

SIMPLE AND POWERFUL

Expression in Cordillera Traditional Art

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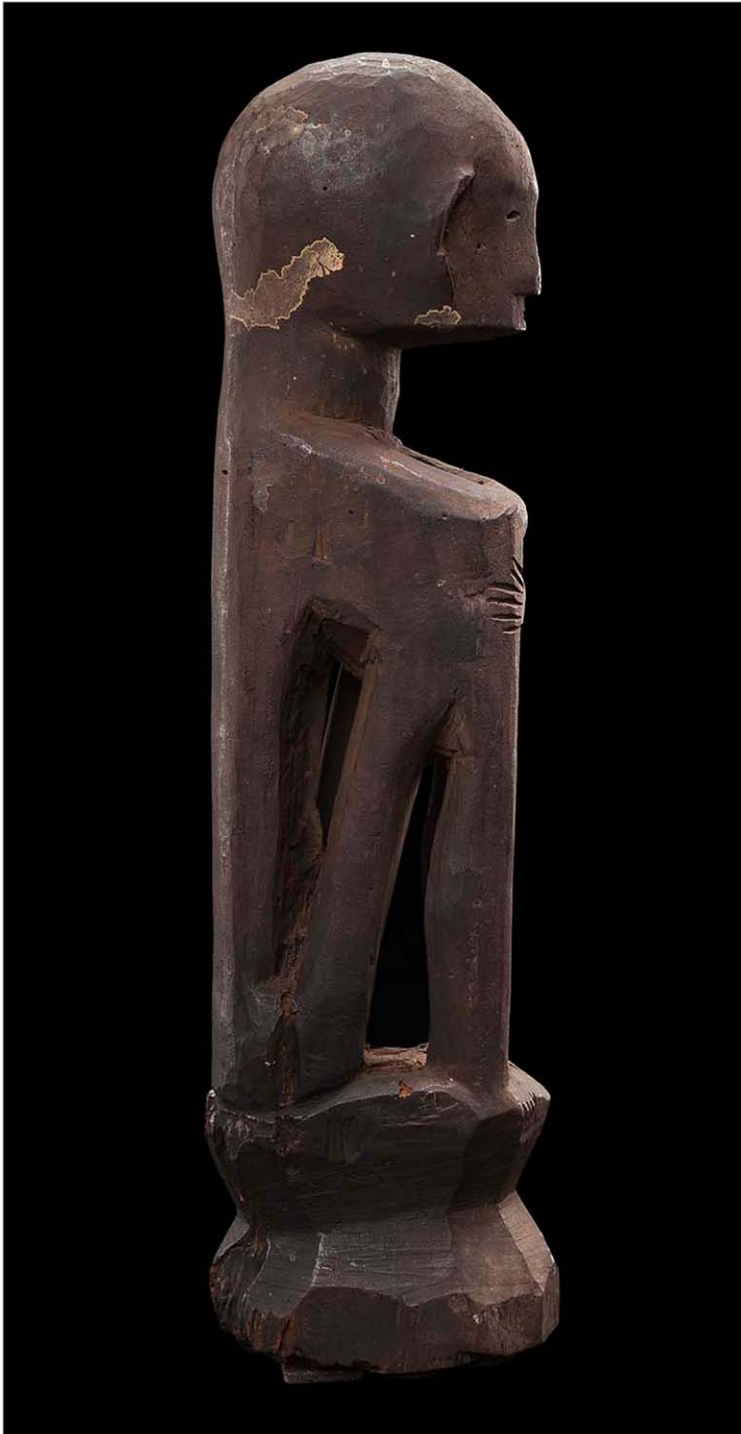
Photographs by At Maculangan

Introduction

This article has been written from the viewpoint of a collector of Asian and American contemporary art, who wants to understand Philippine Cordillera tribal art sculpture in the context of aesthetic expression in today's art world. I have increasingly been drawn to the powerful simplicity of the tribal—or traditional—art form, with a focus on Cordillera tribal art, created by the tribal peoples, mainly Ifugao, Bontoc and Kankanaï, inhabiting the great rice terraces in the mountains of Northern Luzon, Philippines. I find the aesthetics, rather than the ethnological background, fascinating.

This approach is quite similar to that of William Rubin in his introduction to *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art*,¹

¹Rubin, 1984, p. 1.



1 Sitting male bulul, Ifugao (possibly Lagawe/Bunney style), carved hardwood, late 19th century, height 42 cm



2 Detail of (1)

which accompanied the exhibition of the same title at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1984. I want to understand these primitive sculptures in terms of the “Western” context in which modern “artists” discovered them. To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever suggested, and this article does not suggest, that “Western” modern “artists” discovered Cordillera tribal art, rather the “discovery” was made by “cross-collecting contemporary art enthusiasts”.^{2,3}

So my focus will not be on the ethnographical and ceremonial context, nor on the question of the true meaning of “authenticity”,⁴ nor on the level of encrustation produced during animistic ritual, all of which has been widely discussed.⁵ Rather, the focus of this article is on aesthetic expression, although within the framework of ritual function. However, I acknowledge the spiritual position of the carvers and the environment in which the pieces were created. Thus, my view is not contrary, but rather complementary, to the traditional view.⁶ In this way, I hope I can introduce some new elements to the discussion of Cordillera tribal art.

Context

The influence of African and Oceanic tribal art on 20th century Western art is widely accepted, as demonstrated in the above mentioned exhibition at the MOMA, and thereafter in the most striking catalogues and commentaries accompanying recent exhibitions and sales of African and Oceanic works published by Christie’s⁷ and in other publications.⁸

In 1984, William Rubin brought attention to the lack of discussion of the impact of the discovery of tribal art on 20th century art: “No pivotal topic in twentieth-century art has received less serious attention than primitivism—the interest of modern artists in tribal art and culture, as revealed in their thought and work.”⁹ Today, that has completely changed in respect of tribal art in general, but unfortunately not significantly in respect of the art of those tribes discussed here. At last, however, there has been limited recognition in that some Filipino contemporary artists, most notably Gaston Damag—Ifigao by descent—Ronald Ventura, Eduardo Olbes and others, are using Cordillera artistic elements in their works.¹⁰

It is not my intention to suggest that there was any contribution to “primitivism” when there was none. But looking at the aesthetic quality and at what we can derive from that quality today, the resemblances to tribal art leading to “primitivism” are striking. There are good reasons for this, as will be shown below.

