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Post-Colonial Perils: Art and National Impossibilities

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This paper dwells on how art becomes politically formative in sensing, or aestheticizing, the emancipation of the post-colony and the longing for the nation in Asia. It extends this theme to discuss as well how such modernity refunctions what is presumed to be a non-western tradition so that it could screen intimations of the foreign and the global in inventing a contingent identity or culture.

In colonial time in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century, two paintings evoked a condition of revision. In 1857, the Indonesian Raden Saleh (1807-1880) painted *The Arrest of Diponegoro* (1857) not to record the capture of National Hero Pangeran Diponegoro, a prince of Yogyakarta who rebelled against his family and Dutch benefactors, but to rectify the depiction in Nicolaas Pineman's *Subjugation of Diponegoro* (1830) in which the dissident figure is cast in a tableau of humiliating submission. Diponegoro waged a war from 1825-1830, styling himself as an Islamic stalwart and a revivalist of authentic Javanese values; his apprehension by General Henrik Merkus de Kock was a tribute to Dutch control over the archipelago that commenced in 1602. A scholar comments that “Saleh's Diponegoro is not a subjugated warrior, he is a cheated person, a victim of Dutch treachery” and that the painting “is a caricature, a bitter commentary on Dutch colonial rule.”¹ Here, the artist reciprocates the disappearance of dignity in the official commemoration with defacement, with Diponegoro's captors slightly disfigured and his head held high.

In 1884, the Filipino Juan Luna (1857-1899) was conferred at the Madrid Exposition a gold medal for his *Spoliarium*, a historical canvas that portrays the scene at the chamber in the Roman coliseum where dead or dying gladiators are despoiled. Luna's fellow expatriates in Europe cherished this triumph of a native subject being acknowledged in Spain through his achievement in art and at the same time discerned in the painting an allegory of the suffering of the Philippines under Spain, which encroached on the islands in 1521. It was a critique that enabled them to prefigure the colony elsewhere and the post-colonial as universal: in Rome, the former master of Spain that was the erstwhile Hispania, and in the painter-patriot Luna who was hailed in the inflated oratory of his confreres as a genius who “knows no country.”²

In these instances, art renders the political through the reflexivity of representation: of demonstrating, on the one hand, the self in history and resisting its location in hegemonic historiography and of ensuring, on the other, that alterity can be transcended through sheer mastery of the civilizing narrative.

The modality of staging this history is central. And the role of the artist-genius like Saleh and Luna is resonant, and their acumen to exceed the demands of naturalist documentation is exemplary. We glean an equivalent articulation in the career of the autodidact aristocratic Indian painter Ravi Varma (1848-1906) whose oeuvre and life animated aspirations for a nation beyond the British empire, which possessed India in 1757. An academic painter with no formal training, he was sought by both the Raj and the Maharajas and reconfigured Victorian salon protocols to ratify an Indian past of epics and classics as well as of princely courts. Reared in a constellation of inspirations, from European orientalism to folk theater, he would conjure a prospect of an essential India as a sovereign polity across its vastly discrepant ethnic terrain. This imaginary was to be condensed in the image of a *Galaxy of Musicians* (c. 1889) where a “national/cultural synthesis” is projected onto a mother nation of composite feminine types: “a group of eleven oriental women representing different regions of India (including muslim nair tamil parsi anglo-indian women) makes up a perfect anthropological vignette.”³

