse that was not “Filipino,” but rather European in nature.¹¹⁹ His art and training presents a parallel to the training received by Edades in the United States. Both Luna and Edades’s visual language display a relationship with exogenous discourses rooted in colonial constructions and colonial metropolises that were exalted as key “global” art centres.¹²⁰ In the second edition of the Manuel D. Duldulao’s book *A Century of Realism in Philippine Art*, Duldulao articulates the appeal of European cities to artists of colonised states, “Europe had a magnetic attraction for the artist. Over there were the great cities, the great societies, and the great accumulation of long and seriously cultivated aesthetic thoughts.”¹²¹ Such comments suggest the necessity felt by nineteenth century Philippine artists to travel to the metropolitan centres of Europe in order to become educated in current aesthetic trends.

Luna studied at the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura in Intramuros, Philippines, and later at the La Real Academia de Bellas Artes in Madrid. Though initially trained in the Philippines, Luna’s Philippine art education was still European in essence. The first director was a *peninsular*, a Spaniard born in Spain, named Agustin Saez.¹²² Due to

¹¹⁹ John Clark, “The Worlding of the Asian Modern,” in *Contemporary Asian Art and Exhibitions: Connectivities and World-making*, ed. Michelle Antoinette and Caroline Turner (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 2014), 78.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Manuel D. Duldulao, *A Century of Realism in Philippine Art*, (Quezon City: Legacy Publishers, 1992), 15.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 265.

Saez's political and racial position, he belonged to a group known as *los limpios de sangre*, or of unblemished birth, indicating his racial superiority in comparison to his *indio* employees and students. Luna's education coupled with his relationship to the propaganda movement was reflected in his artwork that sought to elevate the misconceptions of Philippine artists and artistic ability.¹²³ Luna's assimilation with European aesthetics reflects the colonised-collaborator gaze: by adopting and learning the rules and norms of high art in Europe, Luna performed a specific notion of European civility, namely the ability to create high art, as a means of indicating his, and therefore the Spanish colonised subjects', ability to become like the coloniser.

Luna's *España y Filipinas*, 1886 (fig. 2.1) reiterates issues pertaining to the colonised-collaborator gaze in the context of Spanish colonialism that relates to the subsequent tutelary colonialism of the United States. The painting depicts the allegory of "Mother Spain" as a white-skinned Spanish woman with a Filipino woman denoted by her brown skin. Both women are wearing dresses known as *traje de mestiza*, or the dress of the mestiza, the use of which reflects the cultural characteristics of Hispanic-Catholic Philippines.¹²⁴ Both women are ascending a staircase with their backs to the viewer. Spain, who is taller in stature than the Philippines, points upward while wrapping her other arm around the Philippines' waist to indicate that she is leading the Philippines

¹²³ The Propaganda movement was founded on reformist beliefs held by the *ilustrados*, who were Philippine elites educated by the Catholic education system in the Philippines, and the burgeoning liberal movements in Europe. Their main concern was the equal rights of Philippine subjects within the Spanish empire. It is important to note that they were not concerned with Philippine sovereignty, but rather with a greater presence of Filipinos in the Spanish government.

¹²⁴ In the Philippines, mestiza refers to a child of mixed-race heritage, the most common intermarriage was between Chinese merchants and native Filipinos, however, there were some Spanish mestizas, most commonly fathered by Spanish men.

lovingly up the path of civilisational development. The painting projects the imagined close bond between Spain and the Philippines and reveals the desires by overseas *ilustrados* involved in the Propaganda movement during the nineteenth century; there was a desire for assimilation with Spain, reform, and equality through the representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes (legislature), and modernisation of the Hispanic-Catholic Philippines.

The development of nationalist-colonialism ideology reflected an internal form of colonialism, in which regions and ethno-linguistic groups within the boundaries of Hispanic-Catholic control could civilise the *infieles* (infidels, the animists of northern Luzon and the highlands of Mindanao, and the Muslims). This imagined relationship and dichotomy between Hispanicised and non-Hispanicised, or Christian and non-Christian, echoes a desire on the part of the *ilustrado* class for national self-fulfilment that assimilated the ideologies of the Spanish empire. In other words, in order to consciously subvert the discourses of Spanish and American colonialism, the *ilustrado* class internalised empire by arguing that those who were civilised, or Hispanicised, had the capacity, right, and duty to rule over and uplift those who are not civilised.

Philippine Collaboration in Empire Projects

In order to create an aura of expertise over the entire colonial state, the Philippine Commission required collaboration with select members of the Filipino and European elites in the exchange of information as well as for political recognition and patronage.¹²⁵ Like the collaboration of Christian Filipinos in the creation of the Philippine Exhibit at

¹²⁵ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 181.

the Saint Louis 1904 World's Fair, the development of the 1903 census required collaboration between American colonial ethnographers and Philippine elites who acted as census takers. As stated in the introductory statement of the 1903 census,

This system of organisation and inquiry applied to the Philippines involved at least three essential conditions; a degree of tranquillity among the people, both civilized and wild, such as to permit the field force to accomplish its work; the possession of reliable maps for the formation of census districts; and a sufficient number of intelligent Spanish speaking Filipinos to fill the various positions.¹²⁶

The selection process of “intelligent Filipinos” required an ability to read, write, and speak Spanish as well as various other languages. The census publication further states the necessity to use the *ilustrado* class as “special agents” due to their connection with a larger range of the Philippine population compared to the colonial government.

For the 1904 World's Fair, the exposition board commissioned a painting by Felix Resurrección Hidalgo, another *ilustrado*, to be exhibited in the entryway of the government building at the centre of Philippine Exhibit. This painting entitled *Per Pacem et Libertatem (Through Peace and Liberty)* (fig. 2.2) is an allegory featuring the Philippines personified as a wild maiden handing an olive branch to an armoured Columbia, who is bathed in a soft light, standing before an American flag, and surrounded by angels. The painting references the pacification of the islands as well as the erasure of Hispanicised lowland Filipinos as revolutionary combatants through the collaboration of an elite, *ilustrado* Filipino. In contrast with Columbia, the Philippines appears in semi-darkness in a composition that recalls the symbolic use of light seen in Juan Luna's *España y Filipinas*. At the 1904 World's Fair, the colonised-collaborator gaze operated in two ways: in the participation of elites in the performance of civility

¹²⁶ Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 13.

within the exhibit and in critical responses among *ilustrados* against the use of *Igorots* as the representation of parts of the Philippine geo-body. Furthermore, participation by Filipinos in the exposition was seen as an act of state-building through displays of Philippine loyalty to the United States.

The Exposition Board therefore made direct appeals to the *ilustrado* and *principal* classes for their participation. Pedro Paterno, a Filipino politician who facilitated the Treaty of Biak-na-Bato, was brought on to the board to enlist his social networks and Leon Maria Guerrero, a pharmacist and scientist, was enlisted for his extensive natural-historical knowledge of the Philippines.¹²⁷ The *ilustrado*-run collaborationist newspaper, *La Democracia*, also pushed exposition circulars, instructions, and calls for participation onto their front pages.¹²⁸ The collaborating individuals were expected to serve in an honorary capacity as part of a commission envisioned as being representative of civilised Filipinos. They were imagined both as displays and also as spectators undergoing assimilation, thereby representing the Filipino, and their capacity for civilisation, to the American public.

Other groups that were necessary to the display of the civilising process of American tutelage were the aforementioned Filipinos willing to collaborate and the Philippine Constabulary and Scouts. These three groups, collaborating elites, the Philippine Constabulary, and the Philippine Scouts, performed the civilised nature of groups that interacted with first Spanish and later American colonial forces. The opening of the Philippine Exhibit in June 17, 1904 was celebrated through a parade of 1,100

¹²⁷ A treaty signed in 1897 that called a truce between the Spanish colonial governor and Emilio Aguinaldo.

¹²⁸ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 242.

Filipinos that displayed a march of “evolutionary progress.” The march was led by American fair officials and followed by the Philippine honorary commission comprised of elites, then the Philippine Scouts and Constabulary, and finally the “savage” or “semi-civilised” peoples.¹²⁹ This choreography connected proximity to American colonial tutelage with civilised characteristics. This gradation of civilisation was mapped geographically onto the Philippine landscape and metaphorically onto the layout of the Philippine Exhibit (as discussed in Chapter 1).

Another display of Philippine collaboration was the model school under the instruction of Miss. Pilar Zamora. Miss. Zamora was a highly westernised teacher from Manila who taught at the Philippine Normal School.¹³⁰ She thought of herself as superior to the other Filipinos displayed at the exhibit and refused to sleep in any of the exhibits.¹³¹ As stated in Chapter 1, Miss. Zamora taught two classes at the model school, primarily focussing on teaching English to two specific groups: the Visayans, who were presented as civilised in colonial ethnography and the exposition display, and non-Christians comprised of Moros and *Igorots* grouped together. Through active participation by Philippine elites and individuals situated in Manila, the Philippine colonised-collaborator utilised space within the American colonial gaze and system to place themselves outside the imagining of the “savage,” non-Christian “Other”.

Similarly, critiques by Filipinos against the use of *Igorots* in the Philippine Exposition reflect a strict delineation within the colonised-collaborator’s self-imagining between their *ilustrado* or *principale* “Self” located in Hispanic-Catholic culture and the

¹²⁹ Ibid., 251-252.

¹³⁰ Fermin, *1904 World’s Fair*, 176-177.

¹³¹ Ibid., 70.

Igorot “Other” situated beyond Spanish-colonial control. By using the discourse of nationalist-colonialism, Philippine critiques argued against the use of the *Igorot* body as a means of presenting the multicultural nature of the Philippine nation. In other words, Philippine critics drew a deep line between Christian and non-Christian Filipinos through the employment of a nationalist-colonialist rhetoric that emphasised the perceived civility of Christian Filipinos. This is most evident in the formal protest filed by Teresa Ramirez, a Visayan woman, against the exposition board’s chief of publicity. The protest was against a passage about the model schoolhouse which advertised the display of “50 little savages, recruited from various villages, gather each day and are taught to fashion English letters on big blackboards.”¹³² Ramirez’s objection emphasised the separation between already “civilised” Visayans and non-Christian “savages” in the instruction at the model schoolhouse. For Christian Filipinos, the main contention regarding the exposition was that the display of half-naked non-Christian groups would reinforce the perception that all Filipinos were “savages.” This is also evident in the arguments by Maximo Kalaw, an uncle of the art critic Purita Kalaw-Ledesma, who stated that the display of non-Christians “created in the minds of hundreds of thousands of Americans the indelible impression that the Filipinos have not yet emerged from savagery.”¹³³ Similarly, a member of the Philippine Honorary Commission, Vicente Nepomuceno, accused the colonial administration of gathering the “lowest types” of Filipinos in order to justify the continued colonial administration in the Philippines.¹³⁴ Presented in these

¹³² Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 271-273.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹³⁴ Fermin, *1904 World’s Fair*, 145.

arguments is key to the colonised-collaborator self-imagining as “civilised” and distinct both geographically and culturally from non-Christian groups associated with “savage” behaviour.

This process of delineating the Catholic, Philippine “Self” and the non-Christian “Other” culminated politically in the Filipinisation of the “White Man’s Burden.” In 1914 Governor General Harrison decided to Filipinise the civilian government by promoting and employing Philippine elites to work within the colonial state. Harrison stated that lowland Filipinos “can and do manage the destinies of the mountain tribes with generosity and conscientious consideration.”¹³⁵ Through a conscious decision, Harrison appropriated the nationalist-colonialist discourse espoused by the *ilustrados*, who appropriated the discourse of “uplift” from the earlier colonial administration. In other words, lowland, Christian Filipinos who argued for their ability to “uplift” and assimilate non-Christian groups into American cultural and political value systems were placed in the position to do so. In the process of Filipinising the Mountain and Moro province, the colonial civilian government extended the jurisdiction of the departments of health, education, and justice to these Special Provinces.¹³⁶

The Filipinization of the “White Man’s Burden” is also evident in a 1918 speech by F. R. Ventura at the Seventh Annual Oratorical Contest of the College of Law entitled “The Problem of the Non-Christian Tribes,” which espoused the desire of the Philippine collaborators to be recognised for their civility and capability to civilise as the fate of the Filipinos was bound to that of the non-Christian groups.¹³⁷ Ventura declared that in order

¹³⁵ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 378.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 380-381.

to “attain to that consummate civilization which will command the respect of the world for ages to come we as a people and as a nation must shoulder, in the fullness of its weight and responsibility, the sacred trust handed down to us through centuries for its final discharged and execution.”¹³⁸ Ventura’s speech connects “trust” with the American conception of tutelary colonialism as well as civilisation. According to this view, American and Spanish colonialism provided the tools of civilisation to lowland Filipinos in order to ensure the continued civilising process of the colonial project. Through the appropriation of American colonial rhetoric regarding the “White Man’s Burden” and “uplift,” colonised-collaborators performed American notions of civility in the colonised metropole, Manila, and directed them back to the colonial metropole of the United States.

