



Inna Pravdenko

Artistic migration from Latin America to Paris – Stories of nine exhibitors at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts and some of their paintings

La migration artistique de l'Amérique latine à Paris - Les histoires de neuf participants aux salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts et leurs peintures

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Latin America to Paris
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paintings

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PREFACE

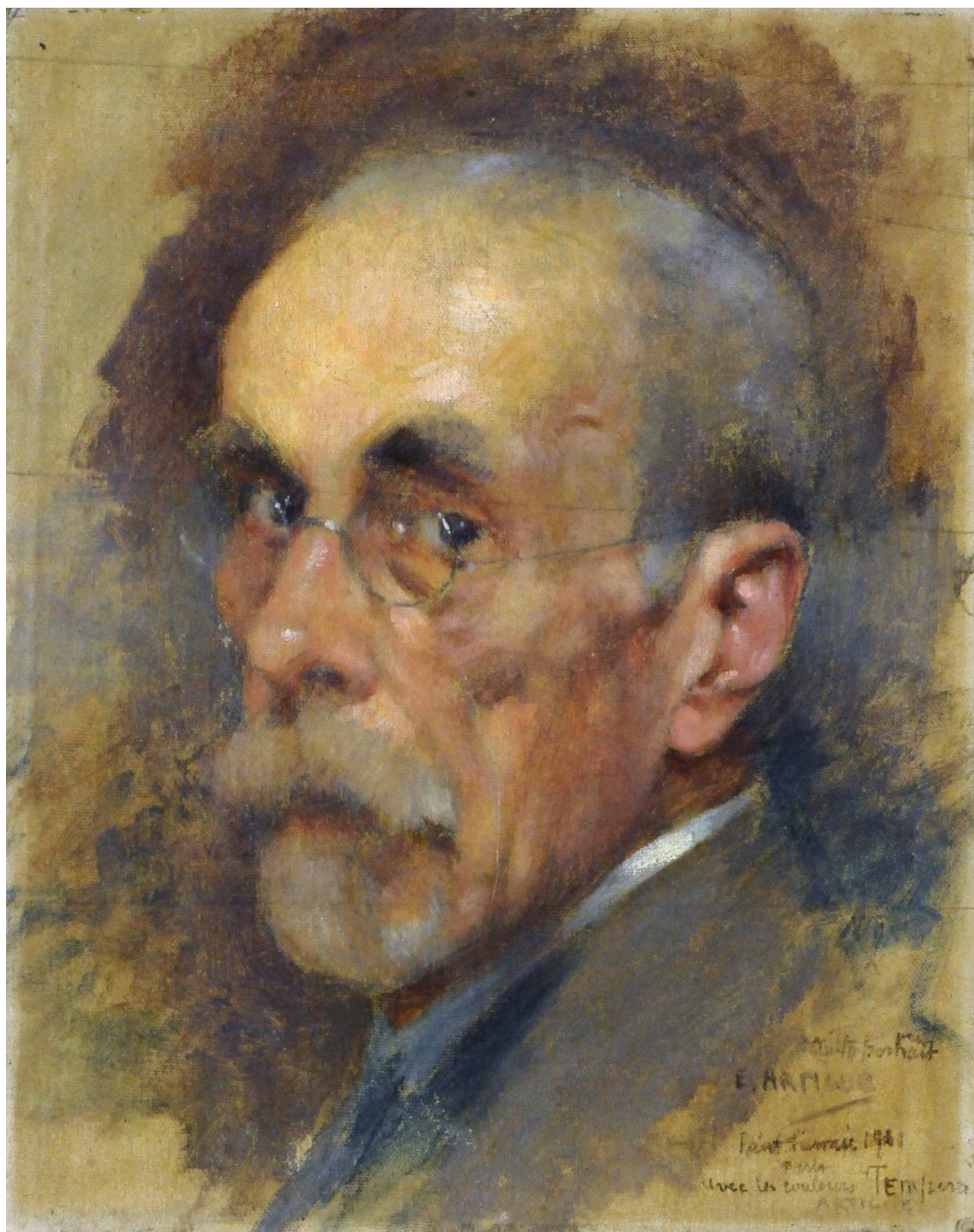


Figure 1. Emilio Artigue, *Self-portrait*, 1921, tempera on canvas, 29 x 23 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Image: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires.

We look at each other's eyes with intensity and try to recognise each other's reflection in the face in front of us. He stares at me, and I stare back forgetting the common etiquette rules. My mind starts guessing who this person is and what kind of human being hides behind the physical appearance. This process of guessing who this person is strangely fuses with the guesses about who I am, who I am for him and for myself. The flow of half-forgotten memories, random associations, self-projections and untraceable beliefs form an interweaving in which he and I are indistinguishable and cannot exist one without another.

Right away I am aware that this is a man who stares at me.

So who is he? The man is not young, but not very old either. He has a slim dry face with high forehead, small eyes behind the glasses, tidy moustache and beard, not so tidy eyebrows, distinct nose and very thin gray hair. The posture is straight; he holds himself with dignity and pride. The glasses and the neat suit make him look intelligent and serious. The facial expression of this man is not very easy to read. At times he looks arrogantly, for a moment, tired and almost annoyed. His posture is stiff. He glimpses at me over his shoulder, and the broken dynamics of the move makes me feel uncomfortable in front of him as if I disrupted the movement and bothered him by my uninvited presence. Now I feel that he is not just looking at me, but he addresses me a silent question, and it creates new nuances of our communication. Maybe, he is a doctor; at least he looks like Anton Chekhov drawn by my vivid imagination. Or he is a lawyer... This option does not stand for long as my memory does not contain any relevant image of a lawyer. He could be a professor; I have a full gallery of professors of all kinds in suits and with beards. Most of them are professors of art history. He could be my examiner, and I could be his student. Actually, he looks a lot like my music professor who often bewildered and admired me in his classes.

Suddenly, waken up from wondering, I realise that this man is actually a two-dimensional depiction of the man. It is a portrait that comes alive so easily and drags me into the world of fantasies so fast. Looking at the signature in the right lower corner and at the museum's inventory note, I learn that this is Emilio Artigue's self-portrait made in 1921. Thus, this is not an art history professor, but an artist pictured with no usual attributes that are believed to signify this profession. He is not wearing a beret, nor holding a palette; there are no unfinished canvases or sculpted busts around him. All these symbols and constructions that acquire so much weight in our minds but have

a capacity to both: lead and mislead. At once, the attentiveness and focus with which the man was looking at me gets another twist: he does not look at me, but at himself. It is Emilio who tries to create himself anew on the flat surface. There are two of us staring at the same face but we look at it from different perspectives. The self-portrait tries to minimise the distance between the image and the person depicted; these two become one undivided entity – self-portrait is a signature, a self-identification of the painter in front of the viewer.¹ However, the viewer is not a distant observer, but an active participant in this process of (self-)identification: the self-portrait produces that special engagement in which the viewer takes the position of the painter in front of the canvas and in front of the mirror into which the painter looks while working. This mirror gives a chimeric reflection which Anthony Bond called the, “most authentic moment of connection between artist and beholder, bound in an empathetic exchange, [which] is also the strangest of deceptions.”² This deception pushes the viewer into the realm of her own myths and signs. She responds to the self-identification of the painter by plunging into her own self-identification – a “condition of pure reciprocity” at work.³ Thus, the communication that I imagined as a dialogue between two of us transforms into a much more complex interaction: Emilio puts himself under scrutiny but he has to remember about dozens, hundreds, thousands of people to whom he displays his self-portrait. I am standing in front of the picture and my attention triples; it goes to the depiction, to its author and gets back to me reflected. A Soviet culture theorist and semiotician Yuri Lotman remarks that the dominant feature of the genre of portrait is dynamism, its temporality that confuses the past and the future, mixes memories and forecasts.⁴ Emilio’s self-portrait gives us this dynamics and makes us jump between two realities, the one of the depicted person, which belongs to the author, and the one of the depiction, which belongs to us.

¹ Юрий Лотман Yuri Lotman, *Статьи по семиотике культуры и искусства Stati po semiotike kultury i iskusstva*, St. Petersburg, Akademicheskij proekt, 2002, p. 350.

² Anthony Bond, “Performing the Self?” in *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, London, National Portrait Gallery, 2007, p. 35.

³ Michel Foucault on the intricate communication between the painter and the spectator in Velázquez’s self-portrait in *Las Meninas*. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, London, New York, Routledge, 2005, p. 15.

⁴ Лотман Lotman, *Статьи по семиотике культуры и искусства Stati po semiotike kultury i iskusstva*, p. 353.

Emilio Artigue painted himself when he was seventy-one, and his long career as painter, professor and decorator was building up behind him. By this time, he was an experienced artist, and the self-portrait alone proves it. The face is painted carefully: the smears are almost invisible, they build the form masterfully. This precision in execution of the head is enhanced by the sweeping rendering of the background. When it comes to self-portraits the two aspects, of who is depicted and how, gain particular significance, as the painter paints himself not for sale, but to test and testify himself. The dynamism of the relations between the viewer and the author are reflected in the dynamism of the depicted figure: a turn of the head, stiffness of the pose, the shadow falling from the chin onto the chest of the man and even the low sitting glasses – all of these elements constitute continuation in the reception of the viewer and explode from the surface of the picture into the present moment. Artigue enhanced this dynamism by the very choice of the medium. Instead of oil, he chooses tempera – a technique that knew a revival at the turn of the twentieth century and that requires from an artist to be fast and precise as it dries fast and does not allow elaborate mixing and finish as oil. The sharp moves of artist's hand reflect in the vibrant portrait. The colour scheme is balanced on the ochre-brownish hues with some bright touches of white.

While we do not know much about Emilio, we try to learn about him from his self-portrait, so that the determinism of the intentionalist method gets reversed. When the picture is allowed to speak, it activates the imagination and cultural code of the viewer. Although such an interpretation does not meet the requirements of so-called scientific objectivity, its plausibility might win the right to its existence. The portrait and the interpretation of the viewer create a unique multifaceted space of meanings in which the portrait lives.⁵ Faced with the self-portrait such as the one of Artigue, we have to take the burden of making it alive through the meanings and experiences hidden inside of our own artistic reality. The ability of art to engage with the contemporary moment, to survive its creator and the context in which it was born, praised by Mieke Bal in her interpretations, constitutes the most precious value the work of art can have.⁶ Moreover, it is this freedom of interpretation granted to the

⁵ Лотман Lotman, *Статьи по семиотике культуры и искусства Stati po semiotike kultury i iskusstva*, p. 365.

⁶ See the examples of Bal's interpretations in Mieke Bal, *Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

viewer that gives a chance to artworks that are forgotten, ignored by the canon, omitted by fashionable curators to become visible and to speak again. All too often, this freedom is the only condition under which we can connect with the objects whose stories and whose authors have been lost.

They say Emilio considered this painting one of his best works.⁷ He made this self-portrait not so long before his death and donated it as a gift to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires, where it still resides. This work is more than an exercise of the bored master; it is a souvenir of the painter whose life and career are ending. This self-portrait is an evidence of self-creation and that is why it is so specific and abstract at the same time. It is specific because we can see a concrete person at a particular moment and abstract because it sums up the whole life of this person and maybe even all the lives of all the artists before and after Emilio Artigue.

Emilio Artigue donated his painting to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires along with some other of his works: a portrait of an old woman and a genre picture *Muchachas Bretonas*. The museum also possesses another portrait and an oriental scene by Artigue, *El pebetero*. In Buenos Aires this painter is Argentinean,

⁷ On behalf of Emilio Artigue, his friend and collector Numa Rosotti donated two paintings to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires after the death of the painter: “Aunque viviera en Francia desde la edad de diez y seis años siempre conservó el más puro sentimiento de la patria. Y su último recuerdo fué para ella ordenando se me entregaran, en caso de fallecer sus dos trabajos que más quería a fin de que gestionase su aceptación para el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. Este se enriquecerá – ya que no dudo serán aceptadas dado el valer del prestigioso artista – con una admirable ‘cabeza de vieja’, de serena y bondadosa expresión, de un modelado extraordinario, ejecutada con ese dominio del dibujo que caracterizaba a Emilio Artigue y con su “Autoretrato” realizado con una fidelidad sorprendente ... y cuya penetrante mirada que esquiva el vidrio del antejo deja adivinar toda su inteligencia. Son dos telas pequeñas. El pintor las consideraba sus mejores producciones.” (Although he lived in France from the age of sixteen, he always conserved a deep love for his motherland. And his last demand, as it was conveyed to me at his request, was to arrange the acceptance of his two favourite paintings in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in case of his death. The museum will enrich its collection – as I have no doubts the donation will be accepted considering the prestige of the artists – with an admirable ‘Cabeza de vieja’, of serene and kind expression, of extraordinary modelling, executed with the drawing mastery peculiar to Emilio Artigue and with his ‘Autoretrato’ rendered with astonishing exactitude and whose keen regard getting through the glaze of the glasses shows us his intelligence. These are two small pictures. The painter considered them his best works.) Numa Rosotti, Paris 28 May 1937, obra 1654, Archivo donantes Artigue Emilio, Área de documentación y registro, Museo Nacional des Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Unless otherwise noted, the orthography is original and all the translations are my own.

while the Musée d'Orsay considers him French.⁸ It is indicative that the artist spent almost his whole adult life in Paris, but his works do not figure in Parisian collections. Emilio migrated between Argentina and France, and this migration was repeated in the movement of his works travelling between continents and changing the prosody of their names just as their author used to do. The question whether Artigue is Argentinean or French is not a trivial one. The chameleonic transparency of the national categories in art history makes them difficult to deal with, but, stumbling across these difficulties, we can find new ways and perspectives in approaching migrating artists and artworks.

Lotman said that portrait is the most metaphoric genre of painting.⁹ The self-portrait probably is even more so, as it becomes the metaphor square. The self-portrait by Emilio Artigue is a metaphor of this research with its undistinguishable location somewhere between Europe and Latin America, somewhere between history and story. Just like Emilio and his viewer are looking at each other across time and space and create one another in this encounter, Latin America and Europe look at each other and create one another's imaginary. European and Latin American art worlds are interlaced in this mutual gaze. Even though Latin America was looking at the so-called European model and reflected it, this reflection was by no means an imitation. Aníbal Quijano uses a perceptive metaphor in trying to grasp the relations between European and colonised non-European cultures – a mirror with a distorted reflexion:

Es decir, la imagen que encontramos en ese espejo no es del todo quimérica, ya que poseemos tantos y tan importantes rasgos históricos europeos en tantos aspectos, materiales e intersubjetivos. Pero, al mismo tiempo, somos tan profundamente distintos.

That is to say, the image that we see in this mirror is not entirely chimeric, as we have so many and so important historical features inherited from Europe in so many aspects, both material and intersubjective. But at the same time, we are so profoundly different.¹⁰

⁸ Emilio Artigue is also known as Albert-Émile Artigue and classified in the section “French painters” in the Documentation department of the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

⁹ Лотман Lotman, *Статьи по семиотике культуры и искусства Stati po semiotike kultury i iskusstva*, p. 355.

¹⁰ Zulma Palermo and Pablo Quintero (eds.), *Anibal Quijano. Textos de Fundación*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Del Signo, 2014, p. 138.

The self-portrait of Artigue is also a metaphor of the unequal power relations of a more intimate order: the relations between the viewer who can interpret the image from his “here and now” and the painter whose interpretation is silenced by the miles between the French university and Argentinean museum and by the years of oblivion separating him from his audience. The similar discordance, geographical and temporal, can be noticed in the relationships between Europe and Latin America – the power relations of the centre and its periphery. The centre-periphery model is widely disputed in the dominant art historical discourse, and the claims to overcome unfairness and simplification of this divide are loud. However, for those who write from and on behalf of the periphery the postcolonial divide is still valid and its logic is still dominant. Emilio Artigue ran to France from the periphery, but even having changed his geographical location he still did not manage to conquer the symbolic centre. He stayed on the periphery of the artistic system and art historiography. He did not enter the European canon, and his attempts to leave a trace in the Argentinean canon failed as well. In the end, he got lost in a grey area between two worlds, his work fluctuating from one pole to another with no chance to ground itself in either of them.

