

Chapter 1

The Politics and Poetics of Regionalism

In 1935, as part of an early attempt to develop a tourist economy in Ecuador, the Dirección General de Propaganda y Turismo issued a series of picture postcards designed to advertise the country's charms to the world at large. Printed in Italy by the Instituto Geográfico de Agostini, the series was available in sepia, blue, or green and sold as sets as well as individually.

The pictures on the fifty postcards are equally divided among images of the coastal and Andean regions of the country, with two landscapes from each area and twenty-three shots of each of the country's two largest cities, Quito and Guayaquil, indicating the importance of these two urban centers. Perhaps more revealing of the cities' importance is the rhetorical schema developed throughout the collection. Of the twenty-three Guayaquil postcards, twenty-two feature twentieth-century construction (parks, promenades, and statues of prominent independence heroes) while the twenty-third features a bare-chested young man rowing a traditional dugout canoe by moonlight down the Guayas River. Of the twenty-three Quito postcards, one duly features a poncho-clad indigenous boy herding sheep in the woods of Itchimbia in the eastern environs of the city. Three demonstrate the new building of the Central University (an



Fig. 1.1. Las Colonias Promenade, Guayaquil. Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, lot 2779.



Fig. 1.2. Las Peñas, Guayaquil. Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, lot 2779.

institution dating to 1651), while the remaining nineteen feature colonial-era churches.

Taken as a set, the postcards serve as a panoramic performance of regional stereotypes. Guayaquil is offered to the modern tourist eager to stroll along a promenade with lovely young girls in spring dresses (fig. 1.1) and represented by a gallant, imported from impressionist Argenteuil, who prepares to launch a yacht at the “tourist paradise” of Las Peñas (fig. 1.2). Quito, meanwhile, seems



Fig. 1.3. San Francisco Convent, Quito. Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, lot 2779.



Fig. 1.4. Surroundings of Quito. Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, lot 2779.

more like a museum to be admired by the connoisseur of baroque antiquity, adorned as it is by sumptuous colonnades, majestic interior courtyards, priests (fig. 1.3), and, if one passes into the countryside, picturesque Indians (fig. 1.4). The postcards offer an impression of bifurcation, one that equates Guayaquil with modernity and Quito with tradition.

While this binary stems partially from each town's architectural record (old Guayaquil having been largely destroyed in an 1896 fire and Quito boasting one

Table 1.1 Ministry of Tourism sample postcards and captions

No.	City	Image title	Postcard caption*
1	Guayaquil	Las Colonias Promenade	Visit Ecuador, that welcomes you. Enjoy the modern conveniences of our cities.
4	Guayaquil	Bolívar Park	The favorable money exchange makes Ecuador one of the most inexpensive Tourist Countries to visit. The rate of exchange is stabilized at 15 sucres per dollar.
10	Quito	Façade—La Compañía	Visit Ecuador, land of history and tradition, land of ancient and colonial art. See the celebrated churches of San Francisco, La Compañía, La Merced.
25	Itchimbia	Surroundings of Quito	Visit Ecuador, let her enchant you with her clear sky and pleasant climates, with her abundant curative waters and with her many and luscious fruits.

*The captions are the original translations on the postcards.

Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, lot 2779.

of the best preserved colonial centers in South America), the rhetoric also exhibits a more deliberate plan to capitalize on a denial of coevalness.¹ The postcard text, presented in both English and Spanish on the back of each card, crystallizes this schematic (table 1.1). Guayaquil is framed as a favorable business zone, with contemporary architecture and cultivated urban green space, where one receives the “modern conveniences of our cities” and “the favorable currency exchange rate . . . at 15 sucres per dollar.” The majesty of Quito, on the other hand, signifies the “land of history and tradition, land of ancient and colonial art” where one can “see the celebrated churches of San Francisco, La Compañía, La Merced.”

This presentation of Guayaquil and Quito as the symbolic, political, economic, and social engineers of regional identities by no means expressed the contemporary or, worse, the historical situation of Ecuadorian regionalism. Instead, it displays a particularly banal attempt to profit from conventions that, by the 1930s, had become commonplace in a country that had long sought to overcome the economic and political rivalry of these two centers. These rivalries arose in the politics and poetics of regionalism from the colonial period into the

early twentieth century. In the complex relationship between locality, collective identity, and citizenship, there existed a process whereby a multipolar colony dominated by the Quito marketplace became transformed, at least officially, into a biregional nation coalescing around the poles of Quito and Guayaquil. It was this process that necessitated the disputation of Quito's past and that was itself informed by that competition to control the city's frame. Embracing the identification of the city with a now mythologized past made it possible to challenge Guayaquil's preeminence as a national site of modernity. Indeed, this potentiality allowed Quito to claim a global signification dating back to the sixteenth century—a history that could propel the city toward future glories.

Quito as Colonial Capital

The history of regionalism in Ecuador rests on a firm foundation linking urban spaces with citizenship—a system with roots in the colonial era. Beginning in 1501, with Queen Isabella's presentation of detailed instructions to Nicolás de Ovando regarding the design of Santo Domingo, centrally planned urban settlements became the administrative, commercial, and military cornerstones of Spanish rule over a vast rural hinterland. These ideal cities were characterized by the use of a grid plan strongly influenced by Leon Battista Alberti's treatises on urban form, and, as such, they represented the pinnacle of Renaissance modernity. Beyond the grid, the Spanish American city instituted a particular social model based on proximity to the urban center. At the core lay a plaza that determined the hieratic and civic center, characterized by the presence of the *cabildo*, or municipal council, as well as a church. The surrounding blocks housed the chief citizens, or *vecinos*, followed by merchants, artisans, and mestizos. The schematic terminated with poor neighborhoods that abutted semi-autonomous indigenous parishes or towns (*pueblos de indios*) in the nearby environs, the residents of which would labor for their European overlords but ideally remain in their own (rural) sphere. Towns and cities were arranged in an interlocking network, with small towns overseeing the surrounding countryside, larger centers administering the small towns, and so on, up through the viceregal capitals, which answered directly to the Crown.