The mimicry of colonised-collaborator utilised a visual language that presented the Philippine “Self” and “Other” developed in order to display the accepted racial formations between the centre, Manila, and the peripheries, the Mountain Province, as well as the process of civilising the non-Christian Filipino under the hand of the colonised-collaborator. Through these imaginings, the image of the Filipino nation and identity by Filipinos began to be represented by placing the physical body within the Philippine geo-body.

Connecting the Geo-Body to the Racialisation of Territory

The consolidation of the Philippine geo-body by the American colonial government through the establishment of politico-military Special Provinces, as well as the photography and ethnography done in the Mountain Province, provided artists and

¹³⁸ Ibid., 381.

viewers within the metropole an imagining of the “Other” incorporated into the boundaries of the Philippine colony, and later nation. As stated earlier, Filipinos in the metropole who engaged in the struggle for independence or self-governance saw the use of the image of the *Igorot* in American media as a threat to the recognition of the ability for sovereignty. Filipino politicians feared that the image of the “savage” *Igorot* would be applied to the entire archipelago, and, therefore, Filipino elites tried to distinguish the image of the “Filipino” from the *Igorot*.

Apparent in this imagining of the *Igorot* Other is the trope of “under-development” as seen through the lack of “modernity” in the mountainscape as well as in day-to-day dress. These imaginings thereby ignored the transformations undertaken during American colonialism that reshaped trade relations, missionary activities, military activities, and created administrative networks.¹³⁹ Ironically by attempting to reject American colonialist racial formations of the “savage” Filipino, Philippine political and cultural elites accepted the categories of “tribes” developed by American colonial ethnographers in order to classify peoples residing outside the boundaries of Hispanic-Catholic culture.

In order to understand the work of the Triumvirate, we must approach them through the narrative of Philippine art history. Therefore this section will utilise Fernando Amorsolo as a point of reference for - and comparison to - modernist imagining of the Philippine geo-body. Amorsolo was the most distinguished and popular artist of the Philippines in the twentieth century; the height of his popularity was in the 1920s and 1930s during the peak of the Filipinising process of the American colonial

¹³⁹ Deirdre McKay, “Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines,” *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 17.3 (2006): 298.

government.¹⁴⁰ Amorsolo was educated in the School of Fine Arts at the University of the Philippines. His paintings represent the visualisation of Philippine elite collaboration during the American colonial period as well the binding of ethnicities to the geographical landscape. In an analysis of the different “types” of women presented in his paintings, we can observe that Amorsolo continually renders the dichotomy of “civilised” and “uncivilised.”

Amorsolo’s *Ang Dalaga* (fig. 2.3) displays a modern, Philippine woman dressed in contemporary dress that is reminiscent of American fashion trends. This is further evident in her bob haircut, which would have been considered as modern during the Commonwealth period.¹⁴¹ By presenting his subject in the fashion of the United States, much like the *pensionados* and *ilustrados* wearing suits, Amorsolo’s Filipina performs her (and thereby the artist’s) validation as an equal in terms of the civility of the coloniser. Amorsolo’s portrait of a modern woman appears to be set in an interior setting as indicated by the lack of tropical lighting and landscape he is well known for using. Although Amorsolo presents this *dalaga* as modern, she retains her purity through the use of the Tagalog word *dalaga* in the title. Discussed in the introductory comments regarding gender in Philippine painting, the Tagalog word *dalaga* has virginal connotations. Furthermore, Amorsolo indicates the ideal nature of this Filipino woman by

¹⁴⁰ Santiago Albano Pilar, “Introduction, Fernando Amorsolo: Master of the Enchanting Light and Compelling Gentle Ways,” in *Fernando Amorsolo Seven-Museum Exhibit*, ed. Santiago Albano Pilar (Manila: CRIBS Foundation, Inc., 2008), 15.

¹⁴¹ Purissima Benitz-Joannot, “Amorsolo’s Women Concealed and Revealed,” in *Fernando Amorsolo Seven-Museum Exhibit*, ed. Santiago Albano Pilar (Manila: CRIBS Foundation, Inc., 2008), 35.

rendering her clothed. The modern nature of this young woman also connotes her location within the urbanity of Manila, especially in comparison to his images of rural and ethnic minority women.

In Amorsolo's painting *Palay Maiden (Rice Maiden)* (fig. 2.4), Amorsolo depicts a woman leisurely harvesting rice, in spite of the fact that it is difficult work. His *Palay Maiden*, like *Ang Dalaga*, appears fully dressed in a *baro't saya* in the shared colours of the flags of the United States and the Philippines that connotes a friendly connection between the two countries. Amorsolo's figure is carrying a bounty of rice stalks that signifies a sense of plenty. Amorsolo also invokes the *dalagang bukid* trope through the warm tropical light that bathes the figure and casts the ideal Filipina as a productive woman contributing to the agricultural labour of the Philippines just as promoted by the American colonial administration.¹⁴² In Amorsolo's visualisation of the idyllic, lowland, and rural setting, the Filipina is presented as a productive member of the Philippines situated outside the modernity of Manila.

In contrast to these representations of dressed Filipinas as exemplars of "civilised" Filipino culture, *The Offering* (fig. 2.5) does not use Tagalog, the language of Manila and the basis for the Filipino language of independent Philippines, as a means of identifying the topless woman. In Amorsolo's title he does not identify the woman as a "maiden," because she does not adhere to lowland Catholic culture: she is topless,

¹⁴² See Renato Constantino's critique of the idyllic images of Philippine agricultural society in his well-known essay, "The Mis-Education of the Filipino," reprinted in *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 30.3 (2000): 433-434.

barefoot, and holding a non-Christian “idol.”¹⁴³ In comparison to Amorsolo’s two maidens, the image of the non-Christian Other does not interact with the viewer; rather she appears engrossed in the “idol” she holds carefully in her hands. In terms of spatial organisation, the setting implies her location outside of the realm of modernity and idealised agriculture associated with images of the Filipina. The lighting and rock face in the background imply that this non-Christian woman is seated at the entrance of a cave which locates her physical body on the peripheries on the Philippine geo-body.

Amorsolo’s paintings reflect a model of civilisation understood by the American coloniser and Philippine colonised in which there are gradations of civilisation that is similar to the traditional mandalic model of kingship in Southeast Asia. The gradations of civilisation were believed to radiate out from maximum concentration at the centre and become more and more diluted as the distance from the centre increases.¹⁴⁴ At the centre is the nexus of Philippine civilisation, Manila, inhabited by and associated with Hispanicised Filipinos classified by American ethnographers as civilised and recognised by the Philippine colonised-collaborators as the pinnacle of Philippine civilisation. The peripheries were understood by Americans and Philippine collaborators to be zones of less “developed” or “primal” Philippine societies.

The binaries of centre/periphery and civilised/uncivilised are continually present in Philippine art, and appear in modernist subject matter as a continuation of nationalist-colonialist discourses. The dichotomy of “civilised” and “uncivilised” was necessary for the affirmation and presentation of the modern nature of Filipino identity as imagined by

¹⁴³ I am using the word “idol” to characterise the object this woman is holding to reference Amorsolo’s dismissive attitude towards non-Christian sacred images as seen in his painting *Burning of the Idols*, 1958.

¹⁴⁴ Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region*, 27-30.

the *ilustrado* and *principale* classes. Edades' paintings *The Sketch* (fig. 2.6) and *Two Igorot Women* (fig. 1.15) displays this dichotomy as utilised by academic painters. The artist and the onlooker are dressed in contemporary clothing that adheres to the fashion of the late 1920s and follows a similar mode of representing modernity as seen in Amorsolo's *Ang Dalaga*. In the two contrasting imaginings of the metropole and peripheries there is a shift from interior dwellings to outdoor scenes devoid of the modernisation that would have been evident throughout the archipelago during the American colonial process of state building and the nationalist-colonialist mimicry of the coloniser culture.

The use of "modern" clothing for the artist represents mimicry in which the "Western" nature of the artist's clothing represents the "modern nation-to-be."¹⁴⁵ The artist appears to be in motion and actively engaged in his work. In contrast, *Two Igorot Women* not only identifies the "tribe" these women belong to, but they are presented at leisure unlike Amorsolo's *Palay Maiden*, Edades's *The Sketch*, or the active, masculine subject of Edades's *The Builders* (fig. 0.1). The two *Igorot* women are represented as unproductive and reflect the discourse of labour prevalent in both the American colonial rhetoric and in nationalist-colonialism which required "active" nation-building or collaboration in the development of a modern nation. Edades's *Two Igorot Women* also manifests the politics of dress associated with the peripheries of the American empire and the Philippine nation. Women and national dress are designated as 'bearers' of national

¹⁴⁵ Mina Roces, "Women, Citizenship and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines," in *Gender Politics in Asia: Women Manoeuvring within Dominant Gender Orders*, ed. Wil Lundström-Burghoorn (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), 14.

tradition. While men were associated with modernity (as seen in the dress of the artist and male onlooker in *The Sketch*), women were connected to the past.¹⁴⁶

The significance of states of dress and undress reflects concerns regarding the proper behaviour of Hispanicised women as also seen in Modesto de Castro's *Ang Pagsusulatan ng Magkapatid na si Urbana at Felisa*, first published in 1864, but reprinted in 1877, 1889, 1907, 1925, and 1938 with different translations in Ilocano, Bicolano, and Visayan corresponding to areas that were earlier part of Hispanic-Catholic culture and subsequently regarded as civilised by the American colonial government.¹⁴⁷ The book, written by a priest specifically for a female audience, deals explicitly with good manners and right conduct for women through the narrative of two sisters exchanging letters, one living in Manila (Urbana) and the other in the provinces (Felisa). In the chapter entitled "Sa Kalinisan" (On Cleanliness), Urbana explains the importance of dress to Felisa:

Kung magsuot ang isang babae ng barong nanganganinag, walang tapapetso o panakip sa dibdib ay nakasusuklam tingnan, at ang may panakip man ay di rin naitatago ang katawan at kahit pag-anhin ang barong nanganganinag sa isang babae ay masamang tingnan, sapagkat nakikita ang kalahati ng katawan.¹⁴⁸ (If a woman wears a sheer dress, without covering her chest it is a disgusting sight, and it is unsightly to have a covering that does not hide the body despite wearing a sheer dress because half the body is seen.)¹⁴⁹

Intended for Philippine regions deemed as civilised and having the potential to become more refined, this manual on the proper conduct of a Christian woman thus equates bare-chestedness with disgust and highlights the importance of good conduct and dress for

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁴⁷ Soledad S. Reyes "Urbana at Felisa," *Philippine Studies* 47.1 (1999): 3.

¹⁴⁸ Modesto de Castro, *Ang Pagsusulatan ng Magkapatid na si Urbana at Felisa* (Manila: J. Martinez, 1907), 65.

¹⁴⁹ Author's translation.

Catholic women.

To further underscore the importance of female modesty, de Castro alludes to the story of a fish:

Sukat alalahanin ng mga namamaling binibini ang malinis na wani ng isda, na tinatawag na *pesmulier*. Ang isdang ito, ang sabi, ay may suso sa dibdib, ang palikpik ay malalapad; pag nahuli ng mangingisda, karaka-raka ay ibinababa ang palikpik at itinatakip sa dibdib nang di makita. Magandang kaasalan na sukat pagkunang halimbawa nating mga babae!¹⁵⁰

(The good customs of a fish called *pesmulier* must be remembered by wayward young women. It is said this fish has breasts on its chest and fins that are broad; when caught by a fisherman, it immediately lowers its fins to cover its chest so that its breasts cannot be seen. Such wonderful conduct must become the main example for our women!)¹⁵¹

Through de Castro's example of the modest fish, de Castro hopes to ensure that his female readers will perform modesty, or civility, better than, or at least as well as, an animal. Associations pertaining to states of dress and undress were associated with civility, and groups or individuals who did not adhere to hegemonic cultural values were relegated to outsider status.

Urbana at Felisa reflects sentiments regarding the states of dress, or undress, by literate Filipinos Hispanicised regions. Similarly, Philippine artists, in both the academic and modernist traditions, associated cultural values pertaining to dress, particularly women's dress, with locality. Furthermore, the trope of the undressed *Igorot* reflects and reiterates the visual language of colonial photographs (fig. 1.10) taken during the consolidation of the Philippine geo-body, as well as the visual language of Gauguin's primitivism in which the image of the "Other" becomes a locus of nature, femininity, and

¹⁵⁰ De Castro, *Urbana at Felisa*, 66.