The issue of periphery often becomes a matter of personal concern for those who write about it, and this research qualifies for this category of scholarship. As much as the choice of the subject seems to be accidental, it was dictated by the academic path taken by the countryside girl from the Ukraine who created her art world from the reproductions of Titian and Diego Velázquez, studied the interactions between Russian and Western-European art and, at the end of the day, walked in the spacious halls of the dreamed of Louvre. Nevertheless, all the climbing to the centre of the artistic universe resulted in the falling back to the periphery, yet this fall turned out to be directed not backwards but forwards – to the New World. The ideological cliché “Catch up and outstrip,” first formulated by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) but repeated so many times and by so many voices that it lost its attachment to any particular moment in history, place on Earth or political regime, got under the skin of your humble narrator from the age of nursery school.¹¹ The game of catching-outstripping is getting a new spin and

¹¹ For the first time Lenin talked about the task of overtaking and outstripping developed countries politically and economically in his work *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It* (1917): “Война неумолима, она ставит вопрос с беспощадной резкостью: либо погибнуть, либо догнать передовые страны и перегнать их также и экономически.” (The war is inexorable; it puts

hopefully is to stop for both – the Ukrainian girl and the French doctoral student – in the research devoted to the Latin American painters running to Paris in order to attain its artistic excellence and outdo the French in an attempt to become the next leaders of the new global art world.

the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries economically as well.) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, translated from the Russian, edited by Stephan Apresyan and Jim Riordan, vol. 25, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1974, online at <http://www.marx2mao.com/Lenin/IC17.html>. Accessed 2 March 2018. This claim was repeated many times during the twentieth century and its English translations vary: “catch up and outstrip”, “catch up and overtake”, “catch up and surpass”.

INTRODUCTION

The title of this dissertation indicates the object of research and in certain way defines a range of problems for investigation. In the course of recent globalisation the term migration acquired theoretical groundings that are not very compatible with the idea of nineteenth-century art, especially that of the Salon. The most common trend in art history is to talk about artists-travellers, but the connotations of adventures and lightness implied by this expression makes the discussion of movements and displacements experienced by painters somewhat romantic. It does not reflect the fact that these “travels” were a part of economic migration and not as voluntary and carefree as it may seem. Artists were not godlike creatures standing above the painful reality of migration and displacement; on the contrary, they were subjects to inequalities, oppression and abuses of globalisation. The interest in migratory experiences of painters and transformations that they introduced in their art was a starting point for the investigation. Because of constant changes and complicated creative choices, many of these painters remain invisible and underappreciated by the narrative, so I try to revisit their role in the evolvement and spreading of international modernism.

Artistic migration means not only the migration of artists but also the migration of ideas, which can move either with the bearers of those ideas or without them through the artefacts and opinions. Migration inevitable entails the change of perspective and it is this variability that is at the focus of the research effort. The desire of new means of expression, demand for classical mastery, search of new markets and audiences would make artists move around from the early modern times at the least. Modern art is also shaped and defined by the migrations of all natures and directions that would take place during the nineteenth century. It was a veritable century of global migration: European painters went to discover new worlds, and these new worlds rushed, at times uninvited, back to Europe. Eventually, exchange, transfer, collision, fusion, *métissage*, hybridity – all the products of the encounter between different cultural traditions being theorised for decades – created modern art as we know it.

This thesis focuses on several painters from Latin America who participated in the exhibitions of a particular artistic society in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century: Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (further SNBA). The founders of this society positioned it as an international venue, open to every artist with no regard to his or her nationality; hence it attracted close attention among foreign painters and critics

around the world. In addition, abroad this society was seen as a representation of the new art on the Parisian art scene. Most of the artists who had the fame of innovators back at the time used to exhibit in the Salons of the SNBA: Paul-Albert Besnard (1849–1934), Edmond Aman-Jean (1858–1936), Eugène Carrière (1849–1906), Gaston de Latouche (1854–1913), Louis Anquetin (1861–1932), Charles Cottet (1863–1925) and others. In the eyes of foreign critics these painters incarnated a new attitude to painting and pictorial execution, demonstrated new subjects and techniques. European press described them as the bearers of the revolutionary impulse of impressionists and new leaders of the French school. It is not surprising that after visiting the Exposition Universelle of 1900 the Russian artist and critic Alexandre Benois (1870–1960) concluded that the artists regularly showing at the Salons of the SNBA were the most progressive representatives of their generation:

Впрочем, несколько мастеров из самых первых: Бенар, Даньян-Бувере, Казен, Карьер, Латуш, а также несколько чуть-чуть уже компромиссных, но все же симпатичных художников, типичных представителей полуофициального Champ de Mars'a: Бланш, Симон, Котте, Менар, Ломон, Лобр и др.

Yet, a few among the best masters: Besnard, Dagnan-Bouveret, Cazin, Carrière, Latouche and several a bit more conciliatory, but still pleasing artists – the typical representatives of the half-official Champ de Mars – Blanche, Simon, Cottet, Menard, Lomont, Lobre and others.¹²

The SNBA was born of a conflict that happened in 1890. From being just an internal management issue of the Société de Artistes Français (further SAF) it quickly evolved and became an indicator of political and ideological tensions within the artistic community of Paris. The founders of the new artistic society appealed to the national dignity and alluded to the xenophobia of the official Salon committee. Taking the position of the international art world they promoted openness to foreign participation

¹² Aleksandr Benua Александр Бенуа, “Francuzskoe iskusstvo na Vsemirnoj vystavke” “Французское искусство на Всемирной выставке”, *Mir iskusstva*, 1901, no. 1, p. 35. Alexandre Benois one of the founders of an independent artistic society and art magazine *Mir iskusstva* in St. Petersburg active at the turn of the twentieth century. Benois and Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929) worked on the organisation of international exhibitions in St. Petersburg and promoted Russian art in Europe and later at the Ballets Russes. Benois wrote the first art historical survey of Russian painting. He refers to the Salons of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts as Champs de Mars by the name of the place where it was held; likewise the Salons of the Société des Artistes Français were called the Salons of Champs-Élysées.

instead of the protectionist measures taken by the SAF. This conflict and its outcome, in fact, point to the tensions and intense competition between artists of all nationalities and generations gathered in Paris thanks to its prestige and “welcoming” reputation. It shows that the issue of immigration was, and still is, relevant for all the segments of French life, and the antinomy of internationalist and nationalist attitudes is at the core of French culture. The case of the SNBA provides a convenient foundation for the research into artistic migration. It reveals the problems concerning the structure of the artistic process, limits of creative freedom, making of art history and functioning of art historiographies in contemporary academic discourse.

Once the SNBA exhibitions were chosen as the object of investigation, the issue of the time limits arose. The supposed asynchronicity in which the migrating subjects and objects existed at the departure and destination points made the usual cut-off lines of the French historiography shaky. The narrative of the art history in France often aligns with the chronology of its political history on the grounds of archival objectivity and scientific detachment: the art during Napoleonic wars, July Monarchy, Second Republic, Second Empire, Commune, Third Republic. Correspondences between political transformations in the country and institutional shifts in the art system during the century are remarkable – the “Pavillon du Réalisme” set by Gustave Courbet (1817–1877) in front of the official Salon in 1855, Salon des Refusés (1863, 1864, 1873, 1875), Salon des Indépendants (1884), Salon of the SNBA (1890). Another kind of discredited but still powerful narrative is a stylistic evolution from the classicist tradition to the avant-gardes of the late nineteenth century: the vigorous classicism of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and his school; the new interest in colouring and romantic pursuits of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) as opposed to the refined academism of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867); the provocations and realism of Courbet; Édouard Manet’s (1832–1883) and the impressionists’ rebellion against academism; post-impressionist experiments of Vincent Van Gogh (1853–1890) and Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), and further along to fauvism, cubism and so on. This evolution coincides with the timeline traced in the majority of the art history books published up to the present day. However, it is inadequate for treating such an institution as the half-official Salon or for interpreting the role of this Salon in the careers of the painters coming to Paris from the countries where not only Salons, but even art schools, did not exist. Considering the transnational character of the research,

the only possible option was to seek the markers outside of French-styled narrative and include the perspective of those painters who are the protagonists of the dissertation. Therefore, the limits of the studied period were defined by the events whose importance surpassed the national frontiers of France and had, or at least were supposed to have, the global resonance: the World Fairs of 1889 and 1900 held in Paris.

The Exposition Universelle of 1889 and its generous awards provoked a conflict in the artistic society responsible for the organisation of the official Salon. This conflict resulted in a split and subsequent co-existence of two societies representing two competing official Salons: the Société des Artistes Français and Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. The Exposition Universelle of 1900 in its turn marked a first rupture in the history of the SNBA: after 1900 the statutes of the new society were changed to exclude foreign artists from membership. In addition, the reputation of the society as the new fresh venture faded in the context of multiplication of exhibitions and artistic societies.

The two Universal Expositions also mark the important stages in the establishment of the modernist artistic canon. The decennials and centennials of French art organised on both occasions promoted the superiority of the French school and definitely cemented the trajectory of its stylistic evolution mentioned above. The Exposition Universelle of 1889 celebrated the centenary of the French Revolution and distinguished the École des Barbizon; the Exposition Universelle of 1900 placed the Impressionism as the last major achievement of the French art school in the nineteenth century. The period between the World Fairs coincides with the first decade of the existence of the SNBA and with the domination of the *juste milieu* aesthetics, the artists associated with *juste milieu* being the main celebrities of the new society. This decade witnessed a slow, but imminent, decline of the official Salon and its disintegration under the pressure of alternative exhibition venues and art market strategies. At this time the global migration led to the internationalisation of the art world; for not only was Paris attracting aspiring artists from all over the world, but Parisian artists were also looking for audiences and clients abroad.¹³

¹³ See Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Nul n'est prophète en son pays ? L'internationalisation de la peinture des avant-gardes parisiennes, 1855–1914*, Paris, Musée d'Orsay / Nicolas Chaudun, 2009.

While the selected timeframe between two World Fairs is convenient, it is not exempt from methodological contradictions. These two events were important enough to enter the imaginaries of artists and critics on the both sides of the Atlantic Ocean; however, what was happening on different continents within this span of time can hardly be assimilated. Jacques Le Goff noticed that the periodisation in history is never an innocent or neutral act, so our decision to cut off a decade has its limitations.¹⁴ The situation on the American continent in the nineteenth century had its own dynamics and complexity, and each of its countries deserves to be treated as a separate unit. The intention to insert Paris and the whole continent into the same timeline already presents a certain historical injustice, yet I opt to accept it in order to make the discussion possible in the context for which it is destined.

French historical narrative appears as evolutionary and logical in its own terms. While France can afford to focus on itself, the histories of Latin American countries are inevitably written to demonstrate their relations with Europe during the centuries of colonial rule and foreign domination after independence wars. Such contradictions illustrate the skewness of any narrative crossing the borders of national art histories and inevitably bring the narrator back into the story he or she tells. The research on painters who travelled from one continent to another and by doing so built bridges between different chronotopes helps to satisfy, at least partly, the need in connecting, instead of dividing, the centre and periphery in order to grasp the nature of interaction between them. The act of establishing strict limits for the research also underlines that the methodological tools and arguments are calibrated according to the object of study and the conclusions are valid for a precise moment and situation.¹⁵ However, here again the artificial character of any “slicing” in history and the impossibility to squeeze an artist within this “slice” reveal itself, so some of the stories and references cross the limits of one decade.

The explosion of the Parisian art world as an international phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century is one of the main topics of modernist

¹⁴ Jacques Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches ?* Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2014, p. 37.

¹⁵ What is said about the Salon exhibition practices in 1890s might be not applicable to the Salons of 1920s, or what is fair for the painters working at the turn of the century might be irrelevant even for the same painters in the later stages of their careers.

historiography. The number of studies exploring the communities of foreign and immigrant painters in Paris is still growing. Gradually, the focus is shifting from the exploration of Paris as a unique centre of artistic longing to regarding the city as one among the attractions and one of the stages in the careers of modern painters. The city is seen both as a laboratory for experimentation and as a place of consecration. Latin American painters also used to go to Paris in the nineteenth century, but most of them returned to their home countries, if not physically at least through their artworks. They present a particularly interesting case since the very notion of Latin America, a term under which they are usually denoted, and its relation to Europe are methodological conundrums. The imprint of the colonial history of Latin America reflects in all the developments and events happening on the continent in the nineteenth century, so the arts are to be seen through the perspective of colonial legacy as well. The intricate relationships between Europe and Latin America, both these entities understood according to Dipesh Chakrabarty's as, "hyperreal terms in that they refer to certain figures of imagination whose geographical referents remain somewhat indeterminate," are often simplified or misinterpreted.¹⁶ The most common ways to approach these relations tend to be rather extreme: either insisting on the imitative nature of Latin American art shaped under the influence of the European models, or ardently defending the authentic creativity of Latin America.¹⁷ In any case, before attempting to beat a path through these Americano-European woods, it will be helpful to define the "Latin America" in the title of the thesis.

Latin America is a complex cultural entity. This term implies the whole range of connotations anchored in the colonial and postcolonial history and imaginary of the part of the world designated as Latin America today. Walter Mignolo in his book *La idea de América Latina* shows that this name is not innocent. It denotes not the geographical territory but a political project of the Creole elites that were the product of European colonisation.¹⁸ From its inception Latin America was considered as a

¹⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 27.

¹⁷ Ironically, both these strategies are attacked as maintaining Eurocentric vision of modernism. The accusations of colleagues in being "Western," "ethnocentric," and "orientalist" are among the most common arguments in global art history and in the art history dealing with non-European art.

¹⁸ Creoles, from *criollos*, here and further understood as descendants of European colonisers in Latin America. Walter D. Mignolo, *La idea de América Latina*, Barcelona, Gedisa Editorial, 2007, p. 82.

peripheral space, a second-grade world opposing and highlighting the superiority of Europe. Moreover, its imaginary space was not only “invented” by the Europeans and local elites, but it was invented as an exclusionist, segregated space where membership was reserved for those who had the power to invent in the first place. Therefore, the indigenous populations and descendants of African slaves did not belong there.¹⁹ At first, the term Latin America provokes rejection under the guise of unwillingness to use the concept pregnant with so much political and ideological meanings, but after a moment of hiding behind the seemingly neutral geographical denomination – South America – I decided to take the risk of talking about Latin America. One of the reasons for this decision is the fact that the practice of fine arts, with painting as its epitome, is also an elitist domain of action. Fine arts, like Latin America, is a cultural concept promoting exclusion and hierarchy from the position of power. The painting I study belongs to the world of Creole aristocracy, rich collectors and luxurious mansions built in the American capitals by invited European architects. About painters like the protagonists of this thesis Serge Gruzinski said that their art was “more Eurocentered than its European source of reference.”²⁰ The celebration of local authenticity and hybridity was not on the agenda in the context in which the most prominent Chilean painter of the nineteenth century Pedro Lira (1845–1912) stated:

La escuela quiteña ha ocasionado gravísimos males. La constante introducción de sus innumerables cuadros debía influir entre nosotros. La vista cotidiana de ellos debía acabar por hacernos perder todo sentimiento e idea artística, acostumbrando al ojo a mirar toda clase de defectos y ninguna belleza.

The Quito school has caused very serious harm. The constant presence of its innumerable pictures could not fail to have an influence among us. Looking at them daily was bound to end with making us lose all artistic feeling or sense, accustoming our eyes to all kinds of defects and absence of beauty.²¹

¹⁹ Mignolo, *La idea de América Latina*, p. 47.

²⁰ Serge Gruzinski, “Art History and Iberian worldwide diffusion: Westernization / Globalization / Americanization” in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham, Burlington, Ashgate, 2015, p. 53.

²¹ Pedro Lira, *Las Bellas Artes en Chile*, 1866. Quoted in Milan Ivelić and Gaspar Galaz, *La pintura en Chile desde la colonia hasta 1981*, Valparaíso, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 1981, p. 88. Condemnation of the colonial artistic tradition was a remarkable part of the artistic discussion in the nineteenth century Chile. It was qualified as ignorant, imitative and “harmful” for the progress of

Elitist connotations of the European concept of Art, supported by the elaborate structure of institutional hierarchies, become even more evident in Latin America.

Recently, the studies of intercontinental artistic circulations and transnational contacts revealing the character and peculiarities of the exchange between continents gained a momentum in art history. At the same time, scholars in many corners of the globe have pointed to the biases of the art historical narrative that dismisses the continents as derivative or primitive without any other justification than the point of view of the centre. Nowadays the evolutionist model seems to be finally discredited, and the quantity and quality of research conducted from different positions and focusing on different aspect of artistic creation is growing.

Art history, as a “critical discipline” questioning the canon and looking for ways to differentiate it, has been evolving since at least the 1970s. The lessons of Edward Said were taken seriously and the examples of historians who look with new eyes at “style, figure of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, not the correctness of the representation, nor its fidelity to some great original” are many.²² The inclusion of feminist critique, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, (post)-structuralism, and global and globalisation studies into the field usually reserved for art history widened its perspectives and revived classroom debates. The recent surge of world art studies, world art history and global art history offers a range of tools and perspectives from which the task of writing alternative art stories can be accomplished.²³ Discussions of the effects of globalisation in art, suggestions to deconstruct, if not abolish, modernist canon through dismantling existing hierarchies, investigating non-canonical art practices and phenomena, and rejecting the old mechanisms and principles of aesthetic value grounded in imperial and nationalist discourses have been held for the last three decades, but still are not exhausted, and probably even more relevant than before. Especially if we take into account that in

Chilean art school. See Constanza Acuña Fariña, “La fortuna crítica del arte colonial en Chile: entre la avanzada del progreso, la academia y la sobrevivencia del pasado” in Constanza Acuña Fariña (ed.), *Perspectivas sobre el coloniaje*, Santiago de Chile, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013.

