NANCY P. APPELBAUM

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THE CHOROGRAPHIC COMMISSION OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY COLOMBIA

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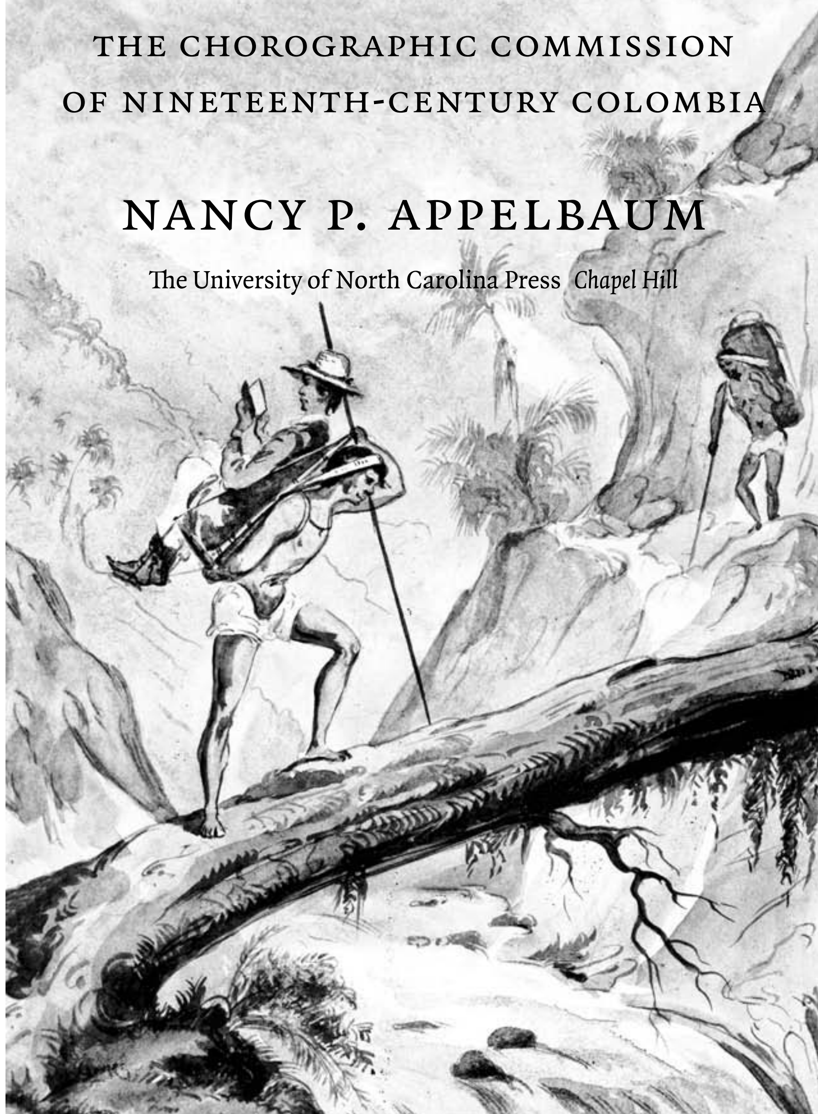

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NANCY P. APPELBAUM

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For Ken and Imogen

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Acknowledgments

My first book examined the social history of the western Colombian coffee region. Like most historians of nineteenth-century Colombia, I consulted the publications of the Chorographic Commission, a government-sponsored geographic expedition that crisscrossed the national territory from 1850 to 1859. To my disappointment, the commission wrote little about the specific place I was studying, but I could not stop reading its materials anyway. I was struck by the commission's emphasis on the racial homogeneity of particular regions in the face of the astounding diversity that it documented. I was intrigued by the commission's insistence that catastrophic floods had transformed the highland Andean landscape and been recorded by human witnesses. I was dazzled, moreover, by the commission's visual materials, including elaborate maps and vivid illustrations. I knew I wanted to study these ideas and images. Trained as a social historian, not a historian of ideas, art, or science, I was not sure where to start.

What began as a vague idea for an article, a brief detour from a road that I thought would lead me forward in time to twentieth-century social history, turned into a book project that pulled me back, deeper into the nineteenth century. The route turned out to be long and twisty. I traversed unfamiliar scholarly fields and source materials. Many institutions and individuals helped me find my way.

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chapters. Claudia lured me temporarily to Berkeley, where I began to think about this project. She and Shawn Van Ausdal later shared their offices, ideas, and home with me in Bogotá, and she critiqued two chapters. I have learned a lot from each of them and corrected many errors as a result. Several other Colombian scholars, cited in the pages that follow, have also had an indelible impact on my work.

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Mapping the Country of Regions

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Introduction

The Chorographic Commission of New Granada

At the beginning of each year throughout most of the 1850s, a small government-sponsored commission departed from the high Andean city of Bogotá with scientific instruments strapped to the backs of mules. Year after year, the commissioners would travel through a different section of the young republic of New Granada, today known as Colombia. Led by a European-born military officer, Agustín Codazzi, they made their way over the country's three Andean mountain ranges and across its savannahs and rainforests by mule, foot, and boat, and even occasionally on the backs of other men. They camped at night on the ground in lean-tos constructed by the team of workers that assisted them. When they were lucky, they slept on beds or floors of local residents' homes (where the laborers stayed on those occasions, we do not know). Their scientific instruments constantly broke down; they were chronically short of funds. They depended heavily on the knowledge, hospitality, and physical labor of locals, not all of whom welcomed the imposition. After months of research, they would return to Bogotá, where they would turn their notes and sketches into reports, maps, and watercolor illustrations. They often took ill from tropical "fevers" contracted en route, and several of the commission's support workers died. Their travels ended abruptly in 1859, when Codazzi himself took ill on the trail. He expired in a village near the Caribbean Coast, leaving his life's greatest work unfinished.

This incomplete project was the Chorographic Commission of New Granada, one of nineteenth-century Latin America's most extensive and ambitious cartographic expeditions. Founded in 1850 by the government of New Granada in order to promote economic growth and strengthen the state, the commission was officially composed of Codazzi and anywhere from one to three additional members contracted by the government to accompany him in different years, including writers, illustrators, and a botanist. Numerous other men and some women also participated in the commission, contributing their labor and knowledge.[1] Most of the officially appointed commissioners and other participants were born in New Granada, though others hailed originally from Venezuela or Europe. Although the commission's work was never quite concluded, and it is little known outside of Colombia, it had a

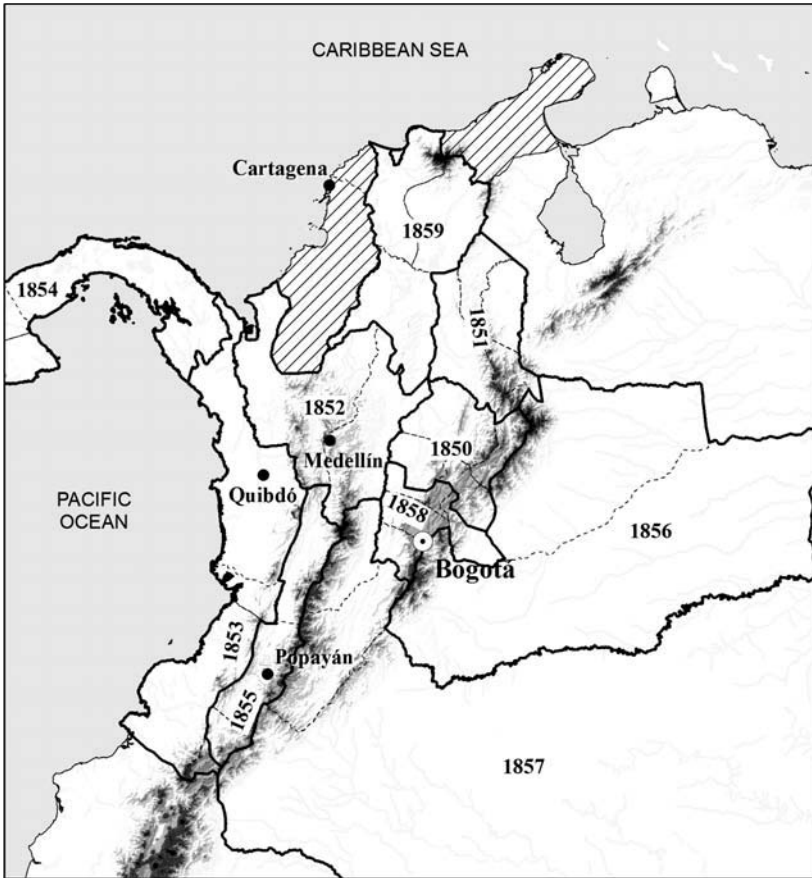
lasting impact in that country and beyond. The commission's research served as the basis for most nineteenth-century maps of Colombia, and its watercolor illustrations are ubiquitous in Colombia today. Colombian intellectuals have referred to the Chorographic Commission as a foundational moment in the formation of their nation as a "country of regions."[2]

Historians of Colombia mine the materials of the Chorographic Commission for social and economic data.[3] That is not my purpose here. Rather, this book is about how elites—including both native-born *granadinos* and their foreign-born collaborators—envisioned the nation and its component parts. More specifically, the book is about the visual and textual methodologies employed in their efforts to turn those visions into reality. It is also about how non-elites contributed to those methodologies.

An Italian engineer trained in Napoleon's Italian army, Codazzi was a veteran of both the Napoleonic and South American Independence wars. The Chorographic Commission of New Granada was modeled on a smaller enterprise of the same name that he had carried out two decades earlier in neighboring Venezuela, a republic that he had helped to found. In each country, he was commissioned by the government to produce provincial and national maps and geographic texts. In the early 1850s, New Granada was divided into more than thirty provinces, each of which was further divided into cantons. The commission's mandate was to map, describe, and illustrate the defining features of each province, and so to build, province-by-province, a national map and illustrated geographic text.[4]

Chorography was a term (examined in depth in chapter 2) of classical origin. In early modern Europe and the Iberian world, chorography had often referred to highly pictorial maps of local cities or regions. For Codazzi, chorography provided a scientific alternative to continuous triangulation of entire kingdoms or nations, which had become the international gold standard for cartography. The new republics of Venezuela and New Granada lacked the resources and infrastructure to carry out such a comprehensive topographical survey. So the "chorographers" (as Codazzi called them) instead blended narratives, images, statistics, and cartography to highlight the specificity of each province.

To thus emphasize regional particularity and diversity while trying to build a unified nation presented certain paradoxes. *Mapping the Country of Regions* is about these paradoxes—the disjuncture between the nation the commissioners encountered and documented on a daily basis as they traveled through it, on the one hand, and the aspirational nation about which they rhapsodized when they paused to dream about the future, on the other.



1. Map of Republic of New Granada, ca. 1853. Zones visited by the Chorographic Commission and dates of principal expeditions to each. Provincial borders are indicated with dotted lines. All borders reflect mid-nineteenth-century territorial claims, which were more contested, inexact, and ephemeral than they appear. Codazzi died in 1859, before reaching all the Caribbean coastal provinces. Map constructed by Bradley Skopyk.

The book explores the gap that existed between the nation seen and experienced up close, composed of thousands of quotidian encounters along the trail, and the nation as envisioned from on high: stunning vistas of faraway valleys viewed from the slopes of the Andes and then abstracted onto a two-dimensional plane on the mapmakers' drafting table.

Most notably, Codazzi and the other commissioners, like many elite thinkers of their era, assumed that a prosperous and harmonious republic required a homogeneous and well-behaved population and a unified and

well-defined territory.[5] Assumptions about race and gender infused their patriotism; they associated progress and unity with whiteness and the comportment they considered appropriate to each sex. Yet the Chorographic Commission encountered and depicted not homogeneity but "heterogeneity," not unity but fragmentation, not pure European ancestry but mixture and variety. The commissioners highlighted division and difference even as they sought unity and homogeneity; they documented racial diversity even as they extolled whiteness. This tension between aspirational homogeneity and apparent heterogeneity—or, to put it another way, between unity and diversity—has characterized modern nation formation in Latin America and, indeed, the world.[6]

I researched and wrote this book in part to resolve the apparent dissonance, or rather, to understand how nineteenth-century intellectuals tried to resolve it. My reading of the commission's texts and visual materials reveals that the commissioners tried two strategies. First, the commissioners, in dialogue with some other midcentury thinkers, insisted that the races of the nation were blending to form one new mixed (*mestizo*) race of whitish appearance, the *raza granadina*.[7] In other words, the nation was a work in progress: it was becoming homogeneous; it was becoming white. Second, the commissioners perceived the beneficial process of racial mixture to be more advanced in some regions than in others. Thus, they characterized some areas of the territory, where the national race was ostensibly replacing the indigenous and "African" races, as relatively progressive. They depicted other regions, where this mixture did not appear so advanced, as backward, an assessment that encompassed climate and moral behavior as well as race. To achieve economic prosperity, they essentially argued, the more advanced regions would have to colonize the backwards ones.

In other words, the commission tried to organize the republic's diversity into racially and environmentally differentiated and coherent regions. This effort was closely tied to a political initiative, which involved members of the commission, to transform the country into a decentralized federation of semiautonomous states. Nation formation in Colombia was thus, in part, a process of region formation. Yet, at the local level, within each of the ostensibly homogeneous regions, the commissioners documented diversity in meticulous detail, highlighting the very heterogeneity that they also sought to elide and overcome.

In the commissioners' simultaneous efforts to unify and divide the country, moreover, they privileged the inhabitants and climates of the Andean highlands over those of the tropical lowlands. In so doing, they contributed

to the solidification of race and gender stereotypes that today are still associated with Colombia's varied topography and strong regional identities. The assumption that this diverse nation is composed of homogeneous regional "races" has persisted. Colombia, like its South American neighbors, officially embraced multiculturalism starting in the 1990s, denoted by the slogan "Unity in Diversity." Yet this diversity "tends to be understood only as variety in regional cultures" according to Colombian anthropologist Myriam Jimeno.[8] Colombians today often describe their nation in terms of an array of regional types (e.g., *costeños* of the Caribbean Coast, *antioqueños* of Antioquia, *cachacos* of Bogotá, *llaneros* of the Eastern Plains), each with their own racial and cultural characteristics.

Although little studied outside of Colombia until recently, the Chorographic Commission has long fascinated Colombian scholars. Most works have been biographies of the commission's leader, Codazzi, whose adventurous transatlantic life has also captivated Italian and Venezuelan researchers.[9] Starting with a path-breaking thesis in 1983 by sociologist Olga Restrepo Forero, some scholars moved beyond biography to locate Codazzi and the Chorographic Commission in the history of science and politics.[10] The definitive work is historian Efraín Sánchez's exhaustive study, the title of which translates to *Government and Geography: Agustín Codazzi and the Chorographic Commission*.[11] More recently, a team of scholars led by Augusto Gómez López has collected much of the commission's work into a multivolume series with scholarly commentaries.[12] Various scholars, cited throughout this book, have examined selections of the commission's visual or textual materials.

Mapping the Country of Regions draws and builds on these fundamental works by providing a more integrated and critical analysis of the commission's texts, illustrations, and maps, which are too often examined in isolation from each other. The Chorographic Commission's own holistic methodology calls for such an integrated approach. I consider the maps and illustrations to jointly form a body of visual culture, to be examined not for accuracy or aesthetic value but for the arguments and aspirations they express.[13] The visual materials are studied together with the commission's texts, which themselves are highly visual in their descriptions. Indeed, the commission's visual artifacts are themselves hybrids that combine cartographic, pictorial, and textual elements, which sometimes contradict each other.[14] As scholars have shown, visual culture was integral to nation formation in the mid-nineteenth-century Americas; maps and images, along with descriptive prose, imagined precarious young republics as nations with distinctive landscapes, and inhabitants bound together—yet also internally

divided—by territory, race, and custom.[15] Together, maps, images, and texts helped constitute the territories and peoples they depicted.

MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND TEXTS

On the first day of January 1850, Agustín Codazzi signed a contract with the government of New Granada "to create a general map of [the] Republic and a chorographic map of each of its provinces."[16] The same day, Manuel Ancízar, a leading New Granada intellectual and former cabinet minister, was commissioned to assist him.[17] For the first year, the Chorographic Commission was officially composed of just these two commissioners. Their charge was not simply to chart the national borders, but rather to explore each province and provide provincial ("chorographic") maps and reports, including statistics on each canton. They were mandated to depict "the customs, the races into which the population divides, the ancient monuments and natural curiosities," and to publicize those aspects of the country that would "promote the immigration of industrious foreigners."[18] Specifically, the chorographers were tasked with reporting on "history, climate, natural products, public lands, mines, distances between diverse settlements, routes for marches and other military operations and, in sum, a multitude of highly useful details for public administration."[19] The following year, botanist José Jerónimo Triana and illustrator Carmelo Fernández were added. Triana was to document useful plants with potential to be commercialized while Fernández was to assist with drawing maps and portraying "the physical beauties of the country, its social state, customs . . . and monuments . . . the types of population of provinces, the specific costumes of each and characteristic landscape."[20]

What can we learn from these chorographic maps and depictions of "races" and other "useful details" amassed by the Chorographic Commission? The commission's materials, I argue, reveal some of the ways that the elite grappled with challenges posed by varied topographies and diverse inhabitants. Examining these sources uncovers how midcentury *letrados* (members of the lettered elite) sought to order the national territory and ensure their own access to its natural resources. The commission's surviving materials, including even the published ones, are essentially drafts, raw and unpolished. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, they are inconsistent and even at times contradictory. These inconsistencies reflect not only the unfinished nature of the project but also the contradictions inherent in the larger political and economic projects that the commission embodied.

Elite intellectuals and entrepreneurs struggled to understand, control, exploit, and transform their compatriots. Like elites throughout the Americas, the commissioners and their allies in New Granada sought to appropriate the rest of the population's labor and natural resources in the name of capitalist "progress." The Chorographic Commission also appropriated the population's intellectual resources, particularly as regards geographic and ethnographic knowledge. Like other cartographers, the Chorographic Commission amassed data from varied textual and visual sources and a wide array of informants, both elite and humble.[21] Nineteenth-century Latin American mapmaking was often a process of dual appropriation: on the one hand, mapmakers obtained labor and knowledge from local inhabitants in order to create maps; on the other hand, those same maps were created precisely in order to facilitate the state's acquisition of labor and natural resources from those inhabitants. The commission often disparaged non-elite inhabitants, especially Indians, even as it relied on them. Art historian Magali Carrera notes that modern maps usually conceal the appropriations on which they depend, but the Chorographic Commission, like earlier mapmakers, often made such processes visible and explicit on the surfaces of the maps themselves.[22]

The commission's ambivalence about the people upon whom it relied underscores one of the main challenges of nineteenth-century nation making. To effectively build a coherent nation governed by a stable state, the elite would have to form lasting alliances with popular forces that it often disdained and even feared.[23] Such alliances had facilitated independence from Spain in the first place.[24] In the republican era, cross-class organizing gave rise to various political and military mobilizations, most notably the Liberal "revolutionary" presidential administration of José Hilario López (1849–1853). Yet such alliances proved conflictive and ephemeral; the elite balked when the popular classes tried to put shared ideals (such as equality and liberty, in the case of Liberals) into action.[25] Elite actions and efforts relied on, but were ultimately constrained by, popular forces.

The maps and illustrations provide insights into these power dynamics, albeit mostly (but not exclusively) from elite perspectives.[26] To read the maps, I draw on scholarship that views cartography as thoroughly political; maps represent power-laden social relations.[27] Maps impose order and "legibility" on complex societies and diffuse territories.[28] Maps help shape material conditions; they affect legal rights, citizenship, property ownership, and access to natural resources. Through mapping, the state and nation are constituted together as a visual form.[29] According to geographer Karl Offen

and historian Jordana Dym, "all maps have the power to contribute to the transformation of the spaces they represent. . . . maps are not simply objects of factual record; they are part and parcel of the spaces they portray and help cocreate."[30]

For nineteenth-century Latin America, Dym, Offen, and other scholars have shown how national maps embodied and enacted republican aspirations.[31] Maps provided the precarious new American nations with seemingly timeless and permanent boundaries, projected into the past and future, belying the fragility of each state's claims over the territory depicted. Scholars emphasize that national maps generally depicted national space as coherent by making it appear continuous and largely homogeneous. As demonstrated in recent analyses of two of the Chorographic Commission's provincial maps, however, the commission constructed an internally differentiated and fragmented national space.[32] Such maps emphasized the distinctiveness of each province, and thus the heterogeneity of the nation.

Alongside maps, nineteenth-century cartographic expeditions produced other visual materials.[33] In this sense, they built on earlier scientific practices that emphasized the production and circulation of scientific illustrations. This visual emphasis had been particularly marked in the Hispanic Enlightenment, as evidenced in thousands of illustrations generated by eighteenth-century imperial botanical expeditions, including the Royal Botanical Expedition of New Granada, led by José Celestino Mutis.[34] Visuality continued to mark the practice and dissemination of science in the nineteenth century via new technologies of reproduction that allowed for wider circulation of images.[35] Throughout the Americas, illustrators (and later photographers) participated in mapping expeditions.[36] Their on-the-ground depictions fleshed out the more abstract bird's-eye depictions provided by maps. The putative lines between what we might define as a "map" versus "illustration" or even textual "account" often blurred. Both scientific and literary texts were often highly pictorial in their descriptive prose, while seemingly whimsical illustrations or travel sketches advanced scientific theories. Science and aesthetics were largely inseparable.

This book is therefore as much or more about complementary materials—pictures, travelogues, correspondence, and official reports—as it is about maps. In addition to archival and published maps, the principal sources for the book include the commission's archival manuscripts, published texts, and illustrations, most of which are available at Colombia's archives and libraries and some of which have been transcribed by other scholars.[37] The commission's surviving 151 official watercolor illustrations provide key

sources. They are conserved in Colombia's National Library, where I was fortunate to be able to view many of them in the original.[38] Although largely hidden from public view until they were published and reproduced in the mid-twentieth century, the images have become ubiquitous in Colombia.[39] Gracing the covers and pages of many books about the nineteenth century, the watercolors are too often used simply as illustrations rather than analyzed critically in their own right. They are typically printed without their full captions, which provide key information for contextualizing and interpreting them. Recently, however, Colombian scholars have shown that we should treat the images not as transparent "snapshots" but rather as expressions of arguments.[40] I build on this scholarship by placing the images in dialogue with the maps and texts, both archival and published, in order to elucidate the commission's arguments about the past, present, and future of the nation.[41] Many of the Chorographic Commission's illustrations and texts reflected nineteenth-century *costumbrismo*. *Costumbrista* art and literature vividly depicted human "types" (*tipos*) and their "customs" (*costumbres*), rooted in specific geographic locations. The commission explicitly associated each type it depicted with place of origin and sometimes with occupation or class. Moreover, unlike most costumbrista artists, the commission often labeled its human types by race, harkening back to colonial practices of categorizing subjects by caste.[42] The commission also produced paintings of landscapes, historic sites, and archaeological artifacts, alongside charts and statistics, and it collected botanical and geological specimens. Through all of these materials, the commission sought to represent, and indeed to transform, the young nation.

CONFLICTING GOALS IN TURBULENT TIMES

As will be seen in the chapters that follow, some of the inconsistencies evident in the commission's depictions can be attributed to its multiple goals and to the conflictive political context in which it operated. The Chorographic Commission started out as primarily an economic project. The commission's sponsors and participants initially justified it precisely in terms of projected economic benefits. The commission sought to effect transformations of the land and labor force in order to promote a capitalist export-based economy. In addition, it sought to describe New Granada accurately in order to facilitate governance and military control, and to depict the country in a favorable light for foreigners in order to encourage foreign investment and immigration.

The commission implicitly promoted national identity, or what the nineteenth-century Granadinos referred to as "nationality" (*nacionalidad*).[43] Constructing the national out of the provincial, however, was complicated. Emphasizing provincial or regional specificity could potentially undermine national unity and identity. In the middle of the decade the national administrative structure was reorganized along federal lines and the existing thirty-six provinces—some of which had only just been created—were replaced by eight (later nine) larger and more autonomous "sovereign" states. Whether this new federated entity was truly a nation, or rather a federation of separate *nacionalidades*, was an open question at that time.

Statist and scientific goals also occasionally clashed, as did the individual egos and agendas of individuals involved in various ways with the commission. In addition to facilitating economic prosperity, governance, and national identity, commissioners intended to produce a work of scientific significance to present to learned societies abroad. In the 1860s, after Codazzi's death, a public dispute raged as to who should receive international acclaim, what constituted scientific truth, and what kind of science best served national interests.

Such controversies are not surprising given the turbulent political climate in which the commission operated. In their simultaneous roles as intellectuals, politicians, and soldiers, several of the commissioners took active part in political and military conflicts. Factional rivalries between and within the new Liberal and Conservative parties (officially formed in 1848 and 1849, respectively) veered repeatedly into violence.[44] From the inauguration of the commission in 1850 to the publication of its maps and texts in the early 1860s, the country experienced three civil wars, three constitutions, and three names (the Republic of New Granada became the Granadine Confederation in 1858 and then the United States of Colombia in 1863).

The commission was not a partisan initiative; it survived under both Liberal and Conservative governments and included adherents of both parties among its members and supporters. The first presidential administration of Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1845–1849), who then identified with the Ministerial faction (precursor to the Conservatives), conceived of the commission and invited Codazzi to New Granada from Venezuela. The commission was officially launched by the Liberal administration of José Hilario López (1849–1853), which had been elected by a coalition of elite Liberal intellectuals, military officers, and members of the popular classes, including artisans and even former slaves. Fissures in that coalition led to a civil war in 1854, which disrupted the commission's labors. Several of the commissioners took

up arms as part of a bipartisan coalition of Liberals and Conservatives; they defeated a Liberal faction associated with artisans and their military allies. Conservative governments ensued, to be overthrown in 1861 in a war spearheaded by Mosquera, who had by then become a Liberal. Several of the commission's members and sponsors took active part in these events. They also participated in the biggest political transformation of this period: converting the republic into a federation of states. The Chorographic Commission's emphasis on racial and regional difference provided a rationale that advocates used to make federalism seem like the most natural system to govern a heterogeneous country.

Underlying all of this tumult were two competing impulses recently elucidated by historian James Sanders.[45] On the one hand was the professed desire, especially evident among midcentury Liberals of varying social class, to replace colonial legacies with modern ideals of equality, democracy, and popular sovereignty and thus to transcend race and class divisions. On the other hand was the elite's need, regardless of party affiliation, to strengthen its economic and political dominance over the rest of the population, premised on a hierarchical social order. These tendencies served to divide Granadinos into opposing groups. Yet competing impulses also coexisted within the same political faction or even, I would add, within the same individual.[46] Race, gender, and geographic space were fundamental aspects of the social order.

RACE, GENDER, AND REGION

Despite the egalitarian emphasis of much of Spanish American patriotism in the first half of the nineteenth century, even the most radical intellectuals analyzed their societies in terms of the population's racial qualities and defects. Explicit references to race run through the texts and illustrations produced by the Chorographic Commission. The commissioners used race to distinguish among the nation's provinces and among its inhabitants. That is not to say, however, that they defined race clearly or used it consistently.

Since its emergence in the imperial encounters of the early modern period, race (*raza* in Spanish) has had multiple meanings.[47] Race has referred to lineage, ancestry, appearance, bodily constitution, morals, or even spirit or soul. The relative weight given to each of these referents has varied across history and across the globe; racial definitions still today vary from one country to the next in Latin America, even from one neighborhood to the next. Despite the inconsistencies, race continues to be used widely to divide and cate-

gorize humanity. Modern Latin American definitions of race were shaped, in part, by colonial caste categories dating to the sixteenth century and, in part, by taxonomies emanating from Europe in the late eighteenth century.

In various Enlightenment formulations, peoples' physical and moral characteristics, as well as the progress of their civilizations, were shaped either in part or in whole by their environments. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's influential late-eighteenth-century taxonomy divided humanity into five varieties: Ethiopian (African), Mongolian (East Asian), Caucasian, American, and Malay. Nineteenth-century Spanish Americans likewise linked race with geographical space, but the spaces they referenced, and the ways they defined race, did not always match this Enlightenment schema. Spanish Americans spoke of national races and provincial races, even as they continued to use colonial-era caste labels and differentiate between types by referencing cultural and bodily characteristics.

These racialized bodies were gendered and sexed bodies. The ostensible cultural and physical inferiority of blacks and Indians was often evidenced through descriptions of their gender roles and sexual habits. Patriarchal families were explicitly praised. In particular, women's perceived sexual behavior—whether they dressed modestly and remained "honest" or were "corrupted" by vice—figured prominently in the commission's assessment of the relative progress or backwardness of each social group or community, and ultimately in the commission's differentiation of one region from another. Thus, gendered representations of women, men, and families accentuated racial and regional difference. Type was itself a gendered concept; normative racial and regional types were assumed to be male (e.g., *el tipo antioqueño*, *el tipo llanero*); the female constituted variation on type.

Midcentury was a transitional period for racial discourse in Spanish America. Internationally, virulent strains of nineteenth-century racist biology were emerging, and yet the egalitarian ideals of the Independence era remained highly influential and deeply interwoven with republican discourse, especially but not exclusively among Liberals. By the mid-1850s, all of the Spanish American independent republics had abolished slavery. New Granada's last slaves were freed in 1852, and Liberals there moved quickly to define male former slaves as legal citizens. During the 1850s, moreover, Spanish American intellectuals, including some Granadinos, started conceptualizing a "Latin race," in contrast to the "Anglo-Saxon race" of North America, and they began using the term "Latin America."[48]

As they transitioned into post-emancipation societies and sought to for-

mulate new, more inclusive continental and national identities, however, Spanish Americans could not simply discard the baggage of several centuries of colonialism and slavery. Even as many members of the republican elite advocated liberty and equality, they often wanted to maintain the economic privilege and prestige that had accrued to them as the descendants of Europeans in a colonial world. They were concerned with the international image of their nations in a transatlantic context that increasingly equated modernity with whiteness. They were reluctant to completely reject the racially structured labor systems upon which their own fragile fortunes depended. In addition, most elite men were loath to concede any political power to women, even to those of their own class. This desire for both equality and hierarchy shaped their national projects.

Race, despite its conceptual instability and seeming incompatibility with liberal universalism, remained very important for even the most radical mid-century letrados of New Granada. Yet race posed a challenge for them. They wanted to value what was unique and distinctive about New Granada's great variety of peoples and customs even as they viewed homogeneity as preferable for national harmony and progress. As they traveled through the republic, the chorographers, like other travelers, looked closely at the people and places they encountered, documenting racial differences and divisions on the ground, in detail, every step of the way. Yet they also rhapsodized about an emerging national unitary race. They valued mixture, but most of all, they valued whiteness. Assumptions about race contributed to defining and ranking the geographical spaces that they depicted as making up their nation. Thus, they used race to organize their national geography.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, those geographical spaces were increasingly defined as regions. During the era of the Chorographic Commission, the word "region" (*región*) was used inconsistently. Subsequently, at the end of the nineteenth century, Conservative geographer Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco mapped out Colombia's "natural regions."[49] In elaborating his system, Vergara y Velasco, who drew heavily on the Chorographic Commission as well as on European thinkers, emphasized the importance of the natural environment in shaping the character of each regional society and population. Region has since become a pervasive concept in Colombian scholarship, politics, media, and popular culture.[50] Regional stereotypes reference race and gender. Colombians do not, however, agree upon where to draw the boundaries between regions or what the defining characteristic of each one is. The concept of region, like race, has proved unstable.

CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK

Over the course of eight chapters, *Mapping the Country of Regions* traces how and why the Chorographic Commission and its contemporaries mapped region, race, and gender onto Colombia's national geographic imaginary. The first chapter lays out the origins and composition of the Chorographic Commission to show how it reflected its members' aspirations and assumptions. The official commissioners and most of the other individuals who created and contributed to the commission hailed from the Andean regions of New Granada, while others were born abroad or in other areas of New Granada. They were overwhelmingly male, but women contributed in less obvious ways. The commission was at once parochial, national, and cosmopolitan; it was both Liberal and Conservative.

Chapter 2 examines the chorographic method, as defined and adapted by Codazzi and his collaborators. The chapter considers both the local conditions and the international scientific currents that shaped their geographic practice, which built on and drew legitimacy from the holistic biogeography of Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. An examination of Codazzi's first chorographic enterprise, the Venezuelan Chorographic Commission, provides insights into the New Granada commission's unfinished work. The chapter concludes with a discussion of one of the commission's chorographic maps.

Subsequent chapters focus on the Chorographic Commission's depictions of particular regions and aspects of New Granada. The third and fourth chapters show how the commission constructed a dichotomy between highland and lowland regions. Chapter 3 examines the Chorographic Commission's expeditions during its first three years, from 1850 through 1852, in the northern Andean provinces that soon after became the states of Santander and Boyacá (in the northeast) and Antioquia (in the northwest). The commission represented the inhabitants as both highly diverse and essentially homogeneous. The population was dissected and classified by racial type, yet also, somewhat contradictorily, glossed overall as white. Chapter 4 follows the commission down to the Pacific lowlands in 1853. The commissioners construed the "lazy" post-emancipation black population and "steamy" environment of the Pacific, in contrast to the people and climate of the highlands, as obstacles to national progress that would need to be overcome. Thus the commission essentialized regional difference.

The commission was an economic project that aimed to stimulate immigration, infrastructure, and exports. The fifth chapter examines the com-

mission's optimistic yet ambivalent portrayal of the nation's struggling midcentury economy, including its resources and workers. Codazzi, moreover, was not satisfied with simply representing the landscape and inhabitants; he also tried to effect material transformation. He advocated repressive labor regimes, road building, privatizing Indians' lands, and clearing forests in order to promote a capitalist export economy. He personally surveyed an indigenous landholding and supervised the initial excavation for a road that, like most of his economic proposals, ended up going nowhere.

Among the landscapes and populations that Codazzi sought to transform were those of the Eastern Plains and the Amazon. Chapter 6 examines the commission's representations of these eastern and southeastern borderlands in 1856 and 1857, a period during which the commissioners suffered increasingly adverse circumstances. The chapter analyzes a large manuscript map of the Eastern Plains, replete with ethnographic notations that belie Codazzi's own repeated characterization of the region as "deserted." Unlike in the highlands, the commission explicitly acknowledged the uncertainty of its knowledge obtained from humble local informants. Posthumous published maps, however, elided the intellectual contributions and the very existence of Indians and blacks, depicting empty lands open for colonization.

The seventh chapter considers how the commissioners and their contemporaries read the natural and human history "written" on the landscapes of New Granada. Following other midcentury intellectuals, they endowed their impoverished young republic with an Andean precursor civilization and a cataclysmic natural history. Each province was endowed with its own particular history and destiny. The commissioners' reading of overlapping pasts embedded in provincial landscapes would prove racially exclusive and politically controversial.

Chapter 8 examines the controversies that swirled around the commission's final publications in the late 1850s and early 1860s. After Codazzi's death in 1859, the maps and texts were revised and published amidst a bitter feud that underscored the political significance of science and history. Tensions that long underlay the commission's work erupted in the context of violent conflicts over the control of the state.

The conclusion expands the time frame, from the 1860s to the present, to trace the commission's problematic legacies, particularly as regards region. Before his death, Codazzi had fretted that the commission's work would simply languish in obscurity, gathering dust in the archive. His worries were not unfounded; most of the illustrations were indeed locked away for a century. But the Chorographic Commission had a significant short-term and

long-term influence on the nation's cartography and imaginary. The commission contributed to constructing an image of Colombia as an Andean-dominated "country of regions." Rather than unify the nation, however, the commission portrayed it as fragmented into different and often opposing spaces, inhabited by racially and culturally distinct "types," some better than others. This fragmented hierarchy has persisted. A century and a half after the death of Agustín Codazzi, Colombians still ponder the question of what takes precedence: region or nation.

Discerning readers might note certain omissions in this narrative. For reasons of length and coherence, not every province or region is covered. I do not devote chapters specifically to either the Andean southwest or the Cauca Valley, which were sites of important upheavals and were traversed by the Chorographic Commission.[51] Panamá, which Codazzi visited only briefly during this period, is slighted. The Caribbean Coast is omitted almost entirely, mainly because the Caribbean coastal expedition was cut short by Codazzi's death in 1859.[52] Panamá and the Coast were the most cosmopolitan regions of New Granada, long integrated into international cultural and mercantile networks.[53] Ironically, the progress sought by the commission was perhaps most advanced in these regions, which were marginalized in the narratives of Bogotá-based intellectuals. According to historian Ernesto Bassi, the Chorographic Commission formed part of a larger midcentury process of "decaribbeanization": a shift away from a Caribbean-centered nation envisioned during the Independence era.[54]

The book is selective in other ways as well. Topics left out include the botanical research of commissioner José Jerónimo Triana and international borders.[55] The book, moreover, is emphatically not a history of Colombia's regions per se. I do not study the emergence and contestation of any regional identity from the ground up, as I have done elsewhere.[56] Rather, *Mapping the Country of Regions* focuses on nineteenth-century envisioning of region and nation and the implications of those visions for the broader modern Latin American history of nation formation, geographic hierarchy, and social inequality.[57]

I

Distinguished Citizens of the Illustrated World

Creation and Composition of the Commission

It might seem counterintuitive to view a commission led by a foreign-born military engineer, Agustín Codazzi, as incarnating the Colombian elite's nation-building aspirations. But while the commission was shaped profoundly by Codazzi's expertise and ideas, it was also influenced by the national context in which it operated. The commission was composed of an ever-shifting group of between two and four official members, both native- and foreign-born, and supported by additional unofficial contributors and workers.[1] They adhered to different and often opposing political factions. Consistently patriarchal and stratified by class, the commission was simultaneously parochial, national, and cosmopolitan, as well as both Liberal and Conservative. Indeed, Codazzi often seemed to embody all of these impulses.

This chapter lays out the origins of the Chorographic Commission, placing it within the larger trajectory of geographic science in New Granada, which predominantly emphasized the superiority of the Andean climates and inhabitants over those of other regions. The chapter introduces Codazzi and the other official members of the commission as well as its principal sponsors and some of its unofficial participants. These individuals practiced geographical science while also practicing politics, warfare, and the arts. They participated actively in the midcentury tumults and transformations that turned New Granada into Colombia. The chapter concludes by examining the relationship between the commission and the most significant political transformation of the era: the transition to federalism.

CREOLE GEOGRAPHY

Historians of Colombian republican geographical science often start with Francisco José de Caldas, a pioneering Enlightenment-era intellectual from the southwestern city of Popayán who collaborated with both José Celestino Mutis and Alexander von Humboldt. Caldas edited the scientific journal *Sema-*

nario del Nuevo Reino de Granada (1808–1810), one of several periodicals founded by late-colonial creoles (*criollos*, which at that time usually referred to whites born in the New World). It published research on the Viceroyalty's territory and resources. The first edition started with an essay on the "State of the Geography of the Viceroyalty of Santafé de Bogotá," which opened with Caldas's famous and oft-quoted manifesto, in which he defined geographic knowledge as "the thermometer that measures the enlightenment, commerce, agriculture, and prosperity of a people."[2] Geography was "the fundamental base of all political speculation," which measured the size of the country and studied the "peoples of the land, the goodness of its coasts, the navigable rivers, the mountains [that] cross it, the valleys that they form, the reciprocal distances between the settlements, the established roads . . . climate, temperature, the altitude above sea level of all points, the temperament and customs of the inhabitants, the spontaneous products, and those which can be domesticated."[3] Thus Caldas laid out the objective and content of patriotic geographic science and its centrality to building and governing a prosperous and enlightened society. Although Caldas and his collaborators had not yet broken with Spain, they made clear that any would-be governing elite must know its own territory. Caldas proposed a "geographic-economic" expedition composed of an astronomer, a botanist, a geologist, a zoologist, an economist, and illustrators to traverse the Viceroyalty, which never came to fruition.[4]

Like Humboldt, whose work the *Semanario* republished and with whom Caldas had collaborated (and quarreled), Caldas mapped plants and climates by altitude. His essays, moreover, were infused with enthusiasm about his homeland—the same enthusiasm that would lead him, a few years later, to become an ardent patriot and martyr for Independence. He celebrated New Granada's mountains for the diverse climates they produced, without which the viceroyalty would consist of a "melancholic and eternal hot lowland plain."[5]

> Our Andes are the origin of incalculable benefits, our Andes give us all the delicacies, our Andes moderate us, vary us. . . . Temperature, air density, meteors, fruits, animals, uses, ingenuity, customs, features, color, virtues, vices, all vary with level. *There are few points on the surface of the globe more advantageous to observe, and I can say feel, the influence of climate and foods on the physical constitution of man, on his character, virtues, and vices* [emphasis in original].[6]

Caldas thus argued that New Granada's highly varied topography provided an ideal laboratory in which to test European theories.[7] He vindicated

creole science by emphasizing the importance of direct observation and experimentation, which creoles were uniquely positioned to do,[8] and he vindicated the New World environment—or at least part of it. Influenced by Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu and Buffon, while emphasizing his own empirical observations, Caldas concluded that the climate had a strong influence on the human body.[9] (By *climate* he and others referred to not only temperature but all aspects of what we would now call the natural environment).[10] He differed in part from Buffon's negative view of the Americas by emphasizing that the temperate climate of the Andean highlands "moderated" their tropical inhabitants, allowing some civilizations to emerge that were not inferior to those of Europe.[11] Thus, according to historian Alfonso Múnera, Caldas and his collaborators created a "hegemonic discourse of the Andean republic, in which the valleys and highlands of the great cordilleras embodied the ideal territory of the nation, while the coasts, the hot lands of the river valleys, the plains and the forests [were] the 'other,' the negative image of an inferior America."[12] Caldas championed some areas of New Granada (the temperate highlands) at the expense of others (the hot lowlands).

Caldas did not live to see the new republic. Royalist forces executed him in 1816.[13] In the 1840s, the New Granada historian, geologist, and cartographer Joaquín Acosta published the *Semanario* as a book, which circulated among the small midcentury intelligentsia.[14] Educated Granadinos were therefore familiar with Caldas's ideas about the importance of geographic knowledge and the relationship between people and their environment.

Recently, scholars have been documenting and analyzing the production of early republican cartography to argue that Colombia's rich legacy of nineteenth-century geographical practices "neither began nor ended with Codazzi."[15] They document the production of local and national maps during the Independence period and the first Republic of Colombia (1819–1830), which historians now refer to as Gran Colombia (it included present-day Venezuela and Ecuador).[16] In 1824, José Manuel Restrepo, the Minister of the Interior under Simón Bolívar and former collaborator with Caldas, led the production of a manuscript map titled *Chorographic Map of the Republic of Colombia*, based on various preexisting maps. This formed the basis for the published *Map of the Republic of Colombia*, which he included in his 1827 atlas.[17]

The separation of New Granada from Ecuador and Venezuela in 1830 brought more efforts to stimulate science in service of the state.[18] Provincial maps indicating boundaries of provinces and cantons were produced.[19] Meanwhile, some of New Granada's leading elite intellectuals—including men such as Acosta, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Francisco Antonio Zea,

and José María Samper—created national maps and geographical texts.[20] All of the best-known geographers were elite men, but women also participated in geographical culture in contexts ranging from elite salons to school classrooms, as well as by writing costumbrista literature, and non-elites participated in many ways as well.[21]

Acosta was New Granada's leading geographer and scientist. He studied mathematics, geology, and engineering in Paris, where he published articles and collaborated with Humboldt. Acosta compiled an influential national map in 1847 from published maps, archival documents, and unpublished measurements provided by other scientists with whom he worked, such as the French geologist Jean Baptist Boussingault.[22] To those sources he added his own geographical measurements.

In 1839, as Codazzi finished mapping neighboring Venezuela, New Granada's lawmakers authorized the appointment of "two engineers" from within or outside of the country to produce a national map and provincial maps, along with a descriptive text.[23] The legislators who sponsored this legislation included Mosquera and José Hilario López—the two future presidents whose successive administrations would initiate the Chorographic Commission a decade later.[24] The law cited the need for an accurate division of the country to facilitate public administration and stated that "the administration and alienation of public lands also requires measurement and knowledge."[25] The legislation reflected a search on the part of early republican leaders for the best way to divide up and administrate the country and an emerging elite consensus that New Granada's future prosperity lay in privatizing public and communal lands as well as promoting export agriculture and mining. The maps and descriptions of New Granada were to emphasize "above all its products and natural riches."[26] Another decade would pass, however, before the government of New Granada could actually manage to launch its own commission under the leadership of Agustín Codazzi.

THE FOUNDING MEMBERS: ANCÍZAR AND CODAZZI

Institutionally and economically, the Republic of New Granada found itself on weak footing after the Independence wars and breakup of Gran Colombia. Granadinos, who reportedly numbered around two million in 1843, struggled to rebuild.[27] The treasury was impoverished and much of the infrastructure, such as it was, had fallen apart. Civil strife wreaked further havoc on the economy. Mosquera's first presidential administration (1845–1849) sought to boost exports, especially of gold and tobacco, by lowering trade

barriers and initiating steamship transportation on the Magdalena River. He promoted technical training for the elite and the immigration of foreign experts. Among his modernization initiatives, Mosquera invited to New Granada the two founding members of the Chorographic Commission, first Manuel Ancízar and then Agustín Codazzi, both of whom had been residing in Venezuela.[28]

Born just outside of Bogotá in 1812, Manuel Ancízar Basterra belonged to a Spanish family that had fled to Cuba during the Independence wars.[29] Educated in Havana, where he reportedly dabbled in Freemasonry and plotted against the Spanish crown, he settled in Venezuela in 1834. There, he became an influential educator and writer. Returning to Bogotá in 1847, he served as Mosquera's Minister of Exterior Relations, founded the periodical *El Neo-Granadino*, and supported the radical Liberal political faction that came to power in the contentious election of 1848.

Ancízar served on the commission for its first two years. He was supposed to produce a "Geographic-statistic Dictionary," which he never completed. He also agreed to provide an illustrated "dramatic and descriptive" work that would describe "the geographic expedition in its marches and adventures, the customs, the races in which the population is divided, the ancient monuments and natural curiosities, and all the circumstances worthy of mention."[30] That dramatic work became the commission's best known text, *Pilgrimage of Alpha* (*Peregrinacion de Alpha*). His ironic and somewhat irreverent pen name, Padre Alpha, might have reflected the fact that radical Liberals were seeking to substitute their own secular authority over that of the church. Pilgrimage, of course, implies religious ritual—a sacred journey or quest, though there was nothing overtly religious about Ancízar's text. Biographer Gilberto Loaiza Cano suggests that Ancízar, who had fled New Granada as a child, was undertaking a personal journal of discovery of his national identity, "a pilgrimage to the nooks and crannies of his previously unknown domain."[31] In 1852, however, he reluctantly left for a diplomatic mission abroad and abandoned the commission. For several years he retained the futile hope of rejoining it.[32]

Codazzi's childhood, like Ancízar's, had been disrupted by war, but unlike Ancízar he embraced warfare by becoming a soldier. Giovanni Battista Agostino Codazzi was born to a merchant family in Lugo in 1793. The city was soon overrun by Napoleon's forces, who sacked the family home in 1796. Codazzi nonetheless entered Napoleon's Italian forces while still in his teens. He apparently trained at the military academy at Pavia, joined the mounted artillery, ascended through the ranks of subordinate officers, and fought in

bloody campaigns in Lombardy and Germany.[33] He briefly joined William Bentinck's liberal Anglo-Italian forces fighting for the independence of Sicily in 1814–1815.

As a Napoleonic officer, Codazzi was indoctrinated in Enlightenment liberalism and science as well as a respect for order and military hierarchy. He benefited from the academic traditions of northern Italy as well as Napoleon's promotion of "geographic engineers" and technical training for military officers.[34] Codazzi's training would have included trigonometry, land surveying, building fortifications, drawing, and establishing locations with triangulation and astronomic measurements.[35]

Highly skilled but unemployed after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Codazzi joined other ex-soldiers circulating around Europe and the Near East in search of employment. According to his own memoir, he offered his military services to leaders ranging from the Pope to the Czar to the King of Persia.[36] He undertook commercial ventures in the Ottoman Empire. Then, in 1817, after missing a boat from Amsterdam to Indonesia, he and his friend Costante Ferrari booked passage to Baltimore instead. Finding few opportunities there and enticed by the American uprisings against Spain, they signed up to fight.

By his own undoubtedly embellished account, Codazzi's adventures in the Independence wars led him to Texas, Florida, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, mainland New Granada, and Buenos Aires.[37] Under the command of the French corsair Louis Aury, he fought on land and sea, built fortifications, and mapped coastlines. Toward the end of the war, in 1819–1820, Codazzi reported that Aury sent him twice by obscure routes into the interior of New Granada. Disguised as a merchant, he worked his way through the royalist-controlled Pacific lowlands of New Granada via the Atrato and San Juan Rivers, and then made the arduous crossing over two Andean cordilleras to the newly liberated capital of Bogotá. He fought Spanish forces and ferried information between Aury and the supreme leader Simón Bolívar. Once New Granada was largely under patriot control, Codazzi was able to travel openly back to the coast on the main transportation route, the Magdalena River. This voyage gave him his first glimpse of life and commerce in New Granada's most populated provinces. His memoir of that period was accompanied by a map he had sketched of Panamá and the coastal Province of Chocó, and another of the San Juan and Atrato rivers.[38]

Then, after a stint as the co-owner of an agricultural estate near Bologna, Codazzi returned to Bogotá in 1826.[39] He was incorporated into the Colombian military and sent to Venezuela. Stationed in Maracaibo, he worked on

building the fortifications and mapping that city and surrounding areas. Even as he found his vocation as a cartographer, he was still primarily a military officer, capable of brutal violence. In 1827, he reportedly suppressed a local rebellion by ordering the summary execution of four Indians of the Guajira Peninsula, for which he was briefly imprisoned.[40]

After the breakup of Gran Colombia in 1830, Codazzi stayed in Venezuela and became one of that nation's founders. He assumed high-level political and military posts as a member of the faction becoming known as Conservative, under José Antonio Páez. He married Araceli de la Hoz, a member of the creole provincial elite.[41] Together they started a large family. During the 1830s, Codazzi carried out his first Chorographic Commission, for the government of Venezuela (discussed in more detail in the next chapter). He published its results in Paris in the 1840s to international acclaim. When Páez fell from power, Codazzi accepted an invitation from Ancízar on Mosquera's behalf. He and his family arrived in Bogotá in 1849. Designated a colonel, Codazzi assumed leadership of a new technical school known as the Military College (*Colegio Militar*).[42] On January 1, 1850, Codazzi and Ancízar formalized contracts with the Liberal government of José Hilario López to initiate the Chorographic Commission.

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION

Initially composed of just two official members, within a year the commission expanded to include an illustrator and botanist. The commission was thereafter composed by a shifting group of men, both native- and foreign-born, Liberal and Conservative, who influenced each other. Several were, or would become, influential political figures in New Granada.

In 1851, the government added Venezuelan illustrator Carmelo Fernández, a nephew of the defeated Páez.[43] As a boy, Fernández had studied drawing and mathematics in Venezuela and New York, and then served in the Gran Colombian military. Stationed in New Granada during the late 1820s, he cultivated friendships and romances in the town of Ocaña, which he would revisit with the commission, and also Medellín and Bogotá. He later recalled that he had contemplated suicide upon rejection from a young *bogotana*.[44] Back in Caracas, Fernández taught school, painted miniature portraits, and worked on the final stages of Codazzi's Venezuelan Chorographic Commission, drafting maps and designing an elaborate cartouche, among other patriotic projects.[45] He accompanied Codazzi to Paris in 1840. In 1849 he too fled Venezuela to Bogotá, where he tutored Codazzi's children. Despite his

talents, he incurred the leader's ire during the 1851 expedition. Codazzi complained to his wife of Fernández's "caprices": "I don't know what he has in his head, one can see that the poor guy is crazy and the different phases of the moon must influence his personality."[46] Fernández left the expedition and ended up in Venezuela, leaving behind some of the commission's loveliest images.

Henry "Enrique" Price, who replaced Fernández in 1852, was born in London in 1819 and arrived in New Granada in the early 1840s from New York to work in the merchant house of his British father-in-law. Welcomed into elite circles, he taught at a short-lived secondary school for boys, where some of the Liberal commissioners also taught.[47] He and his wife Elisa Castello Brandon were musicians who helped the found the Philharmonic Society, to which both Codazzi and Ancízar belonged. Price briefly owned a daguerreotype studio, and he painted miniature portraits and landscapes. He left the commission in 1852 at Castello Brandon's insistence.[48] He was replaced by Manuel María Paz, a Conservative general from southwestern Colombia, who will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Liberal botanist José Jerónimo Triana, another native of the eastern highlands, also joined the commission in 1851.Educated but not wealthy, he had studied medicine in the university and botany with Francisco Javier Matís, one of the surviving contributors to Mutis's Botanical Expedition. Following the utilitarian scientific imperatives of the late empire and early republic, Triana drew on popular knowledge to delineate the medicinal applications and commercial viability of the plants he collected and identified. He collaborated with foreign naturalists and then left for Europe in 1857 to do research and publish.[49]

Another Liberal, future president Santiago Pérez, joined the commission briefly in 1853, replacing Ancízar as the commission's chronicler. His brother, the writer Felipe Pérez, would subsequently redact and publish the commission's texts after Codazzi's death. Like Triana, the Pérez brothers were born in the eastern highlands in relatively modest economic circumstances, but nonetheless became members of the Bogotá literati.

In addition to the official members of the commission, others contributed as well, including some unattributed artists. As subsequent chapters will also detail, several letrados, both foreign- and native-born, in Bogotá, Medellín, and other cities, contributed materials to the commission or influenced it with their own research. Among the commission's salient contemporary interlocutors were Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, who helped to found it, along with José María Samper (future brother-in-law of Ancízar, who mar-

ried the poet Agripina Samper in 1857), and the geologist/geographer/historian Joaquín Acosta (father of Samper's wife, the writer Soledad Acosta), who died in 1852. They all figure prominently in this narrative. Several other foreign or elite men traveled with the commission on one or more occasions, including two of Codazzi's own teenage sons.

Non-elite inhabitants contributed to the commission, though their histories remain opaque. We know the most about two brothers from the Amazon basin, Pedro and Miguel Mosquera. In their capacity as guides and local officials among a largely indigenous population, they provided invaluable knowledge and assistance to the commission. Countless other local people, most of them anonymous or acknowledged only by their first names, provided geographical information as well. One of the most intriguing questions this book asks in chapter 6—and only partially answers—is the extent to which the commission's official knowledge was shaped by local and popular knowledge.

In addition, the commission depended for its daily logistics on its own workers, including a group of "peons" brought from Bogotá. Of the support team that accompanied the commission on most of its ventures, only one man has had his full name recorded for posterity. José del Carmen Carrasquel was remembered by Codazzi's contemporaries as a capable *mayordomo* in charge of logistics.[50] Other workers appear in Codazzi's personal correspondence with at most a first name, such as Ramón, Felipe, Santiago, Julián, and Eustaquio.[51] Several such workers, including men recorded simply as Salvador and Ignacio and an unnamed personal servant, died during the commission's travels.[52] The commission's own crew was supplemented by men who were enlisted or impressed along the way to cook, act as guides or boatmen, carry equipment, and even, on rare occasions, carry the commissioners themselves.

Overall the commission was a highly masculine enterprise. Only men were explicitly acknowledged as members and collaborators of the commission. Women did contribute, often informally. Codazzi's daughter Constanza Codazzi de Convers later recalled that, starting at age 11, she and all her siblings assisted with reproducing maps.[53] Araceli de la Hoz de Codazzi managed essential logistics; the finances and spaces of her large household overlapped with those of the commission, which often shared the family roof during the parts of each year it spent in Bogotá.[54] Women along the route hosted and fed the men, nursed them when they were ill, and no doubt provided unacknowledged geographical and ethnographic information.[55] For at least one commissioner, local women might have also provided sex. On the

second expedition in 1851, Codazzi complained to his wife that the errant illustrator, Carmelo Fernández, was spending his time with women (*pelonas*, which could have been a reference to friends or prostitutes) while avoiding the commissioners.[56]

On the trail, not surprisingly, this male group formed strong bonds, which Codazzi prized.[57] Codazzi insisted "in this caravan we must be like a family in perfect harmony."[58] Anything that perturbed the harmony of this all-male family was problematic; camaraderie was prioritized. But not all the commissioners seemed to agree or to fulfill Codazzi's ideal of masculinity. For example Price, whom Codazzi sarcastically labeled "valiant as a lion," left the commission after less than a year, at the urging of his wife.[59]

The importance of such camaraderie for Codazzi is particularly salient in letters to his cherished Ancízar after the latter went abroad. While Codazzi's surviving letters to his wife are generally short, one-page notes, his letters to "Father Alpha" are up to four times as long, with extra sentences crammed vertically along the margins. They are filled with personal and political gossip, jokes, and occasional double-entendres. Codazzi expressed open and abiding affection for his much-missed younger companion, repeatedly expressing the futile hope that "Your Fatherhood" (*Su Paternidad*) would rejoin the commission.[60]

A LIBERAL PROJECT?

In the late 1840s, just as the Chorographic Commission was being conceived, New Granada's factional divisions were hardening into an explicit Liberal-Conservative split. This split would define the nation's violent politics and much of its scientific inquiry and intellectual life until well into the twentieth century. Clearly shaped by Enlightenment ideas and predominantly composed of men who identified as Liberals, the commission was planned by a modernizing presidential administration that included men from different factions. The president at that time, Mosquera, subsequently became a Liberal. The commission was actually launched, and strongly endorsed, by the radical Liberal government of José Hilario López. Most of the commission's prominent sponsors and friends were avowed Liberals, committed to advancing the "revolutionary" political agenda of their day. The Conservatives who governed the country in the second half of the decade seemed less enthusiastic about the commission. Yet it would be a mistake to identify the commission as an entirely Liberal project. The commission was deeply influenced by people often identified as Conservative, such as Acosta. One of

its longest-lasting members, Paz, was a Conservative military officer. In a period characterized by polarization, the commission provided a space that, while by no means free of politics, did allow people of opposing camps to collaborate.[61]

Codazzi himself, moreover, defied a simple partisan label. Like many Independence veterans, he was a product of the transatlantic Enlightenment and the Revolutionary Age. As a young man, like Ancízar, he might have flirted with Freemasonry.[62] He was largely secular; none of his writings indicate a particularly religious bent. After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, he demonstrated ideological flexibility, even opportunism, by offering his mercenary services to a variety of Eurasian leaders, Christian and otherwise. In the fledgling republic of Venezuela in the 1830s, he allied with Páez and formed part of the emerging Conservative bloc. As an army officer and as Governor of the Venezuelan province of Barinas, he was responsible for repressing Liberal uprisings. In New Granada, he helped lead a military campaign on behalf of a bipartisan alliance in the 1854 civil war. He seemed to avoid partisan affiliation in New Granada. In private correspondence he derided the absurdities and errors of both Liberals and Conservatives, while maintaining close friendships on both sides.[63]

Codazzi seems in many ways to have been a classic nineteenth-century liberal (with a small "l," in other words, not identifying with a party of that name): a scientist, rationalist, and capitalist. He professed to believe in equality and, as we will see, he clearly believed in the efficacy of markets, private property, consumption, and profits. But, he was also fundamentally a soldier who respected hierarchy and adhered to military discipline, willing to repress dissent with violence. In contrast to his more radical friends, he opposed universal male suffrage and favored the death penalty.[64] Like most members of the Latin American elite, either Liberal or Conservative, he prioritized social order and feared popular uprisings and demagogues: "a tyrant is worth more than a Million tyrants. It is more important to conserve life and property than to lose the one and the other in the futile name of liberty."[65]

NATIONALIST ENTERPRISE OR IMPERIAL GAZE?

To what extent should Codazzi himself be viewed as member of the national elite, and to what extent was he a foreign traveler in Spanish America, seeing it through "imperial eyes"? I would argue that it is too simplistic to reduce him to a foreign interloper or simply gloss his viewpoint as an example of the "imperial gaze." Codazzi's own national identity, like his political affilia-

tion, was ambiguous. Furthermore, the Chorographic Commission should not be reduced solely to Codazzi. Although he was its undisputed leader and visionary, its other members, both native- and foreign-born, also shaped the knowledge produced by the commission.

They were, for the most part, a cosmopolitan group. The two founding commissioners, Ancízar and Codazzi, were both educated abroad. Ancízar was born in New Granada but had fled as a child and only recently returned. The first two illustrators, like their leader, had been born and educated outside of New Granada. Fernández, from Venezuela, had been educated partly in the United States and Paris while Price had arrived in New Granada from Britain via New York. To varying degrees, all four might arguably be characterized as cosmopolitan or transnational subjects, whose identities and loyalties should not be reduced to one particular country, although Ancízar, in particular, strongly identified as a New Granada patriot and devoted most of his professional life to public service on behalf of his *patria*.

Several members were creoles through and through, born and bred in New Granada, including Santiago Pérez, who briefly replaced Ancízar (and would later become president) and, most importantly, Paz, who replaced both Pérez and Price. Triana, the botanist, also grew up in his native country, but then spent much of his life in Paris.[66] The commission's composition became more Granadino as the decade progressed, but it never lost its cosmopolitan character.

The commission, however, included no member or significant collaborator from New Granada's arguably most cosmopolitan sections: the Caribbean Coast and Panamá. Most of the Granadinos involved with the commission hailed from the Eastern Cordillera, not far from Bogotá; others, most notably as Paz, were born in the Western Cordillera—in the Cauca region. The two presidents who launched the commission, Mosquera and López, were also Caucanos. Several important contributors and allies, both foreign- and native-born, lived in Medellín in the Central Cordillera. Although the commission did rely heavily on some contributors from the Amazon and Eastern Plains, it was nonetheless highly Andean in composition and outlook. The nation that the commissioners envisioned was centered in and governed from the northern Andean highlands, particularly the Eastern Cordillera. The commission's understandings of climate and its interpretations of history and prehistory all constituted the Andean highlands as superior to, and destined to govern, the lowlands. Thus it was both parochial and cosmopolitan at the same time.

The most cosmopolitan member of the commission was Codazzi himself.

Codazzi had fought with the patriots against Spain, but had been born in the Italian Papal States and reportedly never shed his Italian accent. Like some other European-born participants in Latin American revolutions and nation-building processes, Codazzi should perhaps be described as a citizen of the revolutionary Atlantic world more than a citizen of any particular nation-state. This description is most apt for his youth, when he traveled back and forth across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and volunteered to soldier on behalf of various rulers and rebels.

He would not have characterized himself that way, however, at least not during his later years. Whether out of heartfelt allegiance or opportunistic self-interest or a mixture of both, he declared himself a citizen of each of his adopted American countries, first Gran Colombia, then Venezuela, and finally New Granada. He married a Venezuelan patriot; their progeny would join the Colombian elite. He was inscribed in the New Granada military, first with the title Colonel of Engineers and later, after playing a leading role in the 1854 civil war, as General.[67] He did threaten to leave for Peru in the mid-1850s. Even then, he claimed he would prefer to stay in his "adoptive homeland" (*patria adoptiva*), which, ultimately, he did.[68]

Codazzi's national identity was in fact controversial. A government report in 1852 referred to all the commission's members, without differentiation, as "distinguished citizens."[69] Yet, in 1855, someone who took offense at Codazzi's depiction of the Province of Buenaventura insisted that the geographer was a foreigner who lacked "authority to judge our people."[70] An anonymous "friend" publicly responded by insisting that Codazzi was truly Granadino, "voluntarily and out of affection for the country."[71] This defense can be taken as a reflection of how Codazzi portrayed himself and how he was embraced by at least a portion of the creole elite. But it is unlikely that his critics were swayed by such arguments. Codazzi's inherent prestige as a European no doubt contributed to his being hired, but his origins also made him the occasional target of patriotic resentment, particularly when he disparaged local populations.

The critic from Buenaventura was likely offended by the commission's characterization of that Pacific coastal province as largely hot, unhealthy, and poor, as well as its unflattering and racist portrayals of local inhabitants (see chapter 4). Codazzi did carry with him the extra baggage of European prejudices. Yet his views of New Granada's and Venezuela's landscapes and inhabitants, as we will see, were very similar to, and obviously influenced by, his native-born friends from the Andean highlands, reflecting their assumptions as much as any that he might have brought with him from Europe.

In her seminal book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt points out the mutual influence of American elites and Europeans, using the example of Humboldt: "Humboldt transculturated to Europe knowledges produced by Americans . . . Following independence, Euroamerican elites would reimport that knowledge as European knowledge whose authority would legitimate Euroamerican rule."[72] Echoing Pratt, anthropologist Margarita Serje de la Ossa suggests that the leaders of New Granada commissioned Codazzi in order to legitimize their own elite perspective by refracting it in the foreigner's "imperial gaze."[73]

In the early republic, moreover, both Europeans and native-born elites arguably surveyed the landscape with imperial eyes. Creole explorers and foreign-born explorers alike freely appropriated indigenous knowledge about landscapes, flora, and history into their own cartographies and botanical catalogues.[74] "Euroamerican" elites employed European as well as native expertise and adapted European norms about civilization and property in their efforts to establish sovereignty over contested borderlands and heterogeneous populations. Creole efforts to build their states thus resonated with European efforts to colonize other parts of the world. Codazzi—in his capacities as military officer, politician, engineer, and mapmaker—fully participated in those early efforts to establish state control over the territories and populations first of Venezuela and later of New Granada.

This book therefore views the Chorographic Commission as an enterprise that reflected nationalist aspirations but was also fundamentally shaped, in terms of its structure and methodology, by its foreign-born leader's own experiences, some of which are further discussed in the next chapter. As we will see, the commission's visual representations were often jointly produced. I acknowledge that Codazzi and each of his companions would have perceived their surroundings somewhat differently, and in some places in this book I attempt to delineate those differences. But disentangling Codazzi's own opinions about New Granada from those of fellow commissioners and other collaborators is not usually possible or particularly fruitful. Questions regarding who influenced whom and who were the true innovators are important for critiquing Eurocentric assumptions about scientific innovation emanating outward from the metropole. But to draw too rigid a line between South Americans and Europeans risks essentializing and exaggerating differences between individuals who all saw themselves as civilized and belonging to what we often now refer to as "Western civilization." They all sought membership in what they called the "illustrated world" (*mundo ilustrado*): the international scientific and cultural elite.[75] Thus, even though the Chorographic

Commission was conceptualized and led by a foreign-born expert, and incorporated the expertise of foreign immigrants and travelers, it also reflected the national state-building aspirations of an Andean-based elite. A central and yet much-debated feature of these aspirations was federalism.

FEDERALISM AND GEOGRAPHY

Sociologist Olga Restrepo Forero suggests that federalist ideas contributed to inspiring the creation of the commission and were also reinforced by it.[76] Her insight is worth elaborating in greater depth. The commission emerged at the moment when New Granada was dividing into ever more and smaller provinces, which were further divided into cantons.[77] But by the mid-1850s, the cantons and then provinces fell out of favor and the momentum swung toward creating a federation of larger states. Each state should be sufficiently large and autonomous, in theory, to field an armed force, administer finances (even establish its own currency), enact laws, and develop infrastructure. While federalism was one of the favored projects of radical Liberals, many leading Conservatives came to accept it in effort to avoid a national-level Liberal monopoly on power.[78]

The Liberal justification for this turn toward federalism was perhaps best explained by the commissioners' friend José María Samper. In an account of New Granada's political history that he wrote in 1853, Samper argued that "heterogeneous interests" had torn apart Gran Colombia in the 1820s. He was using this historical example to make an argument about his own era. "The opposing interests of so many provinces" were difficult to reconcile and posed a danger to the tenuous republic of New Granada.[79] Centralist constitutions, he argued, did not resolve this problem because they did not reflect the country's heterogeneity.

The year before, Samper had proposed restructuring the country into eleven federal states.[80] He argued that federalism was inevitable. An examination of New Granada's geography, moreover, would reveal the regions into which the nation would naturally be divided: "if we observe the course of our high cordilleras, the location of our Andean plains, the conditions of the grand valleys crossed by mighty rivers, and the topography of our coasts on both seas, we will easily understand the nature that determines the unification of districts that should constitute our federal States, according to the homogeneity of climates, production, and customs."[81]

Political geography was thus, in Samper's view, predetermined by nature and could be delineated through the study of physical geography. Homo-

geneity was the guiding principle.[82] Federalism would allow for homogeneous states, based on the assumption that such states would be internally consistent and naturally differentiated from each other. He was making an implicit argument in favor of the Chorographic Commission, which was justified not because it reified the status quo, but because it would reveal the natural geographical boundaries of the new states.[83] Within a few years, Samper would define homogeneity and heterogeneity in explicitly racialized terms.[84] But for the moment he simply argued that people should be grouped and governed according to a presumed homogeneity of culture and economy, which harmonized with their natural environments. The same year, the Secretary of Foreign Relations was explicit about the relationship between federalism and the commission's work. Revising the nation's territorial order would require information about economic resources and boundaries, to be provided by the commission. Thus, the new order would be based on the "character" of the entities to be established.[85]

Along with Samper, Ancízar participated actively in replacing the provinces with larger and more autonomous states.[86] Ancízar viewed "political federation of the large sections" to be the "true and genuine form of the republic."[87] Samper and Ancízar were involved with a short-lived Liberal periodical, *El Tiempo*, which advocated federalism.[88] In 1856, serving as delegates to the national legislature, Ancízar and Samper coauthored a proposal to create a federation.[89] Ancízar then served as a delegate to the 1857 constitutional assembly, which renamed the country the Granadine Confederation and enacted a federalist constitution. In 1860, Ancízar (but not Samper) supported Mosquera's military rebellion against the Conservative government and played a prominent role in the convention that produced the radically federalist 1863 Constitution, by which the country came to be known as the United States of Colombia.

Codazzi, on the other hand, privately mocked federalism; he thought the country was not ready for it and needed a strong central government.[90] Yet he also made a public comment that seemed to favor the replacement of small provinces with a larger state. Regarding the three recently created provinces that had previously constituted (and would soon again constitute) the larger administrative unit of Antioquia, Codazzi commented that "said division will never be anything other than political . . . the three Provinces will never form anything other than a single group, with identical characters, inclinations, and customs."[91]

In 1855, as the federalist push was gaining momentum, the national government asked provincial legislatures to weigh in on the question of whether

a constitutional reform should constitute "the Nation as a true federated Republic."[92] Most legislatures pronounced in favor, in letters published in the official national gazette, while a minority opposed. A letter from legislators in Tunja, in the Eastern Cordillera, provided one justification for federalism. They wrote that New Granada's heterogeneous topography and climate had produced not one people [*pueblo*], but "rather many different peoples . . . New Granada is not one nationality, but rather a group of nationalities."[93] However, the legislature of Buenaventura, on the Pacific Coast, argued that the inhabitants of New Granada did indeed share "identical origin, identical customs."[94] Dividing the republic, the lawmakers of Buenaventura argued, would only weaken it. Meanwhile, Panamá intellectual Justo Arosemena opined in the Liberal periodical *El Tiempo* that "the Nation is no more than a pure ideal, an abstraction."[95] Although it is hard to know how widely each of these sentiments were shared, or what specific political calculations motivated these writers, it is clear that many provincial leaders viewed New Granada as a country composed of diverse and distinct peoples. Whether there existed a transcendent national identity that unified all Granadinos—whether New Granada was one nation or many—was still an open question, one that concerned and troubled midcentury lawmakers.

CONCLUSIONS

The Chorographic Commission was cosmopolitan yet parochial. Shaped in part by the Andean origins and prejudices of its native-born members, it embodied and envisioned an elite national project that was both Andean-centered and decentralized, with elements that might be labeled either "liberal" or "conservative." I have referred to it as embodying one singular political project, since despite their divisions most members of the midcentury Andean elite largely agreed on certain goals, such as capitalist prosperity, technological modernity, racial improvement, the primacy of Bogotá, and federalist decentralization. Yet, as other scholars have shown, the national project was also multiple.[96] Competing visions of the nation influenced the commission. Partisan, class, and regional factions vied for power in the tumultuous decade of the 1850s; these crosscurrents and conflicts will be evident in the chapters to come.

