# "Total Midnight All Over the Land Escaping Minute by Minute into the Small Hours"

Historiography and Baroque Poetics in Nick Joaquin's A Question of Heroes

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Nick Joaquin's *A Question of Heroes* (1977; 2005) concludes with a long sentence that renders, in a manner that unfolds, his view of the 150-year period he covers in his book. The sentence, whose structure follows the natural progression of the day, is emblematic of Joaquin's baroque historiography. By engaging with scholarship on Joaquin's historical writing as well as with research on baroque aesthetics, I argue that Joaquin's long sentence is an index of his temporal capaciousness, which from a baroque perspective, signals on the one hand recuperation and resistance, and artifice and deformation on the other.

### **KEYWORDS**

Philippine history; narrative; defamiliarization; National Artist for Literature; emplotment; trope

In his introduction to the Penguin Classics edition of The Woman Who Had Two Navels and Tales of the Tropical Gothic (2017), historian Vicente L. Rafael calls attention to Nick Joaquin's preoccupation for the long sentence, particularly as a vehicle to convey historical possibility. For Rafael, Joaquin's long sentence does not denote real events "so much as the possibilities of their taking place" (xxxiii). In attempting to "convey the experience of remembering not what happened but what could have happened," Rafael proposes that Joaquin's long sentence "delivers a series of shock effects to awaken the present to the past." Put differently, Rafael considers Joaquin's stylistic signature as endowed with two capacities: the capacity, by way of accretion of details and actions, to startle readers into awakening, and the capacity to evoke, in the face of the closure of historical reality, the openness of possibility. Similarly, novelist Gina Apostol's foreword points out that despite its shifts in direction, Joaquin's long sentence is an aesthetic feat: "Some of his sentences are like labyrinths that if you pulled a string through, you get this architectonic surety, a marvel" (ix). Apostol suggests that Joaquin's craftsmanship is evident in the serpentine complexity of his sentence: there's a solidity and surefootedness in Joaquin's craft that enables the sentence to bear the pressure of shock, possibility, and historical density—an astonishing construction.

Rafael cites as an example the opening sentence of the story "Doña Jeronima," where the "Archbishop's life is condensed into a series of moments, each pregnant with other stories, other times and other possibilities" (xxxii): Joaquin describes the career of the Archbishop who traveled by galleon from Manila to Mexico, was accosted by pirates, then subsequently shipwrecked, and was marooned on an island for one year before being rescued and returned to Manila as a holy man, his reputation as survivor having preceded him (*Two Navels* 131-132). Although the sentence accounts for approximately two years of the Archbishop's life—dense with incidents—Rafael calls attention to a sense of compression and incipience. Rafael points out not just what Joaquin renders in condensed form, but what he suggests beyond what is rendered: that the career of Joaquin's Archbishop was a fraud, that to be holy was to be hollow (*Two Navels* 132).

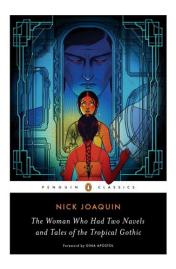


Fig. 1 The book cover of the Penguin Classics edition of Nick Joaquin. Published by Penguin Random House, 2017.

Apart from the example mentioned by Rafael, there are a number of instances in Joaquin's oeuvre where the long sentence appears. In Joaquin's bildungsroman, "Cándido's Apocalypse," one long sentence-which also serves as the high point of the story—traces Bobby Heredia's ambulation one evening in suburban Manila to look for his nemesis, Pompoy Morel. "Cándido's Apocalypse" depicts the coming of age of Bobby, the son of Totong and Ineng Heredia, and brother to Sophie and Junior. Set in middle class Manila in the 1960s—with young people sporting the Beatles bob and dancing the boogie, the twist, and the mau-mau, exchanging slang terms like diahe, tepok, 'lis d'yan, get lost and dig that (Two Navels 251)—the story depicts Bobby in crisis, situated in a society that is itself in transition. Bobby, 17 years old, is critical of "overacting," a trait he sees in his family, classmates, and friends; the epitome of overacting is Pompoy Morel. Bobby's insight into human behavior makes itself manifest literally with a kind of x-ray vision: Bobby can see beneath the clothes of his teachers and classmates, sometimes even seeing beneath the skin and right into the bones of people.

The sentence follows Bobby's movements from one place to another as he searches for Pompoy—from the Elvis Billiard Hall with his friends, the Village Theatre, Village Gasoline Station, Crossing (where a miting de avance was happening), then to his house (where his sister Sophie was holding a party), then out to the garden and bamboo grove (where he confronts Pompoy against a wall, and Pompoy engages him in a fistfight) (282-284). The sentence shows movement: Bobby rushes from one point to another seeking his enemy; despite rendering Bobby's restlessness, marked by successive changes in location, Joaquin nevertheless maintains clarity: transitions are clearly marked, Bobby's movements are precisely described, and the ambiance of the places substantively rendered.

Another example is the opening sentence of "May Day Eve," which describes festivities at a party in Intramuros to celebrate the return of ilustrados who had recently completed their studies in Europe. The sentence shows young men and women enjoying themselves until midnight, after which the women are told by their governess to retire for the night, while the men continue their merriment until early morning—they swim in the Pasig, catch fireflies, and walk around Intramuros under a moonlit and cloudy sky. Similar to the example from "Cándido's Apocalypse," the sentence from "May Day Eve" renders the numerous activities related to the festivities: servants running to fetch carriages of departing guests, young men and women bidding each other good night, women going to their bedrooms and men, not yet inclined to sleep, walking in their hats, capes, canes, and "handsome apparel" around Intramuros and its environs. Within the same sentence Joaquin expresses the mood that pervades the evening—the Intramuros houses' "tiled roofs looming like sinister chessboards against a wild sky murky with clouds"—as well as a mood of the past intermingling with the present: a "murderous wind whirled, whistling and whining, smelling now of the sea and now of the summer orchards, and wafting unbearable childhood fragrances of ripe guavas" (Two Navels 53-54).

