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Shibboleths of Rizal in the Aftermath of '98

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As the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language would have it, the word *chibolete* does not exist in the language of Cervantes. And yet, writer and philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) attempted to smuggle it into Spanish at least three times in the early part of the century. It appears first in a short essay of his, "La Fe", published in 1900; a second time six years later in his longer essay on Filipino patriot José Rizal (1861-1896); and again in arguably his most important philosophical treatise *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* (published in 1912). It comes from the word *shibboleth* which is the Hebrew word for "stream". As Unamuno describes in his essay "La Fe", *shibboleth* was used by the Gileadites under Jephthah to detect and prevent any Ephraimites (with whom they were at war) from escaping and crossing the fords of the Jordan. The book of Judges (12:5-6) narrates: "When any Ephraimite who had escaped begged leave to cross, the men of Gilead asked him 'Are you an Ephraimite?', and if he said, 'No', they would retort, 'Say *Shibboleth*.' He would say 'Sibboleth', and because he could not pronounce the word properly, they seized him and killed him at the fords of the Jordan. At that time forty-two thousand men of Ephraim lost their

lives." As Unamuno points out, in the English language the word has come to mean "password" or even "catchword", as in a slogan (*Tres Ensayos* 58-60). For, following the logic of the password, the word *shibboleth* has been drained of all meaning - of the stream that fills it - except its most differential, concentrated ability to distinguish the same from the non-same: for or against, partisan or enemy, plus or minus, one or zero.

Unamuno's reading ties together a confluence of struggles which had arisen in the wake of the events that coalesced around the 1898 war involving Spain, her remaining colonies (particularly Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines) and the United States. The purpose of this paper will be to focus upon merely two, those being the struggle for legitimacy among emergent civil institutions throughout the first six years of the American conquest and pacification of the Philippines, and an emerging discourse questioning the very possibility of modern political legitimacy itself. Specifically, I would like to follow two trajectories of thought on the name and legacy of Filipino national hero José Rizal (1861-1896) on the one hand, and Unamuno's engagement with this name and legacy in his evolving concept of the *chibolete* on the

other. First, then, I would like to talk about the dual appropriation of Rizal by opposing groups in the Philippines with the establishment of civil institutions and the corollary emergence of a representative politics (however partial or relative) based upon popular hegemony. Analyzing this struggle to uphold and defend the symbolic legitimacy of the national hero will enable us to examine a parallel development in Unamuno's thought of an immanent space and time beyond or *beside* political representation, and the role of the outsider or minority in both revealing and preserving that immanence as a permanent critique of civil society.

A cursory reading of premier Apolinario Mabini's (1864-1903) history of the Filipino revolution, along with various circulars published by him throughout the years of the revolution prior to his capture and exile to Guam, will show that Rizal's death in 1896 was an historical event that exploded the boundaries given to it by the Spanish authorities. Far from being merely a liberal-inspired and European-educated intellectual from a tenant-contracting family, Rizal's life and death brought people together, shaping their attitudes and approaches to Spanish colonialism and their projected hopes of a future beyond colonial rule in a way no leader of the revolution could. This phenomenon was itself founded upon the paradox that Rizal never openly or unequivocally advocated armed separatism.

In fact, it was his innocence that enabled his death to take on such an enormous significance. "La oposición," Mabini wrote in *La Revolución filipina*, "no había partido de Rizal, y sin embargo éste fue condenado a muerte: si no fuera inocente no sería mártir" (II: 301). The common perception of Rizal's innocence cut across traditions and ideological lines alike, at once creating the sense that

all colonized peoples regardless of status or privilege shared a common fate under colonial rule; and that this fate was based upon an historical continuity that stretched back to the pre-Hispanic era and was at that moment reaching a critical turning point.

Filipino historian Reynaldo Ileto has shown how the event of Rizal's death was perceived by the popular classes in the Philippines throughout the period as part of the larger folk tradition involving the staging of Christ's passion, death and resurrection.² Yet Mabini's writings show that this conception was not limited to folk structures of meaning and understanding: his own concept of the national community with a common history and inevitable destiny under the sign of Providence was imbued from the start with the aura of the sacred. And Rizal's death was its consecration: "¿No es Rizal," Mabini writes in 1900, "bastante grande y puro, para limpiar con su sangre las más indelebles manchas?" (I: 214).