George Braque once observed: “African masks opened a new horizon to me. They made it possible for me to make contact with instinctive things, with uninhibited feeling that went against the fake tradition (late Western illusionism) which I hated.”¹¹ Primitivism “showed up at the end of the 19th Century ‘postindustrial’ period when Europe was enduring a period of cultural decadence and ideological crisis.” The artists “were seeking a new simplicity and directness of expression”,¹² and contemporary artists still do.

Cordillera tribal art, therefore, deserves a closer look. I believe that the artistic quality of Cordillera tribal art is equal to that which influenced 20th century, and now 21st

century, art. This becomes even more credible when looking at the detail of the objects, and not just more traditional full-body views. Photography is essential in helping us see these details and the drama of the art form. Juxtaposing images of entire objects with close-ups that reveal unique angles, the connections and the sculptural details (whether figurative or abstract), helps the viewer truly grasp both the object’s expression and meaning. The result of photographer At Maculangan’s work reminded me of Kandinsky’s description: “In a mysterious, puzzling and mystical way the true work of art arises from out of the artist.”¹³

Simple and powerful: expression in Cordillera traditional art

A male bulul (1),¹⁴ late 19th century, shows a conventional position, arms crossed, possibly Lagawe/Bunney style. The architecture and geometry of the sculpture is vertical, the back straight, as if the result of a forceful strike by an axe. The expression is reminiscent of the strict lines of Cubist sculptures, for example *Femme au Comptoir* by Henri Laurens, 1920, or the sculptures of Alexander Archipenko (*The Hero!*), Raymond Duchamp-Villon or Jacques Lipchitz (*Sculpture 1915*), or Constantin Brancusi.¹⁵ The legs of this bulul rest directly on the base in the shape of a rice mortar, indicating a direct connection with the earth. The details of the head in (2) express the simplicity of the carving. There is only a semblance of the eyes, the ears, the nose and the mouth. Note, in particular, the hands resting on the thighs.

Another male bulul (3), late 19th century, shows a similarly simple expression, with a head completely out of proportion, but with clean geometrical lines (4). The body parts are even more reduced here. However, the directness and straightforwardness of the expression is exceeded by the carving of one of the most striking examples of ceremonial boxes¹⁶ I have ever come across, expressing the duality common to tribal life (5). Cordillera boxes usually have their handles fashioned as heads of animals, such as pigs, dogs, bird-like figures and occasionally water buffaloes. One cannot be sure what these animals represent. Usually the heads are almost identical on each side, although sometimes one is larger than the other (as in the case of a pair of bululs, representing male and female). In an illustrative

²A term used in the June 25th, 2016 edition of the *Financial Times*, “Collecting” section, p. 6.

³This article was written with the input of leading collectors and experts, including: Yann Ferrandin, Paris; Judith Schoffel, Paris; Rudolf Kratochwill, Manila; and above all Floy Quintos (who also assisted with the descriptions), Manila; Gaston Damag, the contemporary artist using the language of his native Ifugao art; and finally, thanks to Paul Bograd, for critical review. Of course, any mistake is solely mine.

⁴Most of the pieces shown here were created in the 19th century or early 20th century, and enjoy a strong provenance that can be traced to collecting activities more than thirty years ago. Now owned by the Hong Kong based Asian Art:Future (AA:F) collection, these works come from the collections of Tadashi Morita, Yann Ferrandin, Alain Schoffel, William Beyer, George Schenk, Thierry David, J. Marchais, and Peter Elliott; from some of the leading Philippine collections (Floy Quintos, Ambeth Ocampo, Joaquin Palencia, Maria Closa, the Madrigal family, Martin Bumanlang, Jose Lamyod, Osmundo Esquerro, Amir Ocampo, John Manmanglo, Paolo Osmena, Francis Balogan, and others); as well as Austrian (Rudolf Kratochwill) and German (Ulrich Kortmann) private collections.



3 Sitting male bulul, Ifugao, carved hardwood, late 19th century, height 42 cm



4 Detail of (3)

⁵See the Bibliography at the end of this article.

⁶Rubin, 1984, p. 1.

⁷"Evolution of Form, African & Oceanic Art in the Genesis of Modernism", Christie's New York, May 12th, 2016.

⁸Matthew Kangas, "How African Art Influenced Modern Art", *Artguide Northwest*, 2011; Douglas C. McGill, "What Does Modern Art Owe to the Primitives?", *New York Times*, September 23rd, 2014; "African Influences in Modern Art", Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/aima/hd_aima.htm; Denise Murrel, in http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/aima/hd_aima.htm.

⁹Rubin, 1984, p. 1.

¹⁰See Gaston Damag, <http://www.drawingroomgallery.com/artist/gaston-damag/> and <http://www.zimmermann-kratochwill.com/en/kuenstler/gaston-damag/>; Ronald Ventura, <http://www.trfineart.com/artists/ronald-ventura>; and Eduardo Olbes, <http://www.manilaartscene.com/event/bululs-and-other-oddities-eduardo-olbes/>.

¹¹Flam and Deutch, 2013, p. 428. Also Marrone, see footnote 12.

¹²Marrone, 2016, p. 10.

¹³Barasch, 1990, p. 360.

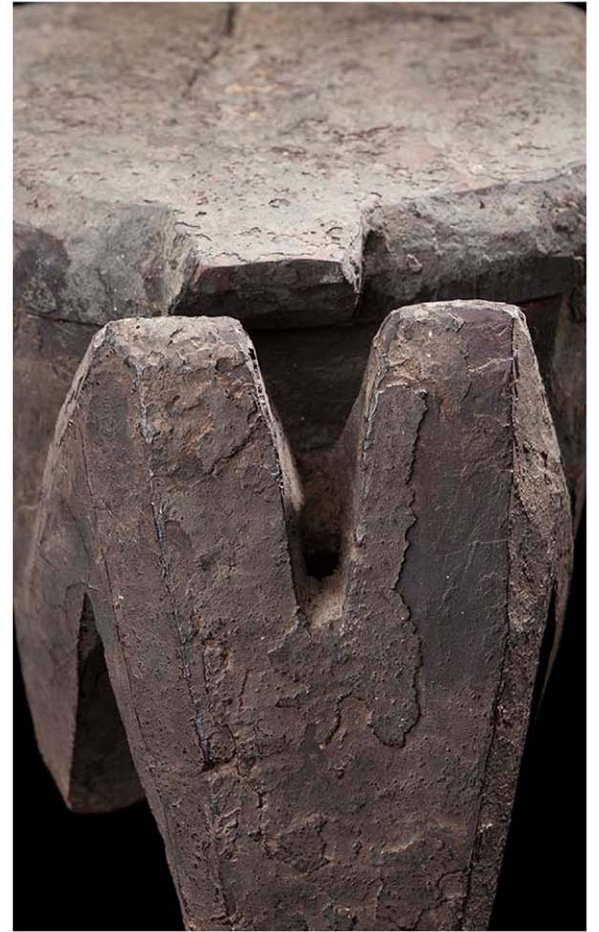
¹⁴"Bulul" statues are representations of rice gods, more or less in a human form, that fend off evil spirits and protect crops. They form part of the rituals surrounding the harvest. The belief is that, once hidden in the granary, they can even magically increase the size of the harvest. Usually made in pairs, they were often separated later.