In these sentences from "Doña Jeronima," "Cándido's Apocalypse," and "May Day Eve," Joaquin demonstrates capaciousness: in a sentence, he can evoke distinct characters, atmospheres, actions, and ideas. The ability to

accommodate considerable detail and still maintain grammatical sense is a step beyond competence. For the scholar Joseph Williams, in his booklength analysis and instruction manual on prose style, the ability to write "clear, crisp, sentences that never go beyond twenty words is [already] a considerable achievement" (135). Be that as it may, Williams considers the ability to manage a long sentence to be a marker linguistic skill and intellectual panache: an author who uses only a limited range is comparable to "a pianist who uses only the middle octave: [s/he] can carry the tune, but without much variety" (135). These observations, when extended to Joaquin, suggest that the breadth of his materials gives a glimpse of a mind at work: digressions, qualifiers, subclauses, descriptions, and flourishes are an indication, in Williams's phrasing, of "hearing someone simultaneously thinking thoughts, refining, and recording them" (146).

Another instance, the concluding sentence (Appendix) from A Question of Heroes-Joaquin's book which revalues, in 14 essays, 10 major Philippine heroes—bears further examination, this time from the two mutually constitutive perspectives of historiography and baroque poetics. A Question of Heroes (henceforth Question) concludes with an extended sentence that renders, in a manner that unfolds, Joaquin's view of the period he has just analyzed in his book. The sentence refers to the national heroes he has examined, among them Juan Luna (1857-1899), Graciano Lopez Jaena (1856-1896), Marcelo del Pilar (1850-1896), Andres Bonifacio (1863-1897), Emilio Aguinaldo (1869-1964), and concluding with Gregorio del Pilar (1875-1899) and Artemio Ricarte (1866-1945). What is striking about this sentence is the way in which Joaquin accommodates his major preoccupations—ilustrado history, the continuing revolution, contrarian interpretations of nationalist hagiographies-in a single syntactic unit, as well as Joaquin's capacity to render a dynamic temporal structure: the sentence proceeds from dawn, to early morning, to midmorning, to noon, to afternoon, to evening, to midnight, and concludes with the following day's false dawn. In a review of Question, critic Leonides V. Benesa assumes—however debatably—that the book's final sentence takes Artemio Ricarte's point of view; for Benesa, Joaquin imagines "[Ricarte's] dying moments . . . in the mountains of Kalinga in 1945,"

and shows Ricarte's consciousness evoking a "highly compressed rerun of faces, voices, events, thus providing [the book] with a memorable coda" (41). Benesa thus highlights, using the analogy of the coda, how Joaquin is able to provide recapitulation and closure to *Question*'s thematic preoccupations.

Demonstrating the formal implications of Joaquin's long sentence—characterized variously as having the capacity to awaken the reader by means of shock effects (Rafael); a well-made labyrinth (Apostol); and a device capable of compressing time and summarizing key themes (Benesa)—constitutes the starting point of this essay. This aesthetic consideration is set within the framework of the baroque, a category "deeply out of fashion for many years but is now current again in the languages other than English" (Greene) and remains valuable in analysis regarding Joaquin. Joaquin's baroque style will then be examined in relation to his historiography, particularly with respect to how Joaquin's historical work has been viewed by Caroline S. Hau, Resil Mojares, Ivan Emil Labayne, Soledad Reyes, E. San Juan, Jr., and John D. Blanco, among others. Joaquin reveals a Baroque poetics and historiography, as will be discussed in the section of my paper where I engage with key studies on the baroque, particularly by Walter Benjamin, Gilles Deleuze, Alejo Carpentier, Gonzalo Celorio, and Severo Sarduy. This demonstration of baroque poetics, I conclude, is at the same time a sign of a Joaquinesque ethics anchored on defamiliarization. My research is indebted to, and yet differs from, established and emerging research on Joaquin insofar as I consider another area touched on but not yet fully examined by critics: Joaquin's baroque historiography, as seen on the level of the extended sentence. In what follows, I: (1) account for the scholarship made on Joaquin's career as a historian, as well as his baroque writing style; (2) engage with the notion of the baroque; (3) examine Question in the light of Joaquin's baroque historiography; and (4) taking my cue from Hayden White, show the historiographic value of Joaquin's project. I argue that Joaquin's long sentence is an index of his temporal capaciousness, which from a baroque perspective, signals both recuperation and resistance; Joaquin's style in writing history—a quality inseparable from Joaquin the novelist, and evocative of commodiousness and recovery—distinguishes Joaquin from historians whose writings are oriented to linear and progressive modes.

# "BAROQUE AS AN AESTHETIC OF CATASTROPHE": JOAOUIN'S INTERVENTIONS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Scholars have critiqued Joaquin's work as an author using baroque prose as well as his efforts at writing history. Criticism on Joaquin acknowledges his deployment of baroque form—particularly the emphasis in his play, A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino (henceforth Portrait), on portraying catastrophe and, in Almanac for Manileños, on using repetition-to render a culture of calcified yet exaggerated pageantry conditioned by adverse and asymmetrical social and political relations in the Philippines. For scholar John D. Blanco, Joaquin's ability to portray Manila's destruction by way of baroque aesthetics offers new ways of considering the genealogy of modernity in the Philippines. By examining the scenography of *Portrait*, Blanco proposes that Joaquin's baroque mentality and poetics offer a way through the impasse of historical representations during the 1960s and 1970s. As Blanco argues, Joaquin's approach lays bare the "insufficienc[ies] of both postcolonial and anti-colonial critique"; moreover, Joaquin opens up ways to "rethink our very notion of modernity" (14). Blanco situates Joaquin's work—"baroque as an aesthetic of catastrophe" (14)-in terms of the emerging disputes at the time in the field of history: on the one hand, historical work done by nationalists aimed to "analyse the foundations of Filipino modernity in the 1896 revolution for national liberation"; on the other hand, in the zeal to recover what was distinctly Filipino, nationalist historiography failed to see that the "critical enterprise [of identifying the cornerstones of Filipino modernity] belongs to a history that the Philippines shared with the Western world" (13). Put differently, Joaquin's adoption of the baroque—as style and substance—signals a propensity to inflect the national with the foreign: Joaquin recognizes that the endeavor to recover distinct signifiers of Filipino identity throughout the years of Spanish and American colonialism is shot through with elements of the foreign.

