

Pedro Zulen (1889-1925): A forgotten pioneer of psychology in Peru

Tomás Caycho-Rodríguez

Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Científica del Sur, Lima, Peru

Christian Córdova-Robles

Facultad de Comunicaciones, Universidad Privada del Norte, Lima, Peru

Nicole Oré-Kovacs

Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas, Lima, Peru

Walter L. Arias Gallegos

Universidad Católica San Pablo, Arequipa, Perú

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ABSTRACT

Pedro Zulen was a peruvian philosopher with a wide and varied written production as well as an active political participation, who died very young. Unfortunately, little is known about his psychological ideas. Therefore, the aim of this article is to review Zulen's ideas on psychological currents and concepts prior to the institutionalization of psychology in Peru. For this purpose, Zulen's primary writings and secondary sources that analyze his work are reviewed. It is concluded that Zulen is a pioneer in the introduction of the ideas of different international psychologists in the Peruvian intellectual scene. Zulen exposes, analyzes, and critically evaluates the proposals of Gestalt, Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka, Stern, Watson's behaviorism, and Bergson's philosophy.

Pedro Zulen (1889-1925): Un pionero olvidado de la psicología en el Perú

RESUMEN

Pedro Zulen fue un filósofo peruano con una amplia y variada producción escrita así como una activa participación política, que murió muy joven. Lamentablemente, se sabe poco sobre sus ideas psicológicas. Por ello, el objetivo de este artículo fue revisar las ideas de Zulen sobre corrientes y conceptos psicológicos previos a la institucionalización de la psicología en el Perú. Para ello se revisan los escritos primarios de Zulen y fuentes secundarias que analizan su obra. Se concluye que Zulen es pionero en la introducción de las ideas de diferentes psicólogos internacionales en el panorama intelectual peruano. Zulen expone, analiza y evalúa críticamente las propuestas de la Gestalt, Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka, Stern, el conductismo de Watson y la filosofía de Bergson.

Correspondencia Tomás Caycho-Rodríguez Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Científica del Sur, Lima, Peru. Campus Villa II, Ctra. Panamericana S 19, Villa EL Salvador, Lima, Peru. E-mail: tcaycho@cientifica.edu.pe

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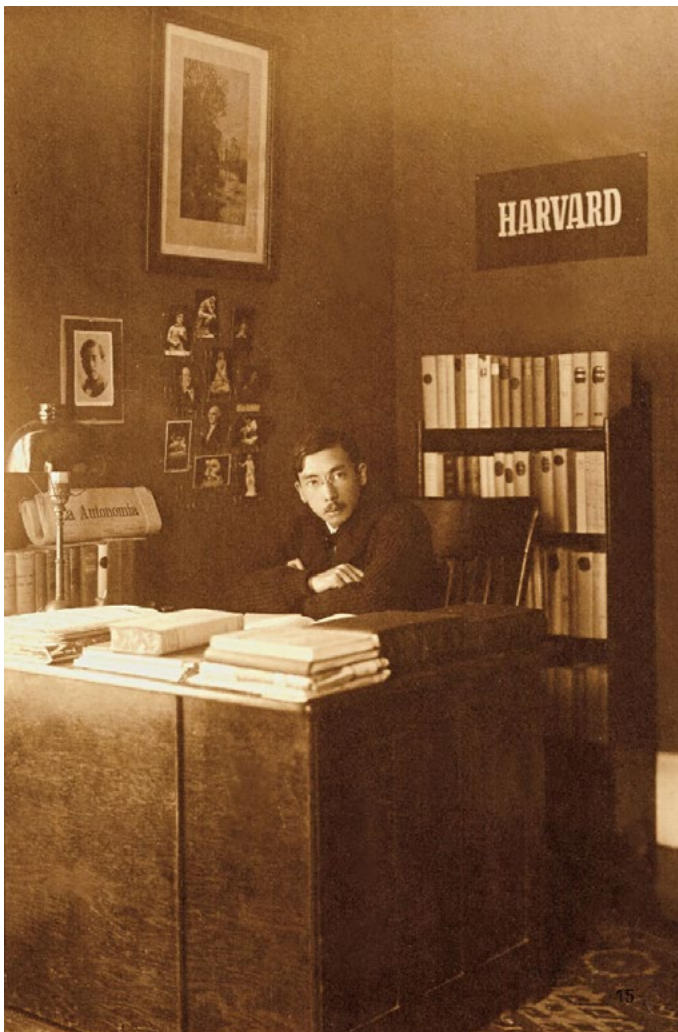
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Brief introduction to Zulen's work

Pedro Zulen was one of the Peruvian philosophers who had a short life, but a wide and varied written production. In addition, he maintained an active political participation through the Pro-Indigenous Association (Salazar, 2013) (see Figure. 1). Therefore, in recent years he has become an object of study in different areas of knowledge (Caycho-Rodríguez, 2023), being known as “one of the most interesting and important Peruvian philosophers of the twentieth century” (Quiroz, Quintanilla & Rojas, 2015; p.17). The objective of this article focuses on Zulen's analysis of psychological currents and concepts prior to the institutionalization of psychology in Peru. For this study, a bibliographic methodology was used that corresponds to theoretical research (Ato et al., 2013). In this way, different documents were reviewed, which constitute primary and secondary sources, on the life and work of Pedro Zulen and the philosophical and psychological ideas in the which contains his work, that is, his own books and articles, as well as comments on the author and articles related to the psychological and philosophical ideas of his time.