¹⁵¹ Author's translation.

spirituality on the peripheries of the empire.¹⁵² The complex character of the use of the topless *Igorot* “Other” in Philippine modernism reflects the mimetic nature of meaning in relation to the nationalist-colonialist desires for recognition from the outside, modern nation-states and American colonial systems. In taking on the visual language of the coloniser, Filipino cultural and political elites actively affirmed and performed their civility in relation to the standards put forth by the coloniser as well as visually fixed an identified “Other” to the Philippine geo-body.

Philippine Primitivism and Nationalist-Colonialist Discourse

As previously discussed, nationalist-colonialism refers to a Philippine political elite ideology stemming from a desire to be recognised as having the capacity for self-governance achieved through performativity as well as internal colonisation. Although this is very clearly present in the political discourses of Philippine politicians, how did this ideology figure into the new visual language of Philippine modernism? How did the Filipinisation of primitivism reflect the Filipinisation of the White Man’s Burden?

In a 1935 article from *The Monday Mail*, entitled “A Modernist Talks on Local Art: Prof. Edades Says Idealism is Obsolete, Absurd,” Edades criticised the idealistic nature of the Amorsolo and academic schools of painting. The article equates academic painting with obsolescence while pointing to modernist trends in “many progressive countries of the world today,”¹⁵³ where artists desire to be similar in terms of progressive

¹⁵² Solomon-Godeau, “Going Native,” 144-145.

¹⁵³ “A Modernist Talks on Local Art: Prof. Edades Says Idealism is Obsolete, Absurd,” reprinted in Rodolfo Paras-Perez, *Edades and the 13 Moderns* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1995), 29.

trends from their “enlightened neighbor[s].”¹⁵⁴ This statement alone reflects the mimicry found in the colonised-collaborator gaze, as it looks to other sovereign nations as examples for nation-building and ideologies surrounding the image of a nation. The colonised-collaborator gaze works in relation with the nationalist-colonialist discourse of Filipino politicians collaborating with the American colonial systems as well as during the Commonwealth, a period of ten years with the end goal of sovereignty. This nationalist-colonial notion of non-Christian Filipinos is evident in the language deployed to promote Philippine modernism: “Professor Edades believes that fidelity to life does not mean the relinquishment of man’s idea of the beautiful. There are still the exotic charm, the virginality, the unravished naivety of ordinary life that, handled by a great artist, may signify a whole world of emotions and hidden springs of meaning.”¹⁵⁵ This article utilises the words “exotic,” “virginality,” and “unravished naivety” that reflects a similar language promoted in colonialist and nationalist-colonialist discourse to describe non-Christians, including the *Igorot*. Though the article emphasises the fidelity to reality that can be found in modernist visual languages, it also reflects how Philippine modernism interacted with existing discourse on race and civility.

Edades’s interest and emphasis on modernising the fine arts in the Philippines to emulate their “enlightened neighbor[s]” culminates in the Filipinisation of primitivist visual languages that emphasised the primordial and “exotic” aspects of “primitive” societies. Through the process of Filipinisation, Philippine primitivism displayed the dichotomies of the “Self” and “Other” seen in Gauguin’s imaginings of the Tahitian “Other” within one bounded geographical area. *The Sketch* presents a model whose body

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

is covered, though there are implications of her nudity under the sheet. The figures are situated within a clearly defined temporal and spatial setting. Unlike the timeless stasis of two *Igorot* women, the painter in Edades's *The Sketch* is portrayed as actively engaged in his craft. Through a portrait of the classically trained artist that was rendered according to the canon of fine art, *The Sketch* suggests artistic production in the metropole was the product of individual genius. In contrast, in *Bulul at Babae* (fig. 1.14) the *bulul* is exhibited as a finished product with the time of creation, artist, and location unknown. The stagnant representation further highlights the assumption, based on colonial racial formations that were appropriated by nationalist-colonialists, that indigenous, non-Christian groups were "primordial" and situated at the bottom of the ladder of civilisation due to their assumed lack of modernisation and cultural progression, both of which are evident in *The Sketch*.

Inaccuracies pertaining to the rendering of cultural production in the peripheries are also prevalent in imaginings of the ethnic Philippine "Other" and suggest a false expertise regarding the representation of "primitive" societies. A comparison of the *bulul* depicted in the painting *Bulul at Babae* with a *bulul* (fig. 2.7) produced by an unknown Ifugao carver/artist¹⁵⁶ demonstrates discrepancies in the iconography associated with the *bulul*. First, the base of the *bulul* typically takes an hourglass shape, or double-base shape, that is reminiscent of a mortar and relates *bulul* to their ritual use. In Edades's image of a *bulul*, the double base is removed, the figure stands on a single, flat, circular base that symbolically removes spiritual potency. Though the general shape of Edades's

¹⁵⁶ The fact that the only Ifugao carver known by name is Tagiling reflects the ongoing ethnographic connotations of the art of the Cordillera. While Philippine artists in the lowland areas working within a European understanding of fine art have consistently been named, artists of highly sought after ethnographic "objects" remain unknown.

bulul appears accurate, a *bulul* on display to the public (predominately during rice harvest rituals) would be dressed in a *tapis* for female *bulul* or a *bahag* (loincloth) for male *bulul*. Also, the active *bulul* would be adorned with rice stalks inserted into necklaces made from rice stalks, sugar-cane leaves, or *dongla*, the leaves of the *Cordylene terminalis* plant.¹⁵⁷ Edades's *bulul*, however, appears undressed and unadorned which again subverts, either consciously or unconsciously, its religious function and sacrality and displays its aesthetics as an object of fine art.

Another painting that reflects Edades's use of *bulul* is presented in a photograph of Edades working in his studio in San Juan, Rizal (fig. 2.8). In this photograph are four paintings, two of which have already been discussed (*The Sketch* and *Bulul at Babae*). Below *The Sketch* is a painting of a man squatting and holding a rooster.¹⁵⁸ Behind the squatting man is an image of a squatting *bulul*. Again, there is no use of a double base. The image of a *bulul* recalls the peripheries of the Philippine geo-body as well as the "primitive" nature of the cultural production of the *Igorot*. In replicating the posture of the *bulul* with the male figure, Edades associates "primitive" implications with the man. Like his other paintings that refer to the peripheries and *Igorot*, Edades places the man and the *bulul* in a timeless setting devoid of any spatial characteristics. This stagnant representation further highlights the established assumption that indigenous, non-Christian groups were primordial and situated at the bottom of the ladder of civilisation.

Edades's deployment of the *bulul* as a symbol of the "primitive" is reflected in his earlier statement, "There are still the exotic charm, the virginity, the unravished naivety

¹⁵⁷ Anderson, *In the Shape of Tradition*, 117.

¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, quite a few of Edades's work either ended up in private collections or were destroyed during World War II. I cannot find a current image, information about its whereabouts, or the title of this painting.

of ordinary life...”¹⁵⁹ It also asserts his search for the legitimacy of new visual language in Philippine art by comparing local forms to the “primitive” forms that influenced European artists. Edades echoes the mimicry of the colonised-collaborator gaze that is imbued with nationalist-colonialist discourses. For example, Edades equates *Igorot* sculptures with African sculptures that influenced the works of European Modernists: “we have Igorot sculpture which rivals Negro sculpture in simplicity of design,”¹⁶⁰ thereby legitimising his use of “primitive” art found within the boundaries of the Philippine geo-body.

Issues related to the representation of non-Christian images in Philippine modernist painting extend to Carlos Francisco’s use of the *bulul* in romanticised images of both the past and the present. Francisco’s painting *The Flutist* (fig. 2.9), depicts three *Igorots* at leisure. The central figure, an *Igorot* man, plays a flute with two topless *Igorot* women languidly listening to his music. Next to the male figure is a wooden image that is reminiscent of the image of a *bulul*. Again, like the *bulul* in Victorio Edades’s paintings, Francisco’s *bulul* appears inaccurate; it is set-aside on the ground, though *bulul* are typically stored in rice granaries when they are not used. In contrast to the level of detail elsewhere in the painting, the *bulul* appears incredibly simplified, recalling Edades’s statement “we have Igorot sculpture which rivals Negro sculpture in simplicity of design.”¹⁶¹

In a post-independence set of murals entitled *The Progress of Medicine in the Philippines* (fig. 2.10), commissioned by the Philippine General Hospital in 1953

¹⁵⁹ “A Modernist Talks on Local Art,” 29.

¹⁶⁰ Victorio Edades, “Towards Virility in Art,” reprinted in Rodolfo Paras-Perez, *Edades and the 13 Moderns* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1995), 37.

¹⁶¹ Edades, “Towards Virility,” 37.

Francisco again employs the image of the *bulul*, but rather than representing the contemporary Other, it is used to recall the pre-colonial Philippine past. The series of four murals narrates the development of medicine in the Philippines through four periods: first, the pre-colonial past in which the *babaylan* performs healing rituals through sacred offerings to deities and spirits (ancestral and nature);¹⁶² the second is the introduction of Catholicism and Spanish colonialism which dispelled superstitious beliefs from pre-colonial religious systems; the third is the American colonial period and the benevolence of the American army in vaccinating Philippine natives; and the fourth and final mural represents the Philippine nation-state as rational and modernised.

Unlike the three murals pertaining to colonial and national advances in medicine, the pre-colonial mural appears mystical in its form. Behind the *babaylan* is a large wooden statue that echoes the form of the *bulul* while the *babaylan* stands beside a reclining, emaciated figure. Unlike the other panels, there is no medicine in sight; rather it appears that the *babaylan* is providing prayer and offerings to appease the spirits in order to ensure the wellness of the dying man. The lack of “rational” medicine in this panel echoes notions of the “irrationality” of pre-colonial Filipinos that reflects the moral justifications for colonisation of the Philippines by the Spanish and American empires. Though the mural highlights the progress to “rational” medicine, the painting also highlights the significant role of the *baybaylan* and female spiritual leaders in pre-colonial society. Unlike the other panels that depict men as in charge of the wellbeing of the Philippine natives, the *baybaylan* appears monumental; the smoke frames her body

¹⁶² *Babaylan* are spiritual leaders, usually female, predominately from the Visayas region. See Francisco R. Demetrio, Gilda Cordero-Fernando, Fernando N. Zialcita, and Roberto B. Feleo's *The Soul Book*, Quezon City: GCF Books, 1991, for an introduction to the indigenous religions of the Philippines.

and highlights her connection to the spiritual realm. Surrounding her are men looking on as she performs esoteric rituals to assuage spirits and restore balance to the spiritual life of the community and the individual.¹⁶³ Although the murals were painted after the independence of the Philippines, the narrative still reflects an iteration of colonial discourses regarding civilisation, race, and modernisation.

In a series of three articles in *This Week*, two years after the Philippines gained independence in 1946, Edades highlighted the trajectory of modern art in the Philippines. He indicated the “oriental” roots of modernism and its legitimacy through Paul Gauguin and Paul Cezanne. Edades also reflected on the modern artistic tradition before World War II and Philippine “independence” as well as the Filipinisation process of modern art.¹⁶⁴ In an article entitled “Towards Virility in Art,” Edades claimed that “There is a group of Filipino painters today who find this revival of Oriental form a source of courage and inspiration in their effort to create a new virile art. These progressive artists have taken their cue from Western masters and are turning their eyes to our own Oriental isles.”¹⁶⁵ This statement equates the practices of Philippine “progressive artists” with “Western masters,” in which Philippine artists deemed as “progressive” learn from the coloniser to look to “oriental” forms and subject matter in order to reflect the modernisation of the nation.

In the same article, Edades localises the influences of “Western masters,” through

¹⁶³ Francisco R. Demetrio, Gilda Cordero-Fernando, Fernando N. Zialcita, and Roberto B. Feleo, *The Soul Book* (Quezon City: GCF Books, 1991): 131.

¹⁶⁴ Though the Philippines gain independence in 1946, nationalist historians (i.e. Reynaldo Ileto, Teodoro Agoncillo, and Renato Constantino) argue that the United States maintained strong economic, political, and military ties due to the rise of the Communism as well as through the military and parity rights given to the American military and corporations as part of the agreement for Philippine sovereignty.

