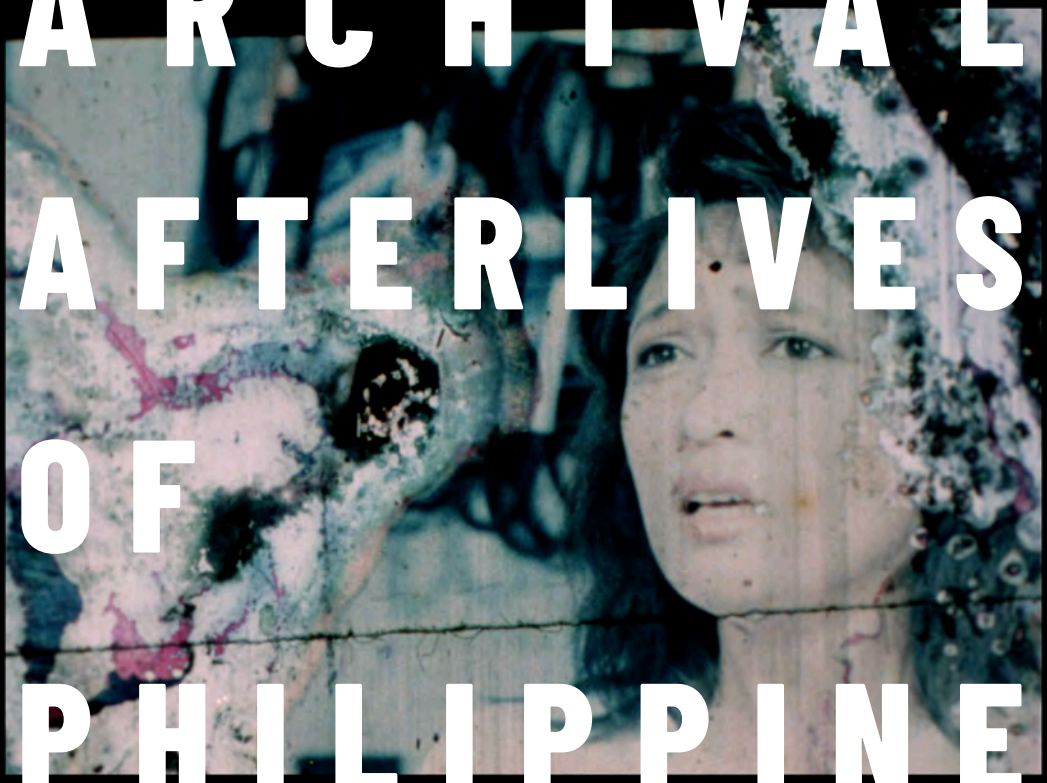
THE ARCHIVAL AFTERLIVES OF PHILIPPINE CINEMA



BLISS CUA LIM

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A CAMERA OBSCURA BOOK

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To Joya, Bella, Vallie, Alyssa, and Haru,
for their sustaining love

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

ABS-CBN	A Philippine broadcast media conglomerate named for the 1957 merger of the Alto Broadcasting System (ABS) with the Chronicle Broadcasting Corporation (CBN)
BNFI	Bureau of National and Foreign Information
BRMPT	Board of Review for Motion Pictures and Television
CCP	Cultural Center of the Philippines
ECP	Experimental Cinema of the Philippines
FAP	Film Archives of the Philippines (1981–85)
FDCP	Film Development Council of the Philippines
FIP	Film Institute of the Philippines, founded in 1956 by Ben Pinga
LVN	Pictures, a major film studio founded in 1938
MIFF	Manila International Film Festival
MISD (or PIA-MISD)	Management Information System Division of the Philippine Information Agency
MOWELFUND	Movie Workers Welfare Foundation, Inc. (formerly Movie Workers Welfare Fund)
MPD (or PIA-MPD)	Motion Picture Division of the Philippine Information Agency
MTRCB	Movie and Television Review and Classification Board
NCCA	National Commission for Culture and the Arts
NFAP (or NFAP/PFA)	National Film Archives of the Philippines, established in 2011 and renamed the Philippine Film Archive in 2018
NFSA	National Film and Sound Archive of Australia
NMPC	National Media Production Center
PFA	Philippine Film Archive (see NFAP/PFA)
PIA	Philippine Information Agency
PMO	Privatization and Management Office
SEAPAVAA	South East Asia–Pacific Audio Visual Archives Association
SOFIA	Society of Filipino Archivists for Film (formerly Society of Film Archivists)
UP	University of the Philippines

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Portions of this book were published in previous forms. The epilogue's analysis of *Pepot Artista* draws on an earlier version in a different form, "Pepot and the Archive: Cinephilia and the Archive Crisis of Philippine Cinema," a short essay that appeared in *Flow* 12, no. 3 (July 2, 2010),

https://www.flowjournal.org/. Chapter 1 is an expanded version of "A Tale of Three Buildings: The National Film Archive, Marcos Cultural Policy, and Anarchival Temporality," published in the anthology *Beauty and Brutality: Manila and Its Global Discontents*, edited by Martin F. Manalansan IV, Robert Diaz, and Rolando B. Tolentino (Temple University Press, 2023). Chapter 2 is a revised version of a prior article, "Fragility, Perseverance, and Survival in State-Run Philippine Archives," which first appeared in *Plaridel* 15, no. 2 (December 2018): 1–40. I am grateful to Temple University and the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication for permission to publish these earlier pieces in their present form in this book.

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INTRODUCTION

Keywords for Philippine Cinema's Archival Afterlives

I remember being told by a librarian at the Library of Congress's Motion Picture and Television Reading Room in 2012 that its collection included a preservation copy of Vicente Salumbides and Manuel Conde's *Ibong Adarna* (Adarna bird; 1941) on nitrate.[1] Discovering the whereabouts of the Philippines' last known nitrate film (in an American archive, not a domestic one), coupled with the realization that I would never be able to see it projected in its original format (preservation copies are unavailable for research access) confirmed film historian Clodualdo del Mundo Jr.'s painful insight concerning "the research difficulties that a scholar in Filipino cinema will have to face." He laments, "There are so many . . . films that are either irretrievably lost or totally inaccessible," either because the last print of a canonical film is in a foreign archive or because "the film no longer exists; the negatives are gone and no positive print remains." In the absence of available video copies, one must resort to studying lost films via production stills and secondary sources.[2]

Years later, when I emailed the Library of Congress to ask what nitrate elements of *Ibong Adarna* it held, an archivist responded that none of the library's databases showed a film print of that title.[3] Searching my records of that 2012 research visit, I found nothing to confirm my initial recollection. I must have conflated Filipino archivist Arnulfo "Mack" Junio's mention of a surviving nitrate copy of *Ibong Adarna* at the Film Archives of LVN Pictures, the Golden Age major studio that produced the film, with memories of seeing other nitrate titles in the catalog of the Library of

Congress.[4] Was it all just a false memory brought on by wishful thinking that a Filipino film still survived on nitrocellulose stock?[5]

I began reaching out to contacts in the Philippine archive world to ascertain whether the LVN copy Junio wrote about in 2003 still existed. This was one of many moments when my research for this book took on an investigative, almost "whodunit," quality, especially since the trail of many defunct institutional archives had gone cold. At the archives of the media conglomerate ABS-CBN (named for the 1957 merger of the Alto Broadcasting System with the Chronicle Broadcasting Corporation), I spoke at last with archivist Julie Galino.[6] Galino, a former Film Archives supervisor at LVN, recalled that although the nitrate dupe negative of *Ibong Adarna* was still in good condition at the end of its 2005 restoration, a safe storage facility could not be found for it: the LVN Pictures laboratory closed in 2005, the Philippine Information Agency's Motion Picture Division (PIA-MPD) had been abolished the previous year, and the ABS-CBN Film Archives declined to house (notoriously flammable) nitrate in its vaults, fearful of jeopardizing other holdings. *Ibong Adarna*'s dupe negative, the last Filipino nitrate film in existence, the very copy Junio mentioned in 2003, was disposed of shortly after the restoration two years later.[7] My belated discovery that the last copy of *Ibong Adarna* on nitrate was gone—fifteen years after the fact—hit me with full force, as though the film had just been destroyed. In hindsight, I understand this experience (of trickster memory and belated epiphany) as attesting to the unsettling latency, the delayed impact, of many of the historical events that move us.[8] This scene of wishful misremembering was my own unintended, personal response to archival precarity.[9] It resonates with Tina Takemoto's queer archival precept of "acknowledging how our precarious relationship to enigmatic materials may lead to projections, misperceptions, revelations," and "productive detours."[10] I reflect on the medial materiality of my own restored copy of *Ibong Adarna*—a digital movie file that originated in a VHS tape—in the postscript to this introduction.

Historically, advocates of audiovisual archiving have fought a losing battle to preserve what remains of Philippine cinema.[11] Of more than 350 films produced before the outbreak of World War II, only 5 complete films from the American colonial period survive, all feature-length films produced in Manila using the official national language, Tagalog-based Filipino.[12] The archival vacuum that surrounds vernacular filmmaking from regions outside the national capital is even more acute: to take only

one example, the Visayan-language films of the Cebuano film industry are considered a "lost cinema," with only a handful of titles available, the earliest dating from 1969.[13] Most extant titles survive primarily in analog or digital video form, countless film reels having been melted for silver or sold by the ton for other uses.[14] That no nitrate elements of a domestically produced Filipino film are known to exist is an exceptionally bleak statistic—even by comparison to the dismal survival rates of nitrate cinema worldwide[15]—and functions as a kind of shorthand for the archival paucity that subtends Philippine cinema. Resisting the fetishization of lost filmic objects that such lacunae might provoke, historians of Philippine cinema—such as Nick Deocampo, Paul Grant, and Misha Anissimov—have drawn on paratextual sources and ephemera as crucial sources of archival knowledge.[16] Their approach resonates with Giuliana Bruno's elaboration of an "archeological intertextual" approach to archival lacunae. Paraphrasing Bruno, while the film might be lost, "the paratext can be found" in film magazines, publicity materials, and the paper trails of contractual agreements, censorship, and correspondence.[17]

AN ANARCHIVAL CONDITION

The dwindling number of surviving Filipino films has everything to do with the historically short-lived nature of the country's government-funded audiovisual archives, compounded by a dearth of funding, a lack of political will, and the inevitable deterioration of media formats and carriers.[18] The foremost example of the ephemerality of state film archiving initiatives is the first Film Archives of the Philippines (FAP), which lasted about five years, from 1981 to 1986.[19] Established by the Marcos dictatorship in 1981 and subsumed under the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) and, later, the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines (ECP), the country's founding national Film Archives shuttered shortly after the regime's ouster by the People Power Revolution that took place along the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) in 1986. As elaborated in chapter 3, the 1986 EDSA uprising ushered in the presidency of Corazon "Cory" Cojuanco-Aquino and the withering of the FAP. This was followed by twenty-five years of state neglect that irreversibly damaged the majority of the Philippines' film holdings. In those gap years a nongovernmental organization, the Society for Film Archivists, founded in 1993 and later

renamed the Society of Filipino Archivists for Film (SOFIA), spearheaded film preservation and restoration efforts and called for the establishment of a national audiovisual archive.[20]

In 2011, the National Film Archives of the Philippines (NFAP) was revived under the auspices of the Film Development Council of the Philippines (FDCP).[21] The archival mandate of this industry-focused state film agency consists of a single sentence.[22] Historically, the FDCP's weak archival mandate has meant that the degree to which the state film council pursues or neglects audiovisual archiving is at the discretion of the particular FDCP chair appointed by the sitting Philippine president. Upon President Rodrigo Duterte's election in 2016, the NFAP was deprioritized by the FDCP and rebranded the Philippine Film Archive (PFA) in 2018, its pace of restorations and activities slowing markedly.[23] The PFA remains on uncertain ground, the NFAP having been reestablished without the security of legislation to ensure ample funding, autonomous governance, and a permanent repository for the archive—all long-standing demands voiced by advocates and stakeholders. Bernadette Rose Alba Patino, a former archivist at the NFAP/PFA, offers this trenchant critique: "The lack of financial investment, consistent experienced and knowledgeable leadership, and sheer political will to establish a permanent archival facility to house FDCP's holdings—a crucial project that has languished for nearly a decade—continues to put all collections at risk. Such shortcomings render the vast majority of collections inaccessible to the public. Likewise, little has been done to address the idle progress in developing staff, infrastructure, and access points since the inception of FDCP's archiving program in 2011."[24]

As Patino and other critics have noted, plans to establish a permanent edifice for the national audiovisual collection have been floated by various state entities since at least the 1980s; as of this writing, none have come to fruition.[25] Lacking a permanent institutional space and a firm legislative mandate, the long-term prospects of the reinvented PFA (née NFAP), regardless of regime change and short-term presidential appointees to key film posts, are not assured.[26] Historically, permanence and sustainability are the most urgent and most enduring problems for state-funded Philippine film archives. The still-unfolding story of the first FAP's death and the uncertain afterlife of its successor, the NFAP/PFA, have broad parallels with the tragic dissolution of other key government media collections.[27]

I characterize this situation—the institutional precarity, scarcity, and circumscribed circulation of Philippine cinematic history—as an *anarchival condition*. Jacques Derrida's "archive fever" names the internal contra-

diction that burns at the heart of every archive and "threatens . . . every archival desire," underscoring the inevitable destruction, forgetfulness, and loss that "menace" the institutional drive to preserve and remember. Derrida's discussion of Freud's death drive reads: "The death drive is above all anarchivic. . . . It will always have been archive-destroying."[28] Archive fever both constitutes and consumes archival aspirations: "There would indeed be no archive desire without radical finitude, without the possibility of a forgetfulness which does not limit itself to repression."[29] Drawing on Derrida, Akira Mizuta Lippit defines the anarchive as the necessary complement to the archive, the inevitability of loss that shadows forms of historical survival. For Lippit, the prefix *cine* in *cinema* refers not only to movement but also to cinders, the ashes to which photochemical celluloid will inevitably be reduced. Deterioration, degeneration, and ruin constitute every archive's anarchival shadow.[30] The range of anarchival conditions with which all memory institutions necessarily contend include the ever-present possibility of loss, decay, or destruction; the scarcity of surviving works; the instability or unsustainability of institutional collections; and restricted access. Such challenges and constraints are anarchival in the sense of running contrary to notions of perpetual preservation and untrammeled retrieval. The Philippines' history of collapsed or endangered film archives directly contradicts the fantasy of archival permanence; I refer to this as an anarchival condition.

Even under the best possible storage conditions, with temperature and humidity regulated, the temporality of film preservation is one that continually defers an inevitable process of decay.[31] Paolo Cherchi Usai cautions that the fight against deterioration and obsolescence can never be won, whether on analog or digital media, while Ray Edmondson emphasizes that preservation is a perpetually unfinished endeavor that is meaningless without access: "Nothing has ever been preserved—it is only being preserved."[32]

THE POLITICS OF ARCHIVES

Constrained access to a severely attenuated corpus of Philippine cinema means that social subjectivity, cultural production, and historical knowledge are forged in the absence of a widely circulating reservoir of domestically produced films, that is, within a profoundly anarchival media horizon. The social subjectivities and political uses of cinema that might

have arisen within the ambit of an abundant, readily available Philippine cinematic archive are a matter of conjecture. What worldings could have emerged if more Filipina/os and Filipinx,[33] both within the *bayan* [homeland] and without, understood themselves, in Dylan Rodríguez's words, as "both a direct descendant and vexed inheritor of the legacies of U.S. conquest, colonization, enslavement, and neoliberal ('multicultural') incorporation"?[34]

As Resil B. Mojares demonstrates, much of "traditional Filipino heritage" and even the Philippines' Anglicized name were inventions of American rule. We are confronted with the ineluctably colonial origins of Philippine memory institutions like the National Archives, the National Library, and the National Museum, all of which evolved from American entities founded between 1900 and 1901. Mojares's characterization of nationalism as the outgrowth of colonial state formation emphasizes agency and contingency alongside subjection and dependency: "Filipinism was actively crafted by Filipinos themselves, in ways and for purposes that did not always coincide with U.S. colonial aims," even as "it did not quite suffice for the time (nor does for ours.)"[35]

Like the elided colonial roots of Filipino archiving, Philippine cinema's anarchival situation, shot through with precarity and constrained circulation (ordinary Filipinos cannot readily access their own film history), is a political matter. As Ramon Lobato notes, "Questions of distribution are nothing if not political. If we understand politics as a struggle for power and resources, then distribution is politics at its purest."[36] Applied to media archiving, the necessarily political valence of circulation and the allocation of access can be read in different ways. Archival politics underwrite the official allocation of access; the selective prioritization of certain films for preservation and exhibition; and, conversely, the circumvention, via informal routes, of formal strictures maintained by government agencies, university and private libraries, or media industry archives.[37]

The politics of archives can be symptomatic, on the macro scale, of a dictator's attempts to instrumentalize the cinema or a post-dictatorship state's collusion with the interests of the local elite, leading to the corporate privatization of the (ideologically laden concept of a) "national film heritage." Anarchival politics abet a cultural amnesia about Philippine history that erodes sovereignty in favor of what Vicente L. Rafael calls "white love," contributing to a political nihilism that tolerates rather than resists contemporary forms of state violence.[38] Mike de Leon's short film *Kangkungan* (Summary execution; 2019) makes precisely this argument: forgetting

the abuses enabled by Marcos era martial law (given that documentary footage of this period hardly circulates in the mainstream) fosters national complacency toward the extrajudicial killings normalized by Duterte's necropolitical war on drugs.[39] This critique can be extended to the regime's two-and-a-half-year imposition of martial law on Mindanao (from 2016 to 2019), the controversial Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, and the 2021 abrogation of the defense agreement protecting the academic freedom of the University of the Philippines (UP).[40] Widespread cultural amnesia and revisionist histories regarding the Marcos dictatorship are among several precipitating conditions for the election of the late dictator's son, Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr., to the Philippine presidency in May 2022, thirty-six years after his father's regime was ousted from power by a popular revolt of historic dimensions.[41] (Throughout this book, the "Marcos era" and "the dictatorship" refer to the administration of Ferdinand Marcos [senior], who was elected to the presidency in 1965 and who clung to power by declaring martial law in 1972, the beginning of the Marcos dictatorship.)

