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**The hero and the image of nationalism in Colombia,
The sculptures at “Parque del Centenario” (1883-1958).**

Master's Thesis

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Paris and Prague, 2015

Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 08 August 2015

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The hero and the image of nationalism in Colombia, The sculptures at “Parque del Centenario” (1883-1958).

The main objective of this master thesis is to analyze and determine the relationship between the construction of the pantheon of heroes¹ in Colombia and the attempt to consolidate a national identity in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This problem is analyzed through a case study that focuses on a specific public space in Bogotá: “El Parque del Centenario”. This space was built in 1883 for commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Simon Bolivar’s birthdate. The research was conducted as an analysis that puts on dialogue different kinds of historical sources. Therefore, the use of images representing the monuments; maps and plans of the park and the city were; but above all, the main sources of analysis are newspapers and magazines which circulated between 1880 and 1958.

The analysis of this case study is presented as a historical narrative that aims to provide relevant information about the construction and development of this public space. This text is divided into three chapters that chronologically follow the progress of the park. The first chapter covers the period between 1883 and 1910. This section focuses on the celebration of the centenary of Bolívar’s birth. There will be presented some of the characters related to the decision making concerning the celebration. It will also be given a special place to the analysis of the publication “El Papel Periódico Ilustrado” and its director Alberto Urdaneta.

The second chapter covers the period between 1910 and 1926. Here, it will be discussed the celebration of the centenary of Independence in 1910. Through this celebration, other monuments were created and located in parks and squares of the city. The commemoration gave a new aspect to Bogota. Some modifications were made in public space and some of those affected in a considerable way the park. This chapter, therefore, will focus on the relationship between the celebration of independence and the changes made into the park. The third and final chapter of the text will cover the renovations made to “Parque del Centenario” in 1926. These renovations were carried out by the Minister of Public Works, Laureano Gomez. He was responsible for hiring the engineer and the architect Arturo Jaramillo and to Roberto Concha to perform the work. With this reorganization, five new sculptures were placed in Parque del Centenario. Finally, the text will end analyzing the destruction of the park between 1947 and 1958 marking a new model of development and modernization in the city which led to the construction of the Carrera 10 and the Calle 26.

¹ In this text, the concept “pantheon of heroes” is not related with a specific building. Here, the concept will be used to define the group of historical figures selected by the political elites to represent the ideals of the nation.

Le héros et l'image du nationalisme en Colombie, Les sculptures dans le « Parque del Centenario » à Bogota (1883-1958).

L'objectif principal de ce mémoire est d'analyser et de déterminer la relation entre la construction du « panthéon des héros »² en Colombie et la tentative de consolidation d'une identité nationale à la fin du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle. Ce problème est analysé à travers une étude de cas qui se concentre sur une partie de l'espace public de Bogotá: « Parque del Centenario ». Cet espace a été construit en 1883, en commémoration du 100e anniversaire de la naissance de Simon Bolivar. Cette recherche a été menée avec une analyse, dans lesquels différents types de sources historiques entrent en dialogue. Parmi ces sources on peut trouver des images représentant les monuments, les cartes et les plans du le parc et de la ville, mais avant tout, les principales sources utilisées sont des journaux et des magazines qui ont circulé entre 1880 et 1958.

L'analyse de cette étude de cas se présente alors comme un récit historique qui vise à fournir des informations pertinentes au sujet de la construction et du développement de cet espace public. Ce texte est conçu en trois chapitres qui traitent chronologiquement le développement du parc. Le premier chapitre porte sur la période entre 1883 et 1910. Cette première section se concentre sur la célébration du centenaire de la naissance de Bolívar. Ils seront présentés certains des personnages qui étaient liées à la prise de décision à propos de la célébration. Cette partie accorde une place particulière à l'analyse de la publication de l'hebdomadaire « El Papel Periódico Ilustrado » et à son directeur Alberto Urdaneta.

Le deuxième chapitre se consacre à la période entre 1910 et 1926. Dans ce chapitre on trouve une analyse de la célébration du centenaire de l'indépendance en 1910. Pendant cette célébration d'autres monuments ont été placés sur des places et des parcs de la ville, qui a donné un nouveau visage à Bogota. Quelques modifications ont été faites dans l'espace public et certains ont affecté de manière considérable le « Parque del Centenario ». Ce chapitre, par conséquent, se concentre sur la relation entre la célébration de l'indépendance et les modifications apportées au parc. Le troisième et dernier chapitre du texte aborde les rénovations effectuées au parc en 1926. Ces rénovations ont été effectuées par le Ministre des Travaux Publics (Ministro de Obras Públicas), Laureano Gomez. Il était responsable de l'engagement de l'ingénieur et architecte Arturo Jaramillo pour la réalisation de ce chantier. Avec cette modification, cinq nouvelles sculptures ont été placées dans cet espace qui serait finalement détruit entre 1947 et 1958. La destruction du parc était liée au développement d'un nouveau modèle de modernisation de la ville qui a donné comme résultat la construction de nouvelles rues et voies rapides telles que « La Carrera 10 » et « La Calle 26 ».

²Dans ce texte, le terme « panthéon des héros » n'est pas lié à un bâtiment spécifique. Ici, le concept est utilisé pour définir le groupe des personnages historiques sélectionné par les élites politiques pour représenter les idéaux de la nation.

Hrdina a obraz nacionalismu v Kolumbii, Sochy v *Parque del Centenario* (1883-1958).

Hlavním cílem mé diplomové práce je analyzovat a určit vztah mezi konstrukcí panteonu hrdinů v Kolumbii a snahou konsolidovat národní identitu na konci devatenáctého a na začátku dvacátého století. Tento problém analyzuje případová studie, která se zaměřuje na konkrétní veřejný prostor v Bogotě, *El Parque del Centenario*. Tento prostor byl vystavěn v roce 1883 jako připomenutí 100. výročí narození Simona Bolívara. Výzkum byl proveden pomocí analýzy čerpající z různých historických pramenů: obrazů představujících pomníky, map a plánů parku i města, ale především novin a časopisů z let 1880-1958.

Analýza případové studie je prezentována jako historický narativ, který má za cíl poskytnout relevantní informace o stavbě a vývoji tohoto veřejného prostoru. Text je rozdělen do tří kapitol chronologicky sledujících vývoj parku. První kapitola se zabývá obdobím 1883-1910 a zaměřuje se na oslavu stého výročí narození Bolívara. Představuje řadu důležitých postav, které se podílely na rozhodnutích týkajících se této slavnosti, také analyzuje publikaci *El Papel Periódico Ilustrado* a osobnost stojící za ní Alberto Urdaneta.

Druhá kapitola se zabývá obdobím 1910-1926 a zaměřuje se na analýzu oslavy stého výročí nezávislosti v roce 1910. Na tuto oslavu byly pro městské parky a náměstí navrženy nové sochy, které daly Bogotě novou tvář. Provedeny byly další modifikace ve veřejném prostoru, s nichž některé výrazným způsobem postihly i park. Z tohoto důvodu se tato kapitola bude zabývat vztahem mezi oslavou nezávislosti v roce 1910 a změnami provedenými v parku.

Třetí, poslední kapitola, se bude věnovat renovacím, které v roce 1926 proběhly v *Parque del Centenario*. Zodpovědný za ně byl ministr veřejných prací Laureano Gomez, který zaměstnal inženýra a architekta Artura Jaramilla a také Roberta Concha. Kvůli tomuto zásahu vzniklo pět nových soch, které po několika letech zmizely. Poslední část textu se bude zabývat destrukcí parku v letech 1947-1958, naznačující nový model rozvoje a modernizace ve městě, který vedl k výstavbě důležitých komunikací, Carrera 10 a Calle 26.

El héroe y la imagen del nacionalismo en Colombia, Las esculturas en el “Parque del Centenario” de Bogotá (1883-1958).

El objetivo principal de esta tesis de maestría es analizar y determinar la relación entre la construcción del “panteón de héroes”³ en Colombia y el intento de consolidación de una identidad nacional entre finales del siglo XIX y comienzos del siglo XX. Este problema se analiza a través de un estudio de caso que se centra en un espacio público de Bogotá: El Parque del Centenario. Este espacio fue construido en 1883 en la conmemoración de los 100 años del nacimiento de Simón Bolívar. La investigación se realizó como un análisis por medio del cual se pusieron en diálogo diferentes tipos de fuentes históricas. Por ello se hizo uso de imágenes que representan los monumentos; también se usaron mapas y planos del parque y de la ciudad; pero sobre todo, se tomó como fuente de análisis las publicaciones periódicas que circularon entre 1880 y 1958.

El análisis de este estudio de caso se presenta entonces como una narración histórica que pretende aportar información relevante acerca de la construcción y desarrollo de este espacio público. Este texto se encuentra dividido en tres capítulos que abordan cronológicamente el desarrollo del parque. El primer capítulo comprende el periodo entre 1883 y 1910. Este primer apartado se centra en la celebración del primer centenario del nacimiento de Bolívar. Se mostrarán algunos de los personajes que estuvieron relacionados con la toma de decisiones acerca de la celebración. También se le dará un lugar especial al análisis de la publicación “El Papel Periódico Ilustrado” y de su director Alberto Urdaneta.

En el segundo capítulo se trabajará el periodo comprendido entre 1910 y 1926. Aquí se tratará la celebración del primer centenario de la Independencia en 1910. Por medio de esta celebración se trajeron a la ciudad otros monumentos que fueron ubicados en otras plazas y parques, dándole una nueva cara a Bogotá. Se realizaron algunas modificaciones en el espacio público y algunas de estas afectaron de manera considerable al parque. Este capítulo, por lo tanto, se centrará en la relación entre la conmemoración de la independencia y los cambios realizados en el parque. El tercer y último capítulo del texto abarcará las remodelaciones hechas al Parque del Centenario en 1926. Dichas remodelaciones se llevaron a cabo por el Ministro de Obras Públicas, Laureano Gómez. Él se encargó de contratar al ingeniero Arturo Jaramillo para la realización de los trabajos. Con esta remodelación, cinco nuevas esculturas fueron ubicadas en este espacio que finalmente sería destruido entre 1947 y 1958 con motivo de cambios ligados al desarrollo de un nuevo modelo de modernización de la ciudad que llevaría a la construcción de la carrera 10 y de la calle 26.

³ En este texto, el concepto "panteón de héroes" no está relacionado con un edificio específico. Aquí, el concepto se utiliza para definir el grupo de figuras históricas seleccionadas por las elites políticas para representar los ideales de la nación.

“Bastó que muriera para que todos los odios se convirtieran en veneración, todas las calumnias en plegarías, todos sus hechos en leyenda. Muerto, ya no era un hombre sino un símbolo. La América Latina se apresuró a convertir en mármol aquella carne demasiado ardiente, y desde entonces no hubo plaza que no estuviera centrada por su imagen”.

"It was enough to die for all the hatred to become veneration. All the slanders became prayers and all his deeds became legend. After his dead, He was not a man but a symbol. The Latin America rushed to convert that flesh too hot into marble and since then, there was no square which do not focused on his image".

William Ospina. En busca de Bolívar. Bogotá. 2010.

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1. Introduction

In August of 2014 “The Institute of Cultural Heritage of the District” (*Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural - IDPC*) of Bogotá decided to begin the process of restoring the monument “Shrine of the Liberator (*Templete del Libertador*)”. The monument is currently located in the “Square of Journalists (*Plaza de los Periodistas*)” in the locality of *La Candelaria*⁴. This district is the historic center of Bogotá, capital of Colombia. The shrine is located in one of the busiest areas of the city and during some years it seemed abandoned to its own fate. There were graffiti on its walls and posters plastered around its columns. Currently, there is a sculpture of Simón Bolívar in the central part of the structure, which until recently also showed some signs of oblivion. An example of the level of neglect of the monument was the story published by the newspaper “*El Tiempo*”, one of the most widely read newspapers in the country. The daily reported that a citizen named Manuel Fandiño lived within this structure for nearly 40 years without anyone knowing about it. The story became public with the restoring process of the monument begun⁵.

This context raises several questions about the meaning or importance of monuments within Colombian society. For example, one can think about the relation and reaction of people towards the characters represented in monuments. However, from an historical approach it is worthy addressing the same questions at the time of construction of monuments. Therefore, in order to understand the relationship between monuments, the city and its inhabitants over time, it is necessary to explore the context of production of the monument and the reasons for its erection within the public space.

“*El Templete del Libertador*” was built in 1883. The monument was made to celebrate the centenary of Simon Bolivar’s birthdate, the liberator of Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama, Peru and Bolivia. The shrine was located in the “*Parque*

⁴ The locality of “La Candelaria” is currently considered as the historical center of Bogotá. The reason of the label is related with the fact that until 1910, the city had roughly the same size and boundaries of the neighborhood today. For more information about the limits of the city in the late nineteenth century is possible to see: MEJÍA PAVONY, GERMÁN RODRIGO. *Los años del Cambio: Historia Urbana de Bogotá, 1820 – 1910*. Bogotá, Centro Editorial Javeriano. 2000.

⁵ The news was published on September 14, 2014 in the newspaper *El Tiempo*. It is also available in the virtual page of the newspaper: <http://www.eltiempo.com/bogota/el-hombre-que-vivia-debajo-de-la-escultura-de-bolivar-en-el-parque-de-los-periodistas/14529595> . Web page consulted on 20 March 2015.

del Centenario", built in Bogotá also for this celebration. The space became a symbol of the city. In 1910 another park was built right in front of "Parque del Centenario" to commemorate the centenary of Colombian Independence. On this occasion, two sculptures were placed in the "*Parque del Centenario*". Subsequently, in 1926 some changes were made in the space and five other sculptures were emplaced to thereby reshape the park.

During the following years, with the rapid growth of the city and the need of new roads within it, other processes of modernization took place in Bogotá. Between 1947 and 1958 the city authorities built some streets as *Carrera 10* and *Calle 26*. With the construction of these roads, the slowly dismembering of the "Parque del Centenario" started until the moment in which no place in the city was left, and therefore it disappeared. During this last period, each sculpture was relocated into other public space, giving another context to each of these monuments.

Regarding the background of the monuments there are other elements to take into consideration such as the artists who made the sculptures; the characters represented in each of these monuments; the events commemorated with the inauguration of these pieces; the changes generated in the park with the arrival of these objects; and finally, the reasons or political intensions of locating these characters in public spaces. As a result, this dissertation analyzes the context that surrounded the construction of the sculptures located in the "Parque el Centenario". Through this case of study the goal is to explore through an historical narrative the question: What was the relationship between the consolidation of a pantheon of heroes in Colombia and the creation of the country's national identity at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century?

Despite the limitations proper of a case study, the analysis provided in this document set some examples about how this process was held between 1883 and 1958. Thus, the study explores elements such as the inaugurations, the politicians involved in the selection of the historical figures represented, as well as the construction and placement of the sculptures. Also, if we have in mind that these monuments were related to different national celebrations, we can infer the commemorations were also shaping the collective identities. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to provide a historical

narrative that contains relevant information about the process of negotiation and construction of the park and the changes of the space over time. As a result of this narrative, the study provides an analysis of how these processes were articulating the characteristics and features of this pantheon of heroes and their relationship with the construction of national identity within the historical period of “The Regeneration (*La Regeneración*)” in Colombia⁶. It is important to note that in this text, the concept “pantheon of heroes” is not related with a specific building. Here, the concept will be used to define the group of historical figures selected by politicians to represent the ideals of the nation.

Focusing on the fact that about eight monuments were emplaced in the park between 1883 and 1958, we can link the space to the history of sculpture in Bogotá. In fact, one of the first studies on this subject were published in 1892 in a book called “Patriotic Monuments in Bogotá: Its history and description (*Monumentos patrióticos de Bogotá: Su historia y descripción*)”. In the first sentence of the introduction, one can read: “forty six years of the nineteenth century had already passed and still there was no trace of a monument in any square in Bogotá”⁷. The assertion in the introduction of the writer Ignacio Borda implies that the commissioning of monuments for the public space in Bogotá only started in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first sculpture to reach the city represented Simon Bolivar. It was created in 1846 by the Italian artist Pietro Tenerani⁸. The piece was located in the central square of

⁶ In the historical context written in this text, it is possible to find a definition of the period. However, For now, it is possible to give a brief definition: “By 1886, the political movement of Regeneration, who joined independent liberals and conservatives, raised the political unification of various sectors around a strong centralized state, the Catholic religion as the central instrument of ideological unification and ushered in a national project that was defined in the slogan (One nation, one race, one God.)”. Fragment taken from the Website: “Informe del Sistema Nacional de la Cultura, Colombia.” http://www.sinic.gov.co/OEI/paginas/informe/informe_19.asp.

⁷ BORDA, IGNACIO. *Monumentos patrióticos de Bogotá: su historia y descripción*. Bogotá. Imprenta de La Luz, 1892. Text online on the website Harvard University Library, accessed on 02/04/2015. <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/6902007?n=1&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25&printThumbnails=no> All the translations in this text were made by the author: “el siglo XIX había entrado hacía ya cuarenta y seis años y todavía no se veía en ninguna de las plazas de Bogotá un solo monumento”

⁸ In respect of this sculpture is possible to find descriptions in the book of Ignacio Borda, and also in other catalogs about monuments in Bogotá such as: CORTAZAR, ROBERTO. *Monumentos, Estatuas, Bustos, Medallones, Placas conmemorativas existentes en Bogotá en 1938*. Editorial selecta. 1938. INSTITUTO DISTRITAL DE PATRIMONIO CULTURAL. Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto: Guía de esculturas y monumentos conmemorativos en el espacio público. Vol. I. Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá. 2000. VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. *Arte y política a mediados del siglo XIX en la Nueva Granada*:

the city, called *Plaza de Bolívar*. After the arrival of this statue, two other monuments arrived to other squares in the city. On the one hand, for July 20, 1872 the “Square of Martyrs (*La Plaza de los Martires*)” was inaugurated. In this square the monument to the martyrs of independence was placed. On the other hand, in 1878 the sculpture of *Francisco de Paula Santander* was placed where it would be called the “Santander park (*Parque de Santander*)”⁹.

In 1883 another sculpture of Bolívar came to the city with the construction of “Parque del Centenario”. From that point, several monuments were located in different squares and parks in Bogotá. This wave was held by a series of events like the fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America in 1892 or the first Centenary of Colombian Independence in 1910. Thus, it could be argued that the construction of the park was framed within a specific process. The explosion of representations in the public space of figures related to the pantheon of heroes, which was consolidated in Colombia in the late nineteenth century.

At this point, it is necessary to explain why the dissertation is arguing that during the late nineteenth century was held the consolidation of a pantheon of heroes. In order to do that, this research addresses the issue to the process of “heroification” of political characters within the public sphere in Colombia. It is possible to argue that the process of “heroification” was constructed throughout the written form since the moment of the Independence. However, due to the small number of literate people in the country, one might think that this process was addressed only to the elite. Furthermore, the characters and narrated events corresponded to the actions made during the independence by members of these elites.

This process found a wider audience with the arrival of monuments to the public spaces within the city. As a consequence of putting images in the public space, the general public was able to access to these representations regardless their level of

el caso del “Bolívar de Tenerani”. Ponencia presentada en el congreso *Ciencias, tecnologías y culturas. Diálogo entre las disciplinas del conocimiento. Mirando al futuro de América Latina y el Caribe*. Universidad de Santiago de Chile, 29 de octubre al 1 de noviembre de 2010.

⁹ Francisco de Paula Santander occupied the charge of vice president between 1819 and 1826. From 1832 to 1837 he was president of the Republic of New Granada. Today we know this territory as *República de Colombia*.

education. With this change, the heritage represented in the pantheon of heroes, stops being owned only by the elites, and it began the consolidation of these images as a public heritage. The final stage of the process can be found in the early twentieth century with the creation of textbooks where the stories of these heroes were narrated. At that stage it was ensure the circulation of the information within the society making part in any educational process.

Taking as starting point the period of independence, it can be highlighted a written example of this process “heroification”. Between 1810 and 1811, when the revolution began in Bogotá, one “Supreme Junta of Governing (*Junta Suprema de Gobierno*)” was created¹⁰. Two members of the *Junta*, Joaquín Camacho and Francisco José de Caldas, decided to create a hebdomadal called, “The Political Diary of Santafé de Bogota (*El Diario Político de Santafé de Bogotá*)”. This newspaper published news regarding the revolution that was taking place in the city and other areas of New Granada. In the second issue of this weekly the editors created a section called “The History of our Revolution (*La Historia de Nuestra Revolución*)”¹¹. In this section the editors wanted to narrate what happened during the early days of the political change in *Santafé*. The narration details all the names of characters who had some political intervention in the process and in some cases, some figures were even exalted. Therefore a process of collective memory about these subjects was initiated. This is the case of the Canon *Andres Maria Rosillo*. About this personage is told in a passionate way how he was jailed in November 1809, and how he was freed by the people during the revolution on July 21, 1810¹².

¹⁰ In 1808 a monarchical crisis in Spain happened due to the invasion of Napoleon in Spain. From this crisis *Supreme Juntas* were created in different cities of the peninsula and the colonies. In the city of *Santafé* (Bogota) was created a Supreme Junta of Governing on July 20, 1810. For more information about the Supreme Juntas: GUTIÉRREZ ARDILA, DANIEL. *Un Nuevo Reino; Geografía política, pactismo y diplomacia durante el interregno en Nueva Granada, (1808-1816)*. Bogotá. Universidad Externado de Colombia. 2010.

¹¹ From the second issue of the “*El Diario Político de Santafé de Bogotá*” published on August 29, 1810, it began the publication of the “History of Our Revolution (*Historia de Nuestra Revolución*)”. A compilation of this text was published in 1893 by Jorge Roa. This version is available on the following link of the “*Biblioteca Virtual Luis Ángel Arango*”: <http://www.banrepultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/historia-de-nuestra-revolucion>. Accessed on June 04, 2015.

¹² *Diario Político de Santafé de Bogotá*. No. IV. September 4, 1810. Pp. 13

Similar examples of worshiping actions from political figures can be found in many texts published in Colombia during the nineteenth century. In fact, this is one of the central arguments in a text written in 1987 by the Colombian historian *Germán Colmenares*. In his book called "The Conventions Against Culture (*Las convenciones contra la cultura*)", the author shows how a large number of Latin American historians in the nineteenth century used "conventions" of European narratives to write texts which after would be read as foundational in Latin American history¹³. In the third chapter "The invention of the hero (*La invención del héroe*)", the author notes the role played by Thomas Carlyle's text "*On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History*"¹⁴ in the development of this process.

In the Colombian case, the newspaper called "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*", published by Alberto Urdaneta between 1881 and 1887, played an important role. In each issue of this weekly were published, one by one, the names and biographies of these men who were acclaimed throughout the nineteenth century. In fact, the artist and member of the Conservative Party, Alberto Urdaneta, played an important role in the celebration of the centenary of Bolívar's birthdate in 1883. By analyzing the weekly magazine is possible to have an idea about how the celebration was held.

Up to this point, it would be possible to argue that "heroification" processes were principally carried out by writing and reading practices. The spreading of this process was generated with the *mise en place* of monuments within the public space. Sculptures became this way teaching tools for the dissemination of those stories to a larger group of people. As noted above, national celebrations also occupied an important place in this consolidation such as the centenary of independence in Colombia in 1910. During this celebration, new monuments were located in different parts of the city and the country. Additionally, a contest of national history was conducted. The winners were the lawyers Jose Maria Henao and Gerardo Arrubla. The prize was the publication of the book "History of Colombia for secondary education (*Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria*)", from which many generations of Colombians learned history from 1910 and possibly until 1980. As the historian Bernardo Tovar says, "the [acontecimental]

¹³ COLMENARES, GERMAN. *Las convenciones contra la cultura: ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX*. Bogotá, Tercer Mundo Editores, 1987. Pp. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Pp. 82

character, anecdotal, romantic and patriotic of this manual [...] for over half a century exerted a major influence on the notion of national history of many generations of Colombians"¹⁵.

After showing the role of texts in this process, it can be said that monuments are a midpoint in the process of “heroification”. In fact, they are a key element, if we think on them as symbols of heritage that help to spread information on the population. They can be seen as pedagogical tools that elites used to bring citizens closer to the lives of specific political figures. The sources used on this research were analyzed with this perspective. This dissertation will only focus on the sculptures at the “*Parque del Centenario*”. Nevertheless, through the analysis is expected to develop some general conclusions about the modernization of the city and the development of the field of art in the country during the period between 1883 and 1958.

It is equally important to note that throughout the investigation, press sources have a central role. They include journals, weeklies and magazines published in Bogotá between 1883 and 1958. These types of sources (public and private) were privileged during the research due to their richness in information related to monuments within. After a review of press sources linked to government and private institutions, it is possible to find the decrees and acts in which have as main subject “El Parque del Centenario”. Similarly, throughout the press is possible to see different opinions from diverse social sectors about the reception of the construction and changes made in the park over time. The analysis of these sources will explain the formation of an opinion about the public space represented by the park.

As a result, the document is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides a historical context that will locate the reader within the context of the Colombian history of nineteenth century and the period of “La Regeneración”. The following three

¹⁵ TOVAR ZAMBRANO, BERNARDO. Jesús María Henao y Gerardo Arrubla: nueva lectura de una vieja Historia de Colombia. Published in *Revista Credencial Historia*. Bogotá. No. 115, July. 1999. Virtual version available on the *biblioteca virtual Luis Ángel Arango*: <http://www.banrepcultural.org/node/32605>. Consulted on 05-04-2015. Original Text in Spanish: “el carácter acontecimental, anecdótico, romántico y patriótico de este manual [...] por más de medio siglo ejerció una influencia primordial en la noción de historia nacional de muchas generaciones de colombianos”.

chapters are organized in chronological order. These chapters will analyze the changes in the park and will explain the flow of sculptures in this specific public space since its construction in 1883 until its destruction in 1958.

The first chapter covers the period from 1883 to 1910. This section focuses on the celebration of the centenary of Bolívar's birthdate. It will present some of the political figures related to decision making process related to the celebration. Also, the decrees and acts related to the construction of the park will be analyzed. In this section, an analysis of the work of the artist Alberto Urdaneta and his publication "El Papel Periódico Ilustrado" will place a central role. The reason to take this character as a focal point in the research is linked to two facts. The first is that Urdaneta was the artist responsible for creating the model from which a French artist would make the sculpture of Simon Bolivar for "Parque del Centenario". The second is that through the newspaper is possible to see a series of texts that contributed to the process of Bolivar's "heroification". Besides, with the publication one can follow step by step what happened in celebration from Urdaneta's point of view.