The commissioners took active part in political upheavals such as the Liberal 1848–1853 revolution and the 1854 civil war (and subsequent conflicts). Some were implicated in the paradoxical embrace of federalism as a solution to the republic's political and economic divisions. I say "paradoxical,"

because they also sought a stronger and more unified national identity, a nacionalidad, which they equated with unity, homogeneity, and Andean rule. But they did not see any easy way to get there, other than federalism. Leading Liberal and Conservative Granadinos alike agreed to split up the country into semiautonomous regional states. They differentiated these states with reference to race, "customs," topography, and economic "interests." Simultaneously, the commission's "chorographic" method, discussed in the next chapter, depicted the nation as composed of separate territorial components. The Chorographic Commission thus provided a scientific rationale and a body of visual and textual material that made federalism seem like the most natural system to organize such a heterogeneous country.

2

Views of the Country

Chorography in the Aura of Humboldt

In contracting Agustín Codazzi to map the provinces, the government of New Granada imported not just a person but also a method, one that Codazzi had already honed and employed in Venezuela. Faced with insufficient resources and infrastructure to carry out a comprehensive triangulation of the national territory of either republic, Codazzi insisted that chorography constituted a legitimate scientific alternative for practicing geography. This method and the forces that interacted to mold it, including international scientific currents as well as local demands and conditions in both Venezuela and New Granada, constitute the subject of this chapter. Particularly influential was Alexander von Humboldt's analytical and holistic biogeography, but Codazzi also cited Adriano Balbi's descriptive and utilitarian approach to universal geography. The imperatives of state and science, and the different scientific schools represented by Humboldt and Balbi, did not always align perfectly.

Building on the previous chapter's discussion of the geographic sciences in early-republican New Granada, this chapter begins with chorography, as Codazzi defined it and adapted it to his purposes. The chapter then goes on to examine Codazzi's first chorographic enterprise, the Venezuelan Chorographic Commission of the 1830s, on which New Granada's commission was modeled. In the Venezuelan Commission, we can start to see how Codazzi worked with the resources available to him to develop his own geographic practice, and we can also see how he drew on the celebrated Humboldt, in particular, to both inform and legitimize his approach. In Venezuela, unlike in New Granada, Codazzi lived to see his project through to its completion and publication, so an examination of the Venezuelan commission's publications provides a glimpse of what Codazzi intended for his more extensive and unfinished project in New Granada. The chapter next looks in greater depth at Humboldt's influence on the Chorographic Commission of New Granada. Finally, the chapter concludes with a close look at an example of the com-

mission's chorographic cartography: one of its early provincial manuscript maps.

CHOROGRAPHY

At the beginning of the first millennium, Claudius Ptolemy differentiated "chorography" from "geography." Chorography provided detailed representations of "particular regions" while geography represented the "world as one and continuous" and was more concerned with quantitative measures of size, distance, and location.[1] According to scholars such as Richard Kagan and Barbara Mundy, both approaches flourished in early modern Europe and the Iberian empires. By then, chorography often referred to pictorial depictions of specific cities, often from oblique perspectives. Meanwhile, cartographers were also making maps in the modern sense: abstracted and plotted onto a Euclidean plane.[2] Both the cityscapes and the more two-dimensional maps were scientific efforts that increasingly, over time, shed much of their allegorical content and decorative embellishment to strive for accurate representation.[3] Each approach legitimated a kind of power: urban elites often commissioned chorographies, whereas monarchs sought maps of their realms as continuous territories.[4] The differences between the different genres sometimes blurred, but chorographies generally emphasized local specificity, whereas cartographies tended to express spatial continuity and homogeneity.[5]

For Codazzi, chorography represented "a province with all of its most notable points, such as the position of towns, direction of the mountains, lakes and rivers, borders of the neighboring provinces, and configuration of the land that it describes."[6] He contrasted chorography with what he referred to as topography, which he associated with the unbroken chains of triangles that some European cartographers were charting across their national territories.[7] Codazzi insisted in the scientific validity of both approaches. He made this point in 1856, when he was criticized by a North American for not triangulating the entire national territory.[8] The new republics of Venezuela and New Granada could barely finance any sort of geographical surveys at all, much less comprehensive triangulations, especially given their primitive infrastructures, which made travel difficult. His embrace of chorography should therefore be understood in part as a response to local conditions in South America.[9]

Codazzi was not the first to create "chorographic" maps and texts in Latin America. He might have been familiar with *Brazilian Chorography*, a province-

by-province description of Brazil published by Manuel Aires de Casal in two volumes in 1817.[10] Also labeled "chorographic" was a series of six eighteenth-century manuscript maps created by the Spanish official Vicente Talledo y Rivera, each covering a different portion of the Kingdom of New Granada.[11] The best-known Gran Colombian example was José Manuel Restrepo's and José Manz's 1825 manuscript *Chorographic Map of the Republic of Colombia*, which indicated and emphasized new administrative divisions that had just been implemented.[12]

These maps, however, were distinct from Codazzi's holistic, on-the-ground approach that blended cartography, images, statistics, and text to emphasize the specificity of each province. Each of the more than thirty provinces into which New Granada had recently been divided was to be individually studied at close hand and mapped, while its human types, landscapes, and resources were to be depicted visually, textually, and quantitatively. For each province, a separate report was issued. Codazzi had first employed this method in Venezuela.

CHOROGRAPHIC METHOD IN VENEZUELA

Codazzi's first Chorographic Commission in the 1830s would serve as a model for that of New Granada. During the late 1820s, Codazzi produced detailed maps of three western Venezuelan provinces, two of which bordered New Granada.[13] In 1830, Venezuela's's constituent assembly, reportedly perceiving the utility of such maps to reinforce the new republic's territorial claims, moved quickly to commission national and provincial maps. In addition to the chorographic label and method, the Venezuela commission shared many other characteristics with its New Granada successor. Most notably, both commissions lacked resources and time. The initial contract with Codazzi gave him only three years to map Venezuela's thirteen provinces. As in New Granada, the contract was extended several times and the project ended up spanning a decade. Likewise, equipment was minimal and faulty, and funds were chronically short.[14] Work was repeatedly interrupted for civil conflicts, in which Codazzi participated, as well as for other cartographic and engineering projects, such as planning roads. The government, moreover, did not provide much in the way of scientific personnel. Students at the new Mathematics Academy assisted in drafting the maps, as the Military College students in Bogotá would do later, but Codazzi traveled through Venezuela without an artist, secretary, or other formally educated collaborators.[15]

We do not know a great deal about Codazzi's daily routines and carto-

graphic methods in either Venezuela or New Granada. Unfortunately for historians, he did not tend to record his procedures in great detail.[16] In Venezuela he presumably developed many of the practices that he would later employ in New Granada. According to historian Efraín Sánchez, Codazzi's method in both cases emphasized fixing as many geographic coordinates and altitudes as he could, given his limited resources.[17] He claimed to establish 2,000 geographical points in Venezuela using barometry, astronomy, and triangulation.[18] He made heavy use of maps and measurements provided by earlier explorers, including Humboldt and others. But he found most such earlier maps wanting: "more often they contradicted rather than confirmed" his measurements.[19]

His instruments on both expeditions, which often broke, included barometers, chronometers, a theodolite, thermometers, a hygrometer, compasses, and a Rochon prism or telescope.[20] He calculated the altitudes of major mountain peaks by triangulation and measuring barometric pressure. He estimated distances from the county seat of each canton to its respective provincial capital and the national capital, which he presented on a chart.[21] Later, describing his work in the eight northeastern provinces of New Granada that he visited in the first two years of New Granada's Chorographic Commission, Codazzi would recount: "114 principal points have been situated as reference points, and 150 points of connection through geodesic and trigonometric operations . . . the barometric altitudes of 214 population centers have been determined including cities, towns and parishes and those of 170 peaks and high plains."[22] Thus Codazzi emphasized the technical and scientific nature of his efforts and the importance of his own firsthand observations.

This quotation provides a sense of the method he employed in both commissions, at least in the more populated regions that he surveyed most thoroughly. He never claimed to have personally measured or viewed the entirety of either national territory. Even in the areas where he spent the most time, his work might be characterized as a rough or primitive version of a traverse survey; he sketched his routes and toured adjoining areas, established geographical locations for visible points along the way, and filled in the rest based on estimates, reports from locals, other travel accounts, and existing maps.[23]

In Venezuela he established some routines for gathering information. He sent detailed questionnaires to officials and explored each locality that he visited with local guides, who accompanied him "constantly in all directions" and knew the haciendas and herds "with exactitude."[24] Known as *baquianos*

or *prácticos*, these guides were people of humble extraction whose intricate knowledge of their surroundings was based on personal experience. In addition to helping him learn about the local terrain, the guides provided information regarding agriculture, livestock, and other economic activities, while he made initial estimates of economic resources (e.g., heads of livestock) based on his own observations and interviews with people he encountered. Then, according to what he told the Venezuelan government, he would often convene a local meeting of the priest, mayor, "two or three of the principal and most educated of the town," major landowners, and baquianos.[25] How consistently he followed this procedure is not clear. His population estimates were based mainly on the most recent census data.[26]

In 1840, Codazzi voyaged to Paris with his wife and Venezuelan colleagues to finalize and publish the maps and texts. By that time, the project had grown into an atlas of more than thirty maps, in addition to separate texts on geography and history. Codazzi wrote the geography book while Venezuelan intellectual Rafael María Baralt authored the one on history.[27] Fernández provided illustrations and presumably helped with the maps. The work garnered honors from scientific societies in Europe and New York.[28] Humboldt visited their Paris workshop and approved the work, affording Codazzi the opportunity to bask in the famous scientist's aura.[29]

Within Venezuela, the commission had an impact that remains to be fully studied. Its work provided the basis for most subsequent nineteenth-century Venezuela maps and the mandated school geography curriculum.[30] In a recent article, José Rafael Lovera suggests that the commission "could be defined as the invention of the Venezuelan territory, distributed through the press and later disseminated through educational channels and employed as support for the National Administration . . . it gave scientific form to the appropriation of territory, a way of affirming the nascent Republic and an important element for nationalist cohesion"—an argument that could also apply to the Colombian commission.[31]

Although an in-depth analysis of the Venezuelan commission's texts, maps, and illustrations is beyond the scope of this book, those materials do shed light on Codazzi's later unrealized intentions for his final publications about New Granada, revealing how he used and built on the work of other geographers to organize diversity and to emphasize the scientific legitimacy of his work. Codazzi announced on the title page of *Summary of the Geography of Venezuela* that he was using the template laid out by Balbi. Balbi's celebrated *Summary of Geography* was divided into two sections, political and physical geography, the former broken down into categories such as "astro-

nomic position, dimensions, borders, seas and gulfs, narrows peninsulas, rivers, lakes."[32] Balbi broke political geography down into "surface, population, ethnography, religion, government, industry, commerce, social state, political and geographic divisions."[33] According to Anne Godlewska, Balbi had innovated in his extensive use of descriptive statistics, but he did not go far in analyzing them.[34]

Codazzi's subsequent contract with the government of New Granada specified a similar list of categories.[35] As Sánchez points out, Balbi's scheme can result in "tedious lists."[36] Codazzi, however, modified Balbi's template when it proved too constricting. Sánchez rightly notes that the overview sections of Codazzi's geographical reports and books, which were titled "Aspects of the Country" owe more to Humboldt than to Balbi.[37]

In Venezuela, unlike in New Granada, Codazzi carried his geographical project through to the end. Thus, in the Venezuelan case, he had the opportunity to step back from his provincial reports and provide a coherent overview of the country he had just surveyed. *Summary of the Geography of Venezuela* provides, alongside provincial sections largely organized according to the Balbi model, an overview for the entire country, titled "General Aspect of the Country." Since Codazzi would never have the opportunity to provide such an overview for the whole of New Granada, it is worth considering how he first characterized the territory of its neighbor.

As José Rojas López has recently pointed out, Codazzi's overview followed Humboldt in dividing the Venezuelan territory into three zones beginning with the Andean mountain range that runs along the coast.[38] In Codazzi's words, "the first that presents itself to us is that of the *cultivated lands*, the second is that of the *grasses*, the third that of the *forests*; presenting, as Humboldt says, a perfect image of the three states of society: the savage life that is lived in the jungles of the Orinoco, that of the herder that inhabits the savannahs, and that of the agriculturalists who reside in the high valleys and at the foot of the mountains of the coast."[39] Humboldt had described these three zones as "the different stations by which the human race has passed in the lapse of ages, in its progress towards cultivation."[40] For Humboldt, as for Codazzi, Venezuela exhibited the most "regular" spatial distribution of these evolutionary stages.[41] New Granada, as we will see, was not so "regular." Its diverse and fragmented territory would prove more challenging to organize.

Codazzi reinforced this understanding of the nation as a trizonal progression in a dialogue contained in his geographical "catechism" for Venezuelan schoolchildren. He asked: "How is the physical aspect of Venezuela divided?" The answer was: "it is divided in three zones, that of agriculture,

that of grasses, and that of forests."[42] Foreshadowing Codazzi's portrayal of New Granada as a racially mixed nation, moreover, the same schoolbook also portrayed Venezuela as a nation composed of three races or castes: "What mix has resulted from the European, Indigene, and African?" Answer: "The mulatto, child of white and black; mestizo, of white and Indian; *zambo*, of Indian and black; *tercerones* and quadroons, who are closer to the mulattos than to the European race, and jump-back [*salta-atras*] who go further from it."[43] Notable was the use of precise colonial-era caste labels two decades after Independence from Spain had stripped such labels of any legal standing. The conceptual framework for race, moreover, was evolutionary, like imperial *casta* paintings of eighteenth century. Some parts of the population would evolve over generations through mixture to become closer to a European ideal, even as some others might "jump back" or devolve. A key difference with New Granada was that the Venezuelan population was considered to be more heavily African in descent, which is perhaps why Codazzi listed the mulatto first, before the mestizo, and emphasized mixes involving African ancestry. In New Granada, Codazzi and his creole collaborators would define the national population (which for them was mainly the Andean population) as essentially mestizo, emerging mainly out of European-indigenous mixture. Subsequent chapters of this book will return to the implications of Codazzi's and Humboldt's evolutionary understanding of races, civilizations, and climates. The next two sections of this chapter reflect briefly on the ways in which Humboldt's hugely influential publications in the first half of the nineteenth century affected the chorographic methodology employed in Venezuela and New Granada.

HUMBOLDT AND THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF REGIONS

As is apparent from the above quotations, Codazzi repeatedly cited Humboldt. As recent scholars have noted, Humboldt himself was greatly influenced by Spanish and creole thinkers in the Americas, including a previous generation of Jesuits as well as contemporary creole collaborators.[44] Early-nineteenth-century scientists in New Granada, ranging from Caldas to Acosta to Codazzi himself, all quoted Humboldt and sought his validation, even as they contributed to the vast store of knowledge he was amassing, synthesizing, and publishing.

Humboldt's starting point was plant life; he sought not simply to identify and catalogue species and genera but also to understand the relations between them and other phenomena and how they were distributed across

the globe.[45] Neither plants nor any other aspect of nature, including human races and civilizations, could be understood in isolation. The rational study of nature revealed "a unity in diversity of phenomena; a harmony."[46] As the above example of Venezuela's trizonal geography illustrates, Humboldt depicted distinctive "zones" or "regions" distinguished by relationships among flora, fauna, geology, and climate.[47] Each zone had its own set of visible features that coalesced into a whole. "As in different organic beings we recognize a distinct physiognomy . . . so there is also a certain physiognomy of nature exclusively peculiar to each portion of the earth."[48] He related distant regions with similar features to each other, for example the Andes and the Himalayas or the South American plains and Asian steppes. Importantly, each such zone was unified but not necessarily homogeneous; it could be diverse; its physiognomy was formed by patterns and relationships.[49]

Deborah Poole notes that Humboldt's emphasis on visible impressions meant that Humboldtian natural science depended greatly and overtly on the subjective "gaze" of the scientific traveler.[50] Humboldt wrote in his later work about how the human mind filters external realities.[51] He emphasized the importance of the mind of the rational observer in analyzing and appreciating the sensations of nature.[52] Thus, the "primitive" mind gazed in awe at the universe's mysteries, but only the rational, educated (and implicitly male and white) witness could interpret natural laws and thus fully appreciate nature's mysteries and beauty.[53]

Like other European thinkers, he privileged European minds and civilization: "it is to the inhabitants of a small section of the temperate zone, that the rest of mankind owes the earliest revelation of an intimate and rational acquaintance of the world."[54] From that temperate area "the germs of civilization have been carried to the regions of the tropics, as much by the migratory movement of races as by the establishment of colonies."[55] Thus his ideas justified European colonialism, even though he personally opposed some of its worst abuses, namely slavery.

Much of his nature writing was aimed at a relatively broad audience of educated European (and, ultimately, transatlantic) readers, to whom he sought to communicate the sublime joys of exotic places, particularly the tropics.[56] He strove to find sufficiently "exalted" speech to communicate nature's wonders: "worthy of bearing witness to majesty and greatness."[57] He also sought to communicate these wonders visually, through graphs, charts, and thematic maps as well as landscape paintings.[58] His cross sections of the Andes illustrated the distribution of plant life according to altitude and climate. European painters and engravers converted his landscape sketches into vivid

illustrations for his many volumes. For Humboldt, landscape painters should portray the "physiognomy" of a locale, both its individual component parts and the impression of the whole.[59]

A region's physiognomy, Humboldt explained, was also reflected in that of its human inhabitants. Isolated groups looked like the landscape around them: wild and uncultivated.[60] Dense, luxuriant vegetation impeded human advancement. Peoples in different environmental niches around the world represented different stages of human development.[61] Humboldt did not, however, always see that history as one of ever-advancing progress. He speculated that "most of the so-called savages probably descended from nations of greater cultivation" who had been expelled from earlier civilizations into the wilderness.[62] As subsequent chapters of this book will explain in more detail, Codazzi's views on race, civilization, and the physiognomies of Indians generally concurred with Humboldt's, with divergences based on personal experience.

HUMBOLDT'S MANTLE

D. Graham Burnett argues that certain early-nineteenth-century geographers draped themselves in the "mantle of Humboldtianism" to emphasize their own scientific legitimacy.[63] The insight applies to Codazzi. His reliance on Humboldt was especially pronounced in Venezuela, since the Prussian naturalist had published a particularly detailed and coherent account of his observations there. Codazzi reportedly carried Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America* with him as he crisscrossed Venezuela, constantly comparing it to his own measurements and impressions.[64] Subsequently, in New Granada, both Ancízar and Codazzi quoted Humboldt and made use of his maps and calculations.[65] The Chorographic Commissions were, moreover, holistic in approach; each sought to emulate the all-encompassing Humboldtian model, and use that model to justify their own methodology. Thus, in defending his New Granada commission from critics, Codazzi cited Humboldt's earlier approval of his Venezuela commission.[66]

In some aspects, however, both commissions fell short of the Humboldtian ideal. For example they did not fully integrate the study of plants. As Restrepo Forero points out, botany was not the New Granada commission's priority.[67] Botanist José Jerónimo Triana participated for several years and ended up producing some of the commission's arguably most concrete and lasting scientific contributions. But he worked largely independently of Codazzi. Triana, who originally trained as a physician, was mandated to iden-

2. Carmelo Fernández, *Tundama. Vista del nevado de Chita y del gran nevero que tiene hácia Güican*. Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 22 × 36.4 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

tify and collect plants with medicinal and other uses that could be commercialized. He soon found the process of identification frustrating without access to other libraries and collections such as Mutis's archives, which were still locked away in Spain.[68] In 1857 he left for Europe, where, over the next several decades, he produced a taxonomy of New Granada's flora. But the products of his efforts were never fully united with the commission's other materials. The commission's painters, most notably the first two—Carmelo Fernández and Henry Price—did attempt to incorporate specific botanical specimens into their illustrations, presumably per instructions from Codazzi or Triana. Although not as detailed in this regard as Humboldt would have wanted, the images were influenced, directly or indirectly, by the Prussian's publications.

For example, the watercolor painting from the northeastern province of Tundama labeled *View of the Snow-Covered Peak of Chita and its Great Snow Field toward Güicán* by Carmelo Fernández displayed some obvious Humboldtian characteristics (fig. 2).[69] It attempted to capture a very specific and dramatic landscape, consisting of several different climatic zones: the high, humid moors of the northern Andes known as *páramos* in front of rocky outcroppings; a snow field or glacier; and finally a snow-covered peak looming

above. The small figures in front were dressed in heavy wool *ruanas* (capes or ponchos) characteristic of highland peasants and travelers alike. Huddled over the fire, focused more on staying warm than observing the beauty behind them, they served to emphasize the coldness of climate and the towering heights of the Andes. Most of the commission's landscapes contain tiny people in the foreground, a pictorial device also employed by Humboldt's illustrators.[70] Fernández attempted to depict light and shadow and, moreover, he made sure to include *frailejones* (*espeletia*), the iconic plant of the Colombian páramos. Codazzi described the páramos of the province of Vélez as "these solitary altitudes, in which dominate without equal the frailejón."[71] The long-lived pointy shrubs had been documented by Mutis and formally inscribed in the Linnaean scheme by Humboldt and his collaborator Aimé Bonpland.[72]

The flora, however, was not painted in much detail. Other than some flowers indicated with tiny red splotches, there was little effort to show the complexity of plant life, even though the páramos do contain other plants besides frailejones (of which there are varied species). The light was not as dramatic or as nuanced as it would be in the hands of, say, a great contemporary landscape painter like Frederic Edwin Church. It was simply a small watercolor, perhaps intended to form the basis for a never-realized larger and grander oil painting.

The Humboldtian model was reflected in not only how the commission painted landscapes but also how it conceived of them and wrote about them. Each of Codazzi's provincial reports included a section titled "Aspect of the Country," which echoed Humboldt's famous *Views of Nature* (also translated as *Aspects of Nature*). As noted above, these sections provided overviews or general impressions. Codazzi strived to paint a verbal portrait of the landscapes he viewed and the sentiments they aroused in the viewer. Thus, Codazzi described the view of the Eastern Plains as viewed from the slopes of the cordillera: "from when one crosses the great chain of the eastern Andes of the Republic, and arrives at some point from which the vista can extend across the vast plains of Casanare, the spectator is left admiring the immensity of the land."[73]

Ancízar's prose was more exalted and fluid than Codazzi's, and his published memoir of the commission's first two expeditions was reminiscent, in some ways, of Humboldt's *Personal Narrative* and other scientific travel narratives. Ancízar incorporated Codazzi's scientific observations and measurements into a vivid narrative about the New Granada's northeastern Andean provinces. He described landscapes, taking into account how variations in

geology, vegetation, light, altitude, and human activity shaped the view he was seeing. Here is just one example, also describing the view from the western slopes of the Eastern Cordillera in the late afternoon:

> Exquisite peaks that sink, from left to right, showing the naked ridges of their deranged strata . . . at that time illuminated by the sun that lay behind us . . . later, clouds . . . quiet like puffs of cotton projecting their oblique shadows . . . not the slightest noise, not the least movement could we perceive in the extension of all that space, so that the distance presented itself like an immobile canvas, and yet, out there resides the boiling climate of the tropics, and there the animal life is as superabundant as the vegetable life.[74]

Thus the commissioners described the vistas spread out before them, silent and still, except for slow-moving clouds, like landscape paintings of tropical nature illuminated by the setting sun. Yet they knew that when they entered in and looked closely, they would find diverse and abundant life forms. Codazzi and Ancízar, like Humboldt, emphasized the luxuriant and fertile nature of the tropics, particularly in warm, forested areas.

They also followed Humboldt in conceptualizing the terrain as divided by different altitudes, winds, and vegetation. Comparing patterns of vegetation on different sides of one mountain, and demonstrating his familiarity with Humboldt's biogeographical lexicon, Ancízar concluded that different configurations of soil and wind, along with altitude and latitude, shaped "the physiognomy of the country."[75] Wild plants served as "billboards posted by nature, to advertise to the peasant the genus of cultivation that he should attempt, in conformity with the climate."[76] More specifically, Ancízar argued that the range of the common chicory flower marked off the highland and thus divided New Granada into two distinct altitude zones. He recommended further study in order to establish "the borders between the two great regions into which our territory divides, and therefore those of the two agricultural zones."[77] Thus the commissioners sought to promote agriculture, as well as to classify and organize a diverse and complex topography in order to make New Granada more "regular," like trizonal Venezuela.[78]

The Chorographic Commission's utilitarian mandate differentiated it from Humboldt's research. Humboldt and Bonpland traveled the Spanish Empire by permission of the Crown and provided useful information, but they were not direct agents of the state to the extent that Codazzi and Ancízar were.[79] The Chorographic Commission was constrained in how it organized its material by its pragmatic purpose and reliance on state sponsorship, as

well as limited resources. Thus the commission used Balbi's schematic lists to divide up the geographical information into discrete categories, essentially an inventory of resources, a system that contrasted with the holistic Humboldtian ethos.

The commissioners did observe and record what they viewed as natural geographic divisions. But ultimately the commission had to organize its material according to existing political administrative divisions: cantons and provinces and then states, regardless of whether the internal borders conformed to ostensibly natural boundaries. The commission was also limited in its ability to fulfill even its basic utilitarian goals. Often, the limited geographical range and technical capacity of the commission made it difficult or impossible to establish boundaries of provinces and the cantons into which they were initially divided. Compounding the problem was the fact that such borders were contested.[80] In explaining how he produced his provincial maps, Codazzi noted that "for each province its legal borders have been traced, the same for each canton, and lacking those it has been given natural borders following the ridge of the slopes or the permanent river beds."[81] Thus, when all else failed, Codazzi delineated provincial and local units according to what, in his view, they should naturally be. Even as he adhered to the arbitrary boundaries imposed by history and politics, he assumed that administrative units should reflect nature.

The provincial division of New Granada, particularly during the early years of the Chorographic Commission, must have seemed particularly irrational to anyone steeped in Humboldtian biogeography. For example, the Eastern Plains, already divided into two different countries, were further cleaved into two provincial jurisdictions. Meanwhile, the interior provinces that sprawled across the Andean cordilleras often included disparate highland and lowland climatic zones. Within the same province were often disparate agricultural patterns, varying customs, and diverse ancestry. The commission was supposed to depict the specific landscape and human "types" that defined each province, and yet individual provinces themselves did not always cohere. Codazzi would describe a province as having two or three distinct zones, much as he had characterized the entire country of Venezuela.[82] On a national level, moreover, topography did not cohere easily into a neat trizonal scheme.

As the previous chapter explained, such diversity and fragmentation was problematic for mid-nineteenth century intellectuals. They believed that homogeneity, or at least complementarity, on the local and provincial levels as well as national level, was conducive to harmonious governance. Implicit in the commission's initial mandate was the assumption that it would jus-

tify the existing administrative order by making that order appear natural, even as, contradictorily, some federalists also saw the commission as a way to naturalize a new order. Either way, such naturalization was, in large part, visual.

MAPPING AND REIFYING AN ANDEAN PROVINCE: SOCORRO

We can see how the commission visualized territory by examining a map. One of its early provincial manuscript maps depicts Socorro in the northeastern Andes (fig. 3). Drafted, at least in part, by the commission's first illustrator, Carmelo Fernández, the map portrays, in considerable detail, a province, rather than the nation as a whole. This map, like most of the commission's official maps, emphasizes the administrative fixity and integrity of the province and its cantons. Elided is the fact that provinces were recent and ephemeral creations in a tenuous territorial order constantly under revision. Each province appears independently on its own map, as if it were a separate and autonomous state, clearly and rationally composed of smaller units, its internal boundaries outlined in bright yellow to stand out.[83] Administrative hierarchies are indicated with differently sized circular symbols (dots inside of red circles) for the provincial capital, canton seats (*cabeceras*), and smaller villages (*pueblos*), and reiterated in a detailed statistical table in the top right-hand corner, all of which serve to define a clear political order. The maps portray provinces as bounded territories, giving them an appearance of reality and permanence that textual descriptions of boundaries might not communicate as effectively. Yet each province is not depicted entirely alone; rather, it is linked to and embedded in the surrounding provinces. Thus it forms part of a larger whole. The commission's maps of the surrounding Andean provinces are, for the most part, quite similar in appearance. Together, they portray a territory that is at once variegated in altitude and homogeneous in its repetition of the same topographical patterns across multiple maps, depicted with the same symbols.

Each map, moreover, delivers in easily accessible form—at a single glance—an abundance of information to be used for governance, investment, and state building. Such information is displayed on the map itself and in boxed texts and tables along its parameters. The boxes crowd out the cartography to the extent that the map appears to be as much textual as graphic.[84] Every inch of the frame is covered with visual, statistical, or textual detail. The boxed text helps us understand the specific uses for which

3. *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Socorro. Levantado de orden del gobierno por Agustín Codazzi.* 1850. Manuscript. 65 × 49 cm. Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá.

the map was originally intended. The "synoptic table" of distances, for example, provides the distances between towns by the trails depicted on the map. Thus, viewers could estimate how long it would take to move from one point to another. Each map was accompanied by a descriptive "itinerary" that verbally mapped out the routes for moving troops from the capital of each province to its outlying towns. Together, the map, tables, and itinerary provide potentially useful information for both defense and commerce. These two priorities—military and economic—are also implied in the large table of data for cantons and villages including geographical coordinates, altitude, average temperature, estimated population, "men who can be armed," and livestock. Below that table on the Socorro map is an inventory of lands for agriculture and pasture, including those pronounced vacant (*baldía*), and thus available for privatization. Tables list principal products, mines, lakes, and rivers. Thus the province's resources are inventoried and described for the benefit of foreign and domestic investors as well as for elected officials, administrators, and generals.

On the map itself, relief is indicated by dark gray shading, which gives the viewer some sense of its three-dimensionality, though it still appears more flattened out than it would have been experienced by travelers making their way up and down the mountainsides.[85] Another device used on each provincial map to convey the dramatic variation in altitude is a kind of vertical map, reminiscent of Humboldt's and Caldas's cross sections, referred to as an "ideal perspective" (fig. 4). This inset was not intended to represent any actual real person's view. Altitude was significant for these mapmakers and explorers in part because of its association, in the writings of predecessors like Caldas and Humboldt, with relative levels of civilization.

The provincial maps also bear insets labeled "Particularities" (*Particularidades*). For Socorro, particularities include waterfalls and caves that had once sheltered pre-Columbian artifacts and mummies.[86] Such insets help establish both the allure and the distinctiveness of each province. The commission also endowed each province with its own history and destiny, thus linking the current territorial order to the past and future. The commission's reports and travelogues provided historical narratives, which were also laid out on maps with notations and lines. The Vélez provincial map, for example, indicates the route taken by a Spanish conqueror during the early colonial period. Historian Lina del Castillo, in a recent essay on that map, points out that "Codazzi also mapped the future, or tried to" by indicating a proposed new road.[87] Similarly, the Socorro map includes a future route, highlighted in orange, intended to connect the highlands of Socorro with the Magdalena

4. Detail from *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Tunja. Levantado de orden del gobierno por Agustín Codazzi*. 1850. Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá. Each provincial manuscript map included an inset "ideal perspective" such as this one to depict the altitudes of mountains and pueblos. The scale on the left is in *varas granadinas*, the one on the right is in meters.

River waterway via the Sogamoso River. The map made completion seem imminent, yet reality would prove otherwise.[88]

Each of the commission's provincial maps display some or all of these features, along with additional ones. For example, as discussed in chapter 6, maps of the lowland eastern borderlands include ethnographic data on indigenous peoples. By adding caveats and corrections and crediting much of the geographic information to third parties—including those same indigenous inhabitants—such frontier maps introduce an element of uncertainty about the geographical knowledge depicted. Each interior Andean province, on the other hand, appears fully known, its resources and environmental conditions clearly delineated. The apparent certainty of the Andean provincial maps, however, belies the tenuous nature of the knowledge being represented. The statistics are actually crude estimates. Unable to visit all of these

localities, the commission depended on local knowledge, second-hand information, and suppositions to augment its firsthand observations and measurements. The jurisdictional boundaries of cantons and provinces, which appear definitive on this map, were not fully surveyed on the ground. Moreover, boundaries and hierarchies were frequently contested and revised.

In sum, the cartographic representation of provinces as individual entities gave them an appearance of reality and autonomy, as did the accounts of history and prehistory of each province and the paintings of provincial "types," all of which are discussed in subsequent chapters. Restrepo Forero puts it well: "Like all chorographic geography, that of the commission tried to perceive the characteristic, the singular of each region; it could well be something apparently intangible, such as the character of its inhabitants or the physical-cultural complex of the landscape's image. . . . [E]ach section of the country . . . acquired its own authentic, manifest dimension."[89]

Even as the provinces were being essentialized in this manner, they were being redrawn. The 1853 Constitution abolished cantons and replaced them with parish districts. New provinces were being created, while at the same time, the legitimacy of provinces was being questioned. In 1856 some radical federalists went as far as to argue that the existing provinces were "artificial entities, monstrosities of law, children of convenience," composed of "heterogeneous parts" that constituted "disorganizing elements."[90] By 1858, provinces had been abolished and replaced with states.[91] The commission was reifying borders and entities that, almost as soon as the ink on each map was dry, no longer existed.

CONCLUSIONS

The Chorographic Commission was shaped by a combination of influences, including (but not limited to) Codazzi's own technical formation, historical traditions of "chorography," prior practices of geographical science in Gran Colombia, local conditions for practicing cartography, Humboldt's biogeographic method, and Balbi's descriptive statistics. By inscribing his commissions in a specific geographic tradition, chorography, as well as in the methodologies of two prestigious European contemporaries—especially Humboldt—Codazzi established the commission's scientific legitimacy. Contextualizing all of these influences were the political imperatives of a tumultuous young republic in the process of being transformed into a federation and the economic imperatives of an elite intent on fomenting a capitalist export economy. Some other key cultural and scientific trends that shaped

the commission—*costumbrismo* as well as nineteenth-century scientific theories about race and disease—will be explored in the next two chapters.

As the rest of this book will show, each of these influences and the interplay among them led to problems and tensions. Codazzi and his colleagues sought, on the one hand, to produce science that would be validated by prestigious international societies and, on the other, serve the interests of the state and the export economy as defined by the emerging creole elite, which itself was not unified. The difficulty of meeting both goals would be exacerbated by a lack of resources that threatened the commission's ability to produce any science at all. Such tensions played out in the conceptual ways that the commission represented New Granada. The chorographic approach of mapping the country by province, and organizing its textual and visual material accordingly, provided an alternative to comprehensive national triangulation, but it also served to reify provincial divisions that actually proved quite ephemeral. As the governing structure of New Granada changed, the commission had to revise its maps and texts to construct a new territorial order. Moreover, the emphasis on regional particularity could potentially undercut the goal of national unity. The national space being depicted was not entirely homogeneous.

The federalist discourse that swirled around the commission assumed a correlation between nature and polity. Federalists, as noted in the previous chapter, justified their political proposals by arguing that the country needed to be reorganized on the basis of naturally delineated, homogeneous segments. Codazzi and Ancízar emphasized the distinctiveness and homogeneity of each potential state, even as they repeatedly and consistently documented its heterogeneity. Humboldt's nuanced theories regarding "unity in diversity"—the articulation and patterning of varied flora and fauna in each regional physiognomy—might have afforded the commissioners and their friends a way out of this dilemma, but the commission only partially engaged such complexity. Perhaps it was the fervid political ambience as the country lurched toward a radical form of federalism, or perhaps it was simply time pressure, as commission members sought to quickly amass and redact enormous amounts of information under looming deadlines. Maybe it was because Codazzi died before he had an opportunity to step back, synthesize, and revise. For whatever reason or combination of reasons, the Chorographic Commission insisted improbably on provincial and regional homogeneity even as it documented heterogeneity.

3

A Homogeneous, Vigorous, and Well-Formed Population

The Northeast and Antioquia

In 1850, the Chorographic Commission—initially composed of just Agustín Codazzi, Manuel Ancízar, and support workers—embarked on its first expedition. During that year and the following year, the commission traveled through several provinces north of Bogotá in the Eastern Cordillera. In his field notebooks, and especially in his published memoir of the commission's first two years, *Pilgrimage of Alpha*, Manuel Ancízar painted verbal portraits of the locations they visited, for example the town of Santa Rosa de Viterbo, capital of the Province of Tundama. He portrayed its inhabitants as exemplifying a pattern that repeated itself across the Northeast.

> The picture differs little from its counterparts in the other Andean provinces: the same chubby Indians with their copper coloring and sly physiognomy . . . the athletic mestizos and the whites with clear complexions and features so Spanish that they seem recently transplanted from Andalucia or Castille; types of population that, with light variations, one finds repeated in Vélez, Tunja and Tundama, and to a certain point in Pamplona.[1]

In town after town, Ancízar jotted down terse notes in leather-bound notebooks on the appearance of the residents, landscape, cleanliness, climates, residents, houses, plazas, clothing, products. He linked each community's appearance with its morals, health, productivity, and honesty of public officials; he recorded statistics on population and school attendance.[2] Gender and sexuality, along with economics, formed part of his assessment; he noted levels of physical attractiveness and rates of marriage and legitimate birth. As the quoted passage from his published travelogue reflects, he divided pueblos into racial groups or "types," each with its own essential characteristics.[3]

Over the course of forty-three chapters, *Pilgrimage of Alpha* thus painted the northeastern Andeans as a motley assortment of visibly differentiated Indi-

ans, whites, mestizos, and people of African descent. The book constituted the region as thoroughly heterogeneous. In the final paragraph of the last page, Ancízar noted that the provinces included "all the climates," of which the "majestic Andes" were, in contrast to the above quote, "inhabited almost entirely by the white race, intelligent and hard working."[4] Then he went on in the next sentence to say that the provinces should therefore be considered "in their totality, as a group with a homogenous population, which grows rapidly."[5] Thus he slid from heterogeneity to homogeneity, eliding in this last sentence not only the diversity of climates he had just mentioned but also the diversity of peoples he had documented in the preceding forty-two chapters. This final observation did not appear in his original notebooks, which recorded only his initial, up-close observations.[6] Only after completing the expedition and reaching the final pages of his memoir, it seems, did he stand back and reflect upon the provinces as a whole, from afar.

Some reports by Codazzi demonstrate a similar contradiction. Writing in glowing terms about the three northwestern Andean provinces that had previously constituted (and would soon again constitute) the larger administrative unit of Antioquia, Codazzi commented that the three provinces formed "a single group, with identical characters, inclinations, and customs."[7] Yet, on the next page, Codazzi described the African-descended inhabitants of lowland river valleys and mining districts in one of those same provinces as a distinct race, with inferior characteristics. The inhabitants of Zaragoza, he said, "lack the action and self-respect of the inhabitants of the highlands."[8] In the same set of reports he provided abundant ethnographic detail about local Indians, whom he divided into "naked Indians" and "dressed Indians."[9] He referred to Antioqueños overall as constituting "a particular race" with its own "customs," characterized by robustness, hard work, and an "enterprising and commercial nature."[10] He referred to Antioqueño pioneers who were opening up new agricultural lands as "the white, vigorous and healthy races."[11] He compared them to Yankees. Neither the African-descended inhabitants of Zaragoza nor the Indians of Antioquia seemed to belong to this enterprising "race."

In both the northeastern and the northwestern Andean provinces, the commission thus proclaimed racial homogeneity while documenting diversity. In other words, the commission's empirical observations did not always support its broad generalizations. This chapter explores that contradiction, focusing on the Chorographic Commission's first three years—its expeditions to Andean areas that are today mainly contained in the departments of Boyacá, Santander, North Santander (all in the Northeast), and Antioquia

(in the Northwest), from 1850 through 1852—to try to understand the dissonance between the commission's detailed documentation of local heterogeneity and its proclamations of regional homogeneity.[12] The chapter draws on Ancízar's field notes and vivid memoir, as well as Codazzi's somewhat drier provincial geographic reports (*jeografías*).

The chapter also draws on paintings by the commission's first two illustrators, Carmelo Fernández and Henry Price, particularly their images of inhabitants. The commission's illustrators were tasked with providing images of "the physical beauties of the country, its social state, costumes, uses, and monuments . . . the types of population by provinces, the dress particular to them and the characteristic landscape."[13] More than half of the surviving 151 official images depicted people, or rather, types of people. They depicted the roles that both women and men were expected to play in building the nation. As this chapter and subsequent ones will show, gendered and racialized depictions of comportment, dress, and occupation were among the markers that differentiated backward from progressive peoples and provinces.

Even in these relatively "progressive" provinces in New Granada's highland interior, Codazzi and Ancízar were often dismayed by the "corruption" and backwardness that they perceived, particularly in the northeast. Yet the commission's overall assessment of the highland regions was ultimately positive, particularly in comparison to other areas of New Granada. The commission's generally favorable assessment of these regions' "progress" was closely linked to its effort to paint their populations as overwhelmingly white in appearance, despite the commission's own abundant evidence to the contrary.

THE NORTHEASTERN AND NORTHWESTERN ANDEAN PROVINCES AT MIDCENTURY

The commission visited and mapped the eight northeastern Andean provinces of the Eastern Cordillera in 1850 and 1851.[14] The first year, the commission's official founding members, Codazzi and Ancízar (accompanied by José del Carmen Carrasquel, who supervised a team of workers), apparently surveyed the then provinces of Vélez, Socorro, Tunja, and Tundama. The second year, Fernández and the botanist José Jerónimo Triana also joined the commission, and they reportedly traveled—sometimes together, often apart—through some of those same provinces as well as Soto, Ocaña, Santander, and Pamplona. During these trips they also traveled through the provinces of Bogotá and Cundinamarca.[15] In 1852, the commission, without Ancízar (who

had gone abroad on a diplomatic mission), with Price instead of Fernández, and including the botanist Triana, visited three northwestern provinces that had previously comprised (and would soon again comprise) the larger unit of Antioquia. These provinces were Córdoba, Medellín, and Antioquia in the Central and Western Cordilleras. Codazzi's teenage son Domingo also joined the expedition.

The northeastern and northwestern Andean provinces were some of the republic's most densely inhabited, yet they still had large unsettled tracts. Most of the population was concentrated in the temperate highlands, but the topography was punctuated by hot lowlands, snow-covered peaks, and high páramos. The infrastructure for travel was primitive, and the trails that plunged down into the deep valleys between the cordilleras were particularly arduous. Originally built almost straight up and down the mountains, many of the steep trails had deteriorated after Independence. Often utterly impassable in the rainy seasons, they were barely suitable even for horses or mules in the dry season. Some had eroded so badly they formed deep canyons, and could only be traversed on foot or on the back of another human being.

While complaining about the trails, the commission praised the highlands' relatively dispersed land ownership, whereby small and medium-size individual family farms existed alongside larger estates. Previously the centers of pre-Columbian polities and indigenous populations, much of the northern Andes had undergone a dramatic process of land privatization since the eighteenth century. In other areas of the country, particularly the southwestern highlands, many indigenous communities still managed to hold onto their colonial-era landholdings, known as *resguardos*. But in these northern Andean provinces the majority of resguardos, along with the corporate communal structures that governed them, had been or soon would be liquidated.[16] Codazzi contributed personally to this process in the Northeast when he and two of his students from the Military College surveyed the communal lands of the Guane indigenous community in 1851 for partition.[17] His students also surveyed resguardos around Bogotá and throughout the country.[18]

Slavery was also disappearing. During the colonial period, slavery had been relatively marginal to the economy of most of the Eastern Cordillera, because of the comparatively large sedentary indigenous and mestizo labor force. Ancízar was pleased to record zero slaves in most communities he visited. Those who remained seemed to be in some sort of transitional state. For example, in the pueblo of Gámbita in Socorro Province he noted the existence of "four slaves, but they live as free [*libres*]" (what he meant by that is

not clear).[19] Traveling in those final two years of slavery, Ancízar joyfully witnessed public manumission ceremonies, through which Liberal politicians publicly linked manumission and emancipation with patriotism and Liberalism.[20] The northwestern provinces had relied more heavily on slavery, particularly for gold mining, but slavery there had also declined by the time New Granada emancipated all remaining slaves in the beginning of 1852, just as the commission arrived in Antioquia.

Exports boomed in the northern Andean provinces. Gold was the young republic's principal export, still constituting about three-quarters of exports in the 1840s.[21] Gold mining in rivers and veins had long constituted the economic mainstay of New Granada and provided its principal link to global markets. New Granada's gold production declined during the Independence period but rebounded in Antioquia by 1850. Gold mining there would continue to expand throughout most of the second half of the nineteenth century. A newly liberalized legal and fiscal framework encouraged exports. A small number of Europeans had invested in the new technology of ore mills, which facilitated the expansion of underground mining.[22] Among such immigrants were Carlos de Greiff and James Tyrell Moore, both of whom practiced cartography and collaborated with the Chorographic Commission. The larger mining operations employed the latest technology to exploit underground veins, while smaller groups panned for gold in rivers and streams.[23] Medellín became a center of commerce and banking.[24] Merchants in Medellín established connections in London and Paris, through which they marketed gold and brought in imports. Around two dozen businessmen based in Antioquia became some of the wealthiest people in New Granada.[25]

The commission lamented that mining was less developed in the northeastern provinces of New Granada. Several northeastern towns specialized in salt production under a state-imposed monopoly.[26] The Northeast experienced two export booms in the 1850s: tobacco and hats. Tobacco production for export was expanding in warmer, low-lying lands adjacent to the Magdalena River. By 1850, tobacco had been freed from a state-controlled system of monopolies. The elite of Bogotá and Medellín invested in tobacco production on recently privatized land, some of it formerly inhabited by indigenous communities or poor farmers of mixed origin. Other than tobacco, agriculture was mainly geared toward local markets, as was livestock. At warmer altitudes, crops such as cotton, sugarcane, cacao, and a little coffee were also grown, while cooler altitudes were suitable for wheat and potatoes. Maize was produced and consumed throughout much of New Granada. Meanwhile, women in highland towns started making hats commissioned

by traveling merchants, who sent the hats abroad to the plantation societies of the Caribbean and U.S. South. At its peak in the late 1850s, hat making, which at that time was particularly concentrated in Santander, accounted for almost a quarter of the country's export income, ranked after gold and tobacco.[27]

COSTUMBRISMO: THE NATION AS A GALLERY OF TYPES

When Ancízar portrayed the "chubby," copper-skinned Indians along with the whites and mestizos of Tundama province, and cited them as examples of a pattern that he saw repeated across the Eastern Cordillera, he was deploying the concept of "type" (*tipo*). Late-eighteenth-century scientists had begun to employ the term in categorizing humans and animals. By the nineteenth century, practitioners of new scientific disciplines such as zoology and anthropology would depict an example that they considered the most representative individual of each species (or the most representative species of each genus). Type became a ubiquitous concept in science, literature, and art.[28] The qualified, educated observer could define and categorize human types, much in the same way, ideally, that botanists identified the markers that differentiated flora. But, in comparison to botanical classifications, "types of population" were highly unstable and overlapping.

The commission's watercolors and Ancízar's *Pilgrimage of Alpha* reflected the nineteenth-century literary and artistic current known as costumbrismo. Costumbrista literature emerged in Spain and became enormously popular in Mexico and the rest of Latin America by the 1830s. Influenced heavily by European literature, Latin American costumbrismo nonetheless emphasized the autochthonous.[29] One of its characteristic forms was the "picture of customs" (*cuadro de costumbres*; note that *cuadro* can also translate as "diagram"). As its name suggests, it employed descriptive prose and dialogue to verbally paint a local scene, emphasizing customs and particularities of that locale. These sketches were printed in local literary periodicals and sometimes assembled, along with lithographs, into anthologies with titles such as *Museum of Pictures of Customs and Miscellany* and *The Mexicans Portrayed by Themselves*.[30] Costumbrista painting in Latin America, meanwhile, formed part of the international rise of genre painting that emphasized the picturesque.[31]

As will become evident below, the mid-nineteenth-century paintings exhibited some similarities with illustrated works of the eighteenth-century Hispanic Enlightenment. Some of the best known secular examples of the eighteenth-century imperial visual culture included *casta* paintings, Bishop

Baltasar Jaime Martínez Campañón's compilation of images of Peru, and the extensive illustrations produced by botanical expeditions.[32] Eighteenth-century artists documented local flora, fauna, inhabitants, and economies in detail. Historian Juanita Rodríguez Congote has rightly pointed out that their direct influence on nineteenth-century New Granada artists was limited by the fact that most of the state-sponsored eighteenth-century illustrations ended up in Madrid. For example, Mutis's vast Botanical Expedition collection was shipped out on the eve of Independence.[33] Nonetheless, some of the survivors of the Botanical Expedition painted *cuadros de costumbres* in the early nineteenth century, and Triana trained in botany under one of Mutis's collaborators, so links did exist.[34]

Nineteenth-century painters in New Granada were influenced by visiting European artists, such as the French diplomat Auguste Le Moyne, the English miner Joseph Brown, the British diplomat Edward Walhouse Mark—who was called upon to evaluate some of the commission's paintings—and the French naturalist François Désiré Roulin.[35] The foreigners produced watercolors and drawings of local inhabitants, celebrations, landscapes, and productive activities. Although most of the images produced by these travelers also ended up abroad, forming the basis for engravings that circulated internationally, they did collaborate with local artists.[36] The foreign artists directly influenced the work of the best-known and most prolific costumbrista artist of the mid-nineteenth century, Ramón Torres Méndez, whose images of customs and types were engraved and published in both Colombia and Europe.[37] Torres Méndez in turn trained the Chorographic Commission's third and most prolific official illustrator, Manuel María Paz.[38]

It would be too simplistic to attribute any one overriding motivation to native-born costumbristas' depictions of "customs and types," yet it is worth pondering their intentions in this early period of nation-state formation.[39] Art historian Erica Segre argues that Mexican writers and illustrators produced costumbrista works to promote national identity and "rationalize the problematic heterogeneity of Mexican society."[40] She quotes a Mexican writer in 1840: "what I am struggling to characterize, and do not know how, is the physiognomy of that heterogeneous society made up of discrete parts with no ties to each other, which formed a whole from a distance, but seen up close was composed of the most dissimilar of elements."[41] Customs and types linked the diverse and discordant elements, organizing them into patterns that would ideally coalesce into a national profile.

In New Granada, as in Mexico, costumbrismo formed part of patriotic journalists' efforts to forge a common national identity. Several Bogotá

periodicals disseminated costumbrista fiction, poetry, and travelogues, occasionally illustrated with woodcuts.[42] Among these periodicals were *El Neo-Granadino*. Ancízar started up the Neo-Granadino press and periodical in 1848, soon after arriving from Caracas.[43] Ostensibly nonpartisan, *El Neo-Granadino*'s guiding principles included commitments to free speech, patriotism, and national progress defined in liberal economic and political terms. "We will be Granadinos above all, Americans always, sincerely democrats" proclaimed Ancízar in its first editorial.[44] From the beginning, *El Neo-Granadino* published detailed reports from the provinces on economic and cultural topics, emphasizing the importance of knowledge about different regions.[45] *El Neo-Granadino*, moreover, first published Ancízar's travel memoir, *Pilgrimage of Alpha*, in installments, after Ancízar sold the press.[46] According to José María Samper, who contributed to such publications and dabbled in literary costumbrismo, separation from Spain had not conferred a sense of "nationality."[47] In a book published by the Neo-Granadino press, he underscored the challenge of forging a republic divided by what he called "heterogeneous" interests.[48]

Writers seemed to employ type as a way to impose order and a common identity on the chaotic heterogeneity of the nation. Type allowed for more variety than simply categorizing everyone according to overarching continental races delineated during the Enlightenment (e.g., Caucasian, Ethiopian, American). Employing the term type might have felt more advanced than the colonial term caste. To be sure, type labels drew on both the eighteenth-century template and older caste taxonomies and thus, to some degree, reproduced the hierarchies and essentialism, and often the very vocabulary, of each. But, as anthropologist Julio Arias Vanegas notes, costumbrista types formed part of new national frameworks. They were types *of* Mexicans, types *of* New Granadans. Thus, when costumbristas portrayed a characteristic *tipo indio*, Arias Vanegas insists, they were not so much portraying the indigenous race writ large, but rather, a "derivation of the *neogranadino*."[49]

Types, moreover, were geographically situated in specific localities and regions within the emerging national map, as reflected in the Chorographic Commission's mandate to elaborate types for each province. According to literary critic Mercedes López Rodríguez, costumbrismo depicted the nation as a "the sum of many regional types that diverged in their appearance and customs."[50] An endless variety of types—defined variably according to criteria such as race, caste, occupation, level of "civilization," sex, and geographic location—were generated in images and stories. When brought together in books and albums, their repetitive nature generated a sense of sameness,

a certain stock quality. As Deborah Poole has argued, emphasis on type, whether by an artist or a scientist, made the individuals being portrayed appear interchangeable.[51] Ancízar's midcentury travel narrative alluded to such interchangeability when he described those "same chubby Indians" he encountered in Vélez, Tunja, Tundama, and Pamplona. In another example, he described two pious church ladies: "they were not an exception, rather the genuine representatives of a genre, or if you prefer, *type*, widely distributed in our country" (emphasis in original).[52] Despite all the provincial and local variation that he documented, he also discerned patterns: repetitions of types across each region and even across New Granada as a whole.

IMAGES OF DIVERSITY

The watercolor illustrations of the Chorographic Commission documented diverse types. The paintings are small, roughly page-size, positioned either horizontally or vertically on a larger sheet, elaborated in watercolor, often with ink. They often originated in on-site sketches and watercolors, which later provided the basis for the more carefully composed paintings.[53] Each watercolor bore a label indicating a province, and sometimes a town or village. Some contained additional notations, most often referring to occupation, class, or especially race, for example "muleteer and weaver" (fig. 11), "notable inhabitants" (fig. 10), and "African and mestizo type" (fig. 5). Restrepo Forero notes that other costumbrista images of the period did not generally include racial labels, a fact that makes the commission's emphasis all the more notable.[54]

The vast majority of the individuals depicted are nameless (the two exceptions are discussed in chapter 6); their anonymity suggests generic types. Although type was defined by various criteria, the labels on the paintings mostly used the word "type" explicitly when referring to race, and even then not entirely consistently. The racial categories used were for the most part colonial caste labels (e.g., *mestizo*, *mulato*, *indio*, *zambo*). Thus we glean from these images that some caste labels were still in circulation. In popular, literary, and scientific discourse, caste had not been fully replaced by republican legal terminology, which since 1821 had supplanted "Indian" (*indio*) with "indigenous" (*indígena*). The commission used both words, thus reinscribing the colonial vocabulary of caste as a modern taxonomy of type.

Many of the images, moreover, included no type label, perhaps because the category of the person portrayed would have been assumed to be obvious to contemporary viewers. Captions might have been intended to clarify

5. Carmelo Fernández, *Santander. Tipo Africano i mestizo*. Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 28.3 × 20 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

the less obvious distinctions.[55] Thus the labels could have been asserting the importance of underlying attributes that were not readily apparent, such as ancestry, in determining type; type was not exclusively visual. In any case, the labels were employed inconsistently, reflecting that however important race might still have been in the young republic, it was nonetheless slippery and unstable.

Without the caption one might assume that a watercolor (fig. 5) by Fernández portrayed three races or castes in the Province of Santander: a black or mulatto man and two women, one white and the other perhaps mestizo. But only two types were referenced in the caption: "African and mestizo type." Was the woman in front white, "African," or *mestiza*? She was lighter-skinned than "mestizo types" shown in other paintings, as light as some other "whites" portrayed by the commission.[56] Her fair skin and hair were set off against a darker companion behind her who, per the label, likely represented another variation on the mestizo or possibly "African," type.[57] Types were often flexible enough to encompass people of diverse complexions.

The apparent whiteness of the "mestizo type" in the foreground was perhaps explained by a comment by Ancízar regarding mixed-race women in the town of San José in Santander Province: "there are many of white skin, in whom at first glance, one does not perceive the mix of African blood; they constitute the select portion of their tribe."[58] Fernández, or whoever composed the caption—most likely Ancízar or Codazzi—might have been trying to make the same point: racial mixture leads in the best of cases to an appearance of whiteness.

The faces of the three figures in the foreground were highly individuated, as if based on real people, and lacking in obvious caricature. But the man's stance, leaning against a tree, would have resonated with the common stereotype in the post-emancipation era that freed slaves and their descendants were lazy.[59] The label used for him—"African type"—skirted the question of whether he would have been considered black or mulatto. It might also have indicated reluctance on the part of the commission to label people "black," a word that carried negative connotations (the word *negro* to indicate type was used in only one caption in the entire official album of images).[60] "African" emphasized ancestry over appearance, yet it implied exoticism and external origins precisely at a historical moment when inhabitants of African descent were loudly claiming their rights as native-born citizens of New Granada.[61]

The watercolor, like several of Fernández's illustrations, depicted local flora in great detail: the cacao pods and the flowers behind them. During this

early period, the botanist Triana participated in the commission and would likely have drawn the artist's attention to such details. Overall, it was an image of fecundity and potential agricultural productivity. From the clothes and plants, one can infer that the location being depicted was warm to temperate, neither the hottest tropical lowlands nor the bone-chilling *tierra fría*.

The ambiguity in this and other images by Fernández extended beyond the racial labels to the composition of the scene itself. The figures in this case were not directly interacting, but their positioning suggested an encounter, as if the two women had just met a friend or acquaintance along the road and had stopped to talk or scold or even flirt. Such encounters always had the implicit potential, of course, of leading to further racial mixture (*mestizaje*). The two figures in the foreground—the light-skinned woman and dark-skinned man—were portrayed as more-or-less social equals; neither showed obvious deference to the other. Yet, a gap at the center of the image hinted at the social distance that could have separated them, and her shoes suggested that her socioeconomic class was higher than his. Slavery had still not ended when this painting was made, though its end was imminent. It is possible that this man was enslaved or only recently freed.

Fernández painted several romantic pastoral and urban scenes that hinted at untold stories of love and intrigue, as if illustrating a series of literary sketches, even as he carefully rendered botanical details that reflected the scientific intent of the expedition.[62] Like Ancízar, he seems to have constructed stories, but he was a much more ambiguous and incomplete storyteller; the images' internal narratives remain opaque. His paintings did not correspond directly to Ancízar's anecdotes, and Férnandez apparently did not provide explanatory texts of his own.

Ancízar, for his part, noted the racial composition of each locality. In the same passage in which Ancízar mentioned the white appearance of some mestizos in San José, he wrote:

> The population is composed of 33 percent whites, in whom reside enlightenment and culture, 27 percent mestizos, who form the intermediate echelon, 40 percent Africans, whose lot is physical labor, and whose patrimony is their inalterable health amidst the swamps and rivers. . . . The masculine type of the first group is the voluble youth, lightly dressed . . . linen jacket and suit, on weekends dedicated to commerce . . . the feminine is the little lady of small proportions, weak manner, tidy habits . . . in dress very groomed and elegant following the French fashions . . . extremely sociable and sweet, but always cir-

> cumspect. Music and dance are their vocation, and rare is the house where at nightfall one does not hear a piano with the marked cadences of the waltz, or a Maracaibo harp . . . In the mestizos is manifest the local type, completely creole from its clothing to it soul: the men of medium stature, svelte and agile, dressing in pants of drill and white shirt . . . rather attached to the bottle and the bet, but hard working and of good character . . . the women small, knowing they are pretty . . . with well-proportioned body, clean and undulating, cheerful.[63]

Thus Ancízar divided a local population into three racial types, and further divided those into masculine and feminine types. He used "tribe" as a metaphor for race or type. He delineated them much the same way a nineteenth-century ethnographer might have described "tribes" of Indians or Africans, with reference to habits and visible markers such as skin color, body, and dress, without acknowledging much variation within each type. The "African type," however, was actually the one about which he said the least, and he only referred to its physical strength and suitability for manual labor in the tropical heat, nothing about clothes or social habits. People of noticeably African origin seemed to offer little of interest to him beyond their labor (and their reported joy at being emancipated from slavery by his fellow Liberals). He saw mestizos as having some African or indigenous origins, but in the best cases those origins were no longer visible. Regarding whites and mestizos, he described their education, personalities, consumption, and pastimes as well as their appearance.[64] The women of both groups were lovely and sexually desirable, though in very different ways: the white women diminutive and reserved; the mestizas cheerful, "undulating," and flirtatious. (The association of whiteness with women's sexual modesty and African origins with overt, unrestrained sexuality was a common trope in elite writings and judicial proceedings in colonial and post-emancipation societies).[65] He explicitly identified the mestizo male as epitomizing the local type as well as the national, or creole, identity. It was the (male) mestizo who was truly creole—truly autochthonous, truly Granadino not only in his dress but also in his inner self, his soul. Mestizos were physically more robust than whites. Nonetheless, white appearance was prized; the "most select" mestizos were the whitest.

This description was classic Ancízar in the emphasis on appearance and morality, manifest in dress and phenotype and public comportment, as well as the reference to less clearly visible traits like ancestry, embellished with a vignette of young people making music at nightfall. Ancízar thus brought

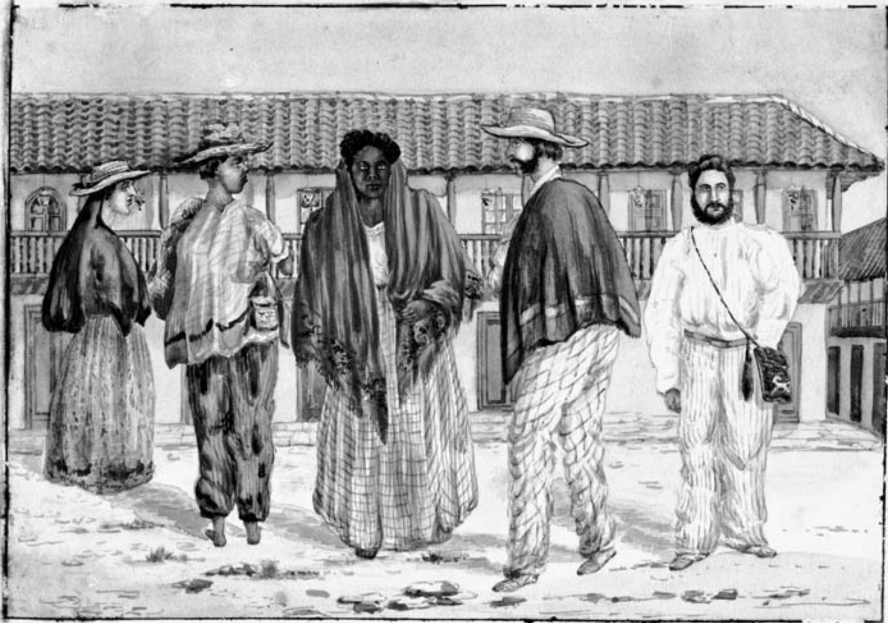
together many of the notable features of nineteenth-century typologies, which emphasized anatomy, appearance, and ancestry with reference to gendered cultural and moral traits inherent to each race. Such traits included particular dress and disposition, as well as adaptability to different climates and suitability for different labors.

The passage also reflects Ancízar's dual valuation of both whiteness and mestizaje. Throughout his memoir, Ancízar portrayed the plebeian folk as true patriots, hard workers, the heart and soul of the Republic; he even sometimes seemed to prefer common mestizos over elite whites. But the most attractive among the mestizos were clearly the whitest, while pure whites held an exclusive monopoly on education and refined culture.[66] In its paeans to the humble classes, *Pilgrimage of Alpha* reflected the revolutionary optimism and egalitarian impulses of the late 1840s and early 1850s, when elite Liberals attended Democratic Society meetings alongside plebeians.

Like Ancízar, the commission's artists also provided tableaux of local types for specific towns and villages. After falling out with Codazzi, Fernández was replaced by two painters. The first was the British subject Henry "Enrique" Price, who accompanied Codazzi in 1852 to the northwestern highland provinces that would soon become the state of Antioquia. Price provided some images of people simply standing around in the central plazas of towns or villages. The artist used each plaza as a stage on which was arrayed an assortment of local characters, for example in *Types of the Province of Medellín* (see fig. 6).

The figures stand awkwardly, with little relation to each other. Yet, as in Fernández's paintings, Price's figures exhibited diversity in skin color and facial features. Class was indicated by variation in dress, particularly the wearing or not of shoes. One can easily imagine Codazzi pointing to a plaza and dictating which local types the illustrator should depict there. As Restrepo Forero points out, "nothing is casual in these watercolors [which are] carefully prepared to illustrate the geography and the cultural landscape."[67] Thus each image of people arrayed on a plaza or street served to map the racial and social gradations of the human population that inhabited that locality.

Each image of a plaza also served as a sort of a partial chorographic map or view of the natural and built environment. Notable features of landscape such as mountain peaks—the accurate locations and naming of which were of particular concern to Codazzi—would often provide a backdrop. Plazas, moreover, served as the economic, civic, and religious centers of Spanish American towns; they held communal wells and were surrounded by each



6. Henry Price, *Tipos de la provincia de Medellín*. 1852.
Watercolor. 20.8 × 28.2 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

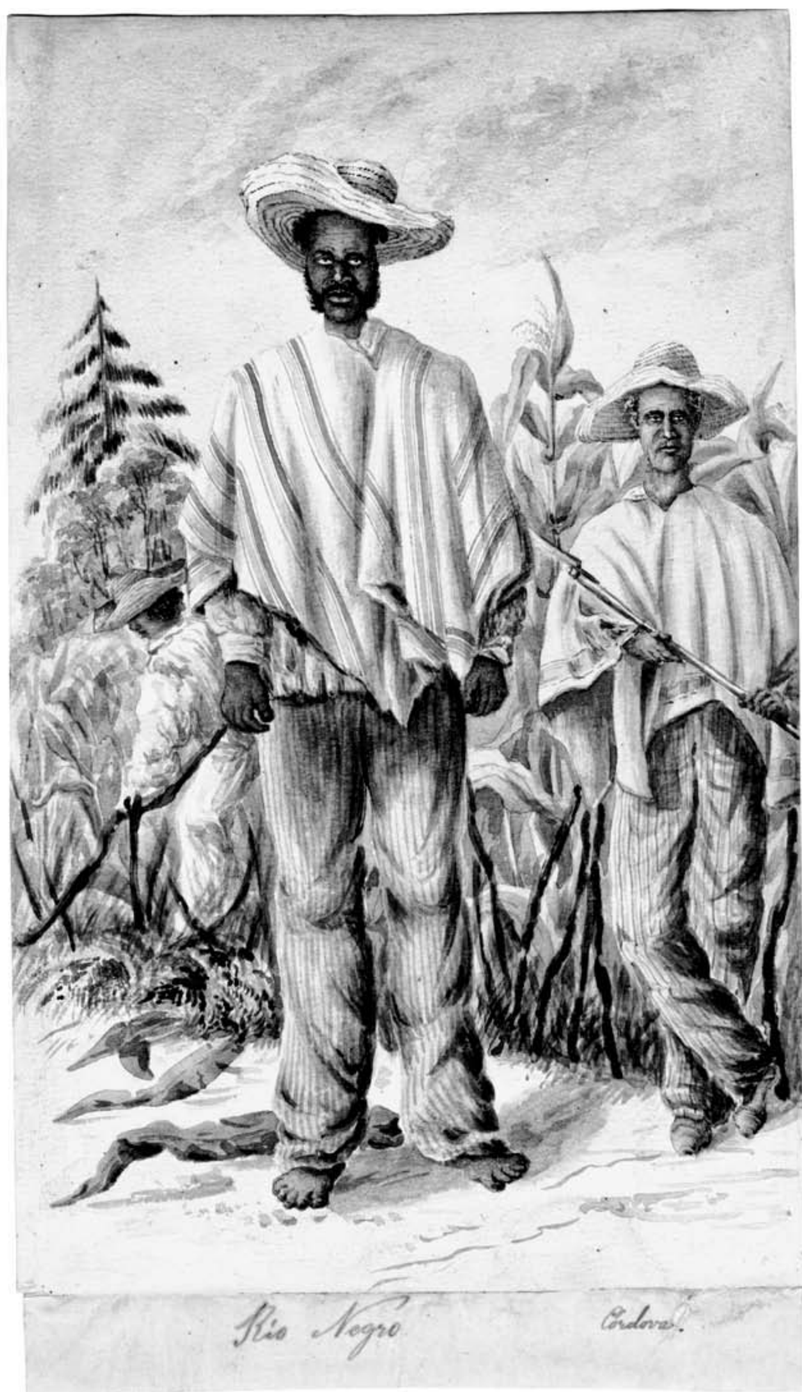
community's finest homes and principal church. Markets took place in plazas; troops were assembled there in times of war and, on rare occasions, executions carried out. Plazas thus served as metonyms for whole communities, exemplifying their progress or lack thereof.[68]

Perhaps most surprising about this particular image of Medellín is the centrality of a dark-skinned woman, most likely black or mulatto, who stands out in part because of her shawl, which is bright red. Rather than a background figure whose dark skin is used to set off the light skin of the preferred type, as in some paintings by Fernández and Paz, the black woman is almost at the center. She is, moreover, one of only two figures who stare directly ahead, at the viewer. What makes this image particularly surprising is the fact that by the 1850s, the town of Medellín and the rest of highland Antioquia were already gaining a reputation as mostly white, a reputation that Codazzi reinforced in his written reports.[69] And yet, as the woman in red exemplifies, Price's paintings foregrounded tremendous diversity, even in the central public spaces of the most quintessential highland towns.

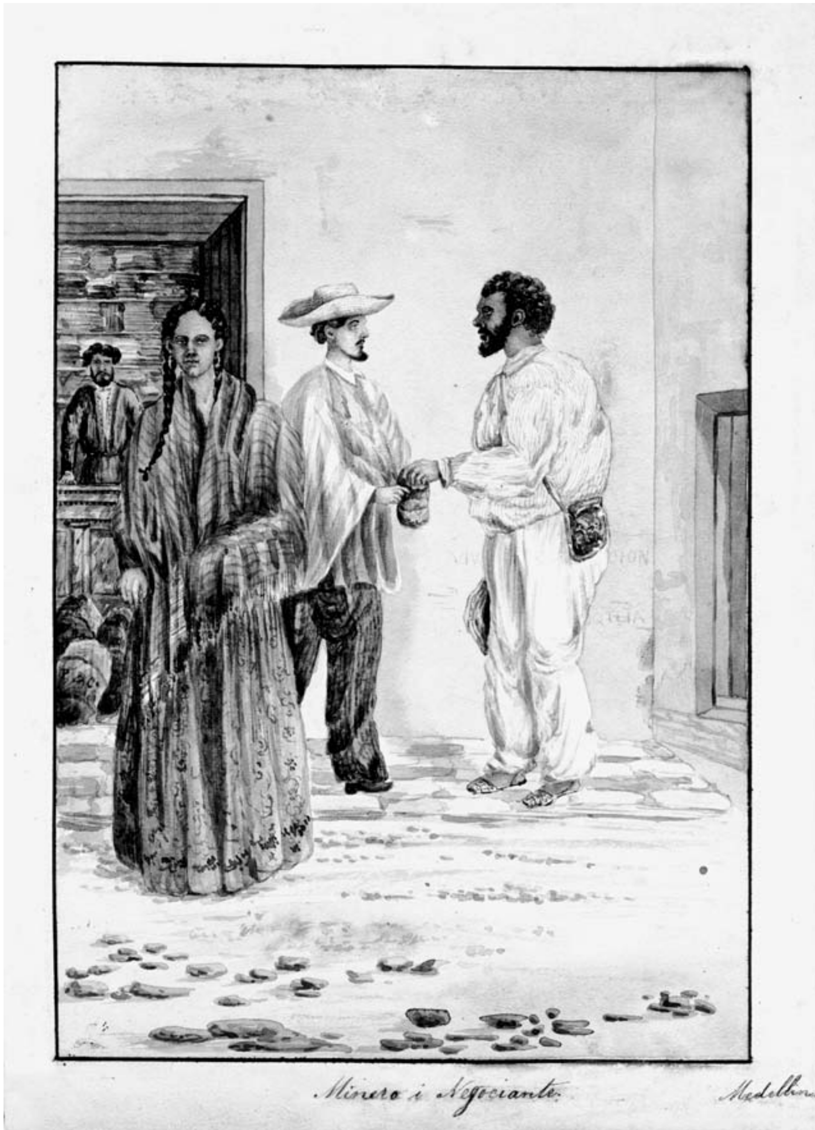
Another watercolor by Price that placed a person of African descent front and center depicted three men in a maize field labeled simply by canton and province (fig. 7).[70] The canton was Río Negro ("Black River") and the dark-skinned man was located directly over the label. Price might not have been able to resist what likely appeared to him as a humorous pun (though in another image of the same canton, not pictured here, he painted a very pale-skinned rural couple).[71] Like the woman on the Medellín plaza, the dark-skinned man near the center of the frame stared straight ahead. His expression hinted at anger and defiance. His clothes were identical to those of the white man behind him, with the exception of the white man's canvas shoes (known as *alpargatas*). The fact that the dark-skinned man's feet were bare (like those of the "African type" in fig. 5) implies a lower socioeconomic status than that of the light-skinned man, but both were too poor for leather shoes. An evergreen tree evidenced Río Negro's location in the cool highlands near Medellín. The crop being harvested was significant; Antioqueños were already known for a diet centered on maize.[72] Consumption of maize products, while by no means exclusive to Antioqueños, remains today a salient marker of their regional identity. So it is striking that in this heartland of the ostensibly white Antioqueño provinces, cultivating the food most associated with regional identity, stood an apparently black man, embodying a town named for a black river.