These considerations on the name of Rizal as a cornerstone of the national community form the backdrop to the U.S. appropriation of Rizal's name and patrimony during the first year of the U.S. Philippine Civil Commission headed by William H. Taft (1901). The Civil Commission found itself in a unique situation — the first of its kind in U.S. history until that time. Not only was it called upon to erect a civil order in the Philippines before the Filipino revolution was even "officially" declared to be over (1902); but they were also requested to do this without however allowing its members to directly participate in a *civil society*. For the members of the Philippine Commission were elected by U.S. Congress to decree and enact laws in the newly "unincorporated territory" for that territory's "inhabitants." In other words, Filipinos were neither given the full measure

of civil rights and liberties so ardently defended in the U.S. Constitution; but what rights they were given were often overruled for the sake of enacting public policy.³

How did Rizal play into this schema? As a symbol of sacrifice for the greater good, Rizal would be called upon to negotiate a transition, this time between the atrocities inflicted upon the civilian populace by the U.S. military throughout the war years, and the erection of new U.S. civil institutions. As contemporary popular historian Renato Constantino has written in his famous essay "Veneration without Understanding," the U.S. Philippine Civil Commission seized upon Rizal as the most suitable candidate to play the role of Filipino national hero for the Americans, insofar as he neither sided with the revolutionary forces at the outbreak of the war, nor did he directly advocate armed resistance: Rizal "could therefore not be invoked on the question of independence" (130). To this end, a series of acts were implemented in 1901, all bearing upon the name of Rizal as an ideological tool of pacification. Act No. 137 transformed the politico-military district of Morong into a civil province entitled Rizal; Act No. 243 "authorized a public subscription [to be carried out by prominent Filipino civic leaders in Manila] for the erection of a monument in honor of Rizal at the Luneta"; and Act No. 345 made the day of his death a national holiday (128-129). This last act may seem familiar: it was also instituted by the revolutionary government in 1898, three years before the arrival of the Taft regime.

While Constantino has argued for an ideological reading of these laws passed by the Philippine Commission, it might be more fruitful here to concentrate less upon Rizal's suitability for playing the role of national hero, more upon what the Commission hoped

to achieve by his public emulation. Let us take William H. Taft as our point of departure. As it has been earlier stated, Taft was appointed to negotiate the transition from military to civil rule during the middle of the U.S. pacification campaign in the Philippines. The very nature of his task thus implied the coexistence and partial overlap of two distinct and ultimately irreducible forms of U.S. sovereignty (military and civil) over a two-year period; for although the civil commission claimed legislative powers as early as September 1900, the war was not officially over until 1902. The urgency for a quick and painless transition was spurred by at least two major factors unforeseen by the United States at the outset of the war: the growing skepticism and disaffection for the war in the American public itself; and the recognition of the danger inherent in the concentration of legislative, executive, and judicial powers held by the occupying U.S. military government in the archipelago. Put quite simply, prior to the installation of civil institutions in the Philippines the form of government imposed upon the country by General Arthur MacArthur was a dictatorship or autocracy.⁴

On the other hand, the necessary conditions of consensus and conformity to U.S. institutions in the archipelago had not yet come about. Hence, the transition from military to civil rule confronted Taft as a unique problem: it presupposed both the continued pacification of the archipelago (which could only be further secured by the military) and the simultaneous subordination of the autocratic or domination-principle behind the pacification to a law that guaranteed the protection of civil rights and liberties asserted in the U.S. Constitution. What was popularly called "America's colonial experiment" in the archipelago by Taft and others, thus consisted not only in the U.S. attempt to participate

in the compartmentalization of the world into spheres of influence controlled by imperial powers; but also the attempt to demonstrate the subordination of the domination-principle behind every tyranny to a principle of hegemony by means of the spread of civil institutions and a corresponding discourse of publicity or the public good.