The second chapter approach the period between 1910 and 1926. This section will focus on the first centenary of Independence celebrated in 1910. During this celebration many other monuments were located in other squares and parks all over the city giving a new face to Bogota. This situation led to the fact that other characters besides Bolivar were represented in public space. In the case of "Parque del Centenario" two new busts would be located, one of the Colonel Antonio Ricaurte and one of the lawyer and politician Camilo Torres y Tenorio. The two pieces were carried out by French artists. Thus, this chapter explores the relationship of the two artists with the sculptures as well as the opening of the sculptures in the context of the celebration.

The third chapter will cover the remodeling held "Parque del Centenario" in 1926. This renovation was conducted in the municipality of Laureano Gómez, who was responsible for hiring the architect Arturo Jaramillo Concha¹⁶. With this reorganization, five new sculptures were placed in this space. This chapter describes the type of

¹⁶ INSTITUTO DISTRITAL DE PATRIMONIO CULTURAL. Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto: Guía de esculturas y monumentos conmemorativos en el espacio público. Vol. I. Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá. 2000. Pp. 88.

personages chosen by the government. Also, it will be noted how, for the first time the work was carried out by national artists. Taking this fact, it is possible to briefly address the discussion to the professionalization of the artistic field within the country. In addition, this section will attempt to show the process of disappearance of the park due to different modernizing projects in the city.

Finally, this study discusses the afterlife of the sculptures once the park disappeared. As a final point, it emphasizes the fact that this park disappeared leaving behind a story that can be linked to processes such as the consolidation of a pantheon of heroes in Colombia in the late nineteenth century. Also the research discusses the changes made in the public space of the city through the planning of various patriotic celebrations. These reflections will lead to the discussion of the professionalization of the artistic field in Colombia during the same period; and even, by looking at the changes in the park we can see the different modernization projects, that the elites wanted to implement in the city from the late nineteenth century and until the mid-twentieth century.

2. Methodology and Sources

The goal of this research is to analyze the statues and the public space of “Parque del Centenario”. In order to achieve that goal, this thesis utilizes two types of sources which will be described in this section. The first type of source used for this analysis is the sculptures themselves. Secondly, in order to go beyond the image itself, it is necessary to know the history of each piece. Certain information about the pieces is found in written texts. Other sources are documents directly related with the sculptures and the park. First, this section details the catalogs, magazines, newspapers and books that were used in the process of research. Also, it identifies the institutions and libraries which were consulted during the process. The second part of this section introduces some concepts, texts and authors that support the conceptual framework of the research.

Regarding the sources of information about the sculptures’ background, there are some catalogs presenting the monuments emplaced in the city over time. This type of source is fundamental because provides data such as the author of the work and creation date. In some cases, it is possible to know other relevant information related to the

openings or changes that the pieces had within the city. For this study three catalogs were used. The first one was written by Ignacio Borda, called "Patriotic Monuments in Bogotá: their history and description (*Monumentos patrióticos de Bogotá: su historia y descripción*)"¹⁷. This book was published during the celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America in 1892. The few monuments emplaced in the public space of Bogota at that time are briefly described and portrayed through the pages of Borda's catalog. Also, the author attached some documents related to the openings.

The second source is the catalog of Roberto Cortázar. The text is called "Monuments, statues, busts, medallions and plaques existing in Bogotá in 1938 (*Monumentos, estatuas, bustos, medallones, y placas conmemorativas existentes en Bogotá en 1938*)". In this case, the publication was produced with the support of the *Universidad Colegio del Rosario* and the Colombian Academy of History to celebrate the fourth centenary of Bogota's foundation. This text was intended to be the "most complete work and true collection that could be arise in such an important and curious matter"¹⁸. In this case, the author presents in alphabetical order the personalities represented on monuments and commemorative pieces during this period. Similarly, the information focuses on the lives of these characters rather than on the objects themselves.

In third place, a publication from 2010 called "Bogotá, a museum on open air. Guide of sculptures and commemorative monuments on the public spaces (*Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto. Guía de esculturas y monumentos conmemorativos en el espacio público*)"¹⁹ was taken as guide for this research. This book was written after the first decade of the twentieth century, in a city that multiplied its size since 1938. In this case, "The Institute of Cultural Heritage of the District (*Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural - IDPC*)" catalogs all the monuments emplaced in the public space of Bogotá in 2010. This study contains documents related to a systematic list of monuments in the

¹⁷ BORDA, IGNACIO. Monumentos patrióticos de Bogotá... Op Cit.

¹⁸ CORTÁZAR, ROBERTO. Monumentos, estatuas, bustos, medallones, y placas conmemorativas existentes en Bogotá en 1938. Bogotá. Editorial selecta. 1938. Pp. III. Original text in Spanish: "obra más completa y verdadera colección que podría presentarse en la tan importante y curiosa materia que la informa"

¹⁹ INSTITUTO DISTRITAL DE PATRIMONIO CULTURAL. Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto... Op. Cit.

city. It also holds some information about the pieces and changes they have suffered through time. To that extent, this book became a significant contribution to the process of data collection.

Besides catalogues, the researcher reviewed newspapers from the time the monuments were constructed for this study. Press is a relevant source because all the monuments were built for different national celebrations. For this reason, it seemed quite possible to find information in this kind of document. It is worth mentioning that the press is a privileged place for finding information. Through different publications it was possible to find official documents related to the displacements of sculptures in the city through time. Additionally opinions made by different social actors about the monuments were found. If press is examined as an element for the formation of public opinion, the analysis becomes more fruitful. Through this perspective it is possible to affirm that the opinion about the independence heroes was formed within the public sphere through the publication of information related with the sculptures. In this sense, one could conclude that both the press and the monuments were teaching tools in the process of consolidation of the pantheon of heroes in the Colombia's public sphere at the end of nineteenth century.

As it was mentioned before, this section presents a brief description of the newspapers consulted on this study. Some of the publications are related to government institutions which were responsible for the decision making in relation to the public spaces, including the "Parque del Centenario". Among these public documents, there is the publication of the "Laws of the United States of Colombia (*Leyes de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*)" for the year 1881, where a decree for the celebration of the centenary of Bolivar's birthdate was found. Additionally, some issues of the "Official journal (*Diario Oficial*)" were consulted. The "Official Journal" is the institutional publication of the National Press of Colombia (*Imprenta Nacional de Colombia*) and collects all the laws that have been enacted in the country since 1864. Moreover, in order to document the changes made to "Parque del Centenario" after 1920, the researcher reviewed the "Bulletin of the embellishment society in Bogotá (*Boletín de la sociedad de embellecimiento de Bogotá*)". This publication belonged to the *Sociedad de Embellecimiento* which was created by the Agreement No. 2 of 1918. With this

agreement the institution was in charge of the maintenance of all the parks, gardens and avenues of the city²⁰.

In addition to consult institutional publications, the researcher reviewed nationwide renowned newspapers and magazines written for a wider audience. The sources selected cover the same period of existence of the park. Among the publications there are the “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*”, published by the artist Alberto Urdaneta and a group of Colombian intellectuals between 1881 and 1887. Also, It was analyzed the “*Revista el Gráfico*” published between 1910 and 1930. Finally, the study also took into account some newspapers which began to be published in the early twentieth century and that continue to circulate in the city until now. This is case of the newspapers *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *La Revista Cromos*.

Furthermore, due to the many changes that were made to the park and the fact that it disappeared in 1958, it was necessary to consult images, photos and other visual sources. These documents were collected between 2013 and 2015. As a result of the study of visual sources, it is possible to notice the changes that were taking place in the space where the “Parque del Centenario” was located. Some images were found as a descriptive element in the press. In addition, some undated photos were found on the archive of the “Ministry of Culture of Colombia (*Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia*)”. Likewise, it is worth to mention the collection of the photograph *Saúl Ordúz* which belongs to the “Bogota Museum (*Museo de Bogotá*)”. This collection contains photographic records of the “Liberator’s shrine (*Templete del Libertador*)” between 1948 and 1958. Finally, between the months of July and August of 2013 and 2014, some field trips through the city of Bogota took place. The goal of these trips was to visually record all the monuments that once were located in the “Parque del Centenario”. As a result, it is possible to see each of the sculptures in their present-day environment. It should be noted that a big part of the photos take the structure of the shrine as the main image. To a lesser degree images of the other areas of the park were found.

²⁰ Information found through the documentary repository of the website of the “Red de ciudades por el espacio público. Colombia”. Web site visited for the last time on 04/08/2015. Available in: <http://redciudades.dadep.gov.co/index.php/repositorio-documental>.

Finally, it is important to mention the maps and plans consulted for the research. Two plans of the “Parque del Centenario” showing the changes scheduled for the remodeling in 1926 were found within the section “Mapas y Planos del Fondo INVIAS” of the “General Archive of the Nation of Colombia (*Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia*)”. Furthermore, in order to show the growth of the city through maps, the study uses two sources. First, maps of 1984, 1910, 1923 and 1936 were found within the “Historical Atlas of Bogotá, Cartography 1791-2007 (*Atlas Histórico de Bogotá, Cartografía 1791-2007*)”, conducted by the authors Germán Mejía Pavony y Marcela Cuéllar Sánchez²¹. Additionally, the researcher uses some new digital tools that have been developed by the *National Library of Colombia (Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia)* since a couple of years ago. The project “*Digital Map Collection*” uses the Geographic Information System (GIS) to adapt historical maps of the city to the representation of the territory given by the Google Earth software²². Thanks to this tool, it has been possible to construct images that show graphically the process of growth of the city over time. It is even possible to see how the growth of the city affects the development of the “Parque del Centenario” between 1894 and 1936.

At this point, it is important to highlight the significant role played by the internet and virtual tools in the development of this research. Thanks to catalogs and virtual libraries developed by several Colombian institutions, it was possible to research from Prague and Paris. However, all not digitalized sources were collected in Colombia before September 2013 and during the summer of 2014. The libraries consulted so far have been the *Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia*, *Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango*, *el Archivo General de la Nación en Colombia*, the repository of documents at the *Ministerio de Cultura*, and the archives of *Museo de Bogotá*.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

The previous section presents all the primary sources used within this research. This section introduces some theoretical approaches that served as basis for the reading

²¹ CUÉLLAR SÁNCHEZ, MARCELA y MEJÍA PAVONY, GERMÁN. *Atlas Histórico de Bogotá. Cartografía (1791-2007)*. Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural. Editorial Planeta. 2007.

²² Through the following link of the Digital library of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia*, it is possible to download the compendium of maps developed by the National Library. Web page accessed for the last time 04/10/2015. <http://www.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/content/mapoteca-digital-en-google-earth>

and understanding of the sources mentioned above. Two theoretical approaches are assumed for this research: first, the concept of image and efficacy of the image displayed in the text "*Les pouvoirs de l'image*" written by the French philosopher Louis Marin²³. Secondly, the notion of public space applied to this analysis was taken from the article "The formation of 'public space' as a factor of political change: clarification of the concept of 'publicity' bourgeois (*La formación del «espacio público» como factor de cambio político: precisiones al concepto de «publicidad» burguesa*)" written by the historian Francisco Sevillano Calero²⁴.

Initially, it should be noted that while working with sculptures as object of analysis, the researcher should direct the inquiries to the concept of image as well as the power and the role they have in public spaces. Thus, the French philosopher Louis Marin in his book *Les Pouvoirs de l'image* provides two relevant concepts for this case study: representation and power.

For Marin, the self of the image can be defined as an object which is "une copie, un décalque, une deuxième chose"²⁵. When copying the object, the imitation replaces it. The image becomes a "re-presentation", to present once again, a second presence "présence seconde". Thus, it can be argued that the presence of Bolívar's image in the parks of the city could have an important value as object of devotion due to its reference to the political figure.

At this point, following the steps of Marin's theory, it is worth to highlight the role of absence as an enhancer element. Thereby, Marin argues that when it is possible to present the absence of someone or something with an image that replaces him/her/it, a much more intense sensation is generated in the public than the presence of the real subject. With the sculptures placed throughout different periods between late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the city, it was generated a process of re-presentation of the heroes in the public space. Therefore, citizens who already knew about the life of these political figures were able to relate the images with the stories. Those images were

²³ MARIN, LOUIS. *Des Pouvoirs de l'Image*. Paris. Éditions du Soleil. 1993.

²⁴ SEVILLANO CALERO, FRANCISCO. *La formación del «espacio público» como factor de cambio político: precisiones al concepto de «publicidad» burguesa*. *Review Historia y Civilización*. Vol. 8. Year 2005. Pp, 185-203.

²⁵ MARIN, LOUIS. *Des Pouvoirs de l'Image...* Op Cit. Pp. 10

complemented with texts and heroic stories available in books and newspapers which were published in the city and in the country. On the other hand, for people who did not know about the characters represented in the sculptures, they became pedagogical tools that facilitate a first approach to the heroes. This process was linked to the development of a national identity that did not include equally all the spheres of Colombian society, but strengthened and legitimized the power of elites, who were descendants of those political figures represented. Therefore, if the objects are analyzed from Louis Marin's perspective, it is possible to infer that the heroification process takes place from and through the images.

Secondly, Marin claims that representations have power. In the author's words, power can be measured through efficacy. Marin makes a concrete definition of power as “être en état d'exercer une action sur quelque chose ou sur quelqu'un [...] Pouvoir, être en puissance de...”²⁶. The theoretical apparatus of this research can be constructed based on Marin's definition of power. Marin argues that the power of images lies on its capability of being an object of representation in two ways: the presence of the absence (Presentification de l'absent), and the self-presentation which introduces the object observed within a frame of affection and meaning (auto-présentation instituant le sujet de regard dans l'affect et le sens). Consequently, in the same object are the means to generate force, and to transform that force in “*puissance*”, to perform an action on the other in this case, the observer. According to the author, this efficacy should be measured outside the image. For this reason, to study the force of images, it is necessary to see through their history, its cultural context and their effects within the same context.

The application of this theoretical approach to the case study presented here has several implications. First, it creates a direct relation between the presence of the sculptures and the texts connected with the figures represented. Secondly, the presence of the monuments in public space had an effective personification of that pantheon of heroes who was in the process of consolidation. Finally, it can be argued that the monuments had a real efficacy of diffusion thanks to its location on the public space as well as the legitimation made by other public spaces such as the newspapers and magazines published at that time.

²⁶ Ibid. Pp. 13

Now, It is necessary explain the definition of public space from the text of Francisco Sevillano Calero. In his article “The formation of ‘public space’ as a factor of political change: clarification of the concept of bourgeois ‘publicity’ (*La formación del «espacio público» como factor de cambio político: precisiones al concepto de «publicidad» burguesa*)”, Sevillano explains that the first intellectual who conceptualize public space and political culture was the German intellectual Jurgen Habermas. From the explanation of Habermas’ approach, Sevillano explains other ideas related to this concept that has been developed by authors such as Mona Ozouf, among others.

According to Habermas while understanding public space is important to have into consideration the separation of public and private spheres. From this separation, public space is understood as the space in which private individuals meet, express different opinions and create a consensus. Moreover, the author notes the theoretical proposal developed by the French historian Mona Ozouf. Sevillano explains that for Ozouf, public space is “a symbolic and ritual dimension that gives meaning to collective identity and the political action constructed through social practices”²⁷.

Taking into account Sevillano’s resume of theoretical approaches to the concept of public space, some interpretations can be developed for this case study. Thus, public space can be understood as the arena on which private people put their opinions publicly. Relying on this premise, it is possible to argue that the cult for heroes in Colombia was developed throughout the first half of the nineteenth century from private spaces, and gradually reached public spaces. As noted in the introduction, this process starts with writing and then evolves into images. Thus, the cult for heroes was spread on the early twentieth century through the textbooks for schools. Additionally, the national celebrations and openings functioned as social practices with huge symbolic significance, where of course, sculptures had a big part of the symbolic charge.

²⁷ SEVILLANO CALERO, FRANCISCO. La formación del «espacio público»... Op. cit. Pp. 192. Original text in Spanish: “como dimensión simbólica y ritual que da significado a la identidad colectiva y la acción política es construida a través de las prácticas sociales.”

Through this symbolism, it was possible to spread in an effective way the cult for heroes. Therefore, by analyzing images and texts is possible to understand the entire circuit of information related with the case study. At the same time, this study facilitates a better understanding of the imagery that was created around these figures during the period of “La Regeneración”, which will be presented in the next part of the text. Additionally, it can also be argued that the worship of heroes was used as tool to create a national identity and a national cohesion during that period. Even if this was not the only tool, we can think it was an element in the process.

It sounds strange to locate the construction of the national identity in Colombia at the end of the nineteenth century, considering that the process of independence occurred between the first and the second decades of that century. However, it is important to have in mind the impossibility to achieve a consolidation of the collective identity for the whole society after the independence. One can argue that at the beginning, the process was developed only in a few sectors of society. The sectors which belonged to the creole elites and that were literate. Only at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth the process reached a wider part of society. Nevertheless, this continues to be a problem for the political, economic and social development of the country nowadays. There are many scholars who have pointed out the impossibility of some Latin American countries to create a solid national identity.²⁸ Among them we can count with the arguments held on the book “*State and Nation making in Latin America: Republics of the possible*” by the authors Miguel Ángel Centeno y Agustín Ferraro²⁹.

The book mentioned above is a compilation of essays about the process of state and nation-making in Latin America. The introduction and conclusion were written by the editors Centeno and Ferraro. As mentioned above, these authors argue that the state and nation making in the Latin American are not solid enough. For them, this is the reason why some countries have political and social instability nowadays. They created a typology of what it means the “State strength”. Thus, the stability of any country is

²⁸ Between the studies related with State and Nation making and in Latin America, we can find: KÖNIG, HANS- JOACHIM. Nacionalismo y Nación en América Latina. Cuadernos de Historia Latinoamericana. 2000. Pp. 7-47. MASUR, GERHARD. Nationalism in Latin America. Diversity and Unity. . New York, London, 1966.

²⁹ CENTENO, MIGUEL A. y FERRARO, AGUSTÍN E. State and Nation making in Latin America: Republics of the possible. New York. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

related with the development of four kinds of powers. The first is related with the control of the territoriality; the second is the economic power which involves the creation of a national market and the appropriation of the resources within the territory; the third one is related with the technical capacity of the state to “process information, build organizational structures, and maintain transportation and communication systems”; and finally, the fourth one is the symbolic power³⁰. For the authors, this symbolic power can be understood in terms of national consciousness. According to them, for 1850 most countries in Latin America “had, at best an incipient nationalism almost entirely devoid of social content”. This entire panorama shows us the relation between the pantheon of national heroes and the creation of a national identity. It can be inferred that few decades after the independence process, Colombia had constructed the whole apparatus of the state. But it was only until the last part of the nineteenth century which was created the contents of the national identity. Those contents were concentrated on the creole and Hispanic traditions, leaving aside other parts of society such as indigenous communities and afro-descendant communities, which are a numerous part of society.

This section presented the literature that supports the analysis of sources for this study as well as its core arguments. The following section provides a historical context of Colombia with the goal of locating the case study of the “Parque del Centenario” into the Colombian history during the nineteenth century.

3. Colombia during the Nineteenth Century: Context for the “Parque del Centenario” Case Study

The Republic of Colombia is located in the northern part of South America. Between 1510 and 1810, its territory was a colony of the Spanish crown. Several Spanish conquerors such as Martin Fernández de Enciso, Vasco Núñez de Balboa and Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada came into the region and established settlements. Among them Santa María Antigua del Darien (1510)³¹, Santa Marta (1525), and Santafé de

³⁰ CENTENO, MIGUEL A. y FERRARO, AGUSTÍN E. State and Nation... Op. Cit.

³¹ For further information about Santa María Antigua del Darién, the first settlement of Spain in Colombia, look at the Internet site of the National Geographic: “Explorers journal”:

Bogotá (1538). Since 1550 the territory was denominated Audiencia of Santafé de Bogotá and it constituted part of the Viceroyalty of Peru³².

Before the arrival of the Spanish, several indigenous groups belonging to different linguistic families inhabited the region. The Colombian territory was not dominated by one large indigenous group, like the area of Peru or Mexico at the time, where the influence of Incas and Aztecs was strong and with the possibility of create centralized states. On the contrary, the political structure was more simple and the cultural and linguistic variability much greater³³. With the arrival of the Spanish conquerors, the colonial system was established. The new social structure was based under the “caste society (*Sociedad de Castas*)”. Each member had a specific and very rigid social role according to the color of his/her skin and the ethnic community to which they belonged³⁴.

Caste society emerged in South America after the colonial structure was carried out by the Spanish within the American territory. All social actors were classified into this social stratification. The Spanish conquerors, the African communities which arrived through slavery trades, and the indigenous communities were part of it. In the process of establishing a colonial order, the conquerors implemented institutions that demanded tribute and labor services in mines and farmlands from the indigenous communities. Such services were regulated throughout systems of work like the “mita” and the “encomienda”. These systems were applied in some parts of the colonial area of Spain³⁵.

<http://newswatch.nationalgeographic.com/2013/08/19/colonial-shipwrecks-of-colombia-santa-maria-la-antigua-del-darien/> . Web page consulted for the last time on 22-10-2013.

³² Some conquerors from this period stayed on the memory of society and later, in the nineteenth century, they became figures of worship in the pantheon of national heroes.

³³ More information about the indigenous communities in Colombia at the conquest and nowadays: LANGEBAEK RUEDA, CARL HENRIK and MELO, JORGE ORLANDO. *Historia De Colombia: El establecimiento de la dominación Española*. Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional de Colombia. 1996. Available in digital version on the virtual library Luis Ángel Arango: <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/hicol/indice.htm>; DEPARTAMENTO NACIONAL DE PLANEACIÓN DE COLOMBIA. *Los Pueblos Indígenas de Colombia en el umbral del nuevo milenio*. Bogotá. 2006. Available in digital version on the Internet site of UNHCR in Colombia: http://www.acnur.org/paginas/index.php?id_pag=5640 . Consulted on: 22-10-2013.

³⁴ Even though the indigenous groups remained to constitute an important percentage of the population in the colonial period and even in the 19th century, they were not taken into account by the elites who formulated the national ideologies during the period under study.

³⁵ Further information about the Caste Society and construction and development of the “Mita” and the “Encomienda” in the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada: PALACIOS, MARCO y SAFFORD, FRANK.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish crown did not create any kind of administrative structure which would give cohesion among the territories surrounding the *Audiencia of Santafé de Bogotá*³⁶. However, with the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty to Spain in the seventeenth century, some administrative changes took place in the colonies such as the creation of the new administrative unit, the Viceroyalty of New Granada (*Virreinato del Nuevo Reino de Granada*) in 1717. This was the first time that the lands of the Audiencias of Santafé, Quito, Panamá and the Captaincy of Venezuela were united in a single administrative unit. The Viceroyalty briefly stopped to exist in 1723. It was re-established in 1739 and it continued to function until the end of the independence process in 1821.³⁷

The revolutions of independence started in South America in the early nineteenth century. This process was closely related to the history of the Spanish Kingdom. In 1808, Spain was invaded by the French Emperor Napoleon. The Spanish King Fernando VII was forced to abdicate. Instead of him, the brother of Napoleon, Joseph Bonaparte, took control over the kingdom. The political crisis in the peninsula started from this moment. On 25 September 1808, the *Junta Suprema Central* was created in Aranjuez. This organization did not recognize the sovereignty of Joseph Bonaparte. Followed to this, similar “Juntas” were established in the American territories. In the case of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, more than five “*Juntas de Gobierno*” were established at the beginning of the year 1810 by creole elites.³⁸

Colombia, *Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. New York. Oxford University Press. 2002. Chapter 4: “Colonial Economy and Society, 1540–1780”. Pp. 35 – 54; OCAMPO, JOSÉ ANTONIO. *Historia Económica de Colombia*. Bogotá. Siglo XXI Editores de Colombia. 1987. Chapter 1: “La Formación de la Economía Colonial (1500-1740)”.

³⁶ According to the definition given by the current *Ministerio de Cultura de España*, the *Audiencias* were “legal institutions with a collegial organization. They had governmental faculties and independent authority. The *Audiencias* had the function of administration of justice among people, ensuring compliance of instructions and ordinances given by the king. In addition to its consultative nature, it enjoyed civil and criminal jurisdiction, and exceptionally, had governmental and administrative powers.” This fragment is a translation made having as a base the definition available in the Web Page: <http://pares.mcu.es/Bicentenarios/portal/audiencias.html>, Consulted on 18-04-2015.

³⁷ PALACIOS, MARCO y SAFFORD, FRANK. *Colombia, Fragmented Land...* Op. Cit. Pp. 55 - 56

³⁸ PALACIOS, MARCO y SAFFORD, FRANK. *Colombia, Fragmented Land...* Op. Cit. Pp. 80 – 88. Looking for the definition of Creole, it is possible to say: “In regions that were formerly colonies of Spain, the Spanish word *criollo* (literally, “native,” “local”) historically referred to class in the colonial caste system, comprising people born in the colonies of largely or totally Spanish descent. In the period of initial settlement of Latin America, the Spanish crown often passed over Criollos for the top military, administrative, and religious offices in the colonies in favor of the Spanish-born *peninsulares* (literally

The newly established institutions took over the administrative control in cities and villages. During 1810, their political discourse was not completely separatist. On the contrary, most of the *Juntas* were established with the idea of waiting the return of King Fernando VII. However, by the end of 1811, certain cities and villas claimed total independence. Some regions became independent states with federal systems. This was the case of the so-called United Provinces of New Granada or the State of Cartagena de Indias. Other regions created a centralist political system. This was the case of State of Cundinamarca, territory in which Santafé de Bogotá was located. The period between 1811 and 1816 was marked by the creation of several political projects for regional states with their own constitutions and systems of government³⁹. This process generated conflicts all over the territory and it continued that way until the end of the independence process.

In 1815, Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula finished and Spain was again under the control of Fernando VII. At that moment, the king decided to re-establish the colonial order in America. Therefore, between 1816 and 1819, a series of battles between the Spanish army and the armies in favor of independence were fought. In 1821, after five years of war between the Spanish expeditionary forces, commanded by Pablo Morillo, and the army commanded by Simon Bolívar, the first national constitution for the entire territory of New Granada was promulgated.

