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# DOING AESTHETICS AND THE CASE OF MABINI ART

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The valuation of art, far from asserting a subjectivist or otherwise arbitrary normativism, is concerned with the terra firma of facts.

-- Stefan Matuski

"Mabini Art" is commonly known as the paintings that can be bought at low prices in the shops along Mabini street and other parts of Ermita, Manila. The label came from the street, Mabini, where art business began to flourish in the 1950's, and "art," which to the buyers of the products is synonymous with "painting." Because the paintings are easily produced and are reproduced in quantity, many art critics of note, established artists, and wealthy art collectors dismiss Mabini Art as hack work, mediocre art, or simply not art at all. Nevertheless, Mabini Art as a practice of painting has persisted for almost four decades now. Although merely mentioned, if not altogether omitted in Philippine art history books, Mabini Art has a history distinct from (though not unconnected to) what is generally considered "mainstream Philippine painting," with no less than three generations of actively engaged practitioners.<sup>1</sup> As commodity, it has become a very popular decorative item. Its outlets are no longer

confined to the Ermita area. Practically all shopping centers and malls in Metro-Manila today sell Mabini Art, not to mention the commercial establishments in outlying cities such as Olongapo and Angeles.

The present paper aims to provide a more adequate understanding of the artistic nature of Mabini Art by employing a relational axiological aesthetics that is based on socio-historical facts.<sup>2</sup> This aesthetic method will be applied in the following manner: (1) definition of the aesthetic criteria or valuational criteria derived from actual evaluative terms used by both the artists and the clients in describing Mabini Art; (2) validation or justification of the defined aesthetic criteria. In addition, it is hoped that this explanatory essay will expose the aesthetic and critical flippancy manifested in the derogation or condescension with which Mabini Art has often been met in the academe and in "high society."

The discussion will focus on the art of the third-generation Mabini artists, for it is their works which are commonly called "Mabini Art." The third-generation Mabini artists are those who started painting in Ermita variously between the closing years of the 1970's and the present.

A definition of terms is in order.

"Aesthetic criteria" and "valuational criteria" will be interchangeably used to mean the **defining conditions** of the artness/articity of a class of objects, processes, or acts and the **standards** by which or **scales** along which the artistic qualities of such objects, processes, or acts may be judged or ranked. For instance, craftsmanship (valuational criterion) serves as a basis for scaling degrees of crudity or delicacy (artistic quality).

"Artistic qualities" and "valuational qualities" both refer to the perceptible traits of actually existing or occurring **specific** artistic objects, processes, or acts which may be ranked along the scales

of valuational criteria. In contradistinction to "aesthetic criteria" or "valuational criteria" which function as abstract measuring standard-scales, "artistic qualities" or "valuational qualities" are the concretely manifest characteristics which are evaluated. For instance, "recognizable" as an artistic quality exhibited by two different paintings may be judged as "more recognizable" or "less recognizable" relative to each other on the basis of the valuational criterion mimesis.

"Valuation" refers to the task of **defining** the aesthetic criteria — that is, in the words of Stefan Morawski, "the discovery of the **common distinguishing traits** for a class of objects called works of art."<sup>3</sup> It is a mode of inquiry fundamental to Aesthetics as a discipline.

"Evaluation" is restricted to **judging** or **ranking** artistic qualities, given the valuational criteria. As such, it is properly a function of art criticism.

The term "Mabini Art" will be used in this paper to refer to the art of the third-generation Mabini artists.

Now to do the aesthetic of Mabini Art.

In order to avoid an arbitrary imposition of aesthetic criteria on Mabini Art, I shall set about by deriving the aesthetic criteria from the words actually used in describing the artistic qualities which the Mabini artists aim at and the consumers look for in a Mabini painting.

When the Mabini artists of today are asked what qualities must a painting possess to be considered good, invariably their answers would be "pulido: siguradong hagod o siguradong pahid ng pintura, tamang timpla ng pintura; binutingting o binusisi; kuhang-kuha o kaya'y kopyang-kopya." (finished to the utmost nicety; sure strokes; right color mix; meticulously done; close resemblance or faithful copy.) The dealers would give the same answer when asked the same question. As for the custom-

ers, a good painting, which is what they are looking for, is "yung makapagpapaganda ng tahanan o dekorasyon sa dingding na babagay sa kasangkapan, halimbawa sa sala; yung maganda and kumbinasyon ng kulay; yung tamang-tama ang ayos — balanse at may pagkakatugma ang mga porma; yung madaling maintindihan — hindi abstrak." (...one that could beautify a house or a wall decoration that would match the furniture; one that has a good color combination; one that has balance and harmony; one that is easily understood — has a readily recognizable subject).

