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The Medium is an Interface:

How image-as-interface surfaces the layers in photographs of the Igorot European Exposition (1887-1913)

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Abstract

The Igorot expositions in Europe were held in Madrid in 1887 and in various other cities of Europe from 1911-1913. Although the expositions were staged more than a century ago, their traces are still found through photographic images, physical locations and artifacts, and multimedia access. Making sense of the photographic images poses an important question on methodology. If indexicality is the basis of relating with images, how does one account for the showcasing of the Igorots as savages in these expositions? If representation is the focus, how does one account for the lack of images in other places of exhibition? How does one account for the feeling of being in the same space but in a different time? How will imagining the image relate to understanding the exposition? This study seeks to explore photographic images by rethinking the concepts of the image and interface. It also proposes to use the image-as-interface as a mode of engagement that brings to the surface the contextual layers through the details of the photographic image. The spectacle of representation is just one among the possible layers. The interface highlights the photographic image as a medium that links and traces the various layers of political, economic, or cultural contexts.

Keywords: European Expositions, Igorots, image, interface, image-as-interface

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Agyamanak unay kadakayo.

Introduction

My interest in images of the Igorot[1] was piqued during a conference in the Philippines in 2014 where the film[2] "Native life in the Philippines" (1913) by Dean Worcester was shown. After the film, a short discussion ensued on whether or not the scenes were staged. The basis of the claim that it was staged was the fight scene of a supposed tribal war which appeared very awkward to some of the viewers. Some even demonstrated how the actions were not logical in an actual battle. Others argued that the bottom line was that Igorot communities recognize those images as their own, that is, of their own ancestors. The focus on recognition or identification, the idea of 'that was how they were' became engrossing to me. On the one hand, it appeared truthful or real based on the indexicality of the image. On the other hand, a particular image became a means for a deeper discussion. Was there something more that an image could offer?

It was in one of my Philippine history class discussions in college that I first heard about how Igorots were exhibited during the 1887 Exposition in Madrid, Spain. It was also a topic that was occasionally referred to in other lectures and reading materials on discrimination against the indigenous people. In another course discussion critiquing the manner in which the Igorots were displayed and the subsequent debate on whether or not they were representative of the Filipinos sparked questions on Filipino identity. The debate on representation resurfaced later in relation to a statement made by a Filipino diplomat that Igorots are not Filipinos. I will not go into the critique and arguments raised on whether or not the Igorots represent the Filipino people but will focus on representation as a layer in understanding the image of the Igorot as an indigenous group in Philippine society.

In April 2017, I attended a conference organized by migrant Igorots in Europe and learned about other European expositions or fairs aside from the Madrid Exposition of 1887 when the Philippines was a Spanish colony. It was new knowledge for me as most of the scholarship on Igorot exposition are focused in the United States of America (U.S.), especially on the St. Louis World Fair in 1904. That revelation led me to seek more information, and in

[1] Igorot is a collective term for the indigenous people in the Philippine Cordillera Region.
[2] The film is now available for viewing on archives.org: https://archive.org/details/upenn-f16-0550_Bontoc_Igorot_A

the most recent work I found brief mentions or anecdotes about exposition tours in various European cities from 1911 to 1913, when the Philippines was a U.S. colony. It is thus relevant to view the different Igorot expositions in Europe as a contiguous event to better situate them in the context of the colonial exhibition culture prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and at the same time provide a particular focus on how the various exhibitions influence present day 'understanding' of the Igorot.

The Igorot expositions took place more than a century ago yet their traces can still be found in the present. For example, from June to November 2017, the National Anthropology Museum (Museo Nacional de Antropologia) in Madrid, Spain, sponsored an exhibit entitled *Imágenes de Una Exposición Filipinas En El Parque De El Retiro En 1887* (Images of the First Philippine Exposition in El Retiro Park in 1887) to commemorate the 1887 Madrid Exposition. In 2011, a train tunnel in Ghent, Belgium was named after Timicheg, an Igorot who died during the 1913 Ghent International Exposition[3]. Libraries and institutions across the U.S., Europe, and the Philippines established physical and digital archival repositories of images and artifacts related to the various Igorot expositions. Therefore, research about the Igorot exposition continues to be a relevant topic of scholarship. Making sense of the images poses an important question with regard to methodology. If indexicality is the basis of relating with images, how does one account for the showcasing of the Igorots as savages in these expositions? If representation is the focus, how does one account for the lack of images in other places of exhibition? How does one account for the feeling of being in the same space but in a different time? How will imagining the image relate to understanding the exposition? This exploratory study aims to add to the knowledge about the Igorot expositions and also to seek alternative ways to make sense of and engage with images using the frame and method of the image-as-interface.

I propose a method of looking at the images as interfaces in order to broaden the meaning making as well as recognize the viewer experience. This negotiates the limitations and affordances of both image and interface as concepts. Critics of the semiotic tradition have pointed to the limitation of reading the image through its indexicality and representation and proposed ways to go beyond. While indexicality and representation may have limitations as argued by Tom Gunning (2008) and Jacques Ranciére (2007), these notions do not lose relevance in the analysis of an image. It is still worthwhile to consider including these among the layers that may be brought to the surface in the engagement with the image.

[3] Brago, Pia Lee. 2011. "Railway tunnel in Belgium named after Igorot." *Philippine Star*. http://www.philstar.com/headlines/685878/railway-tunnel-belgium-named-after-igorot

Going beyond the image has been pondered upon by scholars for over a hundred years even before the invention of the camera but mostly as analogy, that is, seeing the photographic image as seeing the world. Wright (2004) for example, outlined the history of photography through the different approaches and theories surrounding its societal use and development. One of the key points in the various debates about photography as noted by Wright is the analogy of the human eye to the camera lens. He traced its origin to Johann Keppler who made such an analogy in 1604, although it is said that the image or picture as an opening to see beyond (like an interface) may have been thought of much earlier by Alberti in a 1435 remark about "window on the world" (as cited in Wright 2004, 27). This may account for the history of seeing the image as reality. But Leonardo Da Vinci's discovery that an image may be manipulated, making it ambiguous or distorted, led to conceptualization of image perspectives and later, representation.

The most noted conceptualization and reconceptualization of the image was that of Roland Barthes. The photographic image was initially seen by Barthes (1977) as having dual characteristics: first, the "*analogon"* or the denoted message which is basically the literal image but this "absence of a code clearly reinforces the myth of the photographic naturalness" (44); and second, a connoted message that informs the receptor of "the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicate what it thinks of [the image]" or simply put, how society constructs the meaning of the photographic image. While the denoted message is without a code, he sees the connoted message as coded "by a universal symbolic order or by a period rhetoric, in short, by a stock of stereotypes (schemes, colors, graphism, gestures, expressions, arrangements of elements)" (18). Later on, in his 1981 book, *Camera Lucida*, he acknowledged the impact of looking at the image and named the uncoded aspect, '*punctum'* and the coded aspect, '*studium.'* Barthes explored his own engagements with the *punctum,* a very particular element or sometimes seemingly odd (unexpected or overlooked) detail in an image that draws or 'cuts through' the viewer's attention. He illustrated this in a very personal engagement with the image in his search and mourning for his mother. I find useful in his concept of the *punctum* the recognition that the image has an effect on the viewer. However, I also find it limiting if one focuses on this element only. I am more interested in using the image through the *punctum* or the *studium* such as "period, clothes, photogeny" (73), as means to go beyond the image and conduct an analysis that could yield more possibilities.

The interface is defined in this study as the capacity of a surface, such as the image surface, to be a portal to something else beyond its intended use. In this way, the interface is a medium, bridge, door, or window. In other words, it is the capacity of the elements in an image

to become gateways into the personal, political, social, or cultural layers of an object, subject, or society. Various conceptualizations and applications of the interface have been formulated by scholars: from the classic computational link, the medium or code becomes a "cultural interface" as access to cultural data is enabled through the computer (Manovich 2001, 70), "object-concept" in which screens function "as mirror, as interlocutor, and as surface for display…" (Verhoeff 2017, 43-44), and to other fields of study. Galloway's (2012) concept of the interface as 'layered' is nearer to what I see as the function of the image because it points to the different layers that are revealed by the interface. These layers do not necessarily have a logical sequence or hierarchy. They are connected to the wider contexts of society.

The process of meaning making is an important factor in engaging with the image. Here, the role of the viewer is key. It is the viewer who engages and makes visible the various layers. It is important to note that the viewer's own set of layers such as knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes produces a specific reading or interpretation. It is the aim of this study to explore ways to a meaningful and insightful engagement with the image through the image-as-interface, not to prescribe a certain reading or choose a specific set of layers. The criticality lies in questioning which layers are brought to the fore and which ones are relegated to the back, and why. In this way, the image-as-interface becomes a site of struggle as contending layers are brought to the fore. Galloway (2012) emphasized that "…the interface is a general technique of mediation evident at all levels; indeed it facilitates the ways of thinking that tends to pitch things in terms of 'levels' or 'layers' in the first place. […] Hence the interface is above all an allegorical device that will help us gain some perspective on culture in the age of information" (54). Hookway (2014) pointed out that the interface is context dependent. It is "defined and directed toward the actual and particular in the field in which the interface is situated" (56). Meaning then is dynamic and expanding.

This study seeks to answer how the image-as-interface mode of engagement brings to the surface the layers of a photographic image. This involves reevaluating the meaning of image and interface and understanding how they relate to and function with each other. As a mode of engagement, the image-as-interface highlights what is brought to the surface when a viewer engages an image. I use image in the broadest sense to pertain to the visual likeness of something which may be physical, as those found in the analog or digital photographs, or mental, as those of imagined images. The interface highlights the photographic image as a medium that links and traces the meanings created in various layers. These layers are the political, economic, or cultural contexts traced by the images. The spectacle of representation is just one among the possible layers.

I consider the exposition of Igorots in Europe to be composed of two types. First, the state-sponsored 1887 Madrid Exposition that was mainly to display colonial power. Second, the exposition tour from 1911-1913 organized by the American businessman Richard Schneidewind that was mainly for profit. Through the frame of image-as-interface, I utilize a qualitative approach in analyzing and interpreting the visual content and interfacing qualities of the images of Igorots in the European expositions from 1887 to 1913. I also use an autoethnographical method to reflect on my experience in engaging with the images throughout the process of this research.

In the first chapter, I explore a conceptual rethinking of the nature and function of the image and the interface and how the image-as-interface as a mode of engagement goes beyond the indexicality and representation in an image. Here I explore various conceptualizations of the image, from Charles S. Peirce's theory of signs, André Bazin's "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," Tom Gunning's view of the Index and Indexicality, Roland Barthes' notion of the image in his books *Image-Music-Text* and in *Camera Lucida*, Jacques Rancière in *The Future of the Image*, and Walter Benjamin's notion of the 'dialectical image.' I also look into the idea of the interface through the conceptualizations of Johanna Drucker, Branden Hookway, Alexander Galloway, and Nanna Verhoeff.

In Chapters Two and Three, I apply the concept of image-as-interface to answer the questions, "What layers are brought to the surface when engaging with images? How do these layers provide a broader understanding of the Igorot exposition in the different spaces/times of both phases of the European Exposition?" In Chapter Two, I explore the 1887 Madrid exposition through the photographic images shown in the 2017 exhibit by the National Museum of Anthropology and my own exploration of El Retiro Park where the Igorots were exhibited in 1887. I use these photographic images as starting points to navigate and open different layers of how and why the Igorots were exhibited and how these (physical or imagined) images affect the viewer experience. Here I also explore the myth of the 'savage Igorot' as an imperial representation and justification for colonial rule and reflect upon the notion of indexicality in the context of the Igorot exhibition as a performance that is uprooted from its natural environment and context. Will the performance layer negate the indexicality of the images? Will the trace as imprint and link apply to the 2017 exhibit? What was traced or linked by the 2017 exhibit? In Chapter Three, I explore the American phase of the exposition through photos and documents in the Schneidewind papers and in digital archives. In this chapter, I seek to answer the questions: How does the presence or absence of image(s) relate to the types of layers

that may be brought to the surface? How does the layer of commercial production (that is, profit oriented) relate to the images and issues of representation and exploitation?

In the Conclusion, I look back on the image-as-interface as a viable alternative in engaging with the image as exemplified in its application in the two types of the Igorot European expositions. I also compare and contrast the various layers which were brought to the surface in both types of European exposition to show the colonial historical context during these periods and to trace the past and present links of the issues still confronted by the Igorots today.

Chapter 1
The Image-as-Interface

In this Chapter, I explore the ways how the term 'image' has been conceptualized, analyzed, and given meaning by various scholars in media, art, and performance studies. The long held convention of image analysis that focuses on either the image or the viewer has led to a downplaying of the interaction between the image and the viewer or has resulted in a superimposition of one aspect or viewing position over the other. It is thus important to find an alternative way of harmonizing the various perspectives, and by doing so, to recognize and appreciate the complex process of interpreting photographic images. Taking note of the affordances and limitations of the various conceptualizations of the image and ways of meaning-making, I look into the possibility of the concept of the interface as a means to capture the space and the contexts of interaction. I engage the concepts of image and interface as if in a conversation with each other to explore how the concept of image-as-interface goes beyond indexicality and representation and to highlight the mode of engagement between the image and the viewer that features the performativity[4] of the image and the experience of the viewer. This method does not intend to abandon the concepts of indexicality and representation, but places these among the layers that make up the context of the image and are brought to the surface during the interaction. The image-as-interface is a way of seeing, thinking, and engaging with the image that gathers together relevant aspects of the semiotic and phenomenological traditions of meaning-making.

The Image Concept

A quick look at the Merriam-Webster's dictionary shows that the terms 'image,' 'photograph,' 'picture,' 'figure,' or 'visual' are to certain extents synonymous albeit with subtle variations. Of these terms, 'image' encompasses the aspects of the four succeeding terms mentioned above. Thus, it is important to utilize the term 'image' as the central concept in exploring photographic or visual materials. The dictionary meaning of 'image' has two related

[4] Performativity is used in this study as the capacity of a photographic image to affect its viewer.

dimensions: likeness and manifestation in material or abstract forms. Likeness relates to the terms 'semblance,' 'copy,' 'imitation,' 'reproduction,' or 'mirror' while material manifestation deals with appearance or presence of the image. The material manifestation is what is seen by the eye or what is visible on a display or screen. In abstract form, the 'image' transforms into an idea or concept, also known as a 'mental image.' It is within these dimensions of likeness and forms of manifestation that media scholars expanded their conceptualization of the photographic image[5].

Among the notable scholars who influenced the scholarship related to the photographic image were Charles S. Peirce, André Bazin, Tom Gunning, Roland Barthes, and Walter Benjamin[6]. While these scholars studied and interpreted the photographic image differently, they relied on three main aspects: first, on how the object relates to the resultant photographic image; second, on what elements comprise the photograph; and third, on how the photographic image relates to the accompanying text. Common among the scholars is the notion that the viewer derives meaning from the photographic image. I illustrate this method in Figure 1 where the viewer's interpretation relies on his reading of how the photographic image relates or likens it to the object captured (marked by the double headed arrow) and of how a caption or a note influences the viewing of the photographic image.

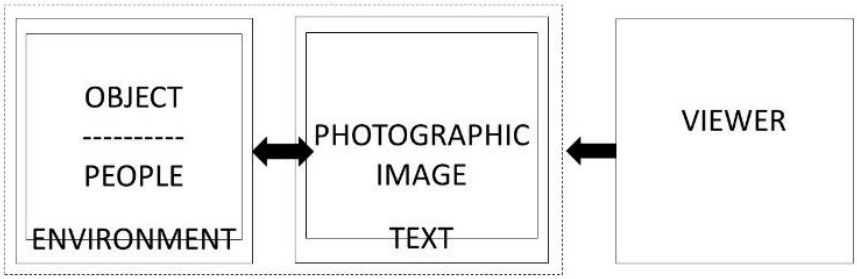

Figure 1. Three main aspects in the study and interpretation of the photographic image.

A key scholar of the semiotic tradition, Charles S. Peirce, conceptualized the photographic image as a representation of the object. Peirce (1955) called the representation or standing in for something as the "sign" (99). In his widely known theory of signs, Peirce explained that "the sign stands for something, its *object* […] not in all respects" (99, emphasis

[5] I make a distinction between the use of the terms 'photographic image' and 'image' in this study. I use 'photographic image' to refer to the picture, whether physical, digital, virtual or imagined. Image is used more broadly to refer to the figure presented in other types of visual materials and has undergone abstraction.

[6] These are just some of the scholars who enriched the conceptualization of the photographic image that I find relevant and interesting to my study. While my inspiration in (re)thinking about the photographic image was mainly from Roland Barthes and Walter Benjamin, I found it important to contrast other scholar's conceptualization to highlight the need to rethink the way we engage with the photographic image.

in original) but through "some character in itself, or in some existential relation to that object, or in its relation to an interpretant" (101). He referred to these trichotomy of the signs as the Icon, Index, and Symbol:

> An *icon* is a sign which would possess the character which renders it significant, even though its object had no existence; such as a lead-pencil streak as representing a geometric line. An *index* is a sign which would; at once, lose the character which makes it a sign if its object were removed, but would not lose that character if there were no interpretant. Such, for instance, is a piece of mould with a bullet hole in it as a sign of a shot or not. A *symbol* is a sign which would lose the character which renders it a sign if there were no interpretant. Such is any utterance of speech which signifies what it does only by virtue of its being understood to have that signification. (Peirce 1955, 104; emphasis in original)

If we relate Peirce's sign system with the dimension of likeness or resemblance captured by the photographic image, we can readily say that the photographic image is an iconic sign which can be a "substitute for anything that it is like" (104). As an iconic sign, it represents the object "mainly by its similarity, no matter what its mode of being[7]" (105). Peirce, however, explained that while "[p]hotographs, especially instantaneous photographs are very instructive, because we know that they are in certain respects exactly like the objects they represent […] the resemblance is due to the photograph's having been produced under such circumstances that they were physically forced to correspond point by point to nature. In that aspect, then, they belong to the second class of signs, those by physical connection" (106). I assume that Peirce points to the indexical sign which "refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characteristics which that object happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object on the one hand, and with the senses on the other hand" (107). It is in this Peircian definition that the concept of indexicality influenced the conceptualizations of the photographic image.

Peirce's explanation points to a direct relationship between the object and the resulting photographic image by virtue of the object's presence and features captured in the photograph and that relationship exists even without someone, the viewer, to say so. I see André Bazin's notion of the photographic image to be in the same vein. His focus on the relationship between the object and the photographic image highlighted the mechanical nature of photography and

[7] Peirce (1955) called his three modes of being Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness which he differentiated based on the following characteristics, respectively: " the being of positive qualitative possibility, the being of actual fact, and the being of law that will govern facts in the future" (75).

emphasized the idea of likeness parallel to notions of realism and objectivity. In his article entitled "The Ontology of the Image," Bazin (1960) noted that the automatic construction of the photographic image produced an objective and powerful view of reality. "For the first time, between the originating object and its reproduction there intervenes only the instrumentality of a nonliving agent. For the first time an image of the world is formed automatically, without the creative intervention of man" (7). He, however, did not totally disregard the role of the photographer. "The personality of the photographer enters into the proceedings only in his selection of the object to be photographed and by way of the purpose he has in mind. Although the final result may reflect something of his personality, this does not play the same role as is played by that of the painter" (7). For Bazin, unlike the photographer, the painter had a direct hand which produced an inherent subjectivity in the image.[8] The separation of the photographer with the production of the photographic image accounts for the perceived objectivity in photographs that Bazin saw as one of the photograph's inherent characteristics.

Bazin (1960) equated objectivity as the "transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction" (8). He seemed to suggest a merging (or becoming one) of the object and the photographic image at the moment of capture:

> Only a photographic lens can give us the kind of image of the object that is capable of satisfying the deep need man has to substitute for it something more than a mere approximation, a kind of decal or transfer. The photographic image is the object itself, the object freed from the condition of time and space that govern it. No matter how fuzzy, distorted, or discolored, no matter how lacking, in documentary value the image may be, it shares, by virtue of the very process of its becoming, the being of the model of which it is the reproduction; it *is* the model. (Bazin 1960, 8; emphasis in original)

This widely quoted statement of Bazin has been interpreted differently. Initially, it seemed to me that Bazin was arguing for some kind of ontology or essence related to the photographic image as an index or suggesting that there is something more to the photographic image than being what is initially thought of as mere copy or substitute of the captured object.