Over the course of this book, I touch on the fate of various state film archives and collections under the presidential administrations of Ferdinand Marcos (1965–86), Cory Aquino (1986–92), Joseph Estrada (1998–2001), Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (2001–10), Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III (2010–16), and Rodrigo Duterte (2016–22). Audiovisual archiving is entangled with the country's political history because national film archives have been directly subordinated to the Philippine presidency, from the FAP in the 1980s to the present-day NFAP/PFA.

As chapter 3 demonstrates, the most significant difference between audiovisual archiving under the Marcos and post-EDSA governments is privatization: following the fall of the dictatorship, the media conglomerate ABS-CBN emerged as the country's dominant archival player. This conspicuous contrast, however, is counterbalanced by other significant continuities. One of the book's central arguments is that the Marcos era bequeathed an anarchival legacy in terms of the cultural policies, organizational structures, and political appointments that have proven so historically deleterious for audiovisual archives.

In the postdictatorship era, the FDCP has adopted the template of its predecessor in the Marcos era, the ECP, effectively corralling the film industry under the Office of the President.[42] In keeping with the so-called appointments clause of the Philippine Constitution, the executive officers of independent government agencies such as the FDCP and the Philippine Information Agency (PIA) are appointed by the president without need

for approval from the Commission on Appointments and in the absence of congressional oversight.[43] Coterminous with the sitting president's period in office, the six-year term of presidential appointees to important state film and media entities promotes a shortsighted perspective on media archives. Historically, FDCP chairs prioritize splashy achievements during their own terms while deprioritizing projects launched by their predecessors, resulting in an erratic government approach to audiovisual archiving.

The deep continuities between the cinematic policies of the Marcos era and those of postdictatorship administrations mean that both audiovisual archiving and domestic film production and circulation remain severely curtailed. Excessive taxation (a 30 percent amusement tax on theatrical exhibition) and liberal film importation in the absence of protectionist policies (as stipulated by free trade agreements) stifle the competitiveness of domestic films vis-à-vis the avalanche of Hollywood product.[44] Since its creation in 2002 to foster "the development and growth of the local film industry," the FDCP has failed to ameliorate these deep-seated problems.[45] In recent years, archive advocates, myself included, have lobbied the Philippine Congress for legislation that ensures the institutional autonomy of a prospective national audiovisual archive and uncouples it from the FDCP.[46]

In his analysis of the relationship between Nollywood and the Nigerian state, Matthew Brown poses the question of the government's role in domestic filmmaking: "How . . . is the state economically and ideologically accountable for its film industry, and vice versa?" Both the presence and the absence of the state—especially in matters of cultural policy—have far-reaching consequences: "The first role is a role of presence, of recognizing, taking an interest in, and attempting to regulate the popular film industry, but doing so poorly. The second role is a role of absence, of possessing the mandate and even the resources to construct the national social economic infrastructures with which film could interact, but failing to do so."[47]

In the Philippine context, a historical analysis of the simultaneous presence and absence of the government in local cinema indicts cultural policy on several fronts: bureaucratic structures that put the film industry under direct presidential control; film importation policies that fail to protect local filmmaking in obeisance to free trade agreements; excessive taxation and censorship, reflecting the state's narrow interests in income extraction and the muzzling of cinematic dissidence; and the continuing

ineffectiveness of government agencies in sustaining filmmaking and audiovisual archiving.

On the one hand, Brown recognizes that Nollywood—a primarily English-language video industry that cannot represent the geographic and ethnolinguistic diversity of Nigerian filmmaking—is a poor fit with reflectionist notions of national cinema. On the other hand, Brown argues that Nollywood can still be construed as a national cinema in the sense that its textual, aesthetic, and industrial characteristics "reflect the state of the state in which it is produced," a state "crippled" or debilitated by histories of colonial violence, authoritarianism, and corruption, all of which have a bearing on cinema.[48]

Extending the logic of Brown's analysis to the Philippine context, the anarchival situation of Philippine cinema reveals "the state of the state." That domestically produced films are perpetually disadvantaged in relation to Hollywood fare reflects the dominance of elite interests, whether in the form of benefices to oligarchically controlled media conglomerates (explored in chapter 3) or in allowing cartels to exert a chokehold over local film distribution and exhibition (resulting in local movies' perennial "audience problem," discussed in chapter 6 and the epilogue).[49]

THE PROJECT

This book explores the contours and consequences of Philippine cinema's anarchival condition. Rather than guaranteeing institutional permanence and establishing infrastructures of circulation, Philippine audiovisual archives are analogous to an ailing riverine system with dammed-up waterways rather than coursing channels of unimpeded flow (as elaborated in chapter 5). Whereas scholars across various disciplines often evoke the "politics of the archive" in a figurative sense, this book unpacks the politics and contexts of actual initiatives on the part of Philippine film archives, advocates, and informal players: to stay afloat; to achieve effective, autonomous governance; to rescue deteriorating feature-length titles; to migrate little-known experimental shorts; to bring peripheralized regional films to local audiences; and to address and thereby constitute an archivally conscious public. To this end, the book weaves together questions of institutional history, political context, cultural policy, and the agency of formal and informal players alongside medial materiality, film analyses, and production histories. Philippine film

archives (formal, informal, or fictive-affective) are approached variously as institutional or private collections, as interpretively rich movies, and as people—resourceful social actors exercising archival power in profoundly anarchival, low- to no-budget circumstances. Archival memory is vested in material collections themselves and in the people who actualize remembered knowledge, institutional histories, ethical decisions, and creative work-arounds.[50] This book centers the undervalued labor of audiovisual archivists and advocates, as well as their self-theorizing, offering an on-the-ground analysis of cultural memory as it is made and unmade.[51]

Attempting to intervene in Philippine cinema's entrenched archival predicament, *Archival Afterlives* explores two parallel trajectories encompassing both formal and informal archival initiatives. First, this study recovers the history of key government film archives whose institutional demise led to the catastrophic loss of key collections and the rise of a powerful corporate archive. In the post-EDSA period, the failure of state audiovisual archives was followed by the privatization of a significant portion of the Philippines' remaining holdings by the media conglomerate ABS-CBN. The shutdown of ABS-CBN in July 2020 by the Philippine Congress was motivated in part by Duterte's suppression of news outlets critical of his regime.[52] The shutdown has destabilized the country's most extensive audiovisual collection, which del Mundo once called "the de facto national film archive."[53]

Alongside this first trajectory, which foregrounds cultural policy and the rise and fall of formal archives maintained by state and corporate institutions, hums a second trajectory consisting of decentralized, largely informal initiatives. The most obvious example is the tenacious advocacy movement led by SOFIA from the 1990s onward, a nongovernmental "coordinating body" advocating for a national audiovisual archive.[54] Spearheaded by professional archivists in charge of important formal collections, SOFIA's organized advocacy exists alongside more informal and ephemeral efforts.

The opening arc of the book traces the Marcosian state's halting attempts to centralize film archiving efforts and the subsequent ascendancy of a media conglomerate's preservation and restoration agenda following the ouster of the dictatorship and the turn to privatization. Framing Philippine cinema's anarchival situation as an interplay between state custodianship vis-à-vis corporate archives, however, apprehends only the formal dimension of Philippine film archiving. Informal players have also innovated vital alternative routes for archival access. Accordingly, the last two

chapters and the epilogue pivot to understudied, but no less decisive, examples of informal archiving: Video 48, a legendary holdout video store that brings a private insider collection into public circulation; the Kalampag Tracking Agency, a microcuratorial screening program that recovers experimental shorts; and the historiographical and audience-building efforts of the Binisaya movement, which centers Visayan vernacular cinema and regional audiences beyond Manila.

How does an analysis of its anarchival situation change our understanding of Philippine cinema? The juxtaposition of formal institutional histories and informal minoritized practices exposes the fictive homogeneity of national cinema, uncovering the material messiness of media survival and decay; the cultural policies that underpin vagaries of institutional safekeeping and precarity; minor modes of archival collection and circulation beyond those promulgated by formal state or corporate archives; and the intertwined aspirations to constitute a supportive domestic audience for Philippine cinema and to rouse an engaged public for audiovisual archiving. The dominant historiographical understanding of Philippine cinema is exposed as partial in at least two senses. First, our grasp of Philippine cinema is partial in that it cedes disproportionate authority to a minute percentage of surviving films, despite their failure to represent a large but unrecognized corpus of nontheatrical, nonindustrial, and non-Tagalog films.[55] Second, what we think we know about Philippine national cinema is necessarily partial in the sense of being political, since archival agendas reflect dominant ideas of national culture and the cultural priorities enacted by state, corporate, and individual actors.

MEDIAL MATERIALITY, FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGIES, AND AMATEURISM

With regard to the source documents for this study—published materials and legislative records circulating in the public sphere, the "gray literature" of unpublished internal reports and memoranda,[56] personal papers collected by insiders to these institutions, and oral histories—I adhere to the methodological principle that scholarship must be alive to the tension between "the institution as it wants to be seen," "the institution as others see it," "the unpublished record," and the "personal recollections of those involved." I take it as axiomatic that "memory resides not just in things, but in people."[57]

In addition, my study adopts the approach that media historian Lisa Gitelman describes as the process of "following documents," which traces "techniques of control" while also probing the various demands that social actors negotiate in institutional contexts.[58] Having pored over executive orders, legislative bills, government circulars, memoranda of agreements, and deeds of sale between the state and private companies, I concur with Gitelman that documents carry the cultural weight of bureaucratic authority, reflecting the power and control of state officials but also opening the door to accountability.[59]

In 2005 and 2007, well before I even conceived of this book, Mary del Pilar of ABS-CBN and Victoria "Vicky" Belarmino of the CCP shared paper files of the gray literature they had collected during their early years with SOFIA and the South East Asia–Pacific Audio Visual Archives Association (SEAPAVAA).[60] I vividly recall the brown manila envelopes and fraying folders they handed me, stuffed with unpublished conference reports, workshop handouts, and fragments of government correspondence. In the fading type of a 1990s dot matrix printer, I encountered the unindexed, uncatalogued traces of a long-simmering archival dream. I promptly photocopied these papers and cannot now remember whether and how many of those personal papers were published or unpublished "originals" or photocopies themselves. What Gitelman describes as the taken-for-granted concept of xerographic reproduction and the more recent ubiquity of digital scanning makes it hard for me to pinpoint exactly when, over the last decade, I scanned my photocopies into portable document format (PDF). The same goes for copies of documents from the MPD and the Management Information System Division (MISD) I accessed with the assistance of Belina "Bel" Capul and Maria Victoria "Vicky" Bejerano at the PIA from 2014 to 2016.[61] In working with such sources, I was participating in practices of documentary reproduction.[62] Paper is the documentary medium par excellence.[63] Thus, a materialist approach to media historiography recognizes that the institutional history of the film collections recounted here involves a plurality of media: film and video (multiply migrated via analog and digital formats and carriers), documented in and through another medium (paper), then remediated to PDFs and movie files on my laptop (digital formats encountered through software applications).

While sharing early drafts of my work, I was asked by two interlocutors why I so prominently acknowledge the names of the archivists I have encountered; one of these, an anonymous reader for a journal article,

asked whether my analysis, in drawing on archivists' standpoints, might sacrifice objectivity. The answers to both questions are rooted in some of my deepest research commitments and the formative influence of both postcolonial historiography and feminist epistemologies (particularly the field-shaping conversations of the early 1990s) on my scholarly practice.

I adhere to those strands of feminist epistemologies that work toward no-nonsense, necessarily incomplete accounts of the worlds we live in that are nevertheless reliable because such situated knowledges can be held accountable for their claims. Sandra Harding insists, "It is a delusion . . . to think that human thought could completely erase the fingerprints that reveal its production process," arguing that we "acknowledge the social situatedness that is the inescapable lot of all knowledge-seeking projects."[64] Donna Haraway writes, "Feminist objectivity means, quite simply, situated knowledges."[65] It is "an argument for situated and embodied knowledges and against various forms of unlocatable, and so irresponsible, knowledge claims. Irresponsible means unable to be called into account."[66] I name various social actors in the Philippine audiovisual archive world, as well as the archives I've consulted, so that these power-differentiated sources (and my translations and interpretations) can be tracked.[67] Responsible scholarship is characterized by locatable assertions; it also candidly acknowledges "the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge."[68] In speaking frankly about situated knowledge and multiple standpoints, feminist epistemologies have emphatically *not* given up on objectivity in favor of relativism. (What good would a free-for-all descent into relativism, in which all claims are equivalent, be for feminism and other social movements interested in a critique of power and subjugation? Whose interests, after all, does the charge that all news is "fake news" serve?) What the feminist reconceptualization of objectivity gives up—illusory claims to innocence, totality, and universality, or what Haraway calls the "God-trick" of bogus transcendence—it gains in accountability. This is one of the advantages of feminist thinkers' attempt to forge "a usable, but not innocent, doctrine of objectivity."[69]

The impact of feminist epistemology on archival theory is evident in the work of Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, who argue for the recognition that "archives . . . are not passive storehouses of old stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed. The power of archives, records, and archivists should no longer remain naturalized or denied, but opened to vital debate and transparent accountability." In their challenge to the "professional myth of impartiality" in archival

theory, Schwartz and Cook draw on Haraway to reflexively acknowledge the contexts and power dynamics shaping every memory professional's situated perspective.[70] While prime movers of the decentralized audiovisual archival advocacy movement in the Philippines have included both straight- and queer-identified men and women, my interactions with female middle managers and a female video clerk at both state and private audiovisual archives have been especially crucial for my research. The centrality of women archivists' efforts in the first two chapters and the historically feminized labor of archiving (imagined in Schellenbergian archival theory as a "handmaiden" to the masculine enterprise of history writing) make feminist analyses of knowledge production particularly germane for my work.[71] The women archivists central to this book may or may not identify as feminists or activists; nonetheless, their subjective capacity as women who watch over and speak for collections under anarchival duress has shaped the Philippine archive world.

Feminist epistemologies and postcolonial historiographies taught me that the claims, interests, and concerns of socially stratified historians, knowers, and doers are inherently situated, shaped by power relations and by historical and social contexts.[72] Over the course of my research, I came to realize that the standpoints of audiovisual archivists, curators, collectors, and video store clerks have been overlooked in my academic discipline, film and media studies, and undervalued in cultural policy decisions affecting the fate of Philippine film archives. This is likely due to a confluence of bureaucratic hierarchies (in which the administrative decisions of top officials take precedence over the recommendations of middle managers and staff) and the separateness of the disciplines of film and media scholarship from the world of archival collection management and preservation (a parochialism that is gradually being overcome).[73] Similarly, although the writings of Derrida and Michel Foucault have spurred an archival turn in philosophy and critical theory, such work has largely ignored the perspectives of professional archivists.[74] Audiovisual archivists are a relatively tiny class of memory professionals (globally, their number "barely reaches five figures"), but these undervalued cultural workers wield a great deal of power over our collective memory.[75] The belated revaluation and integration of archival knowledge into film and media studies are themselves historically emergent.[76] A way forward, a chance for the future of Philippine film archives, seems to me premised precisely on drawing from, translating, and interpreting (rather than claiming to transparently speak for) the experiences, knowledges, and advocacies of

the heterogeneous individuals and communities who work with the nation's audiovisual archives.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot's analysis of the Haitian Revolution teaches me the impossibility of the "nonhistorical observer" fantasized by a positivist model that imagines an unmarked position for the historian. Trouillot calls on historians (whether professional or amateur) to "position themselves more clearly" in the controversies of their own unfolding present.[77] The term *global South* does not primarily refer to a geographical area but rather names an epistemic, historical, and political commitment that dwells in the undersides, antipodes, and peripheries of profoundly asymmetrical processes of globalization as a generative vantage point for a history of the present.[78] Yet it is risky to try to speak reliably about real-world crises while admitting that all knowledge is inevitably fragmentary and situated. Researchers can only take a stab at responsible accounts of real events by acknowledging the situatedness of our perspectives in hopes of creating what Haraway calls "a chance for a future."[79] The task, which demands laying my cards on the table as I have attempted to do here, intimidates me. I am neither a historian nor an audiovisual archivist by training. I am a film and media scholar who, by virtue of my dependence on archival materials—from analog to digital, from print to moving images—is a stakeholder in and advocate for Filipino audiovisual archives, writing in the wake of a decentralized archival advocacy movement that goes back to the 1950s.