Two of Price's best-known paintings are of Medellín Province: his watercolor of female gold miners (fig. 21) and his portrait of an elegantly dressed *negra* in Medellín, *Portrait of a Black Woman* (not pictured here) portray black women.[73] The latter, an elegant formal portrait, is not included in the commission's official collection, for unknown reasons. In both images, a black woman stared directly at the viewer (as did the black man in fig. 7), with no hint of inferiority or deference. In another of Price's paintings that was included in the collection, *Miner and Merchant. Medellín* (fig. 8), an apparently black man and a slightly better dressed light-skinned man exchange a small pouch, presumably containing gold dust.[74] An indigenous or mestizo woman in braids and red shawl stares straight ahead; whether she is related to the people conducting the transaction (or is the object of the transaction?) is not clarified.[75] By foregrounding black and other nonwhite people—especially women—in his depictions, Price seems to have implied that they were neither submissive nor ignored.

So, while Fernández's paintings focused noticeably on light-skinned young women, Price seemed rather obsessed with blacks. Foreign travelers from Europe and the antebellum U.S. to New Granada and other parts of



7. Henry Price, *Río Negro. Córdova*. 1852.
Watercolor, 26.6 × 15.4 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.



8. Henry Price, *Minero i Negociante. Medellin*. 1852.
Watercolor, 28.3 × 21 cms. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

post-emancipation Latin America often expressed surprise on encountering people of visible African descent in positions of political power or social ascendance. Especially for U.S. citizens accustomed to slavery, such apparent equality was astounding. Northern travelers heightened the exoticism and even humor of their encounters for audiences back home when they re-

counted the power wielded by magistrates of color or the elegance of well-dressed black or mulatto women.[76] Such depictions encapsulated the difference that such travelers perceived between their own ostensibly well-ordered societies, characterized by explicit racial barriers, and the more racially fluid societies of Latin America. Price, an Englishman who had lived in New York before coming to New Granada, might have been viewing Antioquia through a North American as well as English frame of reference on race, which could have led him to highlight the blackness of local inhabitants more than a creole might have. Price might not have felt any imperative to whiten the population of either the region or the nation.

Otherwise, the commissioners tended to portray the essential Antioqueño type as white, civilized, and entrepreneurial.[77] They compared Antioqueños to North Americans, echoing observations by contemporary members of the New Granada elite and resident foreigners.[78] For example, Manuel Pombo (a prominent Granadino who crossed paths with the commission on a trip from Medellín to Bogotá in 1852) referred to the "beautiful Antioqueño race," and said the Antioqueños "bring together many aspects of the Yankees."[79] Later, in 1861, Ancízar's brother-in-law José María Samper would include "the white Antioqueño" in a list of New Granada's "notable" types.[80]

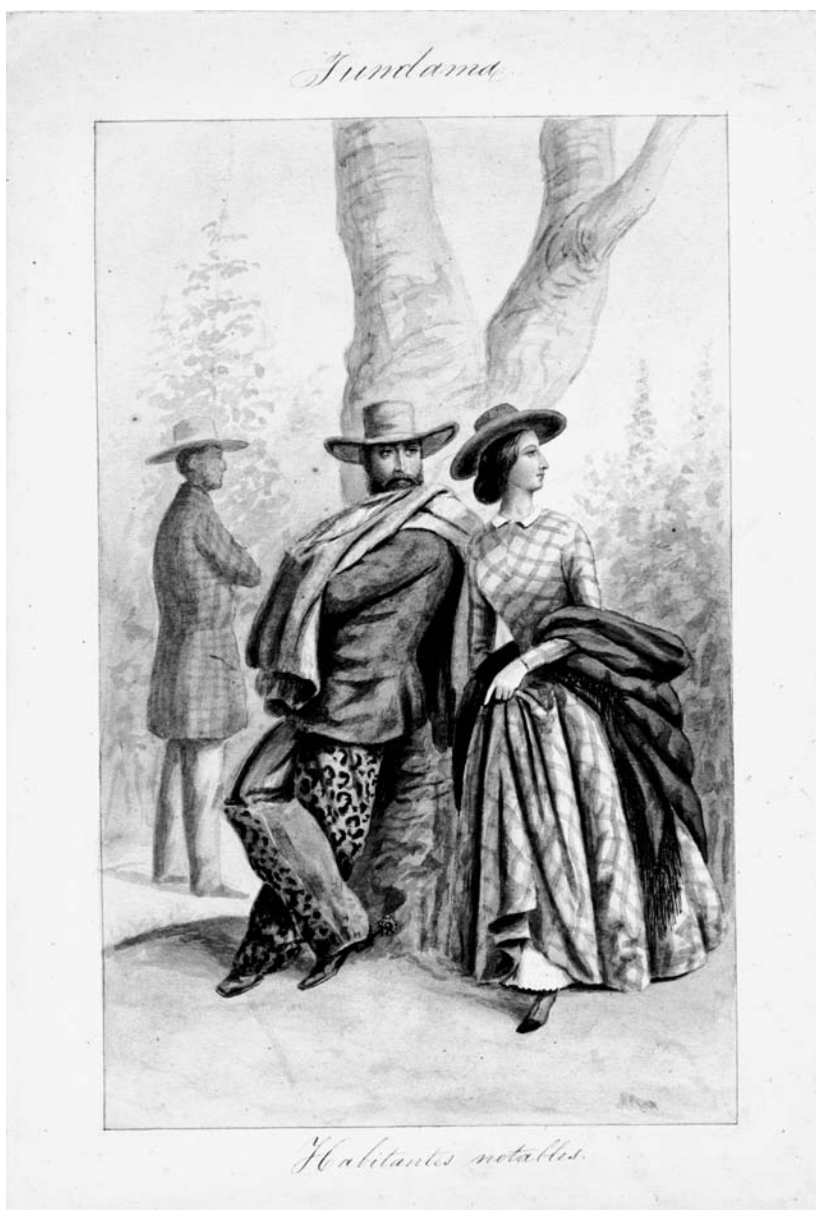
Although such types were usually referred to as male, costumbrista authors and painters often paid as much attention to women as to men. Fernández was perhaps the most obvious in his focus on beautiful young women, but all the commissioners depicted women. Women—or rather, female types—were often portrayed by the male members of the Chorographic Commission as objects of desire or disgust, admiration or disdain. They embodied the best and worst qualities of each community. As we can see in Ancízar's comments about the inhabitants of San José, quoted above, women and men manifested certain gendered virtues and vices commonly associated with each race and locality.

Women workers were central to Ancízar's narrative. He criticized towns that did not provide primary school education to girls or occupational outlets for poor single women, condemning them, he said, to lives of vice. He admired "hardworking" female artisans, such as milliners, clustered in several villages he visited. He described their orderly clothes in detail, as indicative of how their labors facilitated progress and morality amid a larger context of poverty and corruption: "they are distinguished by their clean clothes composed of a blouse profusely embroidered in colors, skirts of fine flannel, new *alpargatas*,[81] and a *jipijapa* hat[82] with a wide black ribbon."[83] Fernández's portrayal of hat makers in Bucaramanga (fig. 9) echoed Ancízar.

9. Carmelo Fernández, *Soto. Tejedoras i mercaderas de sombreros nacuma en Bucaramanga—Tipos, blanco mestizo y zambo.* Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 22.1 × 29.4 cm.

Tension between homogeneity and diversity was evident in this image. The subjects shared common local identity, class status, occupations, and regional dress, and they seemed to interact as social equals. They were nonetheless differentiated by degrees of racial difference as well as gender. Like Ancízar, Fernández portrayed interaction and emotion: gossiping, bargaining, and flirting, and even a hint of anger in one woman's curled hand and tense arm. It is no accident that this tense figure in the image was clearly meant to personify the "zambo type." Her stance suggested ongoing tensions underlying the apparent equality enjoyed by these racially diverse types.[84] Zambo was a term used to describe people of mixed African and indigenous ancestry. That mulattos and zambos were exceptionally passionate or "turbulent" was a common stereotype in the nineteenth century.[85]

In addition to the artisan class, Fernández and Price also portrayed fashionably dressed provincial elites.[86] For example, in Fernández's depiction of "notable inhabitants" of Tundama (fig. 10) a couple stands in a high cool wood (the altitude evidenced by evergreens), having apparently just dismounted, with another gentleman standing behind them. Férnandez por-



10. Carmelo Fernández, *Tundama. Habitantes notables*. Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 30.3 × 20.9 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

trayed their elite riding clothing in as much detail as that of the peasants. The man's riding chaps made of local animal skins and ruana provided touches of local color in an otherwise cosmopolitan ensemble. Most of their clothing would have been imported or made of imported textiles.[87] Arias Vanegas believes that such images were intended to "demonstrate the presence of notables in the cities and pueblos as central elements of their progress."[88] In addition, such images might have reflected the friendship and flirtations that Fernández himself seemed to enjoy among the local elites of the Eastern Cordillera.

Ancízar's and Fernandez's young women—whether wage-earning "daughters of the people" (*hijas de pueblo*) or upper-class "little ladies" (*damitas*)—were expected to become mothers, a future that was hinted at rather than mentioned explicitly. Fernández's paintings often suggested romance, as in his pastoral scene of a young muleteer and a hat weaver in an encounter or farewell along a trail (fig. 11). That both figures were referred to with masculine adjectives in the caption means that whoever wrote the caption was referring to them as types.[89] The light-skinned hat maker, dressed in the usual peasant garb, with her shoulders peaking prettily above her embroidered blouse, continued to weave a hat and keep her eyes turned down even as she interacted with the young man, who was also economically active, as we can see from the hog yoked to his mule and the faint image of another man up ahead on the trail with two oxen. His sideways glance toward the woman suggested he looked forward to returning. Implied, though not explicit, in such scenes, was the future of New Granada. These humble "souls" of the nation—presumably mestizo in origins but white in appearance—would produce (through their labor) and reproduce (through their future progeny) the nation. Their fair-skinned children would exemplify the new national race that Ancízar saw emerging in the highlands of New Granada.

THE GRANADAN RACE

The young hat weaver and muleteer exemplified Ancízar's conclusion that the northeastern Andean highlands were "almost entirely" inhabited by a hardworking "white race" and that the northeastern provinces should be considered together as having a "homogenous population."[90] Yet, as noted above, Ancízar's concluding statement contradicted the rest of his memoir, not to mention most of the paintings by Fernández. When they got up close, both Ancízar and Fernández documented the diversity of "types" and characters that they saw inhabiting each locality.[91] Such heterogeneity was elided in

11. Carmelo Fernández, *Vélez. Arriero i tejedor de Vélez*. Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 27 × 19 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

Ancízar's final homogenizing words on the totality of the northeastern provinces. Codazzi's descriptions of the provinces of Antioquia exhibited similar contradictions.[92]

The concept of "type" provided a visual and discursive way to manage the heterogeneity they encountered. The commissioners organized the population into various component parts, defined by race, occupation, and place, and celebrated them all as national products, as subsets of the Granadan people. Politically (as chapter 1 explained) the proposed solution was federalism, which some Liberals argued was the only political system that could effectively govern such a heterogeneous nation. Federalism was thought to require homogeneity and coherence on a regional level as a basis for forming coherent and autonomous regional states with their own specific customs and interests.

When Codazzi and Ancízar described the same populations as simultaneously heterogeneous and homogeneous, they were voicing an aspiration that was in the process, they claimed, of becoming a reality. These provinces were *becoming* homogeneous through "blood mixture" (*mezcla de sangre*). Ancízar wrote that today the "the indigenous race is being substituted by the *granadina*, diverse from the former in its nature, its intelligence, and its moral necessities."[93] A superior republican race was replacing the indigenous race of the colonial era, a process that he perceived to be particularly advanced in the eight northeastern provinces of the Eastern Cordillera, where this homogeneous national race was growing.

This improvement was not simply biological. For Ancízar, race was not only a matter of blood. Race was also cultural and social and was shaped by institutions and the environment.[94] The new national race was "galvanized by democratic institutions and modified in its manner of living by liberty of industry and movement."[95] In other words, it was a liberal capitalist race. New Granada's emerging race was shaped by its mixed ancestry but also by democracy, private property, education, and liberty. Part of this process of racial modification was the disappearance of slavery and indigenous communal landholdings, since Ancízar and his radical Liberal cohort viewed both institutions as inimical to individual liberty.

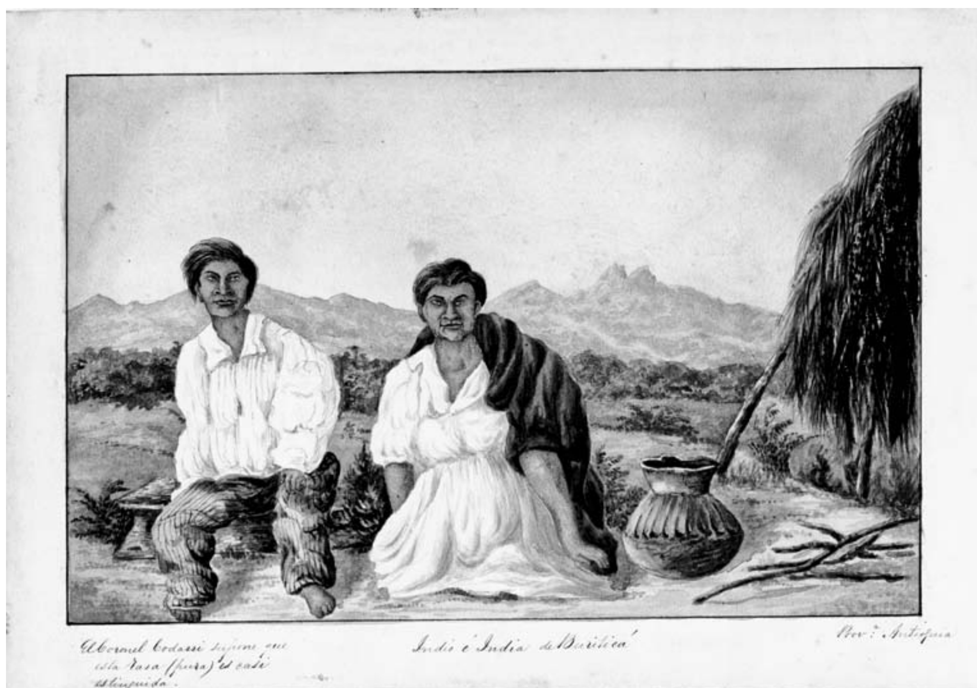
The new race would absorb the types into which the nation was divided, and retain only the best qualities of each. As Ancízar wrote in regards to the population of Vélez: "when the absorption of the indigenous race by the European has been completed, which will not take much longer, a homogeneous, vigorous, and well-formed race will be left, whose character will be midway between the impetuous [character] of the Spaniard and the calm

and patient [character] of the Chibcha Indian,"[96] Elsewhere in the narrative, however, he suggested that the Chibcha element would not be almost imperceptible, at least visually, in the new race. As scholars such as Brooke Larson, Mercedes López Rodríguez, and Frank Safford all point out, Ancízar characterized such mixture as a whitening process.[97] Visible traces of African and indigenous descent would be eliminated. In the village of La Paz, people were "so crossed one cannot see the Indian."[98] Throughout the Province of Tunja, "one notes in the new generation the progressive improvement of the castes: the children are white, blonde, with fine and intelligent facial features and better built bodies than their elders."[99]

For the northeastern and northwestern Andean provinces, Fernández and Price produced very few paintings of blacks or Indians alone, by themselves; rather, the artists usually placed people of African descent and Indians alongside whites or mestizos to show the gradations of mixture. Price's painting of dark-skinned women panning for gold and his portrait of an elegant black woman in Medellín were rare in that they showed only black people. Price also painted one watercolor of two Indians alone, without any mestizos or others in the frame, but it is an exception that proves the rule (fig. 12).

Price's depiction of two aged Indians in Buriticá places them against a backdrop of mountain peaks and twilight sky, next to a primitive thatch lean-to or dwelling of some kind, with a few rather meager possessions. They sit on or near the ground in ill-fitting, generic peasant clothes. A pot and some firewood suggest primitive outdoor cooking methods. The *ruana* or blanket on the woman's shoulders locates them in the cold highlands. Their dark hair is tinged with gray, their skin gnarled. They are alone, without any obvious progeny nearby. The caption added on the bottom left makes explicit what the lonely image implies: "Coronel Codazzi supposes that this (pure) race is almost extinguished." The only "pure" Indians that Price explicitly depicted as such in the three provinces of Antioquia were about to disappear.

Thus the images of racial types produced by the commission updated the eighteenth-century genre of casta paintings for the republican era.[100] Casta paintings had charted how the Spanish Empire produced new categories of people through the intermixture of colonial castes.[101] Arranged in series, they portrayed triads—father, mother, child—that began with "Spaniard + Indian = Mestizo." Subsequent pictures in each series would then go on to portray the progeny of various mixtures, until they reached absurd, humorous labels such as "Jump backwards" (*Salta atrás*). As each casta series proceeded from pure Spaniards down through various mixtures, the dress of the families also changed, as their social station lowered. The casta paintings,



12. Henry Price, *Indio é India de Buriticá. Provincia de Antioquia. El coronel Codazzi supone que esta Raza (pura) es casi estinguida*. 1852. Watercolor. 20.1 × 28.6 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

like the costumbristas' typologies, imposed order on a racially mixed and complex society.[102] But Ancízar, Codazzi, and their colleagues did not generally view racial mixture as producing such minutely differentiated castes. Rather, the ultimate result would be uniformly white-looking and virtuous republicans. Unlike the colony, which relied on Indian tribute and labor, the new republic (in this view, at least) had no use for Indians; they would simply disappear. Unlike the casta paintings, which might be read as somewhat satirical, the commission overtly celebrated racial mixture.[103]

The commission's images of human types, particularly in the highlands, were less explicit than the eighteenth-century casta paintings in documenting how actual relationships between men and women of different castes produced a new race. The commissioners painted only a handful of family groups; children appear only in few of their images. The commission provided no explicit image of an interracial marriage, though interracial relationships were often implied. Ancízar did not highlight specific cross-caste couples.[104] But the artists conveyed that such mixture had gone on and would

continue, by placing people of different racial gradations side-by-side. Thus the commission showed the products, if not the process, of mestizaje.

CONCLUSIONS

Sociologist Olga Restrepo Forero, whose insights inform much of the inquiry undertaken in this chapter, suggests that the Chorographic Commission's methodology actually produced heterogeneity. The very process of documenting differences serves to create "diversity, which is converted into an objective characteristic of the nation, and, as a discovered fact, 'demands' a certain type of organization or social action."[105] The commissioners did not hesitate to prescribe certain remedies for the ills they highlighted. As the next two chapters will show, Codazzi's prescriptions for the lowland peripheral provinces were quite different than Ancízar's recommendations for the Andean highlands. Ancízar advocated improved democratic institutions for the northeastern highlands, such as better schools, priests, courts, administration, and infrastructure. Such solutions, particularly schools, were not seen as viable for the more "barbaric" lowlands. Rather, according to Codazzi, in peripheral areas where Indians and blacks made up the majority of the population, and the hot climate was conducive to tropical disease, stronger measures would be needed.

Racial mixture and absorption of ostensibly lesser races by whites was seen as the route to national unity. But in portraying this whitening process as highly advanced in the interior highland provinces of the Northeast and Antioquia, and greatly lagging in the tropical lowland peripheries, the Chorographic Commission reified hierarchical relationships between climates and between peoples. The northern Andean regions were increasingly constituted in texts and images as "homogeneous," white, prosperous, and democratic. According to Ancízar, they simply needed to "develop republican institutions" in order to flourish.[106] The more problematic populations of the lowland peripheries, however, would require other methods, which were not so democratic; they would need to be subjugated, colonized, and forcibly integrated into the nation.[107]

4
A Grave for the White Race
The Pacific Lowlands

Some members of the Chorographic Commission first arrived in the province of Chocó looking behind them. Perched on chairs strapped to the heads and backs of human carriers—known as *cargueros de silla* ("porters of chairs") or *silleteros*—Santiago Pérez and José Jerónimo Triana crossed the Western Cordillera and descended toward the valley of the San Juan River in Chocó. There, they met up with Codazzi, who had reportedly arrived by a riverine route, in 1853.[1] As the cargueros bent forward, the commissioners stared up at the thick cover of vegetation.[2] Obliged to keep very still, lest any movement cause their carriers to slip, the riders passed the time reading, examining the flora that passed by, possibly sketching, and musing philosophically on the relationship that bound them to men they viewed as little better than animals. "There was human dignity parodying bestial abjection," recounted Santiago Pérez in his published memoir of the trip, comparing his carguero to a beast.[3] Noting that his own backside was located in the "intimate neighborhood" of the carrier's coccyx, Pérez described himself as the "watching and thoughtful back of an animal, our fellow human being."[4] As the ostensibly more thoughtful half of the fused pair, Pérez never questioned his own mental superiority over the "animal" that carried him. Yet Pérez relied entirely on his carrier's intricate knowledge of the terrain and good judgment as well as sheer strength and agility.[5]

New Granada was notorious for its human porters, who seemed to embody the country's backwardness. The steep incline and eroded condition of certain trails led some travelers to set scruples aside and mount their fellow human beings.[6] The almost naked silletero was an icon of nineteenth-century travel accounts in Colombia. The Chorographic Commission was no exception; its album provided two quite distinct images of silleteros.

Province of Chocó: Trail to Nóvita in the Wilderness of Tamaná (fig. 13) conformed to the genre. The anonymous artist who painted this image for the commission probably did not travel to the Pacific, basing the image on Perez's and Codazzi's accounts and perhaps a sketch by Paz.[7] The precarious river cross-

13. Attributed to Léon Gauthier, *Provincia del Chocó. Camino para Nóvita en la montaña de Tamaná*. Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 31 × 23.8 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

ing—the narrow log, the perilous rapids below—was also a common theme in travelers' illustrations of New Granada.[8] The artist clearly reveled in the physicality of the carguero, whose musculature he emphasized. The image was similar to other paintings and engravings of silleteros, with which the artist was likely familiar. In such images, the traveler's open book, along with his dress and posture, highlighted his "civilized" status in comparison to the "barbaric" carrier and environment.[9]

The one other depiction of a human being carrying another in the official

14. Henry Price, *Manisales. Prov. de Cordova*. 1852.
Watercolor, 18.6 × 27.9 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

collection was more idiosyncratic (fig. 14). Price showed that the practice of carrying people in chairs was not limited to half-naked men of indigenous origin and that riders were not necessarily elite or foreign. Antioqueños had founded Manizales a few years before on a ridge in the Central Cordillera. The carrier in the commission's image of Manizales was light-skinned and bearded. Both carrier and rider were identically dressed in highland *campesino* clothes, suggesting they were social peers. The only apparent socioeconomic difference was that the rider, who we can barely see, apparently wore shoes, which the carrier lacked. Or perhaps shoes were simply impractical on the trail. Otherwise, they were more similar than not. Also included in the painting were two unusual-looking light-skinned women with long, loose hair. The snowcapped volcanic peak of Ruíz is visible in the background. These hairy figures on this forlorn mountain were probably not quite "civilized" in Price's English eyes. Yet the image cannot quite be reduced to the familiar trope of civilization versus barbarism so clearly expressed in the Nóvita image.

The difference between these two images encapsulates the commission's distinct perception of the Pacific Coast versus the Andean provinces. As ex-

plained in the previous chapter, the commission portrayed the highland Andean societies of Antioquia and the Northeast as racially mixed and diverse, but glossed them overall as generally light-skinned. The commission certainly recorded much that was problematic and even laughable about the lifeways of the rural and small-town inhabitants of the Andes. Rough-hewn but generally hardworking, the highlanders awaited the arrival of better republican institutions that would allow them to reach their full democratic potential as fellow citizens.

The Pacific Coast was another matter. Once Pérez dismounted in Chocó and looked around him, he was dismayed by what he saw. Most inhabitants encountered by the commission were people of African descent, whom the commission also referred to as "black." The Indians of Chocó and the rest of the Pacific lowlands were likewise, for the most part, labeled as "pure." Not having experienced extensive mixture and having, in the case of blacks, just emerged from slavery, the people of the Pacific were considered uncivilized.[10] The population's ostensible lack of civilization was confirmed in the travelers' eyes by its lack of "morality"—its apparent nonconformity to what the commissioners considered to be appropriate sexual behavior and gender roles. Regional and racial differentiation was gendered.

For the commission's nation-state–building project, the uncivilized inhabitants and unhealthy climate of the Pacific provinces—which included Chocó as well as neighboring provinces of Buenaventura and Barbacoas—called for a different approach than that of the Andean provinces. Whereas the highlands merited democratic institutions, the Pacific lowlands required coercion. Pérez's comments about the men who carried him into Chocó were representative of how he and Codazzi viewed most of the inhabitants of the Pacific coastal provinces: as barbarians. In the Pacific lowlands, the process of nation-state formation advanced by the commission was a colonizing project.

THE PACIFIC LOWLANDS IN TRANSITION

Pérez was seeing Chocó for the first time, but Codazzi had traveled there three decades earlier. Returning to Chocó at midcentury, he perceived significant changes, especially the "growth in the population of the African race" that populated previously "deserted" riverbanks.[11] He was also struck by "the backwardness" of the towns.[12] Regarding the two principal towns, Quibdó and Nóvita, Codazzi reported that the first had made little progress and the second had noticeably declined. His observations reflected economic and so-

cial transformations that had taken place over the first half of the nineteenth century. The Pacific provinces produced most of New Granada's gold in the eighteenth century and helped build the fortune of the leading families of Popayán and the Cauca River Valley. By the early nineteenth century, however, gold exports from the Pacific had declined steeply. Mine owners tended to sell off their operations or rent or sell them to smaller-scale producers, including former slaves and their descendants.[13] As they extricated themselves from slavery, mineworkers fanned out along the riverbanks, creating migration routes, clearing forests, and colonizing territories, reportedly at the expense of indigenous peoples.[14] These settlers were the riverside inhabitants whose existence surprised Codazzi in 1853. The black miners combined gold panning with small-scale agriculture, hunting, fishing, and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, extracting forest substances such as black rubber and vegetable ivory (*tagua*) to sell to merchants.[15]

Elite mid-nineteenth-century observers, such as Pérez and Codazzi, blamed slave emancipation for the dramatic decline of gold mining in the region.[16] Geographer Claudia Leal recently argued, however, that these observers were wrong; the 1851 emancipation law affected relatively few people.[17] About 90 percent of the lowland black population was already free (though new research by Yesenia Barragan finds that such freedom could be precarious and partial).[18] The upheaval of Independence and the exhaustion of surface mines had already decimated Pacific mining. With the mines' decline, slaveholders apparently sought to recuperate capital by letting slaves buy freedom.[19]

Although the Pacific coastal provinces were impoverished and inhabited by disparaged peoples, at midcentury the area was of interest to the state and private investors. Chocó province was under consideration for building a transoceanic waterway.[20] The government and leading members of the elite in Bogotá pressured a reluctant Codazzi to prioritize an expedition to Chocó.[21] Southwestern mine owners hoped to lure investors who would bring the capital and technology needed to exploit veins of gold that were assumed to lie below ground.[22] Codazzi agreed that Chocó had great economic potential, but he doubted that foreigners or highlanders would flood the lowlands anytime soon.[23] The climate, he believed, was lethal for whites.

TROPICAL CLIMATES SINCE THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Along with their sketchbooks, almanacs, cartographic instruments, and other luggage heaped on mules and cargueros and piled in canoes, the Cho-

rographic Commission brought along intellectual baggage similar to that of many other nineteenth-century explorers from the educated classes of Europe and the Americas: liberalism combined with racism. The commission's perception of the environment and inhabitants of the Pacific was shaped by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific and cultural conceptions about tropical nature and its effects on human bodies. Montesquieu had argued that northern climates stimulated virtues such as strength, bravery, hard work, and productivity whereas warmer climes enervated human bodies and stimulated sensuality and vice; climate affected types of government, slavery, and even the treatment of women. Therefore, different laws were appropriate for different climes.[24] By the early nineteenth century, however, according to historian Nancy Leys Stepan, "the chief tropes of tropical nature were . . . fertility and superabundance," as exemplified in the writings of Humboldt.[25] But Humboldt did not envision tropical environments as conducive to civilization, particularly those low-lying areas covered by abundant vegetation.[26] He believed that only in the tropics' high altitudes, with their cooler climates and more restrained vegetation, did civilizations thrive.

Francisco José de Caldas also served as Codazzi's touchstone. Codazzi and the other members of the commission cited Caldas's 1808 essays in the *Semanario*, in which Caldas had emphasized the effects of climate on human bodies.[27] According to historian Alfonso Múnera, Caldas solidified "one of the most profoundly rooted ideological constructions in the collective imaginary of the republic: the demonization of the coastal and hot lands, their image as frontier regions with pestilent geographies and inhabited by inferior beings."[28] Apparently in response to European writers such as Buffon who cast the New World as inferior to the Old, Caldas emphasized the difference between New Granada's lowland and Andean inhabitants.[29] He compared the indigenous and mulatto inhabitants of the Pacific Coast unfavorably with "the Indians and other castes" of the cordilleras and concluded that environment trumped caste.[30] In a passage later cited by Codazzi, Caldas observed that the people of the cordillera, regardless of caste, were whiter than the coastal lowlanders.

Highland women, moreover, were supposedly feminine and beautiful whereas indigenous women of the Pacific lowlands were ostensibly masculine and ugly, having been unsexed by the hot climate. Andeans, moreover, were more moderate in their habits than were the passionate lowlanders. In the cool highlands, Caldas claimed, and Codazzi later repeated verbatim, "love, that *torrid zone of the human heart*, does not have those furies, those cruelties, that bloody and ferocious character of the mulatto of the Coast" (em-

phasis in the original).[31] Thus, Caldas and Codazzi associated hot climates and African-descended people with unbridled passion and, paradoxically, the defeminization of women. Both phenomena were deviations from what they would have seen as civilized sexual norms.

Caldas, like Codazzi after him, understood that tropical forests affected climate. Yet while twenty-first century scientists believe these effects to be necessary and beneficial (and therefore advocate forest conservation), the predominant early-nineteenth-century view of the tropical forest was that it produced bad airs, leading to excessive lightning storms, rains, and fevers.[32] Therefore, Caldas and later Codazzi advocated cutting down the forest in order to dry out the land and facilitate human settlement.[33]

Caldas believed that a newcomer would sicken on arriving to the rainy forests of Chocó, but that over time the body would adjust.[34] Although Caldas's "observations" were imbued with the prejudices of his slave-holding colonial society, he emphasized that anyone would acclimatize over time. All castes could therefore prosper anywhere: "the Spaniard, his children, and all the castes coming from the mix of the black and the Indian, prosper marvelously . . . at all possible elevations in the torrid zones."[35] But Caldas also entertained the possibility that ancestry would affect acclimatization, and he wondered if mixture would prove beneficial: "will the constitution of our species improve with the mixing of the races and mixing the African and the Indian with the European? Here I have one of the most important questions."[36] Several other late-eighteenth-century intellectuals and officials in New Granada likewise considered the potentially positive aspects of racial mixture.[37]

By the mid-nineteenth century, geographical determinism in European and North American thought was giving way to—or rather, being combined with—racial (or "biological") determinism. The tropics were coming to be defined by disease, poverty, and backwardness at the same time that they were being targeted for colonization and commodity production.[38] These "dark" zones were dangerous for the Europeans who sought to colonize and exploit them. Racial theorists in the United States and Europe viewed the effects of equatorial climates on white bodies with pessimism. They increasingly portrayed the differences between races as immutable; bodily characteristics were largely fixed (some thinkers even construed races as separate species, a belief not shared by the commissioners or by Spanish American intellectuals more generally). Racial stock was thought to determine who would function best in a given climate. Non-Europeans were often observed to withstand certain diseases better than Europeans (an observation with some partial basis in fact, according to more recent science), which was used

to justify colonialism and the coercive exploitation of non-European labor.[39] Such justification was evident in the commissioners' depictions of the Pacific region.

VISITING THE "WHITE MAN'S GRAVE"

The commissioners dreaded Chocó (by which they sometimes referred to the Pacific lowlands more broadly).[40] Codazzi viewed the Chocó expedition as an expensive and dangerous "folly."[41] He did not relish spending time with blacks or experiencing the "disease, snakes, and fevers with continual rains and hot sun."[42] But upon returning from Antioquia he nonetheless made plans to go. Finding people to go with him, particularly an illustrator and secretary, was a challenge. Price voiced a willingness to accompany Codazzi, but instead quit the commission at his wife's insistence.[43] Bogotá's leading costumbrista painter, Ramón Torres Méndez, contemplated replacing Price, but did not want to go to Chocó.[44] Santiago Pérez felt the same way. A twenty-two-year-old Liberal born to a relatively poor yet respectable family in the eastern highlands, Pérez would later go on to become president of Colombia in 1873. Hired as a temporary replacement for Ancízar, Pérez initially proposed to visit other areas, but not the provinces of Chocó and Barbacoas.[45] Nonetheless, for unclear reasons, the young man ultimately agreed to go.

One person who eagerly sought to join the expedition was Manuel María Paz, a military officer, artist, and native of the southwestern highlands of Cauca. Paz had taught classes in calligraphy and drawing and was already assisting Codazzi in Bogotá.[46] Codazzi favored him for his toughness.[47] Codazzi's preference for the Conservative general reflected his attitude toward New Granada's partisan politics: Codazzi did not care whether his commissioners were Liberals or Conservatives, as long as they could handle the rigors of the trail. But the Liberal government refused to commission the Conservative.[48] Codazzi campaigned for the government to allow Paz to "purge" his political "sins" in the implied purgatory of Chocó.[49] In 1853 Paz accompanied the commission to Chocó in an unofficial capacity. His subsequent acceptance onto the commission as an official member was facilitated by the 1854 civil war, won by a bipartisan coalition in which he participated alongside Codazzi, Triana, and Samper.[50]

The commissioners must have felt their fears confirmed when, in April 1853, one of the workers who accompanied them to the Pacific lowlands died.[51] The commission's archives do not record whether the workers shared their bosses' dread of this journey, but they certainly suffered the most. By

May, another one had passed away as well.[52] Meanwhile, the official commissioners took ill with fevers.[53] Their painful experiences with insects, illness, and death likely affected how they depicted the provinces of the Pacific lowlands.

The commission, including Codazzi, Triana, Pérez, and five support workers, as well as Paz in an unofficial capacity, first went to the province of Chocó itself, then to the province of Barbacoas further to the south, crossing through Buenaventura. The commissioners also visited the southwestern highland provinces of Túquerres and Pasto. The commission made use of a mix of human carriers, canoes, and mules, several of which perished, much to Codazzi's regret.[54] Two years later, in mid-1855, following Codazzi's trip to Panamá and his participation in the 1854 civil war, the commission returned to the Southwest to study the Province of Cauca.[55] Codazzi took that opportunity to examine a possible route for a road over the Western Cordillera to Buenaventura.[56]

For the Chorographic Commission, as for other travelers at midcentury, Chocó was primarily notable for heat, humidity, and unhealthiness.[57] One of the wettest climates in the world, the Pacific lowland experiences daily rains.[58] Codazzi and Pérez compared it to a "permanent steam bath" which weakened constitutions and led to "intermittent fevers."[59] In accord with the predominant miasma theory, Codazzi believed that the rotting organic material in the rainforests and mangrove forests produced vapors that caused fevers.[60] In addition, Codazzi and Pérez remarked that mosquitoes made life miserable day and night (not knowing that it was the mosquitoes that spread disease).[61] Only in the more elevated inland areas and along some breezy coastal beaches did Codazzi find the climate to be healthy and hospitable.

Members of the Chorographic Commission, moreover, believed that whites were most susceptible to endemic diseases; blacks and Indians, they assumed, were naturally resistant.[62] In a report to the governor of Barbacoas, Codazzi described the lowlands as "a grave for the white race, a hospital for the creole and a healthy place for the African," because of the "different constitutions of said races."[63] The fevers that plagued whites, he observed, "do not attack the African and indigenous race as much."[64] Codazzi attributed those illnesses that did habitually plague blacks and Indians not to climate, but rather to "the bad humors that those races acquire in their dissolute lives."[65] Thus, evidence inconvenient to the belief that such races belonged in the tropics was dismissed with reference to their uncivilized behavior.

Codazzi used "African" interchangeably with "black." He argued that in Chocó, a black encountered an "atmosphere equal to that of his native coun-

try in the rainy season, and he naturally does not suffer at all."[66] The "native" homeland of black inhabitants was implied not to be New Granada, but rather the far-off continent of their ancestors, erroneously homogenized as hot, forested, and wet. Black Granadinos were thus cast as foreign in their own country, precisely at the moment that black men were gaining citizenship rights.[67]

Codazzi also applied the word "grave" (*sepulcro*) to certain lowland forested areas of otherwise healthy highland regions, which he saw as needing the same environmental transformation required by Chocó.[68] Such unhealthy valleys were distributed throughout the Andean provinces. Regarding the Province of Medellín, "in all of the cantons there are healthy parts and sickening parts."[69] But such unhealthy areas predominated in the Pacific coastal provinces, and thus formed part of a larger discourse that defined New Granada's peripheral provinces as inferior to its interior Andean highlands.

Codazzi, unlike Caldas, believed that people of European stock could not acclimate to the hot and humid tropics. The longer a white individual stayed in the lowland environment, the worse the effects on his or her body and culture would be.[70] Codazzi therefore viewed the climate as the principal obstacle to progress in the Pacific, but, like Caldas, he believed it could be modified. For Codazzi, the people destined to modify the environment were precisely those who best withstood its ravages. In this sense, he viewed the colonization of the forests by the black population as a positive development:

> All hopes must be placed on the increasing progress of the current inhabitants who benefit from good health and robustness. It is possible they will multiply considerably . . . when finally man has extended his empire there, the nature of the climate will also change, modifying the effects of the swamps and the great humidity . . . drying them out and destroying the jungles . . . there is no doubt that there will be less evaporation and electrical fluids, which will diminish the quantities of rains in this region.[71]

Once "man" extended "his empire," the climate would become hospitable to settlers from the interior highlands and even from abroad.[72]

DEPICTIONS OF A PROBLEMATIC POPULATION

Codazzi did not think that this transformation would occur automatically. The problem, as he saw it, was that the black inhabitants of the Pacific were strong but lazy. This "robust and strong race" lacked "love of work."[73] A small

plot along with easily accessible fish and wild game sustained a family.[74] They ostensibly lacked a desire for consumer goods that would have stimulated them to seek wage labor.[75] Men walked naked while women wore a simple skirt or rag tied around the waist.[76] When they needed to buy clothes—which he claimed they only wore when they went to town—and other manufactured items, they panned for just enough gold to cover the costs. They thus lived "like the Indians we call barbarians."[77] Women ostensibly worked more than men, who passed "their time in ridiculous conversations, visiting their friends" and hunting and fishing.[78] Codazzi thus echoed a predominant nineteenth-century discourse, whereby the reputed ease of life in the tropics blurred gender roles, made inhabitants lazy, and thus retarded progress.[79] He did not address the question of whether paid work was even available for local inhabitants at that time, given the decline of the Pacific mining industry.

Like elite members of post-emancipation societies throughout the Americas, the commissioners were aghast at the increased autonomy of former slaves and their descendants.[80] Elite white observers were particularly outraged that slaves and their descendants selectively withdrew labor from mines and plantations—especially women's and children's labor. While the members of the commission and their peers looked favorably on independent white and mestizo pioneers who were extending the frontiers of agricultural cultivation in the interior provinces, the black subsistence farmers and placer miners who colonized the Pacific rainforests were disparaged. The strenuous but relatively autonomous tasks of clearing forest, swidden farming, building canoes, constructing dwellings, transporting themselves and their goods by river, hunting, fishing, and panning for gold were all dismissed as not really work. As Leal argues, elite observers "failed to notice that the blacks, with their search for lands and adoption of agricultural practices adapted to the jungle, embodied many of the ideals they reserved for the highland peasantry."[81]

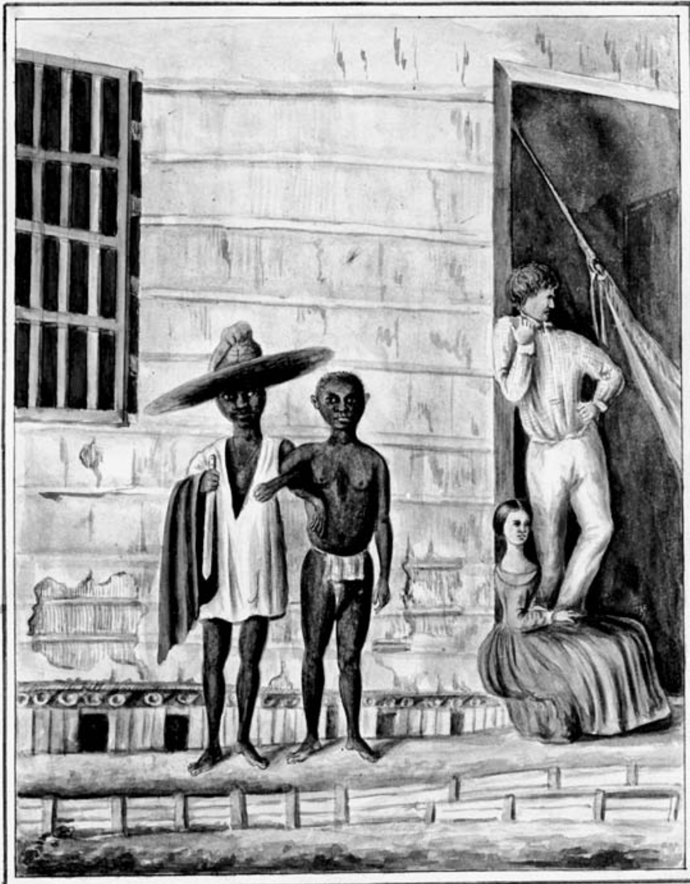
Codazzi attributed their putative laziness in part to "perverse or badly intentioned" influences, which had "inserted in this rude and ignorant people, the idea that they should not work for whites, and that the lands should be divided among them."[82] He was alluding to Liberal agitation among former slaves, which was particularly evident in the nearby Cauca Valley. During this period, former slaves and their descendants flocked to the Liberal party. The alliance between popular and elite Liberals proved volatile as poor black and mulatto Liberals demanded radical agrarian, fiscal, and social reform.[83] According to Pérez, former slaves were confused by such liberalism. They had conflated "the freedom to choose work with the freedom not to work;

equality of rights with equality of misery; dignity of man with the insolence of despots."[84] For Pérez and Codazzi, the black inhabitants were incapable of acting politically as autonomous citizens; rather, they were destined to be political pawns of unscrupulous demagogues.[85]

Pérez, in his published memoir of the 1853 expedition, also blamed former enslavers: "if the owners had dressed and fed them better . . . if [the slave-owners] had enlightened [the blacks'] spirit and educated their hearts . . . they would see in the white man a fellow human being, not an enemy; they would be an asset to society, not a threat against it."[86] An avid Liberal, Pérez decried slavery, but his abolitionism did not make him egalitarian. Pérez viewed the expanding black population even more negatively than did Codazzi; he viewed it as a "threat." He described the black inhabitants of Barbacoas as particularly belligerent toward whites; he believed rumors that blacks had started recent fires that devastated the town.[87] For Pérez, the black inhabitants' robustness and fertility, in contrast to the weakness of the whiter inhabitants, was a cause for concern, which contradicted Codazzi's argument that the growth of the population could be beneficial.[88]

Pérez wrote of the town of Nóvita: "The totality of the inhabitants is black; they distinguish between themselves and the mulattos, whom they call whites, who in Nóvita are a tiny number, by their yellow color and sinister bloating, those who don't seem to be victims of consumption, highlighting, by contrast, the abundance of health that varnishes and rounds out the Herculean forms of the blacks, perfectly strengthened and developed, as if in their native element . . . hot and humid as the vapor of boiling water."[89] The reference to Hercules connoted virility. It was not a civilized and restrained form of masculinity, which the commissioners would have seen themselves as embodying. Rather, black men were depicted as exhibiting an extreme masculine physicality, which, if not constrained, could prove threatening.

Images of the coastal population by two illustrators largely reflect such descriptions. Paz's *View of a Street in Nóvita* (not pictured here) depicted a woman and a girl in a village of thatch huts, carrying baskets on their heads. Their clothes consisted of cloths wrapped around their bodies and hair; the girl was naked from the waist up.[90] The image reflected the gendered nature of regional and racial differentiation. Women who failed to cover their own and their children's bodies ostensibly lacked feminine modesty as well as any desire to consume. Thus they were symptomatic of an ignorant and uncivilized people. Another illustration, captioned *Province of Chocó. Exterior View of the Houses of Nóvita*, foregrounded two black male figures (fig. 15). The caption emphasized architectural detail, but its real subject seemed to be



15. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia del Chocó. Aspecto esterior de las casas de Nóvita.* Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 30.2 × 24 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

the contrast between two semi-naked black youths in the foreground and two languid white figures, elegantly dressed and lounging in a doorway behind them.[91] The hammock visible through the doorway and the stance of the light-skinned figures suggested primitive living conditions and lethargy induced by tropical heat. The fact that the black figures were outsized in proportion to the puny white figures might simply have reflected Paz's limitations in regards to perspective and figure painting, but their relative size also resonated with Pérez's worries that the black population was expand-

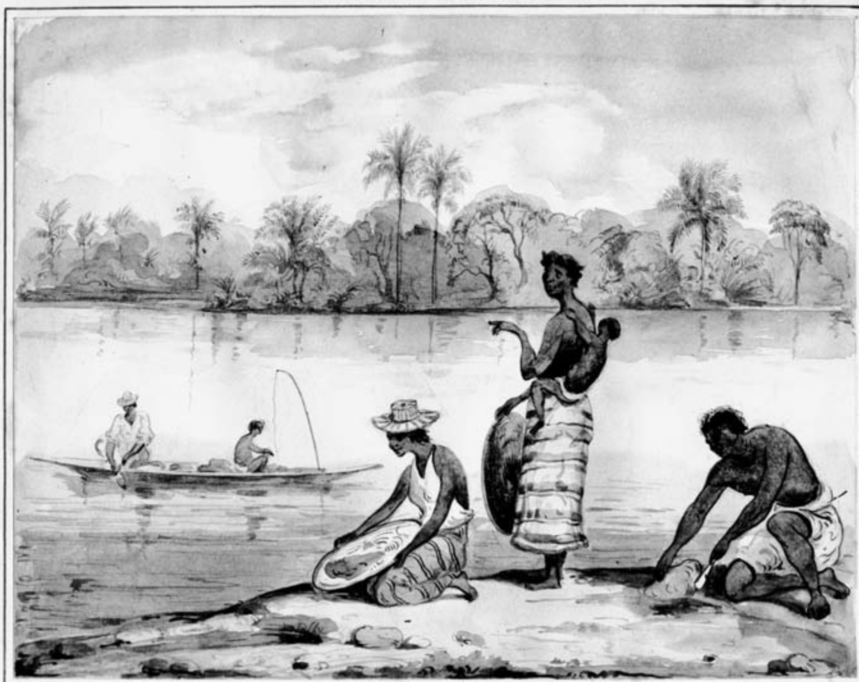
ing while the so-called white population wasted away. The images of Nóvita seem to reflect the commission's discomfort upon finding itself in a majority black town and region.

Another anonymous artist provided more than half of the images of the Pacific and the Southwest, including the painting of the robust cargueros who bore travelers through the perilous Tamaná wilderness discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Paz worked in tight brushstrokes and produced hard-edged, stiff figures; by contrast the uncredited painter often used broader strokes and swirls of color; his or her figures were droopy, with outsized upper bodies. Despite the obvious stylistic incongruence, those paintings have wrongly been attributed to Paz. Efraín Sánchez's careful detective work reveals that the artist was most likely a Frenchman, Léon Gauthier, who visited Bogotá during this period.[92] He apparently did not accompany the commission to the Pacific. The artist apparently worked off of sketches that Paz brought back from the expedition; in some cases they seem to have collaborated on the same watercolor. Gauthier (if indeed it was he) seems to have reveled in the Indians' and blacks primitive "Herculean" masculinity and in the lushness and majesty of the tropical landscapes.

Their figures were similarly dressed; both artists probably used Paz's field sketches as a template. Both artists paid careful attention to architecture and locale. The anonymous artist provided a surprising amount of ambient detail considering that he or she did not accompany the expedition; if anything, this painter's loose illustrations of scenes in villages, along rivers, and along mountain trails were more dynamic than Paz's stiff tableaux.

Thus, *Province of Barbacoas. Method of Washing Gold* (fig. 16), evidently by Gauthier, showed gold placer mining (echoing Price's images of Antioquia) and fishing. The women's dress was similar, and perhaps based on, Paz's mother and daughter of Nóvita; a child clung to a woman's back. At the same time, a viewer wonders: to what was she pointing, off in the distance? Was she guiding the commission, providing it with hydrographic or topographic information?[93]

Although most of the population of the Pacific lowlands met with disapproval, the commissioners did identify some inhabitants they liked: light-complexioned families who lived on some beaches along the coast of Barbacoas. Ocean breezes, Codazzi noted, improved both climate and health. Codazzi at one point called them "whites" of mixed ancestry, but at another point he deemed them quadroons, as did Pérez.[94] In addition to appearing white, they comported themselves in a civilized manner: they lived in clans that Codazzi and Pérez described approvingly as "patriarchal." These in-



16. Attributed to Léon Gauthier, *Provincia de Barbacoas. Modo de labar oro.* Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 23.6 × 30.1 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

habitants disdained the blacks and Indians, and rightfully so, in the opinion of the geographers, since the people of the beaches were superior in all respects; they had better clothes, houses, and intellects. They built boats, traded along the coast, raised livestock, and cultivated pretty and productive gardens, unlike the apparently disorderly plots of the black inhabitants.[95]

Such a family was portrayed as productive and healthy in *Interior of a House on Boquerones Beach* (fig. 17), a possible collaboration between Paz and Gauthier.[96] The respectably dressed female subjects of this painting were engaged in the same productive activity as their highland Andean counterparts in Fernández's watercolors: making hats. The open walls let in the healthy breezes. Glimpsed to the side was a marimba, an instrument associated with the black people of the country's coasts. Its presence hinted at the partly African roots of these otherwise exemplary inhabitants.

By contrast, the commission also wrote about "barbaric" Indians of the

17. Attributed to Manuel María Paz and Léon Gauthier, *Provincia de Barbacoas. Interior de una casa en la playa de Boquerones*. Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 30 × 23.5 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

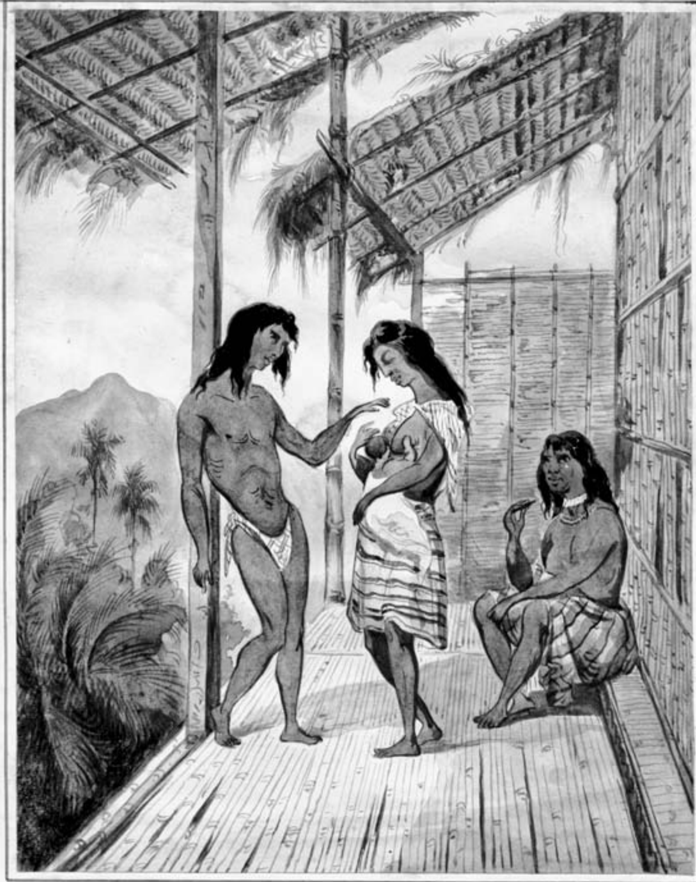
Pacific who had reportedly fled to remote river headlands in the upland areas of the interior to escape advancing black settlers.[97] It is not clear how much of Codazzi's ethnographic writing about these different Indian groups was based on his own observations or other, unnamed sources, though it is likely that he drew heavily on other sources in the Pacific Coast, as he clearly did in other regions. Codazzi referred to various indigenous groups he called the Darienes (or Cuna), Zitaráez, Noanamaes, and Chocoes. Codazzi understood

that the Indians had suffered from European diseases, but he also attributed their high mortality in part to their own ignorance; they did not know how to protect and cure themselves according to the precepts of modern nineteenth-century medicine.[98] They lived in "full liberty . . . naked, with a simple . . . loincloth . . . the women with a piece of cloth that they tie around the waist and that does not reach the knee."[99] The men were reputedly agile and active when they hunted, but otherwise lazy. Following Humboldt, Codazzi commented that Indians' taciturn facial features were inexpressive and denoted stupidity, though he appreciated the artistry and fine craftsmanship evident in their adornments, canoes, and weapons.[100] In one report he cited another eighteenth-century European explorer, Charles Marie de La Condamine, to conclude that "man abandoned to simple nature, and deprived of all the advantages that result from education and society, differs little from brutes."[101]

Codazzi emphasized, however, that the Indians were hospitable and loved their families (he later expanded on that argument in regards to Amazonian Indians).[102] In his provincial reports, especially his report on Chocó, Codazzi provided considerable ethnographic detail about Indian techniques for hunting and food preparation, diversions, and living conditions. His descriptions were partially echoed in this rather tender, though exoticized, image, commonly attributed to Paz but apparently painted by Gauthier (fig. 18).

The painter depicted three generations of a family. The image emphasizes poverty and primitivism: the thatch roof is riddled with holes; the subjects' hair is unkempt; and they lack furniture and clothing. But the picture is unique in the commission's surviving collection for highlighting parental affection toward a child. They are elevated above ground; apparently their house is built on a slope, with a mountain in the background, suggesting that they live in or near the relatively healthy uplands of the Pacific provinces' interior. This anonymous (and likely European) artist seems to have viewed Indians through the prism of an ideal of noble savagery. The image did not accord with Pérez's prose. He described the local Indians as thickly bodied and short, provoking pity.[103] The artist, on the other hand, portrayed the young Indian man in this painting as lithe. These Indians are primitive and poor but, like the cargueros portrayed by the same artist (fig. 13), they are more beautiful and healthy than pitiful.

For Codazzi, the most successful indigenous group were the Darienes, or Cuna, who "had known how to conserve their independence" while taking advantage of their location (on and near the Isthmus of Panamá) to participate in transoceanic trade.[104] He noted that they were "exact and reliable



18. Attributed to Léon Gauthier, *Provincia del Chocó. Interior de las habitaciones de los Indios*. Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 30.2 × 23.7 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

in their promises and their contracts" and "untiring and constant in work, happy and quite intelligent."[105] They sold rubber and other extractive products, cultivated cacao, and bought manufactured goods in return. Codazzi was most impressed with the village elders who recounted their communities' histories in nightly gatherings. "In this manner they conserve their history which . . . lives on more than does ours, [which is] almost always published but rarely read."[106] The commission's collection does not include

images of such Indians. Codazzi apparently encountered them in his earlier travels in the 1820s.[107]

THE GENDERED EMBODIMENT OF BARBARITY

The Chorographic Commission thus classified most inhabitants of the Pacific Coast into several clearly differentiated races: Indians (further subdivided by "race" as well), blacks or "Africans," and whitish inhabitants of mixed ancestry. Each was evaluated for its relative level of civilization and potential to advance. In keeping with the radical discourses of equality that pervaded New Granada during this period, the explorers usually expressed their negative opinions in terms that emphasized cultural attributes and the influence of the tropical environment rather than inherent biological defects. As anthropologist Eduardo Restrepo has pointed out, the commissioners believed that the African-descended population could be improved through cultural change.[108] The commission also argued that the environment had negative effects on light-skinned as well as dark-skinned inhabitants. But the emphasis on culture and environment did not make these opinions any less racist. Underlying their comments were unquestioned assumptions that fairer people were more attractive, that Indians looked stupid, that blacks thrived in torrid climates, that black and Indian women were sexually unconstrained, and that only whites and mestizos suffered from tropical diseases. These beliefs were closely tied to their assumption that blacks and mulattos were destined for menial labor.

Thus, barbarism was not only cultural, it was also constitutional; it was physically embodied.[109] Both Pérez and Codazzi described physical appearance as evidence of backwardness. Pérez, in particular, emphasized the attractive or unattractive features typical of each race. Generalizations about "Herculean" physiques and "taciturn" facial features were reflected to varying degrees in the commission's watercolors. The implication was that fundamental differences divided black, Indian, and white bodies; such differences would not be easily overcome. Barbarism inscribed on a body, after all, is more intractable than is a mere cultural deficiency.

The commissioners' assumptions about racial difference and the effects of the environment, moreover, were highly gendered. Appropriate gender social roles and clothing were often cited as evidence of the level of civilization of each type. The most civilized and progressive inhabitants of the Pacific dressed well and lived "patriarchally" on breezy beaches. By contrast,

the black women of Barbacoas, "accustomed to be naked with a flannel rag from Quito tied at their waist . . . do not have greater aspirations to dress themselves or to dress their numerous children who go entirely nude until the age of 8 or 10 years."[110] The least civilized, for the commissioners, were indigenous communities in which women ostensibly did most of the manual labor, were sexually active from a young age without benefit of formal marriage, wore little clothing, and made little effort to civilize the children that they produced in abundance.

Comments about lack of dress reflected not only the commission's concern about consumption but also about the sexual immorality and unrestrained fecundity that the commissioners associated with certain races and climates. Indians' putative propensity for premarital sexual relations was mentioned by Pérez and appears repeatedly in the commission's ethnography throughout New Granada.[111] Blacks, mulattos and even some of the whitish inhabitants of Chocó were depicted as dissolute. Pérez attributed a low number of marriages he encountered (22 in a district of 6,097 inhabitants) to the immorality and irreligiosity of the inhabitants, "among whom clandestine sexual relations are the most common."[112] He clarified that he was not only referring to "those of black skin"—apparently assuming that his readers would expect blacks to behave that way—but also to the "*whites*, as they are called there" (emphasis in the original).[113]

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR PROGRESS

The commission's distinct portrayal of each portion of New Granada was reflected in different prescriptions for future progress. In the northern Andean highlands, especially the Northeast, the commission advocated for improved institutions: more and better schools along with decentralized and honest government. The increasingly white population there, according to Ancízar, would benefit from greater democracy. The Pacific, however, was another matter. Pérez bemoaned the ignorance of the blacks of Barbacoas, but, he asked, what was the point of a law establishing a school for each parish given the scattered population and the "indolent inertia of the parents"?[114] Disciplined labor, investment, and colonization were needed more than schools.

Codazzi cautioned that people from the interior or abroad would not settle in the lowlands until the climate was transformed. He therefore advocated new roads over the Western Cordillera that would facilitate white and mestizo settlement in the presumably healthy foothills and slopes of the cordillera. In the lowlands, blacks would have to serve an intermediary civiliz-

ing function, providing labor for mine owners and clearing and sanitizing rainforests. Unfortunately, according to the commission, "indolent" blacks refused to fulfill their natural vocation.

In pointed reports directed to the governors of the provinces of Chocó and Barbacoas, which were published in the *Official Gazette* when he returned to Bogotá, Codazzi did not mince words. He called for a new regime of forced labor to replace slavery. For Chocó to progress, "the laboring class" needed "to be obligated to work by a well coordinated police law."[115] In his report to the governor of Barbacoas, he asked rhetorically "what would become of the Republic if the men who must serve as peons, don't want to do anything, content with vegetating and nothing more?"[116] He made the point that in Europe, people who did not work were treated as vagrants; the blacks of Chocó should be treated no better. Here, the "laboring class" was a racialized category. Because of the climate, ostensibly, the proletariat of the Pacific was necessarily black, "this race, by nature indolent."[117] Moreover, the laboring class was not limited to men but also included women and even children: "a family that counts on three or four persons apt for labor does not need more than one or two to subsist, and the rest can be signed up as workers, with a wage corresponding to their service, under penalty of being considered vagrants."[118] He called for vagrancy laws and a strong police force staffed by well-paid men of the same black race.[119]

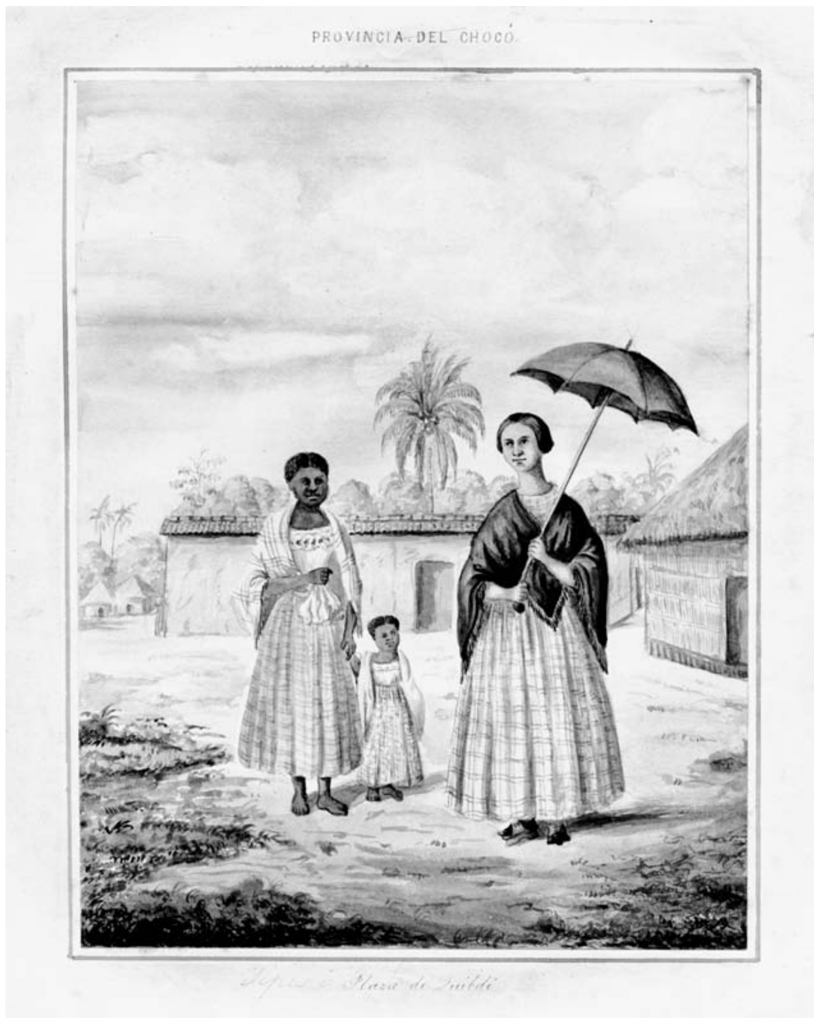
Given the prevailing radically liberal discourse of 1853, it might seem somewhat surprising that Codazzi would call publicly for a forced labor regime, though such proposals were not uncommon in the post-emancipation societies of the Atlantic World.[120] Codazzi felt he had to justify his proposal. He cited the example of neighboring Venezuela, in which the Constitution was "ten times more liberal" than that of New Granada.[121] Despite its large black and mulatto population, Venezuela was productive, he argued, because it used taxes and passbooks to force people to work. The result was that the men of Venezuela "do not go naked . . . they earnestly desire the advancement of their children; they look forward to the day when they can rest from their fatigue; they enjoy good foods and drinks and luxurious clothing."[122]

He thus justified forced labor in part by arguing that it would benefit the black inhabitants themselves, transforming them into consumers, liberating them from the new "slavery" of necessity in which they languished. He expected that with the eventual opening of an interoceanic canal, environmental changes, better roads, and an assured labor force, people from the interior would settle the foothills: "the Antioqueño, always enterprising and active, will not remain quiet, and will pass over the cordillera to dedicate

himself to the cultivation of foodstuffs and take advantage of a great market."[123] Antioqueño miners, followed by foreigners, would bring the capital and expertise necessary to exploit subterranean gold veins. The locals in the lowlands would learn by example and perhaps even "exit from the stupidity, lethargy and abandonment in which they live, and look for work in an effort to imitate [the Antioqueños]."[124]

The ostensibly beneficial influence of white settlers is hinted at in *[Types and] Plaza of Quibdó* (fig. 19).[125] As in his image of two Nóvita women, Paz portrayed an apparent mother-daughter pair, but the Quibdó pair was respectably dressed. It was placed, moreover, next to a whiter female "type." The mother and daughter wore peasant dress, similar to that of Andean highlanders; they had learned to consume clothing and to dress modestly. Except for their bare feet, their clothes mirrored those of the light-skinned woman just in front of them, implying that white women could lead black women to live in a relatively civilized fashion. The light-skinned woman wore clogs to elevate her feet from Chocó's mud and carried a parasol or umbrella to protect from either the rain or the sun—elements from which black inhabitants ostensibly needed no protection. The shoes, umbrella, and coiffed hair of the woman in the foreground reflected someone who made a conscious effort to maintain a civilized lifestyle and fair complexion in a tropical environment. Thus, unlike Pérez's dissolute "whites," she embodied female respectability, a domesticating influence on an uncivilized frontier.

The commission argued that the Indians of the Pacific provinces, like the blacks, would benefit from white and mestizo settlement.[126] The Indians of Barbacoas would ostensibly benefit from increased contact with migrants from the southern highland interior provinces of Túquerres and Pasto, where mestizaje was already well advanced: "the white race, combined with the indigenous, improved every day, and one observes its features marked by intelligence, which does not happen in the individuals of pure Indian race."[127] As was often the case, Codazzi's arguments about the results of Indians' mixture with outsiders were inconsistent. While he argued that an influx of newcomers would have a positive impact on the Indians of the Pacific, he also suggested that those Indians who remained distant from other populations and relatively autonomous were more enterprising than those who lived close by.[128] Mixture could benefit Indians, but it could also corrupt them. Meanwhile, Pérez, Codazzi, and Paz all depicted the reportedly "pure" unmixed black inhabitants of the Pacific provinces as problematic, though Codazzi also argued that the expanding black population would provide the labor needed to sanitize the land for white and mestizo settlement.



19. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia del Chocó. [Tipos i] Plaza de Quibdó.* Ca. 1853. Watercolor. 31 × 23.6 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

CONCLUSIONS

The commissioners tried, in their descriptions of the population of the Pacific Coast, to conform to liberal principals by emphasizing that the population's deficiencies were primarily cultural, due to a history of slavery, a tropical climate, and an isolated location, rather than inherent to each race. Thus, the commission justified its proposal for a brutal labor regime because of the ostensibly beneficial effects it would have on the inhabitants, as well as

on the climate and economy. Underlying the liberal sentiments were persistent assumptions about intractable differences between bodies defined as black, white, Indian, and mixed. Such bodies were evaluated aesthetically and morally and assessed for their suitability to labor in tropical climates. Contemporary scientific understandings of climate and disease reinforced the assumption that blacks were destined to provide the "laboring class" of the Pacific lowlands.

Modern nation-state formation has often replicated colonial power structures and mentalities.[129] In the Colombian case, nation-state building has especially resembled colonialism in tropical lowland peripheries.[130] In these areas, republican elites and their foreign collaborators believed that the "empire of man" had to be extended over the forest and plains, and that local populations had to be subjugated and controlled. Landscapes and peoples had to be dominated and transformed through forced labor, deforestation, and settlement.

The racialization of human bodies into discrete categories in order to define exploiters versus exploited, so integral to colonial projects, was particularly explicit in the coastal lowlands. In the Andes, Ancízar had extolled a new emerging democratic race, thus linking citizenship and national progress with ongoing mestizaje and the eventual disappearance of racial difference. In Chocó, meanwhile, the otherness of blacks was emphasized. They were problematic, but they also served a purpose; they would provide labor. The highlanders, according to Ancízar, needed better schools to help them become better citizens. The lowlanders, according to Pérez and Codazzi, required a different kind of schooling: a violent regime relying on passbooks, vagrancy statutes, and a beefed-up police force to teach them to be workers and consumers. The black inhabitants of the Pacific were to serve an intermediary civilizing role as workers (and enforcers); their coerced labor would facilitate settlement by civilized peoples.

Ironically, the Chorographic Commission first visited and reported on the Pacific Coast the same year that New Granada extended suffrage to all men, regardless of economic class.[131] Liberal politicians were avidly courting newly freed and enfranchised black and mulatto citizens, especially in the Cauca Valley. Yet the commission did not talk about integrating the black inhabitants of Chocó into the polity as citizens, per se, but rather integrating them into the economy as menial laborers and consumers. Even an avowedly Liberal commissioner like Santiago Pérez seemed unable to see most inhabitants of the Pacific lowlands as fellow Granadino citizens, rather than as "Africans" or Indians. If anything, the prospect of black men exercising

their citizenship by voting perturbed him. The commission's overtly racist depiction of the Pacific lowlanders underscores the tensions inherent in the cross-class alliances of its day and highlights contradictions that ultimately undermined the republic's midcentury radical experiment with more inclusive democracy.[132]

5
The Illustrated and Progressive Spirit of the Granadinos
Envisioning Economic Progress

The Chorographic Commissioners were optimistic, at least in the beginning. The decade opened with economic reforms that liberalized trade in tobacco and gold. Exports were rising.[1] Tobacco production boomed in the Magdalena River valley, while women in the mountains above wove hats for export. Gold production was expanding in the three provinces that would soon be reunited as the state of Antioquia, and a new railroad was extending across Panamá to serve international travelers headed for the gold mines of California.

For the commissioners, New Granada was endowed with tremendous economic potential. On its maps and in its provincial reports, the commission listed an array of products for domestic and foreign markets. But for every example of "progress," they found frustrating instances of unrealized potential. Ancízar, Codazzi, and their colleagues depicted natural riches that still remained largely unexploited by an ignorant population. They visited bustling local markets whose growth was constrained by the lack of passable roads to other regions. They bemoaned the corruption of local officials in communities across the country, and the laziness and barbarism that they especially perceived in certain regions and among certain races. They envisioned a future of capitalist prosperity even as they lamented the backwardness they encountered.

