

(Hi)Story in the Margins: José Rizal's Footnotes to Antonio Morga's Chronicle

(Hi)storia nas margens: notas de rodapé de Jose Rizal
na crônica de Antonio Morga

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24206/lh.v6i2.30599>

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ABSTRACT

A milestone in the Philippines has been the facsimile of Morga's chronicle *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* annotated by José Rizal in 1890. Scholars have analyzed how Rizal's use of footnotes told a counterhistory of the Spanish conquest. His project is semantic in nature and sought to destabilize, at least momentarily, the key concepts of the Hispanic theological-political monarchy. However, I argue that his criticism not only focused on the lexicon but went further, Rizal's use of footnotes sought to disrupt Western academic structures by appropriating them. His innovation was to do so with a colonial text in the 19th century Philippines. The footnotes of Rizal add the Filipino version, that is, two different versions engaged in visual rivalry on the same page. This paper analyzes the Rizal edition based on the materiality of the text, namely the how it operates in the format and its medium. The body of text is marginalized, whereas the story at the margins becomes visually relevant. This effort represents an epistemological rupture of the unit of the metropolitan narrative with the conversion of the Filipino from an object of study to a subject that gain agency.

Keywords: Counterhistory. Footnotes. Marginalia. José Rizal. Antonio Morga.

RESUMO

Um marco histórico nas Filipinas foi o fac-símile da crônica *Sucesos das Ilhas Filipinas*, de Morga, anotada por José Rizal em 1890. Os estudiosos analisaram como o uso de notas de rodapé de Rizal contava uma contra história da conquista espanhola. Seu projeto é de natureza semântica, ele procurou desestabilizar, pelo menos momentaneamente, os principais conceitos da monarquia teológico-política hispânica. No entanto, argumento que suas críticas não se concentraram apenas no léxico, mas foram além: o uso de notas de rodapé de Rizal procurou perturbar as estruturas acadêmicas ocidentais, apropriando-as. Sua inovação foi fazê-lo com um texto colonial nas Filipinas do século XIX. As notas de rodapé de Rizal acrescentam a versão filipina, ou seja, duas versões diferentes envolvidas na rivalidade visual na mesma página. Este artigo analisa a edição Rizal com base na materialidade do texto, a saber, como ele opera no formato e seu meio. O corpo do texto é marginalizado, enquanto a história nas margens se torna visualmente relevante. Além disso, considero que o projeto de Rizal de anotar a crônica espanhola representa uma ruptura epistemológica da unidade da narrativa metropolitana com a conversão do filipino de um objeto de estudo para obter agenciamento.

Palavras-chave: Contra história. Notas de rodapé. Marginalia. José Rizal. Antonio Morga.

Introduction

The *aucas* stories in the publishing business had its boom in nineteenth-century Spain; perhaps stemming from a mnemotechnical culture of religious teaching, these popular-format publications were divided into 48 vignettes with octosyllabic verses. A recurring topos in these *aucas* was the world upside down, which represented iconographically impossible scenes that speak of a change of roles (e.g., the sheep tending to a “flock” of human shepherd). Between 1897 and 1898, an *auca* of the world upside down with images of the Philippine Revolution appeared (Fig. 1). The change of roles intended by the Filipinos was met with sarcasm: “the laziest become are named kings and bishops”; “those who owe more to Spain fight with more fury.”¹ These allusions clearly referenced the figure of Jose Rizal and the Ilustrado group.² The maneuvers of Rizal in Spain were considered treason to the mother country, as revealed in the *auca*. Rizal's motivation for undertaking the annotation of Morga's chronicle was synthesized through this publication. Not satisfied with the myth of the “lazy indio”, a second allegation was made: the lack of gratitude of the Filipinos towards Spain. However, the *auca* goes further, a strong claim is made Filipino's are ungrateful and even worse, treacherous people.

¹ In Spanish it says: “los más bufos y levantadizos se nombran reyes y obispos” y los que más deben a España combaten con más saña”.

² The “Philippine propaganda movement” had as a main purpose to elevate the archipelago's juridical status. Since 1837, the islands had been governed by Special Laws, which prevented them from having representatives in the Spanish court. The members of the Propaganda group perceived themselves as “overseas Spaniards” and were educated descendants of the high class. The ideology was forged based on ideas regarding the archipelago's condition and overall, to react to the privileges and the great power the religious communities possessed. These events triggered a distinctly anticlerical attitude in the group. Moreover, the most outstanding members of the group belonged to the Masonic lodges established in Madrid and Barcelona. Among the general goals of the group were legal representation for Philippines, equality between Spaniards and Philippines, the secularization of education, and equality of conditions for Spaniards and Philippines to hold a position in the government. The most famous names were José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano López Jaena, Mariano Ponce, Antonio Luna, and Juan Luna.



Fig. 1 - "La Rebelión Filipina", n. 122, auca, Madrid, Despacho Arenal 11, c. 1897 and 1898.

A milestone in the national history of the Philippines has been the facsimile reprint of the Antonio Morga's Spanish chronicle *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* annotated by Rizal in 1890. New historiographical tendencies have analyzed how Rizal's use of footnotes told a counter history of the Spanish conquest.³ This conception only contemplates the footnotes within a historical dimension, that is, its study has been based on its adherence to the *Ilustrado* movement. (SCHUMACHER, 1991, BLANCO, 2009, p. 20; THOMAS, 2012).⁴ However, Rizal's approach goes beyond commentary on the historical events narrated in the footnotes. His project is also semantic in nature and sought to destabilize, at least momentarily, the key concepts of the theological-political model of the Hispanic

³ Other authors as Augusto Monterroso's "El eclipse" is a great short story on epistemology in the 20th century; An Van Hecke analyses "counterhistory" in the form parody in Monterroso in "La Parodia en Augusto Monterroso: una Revision de la Conquista de America" see Van Hecke, A. *Neophilologus* (2010) 94, p. 613. doi:10.1007/s11061-010-9207-3.

