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Occupation, resistance and collaboration: Triangulating Japan, the Philippines and Singapore through Fernando Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour*

Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut

Introduction

Bestowed posthumously with the National Artist of the Philippines Award in 1972,¹ Fernando Amorsolo is known for his elegant portraits of Filipino elites and American officials, and of rural landscapes populated by idealized peasants cast in tropical light. While the former graced the residences of his patrons at home and abroad, the latter were reproduced as posters, tourist brochures and calendars for mass consumption. In contrast to these popular and commercial genres, however, Amorsolo also produced a body of work during and about the Japanese occupation of the Philippines (1942–5).² Besides sketching the sufferings of Filipinos as these unfolded in the streets, Amorsolo painted the destruction of Manila and the rape of the Philippines in his studio. *Defend Thy Honour* (1945) depicts an interior with a Filipino holding a *bolo*³ and shielding a Filipina in torn clothes from an unseen Japanese soldier (Figure 4.1). Addressing both horror and honour, Amorsolo documented the occupation as a historical and personal trauma, embodying and gendering the Philippines as a victim of rape. Acquired by Brigadier General Frank E. Lowe (President Harry S. Truman's military observer) during his mission to the Philippines and subsequently taken back to the United States, the painting was eventually passed to another owner and returned to the Philippines. There it remained until 2012, when the National Gallery Singapore (NGS) purchased it.

Singapore's claim to be the centre of 'New Asia' and its transformation into a global city of the arts required, as part of its cultural development, the aggressive acquisition of Southeast Asian national treasures under the guise of institutional collaboration and museological partnership. Art historian Kevin Chua describes the NGS's 'politics of inclusion' as a form of 'curatorial colonialism' facilitated by its power, prestige and pocket.⁴ The sale of Amorsolo's work was made possible after the Philippines' National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) allowed it to leave the country despite laws designed for its protection. While some critiqued the NGS's acquisition of *Defend Thy Honour*, others construed it as an indication of Philippine art's increased value

Figure 4.1 Fernando Cueto Amorsolo, *Defend Thy Honour*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 153.7 cm. Collection of National Gallery Singapore. © Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation, Inc., Philippines. (See Plate 6.)

in the regional market. Indeed, besides the issues of race and gender central to the painting – a violent image and story familiar not just in the Philippines, but also in Singapore, which was also occupied by Japan – class is inherent in its circulation as a commodity and as a token of cultural capital.

For this volume, Amorsolo's Filipina rape victim intersects with and speaks to the oft-gendered ways in which artists and cultural producers in general respond to, and render into image, the experience of occupation. Interestingly, occupation was also embodied by Amorsolo, as well as by his older and younger brothers, who were executed by the Spaniards for joining the revolution in the late nineteenth century and by Filipino guerrillas for collaborating with the Japanese in the mid-twentieth century, respectively. Contributing towards a triangular study of 'visual histories of occupation,' this chapter explores the iconography of the Japanese military occupation of the Philippines and the latter's museological collaboration with Singapore. Moreover, it takes into consideration the larger contexts of imperialism, Orientalism, nation-state formation and globalization, arguing that power relations are in constant realignment and that history – and individual and collective memory – is consensually reframed through art and its attendant scholarship and exhibition.

Biographical and colonial intersections

Born in the district of Paco, Manila, during the Spanish colonial period on 30 May 1892, Fernando Cueto Amorsolo would spend his early years in Daet in the province

of Camarines Norte, where his father Pedro found work as a bookkeeper for two abaca firms and 'his love for the simple rural life would become the foundation for his artistic output for which he is most well-known'.⁵ His mother Bonifacia recognized Amorsolo's artistic skill based on his drawings of ships by the harbour and shared them with her first cousin Fabian de la Rosa, a renowned painter in Manila. However, the execution of Amorsolo's older half-brother Perico at the hands of the Spaniards eager to quell the revolution, and his father's subsequent death from a heart attack, prompted Bonifacia and her remaining children to return to Manila in 1905, which was already occupied by the Americans. Because of familial affinity and financial precarity, the family lived with de la Rosa who taught art to Amorsolo in his studio. While Amorsolo's mother made embroidery for a living, Amorsolo sold his sketches for 15 centavos until he matriculated from the University of the Philippines School of Fine Arts in 1914 where, eventually, he would wield his brush as an art professor by 1918.⁶ At twenty-five years of age, Amorsolo started a family of his own with Salud Jorge.

Striking a balance between fine and commercial art practice, Amorsolo made advertisements for Ivory soap, painted movie posters for the Ideal Theater and illustrated two Tagalog novels. It was his *marka demonyo* label, or 'devil moniker' design, for a bottle of gin, featuring the iconic warrior St Michael the Archangel wielding his mighty sword upon Lucifer, that impressed Enrique Zobel, the owner of the Ginebra San Miguel Brewery. Zobel was an art patron and a descendant of a Spanish merchant from Mexico who had amassed the family's initial and vast fortune from the galleon trade between Acapulco and Manila from 1565 until the trade was terminated by King Ferdinand VII in 1817.⁷ Zobel sponsored Amorsolo's art education at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, where he was accepted not as a student, but as an art professor on a seven-month term, surpassing the Filipino painters Félix Resurrección Hidalgo (1855–1913) and Juan Luna (1857–99) who had merely studied there in the 1880s. Like Hidalgo and Luna, Amorsolo visited the collection of Museo del Prado, studying the court painter to King Philip IV, Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) – known for his mastery of composition and fluid brushstrokes essential to pictorial expression – and Joaquín Sorolla (1863–1923), known for his light that suffused subjects and landscapes in the manner of the French impressionists.⁸ These artistic influences during his sojourn in Madrid (as well as in New York where he held his first one-man show of thirty paintings at the Grand Central Art Galleries in 1919) helped Amorsolo develop his signature style of painting, and to provide for his growing family.⁹

'Peacetime'

The Treaty of Paris in 1898 facilitated the changing of the guard in the Philippines from the Spaniards to the Americans. The Americans were armed with their own imperial gospel upon arrival: English, ice cream and Hollywood glamour. Despite the oft-forgotten Philippine-American War (1899–1902), the subsequent American occupation of the Philippines, through until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, was considered a time of peace. Fernando Amorsolo's paintings, rendered in two divergent styles,

subjects and contexts, testify to this. For the portraits of and commissioned by American servicemen, entrepreneurs and their wives in the capital city, as well as Filipino elites who managed their *haciendas* (estates) in absentia, Amorsolo employed the painterly approach of Diego Velázquez and the superior finish and chromatic flourishes of the American realist artist John Singer Sargent, flattering his sitters with the heightened artificiality of gestures and postures characteristic of this genre. Yet for other genres, such as landscapes and seascapes, Amorsolo imported Sorolla's bright sunlight to shine upon the subjects he was most familiar with: the Filipino folk in the countryside.