Figure 1. Pedro Zulen (1889-1925)

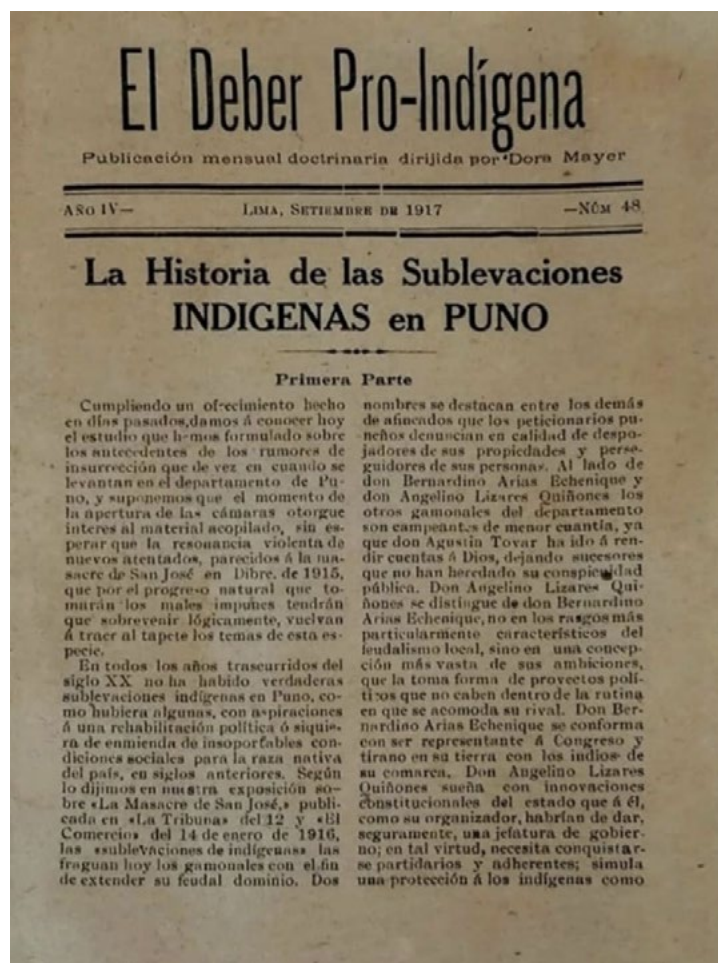


Pedro Salvino Zulen Aymar, was born on October 12th, 1889 in Lima. He was the first son (of 8 siblings in total) of the marriage between Pedro Francisco Zulen, of Cantonese ancestry, and lady Petronila Irene Aymar y Salazar. Originally, the Zulen surname must have been Zun Leng or Su Leng (Milla Batres, 1986). Pedro Zulen studied primary and secondary school in the Lima school directed by Pedro A. Labarthe (Lazarte, 2014; Zolezzi, 2004). After finishing high school, Zulen entered the faculty of Natural Sciences and the faculty of Mathematics at the San Marcos National University (1906-1907). Subsequently, he studied at the faculties of Letters and Jurisprudence and Political Sciences of the same university between 1909 and 1915. Zulen's university studies are framed in his first period of thought called “transit from positivism to pragmatism” (1904-1911), characterized by his affinity to the pragmatic theories of William James, moving away from the positivism that influenced the sciences and currents of thought of his time (Fernández Ramos, 2019; Lazarte, 2014).

Zulen's life was marked by his great social concern (Salazar, 2013; Zolezzi, 2004). This corresponds to the second period of his thought, called “social-humanist demarcation” (1912-1918), where there is a marked interest in Peruvian social problems (Fernández Ramos, 2019; Lazarte, 2014). An expression of this interest was manifested in his active role in the founding of the Pro-Indigenous Association together with Joaquín Capelo and Dora Mayer (Gonzales Alvarado, 2016). With Capelo, Zulen shared a great dissatisfaction with the oligarchy of his time (Gonzales Alvarado, 2016) and with Mayer, he was dedicated to denouncing the social injustice suffered by the indigenous people (Lazarte, 2019). In fact, it was Pedro Zulen who, on October 14th, 1909, proposed the initial creation of a National Pro-Indigenous Patronage, which would be the antecedent of the Pro-Indigenous Association, installed on November 20th, 1909 (Gonzales Alvarado, 2016; Kapsoli, 1980). The Association's objective was to defend the social interests of the indigenous people - condemning Peruvian feudalism - and fighting for their liberties (Kapsoli, 1980). Following Arroyo Reyes (2005), the Pro-Indigenous Association existed between 1909 and 1917, and became “the most important of the institutions that came to constitute Peruvian indigenism or perhaps the only one that managed to develop as such, especially if compared to the Sociedad Amiga de los Indios (1867) or the Grupo Resurgimiento (1926-1927), which were somewhat similar experiences, but of very short duration” (p.12).

