WOMEN ARTISTS AND GENDER ISSUES
IN 19TH CENTURY PHILIPPINES

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Introduction

Many artworks of the Spanish period have anonymous creators. Due to the nature of their form, mode of production, and the gender delineation surrounding labor affirmed by historical documents, these have been assumed to be the work of men. This assumption in today’s light is, of course, questionable. Studies point to the fact that theoretically, artwork attributed to men may very well be works of women. In ateliers of the 19th century, for example, women could very well have produced artworks by themselves. But since the place of production was socially recognized as the private preserve of men, all artworks that came out of the place automatically got attributed to men. Consider, too, the institutionalized practice of leaving the finishing touches male artists left for women to do as a matter of course, considering the social construction of women as men’s appendages or ‘natural’ helpers. The erasure of the participation of women in anonymous works greatly contributed to women’s invisibility in Philippine art history. But greater than this form of erasure is intimated in what Whitney Chadwick points out in Women, Art and Society: From the Western point of view nearly all women’s creations were considered as crafts regardless of the motives and skill involved in production (Chadwick 1996:6). The same point of view was exported to the Philippines with the coming of the Spaniards, and as a consequence the artistic
production of women was thrown out of art history. No longer were their embroidery, textiles and tapestries, baskets and jars considered works of ‘art’ but merely ‘craft’, hence not worth memorializing in art history books.

Division of labor based on sex seems to have existed in art and craft production for as long as gender construction has existed, which certainly was exacerbated with Spanish colonization. For example, carving and sculpture were assigned to men while weaving and embroidering were for women. The same principle of gender segregation was applied in music: Instruments were categorized either as men’s instruments or women’s instruments.

If crafts were to be considered as art, Encarnacion Alzona was of the opinion that in all likelihood women would outnumber men as artists (Alzona 1934:8). Proficiency in sewing and embroidery was expected from every woman. The various types of needlework brought by the Spanish nuns were part of every girl’s education. The women of the upper class embroidered to pass the time away, and to produce decorative objects for their homes or gifts for loved ones. Women of the lower class, on the other hand, took to sewing for functional purposes, such as mending. For some, the activity was a form of livelihood. This was especially true for those residing in convents and prisons (Sta. Maria 1983).

Fine needlework was much in demand for the clothing and accessories of the upper-class women who wished to look their best without having to perform the tedious task of carrying out the elaborate flora and fauna designs in vogue at that time in their apparel. For a low price, embroiderers decorated the clothing of women of the ilustrado class with designs provided by these privileged women themselves. According to a certain ‘Boni’ in the 1892 issue of La Ilustracion Filipina del Oriente, designs were the work of artist suitors who fitted the design to the personality of the lady love.
Women also put their artistry to use in the production of objects venerated by religious groups. Santiago Pilar mentions in his study that women were very much involved in putting the finishing touches on the religious images, be these sculpture or painting, usually working on the finer details of the face and the clothing.  

Embroidery was the favored art form for women of all classes. In pre-colonial times, forms of needlework had already existed. Along with the coming of the Spaniards were western designs. Mimetic designs became the norm for the Christianized Filipinos, as opposed to the geometric abstractions of indigenous peoples. It is to be noted that the latter's mode of representation was not obliterated entirely by Hispanicization. To this day it exists in the art of ethnic groups who have managed to preserve their heritage.

Religious motifs also frequently appeared, as these were often intended for use in the church or for religious objects, such as the santos women loved to dress. The identity of the individual creator was not much valued in this art form.

**Women and Painting**

Painting was taught in convent schools, but hardly on the professional level. It was merely considered another of the fitting pastimes for young ladies. For those who desired professional instruction, the only recourse was to get private tutoring from a master. Later, when the art academy was opened to women, some enrolled. However, not a few were unable to relate to the conventions the Academy taught and encouraged. This either prevented them from seriously studying painting or caused their works to be misinterpreted because these did not conform to the conventions recognized in the art world.

Women painters of the 19th century generally subscribed to the style that was fashionable for the time. Judging from
their existing and documented works, they did not seem to have been overly concerned with woman as subject whereas men did so. Nor were the women interested in man as subject and depicted to satisfy female fantasy, while male painters did paint women to serve male fantasies. Moreover, the women painters did not seem to be interested in the gender issues of their time since they failed to put this in their paintings.