Such descriptions are evaluative in character in that they are applied to ranked artistic qualities possessed by good Mabini paintings. These artistic qualities occur in various degrees among Mabini paintings. They correspond to the following aesthetic criteria: workmanship, virtuosity, attractiveness, time and effort invested, imitation, and familiarity. Thus "pulido" is the highest degree of workmanship; "siguradong hagod" is a concrete manifestation of virtuosity; "tamang timpla ng pintura," a proof of attractiveness; "binutingting," the amount of time and effort invested; "kuhang-kuha," success in imitation; and "madaling maintindihan," familiarity.

Although these artistic qualities can be mentioned (and in fact, are usually mentioned) in great specificity, they are mostly allied rather than separately occurring qualities. For instance, "pulido," requires the "siguradong hagod;" "binutingting" usually occurs with the "pulido;" "tamang timpla ng pintura" may be seen independently of the other qualities, especially in the case of the "abstract" paintings, but may also be considered a requirement of "kuhang-kuha;" and "madaling maintindihan" usually comes with "kuhang-kuha."

Similarly, the valuational criteria to which the artistic qualities respectively correspond may appear as discrete categories, yet upon scrutiny they prove to be distinct yet overlapping aesthetic

criteria. The overlaps may be seen in the following: workmanship and virtuosity; virtuosity and imitation; effort invested, imitation, and familiarity; and so on. The workmanship of the product is largely dependent on the degree of skill of the artist; masterful wielding of the brush greatly contributes to imitation; exact imitation demands effort and usually results in familiarity.

A more rigorous pinning down of the heretofore identified overlapping valuational criteria based on the artistic qualities considered by the Mabini artists, the Mabini art dealers, and the consumers of Mabini Art in describing and judging the paintings, reduces the number of aesthetic criteria into four: **craftsmanship, laboriousness, visual appeal, and convention.** They constitute the basic aesthetic criteria of Mabini Art for at least three reasons: one, each can group together two or more specific artistic qualities which are closely related without divesting them of their particularities; two, as a set, the four basic aesthetic criteria can accommodate all the specific artistic qualities and all the specific valuational criteria applied to Mabini Art by the people involved in its production, distribution, and consumption; and three, they constitute a sufficient basis for defining and explaining Mabini Art.

**CRAFTSMANSHIP** directly affects the workmanship of the product. The more "pulido" the work is, the higher the degree of craftsmanship is involved. In fact, Mabini artists and art dealers attribute being "pulido" to the skill of the painter. A great degree of craftsmanship also contributes to the attractiveness of a Mabini painting and is a requirement of imitation or the attainment of faithful likeness. A sufficient degree of craftsmanship is likewise required to establish familiarity, explicitness, or obviousness. The highly valued meticulousness of the product, which is a sign of the time and effort invested by the artist in the work, is also associated with craftsmanship because meticulousness is enhanced by a neat finish.

**LABORIOUSNESS** specifically pertains to the process of painting. It involves the amount of time and effort the artists invest in their work in relation to the envisioned finished product which must be one that is meticulously done. This may depend on the skill of the artist. Between two artists of unequal degree of skill, less time and effort are required of the more skilled one to accomplish the same task. However, when applied to the individual artist regardless of the degree of skill he or she possesses, a laborious task means investing more of his or her time and effort in a particular painting than in other paintings. Thus laboriousness involves extra time and effort on the part of any Mabini artist who wishes to produce a detailed painting. A painting that involved much time and effort is described as "pinagtiyagaan," "binusisi," or "binutingting." Although laboriousness is often associated with the skill of the artist because meticulousness, the exhibited characteristic of the former in the finished product, often comes out "pulido," laboriousness is quite distinct from craftsmanship. A painting may be meticulously done but not "pulido" in some cases.

In cases where "binusisi" and "pulido" occur together, the painting is considered attractive. **Attractiveness** as a function of laboriousness is therefore contingent on the combination of "binusisi" and "pulido." **Attractiveness**, which main valuational qualities are "tamang timpla ng pintura," "magandang kumbinasyon ng kulay," "balanse at may pagkakatugma ang mga porma," is a direct function of visual appeal.

