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CARLOS QUIRINO

I

THE increasing wave of liberalism in Europe and the loss to Spain of her colonies in America were distinctly felt in the Philippines during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Early in 1809 news of the invasion of Spain by Napoleon and the imprisonment of King Ferdinand VII reached Manila: one result was the publication of the first newspaper in the archipelago, *DEL SUPERIOR GOBIERNO*; another was the granting to the colony of representation in the Spanish Cortes or parliament. A few years later, the Cadiz Constitution was solemnly proclaimed in Manila; but it was suppressed shortly afterwards by the reactionary Spanish monarch, re-proclaimed in 1821 and again abrogated in 1824. The Filipinos, naturally, welcomed the liberal tendencies from abroad and resented—to the extent of starting local revolts—the reactionary periods that followed. They received support from an unexpected quarter. The Spanish Americans who had flocked to the islands after the loss of the Spanish empire in America took their side against the peninsular Spaniards who had come from Europe to occupy choice positions in the military and civil governments. One result was the short-lived but bloody rebellion in Manila of Captain Andrés Novales, a creole. In 1825 the energetic and progressive Mariano Ricafort became governor-general. He rekindled the

activities of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Country), but also put an end to the revolt in Bohol island that Dagohoy had started eight decades earlier. In 1833 Ferdinand VII died, and left in his wake the Carlist civil war which tore Spain asunder for seven years. If the nineteenth century could be termed as "the period of agitations and reforms" in the Philippines, the first three decades of that century established the pattern of liberalism alternating with oppressive political measures that culminated in the general revolution of 1896.

The foremost painter in the islands during this era was Damián Domingo, director of the first Academy of Drawing which was founded by the Economic Society in 1821.¹ Domingo's father was a Spaniard and his mother a Filipina from the populous native quarter of Tondo, north of Manila. It was here that he was born probably in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The only extant portrait of this eminent Filipino painter, copied by his son José from an original self-portrait drawn in miniature on ivory, shows the handsome and sensitive face of a poet in the uniform of an *alférez* or ensign of the Spanish Navy, an honorary title granted by the government authorities presumably in recognition of his artistic abilities. One source claims that he was born of poor parents, while another relates that the family mansion located on the main street (*calle real*) of Tondo, in front of the theater, was a "magnificent one" which was destroyed during the earthquake of 1880, one of those calamities that periodically afflicted the

¹According to W. E. Retana in his edition of Martínez de Zúñiga's *ESTADISMO DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS*, Madrid 1893, vol. 2, p. 557, "En 1821, estableció por su cuenta... una Academia de Dibujo, de la que es derivación la que existe actualmente." On the other hand, the *ILUSTRACION FILIPINA* (May 7, 1894, p. 123) categorically states that in his residence "fundó D. Damián Domingo una Academia de dibujo y pintura, siendo la primera que se estableció, y tan próspera fué, que al poco tiempo acudían á ella hijos de principales familias de esta Capital." Retana was a careful historian and seldom erred in his facts. Could it be that the private school started by Domingo was merged with that founded by the Sociedad?

Islands.² One thing is certain: the Domingo family came from a noble and ancient Spanish lineage, according to the patent of nobility granted to one of his grandsons in 1888.³ The earliest member of that family recorded in Spanish annals was Don Pedro Domingo who took part in the conquest of Mallorca during the reign of King Pelayo in 718. A descendant, Jaime Domingo, took his oath of fealty before King Alfonso III of Aragon in 1285. Another descendant, Miguel Domingo, was a noted Spanish jurist in 1451.

We know nothing about Damián's early years, or who were his teachers in drawing and painting, but at an early age he must have shown a marked aptitude for the art in which he was to make a name for himself as the most celebrated painter of that epoch. Filipinos in those early years after the Spanish conquest were good painters and artists, as attested by lay and ecclesiastical historians, and by the eighteenth century had earned the respect and praise of Spanish chroniclers.⁴

Young Damián gained the hand of his future bride, Lucia Casas, by his ability as a painter. His great grandson, Alfon-

²José Ma. Clotet, S.J. in an article in the magazine *CULTURA SOCIAL* dated Mirador, 10 de Mayo de 1916, pp. 386-389.

³To Crisanto Pineda, son of Feliciano Domingo. The letters patent were issued by José Pastor de la Llosa y Galán, *cronista rey de armas* of the young King Alfonso XIII, from the Madrid court on February 6, 1888. A typewritten copy of these letters, together with the coat of arms, is in the possession of Alfonso T. Ongpin.