¹⁵See <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/lipchitz-sculpture-t03397>; <http://www.ideelart.com/module/csblog/post/137-1-cubist-sculpture.html>; <https://www.centrepompidou.fr/cpv/resource/czAz4eq/rzgXy>.

¹⁶In Ifugao, this type of box is called Punamhan, or Pung-Gam-Ngan, and was used in rituals, for both healing and sorcery; it also served as a container for spiritual objects. Other boxes were used as food containers, usually for salted meat.



5 Box (probably for ceremonial purposes), Ifugao, carved hardwood, early 20th century, length 47.5 cm, width 18.5 cm, height 19.5 cm



6 Detail of (5)



7 Food box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, early 20th century, length 44.5 cm, width 25.5 cm, height 34 cm



8 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, early 20th century, length 64 cm, width 17 cm, height 18 cm

example (6), the carving reduces the representation of such heads to a functional feature, which would not be recognised looking only at the heads. In the context of the complete box, it becomes clear what the carving represents. Such representation is reduced to perfection, and we should also note the symmetry of this work of art.

A similar path was taken by the carver of a food box (7) whose greyish patina indicates deposits of salt crystals that have penetrated the wood over time. The heads are carved in a straightforward way, basically showing only the panes.

Those archaic pieces of Cordillera art express a “reduction and suggestion” (Floy Quintos), using a “technique of deletion, not decoration”.¹⁷ We come across such extreme reduction of the expression of sculpture also in works from Africa, where art is intended to try to show the essence using simple means without any unnecessary decoration. Representative examples include certain masks of the *ngil* type of the people of Fang of Gabon, such as the *ngil* mask of the Oyem region in the collection of the Musée Quai Branly in Paris,¹⁸ the geometrical sculptures of the peoples of Mumuye in north-east Nigeria, or the Mumuye statue in the collection of Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel.^{19,20}

Parallels can be found in the wood carvings of the autonomous peoples of Central Vietnam, and in some pieces from Sumba and Toraja.²¹ As in many works of those tribes, and the 20th century pieces they influenced, we can see the “breakdown of form into line, volumetric pattern and geometric rhythm”, the “conceptualised” and “abstracted” language of expression, a “form of expression that spoke of the inner vision of the world, of a central reality removed from the illusion, what the West had termed ‘naturalistic’ appearance”.²² The expression is “striving for balance and symmetry”.²³

A ceremonial box (8) is a good example of the pure power represented in the carvings. Made in the early 20th century, this finely grooved ritual box has two stylised symmetrical pig heads that exude the hulking power of the



9 Detail of (8)

¹⁷ Quintos, 2014, p. 58.

¹⁸ Fang, Gabon, height 69 cm, inventory No. 71.1965.104.1; <https://aaa.revues.org/598>. I would like to thank Yann Ferrandin for all of his other comments on African tribal art.

¹⁹ Wood, height 99 cm, <http://www.fondationbeyeler.ch/fr/collection/collections-d-objets-d-afrique>.

²⁰ See <http://www.brunoclaessens.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/In-Pursuit-of-Beauty-Myron-Kunin-Collection-Sothebys-Senufo.png>; <http://www.artenegro.com/?p=264>; <http://www.exquisiteafricanart.com/tribal-figures/lega-figure/>.

²¹ See Barbier and Newton, 1988, pp. 34, 50 and 66; Gordon, 2011, p. 156.

²² Marrone, 2016, p. 10.

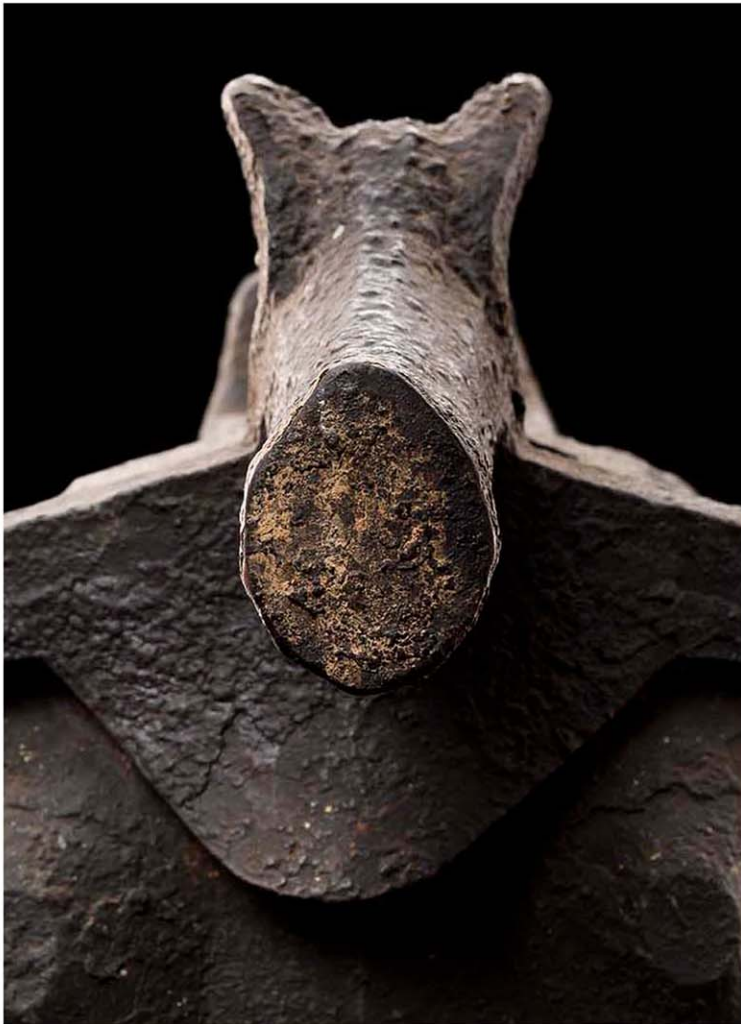
²³ Andersen, 2011, p. 86.