The new country was called the Republic of Gran Colombia (*República de la Gran Colombia*). This project functioned for eleven years, and then, in 1830, the lands were divided into three countries: Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia. Once the Republic of Gran Colombia was divided, the territory nowadays called Colombia became an independent republic with almost the same geographical dimensions which constitute the country today. Its name was Republic of New Granada (*República de la*

"born in the Iberian Peninsula")." Definition taken from Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creole_peoples. Web Page consulted for the last time: 19-04-2015.

³⁹ For more information about the construction of Juntas around the territory of Nueva Granada between 1810 and 1816: GUTIÉRREZ ARDILA, DANIEL. Un Nuevo Reino; Geografía política, pactismo y diplomacia durante el interregno en Nueva Granada, (1808-1816). Bogotá. Universidad Externado de Colombia. 2010.

Nueva Granada). Later, at the very beginning of the twentieth century, Panama would gain its independence and the territory finally would have its current geography.

After 1832, the Republic of New Granada began to get politically organized. The country was slowly structured into a federated system. This process began with the division of the territory into fourteen different provinces. This was a turbulent period due various civil wars which occurred between 1839 and 1858. One of the most representative conflicts of this period is the War of Supremes (*Guerra de los Supremos*) which occurred between 1839 and 1842. This conflict was developed due to a decision taken by Congress which ordered to close monasteries habituated by less than eight monks. The benefits of the closure of those monasteries would be used for education purposes. This war took place mainly in the south part of the country. By the end of the war two political parties were born which later would dominate the political arena in the country. The parties in concern were the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. It is possible to argue that during this period, the country struggled with an untestable political structure.

Slowly the country adopted a federalist system. After the civil war of 1859-1863, the Liberal Party created a constituent assembly in which they promulgated the Constitution of Rionegro. It was at this moment when the country changed its name to the United States of Colombia (*Estados Unidos de Colombia*) because of its new federalist status. The country was re-organized in nine different states and the president became Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera.⁴⁰

This epoch was also marked by conflicts between the Liberal and the Conservative Parties. The Colombian historian José David Cortés in his article “Regeneration, intransigence and Christianity Regime (*Regeneración, Intransigencia y Régimen de Cristiandad*)” explains the failure of the process of secularization that the Liberal Party tried to establish in the country during the period 1845-1876. As a result, the country had to build a new organization under the control of a political movement called “*La Regeneración*”. Cortes concluded: “The measures taken to build the secular

⁴⁰ PALACIOS, MARCO y SAFFORD, FRANK. Colombia, Fragmented Land... Op. Cit. Pp. 221 – 228.

state and the urgent need to insert the country into the world economy, failed. The result was the rearrangement made by the Regeneration, through the Constitution of 1886”⁴¹.

Now, it comes useful to point out the main characteristics of the period “*La Regeneración*”. According to several Colombian historians, this movement emerged from the union between a group of Moderate Liberal politicians and members of the Conservative Party⁴². This cooperation was uncommon in the Latin American context. In Colombia, it emerged as a response to the political actions of the “Radical Olympus (*Olimpo Radical*)”, which was in power between 1849 and 1878. The main ideological creator of “*La Regeneración*” was the liberal Rafael Núñez. According to the historian María del Pilar Acosta, this personage changed his political views 180 degrees, from the moment of his participation in the liberal party some decades before, until the creation of this movement⁴³.

The triumph of the movement was possible precisely to the political alliance mentioned above. According to María del Pilar Acosta, the cooperation was precisely the reason which led Núñez to the presidency in four different periods between 1880 and 1892. All along this decade as a president, Núñez held a series of reforms in the country. One key element to achieve the reforms was the creation of the constituent assembly who led the establishment of the constitution in 1886. This constitution with some reforms ruled the country until 1991. Thus, it is possible to say that the Constitution of 1886 was the most influential charter in Colombian society during the

⁴¹ CORTÉS GUERRERO, JOSÉ DAVID. Regeneración, Intransigencia y Régimen de Cristiandad. Revista Historia Crítica. No. 15, Junio-Diciembre 1997. Páginas 3-12. Available online in the web site of “Historia Crítica”: <http://historiacritica.uniandes.edu.co/view.php/128/view.php>, Consulted on: 03-02-2014. Original text in Spanish: “las medidas tomadas para construir el Estado laico y la imperiosa necesidad de insertar al país en la economía mundial, fracasaron. Resultado de ello fue el reordenamiento que produjo la Regeneración en la Constitución de 1886”.

⁴² Between the researches that have been developed about the period of “*La Regeneración*” we can count: CORTÉS GUERRERO, JOSÉ DAVID. Regeneración, Intransigencia y Régimen de Cristiandad. Revista Historia Crítica. No. 15, Junio-Diciembre 1997. Páginas 3-12. Available online in the web site of “Historia Crítica”: <http://historiacritica.uniandes.edu.co/view.php/128/view.php>, Consulted on: 03-02-2014; MARTÍNEZ, FRÉDÉRIC. El nacionalismo cosmopolita. La referencia europea en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900. Bogotá. Banco de la República / Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos. 2001; MELGAREJO ACOSTA, MARÍA DEL PILAR. El Lenguaje político de la Regeneración en Colombia y México. Bogotá. Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. 2010.

⁴³ MELGAREJO ACOSTA, MARÍA DEL PILAR. El Lenguaje político de la Regeneración... Op. Cit. Pp. 82

nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to the historian Frédéric Martinez, this constitution brought the following changes to the country.

[It] turns the country into a unitary republic, comprising departments headed by governors who are assigned by the executive power. In turn [governors] named the mayors; all the tax resources return to be centralized; the presidential term is extended from two to six years; voting is limited to men who can read and write; civil liberties, especially the press, are restricted and the death penalty is restored⁴⁴.

In other words, with the new constitution the country passed from a federalist government to a completely centralized system. Moreover, changing the presidential period from two to six years, the presidential figure took a main role, which did not have during the whole federal period. This change was crucial to carry out all reforms implemented. On the other hand, the conservative nature of the movement was seen through other transformations such as the limited suffrage and the assignation of mayors and governors by the executive power. Another crucial element for the subsequent development of cultural and religious practices as well as traditions in Colombian society was the Concordat signed with the Vatican State in 1887. Among other several consequences, due this agreement the Catholic Church would be in charge of education in the country. Also, this institution would be in charge of birth registration in all regions through the records of baptism. Therefore, this shows the great influence of the Catholic Church throughout the twentieth century in Colombia.

The unification of a single type of religious belief in the country it is one example of the attempts made by the movement of “La Regeneración” to unify the cultural identity. Certainly for Núñez, cultural diversity was one of the major challenges to overcome in Colombia. According to María del Pilar Acosta, Rafael Núñez showed his strong opinion through various manuscripts. Núñez affirmed that the “population heterogeneity” was one of the main political obstacles to resolve⁴⁵. This heterogeneity

⁴⁴ MARTÍNEZ, FRÉDÉRIC. El nacionalismo cosmopolita...Op. Cit. Pp. 432 Fragment: “convierte al país en una república unitaria, conformada por departamentos dirigidos por gobernadores que son designados por el poder ejecutivo, y quienes a su vez asignan a los alcaldes; los recursos fiscales vuelven a ser centralizados; el mandato presidencial es extendido de dos a seis años; el sufragio es limitado a los hombres que sepan leer y escribir; las libertades públicas, especialmente la de prensa, son restringidas y la pena de muerte es restablecida”

⁴⁵ MELGAREJO ACOSTA, MARÍA DEL PILAR. El Lenguaje político de la Regeneración... Op. Cit. Pp. 77 – 79.

was the cause of all the wars that took place between 1849 and 1880. In this regard, the Acosta notes that “the need for peace responds to one of the great problems of the country: the war, which must be avoided at all costs because, according to politicians, it degrades morally the country”⁴⁶.

In this sense, “*La Regeneración*” cannot be understood only as a movement for political reform. It should also be seen as a period of profound social reform. This movement was trying to consolidate a uniform cultural identity in Colombia. Besides the central role of the Catholic Church, it is important to consider the use of national symbols as part of this process. Exactly during this period, the government composed the national anthem which remains nowadays. The lyrics were written by the same Rafael Núñez and the music was created by Italian musician Oreste Sindici. This anthem, which is composed by 11 strophes, would also be the place to consolidate the pantheon of national heroes. Through the lyrics it is possible to read the actions taken by characters like Antonio Ricaurte, Antonio Nariño and of course Simon Bolivar.

The research question of this Master’s dissertation is immersed in the political context mentioned above. Therefore, a major hypothesis is that the consolidation of the pantheon of heroes was one of the tools used by the elite to build a uniform national identity in the country. The national symbols were exploited during this period. They were rooted in the Colombian national imaginary. Thus, the celebration of the centenary of Simon Bolivar’s birthdate and the construction of “Parque del Centenario” can be studied from this perspective. This analysis must take into account the political figures that were making decisions about the celebration, and the social media used for the consolidation of those images. For the case of study, it would be the image of Simon Bolivar. Besides the national context, it is important to consider the development and characteristics of Bogota, the capital city of the country at the end of the nineteenth century due to its important role in the process of consolidation of the national identity.

3.1. The City of Bogota

⁴⁶ Ibid. Pp. 83 Fragment: “la necesidad de paz responde a uno de los grandes problemas del país: la guerra, que deberá ser evitada a toda costa porque según el político degrada moralmente al país”

The city of Bogota was founded on August 6th, 1538 by the Spanish conqueror Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada⁴⁷. The settlement received the name of “*Santa Fe de Bogotá*”. Since the beginning, Santa Fe de Bogota became a center of economic and social development within the “*Audiencia de Santafe*”. It was one of the most important cities in the region politically and economically. With the creation of the viceroyalty in 1739, the viceroy established himself in this city. Choosing Bogotá as the capital of the country seemed a controversial decision considering the, economic power and strategic location of other cities within the same region such as *Cartagena de Indias* or *Medellin*⁴⁸. In fact, the geographical position of Santa Fe de Bogota, in relation to the other two cities, was more a disadvantage than a benefit. For example, Cartagena, as port city, would facilitate the communication with the Spanish metropolis and the commercial trades. Medellin was very close to the Magdalena River, which is the biggest waterway within the territory and it was the principal route of communication during the whole colonial period.

On the other hand, *Santa Fe de Bogotá* was founded in the middle of the mountains, in a location with an altitude of 2600 meters up on the level of the sea. It was placed in one of the chains of the Andes Mountains. Some rivers were close to the city, but they were more a source of water than a network of communication. As a result, one of the problems of both colonial and republican governments was the construction of good infrastructure to connect the city with other major towns of the territory.

One of the principal characteristics of the landscape of Bogotá is the presence of two mountains in the oriental border of the city. These mountains work as a natural border. Since the colonial period, these mountains had a role in the life of the

⁴⁷ According to one of the historians of nineteenth century, called José Manuel Groot, The city of Bogotá, was founded this day. GROOT, JOSÉ MANUEL. *Historia y Cuadro de Costumbres*. Capítulo V: “Fundación de Bogotá”. Santa Fe de Bogotá. Biblioteca Popular de Cultura Colombiana. 1951. Consulted on the Web Page of the Virtual Library Luis Ángel Arango: <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/hiscua/hiscua13.htm> , Consulted for the last time: 25-06-2014.

⁴⁸ This conflict between the city of Santa Fe and the city of Cartagena have been studied and explained for some Colombian Historians. It is possible to find information about this topic in: MUNERA, ALFONSO. *El fracaso de la nación; Región, clase y raza en el Caribe colombiano (1717 - 1810)*. Bogotá. Ancora Editores. 1998. SOURDIS DE LA VEGA, ADELAIDA. *Cartagena de Indias durante la primera República (1810 – 1815)*. Bogotá. Editorial Banco de la República. 1988.

inhabitants. These mountains are called “Monserrate” and “Guadalupe”. On the top of these two mountains it is possible to find some catholic churches. This is the perfect example of the strong presence of the catholic tradition and the religious identity than Colombian people have developed throughout the history. These two mountains are today touristic attractions, and also, they are used in some religious commemorations during the year.

Beyond the descriptive data, it is interesting to think about the population growth since the late nineteenth century until today. This information is important due to the big amount of changes that occurred in the city between the late nineteenth century and the half of the twentieth century. According to the approximations of the DANE “National Administrative Department of Statistics (*Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística*)”, the population for the year 2014 was estimated in 7’776.845 inhabitants⁴⁹. This population makes Bogota the biggest city of the Country. Some inhabitants were born in the city, but another big part were born in other cities of the country and decided to move to the capital to find job or to study a professional career. However, it is important to have in mind the fact that the city has growth exponentially during the last century. According to the Colombian Historian German Mejía Pavony, Bogota did not grow a lot in its architectonic structure or in the quantity of inhabitants during the colonial period. Even, it can be said that it did not change much during a big part of the nineteenth century⁵⁰.

This historian Mejía Pavony argues that the city only started to change during the second half of the nineteenth century. The transformations started with the adaptation of the first public parks within the public space. One example of that was indeed, the “Parque Centenario” built on 1883. At the same time these architectonic changes were made, the population started to increase and new neighborhoods were built. In the words of Mejía Pavony, “the city had 21.394 inhabitants in 1801, and it reach the cipher

⁴⁹ This number has been calculated by the DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística). The estimation is available in the report called, “Estimación y proyección de población nacional, departamental y municipal total por área 1985-2020”. It is available in the web page: <https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/poblacion-y-demografia/nacimientos-y-defunciones/34-demograficas/proyecciones-de-poblacion?lang=es> . Consulted for the last time 27-06-2014.

⁵⁰ This is one of the principal arguments of the book: MEJÍA PAVONY, GERMÁN. Los Años del Cambio: Historia Urbana de Bogotá, 1820-1910. Bogotá. Centro Editorial Javeriano. 2000.

was divided in 11 neighborhoods (*La Catedral, Las Nieves, San Victorino. Egipto, Santa Bárbara, Las Aguas, San Diego, Chapinero, Las Cruces, Pasquilla, and Nazaret*)⁵⁴. This document shows also the quantity of inhabitants in each one of the neighborhoods, and the number of men and women which resided there. Regarding to the gender of the persons living in Santa Fe, the number of women was 70.689, while the number of men was 50.562. It is possible that the reduced number of men was related to the war that the country lived between 1898 and 1902 (The war of the Thousand Days).

During the following years, the city continued growing with the creation of new neighborhoods and the expansion of the territorial extension of the city. This process did not stop during the twentieth century and it gave as a result an exponential urban growing. According to the last census (2005), Bogota had 6'778.691 inhabitants. In this case, the number of men and women was more equal. In 2005, there are 3'240,469 men and 3'538,222 women⁵⁵. The growth process of Bogota was also reflected in the expansion of the extension of the city, which at this moment counts with 20 different localities and about 1200 different neighborhoods⁵⁶.



(Image 2, Map of Bogota nowadays in reference with the maps of 1910).

⁵⁴ Censo general de la República de Colombia... Op. Cit. Pp. 336

⁵⁵ Information available in the web page of the DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística): <https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/poblacion-y-demografia/censos> , Consulted for the last time, 27-06-2014.

⁵⁶ This map was created using Google Earth, using the GIS map developed by Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.

This scenario of accelerated population and territorial growth in the city during the last century can be related to the history of “Parque del Centenario”. Thus, it is worth to mention another hypothesis which is expected to be developed along the following sections. The process of building the park had two purposes. On one hand -as it has been noted above- it was expected to promote the image of Bolivar and the consolidation of its figure in the pantheon of heroes. Furthermore, the park was part of a very specific project to modernize the city. The project pursued to build parks and squares in the same way that happened in European cities. Indeed, the hypothesis can explain the reasons why these constructions were developed with the help of European artists and architects. Some features of this process can be found even in the changes made to the park in 1926.

This model of modernization was lost over time due to the fast growth of the city. In fact, it can be argued that the disappearance of the park occurred in the context of a new process of modernization in the mid-twentieth century. By this time it was necessary to build new roads in the interior of the city. For that reason, in the decade of the 40s and 50s new routes were planned and built. Among them are the “*Carrera 10*” and the “*Calle 26*” which dismembered the park completely.

After presenting the historical context in which this research is framed, the next chapter focuses on the first centenary of Simon Bolivar’s birthdate that occurred in 1883. That chapter presents the decrees and laws that led to the organization of the celebration and the construction of the park. Later, the text introduces the life of Alberto Urdaneta, a Colombian artist who had an important role in the development of the celebration. Therefore, for this section the study takes as main source the periodical “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” which was under Urdaneta’s management.

4. The first Centenary of Simon Bolivar’s Birthdate in 1883

This chapter studies the first centenary of Simon Bolivar’s birthdate held in 1883. As previously noted, this celebration involved the construction of “*Parque del Centenario*”. For this reason, this chapter initially analyses some laws and decrees that shaped the commemoration of Bolivar’s birthday. Secondly, it discusses the role of

Alberto Urdaneta, one of the elite members, who was actively involved in the organization of this event. As an artist, he was commissioned to draw the model for the Bolívar's sculpture that would be located in a "*shrine (templete)*" built for this occasion. Moreover, this chapter analyses "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*", a publication directed by Urdaneta.

Through the analysis of the weekly "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*", this study tracks the preparations for the celebration of the Centenary of Simon's Bolívar birthday as well as the opening of the park. . To facilitate this analysis the researcher focuses on two main issues. First, the monitoring of the same celebration in the city of Caracas (Venezuela), the city where Bolívar was born Second, some narratives written in the newspaper for this celebration. At the same time, this chapter provides some details about the process of design and construction of the Bolívar's sculpture for "Parque del Centenario"

4.1. Laws Related with the Centenary of Bolívar's Birthdate

The law 84, which was issued on July 8, 1881, decreed the "Centennial Celebration of the Liberator (*Celebración del Centenario del Libertador*)". This law was signed in Bogota by President Rafael Núñez, and the chairmen of the Chamber and Senate of United States of Colombia (*Estados Unidos de Colombia*). This commandment started declaring that "July 24 is the first centenary of the birth of Simon Bolívar, the greatest man of the America before part of Spain"⁵⁷. This formulation implies the role that this figure played in the imaginary of this political leaders' generation. Bolívar's image as the liberator of several Latin American countries was already fully legitimate in the imaginary of the elites. For this reason, it was expected to organize a commemoration at the level of Bolívar's image. The first article of the Law 84 declared July 24 as a "Classic Republic Day"⁵⁸. Thus, the festival would have a specific date. This text shows the importance of the commemoration considering the scope of the plans developed.

⁵⁷ *Leyes de los Estados Unidos de Colombia expedidas en el año 1881*. Bogotá. Imprenta de Zalamea Hermanos. 1881, pp. 157-158. Original text in Spanish: "Considerando que el 24 de Julio se cumple el primer centenario del nacimiento de Simón Bolívar, el más grande hombre de la América antes Española".

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Pp. 157. Original text in Spanish: "se declara día clásico de la República el 24 de Julio".

The idea was to put together the efforts of all neighboring countries to support the celebration. Hence, in the second article of Law 84 it can be read “The Executive Power shall if possible make an agreement with the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia for the erection of a monument to the memory of the Liberator at Panama, which will be open on July 24, 1883”⁵⁹. As this article shows, it was planned a big celebration of international character. In this way, the celebration would involve all the countries that were part of the liberation campaign that Bolivar conducted between 1819 and 1827.

However, the plans mentioned in this law were never carried out. Although the celebration was in the interests of all countries in the region, they did not unify efforts to develop the festivities. Conversely, each country planned the commemoration events individually. In the case of Colombia, at the beginning the celebration intended to have a national character, but at the end the main efforts were made in the city of Bogota. Between 1881 and 1883 the Colombian institutions did not issue laws or decrees related to the commemoration. Only until March 1883 the country's president, Jose E. Otalora, signed the decree 245, which implemented the Law 84 of 1881 and establish the program for the event.

The decree 245 was published in the “Official Journal (*Diario Oficial*)”⁶⁰ on March 10, 1883. This decree designated the "Parque de San Diego" as the place to celebrate the centenary. It also designated the members of the board that would be responsible for the centennial celebration. The article fourth demonstrates the persistent idea of framing the celebration in a broader context than the national one. Thus, it was ordered to install four doors in each side of the park. On these doors, there would be the name of the nations liberated with Bolívar's help. The act intended to make clear the presence of the other countries liberated by Bolivar: Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, and

⁵⁹ Ibid. Pp. 157. Original text in Spanish: “el Poder Ejecutivo dispondrá si fuere posible de acuerdo con los gobiernos de Venezuela, Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia la erección de un monumento a la memoria del Libertador en Panamá, que se inaugurará el 24 de julio de 1883”.

⁶⁰ As noted before, this is the institutional publication of the National Press of Colombia (*Imprenta Nacional de Colombia*) and collects all the laws that have been enacted in the country since 1864. *Diario Oficial*. Year XIX, No. 5.646. Saturday March 10th, 1883.

Ecuador. These laws were reproduced in the pages of the “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” and “El Diario Oficial”.

Furthermore, the issue 5650 of “El Diario Oficial”, published on March 14, 1883, divulged the contract through which the Colombian government hired the Italian architect Pietro Cantini for "building a shrine or kiosk in the ‘Parque de Bolivar’.” The contract gave five months to Cantini to build the structure. During this period, Cantini was expected to bring all materials from abroad and to complete the construction. The contract includes a full description of the payments that the government would give to the architect,

Art. 4 - The Government of the Union will pay to Cantini as the price of the work subject of this contract the sum of twenty-two thousand “*pesos de ley*” (\$22,000) in hard cash, in the following terms. \$2,000 as soon as this contract received the approval of the citizen president of the Union; and the \$20,000 remaining, at \$700 pesos every week, since Cantini start to work⁶¹.

The decree and the contract can be considered the starting point for the organization of Bolivar’s centenary celebration. With only five months to create this park, the government began preparations for the celebration. The development of the celebration can be tracked through one of the country's most important weekly publications of the period “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*”. Due to the important role of this publication at that time, the following section of this chapter provides a brief summary of the biography of Alberto Urdaneta, director of the newspaper. The text provides some of the details about Urdaneta’s life that contribute to have a better understanding of the nature of the publication and its role during the celebration of Bolivar’s birthday centenary

4.2. Alberto Urdaneta and “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*”

⁶¹ Diario Oficial. No. 5650. Wednesday March 14th, 1883. Pp. 11653. Original text in Spanish: “Art. 4 El Gobierno de la Unión pagará à Cantini como precio de la obra materia de este contrato la suma de ventidos mil pesos de ley (\$22.000) en dinero sonante, y en los siguientes términos. \$2.000 tan pronto como el presente contrato reciba la aprobación del ciudadano presidente de la Unión; y los \$20.000 restantes, à razón de \$700 pesos cada semana, desde que Cantini dé Principio à la obra”.

Alberto Urdaneta was born in Bogota on May 29, 1845. He was the son of José María Urdaneta Camero and Adelaida Urdaneta Girardot a wealthy family⁶². Among his ancestors, there were men who occupied an important place in the Colombian Independence. That is the case of Rafael Urdaneta, General of the Army that had a close relation with Simon Bolivar, and the Colonel Atanasio Girardot, who would later be recognized as a military hero. Within this context, it is possible to infer that Urdaneta's strong family ties with these important figures influenced his stance as an artist and director of the "*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*."

Within the national historiography, Alberto Urdaneta is recognized for his participation in the formation of important institutions and organization of cultural events during the second half of the nineteenth century. In the field of the arts Urdaneta played a central role as founder of the first School of Fine Arts (*Escuela de Bellas Artes*) in Colombia in 1886. He also organized the first "National Exhibition of Fine Arts (*Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes*)" the same year. Likewise, through the years, he developed his own artistic work achieving recognition as a great illustrator. In the field of the national press, Urdaneta also left a legacy widely recognized today due to the foundation of the newspaper "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*" (1881-1887), which is listed as one of the most notable illustrated texts in the nineteenth century in Colombia.

As newspaper editor, Urdaneta published his first issue in 1869. It was entitled "The Farmer (*El Agricultor*)" and it was devoted exclusively to the countryside development and agricultural modernization. Urdaneta's second journalistic project was "The Owl (*El Mochuelo*)" published in 1877. This newspaper was the communication tool of a political group named "*Los Mochuelos*". Urdaneta joined this group due to his affiliation to the conservative party. This group was formed to attack the government of President Aquileo Parra, member of the liberal party and who was in charge of the presidency between 1876 and 1878. The conflict between liberals and conservatives had developed in the country since 1860 and lasted until the second half of the twentieth century. Correspondingly, the fact that Urdaneta became a member of this group shows

⁶² MORENO DE ÁNGEL, PILAR. 1972. BANCO DE LA REPÚBLICA y BIBLIOTECA LUIS ÁNGEL ARANGO. "Alberto Urdaneta: Vida y Obra". Santafé de Bogotá. Banco de la República, Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Departamento Editorial. 2009. Virtual version consulted on May 25th, 2014: <http://www.lablaa.org/blaavirtual/todaslasartes/alurd/alurd02a.htm>

the strong bond between Urdaneta and the conservative party which came into power after 1880. Actually, after this year, the party participated in a process of political transformation of the country called “*La Regeneración*”.

The character of the newspaper “*El Mochuelo*” was purely political. In fact, the publication of a caricature representing Aquileo Parra, led to the closure of the newspaper after its third issue. This situation forced Alberto Urdaneta to leave the country. As a result, he traveled to Europe between 1877 and 1879. From Paris Urdaneta edited, with the help of other people, the weekly “*Los Andes*” whose first issue was published on June 23, 1878⁶³. “*Los Andes*” can be considered the first newspaper illustrated and edited by Colombian authors. Also, it was the seed of other publications edited later in the country. Upon his return in 1879, Urdaneta arrived with Antonio Rodríguez, a Spanish illustrator who was in Paris. Rodríguez became the illustrator of the “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*”. This newspaper was first published on August 6, 1881. Urdaneta's biographer Pilar Moreno de Ángel describes the foundation of this newspaper as follows

He [Urdaneta] founded the newspaper that became the house in which men from both parties were coming and going freely. *El Papel Periódico Ilustrado* was the best journal published in this country in the nineteenth century. It became the Bible of Colombian newspapers.⁶⁴

As Moreno de Ángel describes, “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” somehow became a neutral territory. Through it, intellectuals from both conservative and liberal parties participated and exchanged their ideas about literature, art, and even politics. The study of this publication contributes to the understanding of the mental imaginary of the intellectuals from both parties as well as their national projects. Additionally, the symbols and characters that the publication wanted to establish within in the national imaginary and identity could be analyzed.