⁴ John Schumacher explains Rizal's motive for undertaking his study of Morga, not content with the myth of the lazy native the defenders of empire, now devise a second claim, as seen in the *auca*, the ingratitude of Filipino towards Mother Spain, to whom they owe so much. (SCHUMACHER, 1991).

monarchy. For example, Rizal, in his notes, questioned notions such as God, monarchy, conquest, and *encomiendas*. He examined the close relationship between the concepts of pact and betrayal in the historical narrative and the relativity of the meaning of these terms. However, his criticism not only focused on the lexicon but went further, in my opinion, Rizal's formal use of footnotes sought to disrupt Western academic structures by appropriating them for his political scheme and use them as a potential response. The footnotes of Rizal add the Filipino version of the facts, that is, two different versions engaged in visual rivalry on the same page. It is relevant to bear in mind that the modern layout of the footnotes in the Spanish chronicle was used with this purpose. As Jacques Derrida explains, there is a political use of blank space at the margin, for no footnote is neutral. Likewise, the note has a double bend for the reader: On one hand, it guides the reader's interpretation of a text; on the other, it is expected to be contested, rivaled. The same plays out today insofar as many authors employ footnotes to intensify the reading of their texts (DERRIDA, 1991, p. 202–203).⁵

However, Rizal's innovation was to do so with a colonial text and in a setting such as the Philippines in the nineteenth century. For these reasons, Rizal's discursive strategy was to use the canonical categories of the text to guide the reader to pay more attention to the marginal. From this conception, it can be observed how his counterhistory is essentially a result of his formal use of footnotes.

To my knowledge, Ambeth Ocampo's article *Rizal's Morga and Views of Philippine History* is the closest work to understand Rizal's notes outside his perspective of historical narrative. His aim is to contextualize the reason why Rizal chose Morga's chronicle that could be summarized in following reasons: "the original book was rare; Morga was a layman not a religious chronicler; Rizal felt Morga to be more "objective" than the religious writers whose accounts included many miracle stories; Morga was more sympathetic to the indios; and finally, Morga was not only an eyewitness but a major actor in the events he narrates" (OCAMPO, 1998, p. 190). Furthermore, Ocampo reads Rizal's attempt to write these annotations in the milieu of his contemporaneous fellowmen and scholars, therefore, describing a contextual narrative of the work.

This paper analyzes the Rizal edition based on the materiality of the text, namely the how it operates in the format and its medium. Rizal's footnotes demonstrate the folding of the text itself: The body of text is marginalized, whereas the story at the margins becomes visually relevant. At the same time, I will show that Rizal's footnotes explore the distribution of composition in an academic work. I

⁵ The subversive or ambiguous potential of the footnotes was immediately captured in the literature and many authors made use of this tool. Among them, probably the best known was *Tristram Shandy*. However, I will restrict its use in this essay to texts that claim to be academic such as the chronicles of Morga and pseudo-academics such as *the First of April*.

posit that these two efforts must be seen in parallel to construct a new vision of historical competence on the academic page. This essay argues that Rizal's footnotes represent a destabilization of key concepts for the Spanish political-theological tradition. As they represent an epistemological rupture of the unit of the metropolitan narrative with the conversion of the Filipino from an object of study to the agency of the subject, that is, the emergence of the third voice.⁶

The essay is split in two: The first part reveals the relations between the footnotes and the body of the text, and the second explores, in more detail, Rizal's footnotes, particularly as the appropriation of academic structures, agency of the third voice, and visual competition in the same plane.

1. The footnote and the body of the text

Several studies have made textual marginalia fashionable, granting a centrality that has not been lost. The universe of references (footnotes, comments, the critical apparatus) operates as the text's interpretative framework. The critical apparatus functions as a form of cultural discourse because it is possible to visualize almost immediately how a text is constructed based on those used to back or endorse the authority of the text, or, in a more compelling case, those ignored in the text's composition.

Anthony Grafton has studied the historiographical note and stated that its heuristic operation has been used as a method to evaluate the scholarship of historical essays. Similarly, Grafton has proposed that its use implies that the historian can perform two tasks simultaneously: 1) to examine all relevant sources (*sic*) for the solution of a problem and 2) to construct a new argument from them (Grafton, 4–5). Derrida, for his part, ironically states that historical facts cannot be annotated, that what is annotated is the text; in other words, Derrida exposes what is at stake in the historical narrative (Derrida 197). From a similar perspective, Evelyn Tribble argues that footnotes have been a battleground in the modern period. In the paradigms of critical apparatuses, there have been issues between the concept of authorship and tradition (TRIBBLE, 1997, p. 229). Thus, a radical transformation in the historical narrative occurred with the change in the author's authority as a person, which was replaced with the way in which he or she uses sources.

⁶ The most famous contemporary use of the word come from Bhabha's *third space of enunciation*, however, the term comes from the Russian psychology in Vygotsky works. Vygotsky's studies use the term in relation to the role of culture in the mind, for example, the uses of traditions and ceremonies learned from generation to generation. The term "third space or voice" seems inspired in Benveniste's and Marin's ideas on enunciation. In Bhabha's use this term to refer to a postcolonial linguistic theory of identity and community realized through language or enunciation. (BHABHA, p. 55)

The extension of this phenomenon of authority and disruption in footnotes has a long tradition and can be observed in Pierre Bayle's work, namely his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*. The footnotes of his dictionary have a Cartesian structure in that they follow the logic of systematic doubt. The author strives to report all sources whenever data are offered (date, name, place). The instrumentalization of the footnote installed a particular type of authority produced by the transparency of displaying what sources were used (BOST, 2006, p. 14). By allowing the reader to have all sources at his or her disposal, Bayle undermined his authority by proposing that the reader makes his or her own journey through the sources and opened the possibility of arriving at conclusions other than those exhibited by the author him or herself. Therefore, the footnote generates a degree of destabilization between the intention of the author and the unit of the text.