¹⁶⁵ Edades, “Towards Virility,” 37.

a Philippine visual language: “In this luxurian country of ours, we have the same warm sun which gave Cezanne and Van Gogh such brilliant colors; we have Igorot sculpture which rivals Negro sculpture in simplicity of design; we have the Moro color ensemble which is worthy of Gauguin’s exotic palette...”¹⁶⁶ Edades thereby legitimises both the Philippine landscape and subject matter by emphasising the capabilities of the Philippine landscape and culture to express a similar visual language found in European modernism. Returning to his statement regarding Philippine equivalents to the “primitive” idioms that inspired “Western masters,” Edades’s Filipinisation of modernist visual language and the “primordial” nature of the Philippine Other informed other artists searching for a new visual language that could reflect Philippines’ history.

In 1934, Edades was commissioned to paint a mural for the Capitol Theatre. To assist him, he recruited Galo Ocampo and Carlos Francisco, the two other artists that would make up the Triumvirate of modern Philippine art. The mural was entitled *The Rising Philippines* (fig. 2.11) and, although Edades chose the final design, the actual painting of the mural fell to Ocampo and Francisco.¹⁶⁷ It depicts the Philippine nation’s progress towards self-governance. Edades’s concept for this mural was to show the forces that were acting for the Filipinos to create a modern nation-state. The right side of the mural depicts the personified image of Spain and Spanish influences in religion and trade. With emphasis on the modernisation of the Philippines in government and industry, the left side represents the contributions of the United States which is personified as the Statue of Liberty. Between the two personified figures of Spanish and American

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 37.

¹⁶⁷ Paras-Perez, *Edades*, 17-18.

civilisation, and their Philippine subjects, is the image of a *nipa* hut,¹⁶⁸ which is commonly used as a symbol of native, rural Philippines.

The message of the mural is clear: under the gaze of civilised, colonial powers, the Philippine people were able to rise from “primitive” roots to a “civilised” society. The central figure of the mural is Filipinas, arising in an upward sweep above the influences of the United States and Spain and dressed like a Greek maiden in a flowing white dress. In terms of the gaze within the painting, the personifications of the United States and Spain look towards each other and seemingly ignore the Philippines rising up due to their colonial influences. Spain and the United State therefore acknowledge each other’s contributions to the Philippine archipelago that helped to construct the modern Philippine nation. The mural therefore reflects the welcoming of the Commonwealth period in the Philippines as a transitional period before the Philippine colony was granted independence and self-rule. The mural also offers reverence to the two colonial powers that brought Euro-American notions of modernity to the Philippines.¹⁶⁹ *The Rising Philippines* echoes the rhetoric and ideology of American justifications for the colonisation of the Philippines as well as the nationalist-colonialist discourse of learning civility first from Spain and then the United States, and the capability in turn to pass the lessons of civility on to the non-Christian groups of the Mountain and Muslim provinces.

The use of the format of the mural is significant in creating a sense of nation-ness. Unlike smaller scale paintings, murals are intended to be on display to the public, thereby reiterating ideas of being or becoming “Filipino” from elite discourses out to the general

¹⁶⁸ The *nipa* hut, or *bahay kubo*, is a type of stilt house used in the Philippines. Posts, walls, and floors are typically made of bamboo and the thatched roof is typically made of a palm leaf known as *nipa*.

¹⁶⁹ *Botong Francisco: A Nation Imagined* (Makati: Ayala Foundation Inc., 2013), 18.

population. More often than not, murals are commissioned by elites and the government for public spaces in the capital city as a means of displaying their understanding of their national “Self” in relation to the rest of the world and to the peripheries of the Philippine geo-body.

In a 1940 commission by the Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon, Edades, with the help of Anita Magsaysay-Ho and Consuelo Lee, created a fresco that represented the colonised-collaborator’s desire to become a modern nation-state similar to that of the United States. This fresco was executed for the Quezon Institute (fig. 2.12), a government hospital for people infected by tuberculosis. It depicted the benefits of modern medicine and science as well as the curative benefits of Christian faith. In the centre of the painting is a portrait of Quezon, a collaborating political elite and Commonwealth President, commanding scientists on his right, while on his left is a woman and a cross, symbolising Christianity.¹⁷⁰ Two buildings with contrasting architectural elements occupy the right and left sides of the composition. Next to the scientists is a *nipa* hut representing the rural countryside and peripheries of the Philippine geo-body while next to the personification of the Christian faith is a building in the Neo-Classical tradition representing the modernisation of architecture and, by association, Manila. Surrounding, and converging on the personifications of Science, Government, and Faith - characteristics of the modern nation-state - are the downtrodden masses coming from both the *nipa* hut and the Neo-Classical buildings. This convergence symbolically unites peripheries and urban centres together under the supervision of the Philippine state mimicking the ideology of unification emphasised by the colonial administration.

¹⁷⁰ Kalaw-Ledesma and Guerrero, *Edades*, 79.

This mimicry of the coloniser is also evident in direct influences from the colonizers to the colonised. Chapter 1 opened with a comparison between Gauguin's *Ia Orana Maria* (fig. 1.1) and Ocampo's *Brown Madonna* (fig. 1.2), and considered the colonial gaze and its use of primitivism. Re-reading Ocampo's painting through the colonised-collaborator perspective, and in conjunction with Edades' statements regarding the Filipinisation of European visual languages, there is a clear desire among these artists to be recognised for their civility. Here, Ocampo Filipinises Gauguin's Tahitian Madonna. Similar to Gauguin's use of the Madonna outside of a European setting, Ocampo utilises the rural countryside, outside the urbanism of Manila, to render and localises an image deeply ingrained in Philippine culture. The *Brown Madonna* echoes the mapping of the Filipina onto the geo-body, in a similar fashion to Amorsolo and Edades. As a symbol of Christian faith, the Filipinised Madonna cannot be associated with the Other that is in the peripheries. Instead, she is situated close to these peripheries to indicate the boundaries of the Hispanic-Catholic lowlands. The painting can be read as part of the nationalist-colonial discourse, which desires to unify and homogenise the entire Philippine archipelago to further display the capabilities of Philippines culture and political elites in internally colonising the region. In a religious context, the mirroring of Euro-American cultural and religious values in order to become like the coloniser is reflected in Ocampo's contention that the *kayumanggi* Filipino is equal to the Spanish and Americans in the eyes of God.

Similarly, Carlos V. Francisco's *Sungkaan* (fig. 2.13) echoes the composition of one of Paul Gauguin's paintings entitled *Tahitian Women* (fig. 2.14). In a Filipinisation of Gauguin's Tahitian paradise, two women are seated on the ground, facing each other

while playing *sungka*.¹⁷¹ The woman on the right rests on her left hand as she picks up the shells from one of the holes in the wooden game board. The woman on the left sits with her right knee bent, looking on as she waits for her turn. Francisco depicts a moment of daily life on the peripheries of empire, similar to Gauguin's Tahitian women. However, unlike Gauguin's women, whose gestures are restrained, Francisco captures a moment of movement. Yet, like Gauguin's representation of the Tahitian "Other," Francisco's image of rural life is situated beyond spatial and temporal recognisability.

Art produced through the colonised-collaborator gaze utilises notions of mimicry in the subject, composition, and technique to emulate values associated with the colonising culture. Through this process of mimicry, the Philippine elite sought to utilise the politics of recognition in order to set themselves apart from the "uncivilised" people in the peripheries and the "un-urbanised" of the rural regions of the lowlands. By doing so, they hoped to become worthy of self-governance and independence. In other words, cultural and political elites in the Philippines mirrored cultural values and characteristic of Euro-American civilisations in order to be recognised as capable of both self-governance and internal colonisation. This conception of the "Self" within the context of the colonised-collaborator gaze reflects a synthesis of nationalist discourse, developed in the nineteenth century, with colonialist discourses on race and ethnography.

¹⁷¹ *Sungka* is a Filipino game that uses small cowrie shells and a carved wooden game board.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATIONALIST GAZE: REPRESENTING THE “SELF” TO THE NATION AND TO THE WORLD

How does a nation that was colonised for 350 years define itself culturally? Who becomes part of the “nation”? In a multicultural setting, for whom does nationalism represent and speak? The uncertainty and tensions in using cultural by-products of the colonial experience (i.e. art created in or by artists trained in colonial institutions) reflects the ongoing process of asserting Filipino “genius,” nationalism, and share consciousness through the emphasis of personal lives of such artists and the de-emphasis of the role of Spanish or American colonial politics and institutions.

After World War II, and the subsequent independence of the Philippines, Filipinos began “writing back” the experience of the nation in which the narratives of the struggle of recognition and independence were emphasised.¹⁷² The nationalisation of the development of Philippine modern art culminates in monographs written about the Triumvirate and exhibitions such as “Images of Nation” during the late twentieth century and up until the contemporary period. By nationalising the narrative, the production of a nationalist identity prior to independence was inscribed in the narrative reflected in contemporary discourses on Philippine art history. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, the nationalist narrative of the development of Philippine modern art emphasises the fracture from past academic, colonial traditions as a form of liberating

¹⁷² Joyce L. Arriola, “Scripting the Filipino Story Through Media Images: Official and Popular Notions of “Nation” During the Marcos Years,” *Pilipinas, A Journal on Philippine Studies* 44 (2005): 36.

and authenticating Philippine artists, as they were now able to explore ways to render a national identity. This narrative of Philippine modernism reflects an ongoing continuation of the narrative of revolution, subversion, and struggle emphasised by nationalist historians, starting with the Propaganda Movement during the Spanish colonial period, followed by the *Kataas-taasang, Kagalang-galang ang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*'s, or Katipunan for short, revolution against the Spanish empire, and the subsequent war for sovereignty against the United States and later Japanese fascism in WWII.¹⁷³

Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, as well as other scholars of Philippine nationalism, have discussed the use of cultural nationalism in humanising political and economic nationalism. Anderson states that nationalism is a cultural artefact in which ideas of nationhood are informed by contradictions: first, the "objective modernity of nations" versus "subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists;" second the "universality of nationality;" third "the 'political' power of nationalism vs. their philosophical poverty."¹⁷⁴ To be included within the concept of a nation requires affiliations, which tie a member to generations past and future, but the concept of nation is "limited" to its boundaries.¹⁷⁵ Through the American colonial enterprise, the Philippine nation included the binding of the Mountain and Moro Province to the boundaries of the Hispanic-Catholic lowlands. For nationalism to spread, grow, and exist, it requires cultural

¹⁷³ *Kataas-taasang, Kagalang-galang ang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* translates to Supreme and Most Honourable Society of the Sons of the Country.

¹⁷⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 5.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 7.

agencies such as popular media, literature, and the arts.¹⁷⁶ Although Anderson states that the imaginings of a national identity were predominately print-based, the novel and the newspaper, this chapter will argue that painting, including mural works, provided a “simultaneous consumption (‘imagining’)” of the Philippine “Other,” as well as an imagining of the “Self.”¹⁷⁷

The Development of Philippine Nationalism in the Spanish Empire

The early Filipino nationalists comprised the male *ilustrado* class residing in Spain, or in neighbouring European countries. The *ilustrado* class were predominately from the *principale* class educated in universities in Manila, as well as in Europe. From the 1880s to the 1890s this emergent class of educated “Filipinos” called for economic, political, and educational reforms in the Philippines. The first instance of these campaigns by expatriate *ilustrados* emphasised assimilationist policies, demanded Spanish citizenship for Filipino subjects, and Filipino representation in the Spanish parliament. These *ilustrados* publicised their campaigns through novels and scholarship (philological, ethnological, and historical) on the Philippine colony, as well as in their newspaper *La Solidaridad* from 1889-1895.¹⁷⁸

The most eminent of these *ilustrados* was Jose Rizal and the development of Philippine nationalism is typically traced back to Rizal. He is considered as the first national hero of the Philippines, the “Father of Filipino Nationalism,” and the author of *Noli Me Tángere* and *El Filibusterismo*, published in 1877 and 1891 respectively. Rizal’s

¹⁷⁶ Arriola, “Scripting the Filipino Story,” 33-34.

¹⁷⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33-35.

¹⁷⁸ Vicente L. Rafael “Nationalism, Imagery, and the Filipino Intelligentsia in the Nineteenth Century,” *Critical Inquiry* 16.3 (1990): 592.

novels feature the imagining of the narrative of the Filipino “Self” in the context of Spanish colonialism. In his first novel *Noli Me Tángere*, Rizal utilises his character Maria Clara to personify the Philippines through her birth, interactions with other characters, and her demise. As discussed in the novel, Maria Clara was supposedly born to a native Philippine woman from Santa Cruz by the name of Doña Pia Alba and Capitan Tiago.¹⁷⁹ In fact, Maria Clara appears to have a semi-European appearance, due to the fact that her biological father is the Spanish priest Padre Damaso, which only becomes evident later in the plot. The first introduction of Maria Clara is in fact violent; out of the creation and birth of this character is the death of a native woman, thus the reader is encountered with a second death connected to Padre Damaso, the first being protagonist Crisostomo Ibarra’s father.