⁶³ Within the Virtual Library of Historical Press of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the Government of Spain (Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España), you can find the online collection of 13 issues published in “*Los Andes*”. Web site visited on March 20, 2015. http://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/publicaciones/numeros_por_mes.cmd?idPublicacion=1001044.

⁶⁴ MORENO DE ÁNGEL, PILAR. (1972). Alberto Urdaneta... Op. Cit. Pág. 69 – 70. Original text in Spanish: “Fundó un periódico que se convierte en la casa donde entran y salen libremente hombres de ambos partidos. *El Papel Periódico Ilustrado* es la mejor publicación en nuestro país en el siglo XIX y se convierte en la biblia de los periódicos colombianos.”

In her book about Alberto Urdaneta, the historian Pilar Moreno de Ángel provides a list of some contributors to the publication. This list includes writers, poets, and members of the conservative party who led the project of “*La Regeneración*” and some members of the Liberal Party. Among these names, it is possible to identify influential characters of Colombian society of the late nineteenth century such as “Miguel Antonio Caro, Rafael Núñez, Sergio Arboleda, Jorge Isaacs, y José Asunción Silva”⁶⁵.

Regarding the characteristics of each issue, the first edition of the newspaper provides pertinent information. The newspaper was released twice a month. Each edition had 16 pages with four xylographs made from woodcuts. Each number cost 50 cents. The price for 12 editions was four pesos (equivalent to a subscription for six months), and the price for 24 editions was 7 pesos (one year subscription). Twenty four numbers complete a volume which contained between 384 and 400 pages. This publication was divided into the following sections: History (*Historia*); Science (*Ciencia*); Tips, Visits and others (*Tipos, Visitas y otros*); Chronicles of Santa Fe (*Crónicas de Santa Fe*)⁶⁶; Fine Arts (*Bellas Artes*), Agriculture (*Agricultura*), Readings (*Lecturas*) and Contemporaries (*Contemporáneos*).

Among these sections, I will focus on the segment “*Historia*”. It seems that one of the main objectives of the newspaper “Papel Periódico Ilustrado” was to contribute to the process of creation and legitimization of the national pantheon of heroes. The pantheon served to the process of construction of a Colombian national identity. As a result, the newspaper intended to create and spread what could be labeled as a foundational myth for the country. This myth included both the figures of the Spanish conquest and the heroes of the independence. On the pages of the first edition of the journal, there was a self-explaining description of the objectives of “History” section,

“In this section, we will publish studies related to the history of the homeland. On the first page of each issue a portrait of one of our remarkable men will appear, and we will prefer for now the heroes of the independence. Each portrait will be accompanied by a biographical sketch, which will summarize the most remarkable

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 70

⁶⁶ Like it has been mentioned before “*Santafé of Bogotá*” is the complete name of the city, but during the colonial period and the nineteenth century it was common to call the city just *Santafé* or *Santa Fe*.

facts of the character [in concern] and the most important services they provide to the country. In this way, after some time, our newspaper is going to serve a national album.”⁶⁷

Without any doubt, it is possible to conclude that the newspaper was addressed to a very specific part of the population - a literate public with enough economic capital to acquire either an edition or the subscription to the journal for certain period of time. Likewise, it is important to highlight the pedagogical nature of the images, which played a relevant role inside of the publication. Each of the editions covers brought an engraving with the character that was to be explored in the particular issue. This union between text and image can be related to the vision developed by the French philosopher Louis Marin whose concept of image and power were explained in the theoretical framework. The publication did a great job combining image and text through each of their issues. Throughout the biographical texts, the images acquired more power and have a stronger impact and efficacy of diffusion on the readers.

On the other hand, the aim of narrate the national history as a succession of political figures' stories appeared clearly in the proposal of the historical section of “El Papel Periódico Ilustrado”. Indeed, in this context one could point to the stress put on the actions of some independence characters. By doing so, they would be able to create an Olympus of their vision of the Colombian national heroes. The stories narrated in the newspaper deify every single one of these heroes. Furthermore, the journal facilitates the reader to approximate to the characters depicted through the use of images. Consequently, the general public was able to connect a story with a particular face.

As noted above, the publication depicted some men who were part of the process of independence. Few of them were in fact family ancestors of the newspaper's director and his collaborators such as Francisco de Paula Santander, Camilo Torres, Francisco José de Caldas, Antonio Nariño, and General Ricaurte, among others. At the same time,

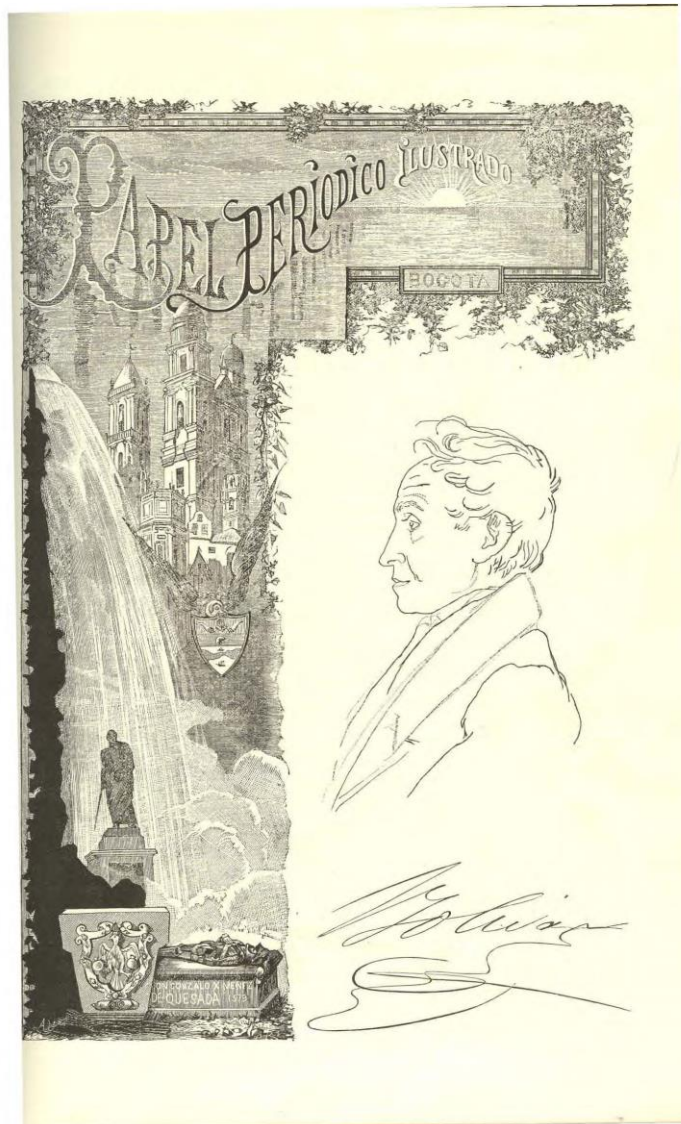
⁶⁷ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado* (1881 - 1888). Facsimile edition published by Carvajal & Cia. Cali, Colombia, 1975. No. 1, Year 1, August 6th, 1881), Pp. 4. Virtual Version consulted for the last time on the 18-05-2014, on the Web page: <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/paperi/indice.htm>. Original text in Spanish: “En esta sección publicaremos los estudios relacionados con la historia patria. Cada número llevará en la primera página el retrato de uno de nuestros hombres notables, y preferiremos por ahora a los héroes de la Independencia. Cada retrato irá acompañado de un bosquejo biográfico, en el cual se condensarán los hechos más notables del personaje y los más importantes servicios prestados al país a fin de que nuestro periódico sirva con el tiempo a manera de álbum nacional.”

the newspaper included biographies, representations, and historical documents related to the characters that contributed to the conquest of American territory in the sixteenth century such as Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, Nicolás de Federman and Vasco Núñez de Balboa. Both the characters from the conquest and independence were later represented by statues, pictures, and images in bank notes becoming the symbols of the national identity's project.

Since the first edition of the newspaper, it is possible to trace the equal value that the director of the journal gave to both the heroes of the conquest and the heroes of independence. At the top of the front-page the name of the newspaper appears within a sun that is rising on the horizon. In the center of the picture, on the left side, there are symbols related to the city of Bogotá and the country in general. Thus, there is a building, representing the Cathedral of Bogotá built between 1805 and 1823. The deliberated decision of including the picture of the Cathedral on the front-page demonstrates the importance of the Catholic religion in Colombian society. Additionally, the cathedral can also be seen as an important political element within the "Regeneration" project. Next to the church, there is a waterfall called "Salto de Tequendama," which represents Colombian's natural wealth. The waterfall is located within a short distance from Bogotá. Last but not least, right in the middle, between the cathedral and the waterfall, there is the national shield of Colombia. These elements evoke one of the ideals of "*La Regeneración*" as well as the values that underline the discourse of national identity at that time.

Following with the description of symbols, at the bottom of the cover there are two very important elements for this research. First, in front of the waterfall, it is possible to see the silhouette of a sculpture, which clearly reflects the statue of Simon Bolivar located since 1846 in "*Plaza de Bolivar*" the central square of the city. This sculpture was made by the Italian artist Pietro Tenerani. Like noted above, it was the first sculpture of Bolivar in a public space of the city. Underneath the sculpture, there is representation of the tomb of the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, the founder of the city in 1538. The presence of the two characters in the image shows an example of the idea the elites had about the pantheon of heroes at the end of nineteenth century. A scheme completely linked with the Hispanic and creole tradition, and that

leaved out the indigenous and African elements, which were part of the culture since the colonial period.



(Image 3, front-page of the *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*)

Finally, on the right side of the front-page, there is a drawn of Simon Bolivar's profile face, accompanied by a reproduction of his signature. At first sight, the presence of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada and Simon Bolivar may seem contradictory. On one hand, Jimenez de Quesada played an important role during the Spanish conquest in the territory of Colombia. He represented the ideals of the Western imagery of civilization, which included the Spanish language, the Catholic Religion, and the political and social structures which shaped the country. These concepts were central for meeting the expectations of the ideal Colombian society to the eyes of Alberto Urdaneta, Rafael

Núñez and other politicians at the end of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the presence of Bolívar was, on the first place, the representation of the freedom brought by the creoles during the independence period. But Bolívar's presence could be also related to the project of nation that wanted to be developed since 1820. Bolívar represented the decision power given to the creole elites to control the territory, and on the kind of society the elites wanted to develop. In short, it is arguable that the presence of these Jimenez de Quesada and Bolívar in this illustration summarizes the political project that was emerging in Colombia during this period.

4.3. The Centenary of Simon Bolívar's Birth within the Pages of the "Papel Periódico Ilustrado"

From the first edition of the newspaper the commitment of the journal to the construction and legitimation of Bolívar's image is visible. In the first article of this issue which was located next to the presentation. The writer José Joaquín Ortiz enhances the reasons to worship Simon Bolívar's image. In the text, Ortiz compared Bolívar with some other important characters such as George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte, who stands out in the history of other countries. .

To support his exaltation of Bolívar, Ortiz highlighted a series of events of this character's life, which helped him to conclude the reasons in the exaltation of this personage. However, the most interesting part of Ortiz's article is the conceptual relationship established towards sculptures and the images they represent. The narrative provides a sense of worship to the Bolívar's sculpture located in the central square *Plaza de Bolívar*. The author gave an almost "sacred" character to this statue. Somehow for him the object came alive with the observation. According to Ortiz, if the viewers of the nineteenth century could go through a reflective process in which they remove the unnatural elements of the character such as the cape and the metallic color of the statue, they could get a glimpse of the true Bolívar with his own facial expressions and the ability to return into life within the eyes of the spectator,

Whenever we passed along his statue in Bogota, we figured it suddenly comes alive; it is the very same Bolívar. Because if we take away the color of bronze that glory enshrines great men to immortality, and also, if we take away the cape that he never used, but in which the artist wanted to involved him in a half way

Spanish half way Roman. There, we can see the same Bolívar we met in the tragic years of 29 and 30. It seems to us that the glory shines behind him, and his eyes burns. We can see the deep wrinkles in his forehead and also the bow in his eyebrows. That head think, those lips moves.⁶⁸

Undoubtedly, the fact that the first article in the newspaper refers to Bolívar's image is the strongest proof of the programmatic discourse around him in the publication. Even though at the time Ortiz wrote this article the only sculpture in the city was the one placed in the central square, the author's consecration to the sculpture shows the worship related with sculptures during that period. For this reason, during the following national celebration of Bolívar's birthdate, a new sculptural intervention in public space took place. When looking at the contents of the journal⁶⁹. In the collection of the public Library Luis Ángel Arango in Bogotá, it is possible to make a scan through years of publication of "El Papel Periódico Ilustrado" including articles related to Simon Bolivar and the celebration of the centenary of his birth. Below is a table with the title of the various items which were found throughout the years of publication of the newspaper.

Papel Periódico Ilustrado		
Number	Spanish	English
No. 1	Presentación del periódico ("Sección histórica: Bolívar")	Information about the Newspaper ("Historical section: Bolívar")
No. 26	Junta del Centenario del Libertador	"Council for the Centennial of the Liberator"
No. 30	"Centenario del Gran Bolívar"	"Centenary of the Great Bolívar"
No. 36	"Una rectificación histórica del Centenario de Bolívar"	"An historic rectification of Bolívar's Centenary"
No. 40	"Centenario de Bolívar"	"Bolívar's Centenary"
No. 41	"Monumento del Libertador en la catedral de Caracas"	"Liberator's Monument in Caracas Cathedral"
No. 45	"A la venera memoria de los próceres de la Independencia"	"To the venerated memory of the Independence's heroes"

⁶⁸ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 1, Year 1, (August 6th, 1881), Pp. 6. Original text in Spanish: "Cuando pasamos alguna vez por junto de su estatua en Bogotá, nos figuramos que ella se anima de repente, y es el mismo Bolívar; porque si le quitáis ese color con que la gloria consagra en el bronce los grandes hombres á la inmortalidad, y esa capa que él jamás usó, y en que el estatuario quiso envolverlo de una manera medio romana medio española, ese Bolívar que está allí es el mismo que conocimos en los años luctuosos de 29 y 30. Nos parece que á sus espaldas brilla una gloria y sus ojos se incendian, se ven más profundas las arrugas de su frente y más fuerte el arqueamiento de sus cejas; esa cabeza piensa; esos labios se mueven"

⁶⁹ For the consultation of the index and the editions of the "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*", it is possible to consult the web page of the digital library of the public Library "*Luis Ángel Arango*". Consulted for the last time, 28-05-2014: <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/paperi/indice.htm>

No. 46	“A Simón Bolívar”; “La gratitud del pueblo colombiano a su Libertador”	“To Simón Bolívar”; “The gratitude of Colombian people to their Liberator”
No. 47	“Á la estatua del Libertador”	“To the Liberator’s statue”
No. 48	“Apoteosis de Bolívar”; “Esjematología ó ensayo iconográfico de Bolívar”	“Bolívar’s Apotheosis” ; “Esjematologia or Iconographical essay of Bolívar”
No. 50	“Centenario del Libertador en Bogotá”	“The Liberator’s Centenary in Bogotá”
No. 53	“Bolívar”; “Acta de sesión de 17 de octubre de 1883”	“Bolívar”; “Minute of the meeting of October 17, 1883”
No. 71	“20 de julio de 1884”	“July 20 th , 1884”
No. 72	“Simón Bolívar”; “Proyecto del Arco del Triunfo al Libertador”	“Simón Bolívar”; “Project to an Arc of Triumph to the Liberator”
No. 74	“Bogotá acera norte del Parque de Santander”	“Bogotá: north sidewalk of Santander’s Park”
No. 77	“Homenaje al Libertador”; “A Simón Bolívar”	“Tribute to the Liberator”; “To Simón Bolívar”
No. 79	“A Bolívar”	“To Bolívar”
No. 80	“Bogotá, Estatua de Santander”	“Bogotá, Santander’s Statue”
No. 84	“Bolívar”	“Bolívar”
No. 90	“Los tranvías en Bogotá”	“The trams in Bogotá”
No. 97	“Estatua del general Nariño”	“The statue of General Nariño”
No. 103	“Monumento modelado por Tenerani, para colocar el corazón del Libertador”	“Design of a monument by Tenerani, to place the heart of the Liberator”
No. 107	“Bogotá, esquina norte de la Plaza de Nariño”	“Bogotá, North Corner of Nariño’s Square”

The interest in Bolívar’s figure was also extended to the public attention through the publication in the newspaper of news related to the celebration of Bolívar’s birthdate. This interest became explicit within the thirtieth edition of the second year. In an article called “The Centenary of the Liberator (*Centenario del Libertador*)”, the director expressed that they “will not omit, during the course of the publication of the *“El Papel Periódico Ilustrado”*, the reproduction of everything of interest in this event.”⁷⁰ From this moment, it was possible to find in the pages of the journal a series of documents such as decrees or correspondence, which were specifically related to this subject.

⁷⁰ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 30, Year 2, November 28, 1882), Pp. 6. Original text in Spanish: “No omitiremos durante el curso de la publicación del PAPEL PERIÓDICO ILUSTRADO el reproducir todo aquello que dé interés á este acontecimiento”

One of the first topics discussed in the journal was the development of the celebration in the city of Caracas. The 26th edition published on September 1st, 1882 reproduced a decree issued in Venezuela with reference to the celebration. The decree was signed by the Venezuelan president at that time, Antonio Guzmán Blanco, on September 3rd, 1881. It is composed by nine items in which it is defined the date of the celebration, the members of the committee for the arrangements related to the event, and a series of invitations to other Latin American countries. The invitations included Britain for the “valuable and decisive cooperation lent to the cause of our independence”, and the Republic of Haiti “In memory of the chivalry with which helped that country to the big enterprise of Bolívar”⁷¹.

Besides the decree, the journal also included a general “schedule” of the events that were going to take place on July 24, 1883. The first planned event was “the apotheosis of the hero in honor of his work, the former Colombia, Peru and Bolivia”⁷². The use of the word apotheosis is relevant because of its meaning and its regular use in this official document. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, apotheosis means the “elevation to the status of a god. The term (from the Greek *apothéoun*, ‘to make a god’, ‘to deify’) implies a polytheistic conception of gods while recognizes that some individuals cross the dividing line between gods and men”⁷³. The use of this word shows the symbolism of the celebration that was planned for July 24, 1883.

After the publication of this decree, the thirtieth edition of the “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” (November, 1882) incorporate some letters exchanged between members of the Colombian and Venezuelan governments. The main topic of these letters was the program of the events for the centenary celebration. The first letter was written by the Venezuelan Minister, Rafael Sández, to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the United States of Colombia. The first point of the letter listed some of the actions that the Venezuelan government was planning to commemorate this date. These activities

⁷¹ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 26, Year 2, (September 1st, 1882), Pp. 21. Original text in Spanish: “Gran Bretaña por la “valiosa y decisiva cooperación prestó á la causa de nuestra independencia”, y a la República de Haití “en recuerdo de la hidalguía con que coadyuvó aquel país á la, grande empresa de Bolívar.”

⁷² *Ibid.* Pp. 21

⁷³ Definition of the concept apotheosis taken from the web page of the Encyclopedia Britannica: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/30322/apotheosis> consulted on May 29th, 2014.

included “the erection of statues to the Liberator, the creation of a gallery of portraits of the leaders of war in the Federal Palace, the establishment of a national Pantheon destined to the conservation of its venerable ashes [...]”⁷⁴, among. Secondly, through this letter the Venezuelan government invited the Colombian government to participate in the events. At the end of the letter, the Venezuelan minister said that he was confident “that the ‘sister’ Republic, just with the knowledge of the subject, is going to rush to take part in the celebration of the Liberator, who did not consider their homeland only the region where he was born”⁷⁵.

The newspaper also reproduced the Colombian government response to this letter. On November 2nd, 1882, the Secretary of Foreign Relations, José María Quijano Wallis, replied to the Venezuelan government that he had communicated to the president about the invitation made by the Venezuelan government, and in response, Quijano said

The people and the Government of Colombia is now associated with real satisfaction, to the centennial celebration, and they will be represented in this great solemnity, which aims to crown the apotheosis on the altars of the nation and of history, the glorious figure of the Father and founder of five free states.⁷⁶

It was from this point that the Colombian government began to move his political machinery to perform the celebration. It is probable that no progress was done regarding the celebration until the Venezuelan government sent the invitation mentioned above. As it was mention at the beginning of this chapter, after the law issued on 1881, the Colombian government was static until March 1883. In the meantime, the “Papel Periódico Ilustrado” on its thirty-sixth edition of the weekly, from 15 March 1883, it was published the decree 245 of 1883 that organized the national holiday. This ruling,

⁷⁴ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 30, Year 2, (November 28th, 1882), Pp. 82. Original text in Spanish: “La erección de estatuas al Libertador, la formación en el Palacio federal de una galería de retratos de los adalides de la guerra, el establecimiento de un Panteón nacional destinado á la conservación de sus venerandas cenizas [...]”

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Pág. 82. Original text in Spanish: “esa República hermana, con sólo saber de qué se trata, ha de apresurarse á tomar parte en la fiesta del Libertador, quien no consideraba como su patria únicamente la comarca donde nació,”

⁷⁶ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 30, Year 2, (November 28th, 1882), Pp. 82. Original text in Spanish: “El Pueblo y el Gobierno de Colombia se asocian desde ahora, con verdadera satisfacción, á la festividad del centenario, y se harán representar en esa gran solemnidad, que tiene por objeto coronar con la apotheosis en los altares de la Patria y de la Historia, la figura gloriosa del Padre y fundador de cinco Estados libres.”

discussed at the beginning of the chapter, implemented the Law 84 of 1881 for “which the centenary Liberator is disposed.” Additionally, the decree ordered to move the independence annual celebration of the independence of the country from July 20 to July 24. In this way, the commission created to organize the celebration would have the “appropriate sums in the budget, so with those and the budget raised among all corporations, organizations and citizens who want to contribute for the greater solemnity of that act”⁷⁷. Undoubtedly, it is possible to infer throughout this decree that the planning for the commemoration of Bolívar’s birth was delayed.

In May 1883, Alberto Urdaneta also made some allusions to these delays within the pages of the “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*.” Urdaneta wrote about these setbacks while at the same time that he invited the public to a literary contest within the celebration. His article in the fortieth edition began saying that: “without doubt we have not taken with the emotion required and the right timing the necessary precautions to celebrate with the brilliance that will have the commemoration in the birth-place of Bolívar”⁷⁸. After this statement, Urdaneta explained the way in which he would conduct the literary competition. The aim was to write poetry or make a study of the battles that Bolívar had led either in Boyacá, Junín, or Carabobo. Finally, the most interesting part of the contest was the first prize offered by the editor of the newspaper which consisted in a copy of the Bolívar’s painting that was used as a model for the sculpture that was going to be located in “*Parque del Centenario (Called ‘Parque de San Diego’)*.” The creator of this painting was Urdaneta himself and it was describe in the newspaper as follows

An oil painting, which is a reproduction of the original one that the government has sent to Europe to serve as a model for the statue to be placed in the shrine of “Bolívar Park” (square of “San Diego”) in the Centennial celebration. The composition and painting made by Urdaneta himself and reproduced in a size of 0.18 m by 0.38 m.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid. Pág. 195, Original text in Spanish: “las sumas apropiadas en el Presupuesto para que con éstas y las que se colecten por ellas entre todas las corporaciones, entidades y los ciudadanos que tengan á bien contribuir para la mayor solemnidad de aquel acto.”

⁷⁸ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 40, Year 2, (May 5th, 1883), Pp. 262. Original text in Spanish: “Sin duda no hemos tomado con el calor debido y en oportuno tiempo las precauciones necesarias para hacerlo con el lucimiento que tendrá lugar en la ciudad-cuna de Bolívar”.

⁷⁹ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 40, Year 2, (May 5th, 1883), Pp. 262. Original text in Spanish: “un retrato al óleo, reproducción del que el Gobierno ha enviado á Europa para servir de modelo á la estatua

Until this point, this study has mentioned the publications of the “Papel Periódico Ilustrado” related to the invitation from Venezuela to Colombia to participate in the celebration of Bolívar’s centenary. Also, it discusses the decrees and some other forms of commemoration that the journal proposed. Thus, the fiftieth edition of the weekly published on August 20, 1883, provided a summary of the activities that were carried out in the city of Bogota for the celebration from July 21 to 25. According to the newspaper, the official event was scheduled from July 20 to 24 July, but due to the death of General Julian Trujillo, it changed from July 21 to 25. The newspaper narrated the activities that were carried out day by day, and also the people who were in charge of these events. The event of July 21st was organized by some ladies of the city of Bogotá. The celebration took place in the central square of the city, which was specially decorated for this occasion. The journal also described the engravings made by Antonio Rodriguez and reproduced in its own pages, which showed,



(Image 4 - *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 50, Year 3, 20 August 1883, Pp. 24.)

que debe colocarse en el Templete del Parque Bolívar (Plazuela de San Diego) en la fiesta del Centenario, composición y pintura de Urdaneta y reproducido por él mismo en un tamaño de 0,18 m por 0,38 m”.

The graceful cover, [...] made by moss of various colors, with great care and property, led the garden of the Plaza de Bolívar, *in which center the statue of the Liberator, with that majestic and deep look that we know in him*, [...] The sculpture of the liberator, worked in stone by Mr. F. Camacho, is a *shining example of the progress that we have achieved in the art of sculpture*. It stood on a base cover crowns, close to the entrance, and above of all that, *on the top of the national Capitol, the flags of Spain and Colombia closely together as it shall always be, mother and daughter*.⁸⁰

From this fragment it is possible to highlight that sculptures played a main role in the celebration of Bolívar's birth centenary. Sculptures turned into memory objects, throughout it could be possible to locate the presence of Bolívar, which remind the public about his presence. Like in the case of a quotation mentioned above, while the narrator describes the sculpture, he talks about the "majestic and deep look that we know in him [Bolívar]". In this way, he is giving human qualities to this inanimate object. Otherwise, the progressive development of sculpture art in Colombia was also documented by the newspaper. For example the newspaper commented about a bust worked by a Colombian artist, which appears in the foreground of one image displayed in the fiftieth edition. Finally, the end of this fragment pointed out the presence of the Spanish flag next to the Colombian flag during the centenary of the Liberator's birth. The passage refers to the rhetorical figure of Spain as a mother and Colombia as a daughter, a "natural" union of the two nations in one celebration. However, it seems evident how the celebration itself served as a pedagogical tool to normalize the political intentions of the Conservative government, which wanted to unite the bond that was broken between the two nations since the process of independence.