This spatial map delineated not only the imperial bureaucracy but also a crystallized consideration of citizenship, or *vecindad*. This Castilian concept built upon a complex matrix of legal and extralegal codes that determined one's standing in a community according to a set of norms seldom defined but generally understood. Establishing *vecindad* necessitated verifying customary characteristics such as Catholicism, masculinity, and the intention to reside in a community. Such norms proved flexible enough for foreigners to apply for and achieve *vecino* status and had proven enormously effective during the Re-

conquista's purging of Moorish and Jewish populations. Similar civic structures were instituted in the Americas but were soon altered due to shifting circumstances—for instance, residence requirements diminished in importance in areas that had been settled by Europeans for only a short time. Instead, racial and at times economic distinctions between *vecinos* became established, even as kinship networks continued to link individuals across regions according to their common origins in Europe.²

The structural importance of locating one's belonging in a community of *vecinos* in a particular city first and extending that membership to one's place in a national (Spanish) or universal (Catholic) corpus nevertheless shaped Spanish American considerations of *vecindad*. At times, these sentiments became manifest in panegyrics establishing what Richard Kagan has termed "communicentric" representations of urban communities. These were expressions of belonging in which individuals and corporations qualified the particular characteristics that denoted membership in their community of urban dwellers. Examples include patron saints (of which Mexico City's Virgin of Guadalupe is the best known), urban views featuring prominent citizens, allegorical landscapes, and illustrations of leading economic enterprises such as Potosí's silver mines.³ Such images are ancestors of the peculiar depictions of Quito that would be adopted and reimagined during the *fin de siglo*. This is particularly true of the Hispanist ones, which directly referenced the colonial heritage in promoting Quito's hidebound character.

The geography of a colonial Spanish American city thus established radiating categories of power and belonging according to spatial, racial, and aesthetic segregation. While this ideal pattern was easily sketched on paper and zealously guarded in newly built centers such as Lima, it was increasingly difficult to administer in areas with existing indigenous populations.⁴

Quito's history serves as a case in point. As a northern Incaic stronghold and the birthplace of the emperor Atahualpa, the Andean citadel of Quito attracted the attention of conquistadors in the midst of the wars of the Conquest. One of Pizarro's original partners, Diego de Almagro, established a charter for the city in August 1534 soon after decisively defeating Atahualpa's lieutenant, Rumiñahui, near present-day Riobamba in central Ecuador. Almagro's envoy, Sebastián de Benalcázar, entered Quito on December 6, too late to save its legendary treasures and the grand imperial palaces from the blaze set by the retreating Incan armies. The conquistador drew the first *traza*, or central grid, among the ashes and consecrated the city to Saint Francis. Despite the monumental possibilities of developing the great Añaquito plains to the north, Benalcázar emulated his Incan forebears by exploiting the military advantages of the steep hills, deep ravines, and narrow approach of the original site. A substantial quantity of raw material for construction also lay among the ruins of the old city. The Franciscan monastery that began to rise in 1535, for instance, incorporated the remains

of the great Incaic Temple of the Sun, which had made the city the most splendid in the northern Andes. Thus, from the start, colonial Quito existed as a hybrid space where various elements competed for predominance.

The uneven topography and existing population also altered the spatial and social map of the new city from the Spanish ideal. The grid morphed to conform to the rough terrain and was interrupted in numerous places by rushing creeks. Settlement patterns quickly abandoned the ideal radial structure and instead adopted a pattern reminiscent of the Incaic upper-half/lower-half dichotomy. The parish of El Sagrario replaced the “upper” section that had housed the Inca nobility, the Temple of the Sun, and the palace constructed by Atahualpa’s father, Huayna Capac. There, the new symbols of Spanish power congregated, including the Franciscan monastery, the cabildo, the cathedral, the parish seat, and elite residences. To the east, downhill, lay the urban parishes of San Sebastián and San Blas, regions that were reserved for indigenous dwellings and that had previously housed the lower strata of Incaic Quito. Even this socioracial segregation changed over the course of the seventeenth century as the city grew to perhaps as many as fifty thousand inhabitants during the height of colonial power.⁵ Indigenous households, for example, began to stray westward to the upper slopes of Mount Pichincha in the parishes of San Roque and Santa Bárbara, drawn by the construction of the Franciscan monastery and its artisan workshops.

A shifting local and regional economy influenced these new settlement patterns. During the sixteenth century, economic development in the Audiencia of Quito had been dominated by gold mining. Major mines lay at Zaruma, in the contemporary southwestern province of El Oro, and at Almaguer, near the northern city of Popayán in present-day Colombia. The Zaruma mines petered out in the 1590s, and, while Almaguer lasted a few years longer, by the turn of the century the Audiencia was facing a potentially grave economic crisis. These economic pressures took on a political dimension because creoles resented the viceregal imposition of an *alcabala*, or sales tax, in 1592. This crisis led to the expulsion of the Audiencia president by a rebellious cabildo, a move that in turn inspired armed intervention by a viceregal militia and the curtailing of cabildo autonomy in subsequent decades.⁶

The region slowly recovered from this crisis after the textile sector began to expand. Local entrepreneurs embraced the *obraje* system, in which sweatshops staffed by indigenous workers produced cheap woolen goods for sale throughout the Andean empire, as far north as Panama and as far south as Chile. The pioneers of this system, such as Chambo-based *encomendero* (labor grant recipient) Rodrigo de Ribadeneira, capitalized on their waning access to free indigenous labor to supply the emerging market at the great silver mines at Potosí, which had become the engine not only of the Spanish imperial economy during the late sixteenth century but would also subsidize the expansion of European en-

terprise into the huge Asian market of that era.⁷ The success of entrepreneurs like Ribadeneira gave rise to a series of other *obrajes* throughout the region, particularly near the cities of Latacunga, Quito, and Otavalo.

Quito's expansion in the seventeenth century was partly due to regional demographic recovery as well as its dual role as an administrative center and as a marketplace.⁸ The city's plazas drew merchants from throughout the Andean corridor as well as from the fertile Chillo and Tumbaco valleys to the east, which also were home to important *obrajes*. Another increasingly important industry, the production of religious art, began to develop simultaneously. Quito had been established as a bishopric in 1545, it became the seat of an Audiencia in 1563, and it soon came to house the regional headquarters for both the regular and secular clergy. The Franciscans took the lead in training local artisans devoted to producing icons, sculpture, and painting.