⁴Notably Wenceslao E. Retana, the bibliographer and historian, in his *APARATO BIBLIOGRAFICO*. Manuel Bernáldez Pizarro, a Spanish resident of Manila, writing in 1827, said: "They [Filipinos] have taste in the fine arts and almost all the buildings are planned by them" (Blair and Robertson, v. 51, 270). The derogatory assertion made in the recent book, *THE ART OF THE PHILIPPINES*, that "no typographer of true distinction rose in the Philippines," and that "xylography, engraving, etching, wood engraving and lithography were all employed by Filipino craftsmen to serve the needs of the moment," stems from an ignorance of the works of such printers as Tomás Pinpin and Nicolás Cruz Bagay, the drawings of Laureano Atlas and Francisco Suárez, and the engravings of the last three in printed books and maps (notably that of Pedro Murillo Velarde, 1734).

so T. Ongpin, now 75, relates that Damián wooed his lady love with the aid of a miniature he had painted of her. The girl's father, Don Ambrosio Casas, a colonel of militia, admired the miniature of his daughter so much that he invited the young painter to his house, thus paving the way to their formal engagement and subsequent marriage. Like Damián, Lucia was apparently also of Spanish-Filipino blood, for Colonel Casas' unit was composed of *mestizos* from the province of Principe (later Tayabas and now Quezon).⁵

"My great-grandfather had a photographic eye," relates Don Alfonso. One of the early directors of the School of Fine Arts during the Spanish regime, Rafael Enriquez, told him that Damián used to be commissioned by young Manila gallants to paint miniature portraits—which were then the vogue—of their sweethearts; but since custom did not allow the suitors and painters to make formal visits, they had to be content with parading in front of the houses where the young belles showed themselves at the windows behind fluttering lace fans. After two or three such promenades, Damián would surprise his clients with a perfect likeness of the lady in question. For such a portrait, he would be paid seven or eight pesos.

By 1825 Damián Domingo's fame as a painter must have been firmly established. At that time, the *Sociedad Económica* was active in insular affairs. Founded in 1781 under the sponsorship of Governor General José Basco y Vargas by a group of government officials and civic-spirited residents, the Society

⁵LA ILUSTRACION FILIPINA, Año III, Manila, 7 de Agosto de 1893, No. 85, p. 227. Col. Casas was responsible for the casting of the bronze statue of King Carlos IV which still stands in front of the Manila Cathedral in Intramuros. The plaster mould was made in Mexico, but since casting it there proved too expensive, the royal arsenal in Manila undertook the difficult job which started in 1806 and took two years to finish at half the cost. The monument was erected in gratitude to the Spanish sovereign for having introduced the practice of smallpox vaccination in the archipelago. For his part in casting the statue, Casas was awarded in 1815 the title of *Caballero hijo-dalgo*. Mr. Ongpin believes that Domingo had a hand in the work, although it is doubtful as he would have been too young at that time. A sheepskin scroll about the statue is kept in one of the bolts at the base of the monument.

devoted itself actively to the progress of agriculture, industry, commerce, natural history and the arts in an effort to improve Philippine conditions.⁶ Governor Ricafort was a patron of the arts and an admirer of Damián Domingo. General Andrés Camba, who was a resident of Manila before he became governor general in 1837, was a director of the Society: he was known as "*El Deseado*" (The Wanted One) because of his progressive ideas.⁷ It was not surprising, therefore, that the Society at its plenary meeting on June 13, 1826, appointed Domingo professor at the school of painting, and on December 9 of that year awarded him a salary of 25 pesos monthly. Presumably he had become the school's director. The diploma granted by the Society reads as follows:⁸

The Royal Economic Society of these islands, knowing full well the conduct, knowledge, talent and assiduousness in the art of painting of D. Damián Domingo, resident of Tondo, agreed at a meeting held on June 13 of the previous year to name him—as it does name him—professor of the School of Drawing which is financed by this Society; and they have likewise agreed at a meeting last December 9 to give him 25 pesos monthly as recompense.

As such, it is expected of his patriotic zeal that he will treat the students under his charge with the proper moderation and affability; that he will not permit any disorder in the school in the economy of paper and pencils; that [money] should not be spent for other things than those intended; that he should have a roster where the names of the pupils, their parents, nationality, age, and date of entrance, should be kept; that he should conserve in the best possible state the fixtures of the Academy, and should give an account to the Society of any happening that might occur there with respect to them, as well as the progress status of the students in order to fix a date for their examination; that he will enroll anyone who applies regardless of whether he be Spaniard, *mestizo* or *indio*, as long as there is room and

⁶Strictly speaking, the Society was created by royal order of Carlos III from the Escorial dated August 27, 1780, and bears this date on its seal. See the *BOLETIN DE LA REAL SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA FILIPINA DE AMIGOS DEL PAIS*, Num. 1, 1° de Mayo, 1882, Manila, 1882.

⁷Blair & Robertson, *THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS*, Vol. 17, pp. 299 and 301.