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin books, 2003, p. 21.

²³ For a relatively recent, although not exhausting, description of the situation in European art history see Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain and others (eds), *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe. Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, Leiden, Brill, 2012.

most cases the mainstream imaginary about art, in particular that of the nineteenth century, stays intact in the museums and persists in the majority of textbooks produced in Europe and the Americas.²⁴

World art studies and global art history, transnational studies and studies of artistic circulations, as well as exploration of the “entangled modernisms” are among the directions that seemed very suitable for this research from its beginning. With this dissertation I wanted to participate in the conversation ongoing between many art historians working in different traditions but who seem to be preoccupied with the similar set of issues: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and his colleagues who promote a methodology based on the tracking of artistic circulations in the global context; Beatrice Joyeux-Prunel who talks about geopolitical methods based on Pierre Bourdieu’s vision of literary field and Wallerstein’s understanding of the world-systems and who proposes the idea of the polycentric art system; Piotr Piotrowski who suggested writing a horizontal art history in order to avoid the reproduction of Eurocentric hierarchies and prejudices; the authors and contributors of such books as *Art and Globalisation*, *Is Art History Global?*, *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn* who discuss the most complex notions of the contemporary intellectual landscape and waken the spirit similar to that of a gold miner.²⁵ The usual terminology is

²⁴ To mention just a few: Musée d’Orsay as the museum of nineteenth-century art par excellence, Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg with its vast collection of French painting, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires; Penelope J. E. Davies, Janson’s *History of Art: The Western Tradition*, 8th edition, Boston, Pearson, 2016; Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *World History of Art*, London, Laurence King, 2009, which went through seven editions and is advertised as a wide-ranging and up-to-date account of world art history but in which the nineteenth century is exclusively European; Marilyn Stokstad and Michael W. Cothren, *Art History*, 6th Edition, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, Pearson, 2018; Jacques Thuillier, *Histoire de l’art*, Paris, Flammarion, 2009. I do not intend to criticise these museums and textbooks but to point out that they are a potent instrument in maintaining the hierarchies and narratives of art history. Their educational role and accessibility are valued by editors and readers, but we need to recognise that they widen the gap between the mainstream imaginary about art and the developments of the most recent scholarship on diverse artistic practices.

²⁵ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham, Burlington, Ashgate, 2015.

Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, “ARTL@S: A Spatial and Trans-national Art History. Origins and Positions of a Research Program,” *Artl@s Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2012.

Piotr Piotrowski, “Towards a Horizontal Art History” in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures. Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, Victoria, The Miegunyah Press, 2009, pp. 73-81.

questioned, the definitions and concepts become more complex and keep acquiring footnotes and asterisks in each particular situation, yet rarely does art historical research succeed in abandoning the categories of nation and value which become the premises from which the researcher departs in his or her investigation of peripheral artistic practices, even if to deny them. These two categories are at the core of the modernist discourse and their combinations determine the place with which the artistic phenomenon is attributed in the global artistic hierarchy. I tend to avoid giving new definitions and inventing new terminology and prefer to use the ones that already exist while showing what they can do in relation to each individual art piece and for every painter from the announced list of exhibitors at the SNBA. As Mieke Bal puts it, the concepts that are difficult to grasp are the most productive “not because they mean the same thing for everyone, but because they don’t.”²⁶ Even pursuing the transnational direction of the research, I still have to navigate through the labyrinths of national art histories and their prejudices. For instance, any mention of Emilio Artigue – half-Argentinean and half-French – can only be found in the textbooks about Argentinean art, and the tone in which one talks about this painter depends on the “national” angle from which he is seen. To be able to talk about Latin American painters in Paris, I have to travel, mostly in my imagination, to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, yet stay anchored in France. Under these conditions, any shift in the pre-determined point of view that would lead to pushing the boundaries of the discipline, personal habits and academic discourses is a victory.

Due to its interdisciplinary, intertextuality and intercultural claim the kind of research I intend questions many aspects of the existing narrative but paradoxically also carries the risk of excessive generalisations that could undermine individual artists and their experiences in favour of universalising explanations.²⁷ Latin American art,

James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska and Alice Kim (eds.), *Art and Globalization*, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University press, 2010.

Jill H. Casid and Aruna D’Souza (eds.), *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark art institute, 2014.

James Elkins (ed.), *Is Art History Global?* New York; London, Routledge, 2014.

²⁶ Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 11.

²⁷ Michele Greet talks about challenges and promises of transnational and transcontinental research in relation to Latin American modern art in Michele Greet, “Mapping Cultural Exchange: Latin

especially the kind of high art we deal with, is often seen as a continuation of the European artistic tradition or imitation of European models. Indeed, the art institutions in the nineteenth century were literally transplanted to the continent by Europeans, and the aesthetic codes of European schools were assimilated as universal. Nevertheless, relying on the example of Chakrabarty who demonstrated how the colonised country could resist the imposed colonial structure, I will look for the resistances that made Latin American artists different in one of the most codified and canonised art forms.²⁸ On the other hand, having started by looking at Latin America from France, I try to switch to looking back at France from the margins in terms of making of European painting by migrating Latin American artists. Having faced the vast range of problems and theoretical approaches that could be used to treat them, I finally embraced the maxim that eventually helped me to carry on the task to its completion: the object of study dictates the methodology. This principle is reflected in all aspects of this dissertation: from overall structure to terminology. The turning point in the research was a decision to focus on telling stories about artists and paintings instead of drawing encyclopaedic overviews of periods, tendencies and practices. Trying to justify the eclecticism of methods and theories I unexpectedly find help in the concept of M-theory from physics:

Each theory in the M-theory network is good at describing phenomena within a certain range. Wherever their ranges overlap, the various theories in the network agree, so they can all be said to be parts of the same theory. But no single theory within the network can describe every aspect of the universe – all the forces of nature, the particles that feel those forces, and the framework of space and time in which it all plays out. Though this situation does not fulfil the traditional physicists’ dream of a single unified theory, it is acceptable within the framework of model-dependent realism.²⁹

Paraphrasing Hawking and Mlodinow, this research is intended as an “artwork-dependent” piece and thus it employs the elements of diverse theories, disciplines, approaches and traditions of thought, however, without attempting to denigrate or elevate to the position of the final truth any of them.

American Artists in Paris between the Wars” in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham, Burlington, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 133-147.

²⁸ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

²⁹ Stephen Hawking and Leonard Mlodinow, *The Grand Design*, London, Bantam Books, 2011, p. 77.

There is no lack of theory that can be used for attaining mentioned objectives, but we might notice the “lack of history.” The history of art is a relatively young discipline in Latin American academia, so it still requires a lot of factual and archival work. In the past two decades scholars pointed at the fallacy of the mainstream discourse about Latin American art of the nineteenth century produced by the modernist historiography.³⁰ The amount of studies that question the European canon, explore women-artists and their condition, implement postcolonial methods and visual studies procedures in relation to artistic expression on the continent grows every day. However, not all the topics receive the same attention and not all of them excite the same interest in different “geopolitical regions”: while Diego Ribera (1886–1957) is well-known outside of Mexico, acquaintance with José María Velasco (1840–1912) is mainly a local phenomenon. Ricardo Bindis mourns the virtual absence of Chilean painting in the imaginary and actual museums of the world, which is also a sign of the distortions in the distribution of art and knowledge about it around the globe. “This is a reality that we must assume and which is shared by all Spanish-American countries,” he concludes.³¹

Without getting into a detailed bibliographical analysis, I would like to note some tendencies in Latin American historiography that had an impact on the scope of this dissertation. First, despite the rise of Latin American art history(-ies) in the recent decades, the horizon of work only expands. At the moment the scholars from different countries mostly write national art histories, but the nineteenth century falls out of sight in comparison with the colonial period, modernist movements of the early twentieth century and contemporary art due to its strong connection with European tradition. Latin American art of the nineteenth century did not find its way into “world art history” not because of the lack of artefacts and research, but because of the prevalent conviction that it was not original enough to stand side by side with European, mainly French art. For instance, in Brazil this century was deemed imitative of European

³⁰ As an example of the volume compared to the mentioned earlier handbooks I can mention *Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms* that tries to correct “the Eurocentric historiography of modern art.” Elaine O’Brien, Evelyn Nicodemus and others (eds.), *Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms*, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

³¹ Ricardo Bindis Fuller and Hernán Maino Aguirre, *Pintura chilena 200 años: despertar, maestros, vanguardias*, Santiago de Chile, Origo, 2006, p. X.

models for a long time, and it is reflected in the current situation of Brazilian scholarship.³² In the meantime the attention received by the early twentieth century avant-gardes is incomparable to the coverage of the very first independent artistic expressions that were at times modest but, nevertheless, prepared the ground for the later artistic developments in Latin American countries.³³

During the twentieth century Brazilian, Chilean and Argentinean scholarship lacked not only actual historical research but also rigorous methodologies.³⁴ One of the reasons of stasis in Latin American art history in the twentieth century is the sorrowful history of violent dictatorships curtailing the intellectual freedom of academic work. The fall of dictatorship in Argentina not only enlarged the field and allowed new themes and documents to come out but cleared the way for new modes of thinking and theorising.³⁵ In Chile the impact of the official ideology on art history during the dictatorship was immense, and the freedom of expression was suppressed: “Si hay una cuestión clave para entender la historia del arte chileno de las últimas décadas son los rumores sobre su supuesta inexistencia.” (If there is a key issue in understanding the history of Chilean art of the past decades, it is found in the rumours of its supposed inexistence.)³⁶ However, even despite ideological censorship and one-dimensional narrative, the polished publications from the 1970–1980s are important at once as the source of information and as the objects of critique. As Carlo Ginzburg remarked:

³² Philippe Sénéchal, “Joyeux tropismes : notes sur quelques singularités de l’histoire de l’art au Brésil,” *Perspective*, vol. 2, 2013, pp. 207-209.

³³ Such state of things is valid for other countries as well. The brilliant database *Transatlantic Encounters: Latinamerican Artists in Interwar Paris* by Michele Greet is an example of this unbalanced situation that sets the bar for the investigation of the earlier cases of intercontinental circulations. *Transatlantic Encounters: Latinamerican Artists in Interwar Paris*, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/transatlanticencounters/items/show/4484>. Accessed 19 December 2017.

³⁴ Rafael Cardoso, “Histories of Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Art: a Critical Review of Bibliography, 2000–2012,” *Perspective*, vol. 2, 2013, pp. 308-324; Luiz Marques et al., “Existe-t-il un art brésilien ?” *Perspective*, vol. 2, 2013, pp. 251-268; María Baldasarre, “Los estudios del arte del siglo XIX en América Latina,” *Caiana. Revista de Historia del Arte y Cultura Visual del Centro Argentino de Investigadores de Arte*, vol. 3, 2013, online at http://caiana.caia.org.ar/template/caiana.php?pag=articles/article_2.php&obj=131&vol=3. Accessed 16 February 2018.

³⁵ Andrea Giunta, “Notes on Art History in Latin America” in James Elkins (ed.), *Is Art History Global?*, New York, Routledge, 2006, pp. 27-40.

³⁶ Josefina de la Maza Chevesich, “Historias homogéneas, críticas discontinuas: la historia del arte chilena en tiempos de dictadura” in Verónica Hernández Díaz (ed.), *XXXV Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte. Continuo / discontinuo. Los dilemas de la historia del arte en América Latina*, Mexico City, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2017, p. 197.

In any society the conditions of access to the production of documentation are tied to a situation of power and thus create an inherent imbalance. On the other hand, it cancels out many particulars in the existing documentation for the benefit of what is homogeneous and comparable.³⁷

This dissertation bears within itself all the imbalances and distortions conditioned by the accessibility of primary sources locked in faraway storages or simply lost. The data is not only stored in disparate destinations but often is poorly stored to begin with. Yet, the difficulties in accessing archival documents damaged by the passage of time are nothing compared to the task of writing about paintings without actually seeing the originals. Brought up in the old-fashioned tradition, I agree with Walter Benjamin's idea of the aura that cannot be transmitted by the reproduction, even the most technologically advanced one.³⁸ Confronted with the "ahistorical" condition of the artwork, the viewer has fewer clues on how to engage with it and how to incorporate it into his or her story. At the same time, this issue is a sort of the "elephant in the room" that art historians tend to avoid: art is not very accessible throughout the world, the canonical art even less so. The painters and audiences of the nineteenth century in Latin America had to rely on engravings and reproductions, and millions of today art lovers and professionals engage with art through their digital versions and postcards.

To deal with the incompleteness of primary sources we looked for support in Ginzburg's microhistory. His vision of the complexity of historical research, interest in non-events, resistance to the serial history and objection to any sort of relativism help to find meaning in seemingly insignificant details while placing them into a larger context in order to liberate their "divine" power. Microhistory, according to Ginzburg, avoids the tendency to draw a unique all-encompassing picture of the epoch and does not try to explain everything once and forever. The Italian historian accepts the scarcity of documentation and treats the silence as a constitutive part of the research, a sign of meaning in its own:

The obstacles interfering with research in the form of lacunae or misrepresentation in the sources must become part of the account ...

³⁷ Carlo Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive*, Berkley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2012, p. 202.

³⁸ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1936, Marxist Internet Archive, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>. Accessed 4 December 2012.

[Microhistory] accepts the limitation while exploring their gnoseological implications and transforming them into a narrative element.³⁹

One of the main strategies employed in this dissertation was in regarding the details within the larger context and in constant readjusting of the critical apparatus in case of each painter. The guideposts of microhistory paired with the close reading of visual artefacts helped me to better notice the biases of the master narrative in the very mode of seeing and framing paintings.⁴⁰

The dissertation is build around three focal points. The first focus is historiographic: it reads the metanarratives and looks for the framing devices exploited by the historicist and ethnocentric practices at the core of the modernist discourse. The main characters of this research, either French painters or Latin Americans, do not belong to the cohorts of excellence established by the criteria of the old-school art history. Their stories vanished on the pages of old critical reviews, memoirs and dictionaries. Their work is usually considered as anomaly, epigonism and expression of delay. Therefore, the re-evaluation of the primary data as well as critical reading of the “second-hand” interpretations are necessary conditions for reviving forgotten artists and their oeuvre. The second focus is the drawing of the contours of the modern art system. The widely accepted proposition suggests that it acquired a global dimension by the end of the nineteenth century, although some scholars indicate that it became global right after the colonisation of the Americas.⁴¹ It created the environment that had an impact on the professional choices of the painters and their creativity. Artists migrated from one continent to another, and the need to reckon with the differences between the artistic scenes of their home countries and Europe played an important role in their careers. The system was never homogenous: even if Latin American art institutions were created on the pattern of European models, they varied by force of local conditions and specificity. Artists had to adapt and invent new strategies to find their places in these multiple realities. The third focus is the interpretation of artworks. Fortunately, the list of painters figuring in this research is not long, and the format

³⁹ Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces*, pp. 208-209.

⁴⁰ Mieke Bal, “Visual Analysis” in Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008, p. 179.

⁴¹ See the discussion of the beginning of globalisation in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann’s introduction to DaCosta Kaufmann, Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art*.

allows me to combine the elements of biographic story-telling with visual analysis. These interpretations are intersections of painters' and viewers' experiences, opinions of those who used to write about them in the past and does it right now.

The chapters one and two of the thesis present the historical context in which the Salons of the SNBA emerged. Europe and Latin America are imaginary spaces, but they are also geographical locations, so the artists physically moved between the actual continents and between the symbolic cultural worlds that these continents represented. These two chapters describe historical and socio-political realities that provided the background for the artistic migration. Only understanding the structure of art system and the conjuncture on both ends of the migration, we can grasp the dimension and significance of the migratory trajectories undertaken by our painters.

The first chapter talks about France, the second – about Latin America. France as the artistic nation par excellence, and Paris as the capital of the nineteenth century, elaborated the art system that was marked by the extensive state participation in the artistic matters and unprecedented rise of the international art market. However, the artistic utopia of free and welcoming Paris had its darker sides that were particularly noticeable for foreigners. Nationalist reactions, gender-based inequality, abuses perpetrated by the bureaucracy and liberal markets were all reflected in the art world. Artists who came to pursue their studies in Paris had to adjust to the laws and fashions that reigned in Paris and make swift decisions on how to build their careers in the conditions of unequal competition. The second chapter describes the artistic reality of Latin America at the same epoch. The goal is not to compare Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile with Paris, but to sketch the conditions from which the necessity of migration emerged and in which it was happening. The set of meanings and values the painters received in their countries was different from that imposed by Paris, even though European and Latin American artists seemed to strive for the same ideal in high art. The differences in the institutional structures of both continents and the opportunities they could (or could not) open for the aspiring artists were a major factor for their professional choices and aesthetic inclinations.