In a word, I am an amateur. Amateurism can have unfavorable connotations—the "dilettante" or "dabbler" is the opposite of the academic professor. The valorization of professional expertise versus uncredentialed engagement is part of the taken-for-granted ideology of academia.[80] In contrast, Edward Said conceptualizes amateurism as a remedy for the constricting tendencies of professionalism. Professional specialization can result in a narrow disciplinarity that obstructs a historical appreciation of "real experiences" and "raw effort." Said enjoins intellectuals to "view knowledge and art as choices and decisions, commitments and alignments" irreducible to "impersonal theories or methodologies." Professional parochialism, Said suggests, can be counterbalanced by amateurism, "the desire to be moved not by profit or reward but by love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a specialty, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession."[81]

I do not claim for myself the gamut of virtues with which Said invests the term, especially since commonplace understandings of the amateur are

less idealized and range from the nonprofessional participant to the inept enthusiast. Across varied usage and valuation, however, the term's core semantic element is love: *amateur* derives from the Latin *amator*, or "lover." In dictionaries, an amateur has a love, fondness, or passion for something. For Said, it is a love that discovers, with excitement, the broader stakes of an issue; for Roland Barthes, it is constant renewal. Barthes writes that the "*amator*: one who loves and loves again" experiences the continually rekindled pleasure of engagement "without the spirit of mastery or competition."[82] In a letter to his partner, Nika Bohinc, published a year before their untimely deaths, Alexis Tioseco, a charismatic champion of Philippine cinema, declared: "The first impulse of any good film critic . . . must be of love."[83] Loving Philippine cinema and passionate about working toward sustainable audiovisual archives, I write as an amateur who—lacking the training of the professional archivist, historian, or ethnographer—tries to keep sight of the raw effort and the choices of those involved in the hopes of reconstructing reticulated histories without claiming to have mastered the complexity of the issues and fields I touch upon.

I learned to embrace my amateurism only gradually, emboldened by thinkers of both archives and historiography. My understanding of that near oxymoron, "amateur historian," is inspired by Trouillot, who emphasizes that history is told by a diversity of narrators and that historical production is not confined to professionals: "We are all amateur historians with various degrees of awareness about our production. We also learn history from similar amateurs."[84] In an era when ordinary people with access to digital devices generate huge quantities of records everyday—texts, images, and sounds across genres, carriers, formats, and platforms—many are already amateur archivists of their own lives. Glossing this reality, Cook writes, "The archives is thus transformed from source to subject." I take this to mean that archives no longer belong only to memory institutions and trained professionals. Rather, our "transformed archival landscape" demands inclusive forms of archiving awake to the diversity of in/formal archives' communities of users, creators, and researchers.[85]

Utopic visions of participatory archiving must, however, be tempered by a recognition of the market forces that permeate archival worlds, alongside the ebb tide of reduced privacy in an era of ever-accumulating records about everything and everyone. Our snowballing collections of selfies, text messages, videos, and voice recordings, our emails, apps, and cloud storage, all mean that we are becoming micro-level information managers while also being targeted as subjects of macro-level data mining through

the "algorithmic unconscious of social media."[86] Jussi Parikka writes: "As every museum and archive knows (or should), the labor of how culture remembers and retrieves from memory is shifting from the official institutions to everyday media environments," from social media to cloud computing, with its "microtemporalities" and storage on enormous proprietary servers.[87] The public so often invoked as the inheritor of archival heritage is simultaneously an aggregate of private users, "mini-archivists" who are, in turn, assiduously being archived by private corporations and the state.

ARCHIVES AND ADVOCACIES

Carolyn Steedman usefully offers a "prosaic" definition of *archive* as a "name for the many places in which the past (which does not now exist, but which once did actually happen; which cannot be retrieved, but which may be represented) has deposited some traces and fragments, usually in written form. In these archives someone (usually from about 1870 onwards, across the Western world), has catalogued and indexed these traces."[88] In contrast to manuscript and document archives, the notion of the film archive is of far more recent coinage. In the United States and Europe, the first film archives were founded in the 1930s, though it took decades for them to be recognized as cultural institutions on par with museums and libraries.[89] The appropriation of the term *archive* in relation to film was a legitimizing tactic that pointed away from the profit-oriented movie industry by suggesting an "image of stability" and "safekeeping."[90] However, as the archival struggles of memory institutions in the Philippines and elsewhere painfully underscore, "There is no 'safe keep' or 'safe-keeping.'"[91]

Forming the very ground of scholarship and historiography, the archive is an enabling constraint.[92] Archives simultaneously facilitate and restrict the production of knowledge through what Derrida calls "consignation"—an archive's constitution of an archivable corpus, of objects of study under principles of unity (e.g., canon formation around auteurs and recognized masterworks).[93] As film scholars and historians have long known, archives are the ground for contested notions of national cinema; preservation priorities are often justified through homogenizing notions of national heritage.[94] By archival and anarchival condition, then, I allude to the duality of archives as a condition of knowledge: first, as an

enabling constraint on historical production; and second, as the state or circumstance of actual archives and their vicissitudes.

Derrida traces the etymology of the archive to the Greek *arkheion*, the residence of the archons, those who wielded power over the law and were charged with the guardianship of official documents and the privilege of their interpretation. For Derrida, the archive is that place in which the "substrate," or material onto which documents have been inscribed (the "*topological*"), is traversed by the "authority" of the law (the "*nomological*").[95] Yet, in opposition to the state's active instrumentalization of archives in Derrida's writing, in the Philippines' underresourced archives one confronts the near absence of a *topo-nomological* investment in audiovisual archiving. Cinema-related legislation is scant, clustered primarily around censorship and taxation. Unsurprisingly, archiving is marginalized, since preservation and access correspond to neither the government's disciplinary (e.g., censorship) nor its revenue-generating (e.g., taxation) agendas.

Prompted by government inaction, a decentralized archival advocacy for film in the Philippines arose prior to the founding of the first national film archives and has outlived many state archival efforts, though many of its prime movers have worked for or with government agencies. Calls to establish a film archive date back to American rule.[96] An early articulation of archival consciousness in the postcolonial period was penned in 1952 by Vicente Salumbides, director of *Ibong Adarna*, who called for the establishment of a film library devoted to film preservation.[97] Four years later, Benedicto "Ben" Pinga founded the Film Institute of the Philippines (FIP), a nongovernmental, donation-based organization that espoused film conservation among its many goals.[98]

The Philippine government ignored these early appeals, and cinema was absent from pioneering cultural policies formulated in the 1960s.[99] This was the very decade when Pinga admitted that the FIP could not realize its aims in the absence of state subsidies.[100] Pinga spearheaded a 1977 conference entitled "Cataloguing and Preservation of Filipino Films," which called for a presidential decree to establish a national film archive.[101] Pinga's visionary efforts, which brought together state and nongovernmental participants to brainstorm on film preservation within a regional and international framework, are the first stirrings of an archival advocacy movement in the Philippines. These initial calls were renewed in 1975 by National Artist for Literature Bienvenido Lumbera, who advocated for a Filipino film museum: "Fires and careless prolonged use have destroyed

most of the old films, so that invaluable information that could be obtained only from actual contact with early samples of Philippine filmmaking has been irretrievably lost." For Lumbera, the impossibility of a comprehensive historiographical discourse on Philippine cinema, rooted in the country's archival fragility, amounts to one thing: "the absence of a clear historical perspective in the evaluation of Filipino films."[102]

KEYWORDS, OR, A ROUTE PAST MOURNING

The conceptual scaffolding for this book endeavors to move past the framework of mourning that so frequently attends discussions of film's inevitable deterioration, analog media's material decay, or digital media's impending obsolescence.[103] Writing a book that centers activist hope rather than mourning means insisting that archival efforts are meaningful whether or not particular films or initiatives have survived. Rather than bewail the ephemerality of archival initiatives with little to no funding or institutional support, this book recognizes the agentive ingenuity and creative boldness called forth by anarchival conditions. In a Foucauldian movement, constraint is generative, spurring unlooked-for collaborations as social actors bypass blockages to archival access.

First, the term *archival silences* refers not only to "lost films" in the corpus of Philippine cinema but also to the absences that are constitutive of the production of historical narratives, from missing government records to nearly irrecoverable institutional histories. Second, *archival power* names dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the production of historical narratives, not just practices of appraisal that value and institutionalize a minute percentage of extant records. Finally, activism, advocacy, and "making do"—creative work-arounds that have emerged to ensure the archival afterlives of Philippine cinema—are crucial expressions of archival power. Histories of prior state film archives' collapse caution against the costs of inaction; given this, perseverance and making do are striking traits of Philippine archiving cultures called forth by anarchival realities.

ARCHIVAL SILENCE

European and North American scholars writing on archives evoke images of kilometric proliferation. Ann Laura Stoler speaks of "kilometers of administrative archives" housed in "massive buildings," describing

the Nationaal Archief in The Hague as having "ninety-three kilometers of documents in their holdings."[104] Giovanna Fossati writes that the Library of Congress, the British Film Institute, the Bundesarchiv, and the Nederlands Filmmuseum hold "film cans by the millions in their climate-controlled vaults." Noting that a 35mm feature film with a screen time of an hour and a half "takes about two and a half kilometers of film," she muses that the holdings of 370 European archives "makes for a fantastic length of film strip," corresponding to approximately "fifty times the earth's equatorial circumference."[105] The kilometric proliferation of moving image media archives in the global North contrasts strongly with the diminution and precarity that characterize state-run audiovisual archives in the Philippines. To be clear, this book does not regard Philippine film archives as failed approximations of better-funded, legislatively secure memory institutions in the global North. Wendy Willems enjoins media scholars to "acknowledge the agency of the Global South in the production, consumption, and circulation of a much richer spectrum of media culture that is not *a priori* defined in opposition to or in conjunction with media from the Global North."[106] In keeping with Franco Cassano's injunction "not to think of the South in light of modernity but rather to think of modernity in light of the South," I construe archival practices in the Philippines as provoking alternative modes of theorizing and historicizing cinema from a vantage point that centers the materiality of loss, the ephemerality of institutions, and the perseverance of cultural workers in inhospitable conditions.[107]

Archival silence is the ontological limit that belies the fantasy of a totalizing archive. Relative proliferation or scarcity notwithstanding, even the most abundant collections have absences. Trouillot maintains that silences are intrinsic to the production of historical knowledge: from the constitution of sources to the mustering of archives, the construction of narratives, and, through the assignation of "retrospective significance," the "making of history in the final instance." The crucial point is that "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences."[108] Reflecting on the "piecemeal partiality" of colonial state archives, Stoler contrasts the "unwritten" (the archival silence surrounding the tacitly known) with the "not yet articulated" (the silence of the forbidden and unsayable).[109] As Steedman observes, scholars in archives are often faced with "what is not actually there, with the dead who are not really present in the whispering galleries, with the past that does not, in fact, live in the record office, but is rather, gone."[110] The specter of the anarchival within the archive is a kind

of revenant: a living remainder amid destruction, a trace of death. Even archives of the most plenitude are composed of fragments, the result of stewardship, whether careful or careless, and chance longevity. The deep silences, the negative spaces of archives are as constitutive of historical production as the positive presences that are actually there.[111]

A profound archival vacuum is the enabling constraint for Allyson Nadia Field's *Uplift Cinema*, given that none of the works of early African American cinema she analyzes have survived. Undeterred by archival lacunae, Field examines early films from the 1910s that epitomized Black uplift, a social, political, and philosophical movement that regarded individual achievement rather than systemic transformation as the key to African American advancement.[112] In "A Manifesto for Looking at Lost Film," Field challenges the discipline of film and media studies to push past "extant-centric film history," an untenable approach given that "more than 80 percent of [American] films made in the silent era [are] considered lost." Field declares, "For those of us who study nonextant films, absence is the archive." Paratextual ephemera—institutional discourse, publicity materials, and journalistic coverage—allow us to sift for "the presence in the absence," reconstructing the formal qualities as well as the production, exhibition, and reception of "nonextant films."[113]

When Salumbides describes his students' disappointment at being unable to screen his film *Florante at Laura* (1949) only three years after its initial release; when del Mundo and Lumbera write about a Filipino film being "irretrievably lost"; or when Deocampo's *Lost Films of Asia* teaches us to miss what we have never seen, these authors register the frustrating nothingness one sometimes confronts in archives.[114] In their study of Cebuano cinema, Paul Grant and Misha Anissimov ask: "How could those who undertake the writing of this history find anything to say about the films if they cannot be seen?" Confronted with the "rude fact" of a "missing cinema," they write of recovering "pieces in the archives," locating, "amongst the debris and ephemera, the para-cinematic elements" left behind. "From there we begin to construct (and here the purposeful nature is explicit) a narrative based on the most concrete evidence we can find."[115]

The point, then, is not to bemoan the silences, gaps, and losses that are the very condition of historiography, the editorial principle without which a coherent story about historical events could not be told.[116] This study of Philippine cinema's anarchival condition is a project of neither mourning nor nostalgia; rather, it attempts to offer a critical (though necessarily partial) analysis of how archival silences came into being and how

they give meaning to what survives. In the first two chapters of this book, archival silences take many forms: not only the absence of lost films but also the deafening hush that surrounds the institutional histories of key memory institutions, huge swaths of whose past is forgotten.[117] Archival silence encompasses the paucity of documents concerning the tragic fate of important state collections like the FAP and the PIA-MPD film library as well as the lack of public outcry concerning their demise. In contexts where both politicians and ordinary citizens know little about the institutional custodianship of the national past and are thus indifferent toward archival crises, speaking about silence entails a certain amount of risk-taking and ethical troublemaking.[118] Working on Philippine moving image archives that struggle to endure, I am convinced of the eloquence of lost films and missing government records and the significance of the imperfect movie copies with which we make do.

ARCHIVAL POWER

While inevitable, archival silences are never entirely accidental; they are not given but produced (though not always deliberately). Silences reflect the uneven operation of archival power, defined by Trouillot as the exclusion or inclusion of people from direct participation in the production of historical narratives.[119] The Philippines' anarchival condition calls for a nimble understanding of archival power, one that scales from an individual's in/capacity to create or access records, to the collective level of in/formal archival efforts, to the sphere of the geopolitical (the national and international economic disparities that impact the archivally related affordances of different communities).[120]

In archival theory, the consideration of archival power centers on professional archivists' powers of appraisal, a term that refers to the evaluation of a record's "permanent value" to guide preservation priorities.[121] In an era characterized by "an avalanche of over-documentation in all media" amid restricted institutional resources, archivists' powers of appraisal decide who and what "will get full, partial, or no archival attention."[122] For Terry Cook, appraisal emerges as a central form of archival power through which archivists "co-create the archive" through practices of selection, acquisition, valuation, and their converse (silencing, disposal, or destruction of archival holdings), since the ever-accreting quantity of possible records must be winnowed down to the size of a manageable collection.[123]

Seven years before the revival of the NFAP, del Mundo wrote candidly about archival appraisal in these terms: "A ruthless form of selection must be done, simply because the resources will not allow for comprehensive archiving. The least that the country can do is preserve this canon of Philippine Cinema."[124] Del Mundo reflects, "In a country beset by poverty and pressured by economic and political problems, it may be a tall order to convince lawmakers that a national audiovisual archive should be in their list of priorities." He suggests a form of archival triage in which only canonical feature-length films would be prioritized for duplication, preservation, and restoration, at the expense of popular or unknown works in less valorized genres (documentaries, shorts, or experimental films). This admittedly "ruthless" exercise of archival power, urged with pragmatic resignation by a film historian and SOFIA past president, illustrates Derrida's principle of consignation at work.[125] While the logic of archival triage is an understandable response to an anarchival predicament, it raises the question of how to advocate for archives without reproducing the conservative, consecrating functions of memory institutions.

This book explores another form of archival power, one wielded not just by professional archivists but by various formal and informal players (technicians, collectors, curators, and filmmakers) who resourcefully devise low-cost means of ensuring the afterlives and circulation of lesser-known works of Philippine cinema. I am drawing here on Trouillot's notion of subjective capacity as central to the production of historical knowledge. He gives the example of a labor strike, which cannot be described as a historical event without recourse to the subjective capacities of the workers involved: "But peoples are also the subjects of history the way workers are subjects of a strike: they define the very terms under which some situations can be described. . . . There is no way we can describe a strike without making the subjective capacities of the workers a central part of the description." For Trouillot, the subjective capacities of the players involved in historical events are vital rather than incidental to our understanding of history: "A competent narrative of a strike needs to claim access to the workers as purposeful subjects aware of their own voices. . . . To put it most simply, a strike is a strike only if the workers think that they are striking. Their subjectivity is an integral part of the event and of any satisfactory description of that event."[126]

Similarly, there can be no adequate analysis of the archival afterlives of Philippine cinema—remaindered from prior institutional collapse and

preserved-in-destruction via multiply migrated versions—without a consideration of the archivists and advocates whose purposeful actions made these afterlives possible. Archival power, I suggest, is instantiated in the subjective capacity of formal and informal actors to widen the ambit of circulation through practices of poor archiving and making do.