From its inception, the Chorographic Commission was defined and justified primarily as an economic project, inscribed within a classic liberal export-oriented framework shared by most elite Liberals and Conservatives. Politicians justified their investment in this ambitious geographic enterprise by promising it would lead to concrete economic benefits. The original 1839 legislation emphasized the importance of detailed maps in order to facilitate the privatization of public lands. A decade later, when the commission was finally launched, officials focused on foreign immigration and investment.

New Granada, they argued, was "unknown in the exterior," especially "among peoples disposed to emigrate."[2] The commission's creators emphasized the external audience. Publicizing New Granada's abundant riches abroad would lure "industrious" immigrants and stimulate investment and trade.[3]

The officials and commissioners knew that the lack of publicity was not New Granada's only problem. Granadinos were only too painfully aware that the country lacked a transportation infrastructure. Simply put, the country lacked roads. There existed no highway worthy of that label; outside of a few major towns and their immediate environs, wheeled traffic was impossible. Trails in various states of disrepair threaded up and down the Andes at vertiginous angles. Some trails were impassable in the rainy months and barely passable in the dry season. There were few bridges; most river crossings required swimming, fording, ferrying, or ropes. Certain routes, such as the notoriously arduous Quindío pass over the Central Cordillera, had recently been improved to the point that mules had reportedly replaced human carriers.[4] But, as noted in the previous chapter, people continued to carry other people and freight on their backs up and down the Andes. Similarly, the infrastructure for credit was lacking; no national banking system existed.

Although this book is largely about representation, it is important to underscore that the Chorographic Commission was very much a material project, not simply a representational one. For Codazzi personally, "material advancement" (*adelante material*) was paramount, more important than the "democratic speeches and papers" produced by his radical Liberal friends.[5] The commission's efforts were not meant to simply represent the landscape and inhabitants; they were also to transform them in the service of economic advancement. In addition to amassing economic data in the hopes of facilitating investment and immigration, the commission tried to address problems more directly and immediately. Codazzi took steps to inscribe his economic vision onto the land itself. He mapped out projected commercial routes (*vías comerciales*) to connect provincial capitals with navigable rivers and coastal seaports; he personally supervised the initial excavations for at least one such road. He created geological maps commissioned by mine investors.[6] He and his students surveyed indigenous communal lands and thus helped to disentail them.[7] As noted in the previous chapter, Codazzi advocated forced labor to transform the environment and open up new mines in the Pacific coastal provinces. Ancízar, meanwhile, advocated more schools, with pragmatic curricula attuned to economic needs, while Triana studied the utilitarian potential of New Granada's flora. The commission's textual

and visual depictions emphasized the country's mineral wealth, human capital—both female and male—and agricultural potential, precisely in the hopes of realizing that potential.

The principal obstacles that impeded the realization of the commission's ultimate goals were greater than the daily obstacles it faced in scaling mountains and traversing swollen rivers. More problematic even than the heights of the cordilleras or the diseases of the lowlands were the political and financial conditions of the fledgling republic. Mired in civil conflict and struggling with financial insolvency, local and national governments often left public works to private capital, which was scarce. Moreover, the predominant liberal capitalist economic model had its own contradictions, reflected in the depictions and recommendations elaborated by the Chorographic Commission.

THE ECONOMY AT MIDCENTURY: A VICIOUS CYCLE

Scholars have long likened the economy of mid-nineteenth-century Colombia to an archipelago, whereby major towns and their surrounding hinterlands were like islands, each producing its own basic foodstuffs.[8] Each major town drew on a variety of agricultural crops grown in adjacent zones located at varying altitudes. Recently, some historical economists have argued that this island metaphor overemphasizes isolation; new research emphasizes the "circulation of men and merchandise."[9] Some products, such as salt, gold, livestock, iron, and textiles, among others, were traded across the Andes, from one "island" to another.[10]

From an elite perspective, the economy had been caught in something of a vicious cycle. To put it in overly simple terms, trade needed roads and roads needed trade.[11] The bad state of trails impeded interregional trade; freightage was prohibitively expensive.[12] It was reportedly cheaper to import goods from abroad up the Magdalena River to the port at Honda than to carry goods from the river up to the highlands.[13] "Honda," one Granadino suggested, "is closer to New York than to Bogotá."[14] The national government devolved responsibility for roads onto provincial (and then state) governments, most of which were unable to maintain and improve the colonial-era trails, much less build modern roads with gradual inclines suitable for wheeled traffic.

So they often left road building and improvements to concessionaires, who functioned in an unstable political and financial environment with limited credit and difficulty obtaining, paying, and retaining workers.[15] The few investors who actually took on such projects could not always finish them.

Entrepreneurial activities of all sorts were constrained by a scarcity of cash and credit, except in gold-producing Antioquia. In the Antioquia provinces in the 1850s, interest rates were around 8 percent, whereas they were reportedly almost 25 percent elsewhere.[16] The labor force required for harsh and dangerous roadwork, moreover, was conscripted, poorly paid, and rebellious. The unfortunate workers included poor people forced to pay a labor "tax" and prisoners.

The elite bemoaned a labor shortage. The governor of the Province of Santander in 1853 blamed military conscription: "little could be done this year in repairing trails, for the lack of labor . . . daily wages go up every day. . . . [A]nd the number of laborers has decreased as a result of the [military] recruitments."[17] Scholars' opinions differ regarding how real this labor scarcity actually was.[18] According to some accounts, the elite complained of scarcity in order to justify coercive labor relations. Other scholars have argued that labor was truly at a premium, which allowed workers to demand concessions such as advances, access to agricultural land, and bearable working conditions. Either way, a substantial "free" capitalist labor force composed of mobile workers dependent on hourly or daily wages did not exist on a wide scale. Employers and workers entered into various arrangements, such as sharecropping, tenancy, debt, and piecework.[19] Even after slavery ended, some of the methods used to "hook," discipline, and retain such workers were undoubtedly coercive, as were, obviously, the deployment of prisoners and the imposition of a labor tax.

The relative self-sufficiency and poverty of laboring people, moreover, along with the reluctance or inability of elite employers to employ them, contributed to limiting consumption and constricting markets. Just to give one concrete example of what that meant for people's daily lives: leather shoes comprised a luxury that most inhabitants could not afford.[20] Granadinos' calloused and swollen feet were just one painful symptom of the republic's generalized poverty (the average consumption of carbohydrates and proteins, however, might actually have been higher in the nineteenth century than currently).[21]

The tobacco boom in low-lying areas accessible to the Magdalena River waterway and the expanding gold production in Antioquia seemed at midcentury to be lifting those regions, at least, out of this cycle, accounting for much of the commission's optimism. Infrastructural problems, however, would not really start to be solved until coffee exports took off in the late nineteenth century, without large-scale immigration.[22] Fomenting immigration was nonetheless one of the commission's primary goals.

Elite desires for the right sort of foreign immigrants dated back to the Independence era and were evident throughout the nineteenth century.[23] The right kind of immigrants included "industrious" agricultural families, skilled workers, mine technicians, and especially investors.[24] The desired immigrants were also defined by race and national origin. Immigration legislation drafted in 1847 by Ancízar sought Europeans, North Americans, or Asians, under the assumption that the latter would be indentured.[25] The government promised certain incentives to European and North American immigrants, including land grants, religious liberty, and exemptions from certain taxes and military service.[26] But resources were not forthcoming; the 1847 mandate was not funded.[27] Subsequently, the government retreated from the idea of costly state-subsidized immigration schemes and focused more on privately sponsored initiatives.[28] Some individual provinces and later states planned their own initiatives to facilitate immigration.[29]

Though there were occasional calls during this period for importing Asian or even African labor, it was European immigrants' whiteness and "civilization" that most stoked elite desire.[30] In 1849, the Secretary of Exterior Relations was quite explicit that immigration would "civilize and populate our public lands" and "augment the white race."[31] According to an 1850 circular addressed to New Granada's consulates in North America and Europe, entire families—implicitly male-headed—were welcome and would receive public lands.[32] The government's preference for certain nationalities within Europe was further clarified in a memo to British agents in 1851: "the colonists should first be German, second Scottish or English or third Irish."[33] A contributor to *El Neo-Granadino* in 1850 agreed that "German and Anglo-Saxons are, without doubt, those that are best for us: the men of these handsome families of Caucasian race are active, hardworking, intelligent, enthusiasts for liberty."[34] He believed that "European immigration is necessary" because "Hispanic-Americans must be regenerated by crossing with other less vice-ridden and rickety races that will invigorate their blood and stimulate their character."[35] Obviously, not everyone shared the commissioners' emphasis on the benefits of internal race mixture already taking place among inhabitants of New Granada.

Amidst all the enthusiasm about immigration, Codazzi offered caution: "Many think that a torrent of immigrants can come to South America . . . others imagine that it would be enough to publicize the riches of the interior of these areas to see them quickly populated as has happened in California

. . . Experience and observation tells us the opposite. . . . Nonetheless, the need to bring strong arms to these countries whose territory is for the most part barren and solitary is indisputable."[36] He viewed immigration as key to the "barren" territory's progress, yet his own bitter experience as an immigration sponsor had made him cautious. In the early 1840s, he had helped organize a European settlement known as Tovar Colony, consisting of about 400 individuals, in the Venezuelan mountains outside of Caracas. He published a brief account of this venture in 1850. His story was a chronicle of woes: settlers took ill, insects devoured European blood and crops, mothers' milk went dry, and many died. They could not manage the hard work in the unfamiliar climate. Codazzi suppressed settler rebellion with unspecified punishment. The enterprise proved costly, requiring both private and public subsidies.

Codazzi therefore recommended against locating foreign immigrants by rivers or in lowland forests, which he believed to be more suitable for internal migrants because of his assumptions about race and climate.[37] For northern Europeans, he suggested agricultural colonies on the cool slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a mountain range conveniently located near Caribbean ports and markets (he did not mention the indigenous population that already lived there). He argued that if the government could not make the considerable investment necessary to ensure the success of such colonies, then it should instead aim to increase "civilization or industrial progress" by importing select technicians and artisans, who would instruct the native workforce in industrial textile production and improve its output.[38] Such an "immigration of science" would generate employment for new generations, including women and children, who otherwise would turn to prostitution and crime.[39]

Neither the elite's dreams of massive immigration nor Codazzi's ideas for selective immigration were ever realized. More modest efforts to recruit immigrants continued in the second half of the century.[40] A few European and North American immigrants trickled in. They continued to play especially important roles in the mining industry. Yet most nineteenth-century immigrants hailed not from the "civilized" countries of Europe but rather from neighboring countries, especially Venezuela.

COMMERCIAL ROUTES

While the government emphasized immigration, Codazzi focused more on infrastructure. He equated commercial routes with "arteries that carry

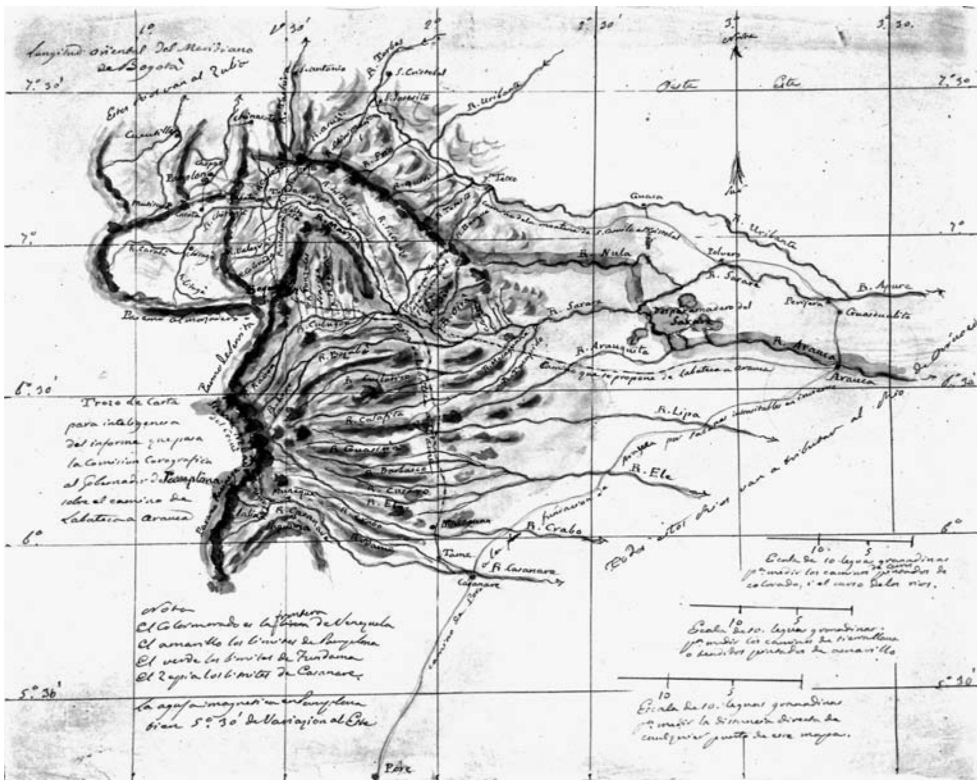
blood."[41] The "blood" was trade. Towns without decent roads to facilitate trade, separated by vast expanses of unhealthy terrain and impenetrable forests, would die; a road was "a question of life or death."[42]

While his proposed roads were primarily intended to boost trade, Codazzi argued that they would also facilitate internal migration, frontier colonization, and immigration. He argued that once better trails and wagon roads were built and linked up to navigable rivers, internal migrants from the highlands would move into sparsely settled areas. Migrants of African descent, whom he viewed as resistant to lowland fevers, would clear the way for people of European descent and eventually for Europeans themselves.[43] The industrious newcomers would intermix racially and culturally with the "savage" black and Indian inhabitants of the lowlands, who would learn new work habits and consumption practices. Thus, infrastructure, internal migration, and immigration would bring civilization from Europe and the highlands to the savage lowlands, weaving the nation together and bringing economic progress to all.

Codazzi made his case directly to provincial governors in reports that contained very specific suggestions for road building. The work he did to plan these routes, he claimed, was "without remuneration" and beyond his contractual obligations.[44] He made sure that each report was forwarded to the president of the Republic and published in the official gazette.[45] Thus, his voluntary reports to governors served a double purpose of addressing what he felt were pressing needs, while at the same time explicitly justifying the government's continued investment in the Chorographic Commission.[46]

Most of these reports provided detailed instructions for new roads. Codazzi often drafted maps of proposed "mercantile routes" (see fig. 20).[47] His reports listed alternative routes and explained the pros and cons of each. He advocated modern engineering principles, including replacing the existing steep paths with longer trails that would climb more gradually along the mountain flanks, suitable for wheeled vehicles.[48] He tried to find routes that would take travelers through what he considered the best climates and avoid "lethal forests."[49] Wherever possible, the routes would be constructed in cultivated areas that would provide provisions to road workers and travelers. Due to a lack of resources, Codazzi recommended building the paths just wide enough, in the initial stage, for mules and horses, but in such a way that they could be subsequently widened for wagons.

New roads were to provide provincial capitals with access to navigable rivers, distinct climactic zones, or coastal ports in order to facilitate external and internal trade. For example, a projected road from the Savannah of



20. Agustín Codazzi, *Trozo de Carta para inteligensia del informe que pasa la Comision Corográfica al Gobernador de Pamplona sobre el camino de Labateca a Arauca*. N.d. 32 × 21 cm. Codazzi proposed a route to facilitate trade between the Province of Pamplona in the Andes and Arauca in the Eastern Plains and indicated old routes that had become "impassable." *Agustín Codazzi. Vida y empresas de un geógrafo emiliano-romagnolo en la* América tropical, www.codazzi.mitreum.net.

Bogotá down to the Magdalena River would provide the national capital with better access to imported goods while expanding the lowland market for highland crops, especially potatoes.[50] Other towns in the central and eastern Andean cordilleras would also get better routes to the Magdalena and thus to the Atlantic. The northeastern city of Pamplona was to get a route to the cattle ranches of the Eastern Plains (fig. 20).[51] Cities in the southwestern Andes, such as Popayán and Cali, would gain improved access to Pacific ports and mines. Codazzi provided rough economic statistics and calculations to argue that better roads would lead to more trade. Ultimately, he insisted, tolls and tax receipts would more than pay for the initial investment.[52]

Most of the roads remained drawings on paper and were not actually built;

most provincial governments could not or would not summon the resources needed. One partial exception was a new trail in the northeastern province of Socorro, which Codazzi recommended in 1851. Highland investors and merchants desperately wanted roads to the Magdalena River and adjacent lowlands in order to grow and export tobacco. By 1853, the governor and legislature of Socorro were developing the route, which was initially intended to link the highland provincial capital and surrounding communities with the Magdalena via the Sogamoso River.[53] This was the same proposed road included in the manuscript provincial map of Socorro (fig. 3). The governor, Ramón Mateus, personally oversaw the works and revised the plan so that the trail would go all the way to the Magdalena itself.[54] Codazzi commended his efforts.[55] Yet even that exemplary project was stymied. Historian Richard Stoller finds that the Socorro project was twice abandoned in the 1850s and not finished until the late 1860s.[56]

Sometimes Codazzi went beyond merely indicating possible routes and personally oversaw the initial clearing of land and digging of trenches. For example, a project to build a route from the Bogotá Savannah to the Magdalena River was already underway when Codazzi recommended changing the final section of it so that the road would end in the riverside town of Ambalema. Possibly for this reason, Paz painted Ambalema's bustling port on the Magdalena.[57] It was not a perfect route: travelers and merchandise would have had to disembark to circumvent the Honda rapids, downstream from Ambalema. Nonetheless, work commenced on the new trench in August 1857 with 250 prisoners under the direction of Codazzi and Manuel Ponce de León, one of Codazzi's former students at the Military College. Efraín Sánchez has tracked the rise and fall of this project in the Bogotá press and the official gazette of the new state of Cundinamarca.[58] The Ambalema road had vocal supporters; tobacco merchants who traded through Ambalema stood to benefit. Other influential men pronounced it a boondoggle. Ultimately, Sánchez concludes, the protests of influential landowners in two towns bypassed by the new route contributed its demise.

The Chorographic Commission also envisioned railroads.[59] But the only railroad that was built during this period was across the Isthmus of Panamá, completed in 1855 with North American capital to facilitate migration to California and trade.[60] Rail transportation remained in the future for the rest of New Granada.

The Magdalena River provided the essential axis for the commercial network that Codazzi believed would eventually cover the national territory. Steam travel on the river had begun in the late 1840s. Given the shallowness

of the river and the difficulties of procuring fuel, steamboats were not always more efficient than the traditional pole boats known as *champanes*, but some economists think that river transportation prices did fall by around a quarter between 1845 and 1882.[61] Inconvenient land travel was required at both ends; boats could not enter the Magdalena directly from the Caribbean Sea, and travelers and merchandise going upstream had to disembark at or before Honda. Nonetheless, Codazzi thought that the Magdalena constituted the best option, at least in the short run, for linking up the interior with the rest of the world.[62]

CANAL

The waterway that generated the most excitement and speculation during this period did not yet exist and would not come a reality for another half century. Midcentury saw a flurry of European and North American interest in developing an interoceanic waterway.[63] Most of the attention had been focused on the Atrato and San Juan rivers in Chocó.[64] But by the early 1850s, international interest was turning increasingly toward Panamá. The heavily forested Darien area in southern Panamá remained largely unmapped and under the control of indigenous inhabitants. An Irishman named Edward Cullen claimed to have repeatedly traversed a low pass through its mountains between rivers that fed into the Atlantic and Pacific. Lionel Gisborne drew a fanciful map in 1852 to document Cullen's false claims.[65]

Such lies cost lives. In 1853, a partnership backed by the British government carried out an unsuccessful exploration of a canal route across the Darien that lost several men, reportedly killed by inhabitants.[66] Meanwhile, France, Britain, and the U.S. all sent naval vessels to the Caribbean in a race to chart a canal route. The government of New Granada dispatched Codazzi in January 1854 to represent its interests, placing military personnel stationed in Cartagena and Panamá under his command. The New Granada delegation appeared to be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the great powers of the North Atlantic. Codazzi described the scene in the Caledonia Bay, on the Caribbean coast of Panamá: "it was then the rainy month of January; through both oceans plowed warships of steam and sail, English, French and American, bearing engineers and scientific men on board; a little Granadino merchant schooner also navigated through, carrying a poor engineer."[67]

New Granada's "poor engineer" collaborated with foreign explorers who competed to be the first to travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific via water and land across the Darien. In late January, a well-armed international expe-

dition including Cullen and a skeptical Codazzi started across the isthmus via the Caledonia River in search of the low passes that Gisborne and Cullen were convinced would allow them easy passage through the mountains. They returned after eleven days without having found the route. Codazzi claimed never to have believed Gisborne's map and privately labeled Cullen a liar.[68] The French and North American expeditions, meanwhile, met worse ends. Indians reportedly massacred the French, while the North Americans got lost for almost two months and starved. Several North American expeditionaries and two young New Granada soldiers who had accompanied them perished, much to Codazzi's disgust.[69] He did some mapping of the Isthmus until returning to Bogotá to take part in the war of 1854.

LAND

The New Granada elite, like liberal capitalists everywhere, viewed private property as the cornerstone of economic growth.[70] The commission indicated ostensibly public "vacant lands" (*tierras baldías*), thus making them available for privatization.[71] Over the course of the nineteenth century, the legislature issued public land certificates to pay veterans, pay off debt, and subsidize infrastructural improvements. These certificates were reportedly bought and sold, and some individuals accumulated large numbers of them.[72] In at least one instance, an individual holding one such land certificate sought information from Codazzi to help him find an advantageous location to establish his property.[73]

In his travel memoir, Ancízar lauded small farmers of the northeastern cordillera and expressed a Jeffersonian ideal of dispersed landownership as conducive to democracy.[74] Scholars, however, argue that privatization mostly favored large landholders.[75] Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the privatization of public lands led in some regions to increasing concentration of land tenure, even as smaller-scale farming proliferated in other areas, most famously in the highlands of Antioquia and adjoining areas settled by Antioqueños.[76]

In addition to unclaimed lands, the elite had its eyes on lands "monopolized" by the Church and indigenous communities. The full-scale attack on ecclesiastic landholdings would gain momentum later, in the early 1860s, but the 1850s did see renewed efforts to privatize indigenous communal resguardos. For historian Germán Palacio, the Chorographic Commission was key to this "second conquest," since its maps and inventories could nullify indigenous territorial claims by declaring their communal lands to be vacant.[77]

Since the colonial period, outsiders had gained access to legally inalienable indigenous communal land through tactics such as letting cattle loose, staking mine claims, squatting, leasing, colluding with officials, or marrying into the communities.[78] Various elite proposals were made to "free" up indigenous lands, and, in so doing, "liberate" Indians from colonial communal institutions and convert male Indians into full citizens, with the same rights and duties as all other men.[79] Radical Liberals renewed this effort with a law in 1850 authorizing provincial governments to move ahead with privatizing indigenous resguardos. But, implementation proved highly uneven. The process of surveying indigenous landholdings in order to divide them up was slowed down by difficulties such as a shortage of trained land surveyors.[80] Moreover, provincial governments (and later state governments) had considerable discretion in how to proceed in response to local pressures. In the southwestern Andes, for example, some indigenous communities successfully maneuvered to retain communal lands through protests, negotiations, and military alliances with leaders on both sides of the partisan divide.[81] The state of Cauca even passed legislation to protect indigenous resguardos in 1859.

The province of Bogotá, on the other hand, moved quickly to disentail its last remaining indigenous resguardos between 1852 and 1856.[82] This move was the culmination of a long process of privatization that had been going on since the eighteenth century in the eastern highlands. Moreover, as del Castillo points out, midcentury Bogotá boasted a new cadre of surveyors trained under Codazzi at the Military College.[83] In the northeastern province of Socorro, meanwhile, Codazzi personally surveyed the indigenous resguardo of Guane with two of his students.[84] Thus, Codazzi's participation in the privatization process was not limited to chorographic representation. He and his students used their cartographic skills to implement disentailment of communal lands directly, on the ground. They appear to have been more successful in this endeavor, at least in the Eastern Cordillera, than in their efforts to carve roads into the mountainsides. Even as the surveyors moved forward to partition indigenous communal lands, however, some national and local elite writers observed that Indians were too easily deprived of their land and further impoverished.[85]

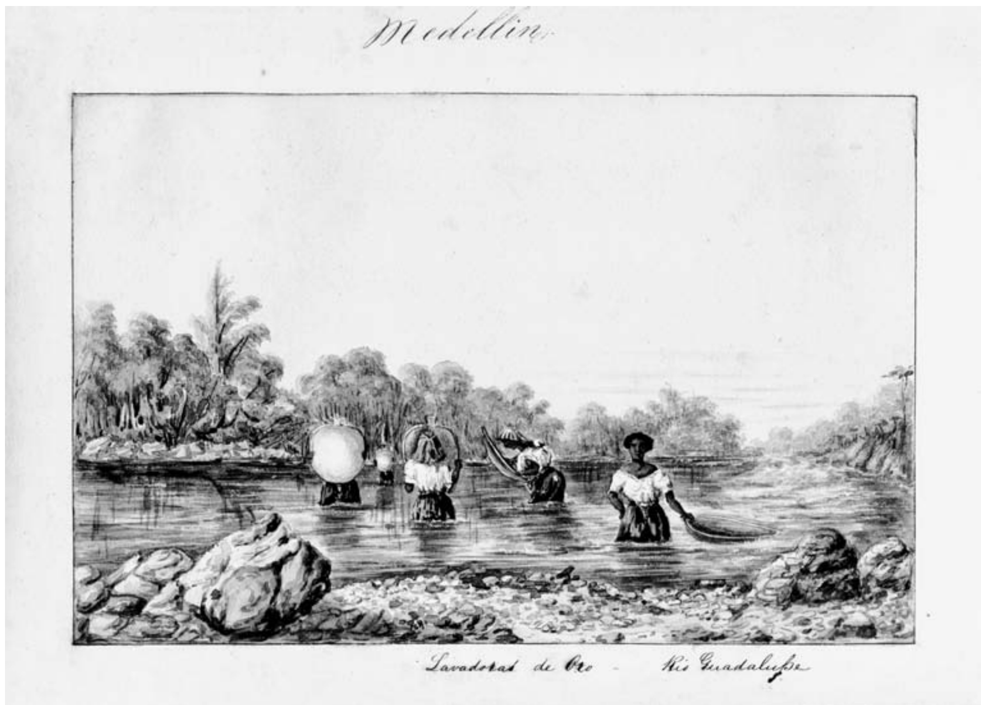
Despite such laments about poverty, and despite frustration over the almost nonexistent infrastructure, an optimistic strain is evident in the writings and imagery produced by nineteenth-century elite and some foreign observers. The Chorographic Commission exemplified this optimism, at least publicly (Codazzi was less sanguine in his private correspondence).[86] Com-

missioners portrayed New Granada as a land of plenty and its inhabitants, for the most part, as hard working. Nowhere was this rosy view more evident than in the commission's illustrations.

IMAGES OF PLENTY AND PRODUCTIVITY

The illustrations were largely geared toward an external audience, part of the commission's effort to create a "glorious monument for New Granada" that would attract immigrants and investors.[87] Many of the images emphasized economic production and natural resources, including several depictions of gold mining. Price's watercolor of gold panners in the Guadalupe River in Medellín Province (fig. 21), depicted women of apparent African descent engaged in a highly "typical" activity. The scene, with its skirted workers scrutinizing their pans and scattered multihued pebbles in the foreground, implies that gold was plentiful and easy to come by, just waiting to be sifted out of mineral-rich soils. It thus publicizes the province's wealth. Mining, in this image, does not appear particularly arduous or complex, though placer mining was an extremely difficult and dangerous activity. Workers stood soaked for hours in dirty water. In rivers they dove to the bottom repeatedly with stones attached to their bodies to help them sink quickly.[88] Price's *Miner and Merchant. Medellín* (fig. 8) showed a well-stocked shop through an open doorway behind a transaction between a dark-skinned miner in canvas alpargatas and a light-skinned merchant in leather shoes. Price thus emphasized the economic linkages generated by the mining industry. The image reflects that wealth accumulated not in the hands of the mineworkers themselves but in those of the merchants.

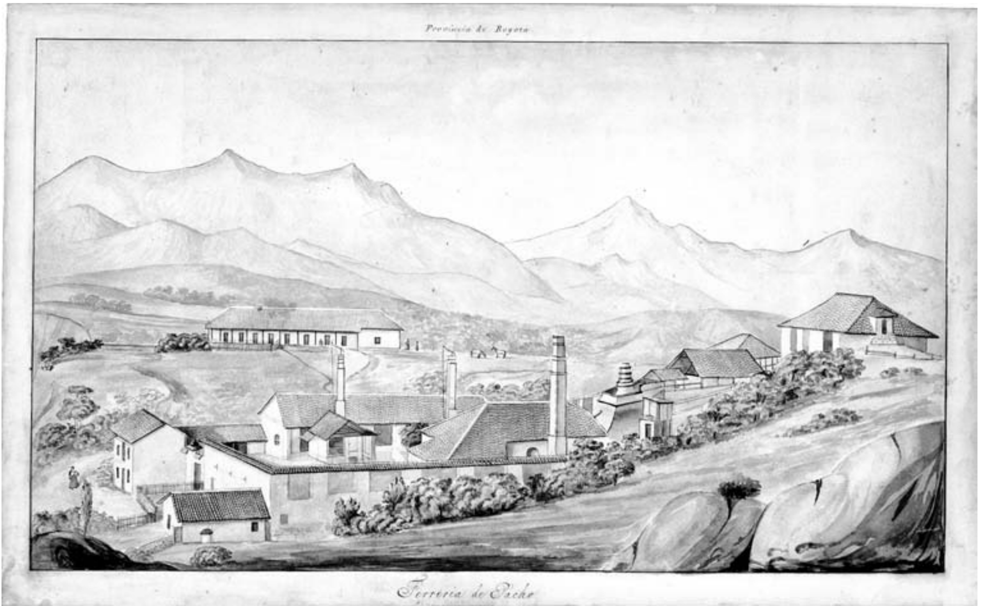
Paz's depiction of the Pacho Foundry near the city of Bogotá, on the other hand, emphasized industrial development (fig. 22). Built around an open courtyard, the buildings were whitewashed walls with tiled roofs, like the country's best houses. The complex appears strikingly clean for a plant dedicated to high-temperature industrial manufacturing, and surprisingly empty. The scene includes no actual industrial workers, only a few tiny female figures apparently going about ordinary rural activities. The landscape is carefully rendered, from the striking boulders in the foreground to the peaks in the distance. This image, like so many others by the commission, seems to serve a dual purpose, publicizing its stated subject while also mapping the landscape around it. The Pacho ironworks was the largest and most successful of several modern manufacturing enterprises founded in the first half of the century (in addition to iron tools, the others produced paper, china,



21. Henry Price, *Medellin. Lavadoras de Oro—Rio Guadalupe*. 1852. Watercolor. 20 × 27.7 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

glass, and textiles). As such, it was a potent symbol of pride and capitalist optimism. Yet the history of Pacho and other such enterprises illustrates some of the obstacles to industrialization.[89]

A consortium of elite and foreign investors founded Pacho in 1823. In the 1830s English and French technicians came to build and run a modern blast furnace, which required the cylindrical structure and chimneys shown in the illustration. It took seven years to get the new furnace up and running. Demand remained limited until the tobacco boom of the 1840s increased the market for iron tools. By the 1850s, Pacho products circulated throughout much of the Eastern Cordillera and at least as far as Antioquia, despite the high cost of freight over rough trails. But most such manufacturing enterprises were less successful. They were undercapitalized and relied on foreign technicians and imported equipment that had to be hauled up the mountains at great cost. Replacement parts were difficult to come by. The market for their products was limited. Most agricultural and artisanal tools were imported from abroad, such as the ubiquitous Collins steel machete from



22. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Bogotá. Ferrería de Pacho*. Ca. 1858. Watercolor. 25.5 × 41.1 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

Connecticut.[90] It is no wonder that the commission does not seem to have depicted any manufacturing plants other than Pacho.

The commission did produce multiple watercolors of people engaged in mining, agriculture, livestock raising, tobacco processing, and crafts throughout much of the country. The women and men engaged in productive agricultural tasks exemplified what anthropologist Julio Arias Trujillo refers to as the *buen campesino*—the "good peasant."[91] Reminiscent of images of productive colonial subjects of the late Spanish Empire, the illustrations portray a productive population of workers on farms and in small shops.[92] Unlike in some costumbrista images of peasants and local characters in Latin America, the "types" in these watercolors are healthy, without obvious deformities or diseases.[93] Some of them, particularly in Fernández's rendering, are quite beautiful.[94]

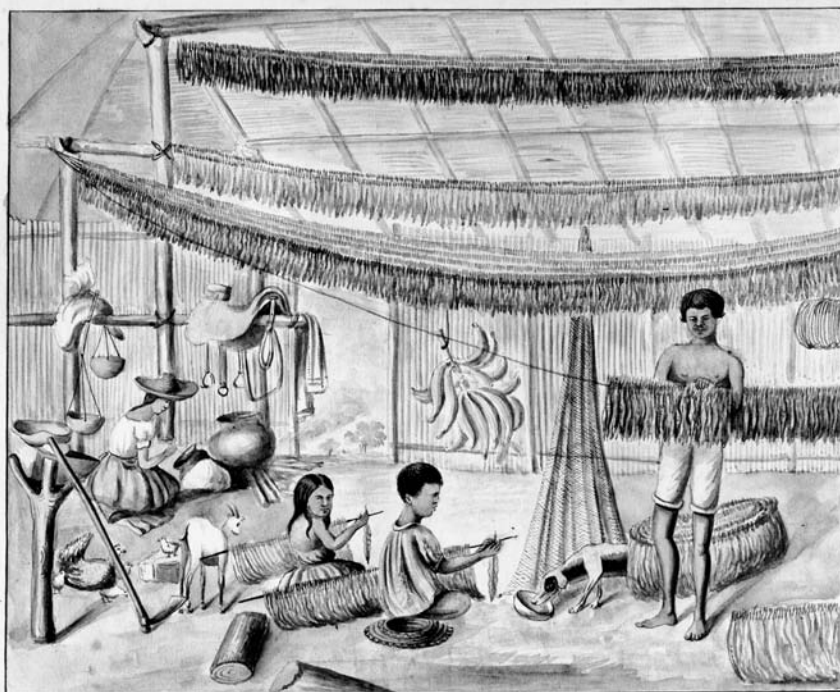
Some of the pastoral scenes depicted by the commission were clearly intended to publicize each province's agricultural abundance. This was most obviously the case in several of Fernández's paintings of women and men interacting in the Eastern Highlands (for example, figs. 5 and 11).[95] In such images, as noted in chapter 3, heterosexual pairings hint at reproduction and fertility as well as racial mixture. The implied fertility of the lovely young in-

habitants, moreover, is accentuated by their placement in verdant landscapes with detailed renderings of useful plants (such as cacao) and flowers. In a lush and exquisite image of the Province of Pamplona (not pictured here), Fernández depicted two male harvesters of anise. The abundant anise, as well as cactus and various trees, are carefully delineated, as are the facial features of the *indios mestizos*. Codazzi, Triana, or Ancízar must have provided precise instructions regarding which plants and human types to include in each of these watercolors (though the smoldering romantic undertones in some of the other images might well have sprung from Fernández's own imagination).[96]

Many of the illustrations portray people working in or next to dwellings. For example, Paz depicted a father and two young children stringing up tobacco leaves to dry in a multiuse hut that included bananas, a saddle, cooking pots (over which a woman labored), mosquito netting, and small farm animals (fig. 23). It seems that they cooked, ate, and slept amidst the drying tobacco. The family would most likely have been *aparceros*, small farmers living on land controlled by large landowners. In such families, women's and children's labor contributed to production as well as family reproduction and thus was indirectly exploited by the tobacco entrepreneurs. Landowners provided seeds while the aparceros paid rent for the land and were obliged to sell their crop to the landowner, at prices that tended to favor the latter.[97] In some cases, large landowners reportedly paid in scrip redeemable only at the plantation store.[98]

The Chorographic Commission's artists and writers, like other costumbristas of their day, clearly did not view productive labor as exclusively male or adult. Poor women, especially young single women, were expected to work in production, as were their children. The commission depicted women workers in agriculture and various industries. For example, Paz's image titled *Province of Mariquita. Separation and Packing of Tobacco* (not pictured here) portrayed another stage of tobacco production in which workers of both sexes were employed.[99] Individual male and female workers of different complexions sat side-by-side on the floor of a packing plant, amidst machinery used in the processing of tobacco.

According to literary and historical chroniclers of the tobacco boom, young peasant women and men migrated, often alone, from highland villages down to the hot tobacco boomtowns and were paid by the piece.[100] They enjoyed increased consumption—leather shoes, imported scarves, gold jewelry, and relatively abundant food—but suffered from deadly "fevers."[101] Their economic independence and distance from their families afforded them



23. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Mariquita. Interior de un canei en que están ensartando las hojas los Cosecheros de tabaco*. Ca. 1857. Watercolor. 22.7 × 28.4 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

new freedoms. The *peonas*, or women workers, reportedly threw parties and flirted openly on the streets. Working outside the home, far from male relatives, on the floor next to half-naked white men and a black man, the peonas were depicted by Paz and by costumbrista authors as sexually vulnerable.

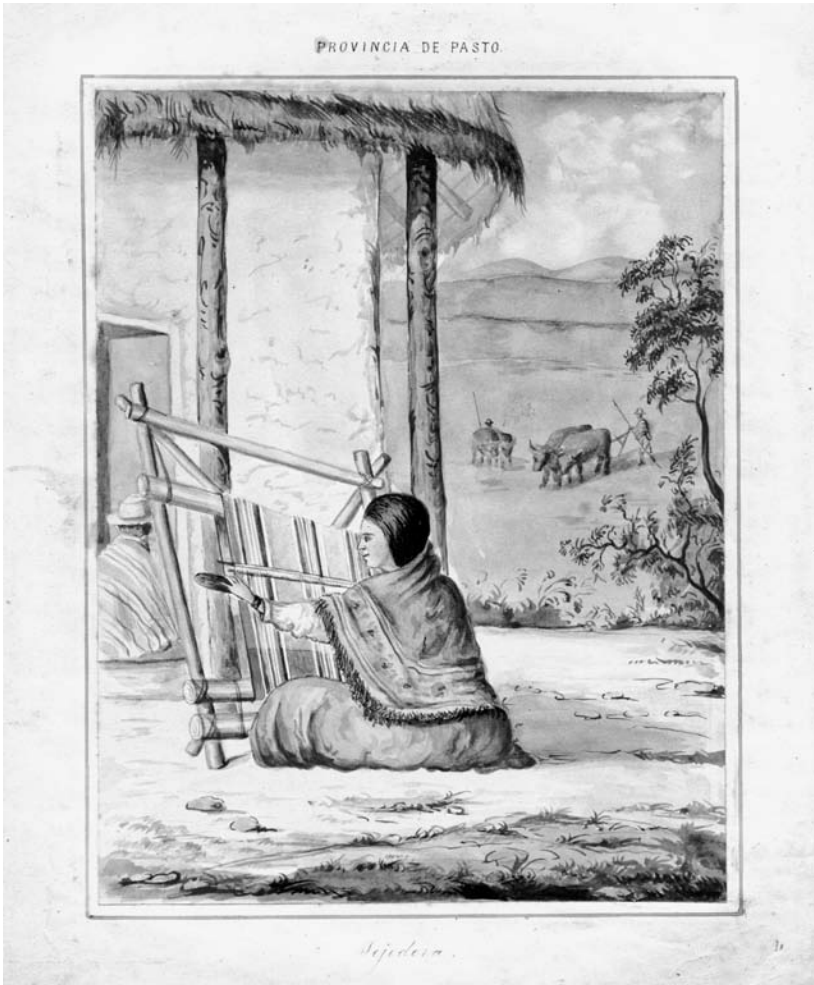
Women's work for pay, however, was not always associated with threats to their health and honor. To the contrary, Ancízar advocated opening a vocational school for poor women in the eastern highland town of Socorro, like one he saw in Zapatoca, precisely in order to prevent vice.[102] Highland textile and hat production took place within the more protective and constraining context of patriarchal homes. Female artisans (and their children) spun thread and wove cloth, "the honorable occupation and origin of wellbeing for poor women."[103] Married and single women in small towns and farms of the northeastern and southern Andes increasingly produced straw hats, which

constituted the nation's third biggest export during the 1850s, after gold and tobacco.[104] Nonetheless, Carmelo Fernández depicted pretty hat makers out on the streets, openly conversing, trading, arguing, and perhaps flirting with men (fig. 9), thus complicating Ancízar's and Codazzi's arguments that artisan work protected women's virtue.[105]

For the Southwest, Paz and the unknown painter provided several images of women and families as workers and small-scale merchants. For example, an image of Cauca Province labeled *Cigar Maker* (not pictured here) shows a dark-skinned woman working in a rustic interior next to an open door, through which a man walks with a container.[106] We can also glimpse another thatch-roofed hut and a woman carrying water. It is at once an image of productive labor, an interior, and a scene of types and daily village life. She might be rolling cigars for local usage. None of the texts, however, extolled the virtues of mulatto and black women shopkeepers, miners, and cigar rollers. The open doorway suggests permeability between the home and village, a lack of a fully private sphere in which women's honor could be safeguarded. The elite did not see much potential for female virtue among women of African descent.[107] And women's work in lowland tobacco and mining sectors appeared less respectable than hat making in highland homes.[108]

Paz portrayed several mestizo and indigenous artisan women and families in the southwestern highlands, near the border with Ecuador. In one such image (fig. 24) a woman from the Pasto Province sits on the ground outside her rough thatch-roofed and mud-walled dwelling in the cool highlands, weaving a brightly patterned cloth.[109] In the doorway huddles another figure wrapped in a similar cloth, demonstrating its usage (again the outdoor/indoor distinction is blurred; in this case the weaver occupies a space adjacent to the house that forms part of a domestic sphere, in sight of the person in the doorway). Beyond, men work the fields with teams of oxen, overlooked by mountains that stretch off in the distance, emphasizing the interconnectedness of agricultural and artisan labor.

Even some of the individuals labeled clearly as Indians were portrayed as productive peasants. Paz portrayed a Coconuco Indian couple in highland Cauca as poor, with minimal clothing and unkempt hair (not pictured here).[110] But they were shown with livestock and flourishing crops. The man carried a basket of some sort of produce or fiber on his back; the woman spun wool even while standing there—never to waste a moment—and also wore a head strap used for carrying items on her back. Like the Pasto family depicted above, this couple combined artisanal and agricultural production in one household, living a hardscrabble but industrious life. In this sense



24. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Pasto. Tejedora*. Ca. 1853.
Watercolor. 31.2 × 23.8 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

they echoed Fernández's more romanticized image of a light-skinned hatmaker and muleteer in Vélez (fig. 11).

ARTISAN PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

Even as the Chorographic Commission publicized and promoted the production of certain manufactured goods, national financial and economic policy was heading in a somewhat different direction. Debates over protectionism had been going on since the inception of the republic, but a new push for free

trade occurred in the late 1840s. Historians emphasize the efforts of Florentino González, an economic liberal identified politically as Conservative. As Finance Minister in Mosquera's first presidential administration, he articulated an economic vision based on the theory of comparative advantage; New Granada should specialize in commodities such as tobacco and gold.[111] The Magdalena River would serve as the conduit for such products to the exterior. Many other members of the elite shared González's ideas, especially those with tobacco interests (like the Samper clan, into which Ancízar married in 1857). *El Neo-Granadino*, the periodical founded by Ancízar, championed comparative advantage and lower tariffs to promote exports.[112]

In order to implement this vision, the first Mosquera Administration lowered some import duties and set up steamship transportation on the Magdalena. The government also took steps to implement state controls on tobacco, allowing tobacco production to expand dramatically. Under Mosquera, for the first time, exporters were allowed to sell gold bars and gold dust on international markets. Then, in 1850, export taxes on gold were lifted. Gold mining in the Antioquia region increased, while the export of straw hats, especially in Santander, boomed.[113] Exports of quinine (*cinchona*) bark, collected by indigenous and mestizo inhabitants, mainly in the southwest, expanded during the 1850s as well.

In tandem with exports, imports increased, both of luxury products (mainly from France) and basic textiles, especially cotton and woolen cloth (overwhelmingly from Great Britain). British cloth was often cheaper than domestic cloth and glutted international markets by midcentury. The increase in imports seems to have had negative implications for domestic weavers, particularly in the Santander provinces, which constituted the textile center of New Granada. By the early 1850s, a decline in textile production was already evident there.[114] Codazzi decried the decline of women's "manufactures" in Pamplona and insisted that infrastructural improvements would revive such declining textile centers, even while national economic policies promoted imports.[115] The commission's texts and images emphasized export products (hats, tobacco, and gold), though they also depicted artisans producing cloth, varnished goods, and other items for domestic consumption, particularly in the southwest. Both the downturn in some sectors of artisan production and the upturn in others disproportionately affected women. As the commission's illustrations suggest, the majority of the nation's artisans were women (more than two-thirds in 1870, according to William Paul McGreevey, excluding the Isthmus of Panamá; the percentage was greater in the state of Santander).[116]

The combination of booming exports and cheap imports during the late 1840s and early 1850s sparked economic optimism among the elite, evident in the texts and images of the Chorographic Commission. The boom encouraged the radical, somewhat utopian liberalism of New Granada's own "revolution" of 1848, which gave rise to the slate of political, economic, and social reforms enacted by the López administration. Historian David Johnson attributes the ascendance of Liberals in Santander, and by implication elsewhere as well, in part to "the false impression that the economy was going well."[117]

The increase in international trade apparently benefited many members of the popular classes, at least in the short run, affording new economic opportunities and increased purchasing power to the farmers who supplied the tobacco zones, as well as to the male and female workers who flocked there, and to the hat makers of Santander. Farmers and rural workers bought imported machetes and other tools from North America. They made their clothes from textiles especially fashioned in British mills to satisfy New Granada's popular tastes.[118] The "typical" peasant and artisan dress portrayed so vividly in Fernandez's images might well have been sewn from imported British cloth, while some of the accessories such as scarves and ribbons might even have been made from French silk (see fig. 9).[119] Artisans and peasants were actors in the global economy, both as producers and consumers. But there were social costs, as large tobacco plantations spread over lands previously farmed by poor indigenous and mestizo peasants, and tobacco workers succumbed to lowland fevers. Moreover, as workers spent their increased income on imported fabric, it is not clear whether they purchased more or fewer items from local weavers and tailors. So the overall impact of the export/import boom on female and male plebeians remains unclear.

The economic changes and liberal fiscal theories contributed, moreover, to undercutting the tenuous alliance established between popular-class Liberals, on the one hand, and elite young Liberal ideologues exemplified by men such as Samper and Ancízar, particularly in and around the national capital. The lowered tariff on finished goods enacted in 1847, combined with rising food prices, angered Bogotá-based artisans.[120] Disagreement over trade policies, along with class tensions and conflicts among competing factions, fueled a Liberal schism and the civil war of 1854. In the Eastern Cordillera, the war pitted an alliance of artisan leaders in local Democratic Societies and some military leaders, on the one hand, against forces led by radical, educated elite Liberals, on the other. Concerned about the growing assertiveness of the "lower people" (*pueblo bajo*), Conservatives joined forces with the latter

group of Liberals.[121] Among the top military leaders of the Radical/Conservative coalition known as the Constitutionalists that won the war were José María Samper and Agustín Codazzi, as well as Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera. Other commissioners, such as Triana, a Liberal, and Paz, a Conservative, also took part on the winning side. Given the class tensions that pervaded this conflict, perhaps it is not surprising that Bogotá's male artisans are absent from the Chorographic Commission's official illustrations.[122]

The Chorographic Commission emphasized artisanal products and tobacco exports just as those sectors were reaching their apogee. Tobacco quality (never that high or consistent in the first place, by international standards) soon diminished as the soils became exhausted. By the end of the decade, Magdalena Valley tobacco was in decline.[123] By the 1870s, Colombia could no longer compete with Dutch colonies in Asia.[124] At the same time, international competition and declining demand hurt the hat making industry.[125] The regional economy of the state of Santander, in particular, stagnated. Lack of sustained improvements to Santander's dismal transportation infrastructure compounded the economic situation. Although export coffee production did begin in Santander in the 1870s, it did not take off there.

Instead of rejuvenating the northeastern economy, the turn-of-the-century coffee boom would center on Antioquia and adjacent zones of Antioqueño settlement in the Central and Western Cordilleras. Antioquia's gold exporters, mine investors, and merchants, with the help of foreign technicians, generated capital that they invested in infrastructural expansion and the founding of new settlements. The commissioners, who extolled the virtues of the Yankee-like "race" of Antioqueños, would not have been surprised by Antioquia's success. Meanwhile, the districts of the Eastern Cordillera, whose economy and democratic "race" had been depicted in relatively positive terms by Ancízar, did not live up to the Chorographic Commission's optimistic expectations.

CONCLUSIONS

The optimism of the radical Liberal "revolution" was reflected in Codazzi's early reports, Ancízar's memoir, and Fernández's paintings of the Eastern Cordillera, as well as the commission's densely detailed and confidently drawn chorographic maps of the highland provinces (fig. 3). Strains of pessimism were also evident, however, especially in private correspondence. After Ancízar's departure, and especially with the interruptions of the Panamá expedition and the 1854 civil war, the commission entered a difficult

and gloomy period. As discussed in the following chapter, the expeditions to the Orinoco and Amazon basins were especially arduous and costly. Codazzi struggled to get his meager funding renewed as the original deadlines for completion came and went. He saw that the roads that he had recommended were not being built; he had to abandon work on the road to Ambalema at the same time that he became embroiled in other disputes. The replacement of provinces with states in the late 1850s rendered his completed maps obsolete. He must have realized by then that the proverbial road out of poverty and isolation for New Granada was as steep and full of obstacles as were the eroded trails that scaled its mountainsides. And yet, he continued to write in optimistic terms about the country's destiny, as in this description of Bogotá's future:

> The esplanade of Bogotá will have wagon roads and railroads that will cross in all directions. The pastures, today full of cattle, will be converted into gardens and grain estates, and at short intervals will rise the smoke from country houses and happy villages, whose inhabitants will have thought to plant trees and form artificial forests of pine, alder, oak, cedar, cinnamon, and quinine so useful for construction and for life's needs. . . . All this, which seems like a fantasy, will be an infallible result of the mere passage of time.[126]

The splendid destiny of highways, railroads, and environmental transformation through imported forests and agricultural estates was, for Codazzi, inevitable. He and his collaborators among the creole elite did not acknowledge any possible disjuncture between their depictions of New Granada's economy, on the one hand, and the laissez-faire and federalist policies they were embracing, on the other. The images and texts produced by the Chorographic Commission, such as Ancízar's memoir, emphasized artisanal production and small- and medium-scale agriculture and ranching, on the part of rural and small-town mestizos, as key to the honor and democratic future of the nation. This was particularly true in texts and images from the early years of the commission. At the same time, the elite and some sectors of the popular classes were embracing export production and foreign imports in line with the theory of comparative advantage.[127] Other than hats, their vision of an export-based economy did not include many of the "honorable" handicrafts and industries that Ancízar lauded and that the commission's illustrators painted.

By the 1870s, the export sectors in which the commission had placed its hopes would face deep decline. The hat producers, the artisans most cele-

brated by the commission, could no longer compete in the international market. The tobacco boom, which had so stoked radical laissez-faire liberal enthusiasm, went bust. Colombia would briefly dominate the production of quinine bark, but was ultimately displaced in the 1880s by Dutch and British colonial plantations. The small-farming sector praised by Ancízar remained precarious. In many regions it gave way in part to large landholdings, controlled by politically connected individuals who were better placed to secure land titles and exercise violence to defend their claims. Gold (and to some extent silver), mostly from Antioquia and adjacent areas of northern Cauca, fared better and constituted the country's most important export until coffee took off at the end of the nineteenth century.

The commission's strenuous efforts to promote road building proved futile. The envisioned export-based economy required functioning routes to river ports if the highlands were to benefit, but "no important improvements in overland transportation occurred before 1870."[128] The 1850s did bring a paved road to the Savannah of Bogotá, yet the crucial link from the highland to the Magdalena River remained problematic. Even as late as 1889, the British consul reported that "the road between Honda and Bogotá, certainly the most important in Colombia, has been allowed, through neglect, to fall into such a condition as to be almost impassable."[129] Only with the coffee boom at the end of the century did comprehensive infrastructural improvements finally start to arrive.

The members of the Chorographic Commission and their colleagues among the creole elite also pinned their hopes on an interoceanic waterway across national territory. A canal, they believed, would attract immigration, stimulate regional markets, and exponentially increase international trade. But that dream proved especially elusive. The Panama Canal was built only after another half century had gone by, and in territory wrested from Colombian control. The canal would boost traffic through the Pacific coastal ports, but with the U.S.-orchestrated secession of Panamá in 1903 the national government lost its chance to tax and control interoceanic travel.

Many twentieth-century historians and economists influenced by dependency theory have viewed the nineteenth-century efforts to foment an export economy as deeply contradictory and misguided. According to these scholars, export production and the few export-oriented infrastructural improvements that were carried out (such as steamship transportation on the Magdalena) mostly benefited merchants and large-scale planters while hurting artisans, workers, and small farmers.[130] Meticulous empirical research since then, such as María Mercedes Botero's study of the gold industry in Antio-

quia, has complicated and even, to some degree, upended such claims.[131] Historians and economists have documented intricate webs of linkages created by export industries and heterogeneous units of production. Yet even in the most prosperous regions, such as Antioquia, the benefits were highly inequitable in distribution.[132] Moreover, the coffee boom further contributed to regional inequality. Antioquia and the adjacent coffee belt solidified reputations as white regions.[133] Regional economic inequalities became linked to racial inequalities in complicated ways that we are still trying to understand.

6

Solitary Deserts

The Eastern Plains and Amazon

In 1856, while exploring the Province of Casanare in the plains of the Orinoco basin (known to Colombians as the Eastern Plains or *llanos orientales*), Agustín Codazzi encountered an old acquaintance. The man had served as a boatman (*boga*) for him two decades earlier in Venezuela.[1] The encounter proved fortuitous for the Chorographic Commission, because the Venezuelan provided a wealth of geographic and ethnographic information. Codazzi acknowledged him in the commission's reports and on a manuscript map of Casanare. Yet the man's name never appeared. He was simply the "Venezuelan black" (*negro venezolano*), defined by his blackness and nationality. In explicitly attributing crucial data to this informant and many others like him, Codazzi acknowledged the commission's reliance on local inhabitants of African and indigenous descent, not only for their physical labor but also for their knowledge.[2]

While Codazzi relied on such local knowledge, he also expressed ambivalence about it, especially when local actors disputed his conclusions. In a public dispute in 1857 over the name of the páramo in which the Magdalena River originated, for example, Codazzi insisted that local usage was incorrect. The true name, he argued, was found in historical accounts and the writings of savants such as Caldas. Moreover, he personally verified the location. "This will prove that we cannot believe without examination the narratives and stories [of] some inexpert baquianos."[3] Codazzi disavowed the knowledge of locals when it contradicted the savants (*sabios*) and his own opinions. In general, he valued the opinions of the sabios over the baquianos, and his own direct observations over both.[4]

Codazzi, however, often had little option but to rely heavily on local informants of humble extraction. The informants mentioned were men, but local women likely contributed as well (see the gesturing woman in fig. 16). Most were never named in the reports or on the maps, but they were often acknowledged anonymously. They proved especially crucial in the eastern and southeastern borderlands of the national territory. The commission visited only a narrow swathe during its sweep through the Eastern Plains and saw

even less of the heavily forested Amazon basin, so direct observation was not always possible.

This chapter traces how the commission produced and represented cartographic and ethnographic knowledge about areas that together comprised around two-thirds of the national territory: namely the Amazonian territory then known as Caquetá and the Orinoquian provinces of San Martín and Casanare.[5] Ethnography was a significant component of the commission's chorography in such areas, which were still largely controlled by indigenous peoples whom the state wanted to subjugate and transform. This ethnography included abundant details on indigenous sexual habits and gender roles, reflecting the salience of such attributes in differentiating "civilized" from "savage" regions and peoples. These fixations underscore the extent to which colonization and state formation were gendered as well as racialized processes.[6]

This ethnographic cartography produced an ambivalent and multilayered textual and visual depiction of the border regions and their diverse inhabitants, as evident in one of the commission's largest provincial maps. The original 1856 manuscript map of Casanare depicts a "solitary desert" that appears, paradoxically, full of people. It also provides insights into the process of creating official knowledge based on local knowledge gleaned from informants, many of whom were explicitly acknowledged on the map itself.[7] Ultimately, however, the published maps that were based on such manuscripts would elide the contributions of blacks and Indians, and indeed, their very existence; these regions would then appear as truly solitary. Local communities' knowledge was thus appropriated, obscured, and used to justify the inhabitants' subjugation and subsequent annihilation.

EXPEDITIONS TO CASANARE AND CAQUETÁ

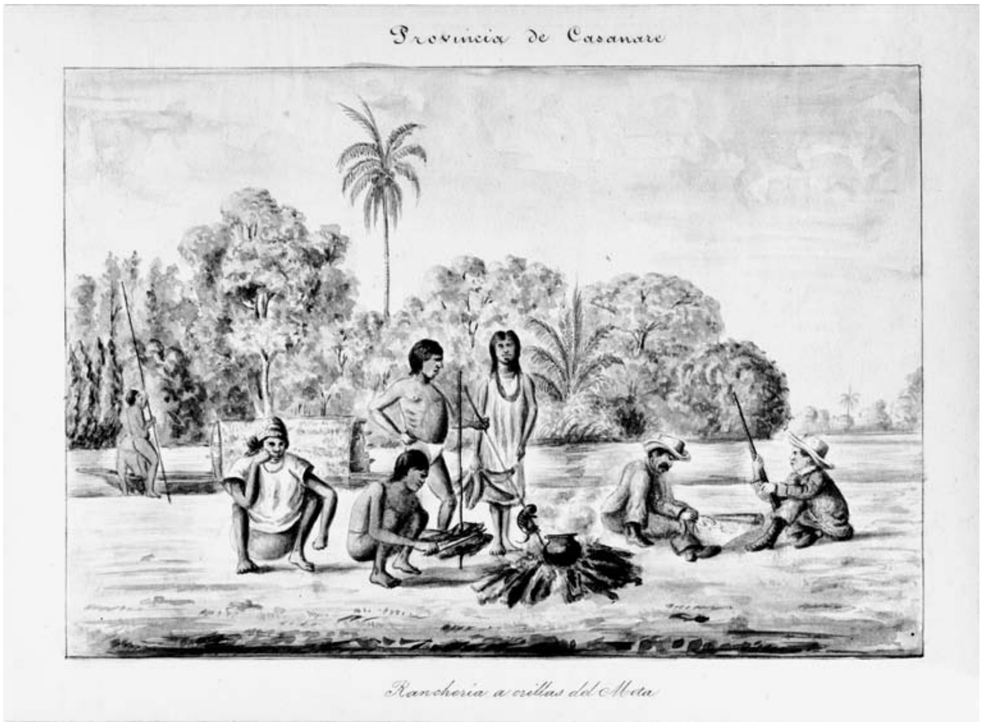
In December 1855 members of the Chorographic Commission stood on the eastern slopes of the Colombian Andes and looked out at the view stretching eastward. Codazzi noted that, from a distance, the far plain of Casanare seemed like an empty ocean, turning a hazy blue as it stretched out toward the limitless horizon.[8] Accompanying him at the beginning of the expedition was his Venezuelan-born son, Domingo Codazzi; Codazzi's *mayordomo*, José del Carmen Carrasquel; the young botanist José Jerónimo Triana; another botanist from Europe named Hermann Karsten; several additional laborers whose full names we do not know; and illustrator Manuel María Paz. Two decades before, Codazzi had explored this borderland from the Venezuelan

side, now he was charged with exploring, mapping, illustrating, and describing the Colombian portion of the plains.

As they descended into the foothills and plains, the group's number diminished. Karsten and Triana left to collect plants around Bogotá. Before the commission even reached the plains, moreover, people were getting sick. Carrasquel's mule slipped, and his arm was fractured. By the end of January, almost all of the laborers were seriously ill and Paz "was at the foot of the tomb."[9] Codazzi suffered from diarrhea and fevers. His letters home mentioned the intestinal worms, dysentery, fever, and diarrhea suffered by the commission's workers and the various cures he applied.[10] These included the standard purges, pills, and emetics of nineteenth-century western medicine as well as substances that he learned about from local inhabitants. For example, he applied a special stone to Carrasquel's arm that the commission had obtained by Tunebo Indians in Boyacá, recommended by "respectable persons."[11] (Ever on the alert for useful new products, the commission had sent a sample back to Bogotá for analysis).

They traveled first to Villavicencio, at the foot of the cordillera in the jurisdiction of San Martín, then further south to the village of San Martín itself.[12] After a month, they went north to the villages of Pore, Medina, and Moreno in Casanare Province. Moreno, the provincial capital, served as a base of recuperation for the sick and injured, while Codazzi, his son, and a cook traveled northeast across the plains by land and water with peons, boatmen, and muleteers. Paz depicted the elder and younger Codazzis camped by the side of the Meta River (fig. 25). With them were a darker-skinned man crouched near the fire (he appeared in other images of the plains) and Indians, including a woman bearing plantains.[13] The indigenous men, in loincloths, and the other man prepared a meal of wild capybara (*chigüiru*), a large rodent native to the plains. Two Indians behind them tended the group's thatch-covered boat. Domingo held a gun, suggestive of either the dangers faced or his prowess as a capybara hunter, while Agustín worked an unfurled map with a compass. As in the two other images explicitly depicting the commission, Codazzi was shown practicing geography with scientific instruments while roughing it in the wild.[14] Father and son were fully dressed in boots and jackets, despite the hot temperatures evidenced by the scant clothes of their companions, further evidence of the Codazzis' civilized status amidst savagery.

The commission ventured as far north as the Arauca River on the Venezuelan border and traveled along the Meta River, but the travelers still saw only narrow swathes of the plains. The commission returned to Bogotá in



25. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Casanare. Ranchería a orillas del Meta.* Ca. 1856. Watercolor. 18.3 × 25.7 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

early March, exhausted and ill; Codazzi described his group as an "ambulatory hospital."[15] Seven men had to be transported in hammocks.[16] Of himself, however, Codazzi wrote, "neither the deadly climates, nor the icy peaks, nor the scorching valleys have altered my health or interrupted my work."[17]

In December 1856, the commission once again left Bogotá. A group including Codazzi, his son Domingo, Paz, and Carrasquel departed for the Amazonian territory known as Caquetá. In the village of Suaza, in the southern Andean highlands, they met up with Miguel Mosquera and an unnamed Amazonian *indio reducido* (a colonial-era term meaning "reduced" or "tamed" Indian). Miguel Mosquera and his brother Pedro were traders and local officials who became crucial interlocutors for Codazzi in Caquetá. Codazzi hired Miguel to guide him through Caquetá. In the nearby town of La Ceja, Codazzi also met with a sickly priest, Manuel María Albis, who gave Codazzi an illustrated ethnographic account of his recent mission to Caquetá.[18] Paz and the younger Codazzi apparently headed west toward the ruins of San Agustín, while the elder Codazzi pushed eastward into Caquetá with Mos-

quera, the Indian, and additional indigenous porters and boatmen. They descended by river and land.[19]

Codazzi explored the upper Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers and various tributaries with the assistance of Indian boatmen.[20] Outside of the capital town of Mocoa, he reported that "I have not encountered . . . other rational people than the Mosquera family" (in colonial terminology, Indians were not "rational").[21] He traveled as far south as present-day Ecuador, and then headed north and met up with Paz in late March at the archaeological ruins of San Agustín in the southern highlands and explored the headwaters of the Magdalena River.[22]

Codazzi studied the ruins of San Agustín and then continued working in the towns and villages of the southern highlands, where several peons took sick. One, referred to as Salvador, died.[23] Codazzi finished mapping the provinces of Mariquita and Neiva.[24] He returned to Bogotá in July 1857, where he submitted and published a report on San Agustín, illustrated by Paz, and his controversial treatise on the origin of the Magdalena River in the Páramo de las Papas.[25]

DISILLUSION

These expeditions to the Eastern Plains and Caquetá took place during an especially frustrating period for the commission. In addition to the usual problems of illness, difficult terrain, uncooperative local officials, and broken equipment, the commission faced new challenges in Bogotá. The presidential administrations that followed the 1854 war were seemingly less willing, or less able, to fund the commission out of the depleted treasury.[26]

By 1855, Codazzi's original six-year contract was running out, with thirteen provinces still to go.[27] Codazzi argued that the delays were due to events beyond his control, particularly the 1854 war.[28] He complained that the commission's expenses had left him in debt, without sufficient resources to educate his children.[29] He hinted that if the government did not provide him a new contract and additional resources, he would go to Peru, as he had received an informal offer to map that country.[30] He submitted a twelve-point list of demands that included, among other items, control over the commission's personnel, an increase in funds to 5,200 pesos annually, another sum payable to his family in the event of his death, and an exemption from combat service in any ensuing civil strife.[31]

An agreement was reached, though funding problems continued. In late 1855 and again in 1856, the government was unable or unwilling to provide

the full funds needed for the coming year. Codazzi wrote repeatedly to the Secretary of the Government to complain that the commission's work was being "paralyzed."[32] Codazzi emphasized that the expeditions to Casanare and Caquetá were particularly costly and dangerous. In Casanare he hired armed men to accompany the commission through areas controlled by indigenous groups, and he also hired extra workers to replace and carry the ones who became ill.[33]

Codazzi also fought for control over the commission's publications. In 1856, the Neo-Granadino press published a compilation of his provincial reports as a book without his approval.[34] Codazzi protested, and the government suspended publication.[35] Soon after, Codazzi stymied an attempt by other Granadino writers to produce an illustrated volume in Paris featuring engravings of the commission's watercolors.[36] By July of 1857, moreover, upon returning from Caquetá and southern highlands, Codazzi was embroiled in geographic controversies. In addition to the dispute over the headwaters of the Magdalena, he was called to weigh in on a controversy over the border between the new states of Antioquia and Cauca.[37] At the same time, he was mired in the abortive road project to Ambalema, described in the previous chapter.

Over 1857 and 1858, Codazzi continued to argue with the government. His official correspondence was becoming increasingly bitter. In 1858 he lamented that the president's attitude had "produced in my spirit an extremely painful impression."[38] Rather than a work of science and an "honorable and useful monument for New Granada," the government treated his project like "a common and ordinary thing like those that are bought and sold every day. Such disillusion is quite cruel for one who believed he worked . . . for the glory of acquainting the illustrated world with these unknown regions."[39]

Further complicating and retarding the completion of the commission was the administrative reorganization of the national territory into federated states, which began in 1855 and took several years. Federalism rendered the commission's maps obsolete, sending Codazzi and his collaborators back to the drafting table. They recombined the former cantons and provinces in accord with the new territorial order. In 1858 Codazzi submitted some state maps for the new Granadine Confederation, founded that year.[40] Yet despite all the problems, the commission produced a tremendous amount of geographical knowledge during this period about the country's least-known regions. Or rather, it appropriated and synthesized knowledge from different sources and combined them with its own limited observations. Let us now turn to those borderlands, to consider what the commission might have perceived when it visited them in 1856 and 1857.

THE EASTERN PLAINS: CASANARE AND SAN MARTÍN

The Colombian llanos extend eastward from the foothills of the Eastern Cordillera, bordered to the south by the Guaviare River and the Amazonian rainforest and to the north and east by the Arauca River, Orinoco River, and Venezuela. A network of rivers, dominated by the Arauca, Meta, Casanare, and Guaviare, drains into the Orinoco. Inundated by rains for three quarters of the year, then baked dry by the sun during the other quarter, with temperatures that reached 110 degrees Fahrenheit, the plains provided an environment that people from the Andean highlands and Europe found particularly challenging and inhospitable.[41] In the nineteenth century, indigenous peoples known to outsiders as the Guahibos, Achaguas, Sálivas, Macaguanes, and Tunebos, among others, maintained varying degrees of autonomy and resisted incursions by settlers.

Casanare Province included the section of the New Granada plains north of the Meta river (between the Arauca and Meta Rivers), on both sides of the Casanare River. Casanare was annexed to Boyacá when states replaced provinces in 1857.[42] The area south of the Meta River was called the Plains of San Martín (or Plains of San Juan and San Martín, or Meta) and sometimes simply referred to as an extension of Casanare. Having briefly been a "national territory" administered by a prefect appointed by the president, in 1851 the latter area became a canton of the Province of Bogotá, to subsequently become part of the state of Cundinamarca (which included Bogotá).[43] In 1868, administration of San Martín and Casanare would revert to the federal government. In the mid-nineteenth century, Casanare attracted more settlers from the highlands than did San Martín. Venezuelan settlers also moved into Casanare from the northeast and settled the area known as Arauca.