Tom Gunning's (2007) article "Moving Away from the Index" provided a critical analysis of Bazin's article and reconsidered the ways in which the terms 'indexicality' and 'realism' have been linked. According to Gunning, there was a common reading of Bazin's article that "cinematic realism depended on the medium's photographic nature" (31). I view

[8] Barthes (1977) made a similar claim but used drawing as an example to argue that because of the artists' intervention in the image creation process, the drawing (Bazin's example was painting) is inherently subjective, that "even when denoted, [it] is a coded message" (43).

this to mean that a correspondence exists between realism and the photograph's indexicality. But Gunning argued that this was not the case. "Bazin's account of realism of photography rests less on a correspondence theory (that the photograph resembles the world, a relation Peirce would describe iconic), than on what he describes as a 'transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction,' referring to the photograph as a 'decal or approximate tracing'" (31-32). Gunning noted that translation issues could have affected the understanding of Bazin's article.[9] To illustrate his point, Gunning looked back to Peirce's definition, expounded on the notion of the index and highlighted its main feature to be "the direct physical connection between the sign and its referent" (30) as seen in examples such as "the footprint, the bullet hole, the sundial, the weather vane, and *photographs*"[10] (30, my emphasis). Gunning also argued that the index should not be taken in isolation nor in contrast with the two other types. He emphasized that Peirce viewed the index "as part of a complex system of interlocking concepts that comprise not only a philosophy of signs but a theory of the mind and its relation to the world" (30). I take Gunning's argument to mean that understanding the photographic image takes more than the indexicality presented. It involves both the relationship of the object to its photographic image and the viewer's reception.[11] As Gunning emphasized that Peirce did not limit the concept of the index to "impression or trace" (30), he also stressed that "reading Bazin in terms of Peirce does some disservice to the full complexity of Bazin's aesthetic theory of realism" (32-33). He read Bazin's article not as "an argument about signs" (47). He added that "Bazin's ontology of the photographic and filmic image seems to assert a nearly magical sense of presence delivered by the photographic image. In any case, at best, the index would only function as one aspect of Bazin's realist aesthetic" (47). Here I agree with Gunning that indexicality is just one feature of the photographic image. In shifting the focus away from the index and into the relationship between the viewer and the photographic image, Gunning opened an experiential approach to the reception of the photographic image.

What I find important in the conceptualization of the photographic image expressed by Peirce, Bazin, and Gunning is the possibility that there is something more to the photographic

[9] Gunning (2007) referred to the difference between the translations done by Daniel Morgan where the photograph was referred to as "decal or approximate tracing" while the more popular version done by Hugh Gray used "decal and transfer" (48). The difference I see in these two translations is in how the notions of index (as trace) and reality (that may be transferred) were carried by the photographic image.

[10] Gunning (2007) asserted that some of the examples mentioned show that the index does not necessarily engage with the past only but could also do so with the present. The relationship with the past, however, "holds true for a fixed photograph" (30).

[11] This reading is in line with my proposition that a rethinking of the way we engage with the photographic image should go beyond indexicality and representation. This will be further discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

image. This ‘something more’ invites a closer look at the photographic image and on how the viewer relates to it. One media scholar who had explored a broad spectrum of what the photographic image contains and teems with was Roland Barthes. In his early writings, Barthes focused on the elements of the photographic image to point out representation, agenda, or ideology such as those found in advertising images. In his later scholarship he acknowledged the often overlooked aspect of the image (what he called the ‘*punctum*’) and explored the subjective experience in viewing photographs. The development of Barthes’ conceptualization of the photographic image from an image centered to a viewer experience centered approach revealed the breadth of photographic image analysis he undertook throughout his entire career, from the rigid identification of the structures of the photographic image to the highly subjective experiential disclosure. Barthes’ methods inspired me to think about how particular details in the photographic image opened up a different mode of understanding beyond the photographic image surface.

Barthes’ (1977) early conceptualization of the photographic image was expounded in his book *Image, Music, Text* where he explained that the photographic image is composed of an uncoded and a coded content. The uncoded content is an exact rendition of an object or a “perfect analogon” (17) of the object and the image so that there is no need for an intermediary between the object and the image because what is revealed is the object and its environment. The coded content or the connoted message, on the other hand, contains how “society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it” (17). If we consider Peirce’s triadic sign, Barthes’ notion of the uncoded content runs parallel to the iconic and in some ways, the indexical signs, while the coded content is parallel to the symbolic sign. Barthes’ distinction set the location of meaning in the photographic image itself which the viewer has to learn to see or ‘read.’ Thus, for Barthes, a photographic image may either have a simple, immediately visible meaning, or, a complex and rich meaning that cannot be easily captured nor exhausted. He identified six “connotation procedures” (20-25)[12] in the photographic image that have to be analyzed in order to decode the connoted message. These procedures are interventions utilized to construct a certain photographic image which may not be immediately visible or may even be concealed in the ‘naturalness’ of the denoted message. “It innocents the semantic artifice of connotation, which is extremely dense, especially in advertising” (45). The photograph’s mechanical process masks the intervention to create an illusion of objectivity, thus, it

[12] Barthes (1977) identified six "connotation procedures," namely, the trick effects, pose, objects, photogenia or camera techniques, aestheticism or artistic effects, and syntax or relationship of one photograph with others which produce the connotation in photographs (20-25).

"reinforces the myth of photographic 'naturalness'" (44). Unlike other stylistic visual reproductions, such as "drawings, paintings, cinema, theatre" (17), the photograph allows seeing the object as it is without the visible construction rendered by the artist. This does not mean that no preparation was done by the photographer, but that "the photograph allows the photographer to conceal elusively the preparation to which he subjects the scene to be recorded" (21). Thus, for Barthes, the photographic image is structurally and ethically paradoxical. On one hand, its being a "message without a code" (10) presents a seemingly natural state but then a "connoted (or coded) message develops on the basis of a *message without a code*" (19). Thus, the coded and uncoded messages may not always be separate elements in a photographic image. The overlap of the coded and uncoded messages made it possible for the photograph to be "at once 'objective' and 'invested,' natural and cultural" (20).

Barthes (1977) expounded on the intervention evident in advertisement images where the elements of the photographic image were carefully crafted based on the "attributes of the product" (33) and on the intention, to sell the product. In his analysis of the Panzani advertisement, Barthes identified three types of messages contained in the photographic image: "a linguistic message, a coded iconic message, and a non-coded iconic message" (36). The linguistic message or the text accompanying the image contained both the denotative and connotative meanings. The text marks its presence in every image by becoming the "anchorage and relay" (38) which direct the viewer towards the intended meaning. In press photographs, for example, the text takes the form of the "title, caption, or article" (16). In other contexts, ideology serves as the anchor. According to Barthes, once the accompanying text is removed, the "pure image" (34) emerges. Identifying the details of photographic image allows a study of its signification or meaning. But the viewer may not 'see' all the details and may just opt to "choose some and ignore others" (39). The polysemic characteristic of the photographic image adds to the complexity of reading the photographic image. His notion of the location of meaning seemed to have expanded when he acknowledged the polysemic characteristic of the image on the one hand and that various individuals may have varied readings of an image, on the other hand. The variety in their reading reveals the "practical, rational, cultural, aesthetic" (46) information or "attitudes" (47) possessed by individuals. Thus there is always a historical dimension[13] to reading a photograph. Simultaneously, the image's own language reveals "the totality of the utterances emitted … [and] received" (47).

[13] Barthes repeated the idea of relating photography with history in *Camera Lucida*: "Photography has the same relation to History that the biographeme has to biography" (Barthes 1981, 30).

In Barthes' later conceptualization of the photographic image, he moved away from the very structured method of image analysis characteristic of his earlier career and focused on his own experience of engaging with the photographic image while he mourned for his mother. This shift is found in his book *Camera Lucida*, where Barthes (1981) introduced the '*punctum*' and the '*studium*' of the photographic image. Barthes, in his search for the essence of the photographic image[14], relied on the sometimes unexplainable subjective preference that draws a viewer to an image detail or the *punctum.* The *punctum* is the element that need not be searched for nor analyzed because it stands out on its own. Barthes considered the effort or the consciousness to make an analysis as an indication that one already enters the realm of the *studium.*

Barthes (1981) figured the photograph to be like a candid shot where the subject is unaware of being photographed; the photograph is unexpected or is a surprise. These photographic "surprises" (32) come in various forms and types: from capturing spectacular beings, things, or events to skillful technical procedures and finally, to playing with luck or chance (32-33). Barthes was quick to caution that the photographic surprise does not necessarily mean to "shock" (32), rather it makes the viewer puzzled. He added that being intrigued by a detail is a good sign. "The photograph becomes 'surprising' when we do not know why it has been taken; what motive and what interest is there…" (34). He added that "the incapacity to name is a good symptom of the disturbance." Barthes noted that when there is no disturbance,[15] the photographic image is "unary" or "banal" (41). And while it is very well composed or has "unity in composition" (41), it is unexciting; in other words, it lacks the *punctum*[16]. Barthes highlighted that the "mere presence" of the *punctum* "changes [one's] reading of the photograph" (42). The *punctum* in its act of pricking or focusing the attention of the viewer to photographic image detail creates a "blind field" (57) that blurs the surrounding area and transports the viewer somewhere beyond the photographic frame, "the *punctum*, then is a kind of subtle beyond" (59).

The trend towards a viewer centered creation of meaning of the photographic image led to conceptualizations focused on the role of the spectator or the 'interpretant' as labeled by

[14] Barthes (1981) started *Camera Lucida* with a note on his motivation, his "'ontological' desire" (3) of finding the essence of photography. Yet, throughout the book, there was no categorical definition of what constituted that essence.

[15] The disturbance refers to the dualities, inconsistencies, or surprises captured in the image.

[16] Here I see some similarities between Barthes and Walter Benjamin's idea of photographic image elements that make some details stand out above the rest. While Barthes called this the *punctum*, Benjamin's notion of a dialectical image also points to that something which defies the orderly composition expected of a photographic image.

Peirce. Benjamin (1985 [1936?]) made an interesting point in differentiating between the distracted and the concentrated viewer. “A man who concentrates before a work of art is absorbed by it. […] In contrast, the distracted mass absorbs the work of art” (239). Benjamin placed the concentrated viewer on the same plane with the photographic image, thus a focus on the image; while the distracted embodies the image, thus a focus on the viewer’s body. But either way, in Benjamin’s notion, one always masks or eliminates the other.

The concepts of time and space are equally important to the notion of the elements that comprise the photographic image and the location of meaning in photographic images. I find Barthes to be consistent in his notions of space and time. For him, the act of capturing emphasized the recording of an event in a specific time and place. Barthes (1977) called this a “new space-time category: spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority, the photograph being an illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then*” (44). Unlike films which can create an illusion of a *here-now*, the photograph when viewed always assumes a presence, that the object presented before the camera and the time of capturing is always in the past, for time has been frozen in the moment of capture. Similarly, Bazin conceptualized time as being embalmed in photography. However, in Bazin’s case, as time and space are captured in the photographic image, the object is freed from the temporal and spatial dimensions. I take this as a kind of going beyond the photographic image.

Other noted scholars who conceptualized on the notion of time and space in photographic images have a different view compared to Barthes or Bazin. Jacques Rancière (2007), for example, did not limit his idea to a past-present dichotomy where the past is made present through recollection but provided a look into the future through the imagination of what is possible. Walter Benjamin (as cited in Pensky 2004), on the other hand, used dialectics to describe the temporal relations of past and present in images. Dialectics in Marxist perspective pertain to the presence of opposing elements which may produce tension that will lead either to a break or to a union.

> It is not that what is past casts its light on the present; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is purely temporal; continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: is not progression but image, suddenly emergent...—Only dialectical images are genuine images, (that is not archaic); and the place where one encounters them is language. (Arcades 462 as cited in Pensky 2004, 177)

In Walter Benjamin's (1985 [1936?]) famous article on "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production," he emphasized the photographic image's "presence in time and space" (220) as an important element of a work of art and to its exhibition value which can "stir the viewer" (226). Alison Ross' (2015) reading of Benjamin's dialectical image puts an emphasis on the "standstill" which is "like the mortifying effect of the 'expressionless' or the 'caesura' that interrupts rhythm and shimmering movement in the early work, can all be placed on the positive side of Benjamin's system of oppositions" (135).

Despite some differences, a point of convergence about time captured in photographic images is the notion that time seemingly stops and is preserved at the moment of capturing. Other ideas which can be said to be following similar thread are Barthes' *punctum* and Benjamin's caesura which both point to a break in the logical flow of the photographic image. Ross (2015) provided a clearer description of Benjamin's conceptualization of the break in space and time in the dialectical image:

> Benjamin's notion of the 'dialectical image' is itself a way of stamping a field that would otherwise incur diffusion. This stamp of significance is a spatial extension, a figural image, of what would otherwise be absorbed, that is rendered unnoticed, in the passage of time. Hence Benjamin's account of the claim that the dialectical image makes on attention eschews the terms 'past' and 'present' for the 'now time' [*Jetztzeit*], the arresting moment, both past and present. But more than this, what the attention-grabbing image releases is revolutionary hope. The 'imprinted form' of the image stamps the diffuse field of experience with meaning and it gathers significance against the factors of diffusion. (Ross 2015, 141)

While Barthes focused on the pastness captured in the image and Ranciére opened the possibility of the future, Benjamin introduced the "now time" that captured both past and present and provided a glimpse into the future, premised on the future oriented "revolutionary hope" (Ross 2015, 141).

Phenomenology aptly situates the role of the viewer in meaning-making but for the most part, it leaves out the representation and performativity of the photographic image. It also masks the space between the photographic image and the viewer as the viewer embodies or takes the position of the image. The practice of image analysis has often led to making a choice between semiotics and phenomenology, or a focus on either the seen or the seer. Following any of these traditions is not a question of correctness nor does it negate the relevance of the other as each has its own limitations. The idea that there is something more or 'beyond' the photographic

image or interaction has been vaguely articulated in notions of what is deemed aesthetic, 'auratic' (Benjamin), or being 'cut' by the *punctum* (Barthes).

As I look for an alternative that could take into account the representation and performativity of the image while also taking cognizance of the presence, context, and experience of the viewer, I explore the concept of the interface as an in-between. If the photographic image is a surface between the object captured and the viewer, how does looking at it as an interface position the creation of meaning? What affordances does the interface offer on the notion of going beyond the surface of the photographic image?

The Interface Concept

The concept of the interface has transcended its computational origins to become a 'travelling concept' (Bal 2002) in the humanities, particularly in the field of media studies. Rooted in the design of human and computer interaction in computer science, the interface is commonly regarded as an object that makes communication between the human and the computer possible. In the humanities, scholars approached the concept of interface as metaphor to capture the in-between "space" (Drucker 2011, 2) or 'gateway' (Hookway 2014, 1) where communication or "autonomous zones of activity" (Galloway 2012, vii) take place and to point out the characteristics of the interaction "between abstract concept (interfacing) and material manifestation (interfaces), or object" (Verhoeff 2017, 45).

Johanna Drucker (2011) defined the interface as a "space" (2) that "supports the interpretative events and acts of meaning production" (3). It is a "dynamic space of relations," not a "thing" (3) and not necessarily medium specific. In other words, the interface refers to the space where interaction takes place and more importantly, to the interaction taking place in the space. According to Drucker, "a book is an interface, so is a newspaper page, a bathroom faucet, a car dashboard, an ATM machine. An interface is not so much about a 'between' space as it is the mediating environment that makes the experience a 'critical zone of experience'" (10). This also means that interfaces are also "sites of power and control" (Laurel 1990, as cited in Drucker 2011, 8). To illustrate how perception through the senses plays a role in the interaction, Drucker cited David Hoffman's "interface theory of perception" which explained that the body's "sensory apparatus" (12) are placed in relation to the environment to constitute and coproduce an experience. This co-production present in the interface concept, does not reduce one element to being absorbed by the other. Following Erving Goffman's frame analysis, Drucker emphasized that the process of making meaning consists of an interaction that depends on

various frames [or layers] such as "embodied and situated knowledge, cultural conditions and training, the whole gamut of individually inflected and socially conditioned skills and attitudes" (6).

Following the notion of the interface as a space in-between, Branden Hookway (2014) explored the interface as a "gateway" (1) to highlight the liminality or "threshold" (5) of that space in-between and the function of the interface as a medium that connects the two faces in interaction. He focused on the deconstruction of the layered feature of the interface: 'inter' points to an inward aspect of a surface, one that is penetrated in the interaction, while 'face' points to an outward aspect which may either be a projection, allowing something to be seen or a covering, limiting what is made visible. When applied to looking at photographic images, the photographs are layered interfaces that hide or conceal surfaces or even the interaction. Hookway described this as the "illusory disappearance of the interface" (15). As a tool for analysis, adding the concept of layer to the interface provides a different mode of analysis, the layer as a surface focuses on the "form" while the interface on the "shaping": "the surface privileges the question of what a thing is or what its properties might be" but "the interface privileges the question of how a relation may come into being and how it may produce behaviors or actions" (14).

Alexander Galloway (2012) followed through on the imagination of the interface as layered when he described the interface layers as levels that are connected to the wider contexts of society:

> [T]he interface is a general technique of mediation evident at all levels; indeed it facilitates the way of thinking that tends to pitch things in terms of 'levels' or 'layers' in the first place. These layers, these many interfaces, are subject of analysis not so much to explain what they are, but to show that the social field itself constitutes a grand interface, an interface between subject and world, between surface and source, and between critique and the objects of criticism. Hence the interface is above all an allegorical device that will help us gain some perspective on culture in the age of information. (Galloway 2012, 54)

Aside from interacting with other layers external to the object or subject, Galloway also pointed to a dimension within "an interface internal to the interface" which he called "intraface" (40) that needs to be analyzed because "layers of the palimpsest" from previous media can also be considered as "data" (44). His notion of the interface as "autonomous zones of activity" highlighted the processes that occur within the zone. Galloway considered the use of a window or door as metaphor for interface to be limited. It is interesting to note, however, that the window or door metaphors have long been previously used for photographs or images.

According to Galloway, "[a] window testifies that it imposes no mode of representation on that which passes through it" while the doorway which is similar to the window metaphor adds moments of being closed, "blocking the passengers within" (39-40).

Meanwhile, Nanna Verhoeff's (2017) notion of the interface as an "object-concept" (43) captured the complexity of the interface as layered and acting as both metaphor and material object. While Verhoeff focused on the interface in the context of urban media infrastructures, her notion of screens interacting in media interfaces is similar to the other media scholars' notion of faces or layers interacting and of the space where the interaction takes place. Verhoeff noted that the "screen" (44) evolved from various conceptualizations of the surface where images are projected, viewed, or interacted with. I find important in her concept of the interface its affordance for self-reflection where the awareness of one's own layers or personal contexts, such as one's positionality, identity, knowledge, or cultural background inform one's interaction with other layers or faces to arrive at a critical understanding of the space and of the interaction taking place.

The Image-as-Interface

I see the potential of the interface in capturing how we interact with photographic images. By using the image-as-interface, we can do away with the dilemma of locating meaning as a choice of either from the image or the viewer. The image-as-interface is a rethinking of the process, a shifting of the focus to the in-between, and opening the possibility of a beyond the photographic image. Thus, the image-as-interface is the space between the photograph and the viewer where the negotiation for meaning and where a meaningful engagement with the photographic image takes place and is experienced. Also guiding this alternative engagement with the image is the notion that the process of making meaning is similar to a communication process where two entities (in this case, the photographic image and the viewer), both with varied contexts, interact with each other to produce meaning. I believe Sharrona Pearl's (2016) statement that "the study of images is the study of communication" (3) works along these lines. Hers is also a reiteration that the photographic "[i]mages are, and must be, conceptualized as relational [because] [t]hey are meaningless if unseen, unexperienced" (1). Pearl noted that meaning is not inherent in the photographic images but a product of the interaction, to this I add that meaning is always negotiated because of the contextual layers that make up both the image and the viewer. These contextual layers of both the seer and the seen demonstrate the complex and dynamic process of making meaning. Subjectivity is part of the seer's context. One cannot

claim an analysis or meaning that is devoid of the contextual layer's influence. But an awareness of these contextual layers account for the objectivity to know where the meaning or analysis is coming from or what it is influenced by. This recognizes the variability of meaning and analysis among the seers.