Zulen founded *El Deber Pro-Indígena* (figure. 2) and *La Autonomía* (figure. 3) magazines. In *El Deber Pro-Indígena*, Zulen published 11 articles (a complete list of articles can be found in Lazarte, 2022), two of which are more closely related to psychological ideas. In the article “La ciencia, el arte y el ideal del educador [Science, Art and the Educator's Ideal]” (Zulen, 1914a), Zulen tries to explain the meaning of the pedagogical activity from a pragmatist perspective; while the article “William James” (Zulen, 1914b) is a synthesis of the American philosopher's pragmatic ideas regarding Education. On the other hand, the pages of *La Autonomía* allow us to observe how Pedro Zulen reaffirms his interest and moral project to confront the exploitation of the indians and social inequality (Lazarte, 2023).

Zulen's social and political interest was not only focused on the Pro-Indigenous Association, as he was also the Peruvian

Figure 2. *El Deber Pro-Indígena* magazineFigure 3. *La Autonomía* magazine

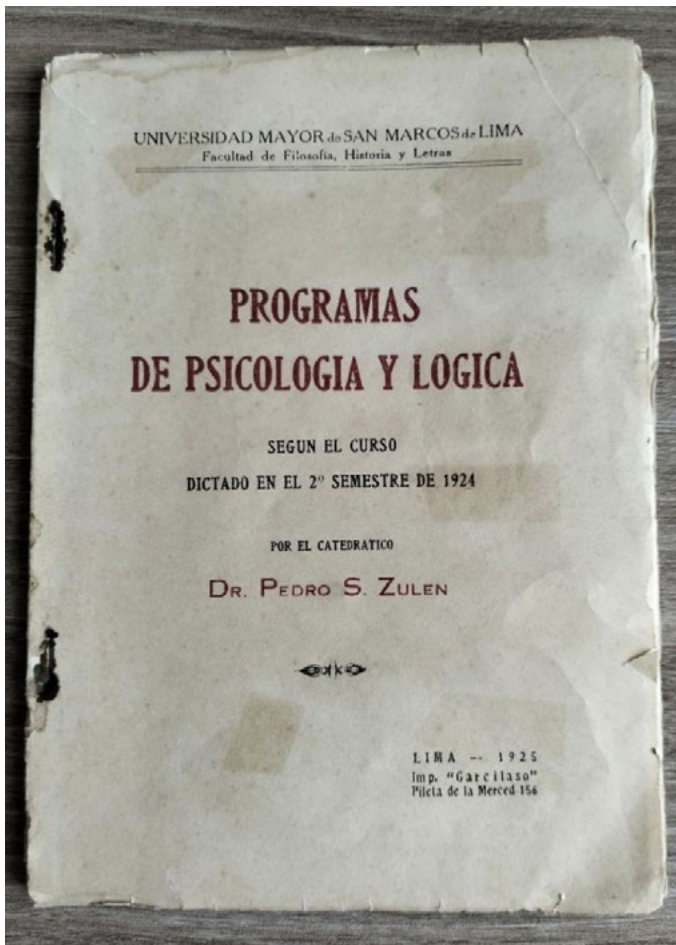
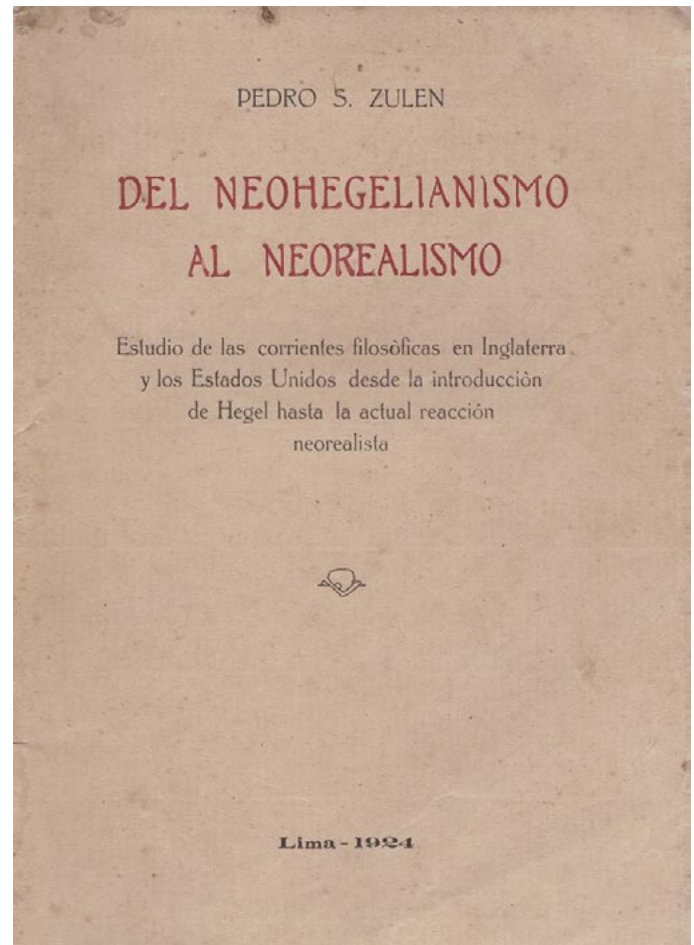
representative of the “English League of Education, Ethics and Morals” and secretary of Joaquín Capelo, who was Minister of Development and candidate for deputy for Jauja in 1919 (Lazarte, 2014). Regarding the latter, between 1918 and 1919, Pedro Zulen lived in Jauja, in the central highlands of Peru, which worried the conservative class of the city. Due to the message of his speeches and conferences on the situation of the indigenous and the latifundia, Zulen was arrested and remained in jail for a few days until he was released, by an order sent from Lima (Henríquez, 2000). It has been suggested that Zulen’s social and political activities sought social justice, based on the implementation of socialism in Peru (Kapsoli, 1980).