Then as now, the Colombian plains flow imperceptibly into the Venezuelan plains. In pre-colonial and colonial times, indigenous inhabitants ranged across the grasslands. The colonial era brought missionaries and livestock. Subsequently, the plains became a central staging ground of the Independence movement in the second decade of the nineteenth-century; mixed-race and indigenous inhabitants of the plains swelled the patriot army; population and livestock reportedly declined. Only when Venezuela broke off from New Granada at the end of the 1820s were the plains irrevocably ruptured in two (some in Casanare tried to join Venezuela, but were retained by New Granada).[44] Even then the division, like most international borders, was imprecise; the exact boundary remained to be established. Codazzi himself plotted the international border, first from Venezuela in the 1830s and then, follow-

ing Joaquín Acosta, he revised it in the 1850s from the other side, giving New Granada more land; it has been revised since.[45]

The administrative demotion of Casanare in the nineteenth century was symptomatic of the Eastern Plains' marginalization from the national Colombian economy and polity centered in the highlands. The ranching economy of the Colombian plains did not rebound from the Independence wars. Previous trade ties with the highlands seem to have weakened, and indigenous control of some areas grew stronger, while the republican state exercised little effective control. This was especially true of the easternmost "far plains," which Codazzi described as the "mansion of the savage tribes."[46]

CAQUETÁ

The Colombian Amazon was even more foreboding, the "most deserted and savage, the least known" territory claimed by New Granada.[47] Gran Caquetá, as it is now sometimes called, stretches eastward from the southern Colombian Andes, south of the Guaviare River. Forests, interrupted by scattered savannahs and rocky outcroppings, continue southward and westward into Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil. The rivers flow into the Amazon. Since the colonial period, the area has been called Caquetá or *montañas de los Andaquiés* (or simply "Andaquí") in reference to inhabitants referred to as the Andaquies.[48] Along the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers and their tributaries lived various indigenous groups whom the commission referred to as the Guaques (or the Guaguas or Murciélagos, which translates to "Bats"), Huitotos (reputed to be the sworn enemies of the Guaques), Coreguajes, Ingas, and Enaguas, among others.[49]

Caquetá appeared in the 1843 Constitution as a national territory administered from Bogotá and was incorporated into the new State of Cauca in 1855, again under the nominal authority of Popayán.[50] Borders with neighboring countries remained murky. In the case of Brazil, Codazzi never asserted a boundary he considered definitive. Rather, he offered four different options that he thought should be the subject of diplomatic negotiations.[51]

During the colonial period, the Amazon had served the Spanish and Portuguese as a source of slaves. Imperial raiders and indigenous leaders would exchange manufactured items, especially axes and other tools, for humans and forest products.[52] After Independence, Brazilian slavers continued to enter the Colombian Amazonian territory by river. The slave trade, along with its attendant disease and warfare, transformed indigenous migrations, cultural practices, and identities.[53] Jesuit and Franciscan missions along the

upper Caquetá and Putumayo rivers peaked in the eighteenth century and disappeared by the nineteenth century, leaving what Codazzi viewed as an especially lonely landscape (though indigenous inhabitants no doubt saw it differently).[54]

DESERTS AS SEAS

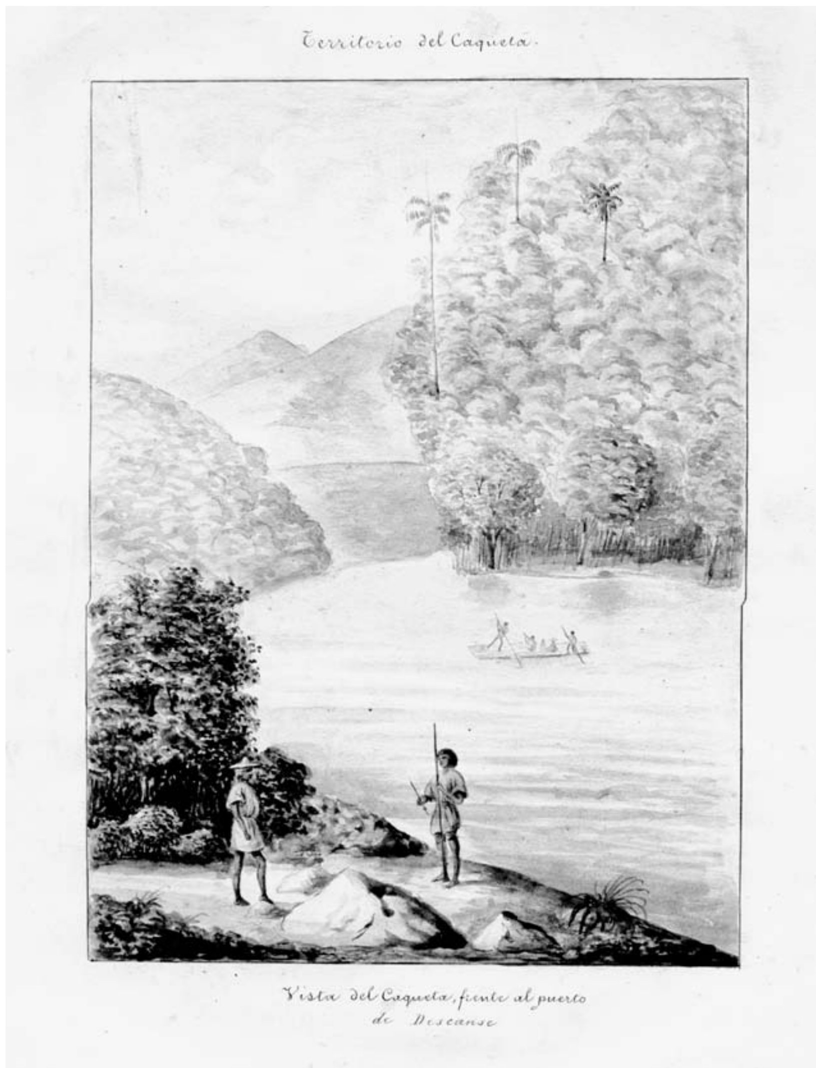
Codazzi seemed disheartened as he first looked out from the Eastern Cordillera toward the Eastern Plains: "the uniformity of those plains, in which everything appeared immobile, does not refrain from being imposing, although sad."[55] He thus echoed Humboldt, who had described the "the monotony of these steppes" in similar terms.[56] The subsequent year, regarding his descent into Caquetá, Codazzi said he had found himself "in a new world, separated, so to speak, from all human commerce, surrounded by peaks covered in a dark forest that lower in disorder toward an immense mass of vegetation that forms a horizon without perceiving any signs of cultivation. The last peaks seem to the spectator like islands in the middle of a dark green sea."[57] The first and overarching impression of each region, which he described in the Humboldtian "Aspect of the Country" section of his draft geographies, was one of monotonous uniformity. Yet in both cases he went on to note that closer looks at these regions would reveal tremendous variety, particularly in the Amazon forest, with its unparalleled diversity of plant and animal life.[58]

Codazzi repeatedly used the word "solitude" (*soledad*), to describe these regions, along with "immense" and "desert."[59] The sparse inhabitants of Casanare were "drowning in a sea of grass."[60] He repeatedly used the sea as a metaphor to connote vastness and monotony.[61] Caquetá was especially frightening because its thick forests contained hidden dangers: "the silence of those *soledades* is only interrupted by the song of birds of exquisite colors, that certainly do not cheer up the traveler, because he hears at the same time the roar of wild beasts and fears being surprised by them or by some poisonous snake hiding in the brush of that almost impenetrable forest."[62] The forests were "majestic" but dwarfed the individual: "one gets used to considering oneself an imperceptible being in the midst of the vast land where all is gigantic."[63] Despite its beauty and fecundity, the wilderness provoked melancholy: "neither the beauty nor the elegance of the palms, nor the thick clusters of fruits that hang from them and the leafy trees can dissipate the melancholy that overtakes the thoughtful man seeing himself submerged in a copious vegetation."[64] Unlike the open grasslands of Casanare,

26. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Casanare. Vista jeneral de "Los Llanos."* Ca. 1856. Watercolor, 23.8 × 30.5 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

a crowded, intertwined "orgy of vegetation" seemed to take up every inch of land in Caquetá; all was jungle (*selva*) and "rivers, torrents, lakes, and muddy swamps."[65]

Visual images of both regions also emphasized their vastness. Manuel María Paz's watercolor titled *Province of Casanare. General View of "The Plains"* (fig. 26) shows how the commission might first have seen the llanos. Painted from the vantage point of higher ground, possibly the foothills of the Eastern Cordillera, the viewer looks out over an infinite expanse dotted with palms. The extent of the landscape diminishes the few heads of cattle in the foreground; smaller still are a lone horse and rider. No human or bovine inhabitants are visible further out on the open plain, but columns of smoke suggest invisible Indians off in the distance. The cattle and horseman might be read as the future colonizers of this empty and uniform expanse; at the moment, however, their numbers were too few to fill the empty space or suppress the Indians. The quotation marks in the title suggest the extent to which the plains as a whole were referred to in popular parlance as one coherent region.[66]



27. Manuel María Paz, *Territorio del Caquetá. Vista del Caquetá, frente al puerto de Descanse.* Ca. 1857. Watercolor. 31 × 24 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

A landscape image of the upper Caquetá River from the village of Descanse in the southeastern foothills, at the edge of the wilderness, also shows tiny human figures in the foreground—in this case two partially dressed men (fig. 27)—to emphasize scale.[67] The figure on the right would have been considered a "reduced Indian," living under the authority of either the state or missions. The other could have been classified Indian, mulatto, or zambo. The Descanse picture both does and does not support Codazzi's repeated

statement that the Caquetá jungle overwhelmed any man who tried to tame it. The forests beyond the foreground show no sign of human habitation. The river dwarfs the fragile boat that ferries people across. But the very image of a small boat struggling against the current implies the river's potential as well as the people's determination. The river is navigable and could thus serve as a conduit of people and civilization from the highlands to the low. Codazzi similarly argued in a report that the Caquetá River, along with the Meta and Putumayo, would someday link neighboring countries and markets.[68]

In this era of burgeoning tropical exports, elites viewed lowland areas such as the Amazon and Orinoco basins in terms of their potential for agriculture and livestock. International demand was growing for tropical commodities. Codazzi believed that these lands could support many more people than their sparse midcentury populations.[69] But the settlement and integration of the plains and forests required their environmental and demographic transformation. He was explicit: "two great obstacles oppose the development [of Casanare]: the climate and the Indians. Both can be modified with time."[70] Transforming the tropical lowland environment implied drying it out by draining wetlands and cutting forests.[71] Thus he justified his detailed scientific study, and all the resources and sacrifices it required; it was necessary to know this territory in order to change it. Most urgently, it was necessary to study the Indians in order to eradicate the obstacle they posed to progress.

INDIANS

As in any nineteenth-century American nation (North or South) with a porous and contested border inhabited largely by indigenous peoples, the project of nation formation and integration was in part a process of conquest. Although the commission's long-term goal was lofty, republican, and generally liberal—to build a prosperous republic of male citizens and their dependents—its language was nonetheless colonial and its short-term prescriptions for frontier regions were anything but egalitarian. Codazzi used colonial-era terms like "reduce" (*reducir*, or concentrate into sedentary settlements) and "subject" (*sujetar*) to indicate the republic's plans for the Indians. He often used the colonial caste label Indian, rather than the less pejorative indigenous favored by republican legal discourse. The implication was that national integration was to be a colonizing process, the continuation of an unfinished process that began under the empire. Codazzi envisioned this

process more as a project of subjugation and absorption than a project of converting Indians into equal citizens.

Some scholars have argued that Codazzi saw Indians as suffering from cultural deprivation rather than biological inferiority and have thus concluded that he was less racist than some of his peers.[72] His writings do provide some evidence to support this view. For example, he wrote that the jungle environment of Caquetá would negatively affect anyone who lived there: "the European himself . . . would become a barbarian on par with the Indians."[73] It was the forest that had made the Indians brutal.[74] Their retrocession to barbarism could be reversed, Codazzi argued.[75]

Cultural and biological explanations, however, are not so easily separated; both can cast a given people as inferior. Codazzi repeatedly expressed pessimism about Indians' potential to become fully civilized: "we should not believe that the Indians of Casanare and Meta can be reduced with speeches or learning Christian doctrine, these things will be attained later, when a large population mass will have mixed with them and formed a distinct race, as has already succeeded in other parts of the Republic."[76] Likewise, a notation on the commission's 1856 Map of Casanare said of the Sáliva Indians: "little be expected of their limited intellect, which will be modified with time and mixture with other more intelligent persons."[77]

Rather than viewing the Indians optimistically as potential citizens, Codazzi, like his friends Manuel Ancízar and José María Samper, expressed optimism about the future of racial mixture. The lowland Indians would give way to the new national race that was already emerging in the Andes. Based on his observations of many different indigenous peoples, Codazzi argued that "wherever the indigene has crossed with the European or African, he has become enterprising, manifesting clear understanding, activity, and an educable nature. Wherever such mixes have crossed among themselves returning toward Indian origin, the portion of social talents has decreased. Where the indigenous race has been conserved as pure, everything sleeps."[78]

Yet Codazzi did not seem entirely comfortable with the racial determinism that such an observation implied; to say that backwardness was inherent to the Indian race would be to perpetuate a "doctrine of cardinal inequality of the races . . . opposed to the ideas we have of God's justice and human lineage."[79] So he recurred to historical and climactic explanations for the Indians' degradation. The Conquest had brutalized and stigmatized the Indians, who would be redeemed through the "cross of the indigenous race, producing men who are not Indians, emancipating the mestizo from his origi-

nal degradation."[80] Mestizaje and the emergence of a new race was the only escape he could envision from the prison of racial and geographical determinism, since he did not conceive of the Indians themselves as capable of progress and civilization.

As evidence for his assertion that the isolated forests of Caquetá dehumanized the Indians to the point that they lived "like wild animals," he pointed to the status of women.[81] As in the Pacific lowlands, racialized gender roles and physical characteristics were reference points for judging the level of civilization. "The women," he wrote "go totally nude, and from the youngest age they join with the man who treats them like mules. . . . [T]he features of these unfortunate creatures do not indicate grace, sensibility or elevation of soul; their physiognomy burned and tanned by the elements, they have nothing feminine."[82] Thus, the degrading effects of their history and environment irrevocably marked the bodies and faces of Indians.

Codazzi found the Indians largely uniform and even indistinguishable in appearance; their features lacked the individuality and expressiveness he associated with civilized whites. He quoted Humboldt at length regarding the Indians' putative inscrutability and uniformity: "'The barbarous nations have a physiognomy of tribe rather than individual . . . [the Indian] being far from all cultivation, influenced only by his physical wants, guided only by his physical wants, satisfying without any difficulty his desires, in a favored climate, drags on a dull, monotonous life. The greatest equality prevails among members of the same community; and this uniformity, this sameness of situation, is pictured on the features of the Indians.'"[83] Both Humboldt and Codazzi blamed this "insensibility of features" on the monotony of the uncivilized life.[84]

Yet Codazzi's descriptions of Indians were inconsistent. For example, he recounted an interaction in Caquetá that demonstrated their capacity for conjugal love: Codazzi had bought a parrot from an indigenous leader only to have the man return the payment and request the parrot back in order to console his weeping wife.[85] Codazzi reflected: "How many times have I seen an Indian take one of his tender children in his arms and cuddle and play with him? Does one need more evident proof of the paternal love of these savages?"[86] How should we reconcile this tenderness with Codazzi's arguments that Indians were dehumanized to the point of resembling wild animals and that Indian men treated their wives as beasts of burden? Codazzi's favorable sentiments sometimes seem to be based on firsthand observations and interactions, whereas his most negative opinions seem to have been received wisdom from European savants.

Codazzi combined sympathy and disdain. He realized that the Indians were vulnerable to European diseases and had suffered centuries of violent abuse.[87] In his first brief report on Casanare, he even seemed to go beyond pity to demonstrate empathy, asking "are not the Indians also our brothers?"[88] Yet he also described the independent Indians of the plains as "a multitude of ferocious and sanguinary masters" from whom poor settlers needed to be "freed," just as the republic had recently freed actual slaves.[89] Like frontier colonizers throughout the Americas, moreover, he viewed Indians as a dying race: "each day brings closer and closer the end of their existence."[90] Since he saw them as destined to disappear anyway, he did not advocate slaughter. Rather, he believed that the government should institute policies to protect and pacify "the sad Indian relics."[91]

Any such policies would require ethnographic data. The reports, maps, and paintings of the Chorographic Commission on the Eastern Plains and Amazon basin provided abundant information intended to facilitate conquest. Codazzi detailed the ways of life of each "tribe" or "nation" (words he seemed to use interchangeably) and assessed how easy or difficult it would be to "reduce." Drawing from the written and oral reports of informants, the commission reported on the location in which each indigenous group lived and circulated, and its practices regarding food, family life, and war.

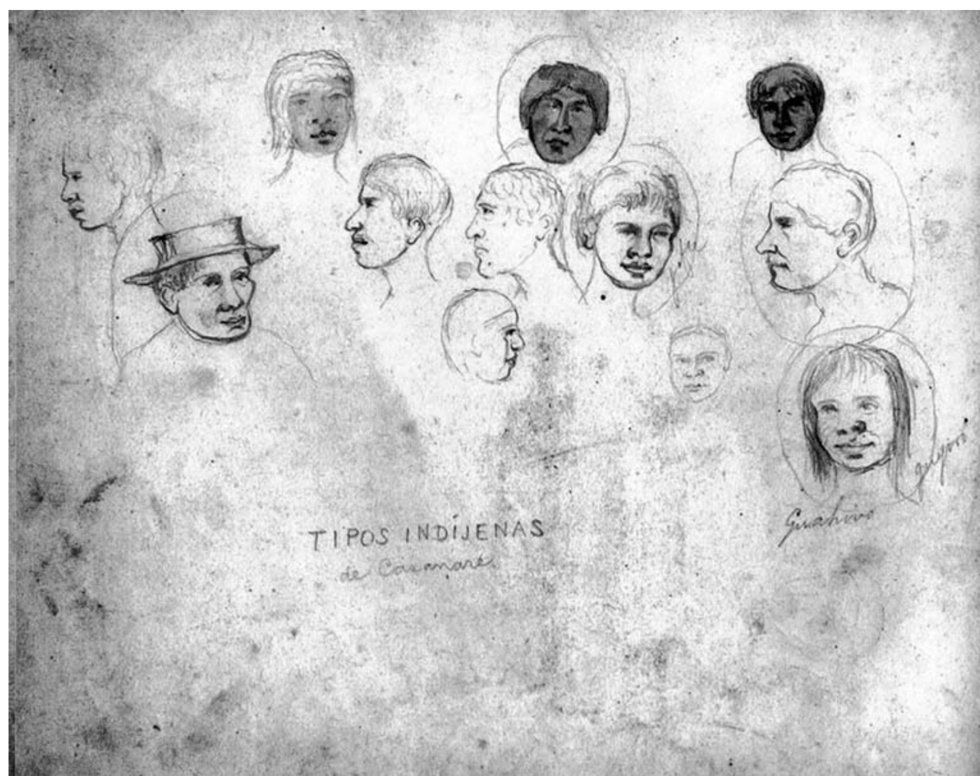
The commission seemed especially interested in Indians' sexual and marital practices. Drawing closely—sometimes verbatim—on ethnographic reports by local officials such as Pedro Mosquera and José M. Quintero, Codazzi repeatedly mentioned Indians' sexual relationships at early ages, when young couples would discover "the mysteries of propagation."[92] Most of the Indians were reported to practice some variant of polygamy. Among the Otomacos of the Eastern Plains, a "miserable, ferocious, dirty, and most brutish nation," older women reputedly mated with younger men.[93] The Achaguas of the Eastern Plains, on the other hand, supposedly practiced polyandry. Codazzi also seemed fascinated with warfare and rumored cannibalism.[94] Titillating depictions of indigenous sexuality and violence reinforced the argument that the indigenous inhabitants of the forests and plains lived like animals. The comments were less oblique in their references to sexual practices there than anything the commission wrote on the peoples of the highlands, whose sexuality was either cloaked vaguely in romance or glossed generally as corruption. Gender and sexuality intersected with race to characterize each region's level of civilization. Meanwhile, Codazzi seems to have cared little about the Indians' inner lives; he largely left out his informants' descriptions of deities, origin narratives, and dreams. Codazzi dismissed the

religious beliefs of Caquetá Indians as simplistic and confused: “they seem to believe confusedly in the existence of good and bad spirits and a kind of future life that consists . . . in going to stay in places with abundant food, *chicha* [an alcoholic beverage] and women.”[95] Even their view of the afterlife, in Codazzi's blinkered account, reflected base needs and desires.

Paz, unlike Ancízar and Santiago Pérez, did not publish his own travelogue. Though he served as Codazzi's secretary and assistant in all matters, including mapmaking, his most obvious contribution to the ethnographic project was comprised by his imagery. His sketchbook contains drawings and watercolors of anonymous “indigenous types” from Casanare and Caquetá, including a series of images of seemingly acculturated Andaquies in upper Caquetá villages, dressed in tunics and short pants, engaged in activities such as creating and using a blowgun.[96] Some of his sketches are just faces. On one page, he sketched twelve different faces, labeled “indigenous types of Casanare,” with varying features and hairstyles, including one with a hat common among highland campesinos (fig. 28).[97] He added a brown wash to three faces to indicate skin tone. The faces might represent different indigenous groups; the emphasis on their facial features suggests an effort to delineate the features that distinguished each indigenous “race.” The one with the longest hair and flattest nose—the furthest from a European phenotype—is labeled “Guahivo.” It reflects the commission's understanding of the Guahibos as the most savage of all the plains Indians, a savagery imprinted in their facial features.

As was the case for the Pacific coastal images of blacks, not all the commission's official “types” of “barbaric” Indians were drawn from real life. Paz did not make it far into the wilderness, which is reflected in the fact that none of Paz's notebook sketches fully corresponded to his watercolors of Guahibos or Correguajes in the commission's official album. These formal paintings seem to have been based largely on descriptions and sketches provided by Codazzi and others (figs. 29 and 30).[98] His notebook does contain a watercolor study (not pictured here) of the lush backdrop in *Guahibo Indians* (fig. 29), but with no actual Guahibos in it. He likely added human figures later, based in part on his sketches of the faces and upper bodies of Guahibo “types” and perhaps on instructions from Codazzi to depict specific clothing and tools.[99]

The tableaux of Guahibos and Correguajes echo the townspeople in earlier images in the commission's collection, particularly those by Price and Paz himself, arrayed stiffly in local clothing on town plazas or streets lined by buildings that illustrate the level of progress of the surrounding community

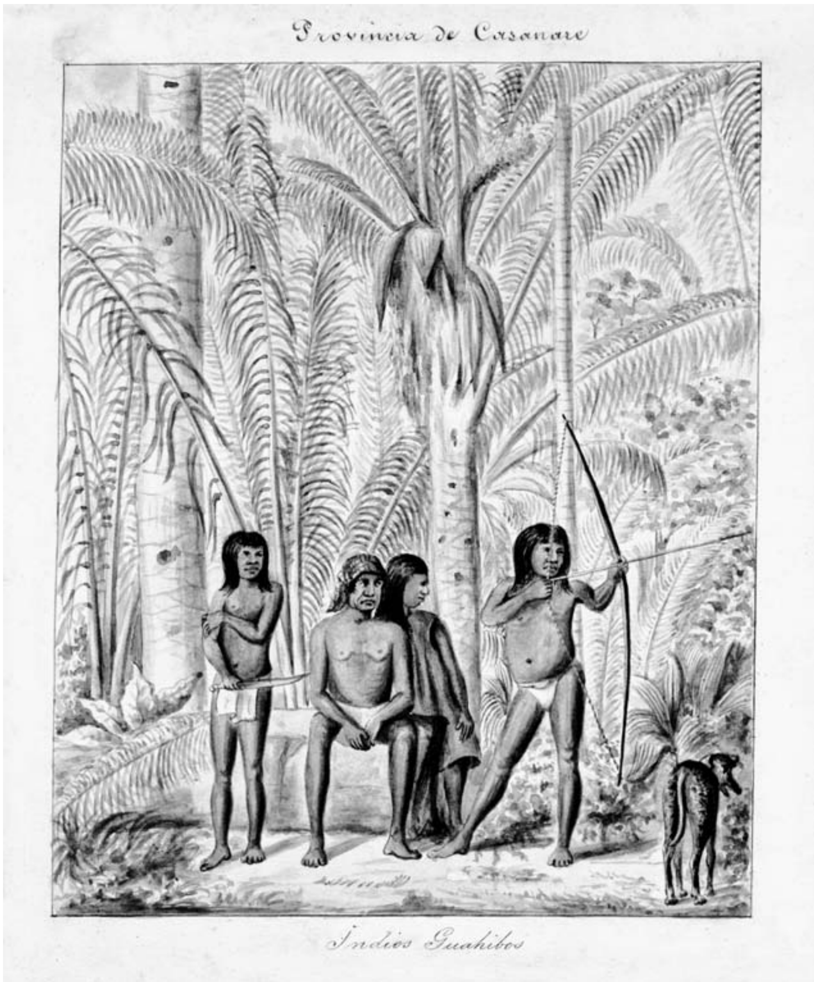


28. Manuel María Paz, *Tipos indíjenas de Casanare*. Ca. 1856.
In *Libreta de apuntes de Manuel María Paz*. Medellín: Universidad de Caldas and Fondo Editorial Universidad EAFIT, 2011.

(see figs. 6 and 19, for example). The more acculturated Indians and mixed races of the foothill villages—the liminal communities marking the transition between Andean civilization and lowland wilderness—are often depicted in a similar fashion. They are placed in or by humble structures.[100] The Guahibos and Correguajes, by contrast, are depicted as lacking such civilized settings; the forests are their plazas. Body paint, loincloths, and adornments serve in lieu of clothing. Viewed without any permanent settlement, house, or clothing, they are implied to be nomadic and uncivilized.

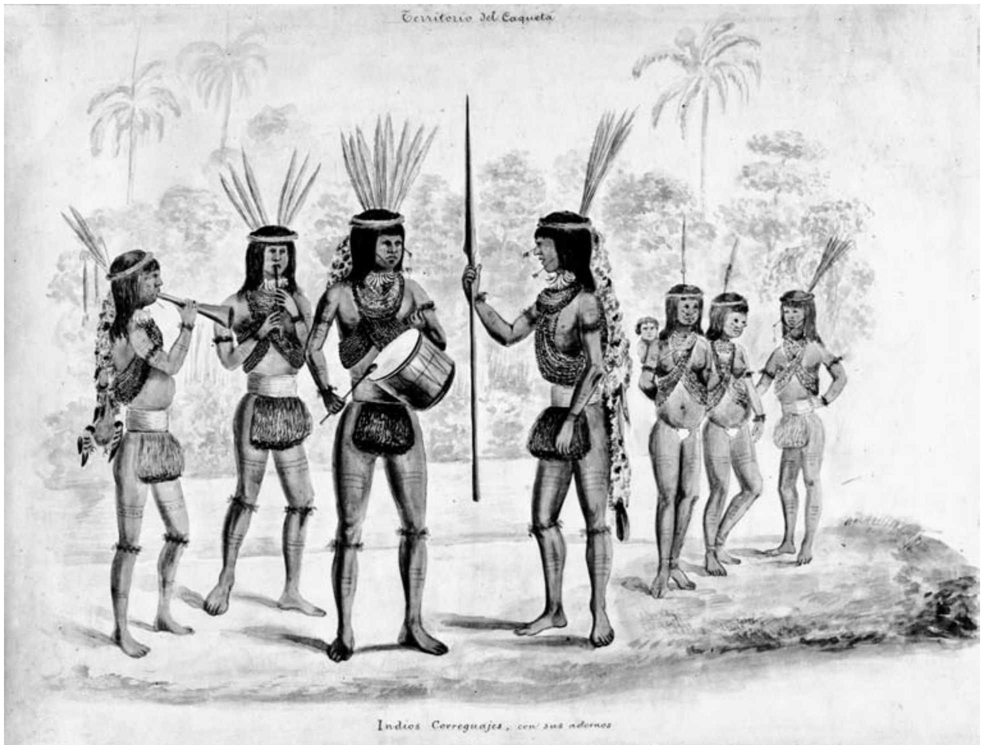
LLANEROS

Surprisingly, Codazzi wrote little about what, by midcentury, was becoming an identifiable regional/racial type in the Colombian "gallery": the plainsman (*llanero*). Llaneros in New Granada are famed for their role as the soldiers in



29. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Casanare. Indios Guahibos*. Ca. 1856. Watercolor. 23.5 × 19.8 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

the Independence war who continued fighting and winning battles while the rest of Venezuela and New Granada were under Spanish control. The llaneros famously scaled the Andes and dealt the royalists a decisive blow at the Battle of Boyacá in 1819. Codazzi briefly recounted some of this history, including violent acts on the part of patriotic llanero "guerrillas" in retaliation for royalist "atrocities."[101] But he did not eulogize the llaneros or single them out as more patriotic than the Independence-era inhabitants of other regions. For Codazzi, the guerrillas of the llanos were motivated by a mix of patriotism and revenge.[102] He thus emphasized their violence, which accorded with



30. Manuel María Paz, *Territorio del Caquetá. Indios Correguajes, con sus adornos*. Ca. 1857. Watercolor. 23.3 × 31 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

how he portrayed the llanos landscape and its inhabitants more generally. As noted in the next chapter, Codazzi and his collaborators tended to emphasize the Andes in their national origin narratives, which might explain why he did not focus on or romanticize the llaneros.[103]

Codazzi made only sparse references to the llaneros per se, but Paz did sketch and paint llaneros branding cattle.[104] Two of four men in his watercolor depiction of a corral (not pictured here) were portrayed with features most likely intended to suggest partial African descent. Paz rendered in detail the cattle, the corral, and the palm trees behind them. All the men were barefoot and roughly dressed. A man with a head kerchief, who appeared unnamed in several paintings, participated. The dense, fenced-in scene did not connote freedom or poetry but rather hard and perilous labor. Although herds had reportedly declined since the colonial period, the commission still viewed cattle ranching as key to regional prosperity. Though Codazzi did not especially celebrate the llaneros, the inclusion of the image might reflect

Codazzi's belief that the economic future of the plains, as well as Caquetá, would be in the hands of people of mixed ancestry.

Codazzi had envisioned people of African descent playing an intermediary role in civilizing and transforming the Pacific lowlands. He also saw them as a civilizing force in Casanare and Caquetá: "if such a race were to inhabit the savannahs of Casanare, it would soon increase, and in the face of its increase the barbarous Indians would decline."[105] For the plains, he thought it would be easier to attract Venezuelans of color, who could presumably withstand the hot lowland climate, than highland Granadinos.

Codazzi proposed that the government hire "men of color"—blacks and mulattos—to act as entrepreneurial Indian agents, whom he referred to as Populating Captains (*capitanes pobladores*). Until such a time as the Indians could be improved through mestizaje, these captains would play the cultural and economic role formerly played by missionaries.[106] For profit, they would organize and oversee indigenous farming villages along river routes that would produce tobacco and coffee for export.[107] In some ways, this scheme drew on the legacy of colonial-era policies of "reducing" nomadic or scattered Indians into clearly delineated settlements under the control of ecclesiastic or secular authorities. The plan also mirrored the activities of nineteenth-century land impresarios in the highlands, who were helping agricultural settlers establish new communities on the forested mountain slopes of the cordilleras.[108] And it reflects Codazzi's emphasis on profits and consumption as keys to achieving progress.

It is striking that here, unlike in the heavily black Pacific Coast, he saw local blacks and mulattos not as recalcitrant former slaves to be disciplined but rather as active entrepreneurs and agents of the state. The commission viewed the handful of mulattos and blacks it encountered in the eastern and southeastern borderlands as generally falling on the civilized side of the civilization-barbarism divide. Here, Codazzi saw blacks and mulattos as key intermediaries vis-à-vis the Indians, capable of acting autonomously. Codazzi no doubt came to this conclusion in part based on his own experiences with men of color who were already acting in these roles and making similar proposals of their own.[109]

LOCAL INFORMANTS

Brothers Pedro and Miguel Mosquera epitomized the sort of "civilized" men of color who Codazzi thought could help domesticate the frontier Indians. Caquetá-born traders who held local governmental posts, they proved cru-

cial to Codazzi's Caquetá expedition. Although Codazzi had not yet met the Mosquera brothers when he first proposed using men of color as Indian agents, he had already read a letter by Pedro Mosquera about an impressive trip through "unknown" areas of Caquetá in 1847–1848.[110] In early 1856, Codazzi made plans to meet up with them in Caquetá.[111]

Pedro Mosquera characterized himself as a civilizing agent. In his letter, addressed to the president of the Republic, he presented himself as a servant of the nation who deserved to be reimbursed for his sacrifices. Mosquera claimed he had accepted the assignment in 1847 in order to serve his country by "contributing to the reduction and civilization" of the Indians then known as Guaques or Guaguas.[112] His mission had been to "show to the family chiefs . . . that the Government of the Republic respects them; its desire to establish commercial relations, and to provide them the objects they most need."[113] Mosquera led a team that included similarly "civilized" traders, including his nephew and two cousins, supported by twenty-five Guaque porters. He used his knowledge of the Guaque language to build on trade relationships that he and his relatives had already established. He distributed coins, mirrors, and other small gifts. He claimed that most indigenous leaders received him enthusiastically, though a few, he admitted, viewed his mission as a "project of conquest."[114]

Mosquera's trip started in familiar indigenous communities and then concluded with an arduous exploration of "unknown" areas. Prevalent assumptions about the ability of blacks and mulattos to fend off tropical diseases notwithstanding, Mosquera and his companions all fell ill. They ended up in Bogotá, destitute and without even enough money to return home, accompanied by two Guaques and a Spanish-speaking Catholic Indian named Martín.[115] Mosquera's report included recommendations for the "reduction" of the Guaques, including a permanent missionary and magistrate to settle them in villages, teach them agriculture and religious doctrine, furnish them with cattle, use them to defend trade routes, and thus establish "the order of civilization"[116] Codazzi's subsequent proposal for Populating Captains likely derived from Mosquera's idea.

The Mosqueras, particularly Miguel, assisted Codazzi during his own expedition to Caquetá in 1857. Miguel Mosquera, with the help of an unnamed "reduced Indian," served as Codazzi's guide and interpreter. Codazzi, who traveled the Caquetá without Paz or any of the other commissioners, became ill. He must have formed an especially strong bond with Mosquera, upon whom he relied entirely. The importance of Miguel Mosquera to Codazzi is reflected in the fact that he was one of only two individually named human

31. Manuel María Paz, *Territorio del Caquetá. Indio reducido de la Nacion Andaquí. Miguel Mosquera, nacido en el Caquetá, práctico e intérprete que acompañó a la Comision Corográfica en 1857*. Ca. 1857. Watercolor, 31 × 24. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

subjects in the official collection of the Chorographic Commission's watercolors (the other being the informant Father Albis). Otherwise, the watercolors' captions were generic references to racial and/or provincial types.

In a watercolor subtitled *Reduced Indian of the Andaquí Nation. Miguel Mosquera, born in the Caquetá, guide and interpreter who accompanied the Chorographic Commission in 1857* (fig. 31), Mosquera appears as dark-skinned. But Mosquera is not

labeled racially even as the unnamed man next to him is. It is an odd juxtaposition of one named individual next to an anonymous Indian "type." Paz's painting of the missionary priest Albis, not included here, features a similar juxtaposition of a named individual and nameless type.[117] Mosquera is depicted as a common man wearing simple clothes, an ostentatious cross (he apparently took seriously the Christian aspect of his civilizing mission) and no shoes.[118] The other man wears clothes similar to other reduced Indians in the commission's watercolors—people whose contact with missionaries has led them to dress more modestly than semi-naked "savages." Included are live birds, perhaps gifts for the commission (the indigenous man depicted in the image could have been the one of the parrot and weeping wife). Mosquera is referred to as the commission's interpreter as well as its guide.[119]

Codazzi refrained from racially labeling the Mosquera brothers throughout his report, just as he did not explicitly racialize his other named "rational" informants. The Mosqueras' civilized status seems to have exempted them from the racial labels applied to anonymous "Africans." Without racial labels and with actual names, they were at least implicitly depicted as fitting within the norm for Granadan citizens, which was how they defined themselves, rather than defined primarily by their difference from that norm. Codazzi appeared to hold the Mosqueras in high regard, referring to them more respectfully even than he did the lighter-skinned Father Albis.[120] Certainly it was in Codazzi's best interest to portray the Mosqueras positively, if only to lend credibility to the abundant information he gathered from them.[121]

Codazzi drew heavily on the Mosqueras' knowledge of the terrain. As early as 1852, he wrote of his intentions to use Pedro Mosquera's unprecedented "precious document" as the basis for his map.[122] He combined their geographical indications with information gleaned from previous maps of Caquetá and San Martín.[123] On an 1858 manuscript map of the new State of Cundinamarca, including part of the southern plains and a bit of the Amazon, Codazzi cited Pedro Mosquera as a source for the location of two rivers. Notations on the map narrated Mosquera's journey.; For example, "here disembarked Mosquera to follow the land route toward Juramena; there he embarked and went to Cabuyero in Meta . . . later he crossed the cordillera . . . and proceeded to Bogotá."[124] The map thus not only preserved its source of geographical knowledge but also conveyed a sense of the journeys that produced it.

Codazzi's reliance on the Mosqueras and other informants of diverse backgrounds was particularly acute for the forested Caquetá, which he only barely penetrated.[125] He used Father Albis's travelogue and consulted at least

one other priest.[126] José M. Quintero, a local military official, provided a detailed report in response to a questionnaire from Codazzi. Codazzi emphasized that these informants all confirmed the Mosqueras' accounts, thus reaffirming the brothers' credibility. He also cited U.S. naval officer William Lewis Herndon, who had traveled the Amazon in 1851–1852. As always, Codazzi consulted available eighteenth-century imperial sources, in this case Francisco Requena, as well as Humboldt and La Condamine.

For the plains of San Martín and Casanare, Codazzi's sources included the writings of eighteenth-century missionaries (especially the Jesuit José Gumilla); a Corsican named Antonio Licciani (who hosted the commission in Moreno); a Frenchman, Charlant Gerard; and Pedro Mosquera.[127] Codazzi also received a report from an old French acquaintance named Borderie, who raised cattle near the Manacacia and Meta rivers. Codazzi went in search of him but to no avail; the Frenchman had reportedly moved on to the goldfields of California. It was near his ranch that Codazzi met up with the abovementioned Venezuelan and also consulted an unnamed Indian ranch hand. Codazzi made clear that Borderie's absence forced him to rely on them instead; it seems he would have preferred a European informant.[128]

Codazzi's descriptions follow his sources closely, lifting passages almost verbatim from Quintero and Mosquera.[129] Their reports were themselves mixtures of first- and secondhand information. Quintero's information on indigenous groups further down the Caquetá River was based on reports from travelers and traders.[130] Albis's firsthand account incorporated additional details from both of the Mosquera brothers and their families. Albis cited Miguel as well as Miguel's unnamed wife and family for information on some strange local fauna (one of the few bits of evidence we have that local women and children contributed knowledge to the commission, albeit indirectly).[131] Pedro Mosquera, in turn, garnered geographical knowledge from Indians about places he did not visit.[132]

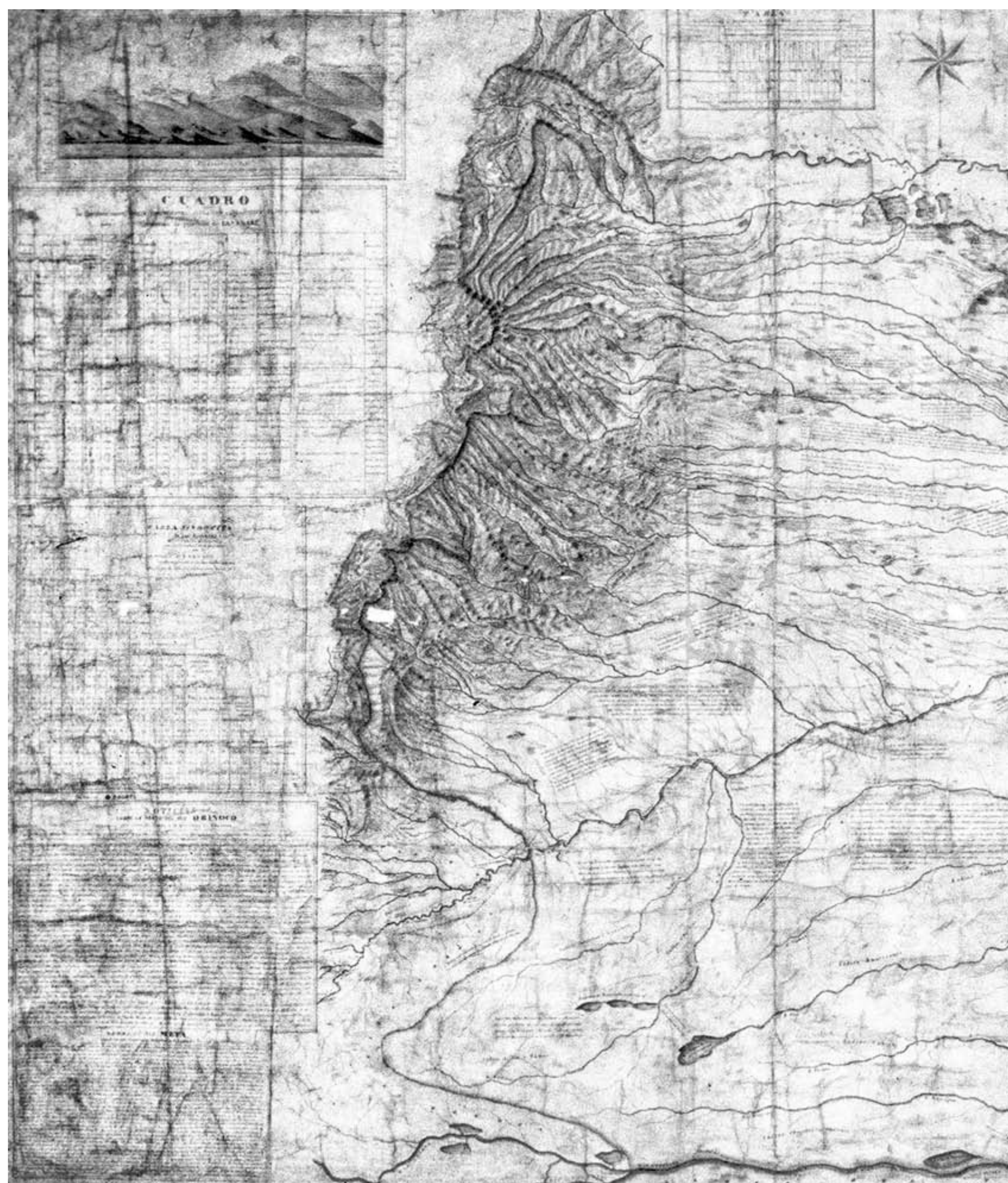
In addition to this handful of "civilized" men who had lived among the Indians, Codazzi also obtained geographical information directly from Indians. New World naturalists, cartographers, and administrators had long used indigenous guides and informants. Since the first years of the Spanish American and North American colonies, colonizers had been drawing maps and collecting botanical specimens based on the knowledge provided by mostly anonymous Indians.[133]

Most of Codazzi's indigenous informants also remained anonymous, like "an Indian from San Miguel" who spoke a little Spanish and provided Codazzi with sufficient information to estimate the location of the headwaters

and course of the Yucabo river.[134] Other Indians "indicated" rivers "with their hand."[135] He did mention some acculturated Indians by first name, such as a "rational Indian named Miguel" whose community assisted travelers on the Meta. Simón, another Indian, belonged to a former mission community.[136] Men like Miguel and Simón were of strategic interest; they could potentially be enlisted in the process of colonizing other Indians. Perhaps for this reason, their first names were mentioned. (Did they have surnames? We do not know.) Codazzi also referred to some historical Indians, such as a man remembered as Cuserú or Crucero who, in the eighteenth century, had led the Guaypunabis in migrations around the Inírida and Orinoco rivers and submitted to missionaries. Crucero/Cuserú had been the first *alcalde* (mayor) of the town of San Fernando de Atabapo.

Unfortunately, we have agonizingly little information about actual face-to-face interactions between the Chorographic Commission and indigenous informants. Thus, unlike some historians of North American and Asian cartography, we do not know much about indigenous mapmaking or conceptualizations of geographical space, much less how indigenous worldviews might have affected the resulting official maps.[137] How did the informants indicate the location of rivers, headwaters, and indigenous communities to the commission? What did Codazzi mean by indicating rivers by hand—did the informants wave their hands in the air, or draw maps on the ground? Did they point (like the woman in fig. 16)? Did they have their own maps drawn on paper or bark or etched on the walls of their houses? If so, did they represent rivers with lines, like Codazzi would have, or with other shapes and symbols, and how would the commission have interpreted such images? Would the explorers have understood indigenous representations of space? To what extent were such encounters ritualized, rewarded, or coerced according to preexisting patterns? The archival and published materials do not provide much in the way of answers, since Codazzi did not seem to find indigenous ideas about space or their forms of representing it worthy of notice. He did not manifest much interest in indigenous perception and cognition—how they interpreted the world around them. As scholars have argued recently, Codazzi "could not perceive other spatial values, different from his own."[138]

In part for this reason, we cannot really retrieve indigenous "voices" in the maps and texts of the Chorographic Commission. At best, we can hear only their faint echoes in the commission's representations of the space and its inhabitants. The commission's manuscript maps are especially rich yet ambiguous sources in this regard. One such map is an unusually large, hand-painted map of the Province of Casanare, which also includes San Martín (fig. 32).


CUADRO
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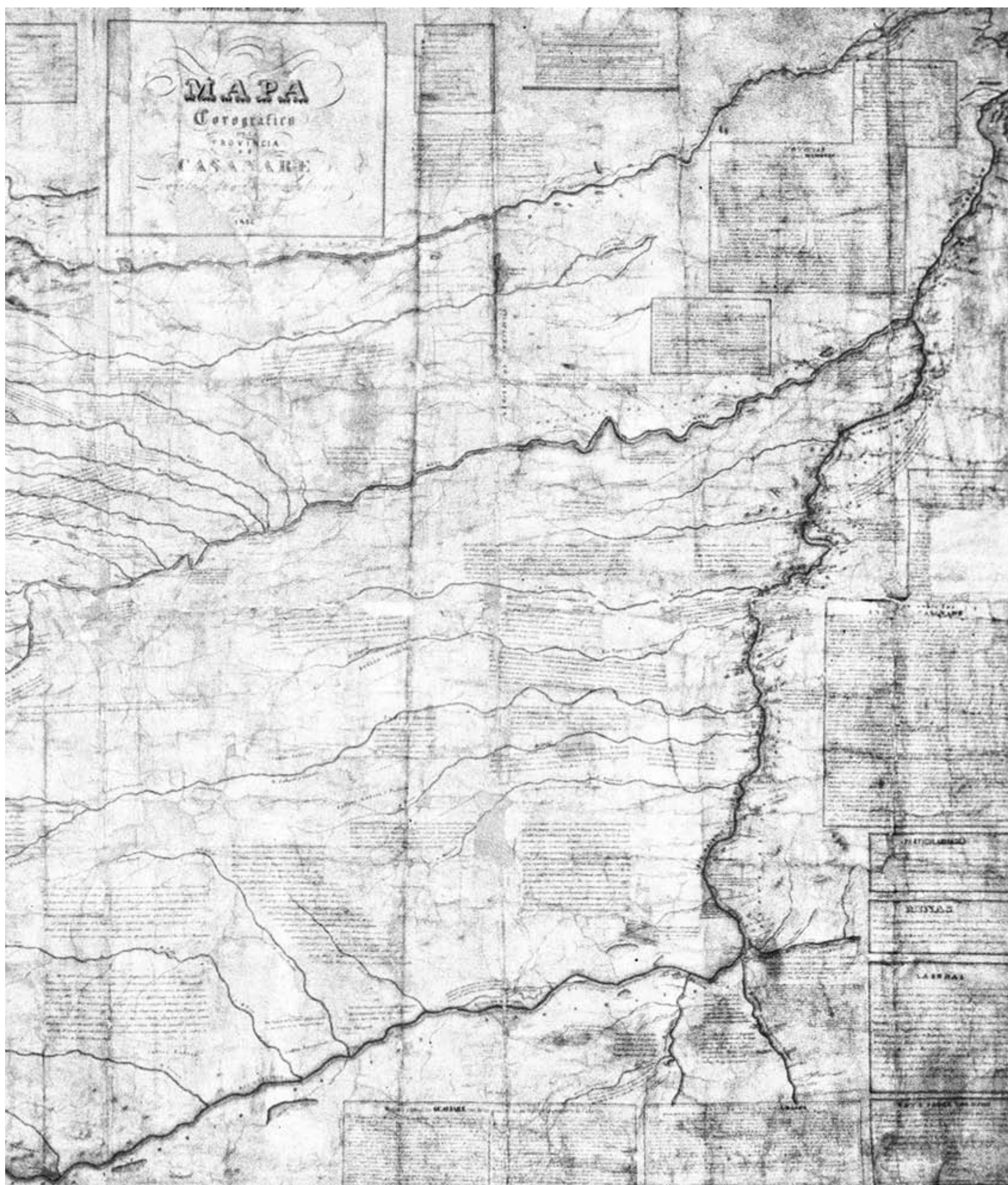


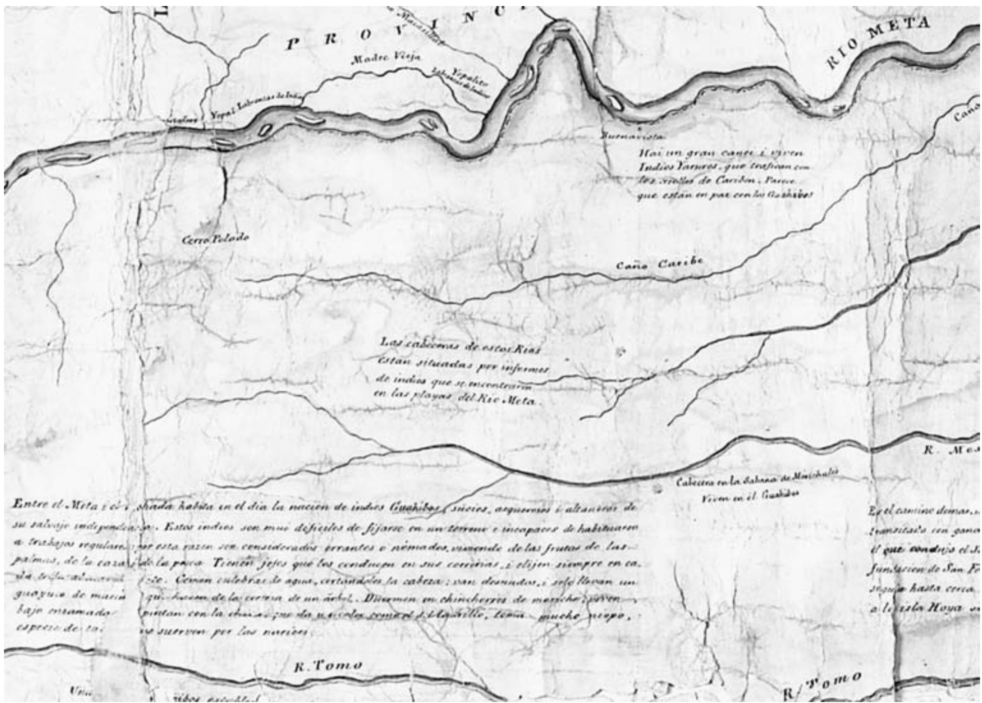
32. Agustín Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare. Levantado de orden del gobierno por el General Agustín Codazzi*. 1856. Manuscript. 143 × 240 cm. Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá.

This ink and watercolor map was produced in Codazzi's Bogotá workshop in 1856 and submitted to the government. It portrays a seemingly coherent territory framed by the Orinoco River to the east, the edge of the Eastern Cordillera to the west, the Arauca River to the north, and the Guaviare River to the south. It is knit together by a network of rivers flowing down from the foothills. Though labeled Casanare, the map also includes the plains south of the Meta River, which were not officially part of the province. It includes some of Venezuela. Thus, it depicts much of the Orinoco basin as a coherent region transcending political boundaries. At just under five by eight feet, it is immense, one of the largest maps that the commission produced. Paz presumably helped to produce it, probably with the help of Codazzi's former students. It was apparently intended for the eyes of government officials and to be used as a prototype for future printed maps.

The map can be analyzed on several levels. For scholars of cartographic technology, the scales and measurements are unusual and intriguing. Codazzi's chorography mixed old and new technologies. As geographer Augusto Gómez and his collaborators on recent volumes have pointed out, Codazzi combined the customary Colombian usage of New Granada leagues with the French metric system; Codazzi considered each league the equivalent of 5,000 meters.[139] The map also includes notice of an error whereby San Fernando de Atabapo, in Venezuelan territory, was initially located incorrectly, affecting the estimation of Casanare's size.[140]

As Anna Jagdmann points out in an innovative analysis, the map conveys an overall impression of two radically differentiated spaces: the Andean and the Other.[141] On the far left is a densely plotted mountainous landscape, with relief indicated by shadows caused by an imaginary source of light emanating from the northwest. Most of the rest of the map appears flat, with barely perceptible elevation other than a few scattered ridges and hills. The plains are thus defined in opposition to the Andes by absence of relief.[142]

Like the maps of the northeastern highland provinces (e.g., figs. 3 and 4), moreover, the map is a hybrid of text and cartography; the Cartesian map is surrounded with insets, including an "idealized" profile of altitudes along with tables and textual descriptions of data. The inset boxes provide information on "particularities," settlements, missions, population, Indians, mines, lakes, rivers, and borders. They provide at a glance what the cartographer must have considered the most important information contained in his reports, arraying that information both visually and textually. Thus, the boxes



33. Detail from Agustín Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare. Levantado de orden del gobierno por el General Agustín Codazzi*. 1856. Manuscript. 143 × 240 cm. Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá. This excerpt is from the right side of the map, corresponding to an area south of the Meta river near the Venezuelan border. Notations indicate the location of ethnic groups and geographical features and acknowledge local sources of the information.

provide insight into the preoccupations of the cartographer and, moreover, of the government that sponsored his expedition.

I focus mainly on one aspect of the map: the notations that fill much of the otherwise empty cartographic spaces, written in cursive, without borders boxing them in (fig. 33). They are not random; their edges are ruled and justified, except in the cases in which they are carefully staggered to fit between particular rivers and streams. But because they are located on the main part of the map and without borders marking them off, they appear to be floating above or through the plains. The notations provide a wealth of ethnographic, historic, and geographic information.

In some cases, these notations attribute data to particular sources; for example, "the Agua Blanca River has been located per reports of a Venezuelan black . . . he had lived four years with the Enaguas Indians, who live on

this same Agua Blanca River and along the Aguas Negras Creek. This same individual provided reports on the number of Indians who could live in these deserted grasslands, being the only person who could give an idea of the number of tribes or captains." In one of the references to the unnamed Venezuelan, Codazzi prefaced ethnographic information on Cabres Indians with the qualification: "if one gives credit to the same Venezuelan black . . ." This caveat suggests a possible reason for Codazzi's explicit acknowledgment of local sources; he was distancing himself from information that might later prove to be wrong.[143]

The use of notations to indicate areas inhabited by Indians had precedents. Imperial and early Republican manuscripts and published maps often included the putative names of indigenous groups.[144] Humboldt's 1814 engraved map of the Orinoco River (not pictured here) likely served as a model for Codazzi.[145] Like Codazzi's manuscript map, Humboldt's map indicated the location of various indigenous peoples. Humboldt also included notations indicating geographical features, and he explicitly cited local indigenous informants, using the first person (unlike Codazzi) to describe his interactions with them. For example, Humboldt noted on his map that the "the Indians of Javita and of Davipe assured me the sources of the Guainía and Inirida [rivers] are nearby."[146]

Similar notations cover another of the commission's original manuscript map of the State of Cundinamarca and sketch maps of the Orinoco basin.[147] In this aspect, the manuscript maps of the borderlands are very different from the earlier maps that the commission produced of interior highland provinces (fig. 3). Topographical features and cartographic symbols also cover the highland maps, leaving little space for text, which is largely relegated to inset boxes along the sides. But the highland maps lack caveats and do not acknowledge local informants. Geographical information about the Andes is therefore presented, somewhat deceptively, as established fact; the Andean provinces are assumed to be known entities that are clearly and decisively delineated.

Only the frontier maps seem to have room for abundant ethnographic notations. Scholars have suggested that the notations provide a way to make practical use of empty spaces on the map.[148] Julio Arias Vanegas rightly adds that the notations pinpoint the location of indigenous groups in order to facilitate conquest.[149] But these explanations are insufficient.[150] The notations have additional implications that are worth considering.

Indeed, the ways this information is presented provide clues as to its importance and meaning for the mapmakers. The relative informality of the

notes conveys uncertainty about the knowledge being represented, as well as the mobility of the indigenous populations being depicted, especially when compared to the boxed insets and to the conventional symbols used to delineate non-Indian settlements. Different-sized circles and dots indicate, in descending order of size (and thus importance): “Provincial Capital,” “Canton Seat,” “Parish,” and “Village or Hamlet.” Every such settlement merits a circle or a dot, making it appear to be a permanent and official part of the mapped landscape. The smallest dots indicate “houses” (*casitas*), which likely referred to settlers’ homesteads but might have also referred to the great houses of more sedentary Indians. The notations lack the fixity implied by these cartographic symbols. The indigenous populations described therein seem to be without fixed domiciles or permanent claims to particular parcels of land, while civilization marches forward across the plain in the form of established villages and towns.[151]

The distinction between the two types of populations—nomadic indigenes and sedentary settlers—might seem natural, but it is actually deceptive. For most settlers on the plains, territorial permanence was still more an aspiration than a reflection of reality. Most official settlements were actually quite ephemeral. According to historian Jane Rausch, towns on the Eastern Plains “led a precarious existence.”[152] Most colonial missions had long since disappeared. The capital of Casanare changed a dozen times. Most settlements moved, one or more times, from one location to another due to epidemics, conflicts with Indians, and “unhealthy airs.”[153] Meanwhile, even the ostensibly nomadic indigenous groups likely inhabited the same areas for decades or centuries, often on a seasonally rotational basis.

Codazzi’s maps and writings contributed to the long-lasting belief in Indian nomadism and savagery. The Guahibos in particular were already notorious by this period as the most warlike of Indians on the plains, a reputation that continued into the twentieth century.[154] They reputedly terrorized settlers as well as other Indian groups, effectively closing off some sectors to settlement.[155] On the Casanare map, Codazzi described “the nation of Guahibo Indians” as “dirty, disgusting, and proud of their savage independence . . . more difficult to fix in a terrain and incapable of accustoming themselves to regular work, for this reason they are considered errant or nomad, living off of palm fruits, hunting, and fishing” (fig. 33).[156] Some recent scholarship, drawing on Codazzi, still refers to the nineteenth-century Guahibos as “true nomads” who “had no dwelling of any kind and never spent more than two or three days in the same place.”[157]

Codazzi clearly accepted and contributed to the consensus view of the

Guahibos, but a close look at the visual presentation of his comments on the Casanare map reveals ambiguities. On the map, he located them in particular niches, circulating in specific areas, thus giving lie to the idea that they were entirely nomadic. He even described a few instances in which groups of Guahibos had settled in permanent locations, such as a group that established itself near a river rapid, which it helped travelers traverse. The Casanare map noted that the commission visited this group's well-constructed communal house. He differentiated this particular clan racially, noting that its members had thinner hair than other Indians, with unusual loose curls, implying that the friendly Guahibos were somehow racially different from the rest. Ironically, the notation about this group of sedentary Guahibos was placed on the map only a few inches away from the notation describing Guahibos as dirty, disgusting, and nomadic.

The 1856 map is ambivalent in other ways as well. The map's visual representation of indigenous groups populating every corner of the landscape appears at odds with the content of the textual descriptions on the map itself and in the written reports on Casanare. As noted above, Codazzi's textual descriptions emphasized the solitary and deserted nature of the plains. Yet visually, the Eastern Plains appear on the map as anything but empty. In fact, there is very little empty space. Few areas of the main Colombian portion of the map are devoid of notations indicating the presence of this or that indigenous group. The commission's texts—both the descriptive reports and the notations and boxed insets on the maps—go into ethnographic detail about the many groups that made up the estimated 22,000 Indians living in Casanare, as well as the history of the region. In other words, the commission's Eastern Plains constituted a "solitary desert" full of people, cultures, and history. The inhabitants were portrayed as temporary obstacles to the civilized nation-state's march of progress across the land. But they were also fascinatingly differentiated and dissected in their own right, acknowledged as crucial sources, and carefully located in particular places on the map.

CONCLUSIONS

The commission visited the Casanare and Caquetá at a low point in its odyssey; Codazzi traveled for much of those expeditions without professional companions and saw the territories through eyes clouded by frustration and worry. No wonder he saw the Casanare and Caquetá as regions in decline, in which economies had sputtered and populations stagnated, while the state had yet to establish much of a presence beyond the foothills. Yet his

optimism had not entirely vanished. He did not think the plains and forests would always be "deserts." Rather, they would become future hubs of international trade via mighty rivers that would connect Andean New Granada with Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru. First, though, these tropical lowlands and their inhabitants would need to be transformed. Men of color, for whom he seemed to have gained a new appreciation, would serve as agents of that transformation.

Casanare and Caquetá, he believed, should be governed as special territories by the national government through a prefect.[158] Even as the rest of the country moved toward creating autonomous federal states, these "deserts" would be, in essence, colonies. They were assumed to be incapable of self-government, their inhabitants not ready for full citizenship. He did not believe that the Indians who made up the majority of the population could become civilized without racial mixture. He categorized different physical and cultural traits for each separate indigenous group or "race" he encountered, and he constantly evaluated them for the relative ease with which they would be subjugated. He exhibited a consistent tendency to generalize and essentialize—the Guahibos were like this, the Achaguas were like that—and yet he noted ethnographic details and anecdotes that did not necessarily support his generalizations.

Even as he highlighted their incapacity for citizenship, Codazzi depended on Indians as indispensable sources for scientific knowledge, along with more "civilized" black and mulatto inhabitants. He obviously considered some informants more important or legitimate than others, as evidenced by his caveats and selective naming of informants. Yet he did not hide the humble origins of the information, as was increasingly common on modern maps.[159] The Chorographic Commission's expeditions to the Orinoco and Amazon basins thus make evident the process whereby local knowledge was incorporated into elite representations of the population and territory of nineteenth-century Colombia. Appropriating such knowledge, whether acknowledged or not, was intrinsic to the chorographic method (indeed, to all geographic practice) and to the official knowledge that resulted.

In Casanare, Codazzi spoke to angry settlers, ranchers, and officials who had experienced violent encounters with Guahibos and suffered from illness, so not surprisingly he reproduced their view of the plains as savage and unhealthy, and the Indians who lived there as violent aggressors. But he also spoke to Indians themselves, including even some Guahibos, and they also influenced how he depicted the same region. His own observations and exchanges with Indians—individuals who tenderly loved their families, who

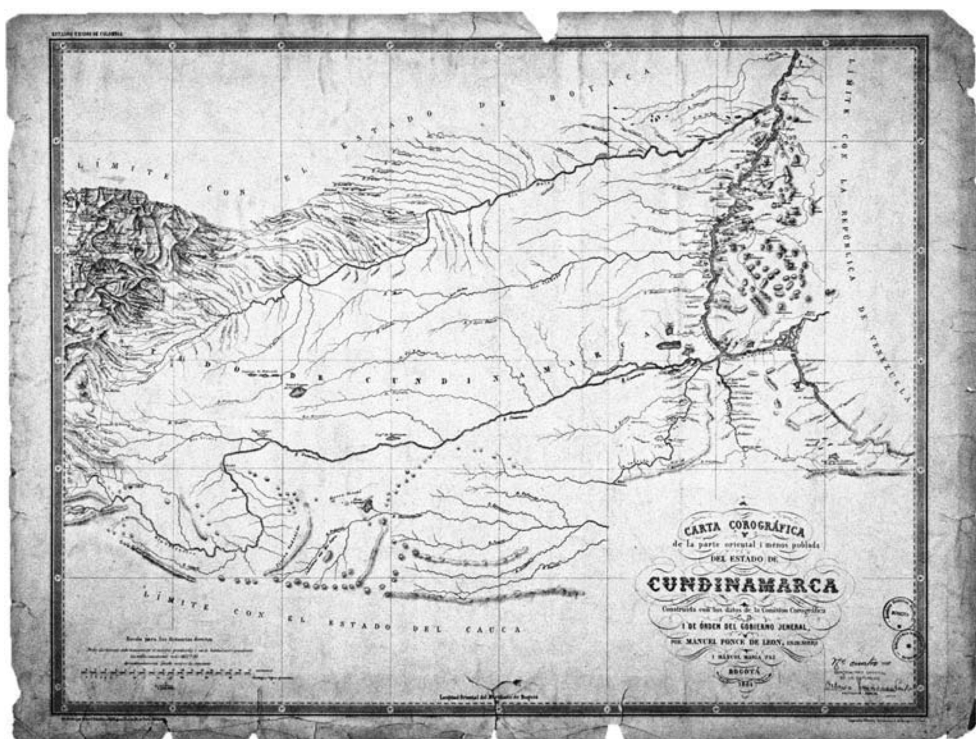
shared knowledge of the landscape, who offered gifts and assistance—did not always conform to the preconceived notions he had gained from previous accounts. The result was a complex and contradictory depiction. The resulting textual reports, which emphasized emptiness, were at odds with the overall visual impression conveyed by the maps. On the Casanare map, the solitary deserts did not visually appear to be so solitary.

EPILOGUE

Over time, the local and racially dubious origins of the commission's knowledge were visually obscured. This elision is particularly evident in the maps printed in Paris in 1864, after Codazzi's death, compiled in an atlas, and presented by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera to the Geographic Society there the following year (see chapter 8). These printed maps were inserted into a new visual economy.[160] Unlike manuscript maps intended for government eyes, printed maps were meant to be easily reproduced and circulated across the Atlantic for a broad foreign and domestic audience composed of viewers ranging from scientists to governors to investors to schoolchildren. Cost, technology, and intended purpose all limited the size of these maps and the degree of detail. The resulting printed maps, perhaps inevitably, lack the stunning beauty and nuance of the larger manuscript maps.

What is left out of a map can tell us as much as what is included. Consider the *Chorographic Map of the Eastern and Least Populated Part of Cundinamarca State*, produced in Paris by Paz and Manuel Ponce de León for the 1864 Atlas (fig. 34). It covers the plains of San Martín or Meta, part of the same territory included in the 1856 Casanare manuscript map. On the printed map, the notations are gone and the visual representation of the "solitary" Eastern Plains are no longer ambivalent. Thus, there is no acknowledgement of the intellectual contributions of local informants. Nor is the uncertainty and incompleteness of the mapmakers' knowledge admitted. The printed map's uncluttered lines and symbols impose an aura of certainty on uncertain knowledge.[161]

Rather than a region full of people, history, and diverse cultures, the plains are represented as largely blank space, except for lines indicating rivers flowing into the plains from the mountains and a few scattered dots indicating official settlements. The map is much emptier in this regard than the maps of the Andean states, published at the same time. The plains Indians' homelands and hunting grounds, which had never qualified for the commission as fixed communities worthy of formal symbolic representation on the map, are no longer indicated in any manner. Thus, the diverse indigenous groups are



34. Manuel Ponce de León and Manuel María Paz, *Carta corográfica de la parte oriental y menos poblada del Estado de Cundinamarca. Construida con los datos de la Comision Corográfica y de orden del Gobierno General*. 1864. 51 × 65 cm. Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá.

simply erased, and any obstacle they might pose to settlement and national integration is elided.

The plains had gone from a fluid, elusive, and diverse space of intercultural encounters to an empty space—what some recent scholars of cartography would call a "stage space" for colonization: a blank slate on which the future history of empire or nation would be written.[162] As a group of Colombian scholars recently noted, "in contrast with the manuscript maps, the finished cartography of the commission erased any allusion to the expedition's journey."[163] Each finished map provided a mechanism to "facilitate control from a distance of an immense territory."[164] At each level of cartographic production, from the field notebook to the manuscript workshop to the printing press, each map became more abstract, more homogeneous, further from the territory surveyed, lower in resolution, and ostensibly more objective.

The progressive elision of the indigenous presence, and the nuanced features of the landscape, was likely due in part to the conventions of mapmaking and the technology of the printing process, along with reduction in scale and the market for such maps. But conscious decisions would have been made by Codazzi's successors as to what to include and exclude, whether for cost or for other reasons. Ethnographic notations could have been reproduced; they were not unknown on modern engraved maps.[165] As for Codazzi himself, he had originally envisioned additional, large, printed "chorographic" wall maps of each state corresponding to the manuscript maps, but such maps were not forthcoming.[166] It is possible that he intended those final wall maps to include detailed ethnographic notations, but we do not know. The printed maps for the atlas were arguably not "chorography" in the sense that Codazzi had used the term; the rich and integrated detail and visual-textual hybridity of the commission's chorographic method was no longer in evidence.

Regardless of intent, the erasure of inhabitants and caveats from the 1864 maps clearly suited particular elite interests.[167] Geographic certainty and empty space were prerequisites for settlement and investment. The Eastern Plains, as portrayed in print, were now empty territory, open for business—the business of investors who would obtain large swathes of public land to develop as cattle ranches, as well as the enterprise of many poor peasants who would follow the rivers down from the mountains to clear land, squat, and settle. By the late nineteenth century, such investors and settlers from the highlands were flooding into the plains, especially the southern plains of San Martín. Violent struggle for resources ensued. For big and small ranchers alike, Indians had little place in this new order. Llaneros would reportedly declare open season on the "savage" Indians, and the verbs *guahibiar* and *cuiviar* entered the regional vocabulary to refer to hunting down and slaughtering them.[168] By the end of the century, missionaries would be contracted by the state to "civilize" the surviving "savages."

The Amazon basin, meanwhile, underwent successive extractive cycles. By the late nineteenth century, the foothills of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá were providing quinine bark, gathered by Indians, for world markets.[169] The quinine boom paved the way for the notorious rubber boom, starting in the 1880s, which would engulf parts of the Amazon basin by the end of the century and lead to the increased enslavement and displacement of indigenous groups and, in some cases, their extermination.[170]

7
The History of These Sublime Cordilleras
Geology, Prehistory, and History

Back in 1850, at the beginning of the Chorographic Commission's first expedition, Manuel Ancízar paused near Zipaquirá, not far from Bogotá, and looked out at the Andean mountains. He later recounted that the shape and composition of the mountains "testified" to the "tremendous uprisings and collapses that in not such remote times transformed this territory."[1] "The history of these sublime cordilleras," he asserted, was "written in its gigantic peaks, in grandiose characters."[2] His assumptions regarding the recent natural history of the Eastern Andes were confirmed, he said, by the oral traditions of the great Chibcha civilization that had once lived there, as well as by the terrain itself. Later, he paused at the *peñon* of Tausa, a rocky outcropping originally formed, according to Ancízar, by the violent uplift of the cordillera from the Earth's fiery depths. The broken landscape triggered the "memory" of a bloody episode in 1541, when indigenous women, men, and children had made a courageous stand there against Spanish conquerors. The Indians were massacred in defense of "their fatherland [*patria*] and homes and . . . sacred liberty."[3] The battle's echoes still reverberated in the rocky landscape: "I seemed to hear the clamor of the combatants. . . . [B]arren loneliness was all that was left of what before had been populated and where had once echoed the songs of innocent Indian women and the laughter of their sacrificed children."[4]

In just a few lines, Ancízar had moved seamlessly between geologic, prehistoric, and historic pasts. A violent narrative that interwove geological forces and imperial conquest was "written" in this Andean landscape. Ancízar thus linked the cataclysmic origin of the Andean cordilleras with the violent birth of his *patria*. Over the course of the decade, this peñon was just one of many sites at which the Chorographic Commission linked its own epoch with bygone eras, thus endowing the fragile new republic with a coherent and dramatic past as well as a cohesive territory, centered in the Eastern Cordillera.

Recent scholarship has documented how nineteenth-century intellectu-

als throughout the Americas fashioned narratives about their nations' historical and pre-Columbian pasts to justify their own political ideologies and make their struggling young republics seem preordained.[5] Elite Latin Americans highlighted certain episodes from the Conquest and the Independence wars and wove them into national origin myths. Nineteenth-century partisan politics shaped historical interpretation and debate. In Spanish America, Liberals tended to criticize Spanish imperialism, whereas Conservatives often cast Spain more favorably.[6] Bogotá-based elite intellectuals, moreover, tended to emphasize the sophisticated civilization of the prehistoric Andean people known as the Muiscas, to whom they usually referred as the Chibchas. The commissioners thus reinforced the primacy of Bogotá, which had been a center of Muisca civilization, in their own political order, even as they tried to endow each nineteenth-century province with a patriotic past of its own.

We know less about the role of geology in nineteenth-century narrations of patriotic origins.[7] The Chorographic Commission's materials demonstrate that New Granada's midcentury intellectuals projected their national and provincial origins far back in time and conflated what we now consider to be widely disparate time frames. This chapter asks why commissioners chose to embrace a catastrophist interpretation of geological origins and interweave archaeological and geological evidence to insist that great geological transformations had been recorded in pre-Columbian art and myth. The chapter traces how they endowed their tenuous young nation with a grandiose and cataclysmic natural history, a great precursor Andean civilization, and a patriotic legacy of resistance to conquest and despotism.