Scholar E. San Juan, Jr. highlights the tendency for repetition as the manifestation of Joaquin's baroque sensibility. For San Juan-who has written thus far the only book-length analysis of Joaquin-"[the baroque in Joaquin] denotes simply a chronicle of recurrent events, a relentless turning of fortune's wheel, where people are motivated chiefly by perverse discontent and other humours" (201). Moreover, San Juan's version of the baroque is typified by petrified progression and funereal pomp: "mere succession without development, an architectonic frieze," "a baroque funeral pageant adorned with all the mesmerizing finery of a Renaissance triumphal procession" (201). Moreover, San Juan considers Joaquin's mannerisms of displacement and occlusion to be a "function of the baroque sensibility sensitised to a decaying social structure brought about by the capitalist division of labour, alienated work, and insidious commodification of everything including the psyche" (201). Put differently, by situating Joaquin's baroque aesthetics within the framework of Marxist political economy, San Juan is able to examine how Joaquin's work is conditioned by Philippine-style late capitalism, with its destitute political structures, moribund social dynamics, and oppressive labor relations.

Blanco and San Juan identify Joaquin's handling of baroque poetics as crucial to his critique of historical representations and Philippine political economy. With regard to Joaquin's history writing, although his historical work is generally acknowledged to reinforce his cultural analysis, critics have also been exploring other areas: instances of Joaquin's dialectical thought, as seen in his social engagements by way of writing; his examination of cultural technology and political economy; and his propensity for hybridity and interdisciplinarity.

Anthropologist Fernando Nakpil Zialcita proposes that Joaquin's "chief contribution to Philippine scholarship" and the "key insight in [his] historical process" is to point out the "need for an evolutionary framework" (21) that can make legible the country's historical and cultural development. For Zialcita, the evolutionary framework entails awareness of metamorphoses; for him, Joaquin's notion of historical unfolding requires cognition of "a sequence of perspectives expanding and deepening through time," and that a

respect for the past "requires not a literal imitation of dead forms but a reinterpretation of their spirit in today's context" (21). In other words, Zialcita points out Joaquin's capacity to understand historical events and processes—as well as the literary forms with which to render these events—and yet is not beholden to them: Joaquin does not imitate, but rather reinterprets the spirit (however defined) of historical events in the light of the current context.

Columnist Conrado de Quiros takes Joaquin to task for his shortcomings in historical analysis. Taking dead aim at Joaquin's essays in *Culture and History*—particularly the titular essay which calls for the study of tools, techniques, and media, as well as their capacity to alter the historical epoch—de Quiros faults Joaquin for "abstract[ing] tools from production, depriving them of their natural function, and investing them with an independent and primary existence." Put differently, despite his innovative use of media and cultural theory—via media theorist Marshall McLuhan—Joaquin, for de Quiros, is inattentive to the material basis of his analysis of tools. In de Quiros' estimation, while Joaquin "invests tools with formal qualities" (and which results in an analysis fraught with "mechanical determinism"), he nevertheless fails to recognize that "technology in general cannot be conceived apart from the economic system it represents, and the science that accompanies it" (41).

Scholar Ivan Emil Labayne examines *Discourses of the Devil's Advocate* by Joaquin (writing as Quijano de Manila) and identifies instances of "dialectical thought" that inform Joaquin's historical writing. These dialectical movements—as seen in Joaquin's essays that cover various topics such as the "arrivals of Magellan and Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in the country, the Fall of Bataan, the 'Liberation' from the Japanese, and press censorship" (420)—are analyzed and situated by Labayne within "the larger sociality [of Joaquin] where textual discourses takes place" (418).

For scholar Soledad Reyes, Joaquin's *Culture and History* "refutes current views of history, ranging from the obviously nostalgic and romantic [the return to the precolonial past] to the more deterministic and materialist notions espoused by some historians" (123) such as Teodoro Agoncillo and Renato Constantino, whose essays and textbooks had become increasingly

popular. Reyes identifies Joaquin's position as, rightly or wrongly, defending the *ilustrado* to the "detriment of the masses whom he views with indifference if not contempt" (121). Be that as it may, Reyes points out that Joaquin's history essays, despite their seeming impressionism, "combine the creativity of a fictionist/poet and the resourcefulness of a social scientist" (121).

This combination of literary creativity and scholarly resourcefulness merits for Joaquin a place in the Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. In two entries—"History as Culture" and "Culture as History"—historian Ma. Eloisa G. Parco-de Castro outlines the main tenets in Joaquin's historical work. Parco-de Castro attributes to Joaquin the notion that history is "not merely a chronological reconstruction of the past nor . . . an analytical interpretation of past events." By contrast, history refers to the "process . . . [which informs the] molding, construction, [and] formation of [national] culture" (126). In keeping, albeit a little too literally, with the metaphor of construction, Parco-de Castro describes the relationship between history and culture as analogous to stones and cement: "the events of history provide the stones for the building of a nation while cultural traditions become the cementing force to the edifice" (127). Historian Bonifacio S. Salamanca also includes Joaquin in his survey of historiographical literature in the Philippines from 1956 to 1993. Salamanca mentions Joaquin's Culture and History in the entry on intellectual and cultural history (84). Question and The Aquinos of Tarlac: An Essay on History as Three Generations are also mentioned—along with other biographies such as, say, Jose V. Abueva's Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography, Vivencio Jose's The Rise and Fall of Antonio Luna, and Maria Kalaw Katigbak's Pura Villanueva Kalaw: Her Times, Life, and Works, 1886-1954-as biographies that are "less adored but not necessarily less great or eminent" (90).

In "Literature and History," a chapter from *Necessary Fictions* which argues for continuities between the literary projects of Nick Joaquin and the scholarly projects of Reynaldo Ileto, scholar Caroline S. Hau considers the historical undergirding of *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino*. By examining the disputing interpretations of the painting made by the play's characters, Hau contends that "the reconciliation of history and art" suggested by the

painting is "haunted by the content of its historical allusions.... by the interpretive demands of history" (107). Put differently, even as the play attempts to work through concepts of indigeneity and Filipinoness, the question of the foreign—Aeneas and Anchises as the painting's key allusion, references to Spanish authors—permeates the text.