In the last decade of the century women were permitted to study alongside men in the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura. The first female student who enrolled in this art school was the sculptor, Pelagia Mendoza, who won a prize for her bust of Columbus in 1892 (fig. 1). The following year, the school accepted more female students, making it the first and, until the beginning of the twentieth century, the only coeducational art institution in the Philippines (Santiago 1992:47).

Pelagia was 22 when she entered the school (Galang 1935:380). Previously, she had studied under private tutors. As Gregorio Zaide relates, “Since early childhood, she manifested a remarkable talent for art. When she was yet a little girl, she loved to sketch beautiful landscapes, to embroider handkerchiefs and model clay figurines of people, animals, birds, and flowers” (Zaide 1970:340–341).

Her parents supported her artistic endeavors and aided her in gaining entrance to the academy where she was influenced by Manuel Flores, a noted sculptor teaching there together with Rocha. She stayed in school for three years. Upon her graduation, with highest honors for sculpture, Zaide relates “Don Lorenzo(Rocha) warmly felicitated her and expressed a prophecy that some day she would be a credit to her country” (Ibid.:342).

Although Pelagia was known for other works in her time, there is only a record of her award-winning entry to the quadricentennial celebration of Columbus’ discovery of
Figure 1: Pelagia Mendoza's Colon.
America (Alzona 1934:34). The Spanish Government offered the prize. Many distinguished sculptors, including some foreigners, participated. Pelagia's bust Colon was selected among all these, and she was chosen over the Governor General for the honor of crowning the bust at the celebrations in Manila on October 12, 1892 (Zaide 1970:342).

Jose Zaragoza's article in La Ilustracion Filipina (fig. 2) on that occasion mentions that she had also entered a work in an earlier competition on the feastday of Saint John the Cross. She was given a consolation prize for this work, which Zaragoza criticized as "wanting of grandeur and dynamism." He, however, acknowledged her 'budding' talent, which was not hindered by 'feminine artistic feelings'. Nevertheless, he said that "in performing her art, her hand still refuses to obey the dictates of her soul. There is yet a feeling of uncertainty in the artist, which creates some fear in her. She tries to conceal this fear by being overzealous, which consequently leads to less spontaneity, resulting therefore to a poor quality work" (Zaragoza 1892).

Her marriage to Crispulo Zamora, a classmate at the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura may have interfered with her career as a sculptor, a male art history chronicler speculates, noting that she was not among the many artists who exhibited at the Exposicion Regional Filipina of 1895 (Tota Jose 1997). However, as Crispulo Zamora's wife, she continued to be deeply involved in the visual arts. Zamora inherited his father's engraving business and Pelagia assisted him in furthering the business, which, as CRISPULO ZAMORA & SONS, became known for outstanding workmanship, including such pieces as the crown of the Virgin of Peñafrancia at Naga and other jewelry for santos, and plaques presented to foreign dignitaries and military decorations.

Pelagia carried on the business after her husband's death in 1922, with the help of her children. She made designs and
Figure 2: Pelagia Mendoza on the cover of *La Ilustracion Filipina.*
moulds, inspired by the designs and techniques she saw in her travels to foreign countries. She toured China, Japan, Malaysia, and Indo-China for the specific purpose of learning how different nationalities applied their artistry and technology in the production of arts and crafts. The knowledge gained was used to modernize the Philippine engraving and metal-working industry. CRISPULO ZAMORA & SONS benefitted so much from the innovations she introduced and won a number of awards internationally as well as locally (Zaide 1970:342).