I see the relation of the image and the object not as a question of how separate or connected the image and the object are but as an illustration of the contextual layers built from the moment of capture. Both separation and connection provide a performance of the image and invite a unique engagement with the image. The level of detail one 'sees' in an image is indicative of one's familiarity with or knowledge of the referent. One gets affected ('moved' or 'touched') or remembers something just by looking at an image. At other times, 'seeing' involves more than just what is on the surface. Thus, thinking about the image as interface recognizes its multidimensionality.

A working definition of the photographic image can now be formulated as follows: the photographic image is a likeness seen on a surface of something tangible such as a photograph, paper, billboard, or on a virtual screen as well as the imagination and comes from culturally informed ways of identification and organization of details. A connection to the object is established but the image and the object remain separate. The object captured is something that was once out there, in a specific time and place, making the photographic image always referring to something else. However, although representation is inherent in the photographic image, it is but one of the contextual layers brought to the surface during the interaction. The image-as-interface uses the concept of interface as a metaphor to illustrate the interaction of the image and the viewer in a liminal space where meaning and meaningful engagement are negotiated, it also expands Barthes' concepts of *punctum* and *studium* and of Benjamin's *dialectical image.* The image-as-interface always starts with a detail of the photographic image as a point that marks a contextual layer or an opening beyond the surface. The image-as-interface is a search through history, culture, politics, and social economy which make up the contextual layers of the photographic image. Thus when the detail of the photographic image is analyzed, it invariably leads to the contextual layers. In this process, the image-as-interface acknowledges both the representation and performativity of the photographic image as well as the agency or role of the viewer in the meaning-making. How the image-as-interface is used to analyze the photographic images of the Igorots in the nineteenth and twentieth century international expositions and the experience of being in the places of exhibition will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

Chapter 2

1887 Madrid Exposition 2017: Spatio-Temporal Inversions of the Layered Image

I explored the 1887 Madrid Exposition through the printed and digital photographic images featured in a 2017 exhibit and my own visit to El Retiro Park and imagination of the Igorots being exhibited there at a Rancheria ('village') set up in 1887. I sought to answer two questions. First, how does an interaction with the photographic images impact on the construction of meaning of the 1887 and 2017 exhibitions? Second, how does the ongoing interaction with photographic images shape notions of image capture and display? In answering these questions, I explored the myth of the 'savage' Igorot as a Spanish imperial representation and a justification for colonial subjugation. I also reflected on indexicality in the photographic image of the Igorot while viewing the 1887 exhibition as a decontextualized performance. How does surfacing the performance layer impact the indexicality of the images? How does the 2017 exposition relate to the exhibition 130 years prior? I also explored El Retiro Park and I acknowledged that my subjective imagination and experience in engaging with the photographic image of the Igorot were entangled in the spatial and temporal dimensions of past and present.

The image is an abstraction of what is perceived from a material object. The material object can be a photograph that can be handled, a digitized version that can be viewed on an electronic screen, or the body and environment where imagination emerges. While the materials are differentiated, the effect of materiality in the constitution of the abstracted image is not explored. What are given focus are the layers that constitute the image. I use perception in lieu of 'what is seen' to acknowledge that there are various senses apart from sight involved in sensing and making 'sense' of an object such as a photographic image. But while the abstraction is primarily articulated by the viewer, I acknowledge that the image itself affects the viewer by drawing the viewer's attention to a certain detail of the photograph. The image as imagination is an embodiment of the mind and body interacting with the environment.

Using the concept of image-as-interface, I draw attention to the details by taking as inspiration Roland Barthes' (1981) concept of the *punctum.* Barthes described the *punctum* as a detail in the photographic image that is often overlooked but makes its presence known. In this study, I slightly deviate from Barthes' notion and use the detail as a starting point to bring to the surface the contextual layers of the photographic images of the 1887 Madrid Exposition. The details reveal the cuts, cracks, and disjunctions in the photographic images. The details also show tension, characteristic of Walter Benjamin's (1969) 'dialectical' images where dualities and ambiguities manifest, for example, the recurrence of savage/primitive and civilized/modern dichotomies and the blurring of distinctions among the individual entities. Benjamin explained that "[a]mbiguity is the figurative appearance of the dialectic, the law of dialectic at a standstill" (170). While I also generally deviate from Benjamin's idea, I find the identification of contradictions in the photographic image details useful in bringing up critical questions related to the context of the photographic image. The presence of photographic image details which are in opposition to one another are markers of the disjunctions in the photographs, always ready to prick the viewer.

Understanding the image is primarily a communication process of making meaning. The photographic image and the viewer, each composed of a layered context, engage in a constant and ongoing interchange in a liminal space where meanings are negotiated and meaningful viewer experiences occur. Meaning-making and meaningful engagement are located in the liminal space of the interface, not in the image nor the viewer alone, both image and viewer negotiate and co-constitute the meaning. This notion harmonizes the role of both the image and the viewer by avoiding too much emphasis on the photographic image as carrier of meaning which marginalizes the viewer on the one hand, or the highly idiosyncratic considerations for the viewer's impulses that disregards the image, on the other hand.

The details of the photographic image function as starting points in navigating the image-as-interface. These details reveal the layers of how and why the Igorots were exhibited and how the (physical or imagined) image provides a meaningful viewer experience.

Imágenes de Una Exposición Filipinas en el Parque de el Retiro, en 1887: An Exhibit 130 Years After

The "*Exposición General de Filipinas*" (referred to in this chapter as the 1887 Madrid Exposition) was organized through a Royal decree issued on March 19, 1886. It was planned to start on April 1, 1887 at El Retiro Park in Madrid, Spain but was only inaugurated on June

30 by the Queen (Exposición 1886, Catálogo 1887).[17] The exposition was commissioned by the Spanish imperial government to showcase the land, life, and resources of the Philippine colony. Eight sections were set up to cover specific aspects of the material works of art and industries of the people of the Philippines, their intellectual works, traditions, customs, and their moral and human knowledge development (Rovillos 2005; Exposición 1886). While the general aim of the exposition was to showcase the many 'developments' in the Spanish colony, the Igorots from the Cordillera region of the Philippines were described as having a wild, "uncivilized and child-like attitude" (Rovillos 2005, 235). The exhibition was said to be a celebration of the 'discovery' of the Philippines by Magellan in 1521 and a tribute by the Queen Regent Maria Cristina to her deceased husband King Philip after whom the colony was named (Rovillos 2005; Morillo-Alicea 2005).

The 1887 Madrid Exposition that lasted for several months was a combined display of material artifacts and ephemeral performances. The Rancheria de Igorrotes (referred to in this chapter as the Rancheria) was one among the 15 sites of the exposition (Guia 1887). Most of the replicas and actual materials that showed the ways of lives in the Philippine archipelago were inside the Central Pavilion (also known as Palacio de Velázquez), the live performances were held outdoors (but inside the fenced area of the Rancheria). It was not clear how the financial transactions were organized during the Exposition.

In 2017, the National Museum of Anthropology (Museo Nacional de Antropología) in Madrid sponsored a temporary exhibit on the images and artifacts of the 1887 Madrid Exposition. The exhibit occupied the Museum ground floor (see Figure 2). The exhibit was arranged with an outer portion that featured the artifacts presented and used during the 1887 Madrid Exposition and an inner portion that featured photographic images of the same exposition. Fittingly, the 2017 exhibit started on June 30, the same day that the Madrid Exposition opened 130 years ago.

[17] See *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas 1887 Madrid* and *Catálogo de la Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas Celebrada en Madrid Inaugurada por S. M. La Reina Regende el 30 de Junio de 1887.*

Figure 2. The Exhibit area at the National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The curators of the 2017 exhibit, José Luis Mingote Calderón and María José Suarez Martínez, were explicit that the event was not a commemoration but a remembrance and reflection on "how the Philippines was 'shown' to the Spanish public in 1887" (Imágenes 2017, 1). They acknowledged the changes over the past century and situated the 1887 Exposition as part of that period's Western culture of exhibition that was influenced by anthropology and effectively framed colonialism and difference as part of scientific studies. The curators highlighted the various representations manifested in the photographic images. But even as the reference to a constructed image offered a different view of the display, it only consisted of one layer, other layers remained hidden.

I began my exploration at the outer portion where most of the artifacts were displayed inside glass cabinets (see Figure 3). I saw that the 1887 exhibit aimed to capture the key features of the Philippines – from the coasts to the valleys and the mountains – by transporting samples of Philippine flora and fauna, farming, fishing, and hunting technologies and tools, trade and commerce, houses, clothing and accessories, weaponry, musical instruments, game materials, arts and crafts such as sculptures and painting, as well as religious symbols. It was my first time to see some of the items. As a Filipino, I realized I could still learn a lot about the history of my country from the materials on display. It struck me that some of the tools and technologies on display remain in use in present-day Philippines while the rest have already been lost in time. I marveled at the craftmanship and artistry in the various domestic implements such as carved spoons, bronze pipes, intricate musical instruments, body armor and adornments, and the 'religious' items from various indigenous spiritual beliefs.

Figure 3. A picture of weaving implements from the Philippines. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, November 2017. National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The exhibit's inner portion had two panels in the middle enclosed by a wall of panel boards that created some separation from the outer portions. On the panel boards were photographs with accompanying text of the curators' analysis of the exhibit and the photographs. Hung above the exhibit area were three huge banners of photographic images of the Crystal Palace, the people exhibited, and a collage of caricatures and images of people and places. Between the inner and outer portions were displayed portraits, mirrors, and an oversized glass case filled with various woodcarvings of rice gods (called *bulul*). A slideshow of images continuously played on a screen monitor placed near the entrance/exit. I stood for quite some time and watched all the images. According to Mingote Calderón, one of the curators, there were more than a thousand digitized copies of photographs related to the 1887 Madrid Exposition that are in digital repositories in Spain and only a fraction of those images were featured in the 2017 exhibit.

In my search for meaning in and meaningful engagement with the images of the Igorots in the 1887 Madrid Exposition, I challenged the myth of the 'savage' Igorot by tracing the historical context of the term 'Igorot' and then honed in on the details in the photographic images that show the ambiguities in representation of the Igorot. I activated the tensions 'at a standstill' by looking at the layers of the images and surfacing the identities of the Igorots displayed, contraposed the patterns of image construction in the display of Igorots, and highlighted the effect of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the images.

Tracing the Root of the Term 'Igorot'

Before it became a pejorative, the term 'Igorot' was commonly used as a neutral reference to people from the mountains. William Henry Scott (1962), a noted historian who lived with the Igorots in the Mountain Province in the Cordillera region of the Philippines, explained that the prefix "i" signified "people of" or "dweller in" while "golot" meant "mountain chain" (235). He claimed that there was no evidence that the Igorots called themselves as such. It was always the outsider that described mountain folk as Igorots. I noticed this behavior in my various interactions with the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, they introduce themselves as members of a specific village, tribe, clan, or family line and not the entire mountain region. For example, one may say that he is 'i-Lubon' if he hails from Lubon village or Kankanaey to refer to his ethnolinguistic group. This practice is complicated by intermarriages among the various tribes or by migration to other places. In any case, it is always the person's choice which ascription to take.

Under Spanish colonization, the distinctions among the various groupings in Philippine society marked one's place and status in the social hierarchy. At the apex were the 'Peninsulares,' Spanish individuals born in Spain. A step lower were the 'Insulares' or 'mestizos,' Spanish individuals born in the Philippines. Together they formed the elite in the colonial Philippines. The "indios" or the Christianized Filipinos of the lowlands comprised the lower class and were deemed to have a "lower mentality and [unfit] for higher education" (Scott 1962, 234). Beneath the 'indios' were the Igorots, Moros, and other indigenous peoples who were not effectively colonized by the Spaniards. The Spaniards also used the term 'Igorot' to refer to those living in the hills, who were not necessarily from an indigenous tribe but who had not yet embraced the Catholic faith. Later on, the term became increasingly synonymous with the "savage, headhunting, and backward tribe of Luzon" who had "dark skin, flat noses, and thick lips" (Scott 1962, 234). These prejudices formed the image of the Igorot showcased in the Madrid Exposition of 1887. Typically, the 'savage' Igorot image is of a man in loincloth, armed with a spear or a head axe and carrying a shield or of a bare-chested woman in a roughly woven skirt.

The 19th century expositions, showcases of imperial strength, wealth, and advancement, created standards of displaying bodies, objects, and spaces and promoted a mode of viewership (Imágenes 2017), a colonial voyeuristic gaze. These 'standards,' focused on the "picturesque and different" (Imágenes 2017, 4), euphemisms for exhibiting people deemed freaks, or worse, savages. Despite the persistent portrayal of the Igorot as uncivilized and savage, the

photographic images from the expositions were replete with ambiguities brought about by the juxtaposition of the primitive and the modern. Examples of these photographic images are shown and discussed below.

Erasing Anonymity: Uncovering the Person Behind the Image

On board the ship *Santo Domingo*, 43 'Filipinos' travelled from the Philippines to Madrid via Barcelona, Spain to participate in the 1887 Madrid Exposition. They arrived in Barcelona on May 4 and in Madrid by May 7. Among the group were eight Igorots (called Igorrotes during the exposition) from three different areas of the Cordillera mountain region: four of them were Tinguians from Manabo, Abra; two were Kankanaeys from Lepanto, Benguet; and two Bontocs from Bontoc, Mountain Province (Rovillos 2005). It is interesting to note that even those from the Marianas and Carolinas islands in the Pacific were included as Filipinos. They were also photographed inside the Rancheria de Igorrotes which was built as a 'replica' of a native village.

A picture in the 2017 Madrid exhibit had a note at the back which read: "Igorot tribespeople from Benguet-Tinguianes with their chief Ismael Alzate, later killed by these same Igorot people in the Philippines"[18] (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. A picture of Alzate with other Igorots on display during the *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, November 2017. National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

My attention was drawn to a man in western clothing seated on the ground with his left leg stretched and his right one bent at the knee. His posture was reclined and leant for support

[18] "Grupo de Igorrotes de Benguet-Tinguianes con su jefe Ismael Alzate, muerto después por estos igorrotes en Filipinas." Studio photograph taken by Fernando Debás Pujan and caption by Manuel Antón. (Imágenes de Una Exposición 2017, 9)

on another man dressed in a loincloth seated on what appears to be a log. The reclining man was identified as Alzate, his western clothing differentiated him from the others and his social position suggested by the caption. The first detail that caught my attention was the hand pinned under the armpit of Alzate. It was as if the photo was a snapshot of a moment when they were still getting into position, the presence of the 'sandwiched' hand showed that there was something more awkward than Alzate's uncomfortable pose. Alzate's odd grip on the spear was another detail in the image that puzzled me. The spear was positioned tip to the ground, Alzate's left hand firmly held the shaft a few inches above the spear blade, while the rest of the shaft rested on his bent knee with his right hand over it, fingers spread out. The lack of tension on his right hand negated the clenched left hand holding the other end of the spear. Alzate had a cross-like medal pinned to his coat, an intriguing detail that kept drawing my gaze whenever I looked at his unusual pose. His personality piqued my interest because in all the images of 1887 Madrid Exposition that I saw, he was the only Igorot not shown in a loincloth. The closest index to him being an Igorot was the woven cloth draped over his shoulder in that image. The note that he was "later killed by these same Igorot people in the Philippines" (Imágenes 2017, 9) implied that the text was added sometime after the exposition. Alzate's name was not included in the list of occupants of the Rancheria. Instead, a certain Te-K was erroneously identified as a Bontoc but was from the island of Negros (Guia 1887). Te-K was frequently photographed with Igorots in mock battles and in some instances captioned as a Negrito. Rovillos (2005) noted that Alzate became more influential at home after his return from the exposition.

Rovillos (2005) provided a glimpse of some of the individuals through descriptions of the people on board the *Santo Domingo*. It was interesting to note that eight Igorots were accomplished individuals who held political or civic positions in their locality. Ismael Alzate, captioned as chief in the exposition pictures, was tagged as the "*tagapangasiwa*" or manager (230, my translation) of his tribemates. He could speak 16 native languages and Spanish, and was a recipient of the Spanish Cross Medal. A certain Asang was listed as the head of the tribe from Abra, not Alzate. Another person named Cal-libag was described as a wealthy owner. Although not indicated, it can be assumed that this was ownership of either land or cattle which were the traditional measures of wealth among the Igorots. Purganan, who was featured in three photographs in different sets of attire, was a teacher who also worked for the governor. Gumadant, one of the two persons from Lepanto, was a *gobernadorcillo* (also *alcalde* or head of the town) while Lao-lao served as a guide to Spanish military expeditions in the Cordillera. The two persons from Bontoc were leaders of their communities: Oit-tavit was a *gobernadorcillo* while Sumad-en was a tribal chief.

The layer of individuality was buried deep by the representation assigned to them so that their individual background, achievement, and status were blacked out. The persons became opaque images in the frame of the 'savage' Igorot that they were presented in.

Dialectical Image of the Igorot: Blurred Image of the Savage/Primitive and Civilized/Modern

While the Igorots were represented as 'savages,' they were also shown as capable of being 'civilized,' strengthening the notion that "the exposition was meant to serve as justification for a civilizing mission" (Morillo-Alicea 2005, 45). In other words, it was a way for the Spanish imperial government to subtly assert its colonial power over the Filipinos who were deemed unable to govern themselves and un-Christianized.

The loincloth was a marker of the Igorot male. It was ironic, however, that the loincloth signified his nakedness and primitiveness. The Igorot woman, on the other hand, was marked by being bare chested. Whether intentional to avoid controversy or not, it is worth noting that there was no woman in the Igorot contingent. But in the Exposition itself, bare chested photographic images of Igorot women were displayed. The pictures of Igorot women were taken as part of anthropological studies in the Philippines prior to the 1887 Madrid Exposition.

I expected that the Igorots were showcased in their loincloths during the 1887 Madrid Exposition. To my surprise, I saw pictures where they did not quite dress the part: they wore short pants (a little above the knee in length and typically called '*puruntong*' in Filipino) under their loincloths! It is commonly thought that it was during the American colonization that Igorots combined indigenous and western clothing: loincloths below and American suit above. Little did I know that such combinations were in use as early as the Spanish colonization! I lived and worked with several Igorot communities for almost half of my adult life and I vividly remember community gatherings where Igorot elders would rebuke those who wore underwear under their loincloths. The elders would always say that to wear the loincloth properly was to wear it with pride and to be comfortable in one's own body. I wondered what their reaction would have been if they saw those images.

Those short pants were the details that stood out in several pictures: a solo photograph of an Igorot in forward stance holding a shield and a spear[19], a photograph of an Igorot man with a hat that covered half his face and was on a water buffalo (carabao)[20]. In the picture of a

[19] Taken by Manuel Anton, captioned "Igorrote en el Parque de El Retiro" (FD 519). (Imágenes de Una Exposición 2017, 20)

[20] Taken by J. Laurent y Cia, captioned "Carabao" (FD 3127). (Imágenes de Una Exposición 2017, 5)

mock battle of four Igorots[21], the distinct color of their garments made the short pants under the loincloth even more noticeable (see Figure 5). While the use of short pants under the loincloth could be seen as an effort to not offend some prudish audiences, the imposition of short pants muddled the claim and display of backwardness, with only the use of loincloth providing its trace and index. At other times, clothing was used to blur distinctions among the various groups of indigenous peoples on display, for example, the photo where all but one man wore short pants under their loincloth[22], the seemingly homogenous dressing covered the layer of diversity. This brought to the surface the notion that they were all an image of the primitive, uncivilized, or savage that needed to be tamed.

Figure 5. A picture of Igorots in a mock battle inside the Rancheria. Notice the short pants underneath the loincloth. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, November 2017. National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

A particular point raised by the curators was how the Igorots were "dressed for all occasions" (Imágenes 2017, 26-27) depending on the type of representation needed. They highlighted several pictures where the same persons were presented in different sets of attires. The first photo showed the western coat-clad chief (Alzate) in the company of fellow Igorots in their native attire. Next, he was seen in a picture in front of the Palacio de Velázquez among a group of western clad people. The second person (Gumadang)[23] wore native attire in two

[21] Taken by J. Laurent y Cia, captioned "simulacro de armas de los igorrotes," in the 2017 exposition FD 3123 display

[22] Taken by J. Laurent y Cia, captioned "Igorrotes, Tinguianes, Carolino y Negrito" (FD3126). (Imágenes de Una Exposición 2017, 21).