As early as 1914, Fernando Amorsolo was painting with precision vivid portraits of American officials, including US President Woodrow Wilson, to grace the Panama Exposition of the same year.¹⁰ After his return from Madrid, Amorsolo resumed painting Americans in the Philippines, including the *Maiden with Lanzones* (1924), a portrait of a white woman wearing the *baro't saya* – the traditional attire of a Filipina peasant consisting of a blouse covered with a large, square kerchief and a skirt wrapped around a long skirt – that originally formed the collection of the California Historical Society in San Francisco, California, but later entered the collection of the Ayala Museum in Makati City, Philippines – a museum built and expanded by the descendants of Zobel (who had sent the painter to Madrid).¹¹ Popularly regarded as the 'painter of sunlight', Amorsolo painted several other portraits that were part of private and public collections. In the Early Twentieth Century Gallery of the National Museum of the Philippines (NMP), for example, one finds several canvases whose sitters' likenesses, personalities and tastes are finely distilled by Amorsolo, as well as an unfinished portrait of socialite Florencia Singson Gonzalez-Belo wearing a pink cocktail dress and resting on an easel next to a studio chair and a side table donated by the painter's widow Maria del Carmen Amorsolo.

'As American influence slowly crept into Filipino culture in the bigger cities', writes Edwin A. Martinez,

the artist yearned for the life he knew during his early childhood days in Daet ... the rural setting where American culture was slow to trickle down. His paintings would embody an affinity for the traditions and lifestyle he knew during the Spanish era ... scenes of fiestas, old churches, and rituals that were the legacy of the Philippines' former colonial masters.¹²

Combined with his proverbial diffidence, Amorsolo rescinded invitations to social events in the metropolis and retreated to the quiet pastoral landscapes of his youth in his mind and canvases.¹³ Similar to the *vedute* or city view, and *capricci* or fantasy paintings and prints by the Italian Canaletto, and/or in addition to the portable souvenirs of Roman coins and medals, bought by those who participated in the European Grand Tour during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Amorsolo's early-twentieth-century paintings were commissioned, purchased and/or brought back by the Americans to the United States as mementos of the islands. Indeed, the American occupation of the Philippines inaugurated mass tourism, as evidenced by the proliferation of picture postcards and tinted photographs, and the collection and circulation of bodies and objects (which occurred as early as 1904 when Filipinos from

various regions in the archipelago, as well as cultural artefacts, were sent to St Louis to inhabit the 'Philippine reservation' and entertain fairgoers). Amorsolo's paintings of country life and brown bodies indulged the Americans to discover, delight in and desire the foreign, the erotic and the dangerous.¹⁴

In Gallery XIX (or the first gallery of the GSIS Wing) at the NMP, genre paintings of peasants in rural landscapes provide a glimpse of Amorsolo's busy studio before and after the Second World War.¹⁵ *Under the Mango Tree (Mango Picking)* (1935) shows a gathering under a large mango tree whose low branches form a generous canopy shielding two Filipinas and a Filipino from the sun while another Filipina basks in the characteristic tropical light, and a Filipino makes his way to the foreground with his basket filled with green mangoes. *Tinikling* (1950), on the other hand, celebrates the pause in agricultural labour, with peasants watching barefoot *tinikling* dancers jump between bamboo poles. *Ricefield* (1954) offers a magisterial view of peasants at rest, planting or on a *carabao*,¹⁶ and a mountain under a warmly lit, blue sky with cumulus clouds. *Oracion* (1959) frames a verdant rice field, foregrounded by lilac-coloured flowers and a cluster of *nipa* huts¹⁷ in the distance, while a husband, who has removed his *sombrero*, stands next to his kneeling wife and son on a cart attached to a *carabao* in a gesture of prayer. As if revisiting his own childhood, Amorsolo parts the dense bamboo stalks of the countryside to reveal a river in *Children Playing River Raft* (1963), which shows young, semi- and completely nude boys swimming around and/or on a bamboo raft. The gallery also includes *Tindahan* (1964), showing an outdoor stall typical in rural towns, with coconuts, papayas, watermelons and yellow mangoes on the ground or in baskets, tended by a mother cradling a child while others make their purchases, groom a cock or wander the streets. Finally, *Las Lavanderas* (The Washerwomen) (1964) provides a voyeuristic experience of two women washing clothes and bathing in the river under the midday sun while wearing clothes made transparent by the wet treatment of the surface and deft brushstrokes.

Inspired by his surroundings and visual culture such as printed references, Amorsolo's *Afternoon Meal of the Rice Worker* (1939) – a prototype for similar canvases set in the rustic countryside where peasants perform gendered roles such as cooking lunch, nursing a child or waiting under a mango tree while others afield plant under the blistering sun – won First Prize at the World's Fair in New York in 1939, and is testament to the increasing popularity of the artist and his paintings abroad at the time.¹⁸ Benefitting from the patronage of Americans and later tourists, Amorsolo would become a favourite target of forgers.¹⁹ And yet the culture of the copy is central to Amorsolo's practice, as his work had been reproduced as or incorporated into posters, tourist brochures and calendars throughout the years. In stark contrast to these popular and commercial genres, Amorsolo's body of work during and on the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 was remarkably different.

The Japanese occupation

The Japanese marched into the 'Open City' of Manila on 2 January 1942. Fernando Amorsolo depicted the burning and bombing of Manila in several canvasses showing

a smoke-filled, Turner-like sky and half-sunken ships engulfed in flames along the south bank of the Pasig River by the Intendencia – a Spanish colonial relic that the Americans had converted into an office building.²⁰ That same year, he also painted *The Burning of the Santo Domingo Church* (1942) in Intramuros, showing the thick, black smoke enveloping the Gothic revivalist structure as fire-fighters aimed their hose at the stained glass windows and the debris surrounding the fenced statue of the sixteenth-century Dominican friar Miguel de Benavidez, the third Archbishop of Manila. Elsewhere, *Bataan* (1942) shows a personification of the nation: a woman wearing a golden yellow veil, kneeling in front of a dead Filipino guerrilla and gazing to the heavens while the fire rages behind her. Despite witnessing pathos and panic, as well as the looting and general disorder in Manila as reported by the American educator-turned-editor A. V. H. Hartendorp of *The Manila Times*²¹ – or the surrender of Filipino and American troops outside the garrison in Corregidor in May 1942 – the painter and his family remained in the city. Two of his rented apartments were in close proximity to the residences occupied by Japanese nationals-turned-military, including a grain dealer and a professor who tended a flower garden.²²

While Amorsolo continued to remain under the patronage of prominent Filipino families such as the Vargases, Zobels and Aranetas, his heirs tell us that commissions were slow, accounts were difficult to settle and paintings were often altogether rejected.²³ Compounding economic scarcity was the difficulty of acquiring painting materials, among many other things, due to exorbitant costs. His *Still-Life with Paper Money* (undated; c. 1944) with a slightly peeled banana and two turnips over a 10- and 5-peso bill is an economic and political commentary; inscribed in the shadow of the banana is the text 'No[v]. 25, 1944 (La/o?) under heavy bombing on Grace Park'.²⁴ In addition, he was unable to travel to rural Marikina, Antipolo or the outskirts of Manila, where he used to draw and paint *en plein air*.²⁵ This predicament may explain why Amorsolo accepted the patronage of the Japanese authorities as their portraitist, especially after he was brought to one of the Kenpeitai (military police) generals whose friend, Ikegami Shūho (the Japanese artist who had won second place for his entry entitled *Dawn* at the 1939 New York World Fair's Exhibition – the exhibition at which Amorsolo had claimed first prize), greatly admired the latter.²⁶ Moreover, the Japanese authorities favourably regarded Amorsolo's paintings of peasants in the countryside as they visualized the 'Filipinization' of the Filipinos²⁷ (Figure 4.2). Indeed, his art was the only trade he knew, and it became 'his tool and shield against an oppressive authority';²⁸ income from the enemy obviously also allowed him to support his large family.