This process began through the efforts of Friar Jodoco Ricke in the 1540s and continued with the introduction of a number of sculptors from Seville and Granada in the late sixteenth century. These trained artisans constructed the largest religious complex in South America, the San Francisco monastery. Its 8.6 acres included a convent six patios deep (see fig. 1.3). The main façade, a masterpiece of Spanish American baroque, emulated Juan de Herrera's majestic fortress of El Escorial while the interior incorporated subtle indigenous motifs in gold leaf.⁹ By the end of the century, Quito's artwork began to travel—indeed, the oldest extant American painting is a portrait of three mulatto lords from the Ecuadorian port of Esmeraldas painted in 1599 by the Quito master Andrés Sanchez Gallque and sent to Madrid as a gift for Philip II.¹⁰

The “Quito school” of polychromatic sculpture exploded during the seventeenth century. In addition to the workshops maintained by the Franciscans, a number of competing concerns arose in connection with the Dominican monastery on the city's southeastern edge. The secular clergy and other orders followed, including Jesuits, Dominicans, and Carmelite nuns, among others. Their myriad churches helped employ numerous artisans, particularly at the Jesuits' convent (1605–1765), which brought the city great renown for its extraordinarily opulent gold leaf adornment of the nave and the retablo. The sculpture itself traveled the extent of the Audiencia's jurisdiction and was soon revered throughout the empire for its delicacy and fine detail.¹¹

Thus, by the seventeenth century, Quito had not only become an economic and administrative center but had also crafted a regionally renowned reputation as an artistic haven accentuated by religiosity—a city of God, or even a new Rome.¹² However, the eighteenth century brought a stagnant economy and a notorious challenge to the city's cultured image abroad. The latter had arisen largely due to the Franco-Hispanic Geodesic Mission (1736–1745), a scientific voyage to measure the arc of the Quito meridian to answer a dispute about the shape of the Earth.¹³ The French academician Charles Marie de La Condamine and the Spaniards Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa subsequently penned ac-

counts of their travels in the Quito region. La Condamine's accounts of his celebrated trek down the Amazon proved an instant success in Europe, not only because of the exotic nature of the tropical flora and fauna he described but also because of his vivid emphasis on the barbaric qualities of Quito natives. He was particularly critical of the indigenous population—with whom he could not communicate—and also stressed the gory details of a murder he had witnessed in a public plaza in the southern city of Cuenca.¹⁴ Ironically, the geographic study that was to have firmly placed Quito within the corpus of modern cities thus served to undermine its claim to a progressive spirit in keeping with contemporary European social attitudes.

La Condamine's critiques represented a major embarrassment to the Quito elite, who were simultaneously undergoing other troubles due to prolonged economic woes occasioned by the severe decline of Potosí mining. The erosion of the Potosí market made Quito's *obrajes* dependent on Lima's appetite for luxury textiles. Moreover, a century-long process of administrative reorganization collectively known as the Bourbon Reforms opened up American ports to non-Iberian trade for the first time. This restructuring hampered Quito's textile exports as a flood of inexpensive, high-grade French cloth undercut its product in the viceregal capital. While the cheap woolens that were produced in the northern regions of the Audiencia continued to be distributed throughout the rest of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, under whose jurisdiction the Audiencia had been placed in 1739, Quito underwent a serious slump. A series of plagues hit the city in the 1750s, exacerbating its problems. When the viceroyalty attempted to expand the *alcabala on aguardiente*—sugarcane liquor—in 1765 following the decimation of the imperial treasury due to the Seven Years' War, a widespread and cross-class rebellion broke out, which anticipated the better-known Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari uprisings of the 1780s. In addition, the so-called Rebellion of the Barrios affected relations between urban officials and the surrounding indigenous population.¹⁵

Thus, as the colonial era waned, Quito was entering a period of profound crisis. The uncertainty encouraged widespread migration from the tormented city. Those departing represented all classes and races, and the loss of population virtually froze the city in time as new construction stagnated over the next century. This mass migration also affected the subsequent growth of regional conflicts as Cuenca and the port of Guayaquil boomed due to their embrace of the capitalist possibilities offered by trade deregulation. Cuenca developed as an important center for quinine harvesting and millinery production while Guayaquil's nascent shipbuilding industry fueled the city's rise as a major cacao port. The shift in economic and population concentration bred serious regional competition between the three urban centers over the next century, and this tension soon became inscribed in cultural and political wars that dominated the nation's politics and poetics during the nineteenth century.

Competitive Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century

By the late eighteenth century, the economic and cultural model that had prevailed in colonial Quito had fallen victim to centrifugal pressure. Local critics, however, continued to argue for imperial reform rather than structural adjustments designed to make the local economy more competitive. Perhaps the most strident voice was that of *quiteño* doctor Eugenio Espejo, whose many satirical writings located the contemporary crisis within the scholastic pedagogy of the Jesuit population and the limited development of local medicine. The Quito censors tolerated these works because of imperial antipathy toward the Jesuits, who were expelled from the empire in 1767, but they reacted quickly when Espejo turned his attention to Charles III and José de Gálvez, minister of the Indies, in his polemical tract *Retrato de golilla* (Portrait of a Magistrate). Arrested in 1788 and sent to Bogotá, Espejo and his politics became radicalized. On his return to Quito, he formed the patriotic society Amigos del País, one of several across South America that agitated for greater local autonomy and the extension of the franchise to subaltern groups without challenging Catholic religious dominance.¹⁶ Despite his attention to Quito's particular foibles, however, Espejo continued to conceive of the crisis as one stemming from imperial decadence in the face of a global political, pedagogical, and scientific turn.

Meanwhile, regional economic tensions increasingly affected political relations with the Crown. Guayaquil and Cuenca had been named separate provinces or *gubernaciones* during the mid-eighteenth century, a designation that gave them greater control over internal affairs. Despite Cuenca's larger population, Guayaquil's rising cacao trade with New Spain accelerated its status, inspiring a royal decree that gave the Viceroyalty of Peru authority over the port's economic affairs. The indignity of this measure was a key reason Quito became the site for one of the first resistance juntas in the aftermath of Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Led by the Marques de Selva Alegre, Juan Pío Montufar, the conspirators behind the junta, proclaimed on August 10, 1809, deposed the president of the Audiencia, Count Ruiz de Castilla. Their call to the other jurisdictions of the Audiencia to join in proclaiming independence was met with ambivalence in Cuenca, Guayaquil, and Popayán, however, which ensured the failure of this first movement, the incarceration of the original conspirators, and their execution in August 1810. A second independence movement erupted in Quito later that month, led by a now disgruntled Ruiz de Castilla in alliance with Archbishop Pedro Cuero y Caicedo. Again, the regionalist divide was made manifest as Guayaquil and Cuenca remained loyalist centers over the next two years, a situation accentuated by the Viceroyalty of Peru's formal annexation of Guayaquil.

