Igor A. Rodríguez Calderón

Formulating National Indigeneity: Colombian Identity and the Projection of *Lo Indio*

INTRODUCTION

In the early 1980s Benedict Anderson posited nationalisms as social movements and expression underwritten by a collectively imagined community.[1] Since then, scholars have critiqued numerous assumptions and lacunae of his thesis on "imagined communities", emphasizing that there are *many* communities within any "nation" and showing the varied and unequal positionalites from which humans experience (and imagine) the development of "their" nation.[2] In hindsight, Anderson's thesis seems to have been more about the communication structures created by a *particular group*: modernizing elites who profited from imagining the nation "as both inherently limited and sovereign" and successfully disseminated this affective notion. Yet an interest in the roles of elites within the reproduction of the nation and its nationalisms has not waned. In this way, Anderson's contribution has not only encouraged the production of a body of scholarship that highlights subaltern currents active in the making of the nation, but has also offered new grounds to advance the study of statecraft. Talal Asad, for instance, has challenged his portrayal of a horizontally-structured national "public sphere" but recognizes that very

notion of a "direct access" political participation is itself the outcome of exclusion and inclusion-making processes organized though hierarchical power structures of the state.[3]

Following the insights of Anderson and his commentators, this article discusses the modernization processes in Colombia from the "Liberal Republic" (a name used to refer to a period of Liberal government control from 1930 through 1946, although the years leading up to this new government are also reviewed) that transformed a prior dominant notion of a Colombian "imagined community." The specific focus is on elite programs and initiatives that sought to make room for *national indigeneity* within the field of (affective or simply expedient) identification-making. Indigeneity is taken to mean the projected relationship between a broadly defined *national body* and a (real or symbolic) marker of indigenous (Indian) reality. Projections of national indigeneity are addressed as conveyed through political rhetoric and published articles; the establishment of national institutes; and the sponsorship of various types of art and cultural programs. The projection of indigeneity, or *lo indio*, I will show, could appear eclectically (as a discussion point connected to political mobilizations or sometimes as an emblem of universal unity). The specific focus here is on the contentious and "progressive" aspects of "indigenist" or "indianist" interventions in the period, showing why some projections were buttressed by the state while others were not. Through this historical development, the state discovered the "affective power" of *lo indio* as national signifier.[4] It was thus able to present itself as a champion of indigenous "justice" and heritage. Nevertheless, the state-buttressed construction of a *mainstream indigeneity*, which emerged as a result of the state-gathered initiatives under the Liberal Republic, has enabled the advancement of social agendas that have worked against the interests of contemporary indigenous groups and communities or, as we will see, automatically excluded them from a "pu-

blic" or "mainstream" national discourse. The pattern we will notice falls in line with Charles Hale's observations of contemporary governance of cultural difference wherein state-level organizations and other elite parties "'manage' multiculturalism while removing its radical or threatening edge."[5]

NEW PROJECTIONS: INDIGENISM

"The sky begins to be covered with the arrows of our triumph. It is time to awake!"[6]

- From an Article published in the magazine *Universidad* (1929)

In the 1920s some Colombian urbanites worried about the modernizing potential of their nation. Colombia had entered the twentieth century bankrupt and amidst civil war. By 1903, Colombia lost an important part of "its" territory: that which would have it proprietor of the world's first inter-oceanic canal. The declaration of Panamanian independence was unacceptable to most Bogotanos. Yet there was little that the Conservative Colombian state—organized hundreds of miles from the Liberal stronghold—could do for them.[7] There is a turning point in Colombian history. The Thompson-Urratia treaty of 1921 granted the Colombian state a 25-million dollar indemnity for the United State's collusion in the appropriation of the canal from a newly "free Panama" (but not an apology).[8] The treaty re-established long-strained economic relations between the two nations, initiating a new chapter of favorable U.S.-Colombia relations. The indemnity, despite state corruption and mismanagement, provided a taste of the modernizing development for which some Colombians hoped.[9]

However, other Colombians worried that the nation's turn towards "Anglo-Saxon" models of development threatened to undermine the sovereignty of the nation. During this period, the

underdog Liberal Party built strength upon such discussions, presenting itself as the progressive party attuned to the needs of the Colombian *pueblo*.[10] Discussions over the nation's proper future trajectory included numerous elite perspectives which contained an indigenist component. *Universidad*, a weekly Bogotá magazine directed by Germán Arciniegas, brought together many of these debates, effectively inserting the topic of the "Colombian Indian" within a broader discussion concerned about national and international politics, trends and fashions. It was a forum for social commentary by many (mostly young and up-and-coming) "professional diarists" of left and nonconformist persuasions.[11] *Universidad* thus contributed to challenges to U.S. imperialism as well as the "ideological and sentimental motives" of previous generations' political comport. It was thus through a process of direct and indirect inter-textuality that indigenist concerns gained efficacy within a discussion of (as *Universidad* framed it) "the actual moment of Colombia."[12]

Within the pages of *Universidad* indigenists also chastised the nation's general disdain for the "autochthonous" and indigenous, interpreting it as a social hindrance to national development.[13] In contrast, they projected *lo indio* as an element of pride and distinction: the basis for a nationalist-indigenism. This inclusionary gesture was reflected in the layout of the magazine, which typically featured indigenist art and interwove "indigenist graphics" (such as text frames and line illustrations) throughout its pages. The exaltation of a national indigeneity was often interlaced with a national debate on the "need" for liberal land reform.[14] As a result, writers often conflated themes concerning *lo indio* and the *campesino* under the rubric of a unified (mestizo, agricultural) national race. *Lo indio* was thus a fundamental element of the greater Colombian *pueblo*. It was this Indian essence that indigenist authors felt should orient the policies and character of the democratic state. Ar-

mando Solano, a Liberal (and at one point socialist) politician, for instance, asserted Colombia's proper destiny in terms of an ancestral "Colombian" telos:

> What is the destiny of our race? (...) Is the Colombian sociologist confronted with a defeated race or one that veils though silence and aloofness the seeds of the final victory? Do the characteristics of our *pueblo*¯of our scant indigenous population and profuse mestizaje¯lead it to mute disaster and ultimate disappearance, or do they guarantee a splendid rebirth on the free earth; beneath the sun that our ancestors (*padres*) worshiped on the edges of holy lagoons in mysterious and magnificent rites? [15]

Much like Octavio Paz would do in later decades, Solano offered a prophetic, almost cathartic interpretation of the nation in racial terms, warning of the risk of becoming an "opaque satellite" to an "Anglo-Saxon" nation. Others in this period similarly promoted indigeneity as a fundamental expression of the *pueblo* through art.[16] Indigenist sculptor Rómulo Rozo, for instance, described his artistic calling by recalling an experience of personal estrangement and salvation: "I thought of my mother, of my *patria* and of my girlfriend (*novia*) and cried bitterly (*amargamente*). Hours later, I gave myself to the race that had made me happy."[17] Other writers espoused a similar pride through the projection of an "Indo-American" identity. Here, Colombia was conceived as the "Chibcha nation" (a reference to the pre-Columbian Muisca civilization that inhabited central highland, present-day Colombia) who, amidst a cast of "Incas," "Guaraníes," and "New Aztecs" (as one commentator expressed), moved towards a new horizon.[18]

In more mainstream media, indigenist rhetoric of this kind could also be intertwined throughout varied discussions that were not indigenist *per se*. The widely disseminated, Liberal-owned newspaper *El Tiempo* provides numerous examples. A 1929 article by Ramón Rosales, for instance, highlighted Councilman Luis Alejandro Gaitán's call for the triple taxation of public signage that used foreign words, dubbing it a protective

measure against the "silent invasion" of the "Indo-American" soul. "If for unjustified reasons we discard Spanish names," Rosales stated, "then let us turn to aboriginal names, which evoke us and whose originality is intimately ours."[19] In other cases indigenist rhetoric simply helped frame editorial accounts related to global affairs. An article on Mexican Independence day, for example, eulogized the "revolutionary" "Aztec" *pueblo* for buttressing "the tradition of a freshly indigenous culture whose renovation favors the state." The main focus of the article, however, seemed to be the author's suggestion that Mexico will have in the future "the good intelligence" to overcome the petroleum and financial issues it has endured with the neighboring "Saxon-American nation."[20] In comparison with the indigenist discourse of *Universidad*, then, indigenist evocations in *El Tiempo* could exude the same future-oriented, triumphant spirit and yet serve to buttress the status quo.

