

After colonialism and the king: notes on the Peruvian birth of ‘contemporary history’

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An intimate but secret union ... existed between the cause of independence and the cause of the republic ... the end of colonialism and the abolition of the monarchy blended together; the cause of the King was diametrically opposed to the cause of the patria [and] the people ...

(Sebastián Lorente, 1876)¹

In Peru’s first college textbook of ‘contemporary world history’, published in 1876, Sebastián Lorente noted that it was not the crowd at the Bastille but rather the fiery and eloquent Bishop de Blois who had dealt history’s death sentence to the French king. Speaking before France’s National Convention, the good Bishop had proclaimed that ‘The history of Kings is the martyrdom of nations’.² Up until now, he continued, the ‘Name of the King’ had been upheld by the ‘Book of Kings’. Death to the Book of Kings! For Lorente, it was in this and similar speech acts that the worldwide ‘Contemporary Age of Revolutions’ had announced its arrival. The old history of kings and empires would have to be rewritten, for the new age required new history books written for, if not by, the people. And so it was: in Peru and elsewhere the multi-sited outbreak of ‘the contemporary age’ dealt republican deaths to king and colonialism, in the process giving birth to ‘contemporary history’.³ Although now old, this history is still widely held to be contemporary, that is, we are still ‘in’ it. But what makes it contemporary is not a question that historians or critics seem to find worth asking.

History’s unthought concept of ‘contemporaneity’ or ‘the contemporary’ seems matter-of-fact, unworthy of theoretical attention, perhaps even quaint. Meanwhile, weighty treatises on ‘modernity’ and ‘the modern’ fill the pages of journals and make heave the shelves of libraries. And yet there is a case to be made that ‘contemporary’ and ‘modern’ are not quite the same, or at least not always everywhere the same. Further, it could be argued that the historical mark of the postcolonial (in the Americas at least) is also not ‘modernity’ but ‘contemporaneity’. I will suggest that this is so because ‘the contemporary’ is that horizon of global simultaneity in liberty that extends beyond the death of the king and colonialism, and whose condition of possibility is ‘ancient history’. This repeating historicist horizon became visible in the Americas in

the early nineteenth century. Peru is as good a place as any to ponder its meaning for history at large.

To the chagrin of the *dependentistas*, Peru's revolution of independence was not, and was not by Peruvians imagined to be, a bad copy of France's or any other revolution. As in France, in Peru the republican history of the people and the patria displaced the imperial history of kings with a historicist narrative or genealogy of the Peruvian people's 'national civilization'. In so doing, however, historians of Peru raised the specter of colonial difference, here in the form of a hybrid genealogy of modernity and 'the contemporary'. The principal author of Peru's contemporary historical genealogy was the Spanish-born philosopher and 'schoolmaster of history', Sebastián Lorente (1813–1884). Lorente's historical thought and that of his brilliant Creole predecessor José Hipólito Unanue (1755–1833) suggest that the outlines of the colonial and postcolonial critique of 'Europe' as the master historical discourse of modernity⁴ had emerged in Peru, albeit in national guise and under the master epochal sign of 'the contemporary', in the early to middle decades of the nineteenth century. That master epochal sign continues to rule 'Peruvian' and many other histories.

Event narrative: the death of the king and colonialism in Peru

In colonial South America no Spanish king's body was available to be seized and beheaded, although it appears that in Lima the semi-sacred portrait of the king was defiled. Here the postcolonial death of the king's 'simulacrum' was fittingly figurative, poetic, spatial.⁵ Territorially and symbolically speaking His Majesty's composite body was indeed severed from its sovereign metropolitan head, and in the bloodied soil of national martyrs its colonial members reemerged as the sovereign 'countries' of so many new republics. The revolution of independence would ban the 'Name of the King' by writing old 'national' names over it; collective acts of forgetting and rewriting would seal the republican future. Preparing the stage for Peru's Declaration of Independence in Lima (28 July 1821), the *Rioplataense* ('Argentina' had not yet been invented)⁶ 'Protector' and 'Liberator' José de San Martín decreed that all 'Coats of Arms of the King of Spain be removed from the public buildings of the state' since as 'signs of vassalage' they were inconsistent with Independence.⁷ The 'Protector of Peru' then personally seized the 'Standard of Pizarro' that for many patriots symbolized the Spanish Conquest of 'the Empire of the Incas' three hundred years before. Known famously as 'The City of Kings'⁸ it was declared that Lima should henceforth be named 'The City of the Free'. In a similar gesture, San Martín abolished the royal tribute (*Real tributo*) paid by Indian commoners to the king of Spain, declaring that 'the name of Indian' was yet another sign of vassalage, a 'humiliating sign of His dominion'. Henceforth the 'Indians or Naturals' would be named 'Peruvians'.

Contrary to Benedict Anderson's fruitful but mistaken claim, 'Peruvians' was not a 'neological' name for 'half-obliterated' Indians coined by a Creole patriot elite that sought fraternal communion with imagined nationals. San

Martín was not ‘Peruvian’, and in the early days after Independence Peruvian-born Creole elites appear not to have identified themselves as ‘Peruvians’.⁹ Moreover, ‘Peruvian’ was an old colonial name coined before the conquest (ca. 1512), and by the early sixteenth century it was widely used in Europe to refer to the past and present native inhabitants of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru. In addition, the *Real tributo* and the name *indio* (Indian) had already been abolished by the *Cortes de Cádiz* or Parliament of the Spanish Commonwealth in 1812: the name of the Royal Tribute had been changed to ‘contribution’ (*contribución*) and ‘Indians’ (the official majority) were officially rechristened ‘Spaniards’ (*españoles*). In short, the Quixotic Liberator from ‘Argentina’ (Rio de la Plata) was not up on his Peruvian history.¹⁰ Still more, the title of ‘Peruvian’ was not necessarily desired by those ‘ex-Indians’ upon whom it was now bestowed. In a word, the name was not San Martín’s to give nor was it the Indians’ to receive, but nevertheless ‘something came to be’.¹¹ That something was born of forgetting and memory. In effect, ‘Peruvian’ was a historicist gesture of oblivion (the colonial dominion of the Spanish king), and also a strategic semantic wedge against those imperial reformists who wanted only autonomy (and not independent nationhood) as ‘American Spaniards’ under the Spanish Commonwealth’s Constitution of 1812. At the same time, however, ‘Peruvians’ recalled the fabled ‘Peruvian Empire’ of *Los Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609)—that famous two-part history of the rise and fall of the Inca Empire, written by the mestizo historian Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. As Bartolomé Herrera noted twenty-five years later, republican patriot rhetoric had, in ‘a poetic movement in which the nation was taken to be the soil’, sung independence as ‘a reconquest of the Empire of the Incas’.¹²

In a similar republican gesture, the *Colegio del Príncipe* (Prince College)—which under the viceregal regime was dedicated to the education of the talented sons of native noblemen—was now rechristened ‘Liberty College’. In 1822 the *Colegio de la Libertad* housed the new National Library of Peru, ex-Jesuit bookish cradle of national history, also created by decree of San Martín at the behest of his first minister, the fiery Bernardo Monteagudo.¹³ Monteagudo was fond of the foundational gesture of oblivion. He designed a ‘pillar of time’ (never built) that was to be erected in the center of Lima’s old Plaza of the Inquisition (today this spot is occupied by an equestrian statue of Bolívar), the new home of the People’s Peruvian Congress. The ‘pillar of time’ would measure the contemporary age with commemorative rings inscribed with key events in the life of the Republic, beginning with 1821 or ‘Year One of Independent Life’.¹⁴ Also in 1821, Peru’s First Constitutional Congress renamed the Spanish fortress at Lima’s port of Callao, known as the *Castillo del Real Felipe* (King Philip’s Royal Fortress) and still occupied by loyalist forces, as the *Castillo de la Independencia* (Fortress of Independence). Its five bastions or towers were renamed as well: the King’s Tower became the Tower of Manco Capac (ancient founder of the Inca dynasty); the Queen’s Tower was now the ‘Tower of the Patria’, an allegorical female figure who represented the native land.¹⁵ Even the official paper which carried the King’s Seal—and upon which many of the patriotic decrees would

circulate—was restamped with the new national emblem, bearing these historic words: ‘Year One of Independent Life’ (*Año primero de la Vida Independiente*).

While San Martín and the Congress were resetting the names and clock of independent Peru in Lima, the last Viceroy and royal military commander of Spanish Peru, José de la Serna, marched across the high Andean interior with a significant loyalist force (notably named the ‘National Army’), which by all accounts garnered considerable support among the native Andean inhabitants of the realm. Enter Simón Bolívar. Following an interview with San Martín in Guayaquil, Bolívar assumed command of the cause: end Spain’s rule on ‘American soil’. In the once vast Viceroyalty of Peru the revolution of independence (1808–1825) was prolonged, intermittent, ambiguous, and violent, but with Bolívar’s entrance it became definitively republican and Spartan, thanks in large measure to the decisive military and political campaign of the Venezuelan-born general and Colombian president. Having soundly defeated the royalist forces of the Viceroy in 1824 in Ayacucho, Bolívar’s field marshal José Antonio de Sucre marched triumphantly into Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Incas. Bolívar, who had strategically occupied Lima to take political control of the precarious new state, was not present; notably, however, his simulacrum preceded him. The local newspaper, *El Sol del Cuzco*, reported that on the afternoon of 3 February 1825,

[t]he bust of our Dictator was placed in the ancient Temple of the Sun. The Inca-Kings that lie there lifted up their heads from their sepulchers and, beholding the Liberator of their land, blessed him; covered with glory, they returned satisfied to their frigid tombs.¹⁶