On the eve of independence, therefore, severe regional tension already existed among the three major districts of what would eventually become Ecuador. The Guayaquil elite only sought to redress their grievances with the capital after the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814 and his subsequent repudiation of the liberal Constitution of Cádiz. In 1815, a group of Guayaquil notables, including the Cádiz delegate and poet José Joaquín de Olmedo, officially petitioned that the district be returned to the jurisdiction of New Granada. Their request garnered strong support in Quito due to the port's extensive customs duties. Despite the Crown's approval of this measure in 1819, Olmedo and his fellows broke decisively with the Crown a year later while his cousin, Vicente Rocafuerte, also a veteran of efforts to establish the Cortes de Cádiz, became a high-profile diplomatic supporter of Bolívar's Colombian experiment.¹⁷ Access to Guayaquil granted a foothold to an army led by Bolívar's lieutenant, Antonio José de Sucre, who marched up the Andean corridor the following year. On May 24, 1822, he defeated the Spanish garrison in the capital city at the Battle of Pichincha, formally ending the independence wars in the Audiencia.

Interprovincial strife grew complicated during the short-lived Gran Colombian experiment. Bolívar's eradication of indigenous tribute threatened the traditional alliance between Cuenca and Guayaquil because the Andean economy depended more heavily on the indigenous poll tax than did that of the coast. Cuenca, which, like Quito and Guayaquil, served as the capital of a district overseeing provincial governments, thus began to serve as arbiter between the port and the capital. This role became even more critical following the establishment of the Republic of Ecuador in 1830, when internal regional conflicts rose to the fore.¹⁸ The leaders of this expanding antagonism were Juan José Flores, a Venezuelan-born general who married into the Quito landed aristocracy, and the aforementioned *guayaquileño*, Vicente Rocafuerte. A brief truce existed in the 1830s as the result of an agreement to have the president come from one city and, the next term, from the other, on an alternating basis, an accord that faltered the following decade because of a fiscal crisis precipitated by a drastic dip in world cacao prices. A spate of civil wars ensued, highlighted by the now exiled Flores's 1844 attempt to reinstall a Spanish monarch in the country.¹⁹

The progressive general José María Urbina, best known for abolishing slavery in 1852 and eradicating tribute five years later, suggested a solution via electoral reforms designed to limit the centrifugal tendencies of the tripartite district system by granting provincial assemblies the right to elect national deputies. This arrangement had the unintended effect of cementing local power bases at the provincial level, which in turn threatened to split the country apart after its defeat in a border war with Peru in 1858.²⁰ Instability increased over the next year to the point that four governments (one each in Quito, Cuenca, Guayaquil, and in the dusty southern border town of Loja) each claimed national sovereignty.²¹ Order finally returned after the rise of a staunchly conservative

magistrate named Gabriel García Moreno, whose extended arguments in favor of greater centralization and bolstering Catholic power provided a potential response to national fragmentation.

A onetime liberal and native of Guayaquil, García Moreno had long been one of the foremost advocates for renewing the national commitment to the Catholic Church. His positions had put him at loggerheads with the anticlerical governments of the 1840s, leading to a period of European exile during which he witnessed the aftereffects of the 1848 revolutions. A return visit to France in 1854 solidified his favorable impression of the autocratic regime of Napoleon III, who would later be invited to annex the Andean nation by his conservative admirer at a moment of particular despair. García Moreno became active in Quito's municipal politics in 1857 and was also selected to be rector of the city's university. Upon ascending to the presidency in 1861 he immediately set about quelling the regional forces that had threatened to split apart the country while enhancing the Catholic credentials of the nation.

García Moreno's reforms resurrected modified versions of a number of structures of colonial life inflected with a centralized autocracy inspired by the French emperor. Like Urbina before him, García Moreno turned to the provincial authorities to tackle the thorny regional divides, expanding the number of provincial administrators and increasing their influence while eradicating the district system altogether. This policy again served local landholding interests, particularly in the Andean corridor, which was granted a majority of provincial delegations. The move also limited the power of the three major urban centers. Cuenca was particularly diminished; its original jurisdiction had included the most populous areas in the country. Henceforth, the city would be marginalized by a central government increasingly dominated by the port and the capital. Paradoxically, García Moreno increased the autonomy of local municipalities in a manner similar to the Spanish Habsburg imperial system of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This move limited the political maneuverability of larger blocs and also supplied an easily mobilized national network that proved particularly useful in quelling indigenous opposition to other new institutions, such as *concertaje* (labor conscription or debt peonage), an institution that would literally work to break down regional divides.²²

Concertaje not only bolstered the hacienda system by replacing tribute but also fueled national public works projects designed to create a serviceable infrastructure. The system's indigenous conscripts, who often worked without the benefit of even hand tools, built hundreds of miles of roads in the southern Andes that helped integrate the Andean and coastal regions.²³ Their labor also built railroad lines in the coastal lowlands, which soon linked Guayaquil with a navigable river system where paddlewheels began hauling cacao destined for the world market, ushering in a boom that would last until the 1920s. Plans to expand the railway to the Andean slopes, however, remained incomplete due to the harsh mountainous terrain and mudslide-prone jungles.²⁴



Fig. 1.5. Alameda Park, Quito (c. 1900). Courtesy Archivo Histórico, Banco Central del Ecuador.