But it was not only the works of Saleh, Luna, and Varma that stirred the post-colonial longing and enchantment; their very charismatic biographies guaranteed them primary roles in the melodrama of nationalism, heroism, and revolution. Part of this romantic distinction of genius was its tragic limits. Raden Saleh, who came back to his homeland in 1850 after cultivating renown as an artist overseas, felt he was lost between Europe and Indonesia and “died an almost petrified and embittered man, who had not found his place, neither within the native Javanese nor within the Dutch colonial society.”⁴ He divorced his Eurasian wife to marry a woman related to the Sultan of Yogyakarta; he retreated to a European Gothic mansion, founded an art museum and zoological garden, and sifted through paleontological remains, as if to prove that he did not merit the prejudice. Luna, who returned to his lamented origin in 1894, for his part killed his wife, whom he had suspected of infidelity, in a fit of rage in Paris.⁵ He was probably exasperated by the specter of discrimination: of being denied the Prize of Honor in Spain because he was a mere colonial and of being constantly reminded in his very household of his native station in relation to his affluent mestiza wife Paz Pardo de Tavera. The court acquitted him, taking into account his defense that the deed was a crime of passion inflamed by adultery, and attributed his temper to the nature of his volatile, if not “savage” race. Finally, after Varma’s death, his legacy would be rebuked as “hybrid, undignified, and above all ‘unspiritual.’”⁶ The Bengal school and the emerging nationalist ideology of *swadeshi* disconfirmed his reputation and his pretensions to nationalism. In spite of the hagiography attending the tenure of Saleh, Luna, and Varma, scions of landowners all, they felt incommensurate, their colonial exploits failing to secure for them a measure of equality that bedeviled and importuned their aesthetic unconscious, even as their modernities had been compellingly equivalent and exceptional.

There are many strains in this scheme of art and nation as a result of the shift from colony to post-colony in Southeast Asia, with the post-colonial inscribed as a sign of a national emergence or the consciousness of the self as opposed to otherness. Representation as has been mentioned unravels as an artifice of presence, a reality-effect, lending itself well as a testament to fracture from which implications about technique, education, talent, value, and a heightened awareness of the world and the history accruing to it could be drawn. To represent and to be represented is a stake in the inalienable privilege to make manifest, to appear and materialize, to risk being exposed, to contrive an image, and

ultimately to dispel belief in the image and to sometimes self-consciously tear apart the basis of the worldly desire for the self.

In Thailand, this method practically wove the fabric of modernity in spite of the absence of actually existing colonial occupation by an external power. Even without a post-colonial struggle for national liberation, it seemed that there was the struggle to overcome the coloniality of the monarchy, with the latter renovating and projecting its institution as modern and amenable to tutelage.

The King in Thailand was believed to be “participating in divinity; hence the need for images in state ceremonies and Brahminical rites. Idealized religious images in royal regalia were made to remind worshippers of the late monarchs, and the images became sanctified in response to the belief that the spirits remained in them.”⁷ King Mongkut (reigned from 1851-1868) severed this tradition by letting himself be photographed. In 1863, the first sculpture of King Mongkut was made by Emile-Francois Chartrousse from a photograph; the King was dissatisfied with it and asked an artist to produce another version, this time from life, that was completed in 1868. This was a marked turn in the royal attitude toward photography and portraiture that fabricated “a secular image intended to commemorate a living king,”⁸ an outlook sustained by the successor King Chulalongkorn (reigned from 1868-1910). He commissioned the Italian artist Edouardo Gelli to paint from a photograph sent to Florence the group portrait *Royal Family* (1899) to stress perhaps the importance of the family as a metaphor of nation, thus perpetuating a royalist-nationalist ideology. This was in cadence with how the Siamese monarchy, partaking of the agency of the human in contrast to the divine, “demythologized”⁹ itself through the mystification of photography and other devices of collective presentation: it wanted to be seen in the congregation of its subjects. With this venture, authenticity is effectively reworked as tradition, which inculcates the motivation of the modernizing subject to be conscious of history and to foreground complicities in its production and consumption in image and image making. All this toil makes sense within the program of the Thai *siwilai*. The domain of *siwilai* as a cognate of civilization is encompassing, from “etiquette to material progress, including new roads, electricity, new bureaucracy, courts and judicial system, law codes, dress codes, and white teeth.”¹⁰ A related term is the Khmer *charoen*, which largely means cultivation. According to a historian, “*siwilai* and the new meaning of *charoen* were part of the emerging temporal consciousness in which history, progress, and nostalgia were conceivable.”¹¹ In this respect, photography was an indispensable equipment in the forays of the Thai crowned heads in the nineteenth century to subscribe to the criteria of modernity as a means to be accepted in the international world of nation-states and to defend the Kingdom as an imperial power in the region.