During this second period of his thinking, and after finishing his university studies in Peru, Zulen began a series of trips to Chile, Argentina and the United States (1916). In the United States he entered Harvard University to study psychology and philosophy, but some health problems prevented him from completing his studies and he had to return to Peru (Zulen, 1925). Zulen returned to the United States in 1920 to study library science.

Back from the United States and partially recovered from his health problems, Zulen graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree with his work “*La filosofía de lo inexpressable. Bosquejo de una interpretación*

y una crítica de la filosofía de Bergson [The philosophy of the inexpressible. Outline of an interpretation and critique of Bergson’s philosophy]” (1919), which was published a year later (Zulen, 1920). Here, the third period of his thought begins, called “academic-philosophical” (1920-1925), characterized by a distancing from social problems and a greater interest in philosophical reflection (Fernández Ramos, 2019; Lazarte, 2014). In his Bachelor’s thesis, Zulen criticizes the main philosophical ideas of Henri Bergson, introduced to Peru by the philosopher Alejandro Deustua. For Zulen (1920), Bergson’s postulates are mistaken when he tries to explain reality and all existence by means of rationalist methods, which are similar and even superior to those used by the rationalists themselves, who were criticized by Bergson himself.

Zulen began his university teaching career in 1923 at the San Marcos National University, where he was in charge of the Psychology and Logic courses. Zulen took advantage of these courses to disseminate the philosophical currents of his time, especially American and English philosophical ideas. This is how Zulen spread, for the first time in Peru, the ideas of Russell, with whom he had a constant correspondence (Zolezzi, 2004). He also explained the ideas of Dilthey and Bergson, and was the first to talk about the Gestalt that Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka and Stern developed in Germany (Salazar,

Figure 4. Cover of the book: "Programa de Psicología y Lógica" (1925)**Figure 5.** Cover of the book: "Del Neohegelianismo al Neorealismo" (1924)

2013). The content of these classes was the input for the posthumous publication of the *Programa de Psicología y Lógica. Según el dictado en el 2do semestre de 1924* [Psychology and Logic Program, according to the one dictated in the 2nd semester of 1924] (Zulen, 1925) which will be discussed later (See figure. 4).

In 1923, our author began to work in the library of the San Marcos National University, where he would remain until his death. The reorganization of the library, as well as his classification work were remarkable, to the point that as today, the Central Library bears his name in commemoration of the philosopher.

In 1924, Zulen graduated as Doctor of Philosophy with the thesis: *Del Neohegelianismo al Neorealismo. Estudio de las corrientes filosóficas en Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos desde la introducción de Hegel hasta la actual reacción neorealista* [From Neohegelianism to Neorealism. A study of the philosophical currents in England and the United States: from the introduction of Hegel to the present neorealist reaction] (Zulen, 1924). This work aims to analyze the problem of reality (see figure. 5.). In this respect, Zulen explains that, "Neo-Hegelianism survives for having attempted to solve the problem of absolutes" (Zulen, 1924, p. 8).

After a painful illness, Zulen died on January 27th, 1925, and his remains were laid to rest in the *Presbítero Maestro Cemetery* in Lima.

Pedro Zulen and the philosophical ideas in Peru at the beginning of the 20th century

In relation to philosophical ideas at the end of the 19th century, there was an important diffusion and influence of positivist ideas in Peru (Rivara, 2000), with works such as those of Javier Prado (1871-1921): *El Método Positivo en el Derecho Penal* [The Positive Method in Criminal Law] (1890) and *La Evolución de la Idea Filosófica en la Historia* [The Evolution of the Philosophical Idea in History] (1891), where Spencer's evolutionary ideas were explained (Vexler, 1988).