The classical republican from Caracas would have been pleased to read that the Incas had returned to the tombs where they belonged! Arriving months later in Cuzco, Bolívar, himself a planter of noble Spanish descent, and now officially bestowed with dictatorial powers by the Peruvian Congress, declared the abolition of all titles of nobility in Peru, including ‘the title and authority of the caciques’ or native and mestizo governors, many of whom were lesser nobles, but a few of whom could and did claim to be distant descendants of Inca royalty.¹⁷ Peruvian Congressman and later Supreme Court Justice Benito Laso confirmed the new republican name of Peru in his notable address to the Second Constitutional Congress: ‘Peruvians: You owe your life, your liberty, and your name to Bolívar . . . He is the enemy of the name of kings and the angel of the regime of [republican] representation.’¹⁸

These military and political acts of war and speech were the founding displacements of the Republic and its contemporary history. Following the independence wars and a subsequent series of border disputes between contentious new states and patriot armies with wages to collect, the territorial claim of the *Republica Peruana* was now a much reduced, but still central segment of the vast sixteenth-century Viceroyalty known as ‘The Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru’. Of great significance for a new republican historical discourse, the territory of the Peruvian Republic encompassed the old highland Inca center at Cuzco and the viceregal court or colonial capital at

coastal Lima, with the latter becoming, in a metamorphosis of ‘the King’ as ‘the Free’, the capital of the new Republic. Peru’s successive political metamorphoses from precolonial Inca realm to Spanish Viceroyalty and finally postcolonial republican fragment¹⁹ lent a particular political urgency to the task of rewriting the ‘Book of Kings’ as the republican history of civilization. Under the new republican regime history could no longer be the imperial courtier’s dynastic history. Inspired by the same historicist visions (mainly those associated with Montesquieu and Rousseau) that had informed Bolívar’s thought, the republican soldier-intellectual Juan Espinosa now defined history as a ‘schoolmaster who teaches modern societies to read in the book in which ancient societies learned to spell’. This new republican history book of the ancients was none other than the people’s book of ‘national civilization’ itself, and its lessons would serve as guides for a new legislation that would be ‘in character’ with ‘the spirit’ of the people’s history and customs.

Narrative event: rewriting the Book of Kings

National Museum Director Mariano Eduardo de Rivero’s (with Jacob von Tschudi) *Antigüedades Peruanas* (1851) plowed the ancient soil of the people. Breaking with the ‘Book of Kings’ tradition wherein history books were dedicated to the king, the prince, or the viceroy, this first republican book of ‘Peruvian Antiquities’ was dedicated to the Congress of Peru and ‘the cause of National Sovereignty’. That cause was ‘the cause of memory against ruin’. The book’s epigraph, taken from Casimir Perrier, reads: ‘Monuments are like History, and like her, inviolable. They should preserve the memory of great national events, and cede only to the ravages of time.’²⁰ Rivero (1798–1857) was founding director of independent Peru’s first national museum of natural history. In the preface Rivero laments the sorry colonial legacy of destruction and neglect for, he writes,

centuries have passed before Peru possessed a collection [of artifacts] drawn from her ancient archaeological monuments . . . these mute yet eloquent witnesses reveal the history of past events and they demonstrate to us the intelligence, power and greatness of the nation ruled by our Incas. The history of nations . . . is not of interest merely to know what stage of power and culture was attained . . . but rather to instruct us in their progress . . . and to prepare the people for the enjoyment of national liberty . . . Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome are not the only empires worthy to serve as nourishment for a generous imagination.²¹

In effect, *Antigüedades Peruanas* was a scientific and republican displacement of the ‘Book of Kings’ tradition of imperial dynastic history dominant in viceregal Peru and the Spanish Empire at large. In 1684 the Spanish court historian of the Indies, Antonio de Solís, had conveniently resumed the classical principles of the old history:

Venerable Antiquity called Histories Books of Kings, in part because they are composed of the actions and events of kings, and in part because its principal teachings point directly to the Arts of Rule, since one may collate from the variety of Examples what Providence may reveal and what Imitation should embrace. It follows from this principle that the noble temerity of Writers who dedicate their Works to Great Kings is less presumptuous, and more generous among Historians who, without disputing the estimation of the other disciplines, must assume the Education of the grandest of Auditors.²²

The best Peruvian example of dynastic historical writing in the late colony is the work of the gifted Creole astronomer, poet, historian of the realm, and university rector, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo (1664–1743). An admirer of Solís, Peralta wrote histories of Spain and Peru, respectively. The former was dedicated to the king of Spain, and its subject was the ancient lineage of Spain's rulers, from the founding 'Hercules of Egypt' forward; the latter work was dedicated to the Viceroy of Peru, Peralta's grand pupil in Lima. In this history of Peru Peralta traced the 'geometry of honour' that linked the founding Inca and first 'Emperor' Manco Capac with the Spanish Conquistador Francisco Pizarro and the present Viceroy. Like his contemporary and fellow Spanish subject Giambattista Vico, Peralta was much concerned with the poetics of history, which the Limean conceived as an elegant mirror of majestic power and knowledge animated by the three 'genies' (*Veritas pateat, Veritas luceat, Veritas moveat*) of Saint Augustine's *Doctrina Christiana*. In the tradition of the Hispanic baroque Peralta's poetics of history was neo-Platonist; in this tradition, enigmatic icons or emblems were posed as keys to historical interpretation, whose task it was to reveal the providential design of history, that is, His True Thought. For Peralta history was not simply a mirror of all that is great in life; history was 'greater than life' since it was nothing less than 'the sum of all immortal deeds'.²³ This history 'imitated' the king and his lineage, and in turn the king (or the prince) imitated it. For the king regnant was 'the sum of all the immortal deeds of his ancestors'. The preferred pupil of dynastic history was the prince, for the prince should, like history books, 'improve' upon the immortal deeds of his ancestors (this notion is transferred to the Viceroy in Peralta's history of Peru). In short, histories were themselves dynastic, 'the noble science of princes'. Dynastic history thus conceived was a majestic portrait of 'animated reason', and as such was to be distinguished from 'the primitive huts of mere annals'.

This majestic history of the king and his lineage (here the 'Peruvian Emperors' or Inca and Spanish kings) would now be displaced by the history of the people and their ancient civilization. However, this displacement could not proceed without a new ground, landscape, soil, or page. Figures 1 and 2 dramatically illustrate the republican displacement: the frontispiece to the second volume of Rivero and Tschudi's *Antigüedades Peruanas* (Figure 1) and the insert to Ulloa's *Resumen Histórico* (Figure 2). The frontispiece to the second volume of *Antigüedades Peruanas* offered as nourishment for the generous imagination of the Peruvian people and its Congress (and for European readers, too) a grand representation of Peru's deeply promising

history. In this neoclassical and scientific tomb of and for ‘the generous imagination’, the ancient ruin of the Sungate (*Puerta del Sol*) at Tiahuanaco rises triumphantly as the republican threshold to the Peruvian national future. The pastoral Indian family and the native flora and fauna ‘animate’ the bounty of the landscaped native soil, while the glory of ancient Inca kings and stonework portends the even greater glories to come. As Lorente wrote, it is ‘in the greatness of the past [that] we shall find presentiments of the future’.²⁴ In short, the ancient ‘Gateway of the Sun’ that is a triumphal republican arch that in turn entombs ‘ancient Peru’ is a ‘mirror’ that would soon become a logo.²⁵ In the same manner in which the ephemeral viceregal and imperial arches constructed for royal ceremonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were majestic ‘mirrors of the prince’ (*espejos del principe*)²⁶—where what is meant by ‘mirror’ is instruction by imitation—Rivero’s ancient republican arch is a ‘mirror of the people’. But this mirror also reflects the old imperial history and its colonial discourse.

The face of Rivero’s republican arch beams with imperial inscriptions. The individual portraits of the fourteen Inca kings on the Sungate of *Antigüedades Peruanas* are exact copies of those that adorned Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa’s Spanish imperial representation of ‘the Peruvian Emperors’—by which term is meant both the ‘Inca’ and ‘Spanish’ ‘Monarchs’ of Peru—published in Madrid in 1748 (Figure 2).²⁷ The 1748 plate was a handsome, fold-out ‘poster’ inserted in the appendix to the *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional*, aptly titled ‘Resumen Histórico del Origen, y Sucesión de los Incas, y demás soberanos del Perú, con noticias de los sucessos mas notables en el reynado de cada uno’ (Historical Summary of the Origin and Succession of the Incas and other sovereigns of Peru, with notes on the most notable events in the reign of each one). Elements of the plate were composed by Peruvian and Spanish artists,²⁸ but in many ways it was a creative translation in image of the theory of dynastic history, and it corresponds closely to the poetic imagery of Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo’s *Lima Fundada o la Conquista del Perú* (1732), which favoured ‘majestic’ representations of the ‘animated reason’ and ‘geometry’ of Peru’s ruling dynasties. The plate represents the succession of Ferdinand VI as it was imagined and celebrated in Lima in 1746 (three years after Peralta’s death). The twenty-two ‘Peruvian Emperors’ are displayed, beginning at the lower left of the plate and its architectonic structure, as so many pendants decorating and framed by the ‘authorizing majesty’ of the palatial arcade, itself flanked by pyramidal representations of the ‘Pillars of Hercules’, which mark the ‘Teatro Politico’ or Stage of Spain’s world empire. Hovering angels suspend the gold chain or ‘thread of history’ that links the pendants of Peru’s Inca and Spanish dynasts, from the founding Inca Manco Capac to the ascendant King Ferdinand VI, depicted, respectively, in the first royal pendant on the lower left of the plate and in the twenty-second pendant, singled out at the center of the composition. In this representation of Peru’s dynastic history, Inca Atahualpa appears as the XIV Peruvian Emperor, his portrait placed upon the second pedestal from the right, at the nadir of the arrangement of the Inca series, and he offers his royal scepter to the sword-wielding and index-pointing Holy Roman Emperor



Figure 1. Frontispiece, Mariano de Rivero and Juan Diego de Tschudi, *Antigüedades Peruanas*, Vol. 2, Vienna, 1851 (photographic reproduction courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