MAKING DO: PROPAGANDA FILMS OF THE FIRST QUARTER STORM

The ensuing discussion focuses on films from the posthumous collection of the PIA-MPD. I say "posthumous" because the MPD's internationally prominent Film Lab and Film Archive were shut down in 2004 on the grounds that government cost cutting and the shift to digital media made the maintenance of this unique film collection an ineffective use of state resources, as recounted in chapter 2.[127] During a visit to the PIA in 2014, I asked to screen four 16mm propaganda films that had been produced by the National Media Production Center (NMPC) in 1971 and 1972 to justify the Marcos regime's imposition of martial law. My research request would have come to naught had key figures of the Philippine audiovisual archive movement not stepped in, all of them women archivists who were middle managers at state film archives and members of SOFIA and SEAPAVAA: Vicky Belarmino of the CCP, and Bel Capul and Vicky Bejerano of the PIA.

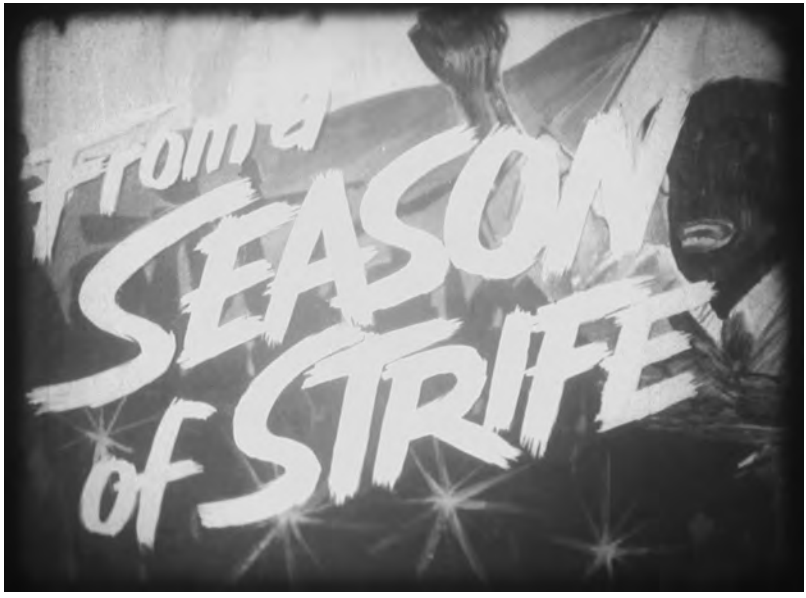
The archival principle of "context linkage" demands that audiovisual archives maintain the skills and equipment appropriate to a work's original technological context.[128] While valuable, context linkage is an increasingly impossible preservation ideal for many chronically underfunded film archives in the Philippines and elsewhere in the global South. The PIA had been a premier film restoration lab in Southeast Asia in the 1990s; by 2014, it had one 16mm projector and one 35mm projector in working condition but lacked a film projectionist. The skills required by outdated technologies quickly become esoteric; a projectionist for our research screening had to be sourced through archival networks. Accordingly, the film inspection and technical equipment check were conducted with the assistance of Alfred Nemenzo of the CCP and Leonil Getes of the PIA. Nemenzo projected the four films. The NFAP's subsequent correspondence and inspection report describe three of the titles as in "good or fair condition"; however, one of the propaganda shorts, *From a Season of Strife*, was "actively decaying," with "heavy buckle and wave, faded color, and scratches."[129]

From a Season of Strife (NMPC, 1972) demonizes anti-Marcos dissent via a tendentious voice-over narration and unconvincing reenactments of student unrest. On January 26, 1970, student protesters outside Congress called for a nonpartisan constitutional convention. The previous year's fraud-ridden presidential elections had given Marcos a second presidential term while galvanizing a militant student movement. The propaganda film offers striking, unstaged glimpses of the size of the student protest movement (figures I.1–I.3) and the chaos that broke out on the evening of January 26, as President Ferdinand Marcos and First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos were leaving Congress, where the president had just delivered his State of the Nation address.

A suspenseful musical score accompanies an extreme long shot of the confused throng outside Congress. It is difficult to pick out the central action unfolding during one thirty-four-second take: Marcos and Imelda emerging from the building and moving through a crush of journalists, onlookers, and security forces to their awaiting vehicles (figures I.4 and I.5). They duck hurriedly into their car as police carrying riot shields enter the foreground, allowing the presidential convoy to drive away. A disembodied male voice-over intones: "These are the facts: on January 26, 1970, a reelected president, unprecedented in Philippine history, was stepping out of Congress after delivering his address. He was met by a hostile mob of demonstrators numbering more than fifty thousand. President Marcos had just been reelected by an overwhelming margin of over two million votes. . . . And yet, he was witness to demonstrations . . . mounted against his administration."

Portraying Marcos as a legitimate ruler harassed by a "hostile mob of demonstrators," the narration's tactical disinformation does not acknowledge that Marcos was the first president to be reelected to "an unprecedented second term" through what Talitha Espiritu calls "the staggering violence and fraud that attended the November 1969 elections."[130] The voice-over vilifies the protesters as "the enemy" whose growing menace provokes the imposition of martial law: "The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus did not deter nor contain the enemy that had gone underground, hiding behind various fronts and assuming different forms of dissent. Appearing legitimate on the surface, the enemy was using every available means, particularly the press, radio, and television, to implement its well-laid plans." What the narrational voice leaves out is that these protests marked the beginning of the First Quarter Storm. Marcos later claimed not to have seen the student activists' derisive placards and effigies,

I.1–I.3 The militant student demonstrations of the First Quarter Storm documented in *From a Season of Strife* (National Media Production Center, 1972). Film stills.



I.4 & I.5 The benign visual track of the NMPC propaganda film *From a Season of Strife* offers a glimpse of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos (*circled*) emerging from Congress on January 26, 1970, but leaves out the brutal dispersal of student demonstrators that sparked the beginning of the First Quarter Storm. Film stills.

which included a crocodile (*buwaya*) to signify his corruption. The benign visual track of a government convoy driving away omits the brutal crackdown that followed. The framing of the footage, intent on finding the First Couple in the melee, leaves the pivotal violence offscreen: the rocks and bottles the students threw in their ire[131] and the "truncheon-swinging riot police" who carried out the bloodiest dispersal of student demonstrators to date.[132] Vicente Rafael writes:

> The demonstrations of January 26 and 30, 1970, . . . precipitated what were till then the most violent clashes between youth and police. What set these confrontations apart was the extraordinary rage with which the police set on the demonstrators, moderates and radicals alike, resulting in the injury of at least a couple hundred and the death of four students. So significant were these events that they have come to be known in Philippine historiography as the First Quarter Storm. This storm set in motion a wave of marches and rallies protesting the "fascist" behavior of the state, many of which resulted in further violent clashes.[133]

My first glimpse of these images of the First Quarter Storm were at a small, collaborative research screening at the PIA on September 8, 2014. To my mind, that screening had a touch of the historic, instantiating the agile institutional collaboration that is the hallmark of the SOFIA-led advocacy movement. I remain amazed by what we unearthed that day: despite their bleached colors, distorted sound, and jumpy frames, these propaganda films' red scare rhetorics are vital to our understanding of history. The need to remember how the dictatorship strove to justify its repression of dissent is particularly urgent given the Duterte regime's reliance on extrajudicial killings and red-baiting tactics, which took their cue from Marcos era martial law and the defunding of cultural and historical state agencies under Bongbong Marcos's presidency.[134]

Like other Filipina/os of my generation—wryly referred to as "Martial Law Babies"—I experienced a childhood that took place entirely under the shadow of the dictatorship. In college, mentors in the student movement spoke with reverence for the activists who were killed or "disappeared" during the First Quarter Storm. My knowledge of this period accumulated gradually through various literary, historical, and journalistic sources, but I had never seen footage of those tumultuous years prior to that screening.[135] Even today, moving images of the First Quarter Storm remain scant.[136] In that cramped PIA office in 2014, I encountered an audiovisual record of the enormous student-led mass movement that rose

up in resistance to state power. Practically announcing their own counterreading from within the frame of Marcosian propaganda, this filmic record—of the Diliman Commune's formidable barricade, of the sheer size of the protest rallies and the intensity of the students' faces—affected me deeply.[137] (Regrettably, the PIA's research contract restricts me from showing the films outside of a classroom or conference setting, or otherwise circulating them.)[138]

That same day, I wrote the PIA for permission to obtain digitized access copies of the propaganda films for research purposes and a special waiver of the PIA's footage fee (which would have amounted to over 300,000 Philippine pesos, or nearly US$7,000) on the grounds that I was requesting access for noncommercial scholarly and preservation uses and had already coordinated with the CCP to digitize the films and furnish the PIA with digital copies.[139] On paper, my request to digitize the films was approved the next day by the cabinet secretary for communications. In practice, the PIA secretary general, apparently feeling slighted by my request having gone above his office for approval, would delay access for over a year.[140] Meanwhile, the last surviving 16mm prints of these titles deteriorated further in a non–air-conditioned room for several months before finally being transferred to the NFAP's transitory storage facility.

On September 15 the following year, I was finally allowed to check out the PIA films from the NFAP for digitization by Rodel Valiente, a CCP technician. As the surviving quasi-archival arm of the PIA, the MISD was so underresourced and so undervalued by the PIA bureaucracy at the time of my request that projecting, much less digitizing or restoring, its own films was out of the question. To access these works, I arranged an interagency collaboration by which digital MPEG access copies of 16mm PIA films that had been turned over to the NFAP would be made for a nominal fee by another state institution, the CCP. In this exchange, all parties would be given complimentary copies of the digital files.

While the NFAP email correspondence referred to the CCP's analog-to-digital migration process as "kinescoping," that turned out to be a euphemism. According to a Wikipedia definition that CCP archivist Vicky Belarmino emailed to me, kinescoping is the duplication of broadcast television content onto film via lens-based capture: "a recording of a television program on motion picture film, directly through a lens focused on the screen of a video monitor."[141] Yet, as my photographs of the migration process attest and as Belarmino acknowledged, Valiente was not capturing a TV screen, but an image projected on an ordinary office

wall (figures I.6 and I.7). Although the digitization resulted in undeniably "poor," imperfect images, the retention of a media artifact's original materiality and aesthetics is not the sole yardstick of archival value.[142] The resulting digital access copies are spatiotemporal palimpsests that capture not only the migrated content from the early seventies but also the walls of a cultural memory institution that had collaboratively enabled the film's digitization four decades later.[143] The CCP's dusty office wall becoming part of the filmic record is an imprint of anarchival conditions on the afterlife of an audiovisual work.

When I asked Belarmino how I should refer to this makeshift digitization process, she replied campily, in Taglish, "Nothing much. Kind of like a boy scout ploy. It's what Filipinos do in times of need" (*Wala lang*. Boy scout *paandar lang talaga*. It's what Pinoys do in times of need).[144] I read her allusion to Boy Scouts as implying skill and resourcefulness and have opted to translate the Tagalog slang term *paandar*, with its denotative meanings of starting (as with an engine) or moving forward (as with a vehicle) and its connotative associations with a clever joke or ruse, with the English term *ploy*, which is a cunning plan designed to turn a situation to one's own advantage.

As my research experience demonstrates, efforts to preserve and access films can be slowed by bureaucratic intrigues at state entities whose officials act as if the collections they administer are personal fiefdoms. Despite or likely because of this toxic political climate for research and archiving, committed archivists improvise workarounds to circumvent layers of red tape whenever rare opportunities to screen, rescue, migrate, restore, or lobby for endangered works of Philippine cinema arise. The outcome of our collaborative transfer process in 2015 was by no means a pristine restored digital copy. The rushed digitization of the PIA's martial law films yielded, in Hito Steyerl's sense, a "poor image," the diametric opposite of an expensive, high-profile digital restoration.[145] Flawed but vital digital copies are emblematic of archival practices of making do in the Philippines, the labor of tenacious audiovisual advocates improvising a path to digitization. (The imperfect digitization of Ferdinand Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972 is explored in detail in chapter 2's manifesto for "poor archiving.")

Various aesthetic parallels to this concept of making do—in Latin America, South and Southeast Asia, and Africa—tell us that making do is a dimension of global South media cultures with analogs in multiple languages and contexts. Victor Goldgel-Carballo writes that "the informal economic practices referred to in Cuba as the '*invento*' ('invention'),

I.6 & I.7 Makeshift digitization of four martial law–era films from the PIA collection was conducted by CCP technician Rodel Valiente. The 16mm films were projected on an office wall and recorded on a digital camera. Photos by author, September 2015.

the more widely Spanish American '*viveza criolla*' ('creole cunning'), the Hindi '*jugaad*' (the ability to develop 'quick-and-dirty' solutions), and the imaginary article of the Congolese constitution, '*Débrouillez-vous*,' which exhorts citizens to sort things out by themselves—suggest potential for a global comparison."[146] Whereas Goldgel-Carballo explores making do as an Argentinean film aesthetic, I approach making do in light of broader material and institutional (an)archival conditions in the Philippines that underwrite the aesthetics of "poor images."[147]

The make-do migration technique I first witnessed at the CCP is a long-standing, widespread practice still employed by such institutions as the University of the Philippines Film Institute and the Movie Workers Welfare Foundation, Inc. (MOWELFUND), formerly known as the Movie Workers Welfare Fund.[148] Ricky Orellana of the MOWELFUND Film Institute recalls that one of the earliest uses of a similar method—projecting moving images from an analog film source to a wall and then recording these on a video camera—involved transferring Super 8mm films to U-matic videocassettes for the Independent Film and Video Festival in 1986.[149] Variously referred to as a quasi-kinescoping method (*pa-kino-kino*) or a "poor man's telecine transfer," such make-do transfers devise affordable work-arounds in restricted circumstances.[150] When discussing such improvisational tactics, those who employ them are not overly concerned about technical accuracy. The casual conflation of various forms of audiovisual migration, irrespective of formats and carriers (e.g., equating kinescoping with telecine transfers or flattening differences between older methods for the transfer of photochemical film to analog video tape and the current digitization of analog content), emphasizes continuities between durable, protean tactics of making do.[151]

The genealogy of make-do migrations goes back even further. In the 1980s, deteriorating studio era classics on 35mm film were transferred to Betamax by New Cinema auteur Mike de Leon, grandson of the LVN studio founder, Doña Narcisa "Sisang" de Leon. Del Mundo writes, "There was no budget for telecine transfer, so [Mike de Leon] merely projected the films and recorded them off the screen with a Betamax camera and recorder. The improvised recording was not able to get rid of the flickering effect."[152] In some cases, these flickering Betamax tapes are now the last extant copies of lost LVN films, themselves candidates for future digital restoration.

Rather than simply lament the shortcomings of archival efforts with little to no funding or institutional support, this book argues for a recognition of the creative ingenuity and resourcefulness engendered by

anarchival scarcity. Many professional archivists in the Philippines have the requisite skill, training, and experience—but not the resources—to transfer and restore media titles to an internationally recognized archival standard. If they resort to a faulty approximation of kinescope or telecine transfers, such recourse is not the DIY (do-it-yourself) work of nonspecialists but rather a pragmatic work-around devised by trained professionals who are forced to work in ways that seem amateurish because they operate in contexts of pronounced constraint.[153] Recalling Barthes's *amator*, hard-pressed archivists, technicians, and filmmakers embrace versatile amateur tactics to secure the afterlives of movies they love.

THE ARCHIVAL AFTERLIVES OF PHILIPPINE CINEMA

This book proceeds from the premise that Filipino archival films in the hands of the state, private institutions, and individual collectors lead a posthumous existence. Extant older films are survivors of past archival crises and the closure or collapse of prior film collections previously maintained by motion picture studios or by government agencies.[154] The phrase "archival afterlives," used in this book's title, attempts to convey the uncanny texture of this unlooked-for, and in some cases literally postdiluvian, survival while also, I hope, being expansive enough to allude to other dimensions of the Philippines' archival condition.

Giuliana Bruno's book *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map* (1993), a feminist historiography of Italian silent films by director Elvira Notari, was forged in a context of extreme archival loss, given that only 5 percent of Italian silent cinema and three complete feature films by Notari remain.[155] Excavating this attenuated archive, Bruno argues for the "kinetic treatment of lacunae," an approach that prefigures my own. Bruno challenges us to relinquish fantasies of recovery and wrestle instead with cinematic afterlives: not what a film (or archive) once was, but "what it has become, following it through its 'sleep' to its present historicity."[156]

The *Merriam-Webster* online dictionary offers this remarkably apt entry for *afterlife*: "1: an existence after death; 2: a later period in one's life; 3: a period of continued or renewed use, existence, or popularity beyond what is normal, primary, or expected."[157] The notion of a subsequent, unexpected life after some turning point that might be considered a kind of death refers not just to extant film titles endangered by the institutional collapse of a major archive. It also refers to material processes of duplication,

transfer, and migration across media formats, carriers, and platforms. Rather than usher in the supposed death of cinema, historical shifts from analog to digital eras proceed from the ontologically transitory quality of all media, whether old or new.[158]

In her farsighted book *From Grain to Pixel*, what Fossati calls "the archival life of film in transition" refers to the shift from photochemical celluloid cinema to digital film. Published in 2009 and written on the cusp of digital theatrical projection overtaking traditional analog projection worldwide, Fossati's book describes an era of "unprecedented change" affecting film production, distribution, exhibition, and archiving.[159] The audiovisual archival advocacy movement in the Philippines has lived through this very transition from photochemical cinema to digital media.