[23] Identified in the 2017 exposition FD 1572 display.

studio images and one in the Rancheria grounds. He was also among those pictured in a group of western clad people in front of the palace. One could easily be led to conclude that the pictures were of different sets of people if the information on who were in the pictures was not brought to the surface.

The 2017 exhibit drew attention to the three solo photographs of Purganan (see Figure 6). The middle photo was a studio portrait that showed him in his loincloth and woven native coat with a white open chested shirt. He stood at ease, one hand on his waist while the other held a spear. The background was the same blurred tropical paradise used in all the other studio images. Another photograph on the left showed him fully clothed in a typical buttoned-up western coat. A photograph to the right showed him in a light-colored long-sleeved shirt (*camisa de tsino*). These two images were taken in the rancheria. While his photographs seemed to show a before and after transformation, it should be noted that all the three images were taken during the 1887 Madrid exposition. Thus, the temporal changes could be construed as negligible or even interchangeable, going forth and back, depending on the objectives set.

Figure 6. A picture of Purganan in three different sets of attire. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, November 2017. National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

Another image, identified as that of Oit-tavit also showed a similar transformation. His studio image showed him seated on an elevated block covered by a rug. His head axe tucked at his side. He held what appeared to be a small stick with a tassel ornament. His arms were adorned with ornaments made from wild boar tusks. He wore a necklace and was barefoot. His next image showed him in a *camisa* and seated in front of a thatched house.

Apart from the constructed image of a before and after dichotomy of the primitive to the modern man shown in the last two examples, I was drawn by the asynchrony of the place and the subject which highlighted the dialectics of the modern and the primitive: a primitive

man in a modern studio as against a modern man in a primitive house. The interesting detail in the second picture was not in the way Oit-tavit dressed but the Western white man inside the thatched house staring outside the window. What was he doing inside the thatched house, or in the Rancheria? His presence complicated the distinction of western modernity and eastern primitivity that the exposition wanted to portray. The audience might have been allowed enter the Rancheria and observe (perhaps after paying a fee) or the Western male may just have happened to be there, the observer becoming the observed.

Rancheria de Igorrotes: An Imagined Village of Savages

Tom Gunning (2008), in his essay "What's the Point of an Index? Or Faking Photographs," explained that indexicality "depend[ed] on a physical relation between the object photographed and the image finally created" (24). The use of indexicality was crucial in building the Rancheria to conform to the 'image' of the Igorot village and its people. Rovillos (2005) noted how the Spanish authority's "obsession to detail helped in giving authority to the 'cultural fact' that the exhibition wanted to achieve" (234, my translation). References to key aspects of their lives such as thatched houses, ritual sites and cultural performances, clothing and accessories, tools and weaponry, and other economic activities were brought over from the Philippines and/or built onsite. Some of these artifacts were displayed at the 2017 Exhibit. The built space and the people and objects within it comprised the indices to the image of the Igorot.

The orders from the head of the commission that oversaw the 1887 Madrid Exposition itemized the objects they wanted for display which may had prompted Rovillos (2005) to suggest that the Spanish 'obsession to detail' led to a culturally factual exhibition, but the Rancheria showed otherwise. The Rancheria glaringly displayed that the Spanish imperial power was not keen on accuracy of the display. It was more inclined to utilize the power of performance for its imperial objectives. Photographic images reveal the dualities present in the captured images. On one hand, the Rancheria offered a glimpse of a 'generic' image of the backward, uncivilized, and savage Igorot and his village life but on the other hand, lack of details of tribe-specific indigenous knowledge and socio-cultural systems tear at the contrived village scene.

Rovillos (2005) noted how the space of the exposition, *mise en scène* in performance parlance, illustrated the place of the Igorots in Philippine colonial society. The Rancheria was secluded, away from the 'civilized areas' but near the animals and could only be reached through a bridge. The location of the Rancheria was supposed to be in consonance with the flow

of development from the primitive to the civilized. Yet inside the rancheria were built a tree house, a "detention cell house for criminals, a stand for carabao skulls in front of the house, a worship house, and a sanctuary" (232-233, my translation). These structures of control, surveillance, production and spiritual well-being are markers that challenge the concepts of a primitive setting. These structures are markers of political and socio-economic systems in a typical Igorot village. It is interesting to note how the display of backwardness, represented by the Igorots, was strategically placed outside while the indices and examples of 'development,' some in miniature replica pieces, were placed inside the Palace building.

A group of eight males from three different tribes can hardly pass for a simulation of an actual Igorot village. Thus, people from other areas such as the Carolinas, Marianas, and Negritos were lumped together inside the Rancheria (see Figure 7). This resulted in a melting pot that 'melted' away the distinctions among groups. By categorizing people from various groups as Igorot and uncivilized, the Spanish imperial power effectively blurred the diversity. Note how the notions of difference and commonalities were highlighted and used in various contexts to pursue a certain narrative or agenda.

Figure 7. A picture of the different groups of people exhibited in the Rancheria. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, November 2017. National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

Two issues emerged as I engaged with the photographic images of the Rancheria. First, the decontextualized rendition of the Rancheria immediately showed it as an obvious representation. Second, the Rancheria was not congruent to but rather a caricature of an imagined Igorot village. One needs only to look at the photographic images of the Rancheria to see the bizarreness of the whole display, and a scrutiny of the details surfaces the absurdity and ambiguity of the 'savage' label. Various photographic image details uncover these layers of the image.

A picture[24] of three Igorots in loincloth holding spears and shields and standing in the middle of the village, was captioned "general view from an Igorot rancheria (native farming settlement)." The view consisted of three thatched houses, trees, a tall wood fence, makeshift structures, and the open space in the middle where the Igorots stood. My attention was drawn to a light colored rectangular piece of cloth towards the center of the picture. The cloth's true color, of course, could not be determined in the sepia picture. Upon closer look, it appeared like the cloth was suspended from a stick and perhaps was meant to be a flag. I wondered about its utility. What did it signify? I have heard stories about how Igorots placed objects as markers to forewarn villagers or visitors especially during occasions of ritual practices or agricultural activities. I have also seen some markers placed near the entrance of villages when there was an ongoing ritual or when it was prohibited to go to a certain area, these markers were usually made from plant materials that were knotted or crossed. But this 'flag' was in the middle of the village! Was it a signifier of the village's surrender to the Spanish imperial power?

A close up picture[25] of one of the Igorots was captioned "Altar of the Rancheria of the Igorrotes."[26] Similar to the picture described above, the white cloth was the *punctum*. Unlike the first, which was spread out neatly, the second was blurred, as if in movement, probably blown by the wind, which made a distinct contrast to the clear focus on the Igorot in a forward stance. The caption suggested that the structure and space was an 'altar.' Some spears were thrust to the ground and formed a crude tripod. A skull was placed in a basket woven into the top of a pole stuck in the ground. Two feet in front of the pole and basket was a shorter pole with woven basket on top that contained feathers. Right behind the Igorot warrior were two pairs of crossed spears stuck into the ground and tied together and a long shield set across the top part to form a crude shelf. What appears to be three clay jars were arrayed on this shelf. Towards the rear some spears and shields were set against a makeshift rack. The contrived 'altar' contained materials commonly used during rituals. Tinguians typically built racks and put offerings for the spirits. Other Igorot groups usually put offerings or the bile of a sacrificial animal on a ledge or hang it from a rafter readily visible from the approach to a home. Usually, the small elevated platforms are constructed for practical purposes, for example, so that pets and small children would not be able to reach them.

[24] "Vista general de una rancheria de Igorrotes" taken by J. Laurent y Cia (FD3119). (Imágenes de Una Exposición 1887, 2)
[25] "Altar de la rancheria de los Igorrotes" taken by J. Laurent y Cia (FD3120). (Imágenes de Una Exposición 1887, 4)
[26] "Altar de la rancheria de los Igorrotes"

The choice of highlighting the Tinguians, aside from the fact that they formed the majority of the eight-man contingent from the Cordilleras, might had to do with the familiarity of the Spanish imperial government with them. According to Rovillos (2005), before the Madrid exposition "the Tinguians were not included in the Igorot category in the accounts of missionaries, travelers, and colonial officials" (236).Was this a way of changing their prior narratives? Rovillos also argued that among the three groups of Igorots displayed, there existed a continuum of uncivilized to civilized where the Tinguians were regarded as the peaceful or civilized, the Bontocs were the uncivilized and barbaric, and the Kankanaeys of Lepanto, Benguet were somewhere in between. The images as seen in the previous discussions, however, did not show a nuanced distinction. The images were made to create the narrative that the Igorot (and other groups incorporated in the Rancheria) were of the same uncivilized lowest category of Filipinos.

The richness of the Igorot village life was missing in the Rancheria. Their tribal battles against neighboring enemies were only a layer of their dynamic lives. Similar to the subjects exhibited in other pavilions, the Igorots had socio-economic and political systems that varied from tribe to tribe or from one community to the next. The cultural particularities of the three Igorot groups featured in the Rancheria were not captured by how they were displayed and pictured. By displaying only select aspects of the various groups inside the Rancheria, a hodgepodge of cultures emerged. Mark Rice (2010) noted that while images of the Igorot in the 1887 and subsequent expositions portrayed them as savages, other observations were to the contrary as some of the exhibited Igorots showed knowledge in languages, "geography and commerce" (57). These dimensions of the Igorot image were deliberately obscured during the exhibit. Peeling the layers would show the complexity of the contexts of the images captured in the Exhibition.

Becoming One of the Images

One interesting corner of the 2017 exhibit showed portraits of Filipinos arranged in what appeared like a tic-tac-toe game (see Figure 8). Three of the nine squares were mirrors that reflected the image of the onlooker or of the exhibit area. Once 'captured' by the mirror, the viewer becomes one of the images. It was a clever way to cut through the spatial and temporal boundaries and to juxtapose the different dimensions of the past and present, the here and there, the viewer and the viewed. It was also a manifestation of the interface of oneself so that one becomes more aware and critical of one's own layers.

Figure 8. Becoming one of the images. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. November 2017. (Photo by D. Wilson)

Below the images, a phrase in Spanish indicated: "all the same, all different"[27]. The pronoun to determine one's positionality seemed to be deliberately omitted. If this was done in the 19th century, a 'logical' construction would have been, 'They' are all the same, 'they' are all different 'from us, Spaniards.' And that narrative was the primary aim of the 1887 Madrid Exposition as pointed out by critics and historians: that the various groups of Filipinos were the same – uncivilized – and different from the civilized European born Spaniards. Today, the notion of inclusivity captured by 'we' could be stated as "'We' are all the same, 'We' are all different" to acknowledge diversity (a positive form of the term 'difference') in the midst of our common humanity. While both highlight the distinctions, the location of meaning changes the tone as well as the implication of the statement. Adding the layers of oneself into the interface revealed the dialectics at play, that of unity amidst diversity and vice versa.

Digitized Photographs as Constellation of the Igorot Image

According to Mingote Calderón, the printed photos that could be hung on display were only a fraction of the photographs from the 1887 Madrid Exposition. About a thousand other photos were digitized and continuously played in a slideshow. The slideshow, organized

[27] "¡todos iguales, todos diferentes!"

according to the name of Spanish photographers who took the pictures, included the other groups of Filipinos exhibited during the 1887 Madrid Exposition. The digitized photos are hosted in various digital repositories in Spain with varied levels of accessibility. The Spanish government invested considerable resources in digitizing images and creating central infrastructures[28] that would facilitate the search of the materials hosted by various museums, archives, and libraries. These digital repositories also function as a constellation that creates a topographical image of a subject.

The digital photographic image provides a different set of affordances and limitations but does not change the constructed image of the Igorot. Unlike the printed photographs, the digitized images played on temporality by using the ephemeral, as the photographic images disappeared to make way for other pictures, and of the eternal, as the same set of images reappeared continuously. Spatiality in the digitized images opens up the mode of display. When seen as constellation of surfaces the digitized pictures could be constructed into various overlays. The virtuality of the digital images makes possible various options to engage with it. The digitized image can be printed or viewed through an electronic screen. One could vary the way images are grouped and viewed, depending on subject, photographer, or time variables. Thus, spatial and temporal elements in the digitized images appear as topological nodes, embedded hierarchy is erased by creating the illusion that the pictures are on the same plane, and could be arbitrarily arranged or that chronological sequences could be disrupted, erased, or maintained. The virtuality of the image can place the past, present, and future on the same playing field.

Similar to other materialities of the photographic image, the digitized photographs, have layered contexts that must be considered for a more meaningful interaction with the image. It is always in the act of interacting with the photographic image that meaning is produced.

At the Same Site, in a Different Time: Imagining the Igorot Image at El Retiro Park 130 Years After

I visited El Retiro Park on my second day in Madrid at a particularly cold morning rush hour. Guided by Google maps on my phone, I entered the southern entrance of the park and followed joggers and dog walkers on a foot path. The path led to the right side of the park

[28] See http://ceres.mcu.es ; http://bdh.bne.es ; http://www.mcu.es/fototeca_patrimonio

overlooking a busy street where people walked briskly and vehicles moved fast. It was a view of a typical morning rush hour in a major city.

It was not as frenetic inside the park. I sat on one of the benches by the pathway and took in the picturesque view. The park looked huge. Google maps showed that I had so far walked a mere third of the park area. I decided to go straight ahead on a wide street and then into a narrower foot path that seemed to lead to the 'wilderness.' My goal was to reach the Crystal Palace, one of the main landmarks of the 1887 Madrid Exposition. I crossed a newly-built bridge over a narrow canal and walked past tall trees that lined a winding pathway. As best I could, I created a mental overlay of the spot I was in combined with my recollection of the image of the Igorots inside the Rancheria in 1887 and the view from Google maps. After walking for almost an hour I rested on a bench and observed the surroundings. The people looked tiny under the towering trees. From where I was seated I could see the Crystal Palace further uphill. I followed a dirt road that led uphill and was rewarded with a magnificent view! I was caught up in a mix of appreciating the grandeur and of the awareness that Igorots were put on 'display' in the same park 130 years ago. The lake in front of the Crystal Palace was magnificent (see Figure 9). The trees that appeared recently planted in the old photographs had grown tall and massive. Facing the lake with my back to the Crystal Palace, I imagined the Palacio de Velázquez on the left side and the Rancheria area on the right side. Those were two of the important areas of the 1887 Madrid exposition. I could not see the Palacio de Velázquez from where I was standing.

Figure 9. The view in front of the Crystal Palace at El Retiro Park, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

There was an exhibit entitled 'Palimpsesto' (Palimpsest) by Doris Salcedo inside the Crystal Palace. On the floor were palimpsests of names written with water. As the water evaporated, traces of the letters 'carved' the name into the floor. We were asked to wear overshoes and avoid stepping on the palimpsests of names. As I carefully made my way around the palace, I became more aware of the space I somehow shared with Igorot contingent from

130 years ago. The palimpsest exhibit seemed to capture the juxtaposition of the various traces of past events as I studied the Crystal Palace. I looked at the space where the seat of the Queen was placed. To her right was where the Igorots were lined up. It was like a play going on in my mind, the palimpsests of the images of past and present set in the space in front of me. It was not a simple duality that I 'saw' in the space before me, there was tension created between being amazed by grandness of the Palace and being upset to be in a site once used to justify colonial exploitation. An eerie silence dominated the exhibition area but my mind rang with varied thoughts that gave me a chilly feeling about the place. I was drawn into a liminal space where I imagined what occurred in the same spot at a different time. I could not help but apply various overlays on views inside the Palace (see Figure 10). Even as the floor clearly delineated the area occupied by the Palace, the transparency of the glass panels blurred the distinction of what was outside and inside. The 'outside' could always peer inside and vice versa.

Figure 10. The view inside the Crystal Palace at El Retiro Park, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

I exited the Palace with a heavy feeling. I observed persons going through a security check before entering the Palace. There were security cameras inside. What form of security check and surveillance, if any, were the Igorots subjected to when they entered the Palace? The images of when they were presented to the Queen showed many people inside the Palace. Drapes covered most of the glass walls and the floor appeared to be carpeted. The barefoot Igorots in their loincloths inside the grand palace looked out of place. I took a deep sigh and left the palace.

Seen from the outside, the Crystal Palace looked majestic and enormous. When I was inside it seemed to be a relatively small space. The grandiosity of the Palace's outside appearance contraposed the empty and hollow space inside.

I walked around the lake and passed a small cave, water flowed from the opening into the lake. I followed the path to a spot across the lake and the Palace. It was the view commonly shown in pictures. I took a few snapshots, checked Google maps and followed the wide trail going to Palacio de Velázquez.

The Palacio de Velázquez looked heavy and massive compared with the Crystal Palace. The Palacio de Velázquez was where the artifacts from the Philippines were exhibited. On the steps leading to the Palacio's entrance was where the Igorots were photographed in western clothing (see Figure 11). The steps are still there but looked recently renovated. The enormous façade of the Palacio dwarfs the people walking in or posing for photographs. Three massive arches provide entry (see Figure 12). Inside the Palacio, some areas were renovated to add security equipment and support structures needed for an ongoing exhibit. I imagined where the various artifacts shipped from the Philippines were displayed. The posts provided me a gridline and served as markers bridging the past image into the present.

Figure 11 (Left). A picture of the various groups of Filipinos exhibited during the 1887 Madrid Exposition. Notice that some of the Igorots were in western attire. *Imágenes de Una Exposición*, National Museum of Anthropology, Madrid, Spain. November 2017 (Photo by D. Wilson).

Figure 12 (Right). The entrance of the Palacio de Velázquez today. (Photo by D. Wilson)

After visiting the Palacio de Velázquez, my next objective was to locate the site where the Rancheria was built. I walked back to the Crystal Palace to start my search. Even though I could use Google maps, I preferred to explore by relying on the markers in the environment and the mental image I had of the different areas of exhibition in 1887. The details which served as my reference points were the creek and seemingly century old trees towards the right of the Crystal Palace. There was a sunken area ringed with tall, thick trees where some couples were having a picnic and a few teenagers played with a football. I took pictures of the tallest trees I saw. Could they be the same trees that surrounded the Rancheria? I followed a small foot path towards the big trees and found a creek and a bridge! This was the only creek near the Crystal

Palace! I was certain that I was in the right place (see Figure 13). My heart pounded and I could hear my every breath. The foliage was so dense in parts that it seemed I was going into another place. Could that be the same feeling the audience had when they crossed the bridge to the Rancheria? A loud splash of water broke my reverie, a nearby duck was happily splashing in the creek. I followed a paved path that led to a set of steps going up to a road. As I stood on the road overlooking the area, I knew it was the most plausible location of the Rancheria, based on the markers of the Crystal Palace, the old trees and the creek. It felt surreal. The image of the Rancheria in my mind superimposed over the beauty of that part of the park. I made my way back to the Crystal Palace to take a last look before leaving. Even as I left the park, the images of the past and the present continued to negotiate in my head. I headed next to the Museum for a guided tour of the 2017 exhibit and another set of images I had to interact with.

Figure 13. The current view of the area where the Rancheria was most likely located, El Retiro Park, Madrid, Spain. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The experience of being at the site of the Exposition made my interaction with the photographic images displayed in the Museum more exciting and textured. Having stepped inside the Palaces and walked around the open area made me concretely aware of the contradictions between the Rancheria of the Igorots and the Western structures in the photographic images. The overlap of past and present is even more tangible as some of the old structures remain until today. Navigating the space indeed provides a broader perspective in experiencing the interaction with the photographic images.

Rethinking the Image of the Igorot

The 1887 Madrid Exposition can be considered as Spain's attempt to flaunt what remained of its colonial power despite its weakening grip on its colonies since the start of the

19th century. Official documents suggested that the Exposition aimed to display the developments of the colonies, but an undercurrent of playing up the supposed backwardness of the colonies was also evident. When events across the various Spanish colonies are added as contextual layers of the picture, it appears that the Spanish empire had something more on its agenda. The exposition that highlighted the Philippines and its people through the display of 'exotic' subjects and cultural artifacts could also be seen as an effort of imperial Spain to assert and justify its continued grip on the colony. The Exposition brought to the Spanish public the discourse on the implications of Spain being the master of a colony of savage pagans that it needed to Christianize.