Yet Amorsolo also countered Japanese propaganda, sketching the Filipinos' sufferings unfolding in the streets and painting the destruction of Manila. As a silent witness-turned-visual correspondent chronicling the turbulent occupation of Manila from his studio window or apartment balcony overlooking the Japanese military barracks, Amorsolo captured the self-sacrifice and will to survive of his countrymen, including those roaming the city with push carts transporting food, goods and people, as well as the child scavengers, modelled after his own children, in search of anything that could be recycled.²⁹ In *Marketplace during the Occupation* (1942) – a reproduction of which adorns the cover of this volume – Amorsolo rendered a bustling and crowded local fruit market drenched in warm light with the curious addition of a Japanese

Figure 4.2 'Planting the seeds of our glorious tomorrow'. An unattributed Japanese propaganda poster from the occupation period (1942–5) depicting Philippine peasant women planting seeds in a field, 19 × 25 in. Hoover Institution Archives Poster Collection, JA-86.

banner and flag, as well as a bow-legged soldier patrolling the area with his rifle.³⁰ On the other hand,

tragedy dominated his canvases. The idyllic world within which the introverted artist chose to confine himself was torn asunder ... The paintings were not made in conjunction with a client's preferences but were reflections of the conflicting emotions raging within. Amorsolo was deeply affected as he watched his surroundings ravaged by war.³¹

He 'became a mediator between countryside and city war subjects, visually documenting and commenting through his notations and inscriptions in pencil, color studies, and canvasses whenever time and safety allowed him to do so'.³² *At the Age of 52* (1944), Amorsolo's self-portrait in graphite on paper, depicts a weak and sick man suffering from diabetes.

Defend Thy Honour

A deeper visual understanding of the epic and the everyday during and about the Japanese occupation is made possible by Gallery VIII, the War Gallery at the NMP, which displays several oil paintings and sculptures donated by Jaime Laya, a bureaucrat who had been responsible for the systematic acquisition of artworks during his term as Governor of the Central Bank of the Philippines and as Minister of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports during the last quarter of Ferdinand E. Marcos' rule (1965–86). Daring for its graphic content, this visual collection provides a glimpse of Philippine history: the oil paintings of Wenceslao Garcia, such as *Mealtime at the Prison Camp* (1945), showing emaciated bodies on a bamboo bunk bed; works by Dominador Castañeda, such as *Death March* (1948), which depicts bloodied bodies left behind by weak survivors marching to their death on a dirt road beside a rice field; or works by Gene Cabrera, such as *A Tragic Lesson (The Fall of Bataan)* (1957), which shows a crowd of skeletons whose skulls don a white veil, military cap or green helmet. But Diosdado M. Lorenzo's *Doomed Family* (1945) and *Rape and Massacre in Ermita* (1947) are far more brutal in their depictions of torture, rape and murder than anything Amorsolo painted. 'It was very rare', writes Don S. Amorsolo, 'that a person in [Amorsolo's] paintings would be depicted screaming with rage or wailing in intense displays of emotion. Tragedy was portrayed through subtle means'.³³ Others, however, observe that Amorsolo's war pictures were 'melodramatic, akin to illustration art'.³⁴

After a preliminary study in 1943, which the Amorsolo family still possesses,³⁵ Amorsolo painted and signed a canvas measuring 153.7 cm wide and 91.4 cm tall. *Defend Thy Honour* (1945) depicts a bedroom interior of a home floored by bamboo slats: on the left is a wooden stool and an embroidered white linen-covered table-turned-altar with a crucifix between two candlesticks and some flowers on a vase; on the right is a rumpled bamboo bed. Occupying the centre of the composition are two figures. On the right stands a barefoot adult male with short black hair wearing a light blue-collared shirt tucked underneath his belted khaki pants, rolled up to just below his knees. On the left is a cowering young woman with long black hair whose white bra

strap falls from her right shoulder while a peach fabric, possibly a torn dress, slips from her waist, revealing her right hip in the manner of the Venus de Milo. The visual unity of these two figures is unmistakable: while his right hand firmly holds a *bolo* whose tip diagonally points to the ground to shield her, his left arm is raised across his chest, offering a white fabric to cover herself. Furthermore, his right foot is in front of and intersects with her left foot, creating a chiasmic pattern. Although no one else appears in the canvas, Amorsolo painted the figures looking intensely not towards each other but to their left, and included a Japanese military cap on the floor between the edge of the woman's peach dress and the man's left foot, thus visually uniting the three. Given the man's furrowed black brows and tight lips (a sign of fury and defiance) and the woman's ambiguous facial expression (possibly the result of shock) one construes that the man has interrupted a rape; yet, the soldier is clearly still in the room. Despite the chaos of the bed and the violence associated with this side of the canvas, domestic order and spiritual devotion prevail on the opposite side: on the altar, the crucified Jesus Christ becomes a witness and symbolic protector because the light from the candles flanking him does not flicker. Indeed, Amorsolo retained his hope.³⁶

Addressing both horror and honour, Amorsolo documented the Japanese occupation as a historical and personal trauma, embodying and gendering the Philippines as a victim of rape. Indeed, 'womanhood is idealized and epitomized as a "nation in distress"'.³⁷ 'Though often seen as beautiful figures', his Filipina subjects 'project a liberating attribution. He refused to depict them as exacting realistic representations of critical situations'.³⁸ Instead, the painter 'oscillates between the beautiful and what was behind it, its "otherness"'.³⁹ Amorsolo describes the beautiful in this manner:

One with a rounded face, not of the oval type ... The eyes should be exceptionally lively ... The nose should be of the blunt form but firm and strongly marked ... The ideal Filipina beauty should have a sensuous mouth ... not ... white-complexioned, nor of the dark brown color ... but of the clear skin ... which we often witness when we meet a blushing girl.⁴⁰

Art historian Florina Capistrano-Baker notes that 'through his portrayal of the winsome country lass, Amorsolo succeeded in weaning Filipinos from the colonial ideal of the half-Spanish, half-Filipina mestiza and turning to a nationalistic Filipino ideal'.⁴¹ One example of this liberating attribution and beautiful ideal is *Palay Maiden* (1920), a portrait of an ebullient peasant carrying a bundle of rice stalks and a sickle (Figure 4.3). The woman foregrounding the rice field epitomizes the Philippine flag: a blue kerchief on her head, a transparent white blouse, a red skirt and a yellow harvest.⁴²

Rather than 'full bodied Caucasian women', observes Martinez, Amorsolo drew Filipinas 'with slender physiques, narrower hips, and smaller breasts'.⁴³ And yet while 'patriarchal and colonial discourses of the time represented the ideal white-American woman as asexual', Elizabeth Mary Holt writes that 'Filipinas were portrayed as the antithesis of that ideal – dusky, passionate, exciting, exotic, erotic, sexually powerful, and perilously attractive to white-American males'.⁴⁴ Indeed, Amorsolo also rendered reclining, bathing and planting women as completely nude, scantily clad or topless, respectively, appearing uninhibited, sensual or oblivious, be they the lowland and

Figure 4.3 Fernando Amorsolo, *Palay Maiden*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 33.63 × 22.75 in. Ayala Museum Collection, Makati City, Philippines. Courtesy of the Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation, Inc., Philippines. (See Plate 7.)