⁸*LA ILUSTRACION FILIPINA*, Año IV, Manila 7 de Mayo de 1894, No. 121, p. 123. This diploma has been reproduced verbatim by Father Clotet in his above-cited article.

and they present themselves decently and at the proper time, tolerating as much as possible absences for reasons of distant residence—which would not be easy to overcome for persons of delicate health or because of rains or the sun's rays—or for reasons of personal illness, or because of their parents' sickness; and finally, that he will not deviate from the objective proposed by the Society, nor tolerate paintings—illuminated or not—which would appear indecent to the public; but on the contrary must follow the models offered by the Academy; and permit likewise the entry of any decent person who wants to visit it.

The Economic Society of the City of Manila, March 5, 1827.

What was the occasion for the issuance of this diploma? It is dated March 5, 1827, while Domingo's initial appointment took place on June 13, 1826, at the beginning of the school year in the Philippines. It is highly probable that the diploma was granted at the end of the school term 1826-7, after Domingo had served one scholastic year as a professor in the Academy which was then already in its sixth year of existence. This diploma was therefore a public acknowledgment of the highly satisfactory services that the new teacher had rendered and the fact that the Society was giving him a fixed salary as recompense. We believe that the detail regarding the entry of students regardless of race or color must have been inserted at the instance of Domingo, the *mestizo español*, the happy blending of Spanish and Filipino traits, who must have insisted that in the realm of art there could not be a color bar. And the liberal-minded officials of the Society agreed with him.

Records of the Economic Society mention that the "first examinations of pupils of the School of Drawing founded by the Society" were held on April 9, 1828. Since the Academy had been founded in 1821, it is obvious that the new director, Damián Domingo, was responsible for the holding of examinations to measure the proficiency of its students—otherwise how could seven years have passed without students being given a test? The new director not only gave the school the prestige of his accomplishments, but must have introduced administrative procedures that raised the dignity and efficiency of the organization.

From all accounts, the school was quite a success. Students were taught how to draw still life and the human form; the art of perspective; painting in oil and aquarelle; and the preparation of colors and surfaces. Painters of that epoch painted not only on canvas, but on wood and ivory, plates of copper, iron, silver and sometimes gold. Religious pictures were the favorite subjects of Filipino painters: the lives and miracles of saints, the passion of Christ, and the mysteries of the Virgin Mary. Large oil canvases were sought by the numerous churches and convents in the larger towns. The painting of miniatures was in vogue, partly to satisfy the desire of the growing upper class of Filipinos for keepsakes and partly because the photographic art was not introduced in the archipelago until the 1870's. On the whole, the preponderance of religious over secular subjects lasted until the second third of that century.

"Their technique consisted of polishing the cloth to an extreme and softly extending over it the color in order that slight brush traces might not appear," according to Fabian de la Rosa, former director of the School of Fine Arts of the University of the Philippines, and himself a well-known Filipino painter of the last generation.⁹ "They took great care even in the slightest details, from beginning to end, and took pride in showing one by one the hair and eyebrows. They lacked real technique and did not understand that besides the likeness in portraits, it is necessary through the portrayal of attitude and expression to represent what is called character."

Official and social personages had their portraits painted by Domingo: at one time, several of his portraits of Spanish governors hung in the halls of Malacañan Palace, according to a newspaper account of 1894.¹⁰ None of these paintings survive, except for three in the possession of Alfonso T. Ong-

⁹ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE PHILIPPINES, edited by Zoilo M. Galang, Manila, 1935, vol. 4, pp. 42-3.

¹⁰ LA ILUSTRACION FILIPINA. Año IV, *loc. cit.* "Such was his fame as an artist that even Governors General had their portraits done by him, works which are still preserved in the gallery of portraits of Governors that exist in the palace of our premier official."

pin and two albums of water colors that turned up in two London bookshops after World War II.

Damián Domingo did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his success. A few years after the Society had named him director of the art school, probably in the early 1830's, when he was less than forty years old—one account placed his age at 34—he passed away. He had survived the terrible cholera epidemic of 1820, when thousands of Manilans succumbed to the dreaded disease, but some equally fatal illness must have struck him down suddenly at the height of his career. His death was a great loss not only to art but to the Filipino movement for racial equality that was to reach its apogee later that century in the persons of Juan Luna and Dr. José Rizal.

The school continued until May 16, 1834, when the Society was forced to close its doors "for lack of funds."¹¹ For several years the country suffered the lack of an art center until the authorities established an official Academy of Drawing and Painting in 1849, similar to that of Madrid, by importing three Spanish painters—all experienced professors—among them Cortina and Nieto, to teach residents the latest methods and techniques from Europe.¹² They remained in Manila until about 1860 when they were succeeded by another Spanish painter, Agustin Saez, who remained head of the academy until his death in 1891.¹³ Saez was a kindly and understanding person who inspired his Filipino students, notably Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo, to seek a wider field and greater glory in Europe.¹⁴

¹¹NOTICIA DEL ORIGEN Y HECHOS NOTABLES DE LA REAL SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA DE FILIPINAS SEGUN SUS ACTAS Y DOCUMENTOS OFICIALES. Manila, 1860. As quoted in W. E. Retana's *APARATO*, vol. 2, p. 678.