In the case of the film *Ibong Adarna*, the 2005 restoration that resulted in a new 35mm polyester print was also the occasion (or alibi) for the disposal of the nitrocellulose dupe negative on which the restoration was based. Such archival horror stories of survival in extremis, of a continued circulation that proceeds only from the point of death, are not confined to Philippine film history.[160] *Archival afterlives* pertains to such instances of medial migration and intensified loss. This is the painfully literal lesson of *Ibong Adarna* as a study in loss-as-survival: its transfer and restoration on polyester film was quickly followed by the disposal of the nitrate dupe negative, now seen as both dangerously outmoded (because of cellulose nitrate's notorious flammability) and superfluous, since a newer print was available. Given that access to such movies in contemporary formats or carriers follows from the death of prior incarnations, it is more accurate to speak of films like *Ibong Adarna* not in terms of their archival survival but in terms of their (an)archival afterlives, that is, cinema "preserved by the traces of its destruction."[161] Moreover, as chapter 2 illustrates, many archivists themselves persevere in a kind of archival afterlife, having lived through the decimation of collections they fought to preserve.

Chapter 1 considers the architectural propaganda of the Marcoses' conjugal rule, a subject with renewed relevance given that the revisionist social fantasies underpinning Bongbong Marcos's ascension to the presidency in 2022 have recast martial law as a supposed golden age of national development and architectural achievement.[162] The first chapter focuses on a trio of famous edifices that bookended the regime: first, the CCP Main Theater, completed in 1969; and second, the Manila Film Center, which collapsed during its construction in 1981, killing an unknown number of workers before opening to the public in 1982. Together with a third,

never-built but repeatedly envisioned building—a permanent home for the national audiovisual collection—this architectural triad serves as my entry point into the cultural policy matrix of the Marcos dictatorship. Established amid the regime's highly politicized cultural interventions, the FAP atrophied in the immediate post-EDSA period. The first chapter closes by focusing on two problems bequeathed by the Marcos era Film Archives to the present day: first, the issue of presidential appointments for top film officials; and second, "anarchival temporality," the menace of loss that undermines promises of archival permanence.

The Philippine government has never regarded film archiving as central to the convergence between statecraft and cinema. Philippine cinema does not present a case in which the state, fearful of incriminating records, took steps to "sanitize" the archive, as with the South African government's attempts at records destruction in the early 1990s in order "to conceal violations of human rights," as Harris recounts.[163] Largely excluded from the dictatorship's political spectacle, the FAP was enmeshed in key cultural policies while remaining a "poor relation" to the regime's flashier cinematic initiatives.[164] The larger lesson of the first two chapters is that, far from ensuring archival permanency, Marcosian cultural policies amounted to an undoing of the dictatorship's own cinematic legacy, bequeathing an anarchival temporality.

Chapter 2 recovers the heretofore unwritten history of the PIA-MPD's dissolution in 2004, analyzing the implications of one film library's institutional death on three defunct collections it inherited: the state productions of the NMPC; a portion of the LVN Pictures collection; and the holdings of the Movie and Television Review and Classification Board (MTRCB), themselves remnants of the previous archival collapse of the FAP.[165] The archival afterlives of Philippine films are the work of archivists who persevere under inhospitable conditions they hope to change. In reflecting on the tactics that archivist-activists developed to cope with the decline of various state-run film archives, the second chapter conceptualizes survival and perseverance as a facet of the Philippines' enduring audiovisual archival advocacy.

Chapter 3 brings insights drawn from Philippine political history, media economics, and industry studies to bear on corporate privatization. The flip side of government indifference is that the largest state-of-the-art audiovisual archive in the Philippines is privately owned by ABS-CBN, a transnational media conglomerate controlled by a powerful oligarchic family. To approach the question of the Philippine state's indifference to

audiovisual archiving critically means not just asking what the state has failed to do to preserve film and media but what this neglect says about the degree to which the Philippine state has served elite interests.

In the years following EDSA People Power, Cory Aquino's government chose to honor rather than repudiate the crippling external debt that the country had amassed under the dictatorship. The cash-strapped Aquino administration deprioritized culture, taking a hands-off approach to the film industry and film archiving while simultaneously restoring media outlets to oligarchic control and privatizing state assets to generate revenue. Analyzing the consequences of these decisions on Philippine film archiving, the third chapter tracks the institutional death of the FAP and the subsequent rise of the ABS-CBN Film Archives in the post-EDSA period. The chapter zeroes in on ABS-CBN's 2001 acquisition of the rights to ECP productions, widely regarded as the most significant films ever produced by the Philippine state. The Duterte administration shuttered ABS-CBN in 2020, enlisting anti-oligarchic rhetoric to veil its muzzling of press freedom.[166]

Restorations undertaken by the ABS-CBN Film Archives far outnumber those of the NFAP/PFA, which is unsurprising given that government archives rely on limited allocations and do not hold the rights to the majority of their collections. Offering a comparative analysis of state and conglomerate archives' restoration priorities, chapter 4 examines ABS-CBN's restoration and reissue of a 1982 star-studded lesbian classic *T-Bird at Ako* (T-bird and I, aka Lesbian love). Notable for its pairing of Philippine cinema's rival female superstars—Nora Aunor and Vilma Santos—within a same-sex romance, the box office hit represents a significant departure from the restoration priorities of the NFAP/PFA and the promotional rhetoric surrounding ABS-CBN's restoration catalog, both of which foreground auteurist masterworks. *T-Bird at Ako* elicits a lesbian cinephilia intensified by one of the stars' rumored affairs with women while showcasing the subcultural queer lexicon of early 1980s Manila. The film's rerelease addressed an archival public composed of lower-income fans and queer movie buffs, audience segments that are typically marginal to the marketing of high-profile restorations.

In her work on nineteenth-century colonial archives in India, Anjali Arondekar urges queer postcolonial studies to renounce the goal of "archival recovery," writing, "The critical challenge is to imagine a practice of archival reading that incites relationships between the seductions of recovery and the occlusions that such retrieval mandates."[167] How to take seriously

Arondekar's warning that every recovery of dissident sexual histories entails an answering occlusion of that very queerness for which we had hoped to secure incontrovertible proof? The fourth chapter answers that reflexive demand by thinking through the issue of anachronistic reception and the sometimes chronologically inappropriate terminology that is willfully wielded by queer, trans, and feminist analyses of older works. While *T-Bird at Ako* understandably may strike contemporary viewers as gender-normative, homophobic, and transphobic, the sex/gender categories of today's globalized LGBTQ+ vocabulary are alien to the time of the film's production and initial release. In grappling with these issues, I draw on both queer feminist theory's espousal of anachronism and queer and trans Asian studies' attentiveness to translation, vernacularization, and nonequivalence.[168]

The question of how archival films reach audiences animates the second arc of the book, which pivots from formal archives to informal collections and initiatives. Chapter 5 conceptualizes networks of archival circulation as a riverine system co-constituted by an admixture of formal and informal entities, social actors, and practices. The chapter juxtaposes Video 48, a legendary brick-and-mortar video store specializing in the Manila industry's Tagalog-language, feature-length fiction films, with the Kalampag Tracking Agency, a two-person microcuratorial initiative that recovers, migrates, and circulates experimental films and videos from Manila's alternative film scene. Both Video 48 (founded by collector Simon Santos) and Kalampag (helmed by Shireen Seno and Merv Espina) are crucial headwaters for Philippine cinema's archival currents, revaluing residual media from various historical eras and facilitating essential flows between private insider collections and a broader public.

The homogenizing canon-based rubrics that underpin institutional archiving priorities tend to conflate Tagalog feature-length films produced by the Manila industry with Philippine cinema writ large. Redressing the archival lacunae that surround vernacular cinemas is an archipelagic project that has been gaining momentum since the turn of the millennium. To unsettle the fictive homogeneity of Philippine cinema and explore alternative modes of archiving, chapter 6 focuses on the scholarly and filmmaking interventions of the Binisaya film movement, launched in 2009.

In a nutshell, indie cinema's "audience problem" is that popular domestic audiences have heard about these films but have never actually seen them. Despite being regarded as representative works of Philippine cinema in international film festivals, these films are largely inaccessible to most Filipino

moviegoers owing to their limited distribution. Patrick Campos puts it thus: indie cinema's "nomenclature is 'Filipino'" yet its global circulation moves "farther and farther away from the local spaces of vernacular entertainment."[169] Given such a predicament, one critic enjoins filmmakers "to get involved in bringing their content [directly] to the audience . . . and hope that they are dreaming the same dream."[170] Visayan movie watching is a prominent motif of *Iskalawags* (Scalawags; dir. Keith Deligero, 2013), a film that metafictionally stages and archives the Binisaya movement's dream of creating a vernacular film audience in Cebu and beyond.

Chapter 6 and the epilogue conclude the book by analyzing two contemporary indie films as affective-cinephilic archives that nostalgically revisit Cebuano and Tagalog media consumption practices. Their archival value lies in chronicling abiding aspirations to cultivate both vernacular film audiences and a national public invested in audiovisual archives. Drawing a through line between the Binisaya movement's effort to bring Visayan films directly to local audiences and the archive advocacy's desire to bring a broad-based archival public into being, the epilogue centers on the 2005 independent film *Pepot Artista* (Pepot superstar), directed by film historian and SOFIA past president Clodualdo del Mundo Jr. My analysis of *Pepot Artista* construes the film's allusions and its remixing of archival footage as a tactical means of addressing (and thus bringing into being) an engaged public that advocates for audiovisual archives.

In approaching *Iskalawags* and *Pepot Artista* as affective archives that attempt to constitute publics beyond their representational content, I am influenced by Ann Cvetkovich's notion of affective archives as minoritarian "repositories of feelings and emotions . . . encoded not only in the texts themselves but in the practices that surround their production and reception." By fictively incorporating ephemeral experiences—like the Binisaya movement's "guerrilla" screenings to audiences in remote barrios—*Iskalawags* is analogous to an "archive of feelings" that "stands alongside the documents of the dominant culture in order to offer alternative modes of knowledge."[171] Whereas Cvetkovich was writing about the challenge to both heteronormativity and homonormativity posed by gay and lesbian activism and sexual cultures, *Iskalawags* archives minoritarian Visayan cinema's challenge to Tagalog cultural dominance in Philippine national culture. In arguing that small-budget indie movies directed by two filmmakers are affective archives, I echo Cvetkovich's reflexive admission that queer feminist scholars (myself included) are often "working as much to produce an archive as to analyze one."[172]

SISYPHEAN HOPE

In an illuminating conversation at the outset of my research, cinephile, curator, and archivist Teddy Co memorably characterized Philippine film archiving as a "Sisyphean history" of "fits and starts."[173] The *punctum* of Co's observation has stayed with me over the decade that it took to complete this book.[174] I began this project a year after the NFAP was reestablished, a period of heightened activity, visibility, and cautious optimism in the Philippine archive world. One presidential term later, the rebranded PFA, under FDCP leadership with little prior knowledge of archiving, was marked by high staff turnover, fewer film restorations, and still unrealized plans for a permanent repository. As I revise this introduction for the umpteenth time, I cannot shake off the feeling of being overtaken by events as I write. This must be common to anyone who attempts to craft, in however piecemeal a fashion, a partial history of the unfolding present.[175] Given the glacial pace of academic publishing in the humanities, scholarship is often outdated by the time it sees print. But historical contingency also renews the relevance of a past that initially seems distant. When I began my research into martial law propaganda films at the PIA, I could not have foreseen that Duterte's imposition of martial law in Mindanao, the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act, the militarized encroachment on academic freedom, and Bongbong Marcos's presidential victory would cast new light on the archival traces of a prior authoritarian era.

The year 2020, already blighted by the global COVID-19 pandemic, ushered in profound, rapid transformations at many of the formal and informal archives I write about: a fire at Green Papaya, the art space where some of the Kalampag Tracking Agency's collection was stored; the closure of Video 48 in Quezon City; and the government shutdown of ABS-CBN, leaving the future of its vast archive uncertain. In the Philippine archive world, these unforeseen events evoked the familiar feeling of standing on the brink of an anarchival precipice. Reflecting on what had just occurred, Orellana commented: "Archiving in the Philippines is an evolving history. You think that the ABS-CBN Film Archives is standing on solid ground, and in the blink of an eye something completely unexpected happens. The history of archiving in the Philippines . . . never ceases to amaze you. It's sometimes frustrating, giving you an equal measure of hope and no hope as you go along."[176]

"Hope and no hope," effort and futility: the lifelong archivist's remarks return us to the scene of a Sisyphean history. In his famous essay on the

Greek legend, Albert Camus describes Sisyphus as an "absurd hero" who exerts his whole being only to accomplish nothing: "The gods had condemned Sisyphus to ceaselessly rolling a rock to the top of a mountain, whence the stone would fall back of its own weight. They had thought with some reason that there is no more dreadful punishment than futile and hopeless labor."[177] For Camus, the absurdity and futility of existence derive from one's self-awareness that, in reality, one's efforts are being constantly "undermined."[178] The inevitability of death underpins this sense of absurdity.[179] Death and futility have to do, of course, with consciousness of time and as such are (an)archival problems: "The absurd enlightens me on this point: there is no future."[180] The temporal consciousness of inevitable loss explored by Camus resonates with the uphill (existentially absurdist) defiance of time that lies at the core of the archival impulse. Nevertheless, Camus maintains that the myth of Sisyphus is not only about futility. Weariness is counterweighted with a refusal of despair, since "being deprived of hope is not despairing."[181] "Hope and no hope," as Orellana put it: even in Sisyphean, anarchival conditions, hope as revolt, as a refusal to give up, remains. This is a variant of what Elizabeth Povinelli calls enduring, and it resonates throughout this book.[182]

Insisting that the myth of Sisyphus is "a lucid invitation to live and to create, in the very midst of the desert," Camus offers two modern analogs to the ancient legend.[183] The first is from Franz Kafka's *The Castle*: a character, saddened to learn that K. persists in going to the Castle, regrets his "probably futile trip, that probably empty hope." Camus expounds: "'Probably'—on this implication Kafka gambles his entire work."[184] In clearly recognizing their almost certain failure while tenaciously maintaining that defeat is not assured, Sisyphean figures teach us that *probably* is an adverb of hope. The second of Camus's Sisyphean parables takes the form of a joke: "A crazy man . . . was fishing in a bathtub. A doctor with ideas as to psychiatric treatments asked him 'if they were biting,' to which he received the harsh reply: 'Of course not, you fool, since this is a bathtub.' . . . [The] man allows himself the tormenting luxury of fishing in a bathtub, knowing that nothing will come of it."[185]

Once encountered, Camus's joke is unforgettable, funny, and heartrending in the same breath. The joke's unblinking self-awareness about the limits of what one has chosen to do reminds me of the Philippine penchant for humor in times of crisis. The man who went fishing in a bathtub—fully aware that he would not be catching any fish—is probably making do. We may see the improvisational fisherman as a lunatic or as a Sisyphean figure

of self-ironic perseverance. In the absence of more hospitable environs, such as a lake or a river, with lowered expectations but not without hope, he refuses to give up doing what he has chosen to do. A similar spirit animates those who love and advocate for Philippine cinema. Tioseco recalls his collaborative efforts to reform the controversial Metro Manila Film Festival: "I did it because part of me sincerely believed we could do things. A belief that, for a few moments, was infectious, for even those that knew in the back of their minds that nothing would come of it still chose to take part."[186]

At a Q & A for a talk I gave at Cornell University in 2019, the first question was posed by an undergraduate student: "Are you hopeful that there will be public outcry about this archival crisis?" I was taken aback by the query; I knew too much about the long-simmering, still-unfulfilled, historically Sisyphean archival dream to profess unbridled optimism. So I hedged, saying that I would not begin my answer with the predicate (am I *hopeful*?) but would start by unpacking the noun phrase (*public* outcry). Condensing the argument I elaborate in the epilogue, I explained that access creates public stakeholders for archives; in the absence of access, an engaged public cannot arise. At the same time, however, creating a public involves addressing a public as though it already existed, as Michael Warner suggests.[187] If I remain hopeful, then, it is because minor archival initiatives, informal circuits, and small films have created pathways to access, even if these efforts tend to be short-lived. But I should also have added that every activism and advocacy, however long-running or exhausted, is fueled at least in some part by hope. In that sense, this book is itself part of a long, unfolding history of hopeful attempts to co-imagine a public that uses film archives and wants them to thrive.