The third chapter centres on the Salon and its significance as one of the core pillars of the modernist narrative. In the nineteenth century the Salon was the main artistic attraction in Europe, if not the world. For a long time it functioned as a channel for the diffusion of official aesthetics, but in the last decades of the century it became a

battleground for modern art.⁴² Traditionally, the most notable stages in the so-called “liberation” of modern art from the conservatism and academism are marked by the events showing artists’ reaction against the corporatism of the official Salon jury and its incapability to accommodate the growing community of artists – the Salon de Refusés, the Salon des Indépendants, the exhibitions of the Société Anonyme Coopérative des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs (known as the impressionists). In the modernist historiography the Salon became the Other for the avant-garde movements that conceptualised themselves in opposition to the official institutions. However, back in the nineteenth century many of these events were overlooked by the artists living outside of Paris. Viewed from the perspective of foreigners, the history of modernist “liberation” involves different processes and is enabled by different institutions and actors. The foundation of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts seems to be a rather marginal event today, but for a short time after its foundation it represented the change and rejuvenation sought by artists in many countries. It was also a definitive blow to the system of the unique Salon that indicated profound political and social transformations in the art world of Paris.

In the fourth chapter I discuss painters and their works alongside some historiographic issues. This chapter investigates the condition of the foreign artist in a metropolis such as Paris at the end of the nineteenth century. According to catalogues there were only nine Latin American exhibitors in the Salons of the SNBA during its first decade: the Argentineans Albert-Émile Artigue (1850–1927), Diana Cid García (d. 1938) and Jean Cid; the Chilean José Tomás Errázuriz (1856–1927); Brazilians Eliseu Visconti (1866–1944) and Charles Flach (1863–1933); the Uruguayan Alberto Castellanos (1869–1908); the Mexican Eduardo de la Torre; and finally Arturo Grullón (1869–1942) from the Dominican Republic. These painters belonged to the generation of the so-called precursors of modernism in Latin America, but the majority of them remain neglected by the historical surveys. Their stories demonstrate the diversity of personal and professional experiences of transatlantic migration: they had different social backgrounds, financial situations and education, and their styles were also quite different. Moreover, they were parts of peculiar artistic networks and eventually gained

⁴² Albert Boime, “The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art,” *The Art Quarterly*, vol. 4, 1969, p. 414.

distinct positions in the hierarchies of modern art as well as uneven attention from the critics and scholars. The metanarrative devices and canonical structures have been defining their places and shaping our memory of them for more than a century. Each artwork interpreted in the last chapter presents an instance of a complex correlation between European “influences” and original artistic vision of each painter. No matter how tiny these personal inclusions and interpretations may seem today and in comparison with other artists, they are worth examining as they show the force of creativity and revive the potential for a change in our experience of art and life.

CHAPTER 1.
An overview of the art system in France:
the State, artists and the art market

L'État doit se décider : veut-il aider les artistes ou
l'art ?

Sous la monarchie, le protecteur de l'art était le
souverain. Sous le régime républicain, c'est le
peuple.

The State has to decide whether it wants to help
artists or the arts? Under the monarchy, the
sovereign was the patron of the arts. Under the
republican regime it is the people.

Adolf Loos, *L'État et l'art*.⁴³

The French State always was, and still is, involved in the organisation of its art life. However, the modes and rules of this involvement, as well as artists' reactions to it, changed in different epochs. In just a few lines Adolf Loos managed to grasp the complexity of the relations designated by the simple "art and the State" opposition and mentioned many players who take part in them: artists, administrators (both political and artistic), audience, political regimes. During the nineteenth century the spheres of influence within the art system in France were evolving, and one of the most challenging alterations came with the establishment of the art market in the second half of the century. The impact of such agents of action as the State (with its elaborate bureaucracy) and art market (with not less elaborate administration) on the careers of artists presents an exciting, but still controversial, branch of specialist knowledge.

⁴³ Adolf Loos, *Paroles dans le vide - Malgré Tout*, Paris, Ivrea, 1979, p. 255.

The beginning of the Third Republic (1870–1900)

The period under discussion concerns the epoch of the French Third Republic, to be more precise – its first decades. The first years of the Third Republic, like the first years of any political regime, manifested contradictory decisions, inconsistencies in the policies in different spheres, misinterpretations of the global political and economic shifts. The life of the new regime started with the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war and the violence around the Paris commune, profound economic crisis and social transformations. The governments of the new republic were marked by political struggle between republicans and royalists, governmental instability. Among the points considered as the achievements of the regime was the establishment of democratic institutes and social policies, introduction of the advanced system of compulsory education, successful colonial expansion and accumulation of wealth.

The crisis in which France entered at the beginning of 1870s was exacerbated by the international economic crisis known as the Long Depression (1873–96) resulting in the collapse of the agricultural sector.⁴⁴ The country experienced the decline of the heavy industry followed by the difficulties in transportation, elevation of prices and taxes. The transportation programme of the Minister Charles-Louis Freycinet (1828–1923) designed as the salvation of the industry only amplified the problems and “prepared” the next peak of crisis: after a brief improvement it caused the 1883 Stock market crash which threw France back into depression.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the “Plan Freycinet” became one of the major consolidating projects for the French nation. Eugen Weber suggests that it was the building of roads and railway system by the Freycinet ministry that “cemented national unity” much more than the transportation system of the Second Empire, which left untouched the great part of the countryside and became more an expression of administrative structure of the State. By new railways the textbooks of the Third Republic could reach every

⁴⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*, New York, Vintage, 1989, p. 36.

⁴⁵ More on the Plan Freycinet and its effect on French economy see Yasuo Gonjo, “Le ‘Plan Freycinet’, 1878–1882 : un aspect de la ‘Grande Dépression’ économique en France,” *Revue Historique*, vol. 1, no. 503, 1972, pp. 49-86.

child on the vast territory of the country and teach them the principle: “one people, one country, one government, one nation, one fatherland.”⁴⁶ The elements of national consciousness and a sort of proto-identities emerged in France from the eighteenth century and already Rousseau wrote about national unity and its consolidation through a system of national education.⁴⁷ During the whole nineteenth century the “national” values of the Revolution evolved and gave a push to the development of national history, landscape, monuments, traditions. However, it was not until the consistent efforts of the Third Republic when the project of national unity of all the regions of the country reached its completion.⁴⁸ Hanson points out that the national identity that was constructed in France in the 1870s still remains “at the core of contemporary French politics.”⁴⁹

The decades of the 1880–90s were also marked by a social crisis and unprecedented level of migration. According to different statistical data, in the last decades of the nineteenth century immigrants composed almost a third part of France’s population. The majority of them were workers who helped to fight against the Long Depression and social “blockage” from which France suffered at the beginning of the Third Republic.⁵⁰ On the other hand, their presence was not always appreciated by locals. The Strikes in Paris and Lyons, poverty in the rural areas, vagrancy and famine widespread at this period were often backed by the “irrational expressions of the crisis (xenophobia, Boulangism, nationalism, anti-Semitism).”⁵¹ The hostility against immigrants existed not only among the poor, but among the bourgeoisie as well.⁵² Interestingly, in the sphere of quotidian economy the xenophobic rage was aimed at the

⁴⁶ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1976, p. 95.

⁴⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2008, p. 138.

⁴⁸ Anne-Marie Thiesse, “Les deux identités de la France,” *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2001, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Hanson, “The Founding of the French Third Republic,” *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 43, no. 8–9, 2010, p. 1027.

⁵⁰ Gérard Noiriel, “L’immigration en France, une histoire en friche,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, vol. 4, 1986, p. 756.

⁵¹ Bonin, “La Grande Dépression française de la fin du dix-neuvième siècle : réflexion sur sa datation et sur sa fonction,” *Histoire, Économie et Société*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1987, p. 516.

⁵² Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p. 152.

Italians and Belgians who constituted a competitive labour force, but ideologically the main enemy of the nation was Germany.⁵³ The xenophobia was not strange for the art world either: the massive presence of the foreign artists in Parisian art schools provoked a reaction from the French artists who felt threatened in the same way as French peasants in the south felt threatened by the laborious Italians. The increase of national consciousness and socio-economic troubles multiplied by the political instability gave the radical nationalist movements a chance to flourish and resulted in the rise of Boulangism and anti-Semitic Dreyfus affair (1894–1906) at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁵³ Pierre Goubert, *The Course of French History*, London, Routledge, 1991, p. 271. This latter rivalry had impact on the decisions made by the artists as well, whether to expose in German exhibitions, or allow German painters to exhibit in France. Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) joined the army in 1870, and the French defeat had a lasting impact on his patriotic sentiment and idea of national honour. During his presidency in the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts German painters were not accepted into the exhibition. Constance Cain Hungerford, “Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale Des Beaux-Arts,” *Art Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1989, p. 76.

The State as a measure of all good and evil

The relations between the State and art is one of the subjects that provokes much interest in history and social sciences. On the one hand, overestimation of the influence of the official involvement on artists' careers and works leads to determinism, on the other hand, underestimation feeds the modernist idea of the independent genius and *artiste maudit*.⁵⁴ The role and function of the State in French art life at the end of the nineteenth century is an inexhaustible subject of academic discussion, but scholars are far from agreeing on the nature and level of state involvement in artistic affairs. Most French scholars insist that after failed attempts of regulation and meddling the State finally removed itself from the domain of art: for unstable governments of the Third Republic dealing with the growing pressure of competition, diversification of opinions and aesthetics, complication of art bureaucracy was overwhelming. Gérard Monnier quotes the principle of non-intervention adopted in relation to artistic education and the withdrawal of the State from the organisation of the Salon in 1880 as the proofs of this point of view.⁵⁵ A similar opinion is expressed by Jeanne Laurent who said that none of the founders of the Third Republic was interested in the creation of any coherent artistic policy and that all the chiefs of the governments from Adolph Thiers (1797–1877) to Léon Blum (1872–1950) held that art belonged to the pleasures of private life but not the needs of the nation.⁵⁶ However, there are also scholars like Richard Thomson who suggest that the State's actions in the sphere of art became more careful and selective. He says that the new regime would use the imagery, including fine arts, to promote its ideological objectives, and, although this operations were less directive than at the beginning of the century, they were still essential for the visual culture and politics of the early Third Republic: “Les discours ministériels exposent les mesures décidées ; les commandes officielles mettent en valeur certains artistes et certains styles, et l'État marque son approbation en achetant des oeuvres lors des Salons

⁵⁴ See Victoria D. Alexander and Marilyn Rueschemeyer (eds.), *Art and the State: The Visual Arts in Comparative Perspective*, New York, Palgrave, 2005.

⁵⁵ Gérard Monnier, *L'art et ses institutions en France de la Révolution à nos jours*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995, p. 209.

⁵⁶ Jeanne Laurent, *Arts et pouvoirs en France : de 1793 à 1981*, Saint-Étienne, CIEREC, 1983, p. 74.

annuels.” (The ministerial speeches set out resolute measures; the official commissions highlight certain artists and certain styles, and the State demonstrates its approval through the acquisitions at the annual Salons.)⁵⁷

According to Patricia Mainardi, the main contradiction in the cultural policies of the Third Republic was in that the State was slowly but steadily moving towards republicanism, while the art establishment was turning into a bastion of conservatism.⁵⁸ Mainardi’s interpretation of the situation was harshly criticised by Pierre Vaisse, who insists on the necessity to distinguish the history of styles from the history of institutions, and states that the Third Republic abandoned fine arts.⁵⁹ He warns us against the widespread in the modernist historiography idea of opposing the State and its agents to the independent avant-gardes and says that the State had much less influence or interest in “purely artistic” questions, like, for instance, selection of paintings for the annual Salons, than it is believed.⁶⁰ Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix studied the Administration of Fine arts in great detail and she responds to both these affirmations saying that, in fact, the Republic adopted “official eclectism” as an official aesthetic policy.⁶¹ She defines three levels on which the State intervened in the art system: the first concerned the question of education and conservation of the national heritage, the second focused on the art industries and the last looked at the promotion of the French school internationally. This threefold programme was a natural reaction to the challenges of the international art market, growing presence of foreign artists and collectors in Paris, and toughening competition between developed nation-states.⁶² According to her, these three strategies were implemented in the cultural policies of the Third Republic, although the methods of implementation varied depending on the

⁵⁷ Richard Thomson, *La République troublée : culture visuelle et débat social (1889–1900)*, Dijon, Les Presses du réel, 2008, p. 33.

⁵⁸ Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Pierre Vaisse, *La IIIe République et les peintres*, Paris, Flammarion, 1995, p. 40.

⁶⁰ Pierre Vaisse, “Réflexions sur la fin du Salon officiel,” in James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse (eds.), “*Ce Salon à qui tout se ramène.*” *Le Salon de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1791–1890*, Bern, Peter Lang AG, 2010, p. 125.

⁶¹ Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, “Le Conseil Supérieur des Beaux-Arts : Histoire et fonction (1875–1940),” *Le Mouvement Social*, vol. 163, no. 2, 1993, p. 64.

⁶² Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, *Art et État sous la IIIe République : le système des beaux-arts 1870–1940*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1992.

Director of the Administration of Fine Arts. Vincent Dubois joins this discordant conversation and concludes that, if we take into account the complexity of such notions as the State, art, market, avant-garde, not to mention such constructions as the State vs Art developed by artists themselves, the Third Republic simply did not have sufficient resources or apparatus to conduct any coherent cultural policy at all.⁶³

It seems that there is no a simple answer to the question about the nature and degree of state involvement in artistic and aesthetic matters. All the mentioned above authors invite us to look at the situation with less of a preconception and more of a nuance. In order to do so, it is important to clarify the specificity of the notion of the State, *État*, specific for France. Pierre Bourdieu combines two separate dictionary definitions of the State – as a government, administrative services, and bureaucratic institutions and as the national territory with its citizens – in a way to give a definition that makes the relations between these two aspects explicit and causal: “it is the state in the sense of the ‘sum of the services of a nation’ that makes the state in the sense of the ‘whole body of citizens with a frontier’.”⁶⁴ He further develops his definition to underline that in France, as compared to Germany, it is the State that constructs the nation through education system. The impulse of the nation-building and the work of consolidation of citizens comes from the government, not the other way around.⁶⁵ Dominique Colas analysed the works of Jean Bodin (1529–1596), Michel Montaigne (1533–1592), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) and came to a similar conclusion. According to him, from the moment of the Revolution the terms *État*, *France*, *Patrie* and *nation* became synonyms. For the French thought *État* is not just a structure of control and governance, but it is the whole of France with all its inhabitants; it is an agent of the grandeur of France.⁶⁶

⁶³ Vincent Dubois, “L’art et l’État au début de la IIIe République, ou les conditions d’impossibilité de la mise en forme d’une politique,” *Genèses*, vol. 23, 1996, pp. 6-29.

⁶⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1989–1992*, Cambridge, Polity, 2014, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Bourdieu, *On the State*, p. 348.

⁶⁶ Доминик Кола Dominique Colas, “Политическая семантика ‘État’ и ‘état’ во французском языке” “Politicheskaya semantika ‘État’ i ‘état’ vo francuzskom yazyke” in *Понятие государства в четырех языках: сборник статей Ponyatie gosudarstva v chetyrex yazykakh: sbornik statej*, St. Petersburg, Moscow, European University at St. Petersburg, Letniy sad, 2002, p. 40.

In a certain way such reading of the term *État* and the subsequent wide understanding of its interests and goals help to better grasp the character of state sponsorship in arts that aimed at the glorification of French artistic genius inside the country and in the international arena. Cultural initiatives and educational projects of the Third Republic found realisation in the promotion of the so-called national school of painting – one of the main tropes of the global art discourses of the late nineteenth century. Equally, an emphasis on the connection between *État* and every citizen sheds light on the expectations that artists had from the State: to provide financial support and guarantee the necessary conditions for professional success. The merging of the *État* with the body of the nation partly explains why while the art market was already well-developed in all its forms by the 1870s, its influence on the symbolic and intellectual level was secondary and why many artists longed first and foremost for the endorsement from the institutions that bore the prestige of state recognition even if openly criticised these same institutions.⁶⁷ Many French artists relied rather on state promotions, awards, acquisitions and commissions, all of which were seen as the stages of a successful artistic career, than on private commissions and contracts with dealers.