How do the politics of the national hero fit into this scenario? Opinions diverge at this point. As we have seen in our brief discussion of Mabini, Rizal was the bridge between the formation of a national community and the sense of a Providential history, a hero who did not so much symbolize but rather announced the intersection of a sacred time and space with the coming of a new order. For Spaniards like Rizal's first biographer Wenceslao Retana, Rizal was perhaps the one of the only Filipinos whose death created an outcry in the international press against the Spanish regime: writers in Latin America, Europe, and Asia alike published obituaries of Rizal's martyrdom throughout the closing years of the nineteenth century.⁵ And as former U.S. Philippine Governor General W. Cameron Forbes would write in 1945, it was Rizal's repudiation of the revolution that led to his emulation by the Commission as an example to be followed. Yet one conclusion that can be drawn from each of these opinions is that Rizal provided Taft with a proper name capable of expressing the future existence of a civil society insofar as this name had already come to embody a virtual imagined public unto itself. In the most abstract sense, "Rizal" had become a kind of public domain. In the most concrete sense, the name of Rizal had become a place-position for a whole set of ideological positions upon which a civil society would have to be based. Many of these positions were in fact conflictive, as

can be witnessed from the "assimilation" vs. "independence" dichotomy. Yet both found in Rizal's writings, not to mention his life and death, selected words and phrases that endowed these ideological positions with legitimacy.

From this vantage point, the focus on Rizal as the choice for a national hero shifts from his significance as an ideological tool of assimilation and pacifism (as it is represented in Constantino) toward the function of the name as a shibboleth, or device in asserting the existence of a virtual public space that was not defined by concentration camps, death squads, and the wanton destruction of towns (or for that matter, secret organizations or the partial spread of the revolutionary government). All of these served to supplement the absence of such a public space, especially (but not restricted to) the war years throughout the end of the nineteenth century. But for the Taft regime, the existence (whether real or imagined) of a public space was necessary to legitimize both the implementation of civil institutions and the deployment of discourses (such as that of public health, public order, public property, the public good). Thus the appropriation of Rizal's name as a sponsor for these discourses was therefore not only a symbolic or ideological gesture. It subsumed various notions of the "public" projected by various important figures of the time (like Mabini and MacArthur) under another one in the attempt to supplant both the revolution and U.S. military domination with a hegemonic order based upon an imagined consensus and conformity with American institutions.

It is thus no surprise that the province named after Rizal (*Morong*) is the also the first province in which U.S. civil institutions are implemented. In fact, all three acts involving the "veneration" of Rizal as a

national hero effect notions of a public space and time — reifying them in laws that at once claimed to represent and guarantee the existence of a national community, even as they directed attention away from the U.S. military force underlying it. Act 243 exemplifies this process: a public monument to be erected on public property (which had earlier been the site of executions for the Spanish colonial regime), that is to be secured by public funds raised by public figures (Paciano Rizal, Pascual Poblete, Maximo Paterno among others), who advertise the voluntary subscription for these funds in the (public) press.

The question of Rizal's "pacifism" or "assimilation" thus gives way to a more complex analysis of the discourses and institutions that emerged in the Philippines during the first decade of U.S. imperialism. Rizal's ambivalence regarding the future of Filipinas certainly played a role in his incorporation as an American-sponsored institution; but more importantly, it provided Taft with the shibboleth or keyword necessary to provide him with partial access to that sacred space and time postulated in Mabini's deeply moving prose - and reify it. The identification of Rizal (or his name) with this space stands in contradistinction to that other shibboleth which was a carry over from the discourses deployed by U.S. military generals in the exercise of violence over the native populace: *publicity*. It was the insight of Taft and the civil regime to wed the two, render them identical. Later Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes would articulate this relation in the following manner: "[Rizal] urged reform from within *publicity*, by public education, and appeal to the public conscience" (53, italics added).

How, then, does Unamuno enter into this stream of shibboleths? By the time he had

come to write his essay on Rizal in 1906, furnished as an epilogue to the first in-depth biography of national hero (written by the Rizal's former relentless persecutor Wenceslao Retana, 1907), the proliferation of Rizal's name had reached an unprecedented stage. Retana lists a number of enterprises which had adopted it: educational institutions, societies, restaurants and clubs, commodities (such as watches and buttons), stamps, minted coins and paper money, to name a few (Retana 450-454). But the apotheosis of the name, which without a doubt accounts for much of Unamuno's interest in the national hero, was the canonization of Rizal by the emergent schismatic Christian church in the Philippines, the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (hereafter referred to as IFI). This congregation, headed by two important figures of the Filipino Revolution, granted permission for Rizal's name (as well as those of the three martyred priests who were sentenced to death after the 1872 revolt in Cavite - José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora) to be used in baptisms, and portraits of the martyrs to be hung in their churches.