Whereas the coast received infrastructure improvements designed to promote its rise as a global economic player, the capital became García Moreno's site for symbolic construction. His intent was to update the city's façade in hopes of resurrecting its seventeenth-century role as an international leader in the arts. The most ambitious project was a massive gothic basilica, based on the Cologne cathedral, that would rise atop the Pichincha slopes and take more than a century to complete. García Moreno also invited several foreign architects to build temples to the civic religion of positivistic science. These structures included Juan Bautista Menten's Astronomical Observatory—the first of its kind in South America—and, to the south of the basilica, Thomas Reed's panopticon prison, which combined surveillance with interior walls painted a terrorizing black.²⁵ Menten's observatory doubled as the centerpiece of the city's most fashionable park, the Alameda (fig. 1.5), which also boasted a monumental arch entry, strolling paths, and boating canals.²⁶

The patronage of architecture formed one of the pillars of a corresponding cultural agenda to create what Derek Williams terms a modern *pueblo católico*.²⁷ An alliance with the papacy resulted in the signing of a concordat in 1863, which in turn led to increased clerical involvement in educational and government affairs. Rural schools were the first institutions targeted for expansion, which resulted in a massive construction campaign, again fueled by labor conscription. The effort helped double the rural student population by 1875.²⁸ The regime simultaneously expanded higher education in the major urban centers, often acting in collusion with the Jesuit order, whose cause García Moreno had championed since his journey to Europe in the 1850s. Quito received the majority of the new institutions, including the Colegio de San Gabriel (1862), the Polytechnic

University (1870), and the School of Fine Arts. The state subsidized tuition for promising students at these institutions and even sent the best of them to study abroad. Such was the case of landscape painter Rafael Salas, whose somber portrayals of Andean peaks encircled in fog highlighted their mysterious character in a manner strongly influenced by Frederick Edwin Church's depictions of the Ecuadorian mountains. These vistas also became the first to be distributed widely as souvenirs to visiting foreigners.²⁹

Despite the global aspirations of the regime and its patronage of science, the arts, and education, the era also featured extreme censorship and the repression of dissidents. Leading opposition figures were exiled, most importantly the essayist Juan Montalvo (1832–1889). Montalvo hailed from the central Andean city of Ambato, where he began penning stark critiques of the regime's censorship in his review, *El cosmopolita* (1866–1869). These led to his eventual banishment to Colombia, where his vitriolic prose continued to attract further converts. His 1874 book, *La dictadura perpetua*, accused García Moreno of monarchist pretensions, and it circulated widely in an underground network of associates, liberals, and students across the country.³⁰ When García Moreno reinstalled himself as president for a third term in 1875, young liberals who had been in contact with Montalvo took matters into their own hands, attacking the president on the steps of Quito's cathedral, where a Colombian native named Faustino Reyes cut him down with a machete.³¹

García Moreno's death not only led to Montalvo's famous quip—"Mi pluma lo mató"—but also inaugurated a period of strife and civil war in which regional caudillos competed to fill the power vacuum. A military dictatorship under General Ignacio de Veintimilla brought a brief period of stability in the late 1870s, but the suspension of civil liberties and Veintimilla's reluctance to give up power in 1882 sparked uprisings by two other military leaders: the moderate Francisco Salazar and a radical liberal from the coastal province of Manabí named Eloy Alfaro, known as Viejo Luchador (Old Warrior) because of his constant insurrections. Salazar's troops managed to defeat Veintimilla and ushered in a renewed truce under the Progressive Party, a new political organ made up of coastal and sierran moderates who touted progress while maintaining the clerical and economic policies of the Garcían era. Alfaro's refusal to bow to a government he characterized as a more benign version of the Garcían dictatorship led to his eventual exile over the next decade until the regionalist fires that had been temporarily banked flared again.

The Liberal Revolution

The Progressive period between 1883 and 1895 ought to be viewed as one of compromise, when regional antagonisms were pacified. While the Church continued to play a major part in the administration, the new government avoided

the massive repression of the dictator's earlier rule. Provincial rule continued to define national politics and also began to play a more important role in tightly controlling funds for local development projects, in effect restricting the relative autonomy municipal authorities had enjoyed during the previous generation. The major cities of Quito, Cuenca, and Guayaquil were particularly affected; their budgets were overseen not only by the provincial authorities but also by the national congress. As in the Garcían age, the national treasury bankrolled projects employing new technologies, of which the most important were the stringing of a telegraph line between Quito and Guayaquil, the elaboration of a relatively efficient postal service, and the provision of electrical lighting to the major cities.

Improvements and expansion in the coastal cacao economy accompanied and partly subsidized these innovations in the national infrastructure. While the Garcían steamship networks had increased local production capacity, the introduction of a new bean that flourished in the hitherto underutilized Andean foothills generated soaring harvests that catapulted Ecuador into the position of leading global cacao producer from the 1890s to the 1920s.³² The growing prosperity did not trickle down to the general population, with more than 70 percent of revenue going into the hands of ten families. Nevertheless, chronic labor shortages on the coast fueled a desire to loosen the traditional landed ties of rural workers in the sierra. A new regional crisis began to develop in the mid-1890s due to the reluctance of sierra landowners to eradicate *concertaje*. Guayaquil again became the center of vigorous opposition, given that the majority of the cacao barons resided there and were linked through trade and fiscal ties to the new banking sector, whose credit also helped fuel speculation and further growth of the export sector. These tensions lay at the heart of the cacao industry's embrace of Eloy Alfaro's revolution in 1895, despite initial reservations about the radical populism of his agenda.³³

Regional and political tensions also colored the literary flowering of *costumbrismo*, a South American romanticism centered on the portrayal of local color. Conservatives such as Juan León Mera provided idealized images of *serrano* gentility in works like *Cumandá*, a novel featuring a love story between the scion of a landowning family and a virginal Amazonian Indian.³⁴ Fray Solano (José Modesto Espinosa) expanded the genre with his lampooning feuilletons depicting Quito's provincial quietude and the ironic humor of its inhabitants, for the first time identified as *sal quiteña*.³⁵ *Costumbrismo* also emerged as an important influence on the plastic arts of the late nineteenth century. The two primary artists to embrace this movement, *quiteños* Joaquín Pinto and José Agustín Guerrero, highlighted their politics in their watercolors depicting daily life in the capital. The conservative Pinto celebrated images of street vendors, festivals, and indigenous dancers while the liberal Guerrero foregrounded the misery of indigenous conditions in a manner reminiscent of Manuel Fuentes's depictions of poverty in Lima.³⁶

While Quito's artists embraced *costumbrismo's* examination of internal traditions, Cuenca and Guayaquil's cultural sphere began to show signs of increasing diversification. The new school of painting inaugurated in 1893 at Cuenca's University of Azuay featured foreign faculty such as Seville native Tomás Povedano Arcos.³⁷ Guayaquil's cacao elite, many of whom maintained residences in Paris, imported scores of paintings and sculptures from Europe to decorate homes increasingly built on a Parisian model.³⁸ These diverging attitudes toward art and culture fueled the increasingly acrimonious debate surrounding the nation's participation in the 1889 Universal Exposition in the French capital. Archbishop Ordóñez of Quito condemned Ecuador's contribution to the exposition as an immoral display because it featured images of naked Amazonian Indians. Juan León Mera adopted the archbishop's position and waged a campaign to force Progressive president Antonio Flores y Jijón of Guayaquil into canceling Ecuador's participation in the exhibit. The president refused, arguing that the exposition would not only illustrate the advanced state of Ecuadorian culture before a global audience but would also increase the market for Guayaquil's cacao exports. Following a dramatic attempted resignation by Flores, summarily refused by Congress, the matter was dropped. Flores's success led to Ecuador's later participation in the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago and a number of other similar events, all in the hope of attracting foreign investment.³⁹ This linking of business, art, and cosmopolitanism marked the urban development of the port as well, which built the country's first indoor central marketplace just prior to the 1896 fire that destroyed most of Guayaquil's colonial architecture.