It was not only Gelli who was conscripted in the labor of visualizing Thailand as modern. Several architects were commissioned to design important civic buildings, decorate the interiors, and lay out a dominion of Thai temples and neoclassical palaces. Also, its premier art school was founded by an Italian sculptor, who also designed nationalist monuments in the capital of Bangkok. The Chakri kings presided over this magisterial undertaking, and it is uncanny that Gelli’s picture making instantiated a world making as well, or more pointedly, of nation building within the ambience of kinship, of rulers comporting themselves as family, within the confines of a domestic sanctum, as if viewers of the painting were making an audience when they find themselves before it, “fixed as it is between public and private image, between formality and intimacy.”¹²

In the seventies in the Philippines, the post-colony would mutate into a Third World developing country under the atmosphere of the Cold War. Modernity at this point meant progress and modernization, priming a metropolis, an American client state, and a city capital to be responsive to the needs of international free trade and the geopolitical balance of power in Southeast Asia. The dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, who assumed power in 1965, allied itself with the United States and nurtured the stature of the Philippines as a strategic location in a region supposedly threatened by communist inroads in China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Laos; it accommodated American military bases at the same time that it reached out diplomatically with Romania, Yugoslavia, and China. It was the First Lady, Imelda Marcos, who crafted Manila as a cosmopolitan city, proud of its native civilization and at the same time hospitable to international taste in modern art. Imelda christened Manila the City of Man that fed, sheltered, clothed, and ferried them to work and home and provided sanctuaries of culture and centers of conferences. For this ostentatious master plan, Imelda reclaimed 77 hectares of the Manila Bay and built on it a cultural complex that served as a setting to a range of high-profile events like the Miss Universe Pageant in 1974, the International Monetary Fund-World Bank and Group of 77 Meetings in 1976, and the Manila International Film Festival in 1982, to say nothing yet of the performances of the likes of prima ballerina Margot Fonteyn, pianist Van Cliburn, cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, and the pageant of Philippine history in the grand parade of *Kasaysayan ng Lahi* or History of the Race. It is not only governments that make nations, but also ballet companies and philharmonic orchestras.

The centerpiece of Imelda's fantasy was the Cultural Center of the Philippines, inaugurated by then California Governor Ronald Reagan. It was thought up by her favored architect Leandro Locsin, who was likewise responsible for the principal buildings in the said estate and for the Manila International Airport. Locsin's style is decidedly internationalist, with allusions to the traditional morphology of the local house and the brutalist elements provided by the crushed shells from the sea.¹³ This internationalism resonated with the ascendancy of gestural and geometric abstraction in the art world, the promotion of conceptual art, and the opening of the Metropolitan Museum of Manila in 1976, which was made possible through loans from the Brooklyn Museum, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and the private collections of Armand Hammer and Nathan Cummings. Culture was the herald of a Philippines flourishing under a democracy even as the political dispensation repressed human rights under the aegis of Martial Law, which was declared in 1972 to allegedly save the republic from leftist and rightist radicals.

Alongside these nation-building spectacles in the Philippines were similar efforts in Indonesia, where General Suharto became President in 1967 after the national anti-Dutch liberator Sukarno, who had sympathies with the socialist block and the non-aligned movement, was deposed in a military coup in 1966. Suharto's regime was able to stifle the vibrant political impulse of Indonesian modernism as artists sensitive to socialist ideals were hounded. In the years 1974 and 1975, there was a sharp swerve with the founding of the *Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia* (Indonesian New Art Movement), and a pivotal work of this moment was by Jim Supangkat. In 1975, he presented the sculpture *Ken Dedes* in an exhibition *Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia 75* (Indonesian New Art). Supangkat would re-image the likeness of the legendary queen of the 14th-century Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, radiating with feminine beauty, chastity, and potency:

The head and shoulders of the figure are sculpted in the classical Majapahit style, but from the breasts down to the feet, the figure is a rectangular box, on which is drawn in comic book style the rest of her body. The simplified lines describing naked breasts, unzipped jeans, and the insulting pose (in a Javanese context) with one hand on the hip, suggests a prostitute. The bizarre combination of Javanese antiquity and Western-derived obscenity formed a strong statement about Indonesian culture and society.¹⁴

Quite predictably, this piece elicited partisan opinions, dividing critics who defended it for being justly rebellious and others who thought it was profane and “an artistic disgrace to Indonesian culture.”¹⁵ It was *kasar*, or coarse, and not *halus*, or refined. It was the connection he had drawn between a revered patrimony and the existing structure of power that might have touched the raw nerve: “Indonesia’s glorious past” is made contemporaneous with a “contemptible present.”

Supangkat was part of the nascent revolt against the art establishment. It all started at the Major Indonesian Painting Exhibition held in 1974 when young artists, some of whom were students at the Indonesian Fine Arts Academy, renounced the “sterility of Indonesian art” by sending flowers to the jurors with a note that read: “Condolences on the death of Indonesian painting.” They drafted the manifesto *Lima Jurus Gebrakan Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia* (Five Lines of Attack of the Indonesian New Art Movement). The battle cry advocated: inclusiveness and plurality; critique of elitism, specialization, and valorization of personal feeling over social context; imagination and defense against the tyranny of mentors; research into the history of *seni rupa baru Indonesia*; and social engagement.

The exhibitions of the GSRB continued until 1979; it was revived in 1987 after a hiatus of close to eight years with *Pasaraya Dunia Fantasi*. From 1974-1987, the GSRB gained adherents, earned the ire of the police that clamped down on them, and reaped critical admiration. Moreover, it charted a new path of practice, laying bare the crisis of the institution and discourse of art itself and the methods of its circulation. It sharpened its edge so that it could be better poised to take on political predicaments. The dispute from the ranks of Supangkat stemmed from what the artists had perceived in retrospect as a depoliticization of Indonesian art during the reign of Suharto. After Sukarno was unseated in 1965, organizations of artists like LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat) or People’s Cultural Institute, which was founded under the wings of the Communist Party, were practically purged and stigmatized as Communist in the New Order (Orde Baru), a veritable analogue of Marcos’s own New Society (Bagong Lipunan). Such a traumatic experience among artists must have pressured them to steer clear of politics and pursue a kind of art that did not overtly confront ideological commitments. This climate conditioned a sense of routine within society and art institutions, with canons and creeds becoming increasingly entrenched. The movement strove to recover the political from this notion of the artistic, and in effect to repoliticize it in the rhythm of the social turbulence around it. Indeed, the term *baru* or new was contested: teetering between development and dissent, characterizing a new art and a new Indonesia, and recovering an ethical life that may in fact inform a prospective theory of the avant-garde in Southeast Asia.

In these three cases, the post-colonial in its discrepant guises aspires to the enlightenment project of modernity, of the emancipatory potential from all impediments to human amelioration. Art, specifically the aestheticization of public life and the ritualization of collectivity in national melodramas as well as the exercise of critique and reflexivity in

contemporary expression, feeds into a representational disposition or structure of feeling, which may well be the very politic of art and its immanent coloniality. This exhibitionary aesthetic leads us to a modality of theorizing on the post-colonial that may be able to veer away from the more familiar themes of imitation, diffusion, syncretism, adaptation, and mimicry. The irresistible trope that this paper foregrounds at a very provisional level is intimacy; it inflects the affect of the post-colonial in various practices.