Prior to 1887, a strong and vocal Propaganda Movement composed of members of the Filipino elite, many of whom were schooled in Spain, campaigned for equal rights for the natives, opening the Catholic clergy leadership to Filipino priests, and Philippine representation at the Spanish Cortes. It can be said that the Exposition projected an image of the Filipino, through the display of Igorots, as inferior to the Spaniards, backward, uncivilized, and incapable of governing themselves. Highlighting the animism of the Igorots and the presence of Moros justified the 'Christianizing mission' of the Spaniards, dismissing the call for Filipino priests to manage local churches. Viewed through the layers of playing up the notions of difference and sameness, the Exposition was a double edged sword. On one hand, it sent a strong message against the calls of the propaganda movement and divided the Filipino elite on whether or not the Igorots are Filipinos. On the other hand, the Exposition triggered questions of Filipino identity and a nascent national consciousness.

The 2017 Exhibition of photographic images from the 1887 Madrid Exposition provided different materialities of the photographic image by which to engage with the layers of the Igorot image. Meaning is understanding the image through the layers that are brought to the surface. Meaningful interaction results from the viewer experience of acknowledging different feelings, perceptions of the environment through the various senses, and the juxtaposition of the space and time elements of the image and the body/mind of the viewer.

The multifaceted image of the Igorot is revealed when using the photographic image details as starting points to uncover the contextual layers and breakdown the ambiguities in the dialectical images. The 'savage' Igorot image reified by the Spanish colonizer was revealed to be a constructed image meant for display and the concealment of the rich personalities and cultures of the Igorots. The village life shown in the Rancheria was a decontextualized performance. The staged performances captured in the photographic images show fragments of the complex village lives of the various tribes grouped together to comprise the Igorrote village.

Twice removed from the actual tribal ritual practices, the photographic images only provide tenuous traces of Igorot village life.

The myth of the 'savage' is deeply embedded and remains a layer of the Igorot image. That may be the reason why it can always be brought out and used against the Igorots. I do not suggest burying the layer. Instead, it should be recognized as a contextual layer along with the colonial history of the Philippines. The same could be said about bringing to the surface the layer of performance. Can the fact that the Rancheria was an imagined village or that the Igorots there were paid performers invalidate the layer of exploitation against the participants? It does not. Most of the time, people do not see the exploitation because the image of exploitation has been 'normalized.' Exploitation feeds on power relations among the parties involved and exists for as long as there is a level of inequality. The premise that those on display occupy the lowest strata of society and of social development, immediately brings to light the unequal positions held by those who were displayed and those who put them on display. Power and use of force are not always shown through outright violence. When servitude is deeply ingrained in a colonial context, those who may have been 'invited' to be on display do not have the right to refuse. Given that the exhibited Igorots were already previous collaborators with the Spanish authorities, by holding positions in or helping the local colonial government, there was no need for the use of overt 'force.' While it was an imagined image of the 'savage' Igorot created, that imagination had a real impact on the people displayed and subjected to the colonial gaze. Their personhood was defaced and replaced with the colonial narrative and image of being 'savage,' backward, and uncivilized when in fact, they were members of ethnolinguistic groups that possess diverse socio-political and cultural structures and systems. Their being in partnership with the Spanish authorities did not shield them from the voyeuristic colonial gaze. The Igorots were not an isolated group as suggested by the fenced Rancheria where they were confined, they were part of the social landscape in Philippine society under the control of the imperial power. Thus, the layers reveal the creation of the 'savage' image as an outcome of imperial rule. There are multiple layers of the Igorot image and to make meaning is a negotiated process of interaction. To have a meaningful engagement, one has to also open up his/her own layers and be critical of which layers are brought to the surface or concealed in the interface.

The Igorots exhibited in the 1887 Madrid Exposition returned to the Philippines and continued to work with the Spanish colonial power. Rovillos (2005) noted that Alzate and Purganan gained influence in their localities. While there were four reported deaths among the 43 Filipinos who went to Spain, it was not mentioned if there were Igorots among the dead. Rice (2010) mentioned a diary entry of Dean Worcester, the American Secretary of Interior for

the Philippines during the American colonization. On February 6, 1901, Worcester noted that a certain Don Francisco Muro, an old man from Bontoc who along with four male companions sought an audience regarding local economics and politics. Worcester mentioned that Don Francisco Muro was among those who went to the exposition in Spain. It can be recalled that there were only two Bontoc Igorots who joined the 1887 Madrid Exposition: Oit-tavit who was described as a 38 year old *gobernadorcillo* and Sumad-en who was then 50 years old and described as a tribal chieftain (Rovillos 2005). Whoever of the two might have been Don Francisco Muro, it is interesting to note, as Rice (2010) highlighted, that the 'Don' was then held in high regard in contrast to Worcester's 1910 report of the same man whom he described as "head-hunting savage" (56). An account written by Antonio Buangan (2004) about the Igorots from Suyoc, Benguet who were exhibited during the 1904 St. Louis Exposition in the United States, stated that "Bayongasan, also known as Lepdagen," a tax collector during the Spanish time was also part of the 1887 Madrid Exposition (487). Suyoc was known as Lepanto during the Spanish colonial period. These accounts show that the display of the image of the 'savage' Igorots was continued by the United States of America, the next imperial power that colonized the Philippines.

Conclusion

After 130 years, the photographic images of the Igorots displayed during the 1887 Madrid Exposition were made public through the temporary exhibit sponsored by the National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid, Spain. As the curators emphasized, the 2017 exhibit was not a commemoration but an opportunity to remember and reflect on the Exposition. It was indeed a historical and a historic undertaking as the photographic images were in different forms – physical, digital, and imagined – that viewers could interact with. The exhibit was a rich source of photographic image details that brought to the surface various contextual layers related to the 1887 Madrid Exposition. The constructed image of the 'savage' Igorot and the imagined Igorot village were the surface layers of the photographic images. Underneath these were the masked layers of the accomplished, learned, and energetic Igorot people who led a complex village life. Navigating the space where the photographic images were taken provided a deeper interaction with the images. It brought to the senses a tangible overlap of the past and present dimensions of time and space.

Chapter 3
Tracing the Igorot Image in European Expositions of 1911-1913: Fragments and Phantasms of The Igorrote Village in Profit-Oriented Exhibitions

The 1887 Madrid Exposition in Spain and the 1904 St. Louis Exposition in the United States of America (U.S.) were two widely known expositions that exhibited Igorots. Both expositions were organized and sponsored by the Spanish and American colonial powers, respectively, and exhibited the 'backward, uncivilized, and savage' Igorot to justify the 'need' for the Philippines to remain under colonial 'care.' The Spanish imperial power eventually lost its control over the Philippines. Five years after the Madrid exhibition, Filipinos formed a revolutionary organization to fight for independence from Spain. Another four years passed until the Philippine Revolution of 1896 erupted. At that time, some Filipino revolutionaries saw the Americans as allies against Spain, while some had doubts and correctly predicted that the U.S. would be another colonialist power. In December 1898, a transition of colonial power happened through the Treaty of Paris where the U.S. 'bought' the Philippines from Spain for $20 million. Consequently, the Filipino war for independence shifted against the United States from 1899 to 1902, but with frequent skirmishes between the U.S. and Filipino forces until 1916 (San Juan 2010).

Before undertaking this research, I was aware only of the exposition of Igorots in Madrid and in the U.S.. Little did I know that after the U.S. expositions, the Igorots were exhibited in various cities in Europe from 1911 to 1913. It was at a conference in April 2017 organized by migrant Igorots in Europe that I learned about the other European expositions and decided to conduct research on these. By looking at the different Igorot expositions in Europe from 1887 to 1913 as a contiguous event, the broad context of the colonial exhibition culture prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could be analyzed and focused on how the various exhibitions influenced present day 'understanding' of the Igorot. The focus of this chapter is on how the U.S. exposition came about, developed, and eventually crossed to Europe.

After the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, the nature of the Igorot exhibitions changed from state-sponsored to market-oriented, profit-driven ventures handled by American entrepreneurs. During the St. Louis Exposition, two former American military men, Truman Hunt and Richard Schneidewind saw the potential in exhibiting Igorots as a profitable enterprise, planned an exposition tour in the United States for the following year and recruited members of the 1904 Igorot delegation to join (Afable 2004, Prentice 2014, Elinson 2015).

Claire Prentice (2014), in her book *The Lost Tribe of Coney Island*, provided a detailed narrative of the journey of the Igorots to commercial expositions after the 1904 St Louis World's Fair. Prentice wrote that Hunt, having the advantage of being the manager of the 1904 Igorrote village and connections with people in powerful positions, was first to launch a commercial tour in May 1905 featuring 51 Bontoc Igorots through his Igorrote Exhibit Company. He signed the Igorots to a one-year contract that promised a monthly wage of $15 for each Igorot on top of whatever they could earn from selling their handmade products. They were also allowed to keep tips from the audience. Hunt set up an Igorot Village in Coney Island, New York and was successful in terms of ticket sales, grossing a high of $25,000 a week during the exhibition's peak. With huge profits pouring in, Hunt lived in extravagance. He became a cutthroat businessman who did anything to accumulate bigger profit. Along with his business partners, they split the Igorots into smaller groups to cover more exhibition areas and generate more profit. However, the profits eventually failed to finance his extravagant lifestyle. He deprived the Igorots of their wages, extra income from sales and tips, and even subjected the Igorots to intimidation and harsh treatment. Consequently, he ran into legal troubles in his personal affairs and his contract commitments with the Igorots. His troubles later benefited his rival, Schneidewind.

Schneidewind served in the U.S. military during the Philippine-American War of 1899 to 1902 and had a Filipina wife who died after giving birth to their son. He set up two tours in different areas of the U.S. and Canada from 1905 to 1909 (Afable and Weibel 2011). In August 1905, his Filipino Exhibition Company took 35 Bontoc Igorots on an exhibition tour from the U.S. West coast to the Midwest. Igorots from Hunt's company were transferred to Schneidewind's care until their return to the Philippines in July 1906. Schneidewind paid the Igorots a much lower wage. He initially paid the leaders $7.50 per month then raised the amount to $12.50. The rest of the Igorots were paid $5.00 which was later doubled after Schneidewind's Igorrote Village generated large spectatorship. Five Igorots from Hunt's group decided to stay in the U.S. to pursue the case against Hunt. The trial dragged on until 1907 and even as the Igorots initially won a favorable decision, the case ended in a retrial and a subsequent reversal

of the decision. As the five Igorot plaintiffs prepared for their journey home to the Philippines in March 1907, a second Igorot group organized by Schneidewind travelled to the U.S. for another exposition tour (Prentice 2014). Schneidewind continued to exhibit Igorots in the U.S. until 1909 before he ventured on a new journey to exhibit them across the Atlantic. His decision to stage exhibitions in Europe may have been influenced by U.S. policy changes in 1909 when government sponsorship for exhibitions or state fairs was stopped and immigration controls were tightened (Elinson 2015).

Controversies Before the Journey to Europe: Phantasms of Tragedies to Come?

Bontoc Igorot communities strongly opposed Schneidewind's planned expansion of his exhibition business to Europe. The Bontoc community elders tried different ways to hinder their people from joining the exhibition. They imposed a quarantine, collected taxes, and reported to the authorities that the prospective participants were sick with trachoma (Elinson 2015; Afable, 2004). There are three news clips in the Schneidewind Collection that reported on these efforts prior to the Igorot tour to Europe. On March 4, 1911, the *Times* reported that Schneidewind was arrested for abducting Igorots to be exhibited in Paris. The report claimed that the Igorot elders opposed the sending of members of their tribe to the exposition. They had also filed a "formal protest to the Governor General."[29] But about two weeks later, the newspaper reported that the Igorots were already in Manila awaiting their transport to Paris the following week. The report also stated that only 50 of the 55 Igorots bound for Paris had contracts with Schneidewind and five others tagged along because of parental or tribal obligations. The report added that the Igorots "will form the first big attraction of Magic City, a really American amusement enterprise, [...] the first invasion of the Coney Island idea into the French capital and promoters of the park place much of their reliance for success upon the charm and attractions of the Igorot village already laid out and only awaiting the arrival of its occupants."[30] Schneidewind most likely wanted to replicate the profitable U.S. Igorot expositions in Europe. The report mentioned that after several months at the Paris exhibition, the group would head to Barcelona[31] and

[29] "Tried to Persuade Igorots." March 4, 1911. *Times*. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[30] "Igorots will Open Paris Park." March 18, 1911. *Times*. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[31] It was interesting that Barcelona was mentioned in the news report. There was no mention of Barcelona in Schneidewind list of places written in the company's stationery. I did find in my Internet search some reference to a silent film on the Igorot journey to Barcelona in 1912 (see

planned to set up the Igorrote village in "every important city of Europe."[32] On March 20,1911, the Bulletin reported a controversy over the handling of the [abduction] case against Schneidewind. The local official who handled the case was alleged to have been paid to report to the Consul General that "members of the troupe had trachoma, a contagious eye disease, and requested [the Consul General] to notify officials at Marseilles [France]"[33] in an attempt to prevent the Igorots from travelling. But the Consul General instead reported the case to the central government officials in Manila, triggering an investigation and the suspension of the local official. One interesting detail in the report was the description of the Igorots as an "Igorote troupe of actors for a Paris show,"[34] making apparent the commercial nature of the exhibition.

In this chapter, I explore the American-led exposition of Igorots in Europe and answer the questions: How does the presence or absence of photographic images relate to the types of layers that may be brought to the surface? How does the layer of commercialization or the profit driven motive of the exposition relate to the image and issues of representation and exploitation? To answer these questions, I looked at various traces that bring together the details that would form an image. I argue that even without photographic images the presence of traces of the Igorot image is manifested in an interaction with space and time. This means that even without photographic images of the Igorots various traces can also establish their presence in a specific space and time. These traces can be a range of things that are not necessarily photographic (such as, linguistic clues) but aid in the creation of an image, for example, descriptive texts that enable the reader to imagine and 'see' photographic images. It can also be an object that is in some way related to the image and therefore functions as an index. I look into the impact of a profit-oriented exhibition on the performance of culture and on the performers and submit that the profit driven private exposition reconfigured the value of the performance of culture and the relationship between the exhibition master and the Igorots. The 'savage' image of the Igorot was shifted from justifying the need for colonial rule to responding to the marketing demand to compete with other exhibition groups especially those following a similar narrative: a band of backward, uncivilized, and savage people living as if they were in

http://www.silentera.com/PSFL/data/D/DepartureOfTheIgorotsT1912.html). This can be an interesting track of further research if indeed they travelled to Barcelona.

[32] "Igorots will Open Paris Park." March 18, 1911. *Times*. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[33] "Usurpation of Authority." March 20, 1911. *Bulletin*. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[34] "Usurpation of Authority." March 20, 1911. *Bulletin*. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

their own community. With profit-making as the driving objective, the constructed photographic images highlighted, advertised, and represented Igorot 'savageness' as the main product of the Igorrote village. The value of the performance of culture was equated with its capacity to draw a large paying audience. The shift to commercialized exhibitions added another aspect to the issue. The Igorots became colonial subjects and performance workers[35] at the same time.

Presence/Absence in European Expositions: Traces and Fragments of the Photographic Image of the Igorots

The staff of Bentley Historical Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan provided me white cotton gloves to use while going through the Schneidewind Collection[36]. One of the items in the collection was Schneidewind's scrapbook (see Figure 14). Only the cover remained of the original scrapbook, the inside pages were replaced with new archival paper materials as part of the library's restoration efforts. The Schneidewind collection includes news clippings, magazine features cut outs, comic strips, Igorrote village entrance tickets and stereographic and photographic images of the Igorots his company exhibited. Some of the materials are more than a century old and required utmost care in handling.

Figure 14. Schneidewind's Scrapbook. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

[35] I wondered which of the terms 'performance workers' or 'cultural workers' would better describe the Igorots. Are they the product? What I see as their product is the performance of their culture. It may not be accurate to say that what was 'sold' is their culture, because what was presented was not exactly their culture but a representation of it. In several instances, especially in the US tours, the performances were tweaked to suit what was in high demand.

[36] I use Schneidewind Collection to refer to the Richard Schneidewind Papers in the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The photographic images I found in the Schneidewind Collection were mostly uncaptioned, so relating these to a specific time and place proved difficult. Some news clippings were cut without the name of the newspaper or without a written note of where they were taken. The lack of context of many documents in the collection made them seem like separate dots that needed to be connected. I arranged the documents in relation to a specific place to create a contextual view of the exposition.

The photographic images in the Schneidewind Collection covered only the London exposition. However, the collection yielded traces that helped in my search for photographic images and traces of the Igorots in France, Belgium, and The Netherlands where Igorot expositions were either held or proposed. The availability of online archives from public and private institutions in these countries helped me find more photographic images or traces. In some cases, the searchability of the digitized data, translation, and typographical issues imposed some limitations on collating and understanding the information. Thus it was necessary for me to visit an archive, museum, or past exhibition venue.

A sheet of company stationery[37] (See Figure 15) provided the first clue as to where the Igorots were exhibited in Europe. On the right side of the stationery was printed the name of the company, 'Filipino Exhibition Co' in thin capital letters of sans serif type. A bar separated it from the arched text 'Igorrote Village" in bold serif. Under the arched text was the name of the proprietor, "R. Schneidewind." The names of the company and the proprietor defined the enterprise, 'Igorrote Village' appeared like a brand. On the left side of the paper was printed, "The call of the wild." It was placed above a lithographic image of an Igorot male in loincloth carrying an indigenous backpack. He held a spear and shield in his left hand and a head axe and a severed head in his right hand. He had on a small hat and appeared to have some hair ornaments, an earring, and a necklace. He was barefoot, his left foot firmly on the ground while his right foot was suspended in the air, his knee angled, as if to stride. His face was angled to the right as if looking directly at the viewer. In the background were mountains with a river winding through their base.

[37] Company Stationery, Miscellaneous, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

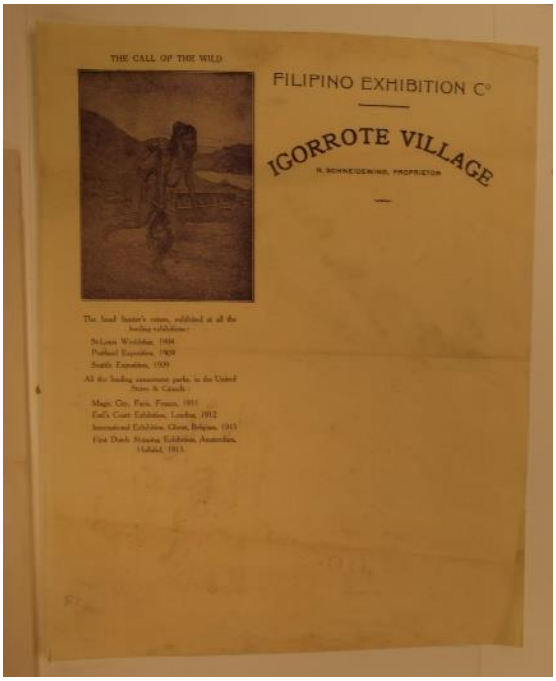

Figure 15. Schneidewind's company stationery. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The lithographic image projected the Igorot exposition as that of wild, headhunting, and barely clothed people from faraway mountains. Below the lithographic image was an enumeration of areas where the Igorots were exhibited in the U.S. from 1904 to 1909. Only three areas in the U.S. were mentioned, St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, and the Portland and Seattle Expositions in 1909. I was particularly interested in the text after the mention of the U.S. exposition venues. It read: "All the leading amusement parks, in the United States & Canada; Magic City, Paris, France, 1911[;] Earl's Court Exhibition, London, 1912 [;] International Exhibition, Ghent, Belgium, 1913 [; and] First Dutch Shipping Exhibition, Amsterdam, Holland, 1913."[38] This official company document provided the much needed information on the place and time dimensions of the Igorot journey to Europe. I then knew which four cities to focus on in searching for photographic images.