GEOLOGY

Codazzi and the government originally planned to include a geologist on the commission to map the country's "geological regions" and collect samples of mineral resources that could be exploited for profit.[8] The obvious choice was Joaquín Acosta, creator of the 1847 national map that influenced the commission. An Independence War veteran, Acosta had studied in Europe, where he attended lectures by eminent geologists such as Georges Cuvier, contributed his own research on New Granada to scientific societies, and collaborated with renowned naturalists and geologists such as Jean-Baptiste Élie de Beaumont, Jean-Baptiste Boussingault, and Alexander von Humboldt.[9] Back in Bogotá in 1850, as the commission was getting under way, Acosta gave a series of public lectures on geology, in which he invited his compatriots to

join him in "learning to read the great book of nature, open every day before us."[10] But Acosta would not travel far from home, and he died in 1852.[11]

So Codazzi and Ancízar took on the geological research themselves. In addition to the utilitarian documentation of potential economic resources, moreover, the commission wrote about the origins of the land and its inhabitants. To this end, the commission inspected minerals, fossils, artifacts, and human remains and sent a few samples back to Bogotá for analysis and display in the National Museum.[12] Ancízar and Codazzi, like Acosta, demonstrated their familiarity with modern geological discourse and thus their ability, as scientific observers, to read what was written in the Andean mountains. By midcentury, geological practitioners in Europe and the Americas increasingly viewed strata of rocks as "archives" that preserved a record of the origins of the Earth and its mountain ranges, inscribed in the shape and direction of the layers as well as in the fossils they contained.[13] When Ancízar saw a "confusing mix of rocks stratified in almost vertical layers," he viewed it as clear evidence of "a rapid and colossal uprising."[14]

New Granada's mountains were so huge and dramatic that they ostensibly dwarfed Europe's famed peaks and threw European scientific assumptions based on the Old World's landscape into question: "the uprisings of the Old World are small and common phenomena, in comparison to the cataclysms of which the Andean region has been the theater . . . where the studious traveler lets fall from his hands the books written by European geologists, convinced that these zones refute the ordered classifications . . . that the overseas savants have assumed to be universally applicable."[15] Thus the "studious traveler" in the Andes, Ancízar claimed, was uniquely positioned to contribute to international discussions on the origins of mountains. Firsthand observation provided privileged access to the geologic record.[16] The commission affirmed that the Andes were so grand and important that studying them would overturn European theories based on observations of the "small" phenomena of the Old World.

During the nineteenth century, scientists on both sides of the Atlantic disputed how to read the Earth's archives. Nineteenth-century geologists debated whether the Earth's topographic features had been shaped by continual, gradual changes over a long span in deep time, a belief that has often been called uniformitarianism, or by sudden cataclysms that had progressively and more recently transformed the Earth, a stance referred to as catastrophism.[17] Codazzi and Ancízar followed Acosta and Humboldt in embracing the latter theory, advocated most famously by Cuvier.

Why they did so is not entirely clear. The preference for catastrophism might be explained in part by their relationships with like-minded scientists in Paris. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has argued for the case of Mexico, moreover, their own tumultuous experiences could have made Latin American intellectuals particularly receptive to catastrophic theories.[18] Tumult had certainly marked the lives of Acosta, Codazzi, and Ancízar, as well as many of their contemporaries. All three had experienced the upheaval of the Independence wars. Codazzi had also fought in the Napoleonic wars and had his childhood home sacked, and Acosta had witnessed the French revolutions of 1830 and 1848.[19] Codazzi had participated in the birth of the Republic of Venezuela and its ensuing civil strife. Early republican New Granada, moreover, suffered repeated armed uprisings by contending factions, including the 1854 civil war, in which Codazzi and other commissioners fought.

Radical Liberals such as Ancízar and Samper certainly embraced the idea of revolution. Midcentury radicals envisioned themselves as agents of a revolutionary upheaval that was sweeping out the vestiges of Spanish colonialism. They saw the revolutions of 1848, at home and abroad, as dramatically advancing, rather than reversing, progress. So it is not surprising that a radical like Ancízar used words such as "revolution" to describe geological transformations and "cataclysm" to describe historical events.[20] The older Acosta and Codazzi, on the other hand, were no radicals. Having witnessed devastation, they advocated order. So it is not possible to draw a precise correlation between their political views and scientific theories. Catastrophism was more compatible with a strict reading of the Bible, but the commissioners were not emphatically devout, so we cannot attribute their choice to religion, either. They actually sidestepped the biblical debate altogether by arguing that the Andes mountains and their populations were so recent that "we should not seek the origin . . . in Biblical times. . . [A]ll is new here."[21]

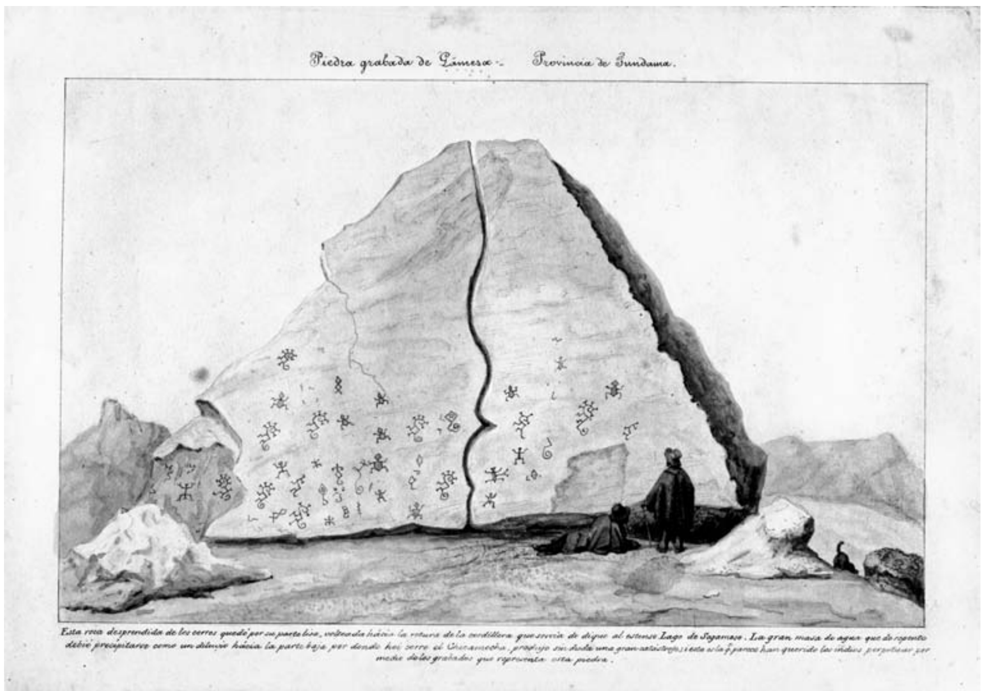
The midcentury geographers followed both Humboldt and Acosta in asserting that the small lakes dotting the highlands of the Eastern Cordillera were but remnants of an extensive lake system, which accounted for the existence of fertile highland areas like the Bogotá Savannah.[22] In their telling, the alpine lakes had irrupted through a series of openings, rapidly draining their beds and washing away everything below.[23] The explorers dated the floods to only four or five centuries earlier.[24] These deluges were described in dramatic terms emphasizing their violent and catastrophic as well as recent nature.[25] The record of these events was ostensibly inscribed in the landscape for scientific travelers to see: "the history of the draining of this lake and the catastrophes that it must have caused, are, so to speak, written in the neighboring

peaks with unmistakable letters."[26] Codazzi believed, moreover, that human communities had witnessed and recorded the events.[27] Thus, the history of the cordilleras and their civilizations were written not only in the layers of rock, but on the surfaces of the rocks themselves by human hands, waiting to be deciphered by educated travelers.

The Chorographic Commission created six watercolor illustrations of different boulders or cliffs adorned with painted or carved images. The fact that they included so many of these images (relative to other themes represented in the official collection) and that they provided such detailed captions, reflects the keen interest that the pre-Columbian imagery elicited in the commission. Five of these illustrations depicted sites in the Eastern Cordillera, two of which were first sketched by Manuel Ancízar and then later painted by Carmelo Fernández.[28] Paz painted the other four after Ancízar and Fernández left the commission.[29] The images in the Eastern Cordillera, according to the Chorographic Commission, depicted pre-Conquest flooding of high Andean lakes into the valleys below. For example, images on the Piedra Pintada ("decorated rock") of Saboyá, were attributed to "Chibchas, witnesses of the terrible but beneficial revolution that must have been produced by the rapid exit of the waters of Fúquene."[30]

Codazzi and Ancízar wrote in most detail about the petroglyphs on a boulder (fig. 35) that they viewed at the confluence of the Gámeza and Sogamoso rivers in the Province of Tundama, just below where a natural dam had ostensibly given way.[31] The Gámeza boulder lay among other scattered rocks that would have been brought down from on high by the irruption. According to a detailed caption, the illustrated face of the boulder was turned toward the point of the flood. The image included human and animal figures, which provided a sense of scale. Fernández added these touches; the original sketch showed neither men nor dog.[32] He might have intended to represent the commissioners in the act of studying the rock (they often wore woolen ruanas, characteristic of local rural people, when traveling). The men gazed at the boulder; one reclined, as if taking his time to contemplate the symbols he was deciphering.

Codazzi described the engravings as "a mute monument for indigenous history, but expressive for the observer and eloquent for the geologist."[33] He highlighted his own ability to read it; such prehistoric artifacts recounted their history eloquently only to the learned, not to the ignorant. By referring to this past as "history" rather than prehistory, moreover, Codazzi projected national history back into the ancient past, recorded by human beings who were able to write in a symbolic language. By simultaneously describing



35. Carmelo Fernández, *Piedra grabada de Gámesa. Provincia de Tundama.* Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 20.4 × 28.5 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

the reader as a geologist, moreover, he conjoined geology, archaeology, and history.

To interpret the symbolic imagery, Codazzi drew on a 1795 treatise by a priest, José Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid, about a multifaceted artifact encountered in his indigenous parish in the Eastern Cordillera. Duquesne believed it to be a calendar used by the pre-Hispanic Muisca civilization. One of the symbols that appeared on this artifact was a frog, thought to signify water, which Codazzi interpreted as indicating a flood.[34] Humboldt had cited Duquesne in his description of pre-Columbian "monuments" alongside Inca and Aztec sites.[35] For the early republican creole elite, the stone was evidence that the Chibchas constituted a great civilization that practiced writing and astronomy and maintained a complex calendar. Acosta considered the treatise so important that he appended it to his own book on the history of the conquest of New Granada.[36]

Duquesne had reportedly consulted his own parishioners, descendants of the Muisca, to interpret the stone. Colombian scholars would later dismiss Duquesne's interpretation as erroneous speculation in part for that very

reason.[37] As we have seen, the Chorographic Commission itself expressed ambivalent views toward the local informants upon whom it relied and the popular knowledge they provided. Indeed, Ancízar's field notebook disparaged contemporary local inhabitants' explanations of the Gámeza boulder: "Ignorance supposes that the Devil brought that rock."[38]

The commissioners nonetheless believed that past indigenous oral traditions could shed light on pre-Columbian history and even geology. Humboldt and Acosta both cited the cataclysmic Muisca origin beliefs (as recorded by Spanish chroniclers during the Conquest era), whereby the founding ancestor-deity and "lawgiver" Bochica had created the famous Tequendama waterfall in order to drain the lake that had covered the Bogotá Savannah.[39] Codazzi even suggested that some of the decorated rocks encountered by the commission were the result of previous inhabitants' efforts to "perpetuate the memory of what their mythology had taught them" rather than eyewitness accounts.[40] By citing such origin stories, the commissioners both reinforced their own interpretation of the geological record and affirmed the greatness of the Chibcha intellectual heritage; the Chibchas had once maintained historical "archives" of their own, decimated by the Conquest.[41] The Bochica story, the lost archives, and the surviving rock art, moreover, all "testified" to geological change. Thus, the commission embedded geologic, mythic, and human times on the Andean landscape and merged them into one recent past that just preceded and presaged the Conquest and the formation of a modern nation.

PRE-HISPANIC CIVILIZATIONS

Following the Enlightenment's template of human progress, thinkers like Humboldt, Acosta, and Codazzi believed that archaeological artifacts provided evidence of the evolution of human civilizations from primitive to civilized.[42] The progression was cognitive; over time, the primitive mind became more sophisticated.[43] When Codazzi attempted to date both the rock images and the floods he believed were documented therein, he recurred not only to geological evidence in layers of rock, but also to the apparent sophistication of the artifacts. He estimated that it would have taken the Chibchas a few centuries of cultivating the high basins to evolve to the high levels of prosperity and civilization evidenced by Duquesne's calendar stone, Spanish chronicles, and archeological sites.[44]

Bogotá-based intellectuals viewed the Chibchas with pride as the third great ancient American civilization along with the Inca and Mexica empires,

analogous to the classic civilizations of the Mediterranean.[45] The commissioners and other midcentury historians made sense of the complex Muisca political structures by characterizing them as feudal states, overseen by competing territorial overlords known as the Zipa, in Bogotá, and the Zaque, in Tunja. Some writers went further in viewing the Chibchas as in the process of consolidating a centralized state: "without the arrival of the Spaniards the Zipa of Bogotá probably would have taken over all the territory of the Chibchas."[46] Acosta, moreover, located the Chibchas in a specific and bounded territory in the eastern highlands. He fixed the latitude of its northern and southern borders and provided precise estimates of its size and population, which were "as considerable as any of the cultured countries of Europe."[47] Other writers referred to the Chibchas as "the ancient Neogranadinos" and "the Chibcha empire."[48] Thus, they depicted a precursor national identity and state, conveniently centered in what would become the national capital.

In such narratives, the Spanish invaders, especially the common foot soldiers, were more barbarous than the Chibchas. In his account of the Conquest, Acosta did not question the underlying necessity and divine purpose of the enterprise. Yet he also highlighted Spanish cruelty.[49] Acosta equated the Conquest with a natural disaster, which had passed over this Andean civilization "like a hurricane" sweeping away most of the Chibchas' calendars, architecture, writing, and laws.[50] This trauma, in the narratives of the midcentury intellectuals, had interrupted the indigenous peoples' civilizational progression. In other words, they believed that the evolutionary trajectory that all civilizations were assumed to follow could be interrupted or reversed. Change occurred not only through evolution but also through cataclysms, including such events as the dramatic uplift of the Andean mountains, the sudden draining of highland lakes, and the Spanish Conquest.

Beyond the highlands around Bogotá and Tunja, of course, had lived diverse indigenous peoples. These societies, usually dwelling at lower and warmer altitudes, were described by midcentury writers as occupying lower levels on the continuum between barbarism and civilization.[51] Adjoining the Muiscas, according to Acosta "lived more than fifty thousand Indians, and they seemed more ferocious and indomitable, the rougher the territory they inhabited."[52] Levels of barbarism were associated with the physical environment. Inauspicious climates, like cataclysmic changes, had stymied their evolution.

The depiction of the Muisca as having achieved the highest level of civilization in pre-Columbian New Granada reinforced the territorial claims of

the Bogotá-based elite.[53] For these mid-nineteenth-century historians, as for Humboldt, the only great New World civilizations were those of the highlands. Recasting the Muisca as a highland empire or state not only allowed the Bogotá intellectuals to place themselves alongside Mexico, Peru, and the Mediterranean countries as having a great ancient civilization; it also reaffirmed Bogotá's tenuous political supremacy. (By contrast, according to historian Ernesto Bassi, Caribbean coastal politician Juan José Nieto's 1844 novel *Yngermina, or the Daughter of Calamar* exalted a coastal indigenous civilization conquered by the Spaniards. Thus, Nieto contradicted Bogotá-centered historical narratives by endowing the Caribbean coast with its own "glorious past.")[54]

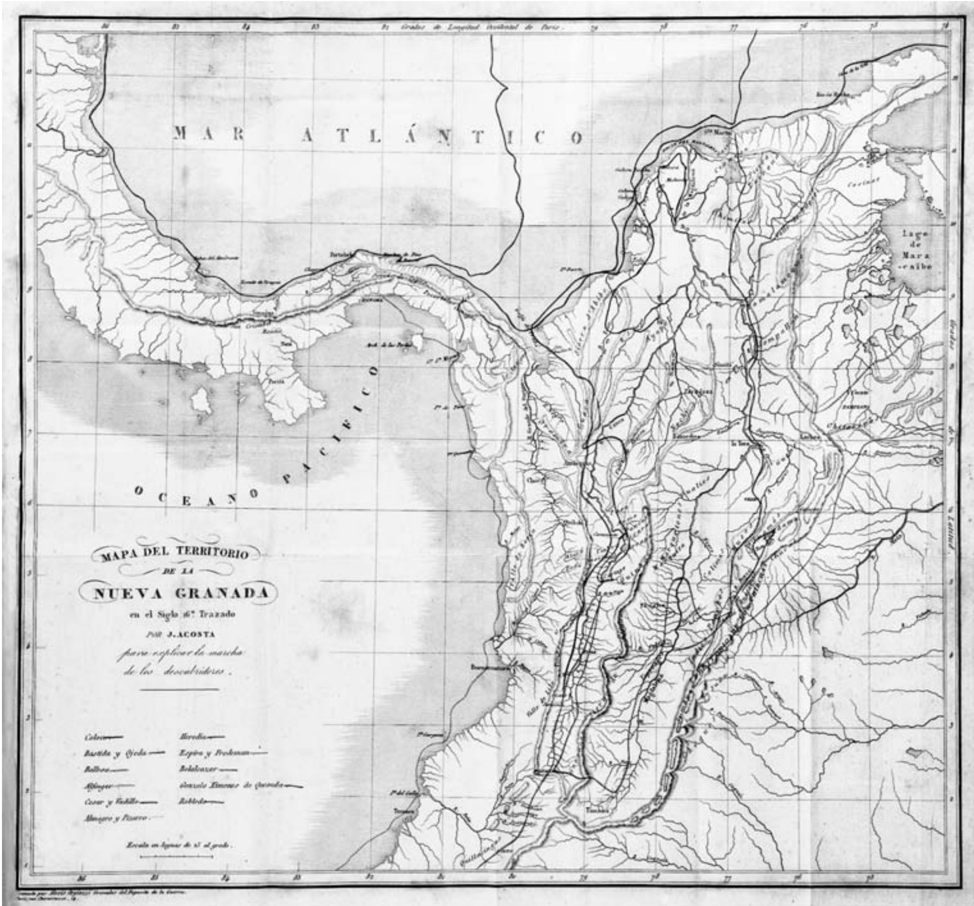
Although the Muisca received most of New Granada's scholarly attention during this period, the commission did submit several images of artifacts from the provinces of Antioquia, about which it said relatively little other than the indigenous people in those areas had disappeared hundreds of years before, leaving graves filled with evidence of their intelligence and technical capabilities.[55] Codazzi and Paz also studied a mysterious group of steles near the village of San Agustín in the south-central Colombian massif, not far from the headwaters of the Magdalena River, following the Caquetá expedition in 1857. Paz produced a map of the site and detailed illustrations, which for unknown reasons did not make it into the official collection of the commission.[56] Codazzi classified the San Agustín civilization as occupying an intermediate level on the evolutionary continuum of civilizations.[57] San Agustín, he claimed, was a civilization in its cognitive "infancy."[58] The "symbols and allegories" contained on the steles, "far from being the product of a refined intellectual culture, are no more than an accident born of the poverty of language; the lack of words to express all ideas obliged the stone carvers to recur to analogies."[59] The culture's creative use of symbols was, for Codazzi, merely a symptom of its truncated maturation.

This nascent civilization had been "killed in its cradle by the Spanish Conquest," its inhabitants ostensibly scattered into the tropical forests of the Caquetá valley on the eastern slopes of the mountains, "where the solitude, roughness, and savagery of the land had made them recede into the most complete barbarity."[60] Spanish colonialism had led to barbarism rather than progress; societal evolution had changed course. This tension between a gradual evolutionary trajectory and sudden transformative cataclysm provided a recurring leitmotif in the commission's narratives of the past.

The notion that the nineteenth-century territorial order was rooted in the past was affirmed not only through narrative and imagery but also through maps. As noted in previous chapters, Codazzi included historical information on some of his maps, including routes of some conquerors. But he had grander ambitions for mapping geology and history. Codazzi's plan for a deluxe atlas of fifty-two maps, discussed in the next chapter, included geological and historical maps. A geological map would "represent the first plutonic terrains and the transition by which was lifted from the bottom of the seas the Granadan land."[61] Another prehistoric map was to show the "great and small Andean lakes and the altitudes of its waters." A subsequent map would trace routes of the discoverers and conquerors. A map would depict "the coasts of Venezuela, New Granada, and the Antilles, to make one see the navigation of the discoveries, the ancient names and the residences of the different tribes in the coasts and interior of the lands, with the routes that the conquerors followed." Several more would trace Independence-era military campaigns. But Codazzi died before his plan could be realized.

A historical map by Acosta did survive, and Codazzi would have been familiar with it. Appended to Acosta's 1848 historical text was a *Map of the Territory of New Granada in the Sixteenth Century to Explicate the March of the Discoverers* (fig. 36). Acosta thus projected the "territory of New Granada" backward in time, before it fully existed as such. The map noted names of indigenous groups that had dwelled in the territory at the time of the Conquest, as they were denominated by their conquerors, such as "Indios Panchos," "Guane," and "Chimila." The Chibchas were indicated in darker type than the others, with the words "Territory of the Chibchas" inscribed along the spine of the Eastern Cordillera. Thus, the Chibchas not only appeared more important than other ethnicities, they were also the only ones with a specific "territory."

Colored lines on Acosta's map traced the trajectory of all the conquerors, beginning with Columbus. Such lines added the passage of time and the progress of history to a spatial depiction. The reader could thus follow along with Acosta's textual narrative by tracing the route of each conqueror along the coast or into the interior. The conquerors were the dynamic historical actors; they moved forcefully across the stage represented by the map. Through the linear trajectories, the Spaniards took violent command of the scene. Similarly, in Acosta's narrative (as in other Black Legend accounts dating back to Las Casas) the Spaniards were the invaders and aggressors who moved history forward; the Indians, however brave, were victims.[62]



36. Joaquín Acosta, *Mapa del Territorio de la Nueva Granada en el Siglo 16°. Trazado por J. Acosta para explicar la marcha de los descubridores*. In Joaquín Acosta, *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonizacion de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto*. Paris: Imprenta de Beau, 1848.

HISTORIA PATRIA: A TWO-ACT DRAMA

Midcentury historians linked sixteenth-century indigenous resistance to the Spanish Conquest to nineteenth-century creole resistance to the Spanish empire. For example, scholar Ezequiel Uricoechea wrote, “if today we lament the loss of illustrated men who shone among us and who in 1816 were victims of the despotic blade, we see in this only the second act, the reflection of that of years before when brave inhabitants of the plain of Bogotá and its immediate surroundings had to suffer at hands no less barbarous.”[63] Thus,

the "barbarous" Spanish Conquest was the first act in an anti-imperial drama consisting of the Conquest and Independence wars. New Granada's patriotic history (*historia patria*) was a two-act drama enacted on a singular territorial stage.[64]

Agustín Codazzi repeatedly followed the two-act script. Codazzi began each of his provincial geographic texts with a description of events that had taken place in that province during the Conquest and Independence eras. For example, the first two paragraphs of Codazzi's "Geography of the Province of Socorro" linked the Conquest and late-colonial resistance against the Spanish into a continuous narrative of patriotic bellicosity: "the ancient country of the Guanes, today province of Socorro, has been distinguished since the time of the Conquest for the bellicose and resolute character of its inhabitants. Their inclination toward Independence was manifested in the noisy uprising of 1781."[65] He went on to describe the Socorrans as tenacious guerrillas in the Independence war, as if modern *socorranos* incarnated the ancient Guanes, whose surviving communal landholding, not incidentally, he personally helped to liquidate.[66] Any separate and valid Guane indigenous identity was located firmly in the past, where it would not interrupt the advance of capitalist progress.

By beginning each provincial geographical report with historical episodes from the Conquest and Independence in this manner, Codazzi endowed not only the nation as a whole but also each individual province with its own legitimating historical narrative, reflecting the commission's chorographic approach. Each provincial territory was a stage for specific scenes of the larger patriotic drama, in which its inhabitants had played their designated roles. In some cases, the provincial inhabitants' participation was attributed to their temperament—as in the example of the "bellicose" Socorrans, or the violent guerrillas of the Eastern Plains mentioned in the previous chapter. Each province was thus integrated into the nation's founding narrative. At the same time, its provincial autonomy as a historic entity was reinforced, even though many of the provinces were recent creations that would soon be abolished. Each province was portrayed as having its own deep historical roots and personality. The nation was composed of individual provinces, and republican national history was composed of provincial histories. Historical narrative thus reinforced the territorial order delineated on the commission's maps.

Province and nation were forged in the crucible of two wars that, while separated in time, were unified in space. In recounting an 1816 battle between patriots and royalists on the Tambo ridge in the southwestern Prov-

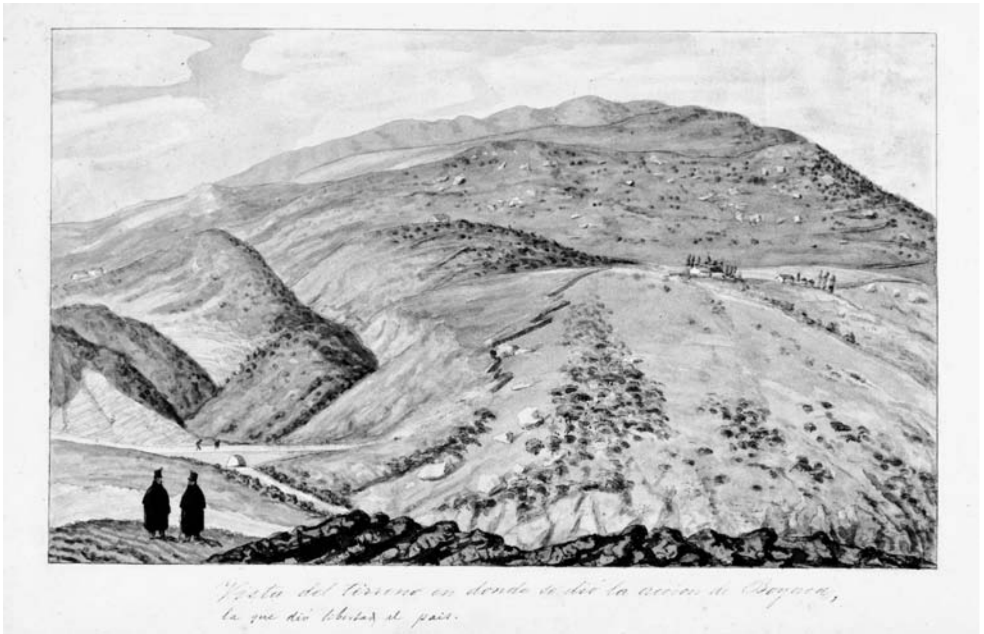
ince of Popayán, Codazzi referred back to the defeat of the indigenous leader for whom the province was named: "in this same place Belalcázar had obtained a complete triumph over Chief Popayán 280 years before."[67] Thus, one place had double significance and served to link two disparate struggles into a singular narrative.[68] The patriots of the nineteenth century redeemed the defeated Indians of the sixteenth. The intersection of both narratives at one spot made the events analogous and even implied that the second was foreordained in the first. The opening paragraph of the report on the Province of Tunja also moved seamlessly from the Muiscas to Independence in one sentence: "the Province of Tunja, center of a kingdom the Conquerors found flowering and quite civilized, whose Zaque or Sovereign resided where today is founded the City that gave name to the territory, was also the theater of the rapid campaign that determined the liberty of these countries."[69]

The Province of Tunja included the most important site in the country's patriotic narrative: the fields and creek at which the famous Battle of Boyacá of August 7, 1819, had been fought. Codazzi placed the province and the larger Boyacá region in the narrative of continental history by emphasizing the decisive nature of the patriots' victory at Boyacá in the wars to liberate South America from the Spanish (wars in which he himself had taken part, though he was not present at Boyacá). Here, in these fields, he wrote, was fought the battle that liberated New Granada and led to the liberation of the rest of South America.[70]

CREATING PATRIOTIC MONUMENTS

Despite the national and even international significance of the Battle of Boyacá, the location of that battle, like the ridges at Tambo and Tausa, remained unmarked.[71] Only a traveler versed in historia patria would recognize these ordinary fields, bridge, and creek in the highland of Boyacá as a significant site; only the educated imagination would strain to hear the echo of long-ago battles in the lonely hillsides and rushing water. The Chorographic Commission lamented the lack of a monument: "In vain the eyes of the patriot seek in the solitary field of Boyacá, a monument, even a column that would commemorate such a great and decisive event: only the solitary moors and the noise of the nearby rapids speak of the American redemption!"[72]

In Fernández's depiction of the Boyacá battlefield (fig. 37), the only indication of the site's importance are two small human figures portrayed in the foreground wearing what appear to be military uniforms. The sloping hillsides with houses, fences, and scattered boulders, along with the barely



37. Carmelo Fernández, *Vista del terreno en donde se dió la accion de Boyaca, la que dió libertad al pais*. Ca. 1851. Watercolor. 25.2 × 37.3 cm. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

glimpsed road and creek, are otherwise notable only for their ordinariness. Even this bucolic image, however, contains subtle references that loop further back in time. Efraín Sánchez has argued that stones and boulders similarly strewn around in other paintings by the Chorographic Commission are not random, but rather references to geologic change.[73] Scattered boulders evidence the great natural uplift that had ostensibly given rise to the Andean cordilleras, spewing detritus all around and foreshadowing the human battle to come.

Through narratives, maps, and illustrations, the commission tried to convert such unmarked locations into landmarks, or fixed reference points, for the nation's maps, historia patria, and identity.[74] The commission's artists portrayed various sites deemed significant in patriotic history and natural history. In addition to the painted and engraved boulders and cliffsides discussed above, the commission depicted churches in Ocaña and Cucutá where significant Independence-era congresses had been held, houses in which important episodes in the Independence war had taken place, the sacred Muisca lake of Guatavita, and the famous waterfall at Tequendama, through which the Bogotá Savannah had ostensibly drained.[75] (Inexplicably, Bogotá's cathe-

dral, historic houses, and other significant buildings were omitted from the commission's official collection of illustrations).[76] The commission thus sought to create sites of civil commemoration that would preserve the nation's collective memory of episodes deemed foundational.[77] In fact, Codazzi and the commission's sponsors intended that the commission's own publications—its maps and atlases and illustrated texts—would together constitute a "glorious monument."[78] In the short run, as the last chapter will explain, it did not quite work out that way.[79]

CONCLUSIONS

The Chorographic Commission conflated past eras that we now think of as very distinct. The many time frames in which the nation had been constituted—geologic, mythic, prehistoric, and modern—all overlapped and merged because, for nationalists, the mystique of the nation transcends time. In their catastrophist account, commissioners cast what scientists now view as gradual, long-term changes in the landscape as sudden and recent cataclysms, inscribed upon that same landscape by human witnesses, and recorded in the origin stories of an ancient civilization. Geology, prehistoric art, and mythology all converged to constitute the nation's primal archive.[80]

They interpreted that archive, moreover, in such a way as to favor the political order that they advocated. Even as several of the commissioners and other midcentury Bogotá-based intellectuals favored federalist decentralization, they were also invested in New Granada's future as a nation governed from Bogotá, the Andean capital.[81] Thus it is not surprising that their narratives were protagonized by the Andean civilizations and even the Andean mountains themselves. Like their heroes, Caldas and Humboldt, they exalted New Granada's mountains.[82] By emphasizing the glorious origins and civilizations of the Andean region around Bogotá at the expense of lower "savage" climes, the narrators reinforced Bogotá's tenuous claim over a topographically disparate territory.[83] The emphasis on a precursor state with a defined territory, moreover, made the polity appear timeless.

Mid-nineteenth-century New Granada was struggling politically and economically. Other than a tentative export surge, few signs indicated that this impoverished country was destined for greatness. But when Acosta, Codazzi, and Ancízar gazed out at panoramic views, they saw jagged peaks, striated cliffs, and scattered boulders as evidence of the nation's dramatic origins and grandeur. In reading a natural and human history "written" in the imposing mountainsides, they endowed the tenuous young republic with a re-

cent and cataclysmic geology, a highly evolved pre-Hispanic civilization, a patriotic history of liberation struggles, and an awe-inspiring visual sublimity. The Andes of New Granada constituted a gigantic "theater" where the grandiose dramas of volcanic uplift, catastrophic deluges, cataclysmic conquests, tragic resistance, and ongoing revolutionary struggles to cast off the yoke and legacies of imperialism had all been enacted, ultimately merging into one continual performance of national emergence that presaged future greatness.

The federalist push for decentralization was left unresolved in these narratives. Another unresolved question was just who would belong to the nation. Recently, scholars such as Carl Langebaek and Rebecca Earle have found that positive "rhetorical validation" of pre-Columbian Indians was integral to midcentury creole identity.[84] Yet, as Alexander Betancourt notes, creole historiography did not produce an inclusive or egalitarian nation.[85] For whenever the discussion turned from past civilizations to present-day Indians, the tone changed. As these and other scholars have reminded us, admiration for pre-Columbian achievements did not translate into similarly exalted sentiments toward modern Indians; in fact, quite the contrary.[86] Despite all the allusions to the intellectual and artistic accomplishments of earlier civilizations, and for all the use of pre-Columbian and contemporary indigenous sources to support theories and fill their maps, midcentury elite creoles and foreigners alike viewed contemporary Indians with distress.

For one telling example of such sentiments from the commission's own chronicles, let us return to Ancízar at the Tausa ridge, daydreaming about the bravery and patriotism of martyred sixteenth-century Chibchas. Awoken from his reverie, Ancízar encountered a local inhabitant. The encounter led Ancízar to complain about the state of the Chibchas' descendants: "Humble and dejected they seek the blessing of the son of Spaniards who is here paying respect to the unmerited disgrace. 'Let Our Faaadder crown you in glory!' the poor Tausa Indian exclaimed effusively, upon receiving from me the small token that he sought, with broken hat in his hand, on those same rocks soaked with the blood of his ancestors. 'Oh ignorance,' I said to myself sadly, and I hurried to leave that place."[87]

In his quick departure, Ancízar was turning away not from the ancient past but from the most worrying aspects of his own era. For him, the greatest tragedy of such a place was neither the massacre that once took place there nor the cataclysm that had apparently given rise to the land itself, but rather the degradation and ignorance of the victims' descendants. In the faces, bodies, and comportment of the local inhabitants he perceived neither the

noble savages of his imagined past nor the educated citizens of his aspirational future. Rather, he saw only degeneration and oblivion. The only hope for the redemption of this degraded race was mixture with people of European descent and the creation of a whitened mestizo race.

Educated observers epitomized by Ancízar and Codazzi, like Acosta and Humboldt before them, prided themselves on historic and scientific literacy; they could read the grandiose records of the patria inscribed in the mountainsides. Local indigenous inhabitants had directly and indirectly provided the urban letrados and their predecessors with vital information; Indians had led explorers to artifacts and helped to interpret them. Yet the intellectuals characterized the Indians, and the poor rural masses more generally, as literally and figuratively illiterate. Country people still embodied the "ignorance" of a colonized society that viewed pre-Columbian artifacts as the Devil's handiwork. Having presumably lost the memory of their once-great Chibcha ancestors, local Indians and mestizos were ostensibly deaf to the "eloquence" of pre-Columbian monuments and blind to the landmarks' historical significance. They could not read the nation's archive. For the commissioners and other members of the creole elite, such ignorant people would not be easily integrated into an imagined national community of educated citizens based on a shared historical memory embedded on a readable landscape.

8

A Seat among the Savants

Controversies after Codazzi

"IN THE DUST OF THE ARCHIVES"

As Agustín Codazzi struggled to revise his maps in November of 1857, he worried that the maps, along with the texts and illustrations, would end up locked away in obscurity.[1] A year later, in one of his last official letters, Codazzi still fretted that the commission's materials would be "forgotten in the dust of the archives after having cost the Nation so much work and so much money."[2] He mentioned the lives that had been lost. He hoped that his own health, and that of his companions, would hold up in the one expedition they still had left, to the Caribbean coastal states of Bolívar and Magdalena.

Two months later, he was dead. He expired of unspecified fevers on his way to the coast, in the village of Espíritu Santo, on February 7, 1859.[3] Codazzi had been right to worry. His colleagues and students never finished his aborted expedition. The texts and maps published in the 1860s on the basis of the commission's work were far simpler than Codazzi had intended. The chorographic emphasis on regional particularity was partially lost. The watercolor images were indeed locked away to gather dust; most of them were not published until the 1950s, and a few disappeared entirely.

In the decade following Codazzi's death, his methodology was attacked and his results disputed. Controversies had buffeted the commission from the beginning; they became particularly public and strident after Codazzi's death in 1859, as politicians and intellectuals sought to complete and publish his work. They fought over control of the final products and over their meaning and accuracy. These disputes were enmeshed in political and military conflicts as rival factions sought to control and determine the future of Colombia.

This chapter examines disputes that swirled around the official publication of the commission's works. The main protagonists of these conflicts during the 1860s were Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, the leading political figure of the day, and Felipe Pérez, a writer and younger brother of former commissioner Santiago Pérez. Mosquera and the younger Pérez argued about

scientific authority and practice. They disagreed about how to represent a heterogeneous nation and about who deserved to be recognized abroad for their scientific contributions: who would take a "seat among the savants" and thus represent Colombia to the "civilized world"? Their dispute reflected their individual desires to belong to the international community of scientists as well as their shared ambition that their nation should take a seat at the table of civilized nations. The conflict between Mosquera and Pérez reflected contradictions evident throughout the commission's travels and travails, such as ambivalence about the use of local informants, clashes between statist and scientific priorities, disagreements over the legitimacy of the chorographic method, and tensions between heterogeneity and homogeneity. The dispute also formed part of larger political battles.

The chapter begins by reviewing Codazzi's final plans in 1857 for publication, in which he tried to constitute coherent regional and national territories even as the entire national territorial order was in flux (the Republic of New Granada became the more decentralized Granadine Confederation in 1858). Next, the chapter traces the initial efforts of his disciples to complete the commission's work after Codazzi's death in 1859. They were stymied by the same kinds of infrastructural and political problems that had long haunted the commission, ranging from broken scientific instruments to civil war. The chapter goes on to examine public controversies over publishing the commission's texts and maps, which began before Codazzi's death and became more intense in the 1860s. The dispute during the 1860s between Mosquera and Pérez involved competing factions within the Liberal bloc, yet it was related to a larger conflict between Liberal and Conservative national projects and historiographies. The last part of this chapter traces how the partisan divide became salient in late-nineteenth-century scholarship, as Conservatives revised the midcentury geographers' interpretations of history and prehistory.

CODAZZI'S PLAN

In November 1857, in the midst of national territorial reorganization, Codazzi laid out plans for completing his commission and publishing illustrated texts and maps.[4] He intended to write an overall *General Geography* of the nation, create an atlas, print large wall maps, and compose a geographic text for each new state, all to be funded with contributions from state governments and individuals. He wanted to publish the work in Paris, where the engraving and printing technology was cheaper and more sophisticated than

in New Granada. Publishing in Paris would afford Codazzi the opportunity to present the commission's results in the highest circles of the transatlantic scientific community. His Venezuelan maps had already afforded him membership in that community. No doubt he looked forward to basking once again in the prestigious scientific glow that Europe would provide. He would personally oversee a publication of high quality, "honorable for me and even more honorable for the Nation," which would demonstrate the territory's potential for "future prosperity" to the "civilized world."[5]

Along with the international audience, Codazzi emphasized the domestic. His plan would allow Colombia's "public men" to know the country they governed and to bequeath this knowledge to their children. Elite fathers would buy atlases so that their sons would "learn to know the land" they were destined to govern. The publications would provide "enlightenment and education." Thus, in this latest attempt to justify the Chorographic Commission, Codazzi emphasized its importance for enlightening the governing elite more than its immediate economic utility, perhaps because his own efforts to effect economic change through infrastructural improvements had proved frustrating.

Codazzi's 1857 plan, like his entire enterprise, tried to balance the national and the regional; it was both national and chorographic in scope. For the country as a whole, he sought to publish a 600-page general geography, divided into "physical" and "political" parts, and further divided thematically in a scheme that reflected the influence of universal geographies, particularly as practiced by Adriano Balbi. Part I, "Physical Geography," would start with "location"—in other words, New Granada's coordinates on the global graticule—followed by "natural" and "political" borders and divisions. Then would come inventories of notable natural features and resources. This format isolated individual features from the whole.

Showing Humboldt's influence, however, Part I would also include an overview titled "Aspect of the Country."[6] In his earlier provincial reports, Codazzi had described the "aspect" (or "view") of each province in a holistic, wide-ranging narrative, interweaving natural history and the wars of Conquest and Independence. He had rooted history in particular sites linked to both wars, giving character and coherence to each province. But those provinces were in the process of being abolished and combined into larger states. He would now have to endow each state with its own history and physiognomy, and to bring those overviews together to do the same for the nation as a whole. Part II, on "Political Geography," would include various topical

sections and conclude with a “summary of the eight federated states.” Thus, federalism would be acknowledged, but the focus of the two-part volume was national in scope, transcending in each thematic category the boundaries of individual states.

Accompanying that volume would be a large national wall map, 1.5 by 2.5 meters in size. Each state would appear in a different color (a convention already adopted internationally to denote states or colonies).[7] The map would be adorned with an unspecified illustration or cartouche described as a “vignette that characterizes the country” as well as cross sections illustrating comparative altitudes of mountain peaks, rivers, and towns and cities. The map would include inset boxes, similar to those on his manuscript chorographic maps, with tables displaying distances and statistics. Thus, the visual and textual would converge to constitute a diverse yet unified territory defined by its mountainous topography, navigable rivers, and abundant natural resources, composed of clearly discernable interlocking units known as states, and unified by an image that would capture the essence of the whole.

In addition, Codazzi proposed an atlas composed of fifty-two maps. It would contain the commission’s geological and historical maps. Other maps would further the commission’s economic mandate of promoting privatization and exports by pinpointing natural resources and “vacant” lands. Reflecting the commission’s tendency to differentiate levels of progress and morality and Codazzi’s interest in statistics, the atlas would include maps showing levels of education and crime by province. The atlas would emphasize the federated nature of the country by including separate maps of each new state. In an implicit acknowledgment that these states lacked topographical coherence, however, some of the states would be further subdivided. Thus, Chocó and Caquetá, which were now officially part of Cauca, would each have its own map. Cundinamarca would be divided into two maps, one of which would represent the “deserted” Eastern Plains and the other the Andean section of the state. Together, the atlas and the wall map would represent the new federation as a nation, with a patriotic history that served to validate its territorial claims. But the atlas would give considerable stature and identity to each of the federation’s component states and, in some cases, the regions that Codazzi perceived within individual states. This chorographic approach was especially evident in his plan for each state to have its own large wall map and text. He sought to publish “the chorographic maps, in the same scales that they have been presented to the Government of the Republic, with a general geography [text] for each State and

a particular one for each Province." These maps and texts would presumably provide the kind of heterogeneous detail that the commission's chorographic method had generated.

With Codazzi's death in 1859, the plan languished, despite the best efforts of his collaborators and disciples. In November of 1859, Manuel Ponce de León, a former student of Codazzi's, and Manuel María Paz signed a contract with the government to use Codazzi's chorographic maps to draw a map of the entire country and create an atlas of twenty-five maps—half the number Codazzi had originally projected.[8] Meanwhile, another of Codazzi's students, Indalecio Liévano, planned a final chorographic expedition to the Caribbean coastal states of Bolívar and Magdalena.[9]

Then, in 1860, war broke out. Mosquera, who was serving as the Liberal governor of Cauca, launched an uprising against Conservative president Mariano Ospina. The war lasted for two and a half years. The coastal expedition never happened. The posthumous realization of Codazzi's plan was stymied by war and then embroiled in post-war factional struggles.

Soon after he took control of Bogotá in 1861 and established a provisional government, Mosquera signed new contracts with Ponce de León and Paz to finalize the maps. He also contracted Felipe Pérez to write the geography texts.[10] Pérez was a prolific young writer who had collaborated on the pro-federalism Liberal periodical *El Tiempo* and published a literary periodical geared especially toward young women. He had even written a geography textbook, *Compendium of Universal Geography*. During the war he also published a pamphlet in favor of Mosquera.[11] Pérez produced two different geographical texts based on the Chorographic Commission's documents in the 1860s. They proved controversial.

PÉREZ'S JEOGRAFÍAS

First, Pérez gathered and redacted Codazzi's provincial reports and combined them into state geographies, which were published in Bogotá in two volumes in 1862 and 1863, *Physical and Political Geography of the United States of Colombia* (the Granadine Confederation was renamed the United States of Colombia in 1863). To fill in missing information for the coastal states, he drew on other published materials. Then, in 1865, in Paris, Pérez published a shorter *General Geography of the United States of Colombia*, by which time he had been afforded membership in the French Society of Geography.[12] Both of these texts would provoke strong reactions from Mosquera, but before examining the controversy it is worth noting some of the ways in which they

did or did not realize Codazzi's intentions, and how they reflected political concerns of the moment regarding the role of Bogotá and the federal government vis-a-vis the states.

Pérez's two-volume *Physical and Political Geography* is organized by state, as Codazzi would have done, and it adheres strictly to the inventory format. The original tension between Balbi's and Humboldt's approaches, evident in Codazzi's work, tilted in favor of the former.[13] Much of Pérez's text is taken verbatim from Codazzi's published and unpublished provincial geographical reports. The book partly follows the order laid out in Codazzi's publishing plan. In the process of combining the provincial reports into state reports and dividing the material into categories, Pérez removed or marginalized some of Codazzi's more dramatic prose and descriptive context. For example, Codazzi had begun the first section of each provincial report with historical allusions, such as: "Twice the Conquerors explored in vain the territory that today forms the Province of Antioquia."[14] Pérez, on the other hand, began that same first section more dryly: "The State of Antioquia includes the area enclosed between 0° 13′ 20″ eastern longitude, and 2° 31′ longitude west of the Meridian of Bogotá; and 5° 2′ 30″ and 8° 9′ latitude north."[15] In the inventory format, the graticule came first; history came later.

Pérez must have found it challenging to synthesize the more Humboldtian sections of each draft report. Codazzi had used the "Aspect of the Country" sections to constitute each province as a coherent entity with its own physiognomy; he died before he could revise most of the provincial overviews to take into account the new territorial order. In the case of Antioquia, Pérez addressed the challenge by pointing out the impossibility of encompassing "with only one glance all the facets of the territory of Antioquia."[16] Rather than divide the new state into coherent topographical zones, as Codazzi might eventually have done, he simply divided Antioquia into "the former provinces that composed it." Pérez labeled each of the three former provinces into which Antioquia had rather briefly been divided—Antioquia, Medellín, and Córdoba—as a separate "region." This allowed him to use Codazzi's prose from the provincial reports to describe the landscape of each without having to reconstitute the state's overall physiognomy. It was a rather ironic choice, given that Codazzi had insisted that the three should be grouped together as one coherent whole, given their common "characters, inclinations, and customs."[17] Codazzi would not have characterized these provinces as separate regions. Pérez's revision lost Codazzi's sense of naturally and culturally coherent territorial entities.

For Cundinamarca and Boyacá, Codazzi had already established a di-

chotomy for each, which Pérez followed. Pérez divided each of these states between its more mountainous western section and the Eastern Plains. For Pérez, as for Codazzi, this topographical division was also chronological; each "region" or "section" of the divided state represented a different stage in the development of human civilization. The mountainous portion included "the areas already submitted to the dominion of civilization," while the plains were "in the state of savagery of primitive times."[18] He stated that "in the former one finds the valleys and lofty plains of cool or cold climate, and the hot lands of the extensive basin through which runs the important Magdalena River; in the latter, vast savannahs, huge jungles and deep rivers, and all in an extremely hot land. There the illustrated and hardworking people live in pueblos, towns, and cities; here a few errant tribes cross the savannahs, and others loiter in the forests, living a coarse and uncouth life."[19] Thus, in some ways the text did follow Codazzi's and Humboldt's approaches to landscape, and their assumptions about the essential differences between highland and lowland inhabitants. But the environmental diversity of Andean states such as Antioquia, stretching across two cordilleras and deep valleys, with an array of ecosystems, eluded Pérez's ability to fashion a coherent overview.

For both his *Physical and Political Geography* and subsequent *General Geography*, Pérez would claim that he was merely the "tailor" sewing together the "fabric" woven by Codazzi, rather than the actual author.[20] But the 1865 *General Geography*, which was a national synthesis, contained more of Pérez's own prose than did the earlier work and drew on a range of scholars in addition to Codazzi. The *General Geography* reflected the ways in which these midcentury intellectuals, discussed in the previous chapter, had constituted the nation's history and geography. Pérez largely replicated a standard Liberal Andescentric narrative in terms that favored both federalist decentralization, on the one hand, and the continued designation of Bogotá as the capital, on the other. He also followed Liberal doctrine regarding the pernicious legacy of Spanish conquest.

Pérez's *General Geography* began with history. Pérez depicted the Spanish conquerors as brutal "soldiers of pillage," in the tradition of midcentury writers such as Joaquín Acosta, Ezequiel Uricoechea, and José Antonio Plaza.[21] He also included a section on pre-Columbian inhabitants. Like most midcentury scholars, he focused mainly on the Chibchas of the eastern highlands, whom he referred to as both a "nation" and an "empire."[22] He characterized the Chibchas as proto-federalists by describing them as occupying "the center of the Colombian union."[23] *Unión* was a term used often by federalists to describe the political order. Pérez thus implied continuity be-

tween pre-Columbian civilizations and the new federal order dominated by the eastern highlands.

Regarding race and type, Pérez made the same arguments as did the commissioners but in even starker terms.[24] He argued that Colombia was racially "better"—in other words, more European—than neighboring Venezuela and Ecuador.[25] Following Codazzi, he argued that the indigenous "American race" was disappearing in Colombia.[26] He claimed that the "African race" enjoyed absolute equality.[27] He spoke highly of the Colombian population overall but also emphasized racial differences between regions. Like others before him, he mentioned the effects of climate on Colombians' bodily constitutions, contrasting the ostensible vigor of highlanders with the putatively shorter lives and precocious development of lowlanders.[28] He argued that the robust highland inhabitant of Antioquia or Santander was as different from the "apathetic" inhabitant of the river valleys or the "verbose" *costeño* (Caribbean coastal resident) as was a Spaniard from a Frenchman.[29] The normative types were male, as they were for other writers. He collapsed Colombian women into a singular lovely type, which constituted "the first" of the nation's "ornaments."[30] One could read this statement as either a dismissive exclusion of women from the cultural order of types through which the nation's citizenry was being constituted, or an attempt to unify a fragmented nation of men through a singular image of feminine beauty.

While Pérez was writing these texts, a political battle for control over the postwar federation was raging among the victorious Liberals. On the one side was Mosquera and, on the other, a faction of northeastern Andean Liberals, known as the radicals, who included Felipe's brother, former commissioner (and future president) Santiago Pérez. This conflict shaped the radically federalist Rionegro Constitution of 1863, which created the United States of Colombia. The Rionegro Constitution severely limited the authority of the federal government, in part to circumscribe Mosquera's power. Mosquera and the radicals nonetheless continued to clash. The radicals would subsequently oust Mosquera from his third presidency and even imprison him in 1867.[31]

In this factionalized political context, the mercurial Mosquera turned on Felipe Pérez. In attacking Pérez, he also attacked the deceased Codazzi. Mosquera had once strongly supported Codazzi. Mosquera claimed credit for initiating the commission, bringing Codazzi to New Granada, and ensuring the commission's survival after the 1854 war, in which Codazzi and Mosquera fought together.[32] Mosquera himself practiced geographical science; he had long taken his own readings at various altitudes and had exchanged scien-

tific findings with Codazzi.[33] Mosquera published his own geography texts in English and Spanish.[34] By the late 1850s, he had apparently come to see the Italian-born geographer as an intellectual rival.

MOSQUERA VS. THE CHOROGRAPHIC COMMISSION

Efraín Sánchez has written the most complete account of Mosquera's opposition to Codazzi's publication plans and the posthumous dispute over the commission's publications.[35] Sánchez frames the conflict largely as an egotistical campaign by Mosquera to eclipse Codazzi, in the context of the growing enmity between Mosquera and the radical Liberals. My analysis draws from his account. I also argue that the conflict revolved around some of the same questions that had long bedeviled the commission, its supporters, and its critics: What knowledges, sources, and methods were legitimate for the practice of geographic science, and for what purposes was such science to be practiced? How should the nation be represented, and who had the authority to represent it?

Mosquera had started criticizing the Chorographic Commission even before Codazzi's death. As governor of the new state of Cauca in 1858 (under the Granadine Confederation), Mosquera refused to support Codazzi's publishing plan. In a twenty-page letter, Mosquera argued that at least half the commission's maps should be jettisoned.[36] The data on which they were based was insufficient because the commission had "not been able to penetrate all parts of the Confederation."[37] He also attacked Codazzi's authority to make scientific claims, particularly about geology. Mosquera provided a long "overview" of theories regarding geologic origins—as if he needed to educate Codazzi. Regarding the origins of the Andes, Mosquera claimed that Codazzi was merely voicing "an opinion, not yet demonstrated by the savants."[38] In other words, Codazzi was not a savant.

Mosquera framed his critique as a constructive letter from a "friend."[39] Yet the overall intent seems to have been to undermine Codazzi by repeatedly questioning the depth of Codazzi's knowledge, the quality of his research, and the certainty of his claims. Most importantly, in the final paragraph, Mosquera said that the state of Cauca would not provide the financial support requested of each state. As governor, he would prefer to use the money to fund a whole new expedition. Harkening back to the original economic justifications for launching the Chorographic Commission in the first place, Mosquera argued that the funds requested of his state "would be better employed in a geological expedition that would produce greater benefits and

public wealth and bring a useful immigration."[40] Mosquera never carried out the geological survey of Cauca. He did, however, go on after Codazzi's death to influence the publication of the commission's texts and especially its maps. Those aspects of the publication he could not control, he publicly attacked.

Felipe Pérez, in particular, suffered the full force of Mosquera's wrath. After Pérez's two-volume, state-by-state *Physical and Political Geography* had been printed, Mosquera, who served as president of the United States of Colombia from 1863 to 1864, pronounced it riddled with errors and ordered most of the copies destroyed.[41] Pérez then journeyed to Paris to help with the publication of the commission's maps and to publish his *General Geography*. Meanwhile, the new Liberal president who took office in 1864, Manuel Murillo Toro, appointed Mosquera to head the diplomatic legation in Paris. According to Mosquera, the publication of the commission's work in Paris was subject to his approval.[42] Instead of approving Pérez's *General Geography*, however, and presenting it to the Geographic Society along with the maps, Mosquera published his own Spanish-language geographical text in 1866.[43] His introduction made clear that his book should serve in place of Pérez's to contextualize and complement the maps and atlas. He hoped to stimulate further geographical expeditions "that would result in a good geographic map and topographical map of the States."[44] Thus he implied that the Chorographic Commission had been a failure. Mosquera also wrote a detailed letter to the Colombian government in which he alleged that Pérez had purposely circumvented his authority by rushing the *General Geography* to print before Mosquera arrived in Paris. The letter was published in the government's *Official Daily* in 1866, by which time Pérez had already published a lengthy response in the form of a pamphlet.[45]

In these public documents, Mosquera and Pérez disputed specific facts, such as topoynms, locations, statistics, measurements, names of ethnic groups, and botanical classifications.[46] Some of the disagreements were quibbles over terminology. For example, Mosquera insisted that the scientific-sounding "Caucasian race" should be used instead of "European race."[47] For Mosquera, moreover, Pérez's errors were symptomatic of larger problems with Codazzi's overall methodology. Mosquera disdained the late cartographer's reliance on local black and Indian informants: "General Codazzi had this mania of forming his geology by way of lakes and swamps, and cites in his notes an innumerable list of lakes where he had never been, per the accounts that some Indian or black from those places had given him."[48] Mosquera thus pinpointed one of the commission's potential vul-

nerabilities—its reliance on local knowledge from humble nonwhite guides, whose legitimacy as scientific sources had long been questioned.

Rather than defend Codazzi's practice, Pérez argued that it was Mosquera, not Codazzi, who had relied on "local science, or as we would say, old wives' tales."[49] Codazzi, Pérez emphasized, had embarked on arduous expeditions, unlike Mosquera, in order to observe his subject at close hand. Thus, both Pérez and Mosquera criticized each other's reliance on local knowledge while highlighting the importance of direct observation. On this point, they did not disagree as much as it might seem. Neither would acknowledge, as Codazzi actually had, that local informants were integral to geographic practice.

Mosquera and Pérez also disputed the purpose of geography, specifically in terms of how it would best serve the state. This dispute reflected long-simmering tensions between the commission's statist and scientific goals. Mosquera criticized Pérez for painting a "shameful picture of the country."[50] Mosquera asked, "Is this the way to bring immigration, industry, and capital?"[51] Mosquera no doubt wanted to present a positive image of Colombia to potential foreign investors and desirable immigrants, perhaps because he was then serving as a diplomatic envoy. Pérez responded that he was simply providing accurate information. Pérez essentially argued for the primacy of impartial knowledge over political expediency. Moreover, he did not believe that his depiction would keep immigrants away. Alluding to Mosquera, whom many Colombians viewed as a tyrant, Pérez argued that immigration was actually deterred by political instability and insecurity, "the constant unjustified public perturbances . . . the caprices of a tyranny."[52]

Intertwined with disagreements over the facts, method, and purpose of the commission was a dispute over scientific and political authority: Who had the authority to produce and disseminate scientific knowledge? In suppressing Pérez's first book and accusing Pérez of circumventing Mosquera's authority to publish the second, Mosquera was allocating to himself—first as president, then as diplomat—the authority to judge and censor the science produced by the state-sponsored commission. In response, Pérez refused to concede that Mosquera's official position or expertise gave him the authority to control, much less censor, the production of scientific knowledge.

Both, moreover, sought international recognition. Even though Pérez claimed he was just sewing Codazzi's fabric together, he also saw this work as an entrée into exalted international scientific circles. "Abroad," Pérez noted, the books merited him "a seat among the savants . . . [and] national glory reflected in my person."[53] Just as Codazzi had done before them, Pérez and Mosquera each claimed to embody the nation's scientific reputation and

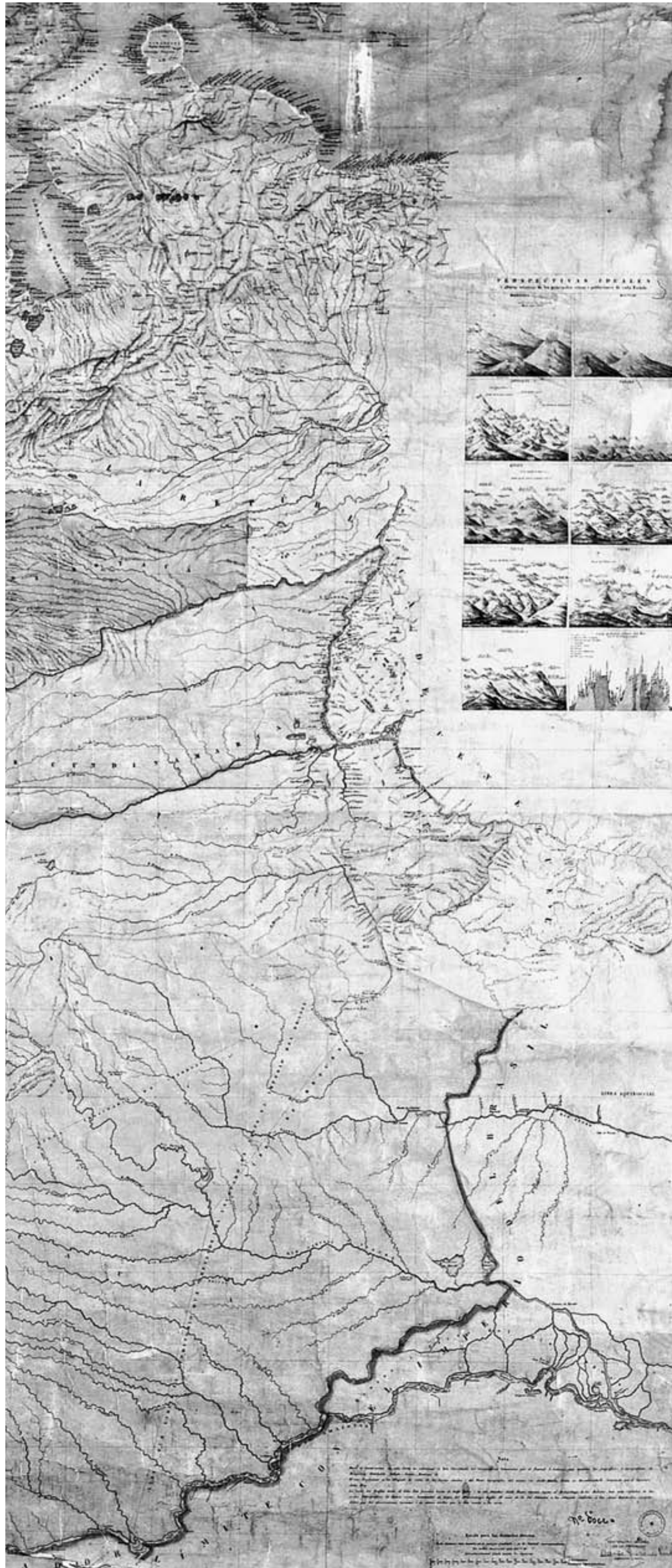
progress. Mosquera must have felt that the nation's glory should be reflected in his own august person, not that of a recently deceased Italian-born geographer, and much less in an impudent young man lacking geographic expertise (conveniently for Mosquera, the people he would have seen as his main intellectual rivals—Codazzi, Acosta, and even Humboldt—were all dead). Mosquera's desire for scientific recognition and control was also evident in his supervision of the publication of the commission's maps.

The maps printed in Paris did not fulfill Codazzi's elaborate vision. The 1865 *Atlas of the United States of Colombia* consisted not of fifty-two or even twenty-five maps, but rather a mere eleven: one for each state and one each for the eastern "less populated" frontiers then under the jurisdiction of Cauca and Cundinamarca (Caquetá and the Eastern Plains, respectively). The atlas was published alongside a separate wall map of the entire country. The large wall maps of individual states that Codazzi had envisioned, at the same scale of his original manuscript maps, apparently did not materialize.

Changes to the maps had begun earlier. Before Ponce de León and Paz even took the manuscript maps to Paris, Mosquera imposed unspecified "corrections."[54] Mosquera also insisted that the mapmakers take into consideration previous maps by Acosta, Humboldt, and others. The final printed map of Mosquera's home state of Cauca bore an inscription that the map had been "examined and corrected by the Great General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera."[55] The federal map also contained a notation that it was published "under the inspection of the Great General T. C. Mosquera" (his official title was not just *Jeneral*, but *Gran Jeneral*). The federal map credited Mosquera's own maps (including his 1852 map, which Mosquera had based largely on Codazzi's Venezuelan maps). According to a note on the new map: "not only were Consulted the Geographies carried out by General A. Codazzi, but also the geographies and chorographies of Mosquera, Humboldt, Talledo, Acosta, Restrepo, etc."[56] Mosquera's name came before Humboldt's and those of influential late-colonial and republican cartographers. Mosquera was seating himself among the savants.

The resulting state maps (e.g., fig. 34), though still labeled "chorographic," were simpler, more schematic, and less hybridized than the manuscript maps originally submitted by the commission to the government (e.g., figs. 3, 32). In the printed maps of the 1860s, the Andean provinces were still represented in some detail—covered with place names and natural features, though without inset tables and texts.[57] The maps of the less-explored Orinoco and Amazon borderlands, in contrast, showed more white space than the original manuscript versions; they were largely empty except for the lines

MAR DE LAS ANTILLAS
OCEANO PACIFICO
GOLFO DE PANAMÁ
CARTA JEOGRÁFICA
DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
DE
COLOMBIA
ANTIGUA NUEVA GRANADA
CONSTRUIDA DE ÓRDEN DEL GOBIERNO JENERAL
con arreglo a los trabajos corográficos del Jeneral
A. CODAZZI
i a otros documentos oficiales
POR MANUEL PONCE DE LEON,
I MANUEL MARIA PAZ
BOGOTÁ, 1864



38. *Carta jeográfica de los Estados Unidos de Colombia, antigua Nueva Granada, construída por orden del Gobierno Jeneral con arreglo a los trabajos corográficos del jeneral Agustín Codazzi*. 166 × 152 cm. Paris: Engraved by Erhard Schieble and published by Imprenta Thierry, 1864. Published “under the inspection of the Great General T. C. Mosquera.”

indicating the rivers that fanned out across the lowlands. Gone were the detailed ethnographic notes that filled the surface of the manuscript maps of the lowland frontier, filling the Eastern Plains and Amazonian forests with a diverse array of peoples, and acknowledging some of those same inhabitants for the information represented on the map. Gone were the innumerable "lakes and swamps" that so annoyed Mosquera, along with the blacks and Indians who had told the commission where to find them. At last the national space was, if not entirely homogeneous, no longer as variegated as it had been depicted in the commission's manuscript maps. The eastern frontiers had become an empty stage upon which to enact new episodes of nation building through the unimpeded advance of what Mosquera referred to as "immigration, industry, and capital."[58]

THE POLITICS OF THE PAST

Mosquera's dispute with Codazzi and Pérez was as much about representations of the past as it was about the present and future. Elite intellectuals in New Granada such as Agustín Codazzi, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Joaquín Acosta, and Manuel Ancízar all prided themselves on their ability to read historical and natural "archives." But that did not mean that they agreed on what those archives truly revealed about the past. The importance of natural history, in particular, was reflected in Mosquera's long critique of Codazzi in 1858, ten pages of which were devoted to geology, especially in regards to the origins of the Andes.[59] Among intellectuals, both prehistory and history were hotly contested. Who had the expertise and authority to interpret the natural and printed archives? What did such evidence actually reveal about the past? And what kind of past best served the patriotic interests of the present?

As in the case of disputes over geographic facts and geologic origins, disagreements over patriotic history did not always follow obvious partisan divisions. In his published 1866 letter, Mosquera accused Pérez, a fellow Liberal, of producing a "polemic against the Spaniards."[60] According to Mosquera, "we Colombians are Spanish, and the son should be just."[61] Mosquera insisted that the Spanish conquerors had been no worse than any of the other European powers in the New World. In his efforts to portray the Colombian economy in a positive light in order to achieve his statist goals, he apparently did not wish to reinforce a persistent black legend that cast Spain's former colonies as backward due to Spanish colonial brutality. Pérez, however, was

unrepentant. The creole Colombians' own Spanish ancestry, he lamented, was a "disgrace."[62]

The midcentury historians had grappled with the conundrum of how to lay claim to Spanish ancestry (and thus whiteness) on the one hand, while criticizing Spanish imperialism and backwardness, on the other. Creole historians exalted the conquered civilization that they saw as the precursor to their own nation, but they identified personally as belonging to the Spanish "race" that brutally conquered it. For example, Acosta, a moderate Conservative, professed a strong anti-Spanish sentiment, forged in the independence struggle, yet he also noted that his pen was held by a "hand of Spanish origin."[63] Liberals and Conservatives alike grappled with the same dilemma. By the 1860s, however, their historical interpretations were increasingly cleaving along partisan lines.

For Mosquera to make a pro-Spanish comment in 1866 was surprising given that he had recently overthrown a Conservative government, liquidated church properties, and expelled religious leaders, infuriating pro-clerical Conservatives.[64] In rejecting the anti-Spanish arguments of his fellow Liberals, Mosquera was taking a position increasingly identified with Conservatives. By this time, a pro-clerical historiography had emerged as part of a Conservative Catholic reaction against Liberal secularism, reflecting the increasing importance of the Church as the main point of contention between Liberals and Conservatives. José Manuel Restrepo had recently revised and reissued his seminal 1827 history text to make it less critical of the Church.[65] In the late 1860s, José Manuel Groot and Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez published national histories that dwelled on the colonial period, exalted the Spanish legacy, and emphasized the enduring importance of colonial-era institutions, namely the Church. When Conservatives took power after 1886, their version would be institutionalized as the nation's official history in schoolbooks and then in the National Academy of History, founded at the beginning of the twentieth century.[66]

Likewise, partisan disputes also involved competing interpretations of prehistory. Conservatives' positive depiction of Spanish colonialism was accompanied by a negative depiction of pre-Conquest civilizations, especially the previously exalted Chibchas. This shift would be clearly evidenced in the 1895 book *The Chibchas under the Spanish Conquest* by Vicente Restrepo.[67] Hailing from the western state of Antioquia, Restrepo apparently felt no need to cast the indigenous inhabitants of the Eastern Cordillera as the precursors to the modern nation. According to Restrepo and other Conservatives, the

Chibchas had been mired in idolatry and human sacrifice until the Spaniards brought civilization. Restrepo scoffed at analogies between the Chibchas and the modern nation.[68] The Chibchas were entirely illiterate and "did not have history."[69] The Muisca "calendar," upon which Humboldt and midcentury historians partly based their beliefs about the Chibchas' writing and astronomy, was no such thing; Duquesne's interpretations of it were dismissed as "fantasies."[70]

Restrepo's critique extended to geology. The midcentury writers had argued that Colombia's fertile highland basins had been formed when lakes suddenly broke through openings in the mountains, only a few centuries before the Spaniards arrived. Restrepo, in contrast, insisted that the high Andean lakes had disappeared long before.[71] As for the engraved and painted boulders, which the Chorographic Commission interpreted as pre-Columbian historical records of natural catastrophes, Restrepo did not find them eloquent. To the contrary, they remained "condemned . . . by the unconscious hands that traced them, to an eternal silence, never will the magic wand of science make them speak."[72]

CONCLUSIONS

The controversies over the Chorographic Commission that continued after Codazzi's death encapsulated many of the tensions that had marked its work during his lifetime. In this state-sponsored scientific enterprise, statist and scientific agendas were often at cross-purposes. The state's goals were themselves up for debate as competing factions vied to define the nation and control the emerging and ever-changing state. Disputes raged over how the economy and territory should be portrayed as well as who should control those depictions and to what end. Ambivalence about geography's reliance on humble local informants and the validity of chorographic epistemology was left unresolved.

New Granada's Chorographic Commission was the last of its kind. Agustín Codazzi died the same year that his idol and role model, Alexander von Humboldt, passed away. That same year, Charles Darwin finally published his long-simmering treatise on evolution. New paradigms were displacing the approaches of Humboldt and Codazzi. "Chorography" did not flourish as a geographic method; it was supplanted by the topographic survey. In Colombia, surveys carried out with greater technological resources and precision would eventually revise many of the Chorographic Commission's calculations.

Codazzi was right to worry, in the months and years before he died, that his work would remain unfinished and that it would not reach its intended audiences in the elaborate and integrated format he envisioned. Codazzi, however, worried too much. Despite the controversies, most of the official reports and maps were indeed published within a few years of his death. Although unfinished, the commission did have a profound short-term and long-term impact. As this book's conclusion will show, the work of the Chorographic Commission would form the basis of maps and geographic texts on Colombia for the rest of the nineteenth century. Codazzi influenced both Liberal and Conservative geographers in Colombia, as well as some leading European practitioners.

The Chorographic Commission was never forgotten. Even as late-nineteenth-century statesmen and intellectuals "corrected," criticized, and homogenized the commission's maps and texts, they continued to reproduce and rely upon those same materials for their nation-state–building projects. Aspects of the mid-nineteenth-century chorographic approach informed new geographic paradigms in Colombia and abroad, even as the term "chorography" itself fell out of use and geography as a discipline became more technical and specialized.[73] The concept of region, moreover, became enshrined in both international geographical science and daily Colombian discourse, while Colombians continued to grapple with the heterogeneity of the nation.

Conclusion

The Country of Regions

Rather than present a unified nation, the commission portrayed Colombia as fragmented into different and often opposing regions, inhabited by racially and culturally distinct "types" or "races," some better than others. The commission thus reinforced assumptions of Andean and white and mestizo superiority that dated back at least to the era of Francisco José de Caldas's *Semanario*. This spatial and racial hierarchy would be reproduced and refined in Colombian scholarly and popular discourse over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although regional stereotypes and assumptions about Andean superiority over the tropical lowlands have been criticized in recent decades, they have never fully gone away.