First, the post-colonial reduces the scope of the national, its unknowable and sometimes radical particularities, into a finite patrimony. The Latin-American critic Nestor Garcia Canclini discusses this through the National Museum of Anthropology of Mexico, contending that in the museum, culture assumes a monumental effect through the “agglomeration of miniatures,” with the “simulated ‘infinitude’ of the museum” functioning as a “metaphor of the infinitude of the national patrimony...(and) also of the capacity of the exhibition to include it.” This alternation between monumentalization and miniaturization is related to “linguistic operations dealing with alterity” as these are “ritual acts of the ‘metabolization of the other,’ making it “‘soluble,’ digestible, in the same act in which its grandeur is acknowledged, it is reduced and becomes intimate.”¹⁶ The task of the museum in national formation, and the typologies it spawns in the disciplines of fine art and ethnology for instance, had been pervasive in post-colonies, as tellingly traced by the histories of national museums instituted by colonial administrations that instilled self-surveillance and self-regulation through an “exhibitionary complex.”

Second, the post-colonial engages in what the African theorist Achille Mbembe calls a “distinctive style of political improvisation, by a tendency to excess and lack of proportion as well as by distinctive ways in which identities are multiplied, transformed and put into circulation.”¹⁷ This effects a banality within the hegemonic relationship, so that the grotesque and the obscene ultimately cease to be a sign of ascendancy on the part of authority and a gesture of resistance on the part of the abject, but rather a source of powerlessness for both. Mbembe argues that while there is agency to be galvanized in the Bakhtinian moment of the carnivalesque, this play nourishes an intimacy with power that encourages “illicit cohabitation” by virtue of the fact that competing interests share the “same living space.” He tempers the politics of hope that post-colonial theory has held out, with the masses partaking of the “madness and cloth(ing) themselves in cheap imitations of power so as to reproduce its epistemology; and when, too, power in its own violent quest for grandeur makes vulgarity and wrongdoing its main mode of existence.” This disempowerment results in “situations of powerlessness that are the situations of violence par excellence.”¹⁸

Third, the post-colonial calibrates an idiom of suffering through intimacy. In the Catholic culture of the Philippines, intimacy translates into an internalization of Christ’s passion in which the subject becomes a co-sufferer, an intimate: the self is transformed, as it were, by bearing the same cross of the redeemer. An ethnography of a peninsula south of Manila is instructive in the way it scans various revelations of this intimacy, from customs of bereavement to transvestite beauty pageants to amateur singing competitions. With regard to the latter, it tries to understand how a contestant sings *Autumn Leaves* with so much sentimentality, when the loss that is signified in it “makes no immediate sense in the tropics.” To which the anthropologist reasons that the “idea of loss itself does; in singing a song part of whose meaning escapes one, one evokes, among other losses, the sadness at not having completely understood, at being excluded in relation to a cultural

register which, on one masters it, can open the doors of possibility and change one's life."¹⁹ For a country of million migrants and countless more leaving every day for work and resettlement, and still others dreaming of the same chance to depart so that they may survive and conceive of a future, the nation has truly become exilic.

In these provocative explications of the post-colonial within a transdisciplinary frame, the post-colonial navigates between the ludic and the melancholic, a mastery of the colonial code that admits both idiosyncrasy and wistfulness over the vanishing of the integrity of a local moral world and an anticipation of another beyond the dispossession of the present. We discern excess and diminution. On the one hand, there is vulgarity, or at the very least, impropriety; on the other, there is sacrifice and selflessness. The ubiquitous photograph of the King in Thailand, the pretentious city of Manila, and the incendiary installation in Jakarta betray a sense of surplus of exposure, a surfeit of representation. The Folk Arts Theater in Manila, for instance, was built in a record time of 77 days and in an insane rush to finish the Manila Film Center in 1982, an entire floor collapsed, burying some workers in quick-dry cement. The installation of Jim Supangkat was refused on the grounds of indecency. And the modernization of Thailand in the long term encouraged a self-exoticization so that a significant part of so-called Thai national identity may actually be exotic, built on orientalist notions about a "selective tradition" that is absorbed into a robust tourist industry, which by the way had been stimulated by the lavish expenditure of American military personnel in the kingdom during the Vietnam war.