Christianized Filipina ideal, or Muslim, Igorot or other Indigenous women. Could this be the 'otherness' that Amorsolo oscillates to and which, through polarized representations, the Japanese soldiers desired – resulting in the systematic rape and tragedy of the so-called 'Filipina comfort women' – and, at the same time, loathed because these women did not conform to their expectations of the feminine ideal?

Japanese propaganda included the status of Filipino women as Orientals ... they did not adhere to the simulacra or likeness of a Japanese woman ... [or] conform to the image of a woman that the Japanese authorities wanted them to be [rather, they participated] not only with his family decision-making, but also in the front lines and in the underground movement during the war.⁴⁵

Gender roles shifted when Filipinas actively served during the Second World War, as evidenced by the photograph of the twenty-year-old Mila Calma unfurling the flag of the Tarlac Luzon Guerrilla Armed Forces - USAFFE with one hand, while her other hand rests upon a revolver hanging from a cartridge belt.⁴⁶ And yet there is another image of resistance that comes to mind.

Esperanza L. Osmeña was twenty-four when the forty-two-year-old Cebuano Sergio Osmeña took her as his second wife, two years after his first wife Estefania V. Osmeña, who bore him ten children in the span of seventeen years, had died at the age of forty-two. Osmeña served as Vice President of the American-engineered Commonwealth, which was presided over by Manuel L. Quezon in 1935 and continued as a government-in-exile based in Washington, DC, after the Japanese invaded the Philippines. Upon Quezon's death from tuberculosis while quarantined in New York in 1944, Osmeña returned to the Philippines with General Douglas MacArthur (and to his wife Esperanza who had never left the country) as president (1944–6). The commemoration of the First Lady's forty-ninth birthday on 31 December 1945 with a canvas painted by a 'Mrs. P. Mesina' and offered as a gift by the seventeen 'Kapisanan ng Kababaihan sa Pilipinas' (Committee of Filipino Women) is anachronistic and comedic. Manila was liberated from the Japanese in March 1945, and their inclusion in the painting might have represented a form of polite vengeance for the atrocities suffered by many, especially women. Set in the countryside with *nipa* huts and coconut trees, the painting shows on the right an Amorsoloesque woman in her tricolour ensemble with one knee on the ground, feeding *darak*, or food scraps, to the three black, brown and white pigs, while on the far left, by the river bank, three Japanese soldiers eat a meal under a tree. Here is a canvas by, for and because of women: labouring rebels in their own way, women who remained on the battleground with the 'swines'.

Renowned for his genre of rural landscapes and portraits of peasants, Amorsolo's paintings cradle subversive elements, but they also demonstrate an essentialist and eroticized imagining of a Filipino nation and race. *Defend Thy Honour*, which is consistent with the theme of war, and whose violence is literal (with the word 'rape' included in the title of the work) and pictorial (the Filipina is undone as the bed is unmade), braids these two intriguing strands. Moreover, Amorsolo's Filipina rape victim, as well as the guerrilla Calma and the anonymous peasant who resembles Esperanza L. Osmeña, intersects with and speaks to the experiences of women figuring

in narratives and representations of occupation in other contexts – including those touched on in other chapters in this volume. Acquired by Frank E. Lowe during his mission in the Philippines and taken back to Portland, Maine,⁴⁷ *Defend Thy Honour* eventually passed to another owner through marriage, possibly after 1968. The painting remained in a relatively good state at this same owner's private residence in the Philippines until the NGS purchased it in 2012.

Nations and museums in the Southeast Asian imaginary

The 'invention' of Southeast Asia as an area of art historical study in European and American universities during the Second World War on account of the Japanese occupation (and, later, the Cold War) can be traced first to the establishment of British Admiral Louis Mountbatten's 'South-East Asia Command' in 1943, the publication of the first map of Southeast Asia by the National Geographic Society in 1944, the First Southeast Asia Art Exhibition organized in Manila in 1957, and the establishment of the Association of Southeast Asia in 1961 and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967. Under its slogan of 'one vision, one identity, one community', ASEAN has expanded its membership to include ten countries within the region: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. According to the ASEAN Declaration of 1967, the original member states would operate towards a set of shared goals to strengthen the region, but they would also define each nation as establishing its own identity.⁴⁸

While the historian Benedict Anderson credits the spread of print capitalism in the form of novels and newspapers as providing the means for creating 'imagined communities',⁴⁹ museums also made legible this modern imaginary. Indeed, museums are inextricably linked to the development of nation-states. A historical, theoretical and critical reading of this connection is thus essential for an understanding of the relationship between individuals and institutions in both the Philippines and Singapore.

Art history, according to the art historian Donald Preziosi, is 'a network of interrelated institutions and professions whose overall function has been to fabricate a historical past that could be placed under the systematic observation for use in the present'.⁵⁰ This includes 'art criticism, aesthetic philosophy, art practice, connoisseurship, the art market, tourism, commodity fashion systems, and the heritage industry'.⁵¹ For over two centuries, the museum has served as an ally of art history and as a key institution of modernity. Museums have been organized in such a way as to display and represent the character, historical development and evolution of humanity through their material traces such as monuments, documents and artefacts. Increasingly, they have played a critical role in not just constructing, but also interrogating racial, gender, ethnic, social, cultural and, of course, national identities. Today, there are museums of every kind, including the traditional history, art, science and natural history museums that arose from the *Kunstkammer* or 'cabinet of curiosities', and others that defy categories, such as virtual museums and online websites.