¹²Ramon González Fernández, *ANUARIO FILIPINO PARA 1877*, Manila, 1877, p.297. With royal approval, this academy was started in March, 1849; and at the time the *ANUARIO* was published had 200 students.

¹³Saez, who joined the Society in 1860, was listed as Counsellor on Arts in 1877-8. By 1882, his successor Lorenzo Rocha appears in this position in the records of the Society.

¹⁴*THE ART OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1521-1957*, Manila, 1958. Published under the auspices of the Art Association of the Philippines, Inc.

Damián Domingo had eight children by Doña Lucia: Celedonia, Severo (the painter and father of Doña Pascuala Domingo de Ongpin), Anastacio, Feliciana (mother of Crisanto Pineda), Agapita (who entered a nunnery), Mariano, José (also a painter) and Nicolasa.¹⁵

One of the very few tributes ever made to Filipino painters, and to Domingo in particular, has been rendered by a Frenchman who resided in Manila at that time.¹⁶ Jean Mallat in his *LES PHILIPPINES*, published in Paris in 1846, has this to say: "Drawing and painting are much more advanced than one would believe among the Indians of the Philippines. Without counting the beautiful maps of Nicolás de Ocampo, we can cite the miniatures of Damián and Suariano, the church paintings and oil portraits of Arceo. These works are certainly far from perfect because the artists who made them never had any teachers; but they show marks of great talent and the portraits are of a striking resemblance."

Mallat had obviously made a slight error in the names of the artists cited above. He was undoubtedly referring to Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, greatest of Filipino cartographers who in 1734 engraved the famous chart of Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J.; to Damián Domingo and a contemporary

Except for lapses in spelling of names and dates, as well as an occasional biased viewpoint, this is an excellent work on the subject.

¹⁵ Don Alfonso Ongpin relates that Mariano had inherited something of Don Damián's photographic eye, for "as a tailor he could turn out a perfectly fitted suit of clothes just by looking once at his customer—too bad he didn't become a painter!"

¹⁶ J. Mallat, *LES PHILIPPINES*, Paris 1846. The passage cited appears in vol. 2, p. 253, and we are indebted to Col. Peter Deleplanque for the translation. The atlas volume contains the colored lithographs of 10 drawings by Juan Serapio Transfiguración Nepomuceno and his son. The elder Nepomuceno, like the elder Arceo, was probably a pupil of Domingo, and a *mestizo*; he was chosen by Mallat to illustrate his book with authentic local scenes and costumes. The drawings by Nepomuceno consist of (1) Fray Urdaneta, Legazpi and Magellan, (2) Aetas, (3) Bisayan savages (still tattooed but different from those in the Dasmariñas Codex), (4) Tagalogs, (5) Bisayans, (6) Pampangos, (7) Ifugaos, (8) *Mestizos* of the upper class, (9) Chinese *mestizos*, and (10) Spanish *mestizos*.

named Hilarion Soriano;¹⁷ and to Juan Arceo, probably a pupil of Domingo and father of another painter, Isidro, whose religious canvases and portraits were in vogue at the time that the French doctor resided in the archipelago.¹⁸

A contemporary of Mallat, Sinibaldo de Mas, Spanish ambassador to Peking who made a brief visit to Manila to write his book on conditions in the archipelago in 1842, made no mention of Domingo for the simple reason that this painter was no longer alive. But he makes mention of some Filipino artists of that era in the following passage:¹⁹ "There are painters of miniatures and in oils who paint dryly and with very bad colouring. The López of Manila is actually called Alceo [Juan Arceo], who works from a bamboo easel, and has done various large canvases of martyrs in China and Japan for the convents, where is seen expressive groups, and evident proofs that in another country he might have been a good painter. I have known a young man named Rosa [Simón Flores de la Rosa] who has a spark of genius for the art, and I believe that he will leave far behind his predecessors. He is at present occupied principally with the painting of murals."

Damián's position as the first eminent Filipino painter was publicly acknowledged a couple of decades later by Rafael

¹⁷A beautiful gold locket with two religious portraits in miniature drawn by Soriano is in the collection of Luis Ma. Araneta, who had acquired it from Mr. Ongpin. The latter dates the paintings at about 1830.

¹⁸Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera in his *BIBLIOTECA FILIPINA* (p. 245) speaks highly of this author and his work. Mallat studied medicine in Barcelona, was named by the Spanish government physician to San Juan de Dios Hospital in Manila about 1830 and in 1844 was appointed French colonial agent to Indo-China. As a resident of Manila for nearly a decade he showed a greater appreciation of native ability and talent, a truer perspective of insular affairs, than other contemporary chroniclers. For more extensive references to Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, see the author's *PHILIPPINE CARTOGRAPHY* (Manila, 1959) p. 51.