⁶⁷ For example, Édouard Manet's and August Renoir's fidelity to the official Salon as a way to establish themselves and secure clientele (Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie d'artiste au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Editions Louis Audibert, 2007, p. 203); the outstanding reputation of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes stemming from the success of his murals for official buildings as an expressions of Frenchness (Jennifer L. Shaw, "Frenchness, Memory, and Abstraction: The Case of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes," *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 68, 2005, pp. 152-171.); or the extraordinary careers of William-Adolphe Bouguereau and later Paul-Albert Besnard whose reputations as the leaders of the French art world were related to their high statuses within such institutions as the Institute and the École des Beaux-Arts.

The cultural policies of the French Third Republic

Although the republican governments during the Third Republic were unstable and changed very often, none of them excluded art from its agenda. Each consecutive chief of the Administration of Fine Arts moved forward his own projects, which were sometimes marginal and inconsistent, but did not divert the general course for liberalisation and promotion of national values. Indeed, ministers and administrators did not impose aesthetic dogma or certain styles, did not exercise any policy of open and direct censorship or blatant propaganda. It would be impossible to trace a stylistic history based solely on governmental actions or political decisions. However, all the governments of the Third Republic kept the budget for fine arts; the State offered the Palais de l'Industrie for the private run Société des Artistes Français virtually for free; the state committee would purchase works exhibited in the “semi-official” Salons, attributed awards to the exhibitors and students of the École des Beaux-Arts. These disparate actions and decisions did not benefit every artist directly but they massively influenced the environment of the Parisian art world, in which the profession of an artist was a risky, but legitimate choice, and where the well-being of the artist was assured not solely by the market but by the official support system however limited and partial it could be.

Liberalism in the arts

According to the *Histoire de la fonction publique en France* economic liberalism was the dominant ideology of France, and the role of the State was reduced to the correction of market abuses.⁶⁸ In the second half of the nineteenth century the liberal doctrine was already a remarkable transforming factor for the art world in England, so its expansion in the art system of France was a question of time. Explaining the differences it would take in England, US or France, Robert Leroux and David M. Hart underline that the French version was never an exclusively economic theory but had a

⁶⁸ Marcel Pinet (ed.), *Histoire de la fonction publique en France*, vol. 3, Paris, Nouvelle librairie de France, 1993, p. 1.

component of political thinking. The economic rights would come together with the political rights and could not be separated from each other; therefore, the elites in France had to lose their privileges under the new doctrine.⁶⁹ This logic continued in the arts as well: the decline of the selective and elitist by nature Académie des Beaux-Arts and Salon was partially a result of this principle. Following the direction of liberal economy and direction towards democratisation, the State diminished the privileges of the conservative system and through the declared “liberation” of art from the state intervention opened more space for the development of the art market on the one hand, and emergence of artists’ societies and exhibitions, on the other. One of the most eager propagandists of the liberal model in art was journalist, politician and art critic Antonin Proust (1832–1905). In his work *L’Art sous la République* he compares *immobilité* (inertness) of the French art system to the mobility of England where the private sector contributed to the development of the artistic sector, especially in the domain of art industries so dear to Proust.⁷⁰ He defends the private initiative as the main pushing factor in the progress of art.⁷¹ To be fair, his reproach in inertness concerned not only the lack of liberal initiatives on the part of private sponsors but also the sluggishness and bureaucratism of the Administration of Fine Arts.

As was mentioned before, Pierre Vaisse stated that the Third Republic was not interfering in the arts and based his assumption on the principle of non-intervention. However, he also mentions some exceptions from this policy, like the prohibition to exhibit any picture depicting the war of 1870–1871 during the Exposition Universelle of 1878.⁷² Another exception was a programme of financial support for French artists in face of the foreign competition and the acquisition policy that privileged French nationals. These exceptions show the limits of the non-intervention policy. The intersection of liberal policies, state interests and democratic initiatives in the sphere of

⁶⁹ Robert Leroux and David M. Hart, *French Liberalism in the 19th Century: An Anthology*, New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Fletcher and Helmreich argue that by the early 1870s the system traditionally described as “market-dealer system” was already well established in London while in Paris dealers and critics only started gaining significance. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, “The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the ‘Dealer-Critic System’ in Victorian England,” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 41, no. 4, p. 343.

⁷¹ Antonin Proust, *L’art sous la République*, Paris, Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1892, pp. 61-63, online at <https://archive.org/details/lartsouslapub00prou>. Accessed 4 March 2018.

⁷² Vaisse, *La IIIe République et les peintres*, p. 57.

art was not unequivocal or straightforward and as Nicholas Green noted, “There was no simple move here towards deregulation, but rather a complex lateral shift within state apparatuses involving greater intervention in certain moments with strategic non-intervention in others.”⁷³

Another stereotype about the cultural policy of the Third Republic proposes the principle of stylistic equality, as if the State was not supporting any particular aesthetics or style.⁷⁴ Here again we have to be careful and not confuse the reforms and initiatives that concerned the institutional structure with any sort of aesthetic regulation. However, it would be fair to say that certain actions of the government and administration would influence the status and popularity of certain styles or artists even when it was not intended. Indeed, there were no direct correlations between ministerial decrees and the aesthetic programme implemented through awards and state acquisitions, but there was one between the appointments within the Administration of Fine Arts and the latter. In other words, official choices reflected the preferences of the leading figures in the Administration of Fine Arts. Proust, writer and art critic Roger Marx (1859–1913), art historian and curator Léonce Bénédite (1859–1925) were administrators at different points of their careers, whose expertise in the field was acknowledged. They actively participated in the art life of the French capital and supported certain styles and movements. If official art still existed at the epoch of the Third Republic, it was a mixture of tastes and preferences of individuals holding the power at each particular moment. Moreover, the personal taste of connoisseurs became the standard for the definition of the character of the national art school. Well-instituted set of aesthetic principles and laws specific for the period of art academies was replaced by the arbitrary power of individuals and groups in power.

This eclecticism and arbitrariness can be traced in the state acquisitions from the Salon. This practice existed since 1804 and was a matter of great importance for both, the Administration of Fine Arts and artists. Until the very end of the nineteenth century

⁷³ Nicholas Green, “‘All the Flowers of the Field’: the State, Liberalism and Art in France under the Early Third Republic,” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1987, p. 71.

⁷⁴ Philippe Poirrier, *Art et Pouvoir : de 1848 à nos jours*, Montrouge, Centre national de documentation pédagogique, 2006, pp. 4-5.

the official policy was to buy only from French artists.⁷⁵ There were different categories of pictures bought at the Salons: works of merit destined for the Musée de Luxembourg, pieces bought in order to support the artists not having private clients and historical pictures commemorating the important moments of the republican history for the decoration of administrative buildings. A historian Gustave Larroumet (1852–1903) was the director of the Administration of Fine Arts in 1890–1893 and in his book *L'art et l'état en France* he explains the principles of the state acquisition. According to him, the main criterion for selection was the personal taste and knowledge of the Minister or Director of Fine Arts:

Attentif et informé, il [directeur des Beaux-Arts] a, lui aussi, bon goût personnel ; il est même obligé, par le devoir de sa charge, de l'avoir très large et très éclectique, mais capable de préférences et de décision ... Encore une fois le ministre et le directeur des Beaux-Arts sont seuls responsables du bon emploi de la somme qu'ils ont à dépenser et de l'enrichissement de nos musées.

Attentive and informed, he [Director of Fine Arts] has also a good taste; he is even obliged, by the duty of his position, to have the wide and eclectic taste, but still to be able to chose and make a decision ... Once again the Minister and the Director of Fine Arts are fully responsible for the good usage of the sum they have to spend and for the enrichment of our museums.⁷⁶

Larroumet believed that only tradition could preserve art and public taste and expressed regrets about the fact that private choices and preferences had become the sole criterion for selecting what will be purchased and encouraged. He criticised the former Administrations of Fine Arts that followed the academic doctrine and was incapable to notice such significant artistic phenomena like Barbizon school, but he also complained about the absence of the coherent doctrine that would form the acquisition policy at a later moment. He defined the preferences of the selection committee at the moment when he wrote his book and indicated that landscape painting was one of the most popular genres in the 1890s. According to him, the popularity of landscape was due to

⁷⁵ The situation changed at the turn of the century when Léonce Bénédict was appointed the director of the Musée du Luxembourg and opened the institution to non-French painters. Geneviève Lacambre, "1899: Les écoles étrangères en France. La politique nouvelle du Musée du Luxembourg," *Quarante-huit / Quatorze*, vol. 6, 1994, p. 68

⁷⁶ Gustave Larroumet, *L'art et l'état en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1895, p. 15-16, online at <https://archive.org/details/lartetlattenfran00larr>. Accessed 20 February 2018.

the simplicity of this genre, low requirements for technical execution and the widespread vogue for the compromise and mediocrity.⁷⁷

Public education and development of public taste

After the Revolution the Administration of Fine Arts “travelled” from one ministry to another. For instance, during the second and third governments of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808–1873) in 1852–1869 it was a part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and at the time of the Second Empire the special entity – the *Maison de l’Empereur et des Beaux-Arts* – was created to take charge of artistic affairs. Every republican regime would include the arts in its agenda, while the monarchies tried to reconstruct the scheme of royal patronage characteristic for the Old Regime when art was a domain of aristocratic leisure. During the Third Republic the Administration of Fine Arts was finally attached to the Ministry of Education.

The law of 28 March 1882 made primary education obligatory in France. This law had a major impact on the development of the French nation, but it also changed the understanding of the role of art in the society. According to this law, the classes of drawing, music and modelling became a compulsory component of the school programme.⁷⁸ This act was by no means innocent. On the one hand, it included art in the nationalist programme of the State, on the other hand, it contributed to the deepening of the division between arts and crafts. The teacher of drawing in the municipal school did not need to be an artist in terms we usually contribute to this profession. He had to be a good technician with limited specialised training. The objective of nurturing aesthetic taste and love for beauty among the citizens of the Republic was reinforced by setting more tangible goals of economic competitiveness.⁷⁹ The artistic sensitivity promoted in schools and supposed to educate the cultivated working class had nothing to do with the professional contemporary art. School programmes addressed two tendencies: the propaganda of Grand Art based on the

⁷⁷ Larroumet, *L’art et l’État en France*, pp. 17-19.

⁷⁸ Loi du 28 mars 1882 sur l’enseignement primaire obligatoire, *Journal officiel de la République Française*, 29 mars 1882, online at <http://www.senat.fr/evenement/archives/D42/mars1882.pdf>. Accessed 25 January 2015.

⁷⁹ Green, “All the Flowers of the Field,” p. 76.

academic tradition, Italian Renaissance and French classicism, or the development of the technical and industrial creativity expressed in the decorative arts and design. Eventually, the second tendency became dominant as it suggested to exploit the economic potential of art industries to which the liberal republicans strived.⁸⁰ While the State took over the education at the level of primary schools, the professional artistic education gained a comparative independence from the Administration.

The most radical reforms in artistic education were offered by Proust who even became a chief of the Ministry of Arts in the Grand ministère of Léon Gambetta (1838–1882). Proust believed in the ultimate superiority of French artistic genius and in the potential of art industries to elevate the tastes of public.⁸¹ He wanted to abolish the distinction between fine arts and applied arts, develop programmes that would include different arts and therefore overcome the isolation between painters, sculptors, architects and craftsmen, turn from classical antiquity and Italian Renaissance to the French tradition, and promote national art. These radical initiatives caused a strong reaction, and soon after the fall of the government of Gambetta the majority of them were replaced by more moderate measures.⁸² One of the reasons why the ideas of Proust were not accepted is because they were not endorsed by the Académie and the École des Beaux-Arts. Proust conceived his reforms as corresponding to the logic of utility and demands of the changing socio-economic formation, but he did not consider the power of the Académie that would certainly oppose many of these changes as a threat to its own existence.

Art history and the notion of the school

The institutionalisation of art history in France took place in the 1870–1890s: the art history departments were opened and chairs established in professional schools, universities and museums.⁸³ The first chair of art history and aesthetics was established

⁸⁰ Michael R. Orwicz, “Anti-academism and state power in the early Third Republic,” *Art History*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1991, pp. 576-578.

⁸¹ Proust, *L’art sous la République*, p. 167.

⁸² Orwicz, “Anti-academism and state power in the early Third Republic,” pp. 578-583.

⁸³ Lyne Therrien, “L’Institutionnalisation de l’histoire de l’art en Arance au XIX Siècle,” *RACAR: Revue d’art canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, vol. 28, 2001–2003, p. 50.

at the Collège de France in 1878. At different moments it was held by Charles Blanc (1813–1882) who also founded the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, later by the director of the École des Beaux-Arts Eugène Guillaume (1822–1905) and by the curator of the Louvre Georges Lafenestre (1837–1919). The courses of art history and archaeology at the École du Louvre were founded in 1882. As for the École des Beaux-Arts, it introduced the classes of art history after the reform of 1863. Before this date art history was equal to the studies of costumes and antiquity that were to help in rendering classical subjects in painting.⁸⁴

In line with the intellectual development of the epoch the positivist methodology served as the basis for art history, and the historical methods prevailed over the research into the artistic language.⁸⁵ Another peculiarity of the young discipline was its failure to connect the past with the present. One of the first figures who tried to connect the studies of the artistic past of France with the contemporary situation was Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879). He was an architect, but his rigorous attention to the historical authenticity of the monuments under restoration as well as interest in the French gothic made him an important personality in the spheres of art history, heritage preservation and national artistic ideology. Another important man, whose influence expanded far beyond the frontiers of France, was Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893). He taught at the École des Beaux-Arts from 1864, and his book *Philosophie de l'art* (1865) became one of the most read treatises on art in the world, including Latin American countries.⁸⁶ The philosophy of Taine reflected the intellectual climate of his epoch. His main hypothesis was in the determinism, according to which the environment, race and historical moment defined the art of a nation.⁸⁷ The distinction between Latin and Germanic races described by Taine had a long-term impact on the debates in modern art and on the further consolidation of the notion of the national art school. In the late

⁸⁴ Alain Bonnet, “La réforme de l’École des beaux-arts de 1863 : Peinture et sculpture,” *Romantisme*, no. 93, 1996, p. 29.

⁸⁵ Therrien, “L’Institutionnalisation de l’histoire de l’art en France au XIX^e siècle,” p. 54.

⁸⁶ Pedro Lira’s Spanish translation of the treatise was published in 1869. *Filosofía del Arte por H. Taine. Lecciones dadas en la Escuela de Bellas Artes de París*. Traducida por Pedro Lira, Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Chilena, 1869.

⁸⁷ Hippolyte Taine, *Philosophie de l'art*, Paris, Baillières brothers, 1865, online at <https://archive.org/details/ls/philosophiedelar00tainuoft>. Accessed 4 March 2018.

nineteenth century France was leading in the philosophical elaboration of racial ideology, and Taine introduced it in the arts.⁸⁸

By the end of the eighteenth century the idea of distinct art schools represented by a particular nation or region was common in Europe, and its influence on art history and its contours can be felt up to this day.⁸⁹ The “labels” of French, Latin American and Chinese art, on the one hand, present the politico-ideological difficulties for the scholars, on the other hand, still slip in the academic discourse and are in a way an inevitable categorisation tool. At the end of the nineteenth century the creation and justification of the national art schools was a major preoccupation for the nation-states in all corners of the world.

The idea of school is intriguing as it supposes a certain continuity between artists and generations. The school provides a set of codes and relations that define the place of the artwork within tradition and helps to attribute a value to it. These codes present themselves as universal but at the same time they are being constantly negotiated and modified according to changing power disposition between the regions these schools represent. The French school of painting crystallised after the re-evaluation of the so-called French primitives and French Gothic. This allowed to draw a historical evolution of the French artistic genius from the “national” sources and not from the Italian Renaissance. Proust pointed at the historical pre-determination as a guarantee of French superiority:

Il semble que c'est là une question [du développement du sentiment et de la science artistiques] qui doit nous laisser indifférents et qui ne peut toucher que les étrangers, c'est-à-dire ceux qui sont assez déshérités de la nature pour n'avoir point ce goût inné que nous nous attribuons avec une générosité peut-être excessive.

It seems that this matter [development of sensitivity and artistic sciences] should leave us indifferent and that it concerns only foreigners, so to say those who are naturally disadvantaged not to have that innate taste with which we grant ourselves with generosity perhaps excessive.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ For more on race and Hippolyte Taine see Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous et les autres : la réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1992.

⁸⁹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago, University Of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 38.

⁹⁰ Proust, *L'art sous la République*, p. 61.