From Gerard Genette's perspective, the implicit relationship between author and literature is based on his or authority/authorship over the text. The notion of the paratext "is characterized by an authorial intention and assumption of responsibility" (Genette 3). Foucault proposes that the category/function of the author stems from "an object of appropriation and attribution. It sets the example when literature as a result of transgressive discourses and the need to blame someone" (FOUCAULT, 1992, p. 124–125). Thomas E. Toon indicates that the use of handwritten annotations is signaled in contemporary culture as a form of vandalism. Toon notes how the modern printed page is conceived as private property (TOON, 1991, p. 76). Ralph Hanna has called the footnote a kind of guilty knowledge that is so explosive that it cannot express itself in the same body, instead fragmenting itself and disseminating throughout a work (HANNA III, 1991, p. 180–181). The footnote stands as a self-reflexive tool through which the author elevates his or her place in the field of study; simultaneously, the footnote endorses the field of study insofar as it framed as a place of authority. For these reasons, Derrida has suggested the importance of marginalia as concentrating the greatest amount of information to calculate the strategic positions that the academic fields assume (DERRIDA, 1991, p. 200).

What happens in the colonial context? What are the connotations of being the colonial annotator-subject of a Spanish chronicle? Is the annotator subordinate to the author's idea of the body of the text? Can this be a political strategy? The production of the critical apparatus and the preface by another person, says Genette, serve an eminently editorial function (GENETTE, 2001, p. 253). In this case, the notes are made by a second person, that is, the annotator Rizal lets his voice be heard explicitly and openly, identifying himself as such and marking distances with the main author, often through referenced resources—the footnotes—that record the author's opinion or historiographical procedures.

In relation to the authorship of the text as property, it is interesting to observe how the copyright of this facsimile edition of 1890 corresponds to the annotator. So, this supposedly marginal

nature of Rizal's footnotes, as Derrida warns, is precisely what makes it a fascinating object in its material dimension, creating an intertextual space in the text that causes it to break or rival the body of the text on the same page.

The appearance of the academic page as we know it is a modern construction at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The technology of the page at the visual level has much to tell us because it speaks of a way of conducting reading through artifacts such as titles, subtitles, the body of text, and critical apparatuses. This way of guiding readers has a close relationship with the footnotes. Lawrence Lipking has proposed that this technology implies the implementation of a hierarchical model of knowledge in light of the concession to the place of importance in the body of the text and the suggestion of reading from top to bottom (LIPKING, 2016, p. 182). Derrida has proposed that the footnote can be seen as an expression of the theological-political hierarchy. The status of the footnote implies a normalized, hierarchical, legitimate state in its use of space that determines relations of authority (DERRIDA, 1991, p. 193). Even more, it differentiates in graphical terms the body of the text from the footnotes, for it is a mark of separation and entails a different font size.

This form of structuring the page has a mirror (and miniature) parallel with the Enlightenment project in the taxonomic and organic sense intended to orchestrate the natural world: The reorganization of space was sought to implement the principles of functionality, utility, comfort, beauty, and order as axioms. This aesthetic disciplinary effort attempted to remove baroque devices that included marginalia without systematization to impose a constant division of space with footnotes placed after the body of the text.

Visually, footnotes also respond to a change in the artistic canon. Tribble points out how the controversy regarding the privilege of using the footnote is related with the resurgence of the aesthetics of printing. Footnotes and endnotes were successfully used by publishers and printers because they cut down the printing costs associated with gloss (TRIBBLE, 1997, p. 231). The publishing world wanted to distance itself from its immediate past, identified with pages full of annotations, and to bring a modern and ordered sense of taste to the Republic of Letters. In this sense, it is worth citing the fragment recovered by Tribble on the notes of *The Printer's Grammar* (1765) by John Smith:

We see in the productions of former Printer, that they delighted in seeing the pages lined with Notes and Quotations; which they enlarged on purpose, and contrived to encompass the pages of the text, that they might have the resemblance of a Looking-glas (*sic*) in the frame. By thus crowding the pages with Notes, they could not want so many quotations as we do at present, now we are convinced, that too many Notes are of no advantage. . . . notes being always considerably less than the text, either this will appear

too pale, or the other too Black, and for this reason those whoa (*sic*) have a notation Printing, avoid to write many Side Notes. (John Smith cited in TRIBBLE, 1997, p. 232)

Attention to the tonalities of ink in the marginalia (too pale or too black) and, with it, the possibility of distracting the reader from the center of the text, were the problems addressed by the introduction of a uniform aesthetic. The topos of the margin of the text as a mirror of the world (the resemblance of a looking glass in the frame) reappears in aesthetic terms to normalize printed objects.

The modern layout of footnotes was introduced in the eighteenth century, so the modern facsimile of Morga's chronicle was built to be read in this format. It is important to mention that in the present essay, one of my objectives is to highlight the disruptive aspect of the visual dimension. *The First of April: A Blank Poem* (c. 1724), a rare and fascinating pamphlet, has the same intention of highlighting the visuality of the footnote but in a much more radical manner (Fig. 2). The joke of the text is that after having paid three pence, the reader is left with a blank layout; the body of the blank text is full of asterisks and only footnotes appear printed in the margin.