In this way, indigenist rhetoric activated a variety of meanings within an upper-class urban-centered "public sphere." This is why it was possible for indigenist evocations to appear in varied political debates that were not indigenous per se. In evoking *lo indio* these speakers activated polysemic "open signifiers"—words like "ancestors", "Indio", or "raza"—liable to take on a wider range of symbolic content in relation to a discursive environment.[21] In this way, projections of national indigeneity generated the "imagined conformity and coherence" around the class interests of a state leadership.[22]

The Colombian pavilion at the 1929 Ibero-American Exposition in Sevilla, organized by the one-time National Museum Director Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, is a fitting example of the open or "catch-all" character of indigenist expression at this time. The pavilion—a 1,200 square-meter, domed structure—featured exhibits on Colombian coffee and emeralds as well as displays of archeological artifacts, and other items of interest to "men of business from diverse countries of the world."[23] The

event was publicized internationally (and by international writers) as a celebration of Hispano-American solidarity in "civilization."[24] Participation therefore marked a nation's parity and modern engagement within an emerging international economic arena.[25] Far from simply exhibiting indigenous objects and subject matter as items of the national inventory (as was previously done in Colombian national pavilions within and beyond the country), the 1929 pavilion stood out for marking a competely new "template of nationality."[26] This was achieved through the aesthetic organization of the building's indigenist interior and exterior. Each facade was composed by intricate, indigenist-baroque ornamentation, "classical evocations of the Inca and pre-Inca period" (as one commentator put it).[27] Another commentator, the "Latin Americanist" Percy Alvin Martin, declared the constructing to be "the most beautiful and fascinating of those erected by the Hispanic American republics."[28] Designed by sculptor Rómulo Rozo, it was explained thus in *Universidad*:

> The cupola is suspended by eight columns that symbolize the myth of creation. The columns are composed of two intertwined snakes; the capitals transform into four indigenous heads. The four deities (*dioses*) found between the groups of columns represent agriculture, industry, and commerce (*sic*). The cupola tower is emblazoned with four giant Indians that support the sacred cup in whose flame the ideal of the race is raised to the sky.[29]

The building interior picked up on similar indigenist details in the exhibit spaces, thus providing a comprehensive indigenist "theme" to the otherwise economically-oriented receptions and forums inside. Furthermore, this indigenist presentation, as Alvin Martin's commentary made clear, garnished the necessary "cultural distinction" expected of the participants at the international event.[30] In a highly publicized occasion, *lo indio* was thus posited as an element of a national "mercantile force": a compatible expression of an exportable *Colombianidad*.

In 1930, the Colombian Liberal party took control of the government with the election of Enrique Olaya Herrera, bringing to an end half a century of Conservative state control. The change was significant in that it moved marginalized political discussions closer to the center stage of government. This enabled the subsequent administrations of the Liberal Republic to present themselves in the spirit of change and defiance (brandishing slogans like *Revolución en marcha!*) and even gaining the support of organizations like the Colombian Revolutionary Socialist Party.[31] Nationalist-indigenist energies also benefited the state as pro-Indian ideologues and bureaucrats garnished official posts within the new government. This was the case for Germán Arciniegas (the man behind *Universidad*) who, as we will see, became an ombudsmen for Liberal Republic administrations and at one point served as director of the Ministry of Education.

Official projections of indigeneity organized under the state, like the 1929 Colombian Pavilion, however, did not exude a political character. Instead, indigenism was cast as a portion of a "cultural" (art-oriented) initiative. Here, Luis Alberto Acuña, a Colombian-born, European-trained painter and sculptor, stands out as the Liberal Republic artist *per excellence*. Recognized for his bold exploration of composition, line, form and autochthonous subject matter, Acuña had been previously touted for his capacity to "make art that is ours" (*hacer arte nuestro*).[32] Like Rozo, Acuña highlighted pre-Columbian myths and imagery in his work, although his oeuvre was realist and academic. Acuña remained exceedingly active throughout the Liberal Republic period: as cultural attaché in Mexico under president Eduardo Santos; as Director of staging for the National Theater Company; and as professor at the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes (promoting the students' "deep involvement and immersion (*conpenetración*) with the land"), among other charges.[33] In the last years of the Liberal Republic period art critic

Walter Engel described the artist's most recent work:

> Two (paintings) take up the theme of the Indian's Christian faith. *Baptism* shows the moment in which a boy, surrounded by his Indian family, receives the first sacred sacrament from a priest who is also of Indian race. The second religious oil painting is *The Adoration of the Holy Christ of Viracachá*, where we see Indian *campesinos* gathered around the venerated image. Both paintings distinguish themselves for their original circular composition around a sacred religious object: in the first case, the head of the boy baptized by the priest's hands; in the other, the miraculous crucifix.[34]

Engel's passage, intended to evince Acuña's "distinct social tenor," reveals the facility with which state-endorsed indigenist art could enable paternalistic portrayals of "Colombian reality." Yet such works could also be interpreted, as did historian Juan Friede, as representational bases on which to found a "social struggle."[35] In this way, Acuña's indigenist works offered an "open" symbology that underwrote diverse (even contrasting) interpretations of a national reality: the perfect visual fodder for the "suppressed radicalism" within the Liberal Republic.[36] Furthermore, as the previous passage reveals, Acuña's creative *oeuvre* was not *solely* indigenist. Moreover, his endeavors as a scholar generate "contrasting" publications such as a tract on Colombia's colonial-Catholic art tradition and the self-proclaimed "first book to consider pre-historic Colombian culture solely in terms of art." Accordingly, Acuña was heralded not just as an indigenist but also as "*un letrado*, (...) a historian, even more, an archeologist": a progressive yet safe ombudsmen to represent (and present) the nation.[37]

Indigenism as a cultural program was thus politically expedient, particularly as a celebratory movement based on "recognition." It could funnel (and thus squelch) leftist energies at the same time that it helped consolidate a state-party base. The creation of Law 61 of 1937, for example, made for the official commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the destruction of the so-called "Temple of the Sun" (the name given to a recently discovered Muisca ruin destroyed by European ex-

plorers during the conquest).[38] With its passage through the government, an alternate projection of national indigeneity occurred in the Senate hall. Senator Lleras Camargo (future acting-president within the Liberal Republic) supported the bill as a rightful "homage to our predecessors of the Chibcha race." He explicated the founding of a school in Boyacá (a measure connected to the bill) in the following terms:

> (We found the school) for that is indeed what the unredeemed race needs so that it may rise to the heights of the civilized races, which have so deeply vexed and humiliated them without motive or reason (...) How are we, senators, to deny a project of this kind, when through it we render homage to the very *patria*? [39]

Unlike the broadly atavistic notion of national race expounded in *Universidad*, Lleras's ultimate decree that day—that "we are all indigenous"—was based on blood. Colombians were, categorically, of *both Indian and Spaniard* "stock." And since one stock was as good as the other, there was no point in *not* recognizing indigeneity. Under this premise, debates on race, inequity and oppression could be (and were) considered to be finalized and dropped. It was thus, as Lleras stated in his concluding remarks on the bill, unacceptable for the government to "lose time on such discussions."[40] This not uncommon projection of national indigeneity also lent itself to historicizing *lo indio* into the past. The time of "chibchas" was *then* and what remained was, as Senator Lleras's specified, an "unredeemed race." This discursive notion, largely unproblematic to the white and "whiter" urbanites of Bogotá, enabled a sense of privilege for the urban class that helped to form it. They, in turn, were *contemporary* Colombians: timely agents of the nation, appropriate stewards for the *patria*. Nevertheless, advocates of this form of state-cultural management could still exalt *lo indio* as a source of a national political essence. Germán Arciniegas, for instance, highlighted "the Chibcha nation" in 1937 for their "note of intelligence (and) sense for politics. (...) Characteristics that

still model (...) our character more strongly than any social or political factor derived from the other *pueblos* in our historical evolution."[41]

PROJECTED CONTRASTS: NON-INDIGENEITY

You, Colombians, have a privileged situation with two routes to the seas, enormous wealth (and of all kinds), and a truly classic culture within modern America.[42]
— President of Chile Carlos Ibáñez de Campo, 1929

Beyond the legislative and art initiatives of the Liberal administrations, evocations of *lo indio* operated in different contexts and towards different interests. Here, we turn to "mainstream" projections of nationality in Bogotá to highlight how the Liberal government's "indigenist intervention" contrasted with, but was also influenced by, entrenched notions of "culture" and national identity. Since the nineteenth century, a prominent projection of national identity in Colombia derived from imagining the nation as home to an academic and "lettered" tradition. Herein, Bogotá was salient as the "Athens of South America," home to a class of Bogotanos prideful in their knowledge of the Greeks, Romans, and more generally, of "culture" and "civilization."[43] In 1939, a U.S. commentator mockingly noted that,

> Isolated from the rest of the world, (Bogotano) aristocrats (have) turned to education not as a useful tool of accomplishment, but as something to cultivate for the pure intellectual enjoyment of it. (...) This devotion to culture has become a characteristic of the country. Erudition appears to drip from the pores of the Colombian. On questions restricted to highly cultural subjects there are thousands who could, with credit to themselves, appear as guests on the "Information Please" program. If a visitor is not careful he will find himself dragged into a discussion about the influence of Proust or the form of the French novel or be compelled to betray his ignorance by a confession that he is not familiar with the works or even the names of any of the long list of eminent Colombian poets.[44]