1911 Magic City Exposition in Paris, France

The Schneidewind Collection had no photographic images for the Magic City exposition in Paris, France in 1911 but some newspaper clippings were available. An undated,

[38] Company Stationery, Miscellaneous, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

unidentified newspaper clipping[39] titled "Pig Feast in Paris" reported "Bontee [*sic*] colony of Filipinos now in Paris for the sacrifice of a pig and the celebration of other rites in connection with the death of an infant amongst them."[40] The clipping had the date August 21 and the phrase "from our correspondent" in lieu of the writer's byline. The correspondent provided a witness account from the sidelines.

> The idea of animal sacrifice is a curious one, being that the spirit of the animal will accompany and support the spirit of the defunct. It is usual to kill a dog, and the Filipinos were extremely disappointed at being told that this would not be permitted by law. Finally a pig was decided upon as a poor substitute, the delay fixed as a maximum for its slaughter after the death of the infant being seven days. Had it not been possible to perform the ceremony yesterday it would have been too late, as according to Bontee [*sic*] beliefs, the spirit of the pig would no longer have been able to catch up to the spirit of the child.
>
> The pig, having been duly purchased, was to have been slaughtered at eleven, but the Filipinos had reckoned without the police regulations, and they were informed that no killing would be allowed after eight o'clock. It might have been thought that under the peculiar circumstances special permission would have been granted to these poor exiles to kill their pig in the privacy of their own village at the appointed hour, but on the contrary, not only was the above order intimated to them but at seven o'clock a dozen police with an inspector posted themselves round the doors of "The Magic City" to see that the pig was duly brought there and killed before eight. As a matter of fact, it was only at seven minutes to eight that the animal arrived, not before all the colony was in a state of desperation for fear of its coming too late; but by eight it had been despatched [*sic*].
>
> Preparations for the feast were begun by one of the head men making an eloquent and energetic speech, in which he expressed a wish that the souls of all the Paris police could accompany that of the pig. This was followed by the 'death dance,' accompanied by much beating of cymbals, the men forming a circle and a few women dancing, each one by herself outside, the step being a mere balance of the body first on one foot and then on the other. Only the elders and "braves," distinguished by tattoo marks, took part in the dance, and the subsequent proceedings, the rest of the colony remaining in their huts and attending to their business.
>
> When the speechmaking and dancing were finished, a fire was lit, and the carcass of the pig was well singed, after which it was dragged in front of the Assembly Room of the Elders and cut up with great dexterity. The headman, a warrior well decorated with

[39] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[40] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

> heavy scars and tattoo marks equally witnessing to his prowess in battle, then made another oration, and proceeded to smear several human skulls that are set up round the public assembly room with the blood of the pig, accompanying what was evidently a torrent of abuse and reproach to his enemies with insulting gestures. This part of the performance took some time, as besides one or two skulls upon posts, there are several basketsful hanging about the villas of these "head hunters." It was followed by another dance, in which a baby girl of three solemnly took part, dressed in a little white shirt, making a comical contrast to the rest of the naked performers. She is the only child of the tribe in Paris, all the rest being grown up.
>
> After this dance active preparations began for the cooking, and the rest of the funeral rites, if so they can be called, took place privately after midnight, when no stranger was admitted. This colony of "head hunters" – 56 in all – constitutes an interesting study, and those who have to do with them say that they are the most docile and good-tempered creatures it is possible to imagine, with the strictest ideas of honesty and rudimentary morality. ("Pig Feast in Paris" news clip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan)

The article's descriptions sketched a picture that can be imagined, as if snapshots of the event. The report highlighted the peculiarity of the rite and noted that a pig will be sacrificed instead of a dog.[41] The Igorots were required to follow the police regulation that the pig should be butchered before eight in the morning or three hours earlier than what the Igorots initially planned. A dozen policemen were present at the Magic City entrance to ensure that the pig would be slaughtered within the designated time added some tension to the report. The Igorots became desperate and worried they might not be able to perform the death ritual before the deadline set by the police due to the delayed delivery of the sacrificial pig. The report mentioned that the pig was finally delivered "seven minutes to eight."[42] Here is a description of the rite the Igorots performed: "One of the head men [made] an eloquent and energetic speech, in which he expressed a wish that the souls of all the Paris police could accompany that of the pig."[43] I wonder whether that was an accurate translation of what the Igorot elder chanted or whether that was the assumption or interpretation made by the correspondent. If that was indeed said, it may have been borne out of their frustration with all the delays and adjustments they had to

[41] The dog is commonly used by the Igorots as a sacrifice for the dead. It may be possible that animal rights welfare concerns in Paris may have been a factor in the move to change the type of animal to be sacrificed.
[42] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[43] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

make for their ritual to happen. Another possibility is that this was intentionally written to create controversy. In the first part of the article, the writer explained that the purpose of an animal sacrifice was for it to "accompany and support the spirit of the defunct."[44] While I find it odd for the elder to chant an ill wish, I also do not discount the possibility of extreme anger affecting the Igorots in mourning for a recently deceased loved one in a strange land with strange rules. The Igorots then performed what the correspondent called a "death dance" to the beat of the gongs. After the dance, "a fire was lit, and the carcass of the pig was well singed."[45] The pig was cut and the blood of the sacrifice was smeared on "several human skulls[46] [set up] round the public assembly room."[47] The writer described the chant as a "torrent of abuse and reproach to his enemies with insulting gestures."[48] The circumstances of the death of the child were not mentioned in the article so the underlying context for the elder's chant is unknown. Emotional displays of condemnation usually happen in cases of violent deaths such as those killed in tribal conflict. The narration of the correspondent continued, a "baby girl of three solemnly took part, dressed in a little white shirt, making a comical contrast to the rest of the naked performers." Following the correspondent's logic, the little girl stood out as the odd one out of the naked others. But I did not find the child an oddity. She, just like the others, appeared to be in solemn mourning. Besides, the girl in a white shirt might have been cold or was clothed to protect her from the cold. The presence of the correspondent made the death ritual a public performance. It was reassuring to know that after the meat was cooked, the "funeral rites, if so they can be called, took place privately after midnight, when no stranger was admitted."[49]

I searched through two other repositories for more information on the 1911 Magic City Exhibition in Paris, France. A digital repository of the National Library of France called Gallica[50] provided information on the location of the Igorrote village in the 1911 Magic City exposition in Paris. The newspaper *Le Petit Parisien* reported on May 14, 1911, the construction

[44] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[45] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[46] There were stories that skulls used in US expositions that were passed off as human skulls were actually animal skulls.
[47] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[48] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[49] "Pig Feast in Paris" Newsclip, Newspaper articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[50] See https://gallica.bnf.fr/

of the Igorrote village on the grounds of the Quai d'Orsay.[51] This information on the time and space occupied by the Igorots provided an important trace of their presence in the city. I found four photographic images of the Igorots in the Magic City Exhibition in the online repository called Human Zoos[52] which featured the Clemens Radauer collection on 19th and 20th century expositions.[53] Three of these photographic images were made into postcards.

The first photograph was of the Igorots in a war dance (see Figure 16). The presence of two 'warriors' served as an index for me to distinguish that it was a war dance and not simply a community dance. One warrior held a spear on his right hand while the other warrior carried a shield on his left hand and what appears to be a head axe in his right hand. A group of men playing gongs formed a half circle near the warriors, their knees were bent, their bodies evidently in synchrony with the music from the gongs. Three women with blankets draped over their bodies danced just outside the half-circle of gong players. A little girl danced with her arms stretched behind the warrior with a shield. Her face was slightly turned to the left and seemed to be looking at the other warrior. On the left side of the frame, two men stood outside the circle, their eyes fixed on the dancers. I was drawn by the wooden posts and trusses in the background. The posts and trusses appeared out of place and punctured the symmetry of the dance in the foreground.

Figure 16. Postcard, "*La-Danse-des-Chasseurs-de-Tetes*," Radauer Collection.
(From "1911 Igorrotes - Magic City Paris," Human Zoos, http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=6240)

The second photo featured three women weavers (see Figure 17). Two weavers working on backstrap looms sat on an elevated platform with a thatched roof but no walls. A sign "*tisseuses*" (meaning weavers) hung from a horizontal pole in front of the platform. At the

[51] "Pas de Trafic des decorations!" *Le Petit Parisien*, May 14, 1911. Gallica Digital Library. I did a search using the keyword 'Igorrote' to the newspapers available at Gallica covering the years 1911-1913 but there was no other report about the Igorots in Magic City.
[52] See www.humanzoos.net
[53] See http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=6240

ground level on the left side of the structure, a woman seated on a low stool was spinning a ball of yarn. She and the weaver on the left side of the platform appear to be looking at something outside of the frame. The weaver on the right side of the platform gazed directly at the camera with a faint smile on her face. Two things struck me. First, there was the wide gap in the floor of the structure. It posed some danger to the weavers and highlighted the artificiality of the structure that served as a stage to make the weavers visible to the audience. Second, the light bulb suspended from the ceiling contraposed to the makeshift structure. The presence of the light bulb suggested that the weavers worked after sundown. The layer of work duration and condition were brought to the surface by these details.

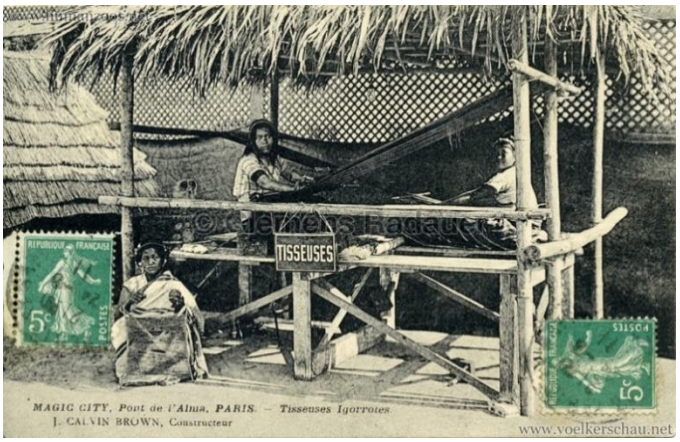

Figure 17. Postcard, "*Tisseuses Igorrotes,*" Radauer Collection.

(From "1911 Igorrotes - Magic City Paris," Human Zoos, http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=6240)

The third picture was of 10 Igorot men in their '*ato*' (a public place where ceremonies and administrative affairs of a village are conducted, see Figure 18). A marker with the word '*ato*' was placed on the right corner of a stone wall that partly enclosed the space. At the back were two thatched huts with the markers '*fawi*' (a dormitory for males) and '*pabafuan*'[54] (a hut where tribal ceremonies are conducted) placed on the roofs. The stones were neatly cut into blocks and formed the wall of the *ato*. A carved wooden idol was placed on the left edge. The men appeared to be of various ages. A man was halfway up a tree in the middle of the small *ato*. On the left side, a man worked on a string-like material. In front of him, a man stood and smoked a cigar. A man with his hands clasped squatted towards the front and center of the picture. Two men stood near the entrance of to the *fawi*, one held a head axe, the other a spear. Beside them was a man bent over as if lifting an object that is obscured by the two men in front of him. On the far right, a man squatted on the very edge of the stonewall and held himself in

[54] Or *pabafunan*

perfect balance. Two men stood in front of the stonewall. The man on the left had a tense face, eyebrows knitted, and the lines on his forehead prominent. The other man had his left arm across his chest, the other arm appeared to be on top the low wall. The first detail that struck me was the neatly cut square blocks. The neat, almost uniform stone masonry contrasted with the rougher construction of the village structures. Another detail, a piece of cloth on the thatched roof seemed out of place. Was it placed intentionally or accidentally? But the most interesting details for me were the signs placed on the roof of the huts. The signs indicated the name of the structure and brief description of what it was for, similar to how objects are labeled in museums so viewers know what they are looking at. These signs partly reveal the Igorots have their own complex social and political systems and a cognitive and linguistic capacity in abstraction and conceptualization.

Figure 18. Postcard, "*L'Hotel-de-ville des Igorrotes*"

(From "1911 Igorrotes - Magic City Paris," Human Zoos, http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=6240)

The fourth photograph was of a group of Igorots around a sacrificial pig (see Figure 19). Men holding gongs formed a circle around the sacrificial pig while the women with their arms outstretched danced outside the circle. At the center of the circle was a pile of wood, a pot over the fire, and the pig. Two men are shown standing beside the pig. One man appeared to be holding the pig's liver. Igorot elders usually 'read' omens from the bile sac of a sacrificial animal. My attention was caught by how the man in the center was about to pass a knife: he held the tip of the blade and offered the handle to the receiver. This might have been overlooked at the actual event but the photograph captured a paradoxical moment of the 'savage' image imposed on the Igorots, that of common courtesy and safety in interacting with others while handling bladed instruments.

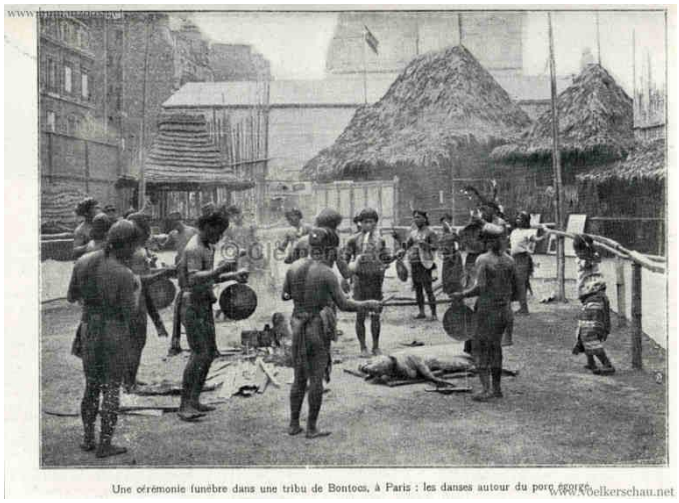

Figure 19. Illustration, "*Une ceremonie funebre dans une tribu de Bontocs, a Paris…*"
(From "1911 Igorrotes - Magic City Paris," Human Zoos, http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=6240)

Looking at the photographic images of the Igorots from the Human Zoos website revealed some paradoxes of the savage narrative presented in Paris. The photographs showed that the Igorots had an existing political organization and structure, visible through the *ato* and the leadership of the elders. They also have economic activities such as making tools and weaving. The photographs also provided a glimpse of their rich culture through their dances and rituals.

1912-1913 England Exhibitions

Schneidewind's company participated in the Shakespeare's England Exhibition at Earl's Court in London that opened on May 9, 1912 and ran until October 1912[55] (O'Connor 2013). After the Shakespeare's England exhibition, the Igorots set up their Igorrote village in two other areas of England, at Empress Skating Rink, King Edward Street in Nottingham from mid-December 1912 to mid-February 1913 and at the Palladium, Beverley Road in Hull from mid-February to March 1913.[56] Most photographic images available in the Schneidewind Collection were from newspaper and magazine cutouts about the Shakespeare's England Exhibition. I found no photographic images in the Schneidewind Collection for Igorot performances in Nottingham and Hull, but news clippings provided descriptions that marked their journey to and presence in those venues. The news clippings that extensively featured the Igorots and their village had mostly similar content and that raises the possibility of a single

[55] I have not found information on whether they stayed on in Earl's Court before they moved to the Empress Skating Rink.
[56] This is a deduction based on the newspaper reports and the invitation card in Schneidewind Collection.

source. Some news reports and advertisements mentioned a troupe of 80 Igorots, almost double the initial number that departed from the Philippines.

I searched the London Metropolitan Archives and it showed a collection for 'Igorrotes Village.'[57] Unfortunately, the collection was not available online and I did not have the opportunity to travel to London to do a manual archival research. Nevertheless, the photographs in Schneidewind Collection provided significant photographic images for the current study.

The Schneidewind Collection showed a noticeable reusing of the photographic images for various advertisements and articles published during the exhibition. A brochure and an invitation card used the same lithographic image of the Igorot on the company stationery (see Figure 20).

Figure 20. Brochure and Invitation Card. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The lithographic image on the brochure and invitation card was clearer than the one used in the company stationery. The first tag line read, "The Call of the Wild" and below the lithographic image was written, "The Head Hunter's Return."[58] These two statements accompanying the lithographic image were like tag lines for reducing the Igorot image to a product with commercial value. The representation of savageness was reinforced by the constant reuse of the photographic images of the Igorots.

A barefoot Igorot man in loincloth climbing towards a treehouse was one of the most reused photographic images in London (see Figures 21 and 22).

[57] See https://search.lma.gov.uk/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LMA_OPAC/web_detail/REFD+LCC~2FAR~2FTH~2F02~2F061?SESSIONSEARCH

[58] Brochure and Invitation Card, Advertising 1905-1907, 1912; Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Figure 21. "Tree-top Savages in London." Uncited Newsclip. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The height of the tree where the makeshift house was built could not be ascertained. The photographic image was shot without a view of the ground for reference. The photographer ostensibly wanted to create an illusion of height by focusing on the tree top. I was unimpressed by the photo probably because there was a tree house on our street when I was a child. My lack of interest in the photograph might also stem from the knowledge that the tree house like any other elevated platform, serves as a common vantage point against an enemy. What I found interesting, however, was the railing on a rock ledge on the lower left side of the frame. Was the ledge intended for the audience to have a 'vantage point' of the village and to peek inside the tree house? Another thing that caught my interest was the accompanying text in various newspapers that used the same photographic image. On May 15, *The Manchester Guardian* title read, "Savages from the Philippine Islands in London" but the caption at the foot of the picture was missing.[59] The *Daily News & Leader* captioned the same photographic image, "The simple Life: Philippine Islanders at Earl's Court."[60] Note the absence of the word 'savages' in the *Daily News & Leader* caption. The use of 'simple life' was genial but this type of reference was more the exception. On May 22, 1912, the magazine *The Tatler* published the same

[59] "Savages from the Philippine Islands in London." May 15, 1912. *The Manchester Guardian*. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
[60] "The Simple Life: Philippine Islanders at Earl's Court." May 15, [1912]. *Daily News & Leader*. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

photograph with the title "Savagery and Simplicity: In the Midst of Civilization and Complexity."[61] An inset on the upper left side showed a man and woman. The woman wore a dark colored sleeveless shirt and a woven wraparound. Her two necklace pendants and head ornaments were prominently displayed. She held a piece of woven cloth on her right hand; her left hand slightly clasped but not showing tension. The man in loincloth held a head axe on his right hand. His feather headdress had what seemed like a long string down that hung down to his belly. Another magazine, *The Sketch*, had the photograph of the Igorot man climbing to a treehouse at the center of the page in a frame of tropical leaves. Interestingly, the title was "Not for the Too Genial Clubman: Going home. An Igorrote at Earl's Court."[62] An uncited news clip was captioned, "Tree-top Savages in London."[63] The relationship of the linguistic messages in the form of titles and captions set a specific way of looking at the photograph. The titles and captions reveal the underlying advertisement motive in constructing the image of savageness.

Three other versions of the Igorot male climbing a tree were in the collection. On May 22, 1912, the magazine *The Sketch* showed a picture of two Igorrote men climbing the relatively thin trunk of a tall palm tree.[64] The thatched roof on the left side of the picture indicates that the Igorots were high above ground, a few feet away from the tree top. The first Igorot man looked directly to the camera, thus to the viewer. There was so much tension on his body muscles but his face was lit up by a grin, seemingly happy about being ahead of his companion. The other Igorot was focused on holding on to the trunk. The interesting thing about the picture was that it appeared the climbers had to counterbalance each other. The thinness of the trunk presented a challenge of balancing the distribution of weight of the climbers to prevent bending or even breaking the trunk. The caption indicated that the Igorots were practicing "the art of going home" apparently to imply that Igorots live in tree houses, which was rather ironic because on the left side, the thatched roof of a house is seen. Unlike the picture of the solo climber, there was no tree house. A cropped version of the photo leaving only a small portion of the thatched

[61] "Savagery and Simplicity: In the Midst of Civilization and Complexity." May 22, 1912. *The Tatler*. p. 221. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[62] "Not for the Too Genial Clubman: Going Home. An Igorrote at Earl's Court." May 22, 1912. *The Sketch*. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[63] "Tree-top Savages in London." Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[64] "Trial Marriages in 'Shakespeare's England': Igorrotes at Earl's Court." May 22, 1912. *The Sketch.* Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

roof on the lower left was published in *The Sphere* on June 29, 1912.[65] Another version of the same picture was cropped further to remove the thatched roof and the tree top.[66] It was just the two Igorot men climbing and no reference to the relative height. Added to the framing of the photo were two drawings placed on both sides. The drawing of a man beating a gong overlapped with one of the climbing men. A circle perpendicular to the trunk overlapped with the gong. The circle invited the viewer to focus on the feet of the climber and see how the arched feet and the toes gripped the trunk. The other drawing showed a man holding a shield on his left hand and a spear in his raised right hand. This third picture improved the composition by eliminating the elements that had reference to height and making the climb itself the focus.