Continuing with the schedule of the celebration, the same issue of the newspaper narrated how July 22 was organized by the public and private schools of the city. In the same way, July 23 was assigned to the state government of Cundinamarca. Finally, the opening of the "Bolívar Park or Centennial Park (*Parque de Bolívar o Parque del Centenario*)" would take place on July 24. This day was organized by the national

⁸⁰ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 50, Year 3, (August 20th, 1883), Pp. 29. The bold is out of the original text. Original text in Spanish: "La elegante portada, [...] hecha de musgo de varios colores, con grande esmero y propiedad, daba entrada al jardín de la Plaza de Bolívar, **en cuyo centro la estatua del Libertador, con aquella mirada majestuosa y profunda que le conocemos**, [...] un busto del Libertador, trabajado en piedra por el señor F. Camacho, y que **es una brillante muestra del adelanto que entre nosotros ha alcanzado la escultura**, se levantaba sobre una base cubierta de coronas, cerca á la entrada; y **sobre todo aquello ondeaban en lo alto del Capitolio nacional, las banderas de España y Colombia, estrechamente unidas como habrán de estarlo siempre madre é hija.**"

government and started at noon with a “civic procession” coming from the Capitol until the park, which would be inaugurated to “perpetuate the appreciation of the Colombian people to the Liberator” The pictures of those events published in the newspaper demonstrated, as was mentioned before, some of the delays in the planning of the celebration. For example the park, the shrine and the sculpture which had been commissioned in France were not ready for the celebration even though the organizing committee was formed in middle March.

However, it was expected that the construction of the park would become a place of memory for the future. According to Alberto Urdaneta, some ladies of the community went to visit the park in the morning before the celebration and “planted the seeds of trees whose shades will cover the future generations that will go to celebrate July 24, 1983.”⁸¹

In definitive, despite all the efforts of the national government during the pre-celebration months, the preparations were not completed on time. Instead of the French sculpture a bust of Bolívar, created by the Colombian sculptor Francisco Camacho, served to celebrate the first day of the program. Only after one year it was possible to inaugurate the sculpture in the park, and the “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” provided a lot of information about this event.

The seventy-fourth edition of the journal, published on July 24, 1884 one year after the celebration, it was included in the front-page a picture with the sculpture. The image had a white background that did not showed the space within the park. The news reported that the sculpture was inaugurated on July 20, which was traditionally the day of the celebration of independence in Colombia. According to the newspaper, “by insurmountable difficulties, [the statue] could not be inaugurated in the past year, on the date that was indicated.” Either way, for Alberto Urdaneta the most important thing to note was that the sculpture “differs substantially from the model that was ordered to me [Urdaneta himself], and that subscribers of the “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” have had occasion to see in the numbers 46 to 48, page 377. I think appropriate to refer what had

⁸¹ *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, No. 50, Year 3, August 20, 1883), Pp. 30. Original text in Spanish: “plantaron las semillas de los árboles á cuya sombra otras generaciones celebrarán el 24 de Julio de 1983”.

happened, so I will not be cover with the glories of others, and I pray unto my brethren of the press"⁸². For this reason, Urdaneta devoted this newspaper issue to carefully describe the development of the model for Bolivar's sculpture. At the same time, the director of the newspaper spoke about all the people involved in the decisions concerned to the statue and the place where it was meltdown. According to Urdaneta,



(Image 5 - *Papel Periódico Ilustrado*. No. 72. Year 3. 24 July 1884. Pp. 385).

At the beginning of last year, the architect Mr. Pietro Cantini came to talk to me [Alberto Urdaneta], [...] in order to see if I would like to be in charge of drawing or painting the project of the sculpture that should be placed in the Parque Centenario. [...] And the main bases for the implementation were agreed, such as: military dress, regarding to the body (singular emphasis of the instructions in the absolute regardless of the cape), erect and arrogant as he was in the days of triumph, and not depressed and taciturn as in those days of disappointment. [...] **Subsequently Mr. JG Ribon, in charge of finding the**

⁸² Ibid. Pp. 388, original text in Spanish: “difiere sustancialmente del modelo que se me encargó, y que los suscriptores del PAPEL PERIÓDICO ILUSTRADO habrán tenido ocasión de ver en los números 46 á 48, página 377, creo oportuno referir lo sucedido, para que no me cubran glorias ajenas, y ruego á mis cofrades de la prensa”

artist who should execute the project, went to Paris to the sculptor M. A. Desprey, and according to the new instructions from the Government, with the advice of Mr. **D. Carlos Clopatofsky**, government special envoy for the execution of the work, they follow the strict instructions of **Mr. José María Torres Caicedo**, and the overall plan for implementing the primitive model was changed, some details were deleted and others were added, things were modified in favor or against the original, resulting in the image that has been provisionally opened in Centennial Park,⁸³

As it has been explain, the shrine was not ready by 1884. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the construction of the park was incomplete. In fact, some years more were required to complete the work. Even the statue made in France, would only be for a year decorating the “shrine (*Templete*)”. As it will be explain below, this sculpture was transferred to another city. Some testimonies of the delay in construction in the park are available in a study about Cantini, the architect who built the structure.

In the book “*Pietro Cantini, A Portrait of an Architect (Pietro Cantini, Semblanza de un Arquitecto)*”, there are several transcriptions of decrees which describe Cantini’s role in the construction of the shrine. As result, one can follow step by step the record of the work done in the structure from start to end. According to this book, due to the delays in the construction the government decided to end the board created in 1883, which was in charge of the construction of the park.

“On February 25, 1885 the government decided to declare the termination of *Parque del Centenario’s* Board [...] The reasons the commission’s dissolution were its fail on the accomplishment with the completion of the park at the date agreed in the contract signed on July 18, 1883. This delivery should have been done in six months. In addition, from the four covers of mandatory construction, only two were built and these were in complete ruin”⁸⁴.

⁸³ Ibid. Pp. 388-389. Original text in Spanish: “Á principios del año pasado se acercó á mí *el arquitecto señor Pietro Cantini*, [...], con el *objeto de ver sí yo me encargaba de dibujar ó pintar el proyecto de la estatua* que debía colocarse en el Parque del Centenario. [...] y se acordaron las bases principales para la ejecución, tales como: vestido militar, en cuerpo (hacían especial hincapié las instrucciones, en la absoluta [sic] rescindencia de la capa), erguido y arrogante como en los días de triunfo, y no abatido y taciturno como en los de desengaño. [...] Posteriormente *el señor J. G. Ribón, encargado de buscar el artista que debiera ejecutar la orden, se dirigió, en París, al escultor M. A. Desprey*, y de acuerdo con nuevas instrucciones recibidas del Gobierno, con el dictamen del *señor D. Carlos Clopatofsky*, enviado especial de éste para la ejecución de la obra, y atendidas las terminantes indicaciones del *señor D. José María Torres Caycedo*, se cambió el plan general de la ejecución del modelo primitivo, se suprimieron detalles y se agregaron otros, se modificó, en pro ó en contra, el original, dando por resultado la estatua que se ha inaugurado provisionalmente en el Parque del Centenario.”

⁸⁴ CANTINI, JOSÉ ENRESTO. *Pietro Cantini. Semblanza de un arquitecto*. Corporación de la Candelaria. 1990. Pp. 268. Original text in Spanish “El 25 de febrero de 1885 el gobierno decide declarar extinguida la Junta del Parque del Centenario [...] Las razones para la disolución de la Junta se debieron a

With the dissolution of the Board, the national government took control over the park's construction. Therefore, on February 1886 a contract was signed in order to make a fence surrounding all the space. The contractors would also built the four doors with the reference to the other countries liberated by Bolívar, as was described in the initial decree for the construction. Finally, the park was finished on midyear of 1886. According to Jorge Ernesto Cantini "the shrine was completed in mid-1886 and it turned into a work admired by all"⁸⁵. With the completion of the shrine, the first park built in Bogota's public space was finish. Probably, this was one of the reasons why this park was well received among the people of the city.

In fact, other publications of the period refer to the "Parque El Centenario." For example, the "*Grey Magazine (Revista Gris)*", which circulated in Bogota between 1892 and 1895, published in its issue of March, 1984, the poem "*The central point 'on the Centennial Park in Bogotá' (El punto céntrico 'En el Parque del Centenario de Bogotá')*" written by the poet and lawyer Adolfo León Gómez. This writer was part of the Liberal Party. In addition, he made part of the political movement of opposition to "*La Regeneración*". For this reason, later he would be a political prisoner in the panoptic of Bogota during the civil war fought in the country between 1899 and 1902⁸⁶. Therefore, one may qualify Adolfo Leon Gomez as an enemy of the political movement of "La Regeneración" which ruled the country.

As its name indicates, the poem takes "*Parque del Centenario*" as the central point. Due to its geographical location on the northern edge of the city, the park was near some buildings placed on the outskirts of the town. Nearby the park it was possible to find the city jail. This construction called "*The Panoptic (El panóptico)*" started to be built in 1874. Also in the northern peripheries was located the cemetery, which decades later would be named the "*Central Cemetery (El Cementerio Central)*". This poem could be read as a critique to the social oppression that the lower classes experienced in

que ésta no pudo cumplir con la terminación del parque en la fecha convenida en el contrato firmado el 18 de julio de 1883, entrega que se debió haber hacer en los seis meses siguientes y, además de las cuatro portadas que se obligó a hacer sólo se había construido dos y estas se encontraban en completa ruina".

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ GARCÍA NÚÑEZ, LUIS FERNANDO. Anécdotas y dramas: los sufrimientos de Adolfo León Gómez. en Revista Credencial Historia. Bogotá, Colombia. Edición 219. Marzo de 2008.

the city of Bogota at that time. In the poem, the author represented the park as a point of the city where the possible paths for the poor people were destined. On the north side, in the city boundaries, the poor could go down the road where “madness, death or crimes” were represented by the jail and the cemetery. In the opposite direction, the south, the poor would face "the struggle, the misery and the vices". The following text is a translation of the poem

“Almost at night in the desert park
I found a madman, who serious and thoughtful,
Fixing in me his wild eyes,
He approached me with a somber gesture.

He turned around and showed me the Panoptic...
The cemetery there ... then the asylum...
And looking around, quietly
With great mystery whispered in my ear:

- I discovered it at last: this is the central
Point of life and destiny!
Here three paths are open to the poor:
Madness, Death or Crime...

- And there? I said, and pointed to the other side,
To the beloved city of the black abyss.
- There, he replied bitterly,
There is the struggle, the misery, the vice!”⁸⁷

Evidently, in this poem the park has almost no importance in terms of its condition as a park. Nor, it is highlighted as the place of worship of heroes. In this case, the place served as the perfect stage to present the social inequalities in Colombian society. As a public space, this could be the place of encounter and even of clash between the poor and the rich of the city. Moreover, the author skillfully took into account the organization of the city, in order to give strength to his argument. At the same time, by using the park as the centric point, the author highlights the importance of this public space for the citizens of Bogota during that period.

⁸⁷ LEÓN-GÓMEZ, ADOLFO. El punto céntrico: en el Parque del Centenario de Bogotá. Bogotá, Revista Gris, Vol.2 No. 3. Marzo de 1894. Pp. 98. Original text in Spanish: “Casi de noche, en el desierto parque / Hallé un loco, que, grave y pensativo, / Fijando en mí sus ojos extraviados, / Se me acercó con ademán sombrío. / Giró en redondo y me mostró el Panóptico... / El Cementerio allá... luego el Asilo... / Y mirando á los lados, en voz baja / Con gran misterio murmuró á mi oído: / - Lo descubrí por fin: este es el punto / Céntrico de la vida y del destino! / Aquí se abren al pobre sus tres sendas: / La Locura, la Muerte ó el Delito... / - ¿Y allí? le dije, y señalé á otro lado. / De la amada ciudad el negro abismo. / -Allí, me contestó con amargura, / Allí la lucha, la miseria, el vicio!...

, In 1894, the “*Parque El Centenario*” was mentioned in two other publications which purposed were to commemorate the fourth centenary of the Discovery of the American Continent. First, the guide “Patriotic Monuments in Bogotá: Its history and description (*Monumentos patrióticos de Bogotá: Su historia y descripción*)” written by Ignacio Borda. This text was already quoted at the beginning of this work. Secondly the “*Historical and descriptive guide of Bogota arranged by Lisimaco Palau (Guía histórica y descriptiva de la ciudad de Bogotá arreglada por Lisímaco Palau)*” provides a description of the “*Parque El Centenario*” which facilitates the readers develop a mental image of the park,

“The garden was planted by the “*Board of cleaning and decoration of Bogota (Junta de Aseo y Ornato de Bogotá)*” [...] which devoted great efforts to the formation of this public walk, the most beautiful and spacious of the capital. It contains a great variety of trees and flowers, two bronze basins, several wooden benches, a circular lake and a carousel for children’s fun. In the center of the square a beautiful carved stone shrine intended to contain the statue of the Liberator, which will soon come from Europe. The statue placed there before, was donated to the Department of Boyacá and today is in the main square of Tunja. The square is guarded by an iron gate and a grove of trees”⁸⁸.

As highlighted in that book, national or foreign visitors making a tour in the city would find this public space, which for the period was the greatest promenade in the city. The fragment highlights the absence of a sculpture to adorn the shrine. This means that the sculpture originally ordered for the structure was placed only for a short period of time on its original destination. Later, it was transferred to Tunja, another city in the country, where the sculpture is currently located. The “*Shrine (Templete)*” should wait a few years more to have again a sculpture. In any case, one of the photographic records of this period registers the carousel announced in the guidebook, among other features described.

⁸⁸ PALAU, LISIMACO. *Guía histórica y descriptiva de la ciudad de Bogotá arreglada por Lisímaco Palau*. Bogotá. Imprenta de vapor de Zalamea. 1894. Pp. 31. Original text in Spanish: “El jardín fue plantado por la Junta de Aseo y Ornato de Bogotá [...] la cual dedicó grandes labores a la formación de este paseo público, el más bello y espaciosos de la capital. Encierra una gran variedad de árboles y flores, dos pilas de bronce, varios asientos de madera, un lago circular y un Carrusel para la diversión de los niños. En el centro de la plaza se levanta un hermoso templete de piedra tallada destinado para contener la estatua del Libertador, que próximamente llegará de Europa. La estatua que antes existía allí, fue donada al Departamento de Boyacá y hoy se ve en la plaza principal de Tunja. La plaza está guardada por una verja de hierro y alamedas de árboles”.



(Image 6 - SIN AUTOR. Colombie, 1880-1900)⁸⁹

After doing a tour for some of the pages and news from the “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” and other publications of the period, it is possible to conclude that this newspaper is an endless source of information on the various facts of the political life and the social activities that were taking place in the city of Bogotá during the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, it was an advantage for the publication to have a single owner. This allowed the journal to operate within the margins of a private company. Thanks to Urdaneta’s vision the journal was very dynamic and promoted the participation of several intellectual and political figures at the time. This fact shows the large political, economic and symbolic power that carried Alberto Urdaneta within Colombian society of the nineteenth century.

Secondly, due to the political preferences of Urdaneta, the journal can be seen as a tool of diffusion and legitimation of the conservative ideology as well as the process of “*La Regeneración*” that was emerging during those years. Several elements from the “*Regeneración*” movement such as the strong union between the government and the Catholic Church, or the approach to Spain were shown and developed within the pages of the “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” At the same time, the publication can be seen as a

⁸⁹ SIN AUTOR. Colombie, 1880-1900. 1 album de 58 photos sur papier albuminé d'après des négatifs sur verre. 31 x 39 cm (vol.). Paris. S.f. Richelieu - Estampes et photographie – magasin VH- 269 -PET FOL support : *photographie*.

monument that constructed and exalted the images of heroes who would be part of the national pantheon from that moment and during a big part of the twentieth century.

Finally, the newspaper not only served as a news agency that was communicating the development of the Simon Bolivar's birth centenary celebration, but also a political tool to shape the image of Bolivar as a hero. The newspaper promoted the use of language that transitioned between the civic and religious sphere was generating a process that can be called "Apotheosis". A civic-religious cult was probably an element that the elites wanted to include within the Colombian national identity. Finally, analyzing the news and events that were planned and carried out in Venezuela, it is possible to argue that the process of consolidation of national heroes can be analyzed not only from the construction of national identities within the limits of the nation state but also as a set of ideals proper of the Latin American elites in the second half of the nineteenth century.

5. The Celebration of the First Centenary of Colombian Independence 1910

As this study mentioned in the previous chapter, the "*Parque del Centenario*" was constructed for the celebration of the centenary of Simon Bolivar's birthdate in 1883. In addition to the shrine located in the center of the park, none other sculpture was installed in this place between 1883 and 1910. In fact, after the completion of the shrine in 1886, the park did not change until the Centennial Celebration of Colombian Independence in 1910. However, national celebrations continued being use as catalyst for the development of urban projects in Bogotá during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The use of public space for the canonization of these national heroes had its peak with the celebration of the centenary of Colombian independence.

This chapter provides a brief analysis of the centennial celebration of independence in Bogota. Additionally, it discusses the changes made to the park with the occasion of the celebrations. Therefore, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes some of characteristics of the city of Bogota in the early twentieth century. This section discusses the rapid population growth during that period. The second section presents the celebration held between July 15th and 31st, 1910, as well as the architectural changes that this festivity brought to the city. The text

emphasizes the construction of “*Parque de la Independencia*”, as a process that strengthened the development of parks on the northern edge of the city. Finally, the chapter will end with an analysis of the opening of Camilo Torres and Antonio Ricaurte’s busts, sculptures that were placed in “*Parque del Centenario*” to mark the celebration of the independence.

5.1. The city of Bogota in early twentieth century

The twentieth century started in Colombia during the biggest civil war the country had since its independence. The “*Thousand Days' War (La Guerra de los Mil días)*” was an internal armed conflict that took place from October 17, 1899 to November 21, 1902. The war started because the Liberal party was against the movement of “*La Regeneración*”. This resulted in an armed confrontation between the Liberals and the Regenerator government. However, after a while, the conflict became a clear confrontation between the Liberal and the Conservative parties. The war impacted negatively the country in several areas. According to data commonly quoted by historians, there were nearly a hundred thousand deaths. Additionally, the country faced a complete economic devastation due to the involvement of several regions in the war. Furthermore, one of the most remembered repercussions of the period was that towards the end of the war, the department of Panama decided to declare its own independence with the help of the United States⁹⁰.

Colombia started the twentieth century with this bleak scenario. In the case of Bogota, the city did not experience the war within its own streets. As a result, none of the architectural constructions suffered any harm in their structure due to armed clashes. On the contrary, its own architecture from colonial times remained intact at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the city faced an explosive population growth between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Due to this growth Bogota was overcrowded which became the main problem for the city during that period.

⁹⁰ For more information about the “*Thousand Days' War (La Guerra de los Mil días)*”, it is possible to consult: BERQUIST, CHARLES WILEY. *Café y Conflicto en Colombia: La Guerra de los Mil días; sus antecedentes y consecuencias*. Medellín. Fondo Rotatorio de Publicaciones, FAES. 1981. SÁNCHEZ G., GONZALO y AGUILERA P. MARIO. *Memoria de un país en guerra: La Guerra de los Mil Días, 1899-1902*. Bogotá. Editorial Planeta Colombiana. 2001.

Thinking about the population growth of Bogotá between 1880 and 1910, can be useful for several reasons. First, the inhabitants of the city were the users of public spaces where the monuments were installed. Consequently, the population was the first and the main public of the sculptures. Moreover, by having a comprehension of the rapid population growth generated in few years, it is possible to understand the territorial expansion of the city after 1910. Finally, taking into account the conjunction of these processes, it is possible to understand the implications of the construction of public parks like the “*Parque del Centenario*” and the “*Parque de la Independencia*”.

In this regard, it is important to consider the data developed by the Colombian historian Germán Mejía Pavony in his book “*The Years of Change. Urban History of Bogotá, 1820-1910 (Los años del Cambio. Historia Urbana de Bogotá, 1820-1910.)*”. Throughout the fourth chapter called “*The inhabitants of Bogota (Los Habitantes de Bogotá)*”, this author conducted a study of the population growth in the city throughout the nineteenth century. Despite having some small numerical errors, it is possible to rely on its arguments regarding the demography of the city⁹¹. According to Mejia, the city grew from 21.394 inhabitants in 1801 to 121.511 inhabitants in 1912. Hence, during a century the city grew five times its own population. In addition to documenting the demography of the nineteenth century in Bogotá, this author also compiles the population census carried out in Bogotá during the nineteenth century. Mejia classifies the data in three different periods.

“The first [period], from 1801-1848, was of undoubted growth as the city doubled its population; the second, from 1848 to 1870, evidence of a demographic crisis, with a sub-period of recovery, but still below the population levels reached in 1848; finally, a third term, which runs from 1870 to 1912, points out another demographic growth process, much larger in magnitude than in 1801-1848”⁹².

⁹¹ As it has been previously stated, according to the general census of the Republic of Colombia lifted on March 5, 1912, the general population of the city was 121.511 inhabitants. However, German Mejia Pavony notes that this year the number of inhabitants was 116.951. Although the number is different, there is not a large gap on the data.

⁹² MEJÍA PAVONY, GERMÁN. *Los Años del Cambio: Historia Urbana de Bogotá, 1820-1910*. Bogotá. Centro Editorial Javeriano. 2000. Pp. 231. Original text in Spanish: “El primero, de 1801 a 1848, fue de indudable crecimiento pues la ciudad duplicó su población; el segundo, de 1848 a 1870, evidencia una crisis demográfica, con un sub-periodo de recuperación pero siempre por debajo de los niveles demográficos alcanzados en 1848; finalmente, un tercer periodo, que corre entre 1870 y 1912, señala otro proceso de incremento demográfico, mucho mayor en su magnitud que el de 1801-1848”

As seeing above, during the period of interest of this study, it happened the greatest population growth that Bogota city had throughout the nineteenth century. For the year 1870 the city had 40.833 inhabitants. According to Pavony, "different analysts agree that the 1870 census is the most reliable and detailed made in the nineteenth century"⁹³. Thus, during the 42 years between 1870 and 1912, the population increased in 80.678 inhabitants. Meaning that during the period under study, the city almost tripled the number of inhabitants. In addition, this population growth was compounded by the fact the city did not grow in its structure. With the exception of some projects in progress on the northern side of town, there was not any large urban project that changed the face of Bogotá before 1910. Comparing maps of the city from 1880, with maps from 1910, it is possible to observe that the city had the same dimensions⁹⁴.

It seems that the local institutions prioritized the urban development of the north of the city during the beginning of the twentieth century. This process left behind the development of in the south. More recently, some authors have suggested that elites of the early twentieth century in Bogotá had a preference for northern limit of the city⁹⁵. An example of this inclination is the construction of the neighborhood "*La Perseverancia*" in 1926 on the northern edge of the city. This locality was constructed to supply housing for the brewery "Bavaria", which was placed nearby this location. Another example of this process is the construction of the "Parque de la Independencia" in front of the "Parque del Centenario", located also in the north side of the city. As a result, the two parks would form a large green corridor that would be used by the inhabitants of this part of the city. Considering the arguments mentioned above, the following section focuses on the commemoration of the Colombian independence held in Bogota in 1910.

5.2. The Centenary of the Colombian independence in Bogota

⁹³ Ibid. Pp. 238

⁹⁴ In the Annex it is possible to find some maps of the city in the years 1894, 1910, 1926, and 1932.

⁹⁵ GUERRERO FARIAS, MARÍA LUCÍA. Pintando de verde a Bogotá: visiones de la naturaleza a través de los parques del Centenario y de la Independencia, 1880-1920. En HALAC, Bello Horizonte, Vol. 1, No. 2, Marzo-Agosto, 2012, Pp. 112-139. GARAY CELEITA, ALEJANDRO. "La exposición del Centenario. Una aproximación a una narrativa nacional". Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, *La ciudad de la luz: Bogotá y la exposición agrícola e industrial*. Bogotá. Autor. 2005. CENDALES PAREDES, CLAUDIA. Una perspectiva comparativa: los parques de Bogotá: 1886-1938. Article published in the Review of the "Universidad Industrial de Santander", Edición 4. Bucaramanga. 2009.

In 1910 the political and economic conditions of Colombia were not adequate for the preparation of the centennial celebration. However, the Colombian government carried out the arrangements for the festivity and created a “Committee responsible for preparing the Centenary of National Independence (*Comisión encargada de preparar la celebración del Centenario de la Independencia Nacional*)”. The media followed step by step the meetings and the decisions made by this delegation. Additionally, “*The Review of the Centenary (Revista del Centenario)*”, published between February 14 and September 30, 1910, compiled all the notes from the meetings as well as financial documents related with the organization of the festivities.

According to the historian Alejandro Garay, during 1909 the Organize Committee had several debates about the requirements of the place to hold the events of the celebration⁹⁶. At the end, the preference of the elite for the northern part of the city influenced the final decision. One of the central events would be the “*Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition (Exposición Industrial y Agrícola)*”. This exhibition had already been held once in 1907 and the commission planned to organize it again with the occasion of the centenary. There were many debates which occurred around finding the adequate location to conduct the event. However, once again, the preference of the elite for the northern part of the city gave the final result.



(Image 7 - detail map 1910, concentration of parks in the north Bogotá 1910)

⁹⁶ GARAY CELEITA, ALEJANDRO. “La exposición del Centenario... Op. Cit.

In fact, the issues 13 and 14 of the *Review of the Centenary* published some documents related to the availability of a space in the city to hold the celebration. The discussions about this subject took place in the *Ministry of Public Works (Ministerio de Obras Públicas)* between November and December 1909. Thus, in a letter sent to the *Ministry of Public Works* on November 23, 1909, the *Agricultural Society of Colombia (Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia)* expressed its preference to located the agricultural exhibition in northern Bogota. The arguments that support this request were the development of the transportation network in the north, as well as the presence of places like the city Hippodrome and social institutions such as the Polo Club.