It should be noted that when the North American author stated that Bogotanos were isolated from the rest of the world, he also referred to their isolation from the rest of their own country, and thus, from the presence of indigenous and African cultures within the country. Similarly telling is Nicolás García Samudio's 1921 comprehensive review of Colombian literature, which spent considerable time recounting the "impartial observers" since Colonial times who recognized the "superiority of Colombian literature."[45] In the article, García Samudio chose to reprint Spanish diplomat Juan Valera's eloquent account of arriving in Bogotá. The passage evinces both the historic "cultural isolationism" of the Colombian capital as well as the prestigious weight of the Athenian identification:

> On learning of the tremendous obstacles to be overcome before reaching Bogotá, and of the subsequent pleasure and delight afforded by the life of Bogotá, I recalled the ancient Greek fable about the country of the Hyperboreans which was only accessible by traversing distant snow-clad mountains, exceedingly perilous and quite beyond the reach of human abodes of any kind. Once past the barbarity and horror of these mountains, however, the traveler found himself amid an excellent community, a privileged people favored of the god Apollo, where hardly a native but sang and played delightfully on the lyre, where beautiful women danced and sang with equal ease and elegance, and all hearts were captivated by their genius and grace.[46]

The "Athenian" projection of nationality projected Colombia as a specifically *white* nation rooted in a "Western" tradition. And as today, the imputed value of this intellectual heritage appealed to Colombian urbanites as something timeless and incorruptible. Conveniently, the Athenian projection of nationality also allowed identifiers to directly connect the Greece of antiquity to Colombia, thus bypassing Spain and all of Europe as a "source" of Colombianidad.[47] To intervene in this comfortable imaginary with notions of a national indigeneity—to disturb the classical standards of beauty and harmony as the Liberal state repeatedly did—smacked (for some) of sacrilege. Conservative Party ideologue and future president Laureano

Gómez accordingly attacked the Liberal Ministry of Education for its promotion of "inability and ordinariness." In a published anti-indigenist tirade (replete with references to Taine, Plato, Homer and other literary "greats") Gómez disparaged his Liberal opponents as a degenerative force. Subsequently, he directed his attack at the work of Diego Rivera and his inclusion of "exotic figures."[48]

But the cultural theory expounded through the Liberal state actually paralleled Gomez's stratified, instrumental view of "culture." The difference here was that "culture" would be inclusive. In a 1945 interview, for example, Germán Arciniegas underscored the importance of *el pueblo* in underwriting the cultural values of the future:

> What could be done with popular theater, popular libraries, with expositions, etc. (he argued) is infinitely more important than has been imagined. By accustoming the *pueblo* to not only participate in chichería gatherings or stick-and-stone street demonstrations, we change the physiognomy of our country a bit. If we provide that *pueblo* free educative cinema, open air enactments, good exposition and conference programs, etc. we familiarize it with much nobler activities that elevate the common level.[49]

The move *towards* Colombianidad would thus be dialectical, no longer rooted in mythic Athenian splendor but directed towards the realization of "universal" culture.[50] In 1941 Dario Achury Valenzuela, Director of the Extension of Culture and Arts, expressed the government's resolve to transcend the restrictive impositions of European cultural thought. Referencing the renewed outbreak of war in Europe, Achury Valenzuela contended that insofar as Colombian intellectual life could not "be nourished solely on the remains of a sinking culture, it (was) time and it (made) sense to acquire self-consciousness."[51] Achury Valenzuela posited a global system based on the "coexistence of all cultures and (with the exclusion of) all privileges." This was a system in the making. Within it, Colombian national culture would be crafted under the state. Here, "the

existence of a directing elite—the human element that qualifies (any manifestations of) culture" worked to neutralize the "misleading influences of aristocratic individualism" common to cosmopolitan groups of the nation.[52] Through this Hegelian framework, state agents could deduce in anything (from European design to indigenist art; from daily colloquialisms to printed literatures) the proper zeitgeist of an inchoate Colombianidad. Conversely, this posture enabled the categorization and suppression of "incidental" cultural practices (found in garb, diet and other social practices) that could be systematically singled out and suppressed.

A look at local zoning measures in Bogotá during this time, however, demonstrates that local policy favored the practices of *only certain* cultural economies in the elevation of "the common level." Recalling Arciniegas's dismissive remarks on chichería gatherings, let us focus on the suppression of this indigenous practice within the city.[53] As early as 1910, Bogotá newspapers were singling out local chicherías as the site of urine stenches and "drunken Indians."[54] Gradually stigmatized as the cause of bad sanitation and hygiene, chicha was gradually stigmatized in Bogotá and, by 1922, barred from the city center.[55] (This, despite the fact that chicha provided by some estimates over half of the daily calorie intake of certain populations.)[56] For example, a 1929 El *Tiempo* editorial [provocatively titled, "The Chicha Monopoly (...): How the city is victim to the most scandalous business ever seen"] warned the public of the "disastrous consequences" associated with Chicha, going on to laud the mayor for helping "liberate" the city of this "vice."[57] The text was accompanied by an open letter from presumed "chicha monopolist" Pedro Elías Mora. Elías Mora identified and bemoaned the anti-chicha campaign being carried out in *El Tiempo* and marked it as uninformed and impractical. In the letter to the influential newspaper, he proposed to work with the local administration to bottle chicha and regulate its alcohol content. But beyond this conciliatory proposal, Elías Mora de-

fended chicha drinking as a *national practice*. He argued that if Chicha really entailed "all the troubles that are attributed to it – that it is an exceedingly intoxicating beverage that stupefies, degenerates and brings out bad instincts more than any other alcoholic beverage (it would have to be) recognized that (...) our *pueblo* would have to be the most stupid, cretin-like and perverse on Earth."[58]

That Elías Mora would need to make such a defense is ironic: this editorial piece was placed one page away from the *El Tiempo*'s routinely-run Johnny Walker Scotch advertisement. At this time, beer consumption in Colombia was also on the rise. By the 1920s, Bogotá's Bavaria beer company was expanding their production to reach a wider, less affluent public. The company's marketing campaign included the creation of new brands to draw on the region's informal chicha economy, some with telling names like *Higiénica* and *No Mas Chicha*.[59] Despite resistances like Elías Mora's, suppression of chicha continued in the city throughout the Liberal Republic period. By 1936 chicherías had been relegated to the urban periphery, and by 1939, chicha consumption was prohibited in city festivals.[60]

But to detect such anti-Indian biases, one need not read between the lines. Mainstream media coverage of a 1933 military confrontation between Colombia and Peru widely portrayed it as the clash of Indian barbarity and *criollo* civilization. The confrontation became headline news in 1932 after the Peruvian government endorsed the occupation of the Amazonian port town of Leticia, part of territory recently ceded to Colombia.[61] The event did not conclude without a bombing operation and the sacking of the Colombian embassy in Lima. An article in *Cromos* (a magazine connected to cosmopolitan trends and fashions) reflected on these events in conjunction with the entirety of Latin America history to suggest that:

> Only Mexicans and Peruvians conserve genuinely indigenous characteristics. The rest of the nations (*pueblos*) are more Spanish for,

> other than somatic features, they do not hold a culture that merits the name of autochthonous. Accordingly, while the Mexicans, inheritors of the Aztecs, shows themselves to be valiant and confident, and while we are simply Iberian, the Peruvians are and continue to be Incas by blood and education.[62]

According to the author, Jorge Llanos, it was a liability to possess Indian blood, whereas Spanish blood was *naturally* advantageous. Peruvians were accordingly portrayed as congenitally treacherous. Colombians—inheritors of "Western Culture"—were, on the other hand, the New World promulgators of modernity.[63] It was in this vein of thought that *El Tiempo* mockingly summarized the Peruvian case presented for mediation at The Hague as a futile display of "Inca diplomacy."[64]

Llanos's article resonated with other texts in the magazine that (implicitly or explicitly) advanced the long-standing psychological thesis, here evoked derisively as Peru's "tropical plague." This item of "common" knowledge was underwritten in anthropological discussions of recent times. Herein, the environment was a determinant factor in crystallizing the cultural potential of social groupings. In Carlos Cuervo Marquez's *Orígenes etnográficos de Colombia* (1917), for instance, Colombia's jungle "tribes" were deemed to be primitive and "less apt for culture" while the highland "Chibchas" were presented as a more "valiant, intrepid, intelligent and ambitious race" of "softer customs and a sweeter character."[65] It was thus possible, for a readership so inclined, to posit an environmental-biological affliction to "explain" the "primitive" war acts of a southern neighbor. The indigenist projection of national indigeneity formulated through the Liberal government thus challenged common misconceptions regarding *lo indio*. But as a cultural (aesthetic) movement, state sanctioned indigenism would not offer a stable base from which to "redeem" the indigenous in Colombia insofar as it was trend-susceptible to markets of taste and opinion. Especially after the 1950s, indigenism would be undermined as propagandistic and simply out-dated, henceforth making it difficult to locate as a thriving movement.[66] In

the realm of science, however, the state would promote a radical reconsideration of Colombian indigeneity that directly challenged previous state-sanctioned projections of *lo indio,* as historically passive "naturals," in some cases guided by (as a 1908 teachers' manual put it) "a passion for human flesh (so strong) they often declared war (...) to devour the fallen combatants and prisoners".[67] Under the administrations of the Liberal Republic, indigeneity would no longer be projected as a historical remnant or, in Tylorian terms, a cultural "survival" destined to disappear.[68] Instead, the National Republic period would give way to a more secular, less nationalistic "official" scientifically-informed projection of *lo indio.* As we will see, this process was underwritten by the conviction of indigeneity as a national resource.