**VISUAL APPEAL** is one of the two most inclusive aesthetic criteria—the other being **convention**—of the four basic aesthetic criteria of Mabini Art. It can accommodate all the specific valuational qualities actually applied by the people concerned about this art and all the valuational criteria to which they pertain. Thus, besides having to do with the above-mentioned valuational qualities, it also involves "madaling maintindihan,"

"kopyang-kopya," and "nagpapaganda ng tahanan;" and besides time and effort invested, workmanship, and virtuosity, the other aesthetic criteria—**attractiveness, familiarity, and imitation**—can be considered as functions of visual appeal in that they can all be subsumed under it.

It may be worthwhile to note at this point that craftsmanship, laboriousness, and visual appeal do not only involve various overlapping combinations of the particular aesthetic criteria, but also emphasize different aspects of Mabini Art. **Craftsmanship** and **laboriousness** pertain to **execution** of the work or the act of painting, while **visual appeal** has to do mainly with **appreciation** of the qualities of the paintings.

Finally, **CONVENTION** is not only an all-inclusive basic aesthetic criterion of Mabini Art but the most pervasive one. It applies both to the production and the consumption of the paintings, that is, in the process of painting and in the act of appreciation. As norms they govern the choice of the medium, the repertoire of subjects and techniques, the styles, the modes of painting, and the artist's manner of acquiring painting skills.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, convention is at the core of the very concept of art that operates in Mabini Art. Aside from this, convention also determines the commercial aspect of Mabini Art—the distribution and marketing of paintings, the market value and price ranges of paintings, the market trends, the business relationship between the painters and the dealers, etc.<sup>5</sup> However, for present purposes, I shall deal only with two of the six specific aesthetic criteria determined by convention, namely, **familiarity** and **imitation**. I have chosen familiarity and imitation because in addition to being normative criteria of aesthetic appreciation and evaluation among the Mabini artists and Mabini Art clients (like the other four aesthetic criteria), they also define the continuum of the modes of painting in Mabini Art, namely, **stereotyping, reproduction, and replication**.

**Stereotyping** involves establishing formulas which ingredients are used as the major elements of the paintings belonging to a particular class, e.g., landscape. The works are not identical but are the same in character. Only minor variations are done in the particular paintings; no radical alterations are done on the major elements. Thus landscape consists of seven major elements: (1) one or more coconut trees on a riverbank that is partly shown on one side of the foreground; (2) a calm river that stretches from the foreground towards the background; (3) an islet found halfway the river in the direction opposite the foreground riverbank; (4) a mountain or a mountain range with clouds above forming the background; (5) one or more *banca*s found on the river or on the riverbank of the islet; (6) one or more nipa huts and trees on the islet; and (7) a person or two rowing the *banca*s or a person tending a *banca*. Variations in reproducing the stereotyped landscape may be done in the following manner: (1) the number and distribution of coconut trees may be varied so long as at least one coconut tree is present; (2) the river must always be calm, otherwise the overall effect of the picture would be dramatically changed; (3) the islet must not be left out, for the middle ground which it marks would be undefined and the composition would be significantly affected; (4) the shape of the mountain or mountains may be varied as long as it/they are seen from afar, stretching along the horizon and partly covered by the things located in the islet; the sun may be hidden behind the mountain or the clouds, or, it may be shown rising or setting, but the details of the mountain/s must remain indistinct; (5) the *banca* may be depicted from different angles, whether being rowed or parked on the riverbank; (6) the nipa hut and trees are found together with or without other things such as a fish net, some more coconut trees, etc.; the trees other than the coconut may be of various kinds, so long as their thick foliage is emphasized so that it would serve as an ornamental background to the nipa hut; (7) the inclusion of the human figure is optional; whenever present, it is very small and is reduced to the basic shape of a man wearing hat and the clothes of a typical

fisherman in a village.<sup>6</sup>

Other stereotyped features of the landscape, in the sense of standardized characteristics, are coloring patterns, texture, style of representation, and composition. Normally, two to four hues are used one of which dominates the picture. The dominance of one hue is to a great extent effected by the tonal gradation which covers a wide area in the painting. Texture is generally smooth and is enhanced also by the gradation of tonal values. Naturalism is the style of representation involving one-point perspective, foreshortening and use of light and shade to create volume. In terms of composition, symmetrical balance is obtained when the picture plane is cut diagonally. Horizontally, it may be divided into three main parts: the foreground which is marked by the big coconut tree(s); the middle ground which contains the islet and the nipa hut(s); and the background which consists of the mountain(s), the sky with the clouds, and sometimes the sun.