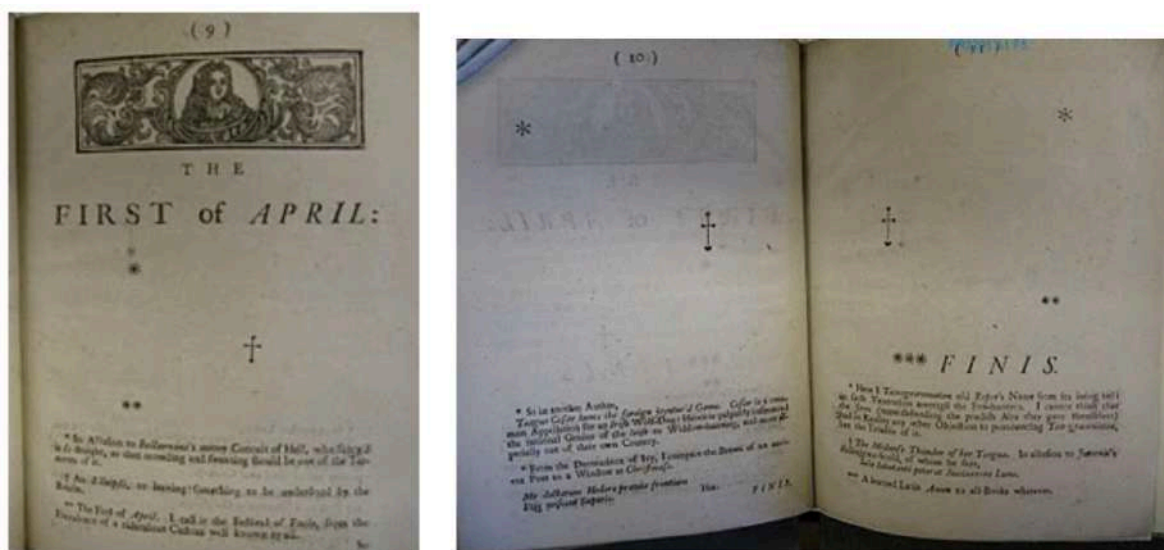


Fig. 2 - Free Agent. *The First of April: A Blank Poem in Commendation of the Suppos'd Author of a Poem Lately Publish'd, Call'd Ridotto, Or, Downfal [sic] of Masquerades.* London: Printed for and sold by J. Graves ..., 1704.

Although it could be treated, as its title says, as a joke or celebration of fools, the truth is that the poem shows how to use the blank image reserved for the margin of the page to subvert the body of the text. Thus, the poem is only dedicated to footnotes. For example, there is daggerlike signage in the middle of the first page, whose footnote warns that it is an ellipsis, that is, “an elleipfis, or leaving foment to be understood by the Reader (*sic*)” (FREE AGENT, 1724, p. 9). In this way, the ellipsis

could unleash interactions between the reader and the author from the silence of the text, signaling with an instrument to kill or cut and emphasizing the notes.

The dedication of the text deploys the following pun on “No Body”: “No Body was born before Adam” and, at the same time, “No Body is exempt from dying” (FREE AGENT, 1724, p. 12–13). The pun serves to highlight the blank body of the text and its association with no/body are a self-reflection on the form's materiality. The other footnotes are also used humorously to antagonize the academic system. For example, the author compares works and versions, saying which is most suitable for his argument in the body of the blank text. *The First of April* comes at a time when paper was expensive for printers, which tells us that exploiting the absence of the body in the layout of the page was the goal. Using this example, it can be observed how displacement is visual, and there is an emphasis on the marginalized notes of the text, which become the central axis of the narrative.

The footnotes formulated a new typology of the printed sheet in line with Enlighten ideals. The forgotten Morga chronicle remained unpublished since the seventeenth century, so its reappearance within modern parameters was a change in itself. For this reason, the adaptation of the Spanish chronicle by Rizal is original; therefore, the alleged relationship of dependence/subordination between the author of the body of the text and the annotator is attenuated.

2. Intrusion from the Margin

In discursive terms, Morga's chronicle maintains the same devices already employed in colonial Spanish America. The chronicles of discovery aimed to explain—in teleological terms—the need to civilize under the parameters of the Spanish Crown and to turn the world into a Catholic planet. Carmen Y. Hsu has mentioned how in Morga it is possible to glimpse this teleological understanding, in which the Spaniards returned to face the Muslims after having travelled the world. (HSU, 2009, p. 120–121). In Morga, the historical narrative is a way to grasp the world as well as a model for establishing a particular niche in Monarchy as an institution. Within this structure, the author describes facts in a vertical way; the author's gaze encompasses the whole narrative. The chronicle emerges as a closed universe between metropolitan subjects, where the conception of the Filipino is only approximate as an object of study.

Franco Moretti has pointed out that the nineteenth-century European novel is a work against polyphony; per Moretti, it is the elimination of unnecessary voices to channel the construction of the nation-state (MORETTI, 1998, p. 45). Rizal begins to question this type of narrative from his novel

Noli Me Tángere (1887), in which the dialogue in Spanish of the main characters is interrupted by native Tagalog (RIZAL, 2008, p. 99, 140–144, 190).⁷ To whom does this disruption of the third voice refer? Mikhail Bakhtin develops a similar theory of discourse based on intersubjectivity, through which he exposes the idea of the “third” or supradestinataire (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 15–70; 253–375).

For the third voice to exist in the discursive plane, it must manifest in the ontological plane. Emmanuel Levinas raises the need for an ethical responsibility for the Heideggerian Dasein. The focal point of Levinas' theory lies in understanding that human beings do not only seek to extend their conscious existence at any price but that humans may even die for the other, may desire more deeply the continuity of another being to its own. This contact with otherness is when the human being discovers the transcendental meaning of existence and consists, as Levinas indicates, in the situation of being face to face with the Other (LEVINAS, 1997, p. 136).

The notion of heteroglossia with the inclusion of footnotes questions the uniqueness of Morga as the speaking subject, that is, of the subject-author who dominates everything. The discursive dimension that Rizal tries to break with his footnotes is the single-voice narrative, where the same subject is present all the time. Rizal seeks the creation of a new subject through dialogue in Tagalog in his novel and in the footnotes in the chronicle. Such an opening of space in discursive practices gives rise to alterity, and the other appears as its equal similar as a discursive subject. For this reason, Bakhtin installs the dialogical understanding of the thought in the linguistic discussion of heteroglossia and polyphony (TODOROV, 1981, p. 94–95). Rizal responds to such historical version within the text itself, making use of the same Western critical apparatus that allows the two discourses coexist in the same medium of the publication. Hence, I suggest that the footnotes introduced by Rizal disrupt the unitary conception of the chronicle. The third voice appears here as an instance of breaking the hierarchical structure.

Rizal's footnotes are inscribed in a project of epistemological rupture with the universe encompassed by the chronicle. Rizal writes the notes with an attitude of insubordination that impacts the very nature of the writing of the colonial text, which was forgotten and had but a few copies in libraries—it was little known in Spain because it was published in Mexico—and only brought to light under this facsimile version.