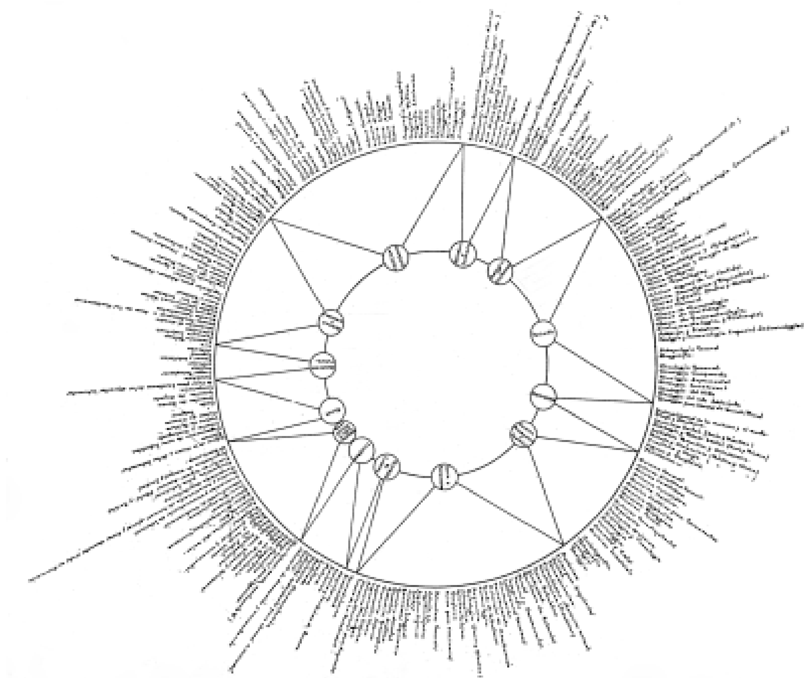
SCIENCE AND PROGRESS

High is your honor; transcendental your mission; grave your responsibility. (For) your task (...) is no longer one of charity; of changing the dark of ignorance to the light of knowledge. (...) You must now illuminate minds, guide spirits, provide norms of life. (...) You will provide generations (of students) the weapons of instruction.[69]

- Head of the National University of Colombia Agustín Nieto Caballero, addressing the University faculty (1940)

When the Liberal party came into power, they did so in the spirit of change and progress. In 1931, for example, President Olaya Herrera described the country's transportation infrastructure as an "evil" resulting from "lack of scientific study." Under the new state, he asserted, development plans would be advanced by means of "laws and methods."[70] Liberal administrations generally followed their Conservative predecessors in the promotion of a national agriculture economy oriented by free-market liberalism. Nevertheless, the government's concer-

ted effort to create a national identity founded on (in the words of Marcos Palacios) "rationalism, humanism and economic liberalism" fueled the development of a national research agenda.[71] This required the gathering of demographic datum (drawn through folklore, psychological, and biographical studies) in order to "lay the bases," as Arciniegas put it, "without which we cannot construct a culture or civilization."[72]



What institutes are necessary: General location of different areas and their department of consequence - In this chart, the inner circle represents different areas of state-applicable knowledge ("architecture and the fine arts," "general sciences," "law and economics," etc.). Radiating out from the spheres in this core circle are the names of institutes for specialization ("universal history," "political economy," "indigenous dialects," "Roman law"). Visually, the institute names resemble rays around a concentric sun. Included in the first edition of the Ministry of Education's Revista de Las Indias (1936)

Despite the decline of aesthetic indigenism after the 1940s, some urbanites continued to view the "Colombian Indian" as an untapped social force within the nation. Indigeneity was often posited as a labor resource whose potentialities—"unredeemed" or "slumbering within nature"—could be activated towards the needs of the state. Armando Solano, for instance, complained that "the most considerable force of our economy" continued to be "lost to the community." "We are not taking advantage," he explained, "of the natural and inherited dispositions of those closest to the cradle of our race."[73] In this section, I trace the categorization and organization of the social sciences through the Liberal Republic period. In this mode of analyzing *lo indio*, indigeneity was posited as an unexplored realm of social facts and, as some might have it, national truths.

The concern for engaging *lo indio* was connected to a broader specialized debate on a so-called "Indian problem." The largest exponent of this debate was the Interamerican Indigenist Institute (III), founded at the 1938 International Conference of American Nations. Its official journal, *América Indigena*, presented "facts and phenomena derived from the observations, investigations and experiments" of "experts on Indian life (and) sociological matters."[74] From this empirical base, the III sought to exert political influence to "clarify, stimulate and coordinate the Indian policies of the various (American) nations; said policies being construed as the aggregation of desiderata, standards and measures that should be applied (throughout those countries)."[75]

Although Colombia did not immediately become a member of the III, the Liberal administrations of this period facilitated the rise of various organizations that advanced similar "indianist" concerns.[76] The creation of new academic programs at the National University of Colombia and the establishment of the Escuela Normal Superior (for advanced social science rese-

arch) harbored studies that sought to make Colombia the nexus of its own development plans and models.[77] The rise of a new, state-buttressed science apparatus was greeted by many as an historic moment to forge a new national destiny. Head of the National University of Colombia, Agustín Nieto Caballero, for instance, portrayed it from an idealized, utopian perspective. "In times to come" he proclaimed, "we will be unknown soldiers, but then the joy of binding our efforts in a work of lasting nobility will befit us all."[78]

A parallel series of legislations from this period nationalized "in general, every object that by nature or precedence is derived from some good that authentically pertains to a property (*inmueble*) of the (pre-Columbian epoch)."[79] The legislations were similarly framed in eloquent, patriotic language. One law, for example, affirmed the state's continuation of the "glorious scientific tradition" of "cultivating pure science; the investigation of truth for its own sake and the study of the great themes of nature and human thought." These "cultural labors," it was decreed, were "of supreme interest for the future of the *patria*." Decree 1060 of 1936 further nationalized property rights over all indigenous patrimony in the country and prohibited the expatriation of "archeological, artistic, natural or historic specimen" without government sanction. It further required all archeological missions (regularly carried out by foreign investigators) to register with the state. In this way, a field of archeological exploration was opened for a productive engagement of what some Colombians viewed as "*our* humanities."

Further enabling Indian studies, in 1936 the government established the National Archeological Service for the supervision of archeological studies being carried out in Colombia. Gregorio Hernández de Alba was appointed to lead this organization. As an ethnographer and fervent pro-Indian "networker," Hernández de Alba promoted an "indigenist cause" founded on the conviction that "only by respecting the traditional and the

important aspects of indigenous life can we aid (indigenous groups) in culture, hygiene, and economy." Many of Hernández de Alba's texts (within and beyond academics) were imbued with impassioned evocations of indo-American identity. His article in a 1944 edition of *América Indigena*, "*Lo indio* as an American expression", stated that observations of "Indian cultures and morphology, in the medullar, the characteristic, and the transcendental (...) now present and show (the existence) of a great unity."[80]

In 1938 Hernández de Alba co-founded La Sociedad Colombiana de Estudios Arqueológicos (The Columbian Society of Archeological Studies), which organized the first public anthropological exposition in Colombia. Clara Isabel Botero has written on this event as an example of how Colombia was moved by scientists "to recognize and value its roots in the ancient prehispanic societies."[81] The exposition included an archeological exhibit, a conference series and, throughout the span of the event, the presence of fifty indigenous invitees, representing various ethnic groups throughout Colombia. The event was considered an official success and garnished Hernández de Alba a commemorative medal from Bogotá mayor Gustavo Santos. The token recognized the anthropologist as the "keeper of the sacred fire of our archeological concerns." Without doubt, it must have assured Hernández de Alba of his conviction that "the man of science" could bring "the full vision of (the) darkened time of Colombia" to the national forefront.[82]

In 1941 the government also created the Instituto Etnológico Nacional (IEN), heralded outside the country as "an excellent example of the stimulus given by the Colombian government to the advancement of science and to the improvement of living conditions among the natives."[83] The prominent French ethnographer Paul Rivet (exiled in Colombia with the help of President Eduardo Santos and his former student in France, Hernández de Alba) was appointed to lead the institute and

continue the development of a professional social science program through the center.[84] Rivet's texts, published in Colombia as early as 1938, exemplified a French orientation to science and humanities production where, as James Clifford has explained, "ethnographic evidence and an ethnographic attitude could function in the service of a subversive cultural criticism."[85] The Liberal Republic thus facilitated the agendas of trained specialists dedicated to expounding (as Rivet phrased it) "all that is owed to Indian civilization."[86]