“The general opinion is that this Exhibition of 1910 and the School of Agriculture should take place in the northern part of the city, where there are trams, railways, good service of cars, fixed ridge, and were there are located the *Hippodrome Gran Sabana* and the *Polo Club*, places where the type of national holidays such as the *Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition* should be celebrated. The northern part of the city represents the progress and movement, and it has much greater compliment to the public and exhibitors than the southern part. The value of the works to be executed in the northern part of the city is necessarily greater than what they would represent in the southern limit of it”⁹⁷.

These arguments make evident the exclusionary nature of the independence celebration. The whole program was designed to please the elite of Bogota. It is possible to argue that the centenary of the independence it was a celebration planned and developed for the capital elite. In this sense, despite being a national holiday, it had an exclusionary character towards the rest of society. This idea can also be found in the articles written by historians like Alejandro Garay and Carolina Vanegas Carrasco⁹⁸. Garay concludes this celebration excluded the members of the popular classes that lived in the city. The author supports his conclusion on the fact that the scheduled events only satisfied the needs of the local elites. In Garay’s words, “the celebration was assembled,

⁹⁷ Revista del Centenario, Órgano de la Comisión. Bogotá, Abril 27 de 1910. No. 14. Pp. 109-110. Original text in Spanish: “La opinión general es que dicha Exposición de 1910 y la Escuela de Agricultura deben hacerse en la parte norte de la ciudad, donde hay tranvías, ferrocarril, buen servicio de coches, camellón arreglado, y dónde quedan el Hipódromo de la Gran Sabana, el Polo Club y en fin, que allí deben celebrarse esta clase de fiestas nacionales, como la Exposición Agrícola e Industrial. La parte norte de la ciudad es la del progreso y movimiento, y tiene mucho mayor halago para el público y los expositores que la parte sur. El valor de las obras que se ejecuten en la parte norte de la ciudad es necesariamente mayor que el que representarían en el extremo sur de ella”.

⁹⁸ GARAY CELEITA, ALEJANDRO. “La exposición del Centenario... Op. Cit. VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. Disputas simbólicas en la celebración del centenario de la independencia de Colombia en Bogotá (1910). Bogotá. 2012

supervised and written by the elite that excluded other social groups and therefore did not make them active participants in the festivities. This is the case of the popular sector, which appears as an isolated group at major festivals”⁹⁹.

Carolina Vanegas Carrasco argues in her book “Symbolic disputes in the celebration of the centenary of the Independence of Colombia in Bogota (*Disputas simbólicas en la celebración del centenario de la Independencia de Colombia en Bogotá*)” that the exclusionary character of the event also impacted the organization and distribution of funds for the celebrations in other regions and cities. According to Vanegas, the government arranged in a very unequal way the distribution of funds for the celebration around the country. These funds were mainly focused on Bogota, leaving in second place other Colombian cities. The exclusion of the other cities began with the creation of a board to organize events only in the city of Bogota. For her, this exclusion continued with the “inequity” in the distribution of state resources for the celebration: Thus, “from the hundred thousand Colombian pesos initially allocated (in the event was spent more than twice the initial amount), it was projected to invest 88.000 in the capital and spread the remaining twelve thousand between departments”¹⁰⁰.

These decisions were against the spirit of the celebration which was supposed to be public, especially considering that it was developed in the public space of the city and financed mainly by public funds. That is the biggest contradiction found in the study of this process. Then, to continue the development of the text, it will be presented some of the events that were part of the celebration. In this sense, it will be possible to see the how technical advances in the country were highlighted in the celebration and also, what place was given to the heroes in these commemorations.

The celebration of the centenary of the independence had two purposes: to exhibit the technical advances of the country within the *Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition* as well as to consolidate the image of the heroes in the public space. Both events took

⁹⁹ GARAY CELEITA, ALEJANDRO. “La exposición del Centenario... Op. Cit. Original text in Spanish: “La celebración estuvo montada, supervisada y escrita por una elite que excluyó a otros grupos sociales y, por tanto, no los hizo activos partícipes de los festejos; es el caso del sector popular, que aparece como un grupo aislado en las festividades importantes”.

¹⁰⁰ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. *Disputas simbólicas en la celebración...* Op. Cit.

place in the “*Parque de la Independencia*”. The commission planned to build three different pavilions within the park. These pavilions looked to resemble the structures built for the international and universal exhibitions in Europe in the nineteenth century. For this reason, the commission created a pavilion of machines, an industrial pavilion and a pavilion of Fine Arts. The *Commission*, the *Agricultural Society of Colombia* and the elite sought to demonstrate the progress that Colombia had developed in the fields of arts and since its independence. Clearly, this celebration reproduced the discourse of progress as well as the European concept of civilization that characterized the Universal Exhibitions. With this celebration the Colombian elites declared the country’s entry into the group of civilized nations of European tradition.



(Image 8 – *Pavilion of Industry in the “Libro del Centenario”*)¹⁰¹

Besides promoting the technological advances of the country, the celebration also look to consolidate the patriotic and nationalist discourse. To achieve that goal, sculptures and monuments that resemble the independence heroes were located in the public space of the city. Like happened with the sculpture of Simon Bolivar in “*Parque del Centenario*”, for the celebration of the independence centenary the Colombian government hired several French artists who had the mission of create the statues and

¹⁰¹ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia Colombiana, 1810-1910. Bogotá. Escuela Tipográfica salesiana. 1911. Pp. 223

busts of national heroes. For this purpose, since 1909 a Colombian delegation was in charge of searching for artists in Europe to make the necessary contracts for the construction of these monuments.

The Colombian delegation sent communications regularly to the “Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerio de Obras Públicas*)” to report the status of the contracts with the artists. Those documents were published by the “Review of the Centenary (*Revista del Centenario*)”. Thus, the issue 14th of the Review of the Centenary reproduced a report to the *Ministry of Public Works* by Juan Evangelista Manrique and Ricardo Santamaria, members of the Colombian delegation in France who lived in Paris. This report dated on October 11, 1909, included the original plan of the government for the monuments to be entrusted to French artists. Among the monuments, there was included an equestrian statue of Simon Bolivar, and nine busts made in bronze. The report says,

“On September 1 last year His Excellency the President of the Republic, in agreement with the National Commission for the Centenary, addressed a memorandum to the Minister of Finance and Treasury commissioned in Europe, assigning to him hiring a large bronze monument that would represent Bolivar surrounded by the allegorical statues of the five republics he founded. [...] His Excellency the President also ordered the creation of a bronze bust, with the embosses and attributes of the general Antonio Nariño, and other nine busts, also in bronze, for Santander, Córdoba, Ricaurte, Caldas, Acebedo, Gómez, Camilo Torres, Ribon, Girardot and the Gran Mariscal from Ayacucho”¹⁰².

This general scheme of sculptures planned by the Colombian president had to be modified due to the excessive budget required for the creation of all the sculptures. Finally, the national government had only the opportunity to order the creation of three sculptures: one dedicated to Simon Bolivar on his horse, other to Antonio Nariño and finally one to the martyr Francisco José de Caldas. These statues would be located in the “*Parque de la Independencia*” and “*Plaza de las Nieves*”. Due to the lack of budget of

¹⁰² Revista del Centenario, Órgano de la Comisión. Bogotá, Abril 27 de 1910. No. 14. Pp. 106. Original text in Spanish: “Con fecha del 1 de Septiembre del año pasado el Excelentísimo señor Presidente de la República, de acuerdo con la Comisión Nacional del Centenario, dirigió un memorándum al señor Ministro de Hacienda y Tesoro en comisión en Europa, encargándole contratar un gran monumento en bronce que representara á Bolívar rodeado de las estatuas alegóricas de las cinco Republicas que fundó. [...] Ordenaba además el Excelentísimo señor Presidente la ejecución de un busto en bronce, con relieve y atributos del general Antonio Nariño, y nueve bustos, también en bronce, para los próceres Santander, Córdoba, Ricaurte, Caldas, Acebedo, Gómez, Camilo Torres, Ribón, Girardot y el Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho”

the national government and the desire of the elites to locate new sculptures in public spaces, several private institutions decided to donate to the city some sculptures.

The historian Carolina Vanegas Carrasco has developed an extensive work over the last few years about memorials installed in Colombia during the celebration of the first centenary of Colombian Independence. According to her research, the sculpture of Bolívar for the “*Parque de la Independencia*” was paid by the national government and was performed by the French artist Emmanuel Frémiet¹⁰³. The artist Charles Raoul Verlet created three sculptures of Francisco Jose de Caldas, the martyr of the Independence. The national government paid two of them and they were located in the cities of Manizales and Popayan. The third sculpture was paid by a social organization called the *Polo Club* and it was located in the “*Plaza de las Nieves*” in Bogota¹⁰⁴. Additionally, Henri-Leon Gréber, a student of the artist Frémiet made a sculpture for Antonio Nariño, which was located in the “*Parque de la Independencia*”¹⁰⁵. Finally, the only large-scale work made by a Colombian artist was a monument to the female political figure of the Independence, Policarpa Salavarrieta. This piece was conducted by the Colombian artist Dionisio Cortés¹⁰⁶. Like noted above, all negotiations around the monuments were made in 1909 by the delegation of Colombia in France. Juan Evangelista Manrique was usually in contact with the artists who created these monuments. In all cases they were made with the help of images of the characters or even with models made in Colombia.

Additionally, the Gun Club and the Jockey Club, both private institutions, financed the creation of two busts for the “*Parque del Centenario*.”. The Gun Club

¹⁰³ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. Dos proyectos de memoria en el Centenario de la Independencia de Colombia. Los monumentos a Bolívar y Policarpa Salavarrieta en Bogotá. Publicado en Espantoso Rodríguez, Teresa y Vanegas Carrasco, Carolina (org.) 1er Seminario Internacional sobre Arte Público en Latinoamérica. Arte público y espacio urbano. Relaciones, interacciones, reflexiones. Buenos Aires: GEAP-Latinoamérica, Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte “Julio E. Payró”, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2009.

¹⁰⁴ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA y AMAYA, JOSÉ ANTONIO. Caldas fait en France. Ponencia publicada en Drien, Marcela; Guzmán, Fernando; Martínez, Juan Manuel (eds.) *América: territorio de transferencias. Cuartas Jornadas de Historia del Arte*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Museo Histórico Nacional, Centro de Conservación, Restauración y Estudios Artísticos - CREA, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. Coronación simbólica de un héroe: la estatua de Nariño en el primer Centenario de la Independencia. Publicada en Cuadernos de curaduría no. 5, julio de 2007.

¹⁰⁶ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. Dos proyectos de memoria en el Centenario... Op. Cit.

finance the bust of Antonio Ricaurte, which was created by Herni-Leon Gréber and the Jockey Club supported the bust of Camilo Torres created by Charles Raoul Verlet. Both artists work in the sculptures mentioned above that were finance by the Colombian government. The following section analyzes in detail the opening of the monuments within the independence celebrations that took place from July 15 to 31, 1910.

5.3. Antonio Ricaurte and Camilo Torres in “Parque del Centenario”

The celebration of the independence centenary in the city of Bogota was scheduled for fifteen. The schedule was full of events that combined religious and civil ceremonies. All the events were numbered and described in a commemorative book called “First Centennial of Independence Colombian 1810-1910 (*Primer Centenario de la Independencia Colombiana 1810-1910*)” written by Emiliano Isaza and Lorenzo Marroquin, members of the Committee responsible for preparing the Centenary celebration. The book was published in 1911 and presents an overview of the commemoration. It provides a detailed description of the program for each day accompanied by photographic records of the events as well as the copies of the speeches of several political figures. This publication makes evident that “*El Parque del Centenario*” served as stage for the celebration, especially considering the addition of Antonio Ricaurte and Camilo Torres’ busts.

The inauguration of Ricaurte’s bust was held on July 16, 1910. This inauguration was the first event in the day. Isaza and Marroquin provide a description of the attendees highlighting the presence of “the civil and military authorities, the diplomatic corps and very select audience invited by the President of the Gun Club”¹⁰⁷. The President of Colombia and delegations from Venezuela and Ecuador were also present. The opening speech was commissioned to the art critic Pedro Carlos Manrique, member of the Gun Club. .

¹⁰⁷ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. *Primer centenario de la Independencia Colombiana, 1810-1910*. Bogotá. Escuela Tipográfica salesiana. 1911. Pp. 37. Original text in Spanish: “las autoridades civiles, y militares, del Cuerpo diplomático y de selectísima concurrencia invitada por el Presidente del Gun Club”.

The location of this bust in the park could be seen as a further step in the process of diffusion of the pantheon figures built by the elites. Ricaurte's case is interesting because this character was not well known at the end of nineteenth century. Thus, the issue 13 of "*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*", published on 1882, includes a biography of Antonio Ricaurte. In this article, the author complained about the population's ignorance towards the lives of the men who participated in the process of independence. In contrast, the editor was astonished with the fact that "people fairly enlightened" had an extended knowledge about European history.

"There is not in America any fairly enlightened person who ignores the history of the Consulate and the Empire and the life of kings and marshals of France. There are very few who know, even in our own country, the heroic actions of our war with Spain and the lives of eminent men who with their blood and their efforts were able to drive a very glorious and happy ending [to the war]"¹⁰⁸.

This comment exemplifies the need to diffuse the national history inside of the country. As noted before, this was the main goal of the historical section of the "*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*". The article exalts Ricaurte as a military hero who died in 1814 after blowing himself in a gunpowder warehouse in the middle of a battle near the city of San Mateo in Venezuela. Besides showing Ricaurte as martyr, the biography stood out his place as part of the Creole and aristocratic elite. Thus, since 1882 a campaign was conducted to locate Ricaurte in the pantheon of heroes. An example of Ricaurte's consolidation as heroic figure and martyr is his mention in the XI strophe of the national anthem published in 1887: "Ricaurte in San Mateo / atoms flying, / 'Duty before life' / with flames he wrote". These examples as well as the emplacement of the bust in "*Parque del Centenario*" can be seen as part of the campaign to locate Ricaurte in the pantheon of heroes.

As it was mentioned before, the art critic Pedro Carlos Manrique was designated as guest speaker for the inauguration of Ricaurte's bust on July 16, 1910. Manrique presented a dichotomy between peace and war through his speech. He began highlighting the "peaceful nature" of the inhabitants of Bogota before the independence.

¹⁰⁸ El Papel Periódico Ilustrado. No. 13 – Año 1. 15 de abril de 1882. Pp. 202. Original text in Spanish: "no hay en América una persona medianamente ilustrada que ignore la historia del Consulado y del Imperio y la vida de los reyes y mariscales de Francia, son muy pocas las que saben, aun en nuestro mismo país, los hechos heroicos de nuestra guerra con España y la vida de los eminentísimos varones que con su sangre y sus esfuerzos lograron conducirla á muy gloriosa y feliz terminación".

According to him, the war only arrived to these lands during the conflict for independence. Manrique portrayed the city like a paradise. Within this earthly paradise, “the concerns of our ancestors had an ideal character or merely psychological”. According to the speaker, the inhabitants of the region had “sober and simple customs, they ignored the luxury; their pleasures were more contemplative order”¹⁰⁹.



(Image 9 - Sculpture Ricaurte)¹¹⁰

It was precisely inside of this ideal context created in Manrique’s speech that was located the birth of the political figures who conducted the independence. However, the inhabitants’ peaceful character that Manrique referred at the beginning of the speech was sharply contrasted with the importance that he gave to the armed forces for safeguarding the nation's sovereignty. Ricaurte military figure served as a platform to

¹⁰⁹ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Op. Cit. Pp. 38. Original text in Spanish: “De costumbres sobrias y sencillas, ignoraban el lujo; sus placeres eran más bien de orden contemplativo”.

¹¹⁰ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Op. Cit. 39

establish the place of the military forces in society. Addressing to the cadets who assisted the event, Manrique said “You [cadets] are the foundation of the organization of the army in accordance with modern needs. The nation has its eyes fixed on you”. This Manrique’s vision makes sense considering that Colombia began the twentieth century with the strongest internal conflict in the territory since the independence, the “Thousand Days War.” For Manrique, as member of the elite, the only way to keep the peace was through the strengthening of the armed forces. But for him, these armed forces should be formed only by the lower classes. Thus, Manrique continued his discourse saying, “an armed nation means a united nation. In order to achieve this vital need, we need to give new guidance to our internal life. The foundation of the defense is the soldier, and the soldier comes out of the masses”¹¹¹.

Later in the speech, Manrique referred to the “mastery” of the French artist Henri-Léon Gréber to represent Antonio Ricaurte in the bust. According to s Manrique the success of the piece was guaranteed due to the qualifications of the artist. Henri-Léon Gréber was an artist from a country with a great development on the "highest manifestations of the spirit". In Manrique’s words “the artist who sculpted [the bust] was son of an Areopagus nation of the highest manifestations of the spirit. He was happy to give visual form to the hero and the action that immortalizes.”¹¹² At the end of the speech, Manrique encouraged the public to embrace the future that awaited the country. The speaker argued that the brilliant future of the nation was possible due to the Hispanic heritage and the Catholic tradition that existed since colonial times. For Manrique, nations marked by this Hispanic tradition were called to "very high destinies".

“I am encouraged by the noble hopes that wrap in your chests, regarding the happy future of Colombia. A nation that in its cradle provides examples as the holocaust in San Mateo, has in its midst powerful elements of culture, energy and progress. [...] but the Republics born with Iberian blood, under the redeeming cross - placed between the twilight of the world in decline and the dawn of

¹¹¹ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Op. Cit. Pp. 39. Original text in Spanish: “La nación armada significa la nación unida. Para alcanzar ese vital fin necesitamos dar nuevas orientaciones á nuestra vida interna. La base fundamental de la defensa es el soldado, y el soldado sale de la masa popular”.

¹¹² ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Op. Cit. Pp. 39. Original text in Spanish: “El artista que lo esculpió, hijo de una nación aerópago de las más elevadas manifestaciones del espíritu, estuvo feliz de dar forma plástica al héroe y á la acción que lo inmortaliza”.

another revived by the cult of right and freedom - are called to very high destinations and to a lasting and fruitful life”¹¹³.

The opening of Antonio Ricaurte’s bust ended with those sentences. Besides providing a central place to the army due to the recent war, the discourse strengthened the ideological pillars that represented the Catholic Church and the Hispanic tradition. Both elements were ideological frameworks proper from the period “*La Regeneración*”. Additionally, the discourse exalted Ricaurte as a military hero in the pantheon. The rest of the day were held other events as a “patriotic function” performed by students of the Institute of La Salle; retreats in “*Parque del Centenario*”, “*Plaza de los Martires*” among others.

On the other hand, the inauguration of Camilo Torres’ bust was held on July 18, 1910 at 10:00 AM as part of the centenary celebrations. Like in the case of the Ricaurte’s bust, the sculpture depicting Camilo Torres was donated by a private social club in town, in the case of this sculpture the *Jockey Club*. This piece was commissioned to the French artist Charles Raoul Verlet, who also creates the sculpture of Francisco Jose de Caldas. The speaker for the opening of Camilo Torres’ bust was Eduardo Posada, one of the founder members of the “Colombian Academy of History (*Academia Colombiana de Historia*)” in 1902. Posada was member of this association for the rest of his life.

Contrary to what happened with Ricaurte, since the beginning Camilo Torres had a central place in the pantheon of heroes. An article from “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” pointed out his central place as a civilian hero in the revolution of 1810. The issue published on February 9, 1882 stated that “Camilo Torres is among the group of civilian men, the most highlighted figure of Independence”¹¹⁴. Camilo Torres had a central role during the independence due to his text “Representation from the Council of Bogota, capital of the New Kingdom of Granada, to the Central Junta of Spain in the

¹¹³ Ibid. Pp. 41 - 42. Original text in Spanish: “Estoy animado de las nobles esperanzas que se abrigan en vuestro pecho, respecto al venturoso porvenir de Colombia. Una nación que en su cuna presenta ejemplos como el del holocausto de San Mateo, ha de tener en su seno poderosos elementos de cultura, de energía y de progreso. [...] pero las Repúblicas que han nacido de sangre ibérica, al amparo de la cruz redentora – colocada entre el ocaso del mundo envilecido y la aurora de otro vivificado por el culto al derecho y a la libertad – están llamadas á destinos muy altos y á la vida duradera y fecunda”.

¹¹⁴ El Papel Periódico Ilustrado. No. 9 – Año 1. 1 de febrero de 1882. Pp. 134. Original text in Spanish: “Camilo Tórres es, entre el grupo de hombres civiles, la figura más culminante de la Independencia”

year 1809 (*Representación del Cabildo de Bogotá, capital del Nuevo Reino de Granada, a la Junta Central de España en el año de 1809*)” written in 1809. . Throughout this text, Camilo Torres intended to make explicit the problems of political representation of Americans on the “*Juntas de Gobierno*” which entered into operation in Spain since 1808¹¹⁵. Due to the great recognition of this document in the local context, soon it was called “Memorial of Grievances (*Memorial de Agravios*)”. Despite its fame, this text never reached the hands of the Spanish Crown. However, its reputation comes from the fact this text was the first official document indicating the problem of political representation between Spaniards and Americans..

Eduardo Posada delivered the speech for the opening of Camilo Torres’ bust in “Parque del Centenario”. Besides highlights the elements of his political life mentioned above, the speech has two main purposes: to present the social relation between Bolivar and Torres and to apologize for the fraternal ties broken between Spain and the Colombian governments since the independence. These arguments will be explored in the following paragraphs.

The historian Eduardo Posada began his speech by taking advantage of the spatial proximity between the sculptures of Simón Bolívar and Camilo Torres. For the speaker, the emplacement of these monuments was the staging of two very specific symbols: “civil courage” and “military courage.” Bolivar and Torres made possible Colombian independence. Thus, the emplacement of their monuments in the public space was the celebration of these two men’s life.

“The two monuments that the capital just raised on this place during its glorious centenary - Bolivar there and Torres here - are more than just the apotheosis of two illustrious men. They are two symbols: one represents the military value, and the other is the emblem of civil courage. Those two powers which made our independence; and they are symbolized in those two distinguished heads”¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁵ The issue of political representation of Americans in the Spanish Juntas after Napoleon’s invasion to the Spanish Peninsula in 1808 is one of the most discussed topics in Colombian historiography in recent years. For more information about this issue: SOSA ABELLA, GUILLERMO. *Representación e independencia. 1810-1816*. Bogotá. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia/ Fundación Carolina. 2006. GUTIÉRREZ ARDILA, DANIEL. *Un nuevo reino: geografía política, pactismo y diplomacia durante el interregno en Nueva Granada, 1808-1816*. Bogotá. Universidad Externado de Colombia. 2010.

¹¹⁶ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. *Primer centenario de la Independencia...* Pp. 120. Original text in Spanish: “Los dos monumentos que acaba de levantar la capital sobre este sitio, en su



(Image 10 - Picture bust of Camilo Torres)¹¹⁷

These two sculptures embodied the symbols and ideals of the nation. Throughout the speech, the orator also referred to the relation between Bolívar and Torres while they lived. According to Posada, Torres supported Bolívar. Torres “guessed Bolívar’s character. He understood and encouraged him in his career of glory”¹¹⁸. Thus, the ratio of spatial closeness in “*Parque del Centenario*” had a broader meaning, since the spatial proximity could relate to the closeness that existed between the two personages in real life.

In addition to emphasize the relationship between these two characters, Eduardo Posada also emphasized the good bond between Spain and Colombia. It was a difficult

glorioso centenario – Bolívar allí y Torres aquí – son algo más que la apoteosis de dos hombres ilustres, son dos símbolos: el uno representa el valor militar, y el otro es el emblema del valor civil. Fueron esas dos potestades las que hicieron nuestra independendia; y bien simbolizados quedan en esas dos cabezas eximias”.

¹¹⁷ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Pp. 121.

¹¹⁸ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Pp. 121.

Original text in Spanish: “adivinó á Bolívar, lo comprendió y lo estimuló en su carrera de gloria”

task, considering that Camilo Torres was killed in 1816 by Pablo Morillo, the “*Pacificador*”. The “*Pacificador*” was a Spanish general who came to the colonies with his army in 1815 with the tasks to end the revolution of the New Granada inhabitants (nowadays Colombia). Several political figures pro – independence such as Francisco Jose de Caldas and Camilo Torres were executed as a result of this mission.

However, Posada noted in his speech that the responsible of Torres’ execution was the despotism of government institutions during 1816, but not the fault of Spain. To support his argument, Posada included in his speech some excerpts of the poem ‘*A Juan de Padilla*’ written by Manuel José Quintana and published in 1806.¹¹⁹ The poem is about the crimes committed by the Spaniards during the conquest. Posada modified the line “crimes were from the time and not from Spain (*crimen fueron del tiempo y no de España*)” and instead said in his speech “The guilt was from the despotism and not from the generous Spanish nation (*culpas fueron del despotismo y no de la generosa nación española*).” Eduardo Posada finished the speech for the inauguration Camilo Torres’ bust as follows,

“For all this Camilo Torres climbed the scaffold. The executioner was implacable. *Guilt was from the time and not from Spain*, said Quintana to talk about some of the horrors of the conquest. We can parody this phrase to remember the cruelties of Independence, and say: Guilt was from despotism and not from the generous Spanish nation, as always despotism is one in all ages and in all areas”¹²⁰.

. Analyzing both speeches and inaugurations of Ricaurte and Torres’s busts, it is possible to identify some parallels and similarities. From one side, both discourses sought to celebrate the life of these political figures. Besides giving a main role to these figures in the imaginary of the elite and the Colombian society in general, these speeches became an opportunity to point out some of the elites’ interests such as the

¹¹⁹ Manuel Jose Quintana y Lorenzo was a Spanish poet and politician who was born in 1772 and died in 1857. In 1806 published the long poem called “A Juan de Padilla”. The fragment of the poem where the famous quote reads as follows: “Yo olvidaría/ El rigor de mis duros vencedores; / Su atroz codicia, su inclemente saña / Crimen fueron del tiempo, y no de España. / Mas ¿cuándo ¡ay Dios! los dolorosos males / Podré olvidar que aun mísera me ahogan?”.

¹²⁰ ISAZA, EMILIANO y MARROQUÍN LORENZO. Primer centenario de la Independencia... Pp. 123. Original text in Spanish: “Por todo esto subió Camilo Torres al cadalso. El verdugo fue implacable. *Culpas fueron del tiempo y no de España*, decía Quintana al hablar de algunos de los horrores de la conquista. Podemos parodiar esta frase al recordar las crueldades de la Independencia, y decir: *culpas fueron del despotismo y no de la generosa nación española*, pues siempre el despotismo es uno en todas las épocas y en todas las zonas”.

strengthening of the armed forces and improving the relationship with Spain. The positive vision around Spain was present in the discourse of the elite since 1883 and it was clearly reflected during the centenary celebrations of Colombian independence.