¹⁹Sinibaldo de Mas, *INFORME SOBRE EL ESTADO DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS EN 1842*, Madrid, 1843, Vol. II, p. 6 of the chapter on "Industria." For reasons of his own, Mas did not affix his name to the book, merely stating that it was written by the author of *ARISTODEMO* and the *SISTEMA MUSICAL DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA*.

Díaz Arenas, Spanish newspaperman who wrote for the *DIARIO DE MANILA*, the influential and widely read periodical of that era. In his *MEMORIAS*, printed in Manila in 1850, this writer not only gives a full reference to painters of that time, but describes the state of insular painting, sculpture and architecture. After pointing out that the art of painting in the islands was mainly imitative, and thus that painters in the style of Murillo and Zurbarán could be found there, he states:²⁰

The instruction they have had is given in an Academy supported by the Royal Economic Society to whom the then captain of engineers D. Tomás Cortés donated 50 sheets of drawings in 1823; and already in 1828 I have witnessed public examinations presided over by a commission of the Society composed of four individuals and its Secretary.

In 1832 the Dominican fathers kindly offered (I don't know for what reason) one of its rooms in the College of Santo Tomás to the Academy; but later it seems the Academy was installed in the *consulado*. At the beginning it was conducted in the home of its first teacher. [Damián Domingo?] Afterwards, a rule was passed, or the one they had was revised—I'm not certain.

The death of the portraitist Damián who was professor at the Academy put an end to it. D. José Antonio Vico was put in charge of its fixtures.

Recently it has been re-established under a new head in a private house paid for with the remaining funds—I believe—of the mercantile society, and at its head is an intelligent European who will surely attract gifted students.

After Damián [Domingo], [Juan] Arceo excelled in this art of portraiture; the former resided in Tondo and the latter in Paco; now it is said that there is one in Santa Cruz [district] who paints well but I do not know him.

There is a landscape painter of the same class who is also a water colorist without rival in the country; he lives quietly and his name is little known, despite the fact he paints in both mediums and his works are meritorious.

I speak of [José H.] Lozano, resident of Sampaloc, who has painted the pictures of the cosmorama in the two periods it has been

²⁰Rafael Díaz Arenas, *MEMORIAS HISTORICAS Y ESTADISTICAS DE FILIPINAS Y PARTICULARMENTE DE LA GRANDE ISLAS DE LUZON*, Manila, 1850.

open to the public. His are all those pictures found in many houses forming an inscription with the name of a person wherein the words are illustrated. His also are the paintings of the capture of Balanguingui²¹ which we have seen in the fiestas of Sta. Cruz and other nearby towns, all painted in mixed colors.

But the best thing he has painted in aquarelle is undisputedly the canvas to be found in the College of San Juan de Letrán which he did at the invitation of a religious who, undoubtedly knowing his artistic talent and desiring to see until where he could reach, called him one day and told him he had to paint grouped in one large canvas the recent events in France and Rome, the famine in Ireland, and the epidemic that was then ravaging Europe.

Lozano fulfilled everything, and this counts far more than making portraits, because he had to create everything from his imagination.

This genius remains obscure because his character is naturally timid. His father was the Palace *vigia* [or watchman] for many, many years and without doubt he was raised at the latter's side, viewing through the telescope the ships that entered [the bay] through Corregidor.²² His countrymen know him better by the name of *Pepebahía* or *vigia* rather than by his surname of Lozano.

Did Damián Domingo have any drawing teacher in his youth? Although no record exists to that effect, we feel certain that he *did* have somebody to teach him in his student days. His professor was most probably some Spanish painter who had emigrated to Manila in the early 1800's and who, seeing the aptitude of the *mestizo* lad for sketching, taught him the rudiments of drawing and painting, and must have shown him reproductions of great European painters: the works of Raphael and Leonardo, Velásquez and Murillo, and other Italian and Spanish masters. For how else can we account for the difference that exists between the works of Domingo and earlier Filipino painters, say those of Francisco Suárez, who had lived a century earlier?

Suárez drew the illustrations on the panels that accompanied the Murillo Velarde chart of 1734, depicting the var-

²¹A group of islets near Sulu island where the Spaniards obtained a victory over the Muslims of that area.

²²Lozano was fond of depicting Manila from the bay in many of his drawings which he must have made by the score for local residents, leading facetious persons to call him by that unkind nickname.

ious inhabitants, customs and dresses of that epoch. He must have been the outstanding Filipino artist of his period, otherwise the wordly-wise Jesuits would not have selected him for the honor. A study of these drawings show the vigor of execution and fidelity to life that animates the persons portrayed therein; but it also reveals defects in the human anatomy and in perspective. Although it would not be fair to compare two artists who lived a century apart, Suárez clearly shows a lack of schooling in his art, while Domingo exhibits greater polish and craftsmanship. The inference made by Mallat that Filipino painters of that era needed good teachers to guide their formative years was only too true—a defect that Domingo tried to remedy by teaching at the Academy.