The Columbus celebrations also provided the opportunity to get recognition for another female artist. La Ilustracion Filipina del Oriente, the newspaper owned and published by Jose Zaragoza, also sponsored an art contest for the occasion. The winner was Carmen Zaragoza, who happened to be the publisher’s daughter, sixteen years old at the time. She was the eldest and, apparently, the most artistic in the family. She was taught by her artist uncles Felipe Roxas and Miguel Zaragoza. She contributed artwork to the paper since her father revived it in 1891. A pen-and-ink drawing she made was reproduced in the November 7, 1891, issue (fig. 3). It was a copy she made of a landscape painting of the suburbs of Manila. Another painting, Orillas del Pasig was also published, according to Antonio S. Araneta. So was her award-winning drawing, Dos Inteligencias, which was published in 1892. It was a dramatic depiction in pencil of Columbus and his son exhorting the aid of two influential friars in convincing Queen Isabella to fund the former’s voyage. It was mentioned in La Ilustracion Filipina that the spirited rendering captured the drama of the situation and the clarity of composition could only have been the result of numerous studies. Trotta Jose, however, observes a few technical flaws in the rendering of Columbus’ and a friar’s legs, but maintains it was admirable for the manner in which shading was employed and for the
Figure 3: Cercanías de Manila by Carmen Zaragoza in *La Ilustracion Filipina.*
excellence of the composition (Trota Jose:60–61). Also noteworthy is the rendering of the faces of the characters. The old friar’s doubt and gloom contrasts distinctly with Columbus’ fiery enthusiasm, emphasizing the indomitable spirit of the Spanish explorer.

Carmen also painted landscapes. She entered two of them in the Exposicion Regional de Filipinas of 1895; her uncle also submitted two of her works. Carmen won a copper medal for two of her paintings. Not long after, she was to marry and have children, which compelled her to give up her artistic career, although she applied her talents in decorating her house (Ibid.:59–60). Her existing paintings, including landscapes and a portrait of her father are in the possession of Patricia Araneta, her daughter. One, reproduced in 1030 R. Hidalgo, is a romantic landscape.

The Regional Exposition was also participated in by other women artists, whose paintings were invariably landscapes, still lifes, or pictures of saints. Paz Paterno, a member of the Paterno clan known for its patronage of artists, had the most entries sent by her friends and relatives to the same exposition: six paintings altogether, all either still lifes or landscapes (Torres 1981:60).

Little is known about Paz Paterno’s life. She was the daughter of Maximo Molo Paterno by his second wife and the half-sister of Pedro Paterno, a writer who befriended many artistic personae. The composer Dolores Paterno was her half-sister.

Her becoming an artist was to be expected, considering how the Paterno couple encouraged their daughters and sons to cultivate artistic abilities. They also saw to it that their children received proper training in the arts. In the case of Paz she was given training by Lorenza Guerrero, Felix Martinez, and Teodoro Buenaventura. Her painting career is estimated
to have spanned the years 1884 to about 1894, not quite ten years (CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art 1934:134). By the time of the Regional Exposition, she was no longer actively painting. Ill health may have discouraged her. She seemed to have had a poor constitution throughout her life and died unmarried in 1914, at the age of forty-seven.

Five of her paintings are now in the Central Bank art collection. Three of these are still lifes, two are landscapes. Others are in the private collection of Jaime Laya, according to Alice Coseteng, while Emmanuel Torres reports that some are in the possession of her relative Roberto Paterno (Trota Jose:60–61).

Paz’s paintings display great skill in the use of light and delicacy in coloring. She employed an unusual type of composition in her still lifes. She was also skilled in depicting detail in the miniatuirstyle popular in her time. Her handling of light and space is striking in one of her 1884 paintings which is in Lay’s private collection, simply called Still Life. Here, native fruits are placed in the foreground outdoors, harmonizing with a tree surrounded by plants and flowers against a distant landscape which makes them seem ‘larger than life’. The colors are rich and luscious and the detail even more distinctly drawn. She shows the veins of butterflies’ wings and even a miniscule man in a boat floating on the distant river, which gives depth to the picture while emphasizing the romance and peacefulness of the scene (Coseteng 1986:45–48).

Fruits and Flowers (fig. 4), a painting in the Central Bank collection, painted the following year, shows a great mastery, though its mood is contrasting, being more realistic than romantic. Instead of butterflies fluttering over the fruits, we find flies drawn as delicately as the flower petals, giving a touch of wit as well as realism to this painting. The light is depicted as filtered through pressed glass windows.
Figure 4: Fruits and Flowers by Paz Paterno. Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Collection.
Beautifully tinted skies are also apparent in her landscapes. Emmanuel Tortes opines that the depiction of these landscapes is even more skillful than the still lifes (Torres 1981:60–61). *River Scene with Banca* (fig. 5) appears to have been painted while she was looking straight across the river, Alice Coseteng notes. It is a still and quiet scene dominated by horizontal lines and gentle curves. The blue, gray, and lavender sky makes the scene idyllic.