Other important figures who spread positivist ideas in the social sciences were Mariano Cornejo (1867-1942) with his book *Sociología General* [General Sociology] (1908) and Manuel Vicente Villarán (1873-1858), who incorporated positivist principles in education in books such as *Estudios sobre Educación Nacional* [Studies on National Education] (1922) and *Factor Económico en la Educación* [The Economic Factor in Education] (1908). On the other hand, Celso Bambarén (1834-1897), in the field of medicine, published *La Medicina Experimental* [The Experimental Medicine] of Claude Bernard and taught the ideas of Charles Darwin, Jean Baptiste Lamarck and Karl Marx at the San Fernando Faculty of Medicine in Lima (Bambaren, 2001). Regarding political ideas, Manuel Gonzales

Prada (1848-1918) was the most important representative of positivism.

The interest in positivism reflected a need for scientific and technological progress, and a rational organization of politics in Peru (Quintanilla, 2011). However, positivism was not totally accepted by psychological ideas in Peru, whose teaching continued to be given on the basis of idealist currents (Alarcón, 2000). Furthermore, until approximately the middle of the 20th century, psychology was still considered part of philosophy and the humanities at the San Marcos National University.

There are very few works with positivist ideas in psychology that were published at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Within these, we can cite Pablo Patrón's "*Psicología Experimental*" [Experimental Psychology] (1888) published in the *Crónica Médica*, as one of the first articles on experimental psychology, where it is explained that psychophysiology and experimental psychology can be considered sciences. In 1902, Pedro A. Labarthe carried out an unpublished thesis titled "*Las matemáticas y la psicofísica*" [Mathematics and Psychophysics], where Gustav Fechner's laws of psychophysics are set out. On the other hand, Luís Miró Quesada oversaw the dissemination of Herbart's psychopedagogical ideas based on the experimental method (1908a, 1908b). In the psychiatric field, Hermilio Valdizan showed great interest in experimental psychology and established an Experimental Psychology laboratory in the *Colonia de Magdalena Asylum* in 1919, known today as the *Víctor Larco Herrera Hospital*, considered one of the first laboratories of its kind in Peru (Alarcón, 2000, Mariátegui, 1981). Years before, Joseph Mac Knight, as director of the Lima Normal School for Men (1911), emphasized observation and experimentation in the training of Peruvian educators (Encinas, 1932), including, starting in 1912, the course of experimental psychology in the curriculum and the implementation of a cabinet with measuring devices, purchased and handcrafted in the same institution (Orbegoso Galarza, 2016).

In the first decades of the 20th century, in contrast to positivism, a 'spiritualist reaction' developed, which moved away from determinism and, rather, gave greater value to the role of the subject's spirit (Castro, 2009). The term spiritualism encompasses a broad set of ideas that reject reductionist, scientific, materialist and anti-metaphysical ideas, to adopt the notion that the spirit is the most important and motivating element for the generation of freedom and the creative capacity of people (Quintanilla, 2018). Alejandro Deustua (1849-1945) was one of the leaders of this spiritualist reaction by introducing the thought of Henry Bergson, among others, in *Las ideas de orden y libertad en la historia del pensamiento humano* [The Ideas of Order and Freedom in the History of Human Thought] (Deustua, 1919-1922), *Estética General* [General Aesthetics] (Deustua, 1923), and *Los sistemas de Moral* [Moral Systems] (Deustua, 1940). In these works, Deustua is highly critical of Comte's positivist ideas and emphasizes a philosophy based on spirit over facts. Deustua calls his system of thought an aesthetics of freedom, which is contrary to scientific positivism and must be considered a philosophical and original point of view (Castro, 2009). It has been suggested that Deustua sought to vindicate the creative dimension of psychic activity, considered as an expressive and synthetic activity (Alarcón, 2000).