II

“The Age of Discovery still lived in spirit in nineteenth century Manila when Damián Domingo drew these pictures of Filipino types,” according to E. Aguilar Cruz, noted local critic and newspaper editor. Mr. Cruz continues:

Foreigners with a talent for drawing no matter how modest, as well as skilled artists like the Britisher C. W. Andrews, were fascinated by the Philippine scene, with its endless variety often verging on the exotic on the one hand and the simply ridiculous on the other. Andrews, who drew for the fortnightly magazine *ILUSTRACION FILIPINA* (1859-1860), has preserved for us the gobernadorcillo with his untucked shirt, gourd hat and cane. For all his industry, Andrews barely scratched the surface; a dozen more like him would have been insufficient to exhaust the possibilities of the Philippine scene as the source of magazine illustrations and popular prints. The most obvious model was, of course, the Filipino himself in the rich and endless variety of his regional and local dress.

Probably the earliest “types” of Filipinos were those of an anonymous Chinese artist who made the drawings for the manuscript book of Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas about 1590. They are an earlier legacy from the Age of Discovery, whose curiosity about strange lands is reflected in numerous drawings and engravings of “natives”.

About thirty years before Damián Domingo made these drawings, the Malaspina expedition visited Manila accompanied by Fernando Brambila, a Milanese, who did with pen and brush (watercolor) what a photographer in a later day would have done with a camera. Bram-

bila's drawings were not published until our time, but they do indicate the mode of illustration common in those days, showing native types, street scenes, panoramas, and the like.

It is not quite correct to say that Damián Domingo was influenced by this kind of art. Rather, he took to it naturally, for in his day it was still in great demand. As a matter of fact, it went out of favor only after photography supplanted the illustrator as a recorder of the passing scene.

Less skilled than Damián Domingo, an anonymous contemporary of his was engaged in the same pleasurable task at approximately the same time that Domingo was at work on these and similar drawings. He was a foreigner,²³ evidently a German student in the employ of a countryman who was married, or subsequently married, into a prominent Manila family.²⁴ While amateurish in the extreme, the drawings of the foreigner may be compared to those of Domingo in that they, too, were precursors of the photographer's art.

It is hardly necessary to describe the style of Domingo in the drawings in question, which though not exactly miniatures are executed in the miniature style. They may be studied for their fine detail even in reproductions. As to their inspiration, they are of course of foreign derivation and do not belong to the mainstream of Filipino national art.

One last observation: Domingo has been called a miniaturist, without any apparent foundation for the statement; his extant works are too large to be called miniatures. The discovery of these drawings, however, gives the explanation. Damián Domingo was a prolific painter of such small water-colors and his fame as a miniaturist endured long after the main body of his work had been lost, forgotten, or mislaid.

A brief description of Domingo's known works follows:²⁵

1. *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*. (1810?) An oil painting on an iron sheet, size 9-1/2 x 13 inches. Surface shows oxidation spots. Depicts the Virgin Mary with Child handing out rosaries to St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena.

²³I. A. Karuth, author of *ALBUM DER PHILIPPINISCHEN INSELN* dated September 2, 1858, consisting of about 60 aquarelle drawings.

²⁴Jacobo Zóbel y Zangronis who married Trinidad Ayala, granddaughter of Domingo Roxas.

²⁵The Benítez and Paterno families were rumored to own a painting of Domingo; however, Mesdames Conrado and Francisco Benítez, Dña. Adelaida and Dr. Ramon Paterno, denied they had any work of this painter.

2. *Cátedra de S. Pedro en Roma*. (1815?) On copper sheet, 11 x 14 inches. The altar, pillars and miters are in gold leaf. A painting of the same altar and chair of St. Peter exists to this day at the upper level of the apse of the Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome, according to Dr. Jesús P. Celis, Manila numismatist.

3. *La Sagrada Familia*. (1820?) On copper, with the underline title of *Jesus, Maria y Josep y Aana*, 14 x 19 in. The words *Sagrada* and *Ana* have been, curiously enough, misspelled. The first two pictures carry the signature of the author etched on the metal—however faintly—at the right hand lower corner: *Damián Domingo lo pintó*. In this painting the signature has apparently been drawn with Chinese black ink by another hand: *Damián Domingo pinxit*. Gold leaf has been used on the borders of the cloaks and on the haloes.