Along with the violence surrounding her birth, Maria Clara’s upbringing is representative of Philippine history: birthed by a native Philippine woman, raised by a Chinese mestizo, and educated by Spanish friars. Following her birth, Maria Clara was educated in a convent, under the scrutiny of Padre Damaso. Her childhood and birth therefore reflect the incipient years of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines. The existence of Maria Clara and the creation of the borders of the Philippines were due to Spanish colonial intervention and desires; and her education, as well as the education of the native Filipinos, is reflective of the desire to create and maintain obedience through the Catholic faith. The story of Maria Clara is not just a representation of colonial interactions with the Philippines; her character is also a reflection of patriotism, and a statement of dedication and love to the Philippines. In Chapter Seven, Ibarra proclaims

¹⁷⁹ Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. Ma. Soledad Lacson-Lochin (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), 39.

and equates his love for Maria Clara with his love of his nation. He states "...Hence my love for you and that which I profess for my Motherland are blended into a single love."¹⁸⁰ In this rare instance, Rizal does not use subtlety to describe his love for a new, young nation, which is personified in this context as Maria Clara. In Ibarra's proclamation of love is a revolutionary thought wherein the Spanish colony is its own nation. He describes the characteristics of the Philippine nation as those found within Maria Clara herself, including the races united in her being.¹⁸¹

The patriotism surrounding Maria Clara is also displayed within Maria Clara's song during the fishing excursion (Chapter Twenty-Three). It is also known colloquially in the Philippines as *Awit ni Maria Clara*; the term *awit* refers to a native Philippine song. Maria Clara's song equates the love of a mother to that of a nation. Her song also expresses the honour of dying for one's nation. In the first stanza, Maria Clara sings:

"Sweet are the hours in one's own land
Where all is loved under the sun,
Life is the breeze in her fields sweeping,
Death is welcome, and love more caring!"¹⁸²

In this stanza, Maria Clara is singing about the life giving properties of living in one's own land. Her song incites a sense of patriotism. As the nation gives life, one should welcome death for a nation. This song combined with the personification of the Philippine nation in Maria Clara urges a sense of patriotism.

Rizal's covert patriotism and display of the social cancers of Spanish colonial rule reflect the developing nationalist consciousness of the Philippine upper classes. The *ilustrados* consciously placed themselves as authorities between the Philippine colony's

¹⁸⁰ Rizal, *Noli*, 45.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 45.

¹⁸² *Ibid*. 141.

peoples and the Spanish imperialists. They sought to be recognised for their “civilisation” as illustrated by their education, artistic development, eloquence in Spanish, and loyalty to Spain. In this imagining of a new “Filipino,” distinct from the category of “Filipino” as a Spaniard born in the Philippine colony, they excluded certain people from an “assimilated” Philippines, thereby limiting the boundaries of who would be recognised as “Filipino.”¹⁸³ In other words, the *ilustrado* class sought to become exemplars of Philippine civilisation. In assuming this role, writers of the Propaganda Movement saw themselves as defenders of the virtues of “Mother Philippines” and employed a nationalist history in order to defend the imagined Motherland.¹⁸⁴

Jose Rizal’s account of early Philippine society relied on *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (published in Mexico in 1609) by Antonio de Morga, the lieutenant governor-general of the Philippines.¹⁸⁵ Rizal engaged extensively with de Morga’s book, including writing annotations to the text, in order to search for the spirit of a general Philippine “culture.” In Rizal’s introduction, he states “If the book... succeeds to awaken your consciousness of our past, already effaced from your memory, and to rectify what has been falsified and slander, then I have not worked in vain, and with this as a basis, however small it may be, we shall be able to study the future.”¹⁸⁶ In this statement, Rizal identifies the reader as Filipino, and calls for an awakening of a Philippine consciousness in the search for the primordial Philippine nation.

¹⁸³ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 38.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁸⁶ Jose Rizal, *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands by Dr. Antonio de Morga* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962), vii.

Though Rizal calls to the awakening of a nationalist consciousness, there were boundaries to the term “Filipino.” The term was subverted by *ilustrados*, but it was used in assertions of civilisation and claims to recognition. The boundary of the “Filipino” was derived from the Hispanic-Catholic boundaries of Spanish rule. Thus the boundaries placed on being “Filipino” excluded non-Christian inhabitants which reified the line between those inside and outside Hispanic-Catholic influence while blurring the line between Spaniards and *ilustrados*. This divide between Christian and non-Christian was further emphasised by the use of the historical evidence of the service of “Filipinos” in the Spanish colonial wars against the non-Christians located in northern Luzon, Mindanao, and the Sulu Archipelago.¹⁸⁷ Rizal’s book *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands* by Dr. Antonio de Morga thereby provides a blueprint for a Philippine national identity.

Nationalism and national consciousness were not emerging exclusively within the imagination of expatriate *ilustrado* class. The formation of the Katipunan in 1892 by Andres Bonifacio, as discussed by the nationalist historian Teodoro Agoncillo, enabled nationalism for the lower classes.¹⁸⁸ This is evident through the shift in language from the Spanish used in publications by the *ilustrado* class, which limited imaginings to Filipinos literate and fluent in Spanish. Through use of Tagalog, Bonifacio appealed to a wider audience in the Philippines. The Katipunan interpreted the ideology of Rizal into a more general worldview; the ideas of freedom and nation were redefined to fit the mass quest

¹⁸⁷ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 66-68.

¹⁸⁸ Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto, *Payson and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 4.

for salvation.¹⁸⁹ The nationalism developed by the Katipunan and their associates saw Spanish rule as oppressive and considered resistance to be a necessary means to nation-ness.¹⁹⁰ Through the rise of the Katipunan and the subsequent exile of the revolutionary government, more and more communities rallied to the cause of independence, including other Tagalog provinces outside of Manila, regions of northern Luzon excluding the Cordilleras, southern Luzon, the Visayas region, and northern Mindanao.¹⁹¹ The Philippine Revolution against the Spanish Empire and the formation of the Malolos Republic on January 23, 1899 provided a basis for Filipino nationhood that would allow revolutionaries to articulate nation-ness and nationalism as well as obligations to a consolidated state beyond the reach of the Spanish empire.

Ethnie and Nation

Due to the delineations between race and ethnicity that developed and were employed during the Spanish and American empires, it is important to consider what role *ethnie*, or ethnic community, plays in the development of nationalism, especially within a multicultural, multilingual, and multi-ethnic nation. In his book *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* Anthony D. Smith argues that crucial to the analysis of the *ethnie* in relation to the symbolic development of a nation are the following concepts: form, defined as the symbolic contents and meanings of communal creations; identity, or the sense of community based on history and culture; myth, symbol, and communication, three interconnected concepts that inform and crystallise various phenomena such as languages,

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society*, 110-111.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 113.

religions, style of dress, art and architecture (including “minor” arts or folk art); and forms of hierarchy.¹⁹² Ethnicity is thereby underscored by the myths, symbols, memories, and values that are found in artefacts and activities associated with *ethnie*.¹⁹³ The ethnocentrism of nationalism creates and crystallises ethnic components, creating continuity between *ethnie* and modern nations.¹⁹⁴

Though the nation needs the power of the state for its development and preservation, the state also needs a national community bounded by notions of *ethnie* in order to maintain and increase its power. The feeling of affinity, participation in a “common” culture and tradition, and imagining of a common destiny form the essence of national sentiment and patriotism. In addition to the external structure of government, other elements were required to forge the Filipino people into nationhood. These elements included a common history, common official language, and a common religion (Christianity).¹⁹⁵ The sources of cleavage that have existed in the Philippines arise mainly from local loyalties and particular interests. Such cleavages are intensified by the difficulties of communication between various islands. Along with issues pertaining to local and regional loyalties is the use of stereotypes pertaining to specific regions, for example “thrifty” Ilocanos versus “undeveloped” *Igorots*.¹⁹⁶ However, these multicultural and multi-regional aspects of Philippine culture do not appear in the nationalist ideology developed in the capital.

¹⁹² Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), 13-14.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

¹⁹⁵ Reynaldo Silverstre, “Imperialism and Filipino Nationalism,” *Philippine Studies* 21.3 (1973): 579.

¹⁹⁶ R.S. Milne, “The Uniqueness of Philippine Nationalism,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 4.1 (1963): 85.

Smith's concepts of *ethnie* within the nation are evident in the development of the post-Independence Philippine national history. First, the Philippine Constitution provided a national language, Filipino, based on Tagalog, and through its implementation in schools, a majority of the population now understands Filipino. Secondly, Philippine nationalism also utilises Catholicism as a means of cementing social unity. In a 1956 speech Raul Manglapus, a prominent post-World War II politician, referred to Catholicism as the "essence of the nation."¹⁹⁷ The development of a governmentally informed nationalism provided a sense of ethnological homogeneity that was derived from the American colonial concept of a nation. Evident in both the "official" language and the use of a common language is an emphasis on the cultures of the lowland Luzon regions in the post-Independence period.

In Philippine nationalism emphasis is placed on the histories and collective memories of the metropole and its population. As discussed in Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines 1840-1910* the focus of "Philippine" history are the histories of subjugation and colonialism in Manila and the surrounding regions that converted to Catholicism. An objective history of the Philippines outside Manila and its surrounding regions is a recent phenomenon, with William H. Scott writing the histories of the Cordillera as well as Ilocano revolts against Spaniards, Patricio Abinales's analysis of the politics of southern Philippines, and Gerard Finin's book on the development of a Cordilleran consciousness in a colonial and post-colonial context.¹⁹⁸ This emphasis on revolt and revolution in the Tagalog regions is

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 91.

¹⁹⁸ See William Henry Scott's *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* for his discussions of Ilocano revolts and *The Discovery of the Igorots*

highlighted by the symbolism of the national flag of the Philippines. The golden, eight-rayed sun is representative of unity, with each ray representing the eight provinces involved in the 1896 Philippine Revolution against Spain: Manila, Bulacan, Cavite, Pampanga, Bataan, Laguna, Batangas, and Nueva Ecija.¹⁹⁹ The history recalled by the flag discounts the resistance against the Spanish empire outside of the boundaries of the Hispanic-Catholicised lowlands. Here, national becoming emphasises the struggles and resistance to the Spanish empire in Manila and the surrounding provinces while simultaneously removing and discounting the histories of the peripheries of the modern nation-state.

Reading Philippine Modernism Through a Nationalist Gaze

In the nationalist narrative of the development of modern art, Victorio Edades's solo exhibition in 1928 displayed works that consciously departed from conservative preoccupations with light and imitation of reality. As a consequence of this narrative, Edades' brand of modernism appears as a stylistic departure from academic artistic developments.²⁰⁰ Modernism and nationalism were intertwined and promoted by influential figures in the development of art history and criticism, including Purita Kalaw-Ledesma, the founder of the Art Association of the Philippines; Lyd Arguilla, the

for his discussion of interactions between Spanish colonisers and Cordilleran peoples; Patricio Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso's *State and Society in the Philippines* which inserts the history of the margins (i.e. Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and the Cordillera) into the broader history of the Philippines; Gerard A. Finin's *The Making of the Igorot: Cordillera Consciousness*.

¹⁹⁹ "Origin of the Symbols of our National Flag," Malacañan Palace, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://malacanang.gov.ph/3846-origin-of-the-symbols-of-our-national-flag/>.

²⁰⁰ Ahmad Mashadi, "Some Aspects of Nationalism and Internationalism in Philippine Art," in *Modernity and Beyond: Themes in Southeast Asian Art*, ed. T.K. Sabapathy (Singapore: Singapore Art Museum, 1996), 46-47.

founder of the Philippine Art Gallery; and Fernando Zobel de Ayala (1924-1984), an artist, businessman, art collector, and museum founder, all of whom were cultural agents operating in Manila. The twentieth century city of Manila was a site of discourse and debate about identity as well as cultural values that were representative of “Philippine” identity. Artistic and the cultural agents were confronted with the contrast between the urbanity and modernity of Manila and the romanticised unmodern rural peripheries. In the visual language of both Philippine modernism and nationalism the deployment of nature and rurality in opposition to the modernity of Manila became prevalent. The rural landscape and activities of daily life became a symbol of the communal spirit not “corrupted” by the city. The modernist imaginings of the rural areas close to and surrounding the urban centre is evident in Francisco’s images of daily life in Angono, a town in the Rizal province and the hometown of Francisco located nineteen miles from Manila, which heroicised and monumentalised everyday life and ritual.