By the mid-1890s, an intensifying regional political-economic polarization with cultural overtones was developing in the country. Matters came to a head after a succession of events in 1894–1895 sparked a massive insurrection that put the Radical Liberal Party firmly in power for several generations. The first of these events was a scandal concerning the publication of the fourth volume of a history of Ecuador penned by the bishop of Ibarra, a moderate cleric named Federico González Suárez. The work's treatment of the sexual exploits of seventeenth-century Dominican friars raised the hackles of the conservative establishment and provoked a heated debate regarding clerical participation in politics. More vituperative gossip erupted the following year, when the Ecuadorian navy secretly brokered the sale of a Chilean warship to Japan, then at war with China. This "*venta de la bandera*" (sale of the flag) scandal implicated several officials in the Progressive government and led to the resignation of both President Luis Cordero and the governor of Guayas.⁴⁰ Liberals perceived the ensuing power vacuum as a golden opportunity and quickly contacted the Viejo Luchador—Eloy Alfaro—then in exile in Panama.

Alfaro's return was at first embraced by small cacao planters but opposed by the cacao elite until he marched to Guayaquil at the head of an army made up of rural and urban cacao workers, many of whom were of indigenous and African extraction. Though nonplussed, the cacao barons agreed to back his insurrec-

tion since it would give them the opportunity to increase their pool of labor. The subaltern army Alfaro commanded caused even more havoc in Cuenca, where the socially conservative elite actively resisted the uprising. In abandoning its traditional alliance with Guayaquil and moving more conclusively into Quito's orbit, Cuenca effectively ended the tripartite regional scheme that had dominated the politics of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Despite this deepening polarization, the liberal army rapidly defeated the discredited Progressive government and entered the capital in December 1895 with a mandate for change.⁴²

There were two main components to the liberal modernization program that shifted the regional power structure. The first sought to curb the power of the Catholic Church, whose alliance with Andean landowners had bolstered their political dominance through most of the nineteenth century. Although continued pockets of conservative resistance hampered Alfaro's ability to introduce secularizing reforms in his first term, the voluntary exile of the majority of the episcopacy limited the Church's ability to mount a serious challenge to the government. By 1900, the Vatican had decided on a pragmatic course and thus endorsed Bishop Federico González Suárez's condemnation of a planned invasion of conservative forces massing in Colombia. Open strife diminished, but jockeying over control of social functions continued under Alfaro's actively anticlerical successor, Leonidas Plaza. The year 1900 saw the institution of a civil registry, followed by civil marriage two years later and the declaration of freedom of worship in 1904. The state confiscated clerical lands that same year, though for the next four years it allowed the Church to keep rental income. In 1906, the Vatican countered the land confiscations by naming González Suárez to the archbishopric of Quito. His moderate politics and national reputation allowed him to advance policies designed to limit the state's anticlericalism, such as rebuilding an episcopacy decimated by exile and death during the previous ten years.⁴³

Creating a national economic infrastructure formed the second pillar of the Liberal program. One of the key aspects of this endeavor involved the migration of the untapped labor pool of the Andes to the cacao plantations. *Concertaje* remained the major obstacle to planters' longtime desire to access that labor, and it was therefore repeatedly attacked in the Liberal press. A bill calling for its eradication was introduced in Congress in 1899; however, the landholding classes managed to block its passage until 1918. Thereafter, migration to the coast boomed. By 1950, 41 percent of the national population resided in the littoral as opposed to just 15 percent in 1840 and 30 percent in 1909.⁴⁴

The most important initiative, however, was the building of a railway linkage between the capital and the main port. As Alfaro's signature work, the costly and controversial rail venture transformed the country's spatial dynamic. Interregional cargo shipments increased dramatically after the railway's completion in 1908 as an integrated national market developed for the first time, with agricultural staples traveling down the mountains and imported commodities

flowing into the highlands. Internal transportation of agricultural products increased from an annual average of 27,511 tons in 1910 to 158,272 in 1942. Shipments of lumber and manufactured goods also increased dramatically while those of livestock and minerals doubled.⁴⁵ These figures represented a marked change from the nineteenth century, when the central highland district's main customer was Colombia and the littoral's need for grains and other staples was fed largely by both Colombia and Peru.⁴⁶

The construction of the railroad transformed Ecuadorian regionalism more profoundly than any other effort since the days of García Moreno. Perhaps its most salient impact was to exclude Cuenca from benefiting from the increased commerce by avoiding the city's orbit altogether. The route planning for the railway effectively marginalized the city and accelerated an increasingly bipolar constitution of the national economy.⁴⁷ Liberals rhetorically proclaimed the railway to be a "redemptive work," as Kim Clark has put it, arguing that decades of stagnation would be wiped away with a chug and a whistle. This argument usually featured regionalist metaphors that equated the Andes with insularity, clerical lethargy, and stagnation while the coast was presented as vibrant, mobile, and progressive. The railroad, by opening isolated pockets of the Andes to the wider world, would thus redeem the nation and force it to embrace the progress of the twentieth century.⁴⁸

As the longtime stronghold of the Conservative Party, the city of Quito, with its myriad churches, legions of indigenous laborers, and provincial reputation, was also a ripe target for the liberal establishment. Critics such as Cuencan-born journalist Manuel J. Calle and Juan Montalvo's erstwhile associate, Roberto Andrade, penned a flurry of essays and novels that echoed José Agustín Guerrero's ribald castigation of the city's insularity. Alfaro himself made the transformation of Quito a personal goal, freeing government funds for public works projects. These included a new marketplace modeled on Les Halles in Paris and a national exposition. Construction was paralleled by increased offerings in secular education, beginning with the 1897 establishment of the Instituto Nacional Mejía, a secondary school that by the 1920s had come to rival the Jesuit Colegio de San Gabriel as the foremost educational institution in the country. Among its graduates were major figures of the literary renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s such as Gonzalo Escudero, Jorge Carrera Andrade, Humberto Salvador, and Jorge Icaza.⁴⁹ Another key institution was the Escuela de Bellas Artes, founded in 1904, which provided the training for many of the artists, such as Camilo Egas, who came to redefine *indigenista* painting, as well as traditionalists like the portraitist Victor Mideros.