The inclusion of the Philippine voice in chapter 8, not as an object that merely mirrors the dominant ideology but as an agency subject, becomes decisive for the political efficiency of the work

⁷ There are several passages when the Castilian Spanish is interrupted with Tagalog native. When Father Damasco speaks to his students, his students interrupted the sermon. Also, when the main protagonist Ibarra goes to see Tasio. For more on this topic, see Juan E. de Castro's “En qué idioma escribe Ud.?: Spanish, Tagalog, and Identity in José Rizal's *Noli me tangere*.” *MLA* 126, 2011, p. 303–321.

(MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 255–374).⁸ The footnotes allow for the opening and building of space for Filipino representation.⁹ Rizal, demonstrating his eminently humanist education as a philologist, uses the notes to refer to a confrontation of the texts consulted. Rizal's employment introduces a third voice that rebukes Morga to interrogate his sources and narrative veracity.¹⁰ Rizal's footnotes intend to demonstrate that before the European arrival, the Filipinos had a highly developed culture and civilization.¹¹ Thus, the Spanish invasion represented a decline that lasted in the Philippines. This intention is reinforced by a paratextual element, the preface by Ferdinand Blummeritt, who writes that:

Así en general las acusaciones de tus notas no son una novedad. Per sin duda, nos interesa mucho como se presente a los descendientes de ellos maltratados, a las víctimas de la intolerancia europea ese cuadro de aquellos días de descubrimientos [...] Naturalmente he encontrado que has pintado desde otros puntos de vista que nosotros y que tu has descubierto cosas que se ha escapado a la atención de los europeos. Y estos nuevos puntos de vista dan a tus notas un valor no perecedero, un valor innegable aún para los que sueñan con una superioridad inaccesible de su raza o nación. (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, Blummeritt XII)

So, in general, the accusations of your notes are not a novelty. But of course, we are very interested in presenting to the descendants of those who are mistreated to the victims of European intolerance who picture of those days of discovery [. . .] Naturally, I have found that you have painted from other points of view, you have discovered things that have escaped the attention of Europeans. And these new points of view give your notes a non-perishable value, an undeniable value even for those who dream of an inaccessible superiority of their race or nation. (MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, Blummeritt XI)

⁸ There are numerous examples of this, especially in the eighth chapter, where the customs of the peoples of the Philippines are told. Just to give an example, Morga exposes a lack of control over certain lands says: "In all these islands there were no kings or lords who dominate them, like other kingdoms and provinces; But every island and province of it was known many principal ". Rizal states in the note: "in what he did well, because given the lack of rapid communications, if the government of all the islands resided in a single hand and a single will, and for all things had to go and consult, the life of the people would be very paralyzed. In our times it happens while consulting Manila to compose a bridge, spend months and years, and when comes decree, you find that there is nothing left of the bridge. (MORGA; RIZAL, 293).

⁹ As I argued, the footnotes respond to a conversion of the Filipino from an object of study to the agency of the subject, keeping in mind that Spain's Ministry of Overseas organized in Madrid an Exposition dedicated to the Philippines in 1887, which included human specimens. Consequently, Rizal edition is a response to these initiatives.

¹⁰ Ocampo argues that Rizal undertakes the study of researching through the accounts of Spanish chronicles (Morga, Padre Chirino, Colin, Gaspar de San Agustín, Combes. (OCAMPO, 190-196) Meghan Thomas compares them to modern Orientalist practices such as anthropologist and ethnohistorical endeavors of Blummeritt, Jagor, Rost, Meyer, Virchow, among others (THOMAS, 31).

¹¹ It is not my intention to formulate whether the facts are true or not regarding the prehispanic civilization. Ocampo's article deals with the veracity of this claims. My intention is to analyze it as a rhetorical device.

Ilustrados made use of the academic traditions in vogue in Europe, including linguistics, philology, folklore, ethnology, and anthropology. Megan Thomas has shown that the 19th century Orientalist discourse was not homogeneous and even served to consolidate anticolonial possibilities in the case of the Philippines (THOMAS, 2012, p. 31–35). In the Spanish case, the Ilustrado group represented Orientalist knowledge not yet disseminated in Spain. For example, Pardo de Tavera, part of the Ilustrado group, studied the Sanskrit origins of the Tagalog language. Rizal and his colleagues sought to rescue the Tagalog civilization from the contemporary Spanish debacle, reversing the roles. For example, when Morga mentions the use of the residency trial to evaluate the mode of government of the captain general, Rizal exposes the importance of devices that limit despotic power in those times in comparison with their present situation (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 4).

It is important to mention that Rizal did not use a typewriter, so his writing process also relied on marginalia for manuscript construction. The chronicle begins by exposing its debt to the Catholic faith and the Spanish monarchy; it is important to emphasize that Rizal interrupts and splits the first paragraph with footnotes at least six times. For example, key concepts for the construction of the Western theological-political model, such as God, are destabilized by Rizal's notes. Morga's text in its first lines, invokes the "knowledge of the true God" (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. XXXI–XXXII); but, as Rizal explains in his notes,

Antes esto se podía decir, pero ahora puede tacharse de presuntuoso porque nadie tiene el monopolio del verdadero Dios, ni el privilegio de invención, ni hay nación ni religión que pueden pretender ni probar haber dado la definición del Criador de todas las cosas y conocido su verdadero ser. (n.1 MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. XXXII)

[i]n older times this could be said, but now it can be dismissed as presumptuous because no one has the monopoly of the true God nor the privilege of invention, nor is there any nation or religion that can prove to have given the definition of the Creator of all things and known his true being. (n.1 MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, p. XXXI)

Also, another crucial concept, the unity of the Spanish nationality in the expeditions, is reviewed; Rizal clarifies in his footnotes that:

Y podemos añadir portuguesas, italianas, francesas, griegas y hasta africanas y oceánicas, pues las expediciones que capitanearon Colón y Magallanes, genovés, el uno y portugués, el otro estaban compuestas de diferentes nacionalidades. (n.2 MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. XXXI)

And we can add Portuguese, Italian, French, Greek and even African and Oceanic. The expeditions that captained Colon and Magellan, from Genève and Portugal, were composed of different nationalities. (n.2 MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, p. XXX)

As I will delve into the next section, other fundamental concepts that Rizal destabilizes are conquest, pacification, encomienda, pact and treason. As Derrida argues, any text is structured with a multiplicity of hierarchical (even spatial) functions that correspond to the political structure of institutions. Yet, like any institution, they allow for the existence of transgressions; such is the game of annotation (DERRIDA, 1991, p. 194).