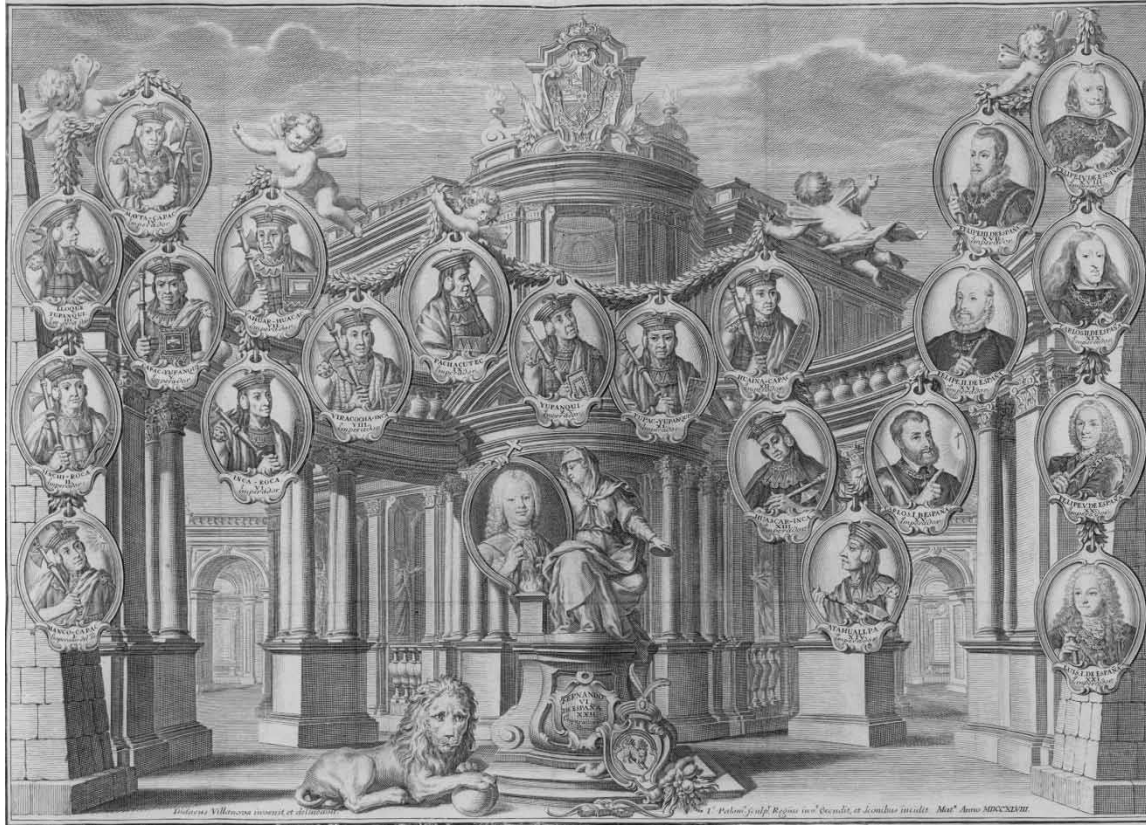


Figure 2.

Untitled fold-out insert, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional*, Madrid, 1748, appendix (photographic reproduction courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

Charles V, here named XV Emperor of Peru. The pendant of Charles V exhibits the Holy Cross, the sacred emblem adopted by the House of Austria; its Christian Light absorbs and displaces the pagan but still shining light of Manco Capac's idolized Sun.

The *Resumen Histórico*, whose author was Ulloa, is in essence an abridged transcription of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's early seventeenth-century account of the Inca dynasty, albeit with several notable additions. 'The other Sovereigns of Peru' have been added to the dynastic history, so that 'Charles I of Spain, V of Germany' or The Holy Roman Empire, is here 'the XV Monarch of Peru' and 'the XV Emperor of Peru'. To wit: a new historical dynasty has been added to the annals of world history, that which begins with Charles XV of Peru. But who presided over his Peruvian coronation? The plate provides the answer: 'LaFe' or The Faith, an allegorical virgin figure. This, too, was in consonance with Inca Garcilaso's history of the conquest. In Ulloa's updated summary, Charles XV of Peru is followed by a long list of 'Governors of Peru' that begins with Francisco Pizarro and includes all of the Viceroys of Peru. Notably, and in some contrast to Inca Garcilaso's account (which depicts Atahualpa as an illegitimate 'Tyrant' who murdered the legitimate Prince Huascar), Atahualpa is here restored as 'the last Inca' of the 'Peruvian Empire' since before his execution he was in possession of the 'borla colorada' or red insignia that is taken by Ulloa to be the Inca equivalent of a dynastic seal. We are told that upon Atahualpa's death the insignia was taken by Pizarro and passed on to another son of Guayna Capac, named Manco I. But 'Manco Inca' returns the royal insignia to Pizarro, and from Pizarro it passes up to 'Charles XV of Peru'. In the plate we see the 'borla colorada' with Inca head-dress in the foreground to the Virgin Faith's lower left, while on her lower right reposes the Lion, insignia of the monarchy of Castile and Leon, here with his paw resting on the orb.

The imagery of Rivero's republican arch of ancient Peru constitutes an instructive contrast with the architecture of imperial dynastic history but it is also a succession. No virgin hovers about the arch of the ancient, now rendered in the supernatural realism of a neoclassical and romantic Peruvian aesthetic that, in effect, left no place for 'Kings from abroad' (*la dinastía ultramarina*). The free-floating palatial arcade of a universal dynastic Empire has been blown back across the sea on the bent wings of angels. Now ephemeral, the Teatro Politico is displaced by the sturdy and ancient Sungate at Tiahuanaco, firmly anchored in 'the country'.²⁹ Here in the native land the Inca dynasts are the firm columns of Peru's ancient civilization, and these are set against the Humboldtian majesty of the equatorial Andean landscape (volcano, flora, fauna). They are now 'our Incas' because they are stone dead, entombed in 'our land'. Etched in a representation of a monumental stonework of their own making (it was believed that the Sungate was sculpted by ancestors of the Incas), the same Incas who once lived in the poetic imaginary of the dynastic 'Book of Kings' and its 'Peruvian Empire' now found an afterlife in the memorable pages of republican history. Like the vigilant Incas who reportedly greeted Bolívar's effigy in Cuzco, they have been safely returned to their tombs. But they are still guardians of the future.

The erasure of the Spanish kings appears to mean that the dynastic chain of Peru is broken. But it is only invisible: the hiatus that brings the Inca kings to the present is readable as that necessary ‘modern’ time that separates ‘the contemporary’ from ‘the ancient’. As ‘our’ ancients, the Incas may now serve as the futural (that is, post-modern) frames of ‘the generous imagination of Peruvians’. The diminutive native family at the base of the great republican threshold of the ancient is benignly nuclear and pastoral, upward and forward looking. Under the ancient Incan arch of the Republic they may now pursue the liberty that beckons from the bounty of the native land and the wings of the mighty condor. The ex-Indian ‘Peruvian man’ points to the future whose name is ‘Peruvian Antiquities’. This pointing authorizes ‘Peruvian Antiquities’ as a testimonial to the contemporary presence of the ancient. The title-wielding condor, ‘king of the avian kingdom’ and ‘sovereign of these regions’, has displaced the Virgin Faith and the angels. In the foreground and beyond the ancient threshold the bounty and majesty of the native soil beckons: llamas, the ‘divine leaf’ or coca plant, the chinchona plant from which the miracle cure for malaria is drawn, towering volcanoes that spread fertility across the land. Rivero’s arch thus executes a poetic movement, for in it the landscaped native dynastic realm has become available for the tilling of the good schoolmaster’s soil. The soil is the deathbed of the Name and Book of ‘Kings from Abroad’ and, at the same time, the sacred memory tomb of Incas. Rivero’s landscaped ‘ground is an inscription of meaning, the tomb’ of kings that is ‘a passage of voices’. The ‘ancient’ arch at Tiahuanaco is now ‘a symbolic space that gives the kings a good death’ in the historical imagination of Peruvians.³⁰ That ‘symbolic space’ was none other than ‘the country’, and it was Unanue who named it ‘Peru’.

Unanue’s Peru and the Creole critique of European reason

Unanue was perhaps the central intellectual figure of the Creole Enlightenment in Peru. He served the last Spanish viceroys of Lima as court natural historian and statistician, and in 1820 joined the patriotic forces to become San Martín’s and later Bolívar’s Treasury Minister (*Hacienda Publica*). Before Alexander von Humboldt’s scientific and romantic landscaping of America at the turn of the nineteenth century—which, like the Charles-Marie de La Condamine scientific expedition under the naval command of the Spaniards Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, was realized under the auspices of the Spanish Crown during the rule of the Bourbon dynasty—Unanue had inaugurated the Creole ‘patriotic epistemology’ of Peru as *pais*, or country. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has argued, Spanish American patriotic epistemology was a critical historical discourse that privileged the eyewitness accounts of native noblemen and the cultural remains of native civilization—including oral traditions in native languages, glyphs, quipus (mnemonic devices of color-coded knotted cords), archaeological monuments, and customs—over the armchair observations of linguistically ignorant, non-Hispanic European travelers (including La Condamine and Humboldt) and

the speculations of such prestigious northwestern European naturalists and historians as Cornelius de Pauw, Guillaume-Thomas-Francois Raynal, and William Robertson.³¹ In Peru the principal print forum for this patriotic epistemology in the late colony was the *Mercurio Peruano* (1791–1794). In its pages Unanue established not only the scientific and historical study of ancient monuments³² but also the new natural or geographical image of Peru as ‘country’. This timeless, natural image of the native land (*patria*) was indispensable for the republican elaboration of ‘national history’. Indeed, the *páis* or soil was and is the page upon which all such history is written. For Unanue,

the first object that presents itself to the contemplation of the Philosopher of the History of the Monuments of Ancient Peru is the portrait of the organization and diverse disposition of her vast territory. His pen is destined to trace, among the ravages of time and men, the level of culture to which that famous Nation had ascended; [that Nation] which, without the assistance of [Ancient] Egypt, Phoenicia, or Greece, knew how to establish wise laws, and to excel, in certain aspects, in the Arts and Sciences; it thus appears indispensable to study the soil upon which stand the ruins . . . On the other hand, since the qualities of a region influence the spirit of those who populate it, without physical knowledge of Peru it will never be possible to draw the eminent advantages enjoyed by her past or present inhabitants.