Ivan Karp and Steve Lavine's anthology *Exhibiting Cultures* exposes the artifice of exhibition displays in a postmodern era of hybrid national identities,⁵² while Eileen

Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* examines the ways in which museums have functioned as stages for the creation of public information about history, heritage and scientific and cultural knowledge.⁵³ Aching to diagnose nostalgia and to interrogate the metaphors of the 'miniature' and the 'gigantic' as modes of signification that animate the world, Susan Stewart published *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*.⁵⁴ A series of essays on the political and ideological implications of all museum exhibits and institutional policies were compiled by Daniel Sherman and Irit Rogoff in *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*.⁵⁵ And, of course, Tony Bennett, in his book *The Birth of the Museum*, interrogates the 'political rationality' of the museum in the narrative, ideology and performance of progress, arguing that museums serve the collective good of the state by disciplining the citizenry, an extension of the contours of state power through its institutions dealt with by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*.⁵⁶ Indeed, besides their function as memory machines that 'order things', or as a technological apparatus that disciplines the body politic, museums, according to Carol Duncan's *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, are settings of civic engagement as ritual.⁵⁷

Museums, therefore, increasingly transcended their meaning as a physical institution holding collections and became 'a conceptual system through which collectors interpreted and explored the world they inhabited'.⁵⁸ Eventually, the 'magical, the confused, various, and haphazard nature of things could be tamed, named, and displayed on a table to constitute a firm base of knowledge'.⁵⁹ 'Art History and Museology', writes Preziosi, were not just 'modes of knowledge production', but 'engines of modernity'.⁶⁰ Collecting things was, essentially, a way of grasping the world – of possessing power – and museums and their contents make nations legible. 'The West, it appears' observes cultural historian Timothy Mitchell, 'is a place organized as a system of commodities, values, meanings, and representations, forming signs that reflect one another in a labyrinth without exits'.⁶¹ However, museums also constitute a 'third space' and, therefore, have the capacity to engender contradiction.⁶² This transforms culture into a process wherein the art displayed becomes a critique; however, the critique, inevitably, folds into a commodity. Fernando Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour*, a critique turned commodity, is a case of curiosity and tragedy.

Collaborations and occupations

In 2012, the NCCA through Republic Act No. 10066 ('an Act Providing for the Protection and Conservation of the National Cultural Heritage, Strengthening the NCAA and Its Affiliated Cultural Agencies, and for Other Purposes')⁶³ delegated the NMP, as an affiliated cultural agency, to appraise the value of Fernando Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour* to assist its current owner, a private citizen of the Philippines, in its mediated sale to the NGS.⁶⁴ The NMP carried out its task by appointing and convening a group in Manila on 14 June 2012. This group included myself, who wrote the summary report, as well as the daughter of Amorsolo (i.e. Sylvia Amorsolo Lazo), and Mara Pardo de Tavera, a descendant-in-law of the nineteenth-century painter Juan Luna. We took into consideration Amorsolo's status as the first Filipino to be conferred

(posthumously) the National Artist of the Philippines in Painting Award by President Ferdinand E. Marcos in 1972, the art historical and national significance of his work(s), and the local and global market involving the past sale of his works, assigning the value of 20 million Philippine pesos (approximately US\$400,000) exclusive of government taxes, registration fees and other charges (e.g. licensing fees and permits) to the work. In the event that the NGS later decides to de-accession the same painting, we agreed as a manifest condition of sale that the Philippines, through either its affiliated cultural agencies or private and/or non-profit organizations and/or foundations, should be given the first opportunity to purchase the work.

Moreover, we raised a number of concerns. Section 4.3 of R.A. 10066 states, 'All the country's artistic and historic wealth constitutes the cultural treasure of the nation and shall be under the protection of the State which may regulate its disposition.'⁶⁵ While the delisting of national cultural treasures is addressed in Section 12, and given further elaboration in terms of criteria in Section 12.14, the NCCA, as the Act's administrator, failed to comply with Section 12.1 because it did not 'issue temporary remedies' for the work's protection after the petition to delist it was approved.⁶⁶ In principle, the NCCA should have prevented the painting's delisting and release outside the Philippines for the purpose of sale despite the proposal and subsequent appeals made by the owner/seller on the grounds of medical emergency and/or financial obligations. By making an exemption to the R.A. 10066, the NCCA set a dangerous precedent for others to submit similar applications and/or appeals, exacerbating the precarious state of national cultural treasures. While the NCCA complied with Section 13, which states that 'The appropriate cultural agency shall be given the right of first refusal in the purchase of cultural property declared as national cultural treasures', the NCCA should put in place contingency plans in case the appropriate cultural agency is unable to purchase it on account of its limited acquisition budget.⁶⁷ The NCCA, which is encouraged to 'provide financial assistance in the form of a grant to historic, archaeological, architectural, artistic organizations for the conservation or research on cultural property', as stated in Section 41, should be mandated to appropriate from its National Endowment for Culture and the Arts funds, as stated in Rule XVI, an account source earmarked specifically for emergency purchases of cultural properties to preclude their sale outside the country.⁶⁸ Because of this legal oversight and financial predicament, the NCCA renders its own provision in Section 13, 'that the government shall be given the first option for three months to buy these cultural properties when placed on sale', essentially inoperative.⁶⁹

Indeed, the legal exemption made by the NCCA to allow for the out-of-country release and sale of Amorsolo's painting is worsened by its failure to promulgate and enact laws allocating emergency funds for its purchase. In recent decades, sales of Amorsolo paintings by independent collectors have occurred in and outside the Philippines, and have also been auctioned by the prominent auction house Christie's in Hong Kong. Priced from 6 million pesos (approximately US\$120,000) to 18.2 million pesos (approximately US\$364,000), as of May 2010, according to various sources, these figures collectively indicate a robust climate for Philippine art.⁷⁰ The Philippines' cultural tragedy regarding *Defend Thy Honour*, however, became an international coup for Singapore, a nation rising meteorically as the 'New Asia' (a slogan adopted by the

Singapore Tourism Board and its National Arts Council, through its claim of an Asian authenticity, its definition of a national identity and its positioning in the late capitalist global market).⁷¹ Singapore's desire for coherence requires, among other cultural infrastructure and development programmes, the aggressive acquisition of the arts of its neighbours, rivalling Beijing, Hong Kong and Tokyo as a 'global city of the arts.' As *The Straits Times* correspondent Janadas Devan reports:

Singapore, that is, has to remain Asian for competitive economic advantage. The logic is impeccable: Singapore fears becoming like America, not because it fears losing its Asian soul, but because becoming like America will weaken its ability to compete successfully in the global market, become a full-blown developed economy, and thereby become like America. Singapore, in other words, has to remain Asian in order to become Western.⁷²

When the former Supreme Court and City Hall – two important buildings in the landscape and iconography of the Japanese military occupation of Singapore⁷³ – were repurposed and inaugurated as the NGS on 24 November 2015, *The Straits Times* reported that it was 'the first museum of such scale in the world dedicated to the art of Singapore and Southeast Asia.'⁷⁴ This had not always been the case, however. The SG\$532-million restored behemoth filled its empty walls in the Southeast Asian Art Gallery with purchases of national treasures, including Fernando Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour* (with an acquisition date and collection number of '2012-00733') in the 'Manifesting the Nation' Wing. 'As a visual art institution that aspires to be of international standard', says Chong Siak Ching, CEO of the NGS,

we want to showcase the best artworks in our museum as far as we can, but unfortunately, these are not all with us, so collaboration and partnership with other museums is very important ... Our curators worked very closely with the other museums in the region and also with private collectors.⁷⁵