Rizal corrects the text, changing the spelling for the modern reader and ignoring Morga's annotations for publishing. For example, in Morga's chronicle, we see an expanding Castilian that incorporates *nahualtismos* from Mexico, whereas Rizal's version uses a Castilian closer to the nineteenth-century metropolitan canons (AZÚA, 2011, p. 226; MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. XXXVIII–XXXIX). With the use of the modern printed page, Rizal eliminates the processes of annotation of the chronicle to propose his vision of the facts on a material plane.

3. Visual Disruption

Rizal project has as a conjuncture the destabilization of the key concepts sustaining colonization in the Philippines. The Ilustrado group performed this series of interruptions from the material plane in academic traditions. Rizal makes use of footnotes to draw the reader's attention to the margins of the text. As I have mentioned, this action places two versions of contradictory facts, versions which may complement each other or cancel each other out. As I have studied elsewhere, Juan Luna undertakes a similar project of complementary, contradictory, and amphibological versions with an academic painting in the historical genre.¹²

As I have mentioned, to demonstrate this hypothesis, I will use the founding event of the conquest of the Philippines, the blood compact. This event occurred during the Spanish Empire's territorial expansion in search of new commercial routes to Asia. Additionally, the archipelago's conquest was understood as the culmination of the Catholic universal project. According to the

¹² John D. Blanco's book come close in reading the two projects together, but the author analyzes more thoroughly the novel *Noli me tangere*. Another important attempt is Floro Cayanan Quibuyen' doctoral dissertation. However, both authors emphasize more the content than the formal aspects, including the footnotes position and the rules of composition. (CAYANAN, 1996).

Spanish chronicles, Miguel de Legazpi's expedition achieved the "archipelago's pacification" in 1565 by establishing strategic alliance pacts with native rulers. The most important pact was realized between Legazpi and Rajah Sikatuna, Moorish King of Bohol (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 12).

The traditional history recounts the reason for these blood compacts came from an ancient Philippines ritual, in which each part drank wine mixed with blood to seal the pact. However, the founding pacts and their subsequent betrayal created a metanarrative that promoted the integration of Hispanic empire (CUADRIELLO, 2001, p. 268). In *The Divided City*, Nicole Loraux includes a chapter titled "Oath, Son of Discord." The name derives from a notion in a passage by Hesiod that defines an oath in negative terms, which only occurs through perjury: "The oath is a bearer of negativity [...] if the first [oath] had no other purpose than to punish and had been created, as a way of greater flogging, just for those perjuries that he himself produces just by existing" (LORAUX, 2001, p. 126). The oath does not constitute a remedy for the evils of war; rather, it is the whip itself insofar as it contains the form of perjury.

Rizal asserts that the political acts of pacts and treason are more accurately conceptualized as linked ideas. For this reason, I will first attempt an archeology of the blood compact's political act and then analyze its representations. It is likely that the creation of this type of pact has military origins. Through the consumption of blood and wine, the parties share the same blood and become brothers, thereby establishing filial ties. This rite originated in some brotherhoods; classical authors have described this, including Herodotus when writing about the Scythes and Tacitus in his discussion of Rhadamanthus and Mithridates in *the Annals*. The most *sui generis* blood compact that survived in its essence of symbolic ingest was the establishment of the Eucharist during the Last Supper: Each apostle drank the "blood of Christ" and thereby formed a sacred alliance. This fraternization can be understood by looking at the Gospel of Mark: "He then took a chalice, expressed gratitude, passed it on, and they all drank from it. And he said: this is my blood, the pact's blood that will be spilt by all" (MARK, p. 14-24).

It is in this sense of a sacred alliance that Giorgio Agamben suggests that the Western world's modern ethical and political model is intimately related to the oath/pact established in the Eucharist's liturgy. Agamben posits that Christ was the supreme priest and the priesthood supplies the genealogical successors of the Apostles to carry on the aforesaid ceremony (Agamben 345). Given these similarities, scholar Vicente L. Rafael has established the blood compact as the secular evocation of the Catholic belief (RAFAEL, 2005, p. 173-174).

As Sergio Azúa explains, the first name of the chronicles of Morga was *Descubrimiento, Pacificación y Población de las Islas Filipinas* (AZÚA, 2011, p. 223). Emphasis was placed on the word pacification to highlight the difference with respect to what happened in the Americas; the narrative exposed the *sui generis* mode of the Asian expedition. The so-called pacification of the Philippines was

done without bloodshed due to this general Legazpi's abilities to obtain the natives' consent through the blood compact (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 11). Despite the pact, the alliance was violated after Sikatuna died under unusual circumstances. For this reason, Rizal proposes to destabilize this key concept of pact and pacification for the colonization of the archipelago. His footnotes explain that every time Spain takes over a province, it states that it was pacified. Maybe then, the action of "pacifying" meant as well to "declare war" (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. XXXIV, 57).¹³ Also, the term *encomienda* related to trust is analyzed under these terms:

Esta palabra encomendar como la de pacificar, tuvo después una significación irónica: encomendar una provincia, era como decir: entregarla al saqueo, a la crueldad y a la codicia de alguien, según después se portaron los encomenderos. (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 12)

This word *encomendose* from *encomienda*, like that of *pacificar*, later acquired an erroneous meaning; *encomendar* una provincia (entrust a province) was like saying: To give up a province to plunder, cruelty and covetousness of someone, as the Encomenderos later proved it. (MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, p. 12)

The annotator made a lucid note of the relative terms of the pact and treason. For example, Rizal questioned the concept of treason with the mention of a traitorous Indian by Morga in the conquest of Mindanao. Rizal insists on the lexicon of the word, calls into question the relative meaning of the term, and recognizes the work of the Indian from whom he recuperates his name, Ubal. The annotator says:

[ellos] no habían ofendido ni declarado guerra a los españoles; tenían que defender sus hogares contra un invasor muy poderoso, con superiores fuerzas, muchos de los cuales era, por sus armaduras invulnerables para los rudos indios, expuestos a las balas de sus arcabuces. A seguir este criterio, el heroico paisanaje español de la guerra de la Independencia sería un pueblo mucho más traidor: las veleidades de Godoy, las discordias de la familia real, el tener armas y fuerzas iguales [...]. (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 52–53)

[...] they had no offended or declared war on the Spaniards; they had to defend their homes against a very powerful invader, with superior force, many of whom because of their armor, were invulnerable for the rough Indios who were exposed to the bullets of their harquebuses. Were this criterion followed, the heroic Spanish peasantry of the war of independence would be a much more treacherous people: the fickleness (*sic*) of Godoy,

¹³ In chapter 6 in his note 3 he returns to the same question in describing the exploits of Francisco Tello against the Muslims of Mindanao. "That is why we said that the word *pacificar*, so often used by the author, seems synonymous with bringing war or sowing enmity (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, 57)".

the discords of the Royal Family, having almost equal arms and strength [...]. (MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, p. 52)

Also, Rizal discusses the offences are view differently when committed by a native than made from the Europeans. Morga cites that in the whole island all the inhabitants were killed by the Spanish army (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 71). Rizal comments:

Los historiadores de Filipinas que no perdonan sospechan ni accidente para interpretarlos en sentido desfavorable para los indios se olvidan de que, casi en todas las ocasiones, el motivo de las discordias ha venido siempre de los pretendían civilizarlos, a fuerza de arcabuces y a costa de los territorios de los débiles habitantes. ¿Qué no dirían, si los crímenes cometidos por portugueses, españoles, holandeses, etc. en las colonias hubiesen sido cometidos por los isleños? (MORGA; RIZAL, 1890, p. 71)

The historians of the Philippines who do not fail to interpret unfavorably to the indios a suspicion or accident, forget that on almost all occasion the cause of discords always come from those who pretend to civilize them, by force of harquebuses and the expense of the territories of the weak inhabitants. They could not say that the crimes committed by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, etc. in the colonies had been committed by the islanders. (MORGA; RIZAL; NATIONAL HISTORICAL PHILIPPINES, 1990, p. 68)

With this argument, Rizal destabilizes the key concepts underpinning the Spanish colonization. I believe that Luna's *Blood Compact* of 1884 is inscribed in this same line of destabilization (**Fig. 3**). The blood pact constitutes a visual questioning of the foundational fact that legitimizes Spain's incursion into the Philippines, where the pact and betrayal are univocally represented in the bold composition of the painter as understood by the art critic at the time.



Fig. 3 – Juan Luna y Novicio (1857–1899) *El pacto de sangre*, *La Ilustración Artística*, Barcelona, 13 de diciembre de 1886, año V, núm 259

Generally, the representation of political acts of celebration of pacts and toasts are balanced in their composition; even subsequent representations of the *Blood Compact* have adhered to this principle. In contrast, three quarters of Luna's composition feature Spanish soldiers, with the remaining quarter featuring Sikatuna's figure. No Philippine witnesses are present. Moreover, the gesture of several Spaniards is imposing. One example is the expression of the soldier who looks intently at the King of Bohol as he lays his fist on the table; another example is Juan de Salcedo, Legazpi's grandson, with his arms on his waist and his eyes fixed on the consummation of the pact. Additionally, the strong presence of high halberds and, in at the opposite corner, Sikatuna's dropped shield, are significant details. The dramatic use of light is also revealing. There are three main spotlights: Legazpi's face and half of his body, Sikatuna's arm with the dagger next to the book on the table, and the army's coercive look toward Sikatuna. Why was the King of Bohol painted with his back facing the front, cornered, and in the shadow during the apex of the consummation of the most important pact? These elements offer a different reading to the spectator by suggesting a prelude to treason.

Luna appears to have painted a visual exegesis with clear symbolical references to the Last Supper (the similarity of the holy chalice, the blood and the wine, the table, the group, and the correlation of Judas' position as the man showing his back); in a way, the composition sacralizes this political episode. Because of the effect implied by the dual role of this episode of the Passion of Christ,

such that pact and treason converge, as well as the ambiguity in Luna's image, a variety of readings can be supported, yet who the traitor and the betrayed where is unclear. Luna produces an academic picture of historical genre using the Western tools proper to the European academy, that is, the academy's emblematic codes. The visual representation of military alliances as political acts has been formulated through the coding of emblematic language. For instance, the pact was categorized through the personification of "The Concorde," sealed with an embrace.

In the French reedition of Cesare Ripa by J.B. Bourdard's *Iconology*, the image of "The Reconciliation" is the embrace of two figures kissing (BOUDARD, 1759, v. 3, p. 93). (Fig. 4) Given the resulting high degree of similarity between the composition of "The Concorde," (BOUDARD, 1759, v. 1, p. 106). "The Reconciliation" is peculiar because the author emphasizes the difference in personification: One figure features an olive branch as a peace symbol, whereas the other features a human-headed snake between its feet emblemizing fraud and evil. In addition to being compared to "The Concorde," "The Reconciliation" has also been linked more frequently to "La Trahison" (BOUDARD, 1759, v. 3, p. 165). The image's legend explains that "La Trahison" is the abstraction of humanity's disgrace, represented in the personification of a hideous elderly woman kissing a young girl while preparing to stab the girl with a knife.