French art critics repeatedly asserted the dominance of the French school in the international artistic arena. Lois Marie Fink cites a critic who bluntly stated that the American school did not even exist and was a branch of the French one since all American painters studied in France.⁹¹ This is only one case, but there are more examples of the notorious French arrogance expressed on the pages of authoritative art magazines.⁹² In their turn, the critics in Latin America also recognised the superiority of France but expressed the hope that its era was ending and that Latin America would take the relay. The foundation of this hope was also in the racial belonging of the Latin Americans:

Quant à aventurer des présages sur l'avenir de l'École chilienne, nous n'en voyons guère qu'un seul que l'on puisse émettre avec fondement : nous croyons que, tant par les éléments de la race, que par la disposition du sol et le climat, l'art national s'attachera toujours plus à la beauté du coloris et au sentiment du pittoresque qu'à la perfection du dessin et la pureté de la forme.

As for venturing into predictions about the future of the Chilean School, we see only one that we can pronounce with some reliance: we believe that as much due to the elements of race, as to the quality of soil and climate, national art will always attach more to the beauty of colours and feeling of the picturesque than to the perfection of drawing and the purity of form.⁹³

Gradually, the notion of French art lost its clarity and the incorporation of foreigners in the artistic circles of Paris led to the emergence of School of Paris and to xenophobic backlash as the dark side of its international prominence. The imaginary of French art was replaced by the imaginary of Paris, a city that did not belong to any

⁹¹ Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 129.

⁹² What we call superiority or arrogance was not necessarily intended or perceived as such in the nineteenth century. Today, it rather takes a form of the “universality” observed and described by Pierre Bourdieu: “It is a nation-state established in the illusion of universality, this universality and rationality being in fact its particularity. The particularity of the French is reason; that is their subjective image, but it is not without objective foundation. Already before 1789, revolutionary work was being performed under the sign of reason, that is, the sign of universality. It is a tradition constituted by its claim to the universal, with a particular relationship to the universal, which explains the inability of French thinkers to conceive the particularity of French thinking and to free themselves from the nationalism of this supposed internationalism.” Bourdieu, *On the State*, p. 159.

⁹³ Vicente Grez, *Les beaux-arts au Chili*, Paris, Roger et F. Chernoviz, 1889, p. 77, online at <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9720.html>. Accessed 4 March 2018.

nation but to a cosmopolitan community of artists hailing from different places and continents.⁹⁴

Expositions Universelles

The World Fairs were important political and economic projects but they also provoked remarkable changes in the art world. In the nineteenth century France held five Universal Expositions: in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889 and in 1900. The idea to include the fine arts into the programme of the industrial by character exposition was born in France because it could not compete with the Great Britain in the race of industries. Another significant feature of the French World Fairs is the involvement of the State in their organisation. For instance, in the Great Britain and USA it was more an initiative of business and industrial elites, financial circles and entrepreneurs rather than state-sponsored events.⁹⁵ For the French governments these exhibitions were political projects leading to the consolidation of the nation.⁹⁶

The inclusion of the fine arts in the sphere of industrial competition could not leave the questions of creativity untouched. The founders of the Great Exhibition in 1851 paid attention to art as a means to develop the taste for beauty and simplicity among manufacturers, and in such a manner to enhance the competitiveness of their production. During the French fairs, art itself was presented as the industry. The new commercial status of painting was established not only at the shows in private galleries but also during the Expositions Universelles.

The peculiarity of the fine arts sections at the Universal Expositions in France was their retrospective and commemorative character. The decennial and centennial exhibitions celebrated the grandeur of the French school and French nation. The participants of the decennials had to be living artists selected by the members of the Académie and the Administration of Fine Arts, so the content of these exhibitions was

⁹⁴ Robert Jensen, "Why the School of Paris is not French," *Artl@s Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2013, p. 27.

⁹⁵ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1999.

⁹⁶ Florence Pinot de Villechenon, *Les expositions universelles*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France–PUF, 1992, p. 50.

quite similar to the Salons.⁹⁷ As for the centennials, the one in 1889 became a tribute to the School of Barbizon: there were more than forty pictures by Camille Corot (1796–1875), eleven by Charles-François Daubigny (1817–1878), fourteen by Jean-François Millet (1814–1875), sixteen by Théodore Rousseau (1812–1867), ten by Constant Troyon (1810–1865).⁹⁸ During this exhibition the international commercial success of these painters was finally endorsed by the State. The centennial of 1900 was a moment of glory for the impressionists who were finally and officially incorporated in the history of the French school as its highest achievement in the nineteenth century. These two expositions set the main stages of the history of French painting from Delacroix through the Barbizon school and to Impressionism.⁹⁹

The “side effect” of the World Fairs was the arrival of foreign artists and new styles in the self-centred Parisian art life. Jeffrey Auerbach noticed that, although the initial intention and ideology of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was to promote peace and internationalism, soon it became a very nationalistic event, “Nationalism and internationalism were by no means mutually exclusive; they were complementary, not contradictory.”¹⁰⁰ At the Exposition Universelle of 1855 twenty-six countries participated in the section of the fine arts. Although the number of foreign participants was much smaller than that of French, it was significant enough to cause discontent among the hosts. The vexation against foreign artists coming to Paris was quite common in Parisian art life.¹⁰¹ In fact, the competition between artists, triggered by the World Fairs and International Exhibitions, resulted in “a new homogeneity in styles that dissolved traditional national and regional stylistic identities.”¹⁰²

Needless to say that when France hosted Universal Expositions, the organising committee would distribute the best exhibition spaces in order to highlight local artists.

⁹⁷ Monnier, *L’art et ses institutions en France de la Révolution à nos jours*, p. 149.

⁹⁸ *Exposition universelle de 1889. Catalogue illustré des beaux-arts. 1789–1889*, Lille, Paris, 1889, online at <https://archive.org/details/catalogueillustr1889expo>. Accessed 4 March 2018.

⁹⁹ Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996.

¹⁰⁰ Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*.

¹⁰¹ The discontent of French painters against their foreign colleagues was so widespread that they even published a booklet about the invasion of the École by foreigners in 1886. Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*, p. 130.

¹⁰² Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, p. 32.

The other countries often had limited space for their pavilions or had to crowd in international sections. The majority of countries had their national pavilions built in the most peculiar eclectic styles, but these pavilions were mostly filled with ethnographic illustrations rather than art objects. For instance, here is a description of the Colombian section in 1889:

Dans la section colombienne, de jolis petits tableaux représentant des paysages, très curieux à examiner, en ce sens que, dans leur confectoin, les plumes multicolores des oiseaux du pays avaient remplacé les couleurs.

In the Colombian section, pretty little pictures showing landscapes, very curious to look at insofar as in their fashioning the multicoloured feathers of the birds from this country are used instead of paints.¹⁰³

These pretty pictures were exotic accessories, not actual paintings.

The painters from most Latin American countries exhibited in the International Exhibition that was organised for the artists whose countries did not have their own fine art sections. In 1899 the participation of Latin America consisted of the Brazilians Henrique Bernardelli (1857–1936) and Francisco-Franco, Venezuelans Emile Boggio (1857–1920) and Arturo Michelena (1863–1898), Argentineans Severo Rodríguez Etchart (1865–1903) and Eduardo Schiaffino (1858–1935), Alfredo Valenzuela Puelma (1856–1909) and other lesser known painters. The majority of them lived in Paris at the time of the Exposition Universelle, so French critics were eager to accentuate this fact and attribute their success to French schooling:

Le jury a décerné deux premières médailles : l'une à M. Michelena, Vénézuélien, dont la *Charlotte Corday allant à l'échafaud* n'est pas bien remarquable, pas plus que l'*Enfant malade*, mais dont la *Visite électorale* est amusante et bien française ... Parmi les tableaux qu'on remarque encore, il y a ... la *Petite rentière* de M. Édouard Sivori, peintre argentin, qui demeure, du reste, à Paris ; le *Repos*, femme nue couchée, peinte sur une étoffe bleu foncé, par M. Schiaffino, autre Argentin, qui semble avoir oublié qu'il est élève de Puvis de Chavannes.

¹⁰³ Émile Monod, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889 : grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, descriptif*, vol. 3, Paris, E. Dentu, 1890, p. 2, online at <https://archive.org/details/lexpositionunive03mono>. Accessed 24 November 2017.

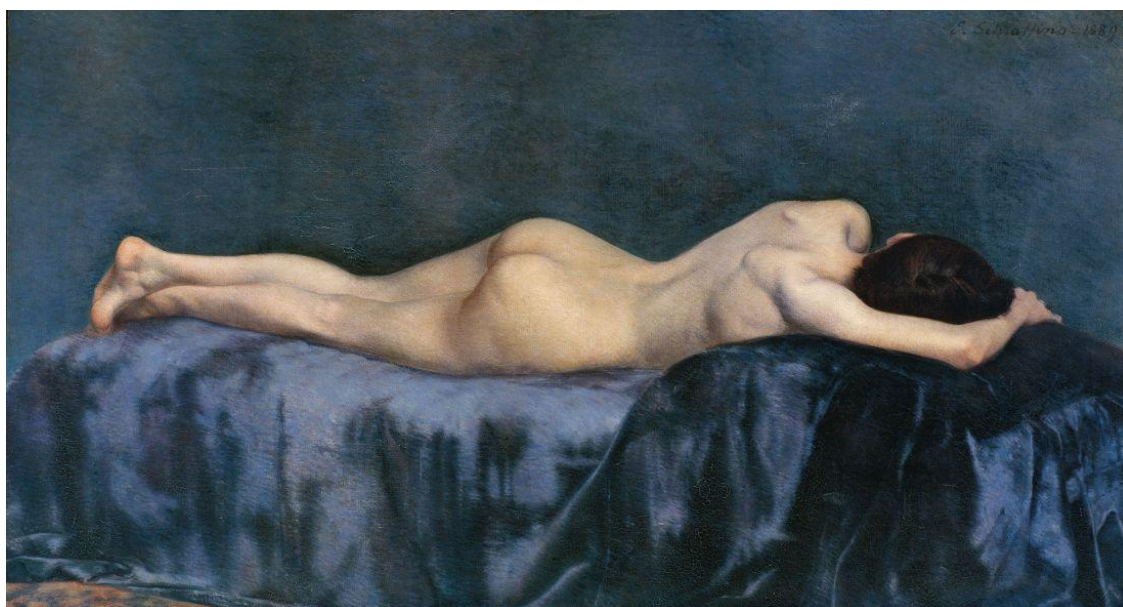


Figure 2. Eduardo Schiaffino, *Reposo*, 1889, oil on canvas, 109 x 200 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Image: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires.

The jury attributed two first medals: one to Michelena, a Venezuelan painter, whose *Charlotte Corday allant à l'échafaud* is not very remarkable, not more so than *Enfant malade*, but whose *Visite électorale* is amusing and quite French ... Among the paintings that we also notice there are ... the *Petite rentière* by Eduardo Sívori, Argentinean painter, who by the way lives in Paris; the *Repos*, a reclining nude woman, painted on the dark blue cloth by Schiaffino, another Argentinean, who seems to have forgotten that he is a student of Puvis de Chavannes.¹⁰⁴ [Figure 2]

In fact, the critical reviews of the works by Latin American painters were very rare on the pages of French magazines and newspapers. The only awarded artists could hope to attract the attention of critics who would still try to underline that French art was better and more mature even when they wrote about non-French art.

The art market and foreign artists in Paris

Most scholars agree that the official academic system exploded under the Third Republic and that from the 1870s the art market was gaining more weight.¹⁰⁵ The shows in private galleries, auctions and international exhibitions opened up contemporary French painting to rich collectors from all over the world. Enthusiasm and marketing strategies used by such dealers as Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922) and Georges Petit (1856–1920) advanced painting selling to the level of a sophisticated business affair. From the end of the nineteenth century, apart from being a matter of reputation and leisure, the art consumption was turning into investment. In comparison with previous epochs when the relations between a patron and an artist had social significance for both, now it was more of a business deal enhancing inequality between the two.¹⁰⁶

The development of the art market and the opening of new exhibition venues gave artists more opportunities for building their careers outside of official institutions. When the Salon seized to be the only marketplace for contemporary art, the role of

¹⁰⁴ *L'Exposition chez soi 1889*, Paris, Boulanger, 1889, pp. 926-927, online at <https://archive.org/details/lexpositionchezs02expo>. Accessed 24 November 2017.

¹⁰⁵ Martin-Fugier, *La vie d'artiste au XIXe siècle*; Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993; Raymonde Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*, Paris, Flammarion, 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Rachel Cohen, "Gold, Golden, Gilded, Glittering," *The Believer*, November / December 2012, online at http://www.believermag.com/issues/201211/?read=article_cohen. Accessed 21 October 2013.

market and the involvement of artists in search of clients in France and abroad augmented. The State, the market and even the Academy, as a representation of a certain group of artists, used to put pressure and intervene in the life and work of artists, although the mechanisms and goals of these interventions were very different.

Since the moment of its publication the analysis of the critic-dealer system by Harrison and Cynthia White who showed how art galleries replaced the Salon as the primary marketplace for contemporary art has gained an army of supporters but also a significant critique.¹⁰⁷ One of the recent revisions of the White's hypothesis by David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen suggests that the official Salon was replaced not by the dealer-led galleries, but by the Salons organised and maintained by the artists themselves.¹⁰⁸ In the nineteenth century the passage through the Salon acceptance was mandatory for any painter willing to find the patronage of dealers. Despite the growing number of galleries and private shows, they were closed to the newcomers. French artists and foreigners at the beginning of their careers would receive invitations to private exhibitions only if they were successful at the Salon.¹⁰⁹ The dealers responded to the situation in the official exhibitions and built their businesses on the painters whose reputations were already in place. It explains the persistence of many painters in their attempts to get in the Salon despite adverse criticism of its mediocrity and commercialisation. The success in the Salon guaranteed some advancement of the career and it still was a reference in terms of artistic innovation: "and also I don't at all disdain seeing the Salon, in which it seems to me that there'll be interesting things all the same, although having read *Le Figaro's* account, indeed it leaves me more or less cold."¹¹⁰

The impact of foreigners on the development of the international art market was remarkable. On the one hand, they were a threat in the eyes of Parisian artistic community, on the other hand, they spread the prestige of Paris and often helped to

¹⁰⁷ White and White, *Canvases and Careers*.

¹⁰⁸ David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, *Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in the Nineteenth Century*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 9123, August 2002, p. 32, online at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9123>. Accessed 18 February 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, p. 72.

¹¹⁰ "870, Vincent van Gogh to Theo van Gogh, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 11 May 1890," *Van Gogh Letters*, <http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let870/letter.html>. Accessed 21 September 2017.

form new clienteles abroad. Moreover, the rich collectors from abroad (mostly from the USA) with large amount of cash boosted the art market in France.¹¹¹ After the industrial revolution new buyers of art were not aristocracy but merchants, industrialists and bankers. While France was suffering from the severe economic and financial crises, or later invested in industries and banking, the Americans were spending important sums on buying up French painting. Latin American collectors were not as active as North Americans, but they contributed to the artistic development of their respective countries through their collecting habits. In France it was the State that formed the national collections, in the Americas they were originated mostly by private collectors and only later “nationalised”.

¹¹¹ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760–1960*, vol. 2, London, Barrie and Rockliff, 1961.

CHAPTER 2.
**Specificities of the art system and art
institutions in Latin America**

Resumiendo: la nación imperialista necesita imponer su cultura para consolidar su dominio (y aún para hacer meramente posible la administración colonial), pero al hacerlo suministra a la nación colonizada los instrumentos para su emancipación ... Por lo tanto: 1) al “europeizarnos” (exactamente, al galoanglizarnos) nuestros iluministas, nuestros románticos y nuestros positivistas no nos hicieron renunciar a una cultura más valiosa o con capacidades internas de evolución fecunda; 2) Esta “europeización” nos dió el impulso para crearnos una cultura con caracteres personales dentro de la cultura europea.

To sum up: the imperialist nation needs to impose its culture to consolidate its domination (and even simply to make colonial administration possible) but by doing so it provides the colonised nation with the instruments of its liberation ... Therefore: 1) By “Europeanising ourselves” (specifically, by gallo-anglicizing) our illuminists, our romantics and our positivists did not make us renounce a culture that was more valuable or which could had internal capacities for promising evolution; 2) This “Europeanisation” gave us the impulse to create a culture with our own characteristics within European culture.

Ramon Alcalde, “Imperialismo, Cultura y Literatura Nacional”¹¹²

Crossing the ocean and travelling from Latin America to France and backwards requires some plasticity of mind. Comparing these two entities is even more delicate operation that, nevertheless, is important, if we want to reconstruct the lives and oeuvres of the painters who undertook these long journeys in the nineteenth century. Acknowledging the impossibility to draw a complete picture, I would like to focus on certain aspects in the genesis and functioning of the art system in the Latin American countries from which the protagonists of this research travelled to Paris.

¹¹² Ramon Alcalde, “Imperialismo, cultura y literatura nacional,” *Contorno*, vol. 5–6, 1955. Quoted in *Contorno: edición facsimilar*, Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional, 2007. pp. 118-119.