POSTSCRIPT: THE MEDIAL MATERIALITY OF *IBONG ADARNA*

The digital circulation of celluloid-born works foregrounds the thorny status of digital formats as untested preservation media, even as digitization dramatically improves the accessibility of archival holdings.[188] I am old enough and fortunate enough to have completed my graduate training at a time when 16mm and 35mm film prints were projected in our lecture halls; we watched film on film. Paolo Cherchi Usai rhapsodizes on the artifactual value of nitrate film: "Seen in a nitrate print projected on a big screen, the best work of the silent era can be an overwhelming artistic experience. Copy it, and at once the magic disappears. It is like copying a

Rembrandt with an Instamatic camera. The silver content of black-and-white film stock has been removed to such an extent that the glistening sheen of early cinematography often registers as an out-of-focus smear. The information is there. The art is gone."[189]

Having only ever screened silent cinema on acetate, videotape, or DVD, I belatedly realize that I have never really *seen* silent cinema and that, in Usai's sense, few of us have. Though far more accessible, digital versions of *Ibong Adarna* confuse the difference between content and carrier because the visible and audible decline of the nitrate source has become part of the migrated content, encouraging us to overlook the materiality of the digital file we consume. In retrospect, I cannot clearly recall the provenance of my analog-to-digital copy of *Ibong Adarna*. I surmise that I obtained a VHS access copy from the CCP that I subsequently burned to DVD, then ripped to a digital file years later. It was in that much-remediated form, multiply migrated from celluloid to magnetic tape to optical disc to M4V, that I encountered *Ibong Adarna*'s densely intertextual and national-colonial texture. In 2019, the ABS-CBN Film Archives completed "digital scanning and enhancement"—not a full restoration—of *Ibong Adarna*. Regrettably, I have not seen this version due to its limited circulation.[190]

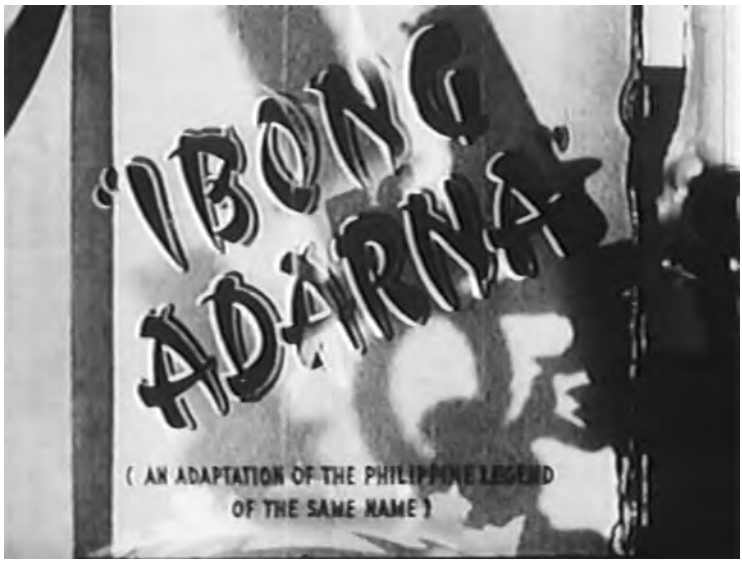
Based on a *corrido*, a Philippine metrical romance that vernacularized Spanish narrative ballads, *Ibong Adarna* is a *moro-moro* movie drawn from the theatrical tradition of the Spanish *comedia*, a three-act drama in polymetric verse. Dating from the seventeenth century, the Tagalog dramatic genre of the *komedya* often involves a romantic conflict between Moorish and Christian protagonists. In keeping with this transcultural genealogy, *Ibong Adarna*'s politics of casting and costume are moralized and racialized.[191] The virtuous Prince Juan is played by Fred Cortes, a light-skinned mestizo Filipino actor with Euro-American features. He is characteristically clothed in white, as opposed to his older brothers, whose costumes and more Malay features are intended to convey their relative degrees of villainy. The diabolical eldest brother, Prince Pedro (Ben Rubio), is clad in dark colors that register as black on the monochromatic footage, while the middle sibling, Prince Diego (Vicente Oliver), is attired in a combination of black and white, an allusion to his moral ambiguity (figure I.8).[192]

Simultaneous with its Spanish influences, *Ibong Adarna*, an early studio era film produced by LVN Pictures during the American colonization of the Philippines, exhibits pronounced Hollywood influences. An overhead crane shot of dancers in an ornamental radial pattern is reminiscent of Busby Berkeley musicals.[193] The movie's Hollywood-style Orientalism,

I.8 Costume and casting carry racialized, moralistic undertones in *Ibong Adarna* (Adarna bird; dir. Vicente Salumbides and Manuel Conde, 1941). Film still.

paired with the *komedya*'s Spanish Catholic influences, produces incongruous dissonances in the film's ethnoracial register: the title card that declares the film an adaptation of a Philippine legend uses a font reminiscent of Chinese calligraphy (figure I.9); in a later scene, a turbaned protagonist in a faux Middle East setting utters a penitent Christian prayer. Perhaps most shockingly, dark theatrical makeup reminiscent of blackface is used on minor actors playing an unnamed miniature couple (figure I.10). Imperiously interpellated by the film's fair-skinned mestiza heroine as *negrito* and *negrita*, the couple's depiction conflates popular names for an indigenous Philippine people, the Agta Negritos, with visual codes signifying racial primitivism drawn from American popular culture.[194]

The echo of blackface minstrelsy in *Ibong Adarna*, one of the few surviving Philippine films of the American colonial period, suggests that blackface as an "index of popular white racial feeling in the US" was imported into colonial Filipino cinema. The result is a merging of what Eric Lott calls white American culture's commodification of the "culture of the dispossessed" with Tagalog mainstream cinema's pejorative stance toward indigeneity.[195] *Ibong Adarna* thus affirms Deocampo's insight about the

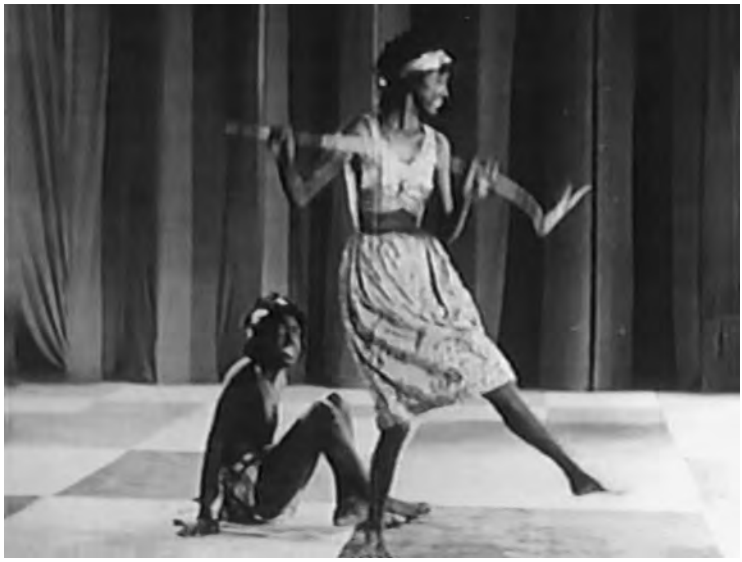


I.9 The title card of *Ibong Adarna* uses a font reminiscent of Chinese calligraphy, evoking Hollywood-style Orientalism. Film still.

confrontation between "hegemonic colonial cultures" in the first decades of Filipino filmmaking: "What constituted 'native' in [early] Philippine cinema was a complex combination—a hybrid—of cultural influences. . . . Hispanic and American (even later, Japanese, Tagalog, and other regional attributes) . . . combined to shape 'native' cinema into the 'national' cinema that it is today, or seeks to achieve in the future."[196]

The *ibong adarna* of the title is a magical bird whose beautiful nocturnal songs lure the two false princes to sleep, after which the bird's droppings turn them into stone. Only Prince Juan, whose kindness to a beggar is rewarded with the latter's sage advice, avoids his brothers' fate: armed with seven *dayap* (limes) and a *labaha* (razor) against the *adarna* bird's sleep-inducing songs, our hero slashes his arm and squeezes the citrus over his cuts whenever he is in danger of falling asleep. The two older brothers, who had been hard-hearted toward the beggar, are turned to stone, but the youngest prince emerges victorious in the film's most beautifully shot, carefully orchestrated scene.

At the peak of a mythical mountain, the prince marvels at the low-hanging, silver-leafed branches of a mystical tree (figures I.11–I.14). The scene's stark tonal contrasts between highlights and shadows, as well as

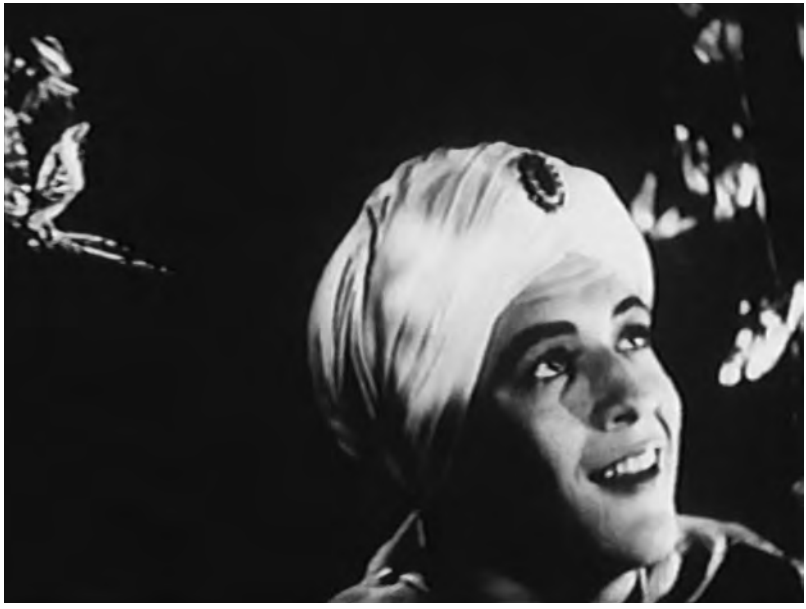


I.10 *Ibong Adarna*'s depiction of unnamed indigenous characters (referred to only as a "negrito" and "negrita" couple) rehearses visual codes signifying racial primitivism drawn from American popular culture. Film still.

the deft use of high- and low-angle framing, heighten our sense of anticipation for the film's visual and acoustic centerpiece: the sight of the *ibong adarna* and the diegetic sound of its evening song rising above the chirping of other birds, voiced by coloratura soprano Angeles Gayoso. Her warbling is accompanied by the trilling of a piccolo in alternation with a flute, together with subtle chimes and xylophone on the orchestral soundtrack composed by Francisco Buencamino Sr. The scene's alternation between pleasure and pain is embodied by the hero himself: a close-up of Prince Juan wincing as he squeezes citric acid over his self-inflicted wounds is followed by a long shot of him marveling at the enchanted bird he subsequently captures.

In 1995, a project proposal from the PIA to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) recommended the immediate retrieval and restoration of twenty Filipino film classics, including *Ibong Adarna*, "identified as [possessing] high heritage value."[197] Accordingly, the credits at the beginning of my copy of *Ibong Adarna* announce that the 2005 film restoration was funded by the NCCA, adding that "the soundtrack has been digitally restored and the image was printed from the existing 35mm nitrate dupe negative with sound."

I.11–I.14 Prince Juan (Fred Cortes) encounters the *adarna* bird. Film stills, *Ibong Adarna*.



Del Mundo notes that spectacle is central to the *moro-moro* film, in both its sumptuous costumes and its overt reliance on special effects (glass shots, dissolves, stop-motion cinematography, and matte work). Upon the film's initial release in 1941, studio publicity touted the spectacle of the *adarna* bird's "multicolored plumage."[198] Such spectacles, however, are much diminished in the 2005 restoration's anarchival afterlife. In my multiply migrated copy, the bird's grayish body slowly dims and brightens, alerting us to moments when lost hues likely would have appeared. In lieu of colorful feathers at the center of the mise-en-scène, one sees a green or blue blotch at the bottom left edge of the frame. As scholars of video remind us, "The physical storage technology introduces some of its own artifacts and specificity into the [electronic] signal."[199] Archivist Benedict "Bono" Salazar Olgado speculates that such blotches in *Ibong Adarna* are likely to be video noise on the edges or borders of the frame that typically worsen with each successive generation of videotape duplication.[200] These unexpected colors in a black-and-white film suggest my copy's origins in a kinescope transfer intended for television broadcast. A vertical white scratch is prominent in the scene of Prince Juan's encounter with the bird; more noticeably, the vertical and diagonal white scratches that render Prince Juan's encounter with Princess Leonora nearly illegible were possibly caused by machine rollers during chemical processing of the celluloid footage (figure I.15).[201]

To note these material details is not to fault the restoration but, rather, to highlight this specific copy's journey from cellulose nitrate to VHS to digital file. Lucas Hilderbrand's redemptive reappraisal of the "inherent vice" of video decay construes the medial materiality of "distortion, degeneration, inferiority, and obsolescence" not as poverty or failure but as "indexical evidence of use and duration throughout time."[202] Like a dog-eared book, what Arjun Appadurai calls the "social life of the thing" becomes visible in the well-worn media commodity's "consumption, duration, and history."[203]

To speak of a "film" by naming its title is to speak of a false singularity: every film is actually a multiplicity of prints, copies, or versions of the "same" title, each having endured an internal history.[204] The "internal history of the copy" is impacted by the vagaries of each film print's circulation, exhibition, and preservation; the frequency of projections; the people who handled, safeguarded, or neglected it; the circumstances in which it was stored and screened; and by subsequent analog and digital transfers. While we may do our best to evoke the "original" experience of *Ibong Adarna* during its first theatrical run, there remains "a huge difference between the moving image we are allowed to see today and what audiences saw at the time of its

I.15 Border/edge video noise and scratches are evident in a multiply migrated analog-to-digital copy of *Ibong Adarna*. Film still.

initial release."[205] The clatter of a celluloid projector in a crowded public theater has given way to the whir of my laptop at home.

The migration of sonic or visual content to new carriers—from nitrate film reels to digital files on discs, drives, and servers—typifies archival preservation in an age when analog and digital entwine. Yet migration is neither neutral nor lossless. Unlike the content, the artifactual and material attributes of the carrier cannot be migrated.[206] In digitizing a vinyl record, one copies the song but loses the look and feel of the record and its album sleeve, the sound of the needle as it touches the groove. In digitizing nitrate cinema, one forfeits the luminous character of the films' "rich tones and high silver content,"[207] which lent them a "silky warmth" and "diaphanous glow."[208] In my imagination, Prince Juan's first encounter with the *adarna* bird comes closest to evoking the lost auratic experience of nitrocellulose film's velvety black-and-white beauty.[209]

For many archivists, nitrocellulose encapsulates the challenges posed by medium obsolescence, as distilled in the 1970s rallying cry of the American film preservation movement, "nitrate won't wait." Like all motion picture film stock, nitrocellulose begins its process of deterioration as soon as it is manufactured. Nitrate film emits chemical fumes that, reacting with moisture and air, produce acids that eventually "corrode the silver

salts in the emulsion, destroying the image and the support that bears its traces, until the film is completely ruined."[210] While nitrocellulose can be long-lasting, it is also chemically unstable and highly flammable. By 1949, it began to be supplanted by motion picture films with another type of base: cellulose acetate. The popular term for acetate, *safety film*, is a misnomer since cellulose acetate is prone to "vinegar syndrome," a form of decomposition whose onset is signaled by the odor of vinegar. Polyester film, which was widely used from the mid-1990s until the transition to digital production, decomposes more slowly than its predecessors, though it is subject to problems like curling and delamination.[211] Regardless of base polymer, then, the life span of photographic film is marked by spontaneous, inevitable, and irreversible deterioration. In this material sense, archival collections are continually being preserved so as to stave off the anarchival possibility of an archive becoming a sepulcher for dead media.[212]

Archival decay belies André Bazin's claim that in capturing the profilmic, photography and photochemical cinema are an ontological "defense against the passage of time," aspiring to the "preservation of life by a representation of life."[213] For Philip Rosen, Bazin's preservative obsession, the desire to embalm time and maintain the past against decay, is an essentially defensive fantasy that seeks to disavow "time passing, duration, and change" because these "raise the problem of death."[214] Bazin was writing in 1945. Decades later, we know only too well that the physical carriers of photographic and cinematic images—whether celluloid film, analog tape, or digital discs and drives—are also subject to decline; the substrate suffers its own demise.

In *The Death of Cinema*, film preservationist Paolo Cherchi Usai asserts that "cinema is the art of moving image destruction," since the more we run a film through a projector, the more it is seen and handled, the more quickly it is destroyed. Declaring that film preservation is "futile," he writes, "preservation of the moving image is a necessary mistake."[215] Usai's polemical assertion and his book's postscript (a faux epistolary rant) are a type of reverse psychology, forcing us to articulate our investments in audiovisual archiving in the face of a lifelong preservationist's insistence on its simultaneous futility *and* necessity.[216] That Sisyphean recognition animates the rest of this book.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION. KEYWORDS FOR PHILIPPINE CINEMA'S ARCHIVAL AFTERLIVES

1 *Ibong Adarna* was written and directed by Vicente Salumbides, with Manuel Conde serving as technical supervisor.