Scholar Resil Mojares views Joaquin as a "popular historian writing for a general readership (sans footnotes)" (6), whose articles in Philippines Free Press "interrogat[ed] ideas dominant or fashionable" (7). For instance, Joaquin critiqued essentialist indigenous practices and proposed a "conception of culture as hybrid and ever mutating" (9). He also critiqued purist and nativist cultural practices and put forward the idea that Philippine national identity "is the dynamic product of the various cultural influences" throughout history (9). For Mojares, Question is Joaquin's "most sustained, strongly researched historical work." Mojares argues that Joaquin shows "great narrative gifts for delineating character, incident, time, and place," and showed Philippine national heroes as conditioned by circumstances and character traits. Thus, as opposed to "didactic and prescriptive" orthodox nationalist histories, Joaquin "introduced into history . . . the play of contradictions paradox and irony, the contingent and accidental" (13). For Mojares, despite Joaquin's shortcomings—"at times overdrawn and simplifying"; "too dismissive of precolonial culture and overstressed the transformative force of technology"—he wrote "works that are a major intervention in historiography," a point which "has not been fully acknowledged" (14). Put differently, Mojares acknowledges that Joaquin's literary disposition—the figures deployed in his novels, stories, and plays: characterization, contradiction, irony, paradox, among others-invigorates his historical writings, which engage with problems of culture and national identity.

As outlined by these studies, various scholars have assessed both sympathetically and unsympathetically Nick Joaquin's oeuvre—particularly his fiction and historical writing—from interrelated perspectives of historiography, cultural history, political economy, postcolonialism, anthropology, and literary and cultural studies. Critics widely recognize Joaquin as an author who wrote in a number of forms (novel, drama, history, cultural

analysis, journalism, children's story, biography, among others), for which he received national and international recognition (e.g., the National Artist Award for Literature in 1976 and the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature, and Creative Communication Arts in 1996). These writings bear the mark of history; moreover, they engage, however controversially, with the pressing issues of the time. Be that as it may, apart from these references, there have been few studies on Joaquin's historiography, especially the ways in which his baroque aesthetics and his historical sensibility are mutually constitutive.

Scholar Neferti Xina M. Tadiar, in Fantasy-Production, underscores the importance of historiography when she examines relations between "the struggle to write one's own history" vis-à-vis "the struggle to make one's own history" (156). She frames these two categories of agency and historical writing within the context of nation formation, particularly of decolonizing countries; for Tadiar, "the struggle for sovereign historiography and the struggle for sovereign nationhood . . . have always been closely intertwined" (156). Even though Tadiar does not examine Joaquin—she considers historical and cultural examples such as The Revolt of the Masses (by Teodoro Agoncillo) and *Himala* (directed by Ishmael Bernal and starring Nora Aunor) within the context of globalization, the prostitution economy, and changes in the urban built environment-her argument regarding historiography illumines Joaquin's project. For Tadiar, in contrast to contributing to the "writing of unitary nationalist history" (156) in the Philippines, historians at a "later moment" of the postcolonial period "tur[n] to the recuperation of those social elements, cultural ways, deeds and life fragments that were expressed, ignored or eschewed in the hegemonic historical narratives of the nation" (156). Citing Reynaldo Ileto's Pasyon and Revolution and Rafael's Contracting Colonialism as works which exemplify these recuperative approaches (akin to the work of subaltern studies scholars in South Asia), Tadiar argues for the value of these texts—and the often nonlinear, literary methods they espouse—with regard to recovery work. Historiography which identifies and reconsiders ignored "social elements" and "cultural ways" advance the recovery of "lost and overlooked historical agencies" that work toward illuminating "the underside of nationalist history." These texts attempt to not just clarify the gains made with regard to attaining sovereignty, but to also account for "the historic failure of the nation to come to its own" (157). Joaquin's historical work participates in what Tadiar calls the recuperation of elements occluded by hegemonic acts of Philippine social and cultural formation. But what Joaquin recuperates in *Question* is not just content; he brings to the foreground the style of the baroque as well as the implications with which it is associated.

## **BAROQUE: RECOVERING HISTORY, DEFORMING AESTHETICS**

Rafael's and Apostol's observations regarding Joaquin's sentence as a well-wrought labyrinth that functions as a conduit for historical possibility gain further traction when seen within the framework of the baroque. On the one hand, while theorists Walter Benjamin and Gilles Deleuze link the baroque to theoretical debates in the 20th century, their interventions have mostly been limited to European art, literature, and philosophy. Recent scholarship, on the other hand, focuses on Latin American and Asian manifestations of the baroque and account for its formal, critical, recuperative, and transcultural capacities.

For theorist Walter Benjamin, who looked at the dynamics of 16th and 17th century German tragic drama, baroque aesthetics is mutually animated by allegory, melancholy, and ruin—categories that bring forward the play's "truth content." For Benjamin, the "allegorical construction" of the play becomes a locus for ruin, with ruin manifesting the "transformation of material content into truth content." In Benjamin's view, the baroque structure of the German mourning play is an index of the "function of artistic form," which is "to make historical content . . . into a philosophical truth" (182). Put differently, Benjamin's analysis of German mourning plays reveals the potential of baroque structure—which, for him, takes the appearance of ruins—to refunction history into truth using the dynamics of melancholy and decay.

Theorist Gilles Deleuze's explanations regarding the fold can help illuminate the force as well as the expressive limitations of Joaquin's baroque

sentence. For Deleuze, a fold—which he takes as the principal figure for Baroque poetics—is a "flexible or an elastic body" that may be creased "into infinity in smaller and smaller folds" and yet these pleats nevertheless "retain a certain cohesion" (6). In other words, for Deleuze, despite the distinct creases, which appear to segment the flexible body—and Deleuze's book considers various artistic manifestations of the fold, including music, sculpture, fabric, mathematics—parts of the body do not sever from each other. Deleuze uses the image of a sheet of paper as an illustration: the sheet may be "divided into infinite folds or separated into bending movements" but the paper itself does not disintegrate (6). Put differently, using another analogy from nature: "A fold is always folded within a fold, like a cavern in a cavern" (6).

In their introduction to Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest, scholars Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup make distinctions between three key terms: Baroque, New World Baroque, and Neobaroque. Zamora and Kaup trace the origins of the baroque to 17th century Europe; they consider the baroque as "a Catholic response to the Protestant insurgency," endowed with a "recognisable style and content in art, architecture, and literature" which was decidedly "Counter-Reformation [in its] aesthetic and ideology" (3). Even as baroque forms were brought to "areas colonized by Catholic Europe," these were throughout the 17th and 18th century reworked in terms of "the cultural perspectives and iconographies of the indigenous and African labourers and artisans who built and decorated Catholic structures" (3). Moreover, traffic between Europe and its colonies was two-way: for example, artifacts from various parts of Asia were sent via the Manila galleon; these items transited through Mexico en route to Europe, and thus "join[ed] the diverse cultural streams that over time came to constitute the New World Baroque" (4). While a strand of contemporary criticism considers the processes entailed in New World Baroque as integral to "cultural self-definition," another strand, Neobaroque, focuses its attention to "the uses of seventeenth-century Baroque rhetorical devices in contemporary literature" (20).