The Chorographic Commission's cartography formed the basis for most maps of Colombia until the early twentieth century. Some of its texts and most of its images circulate in Colombia today. Yet, despite the commission's influence, it is important to emphasize that the commission was by no means the only originator of Colombia's fragmented and regionalized geographic discourse. Historical actors of various political persuasions took up and elaborated on the commission's contributions, which had themselves built on earlier representations and geographic practices, and had been influenced by other nineteenth-century practitioners and informants. Successive generations revised and reenacted the contradictions inherent in the commission's own project. Racialized geographical hierarchy is not, of course, exclusive to Colombia. Ideas about race and region have historically informed each other throughout Latin America.[1]

CARTOGRAPHIC INFLUENCE

Even as subsequent generations revised the commission's conclusions regarding geological transformations and pre-Hispanic civilizations, they continued to utilize the commission's maps. The Chorographic Commission's cartography gained the appreciation of late-nineteenth-century European and creole geographers. Influential French geographer Élisée Reclus reviewed the commission's atlas for the Geographic Society of Paris in 1866.[2]

Another pioneering European geographer, Alfred Hettner, who visited Colombia in 1892, also wrote appreciatively of Codazzi's contributions.[3]

Reclus concluded that, although incomplete and containing errors, Codazzi's maps provided the most detailed and accurate cartography of Colombia to date.[4] He did note that the maps were weakest and least reliable for the areas that Codazzi did not personally explore, particularly the Caribbean Coast. Reclus had visited the region and knew of plantations, mines, and villages that did not appear on the map.[5] Thus Reclus underscored the extent to which the Caribbean had been slighted, its material progress unacknowledged by the commission.

Subsequent nineteenth-century maps of Colombia were heavily based on those of the commission. From the 1860s to the 1890s, Codazzi's students and collaborators published several more maps, atlases, and books based on the commission's materials.[6] Codazzi's maps and texts also formed the basis for relevant sections of foreign-authored publications, most notably in Reclus's celebrated *New Universal Geography*.[7] The commission's cartography was superseded in the early twentieth century following the creation of the Office of Longitudes in 1902, the Geographical Society in 1903, and especially the Institute of Military Geography in 1935.[8] With unprecedented technical resources and trained personnel, these entities heralded the professionalization and institutionalization of geographic sciences in Colombia. But the twentieth-century geographers continued, at least symbolically, to root themselves in Codazzi's legacy. Most notably, the Institute of Military Geography became the Agustín Codazzi Geographic Institute in 1950.[9]

The leading geographer of turn-of-the-century Colombia, Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco, not only made use of Codazzi's maps and texts, he also transcribed and published some of Codazzi's letters in the periodical of the Society of Engineers. Vergara y Velasco sought to "show the moral personality of Codazzi so underappreciated by most Colombians."[10] He underscored Codazzi's significance even as he pointed out Codazzi's cartographic errors.[11] Though Codazzi's physical remains were sent to Venezuela's National Pantheon, his memory entered Colombia's discursive pantheon of scientific heroes. The emphasis was on the founding figure of Codazzi himself rather than the commission as a whole, which reflects a common tendency to emphasize "great men" and lone innovators in foundational narratives of both science and nations.[12]

The commission's cartography played a role in both Liberal and Conservative nation-building efforts, most notably in regard to education. Nineteenth-century government officials and educators tried to promote geographic lit-

eracy and patriotism based on cartographic and textual depictions of the national territory. Historian Lina del Castillo has found that the commission's maps and texts were prominently featured in Liberal efforts to expand public education during the 1870s.[13] Through a national network of normal schools, the Liberal federal government sought to expand the central state's presence even at the height of fiscal and political decentralization.[14] The government furnished the normal schools with the commission's printed maps, as well as Mosquera's and Pérez's texts, and distributed additional maps to public schools.[15] Teachers-in-training reportedly spent as much time on geography as they did on reading, writing, arithmetic, and history together. Geographic education continued under a Conservative regime after 1886, which increased the Church's influence over the schools.[16] The government continued to sponsor geographical materials, including three volumes authored by Vergara y Velasco (along with three more on history by the same author) between 1905 and 1910.[17]

Given the limited and uneven reach of public education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we still do not know the extent to which the overall population was exposed to these cartographic images of the nation. Much less do we know the extent to which ordinary people, literate or otherwise, internalized the maps' spatial depictions as part of their civic identities, whether they pictured themselves as inhabiting clearly bounded national and state territories, or how they used maps in their daily lives. These elusive questions of popular reception and geographical culture await further research.

REGIONAL AND RACIAL TYPES

Geographical innovators such as Reclus and Vergara y Velasco were not only interested in the commission's geographical coordinates and statistics. They were also influenced by the ways in which the Chorographic Commission and its contemporaries, most notably José María Samper, had organized the Colombian territory and population. In 1861, Samper famously published a typology of the nation's inhabitants, which influenced Felipe Pérez, among others.[18] Samper delineated various "Granadino types" that inhabited distinct "ethnographic zones," such as "the Bogotá Creole, the white Antioqueño, the Pastuso Indian, the Indian of the Eastern Cordillera or Chibcha, the mulatto of the coasts or lower Magdalena, the Llanero of the Orinoco basin, and the zambo boatman known in the country as boga."[19] Each type was the result of a particular race or racial mixture or "a modification produced by the action of the physical and social environment."[20] In addition

to ancestry and environment, occupation and class played a role in defining types. Each group was described using a singular masculine noun (*el antioqueño*, rather than *los antioqueños*), emphasizing its uniformity. As had been the case for the commission, the normative type was male.[21]

For example, in describing the Bogotano creole type, Samper defined "him" as belonging to the "race of pure Creole, that is to say, the son of the Spaniard who conserves his blood without infusion from another race."[22] His description of the "white Antioqueño type" still resonates. In colonial Antioquia, converted Jews (*conversos*), other Spaniards, and creoles had ostensibly mixed to produce Spanish America's "prettiest and most energetic mestizo European race."[23] The Antioqueño "marries at nineteen or twenty years and is very fecund, excellent father and husband; he is always found to be a wanderer, valiant infantry soldier, suffering worker, indefatigable traveler on foot, intelligent for everything, frugal, not very sober, aficionado of gambling . . . passionate for song . . . notably orthodox . . . very attached to the profit margin . . . and . . . to the habits of patriarchal life."[24] These traits were associated with Antioqueños in nineteenth-century travel narratives and memoirs and are still commonly mentioned today.[25] Samper's highland Indian types, in contrast, were stupid and stoic.[26] He described "the mulatto" as prone to revolution, "turbulent because he is mulatto."[27] Samper at that time favored revolutions as a force for positive change, so turbulence was not entirely bad. Mulattos were in any case a transitory group; in the national mixture, echoing Ancízar, whiteness would predominate.[28]

In a sweeping visual metaphor, Samper envisioned the mountains of Central and South America as vast amphitheaters in which "races and castes" sat, row after row, "from the maritime coasts to the interior pampas to the highest habitable peaks of Andes."[29] He referenced geology to argue that "society forms a living stratification, the layers or sediments of which are the numerous and varied races and castes, resulting from very complicated crossings, situated all in the environment that most best suits the blood, traditions, industry, and energy of each."[30] He no longer characterized heterogeneity as insidious, as he had done in some of his earlier political writing. Rather, heterogeneity was a dynamic force. He described a constant movement of ascent and descent on the mountain slopes, whereby barbarism would bubble up from below, only to be modified or extinguished by civilization penetrating downward from above. It was a racist and geographically determinist vision, to be sure, yet also highly dynamic. History was produced by movement and fusion; progress would result from "the free action of all and each one of the castes."[31]

This optimistic view of race mixture, particularly as it incorporated African ancestry, contradicted the racial pessimism emanating from Europe and the United States.[32] At a time when Europeans and North Americans increasingly viewed the globe's tropical zones as ridden with disease and degenerate miscegenation, Samper offered a positive view. But he did not fully counter their racist assumptions, which he seemed to echo in some of his descriptions of nonwhites. According to anthropologist Carl Langebaek, Samper's "racial typology implied a clear message to the European: not all Americans are equal."[33] In this sense, Samper echoed Caldas.[34]

Samper's book seems to have influenced at least one leading European thinker. In an 1866 review, Reclus pronounced it to be the best analysis "that we have on the Spanish American republics."[35] Reclus, who in 1855 had traveled in Colombia himself, also praised Ancízar's *Pilgrimage of Alpha*.[36] Reclus emphasized Colombia's "unequaled diversity" but nonetheless perceived a common national identity: "the patriotic sentiment is the same among the majority of men who differ in their color and origin."[37]

Reclus, who was an anarchist as well as a white man married to a woman of mixed African and European descent, differed somewhat from Samper and the commission regarding race. Like them, he essentialized the differences between "indomitable" Indians, "tender" and passionate blacks, and intelligent whites.[38] He did not, however, see their mixture as necessarily leading to whitening.[39] Reclus found Samper's portrayal of mixed-race inhabitants, such as the boatmen of the Magdalena Medio, to be too negative.[40] Reclus praised the lowland inhabitants of the Caribbean coasts, including its Indians, blacks, and people of mixed race—the kinds of people that the commission and most creole elite writers disdained.

Some creole writers were much less sanguine than Reclus, Samper, or the commission about mestizaje. For example, the Conservative writer Soledad Acosta de Samper would rue the fusion that her husband José María had celebrated: "this graft of heterogeneous peoples, variable and ungovernable, has produced this disorder, this anarchy that will impede us for a long time from enjoying peace."[41] But some Conservatives, like the geographer Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco, viewed mixture as helping to maintain order, "with positive advantage for the whole that someday will have perfect unity, having suppressed forever the grave danger of a race struggle."[42] Vergara y Velasco, moreover, drew on the Chorographic Commission as well as Reclus and other European geographers to elaborate his own conceptual order of "natural regions."

NATURAL REGIONS

Four decades after the Chorographic Commission's expeditions and the publication of Samper's typologies, Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco worked in a distinct political and scholarly climate. Although a Conservative, he shared some of the radical liberals' underlying assumptions about the effect of geography on civilization and the necessity of harmonizing political and natural boundaries. Vergara y Velasco, perhaps more than anyone, brought the geographical concept of "region" into the Colombian vocabulary. The midcentury geographical texts had not offered a consistent terminology for the spatial geography they were constructing. The Chorographic Commission had used terms like province, zone, and region almost interchangeably to delineate spaces within the national territory. Vergara y Velasco provided the most systematic theorization to date of the country's spatial divisions, centered on the concept of "natural region."

After two decades of Liberal rule, Liberal forces were defeated in the civil war of 1885. The victorious Regeneration coalition replaced the federalist Rionegro Constitution of 1863 with the centralist 1886 Constitution. The previous "autonomous sovereign states" were converted into departments headed by governors appointed by the president of the newly renamed Republic of Colombia. The presidential administration controlled executive offices on a regional and local level throughout the country. The potential for separate federated "nationalities" was no longer acknowledged; the regenerated nation was presumed to be one. Tensions between freedom and social order, and between equality and hierarchy were officially (if only superficially and temporarily) suppressed in favor of order, unity, and hierarchy. The 1886 Constitution also restricted male suffrage and the freedoms of press and assembly. God, rather than "the people," now constituted the "supreme source of all authority." Conservatives controlled the national government, and thus the departmental governments, from the 1890s until 1930.

Vergara y Velasco produced the Conservative era's first official state-sanctioned geography book in 1901, *The New Geography of Colombia Organized by Natural Regions*.[43] Vergara y Velasco was a synthesizer, not an explorer, and he relied heavily on the Chorographic Commission. He reproduced some of the commission's images as rough woodcuts. Codazzi's chorography was echoed in Vergara y Velasco's division of the country into "natural regions." But Vergara y Velasco insisted that his regional approach constituted a break with the outmoded approaches of the past. Nineteenth-century geographers erred, in Vergara y Velasco's view, by following arbitrary political boundaries

instead of natural God-given ones. Vergara y Velasco claimed, "I do not follow outmoded and false formulas; I do not describe Colombia following political divisions that depend on the caprice of men and often break up and mix the great natural regions: these, and only these, created by one who is not subject to the vagaries of the world, will be the basis of the work."[44]

Whereas the commission's chorographic method had been used to justify federalism, Vergara y Velasco's own regional approach reinforced the Regeneration's anti-federalist and Catholic agenda. Vergara y Velasco's study of geography revealed that federalism had wrongly divided up divinely ordained regions.[45] He felt that the new departmental boundaries too closely followed the old state borders, thus reproducing some of federalism's fatal flaws. The nine departments, he believed, should be replaced by twenty-six provinces according to the "geological laws of the division of the territory."[46] Whereas Samper had argued that the study of geography indicated the optimal territorial order to be federalist, Vergara y Velasco argued the opposite. The same assumption—the study of geography leads to the natural and correct territorial jurisdictions—was used by two men writing four decades apart to justify opposing political agendas and distinct territorial orders.

Even more ironically, as David Ramírez Palacios lays out in an impressive thesis, the Conservative Vergara y Velasco's theory of divinely ordained "natural regions" was partly inspired by a geographer far more radical than either Samper or Ancízar: the anarchist Reclus, with whom Vergara y Velasco enjoyed a warm correspondence.[47] Reclus acknowledged Vergara y Velasco's contributions in the sections on Colombia in his multivolume *New Universal Geography*. Vergara y Velasco, in turn, immediately translated those sections into Spanish and published them with annotated corrections and commentary approved by the author. In an essay on "Geographical Regions" appended to his translation of Reclus, Vergara y Velasco divided the national territory into two halves, the mountainous half in the west and the lowlands in the east. He characterized them as "entirely different organisms."[48] Although each half was internally varied and shared some common features with the other half, when considered as a whole they were vastly different. Each half was defined by its most outstanding characteristic: "there, plains are not lacking, here there are some crags, but overall these accidents disappear, overwhelmed by the outstanding feature of each [region]."[49] Thus, like the Chorographic Commission, he grappled with the internal heterogeneity of each region while ultimately emphasizing its overall coherence and homogeneity.

He further organized heterogeneity by subdividing each large half into a series of smaller regions, represented in simple, schematic woodcuts.[50] He

also pointed out the extent to which these natural regions did and did not coincide with departmental boundaries.[51] Some of his regions, such as the Caribbean coastal plain, incorporated more than one department, whereas other departments, such as Cundinamarca and Boyacá, contained parts of two dramatically distinct regions. He changed the nomenclature and regional boundaries slightly in his subsequent 1901 *New Geography* and added additional factors through which to divide the territory, though the principles remained the same. Overall, the regions corresponded to "the ancient distribution of the Indian tribes, geology . . . climate, history, production, and even the future of each of the distinct zones," thus forming "the mosaic of the Colombian soil."[52] Geology, specifically soil composition, was fundamental in shaping regions and nations.[53]

In his holistic system of natural regions and his emphasis on geology, Vergara y Velasco cited Reclus as well as influential European contemporaries such as Alfred Hettner, Eduard Suess, and Albert de Lapparent. The theorization of region that was going on in Colombia thus paralleled and was informed by—and perhaps in turn informed—theories that were being elaborated and debated in Europe and North America. It might be significant that two of the leading European geographers, Hettner and Reclus, had both visited Colombia early in their careers and cited the Chorographic Commission. Even as the term "chorography" fell out of use, Hettner placed "chorology"—the holistic study of places and regions—at the center of his influential approach to geographic inquiry.[54] To what extent their understanding of region was influenced by their experiences in South America, their readings of the Chorographic Commission, and their interactions with Colombians is an intriguing question that awaits further study.

Vergara y Velasco's descriptions of regional types were familiar. For example, Antioqueños constituted "a very homogeneous group, with *sui generis* accents and idioms . . . he is perhaps the most handsome type in the Republic."[55] The Costeño, "commonly of color, is talkative, petulant, active, boastful," while "in the heart of Santander . . . is the true Santandereano, pallid, robust, genteel, polite, hard working, intelligent."[56] Meanwhile, "the Boyacá-Cundinamarca Indian, although pure in some locations . . . is small, sad, resigned, well-behaved in his customs, except on festival day, when he likes to get drunk."[57] Via the Chorographic Commission, Samper, and Vergara y Velasco, the putative characteristics of particular "races" and "types" made their way into the geographical texts and memoirs of leading European geographers.[58]

From Vergara y Velasco onward, the term “region” has been salient in Colombian political, academic, and popular discourse. As I have written elsewhere, however, “the general consensus that region has been important historically, that regional identities often override national identity, and that Colombia is regionally divided has not led to agreement among scholars as to how to define Colombia’s regions or how to count them.”[59] Just to name a few examples, in the 1930s the eugenicist Luis López de Mesa divided the country into two large regions, as Vergara y Velasco had done, and further subdivided it into seven.[60] Echoing Samper, López de Mesa argued that environment and heredity shaped the culture, character, and phenotypes of each regional group. Pioneering social scientist Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, in the 1960s, divided the inhabitants of Colombia into four regions, which she referred to as “cultural complexes” on the basis of demographic patterns and family structures.[61] Literary critic Raymond L. Williams subsequently denoted four cultural regions, although not the same as those delineated by Gutiérrez de Pineda.[62] Historians Frank Safford and Marco Palacios refer to three major regions, the East, West, and Caribbean.[63]

Region has repeatedly come up as an organizing concept in efforts to decentralize and democratize the government and revise the territorial order. Such efforts gathered force in the decade leading up to the creation of the Constitution of 1992. At that time, a centralized governing system prevailed yet did not fully control the national territory. The central government was at once both repressive and insufficiently effective. Frustration with the devastating effects of pervasive political and criminal violence led many academics, politicians, and activists to search for alternative models. They published calls for a “territorial reorganization” and a return to “provinces and federalism.”[64] These ideas circulated in the Constituent Assembly of 1991. The resulting 1992 Constitution included provisions to facilitate future jurisdictional revisions. Proposals emerged for departments, such as those of the Caribbean Coast or the Coffee Belt, to associate. Other proposals emerged for particular areas within departments, such as the Gulf of Urabá or the Middle Magdalena Valley, to either secede from surrounding departments or to form subregional zones with partial autonomy. The underlying assumption governing the various and sometimes clashing proposals is that a territorial order that followed culturally and environmentally authentic regions would bolster democracy. Advocates see regional autonomy as promoting

grassroots democratic participation and countervailing the central state's authoritarianism.

Recent scholarly research by anthropologists and historians suggests a note of caution.[65] Seemingly homogeneous regional groups are often, in fact, quite heterogeneous in terms of ancestry as well as cultural and economic practices. Emphasis on diversity *among* regions can serve to elide diversity *within* regions, just as it did in the 1850s. Regions have not historically been as homogeneous as they are later made to appear. Essentializing regions, or even subregions, overlooks the complex historical and spatial processes through which regional elites emerged and consolidated political authority over their neighbors. Much of what is often presented as "authentic" regional identity has its own complicated history. Regions are not inherently more democratic or authentic than nations. Defining a given region as racially or culturally homogeneous contributes to the marginalization of racial and ethnic groups and localities that have not conformed to a given region's hegemonic image. Thus, for example, the black and indigenous inhabitants of Antioquia and the neighboring Coffee Belt have long been elided from the predominant images and archetypes associated with those regions, which are commonly glossed as white. That process of elision and marginalization was already underway by the 1850s, but it was far from hegemonic, as evidenced by the ruptures and contradictions apparent in the Chorographic Commission's textual and visual depictions of region and nation. Such processes are not unique to Colombia.

RACIALIZED GEOGRAPHIES ACROSS LATIN AMERICA

Racialized regional geographies within nation-states constitute a common pattern throughout Latin America. Regional identities and stereotypes are often framed with reference to race. Modern regions emerged in part from below, the product of local cultural differences, migrations, economic networks, and power struggles. But regions were given visual form and reified by nation-state builders, artists, and intellectuals, including geographers who, like the Chorographic Commissioners and Vergara y Velasco, created national maps constructed out of regional components.

With their ambitious chorographic expeditions, Venezuela and New Granada were in the vanguard of geographic science in nineteenth-century Latin America. Other states also commissioned maps and geographic expeditions. Cartographers delineated what scholars now call a national "geo-body" or logotype—an iconic outline of a seemingly timeless and permanent nation.[66]

The territorial space outlined on a national map was homogenized and standardized to emphasize the coherence of the nation. Such a map was often issued as part of an atlas, with additional charts and illustrations to emphasize the regional components that made up the nation, as well as its patriotic history, landmarks, economy, and population.[67] The nation thus "materialized," in historian Raymond Craib's eloquent words, "on the mapmaker's table."[68]

Antonio García Cubas, Mexico's preeminent midcentury cartographer, compiled his famous national map in his office on the basis of preexisting maps, as recent books by Craib and Magali Carrera have documented.[69] In this sense he was more like Vergara y Velasco than Codazzi. French explorer Claude Gay's method in Chile, as studied by Rafael Sagredo, was more like that of Codazzi.[70] In the 1830s, Gay carried out an extensive province-by-province expedition, generating thousands of sketches, hundreds of detailed illustrations, and an abundance of botanical and ethnographic information as well as provincial and national maps.

Some geographers divided national spaces according to physical, economic, and racial criteria. For example, Humboldt and then Codazzi dissected the territory of Venezuela into three civilizational zones, with the Andean agricultural zone representing the most civilized and the lowland forested zone the most savage. Anthropologist Benjamin Orlove has argued that late-nineteenth-century Peruvian mapmakers essentially created their country's sierra as a distinct region by drawing the altitude lines in their maps at such a height as to divide the country into three clearly defined tiers: coast, sierra, and jungle.[71] But unlike the northern Andes, the Peruvian Andes became the place of the Indians and the Indians became the people of the mountains (except for the most "savage" Indians, who belonged to the jungle). The coast was associated with whiteness—a partial inversion of the Colombian racial geography that reflected Peru's own history of pre-Hispanic polities, conquest, and settlement.[72]

Although the contours for each country were different, such racially differentiated regions emerged throughout Latin America during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Recent research on Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, for example, has teased out some of the historical processes through which racial stereotypes and regional identities became closely intertwined as part of the larger modern nation-building process.[73] The historical contributions of nonwhites, particularly people of African descent, have been obscured in many regions and countries.[74] Indigenous and Afro-Latin American activism, critical scholarship, and even the official government-sponsored

multiculturalism of the last several decades have helped to fill these voids and question their underlying assumptions.

Colombia's 1992 Constitution defined the nation as "pluricultural." When I lived in Colombia in the mid-1990s, posters adorned government offices with the official slogan "Unity in Diversity." Yet, in Colombia as elsewhere, the interregional geography remains hierarchical. The Chorographic Commission had prescribed distinct solutions for the problems of different regions: improving democratic institutions for the Andean highlands versus colonization and subjugation for the lowland littoral and borderlands. Its specific recommendations were not enacted, but the commission and its contemporaries contributed to a process already under way of dividing the national territory into regions defined by references to racial difference and levels of civilization. A century and a half after Codazzi's death, inhabitants of the Andean "core" regions tend to define themselves as normal (*común y corriente*) Colombians, implicitly or explicitly white or mestizo. They tend to envision the peoples and landscapes of the rest of the country—the jungle, plains, riverbanks, coasts, and even the southwestern Andean highlands—as violent, inferior, and Other, though also, at times, alluring.[75]

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

Archives

ACC	Archivo Central del Cauca, Popayán, Colombia
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
AOA-Sánchez	Copies of documents from the former Archivo del Observatorio in Efraín Sánchez's Personal Collection
CC	Comisión Corográfica, Colección Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Sección Colecciones, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
EOR	Colección Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Sección Colecciones, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
FAI	Fondo Asuntos Importantes, Sección Archivos Anexos, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
GC	Colección Guido Coro, Sección Colecciones, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
MAB	Fondo Manuel Ancízar Becerra, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Archivo Central e Histórico, Bogotá, Colombia
SAA	Sección Archivos Anexos, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
SC	Sección Colecciones, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
SMP	Sección Mapas y Planos, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
SR	Sección República, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia
UNAL-ACH	Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Archivo Central e Histórico, Bogotá, Colombia

Periodicals

AI	*Anales de la Ingeniería*
DO	*Diario Oficial*
GO	*Gaceta Oficial*
NG	*El Neo-Granadino*

INTRODUCTION

1. Throughout this book I refer to the small and shifting group of elite granadinos and foreigners officially commissioned directly by the government to serve on the Chorographic Commission interchangeably as the "commission," "members of the commission," "chorographers," or "commissioners." They were not, however, the sole authors of the Chorographic Commission's output. My narrative therefore also includes unofficial participants and other contributors: informants, guides, correspondents, support workers, sponsors, disciples, friends, and family members.

2. For example, historian Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo made this point at a workshop on "Race and Nation" at the Universidad de los Andes in spring 2003. See also Serje, *El revés de la nación*, 88–89, and a Colombian television documentary: CaracolTV, *Bicentenario: un retrato del alma, Comisión Corográfica*, June 8, 2010. The common phrase serves as the title for a multivolume work, *Colombia: país de regiones*, and the name of a recent political movement. See "Se abre paso Movimiento Autonómico 'Colombia país de las regiones,'" *El Heraldo* (Colombia), June 4, 2012, http://www.elheraldo.co/noticias/politica/se-abre-paso-movimiento-autonomico-colombia-pais-de-las-regiones-69885, accessed online on August 13, 2012; Eduardo Verano de la Rosa, "Colombia, país de regiones," *El Meridiano de Sucre* (Colombia) September 18, 2015, http://www.elmeridianodesucre.com.co, accessed September 22, 2015.

3. A recent example is Botero and Vallecilla, "Intercambios comerciales."

4. The exact number of provinces varied across the decade as they were subdivided and recombined, only to be abolished in 1858.

5. On the problematic equation of nation with race (as well as with language, geography, and religion), see Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?," in Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*, 8–22. On harmony in early republican Colombia, see Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*.

6. For Latin America and the Caribbean, see for example Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 112–40; Somer, *Foundational Fictions*; Macpherson, "Imagining the Colonial Nation," among others.

7. On the elite's advocation of *mestizaje*, see also Rojas, *Civilization and Violence*; Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 71–102.

8. Jimeno, "Región, nación y diversidad cultural en Colombia," 68. See also Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*; Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*.

9. Antei, *Los heroes errantes*; Caballero, *Las siete vidas de Agustín Codazzi*; Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*; Zucca, *Agostino Codazzi*.

10. Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," and subsequent articles. Addi-

tional works are cited in subsequent chapters. Pérez Rancel's biography, *Agustín Codazzi, Italia y la construcción del Nuevo Mundo*, places Codazzi's life in the history of architecture and technology.

11. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*.

12. Gómez López et al., eds., *Obras completas de la Comisión Corográfica*, 6 vols. Individual volumes are cited separately.

13. On the visual culture approach to cartography, see Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 19–38. On visual culture see also Schwartz and Przyblyski, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*.

14. On tensions between the visual and the textual, see Jay and Ramaswamy, eds., *Empires of Vision*, esp. 613–19.

15. E.g., Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*; Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution*.

16. "Contrata para el levantamiento de la carta jeográfica de la Nueva Granada," *Gaceta Oficial* (*GO*), March 14, 1850, 103. See chapter 1 for details on the commission's inception.

17. "Contrato adicional a la que se ha celebrado para el levantamiento de la carta jeográfica de la República," *GO*, March 14, 1850, 104.

18. Ibid.

19. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, "Apendice al Informe que el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores presenta al Congreso constitucional de la Nueva Granada en sus sesiones de 1850," *GO*, April 21, 1850, 179.

20. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario del Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637.

21. On the appropriation of indigenous cartographies, especially in North America, see Barr and Countryman, eds., *Contested Spaces*; Lewis, ed. *Cartographic Encounters*.

22. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 8–9.

23. Such "hegemonic pact" has been theorized by Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*.

24. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 53–116; Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*.

25. See for example Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*.

26. On the importance of non-elite perspectives to understand nation-state formation in nineteenth-century Latin America, see for example Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*; Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*.

27. Some important works include Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*; Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*; Edney, *Mapping an Empire*; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*; Pickles, *A History of Spaces*; Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*.

28. On the state's need for legibility, see Scott, *Seeing Like a State*.

29. Andermann, *The Optic of the State*, esp. 8, 119–213.

30. Dym and Offen, "Introduction," 3.

31. Dym and Offen, eds., *Mapping Latin America*; Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*; Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*; Mendoza Vargas and Lois, *Historias de la cartografía de Iberoamérica*. For Colombia, scholarship on cartography flourishes, see for example del Castillo's work, beginning with her dissertation, "The Science of Nation Build-

ing"; Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Ensamblando la nación*; Duque Muñoz's articles, including "El discurso geográfico y cartográfico" and additional works cited throughout this book. See also the Razón Cartográfica website founded by Sebastián Díaz Angel: http://razoncartografica.com/.

32. Del Castillo, "Interior Designs"; Jagdmann, "Del poder y la geografía," 35–115.

33. See for example Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*; Rebert, *La Gran Línea*; Sagredo, "El atlas de Claude Gay."

34. Bleichmar, *Visible Empire*.

35. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*; Schwartz and Przyblyski, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*.

36. Such illustrations and other visual materials were the main subject of a symposium titled "Pictures from an Expedition: Aesthetics of Cartographic Exploration in the Americas," the Newberry, Chicago, June 20–21, 2013.

37. The Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá (AGN) houses the official documents and maps submitted by the Chorographic Commission as well as microfilm of the personal Codazzi manuscript collection in Turin, Italy. Manuel Ancízar's archive was recently donated by his heirs to the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Archivo Central e Histórico (UNAL-ACH), which created the Fondo Manuel Ancízar Becerra (MAB). Another small collection of Codazzi's personal correspondence and drafts was formerly housed in the Archive of the Observatorio Astronómico (AOA) in Bogotá. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate it (a cause for concern) but was able to see photocopies courtesy of Efraín Sánchez (hereafer AOA-Sánchez), with digital copies provided by Lina del Castillo. The UNAL-ACH holds a small cache of Codazzi's map sketches rescued by a cleaner from a trash bin in the AOA. I also draw on *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica* by Andrés Soriano Lleras, a descendent of Codazzi, who quoted extensively from private correspondence once held by the family, and nineteenth-century periodicals and books.

38. Others are lost or held privately. For a meticulous new catalogue of the commission's watercolors that corrects some previous misconceptions, see Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables." The images may be viewed online at http://www.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/content/láminas-de-la-comisión-corográfica, accessed January 15, 2015. I use Rodríguez Congote's measurements.

39. Most reproductions leave off or abbreviate the images' captions and notations, thus constricting their interpretation.

40. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 31, 49, 81, 87, 99; Restrepo Forero, "Un imaginario de la nación"; Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables"; González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 169–218. See also Londoño Vega, ed., *Acuarelas y dibujos de Henry Price*; López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales." On landscapes, see Sánchez, "Las láminas de la Comisión Corográfica"; Uribe Hanabergh, "Translating Landscape"; and current research by Katherine Manthorne.

41. On image as "contested site" in configuration of identity, see Andermann and Rowe, eds., *Images of Power*.

42. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*.

43. Restrepo Forero thoughtfully elaborates on the commission's construction of national identity in "Un imaginario de la nación," esp. 40–46. Regarding nacionalidad, see Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia política i social*, 37; González Puccetti, "Salvador Camacho Roldán," 46.

44. The two opposing blocs, which emerged in part out of divisions between factions associated with Simón Bolívar and Francisco Paula de Santander in the 1820s, officially took on the names Conservative and Liberal respectively in 1848. The Conservative-Liberal divide served to channel most of Colombia's political conflict until the 1950s.

45. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World*.

46. For example, José María Samper, a prominent Liberal and supporter of the Chorographic Commission, alluded to this dissonance in his definition of the elite Bogotano type (i.e., himself), who suffered from a persistent "aristocratic spirit . . . in this type all is discordant or contradictory . . . revealing the struggle between the old Spanish element and democratic society," Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 84. He seemed to resolve this dissonance by rejecting his youthful democratic radicalism in favor of an emphasis on social order and ultimately becoming a Conservative, Samper, *Historia de un alma*.

47. Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt, "Racial Nations"; Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 1–24.

48. McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America'"; Gobat, "The Invention of Latin America."

49. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografia de Colombia*.

50. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 15–20; Jimeno, "Región, nación y diversidad cultural en Colombia," 68; López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," 81; Roldán, *Blood and Fire*, esp. 1–42; Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*.

51. See Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*; Gutiérrez Ramos, *Los indios de Pasto contra la República*.

52. Scholarly critiques of the Andes-centric national historiography from Caribbean viewpoints include Abello Vives, ed., *El Caribe en la nación colombiana*; McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*; Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas*; Posada-Carbó, *The Colombian Caribbean*.

53. On nineteenth-century cosmopolitan Panamá in a global context, see McGuinness, *Path of Empire*.

54. He finds this tendency evident in political discourse, maps, textbooks, and place names, emphasizing an erasure of "Caribbean," whereby the northern littoral became known as the Atlantic Coast, underscoring Colombian ambitions to be associated with the "civilized" Atlantic world rather than the Caribbean, Bassi, *Creating Spaces, Envisioning Futures*.

55. See Díaz Piedrahita, *José Jerónimo Triana*. On borders, see Duque Muñoz, "La representación limitrofe y fronteriza," "El discurso geográfico y cartográfico sobre los límites entre Nueva Granada y Venezuela," and "Límites y áreas de frontera"; Tovar Pinzón, *Imágenes a la deriva*.

56. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*. See also del Castillo, "Mapping Out Colombia."

57. Nonetheless, each chapter draws on established historiography to provide alternative (if not necessarily definitive) views of what the commission was seeing and depicting, in order to facilitate a critical assessment of the commissioners' assumptions.

CHAPTER 1

1. See introduction, note 1.

2. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 183.

3. Ibid.

4. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 67. Most of his manuscript maps were confiscated by the Spanish military, Nieto Olarte et al., *La obra cartográfica de Francisco José de Caldas*; Glick, "Science and Independence," esp. 325.

5. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 112. On Caldas's celebration of the mountains, see also Nieto, *Orden natural y orden social*, esp. 155–202; on early modern exaltation of mountains, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, 116.

6. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 112.

7. Ibid., esp. 80–81, 112, 188.

8. See Glick, "Science and Independence," 312.

9. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 82. On related Enlightenment thought, see Heffernan, "Historical Geographies of the Future," 125–66.

10. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 81.

11. Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas*, 69–78, c.f. Castro-Gómez, *La hybris del punto cero*, 273–303, esp. 292–94; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 161–89.

12. Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas*, 71.

13. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 42–46.

14. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 70.

15. Lucía Duque Muñoz made this precise point at a conference titled "Seeing the Nation: Cartography and Politics in Spanish America," University of the Andes, Bogotá, August 26, 2010; see also Duque Muñoz, "Geografía y cartografía en la Nueva Granada," 12. See her articles and Lina del Castillo's research, both cited throughout this book, as well as joint publications by Sebastián Díaz Angel, Santiago Muñoz Arbeláez, and Mauricio Nieto Olarte, especially *Ensamblando la nación*.

16. Duque Muñoz, "Las cartografías provinciales de la década de 1820."

17. José Manuel Restrepo and José Manz, *Carta corográfica de la República de Colombia con sus divisiones políticas de departamentos y provincias*, manuscript, in two sections 96 × 62 and 100 × 63 centimeters, viewed at http://www.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/content/mapas-de-colombia, accessed June 13, 2014. The atlas was attached to Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución de la Republica de Colombia*, 10 vols. See Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Ensamblando la nación*, 43–47; del Castillo, "Cartographies of Colombian Independence."

18. Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," 350, and "Naturalistas, saber y sociedad"; Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical*; Helguera, "The First Mosquera Administration."

19. Duque Muñoz, "Geografía y cartografía en la Nueva Granada," 21–27.

20. See for example Samper, *Ensayo aproximado sobre la jeografía*; Mosquera, *Memoir on the Physical and Political Geography*.

21. Alzate and Ordóñez, eds., *Soledad Acosta de Samper*. For a later period, see del Castillo, "Women Make Territorial Moves"; on women's involvement in early-nineteenth-century politics through letters and salons in Ecuador, see Chambers, "Republican Friendship." On the contributions of non-elites, see chapter 6.

22. Duque Muñoz, "La representación limítrofe y fronteriza"; del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 51–52; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 71; Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," 354. Acosta's map can be viewed at http://www.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/content/mapas-de-colombia, acccessed January 15, 2015. He supervised the production of a large postal map of New Granada in 1850, Joaquín Acosta, Benedicto Domínguez, and Mariano Inojosa, *Plan corográfico del Estado de la Nueva Granada*, 1850, AGN SMP 6, Ref. 28, 168 × 168 cm.

23. See República de Colombia, *Codificación nacional*, 8:341–43.

24. Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," 354.

25. República de Colombia, *Codificación nacional*, 342.

26. Ibid. See also Restrepo Forero, "Naturalistas, saber y sociedad en Colombia," 155–58.

27. Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*.

28. Transcript of Manuel Ancízar to Agustín Codazzi, n.d., UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 1; Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical*, esp. 124–84; Helguera, "The First Mosquera Administration in New Granada."

29. Biographical information is mainly from Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, esp. 1–210.

30. "Contrato adicional," 104.

31. Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 192.

32. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, October 19, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 6.; Manuel Ancízar to Agustín Codazzi, April 28, 1852, AOA-Sánchez.

33. Most biographers agree that Codazzi attended the military academy at Pavia, Manuel Ancízar, "Agustín Codazzi," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 11, no. 1 (February 1959 [1864]), 4; Antei, *Los heroes errantes*, 41–44; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, esp. 25–72; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, esp. 89–102; Zucca, *Agostino Codazzi*. C.f. Longhena, prologue to Codazzi, *Memorias de Agustín Codazzi*.

34. On military geographic engineers, see Godlewska, *Geography Unbound*, 157–64.

35. Antei, *Los heroes errantes*, 41–44; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 25–72.

36. Codazzi, *Memorias de Agustín Codazzi*.

37. Codazzi's memoir intertwines "reality and fiction," according to Antei, *Los heroes errantes*, esp. 242–55, 309–10. Antei questions whether Codazzi actually visited Buenos Aires, ibid., 342–44.

38. Codazzi, *Memorias de Agustín Codazzi*; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 32; Antei, *Los heroes errantes*, 398–505.

39. The best account of the Bologna and Maracaibo periods is Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 73–120.

40. Ibid., 159–64.

41. On de la Hoz, see Soriano Lleras, *Anécdotas y leyendas familiares*, 50–63.

42. It existed for only six years and then was revived for two very brief stints, yet trained a "large proportion" of the nation's civil engineers, Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical*, 166–84.

43. Fernández, *Memorias de Carmelo Fernández*; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 271–73, 296–97; González Aranda, ed., *Carmelo Fernández*.

44. Fernández, *Memorias de Carmelo Fernández*.

45. He did a series of engravings on the return of Bolívar's remains to Venezuela in 1842. Later he would be known for a portrait of Bolívar that was used on Venezuelan coins.

46. Quoted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 297, and Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 40–41.

47. Biographical information on Price is drawn from Londoño Vega, ed., *Acuarelas y dibujos de Henry Price*, 11–42; González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 199–204. Price did paint some images of other provinces in 1853 and 1855, possibly commissioned by Codazzi but not preserved with the official collection. According to family lore, toxic watercolor pigments led to paralysis in the right side of his body, though he might have suffered a stroke. He returned to New York in 1857 with his large family.

48. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, September 29, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 5.

49. Díaz Piedrahita, *José Jerónimo Triana*.

50. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 277; Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 21–22.

51. Agustín Codazzi to Araceli Codazzi, June 17, 1856, AOA-Sánchez; Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 56, 88, 95, 97.

52. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 56, 67, 115–16; Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado, May 14, 1853, GO, July 5, 1853, 571; Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, n.d. [October 1853], UNAL-ACH, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 15. In that letter, Codazzi regretted the peons' deaths, but he seemed just as sad about the loss of the mules brought from Bogotá: "I greatly felt [the loss of] the men and also that of the Mules."

53. They used a pantograph to make different sizes, Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, vi.

54. See letters of Agustín Codazzi to Araceli Codazzi, February 11, 1852; February 18, 1854; June 30, 1855; June 17, 1856, all in AOA-Sánchez.

55. For an example of a local woman who provided medical attention, see Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 116.

56. Ibid., 41–42. Any other possible sexual encounters (with either sex) were excluded, unsuprisingly, from the historical record, though Ancízar did mock the concerns of a woman who hosted them for being overly protective of the virtue of her daughter, whom he described as unattractive, Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:35–26.

57. Codazzi, a soldier, had spent much of his life in the company of men, including a long partnership with Costante Ferrari, his companion in warfare, travel, and business during the 1810s and 1820s.

58. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 41. Codazzi specifically referred to his annoyance at Fernández for complaining and gossiping.

59. Codazzi to Ancízar, September 29, 1852.

60. Letters from Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, 1852–1856, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, ff. 2–20.

61. It was not the only such space. On other such intellectual and cultural spaces created by the midcentury elite, see Gordillo Restrepo, "El Mosaico," esp. 25–27.

62. Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 115.

63. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, December 14, 1852, and April 26, 1855, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 11, f. 19.

64. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, October 13, 1853, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia Codazzi, f. 10; "La pena de muerte i el Coronel Codazzi," and "Revolucion. Cuento histórico-político del Coronel Agustín Codazzi," both in *El Tiempo*, February 13, 1855, 1–2.

65. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, December 1, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia Codazzi, f. 8.

66. On elite sojourns in Europe, see Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*, 203–364.

67. Senate and Chamber of Representatives United in Congress, March 23, 1852, AOA-Sánchez.

68. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, April 20, 1855, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 20. He referred to himself as "Italian" in Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, July 4, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 2.

69. "Informe del Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores, al Congreso de 1852 (Conclusion)," *GO*, April 29, 1852, 322.

70. Un amigo del Reprendido, "El Coronel Codazzi en el Neo-Granadino," *El Porvenir*, October 16, 1855, 20.

71. Ibid.

72. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 136–37.

73. Serje de la Ossa, *El revés de la nación*, 88.

74. On travelers to Gran Colombia's use of local knowledge in the 1820s, see Campuzano Duque, "Beyond Imperial Eyes."

75. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho de Gobierno, July 30, 1858, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 89–92. On elite cosmopolitanism, see Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*.

76. Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," 362, and "Naturalistas, saber y sociedad en Colombia," 156.

77. For an innovative analysis of this process, with an emphasis on cantons, see del Castillo, "Mapping Out Colombia."

78. On the broader reasons for federalism's rise and fall, see Cruz Rodríguez, "El federalismo en la historiografía política"; Gilmore, *El federalismo en Colombia*; Kalmonovitz, "La idea federal en Colombia"; López-Alvez, *State Formation and Democracy*, esp. 96–139; Palacios, "La fragmentación de las clases dominantes," 1163–89; Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 188–265, among other works.

79. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia política i social*, esp. 146, 182–83, 491. See

also Urueña, "La idea de la heterogeneidad racial"; Hinds, "Colombian Federalism"; Sierra Mejía, "José María Samper," 65–88, esp. 76–79.

80. José María Samper, "Division Territorial," *NG*, October 15, 1852, 243.

81. Ibid.

82. Arosemena, another advocate of federalism, found homogeneity only at the local level, Justo Arosemena, "Estado Federal de Panamá," *El Tiempo*, January 9, 1855, n.p.n.

83. See also Florentino González, "Proyecto de Constitución para la Nueva Granada propuesto al Congreso de 1858 por el Procurador jeneral de la Nacion (continuacion)," *GO*, February 16, 1858. González used terms such as "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" in a somewhat different way, arguing that federalism had dissolved the "homogeneous Nation" into "heterogeneous States," leading to a precarious situation. But he supported federalism. He proposed a larger federal union across the Americas through which the "Anglo-Saxon race" of North America would mix gradually and fortuitously with the "our race," the "Latin race."

84. See this book's conclusion.

85. "Informe del Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores, 322.

86. On Ancízar's political initiatives see Ancízar Sordo, *Manuel Ancízar*, 123–24, 131–213; Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 333–82.

87. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:204–5.

88. "El Tiempo," *El Tiempo*, January 9, 1852.

89. Manuel Ancízar and José M. Samper, "Proyecto de Constitución para la Federación Neo-Granadina," 1856, photocopy in UNAL-ACH, MAB, Escritos, Proyecto de Constitución; Martínez Garnica, "La acción de los liberales panameños."

90. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, April 3, 1855, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 19.

91. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín," *GO*, February 17, 1854, 138.

92. "Reformas constitucionales. Opinion de Lejíslaturas provinciales (continuacion)," *GO*, January 10, 1856, 10.

93. "Reformas constitucionales. Opinion de Lejíslaturas provinciales (continuacion)," *GO*, November 24, 1855, 1138–40.

94. "Reformas constitucionales. Opinion de Lejíslaturas provinciales (continuacion)," *GO*, January 10, 1856, 9–10. Notably, the lawmakers of Buenaventura stressed the entire country's common "origin," perhaps out of discomfort with Buenaventura's reputation as a heavily black province.

95. Arosemena, "Estado Federal de Panamá," *El Tiempo*, January 9, 1855, n.p.n.

96. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World*; Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, "Introducción: Colombianidad, población y diferencia."

CHAPTER 2

1. Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," 194–95; see also Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 3–4.

2. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 4–5.

3. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," esp. 126.

4. Ibid.; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 4–5.

5. Some sixteenth-century maps of Codazzi's native Papal States were labeled chorographies, Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, 157–67. On Kant's definition of chorography, see Lukermann, "The Concept of Location in Classical Geography," 195; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 17.

6. Agustín Codazzi, "Respuesta de la Comision Corográfica al informe de Mr. May," *El Porvenir*, July 8, 1856, 4. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 479.

7. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 479. His "chorographies" were similar in some ways to canton-level "topographic memoirs" of Napoleonic geography, which likely influenced him. See Godlewska, *Geography Unbound*, 159–60.

8. Codazzi, "Respuesta de la Comision Corográfica."

9. For Jagdmann, in contrast, Codazzi's rejection of a comprehensive triangulation reflected an absence of a modern concept of continuous territory, Jagdmann, "Del poder y la geografía," 88.

10. Casal, *Corografia brasílica*.

11. Vicente Tallado y Rivera, *Mapa corográfico del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 1808, AGN,SMP 6, Ref. 136–40.

12. Restrepo and Manz, *Carta corográfica de la República de Colombia*. See chapter 1.

13. My account of the Venezuelan commission draws on Codazzi,'s text for his Venezuela atlas, in Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:5–7, as well as Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 138–39; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 159–64; Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 302–25.

14. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:6–7, 2:121–27; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 149.

15. Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 313; Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en los Despachos de Guerra y Marina, September 9, 1832, and November 23, 1839, in Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:118, 2:105–6.

16. No consistent diary or log of either commission appears to have survived, if one even existed (though I have not personally searched Venezuelan archives).

17. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 483.

18. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:26. See also Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 51; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 487–90. On the significance of establishing fixed points, see Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, 14–15, 67–117.

19. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, vol. 2.

20. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 483–84; Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 79.

21. Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*.

22. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario del Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, in *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 481.

23. Agustín Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Pamplona, *GO*, August 16, 1851, 573. On the traverse survey, see Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*.

24. Codazzi,*Obras escogidas*, 2:106–7. See also Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 51; Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 313.

25. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:106–7.

26. Ibid.

27. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:5–7; 2:117–20; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 152–54; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 52–53; Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 77; Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 315.

28. Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 230–41; Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:12–42; Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 52–53; Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 315–16.

29. Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 236; Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 80–82.

30. Lovera, "Ciencia y política en la naciente Venezuela," 321, n. 35.

31. Ibid., 321–22.

32. Quoted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 514–15.

33. Ibid.

34. Godlewska, *Geography Unbound*, 221–31.

35. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 146.

36. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 518; see also Godlewska, *Geography Unbound*, 225.

37. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 464.

38. Rojas López, "Una apreciación crítica del modelo trizonal Humboldt-Codazzi," 76.

39. Codazzi, *Resúmen de la geografía de Venezuela*, 49. See also Price, "The Venezuelan Andes," 339–40.

40. Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, 6:212. For Pratt, this "iconic triad of mountain, plain, and jungle" formed the "basic repertoire of images" through which Humboldt and subsequent nineteenth-century travelers would represent South America, Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 125–26.

41. Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, 1:393; see also 293–94, 329–30. On the study of the past, see chapter 7.

42. Codazzi, *Obras escogidas*, 2:45–102, quotes on p. 68.

43. Ibid., 2:72.

44. Some refer to Humboldt's voluminous output as largely "derivative" and synthetic—a claim that others dispute. See Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*; Zimmerer, "Mapping Mountains," 129; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 26, 131–43.

45. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 1:viii, 1.

46. Ibid., 1:1.

47. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 70 (also 71–74); Brading, *The First America*, 518; Castrillón Aldana, *Alejandro de Humboldt*; Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, 134–38, among others.

48. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 2:456. See also Bunksé, "Humboldt and an Aesthetic Tradition," 139.

49. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 2:359–60; Castrillón Aldana, *Alejandro de Humboldt*, 55–96; Nicolson, "Historical Introduction," xiii.

50. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 70–74.

51. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 1:76–78; Bunksé, "Humboldt and an Aesthetic Tradition," 138.

52. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 2:453.

53. Ibid., 14–17.

54. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 1:15.

55. Ibid.

56. Castrillón Aldana, *Alejandro de Humboldt*, 86–87, footnote 3; Bunksé, "Humboldt and an Aesthetic Tradition," 139.

57. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 1:1.

58. Godlewska, *Geography Unbound*, 235–65; Zimmerer, "Mapping Mountains."

59. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 2:453; Bunksé, "Humboldt and an Aesthetic Tradition in Geography," 127–46.

60. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 2:206.

61. On how primitive societies were thought to provide glimpses of civilization's infancy, see Heffernan, "Historical Geographies of the Future," 125–66. See also Bravo, "Ethnographic Navigation and the Geographical Gift," 200.

62. Ibid., 293–94.

63. Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, 98–99. He studied Robert Schomburgk (who mapped the border between Guyana and Venezuela at the same time that Codazzi mapped Venezuela).

64. Pérez Rancel, *Agustín Codazzi*, 236; Shumacher, *Biografia del General Agustín Codazzi*, 66.

65. E.g., Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:245.

66. Codazzi, "Respuesta de la Comision Corográfica," 4.

67. Restrepo Forero, "Naturalistas, saber y sociedad en Colombia," 173.

68. Ibid., 174–76.

69. On this painting, see Uribe Hanabergh, "Translating Landscape," 130.

70. Such figures also served to certify "the eyewitness authority of the writer," according to Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 72; see also Herrera Ángel, "Las ocho láminas de Humboldt."

71. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Vélez," *GO*, September 10, 1852, 639.

72. Stanley, "The Genus Espeletia," 468–86.

73. Agustín Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 99.

74. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:179.

75. Ibid., 2:10.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., 1:92.

78. Humboldt commended Codazzi's earlier commission in Venezuela in part for providing sufficient measurements of altitudes to determine "climactic divisions," quoted in Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 80.

79. Recent scholarship qualifies Humboldt's autonomy, Jiménez Ángel, "Transatlantic Correspondence."

80. See for example Aldea de María, *Réplica al Jeneral Codazzi*.

81. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637.

82. See for example Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la provincia del Socorro," *GO*, December 24, 1852, 902, and "Jeografía física i política de la provincia de Ocaña," *GO*, January 31, 1854, 86.

83. See Brückner on early U.S. atlases, *The Geographic Revolution*, 129.

84. I thank environmental historian Bradley Skopyk for this insight. See Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 149–54, for a discussion of 1857 printed state maps in Mexico, similar in some ways to Codazzi's manuscript provincial maps in their abundance of textual inserts.

85. Jagdmann analyzes relief in the provincial maps, Jagdmann, "Del poder y la geografía," 73–88.

86. See also *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Vélez. Levantado de orden del gobierno por Agustín Codazzi*, 66 × 49 cm, AGN, SMP 6, ref. 21. I am grateful to Lina del Castillo for pointing out the "Particularities," personal communication, September 10, 2013.

87. Del Castillo, "Interior Designs," 151; she also discusses the implications of placing the prime meridian at Bogotá. In addition, the commission's maps reflect a period in which units of measurement and meridians were not yet fully standardized. Combining old and new methodologies, Codazzi provided scales for the metric system of France as well as New Granada leagues and Castile leagues. He used different scales for trails crossing mountainous versus relatively flatter terrain.

88. On the fate of the road, see Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro, Colombia," 90, 285, 331, and chapter 5.

89. Restrepo Forero, "La Comisión Corográfica," 363.

90. "Federacion," *El Tiempo*, January 22, 1856.

91. Del Castillo, "Mapping Out Colombia"; on the challenges of establishing "fixity" over "fugitive landscapes," see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*.

CHAPTER 3

1. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:13.

2. For example, his initial notes on Barichara linked cleanliness, infrastructure, racial appearance, and religion: "Clean, happy, and healthy—People of Spanish physiognomy—Pretty children—Streets well paved . . . Good houses, clean . . . Fountain . . . Four churches, of which the principal is in carved stone . . . School with 180 boys." On the other hand, whiteness was not always associated with progress. Regarding Chita, he noted: "White people, agreeable. Barely any indigenous. Customs of ruin . . . the aspect of the pueblo irregular and desolate." Both quotes are in Manuel Ancízar, black notebook, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Personal, Papeles Personales, n.p.n. Compare to Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:149–53.

3. I found this to be more evident and systematic in his published memoir than in his two notebooks.

4. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:252.

5. Ibid.

6. Ancízar, black notebook and brown notebooks, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Personal, Papeles Personales, n.p.n.

7. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín," *GO*, February 17, 1854, 138.

8. Ibid., 139.

9. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i politica de la Provincia de Antioquia," *GO*, March 23, 1854, 268.

10. Ibid., 244. By *Antioqueños* I also refer to the inhabitants of all three provinces.

11. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Córdova (continuación)," *GO*, February 6, 1854, 102.

12. The Magdalena River still serves as a dividing line to mark off Colombia's "East" from its "West," even though most of Colombia's territory is further to the east. Colombians tend to orient their geography with reference to the highlands and thus marginalize the lowlands. The northeastern provinces discussed in this chapter included Tunja, Tundama, Vélez, Ocaña, Pamplona, Santander, Socorro, and Soto. A short-lived province, García Rovira, was created in 1853, after their visit. The provinces around Bogotá were also discussed in Ancízar's narrative but not fully studied and mapped by the commission until later. The northwestern provinces—the Antioqueño provinces, which the sources and I both sometimes gloss as Antioquia—were Antioquia, Medellín, and Córdoba.

13. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario del Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637.

14. In 1857 they would be combined into the states of Boyacá and Santander. Today they correspond roughly to the departments of Boyacá, Santander, and Norte de Santander.

15. Bogotá Province was in today's Cundinamarca; from 1852 to 1855 it was subdivided into Zipaquirá, Tequendama, Cundinamarca, and Bogotá provinces. This area was not mapped or included in Codazzi's reports until later, but Ancízar did include parts, such as Zipaquirá, in his travel narrative and some illustrations were made at the time. On the Antioquia expedition, the commission also passed through Mariquita, which Paz also painted.

16. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," esp. 16, 19–20, 24; González, *El Resguardo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*.

17. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 260, 278; del Castillo, "The Science of Nation-Building," 107–36.

18. Del Castillo, "Prefiriendo siempre á los agrimensores científicos."

19. Ancízar, black notebook. He made the same observation about thirty slaves in San Gil.

20. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:133–34; McGraw, "Spectacles of Freedom."

21. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 165.

22. Botero, *La ruta del oro*, esp. 49–52.

23. Ibid., esp. 63–117.

24. Ibid.

25. Safford, *Colombia*, 170–75.

26. Rosenthal, *Salt and the Colombian State*.

27. Known abroad as Panama hats, most were made at that time in what would

become the state of Santander. The materials had been introduced from Ecuador in the 1820s and the hats were first made for export in south-central Colombia, Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 146–51; Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro, Colombia," esp. 66–127, 281–325, and chapter 5.

28. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 83; Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 93.

29. That Ancízar was steeped in international literary currents, and expected his readers to be as well, was evidenced in his comment that one local political boss looked just like a character portrayed by French writer Eugène Sue, Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:168. On the popularity of such writers among both plebeian and elite readers, see Pombo, *De Medellín a Bogotá*, 146; Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 182; Gordillo Restrepo, "El Mosaico," 43; Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*, 112.

30. The first title was published in Colombia in 1866; the second is discussed in Segre, *Intersected Identities*, 39, and Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 136–37.

31. Ades, "Nature, Science, and the Picturesque." For New Granada, see González , *Manual de arte*, 136–67; Restrepo, "El Mosaico," 19–63; López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," esp. 29–75.

32. See Soule, *The Bishop's Utopia*; Bleichmar, *Visible Empire*; Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*; Katzew, *Casta Painting*.

33. Restrepo Forero, "Naturalistas, saber y sociedad en Colombia," 174–76. Triana gained access in 1881, Díaz Piedrahita, *José Jerónimo Triana*, 58–60.

34. González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 154–56. Such links merit further research. For Ecuador, see Pérez, "Exoticism, Alterity, and the Ecuadorean Elite," esp. 102–11.

35. Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 70–76; González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 123; Codazzi to Ancízar, October 13, 1853. See also Antei, *Guía de forasteros*, for reproductions and discussions of illustrations by early nineteenth-century travelers.

36. Deas, Sánchez, and Martínez, eds., *Tipos y costumbres de la Nueva Granada*, 37–38; González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 145–54.

37. Deas, Sánchez, and Martínez, eds., *Tipos y costumbres de la Nueva Granada*, 43; González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, 158–64.

38. Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 75.

39. Art historian Beatriz González Aranda suggests that artists sought to preserve cultural practices they saw as endangered by modern progress, González Aranda, *Manual de arte*, esp. 160.

40. Segre, *Intersected Identities*, 10. On Mexican efforts to forge a nation visually, see Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*. On race and color in genre and allegorical paintings, see Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National*, esp. 108–21; Carrera, "From Royal Subject to Citizen." On *costumbrista* writing in New Granada as central for the formation of a "national conscience," as well as education and reform, see López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," 31.

41. G. Prieto, quoted in Segre, *Intersected Identities*, 11.

42. José Olinto Rueda, prologue to Pombo, *De Medellín a Bogotá*, 14–16; Gordillo

Restrepo, "El Mosaico (1858–1872)," esp. 47–53; López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," 29–75.

43. Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*. See also José María Samper's introduction to Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*.

44. "Profesion de fe," NG, August 4, 1848, 3. The title exemplifies "Padre Alpha's" use of religious language for secular ends.

45. Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*.

46. Ancízar sold it before embarking on the Chorographic Commission, Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 15–186.

47. Samper, *Apuntamientos para la historia politica i social*, 37.

48. See ibid., esp. 146, 182–83, 491.

49. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 84.

50. López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," 81.

51. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*; Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, esp. 85–148. This repetitiveness was fostered by the proliferation of lithographs and would be especially evident in ethnographic photography.

52. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:96; also quoted in Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 83. See also Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 200.

53. For examples of preliminary sketches by Ancízar and Price respectively, see Ancízar, brown notebook; Londoño Vega, ed., *Acuarelas y dibujos de Henry Price*, 42, 49.

54. Restrepo Forero, "Un imaginario de la nación," 46–47.

55. Historian Karin Rosemblatt suggested this interpretation at the New York State Latin American History Workshop in Ithaca, New York, October 14, 2007.

56. Another image by Fernández, *Ocaña. Mujeres blancas*, 1851, also used a darker woman, in this case a servant not referenced in the title, to highlight the fair skin of two fashionably dressed white women who constituted the painting's subject.

57. López Rodríguez explains such captions by arguing that Ancízar used the term *indios mestizos* to refer to those mestizos who did not approximate his whitened ideal, López Rodríguez, "Ficciones Raciales," esp. 146–47, 84–195.

58. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:209.

59. See chapter 4.

60. Manuel María Páz, *Provincia del Cauca. Retrato de un negro de Cartago*, ca. 1855. Newly enfranchised people of African descent in Cauca, in the Southwest, avoided labels such as "black" or "mulatto," according to Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*.

61. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*; McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*.

62. See for example Carmelo Fernández, *Pamplona. Indio i mestizo de Pamplona*, 1851 and *Vélez. Estancieros de las cercanias de Velez tipo blanco*, ca. 1851.

63. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:209. See also Ancízar, brown notebook.

64. On consumption as a marker of class differentiation in nineteenth-century Colombia, see Otero-Cleves, "From Fashionable Pianos to Cheap White Cotton," esp. 139.

65. See Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor*; Findlay, *Imposing Decency*; Macpherson, *From Colony to Nation*; Rosemblatt, "Sexuality and Biopower in Chile and Latin America," among other works.

66. In other writings, Ancízar envisioned a meritocracy led by an educated elite, as analyzed in Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 77–80.

67. Restrepo Forero, "Un imaginario de la nación," 50–51.

68. On plazas as metonyms and metaphors for community and nation, see Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*.

69. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*.

70. I first encountered this painting when I visited historian Víctor Alvarez's history class at the University of Antioquia in Medellín in 1993. Alvarez used the painting to disrupt his students' assumptions about their ostensibly white region.

71. Henry Price, *Río Negro. Provincia de Córdova*, 1852.

72. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 39; Gosselman, *Viaje por Colombia*.

73. Henry Price, *Retrato de una Negra [Portrait of a Black Woman]*, 1852, Banco de la República. Artist Liliana Angulo has made a photograph inspired by the painting titled *Presencia Negra [Black Presence]. Retrato de Lucy Rengifo, nacida en Medellín*. Both images were viewed at http://www.hemisphericinstitute.org/eng/publications /emisferica/5.2/artistpresentation/angulo/essay.html, accessed May 8, 2009.

74. Henry Price, *Minero i negociante. Medellin*, 1852; see discussion of its economic aspects in chapter 5.

75. I thank my relatives Stephen Kurtz, photographer and retired new media professor, and Louise Kurtz, production editor of art books, who suggested this interpretation, March 21, 2015.

76. McGuinness "Searching for 'Latin America'"; Holton, *New Granada*, esp. 39–42, 191, 195, 204–6.

77. In a letter written in 1863, Ancízar described the plebeians he encountered in Medellín in very different terms: "the ugliness of the working people surprises and shocks, all African or mulatto . . ." quoted in Loaiza Cano, *Manuel Ancízar y su época*, 365. Perhaps he was surprised because he had envisioned Antioqueños as white, Price's depictions notwithstanding.

78. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín," *GO*, February 17, 1854, 138.

79. Pombo, *De Medellín a Bogotá*, 64, see also 65–69, 1159–16. He hailed from the southwestern city of Popayán. His observations about Antioquia were influenced by the European expatriate Carlos de Grieff, based in Medellín, who also contributed to the commission.

80. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 84; see my conclusion to this book.

81. Canvas shoes worn by peasants. A step up from going barefoot, they were cheaper than leather shoes.

82. Straw hat, made for export or domestic consumption.

83. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:99.

84. On racial tensions and discrimination in counterpoint to early republican egalitarian laws and discourse, see Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*.

85. On the "turbulent" mulatto, see Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 91. See also Pombo, *De Medellín a Bogotá*, esp. 154–55; Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*.

86. Price and especially Fernández usually portrayed local elites in genteel in-

terior settings and on town streets. See for example the following watercolors for the commission: Fernández, *Tunja. Notables de la capital*; *Vélez. Notables de la provincia*; *Ocaña. Mujeres blancas*; *Santander. Tipo de notables de la Capital*; and *Pamplona. Habitantes de la capital*, all ca. 1851; Price, *Medellín*, 1852.

87. See Otero-Cleves, "From Fashionable Pianos to Cheap White Cotton."

88. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 31.

89. *Tipo* is a masculine noun, modified by the masculine *tejedor* ("weaver") as an adjective; otherwise she would have been labeled with the feminine noun *tejedora*. Feminine nouns such as *tejedora* were used in other of the commission's images of types (e.g., figs. 9, 24).

90. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:252.

91. For example, Ancízar wrote in his field notebook that the inhabitants of a low-lying Magdalena River port were "white, whitish, copper colored, pardos of straight hair, mulattos and blacks, and also the bad zambo type of boatman [*boga*], like the boss of our little boat . . . There are black girls [*negritas*] of white shirt and red kerchief . . . breasts almost out, provocative and streetish [*callejeritas*] but not entirely whores . . . muleteers, boatmen, passengers, merchants, employees . . . all sweating . . . such is the population," Ancízar, black notebook.

92. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín," *GO*, February 17, 1854, 138–39.

93. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:121.

94. His argument resonated with that of Florentino González, who argued in the pages of *El Neo-Granadino* that races (the "Anglo-Saxon" race, the "Spanish" race) were "regenerated" or "degenerated" by "good" or "bad" institutions, Florentino González, "Sofisma de la raza," *NG*, January 21, 1853, 20. On how institutions were seen as improving the people, see Melo, "La idea del progreso," esp. 9–15.

95. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:121. He was making an argument as to why Spanish colonial practices of religious indoctrination were no longer appropriate given the greater intelligence of the new race of inhabitants.

96. Ibid., 120. See also Restrepo Forero, "Un imaginario de la nación," 49–50. Samper echoed this view a decade later when he wrote that the "barbaric" race would be replaced by a "race of republicans," Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 229.

97. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 27–28; Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 84; López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales." On mestizaje as whitening in Colombia, see also Rojas, *Civilization and Violence*.

98. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:11. In his original notes on La Paz, he described the population as "healthy people, white, simple. Children pretty and blond. Girls well built," Ancízar, black notebook.

99. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:105. See also his comments regarding Ocaña, Ancízar, ibid., 2:154. In his black notebook he described the population of Guïcán "as part indigenous and part lovely white, of pretty colors and sociable."

100. Carrera makes a similar point more eloquently about Mexican nationalist painting, Carrera, "From Royal Subject to Citizen," 17.

101. Katzew, *Casta Painting*.

102. Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject," 175.

103. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*.

104. López Rodríguez notes the paucity of explicit interracial couples in New Granada costumbrismo and the ambivalence of authors toward interracial and extramarital unions, López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," 114–235.

105. Restrepo Forero, "Un imaginario de la nación," 52–58.

106. Ibid., 210.

107. Colombia's nineteenth-century costumbrista writers and artists, however, devoted most of their attention to Andean types, Gordillo Restrepo, "El Mosaíco," 49.

CHAPTER 4

1. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 64–67, according to which Codazzi had been on the Atlantic Coast near Panamá, examining possible interoceanic waterway routes before traveling up the Atrato River to meet them. For more details on Codazzi's plans, see Agustín Codazzi, draft correspondence to Florentino González, AOA-Sánchez.

2. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Primer artículo," *NG*, May 24, 1853, 425.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Michael Taussig famously argued that scholars should "push the notion of hegemony into the lived space of realities in social relationships, in the give and take of social life as in the sweaty warm space beween the arse of him who rides and the back of him who carries," Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*, 288. The extent to which a traveler relied on the *carguero*'s intellect was pointed out to me by anthropologist Marina Weinberg, in a fall 2008 graduate seminar at Binghamton University.

6. Some foreign travelers proudly reported having refused to mount another man, at least initially, Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*, 299.

7. Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 56–58, 198.

8. Antei, *Guía de forasteros*, esp. 66–68

9. For examples of several images of cargueros drawn from travelers' accounts, see Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*, 287–303; Antei, *Guía de forasteros*, 60, 62, 65, 106, 111, 117–118.

10. Eduardo Restrepo elaborates on this last point in Restrepo, "'Negros indolentes' en las plumas de corógrafos": 28–43.

11. Agustín Codazzi to the Governor of the Province of Chocó, *GO*, May 12, 1853, 383.

12. Ibid.

13. Leal, "Black Forests," 75–78. See also Juan de S. Ulloa, "El modo como se adquieron propiedades en el Chocó, i mi opinion acerca de ellos," March 9, 1853, and Agustín Codazzi, "Informe sobre los valdios del Chocó," November 10, 1853, both in AGN, SC, GC, rollo 4. Codazzi's report closely follows Ulloa's, and both reportedly consulted former slaves. Codazzi and Ulloa accused slaveowners of using their

newly freed slaves to clear, and extend the slaveowners' dominion over, extensive landholdings, to which the slaveowners held dubious titles.

14. Leal, "Black Forests," esp. 187–90,

15. On *tagua* and early rubber extraction, see Leal, "Black Forests," 12–67; "Intereses materiales o mejoras del Chocó," *NG*, October 22, 1852, 254–55; Saffray, *Viaje a Nueva Granada*, 68–69.

16. Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Segundo artículo," *NG*, December 1, 1853, 443.

17. Leal, "Black Forests," 75. On such "legends," see also McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, 42.

18. Barragan, "To the Mine I Will Not Go." Children of slaves born after 1821, when gradual emancipation was enacted, were legally not slaves, though they were effectively treated—and illegally traded—as such until age 25.

19. Leal, "Black Forests," 75; Ulloa, "El modo como se adquieron propiedades"; Codazzi, "Informe sobre los valdios del Chocó."

20. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 79; Agustín Codazzi to the Governor of Chocó, *GO*, May 12, 1853, 384; Duque Muñoz, "Geografía y cartografía en la Nueva Granada," 28.

21. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, August 1852 and September 1, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, ff. 3–4.

22. Leal, "Black Forests," 88.

23. Agustín Codazzi to the Governor of Chocó, *GO*, May 12, 1853, 383.

24. De Secondat, *The Spirit of Laws*, esp. 222–27, 264–66.

25. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 36. On earlier Spanish imperial writers who influenced Humboldt in this favorable depiction, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, esp. 112–28.

26. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 40. Stepan argues that the tropics were reimagined as distinctive in the nineteenth century, when "the 'tropical' came to signify radical otherness to the temperate world, which it helped to constitute," ibid., 17–18.

27. Caldas, "Del influjo del clima sobre los seres organizados" and "Estado de la geografía," both in *Obras completas*, 79–120, 183–211.

28. Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas*, 81. Additional scholars cited in chapter 2.

29. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 188.

30. Ibid., 99.

31. Ibid., 100. Quoted in Agustín Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Túquerres, 1853," 362.

32. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 11. The word *malaria* comes from *mal'aria* (Italian for "bad air").

33. In this they prefigured a phenomenon that Andermann attributes to the "active and transforming agency of the engineer-geographer" in early-twentieth-century Brazil, Andermann, *The Optic of the State*, 141.

34. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 192.

35. Ibid., 512. On their belief in "man's capacity to change," see Melo, "La idea del progreso," 13. See also Castro-Gómez, *La hybris del punto cero*, 263–67.

36. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 513.

37. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress."

38. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 27–28, 48, 149–79.

39. Ibid., 85–119; Livingstone, "The Moral Discourse of Climate," 413–34. More recent science affirms that people of African descent were less susceptible to certain diseases. In addition to immunities or resistance that any adult would have acquired through childhood exposure, some African populations also had developed a genetic resistance to malaria, and possibly to yellow fever as well, McNeill, *Mosquito Empires*, esp. 44–46, 53–54.

40. They often seemed to gloss the whole Pacific coastal lowland zone as Chocó, although it was divided into several provinces. Today, the same conflation occurs, though the Pacific lowlands include parts of several other departments along with the department of Chocó.

41. Codazzi to Ancízar, August 1852.

42. Codazzi to Ancízar, September 1, 1852.

43. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, September 29, 1852; October 19, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, ff. 5, 6.

44. When Torres Méndez later tried to join the commission after the Chocó trip, Codazzi objected, though one unacknowledged image apparently painted by the costumbrista master did make it into the commission's official collection, Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, November 23, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 7; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 344–46. The image *Paseo de una familia a los alrededores de Bogotá, provincia de Bogotá*, was erroneously attributed to Manuel María Paz. Rodríguez Congote attributes it to Torres Méndez and estimates the date to be 1858, but it might have been done earlier, Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 247.

45. "Lo que propuso Pérez," n.d., UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 12; Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 54–55; Agustín Codazzi to Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, September 25, 1853, Archivo Central del Cauca, Archivo Mosquera, D28710 (courtesy of Yesenia Barragan).

46. Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 59–60.

47. Ibid., 62.

48. Paz had been involved in a scandal in which he apparently forged documents and an official seal, Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, September 29, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 5.

49. Codazzi to Ancízar, October 19, 1852.

50. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 383.

51. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado, May 14, 1853, in *GO*, July 5, 1853, 571.

52. Ibid. Codazzi referred to one of the dead as Ignacio in Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar n.d. [October 1853], UNAL-ACH, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 15.

53. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 67.

54. Agustín Codazzi to Secretaro de Estado en D. de Relaciones Esteriores, May 14, 1853, in *GO*, no. 1562 (July 5, 1853), 571; Codazzi to Ancízar, n.d. [October 1853].

55. Ibid., 63–69.

56. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 88.

57. In 1848, some Chocó residents published an anonymous rebuttal to earlier negative descriptions of their province: Unos Chocoanos, "Jeografía (Artículo remitido)," NG, October 28, 1848, 100–101.