2 Del Mundo, *Dreaming*, 4–5.

3 Walters-Johnston, email to author.

4 The First Golden Age of Philippine cinema refers to critically acclaimed films made at the height of the studio system, especially during the 1940s and 1950s. David, "Second Golden Age," 2.

In an essay in the unpublished *Philippine Audiovisual Archives Collections: An Inventory*, the only comprehensive national inventory of its kind, Junio writes with frustration about the Philippines' archival condition: "From 1919, the year when *Dalagang Bukid* [Country maiden] was produced . . . to the present, we have a national output of, more or less, 8,000 feature films. . . . Inevitably you ask: *Where are these films*? I daresay 65% is GONE! Of the 350+ pre-war (i.e., World War II) films alone, we have less than 10 titles preserved in the original format. As a matter of interest, the only existing nitrate film—LVN's *Ibong Adarna* (1941)—is now in a freezer waiting to be copied to safety film." Junio, "Movie in My Mind," 7; emphasis in original.

5 The Library of Congress does hold nitrate copies of early colonial films made during the American occupation of the Philippines. See del Mundo, *Native Resistance*; and Deocampo, *Film*.

6 Julie Galino started her career with LVN Pictures, Inc., in 1990, working in the sales and postproduction departments. She began supervising the LVN Film Archives in 2002; when LVN closed its laboratory operations in 2005, she stayed on as administrative and finance officer while handling its film and memorabilia collection. Galino joined ABS-CBN Film Archives and Restoration in 2011 and is the current head of the Film Archives.

7 Galino, personal interview with author. Confirming Junio's account, Galino recalled that the nitrate dupe negative of *Ibong Adarna* was frozen and subsequently thawed in an ordinary freezer at LVN prior to the 2005

restoration, in consultation with archivists at the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia (NFSA). Galino, phone interview with author.

8 I address this idea in a different way elsewhere: "This latency of historical experience, the noncoincidence of historical event with a calendrical index, forcefully attests to a temporality that exceeds linear ordering." B. C. Lim, *Translating Time*, 185.

9 I am grateful to an anonymous reader for Duke University Press for the turn of phrase "wishful misremembering."

10 Takemoto, "Looking for Jiro Onuma," 248, 264.

11 According to ABS-CBN's film restoration head, Leo Katigbak, more than eight thousand Philippine movies were made on film between 1919 and the shift to digital cinema in 2012. While "a little over half survived in all formats," only "two thousand have been documented to have surviving film copies." Katigbak, "Ganito Tayo Noon."

12 The five surviving Filipino full-length feature films from the prewar period are *Zamboanga* (dir. Eduardo de Castro, 1937); *Tunay Na Ina* (True mother; dir. Octavio Silos, 1939); *Giliw Ko* (My dear; dir. Carlos Vander Tolosa, 1939); *Pakiusap* (Lover's plea; dir. Octavio Silos, 1940); and *Ibong Adarna* (Adarna bird; dir. Vicente Salumbides, 1941). See Junio, "Movie in My Mind," 7–8; del Mundo, *Native Resistance*, 7–8; and Deocampo, "Zamboanga."

In 2009, archival sleuthing by cinephile-archivists Teddy Co and Martin Magsanoc established that footage from two Filipino silent films from 1931, *Moro Pirates* (dir. Jose Nepomuceno) and *Princess Tarhata* (director unknown), had been reedited as a single film and released in the US market under the title *Brides of Sulu* in 1934. See San Diego, "Archivists Reclaim."

13 Deocampo, *Films from a "Lost" Cinema*. According to Paul Grant, only four predigital Visayan films survive. Grant, email to author. See chapter 6, note 12.

14 Patino, "From Colonial Policy," 52. Old film prints were also used for the flared section of toy horns (*torotot*) used in New Year's celebrations. Katigbak, "Ganito Tayo Noon."

15 See Pierce, *Survival of American Silent Feature*; and Edmondson and Pike, *Australia's Lost Films*.

16 Grant and Anissimov, *Lilas*, 18. Deocampo reflects: "If I (as [a] film historian) were to only consider films and their physical presence as [the] basis for writing a history of early Philippine cinema, then the five prewar films you mentioned would have made my job as [a] film historian impossible. In addition to films, . . . paratextual documents (film catalogues, reviews, posters, advertisements, show bills, interviews, biographies, scripts, and other ephemera—all contained in archival holdings) [are] equally significant sources of 'knowledge' about a country's cinema and its history." Deocampo, email to author.

17 Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map*, 153.

18 *Audiovisual* is an inclusive term for moving images and recorded sound across a range of media, formats, and *carriers* (the physical objects, such as vinyl records, nitrocellulose film, videotapes, DVDs or Blu-ray discs, on which audiovisual *content* is stored). *Film*, used in a narrow technical sense, denotes negative or positive film strips coated with light-sensitive emulsion, used either in still photography or in photochemical (analog) cinema (Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 19–20). Historically, many types of film have dominated motion picture production: e.g., nitrate (or nitrocellulose, aka celluloid), cellulose acetate (aka "safety" film), and polyester film. While Dan Streible argues for a strictly materialist and historically rigorous use of the term *film* that excludes digital movies and refers only to "strips of transparent material coated with light-sensitive emulsion" (Streible, "Moving Image History," 228), other audiovisual archivists adopt a more expansive and flexible usage of the term to refer to "moving images in general as well as particular types of works, such as feature films, regardless of carrier" (Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 21).

This book focuses on film archives that collect photochemical cinema on film strips, while recognizing that film in a more capacious sense has been broadcast on television, watched on videotape, and circulated digitally. In practice, film archives are hybrid in terms of media formats and carriers and in their institutional structures, which may overlap with those of other memory institutions, such as libraries and museums. My use of *film archive* follows from the names of key entities in this study, such as the NFAP/PFA. While actual collections may contain a range of audiovisual media, the prominence of "film" in their organizational descriptors indicates that film (in both materialist and popular senses of the term) remains central to the mandate and priorities of these institutions.

19 Referred to only as the "Film Archive" or "Film Archives" in Marcos's Executive Order 640-A, its first director general, Ernie de Pedro, referred to the agency as the Film Archives of the Philippines with the acronym NFAP (despite the lack of "National" in its designation) in his 1986 report (De Pedro, "Overview of the Film Archives"; F. E. Marcos, Executive Order No. 640-A). In this book, I refer to the 1980s Film Archives as the FAP to distinguish it from the NFAP reestablished by the FDCP in 2011.

20 SOFIA was incorporated on June 27, 1993, the same year that the ASEAN Conference-Workshop on Film Retrieval, Restoration, and Archiving was held in Manila. Its eight founding members personified the commitment and support of the state institutions and private entities they worked for: Agustin "Hammy" Sotto (CCP); Belina "Bel" Capul and Mary del Pilar (PIA); Annella Mendoza (UP Film Center); Josephine "Jo" Atienza; Ricky Orellana and Violeta Velasco (MOWELFUND); and Renato "Sonny" San Miguel. Mendoza, "Seven Years of the Society of Film Archivists," 1.

21 In reestablishing the NFAP in 2011, Briccio Santos became the first FDCP chair to act on the FDCP's weak archival mandate. Early in his term, tensions between the fledgling NFAP and the SOFIA-led advocacy movement were sparked by Administrative Order 26 signed by President Benigno Aquino III, which required all government entities and private parties to deposit copies of their audiovisual collections to the NFAP (B. S. Aquino III, Administrative Order No. 26). Lacking clear policies on acquisition and copyright, the administrative order generated skepticism among archivists from both state and private entities who interpreted this as a nonconsultative, top-down move on the part of the FDCP and the NFAP.

22 The FDCP's archival mandate reads: "to ensure the establishment of a film archive in order to conserve and protect film negatives and/or prints as part of the nation's historical, cultural, and artistic heritage." Congress of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 9167.

23 By 2020, four years after Duterte's appointment of Mary Liza Diño as chair of the FDCP, the PFA had seen increased turnover of leadership and staff positions and had restored fewer films than the prior NFAP. By her own admission, Diño "had no prior knowledge about film archiving" at the time of her appointment (Diño-Seguerra, "Vision for FDCP's Philippine Film Archive"). Many of the film restorations touted as PFA accomplishments in Diño's 2020 article had actually been undertaken by the NFAP under the prior FDCP chair.

The local archive community was critical of the PFA's infrequent film restorations and lack of publications during the three-year period commemorating the Centennial of Philippine Cinema (2018–20) under Diño's FDCP tenure (Co, email to author, August 24, 2020). Stakeholders noted that the PFA did not provide updates about the status of their deposited collections or inform them of the potential impact of the PFA's planned move to a new structure in Intramuros on their collections (Orellana, Skype interview with author).

In July 2022, the newly elected president, Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr., appointed former actor Tirso S. Cruz III as the chair of the FDCP, *Rappler*, "Tirso Cruz III Officially Assumes Position."

24 Patino, "From Colonial Policy," 44.

25 Unrealized proposals for a permanent national audiovisual repository date back to a 1981 UNESCO report (Roads, "Manila National Film Centre"). In August 2020, the PFA announced that plans to construct an archive building in the historic district of Intramuros, Manila, had been delayed by the pandemic (Diño-Seguerra, "Vision for FDCP's Philippine Film Archive").

26 B. C. Lim, "Analysis and Recommendations."

27 Chapter 2 examines the closure of various state entities' film collections.

28 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 10–12.

29 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 19.

30 Lippit, *Atomic Light*, 8–9, 12, 33.

31 Kumar, *National Film Archives*, 16. *Deferral* here means that films' degradation, while inevitable, can be delayed; under ideal conditions, films can last for over a century or more. Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 53–54.

32 Usai, *Death of Cinema*, 113–15; Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, v. Ray Edmondson is the founding president of SEAPAVAA and former deputy director and now curator emeritus of the NFSA. On film and audiovisual preservation as a historically mutable and socially structured practice, see Frick, *Saving Cinema*, 6; and Gracy, *Film Preservation*, 22.

33 The conflicts, debates, and aspirations encoded in historical processes of self-naming were foregrounded in a September 2020 Cinema Sala virtual roundtable that posed the polemical question, "Are We Filipinx?," for which I served as moderator and opening speaker.

34 Rodríguez, *Forced Passages*, 1–2.

35 Mojares, "Formation of Filipino Nationality," 12–13, 26.

36 Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema*, 10.

37 My discussion of formal and informal archives is inspired by Lobato, who argues that today's global film culture combines the formal distribution pipelines of media conglomerates with other informal routes through which movies reach consumers. In a transnational context dominated by "shadow economies of cinema" that are largely "unmeasured, unregulated, and extra-legal" (Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema*, 1), we might also speak of "shadow archives" or informal archival conduits (e.g., video stores, microcuratorial projects, pop-up community screenings, personal sharing, and outright piracy) with which formal institutional repositories are entangled.

38 Rafael, "Preface to the Philippine Edition," xi–xii.

39 Rafael, "Sovereign Trickster."

40 On martial law in Mindanao, see Gotinga, "After 2 and a Half Years." On the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020, see McCarthy, "Why Rights Groups Worry." On the abrogation of the defense agreement, see Llaneta, "UP Protests against Threat"; and Talabong, "Duterte Gov't Ends 1989 Deal."

41 See Dulay et al., "Continuity, History, and Identity."

42 The ECP was created via presidential decree (Executive Order No. 770) in 1982 and was abolished by Marcos in 1985. The FDCP, established in 2002 via Republic Act 9167, inherits several of the ECP's functions. See F. E. Marcos, Executive Order No. 770; F. E. Marcos, Executive Order No. 1051; Congress of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 9167.

43 Constitutional Commission, 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, Art. VII, Sec. 16, as clarified by Reyes, email to author.

44 Campos, *End of National Cinema*, 278; Villarama, "Current Film Distribution Trends," 104.

45 The FDCP is charged with the growth of the commercial film industry through production incentives, film festivals, and the development of both domestic and foreign markets for Philippine cinema. Congress of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 9167.

46 Olgado and Roque, "Position Paper on House Bill No. 2404"; Lim, Olgado, and Roque, "Position Paper on the Interrelated House Bills"; Lim, Olgado, and Roque, "Position Paper on the Substitute Bill."

47 Brown, "Crippled Cinema," 264–65.

48 Brown, "Crippled Cinema," 286–87.

49 Villarama, "Current Film Distribution Trends," 100.

50 Edmondson, "National Film and Sound Archive," 362.

51 On self-theorizing, see Caldwell, "Cultures of Production," 199–201.

52 Abad, "Timeline"; Gutierrez, "Philippine Congress Officially Shuts Down." Hard hit by the closure in 2020, the ABS-CBN Film Archives was initially concerned not only about ongoing restoration projects but also about the safety of the archive's vaults and holdings, especially given a threatened government takeover of the network complex, a move that recalls an earlier historical precedent: the Marcos dictatorship's seizure of all media outlets upon the declaration of martial law in 1972, resulting in the destruction of "the master copies of all programs" produced by ABS-CBN's radio and television network prior to martial law. Avendaño, "Final Cut"; see also M. O. Lim, "ABS-CBN Shutdown."

Leo Katigbak, head of ABS-CBN Film Restoration, summed up the impact of the franchise denial on the ABS-CBN Film Archives. By August 31, 2020, the archives staff were reduced from fourteen to five workers; and DVD releases and full digital restorations (which are collaboratively outsourced to domestic and international partners) were halted due to budget restrictions. Katigbak, "Ganito Tayo Noon"; Katigbak, email to author.

53 Del Mundo, qtd. in Chua, "Hard Work of Saving."

54 In 1997, Bel Capul described SOFIA as a "professional association of AV [audiovisual] archive practitioners composed of middle level managers coming from different institutions with AV archive holdings." When the Philippines hosted the first SEAPAVAA conference in 1996, Philippine president Fidel Ramos formally recognized SOFIA as the "lead coordinating body" spearheading the establishment of a National Film Archive. Capul, "Annex I."

55 Allyson Field cautions against reifying the value and authority of surviving films. Field, *Uplift Cinema*, 25.

56 On "gray literature," see Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 115–16.

57 Edmondson, "National Film and Sound Archive," 8–9, 81.

58 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 19.

59 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 4–5.

60 The former head of the Film Archives of the ABS-CBN Corporation until her retirement in 2019, Mary del Pilar is a SOFIA cofounder. A SOFIA past president and member of its Board of Trustees, she was head of the PIA-MPD Film Laboratory from 1991 to 2000. In addition to having served as Executive Council member of the NCCA Committee on Cinema, she served as SEAPAVAA treasurer and chair of its Technical Committee from 1996 to 2000.

Vicky Belarmino is a past president of SOFIA and a cultural officer and film archivist of the CCP's Film, Broadcast, and New Media Production and Exhibition Department. She serves as festival coordinator for the Cinemalaya Philippine Independent film festival. She was an Executive Council member of the NCCA Committee on Cinema (2004–10) and also served as an officer and Executive Council member of SEAPAVAA (2008–13). Her mentors include two premier historians of Philippine film, scholars Agustin "Hammi" Sotto (at SOFIA) and Nicanor Tiongson (at CCP), exemplifying the strong links between academia and archiving in the careers of SOFIA prime movers.

Edmondson notes the unique value of personal papers accumulated by cultural workers and institutional insiders, "which could not have been separately assembled by any other researcher" (Edmondson, "National Film and Sound Archive," 377). On the role of SEAPAVAA and other archives in shaping "the formation of a regional conception of Asian cinema," see O. Khoo, *Asian Cinema*, chap. 6.

61 The career of Bel Capul, a SOFIA cofounder, bridged the Marcos and post-EDSA eras of film archiving, given her work at the Communications Research Office of the NMPC from 1979 to 1985 and her years at the PIA-MPD from 1986 to 2004, a period that coincides with the heyday of the PIA's film restoration and preservation efforts. In the 1990s, as head of the PIA-MPD, Capul trained film laboratory technicians in restoration processes, thus paving the way for the establishment of SOFIA. As a SOFIA member and past president (1996–98), Capul supervised several film restorations and spearheaded the restoration of *Tunay Na Ina*, one of the earliest surviving Filipino films. She went on to serve as president of SEAPAVAA (2002–8) and chair of UNESCO's Memory of the World Marketing Subcommittee in 2009. She retired from the PIA in 2017.

Vicky Bejerano is a PIA staff member whose career spans the transition from the defunct MPD to the current MISD; like Capul, she embodies much of these units' institutional memory. From 1991 to 2003, Bejerano worked as a chemist and sensitometrist at the MPD's Film Lab. From 2009 onward, she was the sole employee of the PIA Archives Unit under the MISD.

62 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 84–85.