Francisco’s 1946 painting *Fiesta* (fig. 3.1) reflects a similar idealisation of the countryside as seen in Amorsolo’s images of *dalagang bukid*. In Francisco’s painting the central figures are engaged in a jovial dance, while surrounding the two central figures are individuals playing music, eating, and watching the festivities. Francisco’s picturesque depiction of the rural countryside utilises rich colour, combined with *horror vacui* that reflects indigenous aesthetics, and the use of lush, curvilinear shapes, and a flattening of perspective. The figures in the scene are graceful in comparison to the solid, statuesque forms of Francisco’s depiction of the *Igorot* in his painting *The Flutist* (fig. 2.9) as well as earlier colonial imaginings of *Igorot* rituals seen in Elizabeth Keith’s prints and in the 1904 World’s Fair. While it might be possible that this is due to stylistic

developments over the course of Francisco's artistic career, a painting from 1955 entitled *The Nose Flute* (fig. 3.2) echoes his earlier format in the depiction of the ethnic Other that does not reflect the communal, Philippine "spirit" found in the lowland countryside.

Francisco's *The Nose Flute* displays two key tropes found in his paintings of the peripheries: the solidity of form and the use of nudity in order to represent a "primordial" state of Philippine cultural development.

The use of a contemporary indigenous group as the "primordial" or "perennial" Filipino was part of a search for a Philippine identity devoid of foreign influences. In an article for the journal *Philippine Studies*, Fernando Zobel de Ayala argues, "if we give up primitive we must accept the fact that anything we find will have a more or less strong foreign influence."²⁰¹ This idea echoes Anderson's notion that nationalism is in fact paradoxical. Through the search for a Philippine identity, or essence of Philippine identity, one must employ primitivist discourses rooted in the development of the "Self" and "Other" in a European context. In fact, similar to the search for the "primordial" Other found in Gauguin's paintings of Tahiti, Zobel reduces the search for a national identity to a simplistic formula: "Object (minus) foreign influence/s (equals) residue, which is the Filipino expression we hope to find."²⁰² Zobel's statements recalls Edades's equation of the sculptures of the *Igorot* with that of the "Negro," a statement rooted in Euro-American racial concepts.

In the Philippines, the image of the *Igorot* in the discourses of nationalist-colonialism continued to inform politicians and cultural agents about the key distinctions

²⁰¹ Fernando Zobel de Ayala, "Filipino Artistic Expression," *Philippine Studies* 1.2 (1953): 128.

²⁰² Ibid.

between highland and lowland cultures, especially in regards to distinctions between Christian, the religion that bounded the nation, and non-Christian, a remnant of “fractured tribalism.” Post World War II, ethno regional conceptions of the *Igorot* played an important role in political activities. However, the paradoxical view of the *Igorot* as a distinctive “kind” of Filipino as well as the preservation of “Igorotism” was prevalent both in the lowlands and in the highlands.²⁰³

With increased migration of lowlanders to the highlands after World War II, native Cordilleran officials created criteria to define lowland migrants applying for government positions within the Cordillera. The criteria formulated by Cordilleran officials for lowlanders residing within the region reflected a deployment of binding and categorising ethno-linguistic groups utilised by American colonial officials and collaborating elites: first, the parents have established a home in Mountain Province or Baguio; second, the livelihood of the individual must be in the Mountain Province or Baguio; and third, they must be born in Mountain Province or Baguio City.²⁰⁴ Though Cordilleran officials applied these criteria in the peripheries, they did not shift the development of a national identity within the national metropole. Regional consciousness merely fed into the push for a unified national identity that promoted the multicultural nature of the Philippines, and reinforced the perception of exoticism outside of the modernity of Manila.

The discourses of post-war nationalism echo the nationalist-colonial rhetoric and recall the hierarchy of the central Self and the peripheral Other, which underpin urban modernities. Metropolitan imaginings constructed “primitive” spaces populated by the

²⁰³ Finin, *Making of the Igorot*, 141-142.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

Igorot who were “contained and disciplined not as socially or geographically different...but as temporally different and thus as irrevocably superannuated by history.”²⁰⁵ In this space, the cosmopolitan elites perceive the landscapes and cultural products of an age removed from modernity and struggling to survive. Such a view also provides a space for Manila to witness the taming of primitive society. In this discourse of nationalism and modernisation of the Philippine nation-state are the artefacts of colonial racial formations and social evolutionary theories that continued to be prevalent in the development of a unified “Filipino” identity. Furthermore, the construction of the Philippine nation relies on the opposition between a modern, metropolitan culture and indigenous cultures.

Amid these tensions was the modernisation of an indigenous subject matter that was celebrated by nationalists, especially in the discourses of Philippine art history. In a series of exhibitions by the Ayala museum entitled “Images of Nation,” which focused on specific artists proclaimed as National Artist by the Philippine government, the museum gathered selected works by artists in order to identify the Philippine nation and visions of nation-ness. The third in this series of exhibitions focused on the work of Victorio Edades and absorbed his American Colonial period images of the Philippines into the nationalist narrative of the Philippine nation-state. This exhibition emphasised the symbolic title of “National Artist” as a means of reflecting the artistic genius of the entire Philippine nation. Edades’s significance as a “National Artist” is highlighted in both the catalogue Introduction and in the Message by the Senior Director of arts and culture, Ma. Elizabeth L. Gustilo. According to the award citation,

²⁰⁵ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

Victorio C. Edades, painter, architect, teacher, and humanist, is the original iconoclast of Philippine art. He changed the direction of Philippine painting decisively, ending the parochial isolation of Philippine art and placing it in the mainstream of international culture...A powerful polemicist in defense of modern art, he infused new life into art, opening windows to permit access of ideas from the outside world...Edades lived to see Philippine painting transformed according to his teachings...it is his emphasis on new perceptions as the true spirit of art that is his most important contribution to the development of Philippine art.²⁰⁶

This statement reveals the importance of depicting and rendering the national “spirit” of Philippine art to the nation as well as to the international community. It also emphasises the necessity of dynamism and modernist tendencies in imagining the nation. Ironically, by introducing European modernist visual language to the Philippines, Edades was able to infuse “new life into art”, though Philippine artists were being trained within institutions established by colonial powers. Referring back to Homi Bhabha’s theory of mimicry, it becomes evident that Edades utilised and reinterpreted the colonial gaze in order to subvert colonial conceptions regarding the Philippine nation. By collaborating with the colonial gaze, Edades covertly created and informed later visualisations of Philippine-ness in modernism.

Carlos Francisco’s paintings were also exhibited in the same exhibition series. Entitled “Botong Francisco: A Nation Imagined,” this exhibition sought to display the Philippine nation through Francisco’s renderings of “timeless and traditional folkways.”²⁰⁷ Again, the exhibition catalogue seeks to legitimise the paintings in the exhibition through the National Artist statement:

²⁰⁶ *Images of Nation: Victorio Edades* (Makati: Ayala Foundation Inc., 2012), 10.

²⁰⁷ *Botong Francisco: A Nation Imagined*, 11.

No painter of his time was more closely attuned to the spirit of his land and people. His genius fed on this never-failing source of inspiration, and he remained to the end of his life the authentic interpreter of the timeless round of daily existence in the villages of his native land.²⁰⁸

Similar to the statement from the proclamation of National Artist for Edades, emphasis is placed on Francisco's ability to render the "spirit of his land and people." In the narrative of Francisco as national artist, his mural work is highlighted due to the historical authority placed on the development of the Philippines as a nation. Francisco's historical murals foregrounded political history through central characters in government, diplomacy, and military told from the viewpoint of the "colonised." His historical murals reflected the nationalist historiographies of Teodoro Agoncillo, Renato Constantino, and Reynaldo Ileto.²⁰⁹ In his murals, unlike his paintings of the peripheries, were "Great Men," heroic and dynamic in composition and form. Francisco's paradoxical view of "Great Men" situated in history, on the one hand, and the timeless poor rural folks, on the other, persisted as distinct themes throughout his artistic career. In contrast to his public mural works, Francisco's smaller format paintings present images of ordinary people that were absent from his historic, and public, murals. The removal of ordinary people from his murals reflects the hero-worshipping perspective of post-World War II Philippine history, a period in which political and cultural nationalists were looking for what Anthony Smith calls a "usable past" that embodied the persistence of the Philippine spirit.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 12.

²⁰⁹ Roberto G. Paulino, "Visualising Philippine History: Image and Imagination in Murals," in *The Life and Art of Botong Francisco*, ed. Patrick D. Flores (Quezon City: Vibal Publishing House Inc., 2010), 116-118.

²¹⁰ Paulino, "Visualising Philippine History," 120.

In contrast to Edades and Francisco, Galo Ocampo was not awarded the National Artist award. Rather his contributions to the development of a Philippine “spirit” within Philippine modernism were in his work as the director of the Nationalism Museum from 1962 to 1968; his publication of *Aspects of Philippine Culture*, a lecture series that discussed and explored different cultural aspects that underscores a general “Philippine” culture;²¹¹ his writing of several articles and the co-authoring of five books on art and art education; as well as receiving the Order of Lakandula, one of the highest honours given by the Philippine government.²¹² In the last lecture in the series *Aspects of Philippine Culture*, Ocampo discussed the development and historical underpinnings of contemporary Philippine art. His lecture highlighted how social order is expressed in the art world, and he argued that post-war society provided the instability for the proliferation of modern art due to the need to represent the disorientation of post-war realities and the celebration of independence.

Reading Ocampo’s *Brown Madonna* (fig. 1.2) through a nationalist gaze underscores that nativity of both the Madonna and the landscape surrounding her as being purely Filipino in nature. His use of a Filipinised Madonna echoes the personification of the Philippines as the “Motherland” in the image of “Faith” in the Quezon Institute fresco (2.12) as one of the characteristics of the modern state, as well as the image of the Filipinas rising out of Spanish and American influences as seen in the mural *Rising*

²¹¹ Galo B. Ocampo, *Contemporary Painting of the Philippines*, (Manila: National Museum, 1968), 2.

²¹² Alice Guillermo, *The Life and Times of Galo B. Ocampo* (Philippines: McEnrho Book Publishing, 2013), 13.

Philippines (fig. 2.11).²¹³ Discussed earlier, Ocampo's painting attempts to subvert and decolonise the image of the Madonna as European and white. Unlike Gauguin's *Ia Orana Maria*, which does not highlight the race of his Madonna, Ocampo's subject and title highlights and emphasises the race and non-whiteness of his imagining of Madonna.

Evident in his nationalistic imagining of a Filipina Madonna, Ocampo consistently searched for a Philippine art devoid of foreign influences. In his contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of the Philippines*, Ocampo declares that "Filipino art (pre-Spanish era) was but a shadow of that existing in the Asiatic continent, eminently Oriental, with some local characteristics which were developed in a manner parallel to the different foci of Oriental civilization with which we were in close contact."²¹⁴ Although discussing the pre-colonial past, Ocampo brings up non-Christian cultures as a means of indicating the foreign influences in pre-colonial art. For example, according to Ocampo, "Indonesian influence" can be found in the "wearing of apparel of the non-Christian tribes, particularly the Kalingas of Luzon, whose apparel shows rich and harmonious colors."²¹⁵ Again, similar to the imaginings of Edades and Francisco in regards to the "primordial" nature of non-Christian tribes, Ocampo situates the northern non-Christians as perennial Filipinos due their cultural and religious values being outside of the cultural boundaries of the national identity of "Filipino." This is further evident in his discussion of the influence of *Igorot* sculpture and aesthetics on modern art: "the carvings of the Igorot artists are a delightful relief by reason of their simplicity of line, their plasticity of planes,

²¹³ Rodolfo Paras-Perez, "Galo B. Ocampo," in *Galo B. Ocampo*, (Manila: Zone-D Art Publications, 1972), 2-3.

²¹⁴ Galo B. Ocampo, "Filipino Art," in *Encyclopaedia of the Philippines*, ed. Zoilo M. Galang, (Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1950-1958), 44.

²¹⁵ Ocampo, "Filipino Art," 45.

and subtle touches of humor so dexterously executed with the crude implements of the primitive man.”²¹⁶ The following statement echoes the continuation and crystallisation of primitivism within the Philippine nationalist imaginings that emphasise the capacity to overtake European modernist art: “In the Division of Ethnology of the Museum of the University of Santo Tomas is a pair of Igorot wood-carvings that can surpass Picasso in the cubistic treatment of the human figure.”²¹⁷ Thus the primordial Philippine aesthetics, associated with the *Igorot*, becomes modern in aesthetic and part of the making of the modern Philippine nation.