10 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, 19th century (or early 20th century), length 54 cm, width 20 cm, height 23 cm



11 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, possibly as early as 17th century, latest 19th century, length 72 cm, width 20 cm, height 29 cm



12 Detail of (11)

wild boar common in the Cordilleras. We saw very similar, yet less detailed, features in (5) and (7), heads basically carved with a series of faceted planes (9). Those planes are echoed in the grooves of the side of the boxes, thus creating a minimalist and abstract expression, which we find in early 20th century art in Europe, such as in the work of Constantin Brancusi.²⁴

In this context it should be mentioned that Brancusi himself rejected the idea that his work was abstract, saying that what the “idiots” (the art critics, probably) called “abstract is really most realistic. What is real is not appearance, but the essence of things”.²⁵ Showing this “essence of things” most probably is also what the Ifugao carvers had in mind.

The grooves are a frequent feature of boxes. Do they express the repetitive design of the rice terraces? Possibly they were, to a certain extent, following the grain of the hardwood used (Narra, Molave, Ipil, etc.).²⁶ In any case, the contours imply an element of powerful calmness, as shown in (10). We see a combination of such powerful, wavelike grooves as we can see in (11), again with two stylised pig heads (eyes inlaid with porcelain shards), and a crouching figure on top of the lid. Note the short legs, again representing strength, and a firm stand on the earth, and connection therewith. This very important 18th (or earlier) century piece shows a deep patina, resembling iron (12).

²⁴ See <https://www.guggenheim.org/artwork/artist/constantin-brancusi>.

²⁵ See https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Constantin_Brâncuși.

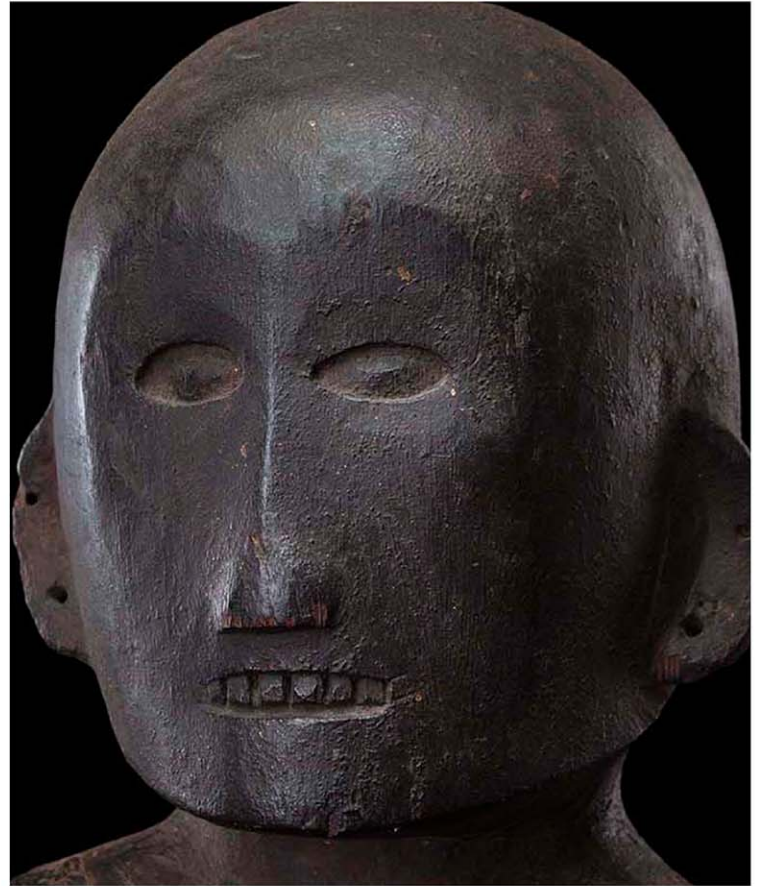
²⁶ Quintos, 2014, p. 58.



13 Pair of sitting bululs (detail), Central Ifugao, carved hardwood, mid-19th century, heights 58 cm and 59 cm



14 Female bulul, Ifugao (Hapao style), carved hardwood, 19th century, height 71 cm



15 Detail of (14)

This leads us to the more “frightening” expression of many archaic pieces, reflecting their function to keep away bad spirits. A fine example is a pair of mid-19th century bululs, very well preserved with porcelain shards indicating the eyes and the mouths, again with the arms crossed over the legs (13). The carving required enormous discipline.

Another frightening sculpture is a female bulul (14, 15), again an important 19th century piece from Hapao village. The hands are laid on the thighs, the hunkered body is slightly leaning forward, teeth bared, eyes staring straight ahead, giving it a very strong presence. We see a “clarity of form” rather than “the complexity of detail”.²⁷

The same can be said of the representation of another short legged boar, with eyes made of porcelain inlay, in a Bontoc food box (16), and another in an Ifugao ceremonial box (17) that has a cowrie shell for the right eye. The carving expresses physical strength, while the thick encrusted patina creates an unexpected aesthetic beauty. Given the fact that there was no ceremonial use, a thick crusted patina is absent from the boar meat container. However, note the fine lines displayed on the body.

In all of these pieces we can see a “sculptural vigor and audacity”²⁸ that animates simple and often crude objects, elevating the focus beyond mere surface detail (Floy Quintos). We see an art concerned with expressing power, with volume rather than surface. The representation with its own vocabulary relies on suggestion, distillation, reduction, rather than style (Gaston Damag). See also (18), a powerful, stocky figure in the Hapao style.

²⁷ Andersen, 2011, p. 84.