By authorizing the use of the name (along with those of the three martyred Filipino priests) in baptism, the IFI sought to secure at least two things. First, by raising José Rizal to a level previously occupied only by saints and angels (Retana 453) -- a move decried as heresy by the Catholic Church -- the IFI was reasserting the existence of a collective space and legitimacy commensurate to this space that was at the same time distinct from *both* the sacred-profane authority of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Spanish regime *and* the U.S. secular order of the public good following it. The decree also attempted to legitimate and thereby incorporate a whole other aspect of Rizal's popular reception among peasants and laborers in

the outlying provinces, many of whom had previously joined religious sects proclaiming the Apocalypse throughout the war years.

Reynaldo Ileto has described this phenomenon in a series of important works, which have only been partially touched upon in this essay (and certainly not with the attention that they deserve).⁶ Suffice to say that Unamuno's approach to a name that had already become a site of contention among various political and religious groups and interests was informed by this development. Yet Unamuno's analysis is not restricted to it: indeed, his attitude regarding the appropriation of the name seems at best skeptical, at worst pessimistic. For Unamuno, both the IFI's schism from the Roman Catholic Church and the 1896 Revolution against Spain, were themselves symptoms of a larger malady, one that had less to do with the political maneuvers of specific groups and more to do with the formulation of politics in and through institutions themselves. His reflections on Rizal, largely neglected, thus provide us with a critical point in the development of Unamuno's thought, much of which revolves around a question that continued to preoccupy the Spanish philosopher throughout his life: what could alter or ward off the patrimony of cynicism and anachronism bequeathed to the West through Spain in the wake of the nineteenth century?

Unamuno's approach to Rizal stands in stark contrast to his portrayal by both Mabini and the Taft regime as a hero of civic virtues. In fact, the first part of the essay is dedicated to extolling those qualities of Rizal which seemed the very opposite of those highlighted by Mabini as exemplary. Where Mabini emphasized Rizal's decisiveness and virility, Unamuno characterizes him by his "retraimiento, su timidez, atestiguada cien veces, su vergonzosidad, [que] no son más

que una forma de esa disposición hamletiana" (477): "Rizal era...un héroe del pensamiento y no de la acción sino en cuanto es acción el pensamiento..." (476). Moreover, after reading Retana's biography of Rizal, Unamuno claims that for love of Spain Rizal was indeed no supporter of revolutionary separatism. Yet this does not necessarily indicate either Rizal's categorical pacifism or desire for colonial dependency: "Rizal", Unamuno writes, "sentía bien que la libertad no es un fin, sino un medio; que no basta que un hombre o un pueblo quieren [sic] ser libre si no forma una idea - una ideal mas bien - del empleo que de esa libertad ha de hacer luego" (479).

These ambiguities are further heightened by the continual associations Unamuno makes between Rizal and other figures: Mexican lawyer and former president Benito Juárez, Basque poet and linguist Sabino Arana, and Unamuno himself; as well as Hamlet, Don Quixote, and Christ, who of course appear in his other works with greater frequency. In contrast again, to the exhortations common to political leaders of the period in the name of Rizal, Unamuno incorporates Rizal into another archive, comprised of other, seemingly unconnected genealogies. These other names taken on and off by Rizal in the essay are like the titles of the chapters that comprise it: "El hombre," "El Escritor," "El Tagalo," "El Español," "El Filibustero," and finally "San José Rizal."

What brings this community of writers - Unamuno, Rizal, Juárez, and Arana - together? For one thing, Unamuno points out that he and the others are all minorities with respect to the Castilian language; and this appropriation of a major language by a minority writer necessarily requires an entirely different concept of language and culture. Speaking of himself, Unamuno writes:

Yo aprendí a balbucir en castellano...un castellano pobre y tímido, un castellano en mantillas, no pocas veces una mala traducción del vascuence. Y los que habiéndolo aprendido así tenemos luego que servirnos de él para expresar lo que hemos pensado y sentido, nos vemos forzados á remodelarlo, á hacernos con esfuerzo una lengua. Y esto, que es en cierto respecto nuestro flaco como escritores, es á la vez nuestro fuerte.

Porque nuestra lengua no es un *caput mortuum*, no es algo que hemos recibido pasivamente, no es una rutina, sino que es algo vivo y palpitante, algo en que se ve nuestro forcejeo. Nuestras palabras son palabras vivas; resucitamos las muertas y animamos de nueva vida á las que la tenían lánguida. Heñimos nuestra lengua, nuestra por derecho de conquista, con nuestro corazón y nuestro cerebro (478).