The state-endorsed initiative for carrying out Indian studies, however, was contentious, reflecting broader processes of socio-political inclusion and exclusion making. It entailed, for instance, categorizing the normative mode for conducting *practical* research. In a 1941 edition of *América Indigena* Javier Urango identified three modes for engaging in this work: *accidental* (particular to politicians and bureaucrats), *theoretical* (related to academics), and *practical*, which entailed, according to the author, the "resolve, from the start, to constitute (oneself) as a combative being."[87] However, not all Indian-studies practitioners aspired to carry out a combative science. This situation left some anthropologists feeling disconcerted and at a loss as to what might be a course of action for those who avowed not wanting to enter a "maze of stultifying political contradictions but who are interested only in helping the Indians of America who have suffered hunger and oppression for so long."[88]

In 1941 Hernández de Alba, along with Antonio García, founded the Colombian Indigenist Institute (IIC). The IIC was a proponent of "organic indigenism," a mode of analysis that emphasized the relationship between indigenous social organization and state structure.[89] The very creation of the (non state-incorporated) IIC reflected the belief of the government's general unwillingness to promote, as Hernández de Alba put it, the "logical political consequences" derived from the social sciences.[90] Hernández de Alba avowed using anthropological data

towards generating practical conclusions related to state organization and practice. His interpretation of the relationship between the Indian and the land, for instance, supported a political conviction that the state should protect *resguardos* (communal indigenous landholdings) but still intervene within indigenous communities towards the augmentation of "production," their health, and thus, their capacity to "collaborate with the progress of Colombia."[91] In a 1945 communication with III Director Manuel Gámio, Hernández de Alba reaffirmed this state-oriented position, contending that:

> If the State lacks an indigenist conscience, we must impart it; that this cannot be done in any other way (than through institutional integration); and that the cause of the indigenous behooves us not to impart antipathies to it, to not make it part of political platforms; that it should always be presented as national policy of broad national and American utility.[92]

Yet within the IIC itself, Hernández de Alba's integrationist posture was a point of contention. IIC co-founder Antonio García and secretary Blanca Ochoa sought to steer an independent course for the IIC. They interpreted Hernández de Alba's interactions with the Colombian government and III as "isolated" conversations that ignored the IIC's broader "unified objectives."[93] Some letters in Hernández de Alba's archive suggest that the IIC's internal battle was intense to the point of breaking out into physical confrontations. Hernández de Alba categorized the organizational rift as a case of having to choose between "a practical indigenism, on the one hand, and a solely literal and protestant indigenism, on the other."[94] Nevertheless, the fact that Indian studies had become so politicized in Colombia certainly could not have facilitated Hernández de Alba's attempts to have *any* indigenist study program valued or legitimized by the government. Hence, the gradual marginalization of Hernández de Alba from "official" science during this period reflected the state's preference for an institutionalized re-

search agenda oriented towards more universal (non Colombia-specific) themes and topics that, in the words of Carlos Uribe, legitimized a "*merely* scientific, (...) cultureless (i.e., homogenous) conception of society constrained to a bourgeois vision of cultural change."[95] In 1943, Hernández de Alba voiced a similar critique but on more nationalistic and personal terms. Writing as director of the, by then, largely marginalized Archeological Service, he warned that the government had become estranged from the nation's "social interests" insofar as it placed indigenous studies in the hands of foreign investigators (a clear reference to Rivet) who could only exploit "our social phenomena as simple factums to accumulate into theories."[96]

However, out of the contentious arena we have just explored, numerous scientists of different stripes helped find new grounds on which to project an alternate vision of national indigeneity. In this new formulation, *lo indio* would be embraced and exalted, this time in a lasting manner, as a salient marker of a proud Colombian heritage.

URBAN CONTEXTS / URBAN CONCEITS

[Pre-Columbian society] was a great artistic culture of consummate artists, for otherwise, they could not have made pieces of such perfect harmony and beauty.[97]

- Carlos Mercado Cuero, *Sábado*, 1945.

The focus thus far has been on indigenist political discourse, state cultural initiatives, and scientific organization in Colombia, to demonstrate how urban fields of practice enabled varied projections of a national indigeneity. In this section, the focus will be on another, interrelated dimension involved in the projection of Colombian indigeneity since the Liberal Republic period: material constructions that reified *lo indio* as an element

of the built environment. Armando Silva has argued that the materiality of urban space serves as an initial base to underwrite the collective-cognitive paradigms through which the "imagined city" is cast.[98] Following this insight, we explore material constructions that transformed the broad experiential environment during this period, a process that literally urbanized *lo indio*, effectively projecting national indigeneity into a "mainstream" socio-collective reality.[99]

We encountered an instance of this mainstream projection of national identity in Hernández de Alba's 1938 Archeological and Ethnographic exposition. Here indigenous artifacts from distinct cultures and pre-Columbian societies were unified in a "Colombia-comprehensive" display of heritage and patrimony that highlighted Indigenous design and monumentality. As a material presentation, this projection of indigeneity was easily incorporated into Bogotá's fourth centennial celebrations where it stood as "one of the most attractive spectacles" for participants in the local festivities.[100]

This was not the first time that "Colombian" artifacts had been recognized for their "quality" in aesthetic design and elaboration. National Museums, for instance, had been part of an official institutional landscape since the birth of Colombia as an independent state. By the twentieth century, National Museums advanced an urban-centered, "enlightened" engagement with pre-Columbian artifacts, featuring them as objects worthy of close formal study. The rise of the Liberal Republic, as we have seen, invested a *national value* into such artifacts with the passing of patrimony and archeological regulation bills. It is not surprising, then, that anthropological investigations produced during the Liberal Republic period would highlight the aesthetic qualities of indigenous production. Furthermore, the move to understand the cultural productions of indigenous and non-western peoples as objects of "aesthetic pleasure" was not uncommon, particularly after the publication of Franz Boaz's

Primitive Art (1925) and the indigenist-nativist explorations of numerous artists throughout the Americas and Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. In Colombia, for example, Rivet referred to indigenous cultural production of as "testimonies of the Indian's creative genius" and a basis for doing away with the "inferiority complex that, at times, I have been able to note in America as a consequence of its ethnic heterogeneity."[101] Not incidentally, the gold production of Muiscas, Quimbaya, Sinú, Tayrona and other pre-Columbian groups was exalted in nationalistic terms. These items evinced Colombia's status as home to (in the words of Luis Alberto Acuña) the "best goldsmiths of America" as well as the "high category that our Colombian tribes possessed alongside the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas within the panorama of pre-Columbian civilizations."[102] As a reified (scientific, aesthetic) treasure, indigenous culture could thus be conceived also as a "national" expression as well.

But a specialized discourse on pre-Indigenous splendor alone could not guarantee the lasting reification of a "national treasure" that projected an attractive (aesthetic) notion of Colombian indigeneity to an urban-centered public. Colombia's National Museum, for instance, did not possess the economic solvency to overcome the informal and unregulated markets that sent the most brilliant gold artifacts into private hands, often outside of the country. This practice was so regular at the turn of the century that Colombian anthropologists could report matter-of-factly the sale of *their* artifacts to foreign institutions, or in one case, a Conservative presidential administration simply "gifted" away the so-called "Quimbaya treasure" to Spain as a token of diplomatic gratitude.[103] In a 1940 correspondence to the Direction Nacional de Bellas Artes, for example, Hernández de Alba pleaded the state to muster the political will to buy a private Colombian artifact collection currently of interest to foreign buyers. This was the best method, Hernández de Alba, suggested, to confront the *international gua-*

quería, a practice based, as he explained, on enabling "rights to so-called archeologists to (for being foreigners) take what they please" from a national patrimony.[104]

Gradually but definitively, Colombia's Bank of the Republic became the institution that carried out this safeguarding-nationalizing function. Founded in 1923 with the assistance of U.S. economic advisor Edwin Kemmerer, the Bank was structured to increase and manage the nation's gold reserve.[105] In 1939 the bank was officially entrusted with the role of state archeological buyer and by the early 1940s became the proprietor of the world's largest pre-Columbian gold work collection: a collection comprised solely of national patrimony. At this time the bank began to publicize the existence of the collection and placed it under professional curatorship. This was the first move towards the creation of Colombia's Museo del Oro, or "Gold Museum" (as it is also known today outside of Colombia). The seductive name was coined in 1944 by Hernández de Alba as the title of the Bank's first collection catalog.[106] The name posited the collection as offering a primarily aesthetic (not a scientific or explicitly national) experience. Ironically, it referred to indigenous artifacts through the name of a museum that did not exist as a constructed museum per se. Nevertheless, emphasis could be placed on the *Bank's offering* although this ultimately depended on the existence of the artifacts themselves. A newspaper article from 1945, for instance described the collection as a *spectacle* of "true art, and not (just) a distraction by the ancient inhabitants of Colombia."[107]