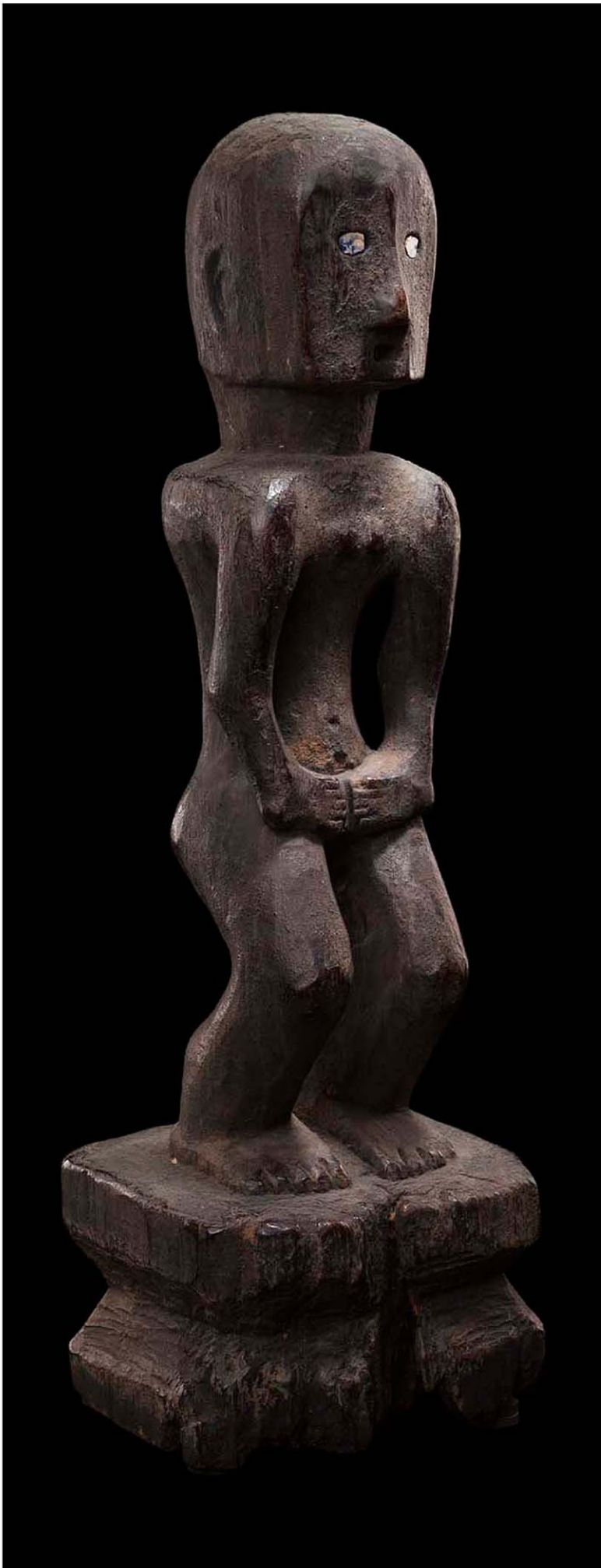
²⁸ Schoffel, 1981.



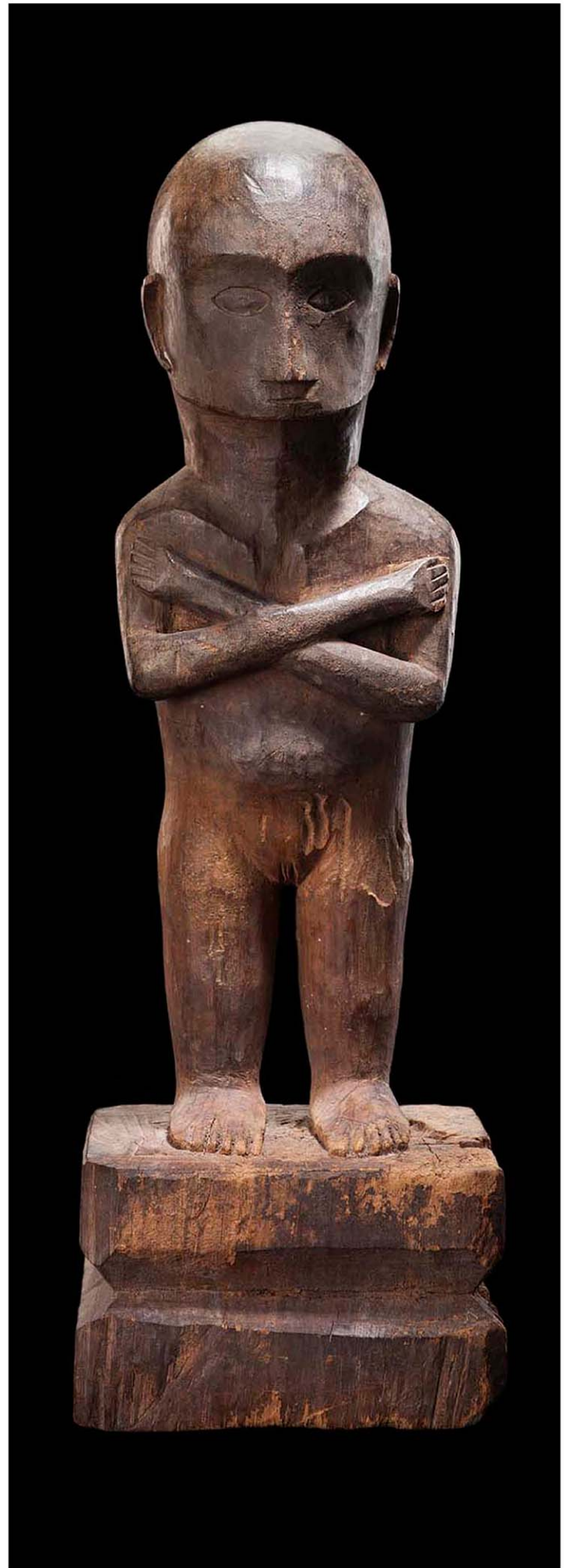
16 Meat container, Bontoc, carved hardwood, first half of 20th century, length 54 cm, width 34 cm, height 28 cm