Director of the NGS Eugene Tan states: 'The Philippines is one country where we have the most partners in terms of institutional partners, as well as individuals.'⁷⁶ Filipino Clarissa Chikiamco, the NGS Southeast Asian Curator, 'denied Singapore was acquiring art of foreign countries "to lock and stock away"', adding that "'rumors" of Singapore's wholesale acquisitions of Philippine art were exaggerated.'⁷⁷ Chikiamco stated: 'We want [Philippine art] on display where members of the public, local and foreign, will be able to see them. These members include the Philippine community in Singapore, of which there is a strong and growing presence.'⁷⁸ Blogger Arnaldo Arnaiz billed the NGS as 'a must-visit for every Filipino'; yet, others felt conflicted and aired their sentiments on Facebook.⁷⁹

In reality, according to one local report, the Filipinos are strangers to their heritage even when the museum 'is attached to a mall.'⁸⁰ In addition to purchases, 50 per cent of Philippine art at the NGS were loans from the NMP, the Central Bank of the Philippines, the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), the Metropolitan Museum of Manila, the Ayala Museum, the Ateneo Art Gallery and the University of Santo Tomas, as well as

key private collections (one example being Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's *La Banca*, on loan from Eleuterio Pascual). Chikiamco says:

We consider [Jose Joya's *Hills of Nikko* (1964)] a very significant loan for us ... for one year but of course, we would be very happy if [the] National Museum could extend the loan to us for another year more! We will also very likely be making future requests for loans as our changing exhibitions program rolls out.⁸¹

She explains that 'the loan period varies, although it's for at least a year and at most five years.'⁸²

In March 2014, the NGS sent a curatorial team to Manila to attend an art conference at the Ayala Museum, as well as expand its collaboration and partnerships, networking with directors, collectors and curators. When I met with Chikiamco on 13 January 2017 at the NGS, she was concerned that the loans were about to reach their expiration date and that the works would eventually have to be returned, leaving the walls empty. How ironic that the fifteen rooms at the Southeast Asian Gallery were divided on 'key impulses across four different periods' and that the first was prophetically called 'Authority and Anxiety', encompassing the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the works of Western-influenced titans such as the Indonesian Raden Saleh and Filipino Luna. Chikiamco affirms, 'It shows the Philippines has a strong connection with its neighbors and not just in the art on display but also the historical context in which artists responded to.'⁸³ She adds: 'There is something deeply meaningful in identifying and exploring connections with the rest of the region.'⁸⁴ In today's regional or global branding phenomena across the tropics (as evidenced by the NGS) or the desert (as evidenced by the Louvre Abu Dhabi), museum collaborations have become the norm. After NMP Director Jeremy Barns attended the grand inauguration of the new NGS in Singapore on 23 November 2015, even posing next to Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour* canvas with the CCP Artistic Director Chris Millado,⁸⁵ Barns welcomed NGS officials as 'international partners and future collaborators' to 'strengthen professional ties and plan for future collaborations' at the NMP in Manila.⁸⁶ NGS Director Tan, NGS Deputy Director Russell Storer and Chikiamco were toured by Barns in the galleries featuring artworks by Luna. One of the fruits of this collaboration is the blockbuster 'Between Worlds: Raden Saleh and Juan Luna' exhibition which opened at the NGS in November 2017 and closed in March 2018, and which juxtaposed the two nineteenth-century painters. According to Chua:

By all accounts, the National Gallery Singapore is shaking up exhibition production in Southeast Asia: displaying rarely seen art from the region, acquiring important works, teasing out loans from recalcitrant lenders, engineering cooperative agreements with international institutions, generating new scholarship on art of the region, and prioritizing research over exhibition. At its best, the gallery is using its enormous power – and deep pockets – to institute a politics of inclusion in Southeast Asia: so necessary for the region closed off to outsiders and often mired in private ownership and enclave thinking. But this may all add up to nothing more than a curatorial colonialism. And though the gallery is actively trying to

rewrite the art history of the region – the Saleh-Luna show was an important link in establishing its chain of Southeast Asian modernism – this exhibition, by affirming the state-nationalist account of both artists, offered little that was critical or new.⁸⁷

Perhaps Chua's observation of the NGS's 'curatorial colonialism' is symptomatic of British imperialism's heritage in this former colony. Jeevan Vasagar writes that this legacy is seen by Singapore as beneficial and, thus, it returns to this colonial model to govern its people, build economic wealth and lead the cultural development of the region.⁸⁸ The NMP, the institution that convened the group to appraise and defend Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour* in 2012, itself declared five years later that it strongly

supports NGS's efforts to promote the Philippines' artistic heritage, particularly in the larger regional and international context, and lauds its success in bringing to Asia for the first time such key works as *La Muerte de Cleopatra* and *Les Ignorés*. Important paintings were also lent by the NM itself as well as other Philippine collections.⁸⁹

Indeed, Singapore, writes Devan, becomes 'the most perfect modern fulfillment of the Orientalist project – conceived and executed, this time, by "Orientals" themselves'.⁹⁰

The brilliant light that characteristically bathed the pastoral landscapes of Amorsolo was overcast by the occupation by and violence of the Japanese imperial forces. Embodied by the Filipina in *Defend Thy Honour*, the Philippines endured a literal and pictorial rape. Faced with a new and more powerful nemesis and lacking the ability to fight with hard cash, a second 'rape' occurred. Or not. In a museological context, the Philippines invades and occupies Singapore.⁹¹ Besides the centrality of race and gender, and its figuring in the NGS galleries, class is inherent in the circulation of Amorsolo's painting – as well as other Philippine works of art – as tokens of cultural capital and consumption. This was clearly demonstrated when the Filipino columnist and historian Ambeth Ocampo attended the opening of the 'Between Worlds: Raden Saleh and Juan Luna' exhibition at the NGS to speak, because he – like other Filipino elites – had loaned pieces from his collection to the NGS. One wonders how many Filipinos can afford to travel to Singapore to see Philippine art. One also wonders who Chikiamko is referring to as the 'Philippine community in Singapore' who were targeted as potential museum visitors, given that most members of this community are migrant domestic helpers who, as 'servants of globalization', would rather spend their Sundays at the Lucky Plaza Mall than the NGS.⁹²