In his essay "The Baroque and the Marvelous Real," scholar Alejo Carpentier proposes that the baroque sensibility is one that recognizes, yet surpasses, a limit. The desire to overcome limits is accompanied by a sense of proliferation and excess: a "horror of the vacuum" that brings forth "decorative elements that completely fill the space of the construction" (93), a disposition that prefers to occupy the emptiness and fill it with detail. For Carpentier, the baroque disposition is centrifugal: as opposed to a movement that proceeds to the center, Carpentier's baroque "moves outward and away from the centre": an outward movement that dismantles boundaries as much as it fills the space within those boundaries.

For scholar Severo Sarduy, the baroque is typified as "the apotheosis of artifice" and the "irony and mockery of nature"; put differently, the key capacity of the baroque is its ability to "artificialis[e]," a process wherein language "raises to the second power an already elaborated level of language, that of poetic metaphors," which, on its own, is already an "elaboration" of denotative language. These interventions in language, for Sarduy, are "ever-multipliable"—a "successive envelopment of one writing by another." The trajectory of baroque proliferation is "radial"—"proliferation, foreseen route, orbit of abbreviated resemblances"—and the aim of this trajectory is "to make conjectural that which it obliterates" (272).

Similarly, scholar Gonzalo Celorio recognizes that the baroque is concerned with artificialization. Aside from the propensity of baroque authors for experimentation, proliferation, and the exercise of "freedom and personal whimsy," the "defining feature of the Baroque . . . is prefabricat[ion]" (503). Parody is the key aesthetic device that animates prefabrication and artifice: the enactment of "a double discourse, a double textuality," a move which entails the apprehension of a "prior, known and recognizable referential discourse," which is then "deformed, altered, mocked, and taken to an extreme by the discourse of the Baroque" (504). The implication is that the baroque enacts a double move of recovery and deformation. In other words, Sarduy and Celorio emphasize the ways in which the seemingly endless generative capacities of the baroque are manifestations of parody, mockery, artifice, and deformation.

The scholar Jeremy Tambling and photographer and scholar Louis Lo, who collaborated on a study on Macao architecture and the baroque, explore distinctions between European and Macao expressions of the baroque. For them, European baroque is: "(a) a culture of control through its images; (b) the art of a culture in crisis where things burst out of control; (c) a heterogeneous and feminine culture whose excess attacks masculine control." By constrast, Baroque in Macao—as evidenced by its architecture—is: "(a) a culture for control; (b) an art whose anxieties retreat from dehiscence (splitting), and attempt to impose a unifying order, which is both Chinese and European; (c) an art of heterogeneity and of the feminine, but whose resources are always impoverished, always reduced" (79). Be that as it may, for Tambling and Lo, the baroque-rerouted through Portuguese colonial intervention in Macao and now inflected with postmodern tendencies such as pastiche—signifies a contrapuntal yet complicit relation to globalization: "In Macao, the colonial power added something strange to the territory, and something beautiful emerged, perhaps against the odds, and certainly in dialogue with Chinese culture. The folds of the baroque, and its awareness of the power of feeling, remain as a challenge to the universalising power of globalisation" (227).

Taken together, these scholars consider historical, cultural, and aesthetic inflections of the baroque, as well as recently emerging terms such as New World Baroque and Neobaroque. Even as the baroque may be seen as a tendency embedded in, and developing from, Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries—with allegory, melancholy, and pleating as a number of expressions of early modernity—this phenomenon traveled throughout diverse colonial spaces in Asia and Latin America and became crucial to the cultural dynamics of these spaces. Be that as it may, more recent theorizing on the baroque—often inflected with poststructuralism—highlights its qualities of historicity, centrifugality, doubleness, and decoration: a textuality of artifice whose recovery of the past is rendered in the aesthetics of deformation.

"IN A WORLD WHERE NOTHING IS KNOWN FOR CERTAIN, EVERYTHING MUST BE PRESERVED": FOLDS OF HISTORY IN A Question of Heroes A Question of Heroes is a collection of 14 essays on 10 key figures in Philippine history. The chapters in *Question* were originally articles that appeared in Philippines Free Press in the 1960s. These articles were then published in 1977 by Filipinas Foundation. In 2005, Anvil republished Question; the title has now-as of 2017-undergone its seventh printing. Question offers counter-readings of the main participants in Philippine revolutionary history; to echo Reyes and Mojares, apart from offering descriptions and narratives about heroes, Joaquin disputes widely-accepted views about them. Against the commonplace interpretation of Apolinario Mabini as the sublime paralytic, Joaquin proposes a portrait of Mabini as "our first modern man," showing "little faith in congress and lean[ing] toward the era of the strongman" (158). He revises the impression that the Propaganda Movement was embodied solely by Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. Del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena, and proposes a place of honor for Gregorio Sanciangco, who published El Progreso de Filipinas (1881). Progreso called for educational and tax reforms as well as increased development of infrastructure, not for the upliftment of his own class, but in order for the common person to be "rescued from his exploiters"—all this to recognize that Sanciangco was "the epiphany that starts the Propaganda" (39; emphasis Joaquin's). To combat by clarifying: this is Joaquin's manner of disputing with historians and scholars. Throughout Question, Joaquin shows a capacity to argue in terms of proposing fine gradations with regard to interpreting historical events. For example, he insists that in 1896, instead of just one revolution, there were two uprisings that "were distinct from each other": "the failed Bonifacio attempt in Manila on August 29," and the "successful Aguinaldo coup in Kawit on August 31" (120). Joaquin reasons that "the practice is to slur over the distinction, to ignore the gap between them," and to combine "the two uprisings as a single event"—a generality that seems "valid in oratory but not for the historian." Joaquin asserts the importance of not just establishing factual and chronological accuracy, but also the equally significant work of ascertaining the

value of facts and events, a process which entails identifying differences and making distinctions: "unless [the historian] discriminates, picks out distinctions, he is writing allegory" (120).