*River Scene with a Steamboat* is busier and uses brighter colors. The steamboat is defined as the focal point by convergence. The shoreline encircles it and the banana trees and small boat subtly point to it. The depiction of the people in the scene, less than a centimeter high, is impressive. Paz was able to show in detail the boatman in the act of steering with a bamboo pole, the women’s *tapis*, and their baskets and hats.

All her paintings show confident execution. Paz clearly planned her compositions carefully. Coseteng points out that the lines, shapes, and colors harmonize perfectly. Such mastery makes it all the more puzzling why Paz did not continue painting from 1895 and beyond. She must have had enough freedom and opportunities to study and to devote herself to her art. While it is not known if she ever travelled, which is most unlikely given her frailty, she must have been exposed to European masters. Her mystical style is reminiscent of Zurbaran and Chardin and sometimes of Durer (Coseteng: 47–48).

Her sister Adelaida also painted. A river scene by her appears in *Art Philippines*. Adelaida Paterno’s *Pasig River Scene* (fig. 6) is similar in subject and style to her older half-sister’s landscapes. She probably studied under the same teachers or even under Paz herself. She is also able to depict such minute details as the ripples in the wake of the boat. This is not surprising considering her ability with the needle. The Central Bank has two pieces of embroidery attributed to her. They
Figure 5: *River Scene with Banca* by Paz Paterno. Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Collection.
are scenes so finely embroidered with hair that they appear to have been drawn with a fine pen. Except for the technique and medium, they could pass for drawings. They employ even rendering of value with cross-hatching (Torres 1981:63).

A number of other women painters were mentioned in art history such as Micaela Rosales whose paintings of Isabella II was much admired, Alzona reports. Jose mentions Patricia Reyes, who was one of the earliest known woman art teacher in the Philippines and who exhibited a religious painting at the Exposicion Regional. Marciana de la Rosa is another. She was Fabian dela Rosa’s aunt and earliest art teacher (Duldulao 1988). Marian Dizon Santiago, a Katipunera who organized musical events to conceal the meetings of the Katipuneros was said to have studied painting and sculpture as well as music and singing (de Guzman et al. 1967:74). About a dozen paintings and other works of art by women were mentioned in the Regional Exposition Catalog aside from those by Paz and Carmen. Artworks ordinarily considered crafts such as embroidery pictures and a collage of dried leaves were included in the fine arts section of the catalog as well (Trota Jose:60).

There were probably other women graduates of the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura, but unfortunately there is no record of them. It is also likely that women from an artistic lineage were also fine painters and sculptors. Pilar contends that it is highly probable that women in the Asuncion clan of artisans created some of the anonymous works such as religious images and icons that have been attributed to their fathers or brothers. At any rate, it is likely that they helped in the production, and thus had opportunities to develop their artistic skills. Pilar points out that according to Manuel’s 1955 Dictionary of Philippine Biography, Eulalia Asuncion was the first teacher of her nephew Bonifacio Arevalo, noted Filipino sculptor of the nineteenth century.
Figure 6: *Pasig River Scene* by Adelaida Paterno. 1896, oil on canvas 40.6 cm x 61 cm.
The arrangement of certain ateliers at the time was similar to that of the European masters' whose students or children worked under them, sometimes completing entire works which would be signed by or attributed to the master. Brenda Fajardo asserts that such arrangement was disadvantageous to a woman because she could not explore her own style, progressively develop it to its highest form, nor could she pursue her own career in art, and much less be recognized on her own terms and merits.7

Of the artists that are known, it is significant to note their class membership. Datuin suggests, drawing from Alice Guillermo's *The Covert Presence*, that one of the main reasons Paz Paterno earned recognition was due to her social standing. She belonged to a propertied and redoubtable family, her father and brother being key players in Philippine history. Moreover, she was a prolific painter. The number of paintings she produced in a span of ten years is unusual for anyone.