63 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 3.
64 Harding, "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology," 57.
65 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 187–88.
66 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 191.
67 In this book, all translations from Filipino and Taglish (a mixture of Tagalog-based Filipino and English) into English are my own, with the exception of quoted English subtitles for Filipino films.
68 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 190–91.
69 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 189.
70 Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 1, 9, 12.
71 On patriarchal conceptions of the archivist as the "handmaiden" to the historian, see Cook, "Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," 608–9; and Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community," 107. T. R. Schellenberg's influential archival theory is explored in Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community."
72 Harding, "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology," 60–61; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xix.
73 See Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel*. The establishment of the graduate Moving Image Archiving and Preservation (MIAP) program at New York University in 2004 was key to this shift.
74 Cook, "Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," 614–15.
75 Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 82.
76 See the journal issue titled "Cinema and the Archives in the Philippines," *Plaridel* 15, no. 2 (2018).
77 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 19–21, 151–52.
78 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Theory from the South*, 6–7.
79 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 187.
80 Kathryn Pyne Addelson notes: "The academic disciplines are constructed to preserve themselves, their bailiwicks, and the careers and authority of their members." Addelson, "Knower/Doers and Their Moral Problems," 273.
81 Said, *Representations of the Intellectual*, 76–77.
82 Barthes, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, 52.
83 Alexis Tioseco's letter was first published in *Rogue* in July 2008. Tioseco, "Letter I Would Love."
84 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 19–20.
85 Cook, "Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," 629–31.
86 Parikka, "Archival Media Theory," 1–2.
87 Parikka, "Archival Media Theory," 16.
88 Steedman, *Dust*, 69.
89 Gracy, *Film Preservation*, 1–2, 57.
90 Gracy, *Film Preservation*, 17–19; Houston, *Keepers of the Frame*.
91 Harris, *Archives and Justice*, 121–22.

92 Carolyn Steedman speaks of "the constraints which . . . are made by the documents themselves: what they permit you to write, the permissions they offer." Steedman, *Dust*, x–xi.

93 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 11–12.

94 Frick, *Saving Cinema*, 13–14.

95 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 1–3.

96 In a conference paper, Deocampo cites a *Manila Times* editorial from 1917 urging the establishment of a National Film Archive. Deocampo, "Propaganda Influenced Concept."

97 Salumbides, *Motion Pictures in the Philippines*, 10–11.

98 Pinga, letter from Film Institute of the Philippines.

99 Under Diosdado Macapagal's presidency, Republic Act 4165 created the National Commission on Culture in 1964; film was not listed among the country's various arts. In the Marcos era, Republic Act 4846 did not include cinema as a cultural property in need of preservation, nor was cinema mentioned among the seven arts worthy of state support at the 1966 CCP groundbreaking ceremonies, "Alay at Pamana." Congress of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 4165; Congress of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 4846; "Appendix B: Program for the Ceremonies."

100 Pinga, "Looking at Our Film Institute," 4.

101 BNFI, "BNFI/UNESCO/CAPREFIL Final Report," 4–6.

102 B. Lumbera, "Approaches to the Filipino Film," 96, 99.

103 The impulse to go beyond mourning was inspired by an undergraduate student in my "Time and Cinema" course in spring 2017. During my lecture on the loss of indexicality due to the shift from analog to digital media, the student asked: "I get it, but what are we mourning?"

104 Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 10.

105 Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel*, 48.

106 Willems, "Beyond Normative Dewesternization," 7.

107 Cassano, *Southern Thought and Other Essays*, 1.

108 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26–27.

109 Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 3.

110 Steedman, *Dust*, 81.

111 "There is a double nothingness in the writing of history and in the analysis of it: it is about something that never did happen in the way it comes to be represented (the happening exists in the telling or the text); and it is made out of materials that aren't there, in an archive or anywhere else." Steedman, *Dust*, 154.

112 Field, *Uplift Cinema*, x–xi.

113 Field, *Uplift Cinema*, 23–27.

114 See Salumbides, *Motion Pictures in the Philippines*, 11; del Mundo, *Dreaming*, 4; B. Lumbera, "Approaches to the Filipino Film," 96; Deocampo, *Lost Films of Asia*.

115 Grant and Anissimov, *Lilas*, 9–10.

116 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 55.

117 Edmondson advises cultural workers in memory institutions to be aware of their own institutional histories, but the Philippines' anarchival conditions make his counsel difficult to operationalize. Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 76.

118 See Edmondson, "You Only Live Once."

119 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 55.

120 Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 13.

121 Harris, *Archives and Justice*, 89, 103.

122 Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community," 101–2.

123 Cook, "Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," 606.

124 Del Mundo, *Dreaming*, 14.

125 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3. Harris discusses archival appraisal as a political operationalization of Derridean consignation: "Appraisal brings into sharpest focus the power [of consignation] wielded by archivists. . . . Which stories will be consigned to the archive and which will not." Harris, *Archives and Justice*, 104.

126 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 23–24.

127 Velasco, PIA Circular No. 1; Velasco, PIA Circular No. 3; Velasco, PIA Circular No. 4; Velasco, PIA Special Order No. 195.

128 Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 52.

129 National Film Archives of the Philippines [hereafter NFAP], Film Inspection and Status Report; NFAP, email to author. The NFAP's film inspection and status report is made with reference to Jean-Louis Bigourdan's four-part classification of the condition of cellulose acetate films. *Good or Fair* refers to "films [that] are not decaying, or are just starting to decay," and "can last several centuries in proper storage," while *actively decaying* means that "film may decay at a fast pace depending on storage conditions" but "can last a century in cold storage" (Bigourdan, "Vinegar Syndrome," 1–2). According to Belarmino, "The prints at the time we opened the cans were in pretty good condition. The vinegar smell was not too pronounced, the prints were clean, no fungus, and the winding was not too tight, so it was easy to unroll and put in the projector." Belarmino, email to author.

130 Espiritu, *Passionate Revolutions*, 20.

131 Joaquin, "Marcos '70," 195.

132 E. Garcia, "Open Letter to Militant," 9.

133 Rafael, "Patronage, Pornography, and Youth," 155.

134 Within his first 100 days in power, Bongbong Marcos's administration shrank the budgets for the Philippines' national cultural and historical agencies. Announced in August 2022 and adopted on December 5 of that year, the *National Expenditure Program*'s 2023 allocations for

the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) and the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) were slashed by 27.26 percent and 25.27 percent in comparison to the previous year, respectively; the National Library of the Philippines' (NLP) budget was cut by 22.64 percent, while the National Commission for Arts and Culture (NCCA) faced the steepest cutbacks, at 83.9 percent. Department of Budget and Management, *National Expenditure Program*.

135 An especially important source was Jose Lacaba's 1982 book *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage*.

136 Amid a paucity of cinematic images, the First Quarter Storm bequeaths a soundtrack of activist songs and rallying cries. The enduring protest chant "*Makibaka, huwag matakot*!" (Struggle on, do not be afraid!) is one example of seventies activism's sonic legacy.

137 During the Diliman Commune of February 1971, students at UP Diliman erected barricades to stop the police and Philippine Constabulary from entering the campus to disperse student protesters. What began as a "peaceful solidarity strike with jeepney drivers over an oil price hike" became an "explosion of unrest" that lasted longer than a week as students occupied the campus and blocked accessways with furniture, objects, and their own bodies. More than eighteen students were arrested, and at least one student was killed. See Abad, "Lookback."

138 Letter to author [Re: Conditions for Research Access], September 9, 2014.

139 B. C. Lim, letter to Secretary of Information Herminio "Sonny" Coloma.

140 I later gathered that the motivation behind the PIA's bureaucratic stonewalling of my September 2014 research request was a matter of internal politics. What should have been a pro forma procedure (PIA Secretary General Oquineña's initialing of the research contract and fee waiver for the digitization of access copies) was delayed by what the director general's chief of staff called "internal issues." The contract had been previously approved by a higher authority, cabinet member Herminio "Sonny" Coloma, secretary of communications. This was apparently viewed as sidestepping the PIA secretary general's office, since my request had not gone through the "proper channels." B. C. Lim, letter to Secretary of Information Herminio "Sonny" Coloma; Avendaño, phone conversation with author.

141 The Wikipedia definition more or less accords with Jeff Martin's definition of kinescopes as "film recordings made of a broadcast directly from a television screen." Martin, "Dawn of Tape," 46.

142 Frick, *Saving Cinema*, 6.

143 I am grateful to Dan Bustillo's feedback on an earlier draft for sparking this insight.

144 Belarmino, email to author.

145 Steyerl, "In Defense of the Poor Image."

146 Goldgel-Carballo, "Reappropriation of Poverty," 114. See also G. C. Khoo, "Just-Do-It-(Yourself)," on the DIY sensibility of Malaysian independent cinema.

147 While my discussion of "making do" draws primarily on anarchival Philippine conditions and global South cultural production, there are also certain parallels with Michel de Certeau's notion of "making do" to refer to creative "styles of action" or "ways of operating" within constrained circumstances in order to achieve "unexpected results." Certeau focuses, however, on consumer practices, not cultural production or archival work-arounds. Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 30.

148 G. Lumbera, Zoom interview with author.

149 Ricky Orellana is the current director of the MOWELFUND Film Institute. A SOFIA cofounder and vice president, Orellana served as secretary general of SEAPAVAA from 2017 to 2019.

150 Orellana, Skype interview with author.

151 According to Leo Enticknap, telecine (the electronic capture of film for conversion to an analog television signal for broadcast) has tended to be conflated with digital frame-by-frame scanning of films. Enticknap, *Film Restoration*, 139–40. This might help explain why Belarmino likened the digital migration of 16mm films to kinescoping.

152 Del Mundo, *Dreaming*, 8–9.

153 At various public lectures in which I discussed tactics of making do, some audiences understandably referred to these as DIY or do-it-yourself practices. However, in contrast to dictionary definitions of DIY as work done by nonprofessionals who lack the relevant qualifications, making do is deployed by professionals due to a dearth of funding and institutional support, not for want of training or expertise. In response to an earlier draft of this book, Bono Olgado remarked that professional archivists were being forced by circumstances to embrace amateurism; I am grateful to him for this insight.

154 For example, as chapter 2 details, leftovers of the FAP and the LVN Pictures' Film Archives eventually ended up at the PIA-MPD before it, in turn, closed in 2004, its oddments turned over to the NFAP from 2013 to 2015.

155 Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map*, 3, 13, 16.

156 Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map*, 149–50.

157 *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "afterlife (*n.*)," accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/app.

158 Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel*, 13–17.

159 Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel*, 13–14. Fossati defines the "archival life of film" as "the life of film once it has entered the archive, from selection to preservation, from restoration to exhibition and digitization." Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel*, 23.

160 Famously, the controversial digital "restoration" of Georges Melies's 1902 *A Trip to the Moon* by Lobster Films came at the cost of destroying the hand-tinted nitrate source, sparking a debate on the ethics of destruction as preservation. See Sperb, *Flickers of Film,* 71–88; Bonnard, "Melies' Voyage Restoration."

161 Lippit, *Atomic Light*, 9.

162 Dulay et al., "Continuity, History, and Identity," 93–94.

163 Harris, *Archives and Justice*, 290–91.

164 Stein, "Manila's Angels," 49, 51.

165 As explored in chapter 3, a significant number of LVN Pictures' films survive in private hands, housed at the ABS-CBN Film Archives, together with a collection of studio memorabilia.

166 Ranada, "After ABS-CBN Decision, Duterte 'Happy.'"

167 Arondekar, *For the Record*, 1.

168 See Dinshaw, "Got Medieval?"; Rohy, "Ahistorical"; Yue, "Queer Asian Cinema"; Chiang and Wong, "Asia Is Burning"; and Chiang, Henry, and Leung, "Trans-in-Asia, Asia-in-Trans."

169 Campos, *End of National Cinema,* 280.

170 Zafra, "Building an Audience," 77.

171 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 7–8.

172 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 8.

173 Co, personal interview with author. Teddy Co was instrumental in the recovery and repatriation of the "lost films" of Gerardo de Leon, Manuel Conde, and Nonoy Marcelo, among others. A SOFIA member, he co-founded and curated for the Cinema Rehiyon Film Festival. From 2017 to 2019, he served as the commissioner of the arts for the NCCA and chair of the NCCA's Committee on Cinema.

174 In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes describes the *punctum* as the "wound," "sting," or "prick" of time; if some photographs strike us with force and poignancy, it is because they attest "that has-been." Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 26–27, 77.

175 Cvetkovich writes of her "conviction that the study of the present transforms historical methods." While reconstructing the recent history of gay and lesbian activism during the AIDS crisis, Cvetkovich realized "how perilously close to being lost even the recent past is" due to "resistance and neglect." Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 10.

176 Orellana, Skype interview with author.

177 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 75–76.

178 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 5–6.

179 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 11–12, 15, 20.

180 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 39.

181 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 59.

182 Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment*.

183 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 3.

184 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 82–83.

185 Camus, *Myth of Sisyphus*, 81–82.

186 Tioseco, "Letter I Would Love."

187 Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*.

188 Conrad, "Analog, the Sequel," 28.

189 Usai, *Silent Cinema*, xiv.

190 Although *Ibong Adarna* has been screened on the cable channel Cinema One and on Facebook, it has not been commercially released on DVD. Katigbak, "Ganito Tayo Noon"; Katigbak, email to author.

191 Del Mundo, *Native Resistance*, 69–73, 79–80, 87.

192 Del Mundo, *Native Resistance*, 80.

193 The film's art director, Richard Abelardo, known for his special effects cinematography and credited for his process shots on *Ibong Adarna*, worked in various Hollywood studios, including Warner Bros., in the 1930s. Deocampo, *Film*, 357–58.

194 Thomas N. Headland and Janet Headland note that human rights abuses against the Agta Negritos of the Philippines are rooted in "racial and ethnic prejudices" and "competitive exclusion" over scarce resources like agricultural land. See Headland and Headland, "Limitation of Human Rights," 79.

195 *Ibong Adarna*'s depiction of the indigenous *negrito/a* couple recalls the American practice of "blacking up" white performers with makeup, greasepaint, or burnt cork. As such, the couple's brief appearance alludes to the visual conventions of blackface minstrelsy, an entertainment form with roots in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whose legacy continues to be felt in twentieth-century and twenty-first-century media. As Lott's influential analysis underscores, blackface theatrical traditions encode "white racial dread" and a simultaneous fascination with and ridicule of black bodies (Lott, *Blackface Minstrelsy*, 4–6). Similarly, Nicholas Sammond defines blackface minstrelsy as "a white performance of imagined blackness" that stages a "relationship between imagined blackness and imagined whiteness." Sammond, *Birth of an Industry*, 5–11.

196 Deocampo, *Film,* 190–91.

197 Isleta, "Letter and Project Proposal from Honesto M. Isleta."

198 Del Mundo, *Native Resistance*, 79–82. The colorful plumage was "digitally handpainted" for ABS-CBN's 2019 version. Katigbak, "Ganito Tayo Noon."

199 Hilderbrand, *Inherent Vice,* 12.

200 A faculty member of the UP School of Library and Information Studies, Olgado served as the inaugural director for the NFAP and, later, its senior consultant (2012–14). He was a member of the SEAPAVAA Executive Council (2014–20) and cochair of the International Outreach Committee of the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA) (2012–15).

201 Olgado, email to author, 2018.
202 Hilderbrand, *Inherent Vice,* 15.
203 Appadurai, *Social Life of Things*; Appadurai, "Consumption, Duration, and History."
204 Usai, *Silent Cinema*, 12.
205 Usai, *Silent Cinema*, 16.
206 Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving*, 47, 56, 59.
207 Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait*, 1.
208 Habib, "Ruin, Archive," 132.
209 As Rumesh Kumar observes, "nitrate film has acquired a Benjaminian aura over the last few decades, having become a significant artefact—not unlike a museum object—even in instances when it might have historically only been a projection copy, especially if it is the only surviving one." Kumar, "National Film Archives,"16.
210 Usai, *Silent Cinema*, 12–13.
211 National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, "Base Polymers."
212 In his reading of *Lyrical Nitrate* (Peter Delpeut, 1991), Andre Habib observes: "The film archive is a strange tomb, characterized by what it lacks, and slowly decomposing." Habib, "Ruin, Archive," 122.
213 Bazin, "Ontology of the Photographic Image," 4–5.
214 Rosen, *Change Mummified*, 28.
215 Usai, *Death of Cinema*, 67.
216 Usai ends *The Death of Cinema* with a sardonic faux epistolary exchange between the publisher and a reader, all of which, one gathers, was penned by the author himself. Usai, *Death of Cinema*, 111–29.

CHAPTER 1. A TALE OF THREE BUILDINGS

A shorter version of this chapter appeared previously as "A Tale of Three Buildings: The National Film Archive, Marcos Cultural Policy, and Anarchival Temporality," in *Beauty and Brutality: Manila and Its Global Discontents* (2003), edited by Martin F. Manalansan IV, Robert Diaz, and Rolando B. Tolentino. Used by permission of Temple University Press.

1 L. J. Cruz, "Politicians Take to the Air"; Nakpil, "Audio-visual Politics."
2 The blurry areas of figure 1.2 are an indexical trace of the archival research context through which I encountered this source. At the time of my 2009 research trip to the Rizal Library at the Ateneo de Manila University, only low-cost photocopying by a staff member (not scanning) was available. The blurring may have been present in the newsprint original or introduced by the photocopying process (most photocopiers in Manila universities at the time used powder toners).