Despite the desire of the elites to spread the positive image of Spain through the celebration of Bolívar's birth centenary (1883) and the centenary of the independence (1910) there were some disagreements that it is important to highlight. According to Vanegas during the celebration of 1910 not all organizers and participants of the event agreed with the official position of sympathy towards Spain¹²¹.

The celebration of the centenary of Independence led to the location of Ricaurte and Torres' busts within the "Parque del Centenario". Moreover, the construction of Independence Park created a green corridor on the north side of the city. These public spaces were part of the development of the north side due to the interests of elites. In fact, this model of development was perpetuated throughout the twentieth century. The result was the sharp social division between rich and poor in Bogotá. The wealthier classes lived in the center and the underprivileged in the south. This dynamic has been perpetuated for development of public spaces currently in Bogotá.

In 1921, the Embellishment Society of Bogotá moved the bust of Camilo Torres from the "*Parque del Centenario*" to "Square of the Capuchin (*Plaza de la Capuchina*)." The Embellishment Society, created on 1918 was responsible for the care of public spaces in the city. Therefore, it was the institution responsible for making decisions towards the care of monuments and maintenance of parks and squares in the city.

The Square of the Capuchin's renovation was opening in July 24, 1921. Analyzing the speech delivered by during this opening, it is possible to infer that the cause of the relocation of Torres' bust was its lack of care and maintenance in the "*Parque del Centenario*." The speech stated that the Embellishment Society used "the celebration of patriotic festivities conveniently arranging some monuments that were before a little careless or not taken with enough decorum to the merits and virtues of the

¹²¹ VANEGAS CARRASCO, CAROLINA. Disputas simbólicas en la celebración... Op. Cit.

illustrious men to whom they were dedicated.”¹²² It seems that the exclusionary nature of the celebrations of 1883 and 1910 resulted in the inability to generate a collective consciousness about the need to take care of these monuments.

Thus, the poor condition of Camilo Torres’ monument was an example of the limited pedagogical impact that the Pantheon of national heroes had on the general public. However, the celebration of the Centennial of Independence brought an educational tool to ensure that the Colombian child population would be educated about the life of national heroes for the subsequent decades. This tool was the book “History of Colombia for secondary education (*Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria*)” written by Gerardo Arrubla and Jesus Maria Henao, which was awarded with the gold medal and diploma in the national competition of history in 1910. Along with the monuments and celebrations, this book was the ultimate tool to consolidate the image of the pantheon of heroes in Colombia during the twentieth century. As its introduction stated, the book was a “true school of patriotism” and it would communicate the way in which the political figures of Colombian history “thought and felt their work in personal benefit and that of posterity.”

“The history has to be studied in schools in the expressed time, if it is taken into account its object and its goal. It presents the past, puts in front the eyes what men thought and felt, his work in personal benefit and that of posterity. Contributes to the formation of character, moralize, revives patriotism and prepare [the student] with the knowledge of what it was into the active participation in the present [...] studied in a good manner is, without a doubt, a true school of patriotism, because it makes possible to know and admire the country since its birth, and to love it and serve it unselfishly, and ensures its future by maintaining the integrity of the national character”¹²³.

¹²² “La entrega de la Plazuela Camilo Torres”. *El Tiempo*. Año XI. No. 3634. Lunes 25 de julio de 1921. Pp. 7. Original text in Spanish: “la celebración de los festejos patrios arreglando de manera conveniente algunos monumentos antes un poco descuidados, o no tenidos con decoro suficiente a los méritos y virtudes de los preclaros varones a quienes se ha dedicado”.

¹²³ HENAO, JESÚS MARÍA y ARRUBLA, GERARDO. *Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria*. Bogotá. Librería Colombiana. Camacho Roldán y Tamayo. 1920. Pp. 3. Original text in Spanish: “La historia ha de estudiarse en los colegios en el tiempo expresado, si se tiene en cuenta su objeto y si fin. Ella presenta el pasado, pone ante los ojos lo que los hombres pensaron y sintieron, su labor en provecho personal y en el de la posteridad. Contribuye a la formación del carácter, moraliza, aviva el patriotismo y prepara con el conocimiento de lo que fue a la activa participación del presente [...] Bien estudiada es, a no dudar, verdadera escuela del patriotismo, porque hace conocer y admirar la patria desde su cuna, amarla y servirla con desinterés, y asegura su porvenir manteniendo la integridad del carácter nacional”

This chapter explained the way the preparations for the celebration of the independence centenary were crossed by dynamics that mixed public and private areas of Bogota elites. The centennial celebration should have aimed to gather together all members of the nation. However, in practice the organizers, members of the elites, excluded other regions of the country and even popular sectors the city from the commemorative events. Despite their intentions, the celebrations left permanent traces in the city such as the “*Parque de la Independencia*” and the monuments that inevitably would be later used and observed by the entire population. The “Parque del Centenario” had only two sculptures in 1921. In 1926 the park was completely renovated. New pathways and gardens were added as well as new sculptures. This process could be seen as a new stage in the history of this public space, which will be addressed in the last chapter of this study.

6. The remodeling of “Parque del Centenario” and its gradual disappearance (1926-1958).

The city of Bogota underwent several changes during the last decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Probably the most notorious changes were the significant population growth, explained in detail in previous chapters, as well as the architectural development of public spaces such as the “Independence Park (*Parque de la Independencia*)”. This process involved the arrival of new monuments to this park and other public spaces in the city and it was focused in the north side of the city.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the government emplaced two new sculptures of Camilo Torres and Antonio Ricaurte in the “Parque del Centenario” as part of the celebration of the centenary of the independence. In 1921, the Society of Embellishment ordered the relocation of Torres’ bust in a new public space called “*Plazuela Camilo Torres*”. Five years later, the “Parque del Centenario” park suffered a deep process of remodeling conducted by Laureano Gomez, Minister of Public Works (*Ministerio de Obras Públicas*). These changes marked a new stage in the development of the park as a public space. In this context, the current chapter focuses on the modifications that the “Parque del Centenario” experienced in 1926 and its subsequently disappearance in 1958. The first part of the text explains the specific

changes that took place on the park as well the role that government members and Colombian artists took during the remodeling. Additionally, there will be a description of the new monuments that occupied a lieu in the park.

Secondly, the text presents the process of dismemberment and disappearance of the park occurred between 1947 and 1958. The new model of modernization carried out in the city promoted the construction of the avenues “Carrera 10” and “Calle 26”. The “Carrera 10” split the park in two and later the construction of “Calle 26” led to its complete destruction. All monuments were relocated to different sectors in the city. Finally, it will be pointed out some of the new locations of the monument after the disappearance of the park.

6.1. The remodeling of the “Parque del Centenario” in 1926.

During the second decade of the twentieth century Colombia experienced a wave of prosperity. According to the national historiography, this monetary prosperity was caused by the consolidation of coffee as an exportation product and the compensation that the US paid to Colombia due to the loss of Panama. Since mid-nineteenth century the country tried to consolidate a product for exportation. With that product, the estate expected to give an enhancement to the national economy. However, it was only until the early twentieth century that the coffee took a central place as an exportation product. The whole coffee industry started to develop during the first two decades of the century. Thus, the circuit of production advanced and coffee established itself internationally. As result, for the years between 1922 and 1929 coffee exportation gave had a main role in the national economy¹²⁴.

Secondly, the United States intervention in the independence of Panama in 1903 impacted the diplomatic relations between the two countries. After the loss of Panama, the Colombian government asked the United States to compensate the territorial harm caused with this intervention. After several negotiations, on April 6, 1914, Thadeus A.

¹²⁴ For more information about the history of coffee in Colombia, consult: OCAMPOR, JOSÉ ANTONIO et al. *Historia económica de Colombia*. Bogotá, Siglo XXI Editores de Colombia. 1987. MARCO PALACIOS. *El café en Colombia 1850-1970. Una historia económica, social y política*. Cuarta edición corregida y actualizada. México. El Colegio de México. 2009.

Thompson and Francisco Jose Urrutia, representatives of each country, signed the agreement that would later be known as the "Urrutia-Thompson Treaty" (*Tratado Urrutia-Thompson*). The treaty went through some changes in the US Senate and only became effective in 1921. According to the historian Teresa Morales, it was only on "December 22, 1921 that the House of Representatives [of Colombia] approved the treaty with all modifications"¹²⁵. Among the benefits obtained by Colombia with this process, there was a compensation of \$ 25 million dollars that the United States government paid to Colombia between 1924 and 1926.

This episode of the Colombian history is called "The dance of the millions (*Danza de los Millones*). "The national government used these funds to develop several public works. The Minister of Public Works at that time, Laureano Gomez, was responsible for oversee the works built along the Colombian territory. For example in the city of Bogota, "the San Francisco River was channeled; the Avenida Jimenez de Quesada was created; it was open the Avenida Caracas; the building of National Capitol was completed; the Plaza de Bolivar was remodeled; the courthouse was built; and the improvements to Parque del Centenario were made."¹²⁶.

These improvements brought a new image to the city. As it was explained in previous chapters, during this period the "Parque del Centenario" was a must visit place of the city as shown in several articles and reviews. These publications remarked the resemblance of this area with the public spaces in European countries. The reference to Europe was the reference to welfare and progress. The park was then set up as the image of the progress in the city.

According to some journalists of the Magazine *Cromos* (*Revista Cromos*) the "Parque del Centenario" and "Parque de la Independencia" compounded a landscape

¹²⁵ MORALES DE GÓMEZ, TERESA. El tratado Urrutia-Thompson. Dificultades de política interna y exterior retrasaron 7 años su ratificación. Revista Credencial Historia. Bogotá. No. 165, Septiembre 2003. Original text in Spanish: "22 de diciembre de 1921 la Cámara de Representantes [de Colombia] aprobó el tratado con sus modificaciones."

¹²⁶ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana: una escultura neoclásica en Bogotá. Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas. No. 8. Pp. 65-81. 2013. Pp. 71. Original text in Spanish: "se canalizó el río San Francisco, se creó la Avenida Jiménez de Quesada, se abrió la Avenida Caracas, se completó el edificio del Capitolio Nacional, se remodeló la Plaza de Bolívar, se construyó el Palacio de Justicia, se realizaron mejoras al Parque del Centenario."

that make the observer to “think about certain views of foreign cities we see in the movies or on postcards”. Bogota inhabitants was frequently visited the park during the weekends. The Cromos magazine article titled "The forest of Independence (*El Bosque de la Independencia*)" explained that "on Sundays [the park] is filled with elegant ladies, well dressed children and sophisticated gentlemen [...] they form groups of people chatting and laughing animatedly while in neighboring kiosk, the band runs joyful Viennese waltzes or selections from Italian operas"¹²⁷. Thus, the “*Parque del Centenario*” became the meeting point for the high class citizens of the city in the early twentieth century.

The remodeling of “*Parque del Centenario*” occurred in 1926 during the economic rise of the country. These changes were part of the development plan of the city’s north side which was funded with the resources from the "dance of millions". The Minister of Public Works, Laureano Gomez, oversaw the remodeling of the park and shared with the Embellishment Society of Bogotá the power decision about the project.



(Image plan of Parque del Centenario - 1926)

¹²⁷ Revista Cromos. El Bosque de la Independencia. Vol. 10, No. 233. Octubre 1920. Original text in Spanish: “los domingos se llena de damas elegantes, de niños lujosamente trajeados y de galanes peripuestos [...] fórmanse grupos de gentes que charlan y ríen animadamente en tanto que, en el quiosco vecino, la banda de música ejecuta alegres vals vieneses o selecciones de óperas italianas.”

The remodeling project of the “*Parque del Centenario*” included: the construction of new paths for pedestrians, the location of chandelier lights around the park, the installation of two small fountains on the eastern side of the park, the location of four busts of heroes of the independence in each of the corners; and the location of a sculpture of a female religious figure in a fountain located in its western side. The park’s amendments were registered in the plan titled “Plan of Parque del Centenario and modifications to its embellishment (*Plano del Parque del Centenario y modificaciones para su embellecimiento*)” property of the Ministry of Public Works’ archive and currently located in the General Archive of the Nation. This plan highlights in red color each of the amendments that were planned by the ministry for the park.

The hiring of personnel for the remodeling process was entirely given to nationals. For the first time in the history of the park, architects, engineers and artists who participated in the whole process were national. Laureano Gomez entrusted the work to the engineer Arturo Jaramillo Concha and to the architect Roberto Martinez Romero¹²⁸. Similarly, for the first time, the sculptures were not imported but were made by Colombian artists. However, the trace of the European style, which delighted the political elite of the country, remained as feature in the selection criteria of the artists. In this case, the hired artists were educated in the French tradition. Thus, Francisco Antonio Cano was born in Antioquia and studied in the Academy Julian in Paris between 1898 and 1901¹²⁹. Moreover, Marco Tobón Mejía, also native from Antioquia and who lived much of his life in Paris¹³⁰.

At this point, it is worth to think about the implications of choosing these artists. These two artists had a distinctly neoclassical style. They were educated and developed their work within the French academic environment during the early twentieth century. As a result, they were not related to the work developed outside of the French artistic academia during that period. After their arrival to Colombia, Cano and Tobon gained recognition among the elites thanks to their neoclassical style. Thus, the artistic taste of

¹²⁸ INSTITUTO DISTRITAL DE PATRIMONIO CULTURAL. Bogotá, un museo a cielo abierto: Guía de esculturas y monumentos conmemorativos en el espacio público. Vol. I. Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá. 2000. Pp. 88.

¹²⁹ CANO, FRANCISCO A. Notas artísticas. Compilación y prólogo, Miguel Escobar Calle. Medellín, Extensión Departamental, 1987.

¹³⁰ CARDENAS, JORGE. Vida y obra de Marco Tobón Mejía. Medellín, Museo de Antioquia, 1987.

elites contributed to the perpetuation of the neoclassical style in the design of public spaces in the country. The private interests of the members of the elites completely influenced the decoration of public spaces within the city. According to Juanita Monsalve, the aesthetic tastes of Laureano Gomez had a decisive impact on the new configuration of “Parque del Centenario” and its new sculptures,

"Laureano Gomez was a supporter of classical art and a critic of the modern. However, outside of subjective point of view of whichever critic of art, it is important to remember that Gomez was a politician, which means that as minister and then as president, he was a decision maker. From the center of Bogota, he decided what to buy and, with this, which artists to seed in the artistic taste of Colombians"¹³¹.

This argument is critical because it explains the pedagogical impact of placing an image in the public space. First, the sculptures facilitated educating the public about the national heroes as well as about the appropriate aesthetic codes for the nation. Secondly, the selection of national artists educated in the French tradition to create the sculptures of the park was also an indication of the standards that the fine arts schools of the country should follow. Thanks to this assignment, Francisco Antonio Cano became a central figure in the Colombian artistic field.

By exalting the neoclassical style in Colombian artists, the political elites sat a position about the paths that the national field of art should follow. Thus, other art styles and movements developed in the region during the same period were left aside. While in the same period other Latin American countries lived the awakening and growth of artistic movements that would fundamentally change the Latin American art, in Colombia these movements would not be recognized until the late twentieth century. This was the case of the “Mexican Muralism (*Muralismo Mexicano*)” that emerged during this decade with artists such as Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros. At the local level, during 1920s and 1930s the artistic movement "The Bachue (*Los Bachue*)" tried to impose a new aesthetic that gave a place to the indigenous and the peasantry

¹³¹ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana... Op. Cit. Pp.74. Original text in Spanish: “Laureano Gómez era un abanderado del arte clásico y un detractor de lo moderno. Sin embargo, fuera de la subjetividad de un crítico cualquiera es importante recordar que Gómez era un hombre político, lo que significa que como ministro, y posteriormente como presidente, era un elector. Desde el centro de Bogotá decidía qué comprar y, con esto, qué artistas plantar en el gusto de los colombianos.”

present in the country. Unfortunately this movement was not welcomed in the artistic field and not consolidated as a predominant aesthetic¹³².

The inclination of the political elites for the European artistic style brought more serious consequences for the development of Colombian art. As Francisco Antonio Cano expressed in his "Artistic Notes" written in 1926 and published posthumously, there were few opportunities where the government invested in the development of arts. According to Cano is "being little what our governments have devoted to the cultivation of the fine arts." He made great efforts to convince the government to give the right to a national artist to perform a sculpture in homage to Rafael Núñez.

"I was determined, and finally I succeeded, after a tough fight, to convince the government of Marco Fidel Suarez [1918-1921] that it must be a Colombian who made the statue of Nunez. This could prove that not everything - despite being little what our governments have devoted to the cultivation of the fine arts - was lost, as it was possible to show a job that I made, even if it is not marvelous art, is far from being ridiculous, and it is enough to mark a milestone in the development of our art"¹³³.

This note Francisco Antonio Cano is revealing. It explains the serious impact that the artistic tastes of the elites have on the development of national art in the beginning of twentieth century. Hiring foreign artists to produce works that would be located in public space, the elites neglected the development of national art. This may be one of the reasons why it took so long to national artists to develop their own style. A style which could be consider as modern. Thus, the decision of Laureano Gomez of hiring national artists to create the sculptures for the remodeling of "Parque del Centenario" represented as a small change in the discourse of the elites towards the development of national art.

¹³² For more information about the development of the artistic movement "Los Bachue" consult: PADILLA, CRISTIAN. El llamado de la tierra: el nacionalismo en la escultura colombiana. Bogotá. Fundación Gilberto Alzate Avendaño. 2008.

¹³³ CANO, FRANCISCO A. Notas artística. Op. Cit. Original text in Spanish: "Me propuse, y al fin lo logré, después de una lucha durísima, convencer al gobierno de Marco Fidel Suárez de que debía ser un colombiano quien hiciera la estatua de Núñez, con lo cual pude probar que no todo, a pesar de ser poco lo que nuestros gobiernos han dedicado al cultivo de las Bellas Artes, se había perdido, puesto que fue posible mostrar un trabajo que me tocó ejecutar, y que si no es una maravilla de arte, está muy lejos de hacer el ridículo, y si es bastante a marcar un jalón en el desenvolvimiento de nuestro arte."

The remodeling project of 1926, decorated the “Parque del Centenario” with the largest number of sculptures throughout its lifetime.. Besides the bust of Antonio Ricaurte opened in 1910, the artist Francisco Antonio Caro was responsible for creating three busts to decorate every corner of the park. These busts would be dedicated to the colonel Juan José Rondón, the general Jose Maria Cordoba and the soldier Atanasio Girardot¹³⁴, military personages who participated in the process of independence.

Therefore, each corner of the “Parque del Centenario” has a sculpture that represented a character of the independence. This scenery represented the founding myth of the Colombian nation through its independence characterized by the Creole and Hispanic tradition. This discourse that aside other social groups in the country such as indigenous and African descendants communities. Not only in the “*Parque del Centenario*” but also in other public spaces of the city of Bogota there was a predominance of images from the Creole and Spanish tradition. . This tendency was documented by Roberto Cortázar in his book, "Monuments, statues, busts, medallions, commemorative plates existing in Bogota in 1938 (*Monumentos, Estatuas, Bustos, Medallones, Placas conmemorativas existentes en Bogotá en 1938*)". This book presents the narrative of monuments in Bogota in 1920s which was entirely related to a nation form only by Creoles and linked to the idea of Spain as the motherland.

As it was mentioned before, the remodeling plan of the park also included the placement of a sculpture of female religious figure called “The Rebeca.”. According to the biblical text of Genesis, she was the wife of Isaac and mother of Jacob. The Rebecca sculpture has been studied by the researcher Juanita Monsalve, who studied her bachelor degree in visual arts at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. According to Monsalve’s dissertation titled "Rebecca, the Bogota’s Bride (*Rebeca, La novia de Bogotá*)"¹³⁵ . According to this researcher, the sculpture of Rebecca located in “Parque del Centenario” has two particularities. The first is that Rebecca is naked and the second one is that instead of carrying a pitcher, she is bent over the fountain, giving the idea of being about to collect water,

¹³⁴ CORTAZAR, ROBERTO. *Monumentos, Estatuas, Bustos, Medallones, Placas conmemorativas existentes en Bogotá en 1938*. Editorial selecta. 1938. Monument to Juan José Rondón, Pp. 312 – 314; Monument to José María Córdoba, Pp. 123 - 124; Monument to Atanasio Girardot, Pp. 151 - 153.

¹³⁵ MONSALVE, JUANITA. *Rebeca. La novia de Bogotá*. Bogotá. Sin publicar. Universidad Javeriana. 2013.

"Rebecca [...] has more characteristics of a freshwater nymph than of a water carrier. Also, if the Bogota's sculpture is compared with other apparitions in art that have had the same biblical women, the Bogota one is far from the traditional representation. Neither in the story nor in other pieces of art, has Rebecca appeared naked. Its action is also different from other three-dimensional, although the other carries a pitcher, they do not collect water on their knees."¹³⁶

There a discussion related with the authorship of the sculpture "The Rebeca". Juanita Monsalve argues that in the 1960s the journalist Jaime Sotomayor erroneously attribute the authorship of this artwork to the recently deceased artist Roberto Henao Butírica. On March 5, 1964, the newspaper "*El Espectador*" published a Sotomayor's article titled "Roberto Henao, sculptor of 'The Rebeca' died in total poverty (*Roberto Henao, escultor de 'La Rebeca' murió en total pobreza*)". According to Monsalve, a year later the historian Carmen Ortega Ricaurte published a "Dictionary of Artists in Colombia (*Diccionario de Artistas en Colombia*)"¹³⁷ which includes a brief biography of Butírica and highlights his authorship over this work.¹³⁸

However, through her research Juanita Monsalve was able to establish the original author of the Rebecca. According to the contracts found by Monsalve in the General Archive of the Nation in Colombia, the artist hired to create this sculpture was Titto Ricci, who owned an Italian marble shop in Bogota during the period. The contract was signed on May 6, 1926 between the Ministry of Public Works and Mr. Luis Luchinelli, who represented the marble shop. The terms of the contract committed Titto Ricci to the creation of "two children with a dolphin or a swan, 16 frogs, tiers and curbs, of course, all in Carrara marble"¹³⁹. Additionally the contract also described the sculpture of Rebecca,

¹³⁶ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana... Op. Cit. Pp. 71. Original text in Spanish: "Rebeca [...] tiene más características de una ninfa de aguas dulces que de una aguadora. Además, si a la bogotana se le compara con otras apariciones que ha tenido la misma mujer bíblica en el arte, la capitalina es distante de la representación tradicional. Ni en el relato, ni en otras piezas de arte *Rebeca* está desnuda. Su acción también es diferente a la de las demás tridimensionales, que aunque cargan cántaro no recogen agua de rodillas."

¹³⁷ ORTEGA RICAURTE, CARMEN. Diccionario de Artistas en Colombia. Bogotá, Ediciones Tercer Mundo. 1965.

¹³⁸ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana... Op. Cit. Pp. 67

¹³⁹ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana... Op. Cit. Pp. 75. Original text in Spanish: "dos Niños con un Delfin o con un Cisne, 16 sapos, gradas y brocales, por supuesto, todo en mármol de Carrara."

"The contractor is committed to execute and place at his own risk, in the place indicated, an artistic statue called 'Rebecca', made from white marble from Carrara (Italy) whose height, from the base to the upper extremity is superior to one meter and sixty centimeters. The statue is on its knees and in its right hand holds an amphora and on the left a seashell in a position to collect water from the pond. The base is decorated with lotus flowers"¹⁴⁰.

The sculpture of the Rebecca has had central place in the mind of the Bogota society. From all the pieces placed in the "*Parque del Centenario*" this was the only sculpture which remained on its place over time. As Monsalve notes it's the Rebeca's presence became one of the hallmarks of the city center. Even several shops in the area were baptized with the same name. Thus, the Rebecca's sculpture became an emblematic figure in the monuments of Bogota. On the previous pages it have already been identified each of the sculptures that were part of the remodeling project of the park in 1926. Similarly, the artists participating in the project have been presented. It was also underlined some of consequences result of the decisions made by the politicians involved in this process. Therefore, it is time to point out some of the particulars of the re-opening of Parque del Centenario.

The re-opening of the "*Parque del Centenario*" took place during the commemoration of the national independence on July 1926. . The commemoration lasted from July 19th to 21st and involved events in different parts of the city such religious processions, and parades. The newspaper "El Tiempo" published a program of celebrations. Likewise, it devoted small fragments of the daily to narrate the commemorative events of commemoration. The attendants to the events were "all public schools in the district, the municipal inspector, distinguished ladies, gentlemen, and a large audience"¹⁴¹.

The presence of public schools in the celebrations is an example of the pedagogical nature of these acts which was also described by the newspaper "El Tiempo.". On July

¹⁴⁰ MONSALVE, JUANITA. La adopción de una huérfana... Op. Cit. Pp. 75. Original text in Spanish: "el contratista se compromete a ejecutar y colocar por su cuenta y riesgo, en el lugar que le sea indicado, una estatua artística denominada 'Rebeca', de mármol blanco de Carrara (Italia) cuya altura, desde la base hasta la extremidad superior es un metro con sesenta centímetros. La estatua arrodillada tiene en la mano derecha un ánfora y en la izquierda una concha marina en posición de recoger agua del estanque. La base está adornada con flores de loto."

¹⁴¹ El tiempo, 19 de julio de 1926. Año XVI, No. 5321. P. 6. Original text in Spanish: "todas las escuelas públicas del barrio, del inspector municipal, distinguidas damas y caballeros y de un numeroso público."

19, this newspaper published a story called "The cult of heroes". The article states that the tributes prepared for the celebration of independence meant "undoubtedly a revival of patriotic fervor starts". This patriotic fervor was demonstrated with religious events such as the "Parade of Santa Librada" as well as with events that highlighted the blood ties that certain members of the community had with the generation of independence. Thus, a "select parade of the descendants of the heroes and founders of the nation" took place during the celebration.. This distinction legitimized the social differentiation between the elites and the rest of the community. In any case, the main purpose of the celebrations was to set an example of patriotism for future generations. According to the author of the article "the cult of heroes", the memories of "great men" have a strong impact on the in "the soul of the people", "in the heart of the masses." In other words, these celebration contributed to construction of a national identity,

"The reminder of the virtues of the great men of the past is a fruitful teaching for future generations. There is nothing that penetrates more deeply the sense of nationality in the soul of the people, that this permanent exaltation of the great patriotic traditions. The hero with his aura of legend and grandeur is a hidden and subtle force that works from the distant backgrounds of race and watches lovingly by the destiny of the country. That is the reason why we have to highlight their aged and venerable figure whenever possible to the minds and hearts of the crowds"¹⁴².