A brief overview of the historical context

Latin America is a complex cultural entity, which occupies a vast geographical territory and is characterised by great heterogeneity in terms of historical, ethnic, social, economic and political structures. However, the temptation to talk of these territories as something having a common denominator is very strong. What allows us to do this is the shared by many countries experience of European meddling and dependency prevailing on the continent even after the independence wars. In the nineteenth century both, Latin America and France, went through wars and changes of the political regimes, economic and financial crises. They witnessed growth of democratic institutions and spreading of liberal thought, rise of the national and nationalist sentiment, consolidation of nation-states. These processes were common for the pan-European world of the nineteenth century.¹¹³ Neither the history of Europe, nor Latin America can be adequately addressed separately from each other, but it is possible to tell the history of France with little regard for its colonies, while French colonialism determines the histories of the latter.

Transformations in politics, economies, industries, and social structures in Latin American countries reflect the positions the new states negotiated for themselves within the global power structure. During the nineteenth century Latin America attempted to transition from the colonial system to European-style modernity. Administrative and economic structures inherited from the colonial rule were replaced by the new system, which, nevertheless, had an imprint of the colonial past and gave a particular bent to the modernity on the American continent.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ The world-system theory's premises could be also used for the research in art history as they permit to see the art system as a continuous complex whole. Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2004.

¹¹⁴ The notion of coloniality of power developed by Quijano as well as extensive work by Mignolo, among others, note that the end of colonialism in the first decades of the nineteenth century did not end the power structure of coloniality. See Palermo and Quintero (eds.), *Aníbal Quijano. Textos de Fundación* and Walter D. Mignolo, "Coloniality of Power and Subalternity" in Ileana Rodríguez and María Milagros López (eds.), *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2001, pp. 224-244.

The independence wars in Latin America were mainly over by 1830, and the political instability became one of the main features of life in new sovereign states for decades after that date. The governments changed one for another, the wars between new states were frequent, and the meddling of Europe and North America was permanent. Disputes over national borders, relations with the Church, administrative construction and the very nature of these states were not resolved or defined until the mid-century or even later.¹¹⁵ Despite the direction towards “liberation” from colonialism, the political projects and ideas behind the desired reformation originated in Europe, and liberalism was adopted as a model by political thinkers and philosophers in Latin America.¹¹⁶ However, the ideals of French Enlightenment and British economic and political thought turned into “ideological simulation” in the new context and in practice supported inequality and oligarchy.¹¹⁷ In the end the weakness of the ideological apparatus and the shallowness of the social and political changes left much of the colonial frame in place, so the struggle for the systemic transformation was fitful and slow.

The peculiarity of Latin American revolutions that determined social and political contexts in these countries was that they were led by the rich Creole elites. Creoles were torn between the will to break the oppressive power of the colonial rule and desire to retain their high social status. In the majority of Latin American countries liberation became a way for the oligarchy to monopolise the ruins of the colonial system.¹¹⁸ At the same time they had to redefine themselves both in relation to Europe and local indigenous populations.¹¹⁹ Latin American elites had an ambiguous attitude towards Europe: on the one hand, they would oppose the ruling Spaniards in their fight for liberation, on the other hand, they would insist on their own belonging to the European

¹¹⁵ Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 20-22.

¹¹⁶ On liberalism and its global spread see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789–1914*, Berkley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2011.

¹¹⁷ Pierre Vayssière, *L'Amérique latine de 1890 à nos jours*, Paris, Hachette, 2006, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ Pierre Riado, *L'Amérique latine de 1870 à nos jours*, Paris, MASSON, 1980, p. 22.

¹¹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, London, New York, Routledge, 1992, p. 110.

culture in spite of being born on the American continent.¹²⁰ The attitude towards the indigenous population was also contradictory: the national projects in most of the countries created the trope of an indigenous hero as a celebration of authenticity and freedom in face of colonial domination, while the real non-heroic indigenous populations suffered from physical extermination.¹²¹ The rural, indigenous, *mestizo*, and black populations were excluded from the politico-social life on the whole.¹²²

The economies of the new states relied on agro- and primary sources exports and depended on the import of technologies from Europe. After the collapse of the colonial system, the capitalist economic model was introduced all over the continent, and foreign capital flooded into the Americas. In the second half of the nineteenth century Latin America experienced a remarkable economic growth accompanied by a significant improvement in standard of living, building of railways, development of communications, urban development, expansion of mining industries and agriculture, boost in cultural and literary production. However, a strong presence of European powers turned the modernisation of the local economies into their adaptation to the needs of Europeans.¹²³

By the beginning of the 1880s Argentina managed to position itself as the strongest country in South America, economically and politically. It was well-integrated into the global capitalist and financial system, and the nation-state was being

¹²⁰ The attitude towards Spain had changed during the century from the hatred, characteristic for the time of independence wars, to the recognition of its role as *Madre Patria* by the turn of the twentieth century. The new Spanish-American relations were promoted at the exhibitions celebrating the centenary of Independence in 1910. M. Elizabeth Boone, “‘A renewal of the fraternal relations that shared blood and history demand’: Latin American Painting, Spanish Exhibitions and Public Display at the 1910 Independence Celebrations in Argentina, Chile and Mexico,” *RACAR: revue d’art canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2013, pp. 90-108.

¹²¹ The indigenous was at once heroic and primitive. This symbolic contradiction echoed in the projects of unity and harmonious coexistence of the races popular in the second half of the nineteenth century but remaining mostly hypothetical. On the figure of the indigenous in Chile, see Josefina de la Maza Chevesich, “Por un arte nacional. Pintura y esfera pública en el siglo XIX chileno” in Rafael Sagredo Baeza (ed.), *Ciencia-Mundo: orden republicano, arte y nación en América*, Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 2010, pp. 279-319. More on the Brazilian concept of “three races” in Jorge Coli, “Fabrique et promotion de la brésilianité : art et enjeux nationaux,” *Perspective*, no. 2, 2013, pp. 213-223.

¹²² Charles Lancha, *Histoire de l’Amérique hispanique de Bolívar à nos jours*, Paris, l’Harmattan, 2003, p. 62.

¹²³ Leonor Berna, *Historia económica y social del Uruguay: 1870–2000*, Montevideo, Santillana, 2015, p. 131.

framed in relation to the successful but devastating for indigenous population campaign of the Conquest of the Desert (1878–1885).¹²⁴ At the same time Brazil, the biggest country on the continent and a traditional rival of Argentina in a fight for the domination in the region, was slowed down by its own imperial past and slavery abolished only in 1888. The foundation of the first Republican Party in the 1870s and movement for the abolition of slavery formed in Brazil a necessary environment for the development of intellectual life and the arts. The young elites known as *geração de 70* in Brazil and similar *generaciónes del 80* in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay would take part in the development of new models and modes of life, boosting industrialisation and modernisation inspired by the examples of Europe and especially North America and consolidation of national identity.¹²⁵ Most representatives of these “generations” would praise and adopt European arts, fashions, lifestyle, mostly in French version, as a way to modernisation.¹²⁶ Europe was brought to the Americas in the form of luxury goods and philosophy, manners and habits, and in the second half of the century in thousands of immigrations arriving on the ships from the Old World.

The European immigration was a major factor in social transformation in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. The vast territories of the newly formed states were underpopulated, so the local governments implemented policies of open immigration for Europeans to settle there, contribute to the “whitening” of local populations, and improve racial and moral progress.¹²⁷ Mostly, they hoped to attract “Anglo-Saxons or Germans who were admired for their industry and sense of civic responsibility.”¹²⁸ The project of racial engineering of *branqueamento* was especially important for Brazil, a country with a massive presence of African slaves and their descendants.¹²⁹ Argentina has a reputation of the most “white” country in South America but it was not strange to

¹²⁴ Mirta Zaida Lobato (ed.), *Nueva Historia Argentina: el progreso, la modernización y sus límites (1880–1916)*, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2000, p. 19.

¹²⁵ Nicolau Sevcenko and Fernando A. Novais (eds.), *História da vida privada no Brasil. República: da Belle Époque à Era do Rádio*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1998, pp. 14-15; *Pintura Argentina. Generación del 80*, Buenos Aires, Banco Velox, 2001; Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile*, Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 1997.

¹²⁶ Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile*, p. 102.

¹²⁷ Lancha, *Histoire de l'Amérique hispanique de Bolívar à nos jours*, p. 100.

¹²⁸ Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, pp. 138-139.

¹²⁹ Thomas E. Skidmore, *Uma história do Brasil*, São Paulo, Paz e terra, 2000, pp. 110-112.

racial construction: while Brazilian intellectuals were obsessed with the idea of whitening, Argentina's social improvement ideology was based on the works of the Italian criminologists Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) and Enrico Ferri (1856–1929).¹³⁰ The particular status of immigrants was usually defended by the governments of their home countries which continued treating them as their citizens and even tried to put pressure on local authorities in regard of their protection.¹³¹ In Brazil European immigrants often formed colonies and preserved the habits and customs brought from Europe for many decades.¹³² The French were not the most numerous group of immigrants from the old continent but alongside the enduring Francophilia among Americans they contributed to the strengthening of an imaginary of France in Latin America. The condition and status of the newcomers in the countries that received the majority of immigrants (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay) was more or less secure: they were settling in cities and towns, employed in crafts, trade and liberal professions; many of them were representatives of the petite bourgeoisie and artisans (architects, jurists, engravers, photographers and printers).¹³³

The creation of Latin American nation-states is considered to be mainly accomplished by the 1880s, although the very validity of this concept in relation to these complex states is arguable.¹³⁴ From the beginning of the independence wars the idea of the nation acquired a specific dimension in Latin American context. The specificities of the administrative division inherited from the eighteenth century, insurmountable barriers between the so-called *peninsulares* and Creoles, shared language and diversification of print production resulted in the development of the national consciousness that would contain a pan-American attitude alongside regional

¹³⁰ Fernando Devoto and Boris Fausto, *Argentina-Brasil. 1850–2000*, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2008, p. 158.

¹³¹ Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 4, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 103.

¹³² Bartholomé Bennassar and Richard Marin, *Histoire du Brésil*, Paris, Fayard, 2014, p. 355. The case of Germans in Brazil is mostly notorious due to the post-World War II migration of Nazis to Latin America.

¹³³ Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les européens en Argentine. Immigration de masse et destins individuels (1850–1950)*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2011, p. 79; Hugo Achugar and Mabel Moraña, *Uruguay: imaginarios culturales*, Montevideo, Editorial Trilce, 2000, p. 29.

¹³⁴ Lilia Ana Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: la construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007, p. 57.

orientations.¹³⁵ The idea of the common American identity had different realisations in the eyes of the *libertadores*: *América* for José María Morelos (1765–1815), *América Meridional* for Simon Bolívar (1783–1830), or *América del Sur* for José de San Martín (1778–1850).¹³⁶ The main principle behind the idea of America and American citizen offered by the ideologists of the independence period suggested to abolish the social hierarchies of the colonial epoch and exclude the European-born Spaniards from the power.¹³⁷ Later in the nineteenth century the accent on the “hispanoamericanism” was also used to tackle the challenges brought by the European immigration and widening gap between South and North Americas.¹³⁸ The noble idea of citizenship for everyone who was born in the Americas (including Indians, people of African descent and mixed-race people) as opposed to non-natives (mainly Spaniards and Portuguese) was among the most cherished propositions by Latin American intellectuals. Although such cultural nativism was still palpable in the political thought and arts throughout the nineteenth century, it remained only theoretical.¹³⁹

According to Mignolo, the very idea of Latin America derives from the exclusionary by its nature notion of *latinidad* – a concept used to define the identity of the Creole elites and the European immigrants who arrived to the continent in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ This *latinidad* was also an important element of the artistic debate on the continent. In the international competition of artistic races Latin Americans insisted on their belonging to the “Latin race” that was to assure their prosperity in the future. The Creole elites saw themselves as descendants of Europeans, and since the fine arts was another domain of European domination, they were expecting to inherit the leading position of France in this sphere:

¹³⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London, New York, Verso, 2006.

¹³⁶ Rafael Rojas, “Traductores de la libertad: al americanismo de los primeros republicanos” in Carlos Altamirano (ed.), *Historia de los intelectuales en América latina*, Madrid, Katz Editores, 2008, pp. 208–209.

¹³⁷ John Charles Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America’s Struggle for Independence*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

¹³⁸ Oscar Terán, “El pensamiento finisecular (1880–1916)” in Mirta Zaida Lobato (ed.), *Nueva Historia Argentina: el progreso, la modernización y sus límites (1880–1916)*, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2000, pp. 337–338.

¹³⁹ John Charles Chasteen, “Rediscovering the Excitement of Political History in Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” *Luso-Brazilian Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2000.

¹⁴⁰ Mignolo, *La idea de América Latina*, p. 112.

Esperemos que de aquí a allá la civilización sudamericana se halle bien preparada ... para recoger la herencia artística de la vieja Europa. No olvidemos que especialmente la pintura y la escultura están habituadas a acordar sus favores a los latinos.

Let's hope that from now on south-American civilization will be well prepared ... to accede to the artistic inheritance of the Old Europe. Let's not forget that painting and sculpture are used to bestowing their favours to Latinos.¹⁴¹

The racial component allowed the ideologists of the national art schools in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil to adhere to the great tradition of European art in the situation of the virtual absence of the local tradition of high art. These projects were supposed to connect the colonial past of the young art schools with their uncertain present and to put bridges between Latin American and dominating in the global imaginary European art.

¹⁴¹ Eduardo Schiaffino, "El estudio del arte en París II," *El Diario*, 11 April 1885. Quoted in Laura Malosetti Costa, *Cuadros de viaje: artistas argentinos en Europa y Estados Unidos 1880–1910*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008, p. 174.

Art system in Latin America

The possibility of an independent artistic expression is in a great measure conditioned by the institutional structure. The logic of innovation in modern art does not differ much from the contemporary tech sector: the innovation happens under the condition of abundance of resources and afterwards is spread to less fortunate areas. In the nineteenth century Latin American countries worked on the creation of the infrastructure and institutional context in which modernism could appear and survive. The effort was manifold and was exercised by many agents: governments, local intellectuals and elites maintaining contact with Europe, European artists travelling around the continent and filling the vacant positions in the burgeoning art system, and first Latin American artists opening workshops, exhibitions, museums in the capital cities. The institutionalisation and professionalisation of the arts in Latin America was slow, inconsistent and often contradictory. Moreover, it very much dependent on the European experience and interference. Usually, the newly founded art institutions reflected the Eurocentrist vision of its creators and promoted the neo-classical ideals of European academies.

The involvement of the French State in the artistic affairs can be better comprehended in the comparative perspective provided by Latin American countries. Looking at these two worlds simultaneously, we can notice the limits of the non-intervention policy and see that the “fact” that the Third Republic transmitted the management of the art world to artists can be interpreted very differently depending on the point of reference we chose. Seeing the work done by Latin American artists for the establishment of the art institutions in their countries, it would be impossible not to admit that the financial and ideological support of the government has a major impact on the opportunities available to artists of all styles and aesthetic preferences.

I do not intend to state that the technique of Claude Monet (1840–1926) or the style of Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) depended anyhow on the decisions of the Administration of the Fine Arts, but I would like to point out that thanks to the official support that the art system enjoyed in France, they could become painters, receive professional education and look for inspiration at the exhibitions and museums funded

and maintained by the State. It is easier to innovate and fight for the liberty of expression in the place where the notion of the art and the profession of the artist are acknowledged, rather than in a place where artists first have to make their profession a socially accepted option and institutionalise their private aspirations for creative work.

Intercontinental artistic migration

In the nineteenth century Europeans were at the heart of the art world in Latin America. They came to work and travel on their own initiative, like the German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858) and the French Raymond Quinsac Monvoisin (1790–1870), Manet and Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), or they were invited by the national governments to lead art schools opening on the continent. For instance, the Italian painter Alessandro Cicarelli (1811–1879) and the German Ernesto Kirchbach (1831–1876) were the heads of the Art Academy in Chile; the French Mission was brought to Brazil in 1816 in order to found the Academy of Fine Arts; the Spaniards were appointed to the highest positions in the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico City.¹⁴² Thanks to the absence of competition European painters would easily find clients for portraiture and decorative projects and architects – commissions for the construction of aristocratic mansions and government buildings. They not only brought the European fine arts to the Americas but also brought the Americas back to Europe in their drawings, engravings and memoirs.

The genre of *costumbrismo*, which initially was an expression of the European gaze, became a basis for long-term identitarian pursuits in many Latin American countries.¹⁴³ It has its origins in the colonial creative practice, but gained a new impulse after the arrival of Alexandre von Humboldt (1769–1859) and Rugendas whose work

¹⁴² For the stories of “precursores” see José Pedro Argul, *Las artes plásticas del Uruguay*, Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos S. A., 1966; Luis Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1928; María Lía Munilla Lacasa, “Siglo XIX: 1810–18170” in José Emilio Burucúa (ed.), *Nueva Historia Argentina: arte, sociedad y política*, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 1999, pp. 105-160.