Unanue’s contemplation is fixed upon the soil and its inhabitants, for that soil reveals the ‘qualities’ of the land and the ‘eminent advantages’ that ‘influence’ its inhabitants past and present. In this gesture he brought an empirical rigor to the ‘eyes of geography’ already present in Peralta’s histories of Peru and Spain, which in turn had drawn both upon Vico and the classical and renaissance tradition whose fountainhead was Tacitus’ *Germania*. Unanue’s scientific and sublime gaze penetrates deeper to a primordial ‘Nature’ before monuments and men. And this primal natural land has a proper name: Peru.

In the instant in which we name Peru the towns and cities begin to disappear from our view and even the opulent spires of Lima are annihilated . . . Penetrating the dark centuries that have ceased to exist, in search of the fragments of the edifices of the Incas so as to contemplate the history of their Monuments, we come to rest upon those days when the human imprint has not yet irrigated the sands of this favored region, and the farmer not yet cultivated his fertile fields. Only Nature appears, surrounded in a mysterious silence.³³

Moving descriptions of the rich diversity of Peruvian regions follow as Unanue goes on to argue that with its cool coastal deserts, temperate high mountains, and steamy Amazon rain forest ‘Peru’ contains within its borders African, Asian, and European climes, and is thus the most blessed and universal of lands. In this manner Unanue established the motif of climatic or ecological diversity, a hallmark of Peruvian historical and anthropological thought today.

In *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre* (1805) Unanue extends this remarkable

diversity of microclimates to ‘race’ and to the imaginative powers of Peruvian Americans. Peruvian diversity defies European classification schemes. And in his neural theory of the circumequatorial imagination, which in part draws upon Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’s theory of monads, Unanue turns those schemes against themselves. In effect, Unanue argues that those born under the diverse climes of South America’s equatorial latitudes are indeed—as certain northwestern European racial theorists (de Pauw and Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, mainly) had claimed—weak of mind and body. However, it is their very physiological hypersensibility (an ‘influence’ of the environment upon the neural sensors) that endows them with extraordinary powers of imagination unknown among Europeans. Unanue deploys his theory to argue—against the most learned and respected European scholars, including Raynal and Humboldt—that Manco Capac, the first Inca king and mythical founder of Peru’s ancient civilization, could only have been born in Peru, for there was no other way to explain how his civilizing ‘laws’ could have been so consonant with, and so beneficial for, the ‘tribal’ indigenous peoples of ancient Peru. In this way Unanue challenged a strong current in eighteenth-century European historical thought that had assigned foreign—first European and then, beginning with Humboldt, Oriental—origins to Inca civilization.

But that was not all. Unanue argued against the (then relatively new) master narrative of northwestern European supremacy. He did so by deploying an alternative narrative of the world history of ‘genius’ and ‘beauty’ or culture. The broad lines of this narrative were not, however, of his invention. These had emerged with considerable critical force in the eighteenth-century Hispanic world, in part as a response to northwestern European criticism of Spain and her declining Empire; a similar critical narrative also appears to have been present in the academic centers of the Arab world. In the eighteenth-century Hispanic world, and indeed in northwestern Europe, ‘Spain’ or ‘The Peninsula’ of Iberia was dislodged and set adrift from ‘Europe’. ‘Europe’ was now imagined to begin on the other side of the Pyrenees (this limit of Europe is also evident in Hegel’s *Philosophy of History*, for example). In effect, ‘Spain’ and her colonial worlds, considered by some northwestern European critics (Montesquieu was especially influential) to be in decisive ways ‘Oriental’ and ‘African’ (the Spanish Empire was readily compared with the Ottoman), now became sites of critique from which to provincialize the pompous historical claims of a spatially diminished, but newly ascendant northwestern ‘Europe’.

For Unanue the new northwestern European claim to a race-based monopoly on genius (i.e. higher brows) was spurious and, in any case, the rise and fall of civilizations was always subject to ‘the vicissitudes of human affairs’. When properly considered in their historical dimension, these ‘vicissitudes’ offered ‘certain hope to the other three-quarters of the globe’. Unanue complained that Europe’s ‘self-appointed Tribunal’ of history had grossly reduced the chain of being to measurable gradations in the curvature of the brow. The new European classificatory system of racial gradations took the marble statues of ancient Greece to be the measure of perfection.

But, Unanue asked, how could this be so if the cradles of genius and beauty were in Asia and Africa? And what would modern European savants have to say if they were transported back in time to the days when all northern European men in search of new knowledge studied in Arab Cordoba or Seville? The ancient Greeks themselves, Unanue argued, were lowly barbarians before Asians and Africans established civilization-bearing colonies on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Subsequently, he continued,

toward the sixth century the lights that Asia and Africa had carried to Greece and Spain were eclipsed. Two peoples emerged to subjugate the lovely provinces of the Roman Empire. One came from the North of Europe, the other from Arabia. The first introduced extreme barbarism; the second began to dissipate that barbarism and to elevate Europe by degrees to the heights in which it now basks. Baghdad was then the center of politics and culture, and the colonies of Cordova and Seville had also acquired victorious arms.³⁴

The victorious, civilizing arms of Iberia came under the wise rule of the Spanish monarchs. Spain itself was a favored crossroads of climes, peoples, and cultures African, Asian, and European. It was Spain that now carried world civilization to barbarous Europe. From there the world history of genius set sail for what became Spanish America, where it encountered another land of rich diversity (indeed, more diverse than Spain herself!) whose native civilization displayed intrinsic qualities and a genius of its own.

The contemporary spirit of Lorente's history of Peruvian civilization

Lorente's republican 'history of Peruvian civilization' both built upon Unanue's insights and drew heavily upon historicist currents in Europe. Lorente's histories would draw the 'practical' lessons—as well as those of 'the soul' and 'spirit'—of the ancient world for the young Republic, and among these lessons none were more significant than those arising from 'the ancient history of Peru'. Director of Peru's leading liberal college, holder of chairs in Natural History at the Medical College and in the History of Peruvian Civilization at its first university, San Marcos, where he was the founding Dean of Letters, Lorente almost single-handedly wrote postcolonial Peru's first republican history textbooks, and along the way he institutionalized the new 'contemporary history'. Lorente did for historical discourse what San Martín and Bolívar had done for political discourse, only more so and to greater and lasting effect.³⁵ In Lorente's histories 'Peruvians' becomes for the first time the timeless and natural name of 'the people of Peru'. Lorente's synthetic, epoch-ordered, narrative 'critical history' of Peruvian civilization 'contemplated national development' as the sublime 'harmony among all of the civilizing elements' from the most ancient past down to the present and into the future, thereby establishing the main lines of contemporary Peruvian historical discourse. Like France's Jules Michelet, Lorente worked within 'the conception of history as a unified whole that realized itself in the people, from an original moment to a destiny, manifested in the harmonious identity of the

national soul'.³⁶ And like Michelet, he gave the king and his book a good republican death by burying him and it in the deep 'unity' of the native land and the people with a proper name.³⁷

In *Historia Antigua del Perú* (1860) Lorente made it clear why 'ancient Peruvian history' was now required reading for modern Peruvian society:

Although the ancient civilization of Peru . . . offers something of general interest to men of all countries, for us it is of special interest for the present and future. This ancient civilization is personified in monuments which still stand, it lives in our customs, and it influences the march of our daily social and political life; whoever ignores it cannot comprehend our situation, nor can they lead our society with confidence . . . In the greatness of the past we shall find presentiments of the future.³⁸

Lorente's position was, like Michelet's, polemical. Lorente argued that the 'greatness of the past' lies not so much in the Inca rulers but in the 'communal spirit' of the indigenous villagers or peasants. In the opening pages of his hugely influential *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847) the liberal Yankee historian William Prescott³⁹ had baldly asserted that

[t]he crania of the Inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilization and social polity which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came [remains] mysterious.⁴⁰

Prescott, however, was clearly not interested in the origins of this 'superior race' since that was a matter for 'speculative antiquarians', not real historians. Inca origins, Prescott quipped, lie in 'a land of darkness that lies far beyond the domain of history'. Nevertheless, that did not keep Prescott from speculating that the celebrated Manco Capac—mythical founder of the Inca dynasty—was merely a 'figment of the vain imagination of Peruvian monarchs'.⁴¹ For astute readers of Prescott in Peru and elsewhere in Spanish America (his history was quickly translated in two Mexican editions), however, the ancient 'land of darkness' was taken very seriously, and so was the object of much research. It fell very much *within* the domain of the new national history of Peruvian civilization, and indeed was foundational to its full historicist elaboration.⁴² In contrast to the famous Yankee historian of conquest, the relatively unknown Lorente was, like Unanue, very keen to argue that Manco Capac was 'Peruvian' for he had been imbued with 'the national spirit'. Lorente did not share Unanue's now outdated neural theory of the Peruvian imagination, but his argument likewise drew upon that deep source of historicist truth that (formulated for modern historiography by Johann Gottfried von Herder but in fact traceable to classical historical texts) was readily glossed as the 'genius' and 'spirit of peoples'. Lorente now wrote:

For anyone who impartially interrogates history the origin of Manco Capac will not be in doubt. The man who so perfectly knew the lay of the land and its people—who was so inundated with the national spirit that with its knowledge

he could amalgamate all of the elements of the anterior civilization—that man was without doubt born in Peru. His works bear the seal of the national race and that of the land; it is the expression of his epoch, as a man of genius would comprehend it.⁴³