In this way, the artifact collection served as decontextualized visual fodder towards the creation of indigenous "masterpieces." The 1944 catalog, as well as other Museum publicity from this period, typically featured images of singular indigenous works amenable to discussions of form and beauty. In the display cases at the Bank of the Republic (available mostly to affluent bank clientele and distinguished visitors of state) "pri-

zed" patrimony was also presented to harmonize with other symbolic icons of nationality.[108] The presentation of indigenous artifacts by the Bank of the republic thus serves as the most salient example of how a notion of national indigeneity was visually formulated to evoke an affective response in spectators. One commentator in 1945, for example, affirmed that the collection provoked "impressions and sentiments that incite us to move deeper into the indigenous culture of our land."[109] In 1948 former Bogotá mayor and National Director of Fine Arts, Gustavo Santos, similarly pointed to the transcendental value of the Bank collection in aesthetic, universalist terms. The collection, he contended, demonstrated "not that previous times were better, but that in all times and places and with small variants, all is the same. (...) In those art works of primitive *pueblos* (and yet, not so primitive) we see (...) some of the most constant expressions of civilization across all time"[110] It was thus that the Bank of the Republic facilitated a broad "national" movement that [to paraphrase Hernández de Alba] challenged the country's tendency to "observe only the European factors of its nationality," and thus maintain a "general unawareness [of their] physical and social person."[111]

Outside of Colombia, the Gold Museum was similarly touted as a state initiative indicative of Colombia's broad heritage and contemporary character. We see Gold Museum publicity, for instance, inserted into Pan-American conferences and discussions concerned with national culture. Generally, Pan-American cultural discourse was guided by the goal, as Berkeley historian Herbert E. Bolton expressed it, that the "sister republics" of the Americas come to know each other. This included an appreciation of, in his words:

> the whole body of (American) civilization, (each nation's) way of life, (its) modes of thought, (its) religious mold, (its) social structure, (its) manner of artistic, spiritual and intellectual expression. (All that which) embodies the sum total of the nation's heritage from the remote and the less remote past.[112]

After 1944 Hernández de Alba actively inserted news of the Gold Museum into Pan-American discussions in the spirit of solidifying Pan-American "union of thought, in science (and) in indigenous union of origin."[113] In a 1946 edition of the *Boletín de la Unión Panamericana*, Hernández de Alba announced the existence of the (still not public) Gold Museum to an international audience. He focused on the centrality of gold to the Chibcha and Quimbaya "kingdoms," taking time to also eulogize the Bank of the Republic's patronage to the anthropological sciences. One day, he predicted,

> (Its) collections may tell us of those long-ago cultures, of the creative minds that reigned in (pre-Columbian) kingdoms and of their inventive genius. (...) (The Gold Museum) will be an emblem of the similar ideologies, techniques, (and) spiritual aspirations that the men of our continent had before the arrival of the white man from Europe.[114]

But it would be a mistake to view the Bank's artifact collections as the particular origin of this mainstream visual projection of Colombian indigeneity. Unfortunately, this is exactly what numerous post-indigenist commentators have sought to do. A 2003 article by Efraín Sánchez Cabra, for example, contended that,

> The cult of the Indian existed (only) in Mexico, where their ancient and monumental constructions could be found and there had just occurred an Indian and *campesino* revolution. It is undeniable that there had been an authentic appreciation for pre-Hispanic heritage in Colombia, but the seed (for national indigeneity) was planted only when there was abundant material evidence of the marvels of the ancient inhabitants of Colombia for all to see.[115]

Sánchez Cabra argues that only with the creation of the Gold Museum did *lo indio* come to be seen "as an amenity, and not as a liability." Such efforts to bring erasure to the efforts of pro-Indian artists, politicians, scientists and others since the 1920s to make indigeneity a national virtue reflects the continued

unease that surrounds notions of national indigeneity in Colombian.[116] It should also not be forgotten that the artifact-based projection of indigeneity of the Gold Museum was itself circumscribed by broader processes of urban construction fueled by the government and that transformed a generalized "citizen point of view" towards embracing a notion of national indigeneity.[117] For example, the artifact exhibitions from Hernández de Alba's 1938 Archeological and Ethnographic Exposition were displayed that year at the recently inaugurated National Library of Colombia. It was thus in a *modern* construction that indigenous patrimony was welcomed and housed. The state's construction of a new 300-acre modernist campus for the National University similarly became, after 1940, an officially appropriate site on which to gather and organize Indian-studies and debates. The exploration by academics and students of their nation's living heritage would thus be carried out amidst the expansive natural landscapes and all-white and unadorned buildings designed by German architect Leopold Rather. The new university, described by university head Agustín Nieto Caballero as the "spiritual property of the whole nation," was thus projected as proof of Colombia's entry into a "new stage" in history.[118] Accordingly, the more generalized practice of explicating and exploring indigeneity (not carried out be specialists) could be associated with the lofty and "cultured" environment afforded by the city's cutting edge, award-winning campus. As an urban intervention, then, the University afforded a new space on which to promote, as President Eduardo Santos explained in 1940, "not only an intellectual passion, but perhaps even more, a patriotic passion."[119] It should not surprise us then that the 1968 reconstruction of the Museo del Oro (having been open to the public since 1959) entailed a state-of-the-art, award winning modernist structure.

The organization of reified, mainstream projections of national indigeneity were facilitated by the prior and parallel dis-

cursive and institutional interventions we have explored. Altogether, these urban-centered processes fomented a favorable and lasting notion of indigeneity as a *preoccupation* of a *modern* Colombia. Indeed, under the Liberal Republic, substantial modernizing transformed the way that many Colombians imagined their country. The modern Colombia was engaged in a quest to know, understand, and "progress." In this way, to know *lo indio* could be affirmed (officially and triumphantly) as the desire and the duty of an informed or "cultured" Colombian citizen. After the Liberal Republic period, the mainstream projection of *modern indigeneity* would continue to be inserted into the urban environment as symbolic thematic. After the 1950s, for instance, it became possible for visitors to Colombia to arrive in an El Dorado-themed city.[120] State-of-the-art modernist constructions like El Dorado International Airport and the Avenida El Dorado concourse created completely new references and markers in the urban space and presented a public (Colombian) environment attuned to a heritage of being "the country of gold." As a reified element of the experiential urban environment, *lo indio* provided a stable and lasting base for the celebratory projection of indigeneity. The movement to "indianize" the city reached its peak in the 1960s when creation of the nation's first skyscrapers—emblems and veritable proof of a nation's modern character—became the namesakes of Indigenous figures. Tequendama, Bachué and Bochíca—names of pre-Columbian deities and chiefs (harkening to the "time of the Chibchas")—were now also high-rise buildings sprouting from a capitalist-state economy. Ultimately, the process of urban revitalization and expansion (which we must remember included the suppression of indigenous practices such as chicha consumption) allowed elites to project a national identity informed by multiculturalism, but which was nonetheless compatible with an urban-centered ethos of progress and development. Effectively transposed onto the realm of urbanized visual

communication, indigeneity could now serve as a resource in consensus making not only at the national but also international level.[121] Indeed, in the decades after the passing of the Liberal Republic, more people throughout the world have been moved to exalt (sometimes *admit*) the importance and value of Colombian indigeneity. Behind such "progressive gestures of recognition" lays a history of unresolved socio-cultural conflicts, as well as a present field of socio-political opportunity.

NOTES

[1] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983.

[2] See for example Castro-Klarén, Sara and John Charles Chasteen (eds.), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 161-95.

[3] Asad, Talal, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 1-13. For a discussion of organizational power see Mann, Michael, *The Sources of Social Power, Vol. 1*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

[4] Swedenburg, Ted, "The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (1990), pp. 18-48.

[5] Hale, Charles R., "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Cambridge University Press), Vol. 34, No. 3 (2002), pp. 485-524.

[6] Navarro Aceves, Salvador, "Los Nuevos Aztecas", *Universidad*, No. 151, 14 de septiembre de 1929, Bogotá, pp. 302-303.

[7] Henderson, James D., *Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889-1965*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2001, pp. 1-113.

[8] Brown Scott, James, "The Treaty between Colombia and the United States," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1921), pp. 430-439.

[9] Barnhart, Donald S., "Colombian Transport and the Reforms of 1931: An Evaluation,"

The Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1958), pp. 1-24.

[10] The Bogotá-centered discussions on *el pueblo* and national identity on which I will focus largely ignored the presence of Afro-Colombians in the country. This erasure reflected the existence of geographic distributions as well as, in the words of John Green, a "delusionary racist fantasy." Well into the twentieth century, Colombia was officially projected as being of "generally 'European ancestry, chiefly Spanish' with only a 'small

number' of blacks." [See, Green, John W., "Left Liberalism and Race in the Evolution of Colombian Popular National Identity, *The Americas*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (2000), pp. 95-124]. While this erasure may have been possible in Bogotá, issues of race and blackness were center-stage in other socio-political contexts. See for example Sanders, James E., *Contentious Republicans*, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 2004; Wade, Peter, "The Colombian Pacific in Perspective", *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2002), pp. 2-33.