The above illustration shows that stereotyping as a mode of painting reinforces shareability of images and structures between the Mabini artists and their clients. The artists know what are expected of their work and they fulfill these expectations. Only familiar images and ideas are used which actually define the types of paintings. Thus, stereotyping as a mode of painting functions as convention also in Cavetti's sense of "represent(ing) familiar shared images and meanings" and "assert(ing) an ongoing continuity of values."<sup>7</sup>

The aesthetic criteria familiarity and imitation operating as modes of painting can be envisaged as a continuum between two poles; one pole is that of stereotyping based on familiarity, which we have already discussed, and the other pole consisting of a subcontinuum between reproduction and replication, with the latter occupying the extreme pole.

**Reproduction** as a mode of painting involves reproducing the likeness of the art work proper,

e.g., the picture in the painting. The size and the medium may not be the same as those of the model, such as a photograph-reproduction of a painting, or a copy of an oil painting in tinting color. **Replication**, on the other hand, involves copying exactly not only the artistic aspects proper but also the physical aspects such as the size and the medium used in the model. Underlying both **reproduction** and **replication** is the aesthetic criterion **imitation**, which is understood as a copy of appearance.

The process of **reproduction** usually involves two steps, namely, drawing and painting. Sometimes it involves only painting, as when practiced by seasoned painters. Drawing may be done using any one of the three methods: scaling, using a pantograph, or the freehand technique.

In scaling, a grid is drawn on the picture to be copied and the squares in it are numbered. Another grid with the same number of squares is drawn on a bigger ground, usually a primed canvas, and then the squares are numbered similarly. Afterwards the lines and forms that fall within each square of the smaller grid are copied in the corresponding squares in the bigger grid. The result is an enlarged copy. The "reference," i.e., the picture to be copied, is normally smaller than the copy to be made, especially in portraiture where the "reference" is usually a 3 1/2" x 5" - photograph.

When using a pantograph, the picture can be copied on various scales without using grids. The pantograph is used like a compass. One of its legs has a point which is rested on the particular figure to be copied, while the other leg is controlled by an adjustable scale and to it is attached the pencil used in drawing. It is said that copying with the aid of a pantograph takes less effort and time.

In the freehand method, the artists rely on the accuracy of their sight, their highly developed sense of proportion and masterful skill in drawing. As the

term suggests, there is no need for drawing aids.

After drawing the figures, the artist proceeds to paint. This involves copying the colors as closely as possible, simulating the texture of the "reference," and filling in the details.

As mentioned earlier, the drawing step may be skipped. This manner of reproduction, freehand painting, is even more demanding than freehand drawing. Because there is no preliminary drawing to guide the painting, only the virtuosos can attain "kuhang-kuha" using this method.

**Replication** is virtually the same as **reproduction**, only it has the more stringent requirement of producing a replica or an exact copy of the "reference" rather than just a copy which may vary in terms of likeness. Thus, **replication** uses the same methods as those of reproduction with the differentia of using the same medium as that of the "reference" and producing the same size. Moreover, when producing replicas, the Mabini artists are concerned mainly with the reproduction aspect of replication, for the replication of their own work is just contingent on the availability of the same medium. For this reason, we do not need to discuss the processes again.

In practice, only "one's own works" are replicated. Replication is done only when there is a demand in the art market. "One's own work" could be the artist's invention or a reproduction of a work by another artist. Except for the exposed single case of Mario Casafias who replicated works by other artists, original works of other artists -- whether foreign or local -- are not replicated. They are only reproduced. The reproductions bear the signature of the artist who reproduced the work. Sometimes, in addition to the signature of the Mabini artist, a reproduction also bears the name of the artist whose work is copied. The reproductions are considered "original" by the Mabini artists in the sense that they executed the work.



Thus far, distinctions have been made among **stereotyping**, **reproduction**, and **replication** which define the continuum between the poles of familiarity and exact imitation. The relationships among these three modes of painting may be summed up thus: (1) stereotyping does not entail either reproduction or replication; however, stereotyping also operates in both reproduction and replication, particularly in the choice of "references;" (2) replication entails reproduction, but not vice versa; replication is a function of reproduction.