In support of his generous national reading of Manco Capac, Lorente turned, as Unanue had, to non-literate, native forms of memory and to the Inca oral testimony registered in the early colonial chronicles. But Lorente's reading also departs from the most authoritative 'Peruvian' chronicle of all: Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's renaissance dynastic history of the Incas. In Inca Garcilaso's mestizo history Manco Capac is the unprecedented hero-king who founds Inca civilization; by contrast, in Lorente, Manco is not a dynast but rather an 'enlightened reformer' imbued with the 'national spirit' and who 'in his native wisdom knew how to amalgamate all those elements of civilization that already existed in Peru'.⁴⁴ This ingenious, revisionist view of Manco Capac was not Lorente's invention, however. It was anticipated in Mariano de Rivero's patriotic adaptation of Humboldt's Orientalist thesis, which had suggested that Manco Capac was likely to have been a wandering 'Brahmin' or Buddhist priest and not a native monarch.⁴⁵ Rivero suggested that Humboldt was basically right, but that the Inca dynasty was nevertheless 'Peruvian' because the first monarch was not Manco but rather a native nobleman known as Inca Rocca (in most accounts, including the authoritative dynastic history of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca Rocca is depicted as the second Inca dynast); in Rivero's view Manco the priest had merely arranged for Rocca to be crowned 'Inca'. Significantly, Rivero and Lorente's view of Manco Capac as 'a reformer of institutions' does not diminish his glory, for as reformer he 'had secured the unity of Peru, the basis of its future greatness'.⁴⁶ It was also, of course, a foundational step in republican history's move beyond the Book of Kings. Ironically perhaps, this step was aided by Rivero's partial acceptance of Humboldt's Orientalist speculations about Inca origins. More importantly, civilization in Peru was no longer the inspired invention of Inca monarchs, whatever their origins. In Lorente's histories 'Peru' was the heightened but natural expression and progression of 'the spirit' and 'unity' of 'Peruvian civilization', and the root or seed of that 'unity' was the 'communal spirit' of the indigenous villages.

What distinguished Lorente from most of his Peruvian peers was not his knowledge of native history but his explicit and clear command of the European philosophical discourse of 'Universal History'. Lorente's vision of Universal History was superficially similar to Hegel's, that is, it was conceived at the most abstract level as the providential history of freedom, the east-west career of genius or world-spirit, but in this regard Hegel was hardly original. Revealing a more profound inspiration in Vico, Lorente took events always to be expressions of the 'evolutions of humanity under the double agency of Providence and Liberty', and as such always subject to the deep 'physical and moral laws' of humanity. These 'laws' were not positive but rather 'soulful' in nature. World history was not the erudite and cunning (à la Voltaire and Raynal) compilation of the brute and disconsolate social facts of conquest

and commerce but rather the ‘philosophical’ and ‘faithful relation of the memorable events of humankind, organized by peoples, times, and places’.⁴⁷ Its method, called ‘critical history’, was akin to the ‘correct judgment’ of ‘ideas’ in the Kantian philosophy with the difference that in History it is ‘historical critique’ that ‘determines the truth value of the data’⁴⁸ and suppresses all that is untrue. Although inspired by ‘the generalizing spirit that Raleigh aspired to’ and ‘which Vico sought to trace in his philosophy of history’,⁴⁹ Universal History ‘in our century’, observed Lorente, has ‘renovated the history of the ancient world’ by employing new critical and empirical methods. Universal History was now multi-disciplinary, employing the methods of archaeology to study antiquities, of genealogy to unravel lineages, of heraldry to decode emblems, of ethnography to investigate the peoples, of numismatics to know coins and medals, and of philology to trace the origins and connections among languages.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, all of these methods are united under a phrase borrowed from Vico’s *New Science*, where Lorente notes that ‘the true eyes of history are geography and chronology, which allow one to see events in their time and place’.⁵¹

Like his post-Enlightenment European contemporaries (Michelet and Leopold von Ranke readily come to mind),⁵² Lorente rejected the ironical and skeptical ‘systematic spirit’ associated (rightly or not) with Descartes, Voltaire, and Raynal, but turned their critical methods to his own purposes.⁵³ Universal History should be based on sound, scientific methods but be written in a satisfying and concise fashion; indeed, it must be as luminous and pleasurable as the career of humankind’s spirit. The historian’s representation of events should be ‘an animated and faithful painting of reality’ in consonance with geography and chronology, but answering ultimately to the higher calling of truth and liberty.⁵⁴ Histories should ‘harmonize’ with history (the succession of meaningful events) itself. For Lorente, then, ‘only the methodical history of civilization, the true history that presents events in their vital and luminous unity, may be called, in the words of Cicero, the light of truth and the mistress of life’.⁵⁵ For Lorente that light resided in the luminous power of narrative unfettered by ‘the pompous vice of footnotes’ or ‘the invasions of statistical tables’. The narrative should be free of ‘anecdotal digressions’ and the ‘extended reflections’ of ‘high philosophy’ or ‘system’; instead, these should be intimated to the reader via the narrative so that ‘the events speak for themselves and history administers its eloquent teachings only with the aid of common sense’.⁵⁶ The appeal to common sense was deeply republican, at heart political. Indeed, clean narrative for the people was the new literary regime of historical truth. What Hayden White recognized as ‘explanation by emplotment’ was undoubtedly the strategy best suited to the schoolmaster’s task, which was to write the ancient and modern history of the nation’s movement toward unity and liberty.⁵⁷ This task was also philosophical, for

only the application of philosophy to history may serve to unite, in a vast synthesis, the necessary kinds of knowledge now made available to analysis. And only a philosophical spirit, in possession of ample and well-meditated data, is

capable of undertaking the task of writing an orderly and luminous exposition of the history of Peruvian civilization.⁵⁸

Lorente thus turned to the ancient history of Peru's 'national civilization' not only because Cicero had revealed 'the true path of history', but also to meet the demands of his revolutionary age and to respond to his soul's deep personal search for meaning in life.⁵⁹ Lorente's desire to unravel the 'enigma of Peru' and present its 'practical lessons' led him to an ever-deepening inquiry into the origins and development of 'national civilization'. After much labour in the archives, this search through the ages revealed to him the 'permanent and harmonious elements' of Peruvian civilization.⁶⁰

At the same time, Lorente's quest to write the new history of Peruvian civilization raised unanswered questions about the universality of the recognized 'epochs' of world history. The principal divisions of 'Universal History' in Lorente's textbook on the subject corresponded to the accepted four major 'epochs' of the Old World: ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary (the modern scheme of four epochs had displaced the ancient scheme of four universal monarchies). Ancient history 'extends from the origin of peoples to the dissolution of Roman society' and it has 'three divisions': Oriental, Greek, and Roman. 'Medieval history' (*historia media* or *historia de la Edad Media*) concerns itself with the progression of events from the end of ancient history to the discovery of America. 'Modern history' runs from 'this transcendental discovery to the French revolution'. Finally, 'contemporary history' extends 'from that great revolution down to our day'.⁶¹ Universal History's faithful and truthful relation of the brilliant career of civilization thus arises in the Orient and runs through Rome, Spain (for she made that 'transcendental discovery' that ushered in modern world history), and Paris, but its 'contemporary' destination is everywhere and anywhere 'Providence' and 'Liberty' exert their happy effects on humanity. This career differs from Hegel's as outlined in his *Philosophy of History*, where 'Germania' or northwestern Protestant Europe is the 'new world' of liberty and the destiny of the 'world-spirit', and where America is a mere extension of the post-reformation European dualism of northern 'Germanic' or Protestant states and southern 'Romanic' or Catholic states, the former superior in most respects to the latter, precisely because of the liberating and sobering effects of Luther's hammer.⁶² Lorente immediately recognized that the 'history of Peruvian civilization' did not quite fit the 'universal' epochal architecture of history developed in northern Europe. However, and given his Leibnitian and Kantian philosophy of ideas and language, the republican schoolmaster was unwilling to disrupt the received epochal architecture of Universal History, for to do so would introduce 'confusion' into its language (that is, by adding a new signified to a universally accepted sign), and thus obscure the 'clarity' of its Kantian 'idea'.⁶³ Moreover, any such linguistic confusion would serve no political purpose. As a result, Peru's epochal history ostensibly agreed only in its general architecture with the master epochal signs of Universal History.⁶⁴

In *Historia del Peru* (1876) Lorente explains that 'Peruvian civilization should be considered in four phases: primitive, Incan, colonial, and

contemporary'.⁶⁵ Peru's ancient history, like that of the Orient, exhibited two broad 'phases' of political organization, the primitive (patriarchy of the chiefs) and the centralized (the Incan state). But Peru had no feudal 'Middle Ages'. Rather, Peruvian civilization passed directly from the 'ancient phase' to the 'colonial phase' of modernity under Spain, then 'the vanguard of Europe', followed by the 'contemporary' epoch of the independent Republic. A third major epic event derived albeit with notable modifications from the founding dynastic narrative of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega is also evident in Lorente's epochal emplotment. This 'epic campaign' is the founding civilizing gesture of Manco Capac, an unusually rapid event that in effect lifted Peru from the 'primitive phase' of patriarchy or chiefdoms to that of a 'great and united civilization'. These three epical events (founding, conquest, emancipation) are the pivotal moments in Lorente's progressive, four-phase history of Peruvian civilization. Lorente's framing of this first epic event—the passage from 'primitive civilization' under local chiefs or patriarchs to 'the civilization of Peru under the Incas'—was republican in spirit, for Manco is not a king but an enlightened reformer imbued with 'national spirit', who 'in his native wisdom knew how to amalgamate all those elements of civilization that already existed in Peru'.⁶⁶ This insight leads Lorente to propose the pre-Inca existence of civilization in Peru, and that is why he uses the term 'Peruvian' rather than 'Inca' (an appellative name that applied only to the dynasts or 'sons of the Sun') to name that civilization, for 'Peruvian' was the name that now belonged to the people and the patria, past, present, and future. This politics of naming is the enabling baptismal of all national history (French, Peruvian, Indian, it does not matter), and it gave 'Peru' and 'Peruvians' an eternal history as an 'entity' and 'being' that has both always existed and is in the long run always becoming or developing in 'harmony' with that existence.