[11] "Diarista professional" is a self-directed category used by Lleras Camargo. See Lleras Camargo, Felipe, "El Momento Actual de Colombia: Contestación de Felipe Lleras Camargo", *Universidad*, No. 74, 24 de marzo de 1928, Bogotá, pp. 241-243. For an international contribution to *Universidad* see, Casanovas, Marti, "La plástica revolucionaria mexicana y las escuelas de pintura al aire libre," *Universidad*, No. 117, 19 de enero de 1929, pp. 61-63.

[12] García de Quevedo, H., "La alianza de los tiranos en indoamérica," *Universidad*, No. 144, 27 de julio de 1929, pp. 94-95; Sanín Cano, Baldomero, "Ni superiores ni inferiors, diferentes," *Universidad*, No. 93, 4 de agosto de 1928, pp. 117-119; Lleras Camargo, Felipe, "El Momento Actual de Colombia: Contestación de Felipe Lleras Camargo", *Universidad*, No. 74, 24 de marzo de 1928, Bogotá, pp. 241-243; Porras, Gabriel F., "La afición literaria y la cultura científica," *Universidad*, No. 93, 4 de agosto de 1928, pp. 119-120.

[13] For an overview of the officialized elite discourse on "whitening" in Colombia, see, Laguado Duca, Arturo Claudio, *Pragmatismo y voluntad: La Idea de Nación de Las Élites en Colombia y Argentina, 1880-1910*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 2004.

[14] See for example Anónimo, "La incognita de los campesinos," *Universidad*, No. 105, 27 de octubre de 1928, pp. 515-516; Naranjo López, Marco, "La situación de los campesinos en Colombia," *Universidad*, No. 107, 10 de noviembre de 1928, pp. 572-574.

[15] Solano, Armando, "La Melancolía de la Raza Indígena – Parte I" (text of presentation given at the Municipal theater of Tunja), *Universidad*, No. 53, 23 de octubre de 1927, Bogotá, p. 440.

[16] Pini, Ivonne, *En busca de lo propio: inicios de la modernidad en el arte de Cuba, México, Uruguay y Colombia 1920-1930*, Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2000.

[17] Arciniegas, Isabel, "La vida maravillosa de Rómulo Rozo," *Universidad,* No. 149, 31 de agosto de 1929, Bogotá, pp. 238-241.

[18] Navarro Aceves, *Universidad*, No. 151, pp. 302-303.

[19] Rosales, Ramón, "Por la Lengua, Por la Patria y por la Raza," *El Tiempo*, 20 de octubre de 1929, Bogotá, p. 3.

[20] Anónimo, "El Día de México," *El Tiempo*, 16 de septiembre de 1929, Bogotá, p. 3.

[21] For a related discussion on "empty signifiers", see Levi-Strauss, Claude, *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, [1950], trans. Felicity Baker, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987. For a related discussion of hegemonic misrepresentation and the "deconstruction" of (subaltern) subjects, see Rodríguez, Ileana, "Rethinking the Subaltern: Patterns and Places of Subalternity in the New Millennium," in *Dispositio/n: American Journal of Cultural Histories and Theories,* Vol. 19, No. 46 (1996), pp. 13-25.

[22] Swedenburg, 1990, pp. 19-25.

[23] Godoy, José F., *México en Sevilla: Breves apuntes acerca de la Feria o Exposición Ibero-Americana*, Papeleria Nacional, Mexico, 1929, pp. 1-34.

[24] Official guide, *Exposición Ibero-Americana*, Barcelona, Rudolf Mosse Ibérica, 1929(?), p. 19.

[25] González-Stephan, Beatriz, "Showcases of Consumption: Historical Panoramas and Universal Expositions," (trans. John Charles Chasteen), in Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (eds.), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth Century Latin America,* Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press/Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003, pp. 225-238.

[26] Martínez, Frédéric, "¿Cómo representar a Colombia? De las Exposiciones Universales a la Exposición del Centenario, 1851-1910," in Castro-Klarén et al. (eds.), *Beyond Imagined Communities*, pp.

[27] Official guide, *Exposición Ibero-Americana*, pp. 18-64.

[28] Alvin Martin, Percy, "The Ibero-American Exposition at Seville," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1931), pp. 373-386.

[29] Arciniegas, *Universidad*, No. 149, p. 239.

[30] González-Stephan, "Showcases of Consumption".

[31] Palacios, Marco, *Between Legitimacy and Violence: A History of Colombia, 1875-2002*, (trans. Richard Stoller), Durham, Duke University Press, 2006, pp. 83-111.

[32] Anónimo, "Los que llegan," *Universidad*, No. 131, 27 de abril de 1929, Bogotá, pp. 448-449.

[33] Torregroza, Enrike, "Luis Alberto Acuña," (diario) *Bogotá,* 10 de marzo de 1945, Bogotá, p. 11; see also Anónimo, "Las Declaraciones de Luis Alberto Acuña", *Revista de las Indias*, No. 46 (agosto de 1943), Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá, pp. 284-285.

[34] Engel, Walter, "Luis Alberto Acuña," *Revista de las Indias* 63, marzo de 1944, pp. 262-266.

[35] Friede, Juan, *Luis Alberto Acuña: Un Estudio Crítico y Biográfico,* Bogotá, Editorial Ameridia, 1945, pp. 5-6.

[36] Palacios, *Between Legitimacy and Violence*, p. 8.

[37] The quote is from a 1937 *El Tiempo* article reported in Friede, *Luis Alberto Acuña*. See also Acuña, Luis Alberto, *El arte de los Indios Colombianos*, Bogotá, Escuelas Gráficas Salesianas, 1935 and Acuña, Luis Alberto, *Ensayo sobre el florecimineto de la escultura en Santa Fe de Bogotá*, Bogotá, Editorial Cromos, 1932. For an overview of the category of *letrados* and their role in Latin American history, see, Rama, Ángel, *The Lettered City*, (ed. and trans. John Charles Chasteen), Durham, NC., Duke University Press, 1996.

[38] Camargo Pérez, Gabriel et al. (eds.), *La Roma de los Chibchas; IV centenario de la destrucción del templo del sol, Iraca, 1537-1937*, Boyacá (Tunja?), Imprenta Departamental, 1937, 118.

[39] Congressional transcript reprinted in Camargo Pérez et al. (eds.), *La Roma de los Chibchas*, pp. 137-138.

[40] Congressional transcript reprinted in Camargo Pérez et al. (eds.), *La Roma de los Chibchas*, pp. 137-138.

[41] Arciniegas, Germán, "Introducción", in Camargo Pérez et al. (eds.), *La Roma de los Chibchas*, pp. iv-vi.

[42] Suerez, Arturo and president Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (interview), "Las Relaciones Entre Colombia y la Confederación Hispanoaméricana," *El Tiempo,* 18 de septiembre de 1929, Bogotá, pp. 1-2.

[43] Coester, Alfred, "Lessons Learned at Bogota," *Hispania*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1939), pp. 68-72 (American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese).

[44] Crow, Carl, *Meet the South Americans*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. 205-207.

[45] García Samudio, Nicolás, "Colombian Literature," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1921), pp. 343-344.

46 Quoted in García Samudio, "Colombian Literature".

[47] Rincón, Carlos, "Bogotá: Athens of South America," *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, Spring 2003, http://www.drclas.harvard.edu/revista/articles/view/242.

[48] Gómez, Laureano, "El expresionismo como síntoma de pereza e inhabilidad en el arte" (1937), in Medina, Alvaro (ed.), *Procesos de arte en Colombia*, Bogotá, Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1978, p. 319.

[49] Lozano y Lozano, Juan, "Germán Arciniegas," *Sábado*, 29 de septiembre de 1945, Bogotá, pp. 1, 14.

[50] Andrés Pardo Tovar's discussion of "universal art", published by the Ministerio de Educación in the Journal *Revista de Indias*, provides a contemporary interpretation of the universal concept at this time. According to Tovar, this was "that voice of history and only zone of spiritual union in which all the *pueblos* and races can gather free of hatred and secular judgments, attentive to the realization of an era of social justice in which the human can develop." See Tovar, Andrés Pardo, "Individualismo y colectivismo en el arte del siglo XX", *Revista de las Indias*, No. 50 (febrero de 1943), Bogotá, Ministerio de Educación, pp. 369-388.

[51] Quoted in Renán Silva, César, *República liberal, intelectuales y cultura popular*, Medellín, Carreta Editores, 2005, p. 41.

[52] Renán Silva, *República liberal*, p. 41.

[53] Chicha is a mildly alcoholic beverage (often made from corn) common throughout the Americas since pre-Columbian times.

[54] Puyo Vasco, Fabio, *Historia de Bogotá: Tomo II - Siglo XX*, Bogotá, Fundación Mission Colombia/Villegas Editores, 1988, p. 166.