Another representative of spiritualist ideas was Mariano Iberico Rodríguez (1892-1974), one of the four most important representatives of philosophy in Peru (Sobrevilla, 2012). Initially, Iberico was influenced by positivism, as demonstrated by his thesis *El Carácter* [The Character] developed to obtain his bachelor's degree in literature (1912) and published a year later (Iberico, 1913). His thesis on Jurisprudence at the San Marcos National University entitled *Elementos psicológicos del delito* [Psychological Elements of Crime] (1918) is also from his positivist stage. Although authors such as Salazar Bondy (2013) and Sobrevilla (2012) have considered Iberico's positivist stage as "episodic", current studies do not consider it that way (Reyes Alvarez, 2022). Subsequently, Iberico gradually moved away from positivism thanks to his readings of Bergson's theory, which is expressed in his thesis *La Filosofía de Enrique Bergson* [The Philosophy of Enrique Bergson] (1916) to obtain the degree of Doctor of Letters. Later, in *El sentimiento de la vida cósmica* [The Feeling of Cosmic Life] (Iberico, 1939) he describes different psychological phases generated by contemplation of the cosmos. Other publications where Iberico's philosophical and psychological themes intersect are: *El Nuevo Absoluto* [The New Absolute] (Iberico, 1926), *La Unidad Dividida* [The Divided Unit] (Iberico, 1932), *Psicología* [Psychology] (Delgado & Iberico, 1933), *La Aparición* [The Appearance] (Iberico, 1950). This last work, *La Aparición* [The Appearance], is considered the best of his stage of maturity, since the author develops a philosophy of being and appearing (Vexler, 2007). The book conceived being as the foundation of everything that exists and as appearing as the expression of being that occurs only in the soul of the individual, through sensations, memories, imagination, or another form of immediate apprehension (Reyes Alvarez, 2022).

Three intellectuals, contemporaries of Iberico, promoted spiritualist psychology from the university chair: Humberto Borja García, Ricardo Dulanto and Pedro Zulen himself (Alarcón, 2000). Ricardo Dulanto (1894-1930) was the one who was most closely linked to the philosophy of Alejandro Deustua, coming to be considered "the most faithful Peruvian Bergsonism, if not the most organic and penetrating" (Salazar Bondy, 2013, p. 211). This is expressed in some publications such as, *El concepto del alma en la psicología contemporánea* [The concept of the soul in contemporary psychology] (Dulanto, 1919a), *Las grandes corrientes de la psicología contemporánea* [The great currents of contemporary psychology] (Dulanto, 1919b), *La moral y el derecho* [Morality and law] (Dulanto, 1920), *Morals* (Dulanto, 1923a) and *Programa Razonado del Curso de Sicología* [The Reasoned Program of the Psychology Course] (Dulanto, 1923b). Dulanto indicates that psychology has the presence of a scientific and a philosophical orientation. For Dulanto, scientific psychology is partial and is not capable of providing a satisfactory explanation of the inner world, which is the object of study of psychology. However, he considers that philosophical psychology, or metapsychology, is the one that has contributed the most to the study of the soul. In this sense, for Dulanto, the method that best explains the spirit is intuition or intellectual sympathy, which allows us to delve deeper into the internal world. In line with the above, Dulanto indicates that spiritualism is based "on the experience that confirmed a fundamental difference between the natural, physical, quantitative, extensive and causal fact and the spiritual, qualitative, in-extensive

and free fact” (Dulanto, 1919b, p. 13). In this way, the author rejects scientism because it is not appropriate to perceive the most intimate part of man’s psychic reality.

Humberto Borja García (1895-1925) is another author with ideas closely related to those of Dulanto. This is clearly observed in his book *Compendio de Psicología y algunos apuntes de Estética* [Compendium of Psychology and some notes on Aesthetics] (1918), a work in which the union of psychology with subjective philosophy is explained. Borja García analyzes different psychological processes such as consciousness, which he considers as a set of subjective, non-existent, immaterial, qualitative and incommensurable phenomena, which can be analyzed through introspection (Alarcón, 2000). Similarly, Borja García studies sensations, perception and will, which are considered a primary psychic function. Furthermore, for Borja García (1918, p.68): “psychology is voluntaristic today, not because of a reaction against psychological intellectualism, but because psychic life is above all will.”

Unfortunately, both Dulanto, Borja García, and Zulen himself, died early, which cut short their philosophical contributions. After them, it would be Honorio Delgado (1892-1969), psychiatrist and philosopher, considered the most important representative of philosophical psychology with spiritualist influence (Alarcón, 2000). Delgado’s psychological and philosophical work covers a much longer period of time than that produced by Zulen, Dulanto and Borja García, which is why we will not delve into it. However, those interested in Delgado’s contributions to philosophical psychology can review the works of Arias Gallegos (2015), Chiappo, (2014), León (2020) and Orbezo-Galarza (2015).

Zulen’s psychological ideas

Regarding Zulen, it has been suggested that his philosophical ideas moved away from positivism, with an influence of pragmatism being observed; although he is located in the critical metaphysics current of Bergson’s spiritualism (Salazar Bondy, 2013). However, this is not a systematic adherence, since there is also a certain proximity to Bergson, although this is neither definitive nor complete.

The relationship between Zulen and psychology is clearly observed through university teaching, his articles, and books, especially in his *Programa de Psicología y Lógica* [Psychology and Logic Program] (1925). This small book (made up of 48 pages) brings together the content of the homonymous course taught in 1924 at the Faculty of Philosophy, History and Letters of the San Marcos National University. The first part of the book is dedicated to psychology; while the second, to logic.