The first phase of the Liberal Revolution devolved into a power struggle between Leonidas Plaza and Eloy Alfaro. It came to an end in 1912, with Alfaro's death and martyrdom. Although the Viejo Luchador remained popular as late as 1910 due to his bold march to the southern border to defend against a possible Peruvian invasion, his attempt to install himself as dictator the next year met

stiff resistance. He left for exile but returned after the premature death of President Emilio Estrada, a Plaza ally. Alfaro supported Pedro Montero, a member of the Guayaquil elite, in his bid to succeed Estrada and was arrested in his company in January 1912. The two then traveled by rail to Quito, where they were interned in the García Moreno penitentiary. On January 28, a mob broke into the prison, killed them both, and dragged Alfaro's corpse through the streets to the Ejido—a pastureland on the northern edge of the city. Following the gory incident, Plaza returned to power as the undisputed leader of the Liberal Party, ushering in thirteen years of relative calm and orderly political succession.

The Julian Crisis

The reforms of the Liberal Revolution, particularly the construction of the railroad, provided much-needed national economic and political integration and shifted the tenor of the regionalist strife that had dominated Ecuadorian history since the colonial period. This regional divide, and particularly the rivalry between Quito and Guayaquil, did not disappear following the early decades of the twentieth century. However, conflict between capital and labor that ensued as a result of the modernization of the 1920s began to supersede the regionalist impulse as the dominant force in national politics during this decade.

The crisis of the 1920s and 1930s had its roots in the liberal socioeconomic program. Although large projects such as the railroad had strong government involvement, independent local juntas oversaw hundreds of smaller projects with little regulation, leading to a bloated budget and increasing deficits as most of these projects remained unfulfilled. For example, in 1905, only 55 of the 346 authorized projects were actually under construction.⁵⁰ The government's lack of revenue and poor international credit rating led to extensive borrowing from local banks. Matters came to a head with the outbreak of World War I, which led to an international fiscal crisis that caused numerous currencies to rapidly lose value. The hitherto stable Ecuadorian sucre fell dramatically over the war years, from US\$0.486 in 1914 to \$0.365 by 1917, finally stabilizing in 1920 at \$0.20.⁵¹ Simultaneously, cacao prices plummeted as the European market declined during the war years, a situation that also led to greater dependence on trade with the United States. The recession only deepened in the postwar era as the cacao industry crumbled due to a combination of disease, competition from Brazil and British West Africa, and advances in refining techniques that decimated the market for the high-grade bean in which Ecuador specialized. For example, Hacienda Tenguel, the nation's largest producer in 1920, harvesting more than 30,000 quintals of beans, was forced to cut its workforce in half as production declined steadily, reaching a low point of 883 quintals in 1925.⁵²

The onset of economic turmoil helped swell the nation's major cities. Guayaquil grew the fastest, its increase being first due to an expanding cacao

market and then improvements in public health, which included inoculation campaigns and the efforts in 1919 of the Rockefeller Yellow Fever Commission, which finally eradicated this deadly disease from the port.⁵³ Quito's population remained a close second until the 1950s, with its population expanding from 51,858 in 1906 to 80,702 in 1922, passing 100,000 in the early 1930s and doubling again by 1947.⁵⁴ The eradication of *concertaje* in 1919 freed rural indigenous workers to cut their traditional ties to highland haciendas. In droves, they headed to the southern environs of Quito, where they joined the burgeoning industrial communities that had begun to grow due to the Liberal administration's support for manufacturing and the formation of local banks such as the Banco del Pichincha, which offered credit to enterprising industrialists. The arrival of the railroad in 1908 had accelerated this process, particularly with regard to textile factories such as La Internacional or Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño's Chillo-Jijón industries in the Chillo Valley to the east of the city.⁵⁵ Local artisans at first kept pace by expanding the size of their concerns, but, by the 1920s, they were hard pressed to compete with the industrial sector—a reprise of the eighteenth-century demise of the *obraje* system.⁵⁶

Slowly but surely, the industrialization of Quito and the cacao crisis in Guayaquil led to the onset of modern labor strife. Workers' groups had begun to organize in the late nineteenth century, beginning in 1892 with the Sociedad Artística e Industrial de Pichincha (SAIP), an artisan society in Quito allied with conservative groups. Although temporarily shut down in 1896 following the Liberal Revolution, the SAIP returned as a potent force and eventually adopted a socialist stance in the 1930s.⁵⁷ Another important group in Quito was the Centro Obrero Católico (COC), founded in 1906 by the tailor Manuel Sotomayor y Luna and a group of elite youths, including future conservative politician Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. Plagued by miscommunication between its student leaders and the rank-and-file artisans, the COC ceased operating in 1909 but was reestablished as a supporting arm of Jijón's reconstituted Conservative Party following the 1925 Julian Revolution.⁵⁸ The Guayaquil labor movement, on the other hand, developed a radical bent in the 1890s, largely through the influence of Manuel Albuquerque Vivas, a Cuban tailor and activist who helped found the Confederación Obrera del Guayas in 1896. A strong anarchist sentiment also infiltrated the first major trade union in the city; *cacahueros*, or workers who dried and transported bulk cacao, formed their union in 1908.