The chronology of these three paintings have been tentatively fixed by Mr. Ongpin. Nevertheless, we believe this is the order in which they were painted: the *Cátedra* followed by *La Sagrada Familia* and lastly *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*. The first of the three paintings shows a style patterned after the miniature portraits of the period: the second exhibits a greater spontaneity and departure from the previous style; but the third shows such a marked change from the first that, if placed side by side, a casual observer would be led to believe that two different artists had painted them. This opinion, however, should not be accepted as final.

4. *Self-portrait of Damián Domingo*, painted by his son José from a miniature on ivory which has been lost. Notice the faint inscription at the bottom, "Damián Domingo Gabor Alférez." Why was the surname "Gabor" added? Could it have been pursuant to the order of Governor General Narciso Claveria in 1849 that all natives should assume some family name?²⁶ One of the gold epaulets lacked tassels, the accepted dress uniform among subordinate officers of that epoch.²⁷

²⁶The word "Gabor" might have been misspelled and the word "Garbo" or "garbed" meant, according to Bibliographer Mauro Garcia who adds that Claveria's order was not necessarily applicable to them because they already had a family name.

²⁷Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, an art connoisseur, says their family owned a fairly large oil portrait of their forefather, Domingo Roxas, which was believed to have been painted by Damián Domingo. It was destroyed during the war. Mr. Ongpin, who saw the photographic likeness of that lost portrait, doubts if it had been painted by his great grandfather because "Don Damián painted miniatures only of personages." The Zóbel family owns a beautiful miniature portrait of Do-

5. *Coleccion de Trages de Manila Tanto Antiguos como Modernos, de Toda Clase de Indias. Dispuesta por D. Rafael aniel [sic] Babon, y dibujado por D. Damián Domingo, Director de la Academia de Dibujo de la Real Sociedad de Manila.* Such is the description of a collection of drawings by Domingo carried by a catalogue of Maggs Bros. of London in 1944. Further description follows:

With decorative title and series of 29 very attractive water-colour drawings illustrating the costumes of the inhabitants of Manila, each drawing being signed, and with Spanish and English inscriptions below. Folio, wrappers. (Manila, 1818?) Comprising:—A Chief Indian of Manila. An Indian of Manila. An Indian Woman of Manila. An Indian Woman going to Mass. An Indian Widow. A Mistise of Manila. A Mistise Woman of Manila. A Spanish Mistise Woman. A Mistise Shop-keeper. An Indian Husbandman. An Indian Porter. An Indian Carter. An Indian Waterman. Fisherman. Fisherwoman. Indian Waterman of Pasig. Indian Pot-maker of Pasig. Indian Sugar Baker of Pampanga. Indian Woman of Panpanga. Indian of Yloco. Indian Woman of Yloco. Indian of Pangasinan. Indian Woman of Pangasinan. An Indian of Bisaya with a jar of Cocoa-nut Oil. Indian Woman of Bisaya. An Officer to the Chief Magistrate of Manila. An Indian Thief-taker of Manila. An Officer to the Indian Judge of Manila. An Indian Clergyman of Manila.

This collection is obviously an earlier companion volume to that described below, as proven by the fact that all the subjects are Filipinos; in the album below, several Chinese have been added, as if the painter had run out of subjects. Each drawing is signed, while those in Album No. 3 have no signature or even initials of the artist. Were the English inscriptions in this collection added by somebody in London? We have no way of telling until this set of drawings has been examined or described more fully. Apparently, the drawings had not been bound in an album, as they were contained in "wrappers," a loose way of keeping drawings. The size likewise has not been given, although we are inclined to believe that the title page and size are similar to those in Album No. 3.

6. *Coleccion de Trajes Manila y de las Provincias Ynbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y Dibujado por D. Damián Domingo Direc-*

mingo Roxas which seems to have been painted by Damián. Roxas was the founder of the fabulous Roxas fortune which his eldest daughter Margarita, who married Antonio de Ayala, expanded into a financial empire. Because of his liberal views, he was banished to Spain in 1823, and died in a Manila prison in 1843 for some political offense.

ton [sic] *de la Academia de Dibujo, por la Real Sociedad Economica de estas Yslas Filipinas. N. 3°*. Title page is followed by 25 colored drawings of persons, 17 Filipinos and 8 Chinese, mounted in a royal quarto album, half morocco, titled "Chinese Drawings" on the spine and with the engraved crest of the Earls of Derby on the front cover.²⁸

This album was acquired from Warren R. Howell of San Francisco, who had bought it from Francis Edwards Ltd. of London. The latter has been unable to trace the name of the previous owner.

Each of the 17 drawings of Filipinos measures approximately 5-1/4 by 8 inches; all but two have underline descriptive titles. The drawings of Chinese are slightly larger, measuring about 6 by 9 inches, but do not carry any captions. The water colors are remarkably fresh, although the rice-paper (locally called *timsem*) used has become brittle with age.