The section referring to psychology is subdivided into three parts: first, the trends in psychology are presented; second, a historical development of psychology is carried out and, third, psychology and its purposes are analyzed. Throughout the book, Zulen describes the main psychological trends of his time. For example, he is one of the first to discuss John Watson’s behaviorism. It is possible that, on his two academic trips to the United States, Zulen had the opportunity to review already published articles by Watson on behaviorism (Watson, 1907; 1913; 1916; 1920). According to Zulen, for Watson “psychology is a natural science that does not need to recognize the

existence of mental states in themselves or the means that we possess to confirm their reality” (Zulen, 1925, p. 3) (see figure. 6). Therefore, according to Zulen, for behaviorism, activity is an expression of the behavior of an organism in response to different external stimuli. These arguments would lead to the consideration of behaviorism as a denial of the psychological realm (Alarcón, 2000; Lazarte, 2014). Despite this criticism, Zulen himself uses the concept of “behavior” to define psychology: “Psychology is the science that studies mental life, trying to record in an organic whole the facts that reveal it. The most general way in which mental life manifests itself is behavior” (Zulen, 1925, p. 23). However, it is important to mention that, in this definition, Zulen uses the term behavior according to what was suggested by McDougall, who mentions that all behavior is based on a mental organization (McDougall, 1912).

The book *Introducción a la psicología experimental* [Introduction to Experimental Psychology] by Walter Blumenfeld (1943) has been considered the “gestaltist manifesto” in Peru, because it sets out the foundations of Gestalt theory (León, 1983). However, Pedro Zulen is the first disseminator of gestalt psychology in Peru (see Figure.7). In his book, Zulen highlights the importance of considering the experience in its entirety and not divided into parts. Furthermore, he criticizes the use of the experimental method which, as our author points out, only emphasizes the external manifestations and not the truly psychological, which is the internal.

Figure 6. Internal part of the book *Program of Psychology and Logic* (1925). Chapter: Behaviorism

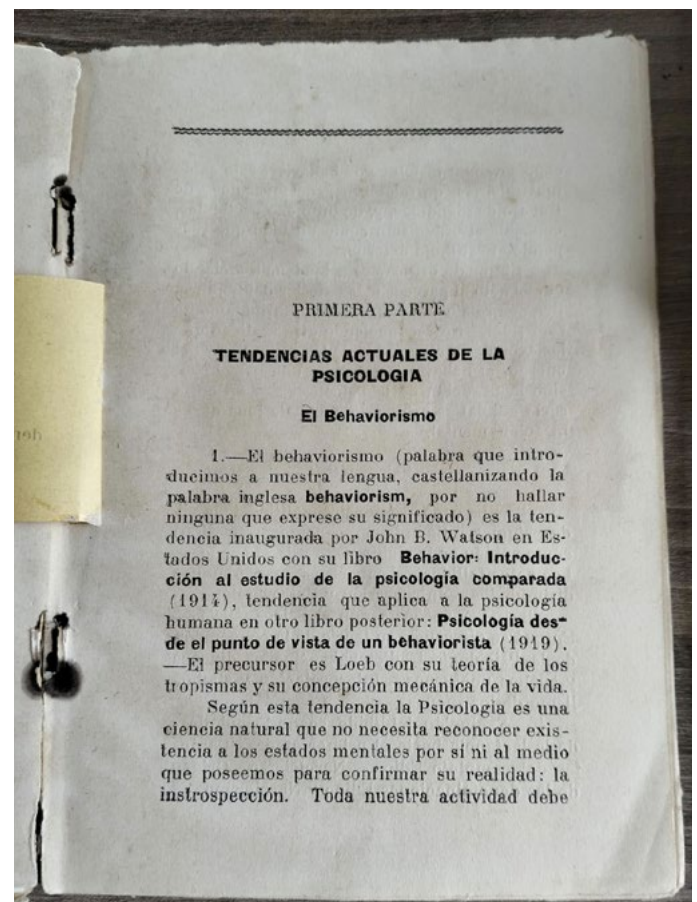
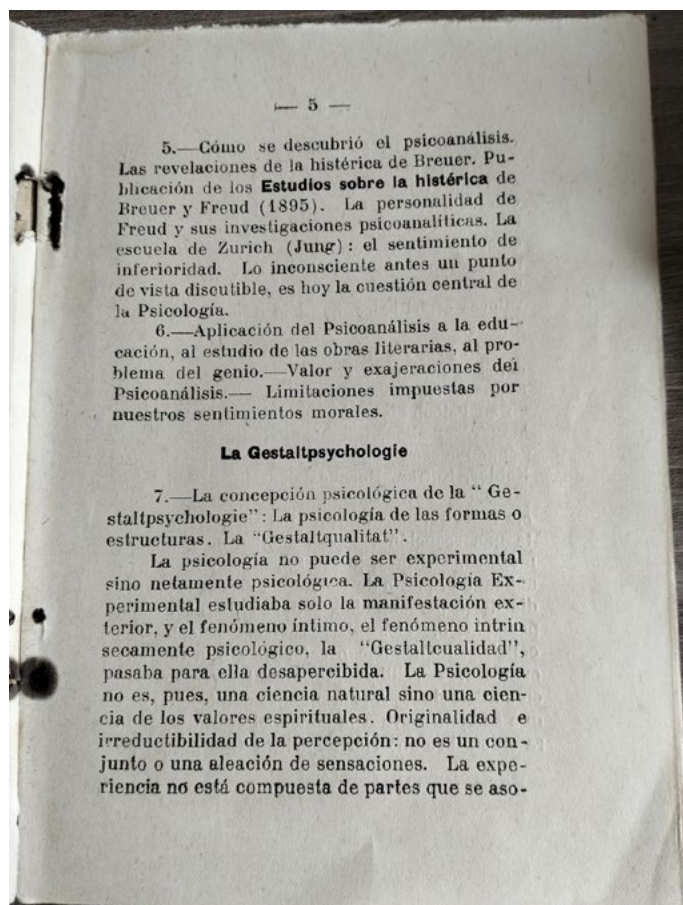