In the foregoing discussion, the aesthetic criteria of Mabini Art have been identified based on the words the artists and the consumers actually use in describing the artistic qualities. Although these words as used suggest the degree of fulfillment of the aesthetic criteria pertaining to Mabini Art, hence evaluative, I would like to emphasize that the aesthetic criteria themselves as identified are not meant to be evaluative. If they had to be distinguished from other aesthetic criteria, the distinction must only be a descriptive one, that is, a matter of difference not in any way qualifying either aesthetic criteria as superior or inferior. This deliberate avoidance of honorific aesthetics in favor of socio-cultural justification of aesthetic criteria makes way for a more adequate understanding of Mabini Art.

Now to validate the aesthetic criteria of Mabini Art.

It has been noted that the four basic aesthetic criteria — craftsmanship, laboriousness, visual appeal, and convention — primarily have to do with the **execution** and the **appreciation** aspects of painting rather than with conceptualization. It is the act of painting with a view to seeing the work visually appealing when completed which primarily concerns the artist. On the part of the consumers of the paintings, they are primarily concerned with how the painting looks, the forms and colors as visual stimuli, rather than what the painting says or whether or not it says something at

all. In this sense we can say that Mabini Art is appearance-oriented rather than idea-oriented.

The aesthetic criteria are primarily determined by the following factors: the purpose of the Mabini artists for painting; their educational and personal background; their attitude towards art and life in general; the function the painting is expected to fulfill and for which it is also patronized. These factors are reinforced by the marginalized position of the Mabini artists in the Philippine artworld.

The Mabini artists paint primarily to earn a living. They are concerned with producing paintings that would sell. Most of them come from poor families and have obtained very little schooling. They lack background in art history and theory and are not inclined to treat art intellectually. Having a very limited academic and stylistic vocabulary and being treated as outsiders by the dominant artworld, they rely on their discovered or acquired skill in painting and cater to a different clientele.

Like their clients, they consider painting mainly as a decorative item, and thus are always concerned with making their work visually appealing. To achieve this, labor and skill are necessary. Labor depends only on the artist's diligence and patience, while skill, which is partly a natural potential, is also partly developed. Skill is acquired or developed through practical learning: by imitating the actual process of painting and the techniques of friends and relatives who already know how to paint. Through constant practice, virtuosity may be attained.

Because the paintings must sell, the artists must satisfy the taste of the customers. The customers share certain conventional general ideas about painting which are distinct from those of the members of the institutionalized artworld, i.e., the academics, and/or the aesthetes, and/or the economic elite. These conventions, ideas, and expectations, which determine the demand in the Mabini art market, are fulfilled, reinforced, and enhanced by means of stereotyping, reproduction, and repli-

cation, which themselves have become conventional modes of painting in Mabini Art.

Conventions in Mabini Art emphasize the external, the physical, and the practical aspects of art. To both artists and clients convention dictates that a real painting is an oil painting, or one that simulates the effect of oil, that it must be framed when hung, and must bear an artist's signature. These practices have been established for centuries all over the world and have become a very popular idea of painting. Externality is closely linked with the visual and practical orientation of the Mabini artists and those who patronize their products. A painting is seen more as an object performing the physical-aesthetic function of decoration rather than a disembodied idea to be contemplated upon. The making of a painting could be a source of income and at the same time a source of aesthetic pleasure. It is a work-leisure activity, an enjoyable means of living. This attitude towards art is consistent with the artist's down-to-earth attitude towards life in general. They seem to take things lightly and see what they can do when problems arise. Self-development is not seen as a problem, not a responsibility to religiously attend to. Personal recognition is not their primary concern but financial success. They do not regard painting as a spiritual or a mental activity, or something "noble" which they must engage in to develop their character. A painting is an ordinary activity which serves a very practical end. The product of this activity may be admired but is generally not regarded as something to venerate and preserve at all costs.

In the light of the explanation of the artistic basis of Mabini Art, it is worthwhile to note that the imposition of such "high art" aesthetic criteria as "originality" and "uniqueness" on Mabini Art is invalid. Even such categories as "high art" and "popular art" which are based on a hierarchical and honorific aesthetics lose their ground.