17 Ritual box (detail), Ifugao, carved hardwood, 19th century, length 59 cm, width 21 cm, height 26 cm



18 Standing bulul, Ifugao, Hapao style, carved hardwood, late 19th/early 20th century, height 58 cm



19 Standing female bulul, Ifugao, Lagawe, carved hardwood, circa 1900, height 41.6 cm



20 Detail of (19)



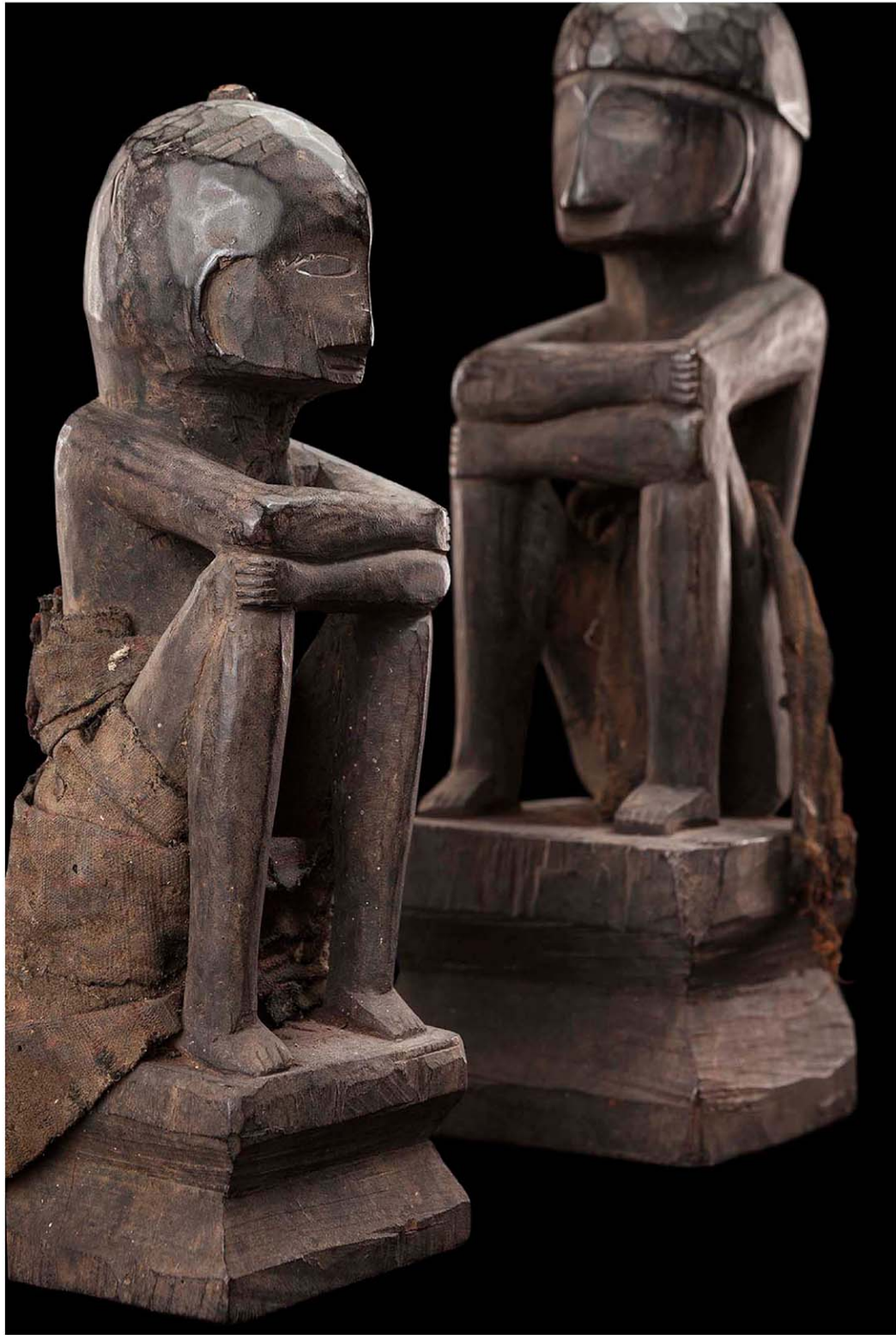
21 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, 19th century,
length 48 cm, width 18 cm, height 21 cm

A very fine example of more harmonious pieces is the female, (pregnant?) bulul shown in (19, 20). The hands crossed, no doubt a protective position, the eyes in the finely carved head directed slightly downwards, the sculpture exudes spirituality, an “otherworldliness and humanity” (Ramon Villegas).²⁹

We can also see sculptures, which according to our contemporary knowledge, appear almost humorous, such as a food box with “Mickey Mouse” ears, heads with a sort of smiling snout, and a simple chunk of wood in between,

with a sloping lid that allows easy handling (21). The AA:F collection also contains graceful and tranquil pieces, like the well preserved (including their clothes) late 19th century pair of sitting bululs (22), the ceremonial box with swan-like heads (23), or the box with very finely carved grooves (24).

²⁹In Carlo Tadiar, “The Bank of the Invaluable”, *Forbes Magazine Philippines*, June 2016.



22 Pair of sitting bululs, with well preserved cloth fabric, Ifugao, carved hardwood, late 19th century, heights 32.5 cm and 25.5 cm

In the late 19th and early 20th century, there was a movement towards more commercial, pleasant-looking, more “realistic” (Brancusi’s “idiots” would probably agree) and detailed forms of expression, in a period called “transition” (Floy Quintos). In essence, this change of style can be attributed to the more frequent arrival of missionaries, in conjunction with the arrival of more sophisticated carving tools, thereby allowing for a finer treatment of the wood. Good examples (25) are the works of Tagiling (Taguiling), a carver who basically founded a “school” in the Kababuyan village, and a very fine example attributed by Alain Schoeffel to Tagiling (26, 27).

Expression driven by an animist view of the world, function and environment

A look at the background and the process of production of the Cordillera carvings may explain the similarities in respect of expression found in African and Oceanic tribal art. In all cases, the sculptures primarily represent the animistic background in the very specific environment in which the tribes lived and the function they served. Yann Ferrandin, a leading expert in the field of tribal art, observed: “Man in the Kongo kingdom strives to live in harmony with the visible and invisible forces that rule the



23 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, first half of 20th century, length 72 cm, width 18.5 cm, height 17.5 cm



24 Ritual box, Ifugao, carved hardwood, late 19th/early 20th century, length 36 cm, width 15 cm, height 18 cm

world. It is through the manipulation of magical objects that he endeavours to attain this goal.”³⁰ Ladislav Segy described the cultural background: “Primitive thinking is homogenous because primitive life is conducted in small and relatively isolated groups held to rigid traditional patterns of behaviour...primitive perception relates to all things emotionally. Attention was directed intuitively to inner reality.”³¹ Francis Lambrecht, in respect of the Mayawyaw tribe (Mayomayo, Cordilleras), referred to “the invocations by supernatural beings” which were “invited to be present at the animistic ceremonies”,³² and the bululs were representations of those deities. Most of the boxes

shown in this article were used in those animistic rituals that connected people to the world of the spirits.