The 17 titles follow:

- (1) No title; shows native woman with water jar on her head.
- (2) *Una Yndia Ollera de Pasig*. Female with huge salakot or hat and several cooking pots beside her.
- (3) *Una Yndia Viuda Vestido de Duelo*. Shows a widow wiping tears from her eyes.
- (4) *Un Yndio Labrador*. A barefoot farmer with rake over his shoulder, a *bolo* and crude plow, reclining against a tree stump.
- (5) *Una Mestiza Mercadera de Manila*. The woman is seen inserting a key to the door of her shop, while underneath her left arm she carries several pieces of cloth.
- (6) *Una Yndia de Manila Vestida de Gala*. Shown in festive attire with a tortoise-shell comb on her hair.
- (7) *Una Mestiza de Manila Vestida de Gala*. Similar to the previous figure.
- (8) *Un Yndio Cargadon* [sic]. Shows a laborer attired in shorts, with a pole over his shoulders for carrying heavy objects.

²⁸The album was probably plated by or for Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby (1799-1869) and kept in the earl's library at Knowsly Park, Lancashire. The coronet is that of an earl and the motto ("Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense") is that of the Order of the Garter.



Damián Domingo



Nuestra Señora del Rosario



La Sagrada Familia



Una Mestiza Española Vestida de Gala



Una Yndia Ylocana



Una Yndia Visayota Vestida de Gala



Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila

(9) No title. Shows a dandy of the period, complete with beaver hat, cigarette and Japanese parasol.

(10) *Una Yndia Ylocana*. Shows the only female figure in the album wearing a colored cloth over her entire head like a shawl.

(11) *Una Mestisa Española vestido [sic] Gala*. A colorfully attired young lady with a golden comb, a rolled kerchief on her head, and beaded slippers.

(12) *Una Yndia Visayota Vestida de Gala*. Carries a multicolored cloth neatly folded and placed over her left shoulder.

(13) *Una Yndia Pescadora de Manila*. The fisherwoman goes barefoot—like the other *indias* in the album—and wears a narrow strip of cloth like a crown around her head.

(14) *Una Mujer Pangasinana [sic] labandera*. Shown carrying a bag of dirty clothes to launder.

(15) *Un Yndio Natural dela Provincia de Pangasinan*. Depicts a barefoot farmer standing beside a horse and holding a pipe.

(16) *Un Yndio Natural de la Provincia de Ylocos*.

(17) *Un Mestizo Estudiante de Manila*. Depicts a young dandy with tall beaver hat; an umbrella is tucked under the arm.

Luis Ma. Araneta, the architect and collector, has noted the high waistline of the Filipino women's dresses depicted in this album, an unmistakable influence of the European style prevalent at the time of Napoleon Bonaparte. We have also noticed the uniformity in the features of Filipino women, regardless of whether they were of native or mixed blood. Incidentally, in those colonial days the term *mestizo* was used to denote a native with Chinese mixture, as distinct from Filipino-Spaniards who were called *mestizos españoles*. Natives were called either *naturales* or *indios*.

There can be no doubt as to the authenticity of these drawings and we have to thank a British lord, the fourteenth Earl of Derby, for having acquired this collection and thus preserved it for posterity. Domingo must have made at least two other sets for the Economic Society, but we do not know where they are today.

Who was Don Rafael Daniel Baboom (or Babon)? He was most probably an official of the Society, although there is no mention made of him in Philippine bibliography or records.²⁹ What was the purpose of making these drawings in at least three sets? Why were Chinese subjects included in the third album? The costumes worn by them are proof that they were residents of China proper and not of Manila—notice the mittens and heavy winter clothes. In one scene of a woman and a girl, the feet are not bound and compressed as in the other drawings of Chinese women. Notice, too, how misspelled words have crept into the titles; similar mistakes may be found in the oil painting of the Holy Family—apparently, spelling was not Domingo's forte.

In all likelihood, these paintings were sent abroad for high officials in Spain to examine in connection with the activities of the Society. Somehow, these two sets must have reached London and became part of a private library where they remained intact for a century. The selection of Domingo for the task was the obvious result of the Society's recognition of his ability. The album's title specifically mentions him as the Director of the Academy—hence, these drawings must have been made after the issuance of the diploma in 1827. Together with the drawing made circa 1590 for the Dasmariñas Codex, a manuscript in the possession of Prof. C. R. Boxer of King's College, University of London, this collection forms the most valuable *original* paintings of Filipinos before 1830; with the added difference that whereas the former drawings were made by a Chinese artist, the present album was made by the first eminent Filipino painter in our history—Damián Domingo, director of the first Academy of Drawing, and advocate of racial equality for the Filipino.

²⁹His name does not appear in the list of members appended to the MEMORIA DEL SR. SOCIO SECRETARIO DE LA REAL SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA FILIPINA DE AMIGOS DEL PAIS published in Manila in 1877.