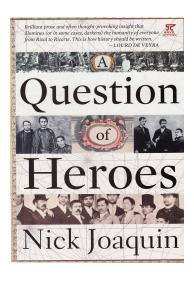


Fig. 2 New edition of Nick Joaquin's *A Question of Heroes*. Published by Anvil Publishing Inc., 2017.

The articles make plain Joaquin's intellectual engagements: in one instance, he is arguing against a "theory currently in vogue . . . that the Philippine Revolution was a proletarian movement that was, when already successful, captured by the middle class" (104). Instead, Joaquin distinguishes between a "Katipunan [that] was plebian and it failed at once as an uprising" and a "Revolution [that] was bourgeois from the start and it succeeded up to a point" (104). But Joaquin goes beyond hairsplitting when he makes distinctions. To argue against fashionable theories and popular opinions signals a concern for precision, even within the increasingly fuzzy area of historical representation and interpretation. The historian for Joaquin is akin to a "bumbling detective" driven by a desire to "comprehend the course of a

movement," the complexities of a historical character, and the contradictions of a vexing situation. Joaquin's faith in the figure of historian-as-detective resides in the promise of discovery. Although historical sleuthing presents difficulties—to follow a historical movement means to identify "its ups and downs, its floods and pauses, its recoils and deviations"—the materials which show the directions and contours these movements make are "traceable" and "identifiable," and that the historian has the agency and method to trace these back to a "more or less definite source" (25).

The inaugural publications in Philippines Free Press of these essays indicate that Joaquin was addressing an educated general audience, able to comprehend allusions and familiar with the disputes—historical, cultural, and political—of the day. Joaquin's essays show mastery of figurative devices and literary characters from the Western and Philippine traditions. He characterizes the martyrdom of Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora in terms of repetition and irony: "the martyr as hero by accident is a recurring irony in our history" (1). To describe the transformation of Rizal's principal character, Joaquin alludes to Dumas: "in the accurst woods where his Spanish ancestor hanged himself, the embittered Ibarra ceases to be a naïve Edmond Dantes and becomes a malevolent Montecristo" (73). Modern day Creoles are portrayed as "tentative Hamletish figures that baffle us with their scruples, their militancies, their enigmatic 'honour'" (76). Returning to the Philippines in 1942—with the Japanese assuming that he would eventually be President—Ricarte finds little support among the locals: he was "a name that stirred no memories among his people and rallied no patriots—a ponderous Anchises whom no Aeneas cared to carry forward" (235). These formal and discursive devices—and his ability to make distinctions and parallelisms, the capacity for allusion, irony, and analogy—show Joaquin's disposition: truths gleaned from his historical analysis become expressed in literary constructs.

As indicated earlier, *Question* concludes with a long sentence that synthesizes the materials covered in the book. The sentence—which immediately follows a narrative and analysis of the career of Artemio Ricarte—refers to the national heroes he has examined, among them Juan Luna, Graciano

Lopez Jaena, Marcelo del Pilar, Jose Rizal, Bonifacio, Aguinaldo, concluding with Gregorio del Pilar and Ricarte.

There are three arguments that are occasioned by this sentence. Firstly, the sentence enacts a diurnal cycle: the sentence renders a period of history—the period bookended by Luis Rodriguez Varela and Artemio Ricarte—in the form of a passage from dawn, to the movement from morning to noon to sunset to night, then to midnight and the following day's false dawn. In *Question*, Joaquin's marker for the diurnal manifestation of Philippine history is Artemio Ricarte's death: "With his death the day of the Revolution completed its cycle" (235). Joaquin uses the natural limit of the day to circumscribe a period in Philippine history that encompasses the Propaganda Movement (and its precursor), the various phases of the Katipunan revolution, the Philippine-American War, and the American colonial period.

In the early morning, Luis Rodriguez Varela announces himself as the Conde Filipino; dawn breaks "with a cry, a crash, [and] a clamor" (235) that signals the uprising in Cavite and the deaths of Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora; in the morning, Rizal is in Ghent working on his manuscript and Juan Luna is in Paris working on his paintings; noontime is the time for the Katipunan revolution at Balintawak and Kawit; the afternoon finds Aguinaldo marching down the Camino Real while at late afternoon, the Malolos Congress is formed, two signs of victory, though thwarted by the Americans: "a bravura splendid as the sunset, though upon it falls . . . the shadow of [Americans]" (236). By twilight, Antonio Luna is "fight[ing] his way north along the railroad." By dusk until midnight, Aguinaldo is retreating to Palanan and, with the defeat of Gregorio del Pilar at Pasong Tirad, is captured at midnight: "total midnight all over the land escaping minute by minute into the small hours" (236). Past midnight is a darkness filled with barely distinguishable faces—Sakay, Noriel, Montalan and by "a flicker of lightning or of false dawn" (236), Ricarte stumbles to die in an unknown grave. Joaquin is using the figure of the day-the passage from early dawn to the following day's dawn-to propose his own version of a Philippine historical period: the key events of the long 19th century, as it were, compressed to fit in one day, and projected as if it were a film in time-lapse.

The historical period expressed in the sentence, to be sure, lasts approximately 150 years, from the opening reference to Varela styling himself in the 1790s as Conde Filipino to Ricarte's death in 1945. The sentence expands centripetally in time and place, accommodating the Cavite Mutiny in 1872, the deaths of Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora that same year. Rizal is arranging for the publication of El Filibusterismo at Ghent in 1891, while Juan Luna is working on his paintings in Paris in the 1880s. The revolts in Balintawak and Cavite are in 1896, while Aguinaldo's military reversals in Camino Real are in 1899, with his subsequent retreat to and capture in Palanan in 1901. The insurrections against the Americans carried out by Sakay and the others carry on until Sakay's death in 1907. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Ricarte threatens to revolt against the Americans (remaining practically the last diehard revolutionary), returning to the Philippines in 1942 and discovering that the situation was no longer conducive for a Katipunan-type revolt, and eventually dying in 1945. The sentence reveals Joaquin's rhetorical capacity for condensation: vertiginous evocations of place, time, and action-paintings, revolts, novels being written, flamboyant assertions of national identity, deaths by garrote, military advances and defeats—appear, to echo Deleuze and Apostol, folded within a fold, like caverns within caverns: the grievance of a nation is folded in a novel, the transformation of a culture is folded within a name, the revolt of a colony is folded into a painting.