There are several versions of a photograph of a large circle of Igorot men playing gongs around a fire. Two newspapers published the same full picture on May 15, 1912.[67] In it were two dozen men gathered around a white cloud of smoke, every man in the circle held a gong. When I saw that there were two dozen gongs being played in that picture, I imagined the loudness of the sound ringing in my ears. It also made me realize how complicated it must have been to blend the various tones and create a harmonious tempo and rhythm! Igorot gongs vary in size and each has a specific tone. The rhythm is created by the alternating beats of the gongs. Two main alternating beats serve as guide for the other gong players to follow. The keen sense for the gong beat and melody is amazing. Beneath the layer of the compact physiques of the Igorot men in the picture, is a layer of musicality that drew me. I also noticed that in this picture that there was only one onlooker. He stood on one corner of the log barrier that seemed to mark the stage area. His arms rested on top of the log as he watched the dance. In front of him were four or five Igorot women with outstretched arms, dancing to the beat of the gongs. At first glance, the women dancers are barely noticeable. I had to zoom in into the picture to see them in the background. The creation of the stage like barrier between the performers and the audience fascinated me. Unlike the 'performance area' in the Madrid exposition in 1887 that included all of the Igorrote village enclosed by a wall, the creation of the 'stage' renders entertainment value to the 'onstage' performances. It focuses the gaze of the audience. The

[65] "A Savage Tattooed Tribe in London: At the Earl's Court Exhibition." June 29, 1912. *The Sphere*. p. 295. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[66] "Irrogotes [sic] give exhibition for Londoners." Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[67] "Savages from the Philippine Islands in London." May 15, 1912. *The Manchester Guardian*. [and] "'Shakespeare's England' at Earl's Court: Some of the Natives." May 15, 1912. *The Daily Graphic.* p. 11. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

caption for the picture named the space at the Western Garden of Earl's Court the "Filippino Village" instead of its brand 'Igorrote village.'[68] The performance was captioned a "war dance" but looks more like a festive community dance due to the absence of 'armed warriors' dancing in feigned combat. I imagine that this particular picture was a grand call, maybe that's where Schneidewind got the tagline 'Call of the Wild,' where the loud sound of the gongs would entice the audience to pay to watch. This probably was a warm up for the 'performers' to start a whole day performance. The caption stated: "Here the natives live their daily life under practically the same conditions as in their own country."[69] The 'imagined daily life' evoked by the performances is hugely different from the Igorot farming, hunting, fishing, mining, blacksmithing, weaving, and other activities back home. The daily life presented in the Igorrote village is curated to suit the craving of the audience for the exotic, to attract more viewers and consequently generate more revenue.

The magazine, *The Sphere*, cropped the picture to focus on the Igorot men excluding most of the background, some of the women and thatched houses.[70] The cropped picture on the magazine is clearer, the intensity of concentration of the gong players to create the music is evident. The picture occupied about half of the page where other cropped pictures of the Igorots were also shown.

Most of the Schneidewind Collection pictures of the London exhibition featured the Igorot men. There were only a few pictures of women and children. One was of a child about three or four years old that was featured in the *Daily News & Leader* and *The Manchester Guardian* on May 15.[71] The child was dressed in what appeared to be an oversized skirt and blouse. She had a headdress of beads. It looked like she had on some kind of sandal. Her small hands were on a spinning wheel. My interest was drawn to the structure of the spinning wheel[72]. Three wood sticks were crossed to form the spokes for a six-pointed 'wheel'. A set of spokes

[68] "'Shakespeare's England' at Earl's Court: Some of the Natives." May 15, 1912. *The Daily Graphic.* p. 11. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[69] "'Shakespeare's England' at Earl's Court: Some of the Natives." May 15, 1912. *The Daily Graphic.* p. 11. Newsclip, Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[70] "A Savage Tattooed Tribe in London: At the Earl's Court Exhibition." June 29, 1912. *The Sphere*. p. 295. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[71] "The Simple Life: Philippine Islanders at Earl's Court." May 15, [1912]. *Daily News & Leader*. [and] "Savages from the Philippine Islands in London." May 15, 1912. *The Manchester Guardian*. Newsclips; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[72] I asked some Igorot friends if they encountered a spinning wheel used in their community and they confirmed that they saw their grandmothers in the Mountain Province use a similar wooden structure to spin yarn.

was attached to each end of a rudimentary axle held by two posts that were secured to a sturdy base. The child appeared to be playing with the yarn yet to be spun (see Figure 22). The caption in the *Daily News & Leader* indicated that it was wool on the wheel, ready to be spun. I know not of Igorot fabric made from wool. The Igorot fabric I know of, even the antique ones on museum display, are made from cotton. It might have been that wool was the available material in London during the time of the performance or that the writer was simply more familiar with wool used in Europe. The caption in *The Manchester Guardian* was torn from the page.

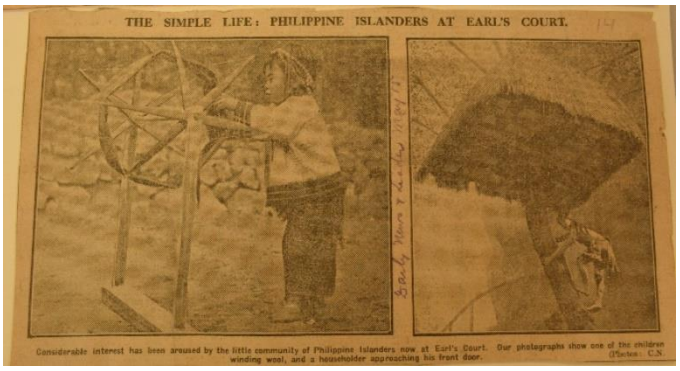

Figure 22. Newsclip featuring an Igorot child playing with the spinning wheel (left) and an Igorot man climbing a tree (right). Daily News & Leader, May 15, 1912. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

In a newsclip titled "Savages in London" and with a handwritten note, "May 25," the spinning wheel was shown in a picture where it was being worked by two Igorot women.[73] One woman was seated on a small stool and holding a pipe in her left hand. She had a blanket draped over her body and tied at one end over her right shoulder. She wore a striped blouse underneath. The other woman was standing, slightly bent forward toward the spinning wheel while working on the yarn. She had on a woven skirt and a long-sleeved blouse. One of the pictures of the Igorots in Earl's Court that appeared on *The Sphere* magazine on June 29 showed about a dozen women[74]. The photograph itself was relatively small compared to the other four pictures on the page but it was prominently placed at the center of the page. Among the exhibition pictures, this had the most number of women by far. The women in the picture either wore blouses or had blankets draped over their bodies. They formed two lines facing each other in front of a wooden mortar. Each held a wooden pestle for pounding. The caption noted that they were

[73] "Savage in London." May 25, [1912]. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[74] "A Savage Tattooed Tribe in London: At the Earl's Court Exhibition." June 29, 1912. *The Sphere*. p. 295. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

"pounding rice as they chant."[75] Without the caption, only the imagined sound of the pounding would register. A child who could have been the girl pictured with the spinning wheel stood slightly angled near the left end of the mortar, her face was not visible. Igorot men can be seen seated on the right side with some of their gongs on the ground. In the background can be seen a gap in the log dividers possibly to serve as an entrance into the performance area. The Schneidewind Collection's most recent picture of an Igorot woman in the London exposition was from a news clipping in the *Daily Mirror* on February 4, 1913.[76] The news clipping was about the birth of a child. The Igorot mother can be seen holding her sleeping child wrapped in a light colored blanket. The mother wore a long sleeved blouse with a dark colored cloth draped over her left shoulder. She had dark straight hair, a head band of beads, and a necklace. The first detail that struck me was the mother's thick hands that held her baby. It could have been the years of hard labor back home that made the hands that way. The rough hands contrasted with the soft face of the mother. The next detail which I could not fully figure out was whether the baby had a lump on his head or whether he was wearing a small cap. I zoomed in several times to study the contours of the baby's head. Upon closer inspection I was convinced that it was a lump on his head which could have been an indication that the baby was sick. A news clipping titled "Baby Barbarian" possibly published a month after the birth based on a handwritten note "Daily Mail 3-15-13," reported that the infant died after they transferred to the Palladium circus at Hull.[77] The report mentioned that a private ritual was conducted and that "ten cockerels" were to be sacrificed.

The Igorot women pictured in London were not bare-chested. They wore blouses or had some fabric draped over their bodies. I could only speculate that the remarkably consistent state of being clothed was due to the cold winter weather or the promoter's compliance with prevailing British standards for how women should dress.

The England leg of the Igorot European Exhibition highlighted the stark difference between the cultures of the host country and the Igorots. Despite performing a set of activities similar to what they did in Paris, there was a difference on how they were portrayed in British media. Pictures that appeared in British newspapers and magazines showed specific individuals and some aspects of their varied activities, for example, a man climbing a tree and a child

[75] "A Savage Tattooed Tribe in London: At the Earl's Court Exhibition." June 29, 1912. *The Sphere*. p. 295. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 3, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[76] "Baby Born to Chieftain's Wife at the World's Fair." February 4, 1913. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 2, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[77] "Baby Barbarian." March 15, 1913. *Daily Mail*. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 2, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

playing with the spinning wheel. Group pictures such as those while dancing or working do not show their full faces. Without the captions and accompanying reports the pictures could be seen as that of any other culture but the addition of captions immediately prejudged the Igorots as savages.

1913 Ghent International Exposition

After the London exhibitions, the Igorots travelled to Belgium for the Ghent International Exposition from April to November 1913.[78] There were no photographic images of the Ghent International Exposition in the Schneidewind Collection but there was a newspaper ad, a news report, and a song lyric that established the Igorots' presence in Belgium. An uncited small advertisement (see Figure 23) in a French newspaper provided a preview of the activities of the "50 wild from the Philippines" at their Igorrote Village that featured the "customs and habits of their primitive life" and include "warrior dances, songs of ceremonies, war maneuvers, weaving, ironwork, pipe manufacturing, sculpture."[79] At the end of the advertisement was written: "The first time in Belgium."[80] While it may be true that it was the first time the Igorots would showcase their Igorrote village there, colonial expositions were not new to Belgium. On April 20, 1913, a news clip written in French described the Igorot group that set up their village in Ghent. An important detail I found in this report was the location of the Igorrote village: "A Philippine village has just been installed on the plain which ends at the Boatmen's wharf in Old Flanders."[81] Even without the photographic image, the trace of the specific space they occupied provided some details to aid the imagination.

[78] Some posters of the Ghent International Exhibition and the Bureau International des Expositions (Bureau of International Expositions based in France; https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/1913-ghent) indicate April to November 1913 while other accounts state April to October 1913.

[79] Advertisement, Newspaper Articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[80] Advertisement, Newspaper Articles 1905-1913, Box 1, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

[81] "Un village Philippin." April 10, 1913. *La Flandre Liberale*. Newsclip; Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 2, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. The report read: "*Un village philippin vient d'etre installe sur plaine qui aboutit au quai des Bateliers a la Vieille Flandre*."

Figure 23. An uncited French newspaper ad about the Igorrote Village in Belgium. From Richard Schneidewind Papers, Bentley Historical Library. (Photo by D. Wilson)

Another vestige I found was a song written in French that referred to the Igorots as 'cannibals' in the fourth stanza of the song, "*Elle est finie l'Exposition*"[82]:

In the village of Cannibals

Looks like they have a craving!

So the Filipino warriors,

Want to appease their hunger,

Eat the last visitor,

And that while singing in chorus:

Refrain

This description of the Igorots in Ghent, could have exacerbated the imagination of the 'savage' image. Did this claim of cannibalism affect the reception to the Igorrote Village in Belgium?

Of the four major expositions in Europe from 1911-1913, it is the 1913 Ghent International Exposition that currently has a significant online presence.[83] Different websites and repositories hold information about the exposition. However, I have not found a

[82] *Au village des Cannibales // Parait qu'ils en ont une fringale! // Ainsi les guerriers Philippins, // Veulent pour apaiser leur faim, // Manger les derniers visiteur, // Et cela en chantant en chour: // Refrain* ("Elle est finie l'Exposition..." Scrapbook, Oversize Volume 2, Richard Schneidewind papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan)

[83] These include http://gent1913virtueel.be which provided a commemorative visual presentation of the Ghent International Exposition in its 100th year celebration and featured a section on the Philippine [Igorrote] village (http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/het-filipijnse-dorp/---the-call-of-the-wild---) ; The University Library of Ghent, https://lib.ugent.be provided digital open access to manuscripts (in Dutch) related to the exposition ; the Royal Library of Belgium which has an online repository of newspapers, http://www.belgicapress.be/ also provided access to select digitized newspapers during the Exposition ; the https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en provided access to a network of various archives, museums, libraries in Europe that were connected to the Europeana network.

photographic image of the Igorrote village nor the Igorots except for a supposed photograph of Timicheg,[84] (see Figure 24) the Igorot who died during the exposition. His picture appeared in the report published by the Belgian newspapers *Flanders Today*[85] and *De Standaard*[86] in 2010 during the construction of a tunnel that was later named after him. The veracity of the picture, whether that was indeed Timicheg could not be ascertained because the newspapers had no citation on the source of the photograph. The photograph showed Timicheg in a loincloth with light colored tassels and a headdress of feathers. He stood barefoot in front of a thatched house. In his raised left hand, he held a head axe and in his right he held a shield and a spear. I was struck by the house wall behind him. It appeared so smooth that at first I thought that it was made of concrete. If indeed the photograph was of Timicheg, it may have be taken prior to his illness. According to the Ghent exhibition centenary website, he was "provided by Bijloke Hospital from April 22 to June 22"[87] and newspaper reports in 1913 showed that he died on August 19.[88]

Figure 24. Timicheg, Igorot who died during the 1913 Ghent International Exposition.
(Image from *Flanders Today*. http://www.flanderstoday.eu/living/face-flanders-34)

[84] http://www.flanderstoday.eu/sites/default/files/legacy/face_1.jpg
[85] "Face of Flanders." December 22, 2010. *Flanders Today*. http://www.flanderstoday.eu/living/face-flanders-34
[86] De Buck, Willy. December 15, 2010. "*Gent noemt tunnel naar arme indiaan*." *De Standaard.* http://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20101214_157
[87] "*Overlijdensbericht van de Filipino Timicheg*." Gent 1913 Virtueel. http://gent1913virtueel.be/items/show/1992
[88] http://www.belgicapress.be/pageview.php?all_q=timiteg

The centenary website of the 1913 Ghent International Exposition linked a blurry photograph of the quay in the Old Flanders village to the Igorots[89] (see Figure 25).

Figure 25. A picture of the Old Flanders Village. From Gent 1913 Virtueel.
(http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/het-filipijnse-dorp/---the-call-of-the-wild---)

The photo showed three persons on a boat and one person standing on the riverbank. I clicked on the picture and it opened a new link that clearly showed that the persons photographed were not Igorots. My best estimate was that they were Ghent residents. Nonetheless, that photograph was useful in my search of where the Igorots set up their Igorrote village during the Ghent Exposition (see Figure 26).

Figure 26. A view of the right side of the picture shown in Figure 25 where the Igorots might have set up their 'village' in Old Flanders Village in Ghent, Belgium. From Ghent University Archive.
(https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01%3A001404983/items/800000096686)

[89] "Oriëntalisme en de exotische mens." Gent 1913 Virtueel. http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/het-filipijnse-dorp/---the-call-of-the-wild---

The centenary website noted that the Igorots were first in the Old Flanders Village but were relocated to the Citadel Park[90] due to complaints from local businesses. Citadel Park was where other delegations such as those from Senegal and Congo were exhibited. Unfortunately, I have not found a photographic image of the Igorrote village in the Citadel Park from searches in online repositories.

The Igorots were rarely mentioned in local newspapers during the exposition. The Royal Library of Belgium's newspaper archive, BelgicaPress,[91] showed spikes in reports about the Igorots, for example, on Timicheg's[92] death, on the controversy of Igorots begging on the streets of Ghent, and on Schneidewind's rebuttal of the accusations of his neglect of the Igorots and measures taken for their return to the Philippines. Unlike in other cities where the Igorots' performances or rites were the focus of the media, the Belgian newspapers focused on the human interest stories such as death, birth, conflicts among the Igorot delegation, and how they were perceived by the local residents. However, the descriptions given to the Igorots in newspaper reports continued to be framed within the Igorot image of 'savageness.'

On August 20, 1913, the newspaper *La Derniere Heure* described Timicheg as 28 years old and that at the time of his death, "All the men of the nomadic tribes forming part of the village surrounded him last night, and witnessed the departure of [Timicheg's] spirit for the immense plains" (3).[93] Another newspaper, *Het Handelsblad*, repeated the reference to the Igorots as "cannibals" when it reported the death a day after.[94]

On November 26, 1913, the newspaper *Het Handelsblad van Antwerpen* reported that two barefoot Igorots were begging on the streets of Ghent and that they were given horse

[90] "Oriëntalisme en de exotische mens." Gent 1913 Virtueel. http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/het-filipijnse-dorp/---the-call-of-the-wild---

[91] http://www.belgicapress.be/

[92] The news reports used 'Timiteg'.

[93] "*Timiteg n'avait que 28 ans. Il deperit lentement dans notre climat peu hospitalier, loin de son pays au soleil brulant. Tous les hommes des tribus nomades faisant partie du village, l'entouraient,, hier soir, et assistaient au depart d l'esprit de Timiteg pour les immenses plaines...*" ("La Mort d'un Philippin." August 20, 1913. *La Derniere Heure*, p. 3.) http://uurl.kbr.be/1257614
It is interesting to note that the writer seemed to equate Igorot culture with the Native American Indians. The Bontoc Igorots were a mountain tribe compared to some Native American Indians who lived and developed their cultures in the Plains, thus the idea of where the spirit will go after death may be different.