[55] Saldarriaga Roa, Alberto, *Bogotá Siglo XX: urbanismo, arquitectura y vida urbana*, Bogotá, Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C./Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital, 2000, p. 77.

[56] Palacios, *Between Legitimacy and Violence*, p. 75.

[57] Anónimo, "El monopolio de la chicha: el gran pulpo – de cómo la ciudad es víctima del comercio más escandaloso que jamás se haya visto," *El Tiempo*, 17 de septiembre de 1929, p. 5.

[58] Elías Mora, Pedro, "El monopolio de la chicha: el gran pulpo – de cómo la ciudad es víctima del comercio más escandaloso que jamás se haya visto," (carta al editor), *El Tiempo*, 17 de septiembre de 1929, p. 5.

[59] Plano, Ricardo, "Historia de la cerveza en Colombia," *Historiadores de la Cocina*, 30 de junio de 2009, http://www.historiacocina.com/historia/cerveza/colombia1.htm

[60] Saldarriaga Roa, *Bogotá Siglo XX*. This legislation has since been overturned.

[61] Woolsey, L. H., "The Leticia Dispute between Colombia and Peru," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1933), pp. 317-324.

[62] Llanos, Jorge, "La batalla de Tarqui," *Cromos*, 25 de febrero de 1933, Bogotá, p.26.

[63] Llanos, "La batalla de Tarqui".

[64] Anónimo, "Frente a la guerra," *Cromos*, 18 de febrero de 1933, p. 38; see also Anónimo, "La Actitud De La Liga," *Cromos*, 25 de febrero de 1933, p.50.

[65] Cuervo Márquez, Carlos, *Orígenes Etnográficos de Colombia - Las Grandes Razas Suramericanas: Los Caribes,Los Chibchas*, Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional(?), 1917.

[66] In 1961 Marta Traba, art critic and co-founder of Bogotá's Museum of Modern Art, voiced an influential condemnation of indigenist art, opening the way for a new generation of Colombian "moderns" such as Fernando Botero. "America cannot have a Pre-Columbian style," she argued, "because Pre-Columbian history is a hermetically sealed cycle, and because Pre-Columbian man—like the European Neanderthal—was replaced by a different specimen. Today, the rest of pre-Columbian civilization is finally things of museums (*cosas de museos*)." See Traba, Marta, *La Pintura Nueva en Latinoamérica*, Bogotá, Librería Central, 1961, p. 75.

[67] Acosta de Samper, Soledad, *Lecciones de historia de Colombia*, Bogotá, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, 1908, pp. 4-16.

[68] See Tylor, Edward Burnett, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I (The Origins of Culture), New York, Harper, 1958, pp. 2-25.

[69] Nieto Caballero, "Discurso del doctor Agustín Nieto Caballero, rector de la Universidad," *Diario oficial - órgano de publicidad de los actos del gobierno nacional* 75, no. 24298 (1940), pp. 601-602.

[70] Dalgaard, Bruce R., "Monetary Reform, 1923-30: A Prelude to Colombia's Economic Development," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (1980), pp. 98-104.

[71] Palacios, *Between Legitimacy and Violence*, p. 92.

[72] Quoted in Silva, *República liberal*, p. 40.

[73] Solano, Armando, "La raza... el Indio," in Camargo Pérez et al. (eds.), *La Roma de los Chibchas*, pp. 249-256.

[74] Notice, *América Indígena*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (octubre de 1941), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., inside front cover.

[75] Editorial introduction, *América Indígena*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (octubre de 1941), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., first un-numbered page.

[76] Gregorio Hernández de Alba, co-founder of the Colombian Indigenist Institute, maintained regular correspondence with III Director Manuel Gamio throughout this period and advocated Colombia's official membership of the organization.

[77] See McCook, Stuart, "Promoting the 'practical': Science and Agricultural Modernization in Puerto Rico and Colombia, 1920-1940," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (2001), pp. 42-82.

[78] Nieto Caballero, Agustín, "Discurso del Doctor Agustín Nieto Caballero ... ".

79 Colombian National Law 14 of 1936.

[80] Hernández de Alba, Gregorio, "Lo Indígena Como Expresión Americana," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1944), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., pp. 222-225.

[81] Botero, Clara Isabel, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico de Colombia: viajeros, arqueólogos y coleccionistas, 1820-1945*, Bogotá, D.C., Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (Universidad de Los Andes), 2006, pp. 271-273.

[82] Hernández de Alba, Gregorio, *Cuentos de la conquista*, Editorial ABC, Bogotá, 1937, pp. 10-15.

[83] Anonymous, "An institute of ethnology is established," *Boletín Indigenista*, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Vol 1. No. 1 (1941), México D.F., p. 6.

84 Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico*, pp. 250-264.

[85] Clifford, James, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1981), pp. 539-564.

[86] Rivet, Paul, *Los orígenes del hombre americano*, (trans. José Recasens), Cuadernos Americanos, México, 1943, pp. 198-200; see also Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico*.

[87] Uranga H., Javier, "¿Qué es Indigenismo?," *América Indígena*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1941), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., pp. 51-53.

[88] Editorial, "Politics and the Indigenous Population of America," *América Indígena*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (octubre de 1943), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., pp. 291-294. See also Editorial, "La política de una institución no política," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (julio de 1944), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., pp. 179-182.

[89] García, Antonio, "El Indigenismo en Colombia: Génesis y Evolución," *Boletín de Arqueología*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (febrero de 1945), Ministerio de Educación/Editorial Kelly, Bogotá, pp. 52-71. See also Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, A116911, p. 18 (Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá).

[90] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 2293, p. 1.

[91] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, A116911, pp. 1011-1012.

[92] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, A116911, pp. 15-17.

[93] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, A116911, pp. 10-11.

[94] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, A116911, pp. 1-14.

[95] Uribe T., Carlos A., "La Antropología en Colombia," *América Indígena*, Vol 40, No. 2 (abril-junio de 1980), Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, México D.F., pp. 281-308.

[96] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 2293, p. 1.

[97] Mercado Cuervo, Carlos, "El Museo del Oro," *Sábado*, 22 de septiembre de 1945, pp. 7, 14.

[98] Silva, Armando, "Archivos," in Silva, Armando et al., *Imaginario urbanos en América Latina: Urbanismos ciudadanos*, Barcelona, Fundación Antoni Tàpies, 2007, pp. 190-217.

[99] Silva, Armando, "Imaginaries," in Silva, Armando (ed.), *Urban Imaginaries from Latin America*, Kassel, Documenta 11, 2003, pp. 24-25.

[100] Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado prehispánico*, pp. 236-242.

[101] Rivet, Paul, "La etnología; ciencia del hombre," *Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1942), pp. 4-5.

[102] Acuña, *El arte de los Indios Colombianos*, p. 13.

[103] Restrepo, Vicente, *Los chibchas antes de la conquista española*, Bogotá, La Paz, 1895, pp. iv-x.

[104] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 2293, p. 1.

[105] Kemmerer, E. W., "Economic Advisory Work for Governments," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1927), pp. 1-12.

[106] Hernández de Alba, Gregorio et al, *El Museo Del Oro, 1923-1948,* Bogotá, Banco de la República, 1948.

[107] Mercado Cuervo, Carlos, "El Museo Del Oro," *Sábado*, 22 de septiembre de 1946, Bogotá, pp. 7, 14.

[108] Sánchez Cabra, Efraín, "El Museo Del Oro," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, Vol. 40, No. 64, Banco de la República de Colombia, 2003, pp. 3-48.

[109] Mercado Cuervo, "El Museo del Oro".

[110] Santos, Eduardo, text in Hernández de Alba, Gegorio et al., *El Museo Del Oro*.

[111] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 2293, p. 2.

[112] Bolton, Herbert E., "Some Cultural Assets of Latin America," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1940), pp. 3-11.

[113] Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 2293, p. 2.

[114] Hernández de Alba, Gregorio, "Native Gold (Notes on the Indigenous Gold Work Museum)," (1949), in Archivo Gregorio Hernández de Alba, 1670.

[115] Sánchez Cabra, "El Museo Del Oro".

[116] See footnote 66.

[117] Silva, "Methodologies" in Silva (ed.), *Urban Imaginaries from Latin America*, pp. 53-62.

[118] Nieto Caballero, "Discurso del doctor Agustín Nieto Caballero ...".

[119] Santos, Eduardo, "Discurso del señor presidente de la república doctor Eduardo Santos al inagurar las tareas del presente año en la ciudad universitaria." *Diario oficial - órgano de publicidad de los actos del gobierno nacional* 75, no. 24298 (1940), 601-602.

[120] El Dorado refers to a quasi-mythic tale of indigenous gold and treasures originating in the Colonial era. See Whitehead, Neil L., "Introduction," in Raleigh, Walter, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1997, pp. 25-87.

[121] In his discussion of the Gold Museum, Efraín Sánchez Cabra notes that the rise of a new wave of political violence throughout Colombia paralleled the museum's rise as a tool in international public relations: see Sánchez Cabra, "El Museo Del Oro", p. 13.