Concluding contradictions

Reframing the nation as individual and the political as personal may provide insight. Beguiling because of his commercial popularity, but highly misunderstood because of the dearth of critical art historical and transnational analysis around him, Fernando Amorsolo was not just a nationalist, a pioneer or a revolutionary, but equally an artist

of commensurable contradictions living and working under various regimes. In the childhood rural town of Daet, the oldest half-brother of Amorsolo named Perico met his fate: 'bound with a bamboo pole strapped to his back, taken to jail', and executed by the Spaniards on charges of joining the revolution.⁹³ Amorsolo also had a younger brother named Pablo who apprenticed to the same uncle-painter in Manila, drew editorial illustrations for the Philippine mass media (such as *Graphic*, *Tribune*, *La Vanguardia*, *Herald* and *Manila Times*) and taught painting at the School of Fine Arts in the University of the Philippines in 1924.⁹⁴ According to family accounts, these two brothers 'were completely a study in extremes, in terms of outlook and lifestyles ... [Amorsolo] was an apartment dweller, while Pablo a homeowner'.⁹⁵ Moreover, Amorsolo's apartment hosted political discussions initiated by his son, who kept a radio to listen to news.⁹⁶ During the Battle of Manila (February–March 1945), the Japanese attempted to destroy everything in their path, burning blocks of houses, killing men and raping women and children. Amorsolo courageously climbed the roof of his apartment. The resulting sketches he made of these events were developed into paintings such as *Rizal Avenue on Fire* (1945), *Ruins of the Manila Cathedral* (1945) and *San Sebastian Church Through Quiapo Ruins* (1945).⁹⁷ Unlike Perico, who died at the hands of the Spaniards, Pablo became 'a follower of the Greater East Asia Co-Proprosperity Sphere and served as a colonel of the dreaded Kenpeitai'.⁹⁸ Eventually, Filipino guerrillas captured Pablo who 'was sentenced and executed by the firing squad in Antipolo'.⁹⁹ Three biological brothers – Perico, Fernando and Pablo – exemplified complex acts of resistance and collaboration. Local, regional, national and global power relations, indeed, are in constant realignment, and history and personal and collective memory are consensually reframed as demonstrated in this triangular study of the visual culture of occupation through Fernando Amorsolo's *Defend Thy Honour*.

Notes

- 1 Established through President Ferdinand E. Marcos's Proclamation No. 1001 in 1972, this award is the highest state honour given to individuals who excel in the visual, performing and literary arts.
- 2 Amorsolo depicted the burning and shelling of Manila in several canvasses, such as *The Bombing of the Intendencia* (1942) and *The Burning of Manila* (1942).
- 3 A large knife, similar to a machete.
- 4 Kevin Chua, 'Between Worlds: Raden Saleh and Juan Luna', *Artforum* (April 2018): 177.
- 5 Fernando Amorsolo's biography is well-documented by his descendants. References to his life are based primarily on Edwin A. Martinez, 'Biography', Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation: <http://www.fernandocamorsolo.com/biography.html> (accessed 10 November 2018) and the expanded print version by Sylvia Amorsolo Lazo, Edwin A. Martinez, Don Sebastian Amorsolo, Jane Allinson and Michael Romero, ed., *Maestro Fernando C. Amorsolo: Recollections of the Family* (Quezon City: Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation, 2009). Details are also included in Manuel D. Duldulao, *Twentieth Century Artists*, vol. 1, 2nd edn. (Quezon City: Legacy Publishers, 1995), 12–13.
- 6 See a selection of Amorsolo's sketches from 1917 to 1920 in Lazo et al., *Maestro Fernando C. Amorsolo*, 29–34.

- 7 For more information on the genealogy and corporate history, see Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, 'The Ayala Museum: A Site of Culture, Capital, and Displaced Colonial Desire', *Australian Journal of Art* 14, no. 1 (1998): 71–89.
- 8 Alfredo Roces, *Amorsolo* (Makati City: Filipinas Foundation, 1975), 30, 43.
- 9 Amorsolo's first wife, Salud Jorge, with whom he had six children, died in 1931. He had six more children with a 'common law partner', Virginia Santos, before marrying Maria del Carmen in 1935, who gave him eight more children. See Martinez, 'Biography'; and Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither Art History in the Non-Western World: Exploring the Other(s) Art Histories', *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (September 2015): 251.
- 10 Roces, *Amorsolo*, 35 and Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, ed., *Pioneers of Philippine Art: Luna, Amorsolo, Zobel, Transnationalism in the Late 19th–20th Century* (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, 2006).
- 11 Through the work of Elizabeth Mary Holt, Capistrano-Baker discusses American women's penchant for cross-dressing as a form of appropriation that signifies the power struggle between white and coloured bodies. See Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither Art History', 251 and Elizabeth Mary Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas: Nineteenth-Century Representations of the Philippines in Western Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 70. On the Ayala Museum, see Baluyut, 'The Ayala Museum'.
- 12 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, 70.
- 15 These paintings were purchased by the GSIS at an auction on Southeast Asian Modern and Contemporary Art at Christie's in Hong Kong, as evidenced by the purchase and inventory tags behind the canvasses.
- 16 A type of water buffalo.
- 17 A traditional type of house built on stilts.
- 18 Don S. Amorsolo, 'The Afternoon Meal of the Rice Workers', in *Maestro Fernando C. Amorsolo: Recollections of the Family*, ed. Sylvia Amorsolo Lazo, Edwin A. Martinez, Don Sebastian Amorsolo, Jane Allinson and Michael Romero (Quezon City: Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation, 2009), 43–52. In 1931, Amorsolo also exhibited *Conversion of the Filipinos* at the Philippine Pavilion of the Paris Exposition.
- 19 Ramil Digal Gulle, 'Getting real: Avoiding fake Amorsolos', *ABS-CBN News*, 2 October 2008: <https://news.abs-cbn.com/features/09/27/08/getting-real-avoiding-fake-amorsolos>
- 20 With title variations but all dated as 'New Year 1942', *The Bombing of the Intendencia* (1942) at the Ayala Museum is identical to *The Bombing of Manila* (undated), which appears only as a black-and-white photograph in the Fernando C. Amorsolo Album Memorabilia, and *The Burning of Manila* (1942), which is currently at the NMP through a long-term loan from Dee Anne Hora Zobel since November 2015. Two other iterations exist: *The Burning of Manila* (1942) at the Cultural Center of the Philippines and *The Bombing of the Intendencia* (1942) at the Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center at the University of the Philippines, which, ironically, was presented as a gift by the Filipino chairman and members of the Central Administrative Organization to Major-General Hayashi Yoshihide, Director General of the Japanese Military Administration, on 13 July 1942.
- 21 A. V. H. Hartendorp, *The Japanese Occupation of Manila* (Manila: Bookmark, 1967).