For Unamuno, speaking in a foreign tongue (in his case, Castilian) was an act of conquest, but also redemption - the two main legacies that characterized Spanish imperialism under the reign of Castila, now used or perhaps reoccupied in the service of the stigmatized outsider.⁷ To highlight this redemptive use of language ("our words are living words; we rescue the dead ones and animate those which had languished with a new life"), Unamuno contrasts it with the use of shibboleths: to reiterate, a word that has been deprived of its sense or meaning and reduced to signify the most reductive way of understanding difference - that is, in opposition to the same. This distinction gives Unamuno the model for aligning Rizal's execution with his own exploration of what he will later call "religious" or "tragic" sentiment.

Yet what is interesting about this formulation of Unamuno's is that it does not only

come from his own critique of Spain's political and religious institutions, but Rizal's as well. In fact, Unamuno's exposition of the *chibolete* as the inquisitorial use of language *ad extremum* proceeds by way of a quote from Rizal's novel *Noli me tangere* (1886). In it, the protagonist Crisóstomo Ibarra is stigmatized by the accusation that he is a *filibustero* - a word used to describe anyone suspected of harboring revolutionary sentiments or ideologies. Let us quote the passage Unamuno cites as an intersection between Rizal's thought and his own: "Los padres blancos han llamado á D. Crisóstomo *plibastiero*. Es nombre peor que *tarantado* [atolondrado] y saragata [zaragatuero], peor que betelapora [vete a la porra]...si te llaman una vez *plibastiero*...no te queda más remedio que dejarte ahorcar" (Rizal, *Noli me tangere* 350-351; Unamuno, "Epílogo" 487). This statement appears in a chapter entitled "Comentarios" which for the most part consists of the gossip generated around the hero's stigmatization. There is no name given to the speaker, except to say that he is one of many "campesinos sencillos" who is nevertheless "known to us" ("conocido nuestro").

In this passage Unamuno seizes upon two things: first, that the interpellation of the hero as a *filibustero* leads to the latter's imprisonment; second, that this interpellation is undercut by the inability of the subaltern society to understand or recognize the legitimacy of the accusation. This misrecognition is only highlighted by the fact that the accusation cannot even be pronounced properly: *filibustero* becomes *plibastiero*, and releases a stream of equally half-intelligible words which, spoken by the right authorities, exercise the force of violence. "¡Qué precioso pasaje!" Unamuno writes. "Cuán al vivo se nos muestra en él ese terrible poderío que ejercen las palabras donde las ideas son

miserables o andan ausentes! Ese terrible *plibastiero* ó filibustero...era un *chibolete*, una mera palabra tan vacía de contenido como el vacío ¡viva España! con que se quería y se quiere rellenar la inanidad de opuestos (487).

The irony in Rizal's passage (and Unamuno's attention to it) lies in the fact that the ostracization of the hero in the novel is supposed to serve a social, exemplary function; however, what the public understands is *not* the justice or injustice of the accusation but rather its emptiness. As pure forms, they only express the brute power of "los padres blancos" to harness language in the service of judgment - to say *shibboleths*, and sentence people to death by them. This stigmatization is not only applied to the hero Crisóstomo: as the passage demonstrates, it is extended to everyone who fails to conform to its rigid logic. Thus, by mispronouncing the shibboleth (*plibastiero* instead of *filibustero*, *chibolete* instead of *shibboleth*), the speaker becomes subject to the judgment of the reader in the same way that the Ephramite in the Book of Judges becomes subject to condemnation. In this respect, the "campesino sencillo" is just as doomed as the hero in Rizal's novel: both have failed to account for themselves in the representations available to them at the time, and so must be accounted for, in blood.

Yet this brings us to the second part of Unamuno's analysis: behind the subjection of the speaker or writer to judgment there lies a strategy which has its roots in the Christian (and for Unamuno, *Spanish*) philosophy that precedes and exceeds Catholic theology and dogma. For in submitting the word to the limits of the body (in this case, the tongue of the speaker), a dissonance or minor chord is registered on the level of language. Thus, to say *plibastiero* instead of *fil-*

ibustero not only breaks the alliance between the language of judgment and the subject who is authorized to speak it - in this case, "los padres blancos"; for a brief moment, the speaker rips through the seamless web of discourse and authority, and forces it to be *responsible* for the bodies which it stigmatizes with names. So that, even as *plibastiero* stigmatizes the speaker as a poor and insufficient aspirant to "the language of Cervantes," the misappropriation of the major language also *scandalizes* it, presents it with the existence of a body that representation ceaselessly betrays in its complicity with power.