Lorente's reading of 'the ancient history of Peruvian civilization' combined elements of the ancient history of the historiographically known world, that is, the Orient, Greece, and Rome. The history of Peruvian civilization was, like that of the Orient, 'mysterious, brilliant, and fragile', and was marked both by 'enviable splendors and unimaginable catastrophes'. Similarly, Lorente's Peru exhibits all 'the civilizational elements of an indestructible progress' as long as she would 'fully value liberty' and 'follow the plan of Providence'.⁶⁷ Lorente argues that the 'permanent element' of ancient and modern Peruvian civilization is an enduring yet flexible 'communal spirit'. Orchestrated on a grand scale and without violence by Manco Capac and the Inca dynasts that followed, this 'communal spirit' had achieved what only ancient Greece had realized—albeit on the lesser scale of Sparta—and what contemporary communists never could because, in Lorente's view, large-scale communism had been relegated by history to the marginal status of a 'dangerous utopia'.⁶⁸ It was precisely the communal spirit and the communist architecture of the Inca state that distinguished ancient Peruvian civilization from the 'more despotic' Oriental states. Why did this great socialist concert of 'communal spirit' fail to endure? Incan 'socialism on a grand scale could not endure because it contradicted the more powerful sentiments of liberty, property, and family; thus it grew weaker and corrupt as it extended its

domain, always exposed to any sudden blow, because its social hierarchy deposited the destiny of all in a single leader'.⁶⁹ The problem was that 'the interests of the Patria were confused with that of authority'.⁷⁰ It was the overextended scale and excessively centralized monarchical structure of Inca socialism that condemned it to the dustbin of history. Lorente's 'communal spirit' was to be distinguished from the 'mild despotism' of the Incas. It is previous to, more local, and more durable than the centralizing rule of Inca or Spanish dynasts. In short, the indigenous communities or villages were the permanent building blocks of the Peruvian state. This is why, he argues, the indigenous communities of Peru survived long after the fall of the Inca dynasty, indeed after the defeat of the Spanish dynasty by the patriotic forces that founded the Republic.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the surviving indigenous communities in their traditional form could not be the unaltered basis of contemporary Peru. This was because the extended web of kinship that internally structured the communities had the effect of 'violating the human heart'. The kin-based community's 'communist sentiments' inhibited the development of 'intimacy' in the family, equality between the sexes, and 'self-abnegation' in the social realm. Since, after Rousseau, the true or nuclear family was the fraternal basis of the well-built nation, the extended family or kinship structure of the community represented an 'obstacle' that would be modified in the process of Peru's contemporary realization of universal fraternity and liberty.⁷²

Lorente's narrative of Peru's colonial history was quite distinct from those that dominate the historiography today (in which Peru is almost always portrayed as never having been modern). At the Spanish conquest, the 'ancient history' of Peru had met the 'medieval history' of Europe. However, Spain was then the 'vanguard of Europe'. The epic event of discovery and conquest gave birth to 'the Modern Age'. 'Modern history' in Peru was marked by a 'colonial subjection that incurred the loss of its sense of national existence. Since central power was deposited on the other side of the seas it was not possible for the Nation to have a clear idea of its necessities or resources'.⁷³ Although the 'Nation's clear idea' was obscured, that did not mean that its 'primitive name' had been erased. Providence, 'which never erases names from the book of life except to write new ones',⁷⁴ would see to that, for 'when the Empire of the Incas disappeared, the seeds of a new nation began to germinate'. Here Lorente deploys the vegetative language of renewal associated with Vico, Leibniz, and Herder, and notes that 'the same principles produced the independence of the colony', for 'no force on earth was sufficient to swamp the seeds of progress'. The providential seed of 'the new nation' was sown in the 'imperishable richness of the country' and in the 'culture of the Incas'. This new nation, imbued with a 'communal spirit', amalgamated Christianity, modern Spanish influences, and Inca culture to 'repair the ravages' of conquest. Beneath it all the primitive name of Peruvian civilization was still there, enduring like a Leibnitian monad.⁷⁵ Not only was there 'progress' in modern colonial Peru, however: 'the Viceroyalty gave Peruvians more extensive and more glorious domination than that of the

Incas'.⁷⁶ Under Lima's preponderant influence high culture flourished throughout Peru and 'the bases of seven new republics were laid'.⁷⁷

Lorente rejected the 'Black Legend' view—prominent among radical republicans in Independence-era Peru (1820s to 1840s) and still current among today's dependency theorists—which had proposed that the Spanish colonial period was merely a 'retrograde and lethargic parenthesis' in the national development of Peru.⁷⁸ His philosophical view of the historical development of Peruvian civilization could never admit such a 'superficial' and 'cynical' negation of the colonial history that had given birth to the global modern. Although critical of colonial rule, it was obvious to Lorente that a 'new Peruvian nationality' had emerged under Spanish rule. Moreover, during this colonial period Peru 'enjoyed her own existence, since the Metropolis treated her with the distinction she deserved as a vast land of indestructible grandeur and a glorious past'.⁷⁹ Moreover, the Christian religion provided a 'common mode of thinking' that traversed the 'heterogeneous castes' of colonial society, and a gradual process of race mixture anticipated a 'national fusion' of conquerors and conquered.⁸⁰ In short, although the three centuries of colonial rule 'impeded rapid progress', its 'slow movement' actually had the positive, indeed providential effect of establishing a 'new nationality' with 'deep roots in the land'. The seasoned oak of the new nationality was 'more solid' than it had been under the 'fragile' order of the Incas. Peru's 'glorious [precolonial] past' was thus 'transformed, without losing its value'.⁸¹

Lorente's account of republican and independent Peru was framed by the governing notion that the contemporary age had been initiated by the French Revolution (the announced death of the king and colonialism) but that its spirit was universal. Arguing the contrary to the claims of nineteenth-century European critics (and those of the dependency theorists who aped those critics in the twentieth century), Lorente insisted that South America's revolution was not merely a bad copy of an original. Rather, for Lorente (and indeed in the historical thought of many of Peru's republicans), Peru's independent republican revolution is largely of its own making and grows out of its own history (or, in some versions, out of a 'void of truth' in that history), which to be sure is universal in its own right. In short, Peru's revolution of independence is similar to France's because it is a revolution for the people's liberty, against the king and against colonialism. 'Peru' and 'France' are, then, simulacra in the multi-sited enunciation of the contemporary age of revolutions.

Despite the frequent political convulsions in postcolonial South America, the Contemporary Age of the People was characterized by 'the predominance of democracy, the increasing solidarity of peoples, and rapid progress' in all human endeavors.⁸² Indeed, 'there was nothing comparable with the grandeur of nineteenth-century civilization either in ancient or modern times'.⁸³ Despite the waves of reaction and restoration in Europe—from the anti-republican 'Holy Alliance' to the 'Caesarism' of the 1860s—republican liberalism was still 'the fundament of all contemporary revolutions' and it was moving forward both in Europe and the Americas, and signs of liberty's

progress were evident in the 'despotic states' of Africa and Asia as well. In this regard Lorente noted that in India under British colonial rule, 'Calcutta and other great centers of culture boasted handsome educational and social establishments'. Lorente looked with approval upon the Mutiny of 1857, whose result in his view was to check the worst abuses of the Company ('the despotism of Company rule made things intolerable').⁸⁴ The mutiny had failed, however, because of religious divisions and the monarchist clamoring of those who mistakenly wished to restore an aging Mogul to the throne. Although Lorente the republican had little patience for constitutional monarchy, he noted that the Queen's rule in India promised economic reforms and justice.⁸⁵ In India, as elsewhere in Asia and Africa, the coming of the republic and its contemporary age was only a matter of time, and indeed was also 'guaranteed' by the history of the peoples of those regions.

Lorente's history insisted that the revolutions in Spanish America were long overdue. There is no 'not yet' in his narrative. The greatness and resources of the colonies had always outstripped the metropolis; 'the ancient glory of the Peruvian and Mexican Empires responded for the future of powerful states'; under colonial rule numerous 'tentative movements for emancipation' had been made; they 'only awaited the right moment to achieve complete victory';⁸⁶ the abuses of a 'degrading tutelage' were everywhere manifest; 'absurd and ruinous restrictions' imposed on the 'civilizing movement' of commerce and ideas could not be sustained; the Spanish American enlightenment of the eighteenth century provided the philosophical lights for the germination of Liberty; the success of the United States emboldened Creoles, while the ravages of the Haitian uprising weakened resolve, but the French Revolution, despite the terror, 'revealed the rights, advantages, and aspirations that condemned colonialism to death'.⁸⁷ Cries for independence were first heard in Peru in 1804 with the 'Aguilar and Ugalde conspiracy in Cuzco'; subsequently the incursions of the British in Buenos Aires were repulsed and patriotism bloomed; movements for independence quickly spread across the Americas after 1808, since Spain's own war of independence against Napoleonic France provided the opportune moment for the colonies to break free. The liberal military coup of 1820 in Spain brought an end to the absolutist reaction of Ferdinand VII, thus aiding the cause of American liberty.⁸⁸ In Lima, Lorente continued, San Martín's liberating army was warmly welcomed; had it not been for the Argentine general's waverings the revolution for independence could have avoided much bloodshed. The indecision of San Martín and the maneuvering of the last Viceroy La Serna set the stage for the definitive military and political intervention of Bolívar, whose patriot army finally triumphed in Ayacucho in 1824.⁸⁹ Bolívar was the man of the hour, the 'eagle-eyed and eloquent' personification of independence, the 'audacious and indefatigable' republican 'enemy of the name of kings'. His 'sublime aspirations and vast intelligence' best characterized South American independence.⁹⁰