[94] "*Dit overlijden gaf aanleiding tot eene gansche reeks rouwhetuigingen van wege de kannibalen.*" ("Een doode in de tentoonstelling te Gent." August 21, 1913. *Het Handelsblad van Antwerpen*, p. 3) http://uurl.kbr.be/1110539

blankets by the military.[95] Schneidewind's typewritten reply[96] to the Police Commissioner indicated his intention to keep the 29 Igorots for about one to two months more to continue with the exposition in other areas while the rest were to return to the Philippines via Marseilles, France on December 14, 1913. He criticized the editor of the local newspaper, *Gazette van Gand* for publishing an unfounded story about the Igorots [begging on the streets or being abandoned by him]. A newspaper reported on his plans to bring the Igorots to Lyon and to Germany and the challenge he issued to whoever made the false accusation to the police that they give a donation to the poor Filipinos.[97] It might have been unknown to him at that time that two of the Igorots wrote about their plight to then U.S. President Woodrow Wilson through the U.S. consulate in Belgium. Afable (2004) noted Ellis Tongai and James Amok wrote a two-page letter to the U.S. President which narrated that they had not received their wages for several months and that nine members of their group, including five children died during the tour. They asked for help in returning to their homes in Bontoc. They complained that Schneidewind had deposited the tour revenue in a bank and would not release the money to them and that the American consul in Ghent ignored their plea for help. The U.S. authorities intervened and transported all the Igorots from Ghent to Marseilles, France where they boarded a ship going to the Philippines. Two newspapers reported on their departure from the city on December 13. The newspaper *Vooruit*, reported that the Igorots were seen at the [train] station with their luggage.[98] Five days later the same newspaper clarified that all of the Igorots had travelled back to their homeland and added, mockingly, that "Ghent is somewhat purified again" (2).[99]

The European exposition tours may have had a tragic ending in Ghent but that did not mean that the Igorots were forgotten. In 2011, the City of Ghent inaugurated and named after Timicheg, (see Figure 27) one of the newly constructed tunnels of the Sint Pieterstation, a major transport hub of the city.[100] Intrigued by this gesture of providing a marker of the Igorot presence, I visited Ghent last May. I boarded a train from Brussels to Sint Pieterstation, Ghent on a Monday and went in search for the tunnel. I found the tunnel after a short walk. On one

[95] "De Seneglezen der Tentoonstelling De Philippijnen." November 26, 1913. *Het Handelsblad van Antwerp*. p. 2. http://uurl.kbr.be/1110635

[96] "Brief Filipino Exhibition Co." Gent 1913 Virtueel. http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/item/1525

[97] "Stadsnieuws: De Philippijnen." December 6, 1913. *Vaderland*, p. 3. http://uurl.kbr.be/1324742

[98] "Vertrek der Philippijnen." December 14, 1913, *Vooruit*. p.3. http://uurl.kbr.be/1545471

[99] "Gent is weer enigszins gezuiverd" ("Van Alles Wat: Meester in 't Beleedigen." December 18, 1913. *Vooruit*. p.2.) http://uurl.kbr.be/1545475

[100] Pia Lee-Brago. May 15, 2011."Railway tunnel in Belgium named after Igorot" *Philippine Star.* https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2011/05/15/685878/railway-tunnel-belgium-named-after-igorot

side of the tunnel is a marker that reads: "Timicheg tunnel. Timicheg (Bontoc Philippines 1885-1913) passed away in the Philippine village of the World Exhibition 1913."[101] It is unfortunate that it was his death that became the key for him to be remembered. Many who would later read the marker might never know who Timicheg was or where Bontoc is but still it provides an opportunity to learn more about the person and the place and the possibility of linking the past and present. The marker may not be a cause for excitement but at the least it could point to what could have been the Igorots' entry point when they arrived in the city.

Figure 27. Timicheg Tunnel, Ghent, Belgium. (Photo by D. Wilson)

The Citadel Park is relatively near the train station, and farther ahead is the city center. The Old Flanders village was short-lived and its structures were demolished after the World Fair.[102] I took a tram to the city center and disembarked at the Korenmarkt station. I compared the photos of the Ghent Exhibition stored in my phone with the buildings in front of me but could not establish a connection. It was, of course, heartening to see structures that were hundreds of years old but I could not locate landmarks that would give me a visual reference of where the Ghent Exposition was set up. In my visit to Madrid, I was able to blend the picture with the imagination, thus having a strong connection with the space. In Ghent all I saw were façades. It felt like I was stuck at the surface where the old and new structures competed for my attention. I walked toward the St. Michael Bridge and the beautiful river Lye below. I sat by the river bank and studied the surrounding structures. Did the Igorots get the chance to fish in the river Lye? I decided to take a short boat tour of the river. The boatman who also acted as

[101] Written on the marker was "Timichegtunnel. Timicheg (Bontoc Filippijnen 1885-1913) *overladen in het Filippijns dorp van de Wereldtentoonstelling* 1913."
[102] Verstraete, Frederik. 2014. "A virtual reconstruction of the 1913 World Fair at STAM – Ghent city museum." https://mwf2014.museumsandtheweb.com/paper/a-virtual-reconstruction-of-the-1913-world-fair-at-stam-ghent-city-museum/

the tour guide provided information in three languages (English, German, and Dutch Flemish). He started his spiel with how Ghent was a pioneering city in the middle ages and a main destination for cargo ships. When we were about to pass by the post office and under the St. Michael bridge, (see Figure 28) he informed us that those two structures were constructed in time for the 1913 Ghent Exposition.

Figure 28. View from the river bank, Ghent, Belgium. The bridge on the right and the Post Office building on the left were built for use during the 1913 Ghent Exhibition. (Photo by D. Wilson)

After the boat tour, I followed the road that led to Gravensteen Castle. Across the castle I found a marker for the 1913 Ghent Exposition (see Figure 29).

Figure 29. Marker in front of the Gravensteen Castle, Ghent. (Photo by D. Wilson)

From Gravensteen Castle, I took a tram going to the STAM Museum. I have read about the museum's efforts to mesh the past and present views of the maps of the 1913 and the present. A virtual map of Ghent was shown on several computer screens. The current map of Ghent was shown on the floor. A diorama of the city center was placed on an elevated platform. A wide screen that ran along a wall showed past and present events in the city. Some pictures were merged or morphed together to link the past with the present. I did not see a photograph of the Igorots in the photographic images and the markers. The material helped me imagine the surrounding area but I could not construct an imagination of the Igorrote village in relation to

the photographic images of Ghent. The museum featured a virtual 3D navigation of the 1913 exposition[103] (see Figure 30) but even the virtual navigation was of little help due to its focus on structure and façade.

Figure 30. The 3-D Virtual Navigation booth of the 1913 Ghent Exposition, STAM Museum. (Photo by D. Wilson)

I walked toward the Citadel Park after a brief tour of the city museum. The park was huge and surrounded by tall trees. It was reported that the Igorots were placed in the Senegalese village[104] after being moved out of the Old Flanders village. The only marker I had about the Senegalese village was that there was a pond across it. I saw the pond a few steps from the round kiosk near the Citadel Park entrance (see Figure 31). The area where I was standing could have been the site of the Senegalese village.

[103] A preview of the 3D virtual navigation is available at https://youtu.be/V7dJlqm1DXU ; The virtual navigation can also be accessed at http://gent1913virtueel.be/3d-model

[104] "Oriëntalisme en de exotische mens" Gent 1913 Virtueel. http://gent1913virtueel.be/exhibits/show/orientalisme-en-de-exotische-/het-filipijnse-dorp/---the-call-of-the-wild---

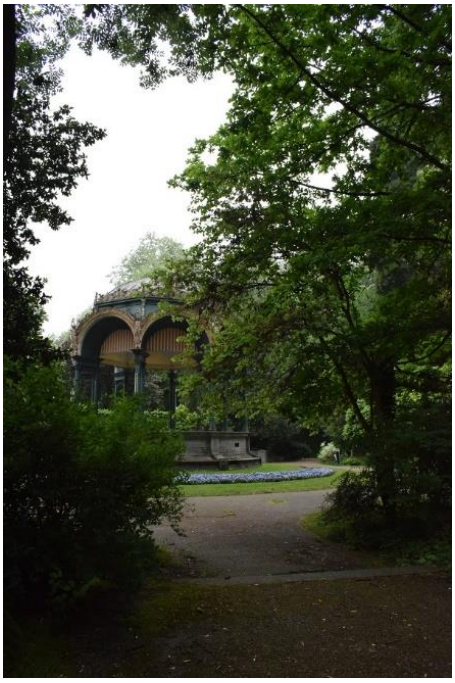

Figure 31. Inside the Citadel Park, Ghent, Belgium. (Photo by D. Wilson)

But where exactly inside Senegalese village did the Igorots set up their village? It could have been anywhere in the surrounding area of the kiosk. It was difficult to reconstruct an imagination of the village from a tenuous trace. I walked towards the other end of the Citadel Park and then to the Sint Pieter area. I took a tram to explore the southern part of the Sint Pieter area. The moving tram highlighted the temporality of the view outside the window. Unlike walking where the transition of the view is relatively slow and I could stop to look around or look closer and get a feel for the area, there is distance imposed by being inside the tram. The interaction is cut by the movement of the vehicle. I could not help but think of why there were no photographic images of the Igorots in the official documents, photographs, and postcards of the Ghent exposition. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible that someone may have taken their photograph and the fragmented image of the Igorots in Ghent can still be completed.

1913 Amsterdam First Dutch Shipping Exhibition

The First Dutch Shipping Exhibition[105] in Amsterdam coincided with the Ghent Exposition in 1913. The Shipping Exhibition was from June to October 1913 and the Ghent International Exposition was from April to November. The only link to the Amsterdam Exposition that I found in the Schneidewind Collection was a list printed on company stationery

[105] Or 1913 Amsterdam Exposition.

that included Amsterdam among the areas where the Igorots were supposed to be exhibited. The faint trace made me question whether or not the Igorots were exhibited in Amsterdam.

I did an online search on Delpher,[106] the newspaper digital archive of the Netherlands as well as in the collections of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision through the CLARIAH Media Suite[107] but the search did not yield a significant result about the presence of the Igorots in the 1913 Amsterdam Exhibition. I also visited the National Archives in The Hague to see if they have a collection related to the 1913 Shipping Exposition that would yield some photographs. There was one collection related to the Shipping Exposition but there were only two picture postcards in the file. The first postcard featured a boat with the acronym 'ENTOS' while the second featured soldiers in formation on the street. There were documents in Dutch about the shipping company transactions, exchanges, and reports.

Given the absence of a strong trace to prove whether or not the Igorots went to the Amsterdam Exhibition, I could only list some possibilities. It may be possible that the itinerary of tour venues on company stationery was printed before the company went on its European exposition tour and they were not able to travel to Amsterdam due to their travails at the Ghent International Exposition. It may also be the case that the Igorots did make it to Amsterdam but were relegated to the sidelines. Nonetheless, even if a lot of puzzle pieces on this part of the tour are missing, it may still be possible to find traces in the future when other documents about the past are made available. For now, the possibility that the Igorots were not able to participate in the 1913 Amsterdam Exhibition is more likely.

Implications of the Private Enterprise of Exhibiting Igorots

The commercialized exhibition of Igorots has heavily impacted the value given to the performance of culture and the relationship between the exposition masters and the Igorots. One layer often overlooked is the image of Igorots as overseas contractual workers. By adding the layer of 'work' to their performance, the imge of the Igorots' as performers becomes inextricably linked to their image as workers. By becoming performance workers, work related issues could be brought to the surface as layers when interacting with their photographic images.

The issue of exploitation frames the image of the Igorots. They were colonial subjects of the U.S. and workers of an American company. Thus, the level of their exploitation was two-

[106] See https://www.delpher.nl/
[107] The site requires an authenticated account. http://mediasuite.clariah.nl/

fold. They were subjugated by a conquering power and taken advantage of by touring company owners. The Igorots may not have been physically coerced to sign their contracts or to work with Schneidewind. It certainly can be said that they were able to exercise their 'agency' in signing contracts for the exhibition tour but the prevailing societal conditions could have created a condition that 'forced' them to repeatedly join the exposition tours. Various forms of abuse and exploitation were documented in reports and photographic images. An account from van Gelder (2015), for example, mentioned that the performers in colonial villages 'worked' from 9:00 in the morning until 11:00 in the evening. Aside from introducing the Igorot and their culture negatively as 'savages,' 'uncivilized,' or even 'cannibals,' the exhibition commercialized the performance of Igorot culture. A report from *The Billboard* indicated that the entrance fee at the Magic City in Paris cost 20 U.S. cents (1 franc) except on Fridays when the entrance fee is raised to $1 (5 francs).[108]

Schneidewind's years of experience in exhibiting the Igorots in the U.S. could have provided him with a set list that ensured a 'sure hit' for spectators. For instance, the climbing of a tree by the Igorot which got a lot of attention in London or dog eating which viewers often found disgusting or controversial. While it is true that Igorots butcher and eat dogs as part of their culture, it is not something that they do on a daily basis. The Igorrote village performance collapsed into a single day of performance the activities that would normally occur over a season or even several seasons in real life. Thus the performances were alienated from the Igorot agricultural and life cycles and found value only in what is 'exotic,' 'controversial,' and marketable to the audience. Afable (2004) noted that the performances in the U.S. expositions became the butt of jokes as stories were shared in the Igorot community that young men acted the part of 'chiefs' and that the Igorot performers devised various ways to get rid of the dog meat as they became fed up with its taste. In the European exposition, the Igorots adjusted the performance of their ritual to suit the host country's customs and laws.

The performance of Igorot culture was commodified for exchange. As a commodity, the performance of culture was subjected to forces of capital and the market such as competition, low cost of production and increased profit. The experiences of the Igorots, from their signed contracts and to the working conditions imposed on them can still be seen in the myriad cases of overseas Filipino workers who see migration or working overseas as a way out of poverty notwithstanding the uncertainties of working abroad.

[108] Rice, H. E. "Amusement Parks in Europe" March 23, 1912. The Billboard. p. 30. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1031435030?accountid=14772

The Igorots can be regarded as among the first overseas Filipino workers. Recreating the image of the Igorot performer as an overseas worker somehow shifts the discussion of the image beyond its cultural boundaries. While I do not wish to delve deeper into the political economy of the exposition, I submit that recognizing the layer of commercialization of the performance of culture would eventually surface the issues of agency and capitalist exploitation of workers. Elison (2015) and Afable (2004) both share the view that because Igorots were able to assert their agency as they performed and willfully decided to join the journey for a fee and sign contracts, they were not "passive and silent participants" (Afable 2004, 448). A copy of a signed contract dated July 17, 1905 in the Schneidewind Collection shows that the contract was written in English and among the provisions was a waiver of liability to Schneidewind's company. At that time, the Igorots were promised payment of 10 pesos[109] per month but a handwritten note added that half of it will be paid to a certain person in their community upon their return. If this was the base pay, then one Friday night ticket ($5) in Magic City covered the monthly wage of an Igorot performer. The issue of exploitation then moves beyond agency to include just compensation and humane treatment.

One particular account in Prentice's (2014) book made me imagine how the Igorots were after lights were turned off and the exposition area was closed for the night: "Several lay awake under the night sky and wept for their loved ones. Others dreamed of the opportunities that lay ahead, the chance to earn real American money, of the things they would buy with it and the ways they would use it to build a better life for their families when they returned" (14). While the story that Prentice shared happened in the U.S., it seems highly possible that the Igorots were driven by the same motivation to join the European exposition.

Conclusion

A photograph is the result of someone being an eyewitness of being present in a specific time and place. But without photographic images, the 'proof' of being present lies in the traces that are available. Fragments of traces can be put together like puzzle pieces to form an image and surface layers. Even if the trace shows a view that is incomplete, it also shows that the view is multifaceted. Barthes (1977) asserted that "the play of presence/absence undermines the character, making of it a simple nub of facets" (63). Barthes described these facets 'simple,' but they add complexity to the interface.

[109] The exchange was about $1 to P2 during that time (Afable 2004).

Assembling the images of the Igorots exhibited from 1911 to 1913 in four major European cities was a daunting task of piecing together fragments of photographic images and traces from various sources. The picture remains incomplete. A lot of data gaps are still waiting to be filled. But the available data allowed me to interact with the image, learn more about their performance, and reflect on similar situations in the present. I realize that if we think of the photograph as a snapshot of a moment then what occurs before or after that moment could be equally interesting. It is capturing the aspect of time and place that makes interaction transcend boundaries. Moving forward, when I look at these places, the imprint that the Igorots were once exhibited there would always be present. Photography has the power to immortalize a represented image on the surface, but the complex layers within should also be interacted with. We surface these layers by digging into the historical context of the photographic image. It is in the cultural history embedded in the layers of the image where we associate ourselves even if we lack a direct connection to those who were photographed.

Conclusion

Pondering on how to better interact with and explore photographic images required me to revisit the image concept. The term ‘image’ has various modalities such as the physical, digital, and imagined. It is an abstraction of what is deemed visual from photographs, pictures, or figures. A focus on the photographic image highlights that likeness seen on a tangible surface such as paper, a billboard, a virtual screen, and even the imagination comes from culturally informed ways of identification and organization of details. Although connected, I make a distinction between the photographic image and the object captured. The object captured is something that was once out there, in a specific time and place. Its photographic image always refers to this something captured, making representation inherent. But the photographic image, being a likeness, retains some characteristics of the object so it can also be seen as an index. As a representation, the photographic image can be considered an image *of* the *other*. The ‘*other’* refers to the object that is seen differently from what it was at the moment of capture. Thus, ‘*of* the *other*’ highlights the layer of interpretation as one engages with the photographic image. As an index, the photographic image can be considered an image *as* the *other*. ‘*As* the *other*’ brings to the fore the resemblance or likeness captured by the photographic image. These two layers of the photographic image are among the many contextual layers brought to the surface during the interaction. Rethinking how we engage with the image in terms of bringing its layers to the surface requires the application of the concept of the interface to the photographic image. The interface, taken from its computational roots, captures that metaphorical space between the photographic image and the viewer where interaction takes place and the negotiation for meaning happens. The image-as-interface utilizes the concept of interface as a metaphor to illustrate the interaction of the image and the viewer in a liminal space where meaning and meaningful engagement are negotiated. It also expands Barthes’ concepts of *punctum* and *studium* and of Benjamin’s dialectical image. The image-as-interface always starts with a detail of the photographic image as a point that marks a contextual layer or an opening beyond the surface. Thus, the image-as-interface is a search through the history, culture, politics, and social economy that make up contextual layers of the photographic image. The image-as-interface is

a way of seeing, thinking, and engaging with the image that gathers relevant aspects of the semiotic and phenomenological traditions of meaning-making.

I used the image-as-interface to bring to the surface the various historical, cultural, political, and socio-economic contexts in my interaction with the photographic images of the Igorots in the 19th- and 20th-century expositions and in processing my experience of being at the places of the expositions. I likewise utilized the image-as-interface to highlight the various layers of the photographic images that I engaged with, the physical images I saw, the mental picture of the photographs I viewed, and the virtual image produced by a navigational device. All of these interactions, provided me a concrete and textured appreciation of the photographic images. My use of the image-as-interface broadened my perspective of engaging with photographic images.

The photographic images of the 1887 Madrid Exposition were showcased in the 2017 Exhibit sponsored by the National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid, Spain. Both the 1887 and 2017 events were state-sponsored, yet they had different goals. The former was aimed to display colonial power; the latter, a critical remembrance of the former. Consequently, each event presents a different construction of the Igorot image. The 1887 Exposition presented the Igorots as the un-Christianized lowest level of Philippine society. The 2017 exposition offered the viewer an opportunity to reflect on how the Igorot image was constructed, from being a savage in one picture to becoming a well-dressed *indio* in another, to show the supposed progress brought about by Imperial Spain in its colonies. By creatively adding a mirror to the set of photographic images, the 2017 exhibit places the viewer in the image. It obligates the viewers to include a self-reflection of their layers as they engage with the image. The 1887 and the 2017 events dealth differently with the notions of sameness and difference. In the 1887 photographic images, various ethnic groups were lumped together, erasing their distinctions and creating sameness on one level, thereby forcing anonymity upon the people exhibited. The 2017 exposition highlighted diversity and thus revealed the multifaceted image of the Igorot and other Filipino groups exhibited in 1887.

The use of digital photographic image provides a different set of affordances and limitations but does not change the constructed image of the Igorot. When seen as constellation of surfaces the digitized pictures could be constructed into various overlays. Even as the constructed image of the ‘savage’ Igorot and the imagined Igorot village were the surface layers of the photographic images, underneath these were the masked layers of the accomplished, learned, and energetic Igorot people who led a complex village life. Navigating the space where the photographic images were taken provided me an additional contextual layer for a deeper

interaction with the images. It brought to the senses a tangible overlap of the past and present dimensions of time and space.

The tour of various European cities from 1911 to 1913 had a different context. The focus shifted from the projection of imperial power to the generation of profit. Nonetheless, the exhibitions still capitalized on the constructed image of the Igorot 'savage.' The photographic images of the Igorot during the tour were constructed to respond to marketing demand in competing with other exhibition groups especially those following a similar narrative: a band of backward, uncivilized, and savage people living as if they were in their own village. With profit-making as the driving objective, the constructed photographic images highlighted, advertised, and represented Igorot 'savageness' as the main product of the Igorrote village. The value of the performance of culture was equated with its capacity to draw a large paying audience. The shift to commercialized exhibitions added another layer to the Igorot image – that of being a performance worker in addition to being a colonial subject. The layer of 'work' added to their performance brought to the surface issues related to overseas workers and broadened the discussion of the image beyond cultural boundaries. The issues of exploitation, agency, just compensation, and humane treatment among others became part of interacting with the Igorot image.

There are still gaps waiting to be filled in this study of the European Exposition of Igorots. Research on this topic has to continue and expand to cover layers or aspects not touched by current scholarship. As I move forward, the imprint of the photographic images of the Igorots exhibited during the 19th and 20th century expositions in Europe will always make its presence felt.

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