The direct relation between uniqueness and artistic value stems from the concept that a painting is a personal expression of an idea, or a feeling, or an expression of the artist. Furthermore, it is based on the assumption that each person/artist is a unique individual and this individuality of the painter is embodied in the painting. While this criterion may be applicable in the context of painting-as-art as an end in itself, we may recall the following reasons why they are not relevant to Mabini Art: (1) for the Mabini artist, painting is not just an enjoyable activity (an aesthetic activity) but foremost a means of living; (2) Mabini painting as a decorative object for its users does not require uniqueness; (3) the Mabini artist does not put primacy on development of his/her individuality; (4) his/her concept of painting is based primarily on the possession of skill in executing a work rather than on the conception of an idea. It is therefore not surprising that signature in Mabini painting may be real or fictitious. Signature in Mabini Art is more of a convention than a signifier of identity. The artist is not particular about authorship except when a particular style, or a technique, or a characteristic that has been identified with him/her has become popular in the market.

"Originality" as an aesthetic issue raised against Mabini Art has to do with the practice of reproduction and replication. Imitation, which is the aesthetic criterion underlying these modes of painting, is anathema to advocates of originality in painting. Not only is an imitation regarded as having a lower artistic value than the original, the occurrence of a replica (exact copy) is almost always a threat to the owner of the original. Authentication of painting has become a practice in the "high artworld" as a result of rampant forgery or fraudulent replication. Presumably, there is something important in the original which makes it more valuable than its copy.

Two things ascribed to the original assume particular importance in the case of painting: (1) its

being the first in the chronology of creation of a set of similar things; and (2) genuine authorship.

As regards the first, the Mabini artist does not consider important which among the replicas or the reproductions was made first. This is because all the replicas are done by the same Mabini artist, and as long as he or she executes the work, the copy is considered "original." As for the clients of Mabini Art, they patronize the paintings despite the many reproductions, and in fact, they often look for something similar to the painting they have seen in a friend's house.

The paintings of Mabini artists cannot be questioned of genuine authorship because the artists do not claim originality in the sense of having originated the idea of a reproduction. It may be recalled that they do not replicate (they only reproduce) works by other artists, and in some cases, they put the signature of the artist whose work they copied together with theirs. In many cases, they put only their signature to signify that they executed the painting. The Mabini artists cannot be accused of fraudulent authorship because, surely, an "old masters" copy cannot be mistaken for the original. Such copy is not a replica, and mistaking it for an original betrays the critic's ignorance of basic features (e.g., size, medium, etc.) and of facts about the original for which he/she should be faulted, not the Mabini artist. The consumers of Mabini Art, on the other hand, do not expect to find original European paintings in the Mabini Art market. Anybody who is interested in buying an "old masters" is certain that it is a copy, not an original. In fact, one reason why he/she goes to Ermita to buy an "old masters" is because he/she cannot afford an original!

The aesthetic of Mabini Art is justified by its own artworld. The casual dismissal of Mabini Art as second-rate art, or prostituted art, or residual art deserving no more than a mention in Philippine art history books reveals the academic bias for the arts of the galleries and museums. If such arts be

preferred to Mabini Art, the preference gains validity only on grounds of personal taste, not by virtue of some superior aesthetics. Aesthetic criteria are not honorific. That is because doing sound aesthetics is valuative, not evaluative. By applying this sound aesthetic method we can show why Mabini Art and the Mabini Artists do not deserve the stigma of cultural inferiority which it/they suffer before the dominant (and domineering) artworld in the Philippines.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Pearl E. Tan, *Mabini Art: History, Practice, and Aesthetics*, Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1992, p.78.

<sup>2</sup> Axiological aesthetics deals with theories of artistic values. The kind of relational axiological-aesthetic method which I employ in this paper is socio-culturally oriented. It is an aesthetic method that recognizes objectivity in relativity. For discussion of various axiological paradigms including other types of relationism, see Stefan Morawski, *Inquiries into the Fundamentals of Aesthetics* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1974), pp.46-57.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p.6

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Tan, *opcit.*, pp.83-92.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, pp.110-119

<sup>6</sup> Illustrations taken from Tan, *ibid.*, pp. 95-97. For more illustrations of stereotyping in Mabini Art, see pp.100-106.

<sup>7</sup> John Cawelti, "The Concept of Formula in the Study of Popular Literature," *Journal of Popular Culture* 3 (Winter 1969): 385.