Such function guided the carvers, called “*Mumbaki*”—“*baki*” meaning “ritual”, with “*mum*” being a person with a

³⁰Yann Ferrandin, *Kongo-Magic Art*, Paris, 2009, Introduction.

³¹Ladislav Segy also mentioned, that “Primitive man achieved effortlessly the type of penetration Western man has to work to acquire when he faces a work of art” (all quotes courtesy of Floy Quintos).

³²The Mayawyaw Ritual Publications, *Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. 4, nos 1–3, Washington, 1932, 1935, 1938.

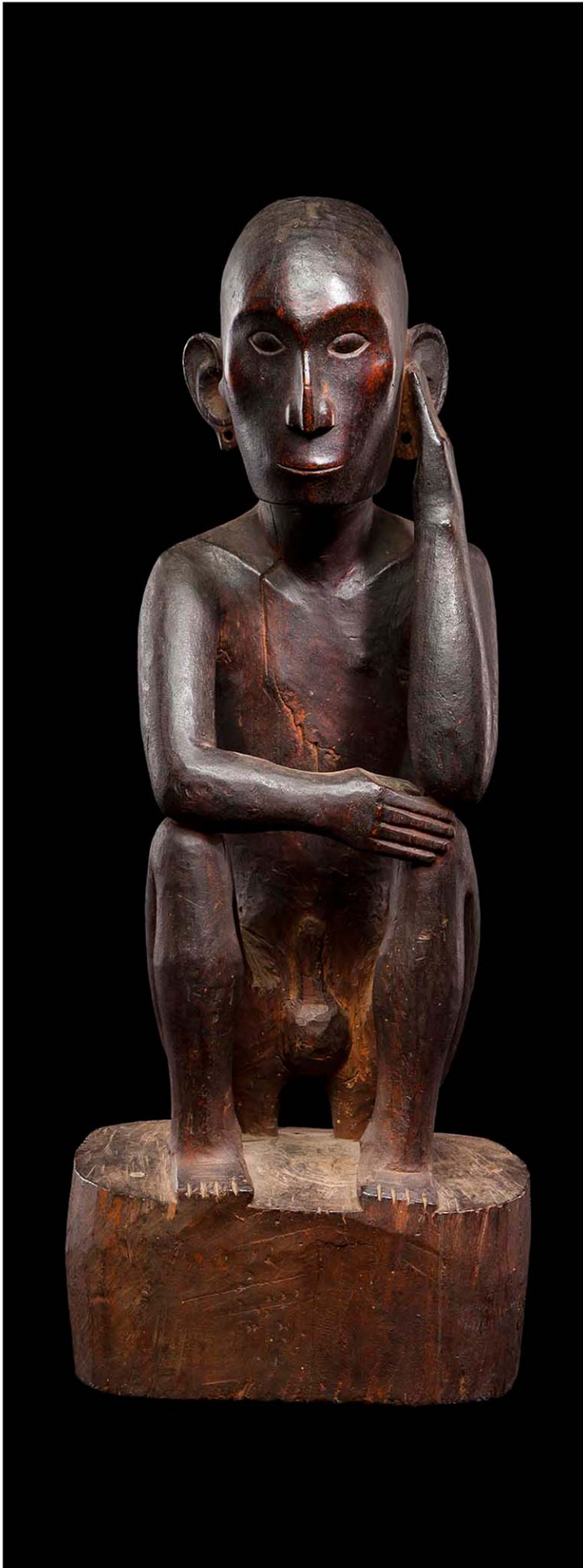


25 Pair of standing bululs, with well preserved cloth fabric, Ifugao, Kababuyan Village, carved hardwood, by master carver Tagiling (1850–1920), heights 44 cm and 43.4 cm

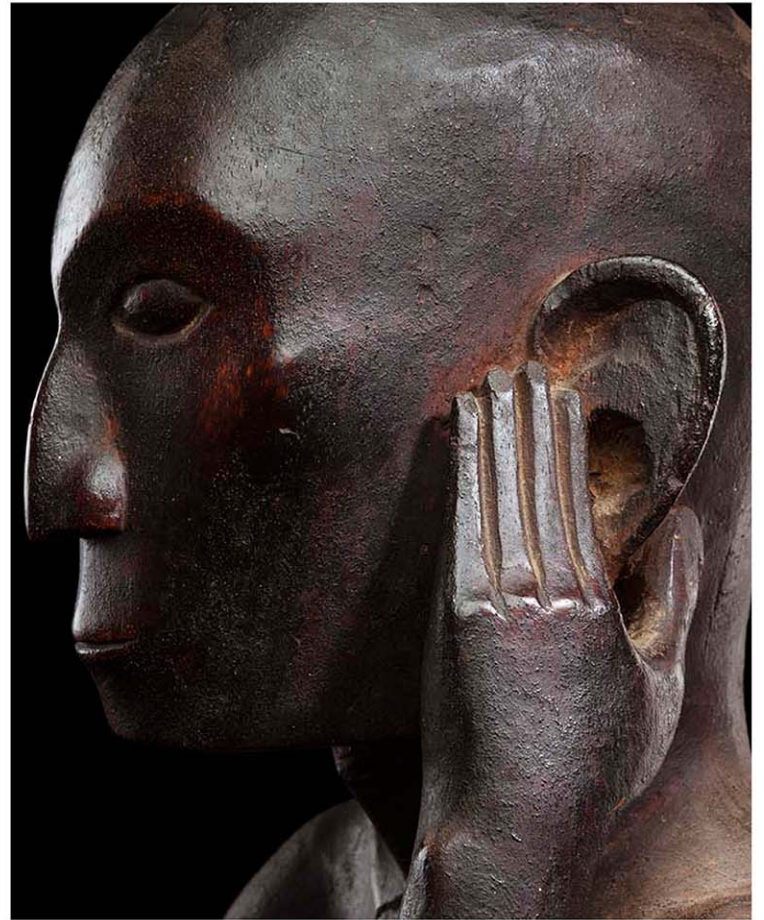
particular knowledge in the Philippines, or their counterparts in Africa, the priests. Reference is made, for instance, to the emblematic power of a divine healer, *nganga*, in Congo, the sole person permitted to manipulate the *nkisi*, reliquary statues used to further beneficial and evil influences, the centrepiece of the cult. The strength of the *nkisi* depends on magic parts added to the statue by the *nganga*, as well as his ability to set powers in motion, but also on ritual practice, the secrecy surrounding the operations of the *nganga* and his personal reputation.