The theory of intimacy is challenging. It at once addresses the problematic of reification and alienation, and the recovery of self as tradition and other intimations of the promise, the thrill, the allure of the modern belated though its arrival may be. There is, therefore, a vacillation between a return to a perceived non-western, non-colonial sphere and an 'inclination outward,' toward a post-empire discourse, disrupting the advance of linear history. This paper ends with examples from the neotraditional strain in Japanese art or the *nihonga* that mediated western-style painting in the early twentieth century so that it could converse with a past in the context of the modern, and later critique this past and finally critique itself, and inevitably reach the watershed of reflexivity. Tsuchida Bakusen's *Serving Girl at a Spa* (1918) would hover between what has been identified as mediation and "productive mistranslation" to use Walter Benjamin's intriguing phrase: "the exotic south-sea figure within a luxuriant color scheme, and the Japanese bathhouse girl who Bakusen simultaneously inserts from a long Japanese discourse of vernacular imagery in the European discourse of exotic plenitude."²⁰ Japanese contemporary art would follow this through when it rediscovered *nihonga* as a lasting force in its will-to-form, attested by the works of Matsui Fuyoko and Takashi Murakami. The latter dares to even assert that Japanese art is bound to a superflat aesthetic, which embraces screen paintings and manga or the Japanese comics, where "space has turned Super Flat and the eye is but a spectral, *animé* sign."²¹ This recognition of flatness could be the premise of the self-reflexivity of Japanese modern art, its faculty to take exception to itself.

Another facet of this neo-traditional procedure is cut from the angle of post-socialist, diasporic art from China through the work of Shen Jiawei, formerly a farmer, soldier, border guard, and propaganda painter for Mao's Cultural Revolution (1949-1976); in 1989, he migrated to Sydney where he painted the mural *Third World* that painstakingly accounts for the faces of revolutionaries and potentates, catching the shafts of light and the long shadows of a post-colonial world. This is from an artist reared in the ways of

rendering the abstraction of ideology intimate to the masses through “art for people’s life” in the parlance of the party; and in the current incarnation of his practice, he collects personages of power in a family portrait of sorts. It recalls the Maoist doctrine of the seventies that China was a vanguard of the developing countries. It mingles western oil painting, the totalitarian persuasions of the mural, and the parody of the swarm of icons of a world of nations, with Mao pointing his finger at the dead Che Guevarra and his arm clutched by Imelda Marcos, who hoists one golden shoe from her fabled collection of thousands. Around them is a motley gathering of phantom figures, from Idi Amin of Uganda to Pol Pot of Cambodia to Osama Bin Laden of the axis of evil. It is part paeon, part kitsch, part preposterity that has wrought what may well be failed nation-states, failed colonialisms, failed nationalisms, and a failed international as well in an era of post-colonies caught up in global intimacies.

The colony may have ended, but the nation might not yet be its final possibility. Alternatively, the post-colony may have cohered, but its ends of freedom have remained impossible, or are not yet possible, and that, as a student of the Frankfurt School has eloquently phrased, “the mandate to protest that condition of unfreedom has not yet expired.”²² Indeed, it could only be an intimating art.



Juan Luna's *SPOLIARIUM*

Figure 1. Juan Luna, “Spolarium” (1984)

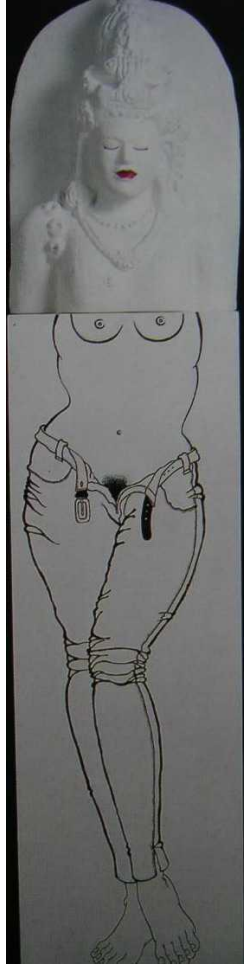


Figure 2. Jim Supangkat, "Ken Dedes" (1975)