While Paz chose to become a painter because of her family's wishes, encouragement, and support, this was not the case with Adelaida, her sister. For Adelaida, the impetus to paint came from having so many wealthy and influential friends to whom she sold or gave her works. It is these recipients and buyers of her paintings which assured the preservation of her work.

This was not the case with Pelagia Mendoza. Her works and personal records were destroyed during World War II, according to her grandson, Mr. Chito Ablaza. Unfortunately, even the periodicals which featured her did not carry any of her artworks besides the celebrated bust.

According to an article in the *Philippine Graphic* dated September 2, 1931, one of the early graduates of the University of the Philippines' School of Fine Arts, which started
to open its doors to women in 1905, was Mrs. Caridad Maffei. She opened an art school for women in 1911. Mrs. Maffei must still have been studying painting at that time, as she graduated only in 1916.

The article also mentions Maria Iglesias, who was considered one of the most outstanding painters of her time. A painting of hers is described, though not reproduced, in the same article. A number of her paintings were once displayed in the National Gallery which was damaged during the war. The only one of her surviving works in a public collection is one landscape in the University of the Philippines Vargas Museum located in Diliman, Quezon City. She was especially commended for her landscapes. As a single woman, she taught at the School of Fine Arts University of the Philippines as a part-timer to give herself time to paint (David 1931). As to be expected after her marriage, she was to paint much less.

Women also studied privately under famous painters such as Fabian dela Rosa. Among his students were Consuelo Grande-Cuyugan, a niece of Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo whom Santiago Pilar documents in his book (Pilar 1992: 111), and the couturier Susana Paterno Madrigal, referred to in the book Patterns of the Filipino Dress, applied painting skills learned from the master in making hand-painted clothes (Bernal and Encanto 1998:19).

The subject matter of 19th century women painters was Mother Nature. Landscapes, especially pastoral scenes, and still lifes were favored. The nude, judging from available paintings of the period was ignored. This is understandable, considering the demand of prudery. In fact, even in the early part of the 20th century the nude eluded women painters. This may have been due to what Mrs. Maffei admitted to Enriqueta David in the Graphic article mentioned earlier that even
coeds at the School of Fine Arts in the very liberal University of the Philippines felt uncomfortable viewing a nude model alongside their male classmates.

Many of these female artists were members of families of artists, such as Pacita Asuncion-Roxas, descendant of Justiniiano Asuncion. This factor was probably equally influential in the development of Carmen Zaragoza and the Paterno sisters.

All four artists clearly had supportive families, yet it seems they all subscribed to the idea that a woman must give up her own career and help her husband in his work upon marriage. Pelagia was fortunate enough to have married an artisan. Carmen instead became a socialite.

Paz and Adelaida were, perhaps, more able to choose their own artistic paths due to their single blessedness. The locale that appears in their paintings is of apparently different stretches of the same river which suggests their lack of mobility. This may have hindered their development. Although some excellent artists such as Simon Flores were self-taught, it cannot be denied that those who were able to study abroad and exposed to art canons had an immense advantage: They were the ones most likely to be supported by art patrons, and written about by art critics.

What is most significant, however, is that these artists were clearly cut off before achieving their full development. All their works were done when they were relatively young. Although they lived beyond the nineteenth century, their artistic careers did not, with the exception of Pelagia who unfortunately submerged her own work in her husband's, and thus prevented the flowering of her own career.

**Examining Nineteenth Century Women's Art**

Women's painting of the nineteenth century seems to show no evidence of rebellion. Their subject matter, after all, is
conventional. This does not discount their quality. In fact, the evidence of skill raises another question: Why did they limit themselves to pastoral subject matter? Carmen Zaragoza showed herself to be capable of painting the human figure. Her flaws may be forgiven due to her youth. Certainly, women who did religious paintings were able to draw human figures and faces. Yet no one seems to have done portraits or even genre paintings, and although Carmen did her historical sketch, no paintings of historical events seem to have been done by women.