58. Much of the Pacific lowland receives over 4 meters of rain a year, Leal, "Black Forests," 191.

59. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 87. See also "Geografía física y política de la Provincia de la Buenaventura," in the same volume, 145.

60. Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, GO, August 2, 1853, 638.

61. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 79.

62. On the partial accuracy of this belief per more recent science, see above citation of McNeill, *Mosquito Empires*.

63. Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Barbacoas, 638. Restrepo emphasizes that in this quote Codazzi differentiated between the "creole" race of mixed origins and the white race of European origins, Restrepo, "'Negros indolentes' en las plumas de corógrafos," 32. Elite granadinos often used the term *creole* (*criollo*, derived from *criar*, implying locally born and raised) to refer to whites, though Ancízar also referred to mestizos as creoles, Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:209.

64. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 88.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 87.

67. On these rights, see McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, esp. 33–43.

68. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Ocaña," GO, January 31, 1854, 87.

69. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín (continuación)," GO, February 18, 1854, 143.

70. Ibid., 88; he had previously described the creole inhabitants of the Pacific lowlands that he encountered there in 1819 as yellow in complexion and "always sick," Codazzi, *Memorias de Agustín Codazzi*, 364.

71. Agustín Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Buenaventura," 146–47.

72. For hot lowland areas of Antioquia, he also believed that people of mixed-race origin would serve this function, Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Antioquia (Continuacion)," GO, March 18, 1854, 246.

73. Agustín Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 406. See also Agustín Codazzi, "Descripcion de la Provincia de Barbacoas 1853," AGN, SC, GC, rollo 2; Saffray, *Viaje a Nueva Granada*, 334.

74. Codazzi, Report to Govenor of Province of Chocó, GO, May 12,1853, 383.

75. Safford elaborates on this point in "Race, Integration, and Progress," esp. 23–25.

76. Codazzi, Report to Govenor of Province of Chocó, 383.

77. Ibid.

78. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 406.

79. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de la Buenaventura," 146.

80. See for example Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*; Beckles and Shepherd, *Caribbean Freedom*; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*.

81. Leal, "Black Forests," 194.

82. Codazzi to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, 638.

83. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*.

84. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Segundo artículo," 442.

85. Ibid., 443.

86. Ibid., 442.

87. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Quinto artículo," NG, December 28, 1853, 484.

88. Pérez's concern was echoed in Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 69–70.

89. Ibid.

90. Manuel María Paz. *Provincia del Chocó, Vista de una calle de Nóvita*, ca. 1853.

91. On Pérez's contrast between naked blacks and dressed whites, see Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 193.

92. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 349–50. See also Leon Gauthier, "Fragments du journal de voyage d'un peintre en Amérique Latine (1848–1855), *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, Paris, vol. VIII, no. 34, October 1, 1924, 310–17.

93. Codazzi also mentioned a "black named Sinistierra" who served as a guide in Buenaventura and indicated a possible route for a road, Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Buenaventura, GO, September 10, 1855, 1,061.

94. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Quinto artículo," 483; Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 404.

95. Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Barbacoas, 638, which Pérez quoted verbatim in "Apuntes de viaje. Quinto artículo," 403.

96. Gauthier might have helped finish paintings that Paz started, Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 57–58, 202.

97. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 406.

98. He nonetheless studied medicinal plants used by the Indians, Codazzi, "Relacion de la Yerbas medicinales," and "Relacion de las Yerbas medicinales de este distrito de Tebada," both in AGN, SC, GC, rollo 4. See chapter 6 on the appropriation of local knowledge.

99. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 72.

100. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 409.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid. See chapter 6 on indigenous people of Caquetá.

103. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Tercer artículo," NG, December 8, 1853, 453.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 75, 78; Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Estado del Istmo de Panamá*.

108. Restrepo, "'Negros indolentes' in las plumas de los corógrafos," 41.

109. Restrepo argues that it is important not to collapse the cultural and biological, ibid., 42. His insightful analysis differs somewhat from mine, as I find the two dimensions too closely intertwined, in both the images and texts, to differentiate so clearly. See also Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 22–23.

110. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Barbacoas," 405.

111. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Tercer artículo," 453. See chapter 6.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

114. Santiago Pérez, "Apuntes de viaje. Quinto artículo," 484.

115. Agustín Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Chocó, *GO*, 12 May 1853, 383.

116. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, 638.

117. Ibid.

118. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Chocó, 384.

119. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, 638.

120. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*; Beckles and Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom*, among other works.

121. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Chocó, 384.

122. Ibid.

123. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Chocó, 384.

124. Ibid. See also Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 83.

125. The words *tipos i* in the caption are written lightly in pencil and in a different hand than the rest of the title in ink. They are not visible in most facsimiles and digital reproductions.

126. Codazzi, Report to Govenor of Province of Chocó, 384.

127. Codazzi, Report to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, 639.

128. Codazzi, "Geografía física y política de la provincia del Chocó," 76–77.

129. See Klor de Alva, "The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience"; Thurner and Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule*.

130. Steiner, *Imaginación y poder*, xviiii–xxi, 61–92; Serje, *El revés de la nación*.

131. McGraw argues that emancipation and suffrage reinforced the ideal of a "homogeneous masculine citizenship," yet as citizenship expanded, "lettered Colombians reproduced racial ideologies that fixated on essentialized differences," which cast some groups as unfit for citizenship, McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, 9–10, 36.

132. See Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*, on the rise and fall of the cross-class/cross-race coalition in the Colombian Southwest.

CHAPTER 5

1. Similar to trends across Latin America, exports rose from less than three million dollars per year in the 1840s to an average of almost eight million in the 1850s and then grew to almost twenty million by the early 1870s, after which they dropped off, Marichal, "Money, Taxes, and Finance," 423–60, esp. 450.

2. "Apéndice al Informe que el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores presenta al Congreso constitucional de la Nueva Granada en sus sesiones de 1850," *GO*, April 21, 1850, 180.

3. Botero, *La ruta del oro*, 12–13.

4. "La Montaña de Quindío," *NG*, October 21, 1848, 92–94.

5. Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, October 19, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 6.

6. Agustín Codazzi, draft correspondence to Florentino González, AOA-Sánchez; Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, September 1 and September 29, 1852, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, ff. 4–5.

7. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 127–33.

8. Luis Nieto Arteta, quoted in Kalmonovitz, *Economía y nación*, 105; Melo, "La evolución económica de Colombia,," 151.

9. Botero and Vallecilla, "Intercambios comerciales en la Confederación Granadina," 163. See also Ocampo Gaviria, ed., *Historia económica de Colombia*, esp. 101–94.

10. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 162.

11. For elite perspectives at a local level, see Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro," 83–89.

12. On New Granada's comparatively high costs of internal transport from port to capital city, see Prados de la Escosura, "The Economic Consequences of Independence," 489.

13. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 244–46; Melo, "La evolución económica de Colombia," 153–56.

14. Anonymous, "El Ex-Camino del Occidente (Artículo Segundo)," *El Tiempo*, April 21, 1857, 1. See also S. C .R. [Salvador Camacho Roldán?] "Camino carretero al Magdalena, Artículo 2°," *El Tiempo*, October 26, 1858, 2–3.

15. Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 26, 31.

16. Kalmanovitz, *Economía y nación*, 143.

17. "Provincia de Santander. Informe a la Cámara provincial (conclusion)," *GO*, January 6, 1853, 10.

18. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 89; Ocampo, *Colombia y la economía mundial*; Deas, "Una hacienda cafetera de Cundinamarca"; Kalmonóvitz, *Economía y nación*, esp. 179–86; Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia," 175–78.

19. Kalmonovitz, *Economía y nación*, 148–76. On workers bargaining with employers, see Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*; McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, esp. 73–98.

20. Martínez Carreño, *La prisión del vestido*, 107–8, 114.

21. Melo, "La evolución económica de Colombia," 144–48.

22. Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia*; Ocampo, ed. *Historia económica de Colombia*, esp. 195–232; Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia*; Vallecilla Gordo, *Café y crecimiento económico regional*, among other works.

23. On the 1820s, see Bassi, *Creating Spaces, Envisioning Futures*.

24. "Apéndice al Informe que el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores presenta al Congreso constitucional de la Nueva Granada en sus sesiones de 1850," *GO*, April 21, 1850, 180. See also M. S., "Inmigracion," *NG*, October 11, 1850, 345.

25. Manuel Ancízar, "Informe que Presenta el Secretario de Estado en el Despacho de las Relaciones Esteriories i Mejoras Internas a los muy honrables camaras de senadores i representantes," *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, May 20, 1847, 317–18, and "Circular: Recomendando el cumplimiento del decreto dictado en ejecusion de la lei de 2 de junio último sobre inmigracion de estranjeros," *GO*, September 12, 1847, 597–98; García Estrada, *Los extranjeros en Colombia*, 43; Martínez, "Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea."

26. "Inmigración de Estranjeros. Circular a los Cónsules i Vicecónsules de la República en Europa i los Estados Unidos," *GO*, September 5, 1850, 449–50.

27. "Esposicion del Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores al Congreso de 1856 (Continuacion)," *GO*, February 8, 1856, 55.

28. García Estrada, *Los extranjeros en Colombia*, 46–47; Martínez, "Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración"; Juan Nepomuceno Gómez, "Nota dirigida a los agentes de la República en Lóndres, sobre imigracion Europea a la Nueva Granada," *GO*, July 28, 1852, 565–66.

29. "Provincia de Santander. Informe del Gobernador a la Cámara provincial," *GO*, January 6, 1853; "Ordenanza fomentando la inmigracion de estranjeros" and "Provincia de Santander. Acuerdo sobre esenciones a inmigrados," both in *GO*, February 19, 1853, 129–30; on Cauca see Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 55–56.

30. On the undesirability of Asians and Malays compared to the "intelligent and vigorous European race," see "Esposicion del Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores al Congreso de 1856 (Continuacion)," *GO*, February 8, 1856, 55.

31. C. Pinzón, *Informe del Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores al Congreso Constitucional de 1849* (Bogotá: 1849), 11, quoted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 197.

32. "Inmigración de Estranjeros. Circular a los Cónsules i Vicecónsules de la República en Europa i los Estados Unidos," *GO*, September 5, 1850, 449.

33. Juan Nepomuceno Gómez, "Nota dirigida a los agentes de la República en Lóndres, sobre imigracion Europea a la Nueva Granada," *GO*, July 28, 1852, 566.

34. R. Gutiérrez, "Raza Hispano-Americana," *NG*, August 30, 1850, 284.

35. Ibid.

36. Agustín Codazzi, "Apuntamientos sobre inmigracion i colonizacion," *GO*, December 21, 1850, 692. Tovar did eventually prosper.

37. Ibid., 694.

38. Ibid., 695.

39. Ibid.

40. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 196–205; Martínez, "Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea." The foreign-born population in in 1851 was officially reported at 1,527, García Estrada, *Los extranjeros en Colombia*, 17–38.

41. Report by Agustín Codazzi, in A. Mendoza to Secretario del Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, June 11, 1852, 453.

42. Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Pamplona, *GO*, August 16, 1851, 573.

43. Agustín Codazzi, "Apuntamientos sobre inmigracion i colonizacion," 695, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Antioquia (continuación)," *GO*, March 18, 1854, 246, "Geografía física y política de la provincia de Buenaventura," 146–47,

"Informe sobre vias de comunicacion del Estado de Cundinamarca," *GO*, November 18, 1858, 542–43.

44. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637.

45. For example see Codazzi to Governor of Province of Antioquia, *GO*, March 10, 1852; Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Barbacoas, *GO*, August 2, 1853, 637–40; Codazzi, "Informe sobre vias."

46. Codazzi, "Informe sobre vias."

47. For an explanation of this proposed "mercantile route," intended for transporting cattle from the Eastern Plains to the highlands, see Codazzi to Governor of Province of Pamplona, 572–74.

48. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario del Estado del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, June 11, 1852, 453; Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Antioquia, 594; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 527.

49. Codazzi to Governor of Province of Pamplona, 573.

50. "Camino al Magdalena," *El Porvenir*, August 4, 1857, 1–2.

51. Codazzi to Governor of Province of Pamplona, 572–74.

52. "Camino al Magdalena," 1–2.

53. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, September 13, 1851, 637.

54. Agustín Codazzi, "Camino de Zapatoca al Magdalena," *GO*, May 5, 1853, 355.

55. Agustín Codazzi, "Informe sobre un proyecto de camino entre Bogotá i Honda, por Ambalema," *GO*, August 8, 1857, 478.

56. Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro," 89–90, 285, 331.

57. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Mariquita. Vista de la ciudad de Ambalema i de la Mesa de Herveo tomada desde la orilla derecha del Magdalena*, ca. 1857.

58. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 419–22. See also X. Y. Z., "El ex—camino de Occidente," *El Tiempo*, April 14, 1857, 2; "El Ex-Camino del Occidente (Artículo Segundo"), *El Tiempo*, April 21, 1857, 1; Codazzi, "Informe sobre un proyecto de camino," 478–79; "Camino al Magdalena"; S. C. R., "Camino carretero al Magdalena (Artículo 2°)" *El Tiempo*, October 26, 1858, 2–3 R. S, "Camino Carretero al Magdalena," *El Tiempo*, November 16, 1858; "Bogotá se muere," supplement to *El Tiempo*, November 16, 1858; 3; S.C.R. "Camino carretro al Magdalena (Cuarto artículo)," *El Tiempo*, November 23, 1858, 1–2.

59. Codazzi, "Informe sobre vias,", 542.

60. McGuinness, *Path of Empire*, esp. 54–83.

61. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 249–51.

62. Regarding his thoughts on the Cauca and Meta Rivers as future alternatives, see Agustín Codazzi to Governor of Province of Antioquia, *GO*, March 10, 1852, 593, and "Informe sobre el rio Meta," *GO*, April 26, 1856, 335.

63. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 324–29, 356–82.

64. Trautwine, *Rough Notes of an Exploration*.

65. One scholar characterizes that map as a blatant and costly "lie," Dana, "Cutting Across," 135.

66. For the Panamá episode I draw on Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 356–58;

Agustín Codazzi, "A los verdaderos republicanos. Año nuevo. Go-ahead (adelante)," *El Tiempo*, January 23, 1855, n.p.n.; Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Estado del Istmo de Panamá*, esp. 51, 96; Agustín Codazzi to Araceli Codazzi, February 18, 1854, AOA-Sánchez; Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 72–73.

67. Codazzi, "A los verdaderos republicanos."

68. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 72–73.

69. Codazzi, "A los verdaderos republicanos."

70. LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest*; see chapter 1.

71. Palacio, *Fiebre de tierra caliente*, esp. 41, 102; Agustín Codazzi, draft, "Informe sobre los valdios del Chocó," November 10, 1853, AGN, SC, GC, rollo 4.

72. LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest*, 11; McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 130.

73. [C. A.?] Maldonado to Agustín Codazzi, November 30 [1853], AOA-Sánchez, folio 119.

74. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:110–11, 252.

75. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 10, 77; LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest*; Van Ausdal, "The Logic of Livestock," esp. 116–41.

76. Among other works, see Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia*; Valencia Llano, *Colonización, fundaciones y conflictos agrarios*; Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*.

77. Palacio, *Fiebre de tierra caliente*, esp. 41, 102.

78. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 52–103; Van Ausdal, "The Logic of Livestock," 85–105, among others.

79. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress."

80. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 14; del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 128–29.

81. Sanders, "'Belonging to the Great Granadan Family.'"

82. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 19.

83. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 128–29, and "'Prefiriendo siempre á los agrimensores científicos.'"

84. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 128–29; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 259–60; Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro," 27–28, 236.

85. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 123–24; Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 20; del Castillo, "Prefiriendo siempre á los agrimensores científicos."

86. Codazzi to Ancízar, December 14, 1852; October 13, 1853; April 3, 1855.

87. "Comision Corográfica," *GO*, January 5, 1851, 14.

88. Leal, "Black Forests," 74.

89. My account of Pacho is based on Kalmanovitz, *Economía y nación*, 132–39; Mächler T., "La ferrería de Pacho." See also a related image in the commission's collection: Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Bogotá. Vista del pueblo i hacienda de Pacho, donde se esplota una rica mina de hierro*, ca. 1858. Three other industrial ironworks were founded in the nineteenth century according to Mayor Mora, "Las fábricas de hierro en Colombia." See also Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia," 142–86.

90. Otero-Cleves, "From Fashionable Pianos to Cheap White Cotton," 208–25.

The Collins machete or cutlass, popular throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, provides an example of how a modern foreign-made industrial product could become an essential element of "traditional" clothing, work, and identity.

91. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 49.

92. Soule, *The Bishop's Utopia*.

93. Erika M. Bsumek drew my attention to the lack of deformities at a workshop at the Instititute for Historical Studies, University of Texas, Austin, May 2009.

94. Codazzi argued that to "move ahead . . . it is necessary to know well the land and its resources, even its sticks and vines" and to assure that "the resources of this nascent society include our peoples with their virtues and vices, with their ideas and intellectual accomplishments, their uses and customs," Codazzi, "A los verdaderos republicanos."

95. See especially the following images by Fernández not included here: *Pamplona. Indio i mestizo de Pamplona* and *Estancieros en las cercanías de Velez tipo blanco*.

96. Fernández, *Ocaña. Cosecheros de anis, indios mestisos*. Whether he intended to portray an Indian and a mestizo, or two "mestizo Indians," is not clear.

97. Kalmonovitz, *Economía y nación*, 158–64; Rivas, *Los trabajadores de tierra caliente*.

98. Kalmonovitz, *Economía y nación*, 160; see also *Museo de cuadros de costumbres*, esp. 2:178, 293.

99. Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Mariquita. Separacion i empaque del Tabaco*, 1852.

100. Most notably, Díaz Castro, *Manuela*. On wages in the tobacco industry, see Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia," 247–51.

101. Safford noted that at least 600 people died in just one yellow fever outbreak in Ambalema in 1856–1857, ibid., 253.

102. Ancízar, *Pegregrinación de Alpha*, 1:139–40.

103. Agustín Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Pamplona, , 573; McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 165; Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro, Colombia," 240.

104. Johnson found that in the canton of Bucaramanga in 1850 more than 3,000 women made hats annually, with income per capita of 20 pesos, when a family could live on 92 pesos, ibid., 144. So despite the ostensible benefits, one hat maker could not usually support a family alone. Multiple girls and women in one household might make hats, while male family members did agriculture, Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*,143–47; Stoller, "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro," esp. 66–127, 281–325. Paz depicted two women laboring over a hat together in the south-central province of Neiva: Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Neiva. Tejedoras de sombreros de jipijapa*, ca. 1857, Bogotá.

105. On the association of wage work with threats to young women's virginity, and thus their honor, and how working women subverted patriarchal work regimes through activities such as flirting in twentieth-century Medellín, see Farnsworth-Alvear, *Dulcinea in the Factory*.

106. Attributed to Leon Gauthier, *Provincia del Cauca. Cigarrera*, ca. 1854.

107. Numerous scholars have examined ideals such as virtue, honor, respectability, and shame as racialized as well as gendered concepts, for example de la

Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*; Findlay, *Imposing Decency*; Macpherson, *From Colony to Nation*; Rosemblatt, "Sexuality and Biopower in Chile and Latin America."

108. Depicted in Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Neiva. Tejedoras de sombreros de jipijapa*, ca. 1857.

109. Rodríguez Congote attributes this image to Paz in collaboration with Gauthier, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 211.

110. Manuel María Paz. *Provincia del Cauca. Indios de Coconuco*, ca. 1855.

111. Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia," 208–10; Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 192–93; Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 128; McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 75; Otero-Cleves, "From Fashionable Pianos to Cheap White Cotton," 58–60.

112. Martínez Carreño, *La prisión del vestido*, 107, 119.

113. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 195; McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, esp. 117–19. See also chapter 3 above.

114. Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 151–53.

115. Agustín Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Pamplona, *GO*, August 16, 1851, 573.

116. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 165.

117. Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 30. Stoller disagrees, citing other factors, in "Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro, Colombia," 67.

118. Otero-Cleves, "From Fashionable Pianos to Cheap White Cotton," esp. 92–110; Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 150–51.

119. One inhabitant later recalled that foreign textiles were coming into Bucaramanga by the early 1850s, Martínez Carreño, *La prisión del vestido*, 120.

120. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 79–80. The higher food prices might have been related to the accelerated privatization of the indigenous communal landholdings that had provided food to the city, Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 209.

121. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 208–15. See introduction to this book above. According to Johnson, artisans in Santander, mainly female hat makers and weavers working in households that also depended on agriculture, did not necessarily support the Bogotá artisans and the coup that set off the 1854 war, Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 143. Scholars have long focused on the class schism among eastern Liberals leading up to that war. Recent historiography on Cauca and the Caribbean have shown that the dynamics in these regions were quite distinct and more overtly racialized, Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*, 58–99; McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, esp. 43–50.

122. More surprising is that the city of Bogotá itself is largely absent from the commission's official collection, though Paz painted some watercolors of Bogotá landmarks that ended up, for unclear reasons, in private collections. The one official included image of urban Bogotá is Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Bogotá. Entrada a Bogota por San Victorino i vista lejana de los Nevados del Tolima, Quindío, Santa Isabel, Ruiz i Mesa de Herveo*, ca. 1857. It depicts both stylishly dressed elite men and women and

"common" men wearing ruanas, including one who gazes out at the surrounding countryside from a balcony along the city's periphery. Efraín Sánchez brilliantly analyzes how this image maps the landscape, at which the man gazes, in order to sustain Codazzi's controversial toponymic assertions in "Las láminas de la Comisión Corográfica," 109–10.

123. Safford, "Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia," 235.

124. Kalmonovitz, *Economía y nación*, 162.

125. Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 149–51.

126. Codazzi, "Informe sobre vias," 542.

127. A writer in the *El Neo-Granadino* in the contentious year of 1854 even went as far as to suggest that the labor of Bogotá's rebellious artisans would be better employed in export agriculture, quoted in Martínez Carreño, *La prisión del vestido*, 107.

128. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 162.

129. Quoted in McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 245–46.

130. The "social and economic aims of the Liberals were in conflict," McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia*, 134. His work was highly criticized, even by scholars who shared his overall *dependentista* outlook. See Instituto de Estudios Colombianos, *Historia Económica de Colombia*. On Santander's stagnation, see Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX*, 201–96.

131. For example, Botero, *La ruta del oro*; Rosenthal, *Salt and the Colombian State*; Vallecilla Gordo, *Café y crecimiento económico*; Van Ausdal, "The Logic of Livestock"; Meisel Roca, "Los estudios sobre historia económica de Colombia."

132. Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America*, 274–375.

133. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*; Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*.

CHAPTER 6

1. Agustín Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 115. See also AGN, SC, GC, rollo 3, "Casanare."

2. On the use of local informants by scientific and government-sponsored expeditions in Latin America, see also Burnett, "'It Is Impossible to Make a Step without the Indians'"; Roller, "River Guides, Geographical Informants."

3. Agustín Codazzi, "Informe sobre el oríjen del rio Magdalena y otros particulares," *GO*, July 18, 1857, 462–64. For the draft, see AGN SC, EOR, CC, no. 584, ff. 65–69. Subsequent cites refer to the published version. For an account of the dispute over the Páramo de las Papas and other such controversies, see Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 422–24, and "Las láminas de la Comisión Corográfica," 103–14. As Sánchez points out, Codazzi also made such arguments visually via the commission's illustrations. See for example Manuel María Paz's watercolor, *Provincia de Neiva. Laguna del Buei, orijen del rio Magdalena en el Páramo de las Papas*, ca. 1857, and watercolor study for that image in Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n.

4. For an account of how Codazzi blended information from locals with preexisting maps and his own observations in order to draw maps and plot new roads, see Agustín Codazzi to Governor of the Province of Pamplona, *GO*, August 16, 1851,

572–74. Controversies over the use of popular knowledge dated back to the Hispanic Enlightenment. See Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, esp. 60–129; Silva, *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada*, 492–505.

5. Caquetá roughly corresponded to the present-day departments of Putumayo, Caquetá, Amazonas, Vaupés, and Guaviare. Casanare corresponded largely to present-day Casanare and Arauca, and San Martín to what are now Meta, Vichada, and Guainía. Both included parts of territories now governed by neighboring countries.

6. On the gendered intimate dynamics of colonization and state formation among indigenous peoples in borderlands, see Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*; Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, among other works.

7. Agustín Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare. Levantado de orden del gobierno por el General Agustín Codazzi*, 1856, manuscript, 143 × 240 cms, AGN SMP 6, ref. 14, 1856.

8. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 99.

9. Agustín Codazzi to to Secretario de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno in "Trabajos relativos al Estado de Cundinamarca. Indicaciones sobre los medios que deben adoptarse para la publicación de la Jeografía jeneral i de la particular de cada Estado," *GO*, December 13, 1858, 565. The original is November 30, 1858, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 93–94. Subsequent citations refer to the published version.

10. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 92–97.

11. Ibid., 93, 104–6. In Chocó, Codazzi listed medicinal plants, "Relacion de las Yerbas medicinales," and "Relacion de las Yerbas medicinales de este distrito de Tebada," both in AGN, SC, GC, rollo 4. The latter refers to part of a plant that was used to "start the blood of a woman delayed in her accustomed period"—in other words, an abortifacient.

12. For the details of their travels in the plains, see Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 91–102; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 401–9; Agustín Codazzi to Araceli Codazzi, February 25, 1855, AOA-Sánchez.

13. In a letter, he described outfitting the boats and who rode in them, Codazzi to Araceli Codazzi, February 25, 1855. It seems that Paz did not accompany them very far. Paz's sketchbook from the excursion did not include this image, though it did include sketches of the Meta River and a least one such boat, Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n.

14. The two others are Fernández, *Soto. Campamento de la Comision corográfica in Yarumito*, and Price, *Córdova. Mesa de Herveo. Ruiz. Tolima. Santa Isabel*. On instruments as "the symbol of the scientific traveler . . . inseparable from his scientific identity," particularly for "Humboldtians," see Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, 91.

15. Codazzi, "Trabajos relativos al Estado de Cundinamarca," 565.

16. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho de Gobierno, July 30, 1858, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 89–92.

17. Codazzi, "Trabajos relativos al Estado de Cundinamarca," 565.

18. "Curiosidades de la montaña por el Presbítero Manuel María Albis año de 1854," transcribed in Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 173–81. I con-

sulted the above transcription as well as a microfilm copy in AGN, SC, GC, rollo 6. The notebook formed the basis for his subsequent manuscript, Albis, *Curiosità della foresta d'Amazzonia*. See Antei, *Guía de foresteros*, 119–32.

19. Agustín Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," transcribed in Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 191–92.

20. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 112.

21. Ibid., 107.

22. Codazzi, "Informe sobre el oríjen del rio Magdalena."

23. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 116.

24. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno, April 4, 1857, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 584, ff 63–64, transcribed in Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 237–38. See also Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 113–14.

25. Codazzi, "Informe sobre el oríjen del rio Magdalena." See also Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 113; Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas. Ruinas de San Agustín, descritas y explicadas por Agustín Codazzi"; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 414–19. On San Agustín, see chapter 7.

26. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 116, 118; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 388–91, 434–40.

27. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en Despacho de Gobierno, January 26, 1855, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 581, ff. 34–35.

28. Ibid.

29. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en Despacho de Gobierno, January 27, 1855 AGN, EOR, CC, no. 581, ff. 36–38.

30. Ibid. See also Agustín Codazzi to Manuel Ancízar, April 20, 1855, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Correspondencia, Codazzi, f. 20.

31. Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en Despacho de Gobierno, January 27, 1855. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 391–97.

32. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado en Despacho de Gobierno, May 2, 1856; July 3, 1856; July 14, 1856; October 27, 1856, all in AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 581, ff. 39–48.

33. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho de Gobierno, July 30, 1858, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 89–92, and April 4, 1857, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 584, ff. 63–64.

34. Some original editions remain, and it was reissued a century later, Codazzi, *Jeografía física i política de las provincias de la Nueva Granada*.

35. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho del Gobierno, October 21, 1856, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 581, ff. 45–46; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 409–11.

36. José Joaquín Ortiz to Manuel M. Mallarino, November 29, 1856, and Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado de Despacho de Gobierno, December 4, 1856, transcribed in *AI* 16, no. 193 (Marzo 1909), 298–301. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 572–76.

37. Aldea de María, *Réplica al Jeneral Codazzi*; Agustín Codazzi, "Informe sobre límites de los Estados de Antioquia i Cauca, por la Aldea de María," *GO*, December 14, 1857, 615.

38. Agustín Codazzi to Secretario de Estado del Despacho de Gobierno, July 30, 1858, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 9–92, transcribed in Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 245–46.

39. Ibid.

40. Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 118; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 427–33.

41. Rausch, *A Tropical Plains Frontier*, 223–24. See also Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of a Journey*, 162–63.

42. Rausch, *The Llanos Frontier in Colombian History*, 50–91.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 12.

45. The borders first drawn by Codazzi for the Venezuelan commission corresponded to the Michelena-Pombo Treaty of 1833, never ratified by Venezuela. Subsequently, Joaquín Acosta used colonial-era documents to revise the border in New Granada's favor, which influenced Codazzi and his disciples, according to Duque Muñoz, "El discurso geográfico y cartográfico," 125–52.

46. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 102.

47. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 151. See also Palacio, *Fiebre de tierra caliente*, esp. 83–104.

48. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 269–70; Pineda Camacho, "Participación indígena," 86. See chapter 7.

49. Anthropologists document greater ethnolinguistic complexity than these categories would suggest, Echeverri, "The People of the Center of the World"; Llanos Vargas and Pineda Camacho, *Etnohistoria del Gran Caquetá*, 75–80.

50. Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 55.

51. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 211. Substantial portions of the Amazon basin claimed by New Granada in the nineteenth century ended up ceded to neighboring countries in the twentieth century; this was true to a lesser extent in the plains as well. See Tovar, *Imágenes a la deriva*.

52. Llanos Vargas and Pineda Camacho, *Etnohistoria del Gran Caquetá*, 64–73.

53. Echeverri, "The People of the Center of the World," 51–53; Pineda Camacho, "Participación indígena en el desarollo amazónico"; Friede, *Los Andakí 1538–1947*.

54. Echeverri, "The People of the Center of the World," 52–54; Pineda Camacho, "Participación indígena en el desarollo amazónico"; Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 50.

55. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 111.

56. Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of a Journey*, 162.

57. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 191.

58. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 99, and "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," Codazzi, 191, 197.

59. Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare*. On the cartographic and literary construction of regions such as Patagonia and the Brazilian backlands as "deserts," see Andermann, *The Optic of the State*, esp. 127–28; Nouzeilles, "Desert Dreams"; Navarro Floria and Lois, *Paisajes del progreso*.

60. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 119.

61. Humboldt had described traversing the plains of South America as "stepping on the surface of an ocean," Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of a Journey*, 162.

62. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 19–192.

63. Ibid., 197.

64. Ibid., 198.

65. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 285.

66. For the view of the mountains from the plains, see Manuel María Paz, *Provincia de Casanare. Vista de la Sierra Nevada de Chita o de Güican, tomada desde Moreno*, ca. 1856.

67. Descanse was a hamlet of just over 100 inhabitants on the trail that connected the cordillera with the forested lowlands, Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 199. For a preliminary version, see Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n.

68. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 161, 199.

69. Ibid., 155, 198–99.

70. Codazzi, "Informe sobre la Provincia de Casanare," *GO*, April 16, 1856, 299.

71. Ibid.

72. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 407; Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 22–23.

73. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 269.

74. Ibid., 286.

75. Ibid., 285, 289.

76. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 92.

77. See also Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 98.

78. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 282.

79. Ibid., 282.

80. Ibid., 285.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid., 286.

83. Quoted in Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 188; Humboldt quoted in Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 78.

84. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 188.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., 197.

88. Codazzi, "Informe sobre la Provincia de Casanare," 300.

89. Ibid.

90. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 88–89.

91. Ibid. See also "Informe sobre la Provincia de Casanare," 300.

92. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 188; Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 133; Pedro Mosquera, "Relacion historiada que hace Pedro Mosquera, correjidor de la barbara tribu de Mesaya, al presidente Jeneral Mosquera en la marcha que hizo de San Francisco de Solano, hasta el territorio de San Martin, i de ahi a esta capital," *La Discusion* (Bogotá), October 2, 1852, 3–4.

93. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 90.

94. Ibid., 97.

95. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 190–91; see also Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare*.

96. Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n. See also Rodríguez Congote, 258–59, 287–89.

97. The use of numerous faces as examples of types was common in nineteenth-century ethnographic photography. On the repetitive images of anonymous types, which fostered a sense of interchangeability, see Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*.

98. Codazzi referenced a Correguaje picture in a letter to his wife from San Agustín quoted by Soriano Lleras; he sent it to her along with some of the Correguajes' jewelry so that she would know how they were worn, Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 110.

99. Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n. Albis's manuscript, on the other hand, included images of an indigenous man and woman dressed identically to Paz's Correguajes. Albis's Correguajes may have served as the model for Paz's. Albis, "Curiosidades de la montaña," 81–120; AGN, SC, GC, rollo 2. For color reproductions of the man and woman, which adorn the covers of Albis's manuscript, see Antei, *Guía de Forasteros*, 119–21 and Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 81–120. The former attributes the pair to Paz, whereas the latter credits Albis, 81–120.

100. For examples of classic village plaza images by Paz from the Eastern Plains, see *Provincia de Casanare. Vista de la Plaza de Moreno, capital de Casanare* and *Provincia de Casanare. Vista de un pueblo a orillas del rio Meta*. For an example of an image based on his studies of "reduced" Indians in his notebook, see *Territorio del Caquetá. Indios Andaquies, reducidos sacando pita en Descanse*.

101. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 77–78.

102. See the next chapter on Codazzi's use of history.

103. In 1861, José María Samper compared the llanero to the gaucho: exemplary soldier, horseman, and poet, Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 93. According to Samper, the llanero's rude nature made "him" a powerful force for liberty but also a brutal avenger. He made llaneros more central to the formation of the nation. Samper's llaneros were mestizos; he did not mention any African descent, while the commission's watercolors and texts place people of apparent African descent in Casanare alongside Indians and mestizos, including one figure explicitly labeled zambo. Humboldt also described the llaneros of the Venezuelan plains as men of color, Humboldt and Peláez, *Personal Narrative of a Journey*, 164–65.

104. Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n., and *Provincia de Casanare. Llaneros herrando ganado i recortándole las orejas*, ca. 1856.

105. Codazzi, "Descripción de la Provincia de Casanare," 120.

106. Ibid., 89.

107. Ibid. See also Codazzi, "Informe sobre la provincia de Casanare," 300.

108. See LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest*; Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*.

109. In addition to the Venezuelan and the Mosquera brothers, Codazzi's report on the Caquetá mentioned an unnamed mulatto merchant who had journeyed anually along the lower Putumayo River, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 196. Regarding an empresario or official on the Pacific Coast named Sinistierra and specified as black, see Agustín Codazzi, Report to Governor of the Province of Buenaventura, GO, September 24, 1855, 1061–63.

110. Mosquera, "Relacion historiada," 3–4. Codazzi published a letter alongside it that said Mosquera "provides new knowledge about the geography of a territory that no one has either traveled or described," Codazzi to Anselmo Pineda, January 4, 1852, *La Discusion*, October 2, 1852, 4; see also Agustín Codazzi to Anselmo Pineda, January 1852, AOA-Sánchez. Mosquera produced another report on his trip: "Descripción del viaje de Pedro Mosquera, Corregidor de Masaya (Diciembre de 1847)," AGN, SC, GC, rollo 3. On the Mosquera brothers, see also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 412–13; Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 204–5; Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*.

111. Miguel Mosquera to Agustín Codazzi, February 6, 1856, and Vicente María Cabrera to Agustín Codazzi, May 16 and October 8, 1856, and Miguel Mosquera, "Lista de encargas que le suplica Miguel Mosquera al S. General Agustín Codazzi le haga comprar con el dinero de sus sueldos que se cobren," all transcribed in Domínguez Ossa et al., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 144–47. Miguel Mosquera asked Codazzi to collect payment owed to him and purchase a list of manufactured items (axes, mirrors, "pills of life," etc.) to distribute to Indians.

112. Mosquera, "Relacion historiada," 3.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid., 4.

116. Ibid.

117. Manuel María Paz, *Territorio de Caquetá. Presbitero Manuel Ma. Albis. Indios reducidos de Mocoa*, ca. 1857. See studies for these images in Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*. On midcentury use of caste labels juxtaposed with "silence with regards to the race or color of named living individuals," see McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, 113.

118. A later Spanish traveler, José María Gutiérrez de Alba, described the Mosquera brothers in 1873 as "of pure African race," highly knowledgeable and "fanatic" in their display of Catholic symbols, quoted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 412.

119. On prácticos in the Portuguese Amazon, see Roller, "River Guides, Geographic Informants."

120. Codazzi referred to Albis as "him of the little book and verses about the Andaquíes," Soriano Lleras, *Itinerario de la Comisión Corográfica*, 104.

121. On the importance to Codazzi of information obtained from the Mosqueras, see "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 154, 187, 195.

122. Agustín Codazzi to Anselmo Pineda, January 4, 1852, *La Discusión*, October 2, 1852, 4.

123. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 154, 195.

124. *Mapa corográfico del Estado de Cundinamarca, perteneciente a la Confederación Granadina. Levantado de orden del gobierno por el general Agustín Codazzi, una parte en los años de 1856 y 1857 y concluido en 1858*, Manuscript, AGN, SMP 3, ref. 15.

125. Domínguez Ossa et al., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 16.

126. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 187.

127. "Informe ajeno (prob. debido a A. Licciani) sobre situación física y humana del Casanare," and "Carta de A. Licciani a Codazzi en fecha 10 de enero de 1856,"

AGN, SC, GC, rollo 3. For transcriptions, see Gómez López et al., eds, *Territorio de Casanare*, 66–68.

128. Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 200–202.

129. Codazzi, "Descripción del Territorio del Caquetá," 191; Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 133; Mosquera, "Relacion historiada," 3–4, and "Descripción del viaje de Pedro Mosquera." Codazzi apparently referred to as Guaguas those whom Mosquera and Albis referred to as Guaques.

130. Domínguez Ossa, et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 131–36.

131. Albis, "Curiosidades de la montaña," 127. Albis's melancholic memoir began, "the entrance to the forest is ugly, painful, the heart cries and the rational soul feels separated from the civil society of its compatriots." It was the most personal of the sources, with poems about his experience and drawings, including self-portraits.

132. Mosquera, "Relacion historiada que hace Pedro Mosquera," 4.

133. Barrera, *Experiencing Nature*; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 167–96; Lewis, ed., *Cartographic Encounters*; Roller, "River Guides, Geographical Informants, and Colonial Field Agents."

134. Codazzi, *Mapa corográfico de la provincia de Casanare*.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid.

137. Lewis et al., *Cartographic Encounters*. On the complexity of such exchanges, see Bravo, "Ethnographic Navigation and the Geographical Gift," 199–235.

138. Domínguez Ossa et al., eds., *Territorio del Caquetá*, 21.

139. Gómez López et al., eds, *Territorio de Casanare*, 69–71.

140. Geographers today find additional errors on the map. The town of Arauca, for example, is not quite where it should be. Ibid., 69.

141. Jagdmann, "Del poder y la geografía," 53–54.

142. Ibid., 56–57.

143. British naturalists used similar qualifiers in nineteenth-century China when unsure about information provided by local informants, Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China*, 150–51.

144. For some examples, see maps by Aaron Arrowsmith, *Outlines of the Physical and Political Divisions of South America* (1811); José Manuel Restrepo, *Carta de la República de Colombia* (1827); Sidney Hall, *Colombia* (1828); L. Vivien, *Carte de la République de Colombie* (1826), all reproduced in Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Ensamblando la nación*, 82–87.

145. Alexander von Humboldt, *Carte intinéraire du Cours de l'Orenique de l'Atabapo, du Casiquiare et du Rio Negro*, in *Relation historique. Atlas géographique et physique du nouveau continent* (Paris: Chez Schoell, 1814), viewable at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8492733z/f1.zoom, accessed January 12, 2015. For Díaz Angel et al., "this is a map dicated by the indigenes, of which Humboldt was the redactor or translator . . . a *map* in which native knowledge and European technology meld into a product of scientific character, of which the European explorer is presented as author," Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Ensamblando la nación*, 25 (emphasis

in original). The same argument about appropriation and authorship can be made about the commission's maps. Yet I would emphasize the complexity of such processes of appropriation and synthesis: indigenous informants were not the only sources for these maps; their "oral histories" were combined with the commission's measurements and with many other sources, many of which were also based in part on indigenous knowledge. And we should assume that much was lost or revised in the translation and redaction of indigenous knowledge.

146. On how Humboldt inserted himself and his indigenous informants into his texts and illustrations, and characterized the indigenous as "the only geographers of the Indies" (thus dismissing the work of his creole interlocutors), see Herrera Ángel, "Las ocho láminas de Humboldt."

147. For example, "Rio Orinoco, original por Agustín Codazzi," UNAL-ACH (unclassified), along with other sketch maps, n.d. Gómez López et al., eds., *Territorio de Casanare*, 70, emphasize the need to fill space; other cartographic scholars have suggested this to me as well, given that publishers would not want empty space. This explanation is helpful but insufficient. This is one of Codazzi's largest maps; he could have made it smaller, but he might have made it large in order to be able to fit the text, or to communicate the vastness the landscape. It is not clear whether the commission intended all of the notations to remain on the printed maps, which ultimately would include neither the floating notations nor the boxed text.

149. Arias Vanegas, *Nación y diferencia*, 59.

150. Jagdmann also sees utility as insufficient, Jagdmann, "Del poder y la geografía," 69. She points out that the Casanare map is a textual-cartographic hybrid, which is true of all of Codazzi's provincial maps but most extreme in his frontier maps. My analysis differs from hers in defining the problem that the notations were intended to solve. She sees Codazzi as "conscious" of an overriding imperative to emphasize a power relationship between the nation's Andean core and its lowland Other; such an imperative prevented him from mapping the plains cartographically in as much detail as he did for the cordilleras. I agree that Codazzi believed that the plains (and Amazonian rainforests) should be governed from the highlands and depicted a dichotomy, but I have not seen evidence of any actual desire *not* to measure and render the plains cartographically. Rather, historical evidence points to the material factors that constrained the commission's cartographic exploration.

151. On symbols used to mark indigenous settlements by eighteenth-century European cartographers, see Galloway, "Debriefing Explorers."

152. Rausch, *The Llanos Frontier in Colombian History*, 330.

153. The archive "contains numerous solicitudes from vecinos requesting permission to move their municipality . . . only Villavicencio and Orocué achieved an enduring vitality," Rausch, *The Llanos Frontier in Colombian History*, 330.

154. The Guahibos had reportedly dwelled along fertile riverbanks where they cultivated crops, but were then pushed away by more powerful groups and became more nomadic. By the nineteenth century, with increasing European settlement on the plains, the Guahibos were better able to resist settlers and missionaries than were the more settled river dwellers, Gómez López, *Indios, colonos y conflictos*, 280.

155. Rausch, *The Llanos Frontier*, 69.

156. In referring to the Guahibos or to other groups occasionally as "nations," he did not seem to confer any legitimacy to their autonomy, which he advocated curtailing. Rather, he used "nation" interchangeably with "race" or "tribe."

157. Rausch, *A Tropical Plains Frontier*, 17–19.

158. Codazzi, "Informe sobre la provincia de Casanare," 300.

159. On the hidden "fragmented appropriating processes" that underlie modern map production, see Carerra, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 8. See also Pickles, *A History of Spaces*; Safier, *Measuring the New World*.

160. On visual economy, see Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, esp. 8.

161. On "fixity," see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*.

162. See Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, esp. 10–12; Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*; Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*; Andermann, *The Optic of the State*, 148.

163. Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Ensamblando la nación*, 51.

164. Ibid.

165. A historical atlas published in 1889 by Paz and Felipe Pérez based in part on Codazzi's maps included Indians on a map of the Spanish conquest; after that, Indians no longer appeared on the national maps, as noted in Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arboláez, and Nieto Olarte, "Desensamblando la nación," 190. See Codazzi, Paz, and Pérez, *Atlas geográfico é histórico de la república de Colombia*.

166. Codazzi to Secretario de Relaciones Esteriores, *GO*, July 28, 1853, 623–24, in which he differentiated on the one hand between large "chorographic" maps mainly destined for the government and military, and on the other, smaller, simpler maps suitable for atlases and schools. See also Codazzi, "Esposicion del plan de la obra de la jeografía jeneral de la República i particular de los Estados," *GO*, December 11, 1857, 610. His 1857 plan for an atlas of 52 maps did not include a contemporary ethnographic map and did not clarify whether ethnographic information was to appear on the provincial maps or only in the text.

167. This point, and the context in which the maps were published, is further elaborated in the concluding chapter.

168. Gómez López, *Indios, colonos y conflictos*; Arias Vanegas, "En los márgenes de la nación."

169. Aware of quinine's economic potential, Codazzi had intended for his atlas to include a map of locations of quinine bark, Codazzi, "Esposicion del plan de la obra," 610.

170. Pineda Camacho, "Participación indígena en el desarollo amazónico colombiano," 111–12; Echeverri, "The People of the Center of the World," 56–58; Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*, 3–73, among others. Currently, oil is extracted in the plains, while the Caquetá is a site of illict coca cultivation.

CHAPTER 7

1. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:29.

2. Ibid., 1:31. Most mid- and late-nineteenth-century historians referred to the principal pre-Columbian civilization of what are now Boyacá and Cundinamarca in Colombia's Eastern Cordillera as the Chibchas; occasionally they were called

Muiscas or Moscas. Current scholars refer to them as the Muisca, a subset of the larger Chibcha linguistic category. According to historian Juan David Figueroa Cancino, the term *Muisca* was more common before midcentury, but Acosta and others who followed after the 1840s preferred *Chibcha* (personal communication, October 2013). I use both labels.

3. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:32.

4. Ibid.

5. On Spanish America, see for example Brading, *The First Americans*; Bueno, "Forjando Patrimonio," Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura*; Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, esp. 19–54; Earle, *The Return of the Native*; Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*; Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*; Thurner and Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule*. For elsewhere, some texts include Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*.

6. On New Granada, see Betancourt Mendieta, *Historia y nación*, esp. 27–44; Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura*; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*; Mejía, *La revolución en letras* and *El pasado como refugio y esperanza*; Tovar Zambrano, *La colonia en la historiografía colombiana*.

7. In one of the few discussions of patriotic geology for Spanish America, historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra argues that late-nineteenth-century landscape painters and writers drew on catastrophic geological theories to integrate "purportedly different historical stages into a single evolutionary narrative of progress," Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, 160–61, 163. On New Granada and Venezuela, see Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 227–34. On the Anglophone world, see Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature*, esp. 3–13; Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History*.

8. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, "Apendice al Informe que el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores presenta al Congreso constitucional de la Nueva Granada en sus sesiones de 1850," *GO*, April 21, 1850, 179.

9. Acosta de Samper, *Biografía del General Joaquín Acosta*, esp. 107–318, 393–475; Figueroa Cancino, "La formación intelectual de Joaquín Acosta."

10. Acosta, *Lecciones de jeología por el Coronel Joaquín Acosta*, 7. Only the first lecture appears to have survived in print.

11. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, "Apendice al Informe," 179.

12. Manuel Ancízar to Secretario de Estado, March 10, 1850, AGN, SC, EOR, rollo 13, no. 577, ff. 2–3. This letter from Vélez accompanied fossils, which Ancízar believed would prove important for determining the area's geological age. He also sent mineral substances to determine if they would be worth exploiting, and finally, he proposed to collect and preserve "antiquities, mummies and skeletons" to study "the characters of the race destroyed by the conquerors."

13. On geological "archives" and other historical metaphors in geology, see Rudwick, *Bursting the Limits of Time*; Gohau, *A History of Geology*, 56, 66, 148–49; Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century*; Lamb, *Devil in the Mountain*, esp. 13–37. On stratigraphy as a new way of seeing, see Weems, "Sight in Sediment."

14. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:30.

15. Ibid., 31.

16. See also Acosta, *Lecciones de jeología*, 7–8. They assumed such a traveler to be

"he," though given the activities of European women such as Maria Graham (see next note), we should suppose that some Latin American women were studying natural history as well.

17. Rudwick, *Worlds Before Adam*, 356–566. Regarding the origins of the Andes, observations by Maria Graham in 1822 and then by Robert Fitzroy and Charles Darwin in 1835 regarding the effects of Chilean earthquakes ultimately supported the uniformitarian view, ibid., 484–98.

18. Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, 170.

19. On Acosta's experiences, see Acosta de Samper, *Biografía del General Joaquín Acosta*, 107–318, 393–475.

20. In addition to the political upheavals going on in Europe, the commissioners would have been familiar with natural disasters. The Chorographic Commission took place during the decade that climate historians now mark as the end of the Little Ice Age. During that period, advancing glaciers had formed lakes behind ice barriers that would suddenly give way, causing floods similar to those described by the commission. Effects of the advancing glaciers are best documented for Europe, but similar disasters likely happened in the Andes and elsewhere, Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, 123–27; Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine*, esp. 129–225. On Mexico, see Skopyk, "Colonial Cataclysms."

21. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:245.

22. Humboldt and Peláez Arboleda, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 117–19, 168, 175–88. Humboldt kept abreast of research in New Granada; on at least one occasion, he cited Acosta, ibid., 181.

23. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Vélez," *GO*, September 13, 1852, 642, and September 28, 1852, 670; "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Pamplona," *GO*, October 27, 1853, 847, and "Jeografia física i política de la Provincia de Tunja," *GO*, December 22, 1853, 968; Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:34–40.

24. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:40, and Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografia física i política de la Provincia de Tunja," *GO*, December 24, 1853, 969.

25. Codazzi also saw evidence of more gradual geological change, Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Antioquia (Continuacion)," *GO*, March 21, 1854, 259.

26. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Pamplona," *GO*, October 27, 1853, 847, and quoted in Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:36.

27. Ibid., 2:39.

28. Manuel Ancízar, black notebook, UNAL-ACH, MAB, Personal, Papeles Personales, n.p.n. In addition to fig. 35, the other one is Carmelo Fernández, *Piedra pintada de Saboyá. Provincia de Vélez*, ca. 1851. On such images see Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 92–97, 171, 230–31, 239, 248, 264.

29. The specified watercolors by Manuel María Paz are *Provincia de Neiva. Piedra con jeroglíficos que se halla cerca de Aipe*, ca. 1857; *Provincia de Bogotá. Piedra errática*, ca. 1858; *Provincia de Bogotá. Piedras con jeroglíficos de los indios*, ca. 1858; *Provincia de Bogotá. Grupo de piedras, cerca del pueblo de Pandi*, 1858.

30. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:83; also quoted in Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 93.

31. Agustín Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," in Gómez López et al., eds., *Estado de Cundinamarca*, 269; Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

32. Ancízar, black notebook.

33. Agustín Codazzi quoted in Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

34. Izquierdo Peña, "The Muisca Calendar," 101; Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39; Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 269.

35. Humboldt, *Researches, Concerning the Institutions and Monuments*; Humboldt and Peláez Arboleda, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 199–220. On the calendar stone see also Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, esp. 93–100, 190; Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado*, 41–45.

36. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 404–18.

37. See chapter 8.

38. Ancízar, black notebook. For a more recent Colombian example of the Devil as a local explanation for unusual rock formations, see Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 216.

39. Humboldt and Peláez Arboleda, *Alejandro de Humboldt en Colombia*, 175–78; Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 196–97.

40. Gómez López et al., eds., *Estado de Cundinamarca*, 189. See also Rodríguez, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 98.

41. Codazzi quoted in Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:39.

42. Heffernan, "Historical Geographies of the Future," 135.

43. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, esp. 111–29.

44. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografia física i política de la Provincia de Tunja," *GO*, December 24, 1853, 969; Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 2:40.

45. In addition to Acosta, other midcentury scholars who emphasized the importance of the Chibchas and the conquest of them included Plaza, *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada*; Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución*; Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades neo-granadinas*, 28–29. See also review of the latter titled "Memoria sobre las antigüedades neo-granadinas por Ezequiel Uricoechea," *El Porvenir*, October 2, 1855, 11. See also Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 1–44; Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado*, 59; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 290–91; Mejía, *La Revolución en letras*.

46. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 188; repeated in Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 41.

47. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 187.

48. Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 33; Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 82.

49. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 197–98.

50. Ibid.

51. Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*; Botero, *El redescubrimiento del pasado*, 63.

52. Acosta, *Compendio histórico*, 298.

53. See Piazzini, "Arqueografías."

54. Bassi, "Creating Spaces, Envisioning Futures."

55. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Antioquia (Continuacion)," *GO*, March 23, 1854, 267–68. See the following 1852 watercolors by Henry Price for the commission: *Idolos de Los Indios. Prov.a de Antioquia*; *Antiguedades de Loza, Prov. de Antioquia*; *Diosa de oro. Sac[a]. de Una Guaca ó Sepultura de Los Indios cerca de Neira en La Provincia de Cordova*; *Múcura de los indios. Medellín*. See also Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables," 184–85, 188, 190–92; Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 270.

56. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 267–93; Paz, *Libreta de apuntes*, n.p.n. The only image from the site in the official album does not show the actual steles, Paz, *Provincia de Neiva. Bosque en el valle de San Agustín, i ruinas de un antiguo adoratorio de los indios*, ca. 1857.

57. The description and illustrations mapped the site, walking the reader/viewer step-by-step along a route that Codazzi believed to have been created by priests to instruct neophytes. He argued that the animalistic features, including phalluses and ostensibly lascivious monkeys, were symbolic and didactic, Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 274. Sánchez, *The World of Art in San Agustín*, agrees that fertility was the central theme, esp. 120. Archaeologists have revealed tombs and the detritus of lives lived among the stelae over many centuries rather than the separate ritual space theorized by Codazzi. See Drennan, *Las sociedades prehispánicas del Alto Magdalena*.

58. Codazzi, "Antigüedades indígenas," 282.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 269.

61. Quotations are from Agustín Codazzi, "Esposicion del plan de la obra," *GO*, December 11, 1857, 610.

62. My analysis of this map is similar to the analysis of an 1889 historical map in Codazzi, Paz, and Pérez, *Atlas geográfico é histórico de la república de Colombia*, offered by Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, *Desensamblando la nación*, 189–91. The later map could have been based in part on Acosta's. Regarding historical trajectories plotted on nineteenth-century Mexican maps, see Craib, "A Nationalist Metaphysics," 56–62.

63. Uricochea, *Memoria sobre las antigüedades*, 39.

64. On pre-Columbian civilization as the "preamble" to Mexico's *historia patria*, see Earle, *The Return of the Native*, 107.

65. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Socorro," *GO*, December 2, 1852, 831.

66. See chapter 5 above on Codazzi's participation in privatizing the Guane resguardo.

67. Barona Becerra et al., eds., *Estado del Cauca*, 215.

68. On sites where time and space fuse, see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 40–41; Capello, *City at the Center of the World*.

69. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Tunja," *GO*, December 22, 1853, 967.

70. Ibid.

71. On earlier plans to erect a monument, see "Proyecto de la piramide-

monumento que se ha de erigir en el Puente de Boyacá," 1825, AGN SMP 4, ref. 45a; and related documents dated January 17, 1826, AGN, SR, Fondo Historia, tomo 1, ff. 829–33.

72. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Tunja," *GO*, December 22, 1853, 967.

73. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 575–91, esp. 582.

74. On landmarks and nineteenth-century geographers, see Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, esp. 148–98.

75. See for example Fernández, *Ocaña. Iglesia de Ocaña donde se reunió la Convencion Colombiana*, ca. 1851. The choice to portray this church is paradoxical, given that the 1828 Convention was unsuccessful; divisions between followers of the leaders Santander and Bolívar derailed the efforts to create a constitution for the doomed republic, and "led to a crystalization of two factions" that would later become the Liberals and Conservatives, Delpar, *Red against Blue*, 3. Rather than a patriotic monument, the Ocaña site could have been seen as a symbol of turmoil and partisan factionalism. Yet, this was one of only a handful of commission images to be published in the nineteenth century; an engraving based on it appeared in the Bogotá periodical *Papel Períodico Ilustrado* in 1882, as noted by Rodríguez Congote, "Monumentos, curiosidades naturales y paisajes notables en las láminas de la Comisión Corográfica," 176.

76. Paz did paint the Cathedral and other buildings in Bogotá, but they ended up in a private collection rather than the official collection.

77. See Nora, "Between Memory and History."

78. "Comision Corográfica," *GO*, January, 5 1851, 14.

79. Ibid.

80. Cañizares-Esguerra argues that Mexican landscape painters and writers similarly drew on catastrophic geological theories to integrate eras "into a single evolutionary narrative of progress," Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*, 160–61, 163.

81. On the economic importance of Bogotá, see Codazzi, "Informe sobre vias de comunicacion del Estado de Cundinamarca," *GO*, November 18, 1858, 542–44.

82. Caldas, *Obras completas*, 112; Nieto, *Orden natural y orden social*, 191–200.

83. Just as did the commission's use of Bogotá for the prime meridian on maps, according to del Castillo, "Interior Designs," 151.

84. Langebaek, *Los herederos del pasado*, 11. See also Earle, *The Return of the Native*.

85. Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 22.

86. In addition to works already cited, see de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

87. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha*, 1:32.

CHAPTER 8

1. Codazzi, "Esposicion del plan de la obra de la jeografía jeneral de la República i particular de los Estados," *GO*, December 11, 1857, 609. The original, dated November 22, 1857, is in AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 586, ff. 77–86.

2. Codazzi, "Trabajos relativos al Estado de Cundinamarca. Indicaciones sobre

los medios que deben adoptarse para la publicación de la Jeografía jeneral i de la particular de cada Estado," *GO*, December 13, 1858, 565. For the original, dated November 30, 1858, see AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 587, ff. 93–94.

3. Soriano Lleras, *Anécdotas y leyendas familiares*, 38. The village was subsequently renamed Agustín Codazzi.

4. All of the details and quotations regarding this plan, unless otherwise noted, are from Codazzi, "Esposicion del plan de la obra," 609–11.

5. Ibid.

6. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 519.

7. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 175.

8. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 444–46. See also Indalecio Liévano, Manuel Ponce de León and Manuel María Paz to Secretary of Government and War, 1859, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 588, ff. 96–99, as well as contracts contained in no. 593, ff.152–63.

9. Indalecio Lievano, various documents, 1860, AGN, SC, EOR, CC, no. 589, ff. 102–12.

10. Pérez, *Jeografía física i política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, v; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 448.

11. Pérez, *Anales de la Revolución*. See also Enrique Pérez, *Vida de Felipe Pérez*.

12. Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*; Enrique Pérez, *Vida de Felipe Pérez*, 27.

13. Sánchez argues that Pérez applied Balbi more rigidly than did Codazzi, with less fluidity, thus losing the "thematic unity" of Codazzi's originals, *Gobierno y geografía*, 524–25.

14. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Antioquia," *GO*, March 15, 1854, 235.

15. Pérez, *Jeografía física i política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 2:459.

16. Ibid., 2:483. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 525.

17. Agustín Codazzi, "Jeografía física i política de la Provincia de Medellín," *GO*, February 17, 1854, 138.

18. Pérez, *Jeografía física i política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 1:135.

19. Ibid.

20. Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas*, 11.

21. Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 38–39.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 82.

24. Safford makes this point about race, though in my view he overestimates the difference between Pérez's and Codazzi's views, Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 20–32.

25. Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 169.

26. Ibid., 170.

27. Ibid., 177–78. On how the nineteenth-century discourse of racial equality as having been achieved was deployed to justify ongoing discrimination, see McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*; Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*.

28. Ibid., 177–78.

29. He was likely influenced by Samper, whom he cites in the prologue to Pérez, *Jeografía física i política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, vi.

30. Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 183.

31. Sánchez concludes that Mosquera's attack on Pérez figured in motivating Liberals to oust Mosquera from his third presidency and imprison him in 1867, Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 456–57.

32. Mosquera, *Compendio de geografía general*, 1–3. On the friendly relationship between Codazzi and Mosquera, see Codazzi's laudatory account of the 1854 military campaign, *Resumen del diario histórico del Atlántico, Istmo i Mompos*. See also his warm letters to Mosquera: January 10, 1850, D27425; September 25, 1853, D28710; and January 16, 1854–December 24, 1854, D29752–29777, all in the ACC (courtesy of Yesenia Barragán), and letters from Mosquera to Codazzi, 1852–1854, reproduced in Schumacher, *Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi*, 265–67. On earlier criticisms that Mosquera had leveled at Acosta, see del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 71.

33. Mosquera, *Compendio de geografía general*, 305–15.

34. Mosquera, *Memoir on the Physical and Political Geography* and *Compendio de geografía general*.

35. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 443–53. See also Pérez, *Jeografía física i política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, iv–v.

36. Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera to Agustín Codazzi, n.d. [1858], AGN, SAA, FAI, Tomo 3, Carpeta 23, ff. 360–70. For Mosquera's original draft, see Borrador de un informe dirigido al Gral. Agustín Codazzi, n.d. [1858], ACC, Archivo Mosquera, D. 35,982 (courtesy of Yesenia Barragan). Citations refer to the AGN copy.

37. Ibid., f. 368.

38. Ibid., f. 362.

39. Ibid., f. 370.

40. Ibid., f. 370.

41. Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 450; Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral de Colombia, escrita por Felipe Pérez," *Diario Oficial*, June 22, 1866, 4.

42. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 602–4.

43. Mosquera, *Compendio de geografía general*.

44. Ibid., 5.

45. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral"; Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas*.

46. For example, he asserted that Pérez vastly underestimated the number of Indians in Colombia, which Mosquera put precisely at 17.66 percent of the population, Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 602–4.

47. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 603.

48. Ibid., 604. See also Mosquera, *Compendio de geografía general*, 4.

49. "Sabidurias de vieja," which I translated as "old wives' tales," Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas*, 9.

50. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 603.

51. Ibid.

52. Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas*, 9.

53. Ibid., 2.

54. Mosquera, *Compendio de geografía general*, 3–5; Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 452–53.

55. *Carta corográfica del Estado del Cauca, construida con los datos de la Comisión Corográfica y de orden del Gobierno General por Manuel Ponce de León, Ingeniero y Manuel María Paz*, AGN, SMP 6, ref. 5, 1864, 107 × 62 cm.

56. Ibid.

57. Both the printed and manuscript maps are in the AGN, SMP 6.

58. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 603.

59. Mosquera to Codazzi [1858].

60. Mosquera, "Informe sobre la jeografía jeneral," 602, 603.

61. Ibid.

62. Pérez, *Réplicas jeográficas*, 20.

63. Acosta, *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonizacion*, viii.

64. On the active participation of Codazzi's Military College alumni in the confiscation of rural church properties in the eastern highlands, 1861–1886, see del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Making," 193–213, and "Prefiriendo siempre á los agrimensores científicos."

65. Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, and Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias histórico-políticas*. I draw here on the analysis provided in Betancourt, *Historia y nación*, 41–44, and Mejía, *El pasado como refugio y esperanza* and *La Revolución en letras*, esp. 177–208. See also Melo, "La idea del progreso," 22–24.

66. Mejía, *El pasado como refugio y esperanza*, 280–81. For an example of a school text, see Vergara y Velasco, *Novísimo texto de Historia*.

67. Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española*.

68. Ibid., 1.

69. Ibid., 178. For a similar argument by a contemporary of Restrepo who generally championed Codazzi, see Vergara y Velasco, *Novísimo texto de historia*, esp. 80–83. On Vergara y Velasco, see the last part of this chapter and the conclusion to this book.

70. Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española*, 158–68, and *Crítica de los trabajos arqueológicos*.

71. Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española*, 43. For a more detailed critique of midcentury Colombian geological assumptions, see Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografia de Colombia*, 208–60.

72. Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española*, 176.

73. "Chorography" has been revived of late by art historians, archaeologists, and literary theorists, e.g., Michael Shanks, http://www.mshanks.com/chorography/, accessed May 29, 2015; Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology*.

CONCLUSION

1. And beyond: "race and region were umbilically connected" among late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century European and North American geographers, Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, 221–41.

2. Élisée Reclus, "Atlas de la Colombie, publié par ordre du gouvernement colom-

bien," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 12 (1866), 140–46; http://reclus.wordpress.com/bibliografia-de-reclus-sobre-colombia/, accessed January 18, 2015 (website created by David Alejandro Ramírez Palacios). On Reclus's travel in Colombia, see Reclus, *Viaje a la Sierra de Santa Marta*.

3. Hettner, *La cordillera de Bogotá*, 24–25, quoted in Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 506–7.

4. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 25. See also Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía*, 506–7.

5. Reclus, "Atlas de la Colombie," 146.

6. Pérez, *Compendio de jeografía jeneral* and *Geografia general física y política*; Codazzi et al., *Atlas geográfico é histórico*.

7. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 24, and Reclus, *Colombia*.

8. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 286–87.

9. Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi, http://www.igac.gov.co/, accessed January 10, 2015. On how several successive maps of Antioquia were based on Codazzi's, see Vergara y Velasco, *Memoria sobre la construcción de una nueva carta*, 36.

10. Vergara y Velasco, note in *AI*, no. 16 (November 1908), 129. The Society of Engineers was founded in the 1890s. Lorenzo Codazzi, Agustín's son, who had participated unofficially in the commission, was among the founders, according to its website, http://www.sci.org.co/Quienes-somos/Historia.aspx, accessed December 15, 2014. Thus it had a link back to the commission.

11. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 56; Vergara y Velasco, *Novísimo texto de Historia*, esp. 80–83.

12. In exalting Codazzi, Conservative intellectuals such as Vergara y Velasco might have preferred to distance themselves from the midcentury radicalism of some of his creole collaborators. Vergara y Velasco criticized subsequent geographers, especially Pérez, of being "plagiarists," Vergara y Velasco, note in *AI* 16, no. 189 (November 1908), 129.

13. Del Castillo, "The Science of Nation Building," 184–241. Parallel to the federal government, state governments and local elites also produced educational materials that incorporated geography, Vergara y Velasco, *Memoria sobre la construcción de una nueva carta*, 37; Cuadros Sánchez, "Education, geography, and regional interests."

14. Ibid., 213–14.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 59. On geography education in the early twentieth century, see del Castillo, "Educating the Nation," 194–97.

18. He presented a paper to the Ethnographic Society of Paris in 1860 and appended it to his book on Spanish America, titled *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, in which he further elaborated his typology. See Pérez, *Jeografía jeneral de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, 170–77, and chapter 8 above.

19. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 84.

20. Ibid.

21. See discussion of types in chapter 3.

22. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 84.

23. Ibid., 86. On the persistent Jewish myth, see Safford, *Aspectos del siglo XIX*. This concept of the "mestizo European race" seems to allow for, but not fully acknowledge, some indigenous ancestry, while eliding African descent despite the importance of slavery in Antioquia's colonial mining economy and the ongoing presence of black communities and people of partial African descent in Antioquia.

24. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 87.

25. López Rodríguez, "Ficciones raciales," esp. 81; Pombo, *De Medellín a Bogotá*; Roldán, *Blood and Fire*, 1–42; Steiner, *Imaginación y poder*; Valencia Llano, *Colonización, fundaciones*; Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*, esp. 66–78; Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 29–40, among other works.

26. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 89, 90.

27. Ibid., 91.

28. Ibid., 101.

29. Ibid., 180.

30. Ibid., 100.

31. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, 101. Urueña sees Samper as influenced by the Saintsimionist Victor Courtet de l'Isle, who argued that historically, heterogeneity led to revolution while fusion resulted in homogeneity, conducive to equality and democracy, Urueña, "La idea de heterogeneidad racial," esp. 5–10.

32. Historians have referred to Samper as a "follower of Gobineau" even while noting their strong differences, Safford "Race, Integration, and Progress," 26–27. Urueña disagrees, "Las idea de heterogeneidad racial," 5–10.

33. Langebaek, "La obra de José María Samper vista por Élisée Reclus."

34. See chapters 1, 4.

35. Langebaek, "La obra de José María Samper vista por Élisée Reclus," 205.

36. Ibid., 202–3.

37. Ibid.

38. The remaining Indians, he argued, would be absorbed into this single nationality, but he described Indians and bogas in more positive terms than did the commission, Reclus, *Viaje a la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*, 5–6, 34–47, 89–97.

39. Langebaek, "La obra de José María Samper vista por Élisée Reclus," 199.

40. Negative portrayals of Magdalena River bogas as exemplifying backwardness run through elite nineteenth-century writing, responding in part to their resistance to labor discipline, McGraw, *The Work of Recognition*, esp. 73–98.

41. Quoted in Urueña, "La idea de heterogeneidad racial," 16. See also Urueña's discussion of Conservative Sergio Arboleda, ibid., 13–16. For an earlier similar view see R. Gutiérrez, "Raza Hispano-Americana," NG, August 30, 1850, 284. On Conservative attitudes toward race, see Jaramillo Uribe, *El pensamiento colombiano en el siglo XIX*, esp. 278–87, 335–49.

42. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografia de Colombia*, 840.

43. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 43; Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografia de Colombia*. On Regeneration-era cartography, see also Díaz Angel, Muñoz Arbeláez, and Nieto Olarte, "Desensamblando la nación," 204–5.

44. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografía de Colombia*, quoted in Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 45.

45. Ramírez Palacios, "Las geografías de Reclus y Vergara," 46.

46. Ibid., 47.

47. Ibid., esp. 25–34; 64–67.

48. Vergara y Velasco, "Apéndice—Regiones Geográficas," in Reclus, *Colombia*, 417–71. See also Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografia de Colombia*, 129–30.

49. Vergara y Velasco, "Apéndice—Regiones Geográficas," 418.

50. Ibid., 417–20. Woodcut engraving was a relatively inexpensive technology, which could be done in his Bogotá workshop; he did not receive much government financial support even for his official works.

51. Ibid., 436.

52. Ibid., 431.

53. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografía de Colombia*, 208–9.

54. On how Hettner and his contemporaries conceptualized and debated region, see Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, 260–303.

55. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva geografía de Colombia*, 874.

56. Ibid., 875.

57. Ibid.

58. Hettner, *La Cordillera de Bogotá*; *Viajes por los Andes colombianos*; Reclus, *Colombia*, 237–43.

59. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*, 17.

60. López de Mesa, *De cómo se ha formado la nación*, 44–99.

61. Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura*.

62. Williams, *The Colombian Novel*.

63. Safford and Palacios, *Colombia*, 1–17.

64. Fals Borda, "El reordenamiento territorial"; Fals Borda and Guhl, *La insurgencia de las provincias*.

65. For example, Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*; Jimeno, "Región, nación y diversidad cultural en Colombia"; Rosenthal, *Salt and the Colombian State*; Roldán, *Blood and Fire*; Steiner, *Imaginación y poder*; Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*.

66. Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*; Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 21; Dym and Offen, eds., *Mapping Latin America*; Lois, "Measuring Up and Fitting In," 163–67. By the twentieth century, such logotypes became part of mass culture, reproduced on everything from schoolbooks to T-shirts, and political cartoons to keychains.

67. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, esp. 144–83.

68. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 20.

69. Ibid; Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*.

70. Sagredo, "El atlas de Claude Gay."

71. Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place."

72. Ibid; de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

73. On Mexico and Brazil, respectively, see Rénique, "Race, Region and Nation," and Weinstein, "Racializing Regional Difference." On Argentina, see Chamosa, "Indigenous or Criollo."

74. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*; Gudmundson and Wolfe, ed., *Blacks and Blackness in Central America*.

75. The duality of danger and desire embedded in Colombia's "moral topography" is vividly narrated in Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*. On how Antioquia elites in the 1940s and 1950s associated political violence with the lowland racial Other, and how such associations can work to justify violent repression, see Roldán, *Blood and Fire*, 3–26. The rich national resources of the lowland tropics are to be exploited, but the violence and poverty that has accompanied such exploitation are too often viewed as endemic and unsolvable. On the effects of contemporary violence, poverty, and economic transformations on indigenous and black Colombians of the lowlands, see for example: Oslender, "Another History of Violence," 77–102. There are many such examples from other countries as well. For Peru, for example, see Stern, ed., *Shining and Other Paths*.

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