Although Lorente's world history of the contemporary age could claim an epic republican culture-hero for Peru and South America (a key element of any republican or romantic history of the people), the historian also

recognized that an undemocratic militarism was the most conspicuous legacy of independence. This legacy has often dismayed subsequent historians, but Lorente found in this result no reason for a loss of faith. Lorente argued that not all military *caudillos* (popular rulers) were necessarily 'opposed to the national interest', nor were military men 'destitute of an enlightened zeal to see the prosperity of the homeland'. Peru's mestizo general and president, Ramon Castilla, was the clear example. Castilla (who later became Lorente's patron) had taken command of the liberal revolution of 1854 that had abolished slavery, liberated Indians from tribute, ended capital punishment, abolished tithes, broadened suffrage, organized public liberal education, and put Peru on the path to economic prosperity.⁹¹ The liberal revolution of the Republic was, despite militarism, keeping its promise and moving forward (this too was the case in parts of Europe). The moment in which Lorente writes his *Contemporary History* Peru is relatively stable under President Manuel Pardo (also Lorente's patron), although reactionary intrigues and fiscal problems present 'a very grave situation, full of danger and suffering'. Nevertheless, 'the great progress of Peru in a half-century of independent life was unquestionable'. Now, as in the past, 'the traditional greatness, privileged soil, and national spirit . . . announced a glorious future for the Republic'.⁹²

Lorente's genealogy of Peruvian history identified the colonial with the modern and the independent with the contemporary. As such, we may discern in the (literally) post-modern or 'ex-colonial' contemporary age of independent Peru the outlines of an early postcolonial historical thought. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has noted, postcolonial history is not nationalist in the revanchist sense, it is not primarily about resistance to colonialism or capitalism, and it is also not nativist; instead, postcolonial history registers the ambiguities and hybridities of its own democratic predicament in history.⁹³ In Lorente's historical thought we see that the republican revolution in Peru was postcolonial, that is, it came after an ambivalent but generally positive colonial history of modernity that had been written over the unerasable name of an ancient, precolonial native civilization, itself inscribed in the timeless land of a sublime nature by the same name. Lorente's genealogical discourse fully registered in its own way what we might call the postcolonial predicament of the Peruvian Republic. In the historicist imaginary elaborated by Lorente, the death of the king was not so much the birth of the nation, a rupture with the colonial; it was instead the liberation of that 'new nationality' seeded by Spanish colonialism in the rich soil of the ancient (precolonial) native land. The modern colonial nationality was imbued, over the centuries of relative autonomy under Spanish rule, with the enduring 'communal spirit' of the indigenous villages and the 'high culture' of the Incas. Kings ruling from abroad did not determine the course of Peru's history; indeed, even the native Inca kings did not determine its course. In Peru the nation's history was deeper than dynasties, for its origins and permanence were to be found in the communities that formed the 'base of the state'. Beyond the modern age of colonial Peru rose the Contemporary Age of Revolutions. Peru had boldly entered this new age, and it was from this age that Lorente wrote his politically committed histories. The

postmodern 'contemporary' constituted the politics and poetics of a history dedicated to the Peruvian people's liberty, 'for if not all is done by the people, we may surely say that all is done for the people'.⁹⁴

Significantly, contemporary history's contract with the people (ancient and modern) guaranteed that what was 'not yet' (enjoyment of liberty and its fruits, that is, material and moral progress) was not only surely on the way, but was 'guaranteed' by the past achievements of the people's ancient civilization. The revolution of independence posed the 'not yet' as a clear 'promise' of return to past glory (the harmony of village life, the achievements of Inca civilization) under a new sign—the Republic—that was in effect a historicist warranty on the future. This guaranteed future came in the temporal form of history's 'contemporary age', for independent 'Peru' with its ancient 'communal spirit' now inhabited 'the now' of liberty-in-democracy as a full-fledged member of the world community of free nations. This 'now' may be conceived as the democratic time of history which, in effect, has no end because it is a constant means that is always already there in the 'soul and spirit' of the people.

This Peruvian formulation of the intimate relation between the ancient and contemporary 'now' and its developmental or processual 'not yet' may be distinguished from Walter Benjamin's wartime and revolutionary notion of the 'Jetztzeit' and his well-known critique of social democratic time. After Michelet and France's radical republican founders, Benjamin understood the French Revolution as the return of the eternal truth and splendor of republican Rome. The Jetztzeit of the republic is the revolutionary return of democracy, a sublime repetition that demands fulfillment now. This demand is opposed to the gradualist 'not yet' of the European social democrats, who in Benjamin's view forever postpone that 'now' as the evolutionary or futural 'promise' of democracy. Benjamin's Jetztzeit, then, lies in the radical demand that the golden past of democracy live now and not later, and this is why the true revolutionary always looks back, not forward.⁹⁵ Benjamin's return to the example of the French Revolution is significant here, for it points to the birth of France's 'contemporary history'. In that historical moment, however, it seems that the distinction between 'the now' and the 'not yet' was blurred—both in France and Peru. Indeed, it is this blurring in revolution which may be responsible for producing the effect of the Jetztzeit. Independent Peru's founders and her leading historians variously performed and represented the revolution of independence as a republican reincarnation of the glory and truth of Inca Peru. Although professional historiography today takes 'the contemporary' to be a national and universal age with a modern beginning, this was not necessarily the case during the 'Age of Revolution' itself. Both in France and Peru the 'not yet' was not necessarily futural but always already ancient; indeed it was the repetition of the ancient in the now that guaranteed the future. The evolutionary 'not yet' that comes after is merely an 'unfolding' of the revolution for these historians. Thus, the founding repetition was not just a discrete event (revolution, death of the king) but an ongoing one that in effect characterized a new age (the Age of Revolutions) in which all that was true was 'of and for the People'.

Although Lorente's Kantian or neo-Kantian 'critical history' of 'the contemporary' was, in certain respects, ill-equipped to address the theoretical implications of what we might today call colonial difference, his and Unanue's historicist thought nevertheless raised the key question of colonial and Hispanic heterogeneity *vis-à-vis* northwestern European narratives, and they developed alternative narratives of world history in which 'Spain' and 'Peru' appear as ancient and universal crossroads in the natural and spiritual history of 'genius'. Unanue's naturalist and historicist critique of northwestern Europe's 'Tribunal of History' was foundational for Lorente's contemporary or republican history of the ancient civilization and 'communal spirit' of the Peruvian people. Unanue's natural history of the soil with a proper name combined with his critical, alternative narrative of the world historical career of genius and beauty traced a world history for Peru that was as universal as any other (indeed, Peru indexed all the world's 'climes' and 'races' and so was more universal than Europe, Asia, or Africa). For Unanue 'Europe' was a mere province of that history, for the most part a barbarous land colonized by the civilized peoples of North Africa, the Near East, and then southern or Mediterranean Europe (a synthesis of the former two), and in this sense he inverted the scheme soon to be championed by Hegel. Unanue and Lorente thus advanced the critical project begun by 'Creole patriotic epistemology' in the eighteenth-century Hispanic world. This extended project anticipated the postcolonial critique of Europe as the imagined home of Universal History, albeit for the most part on its own historicist terms, that is, by turning the philosophical and anthropological histories of, among others, Vico, Leibniz, and Herder against northwestern European pretensions.⁹⁶ Peru was now ancient in origin, modern in its coloniality, and contemporary by virtue of its home-grown revolution of independence. *Avant la lettre*, contemporary postcolonial history had found a place of birth.

Notes

- ¹ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia del Perú desde la Proclamación de la Independencia, Tomo I. 1821–1827*, Lima: Gil, 1876, pp 3–4. All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.
- ² Sebastián Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, Lima: Gil, 1876, p 26. For an illuminating meditation on the death of the king in French historiography, see Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, Hassan Melehy (trans.), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- ³ There is something of this simulacrum effect of the contemporary in Benedict Anderson's reworking of Benjamin's notion of 'homogenous time'. See *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York: Verso, 1991.
- ⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- ⁵ On the king as simulacrum in Spanish Peru, see Alejandra Osorio, 'The King in Lima: Ritual, Rule and Simulacra in Seventeenth-Century Peru', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84(3), 2004, pp 447–474.
- ⁶ See Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- ⁷ Latin American Manuscripts—Peru, Mendel Collection, Lilly Library, Box 9 May 1818–August 1821, decree of 17 July 1821.
- ⁸ There is disagreement in the scholarship on the question of the meaning of Lima's title as 'City of Kings'. Some historians believe that it refers to the Feast of the Magi, the supposed day of Lima's