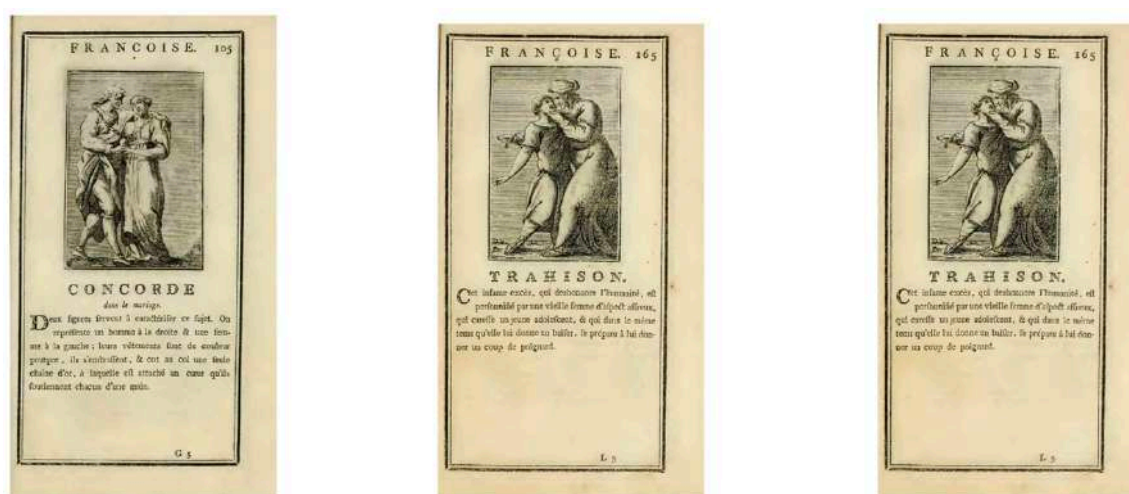


Fig. 4 - "Concorde", "Reconciliation" and "Trahison" J. B. Bourdard. *Iconologie*, tirée de divers auterus ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, aux poètes, aux artistas & generalemente à tous les amaterus des beaux-arts, Chez Jean Thomas de Trattnem, Viena, 1759.

The images might suggest that the seed of treason is also present in the pact through its figurative similarity in the embrace and the configuration of the image; since both figures are necessary to understand the intended sense. It is likely that the original source was the Passion of Christ, which has been the model for Western treason (RIPA, 2002, p. 364–365; HERTEL, 1758, p.

160–175). I am referring to the arrest of Jesus when he was recognized because of Judas's kiss. In this representation, only the specific attributes differentiate alliance from treason. Such a dual concept was formulated from the image of Judas' kiss, because at the moment of making the affectionate gesture towards his master and his handing over, he was impersonating the proposal of pact-treason as two faces of the same coin. In his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined treason as the act of handing over: "treachery and deceit, from the Latin verb *trado*, is to hand over, the traitor's attempt to put those he deceives in hands of their enemies" (COVARRUBIAS Y HOROZCO, 1998, p. 973).

For these reasons, this scene from the Passion may be the origin of this visual coding of treason. Eighteenth-century iconographic treatises differentiated between vices and virtues in the same image. However, personifications succeed in communicating their message even as isolated figures; nevertheless, "Treason" and "Reconciliation" were originally formulated through these two figures, thereby forging a union of opposite components in a single image in the publication, in much the same way as I have argued happens in Rizal's footnotes to Morga's chronicle.

The polysemic nature of *Blood Compact* allows it to be regarded as either a pact or treason; thus, the potentiality inherent to the ambiguous image enables its display of multiple, even contradictory, meanings. It is possible, therefore, to observe the prime importance of the pact-treason not only as part of the foundational images but also as a theological-political model adopted by Western societies. The nature of the existence of two opposing concepts within the same image provokes their destabilization at least momentarily.

Final considerations

This paper emphasized that from the composition in which the content of the chronicle is presented determines how it is framed. As Schumacher says, Rizal probably was first Asian to attempt to construct a proto-nationalist story from a colonial text (SCHUMACHER, 1973, p. 108). Rizal understood that for a story like his to have validity, it had to be consolidated from the modern European paradigms. For that reason, he studied a chronicle that already was validated and examined it. However, his intellectual strategy was: "what Foucault once called "a relentless eruditions" scouring alternative source, exhuming buried documents, reviving forgotten or abandoned histories" (SAID, 1994, p. XIV–XV).

From the use of the forms, Rizal used their work to destabilize the key concepts for Spanish monarchy. In a similar way as the spectator of the *Blood Compact* felt, the reader of the chronicle finds him or herself in a situation of probable ambivalence in which there is a voice-over constantly

interrupting Morga's hegemonic discourse.¹⁴ Rizal undermines the author's voice as unique, expressing in the footnotes a diversity of voices. The annotator, understanding the academic hierarchies, uses footnotes in a strategic and explosive way to concretize his political project. To appropriate the text, Rizal opts for direct interruption by enlarging the blank space of the paper at its bottom. In the words of James Iffland, "annotation is an aggressive or invasive activity, directed not only towards the original author but the reader" (IFFLAND, 2000, p. 166). These footnotes serve to control consumption of the text (*i.e.*, to guide how it is read). This pronouncement at the bottom challenges as being a mediator in the interpretation of the colonial text. Rizal's footnotes allow an opening and building for Filipino representation; therefore, they now colonize and invade the chronicle text.

Footnotes provide an alternative and competing perspective on the historical discourse that create an instability and tension in the terms used for the reader to undertake. Rizal carry out a counter-history, but in the Foucauldian sense, where the ceremonial sermon of the historian is interrupted and disrupted, with which the reader is left in a situation of uncertainty, where the power of discourse is reaffirmed, while being at the same time, questioned (FOUCAULT, 2003, p. 66). Rizal interrogates the meaning of the concepts in the chronicle, and thus portrays the elusiveness of these terms (*e.g.* pact and betrayal) in historical narrative. The annotator unleashes the problematic ambivalence in the meaning of terms and proposes how they can be fluid and even controversial.

Using footnotes, Rizal contrasts documents as well as corrects and mocks the Spanish chronicler, but he always does so with grace. I believe that Rizal also engages in a symbolic parody of being inside the modern layout of the page, as in the Spanish expression "a sus pies," which translates to "at his feet," as a sort of footnote reinforcing the doubly insurgent character of an author/annotator in facto subaltern position, where Rizal, with his use of footnotes, finds a channel tool enunciation rebellions from their position of subalternity.

¹⁴ Although only specific examples were presented in the chronicle, it is necessary to clarify that the destabilization of concepts operates throughout the whole narrative.

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