Secondly, Joaquin's compression of seemingly distinct time frames and disparate activities is nevertheless expressed in one coherent unit-the extended sentence. Even as, following Carpentier, the baroque manifests outward proliferating movement which fills up all possible available space, the baroque is also at the same time, following Deleuze, a method of cohesion: various points of the fold are "not separated into parts but are rather divided into infinity in smaller and smaller folds that always retain a certain cohesion" (6). In the concluding sentence of Question, Joaquin's varying personages perform discrete acts, which although seemingly unrelated to one another are nevertheless coherent. Despite the abundance of personages

in this passage, as well as the extended historical time period covered—which give the impression of innumerable elements accommodated by distended syntax—Joaquin's sentence is as much about proliferation and expansion as it is about continuity and coherence. Put differently, although Joaquin may be describing an abundance of distinct actions, they nevertheless belong to the same movement, the way Deleuze would consider folds as discrete but nevertheless belonging to the same piece of paper.

Moreover, in other parts of Question, Joaquin takes note of various other continuities in Philippine history: "It may be that when we speak of the 'Unfinished Revolution' it's not to the 19th-century Revolution we should be referring to but to this continuing Revolution of the 1900s that the Americans correctly saw as an undertaking of the masses. . . . The mainstream is the continuing Revolution, the Revolution downgraded as a movement of 'the more ignorant people of the laboring masses.' This is the thing that was cut off, that remains unfinished" (225-226). In other words, even as he points out that Philippine history is filled with personalities who more often than not contest each other, Joaquin also identifies resonances between historical moments: the "Unfinished Revolution" of the 1970s-a struggle with the laboring classes in the forefront-carries on from the Revolution taken up by Sakay in the 1900s (despite the surrender of Aguinaldo). Joaquin also points out continuities between the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, Filipinos going to Spain in the 1880s, and the Revolution in 1896 (36-37). Seen in this manner, Joaquin's extended sentence emblematizes coherence of historical movement: for Joaquin, decades may separate discrete actions, but these actions are, to use Deleuze's language, "cohering parts" of a "flexible or an elastic body" (6). Historical time, as figured by Joaquin's style, is an elastic, malleable phenomenon, reformable and deformable, comprising conflicts unfolding into continuities.

Thirdly, as Hayden White proposes, the meaning of the historical narrative is not just in the content, but may also be enacted by the trope chosen by the historian to render that content. According to White, "as a symbolic structure, the historical narrative does not reproduce the events it describes; it tells us in what direction to think about the events and charges

our thought about the events with different emotional valences" (91). White describes a process of "decodation and recodation," or the way in which a historical narrative gains interpretive force: "the destructuration of a set of events (real or imagined) originally encoded in one tropological mode and the progressive restructuration of the set in another tropological mode." Seen in this manner, Joaquin performs a double move of appropriation and reconstruction: Joaquin's materials-if he opts to cite them-come from sources as varied as memoirs and diary entries (i.e., from Emilio Aguinaldo, Gregorio del Pilar, Apolinario Mabini), previous scholarship on national heroes (i.e., by Ante Radaic, Leon Ma. Guerrero, among others), and eyewitness accounts (i.e., from James Blount on the first years of American occupation of the Philippines). These sources, to be sure, deserve to be examined on their own terms-with regard to historical representation and literary figuration-following, say, Resil Mojares's example in "Time, Memory, and the Birth of the Nation." In this essay, Mojares critiques the prospects and limits of narrative strategies (i.e., structure, point of view, tone) deployed in representations of the nation as seen in key texts about, and emerging from, the Philippine revolution. He traces shifts in historiography from folk narratives (pasyon), chronicles (Isabelo de los Reyes's La Religion del "Katipunan" [1899]), autobiographies (Teodoro M. Kalaw's Aide-de-Camp to Freedom [1965]) to synoptic histories of the nation (Rafael Palma's Historia de Filipinas [1935]): while folk narratives render the "notion of the katipunan" as a "politically inchoate but distinctly moral conception of bayan" (272), synoptic histories are typified by the "conventionalization, circulation, and reproduction of a dominant national narrative" (287). As White says, "for the 'chronicle' of events, out of which the historian fashions his story of 'what really happened' already comes preencoded" (90); put differently, the sources Joaquin uses are themselves charged with specific "emotional valences" and "preencoded" with specific personal and ideological purposes.

Joaquin's key trope which enacts this refunctioning of historical material into feature articles is the baroque: his writing demonstrates a number of tendencies associated with the figure—accretion of material, enfolding structure, tragic disposition, and aesthetics of artifice. As suggested above, White

proposes that a historical narrative does not reproduce events as such, but rather orients its reader to particular ways of thinking and feeling about those events. For him, emplotment—the "encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures"—plays a key role in refashioning primary materials in ways readers can grasp conceptually and emotionally. By using baroque structures, Joaquin suffuses the narrative with qualities associated with the trope: the horror vacui and resulting hyperextension of material as seen in the catalogue; the evocation of enfolding and continuity as suggested by the diurnal structure; the tragedy, waste, and false hope which complete the historical cycle and inaugurate perhaps a new one.

Baroque language, for Carlos Fuentes, in his analysis of William Faulkner's novels, is endowed with the capability to keep intact "defeat, misery, insecurity, and historical excess." Baroque language, with its commodiousness and elasticity, is imbued with this commemorative quality: it is a "language that preserves immediate evidence, an instrument capable of including everything, because in a world where nothing is known for certain, everything must be preserved" (543). The indeterminacy of history, a situation where, in Joaquin's concluding sentence in Question of Heroes, even despite the blazing start of the day can lead to the total midnight of defeat, occasions in Joaquin the need to preserve, a disposition consistent with, say, Bitoy Camacho's promise to remember, through poetry and song, the fallen Marasigan family and a Manila destroyed by World War II (Two Navels 431-432). And yet this preservation is associated with artifice: the seeming gravity of historical discourse—the attempts at nation building and sovereignty—is expressed in terms of a labyrinthine construct. The proliferation of details results in an impression that historical time can be bent, made circular and recursive, but the second iteration of morning brings false hope and emptiness. In addition, the baroque propensity to preserve is seen in terms of keeping things in abeyance. In the absence of heroes, without anyone to "hail another crack of doom at dawn," the "dawn [is kept] forever in suspense" (237); in the baroque sentence, time does not move, but everything is kept within its folds. Yet apart from preserving historical details in an ambiance of sunlight, lightning, then shadow and gloom, Joaquin's sentence ends with a condition of possible empowerment: the situation of stasis and despair may stay as is, "unless" the force of a new dawn (however false and filled with artifice) "break, again" (237). In Hau's analysis of *Question*'s last sentence—part of her chapter "Portraits of the Elites as Filipinos," which outlines the roles and limitations of Filipino elites—"time takes its toll, but time also offers . . . a chance to act and live and change" (121); in Hau's estimation, the key word "unless" becomes a signifier of future possibility in the midst of historical stasis and waste.