Galo Ocampo’s paintings of the Other express the perennial unchanging qualities of the subjects. Ocampo’s paintings *Dancer* (fig. 3.3) and *Igorot Dance* (fig. 3.4) present two differing modes of representing the Philippine “Other” in the Mountain and the Moro province. Ocampo’s *Dancer* is a fully dressed Moro woman, who appears to represent southern Mindanao through her clothing and the scrolling *okir* motif that dominates the background.²¹⁸ Her movement is graceful and her body is curvilinear, indicating a sense of civilisation comparable to Francisco’s image of a dancing woman in the rural lowlands of Luzon (fig. 3.1). Though the figure appears more civilised than the figure in *Igorot Dance* due to her posture and state of dress, Ocampo nevertheless situates the Moro Other in a timeless, static setting that connotes bounty through the lush foliating forms in the background.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 47.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 47.

²¹⁸ The *okir* motif is the Philippine Muslim form of the arabesque found throughout the Muslim world. Localising the Muslim arabesque to suit local aesthetics, the *okir* employs abstracted vegetal forms found in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. The *okir* motif reflects the concept of *tawhid*, or the oneness of God. See David B. Baradas’s article “Some Implications of the Okir Motif in Lanao and Sulu Art,” *Asian Studies* 6.2 (1968): 129-68.

In contrast, Ocampo's *Igorot Dance* expresses his rhetoric about the "primordial" Filipino. Here, the *Igorot* Other is blocky and more solid. Similar to Edades's approach in *Two Igorot Women* (fig. 1.15), Ocampo utilises thick lines and forms to delineate the *Igorot* woman's body. The background is decorated with two *nipa* huts used symbolically to represent the Philippine past here and in murals done by Edades, Francisco, and Ocampo. In the foreground are fire and a water buffalo skull, symbolic of the "backwardness" or the "primitive" nature of the *Igorot*. The *Igorot* woman appears in a state of ecstasy, her arms raised above her head, her head flung back, and her shirt raised above her breasts. Unlike the *Dancer*, which can be seen as a form of Philippine Orientalism, the *Igorot Dancer* appears as the complete "primitive," due to her nudity, her timeless setting devoid of modernity, and the fact that she is accompanied by objects that have primordial connotations. The *Igorot* body and accoutrements in the visual field reflects Ocampo's perception of the resistance of *Igorot* culture to outside forces.²¹⁹ The Moro woman, unlike the *Igorot*, is presented with a sense of gracefulness in both her posture and body. She is more contemplative, restrained, and introspective compared to the ecstatic, flamboyant *Igorot* woman.

The nationalist gaze operating in Philippine modernist paintings reflects the tensions and shifts from the nationalist-colonialist discourses of the collaborator in the

²¹⁹ Although this thesis focuses specifically on the nationalist gaze in the incipient period (post 1946 to mid-1950s), the meaning of the visual codes within painting have changed and can be associated with the Kalinga protests against the Chico River Dam project in the mid-1970s and 1980s during the Marcos dictatorship. The project was shelved due to the Kalinga women's protests in which they blocked entrance for construction workers and trucks and removed their clothes. For more information regarding the politics of protest and undress in relation to the Chico River Dam project, see Mina Roces's article "Women, Citizenship and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines," in *Gender Politics in Asia: Women Manoeuvring within Dominant Gender Orders*, ed. Wil Lundström-Burghoorn, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008.

American colonial state to the nationalist discourses of the newly independent Philippine nation-state. The nationalist-colonialist discourse was reinvented to suit the needs of a sovereign nation, rather than a nation seeking to become independent. The nationalist gaze utilises similar relationships of power forged during the American colonial period and performed by Philippine political and cultural elites, in order to search for a usable past. The rendering of a Philippine past can be seen in two differing traditions: in the emphasis on the masculinity of Philippine struggle and revolution against imperialism, situated in or around Manila, and in the use of the *Igorot* as the image of the “primordial” Filipino in order to indicate the continual existence of the essence of the “Filipino.”

CONCLUSION

The study of Philippine modernism must move beyond the formalist analysis that emphasised a move from the sweetness and the idealisation of reality found in the paintings of Amorsolo towards exogenous modernist techniques introduced by Edades. The symbolic nature of the codes employed by modernist artists reflected a continuation of racial formations developed in the American colonial context. The polyvalent nature of the gaze in Philippine modernism emulates the complexity and tensions regarding the performativity and recognition of the Philippine “Self,” as defined and limited by Philippine political and cultural elites in the metropolitan centre of Manila. Racial formations of the Spanish and American empires were utilised to deploy a moral justification for the colonisation, subjugation, and programs of assimilation of the Philippine islands. By utilising multivalent readings in order to understand the shifting meaning of the codes deployed by the Triumvirate of modern art, the complexity and ambivalence regarding the representation of race and nation within the multicultural setting of the Philippines become highlighted. Furthermore, the use of the polyvalent gaze enables reflection about the appropriation and rejection by Philippine cultural and political agents of colonial discourses on race, nation, culture, and civility.

The American colonial regime utilised racial formations in order to divide the Hispanic-Catholic regions of the Philippines, the lowlands of Luzon, and regions in Visayas area from the Mountain and Moro Provinces, labelled as “Special Provinces” due to their resistance against outside forces. In American colonial racial rhetoric, lowland,

collaborating Filipinos were seen as civilised due to the Christianising and Hispanicising programs of the Spanish Empire, while non-Christian groups were seen as “uncivilised” or “semi-civilised” due to their lack of assimilation. Because non-Christian “tribes” were perceived as “uncivilised” or “semi-civilised,” the American colonial regime placed these Special Provinces under the supervision of the American military, unlike the lowland regions that were governed by a civilian government and where political elites would later be invited to collaborate “from within.”

In the colonial regime, images of the uncivilised, Philippine “Other” appeared in the rhetoric of American politicians, images produced by mass media, and Exposition exhibits. The racial formations of the American colonial empire, coupled with the development of the “Self” and “Other” through the colonial experience of the United States and Europe, were appropriated by Philippine cultural and political elites in order to display and achieve recognition for their civility in comparison to their non-Christian counterparts. In the visual language of the colonised-collaborator gaze, the non-Christian Other was inscribed into the Philippine geo-body as a means of mapping Philippine societies equated with differing forms of civilisation, as well as to create boundaries between Christian and non-Christian Philippine cultures. The images of the *Igorot* Other were utilised to emphasise the modernity of the Philippine metropole in comparison to the peripheries, which were personified by the body of the *Igorot*. The images of the Other within the context of the colonised-collaborator gaze provides a pictorialisation of the nationalist-colonialist discourse regarding the internal colonisation of the Philippines by elites in the metropole as well as the Filipinisation of the “White Man’s Burden.”

The discourse of nationalist-colonialism shifted from a desire to become a modern nation by colonial officials to the search for a unified national identity in a multicultural setting. The nationalist gaze employs the image of the Philippine Other to inscribe the “essence” of Philippine identity into an imagined pre-colonial past. Here, the *Igorot* becomes the “primordial” Filipino with an emphasis on the persistence of Philippine culture and identity amid colonial subjugation.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 0.1. Victorio Edades. *The Builders*. 1928. Oil on plywood. 71.65 x 126.38 in. Cultural Centre of the Philippines.

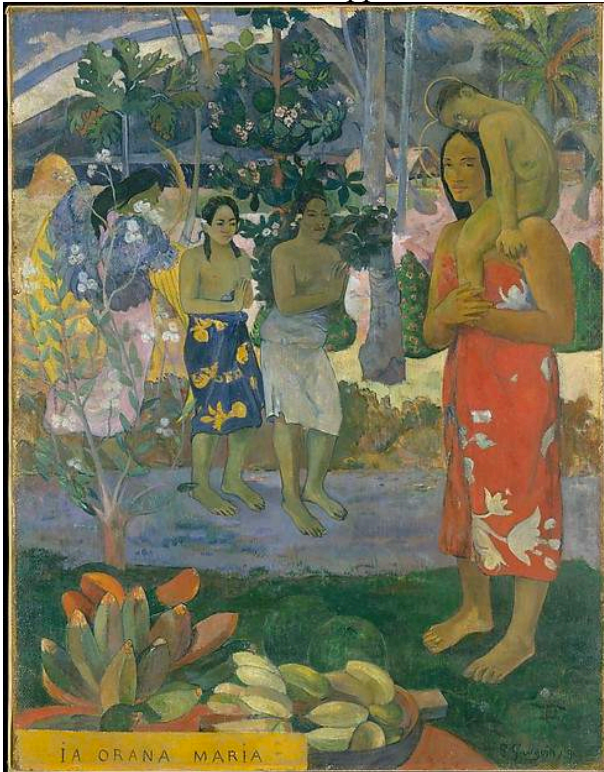


Figure 1.1. Paul Gauguin. *Ia Orana Maria (Hail Mary)*. 1891. Oil on canvas. 44 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

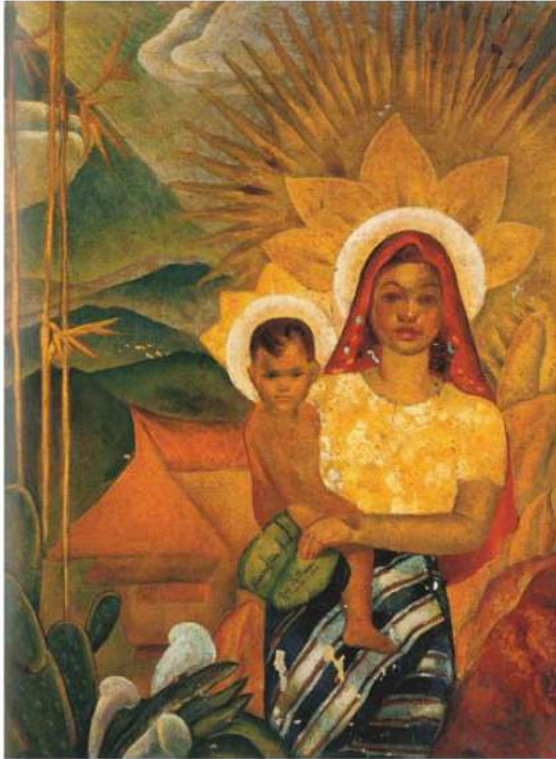


Figure 1.2. Galo Ocampo. *Brown Madonna*. 1938. Oil on canvas. 35 x 28.9 in. University of Santo Tomas.



Figure 1.3. Elizabeth Keith. *Lama Priest, Peking*. 1922. Colour woodblock print. 15 ¼ x 10 ½ in. University of Oregon, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art.



Figure 1.4. Elizabeth Keith. *After the Dance, Benguet Man*, 1924. Colour woodblock print. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 in. Source: Miles, Richard. *Elizabeth Keith: The Printed Works*. Pasadena, California: Pacific Asia Museum, 1991.



Figure 1.5. Elizabeth Keith. *The Kanoui Baguio Banquet*. 1924. Colour woodblock print. 10 x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Source: Miles, Richard. *Elizabeth Keith: The Printed Works*. Pasadena, California: Pacific Asia Museum, 1991.

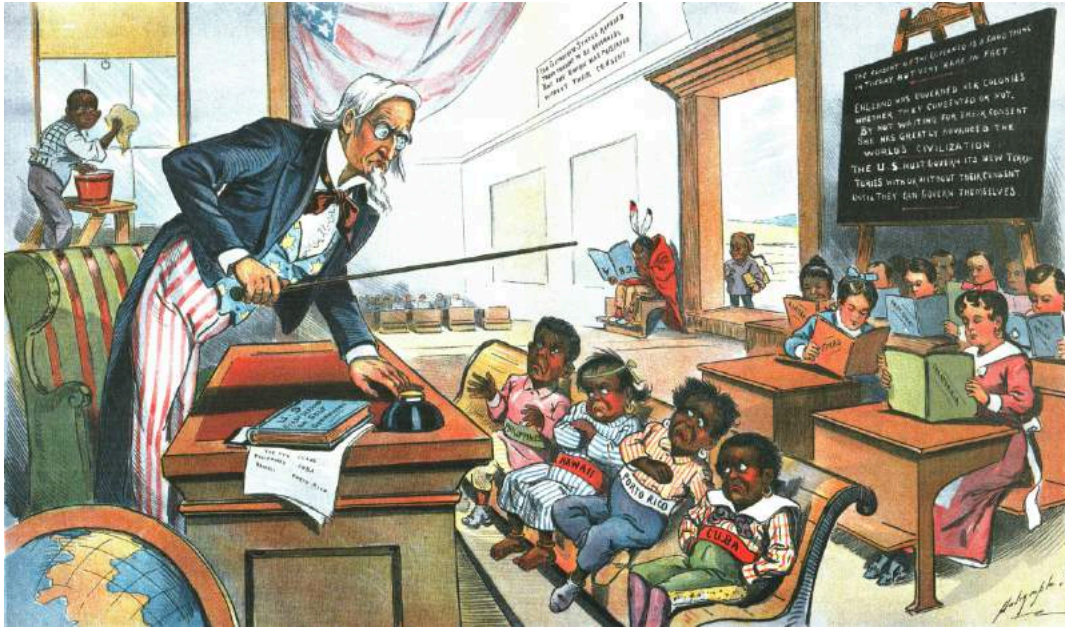


Figure 1.6. “School Begins.”

“Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization) – Now, children, you’ve got to learn these lessons whether you want it or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel glad to be here as they are!”

Louis Dalrymple, *Puck*, New York, January 25, 1899.



Figure 1.7. Layout of the Philippine Exposition. Source: Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

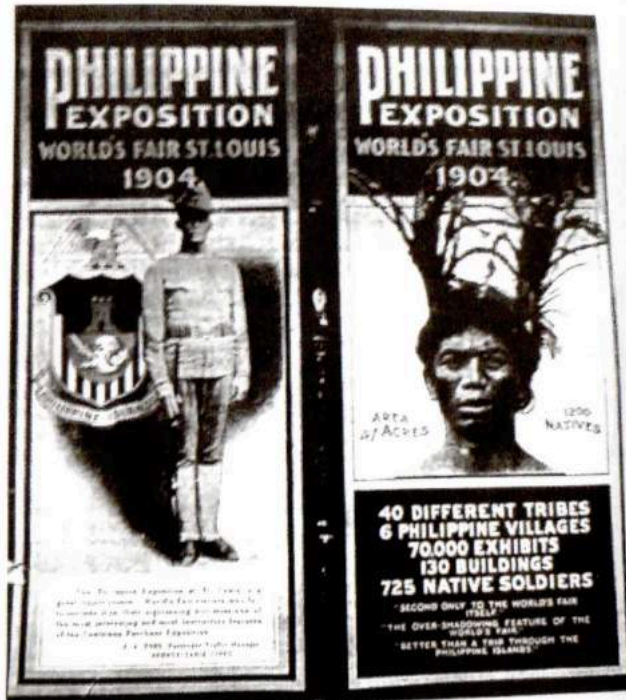


Figure 1.8. Philippine Exposition Brochure. Source: Fermin, Jose D. *1904 World's Fair: The Filipino Experience*. Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2004.



Figure 1.9. *Chinese Mestiza*. Early 20th century. American colonial postcard. Source: Best, Jonathan. *Philippine Picture Postcards 1900-1920*. Makati: Bookmark Inc., 1994.



Figure 1.10. *Tattooed Igorrote Woman – Bontoc, Island of Luzon, Philippines.* Early 20th century. American colonial postcard. Source: Best, Jonathan. *Philippine Picture Postcards 1900-1920.* Makati: Bookmark Inc., 1994.

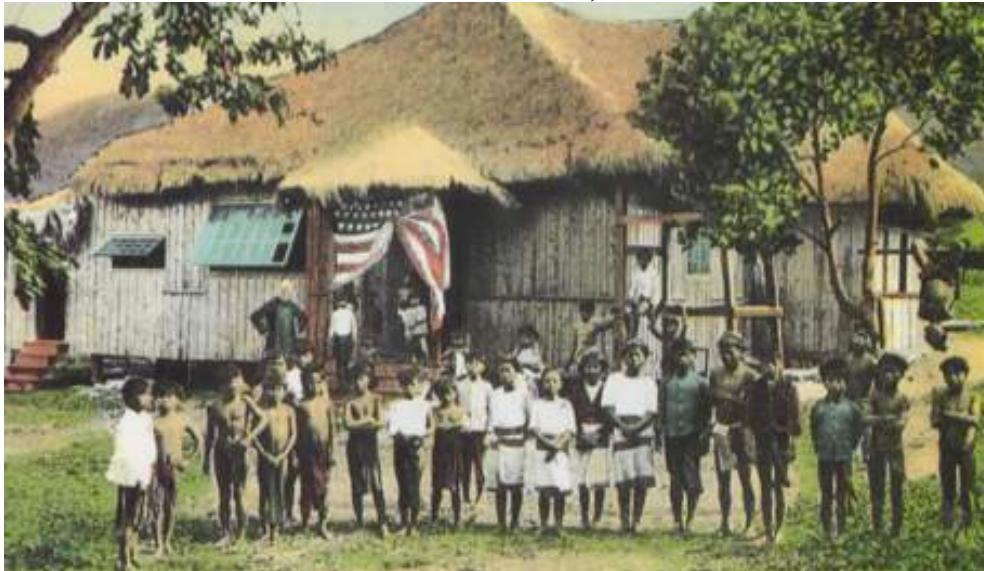


Figure 1.11. *Mission School in Mountain Province.* Early 20th century. American colonial postcard. Source: Best, Jonathan. *Philippine Picture Postcards 1900-1920.* Makati: Bookmark Inc., 1994



Figure 1.12. *Typical Manila Girl and Her Uncivilised Sister.* Early 20th century. American colonial postcard. Source: Best, Jonathan. *Philippine Picture Postcards 1900-1920.* Makati: Bookmark Inc., 1994.



Figure 1.13. “Educational Value of the Constabulary. 1. Bontoc Igorot on entering the service, 1901. 2. After a year’s service, 1902. 3. After two years’ service, 1903.” Source: Chamberlin, Frederick C. *The Philippine Problem 1898-1913.* Boston: Little Brown, and Co., 1913.



Figure 1.14. Victorio Edades. *Bulul at Babae* (formerly known as *Woman and Idol*). ca. 1920s. Oil on canvas. 55 x 69 ½ in. Vargas Museum Collection.



Figure 1.15. Victorio Edades. *Two Igorot Women*. 1947. Oil on canvas. 59 1.2 x 49 in. Vargas Museum Collection.



Figure 2.1. Juan Luna. *España y Filipinas*. 1886. Oil on canvas. Dimensions unavailable. Lopez Memorial Museum.



Figure 2.2. Félix Resurrección Hidalgo. *Per Pacem et Libertatem (Through Peace and Liberty)*. 1904. Oil study (painting destroyed during World War II). Dimensions unavailable. Lopez Memorial Museum.



Figure 2.3. Fernando Amorsolo. *Ang Dalaga*. 1929. Oil on canvas. 16.34 x 13.39 in. Ayala Corporation Collection.



Figure 2.4. Fernando Amorsolo. *Palay Maiden (Rice Maiden)*. Oil on canvas. 1920. 33.66 x 23.74 in. Ayala Corporation Collection.

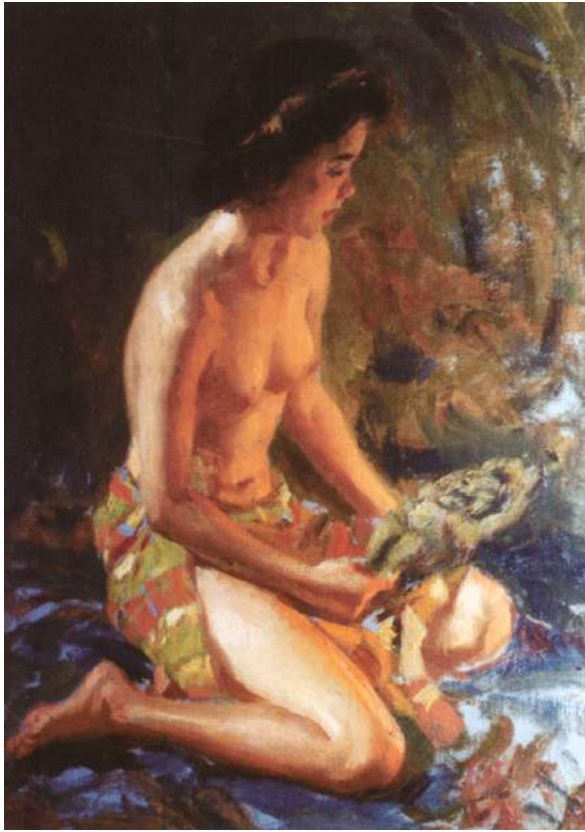


Figure 2.5. Fernando Amorsolo. *The Offering*. 1941. Oil on canvas. 20 ½ x 18 ½ in. Bank of the Philippine Islands Collection.

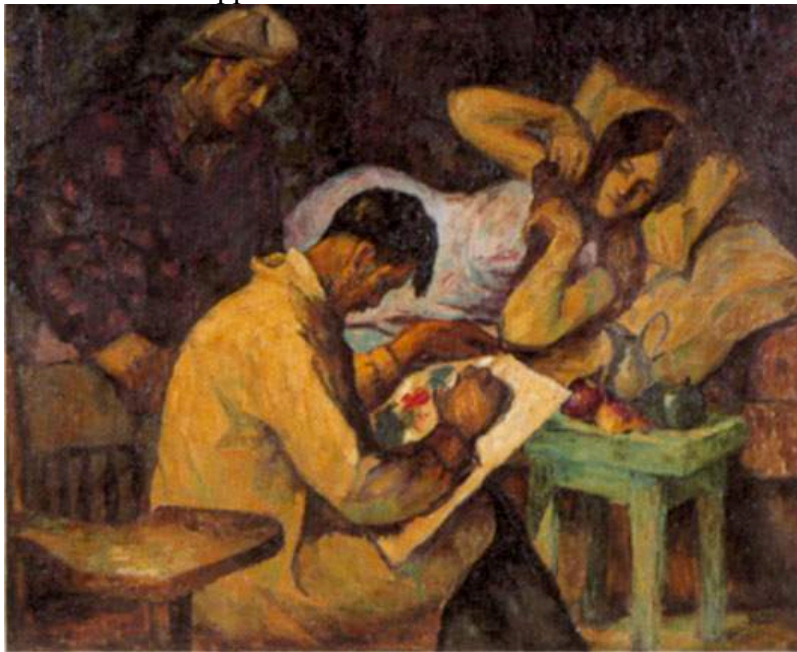


Figure 2.6. Victorio Edades. *The Sketch*. 1928. Oil on canvas. 37.8 x 46 in. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.



Figure 2.7. *Bulul*. 19th century or earlier. Wood. 24 ½ x 5 x 6 5/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2.8. Victorio Edades' studio, San Juan, Rizal. Photograph. ca. late 1920s. Artist's collection. Source: Kalaw-Ledesma, Purita and Amadis Ma. Guerrero. *Edades: National Artist*. Manila: Security Bank and Trust Company and Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1979.



Figure 2.9. Carlos V. Francisco. *The Flutist*. 1939. Oil on canvas. Dimensions unavailable. Private collection. Source: Ty-Navarro, Virginia and P.B. Zafaralla. *Carlos V. Francisco: the man and Genius of Philippine Art*. Makati: Ayala Museum, 1985.



Figure 2.10. Carlos V. Francisco. *The Progress of Medicine in the Philippines (Pre-Colonial Panel)*. 1953. 197 x 157 ½ in. Oil on canvas. National Museum of the Philippines.



Figure 2.11. Victorio Edades, Carlos V. Francisco, and Galo Ocampo. *The Rising Philippines*. 1935. Dimension unavailable. Capitol Theatre, Manila. Destroyed during WWII. Source: Kalaw-Ledesma, Purita and Amadis Ma. Guerrero. *Edades: National Artist*. Manila: Security Bank and Trust Company and Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1979.



Figure 2.12. Victorio Edades, with the assistance of Anita Magsaysay-Ho and Consuelo Lee. *Quezon Institute Fresco*. 1940. Dimensions Unavailable. Quezon Institute, Manila. Destroyed during WWII. Source: Kalaw-Ledesma, Purita and Amadis Ma. Guerrero. *Edades: National Artist*. Manila: Security Bank and Trust Company and Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1979.



Figure 2.13. Carlos V. Francisco. *Sungkaan*. 1943. Oil on canvas. 24 x 18.1 in. Stanley and Abby Chan Collection.



Figure 2.14. Paul Gauguin. *Tahitian Women*. 1891. Oil on canvas. 2 x 3 ft. Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 3.1. Carlos Francisco. *Fiesta*. 1946. Oil on canvas. 111 x 104 in. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paulino Que.



Figure 3.2. Carlos Francisco. *The Nose Flute*. 1955. Oil on double canvas. 47.6 x 71.7 in. Private collection.



Figure 3.3. Galo Ocampo. *Dancer*. 1946. Oil on canvas. 37 x 28.7 in. Singapore Art Museum.



Figure 3.4. Galo Ocampo. *Igorot Dance*. 1953. Gesso. 33.1 x 24 in. Private Collection.

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