I dare to speculate that the shamans/carvers did not come to the forest with a fixed idea of how the piece to be created should look.³³ The process of preparing and executing the carving was essentially a part of, and guided by,

animistic ritual. The carvers had to choose the trees based on auspicious signs, like the movement of birds pointing to a certain tree. During the execution of a bulul, starting with the felling of the tree, the shaman/carver had to abstain from consuming food and from sexual relations. Instead, he was provided with copious amounts of rice wine by the person who had commissioned the work. In their altered, “transcendent” (Ramon Villegas)³⁴ state, stimulated by rice wine and a haze of myth-chanting (Floy Quintos), they produced works of art. Again, we see parallels to the creation of African tribal art. There, the artistic practice also cannot be separated from its sacred dimension. For instance, the master carvers of the Senufo (northern part of Ivory Coast) work in a “sacred forest”, a place reserved



26 Sitting male bulul, Ifugao, carved hardwood, end of 19th century, carved by Tagiling, the master carver, height 54 cm



27 Detail of (26)

for the mysterious society of the *Poro*, which is visited by the ancestors and the ghosts of the bush. The realisation of the sculptures takes place at a distance from women and laymen, and is ruled by prohibitions, like sexual abstinence.

In the case of the bulul, the form was influenced by the tradition of a certain village. For this reason we can associate certain forms—the heart shaped faces of the Hengyon style bulul (28), the hunched figures of the Hapao, the position of the arms of the Kababuyan, or the dancing bululs of Kiangnan (29) (here with very rare tattoo decoration)—with certain villages of their respective origins.³⁵

The form was also influenced by the very limited tools the shamans had at their disposal: a small axe and a carving knife (*bolo*).³⁶ “The ‘minimalism’ is inherent in the technique of paring down. For the form to emerge from the wood via persistent but restrained grazings, the sculptor wielded the instruments at the level of incisions, slits and notches”,³⁷ leaving chipping marks. Those tools did not lend themselves to create very sophisticated works, but they certainly created art forms of simplicity, as shown in the pieces discussed herein.

³³Just as the Expressionists understood the process of creating art: “The artist doesn’t know what he is going to express until he has expressed”, John Hospers, see <https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy-of-art/Art-as-expression>.

³⁴In Carlo Tadiar, “The Bank of the Invaluable”, p. 72.

³⁵Quintos, 2014, p. 58.

³⁶Ibid., p. 58.

³⁷Ibid., p. 58.



28 Sitting male bulul, Ifugao, Bunney style, carved hardwood, 19th century, height 36 cm

In Africa, the tools used by the carvers to create a mask or a statue were likewise simple. In the case of the so-called “first generation” objects, an adze and a chisel were used. One might assume, but it is difficult to say for sure, that the recent introduction of knives or wood scissors also had an influence on the radical change of styles which appear, depending on the ethnicity and regions, in the first half of the 20th century. For instance, see the initiating masks of the *Bwami* society of the Lega peoples in Congo where simplicity seems to be pushed to the maximum.³⁸

The arrangement—pairs of bululs, heads on each side of boxes—further reflects the “duality” common in the culture of the Philippine tribes and elsewhere. The most significant examples in Africa are the art of the Dogon in Mali, where the concept of duality is almost ever-present. More precisely, the statue in the Bombou-Toro style (south-

ern cliff of Bandiagara) illustrates the theme of the twinning, of the pairing, which highlights the duality of the human being, and the complementariness of man and women, which is the basis of the order and the harmony of the group. See the Bombou-Toro statue in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of New York.³⁹

Despite all these influences, the pieces illustrated in this article indicate the enormous wealth of choice the carvers had at their disposal. These choices have shaped collections. A really interesting line of forms can be recognised in the case of Tadashi Morita’s collection (put together in the 1970s and 1980s in the Cordilleras and well represented in the AA:F collection), which is outstanding in terms of its powerful simplicity. Tadashi Morita explained that when selecting items he did not really have a plan, but he took what appealed to his “aesthetic eyes”.⁴⁰ The result very much reflects major Japanese principles of aesthetics,⁴¹ like *Kanso* (simplicity, elimination of clutter), *Shibu/Shibumi* (beautiful by being understated), *Shizen* (absence of pretence) or *Seijaku* (tranquility or energised calm).

Obviously, these principles were not deliberately followed by the Cordillera carvers, but their art appeals to collectors whose choices are guided by them. The AA:F collection tends more and more towards Morita’s choices. Those, in my view, represent best the fact that there are some rules, often silent, governing the work of these artists: they actually created artefacts of powerful simplicity, which are important beyond the period and the cultural environment in which they worked.

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29 Dancing bulul, with zigzag tattoo-like incisions, Ifugao, carved hardwood, 19th century, height 69.2 cm

Montbrison, Alvina, et al., *Philippines: An Archipelago of Exchange*, Paris: Musée du Quai Branly, 2013, see in particular the essays by Nicole Revel, Augusto F. Villalon, Patricia O. Afable, Marian Pastor Roces and Gaston Damag.

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³⁸ Lega mask, Kivu, Maniema, Democratic Republic of Congo, wood, pigments and natural fibres, height 21 cm, collection of the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, inventory no. EO.1962.46.1.

³⁹ From Dogon, Mali, southern cliff of Bandiagara, wood, height 72 cm, inventory 1977.394.15, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection?where=France&what=Books&rpp=90&pg=17#!?q=1977.394.15&sortBy=Relevance&sortOrder=asc&offset=0&pageSize=20>.

⁴⁰ This is the title of a recent exhibition at the Koriyama Museum of Art of Tadashi Morita's collection of vintage textiles from Japan and other Asian countries.

⁴¹ See “Japanese Aesthetics”, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/japanese-aesthetics/>.