By highlighting the two-sided nature of Rizal's novel, Unamuno is able to oppose the logic of the shibboleth, which reduces language and representation to a relationship of domination without hegemony, to a body that submits the shibboleth itself (*filibustero*, *atolondrado*, *zaragatuero*, *vete a la porra*) to the tongue of the speaker, *dialogizing* it as Bahktin might say or minoritizing it in the fashion of Deleuze (cf. Zavala 18 and 35; Deleuze and Guattari 104-105). Shibboleth becomes *chibolete*, in a politics of speaking that scandalizes language even as it moves to censor the speaker. The practice of minoritizing language calls upon language to take responsibility for its judgmental power and the injustice that founds it; that is, the injustice of allowing any form of representation, be it discourse, institution, theology, doctrine, or philosophy, to unleash its violence upon the bodies for which it cannot account. But we are fast approaching a much larger stream, which has borne the names of "tragic philosophy," "quixotismo," "absurdism," and "existentialism," among others.

We will have to save that stream for another time. Suffice to say, for now, that Unamuno's *chibolete* finds its way into one of

his most important works, *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*. This time, it is used to speak of not of Unamuno's, nor Rizal's, but all of Spain's stigmatization and marginalization under a new shibboleth, *Europe and Culture* (326). Confronted by a host of sciences, logics, rationalities of Enlightenment thought which effectively negate the centuries-old attempt of Catholic and Castilian Spain to respond to the existence of the human body bound and stigmatized by representation, Unamuno writes: "...en esta filosofía está el secreto de eso que suele decirse de que somos en el fondo *irreductibles a la Cultura*; es decir, que no nos resignamos a ella. No. Don Quijote no se resigna ni al mundo ni a su verdad, ni a la ciencia o lógica, ni al arte o estética, ni a la moral o ética" (265, italics added).

Where then, does Unamuno leave us -- first of all, in relation to the name of Rizal; and secondly, in relation to a new cultural politics organized around the categorical refusal to allow political and civil institutions to arrogate to themselves the task of representation? While casting doubt upon the future of the church which had canonized Rizal's name, Unamuno upholds the legitimacy of the act itself. His reason for both is the same: "...las religiones las hacen los pueblos y no los pensadores; los pueblos con su corazón, y no los pensadores con su cabeza" (Retana, 498). The political implications of Rizal's name, or so Unamuno seems to say, are every bit as ambiguous as they deserve to be. From Rizal's execution under the shibboleth of *filibustero*, his name had come to be a shibboleth for both the discourse of *publicity* under the American regime, and the resistance to this discourse by both the revolution and the schismatic church. Opposed to the use of Rizal's name as a shibboleth, Unamuno proposes that it be understood in a different way -- as symbol in the medieval and mystical

sense, which is the register of a body that has fought its way above its representation, and thus forced the entire apparatus of judgment to either subject itself or be subjected by the emergence of another law and order bound to succeed where the first had failed. The tragic Christ and the history of martyrs had demonstrated this process repeatedly.

Perhaps this patrimony of ambiguity explains Unamuno's association of Rizal with Hamlet, Don Quixote, and finally the tragic Christ: weak bodies that, at every turn of the screw, radiate a theater of cruelty that cannot be submitted to a sovereign discourse or representation. It also explains why attention to this thought in Philippine historiography has been so lacking.⁸ For to return the name of Rizal to this central ambiguity goes directly against not only the use of Rizal's name in the political struggles for legitimacy throughout the first decade of the twentieth century in the Philippines, but the appropriation of another name and patrimony which we claim today: 1898. Perhaps beneath the speeches, exhibits, and commemorations of the centennial there is a body that just may yet scandalize us all.

There certainly was when the Spaniards killed Rizal. According to writer Francisco Pi y Margall, a close friend of the dead man as well as former president of the short-lived First Spanish Republic (1873), reported in the Spanish press the refusal of the government to hand over Rizal's corpse to his family, for fear that it would be snatched by fanatic religious groups and worshipped by them.⁹ As we know, many of them were poised to take center stage as the most unsettling and endemic threat to civil society during and well after the war years.