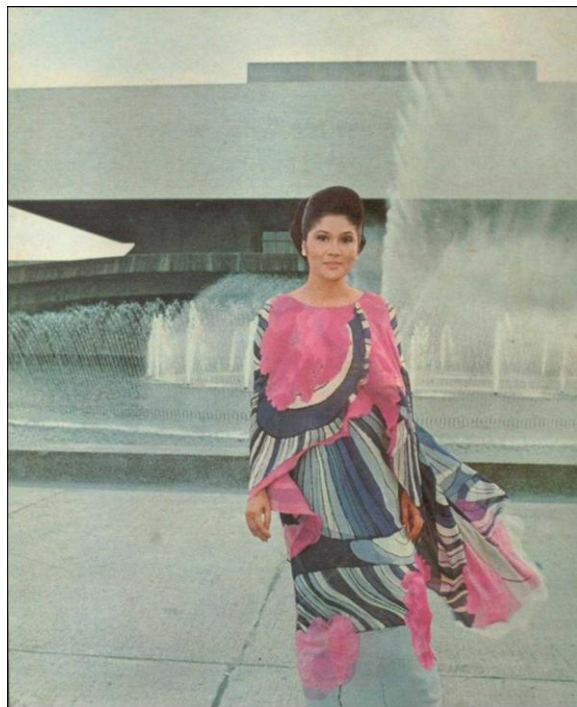


Figure 3. Imelda Marcos



Figure 4. Cultural Center of the Philippines

¹ Werner Krauss, 2006, "First Steps to Modernity: The Javanese Painter Raden Saleh (1811-1880)," in John Clark, et al. (eds.), *Eye of the Beholder: Reception, Audience, and Practice of Modern Asian Art* (Sydney: Wild Peony, 2006), 48.

² Patrick Flores, "Nature intervenes in strokes: Sensing the End of the Colony and the Origin of the Aesthetic," *Filozofski Vestnik* (XXVIII), No. 2 (2007).

³ Geeta Kapur, *When Was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India* (New Delhi: Tulika, 2000), 168.

⁴ Werner Krauss, "Raden Saleh (1811-1880): A Javanese Painter in Germany," from *The Painter Raden Saleh: Migrant Between Two Worlds* Seminar (Bandung: Goethe Institute-Bandung, 1995), 13.

⁵ Santiago Pilar, *Juan Luna: The Filipino as Painter* (Manila: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1980).

⁶ Partha Mitter, *Indian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 177. See also Mitter's *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India (1850-1922): Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷ Apinan Poshyananda, *Modern Art in Thailand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹ Caverlee Cary, "In the Image of the King: Two Photographs from Nineteenth-Century Siam," in Nora A. Taylor, ed., *Studies in Southeast Asian Art: Essays in Honor of Stanley J. O'Connor* (New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2000), 122-142.

¹⁰ Thongchai Winichakul, "The Quest for 'Siwilai': A Geographical Discourse of Civilizational Thinking in the Late Twentieth and Early Twentieth-Century Siam," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 59, No. 3 (2000): 529.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 531.

¹² Poshyananda, *Modern Art in Thailand*, 13.

¹³ Gerard Lico, *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ Brita Miklouho-Maklai, *Exposing Society's Wounds: Some Aspects of Contemporary Art Since 1966* (Adelaide: Flinders University of South Australia, 1991), 61.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Nestor Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 129. See also Tony Bennett's "The Exhibitionary Complex," *Thinking About Exhibition* (London: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁷ Achille Mbembe, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* Vol. 62, No. 1 (1992): 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁹ Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 209.

²⁰ John Clark, *Modern Asian Art* (Sydney: Craftsman House, 1998), 80.

²¹ Hiroki Azuma, "Super Flat Speculation," in Takashi Murakami, ed., *Superflat* (Tokyo: Madra, 2000).

²² Martin Jay, "Foreword," *Postmodernism and the Postsocialist Condition*, in Aleš Erjavec (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), xviii.

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