There are some common elements between the national celebrations that have been analyzed in this text. First, there was a strong relationship between the improvements of the infrastructure in the city and the national celebrations. Thus, the national celebrations served as a framework to the development of public spaces. Secondly, the celebrations were the platform the elites used to make echo of the heritage the heroes represented. As a result, the heroes became part of the public sphere and also part of the national history. Finally, the improvements of the public space were focused on the north side of the city, home of the elites.

¹⁴² El tiempo, 19 de julio de 1926. Año XVI, No. 5321. P. 3. Original text in Spanish: "Este recuerdo de las virtudes de los grandes hombres del pasado es una fecunda enseñanza para las generaciones del porvenir. Nada que haga penetrar más hondo el sentido fuerte de la nacionalidad en el alma del pueblo, que está permanente exaltación de las magnas tradiciones patrióticas. El héroe con su aureola de leyenda y de grandeza es una fuerza oculta y sutil que obra desde los lejanos fondos de la raza y que vela amorosamente por los destinos de la patria. Por eso es preciso poner de relieve su figura añosa y venerable cada vez que sea posible a la mente y al corazón de las muchedumbres."

The “*Parque del Centenario*” was re-opening on July 29, 1926 after the five decades of existence. The newspaper "El Tiempo" published on the same day an article summarizing the event. The article notes how “a large crowd continually visited this beautiful recreation site, eager to admire the art works built there”. As expected by the generations of 1880, the park became one of the main centers of attraction in the city during the thirties. The Parque del Centenario was "undoubtedly the most beautiful recreation site that has our old capital city"¹⁴³.



(Parque del Centenario - photo posted on the Magazine Cromos)¹⁴⁴

For the celebration of July 20, 1926 the “*Parque del Centenario*” was completely remodeled. . However, later that year the engineer Arturo Jaramillo was hired by Laureano Gomez to conduct two other improvements of the park. Jaramillo was also a member of the Embellishment Society and had an important role in the definition of the development of the park’s surroundings.

During the Embellishment Society meetings held in September this year, Jaramillo succeeded in passing a motion to “issue an agreement setting the height and quality of buildings around “*Parque del Centenario*”, because it was a matter of general

¹⁴³ El tiempo, 20 de julio de 1926. Año XVI, No. 5322. P. 2. Original text in Spanish: es, sin duda alguna, el sitio de recreo más bello que tiene nuestra vieja ciudad capital.”

¹⁴⁴ “La reconstrucción del Parque del Centenario”, Cromos, vol. XXII. No. 516. Julio 24 de 1926

convenience and good taste"¹⁴⁵. Also, Jaramillo achieved at the meeting that the Society approved to request to the Ministry of Public Works to create a plaster duplicate of Bolívar's sculpture located in the central town square (*Plaza de Bolívar*). The idea of constructing this duplicated was to see if the statue would fit adequately inside the shrine. If so, the Embellishment Society would ask to the "Congress to repeal Article 3 of Law 89 of 1925 and Article 3 of Law 12 May 1846"¹⁴⁶. The plaster duplicated was constructed by Marco Tobón Mejía in 1927. Some pictures of the park at that time registered Tobon's piece inside of the shrine.

The last addition to the "Parque del Centenario" occurred during the thirties. . It was a sculpture of the Colombian poet Jose Asuncion Silva (1865 – 1896). Silva committed suicide at the age of thirty leaving a short but well recognized work His master pieces are the novel "After dinner (*De sobremesa*)" and the collection of poems published under the title "The book of verses (*Libro de versos*)", which represented the incursion of Colombian literature in modernism. For this reason, a sector of the Colombian elite decided to open a "public subscription" to erect a bust of Jose Asuncion Silva. The main organizer of this initiative was the writer and lawyer Agustín Nieto Caballero. He organized a group of poets, doctors, engineers, lawyers, artists, students, teachers, and military to contribute in this initiative. As a result "the sculptor Ramon Barba makes the bust in marble. In marble and bronze was made the pedestal by the hands of the architect Pablo de la Cruz"¹⁴⁷.

The addition of this piece to the figures exalted in the "*Parque del Centenario*" implied the entry of Jose Asuncion Silva into the group of men who would be remembered by Colombian society. Silva also represented a new level in the complexity of the process of construction of the national pantheon. Thus, no longer the pantheon would exalt exclusively the independence heroes. With Silva's sculpture, the spectrum

¹⁴⁵ Boletín de la Sociedad de embellecimiento, tercera época. No. 46 Septiembre de 1926. Pp. 286. Original text in Spanish: "expedir un acuerdo fijando la altura y la calidad de las construcciones en los alrededores del Parque del Centenario, por ser de conveniencia general y buen gusto."

¹⁴⁶ Boletín de la Sociedad de embellecimiento, tercera época. No. 46 Septiembre de 1926. Pp. 285. Original text in Spanish: "al Congreso la derogatoria del Artículo 3, de la Ley 89 de 1925, así como el 3 de la Ley 12 de mayo de 1846."

¹⁴⁷ BETANCOURT, BELISARIO. La noche misteriosa. Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración del "Año Silva", en la Casa de Poesía Silva: Bogotá, mayo 24 de 1996. Original text in Spanish: "el escultor Ramón Barba hace el busto en mármol. En mármol y bronce levanta el pedestal el arquitecto Pablo de la Cruz."

of figures got expanded to the recognition of artists and writers as integral members of the national pantheon. It is important to mention the fact that Silva did not belong to the generation of independence. On the contrary, this man was part of the same generation that built the park in 1883 and collaborated with the development of the newspaper “El Papel Periódico Ilustrado”. As a result, the process of construction of the pantheon of national heroes more was consolidated during the thirties. At that point, the elites’ efforts to promote this pantheon as part of the Colombian heritage paid off.

6.2. The disappearance of “Parque del Centenario”

As noted above, the inhabitants enjoyed the modifications made to the park in 1926 only about two decades. Between 1947 and 1958, the number of changes made in the city would lead to the complete disappearance of the park. All monuments would be moved to other parts of Bogota. This last section will try to show some of the details of this process. All along the text, it will be point out some features of the modernization model that was developed to Bogota. At the same time, some of the media reactions to the disappearance of the space will be made. Finally, it will be discuss the relocation of monuments in other parts of the city.

To begin, it is necessary to highlight the demographic growing process of Bogota. Following some of the demographic available data one can infer that the city was growing faster than expected. According to different sources, it can be said that by the year 1938 the city had 325,658 inhabitants¹⁴⁸. This means the city almost tripled its population between 1912 and 1938. Furthermore, as the researchers Carlos Niño Murcia and Sandra Salazar Reina argue in their book “The race of modernity, construction of the tenth street (*La carrera de la modernidad, La construcción de la Carrera décima*)” due to the continuous conflicts the country passed through, the development of the city was pretty slow, “It is an accepted fact that, compared with other Latin American

¹⁴⁸ LEÓN SOLER, NATALIA. Bogotá: de paso por la Capital. Bogotá. Revista credencial Historia. Edición 224. Agosto de 2008. NIÑO MURCIA, CARLOS y REINA MENDOZA, SANDRA. La carrera de la Modernidad. Construcción de la carrera décima. Bogotá (1945-1960). Bogotá. Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural. 2010. Pp. 46.

capitals, the modernization of the cities in Colombia was delayed; the wars and hardships of the nineteenth century delayed its development”¹⁴⁹.

Despite the delay in the urban development, the rapid population growth of the city also leads to the architectural expansion. In that sense, one of the main requirements was the construction of roads to communicate all urban network efficiently. For these reasons, the city government had to create a plan of development that could fill all these needs. Between the decades from 1920 until 1950 there were several plans submitted to the government¹⁵⁰. According to the book of authors Niño and Reina, since the beginning of 1940 these plans involved the construction of the “*Carrera Décima*”. From that moment, the construction of this avenue was one of the leading projects in the development process of the city. For 1946, the Municipal Council had already accepted the proposal of constructing this avenue. The plan implied that the street would cross the city from south to north, from the so-called “Hortúa Complex (*Complejo de la Hortúa*)” throughout the city until “Parque del Centenario”. Within this design, the park should remain intact. However, the decision of keeping the park intact changed from the moment when the works began. This change was closely linked to the visit of a French-Swiss architect named Charles Le Corbusier (1887-1965). This architect was invited to the country to conduct a series of lectures and to make a proposal for a plan of urban development the city. In this regard, It is possible to read in the book of Niño and Reina,

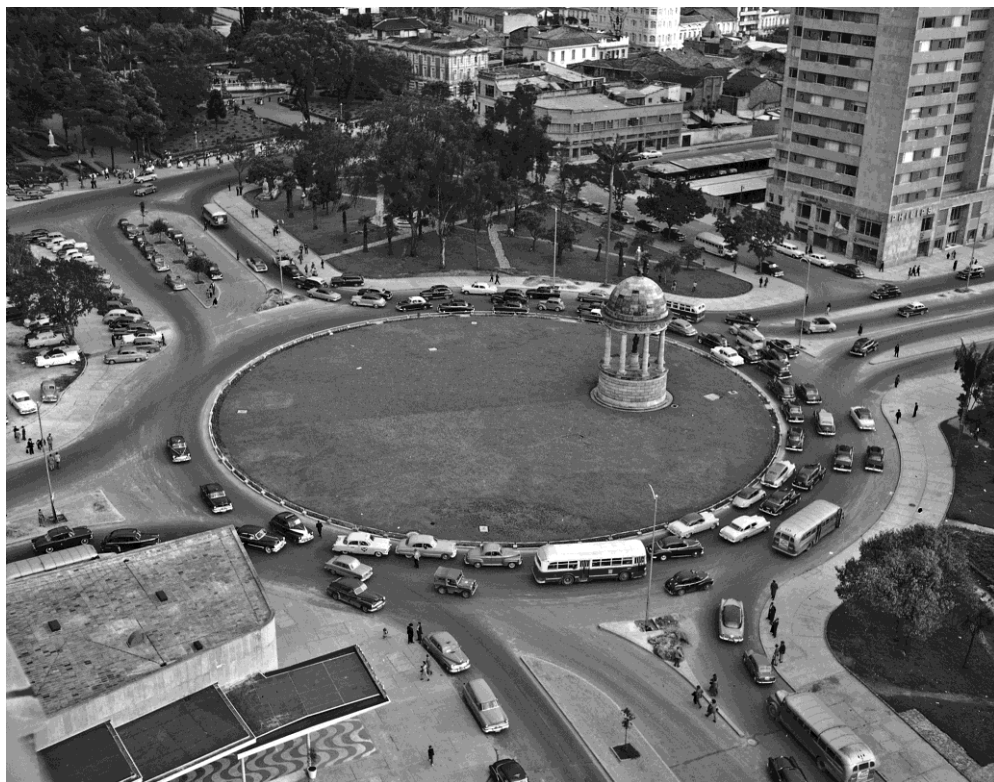
"On May 27 [1947] it was reported the impending visit of the “master Charles Le Corbusier. He is worldwide considered as the first contemporary architect and town planner”. The French teacher is “the father of a new architectural type” and thereby fulfills a promise made to Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, actual Minister of Education. [Le Corbusier] will give some lectures and will make a concept about the future city planning”¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁹ NIÑO MURCIA, CARLOS y REINA MENDOZA, SANDRA. La carrera de la Modernidad... Op.Cit. Pp. 42. Original version: “Es un hecho aceptado que, con respecto a otras capitales latinoamericanas, la modernización de las ciudades de Colombia fue tardía; las guerras y penurias del siglo XIX retrasaron su desarrollo”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Pp. 42-57.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Pp. 72. Original version: “El 27 de mayo [1947] se informa sobre la inminente visita “del maestro Charles Le Corbusier considerado mundialmente como el primer arquitecto y urbanista contemporáneo”. El profesor francés es “el padre de un nuevo tipo arquitectónico” y cumplirá de tal modo una promesa hecha al doctor Eduardo Zuleta Ángel, actual Ministro de educación, dará algunas conferencias y conceptuará acerca de la planificación de la futura ciudad”

The architect arrived to Colombia with the ideas from the so-called modern or functionalist architecture. In Europe this new approach to architecture was developed in meetings of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) between 1928 and 1956. With it also came a new model of modernization in the city. In the case of Bogota, the implementation of functionalist architecture implied that the parks and squares ceased to be a central issue. Instead, this model led to the construction of major roads. One of the first examples of this was the construction of the Carrera Décima, whose construction began in 1947. Just at the beginning of the construction, it was created an agreement that divided the “Parque del Centenario” in two. At the same time, in the middle of the park would be held a run point and right in its center would be emplaced the Shrine of the Liberator, "The agreement 44, 1947, [...] dispose the transfer of the Shrine in “Parque del Centenario”, erected on behalf of the Liberator, to the run point in the tenth street”¹⁵². At this moment, any other monument was moved. However, a considerable part of the space was affected by the construction of the roundabout.



(Photo of the park with the run point)¹⁵³

¹⁵² Ibid. Pp. 73. Original version: “El acuerdo 44 de 1947 [...] dispone el traslado del templo del Parque del Centenario, erigido en nombre del Libertador, a la glorieta de la carrera Décima”.

¹⁵³ ORDÚZ, SAÚL. Templo del Libertador, Glorieta de San Diego. Bogotá. 1953. Fondo Saúl Orduz / Colección Museo de Bogotá. Signatura: MdB02473.

A year after the start of works with the Carrera Décima, it happened another event that would profoundly affect the city and its inhabitants. On April 9, 1948 was assassinated the Colombian political leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. This lawyer had a great popularity among the citizens. He had already occupied the city hall in 1936 and at the time of his death, he was running for president. With the death of this political figure in the very streets of Bogota, immediately some violent demonstrations took place. This event became crucial to Colombian history. The historiography gave this event name of "El Bogotazo". The event has been studied in depth by the Colombian historiography since the decade of 1980¹⁵⁴. In fact, some authors suggest that this event can be seen as the beginning of the period called "La Violencia" in Colombia. For our case study, it is worth mentioning that with the violent demonstrations of this day, a considerable number of buildings in the city of Bogota were destroyed. However, according to Carlos Niño Murcia, damages were concentrated in several sectors of the city center, leaving almost intact the area around the park¹⁵⁵.

However, with the construction of Calle 26 in 1958, what remained of "Parque del Centenario" was completely destroyed. In this way, it started the construction of this street that today remains one of the most important communication routes of the city. In the press, it was not possible to find the record of demonstration against the destruction of the park. What has been possible to find is the news made by journalists lamenting the displacement that monuments had to suffer because of the works with the Calle 26. Between 1958 and 1960, they were made all the necessary relocation of the monuments. The first monument related in the news is the sculpture of Rebecca, who was moved about 20 meters away from its original location. This is one of the only pieces that is still today located in the same place where the park was located. Between June 10 and June 18, 1958 one can find a series of articles in the newspaper "El Espectador", which followed in detail the movement of this piece. In this case, it draws attention the article

¹⁵⁴ Among the studies related to Gaitán's life and to "El Bogotazo" we can find: ALAPE, ARTURO. El Bogotazo: Memorias del olvido. Bogotá. Editorial Casa de las Américas. 1983. BRAUN, HERBERT. Mataron a Gaitán. Bogotá, Editorial Norma.1998. AYALA, CESAR; CRUZ, HENRY y CASALLAS, JAVIER. Mataron a Gaitán: 60 Años. Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia. 2009.

¹⁵⁵ "62 años después de un mal llamado "Bogotazo"". AGENCIA DE NOTICIAS UN. Bogotá. Universidad Nacional de Colombia. 9 de abril de 2010. Noticia disponible en el sitio web: <http://www.agenciadenoticias.unal.edu.co/nc/detalle/article/62-anos-despues-de-un-mal-llamado-bogotazo/> Consultado por última vez: 03-08-2015.

published on June 18. In this article, the journalist describes the situation the sculpture had to pass through because of its displacement. The narrative gives a complete atmosphere of discouragement. Although the author does not complain directly about the disappearance of the park, he complains about disregard suffered by this piece,

"For more than eight days "La Rebeca" of "Parque del Centenario" remained on a dry fountain, tied by thick ropes, very dirty and muddy, awaiting transfer to the new place chosen by the municipality. Finally yesterday a group of workers used pulleys and straps to carry "La Rebeca" to live elsewhere. It is about 20 meters south from its ancient site. And 'La Rebeca' is now definitely giving her back to the Tequendama Hotel, to the 26 Avenue, to the city, to the world. She takes a perfectly disengaged air, or disappointed. She is bending on her [knees] trying to fill her eternally empty amphora into the fountain [eternally] empty"¹⁵⁶.

The other stories which narrate the transfer of other sculptures are not as moving as this extract. No doubt, for the journalist in charge of writing about "La Rebeca", the destruction of the park somehow represented a loss for the city. The next monument on which news would be published in the newspaper "El Espectador" was the shrine. This structure had to be moved piece by piece from "Parque del Centenario", to a park in the center of the city called "The Park of the Journalists (*Parque de los Periodistas*)". As in the case of Rebecca, the shrine also occupies the same place nowadays. For November 30, 1958 it was completed the displacement of the shrine. The newspaper in this case point out that "shifted from the site occupied for many years in Bogota in Parque del Centenario, which disappeared to make way for the avenue 26, Bolívar's Shrine, stone by stone, was moved to Park of the Journalists on the Jimenez Avenue and fourth street"¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵⁶ "La Rebeca, Vuelve la Espalda". El Espectador, Año 71. No. 14532. Miércoles 18 de junio de 1958. Original version: "Durante más de ocho días, 'La Rebeca' del Parque del Centenario permaneció en pileta reseca, maniatada por gruesos cordeles, muy sucia y manchada de barro, esperando su traslado al nuevo lugar escogido por la Alcaldía. Por fin ayer un grupo de obreros utilizó poleas y correajes para llevar a 'La Rebeca' a vivir a otro lado. Está a unos 20 metros al sur del antiguo sitio. Y 'La Rebeca' da ahora definitivamente la espalda al Hotel Tequendama, a la Avenida 26, a la ciudad, al mundo, y toma un aire perfectamente desentendido, o desilusionado, al inclinarse de [rodillas] eternamente a llenar su ánfora en el pozo también [eternamente] vacío"

¹⁵⁷ "El Templete de Bolívar es concluido". El Espectador, Año 71. No. 14696. Domingo, 30 de noviembre de 1958. Original version: "Desplazado del sitio que ocupara durante muchísimos años en Bogotá en el Parque del Centenario, que desapareció para dar paso a la avenida 26, el templete de Bolívar, piedra por piedra, fue trasladado al Parque de los Periodistas, sobre la avenida Jiménez con la carrera 4^a"



(Photo – rebuilding the shrine)¹⁵⁸

Finally, the busts adorning the four corners of the park would have a slightly more tortuous path. In this case, it would take two more years for the busts to be installed in a new space. For the national celebrations in 1960 the four busts were placed in another area of the city called “Avenida Chile”. As usual motive was taken the national celebrations to inaugurate the monuments. The newspaper “El Tiempo” said in this case that the opening ceremony “was marked with sobriety” and that the presence was marked by “distinguished as members of civil society as members of official institutions”. The newspaper described the act as follows, “Another act in the program of the celebration for August 7 was the inauguration, on Avenida de Chile, of the busts of heroes José María Córdoba, Antonio Ricaurte, Atanasio Girardot and José María Rondón, in an act who was led by the General Ayerbe Chaux and Colonel Roberto Torres Quintero”¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁸ El Espectador, Año 71. No. 14696. Domingo, 30 de noviembre de 1958.

¹⁵⁹ “Bustos de próceres”. El Tiempo, año 49. No. 16916. Lunes 8 de agosto de 1960. Pp. 9. Original version: “Otro número del programa de la celebración del 7 de Agosto fue la inauguración, en la Avenida de Chile, de los bustos de los próceres José María Córdoba, Antonio Ricaurte, Atanasio Girardot y José

The only monument that went from public space to be part of a private space was the bust of José Asunción Silva. According to the narration made by the former President Belisario Betancourt in the opening of an institution called “House of Poetry Silva (*Casa de Poesía Silva*)” this bust was relocated to an office in the Institute Caro y Cuervo in Bogotá. According to Betancourt, it was a member of the institute who “saved” the bust from the dangers of public space in Bogotá. In this regard Betancourt says “One day passed through Parque del Centenario the humanist José Manuel Rivas Sacconi and saw the bust on the floor: shocked, without any consultation took him to the Institute Caro y Cuervo in Yerbabuena, where it presides over the tasks of the [members of the institute], with the respect of the members of this institution”¹⁶⁰.

In this way, all monuments of Parque del Centenerio were relocated. Over time, the memory of the park was only recorded in some city dwellers. Today, after almost sixty years since its complete disappearance, the urban landscape seems to leave only a few traces of the old park. By seeing the highway of “Calle 26” today, it seems almost impossible to find traces of this park. The monuments were distributed in different areas of the city and in some cases they gave a new meaning to other squares and parks. This is the case of the Liberator’s Shrine that stands before the untimely and sometimes wild Park of the Journalists, right in the center of the largest city in Colombia.

7. Conclusions

The study “*the hero and the image of nationalism in Colombia: the sculptures at “Parque del Centenario” (1883-1958)*” analyses the construction of the pantheon of heroes in Colombia as an attempt to consolidate a national identity in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This issue is interpreted through a case study that focuses on the construction, development and disappearance of the “*Parque del*

María Rondón, en un acto en que llevaron la palabra el Brigadier General Ayerbe Chaux y el Coronel Roberto Torres Quintero”

¹⁶⁰ “LA NOCHE MISTERIOSA. Por Belisario Betancur. En la inauguración del “Año Silva”, en la Casa de Poesía Silva: Bogotá, mayo 24 de 1996.” Original version: “Un día pasaba por el Parque del Centenario el humanista José Manuel Rivas Sacconi y vio el busto en el suelo: conmocionado, sin consulta alguna lo llevó al Instituto Caro y Cuervo en Yerbabuena, donde desde entonces preside sus tareas, con el respeto de los miembros de la docta institución”

Centenario” from 1883 to 1958. This research also studied the social, political and economic factors that not only were related with the history of the “*Parque del Centenario*” but also impacted its development as a public space during this historical period. That was the case of the Bogota city’ population growth and territorial expansion; the rise of the conservative political movement the “Regeneracion”; the “Thousand Days War (Guerra de los Mil Dias); the consolidation of coffee as the main exportation product; and even the “Bogotazo.” These national and local factors influenced somehow the evolution of the park.

The chapters explained the processes of construction and later disappearance of the park as result of the city modernization models at different historic periods. The “*Parque del Centenario*” was the first public space of this kind in the city. The park allowed the city inhabitants to enjoy an open, green and walkable space. Its design responded to ideal of the modern architecture at that time. Thus, the development of the park motivated the government to construct similar spaces in the city such as the “Park of the Independence (Parque de la Independencia)” in 1910 and the “National Park (Parque Nacional)” in 1934.

These three parks formed a green passage in the north side of the city which was enjoyed by the area inhabitants. However, the government changed its focus on the development of public spaces after the forties. Instead, the architect Charles Le Corbusier implemented a new model of urban development that concentrated the public funding for infrastructure in the development of transportation routes. The park was destroyed as a result of this plan and in its place the government built two main avenues – Carrera 10 and Carrera 26 – which still exist today.

Besides the architectural development of the city and its population growth, another important factor - that was considered during this research - was the construction of monuments that represented historical figures in the “*Parque del Centenario*” as part of the national celebrations. As it was explained through the different historical periods addressed in this dissertation, the national commemorations in Bogota city served as platform to open the monuments. These events became an opportunity to spread the national ideals and identity in public spaces. The national identity project was characterized for the undemocratic selection of the figures that

formed the pantheon of heroes. At the end of the nineteenth century, the elites had the political power to decide who would be part of the pantheon that pretended to represent the ideals of a whole country. As a result, the pantheon was formed entirely by creoles and excluded other groups such as the indigenous and afro – descendants communities.

Alberto Urdaneta and Laureano Gomez, members of the elites, had a central role in the development and consolidation of the pantheon of heroes. Urdaneta as an artist and director of the newspaper “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” was able to design and diffuse the images of the independence political figures. As it was mentioned in the chapter four, several issues of the “*Papel Periódico Ilustrado*” focused on the life history of an independence hero by assigning him a place in the pantheon of heroes. Additionally, Urdaneta was responsible for designing the model for the Bolívar’s sculpture that would be placed in the shrine – “templete”. Meanwhile, Laureano Gomez, in his role of Minister of Public Works, had the decision power to develop public infrastructure that included the improvement of the “*Parque del Centenario*.” Gomez was responsible for selecting the figures who would be represented by monuments as well as the artist who would perform that work. As a result of these decisions, Gomez was able to reinforce the use of the neoclassical style as the predominant one not only for the pantheon but also for the national field of arts.

The monuments had a limited capacity to diffuse the ideals of the national identity because they were not accessible for all the population. Only the people able to visit the park would have the chance to contemplate the images of the heroes. On the other hand, the press contributed to the construction of a public opinion not only about the park but also about the sentiment that the heroes should inspire. Thanks to the use of text and image and the relationship established between them, the media was able to spread the knowledge about the heroes in the city and other regions. Thus, publications such as “*El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*”, the “*Cromos*” magazine, “*El Tiempo*”, and “*El Espectador*” were large contributors to the process of diffusion of the national pantheon of heroes.

Despite the disappearance of the “*Parque del Centenario*” in 1958, its monuments remained in the city public space and contributed to the reconfiguration and re-signification of other public spaces. For example “*La Rebecca*”, as only survivor of

the park, became one of the most popular sculptures among the Bogota inhabitants. Moreover, the Bolivar's shrine is an emblem of the city historical center. Even though the park was destroyed, its history can be told by the monuments that were placed there once and that currently rest in other public spaces. Thus, the city counts with a public space always active and dynamic. A public space configured sometimes by consensus and other times by dissent.

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