Thus, Joaquin demonstrates that aesthetics is inseparable from ethics, insofar as in his historical essays, he is concerned not just with playing the role of devil's advocate—correcting nativist and romantic views of the nation, or offering new interpretations of figures from the national pantheon. More importantly, Joaquin's baroque style has a defamiliarizing effect, and it is precisely in estrangement that Joaquin becomes ethical. To evoke Viktor Shklovsky: "The purpose of art, then, is to lead us to a knowledge of a thing through the organ of sight instead of recognition. By 'estranging' objects and complicating form, the device of art makes perception long and 'laborious" (7). Shklovsky's notion of "defamiliarisation" sheds light on Joaquin's "long and laborious" and temporally and syntactically complex style. "A long complicated sentence," for Gertrude Stein, "should force itself upon you, make you know yourself knowing it" (qtd. in Williams 134); in a similar manner, Joaquin's long complicated sentence is an enactment of baroque style in his historical writing: using a strategy from literature, Joaquin makes palpable the force of history, makes his readers know not just the facts of history but its moods, contours, and directions. Such a difficult baroque style offers new perceptions of past events: in keeping with Shklovsky's dictum that art can "make a stone feel stony" (7), Joaquin's baroque historiography can make time feel timely, can "hail another crack of doom at dawn" (237).

#### **APPENDIX**

# The concluding sentence from A Question of Heroes (2005)

[235] With [Artemio Ricarte's] death the day of the Revolution completed its cycle.

It had been a long day, beginning deep in the small hours, in a silence secret with strange noises (of the Palmeros conspiring? of Novales arming?) and a darkness where the figures move in shadow, the face of Luis Rodriguez Varela barely distinguishable as he rises to proclaim himself the Conde Filipino to the first birds stirring, the first cocks crowing, while in the dusk glimmering into half-light the faces slowly become clearer, here a Mariano Gomez riding off to meet with the Cavite outlaws, there a Pedro Pelaez hurrying to early mass at the Cathedral, and at the University are students gathered in angry protest when the dawn breaks, breaks with a cry, a crash, a clamor, abruptly wakened people rushing about in panic to see the coil of smoke over the fort in Cavite, to see smoke in the mist through which the sun cleaves, the first long shaft of sunlight falling on stoic Padre Gomez, a crazed Padre Zamora, a raging Padre Burgos being led to the scaffold, the mist shredding about them in [236] the sunshine till no haze blurs the air and it's morning, morning in Paris for Juan Luna in his busy studio, morning in Ghent for Rizal bent over his manuscripts, morning in Manila for the concealed Marcelo del Pilar directing the marchers in the Great Manifestation, and late morning in Madrid for Lopez Jaena, at a sidewalk café, having the first cup of his bohemian day, waiting, as the sun climbs, for less hardy expatriates to stagger up from bed and hangover, but waiting in vain, for the heat of the day has drawn them back to its orient, their fires have lit a red noon, and the blaze of noon is Katipunan red, is Bonifacio at Balintawak, the Magdiwang in Noveleta, Aguinaldo in Kawit, Rizal whirling around in Bagumbayan, and the stunned expatriates packing dungeon and torture chamber as the red heat flames into afternoon, the golden afternoon of a proud Aguinaldo marching up the Camino Real to Manila, the banners of the Republic before him and Mabini looming behind, but no gates, alas, opening to his armies, nor no road save the lost road of retreat, through sunlight slanting level now with the flags, towards the spill of sunset color in Malolos, where sits the Congress, a bravura splendid as the sunset, though upon it falls a shadow, the shadow of the Gringo standing tall on the bridge in San Juan, the rim of sun fast diminishing behind him and the shadow spreading, gray dusk brimming to the first hum of frog and bug and a sudden startling crackle of gunfire, twilight tiding higher as Antonio Luna fights his way north along the railroad, evening and a cold rain setting in as the Republic falls in Tarlac and Aguinaldo sloshes northward through the mud, up to the highlands, up to the clouds on Paso de Tirad, where stands Gregorio del Pilar, the fading light on his face and night closing in behind, the stormy night deepening on the mountain trails, and Aguinaldo fleeing, Aguinaldo groping under a wild curve of sky, outraced by the moon that races in reverse and speedily sets in cloud, leaving the heights lonelier as the fugitive stumbles down a slope and reaches dead end, as he comes at last to ultimate ocean, pitiless midnight, the midnight that is Palanan, and in the midnight gloom he lies captive, betrayed, under guard, while the Yanquis ransack the house for papers and loot, the total midnight all over the land escaping minute by minute into the small hours, becoming a silence secret with strange noises (of the neo-insurgents conspiring? of the new Katipunans rearming?) and a darkness where the faces are barely distinguishable, Sakay in Rizal, Noriel in Cavite, Ola in Albay, Montalan and Felizardo advancing together, and all the other figures lost in that murk so stark only a flicker of lightning or of false dawn yields us the face of a Ricarte younger, returning, ever the fire next time, and of Ricarte older, tottering towards an unknown grave in the highlands, stopped there at last as the dark glimmers into half-light [237] and a hush announces the time when it's always three o'clock in an east without hope, for, now, with none to hail another crack of doom at dawn and, now, with the dawn forever in suspense unless it break, again, with a cry, a crash, a clamor (and a coil of smoke from a battlement), the nameless faces now sinking into darkness but seem a waste of history, the toll of time (235-237).

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