As mentioned earlier, embroidery was generally regarded as mere 'craft' rather than being examined alongside the other visual arts. Brenda Fajardo suggests, women did not have a real need for painting since they had needlework. But for some like Adelaida who were proficient in this art, embroidery could not fully absorb their artistic energies. They had to paint. The act of painting enabled them to enter the upper world of men. Together with the work of Paz and Carmen, their art is equal to that of most known male artists and may even be superior to some. Compared with modern women artists who began to subvert masculine modes of representation in paintings in the 1970s, their art according to art critic Patrick Flores (1996) does not seem to indicate the presence of a feminist consciousness. Yet it can be read in their paintings that they were aware that they deserved certain rights which were not given to women at that time, but this was not manifestly put as an agenda of their art. Pelagia and Carmen, if only to focus on gender equity, chose to compete outright alongside men. Paz clearly developed her own style, which differs from her male teachers' styles.

Paz Paterno's works are being given increasing attention now since she is one of the few known still life painters of her era, and since the quality of her work is definitely exemplary. It is not enough, however, to look at her as a still life painter or as the first woman painter to be recognized. She should be
seen first and foremost as an artist with her own style distinctive in itself. Of course, we should also look for the woman behind the painter if only to know more about women's history.

All these women's paintings have a remarkably still quality about them. Drama is suggested by intense value or color rather than the action of human figures, who hardly enter the canvas. Even Paz, who studied portrait painting and clearly had the talent to master it, chose still life over human figures. This may be because nature subjects were considered more 'proper' for a lady to pursue, as evidenced by floral motives constantly used in the craft of embroidery, and the wax fruit and artificial flowers women made to decorate their homes (CCP Encyclopedia: Vol. 9).

Women artists who are known should be studied as distinctive personalities, taking into consideration the value of their work in art history as it is comparable with the more visible male artists. More research needs to be done on those women who are as yet little known but who probably played important roles in men's artistic endeavors. One of them was Marciana de la Rosa, who in all likelihood had a strong influence on her nephew Fabian de la Rosa, the painter. There was also Emilia del Valle, of whom little is known except that she was a teacher of Fernando Amorsolo. Her paintings in the Vargas Museum show some similarity to Amorsolo's in style and coloring.

**Conclusion**

While many women engaged in the production of art in the Philippines, this is belied by traditional art history books. It is made to appear that very few women were artists, thus, giving the wrong impression that, indeed, women are inferior to men. Nothing can be furthest from the truth as history seen from the point of view of women tells us. Through the eyes of women, we can read and see through men's texts and
know for ourselves why women artists became invisible. These are:

1. The definition of art excluded the artistic production of women such as embroidery, textile, baskets, home decors, etc. What women produced, no matter how artistic, were viewed as mere ‘crafts’ because they were useful for meeting day-to-day needs of people such as handwoven blankets or baskets, and cannot be called art because of the view that art should only be for art’s sake;

2. Artworks produced by anonymous artists were attributed to men. Studies show, however, that some of these works were women’s, considering the fact that women in ateliers subsumed their works to men’s, and it was the institutionalized practice of male artists in the past to leave the finishing touches to an artwork to women as a matter of course, considering the social construction of women as men’s appendages and helpers;

3. Lower-class women artists could not possibly be discovered and written about since there was no conscious effort to look for them. Until lately, the elitist, metropolitan, hispanicized bias prevented search for women in the lower class, rural areas, and the hinterlands even if ‘crafts’ were to be considered ‘art’;

4. Women artists themselves as exemplified by the documented ones discussed in this paper did not privilege their role as artist as their male counterparts did. What the women considered more important roles were that of dutiful daughter, devoted wife, nurturing mother, and efficient homemaker. Because of the preference for these roles the women could not have the time for improving their artistry; and

5. The artworks of women were not considered as valuable as men’s, and, therefore, not exhibited in public (which was the only way to gain recognition), preserved for safekeep-
ing (many were destroyed during World War II), and written about (except for women artists of the upper classes with very influential families).

If there is a lesson in Philippine art history for anyone, it is this: If you are not looking for women artist you will not find them even if they are there somewhere waiting to be retrieved from oblivion. How and where to find them is a challenge. Take it, and contribute to the making of Philippine art herstory!

ENDNOTES

1. Interview with Brenda Fajardo, Vargas Museum, January 8, 1998.
5. Interview with Alice M. Coseteng, Diliman Preparatory School, January 26, 1998.

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