- founding by Francisco Pizarro; others contend that its name did honor to the Spanish kings. Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo's *Lima fundada o la Conquista del Peru*, 1732, suggests that 'City of Kings' refers to both Inca and Spanish kings.
- ⁹ Neither the name of 'City of the Free' for Lima nor that of 'Peruvians' for Indians would stick, however. On the postcolonial vicissitudes of the name 'Peruvian', see Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- ¹⁰ This was so because, although the restored King Fernando VII had annulled the Constitution of 1812, that Constitution had been restored in a liberal military coup in Spain in 1820. Thus the urgency of San Martín's 1821 intervention. See Thurner, *From Two Republics*.
- ¹¹ Jacques Derrida, *On the Name*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, pp xi–xiv.
- ¹² Bartolomé Herrera, *Sermón pronunciado el día 28 de julio de 1846*, Lima, 1846, p 9.
- ¹³ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 6th ed., Lima: San Marcos, 1968, p 240.
- ¹⁴ Personal communication, Juan Carlos Callirgos, University of Florida.
- ¹⁵ Mónica Quijada, 'De la colonia a la republica: inclusión, exclusión y memoria histórica en el Perú', *Histórica*, December 1994, pp 365–383.
- ¹⁶ *El Sol del Cuzco* 7, 12 February 1825.
- ¹⁷ Decree of 4 July 1825, in Cuzco.
- ¹⁸ Benito Laso, *Exposición que hace Benito Laso Diputado al Congreso por La Provincia de Puno*, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1826, pp 9–10.
- ¹⁹ The Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru had restructured and renamed the far-flung Andean tributary realm claimed by Cuzco's Inca dynasty (called Tawantinsuyu in Quechua), and it was even larger and more powerful than its fabled predecessor, since 'Peru' formed part of the composite crown of the universal Spanish monarchy. The Viceroyalty of Peru was subsequently dismembered for administrative purposes during the Bourbon-ruled eighteenth century, and then further fragmented during and following the independence wars, so that seven South American republics (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina) could, if and when they cared to, claim some manner of 'descent' from the old realm of 'Peru'. Since in early colonial Spanish historical and political discourse the name 'Peru' or 'Peruvian Empire' (Inca Garcilaso de la Vega had famously called it the *Peruano Imperio*) became the accepted name for 'the Empire of the Incas' (*el Imperio de los Incas*), that name now conjured two referents: the imperial dynastic realm of the Incas and that of the Spanish Viceroyalty or 'Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru' whose sovereigns were the kings of Castile. By the late eighteenth century, the overlapping dominions of the successive sovereign dynastic realms had been naturalized in Creole historical discourse—and exoticized in European travel writing—as 'the land of the Incas' (*el país de los Incas*). 'The Land of the Incas' did and does still today serve as the most widely and readily recognized poetic sign, both in Peru and in the world, for the Peruvian Republic. In short, the dead dynastic realm was entombed in natural geography, and the gold of national history (and global tourism) was born of history's poetic alchemy: 'the country of the Incas'. As a result Peru's republican history would consist in the poetic 'harmonization' and genealogical alignment of a new political fragment with the previous and much more extensive dynastic realms, and it was made eternal by virtue of an alchemical territorialization of political time in the pages of history.
- ²⁰ Mariano de Rivero and Juan Diego de Tschudi, *Antigüedades Peruanas*, Vienna: Imprenta Imperial del Corte y del Estado, vol. 1, 1851, p i.
- ²¹ Rivero and Tschudi, *Antigüedades Peruanas*, vol. 2, p iii.
- ²² Antonio de Solís, *Historia de la Conquista de México, Población, y Progressos de la América Septentrional conocida por el Nombre de Nueva España*, Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1684, p 1.
- ²³ Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, *Historia de España Vindicada*, Lima: Imprenta Real, 1730, s/n.
- ²⁴ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, Paris and Lima: Masias, 1860, pp 7–9.
- ²⁵ On the 'logoization' of ruins in the national imagination, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
- ²⁶ On ephemeral arches as 'mirrors of the prince' or the viceroy in colonial Spanish America, see Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, New York: Routledge, 2003.
- ²⁷ The nineteenth-century copies appear to have been made in the workshop of the Royal Viennese lithographer Leopold Müller, for Juan and Ulloa's exotic history (in the eighteenth-century genre of the *relación histórica del viaje*) traveled widely in European courts, and the dynastic 'poster' in question appears to have been the most ready and appealing graphic representation of 'Ancient Peru'.
- ²⁸ The portraits of the Incas were apparently drawn first by the Limean priest and historian Alonso de la Cueva for the ceremony in Lima in 1725 commemorating the coronation of King Luis I, although Cueva appears to have been inspired by the letters of Nunez Vela, written in the 1690s. Juan and Ulloa

- explain that the Inca portraits were copies of sculptures, and that the images of the Spanish kings were exact copies of official portraits kept in Madrid. The plate itself indicates that ‘Villanueva’ composed and drew the image and that ‘Palomino’ made the engraving. On the art history of the Inca portraits and the influence of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega’s text, see Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Wuffarden, ‘Incas y reyes en la pintura colonial peruana: la estela de Garcilaso’, *Margenes* 8, Lima, 1991, pp 151–209.
- ²⁹ Although Tiahuanaco was now on ‘Bolivian soil’ Rivero and many of his contemporaries considered it to be the cradle of ‘Peruvian civilization’.
- ³⁰ Rancière, *The Names of History*, p 66.
- ³¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- ³² José Hipólito Unanue, ‘Idea General de los Monumentos del Antiguo Perú e Introducción a su Estudio’, *Mercurio Peruano* 22, 17 March 1791.
- ³³ José Hipólito Unanue, ‘Geografía física del Perú’, *Mercurio Peruano* 105, 5 January 1792.
- ³⁴ José Hipólito Unanue, *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre*, Lima, 1815 [1805], 2nd ed., pp 91–92.
- ³⁵ More so since Lorente’s language stuck while much of San Martín and Bolívar’s did not.
- ³⁶ Mónica Quijada, ‘Los “Incas Arios”’: Historia, Lengua y Raza en la Construcción Nacional Hispanoamericana del Siglo XIX’, *Histórica* XX(2), 1996, pp 246–247.
- ³⁷ See Rancière, *The Names of History*.
- ³⁸ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, Paris and Lima: Masias, 1860, pp 7–9.
- ³⁹ Prescott’s is a hurried reading (possibly an oral transmission) of Samuel G Morton, *Crania Americana*, Philadelphia, 1838–1839.
- ⁴⁰ William Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874 [1847], pp 40–41.
- ⁴¹ Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, p 14.
- ⁴² Lorente, in an apparent reference to Prescott’s remark, writes: ‘It might be inferred . . . that the dimly lit and fabulous ancient age of Peru lies outside the domain of history . . . But we cannot renounce such an interesting and instructive history’ (*Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 15–16).
- ⁴³ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 130–133.
- ⁴⁴ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 130–133.
- ⁴⁵ On Humboldt’s Orientalist turn, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, pp 125–129.
- ⁴⁶ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 130–133.
- ⁴⁷ Sebastián Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Antigua de Oriente para los Colegios del Perú*, Lima: La Sociedad, 1876, p 4.
- ⁴⁸ Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Antigua de Oriente*, p 5.
- ⁴⁹ Sebastián Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Moderna para los Colegios del Perú*, Lima: La Sociedad, 1875, p 354. The Raleigh to whom Lorente refers is indeed Sir Walter, for his *Historie of the World*.
- ⁵⁰ Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Antigua de Oriente*, p 6.
- ⁵¹ Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Antigua de Oriente*, p 6.
- ⁵² I do not wish to suggest that Lorente was as accomplished as Michelet or Ranke, but merely that they drank from similar philosophical and historicist brews.
- ⁵³ On Michelet, Ranke, and the historicist turn away from the ironic mode of history of the Enlightenment, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. At certain moments Lorente’s mode of history writing resembles Michelet’s romanticism, but at others it comes closer to Ranke’s more straightforward political history.
- ⁵⁴ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, Lima: Gil, 1879, p 20.
- ⁵⁵ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 20.
- ⁵⁶ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, p 20.
- ⁵⁷ White, *Metahistory*, pp 7–11.
- ⁵⁸ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 21.
- ⁵⁹ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 9–10.
- ⁶⁰ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 21.
- ⁶¹ Lorente, *Compendio de la Historia Antigua de Oriente*, p 7.
- ⁶² Hegel welcomes the French Revolution mainly because it brings hope that Romanic and Catholic Europe will catch up with the more advanced Protestant half. Germanic Europe needed no French Revolution because Luther had made it unnecessary.
- ⁶³ Lorente, *Compendio de Filosofía para los Colegios de América: Lógica*, Paris: Masias, 1860, p 29.
- ⁶⁴ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia del Perú Compendiada para el uso de los Colegios y de las Personas Ilustradas*, Lima: Gil, 1876, p 3.
- ⁶⁵ Lorente, *Historia del Perú Compendiada*, p 23.

- ⁶⁶ Lorente, *Historia Antigua del Perú*, pp 130–133.
- ⁶⁷ Lorente, *Historia del Perú Compendiada*, p 3.
- ⁶⁸ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 4.
- ⁶⁹ Lorente, *Historia del Perú Compendiada*, p 23.
- ⁷⁰ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 4.
- ⁷¹ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, pp 153–154.
- ⁷² Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, pp 153–154.
- ⁷³ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la Conquista del Perú*, Lima: Gil, 1861, p 494.
- ⁷⁴ Lorente, *Historia de la Conquista del Perú*, p 494.
- ⁷⁵ Lorente, *Historia de la Conquista del Perú*, pp 494–495.
- ⁷⁶ Lorente, *Historia de la Conquista del Perú*, p 498.
- ⁷⁷ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, pp 4–5.
- ⁷⁸ Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*, p 5.
- ⁷⁹ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia del Perú Bajo la Dinastía Austriaca, 1542–1598*, Lima: Gil, 1863, p 382.
- ⁸⁰ Lorente, *Historia del Perú Bajo la Dinastía Austriaca*, p 382.
- ⁸¹ Lorente, *Historia del Perú Bajo la Dinastía Austriaca*, pp 382–383.
- ⁸² Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp iv–v.
- ⁸³ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp iv–v.
- ⁸⁴ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, p 184.
- ⁸⁵ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp 185–186.
- ⁸⁶ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, p 204.
- ⁸⁷ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, p 205.
- ⁸⁸ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp 204–206; see also Lorente, *Historia del Perú Bajo la Dinastía Austriaca*, pp 382–383.
- ⁸⁹ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp 204–206.
- ⁹⁰ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, p 221.
- ⁹¹ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, p 278.
- ⁹² Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp 238–239.
- ⁹³ See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- ⁹⁴ Lorente, *Compendio de historia contemporánea*, pp iv–v.
- ⁹⁵ On Benjamin's concept of the *Jetztzeit* and his reading of the French Revolution, see Bolívar Echeverría, 'Introducción: Benjamín, la condición judía y la política', in Walter Benjamin, *Tesis sobre la historia y otros fragmentos*, Mexico City: Contrahistorias, 2005, pp 5–16.
- ⁹⁶ See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Postcolonialism avante la lettre? Travelers and Clerics in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Spanish America', in Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, (eds), *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003, pp 89–110.