- 22 While the women and children stayed in the apartment on Raon Street, the men occupied the apartment on Azcarraga Street near a Japanese garrison. See Don Amorsolo, 'The War Years', in *Maestro Fernando C. Amorsolo: Recollections of the Family*, ed. Sylvia Amorsolo Lazo, Edwin A. Martinez, Don Sebastian Amorsolo, Jane Allinson and Michael Romero (Quezon City: Fernando C. Amorsolo Art Foundation, 2009), 53.
- 23 Ibid., 56.
- 24 Ibid., 62.
- 25 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 26 Amorsolo, 'The War Years', 59.
- 27 Ibid., 57.
- 28 Ibid., 59.
- 29 Ibid., 57.
- 30 The NGS has made attempts to make their collection relevant to the public at home and abroad by commissioning short films. See Singaporean chef Willin Low's take on *Marketplace during the Occupation* (1942) under the 'My Masterpiece' series in Ong Sor Fern, 'Masterpieces in the National Collection get their video close-ups', *The Straits Times*, 21 July 2015: <https://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/arts/masterpieces-in-the-national-collection-get-their-video-close-ups>; see also the film made by Filipino director Brillante Mendoza entitled 'Amorsolo's Dream' under the 'Art through Eyes: A Celebration of Southeast Asian Art' series, which was shown at the Singapore International Film Festival, in Bayani San Diego, Jr 'Brillante on the Heart of Amorsolo's Art', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 11 September 2016: <https://entertainment.inquirer.net/201255/brillante-on-the-heart-of-amorsolos-art>
- 31 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 32 Amorsolo, 'The War Years', 62–3.
- 33 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 34 John Silva, 'The Historical Context of Amorsolo's Defense of a Filipina Woman's Honor', Fernando Amorsolo: <http://www.fernandoamorsolo.com/> (accessed 24 June 2012).
- 35 Sylvia Amorsolo Lazo, personal communication, 14 June 2012.
- 36 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 37 Amorsolo, 'The War Years', 58.
- 38 Ibid., 58 and 61.
- 39 Ibid., 61.
- 40 Roces, *Amorsolo*, 90.
- 41 Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither Art History', 251.
- 42 Ibid., 251, 256 and footnote 27. Capistrano-Baker quotes Nick Joaquin that the 'red saya came into its own ... as the costume of the Katipunera' who fought against the Spanish colonizers.
- 43 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 44 Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, 70.
- 45 Amorsolo, 'The War Years', 61.
- 46 Enrique de la Cruz and Pearl Rose S. Baluyut, *Confrontations, Crossings, and Convergence: Photographs of the Philippines and the United States, 1898–1998* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), 59.
- 47 Silva, 'The Historical Context'.

- 48 ASEAN, 'The ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration)', Bangkok 8 August 1967', ASEAN: <https://asean.org/the-asean-declaration-bangkok-declaration-bangkok-8-august-1967/> (accessed 10 November 2018).
- 49 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1993).
- 50 Donald Preziosi, *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, ed., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1991).
- 53 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 54 Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).
- 55 Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- 56 Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 178–9; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
- 57 Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), 20.
- 58 Bettina M. Carbonnel, ed., *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, 2nd edn. (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 25.
- 59 Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 138.
- 60 Donald Preziosi, *Brain of the Earth's Body: Art, Museums, and the Phantasm of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 14.
- 61 Timothy Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order', in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 451.
- 62 Edward Soja's theory of 'third space' as quoted in Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom and Christian Schmid, ed., *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 9.
- 63 Arellano Law Foundation, 'Republic Act No. 10066', The LAWPHiL Project: Arellano Law Foundation Philippine Laws and Jurisprudence Databank: https://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2010/ra_10066_2010.html (accessed 20 January 2020).
- 64 This section references the summary found in Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, 'Appraisal Statement: Fernando C. Amorsolo, *Defend Thy Honor* (1945)', unpublished report commissioned by and submitted to the NMP on 25 June 2012.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Christie's, 'Fernando Cueto Amorsolo (1892–1972)': <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/fernando-cueto-amorsolo-the-philippines-1892-1972-5452581-details.aspx> (accessed 16 July 2013).
- 71 On the 'New Asia-Singapore' campaign, see T. C. Chang and S. Y. Lim, 'Geographical Imaginations of "New Asia-Singapore"', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 86, no. 3 (2004): 165–85.

- 72 See Janadas Devan, 'Limits of Multiculturalism', in Asia Leadership Fellow Program, *1998 Program Report: Asia in Transition: Localizing Strategies, Globalizing Processes* (Tokyo: International House of Japan, Japan Foundation Asia Center, 1998), 86, <http://alfpnetwork.net/pdf/1998report.pdf>
- 73 Before marching to the camps, the British prisoners-of-war were assembled in front of the Municipal Building, which was later renamed City Hall. Adjacent to and also built in front of the historical Padang (where the victory parade marking the Japanese surrender of Singapore to the British took place in 1945), the neoclassical Old Supreme Court Building was the site of war crimes trials of Japanese military personnel in 1946.
- 74 Huang Lijie, 'Long-awaited National Gallery Opens Today', *The Straits Times*, 24 November 2015: <https://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/arts/long-awaited-national-gallery-opens-today>
- 75 Julie Cabatit-Alegre, 'Pinoy Artworks on View at the National Gallery Singapore: When Art Falls between Declaration and Dreams', *The Philippine Star*, 2 January 2016: <https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/sunday-life/2016/01/02/1538565/pinoy-artworks-view-national-gallery-singapore-when-art-falls-between-declaration-and-dreams>
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Lito B. Zulueta, 'Key Philippine Collections Loaned to the National Gallery of Singapore', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 14 December 2015: <https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/216068/key-philippine-collections-loaned-to-national-gallery-of-singapore/>
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Arnaldo Arnaiz, 'National Gallery Singapore, A Must-Visit for Every Filipino', *With One's Past* (blog), 26 February 2016: <https://withonespast.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/national-gallery-singapore-a-must-visit-for-every-filipino-in-sg/>
- 80 Ibid.; see also, in reference to the Ayala Museum, the editorial 'Strangers to Our Own Heritage', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 22 June 2012: <https://opinion.inquirer.net/31231/strangers-to-our-heritage>
- 81 Zulueta, 'Key Philippine collections'.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 National Museum of the Philippines, 'The NM at the National Gallery Singapore', Facebook, 23 November 2015: https://www.facebook.com/pg/nationalmuseumofthephilippines/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1084430311581286
- 86 National Museum of the Philippines, 'The NM Welcomes International Partners and Future Collaborators', Facebook, 4 September 2016: <https://www.facebook.com/pg/nationalmuseumofthephilippines/>
- 87 Chua, 'Between Worlds', 177.
- 88 Jeevan Vasagar, 'Can Colonialism Have Benefits? Look at Singapore', *The Guardian*, 4 January 2018: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jan/04/colonialism-work-singapore-postcolonial-british-empire>. The connection between Singapore's colonial heritage and culture of control is discussed in Carl A. Trocki, *Singapore: Wealth, Power, and the Culture of Control* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 89 National Museum of the Philippines, 'The National Museum Congratulates the National Gallery Singapore on Its Exhibition "Century of Light"', Facebook, 15 November 2017: <https://www.facebook.com/nationalmuseumofthephilippines/photos/a.610708935620095/1734702099887434/?type=3&theater>

- 90 Devan, 'Limits of Multiculturalism', 97.
- 91 For the NGS collection of Philippine modern and contemporary art, see 'The Filipino Collection in the National Gallery Singapore', *Manila Art Scene*, 6 October 2016: <http://manilaartscene.com/filipino-collection-national-gallery-singapore-1922/>
- 92 The term is borrowed from Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Migration and Domestic Work*, 2nd edn. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).
- 93 Martinez, 'Biography'.
- 94 'Fernando Amorsolo, the Genius behind the Brush', *Ateneo de Naga High School* (blog), 26 April 2010: <http://adenu1980.blogspot.com/2010/04/remembering-art-works-of-fernando.html>
- 95 Amorsolo, 'The War Years', 57.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid., 64.
- 98 'Fernando Amorsolo, the genius behind the brush'.
- 99 Ibid.