NOTES

- 1 Apolinario Mabini (1864-1903) was the first premier of the Revolutionary Government and later personal advisor to president Emilio Aguinaldo. Prior to his capture by the American forces in 1899, Mabini was arguably the most important "intellectual" of the revolution: his position was characterized by his intransigence to American rule, against the more conservative elements in the revolutionary government. Mabini wrote his memoirs on the Filipino revolution while he was in exile in Guam, and returned to the Philippines shortly before his death. The two most important works on Mabini's life and work are Cesar Adib Majul's *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* and Teodoro Agoncillo's *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic*.
- 2 See *Rizal and the Underside of Philippine History* (1982).
- 3 An important article on the development of the "unincorporated territory" as a legal term in the U.S. insular cases is Efrén Rivera Ramos, *The Legal Construction of American Colonialism: The Insular Cases (1901-1922)*.
- 4 For details on the Taft-MacArthur relationship, and the tension brought about by the prospect of shared authority between the civil and military regimes, see Ralph Eldin Minger, *William Howard Taft and the United States Foreign Policy: the Apprenticeship Years 1900-1908* (37-54). MacArthur went as far as to say that the President McKinley's attempt to introduce a civil authority into the archipelago was an "unconstitutional interference with [MacArthur's] prerogative as Military Commander in these islands" (48).
- 5 See *infra*.
- 6 In addition to the aforementioned article see *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*.
- 7 Of course, Unamuno's political stance on the Basque language is well known; however, this essay reveals an unexplored aspect of both his and Rizal's particular approach to a language-based fictive ethnicity, in which Unamuno saw the conquest and redemption of the Castilian language by the non-Castilian as a key element to transforming and reversing Spain's descent into social anarchy and its recourse to the desperate solutions of totalitarianism or regionalism. As E. Inman Fox (among others) has pointed out, the challenge posed by these two major ideological forms in Spain has led to an ambiguity in Unamuno's attitude toward politics that has often been (mis)represented as ambivalence or political ineptitude (233-257).
- 8 A notable exception is Manuel Sarkisyanz' *Rizal and Republican Spain* (217-223).
- 9 See J. Conangala Fontanilles, *Cuba y Pí y Margall* ("El cadaver de Rizal," 318-320). This speech was delivered before Congress (2 January 1897) as part of the speaker's ongoing protest against colonialism in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. In fact, the one time Pí y Margall explicitly acknowledged the authority of the monarchical power in post-Republican Spain was to ask for pardon from execution on Rizal's behalf. His petition was denied.

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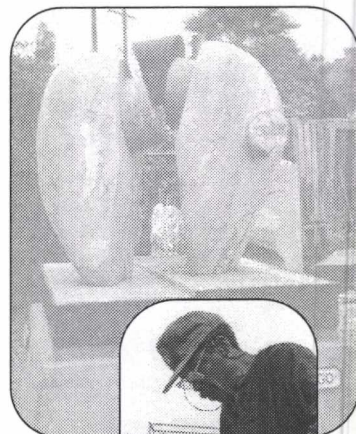
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Pedro Miguel Pulido

Fotógrafo y cineasta, Destefano ha trabajado extensamente en Cuba. Hace ya varios años que colabora con el prestigioso escultor cubano Pedro Miguel Pulido. Junto con Paul Linhard, director del Art City Sculpture Studios en Ventura, California, Destefano invitó a participar en el "Visiting Artist Program" de dicho estudio a Pulido, quien desarrolló desde enero a abril de 1998 una serie de proyectos en escultura: "Cuba - Fin de Siglo: la agonía de la seducción".

Pulido, quien es profesor de la Escuela de Artes Visuales "San Alejandro" de La Habana, desea contribuir a la creación de un espacio humano a través de la objetividad abstracta de las funciones espirituales del ser humano. Así, el artista representa el cuerpo humano en esculturas que usan el fenómeno del embargo norteamericano como un lugar crítico.

La serie "Las Jineteras", cuya obra "Embargo" aquí documentamos, muestra la yuxtaposición del cuerpo erotizado, la necesidad económica, las políticas ideológicas, y el espacio público, simbolizado en una esquina típica de La Habana vieja.



"A través de mi trabajo trato de mostrar el valor de mi pueblo, su sentido simbólico."

Fotografías de Lorenzo Destefano