The Ecuadorian labor movement came of age in the early 1920s, driven to collective protest by the steady inflation and decline in the value of the sucre after World War I.⁵⁹ In 1922, railway workers and *cacahueros* organized a general strike in Guayaquil that was brutally repressed by the military, resulting in at least several dozen and perhaps as many as a thousand casualties.⁶⁰ The massacre discredited the reigning Liberals, who resorted to fraud in the 1924 elections and thus set the stage for increased worker involvement in politics. The Right

struck first, however, as Jacinto Jijón led a failed coup attempt with support from the Centro Ecuatoriano del Obrero Católico (CEDOC). Jijón then went into exile in Colombia, and a group of leftist intellectuals led by the economist Luis N. Dillon agitated against the corrupt administration and its close ties with Guayaquil's Banco Comercial y Agrícola, the state's largest creditor. Magazines from across the political spectrum, such as the military review *El abanderado* and the socialist *La antorcha*, joined in criticizing the government. In July 1925, a group of disaffected army lieutenants allied with Dillon's leftist supporters and overthrew the government.⁶¹

The Julian Revolution installed Ecuador's first government with socialist tendencies. However, once in power, the *tenientes* abandoned their calls for social reform and instead resorted to regionalist politics, placing the blame for the current crisis squarely on the shoulders of the Guayaquil banking aristocracy. This rhetorical castigation deepened under the government of the liberals' hand-picked president, Dr. Isidro Ayora, a former mayor of Quito. Ayora's prioritizing of fiscal reform led him to invite the "money doctor," American economist Edwin Kemmerer, to visit in 1926. Kemmerer advocated establishing a central bank, leading Quito and Guayaquil's elites to wrangle over the location of this institution the following year. Although the economist favored establishing the bank's headquarters in the capital, a larger subsidiary was simultaneously built in the port city to calm local jealousies.⁶² Ayora's government also adopted a progressive new constitution in 1928 that was the first in Latin America to grant women the right to vote. These reforms, however, could not overcome the Great Depression. Amid more social unrest, Ayora fell in 1931.

Despite ongoing attempts to paper over national social tensions by evoking regionalist pretensions, the 1930s saw increasing militancy from both the Left and the Right as well as concomitant clashes with the state. The most critical conflagration involved the military and the Falangist-inspired Compactación Obrera Nacional (CON) in August 1932 over the presidential succession to Ayora. The CON supported the candidacy of Neptalí Bonifaz, a conservative and former president of the Banco Central who, though legally elected, turned out to be ineligible for the presidency because he had been born in Peru. After weeks of demonstrations by both sides, several military squadrons from the greater Quito area engaged CON brigades, igniting the capital's bloodiest battle since independence, a four-day skirmish known as the Guerra de los Cuatro Días. Elections held the following year confirmed the growing importance of labor when populist candidate José María Velasco Ibarra, a highly skilled orator, won his first term. He would be elected to the presidency five times over the next three decades, though he managed to serve a full term only twice. Labor was not the only sector of society becoming more militant, however. The younger intelligentsia increasingly joined the ranks of the Socialist Party in the aftermath of the Julian Revolution. Many of these progressive intellectuals en-

tered the bureaucracy within the Ministerio de Previsión Social (Ministry of Social Welfare) with hopes of establishing a welfare state and expanding their organization.⁶³

Chronotopes of Nostalgic Regionalism

In addition to this mounting chaos, the 1920s also saw the explosion of popularly consumed nostalgic columns, stories, theater, and art emulating the *costumbrista* portraits of the nineteenth century. These chronicles of “traditional” ways were particularly popular in Quito and Guayaquil, the cities undergoing the greatest change during these years. One school emulated the *tradición*, a *costumbrista* variation developed by Peruvian historian and critic Ricardo Palma in the 1870s that consists of a vignette depicting a colorful aspect of the national past, often tinged with irony and satire.⁶⁴ The genealogist Cristóbal Gangotena y Jijón crafted scores of Quito chronicles whose picaresque friars and wily gentlemen recalled the *sal quiteña* elaborated by José Modesto Espinosa a generation earlier. Guayaquil’s great *cronistas* (chroniclers), Modesto Chavez Franco and Gabriel Pino Roca, on the other hand, substituted heroic soldiers saving the port from pirates by day and seducing young girls by night. Another school embraced the rogues of society, highlighted by the port’s José Antonio Campos, who published under the confrontational pseudonym of Jack the Ripper. A somewhat stiffer embrace of colorful deviants appeared in the guided city tours of Quito’s Alejandro Andrade Coello, art critic and literature professor at the Instituto Nacional Mejía, who joined the *cronista* fray in the mid-1930s.⁶⁵

It is among these rhetorical constructions of the old city that the postcards with which we began this chapter truly belong. As such, they form part of an ongoing tradition attempting to develop a sense of regional distinctiveness dating to the colonial period but that had come to the forefront in the late nineteenth century. While these tensions had themselves sparked extensive strife, economic rivalry, and political dysfunction, the growing class division of a shifting society made affirming regional specificity a nostalgic, whimsical, and apolitical enterprise. In the case of Guayaquil, this desire was a longing for the world’s largest cacao port, a place peopled by elegant bankers, a place of romantic moonlit strolls and prosperity. In the case of Quito, it was a desire for the certainty of the city of *vecinos* safely removed from the indigenous rabble that labored for them, for a city of priests whose exhortations to their flock consisted of gently mocking the local boor who discovered the image of the Virgin Mary in the lard remains on his empanada, as described in one of Gangotena’s fables. In short, this desire was a nostalgic constitution of regionalism that had little resemblance to the historical record but that had gained credence amid the chaos of the present.

This book is not about a series of postcards but instead about the evolution of this specific form of nostalgic regionalism. While the Ministry of Tourism

embraced particular visions for Guayaquil and Quito, there were many other such reconstitutions of the past framed by a particular reification of the regional distinctiveness of each city. Such distinctiveness had begun to disappear under the onslaught of modern class conflict, but this phenomenon should not detract from the popular resonance of these images, which persisted into the 1930s and endures today. This study considers the genesis and methodology behind the construction of Quito's portraits. Like the postcards produced by the Ministry of Tourism, the six acts of constructing Quito space-time represent a particular juxtaposition or constellation of historical actors who embraced a unique framework to attempt to hold fast and situate themselves amid a changing city that no longer resembled itself. The ballast provided by the embrace of the past diminished the challenge of Guayaquil's increased preeminence as the nation's economic engine by establishing Quito's legitimate role as the historic center of power and culture. This proclamation, regionalist to the core, also hoped to ground the city's credentials as a global capital for a presupposed international audience whose gaze these actors sought to shape through their own commemorative acts. As such, these chronotopes answered the challenge of modernity through a reconfiguration of the past framed by power relations at the local, regional, national, and international levels.