Figure 7. Internal part of the book *Program of Psychology and Logic* (1925). Chapter: *Gestaltpsychologie*



Another problem that borders on the psychological and philosophical, and that we find in Zulen's first publications, is the problem of knowledge, which is approached with a pragmatist influence (Salazar Bondy, 2013). This is evident in a set of articles titled "*El pragmatismo en la educación*" [Pragmatism in education] (Zulen, 1909a, 1909b, 1909c) published in *Hogar y la Escuela*. In these articles, Zulen describes the application of pragmatism in education, considering that this would allow for a more defined criterion for education. Later, he published in *La Prensa* the article *William James* (Zulen, 1910) where he presents the strengths of the North American philosopher's ideas, but also criticizes some fundamental principles (Quintanilla, 2011). Based on the postulates of pragmatism, Zulen considers the validity of a thought that is based on its practical meaning (Castro, 2009). This is observed in "*Filosofía del error*" [Philosophy of error] (Zulen, 1909d), where Zulen points out that "pragmatists have been very sane in proclaiming that there is no truth or error, the only thing there are, are results" (p. 11) considering the error as the path of knowledge. However, as said before, Zulen also criticizes James's position, for whom philosophical problems are part of immediate experience, pointing out that thought determines action and allows reality to be transformed (Velasco, 2003). Zulen's proximity to pragmatism, especially to the ideas of William James,

is because it is an accessible alternative for reflection and action. This is also reflected in Zulen's political considerations linked to social change. Furthermore, for Zulen, William James appears to be a psychologist.

Zulen also reviews the problem of knowledge from a critical perspective of Bergson. For Bergson there are two types of knowledge. The first is the knowledge generated by intelligence, which allows us to achieve the sciences, and the second is the knowledge achieved by intuition, which allows us to achieve philosophy. For Zulen, by converting reality to an object of philosophy, Bergson turns it into something inexpressible. Furthermore, he indicates that the human being only receives what is sensible from reality, an idea that Zulen associates with Bergson's psychological point of view of life. Zulen summarizes them all like this: "what we feel is inexpressible since our language, which has been created by our intelligence in relation to the world of inert matter, is inadequate to express life" (Zulen, 1920, p. 28).

Contrary to Bergson's psychological consideration, Zulen indicates that the French philosopher has focused on psychic duration, considering all reality based on this criterion (Zolezzi, 2004). Zulen states that the spirit is ephemeral and has no duration; Furthermore, there is no absolute certainty about the psychic character of reality (Zolezzi, 2004). Finally, regarding the problem of the matter-spirit relationship, which is also found between the philosophical and psychological, Zulen criticizes Bergson's intellectualism, which seeks to reduce this problem to an interaction between perception and memory, therefore, it does not contribute with something different from what metaphysics had already pointed out.

Conclusion

Although Pedro Zulen did not have an undergraduate or doctoral degree in psychology (we must remember that the professionalization of psychology in Peru began in 1955 with the creation of the first professional program at the San Marcos National University), he did work in psychological topics and made important contributions to psychology, which is why he can be considered one of the 'native pioneers' of psychology, who were born and worked in their country of origin (Ardila, 2023). Zulen's ideas about the human condition have transcended the boundaries of time and the limits of philosophy. Zulen's contribution to psychology lies in introducing the ideas of different international psychologists into the Peruvian intellectual scene. Zulen's validity lies in having been able to describe, analyze and critically evaluate the proposals of Gestalt, Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka, Stern, Watson's behaviorism and Bergson's philosophy. Furthermore, Zulen's participation in organizations, such as the Pro-Indigenous Association, brought him closer to the different real problems of Peruvian indigenous groups. Finally, and following Quintanilla (2018, p. 151), in Zulen we can appreciate important features, such as "intellectual autonomy, his differentiation from the intellectual and political pressures of his time, and the coherence that he evidenced between his philosophical work and their participation in civil society."

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