¹⁴³ Josefina De la Maza, Juan Ricardo Rey Márquez, Catalina Valdés and Carolina Vanegas Carrasco, “Art Collectors in Network and Identity Narratives: Contributions to a Cartography of the Genre of Types and Costumes in South America,” *Artl@s Bulletin*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2016, pp. 62-71.



Figure 3. Juan Mauricio Rugendas, *El huaso y la lavandera*, ca. 1835, oil on canvas, 30 x 23 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

laid foundations for the landscape painting in Latin America.¹⁴⁴ [Figure 3] Together with many lesser-known European painters, they contributed to the unification of the European-taught pictorial language with the subject-matters taken from the local context. These pictures and drawings, seen as minor genres, were rather curiosities for the audiences in Europe, but for Latin Americans they were the first independent achievements in the arts. *Costumbrismo* and romantic landscape provided an alternative to the official academism and by the end of the century became a genre expressing the national idea.¹⁴⁵

Latin American artists also used to go to Europe to study, and see famous collections and exhibitions. For those who wanted a professional career in art the voyage to Europe was almost an obligation. It was a sort of endorsement of their professional status. Some of these sojourns were financed by governmental grants, but there were much more artists who had to fund their own travels. There were a few poles of attraction for Americans in Europe. Initially, the vast majority of them would go to Italy and Spain. Italy was the choice for the artists who cherished the classical tradition and opted for the career of a professor; Spain was the most obvious choice due to its historical ties with Latin America and due to the facility with which Latin Americans could integrate in its society. At the end of the century Barcelona and Madrid were very common destinations for Spanish-speaking painters, but many of them after a “Spanish” period headed to other countries. In the meantime, Spanish dealers and artists would go to Latin America and contributed to the advancement of the art market in these new territories. Modern Spanish painters enjoyed great success among American collectors, and the names of such artists as Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945), Julio Romero de Torres (1874–1930), Joaquín Sorolla (1863–1923), Hermen Anglada Camarasa (1871–1959) and Ramón de Zubiaurre (1882–1969) were frequent at the first international exhibitions in Argentina, Chile and Mexico.

¹⁴⁴ Lucile Magnin sees the American works by Rugendas as innovative in comparison with his European ones. Having to depict the subjects and realities that did not have analogues in Europe and do it fast, usually outdoors, the painter had to change his style and technique. Thus, Rugendas was one of the first painters to work *en plein air* by necessity. Lucile Magnin, “Les peintures de paysages de Johann Moritz Rugendas : un exemple de transferts artistiques entre Europe et Amérique latine au XIX^e siècle,” *Artl@s Bulletin*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2016, pp. 24-37.

¹⁴⁵ Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales and Ramón Gutiérrez, *Pintura, escultura y fotografía en Iberoamérica: siglos XIX y XX*, Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 1997, p. 29.

The preferences for certain artistic centres vary in different countries. For instance, the majority of Uruguayan artists choosing between Italy and France would go mainly to Italy in search of classical tradition. French modern movements were perceived in this rather conservative country as an expression of the crisis of values that could cause harm to the development of the arts.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, each painter had to consider carefully whether to select a secure path and go to a distinguished Italian Academy or take a certain risk joining a studio of a famous Parisian painter. Argentineans would more and more often pick Paris, although Italy was still very attractive destination among young painters.¹⁴⁷ France was an option for those who wanted to break with the classical tradition, and the Parisian voyage was an artistic gesture in itself. It was a declaration of modern aspirations and hopes of the artist.

As for the most pro-French country in Latin America – Chile – it paid tribute to both Italy and France. From the middle of the century the Chilean government invited Italians to lead the Art Academy, but the majority of its graduates went to Paris after completing the course in Santiago. Pedro Lira was a remarkable figure on the artistic scene of Santiago de Chile, and his influence among the younger generations was immense. As teacher and entrepreneur, he played a significant role in the consolidation of the prestige of Paris, and his Francophilia was caught up by his students. [Figure 4] In his numerous projects moving forward the arts in Chile he usually relied on the experience and knowledge he had acquired in Paris during his privately-funded voyages:

Ha viajado, ha residido en París, y allí ha conocido a los artistas famosos. Ha asistido al entierro de Manet y ha visto la llegada de una nueva generación: la de Gauguin, Seurat y Van Gogh, cuya norma es la oposición al impresionismo. Puede evocar a los viejos maestros, cuyo hálito ha percibido: a Delacroix, Daumier, Ingres, Millet, Corot, Courbet... Pedro Lira traía, pues, un mundo de leyenda casi inalcanzable.

He went to Paris, he lived there and he met famous artists there. He went to the funeral of Manet and saw the arrival of the new generation: the generation of Gauguin, Seurat and Van Gogh, who opposed Impressionism.

¹⁴⁶ Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2008, p. 50.

¹⁴⁷ Laura Malosetti Costa, “Palabras y gestos para una modernidad. La crítica de arte en la década de 1880 en Buenos Aires” in *Desde la otra vereda. Momentos en el debate por un arte moderno en la Argentina (1880–1960)*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones del Jilguero, 1998, p. 28.

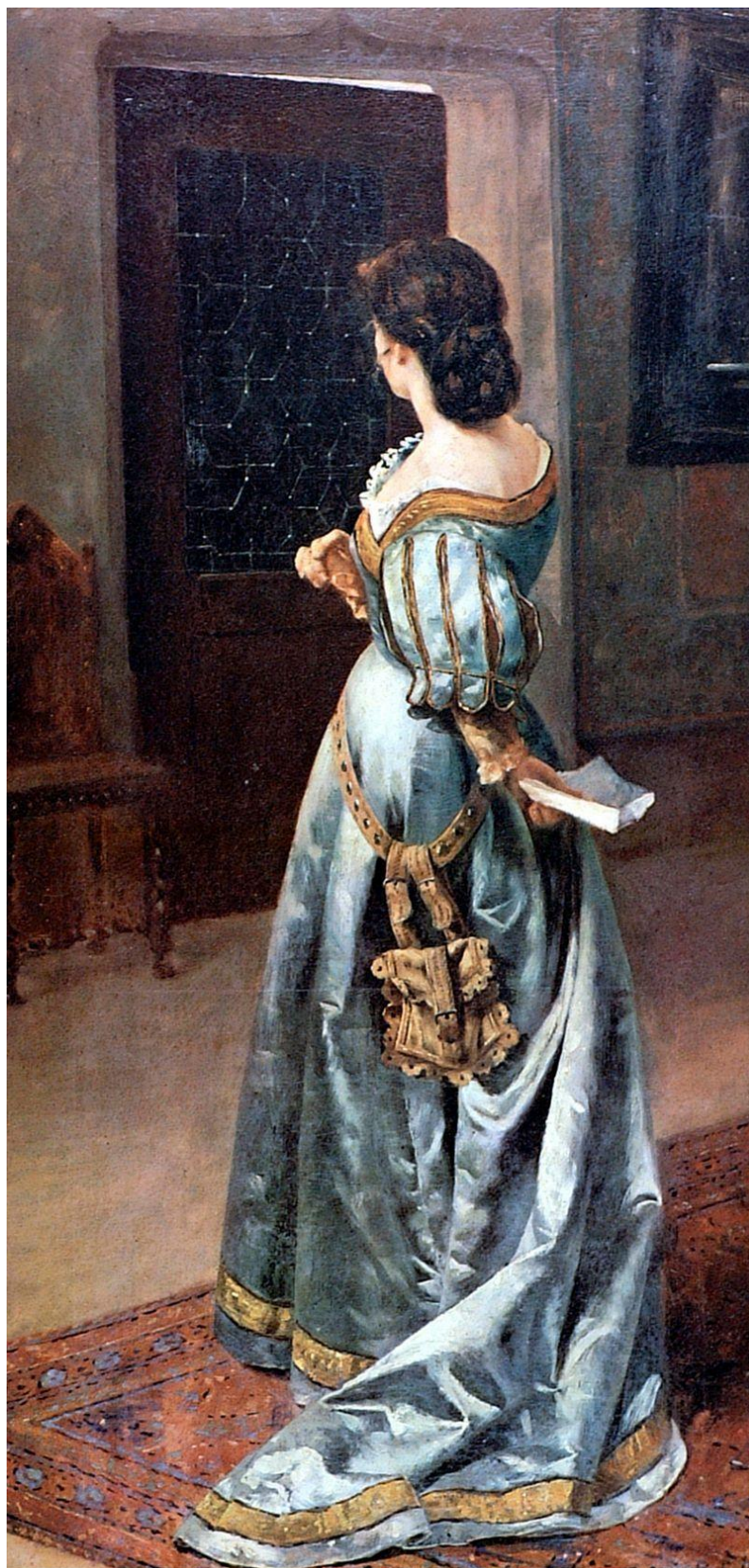


Figure 4. Pedro Lira, *La carta de amor*, 1885–1890, oil on canvas, 116 x 58 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Books and Arts Tumblr.

He could evoke the old masters whose breath he knew well: Delacroix, Daumier, Ingres, Millet, Corot, Courbet ... Pedro Lira brought with him a legendary world almost unattainable.¹⁴⁸

Since the colonial epoch Brazilian artists chose between Portugal, Italy and France. If in the eighteenth century many of them went to Portugal, the artists of the Imperial Brazil would usually choose Italy or France. After the arrival of the French Mission to Rio de Janeiro and after the establishment of the state-sponsored grants for European travels in 1845 the majority of scholarship holders went to Paris.¹⁴⁹

Scholars note the profound effect of these travels on the situation in Latin America as the artists would bring from Europe not only new paintings and sculptures, but also changes, new ideas and styles to their home countries.¹⁵⁰ However, it would be naive to expect a revolution from the graduates of the Italian academies or Parisian workshops of William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905) or Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889). On the contrary, very often the returnees were either unfamiliar or unwilling to follow the most radical European artistic tendencies and continued preaching the rules of academic art. On the one hand, there were no audiences and clients for unfamiliar styles, while the market for conventional portraits was booming.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, although European trips provided opportunities for learning and research, they did not guarantee that the artists would use them and jump into radical experimentation. The modernisation of the arts in the New World had its own pace and peculiarities: instead of emulation, it developed in parallel to processes in Europe.

¹⁴⁸ Antonio R. Romera, *Historia de la pintura chilena*, Santiago de Chile, Zig-Zag, 1968, p. 73.

¹⁴⁹ Ana Maria Tavares Cavalcanti, “Les artistes brésiliens et ‘Les prix de voyage en Europe’ à la fin du XIXe siècle : vision d’ensemble et étude approfondie sur le peintre Eliseu d’Angelo Visconti (1866–1944),” PhD thesis, Université Paris I, 1999, p. 33.

¹⁵⁰ Damian Bayon and Roberto Pontual, *La peinture de l’Amérique latine au XXe siècle*, Paris, Mengès, 1990, p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Ramon Gutiérrez and Rodrigo Gutierrez Viñuales, *Historia del arte Iberoamericano*, Madrid, Barcelona, Lunwerg Editores, 2000, p. 210.

Education and professionalisation of arts

The first and only art academy in the colonial Americas was opened in Mexico City in 1781 – the Real Academia de San Carlos de la Nueva España. Its “mother institution”, the Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, opposed the opening of the academy in colonies in fear of losing influence in the new market.¹⁵² The other vice-royalties did not have academies, although drawing and technical schools existed in the majority of big cities in Latin America from the end of the eighteenth century: the Academia de San Luis opened in 1797 in Santiago de Chile, Escuela de Geometría, Arquitectura, Perspectiva y de Toda Clase de Dibujo opened in Buenos Aires in 1799. There were also private workshops led by the European painters who lived and travelled around the continent, for instance, the Escuela de José del Pozo in Lima, active since 1793.¹⁵³ After the end of independence wars many countries devoted some of the reconstruction efforts to the arts, in particular to the development of artistic education. The first drawing schools in the independent Latin American states had a technical orientation and prepared architects and craftsmen, not professional artists.

Brazil was a pioneer in the establishment of the professional artistic institutions on the continent. The transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro in 1815 generated a range of initiatives in the artistic sector as well. The arrival of the Missão Artística Francesa in 1816 marked the moment of the institutionalisation of the fine arts in Brazil, and the fact that it happened in a form of transplantation of the European models should not be ignored.¹⁵⁴ The Academia Imperial de Belas Artes opened in Rio de Janeiro in 1826: its educational principles united the classical aesthetics of Italian academies and the structures and methodologies borrowed from the French Academy. However, the entrenchment of the classical ideal was not easy in the postcolonial

¹⁵² The Spaniards appointed professors, sent didactic materials and evaluated the works of graduate students at the end of the teaching cycle. Santiago Londoño Vélez, *Pintura en América Hispana*, vol. 2, Bogotá, Luna Libros, Editorial Universidad des Rosario, 2012, p. 11-12.

¹⁵³ Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, “Academias y academicismos en Lima decimonónica,” *Tiempos de América*, no. 11, 2004, p. 79.

¹⁵⁴ Elaine Dias, “D’abord peindre le prince : les conflits de Jean-Baptiste Debret et Nicolas-Antoine Taunay à la cour de Rio de Janeiro,” *Brésil(s)*, vol. 10, 2016, online at <http://journals.openedition.org/bresils/1992>. Accessed 1 December 2017.

Brazil, and during its first decades the Academy experienced many conflicts, lack of consistent policies and insufficient funding.¹⁵⁵ The old academies of Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City were at once the most prestigious but also the strictest in terms of imposing classicist aesthetics. The rigorous application of the classicist methods made these schools objects of criticism within the artistic communities of these countries.¹⁵⁶

In 1890 the Academy went through the reforms that reflected the political transformations in Brazil. As a result the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes became the republican Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. These reforms did not go smooth, and the strife between *modernos* defending the principles of outdoor painting and fighting for the restoration of the suspended travel grant programme and *positivistas* claiming for the radical reorganisation of the school in order to fight its elitism did not leave anyone untouched. At the end the *modernos* won the battle and proceeded with the reformation of the institution.¹⁵⁷

In Argentina the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes opened in 1905. Such relatively belated foundation of the academy owes to the lack of official support and governmental interest in the artistic matters of the country.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the basis for the Academy was a private artist-run school. This school was a creation of the Sociedad Estímulo de Bellas Artes founded in 1876 by a group of painters and writers, some of whom were immigrants from Europe. This society was a first modernist initiative in Buenos Aires and used to define the artistic climate of the city during several decades. The key figures of the society were: the painters Eduardo Sívori (1847–1918) and Schiaffino, journalist Carlos Gutiérrez, men of commerce Alfredo Paris (1846–1908)

¹⁵⁵ Elaine Dias, “La difficile réception de la tradition académique française au Brésil,” *Figura*, no. 2, 2014, online at http://www.figura.art.br/2014_13_dias.html. Accessed 5 March 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America. The Modern Era, 1820–1980*, London, The South Bank Centre, 1989, p. 59.

¹⁵⁷ More on the reform see Ana Maria Tavares Cavalcanti, “Os embates no meio artístico carioca em 1890 – antecedentes da reforma da Academia das Belas Artes,” *19&20*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2007, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/criticas/embate_1890.htm. Accessed 5 March 2018; Rafael Cardoso, “Intimidade e reflexão: repensando a década de 1890” in *Oitocentos – Arte Brasileira do Império à Primeira República*, Rio de Janeiro, EBA-UFRJ / Dezenovevinte, 2008, pp. 470–476.

¹⁵⁸ María Isabel Baldasarre, “Buenos Aires: an Art Metropolis in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 16, no. 1, 2017, online at <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring17/baldasarre-on-buenos-aires-an-art-metropolis-in-the-late-nineteenth-century>. Accessed 6 December 2017.

and Juan Camaña, Italian painter Giuseppe Aguyari (1840–1885) and Bolivian intellectual Santiago Vaca Guzmán (1847–1896). Since the majority of the founding members were either former students of European art schools or Europeans themselves, they took their French experience as a model for their organisation.¹⁵⁹

The situation in Uruguay was quite similar to Argentina: the government was not very keen on supporting the arts and the first more or less professional art schools sprung here only in the late nineteenth century. In 1866 a famous Uruguayan painter Juan Manuel Blanes (1830–1901) made an official demand to open a drawing school but this project was rejected.¹⁶⁰ Finally, in 1880 the Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios opened in Montevideo. Its programme was conservative and focused on drawing and construction basics, but what was progressive is that it provided travel grants for graduates. Most of these pensioners eventually returned to Uruguay and became professors in their alma mater.¹⁶¹ The first attempts at modernisation of the artistic education in the country were made at the beginning of the twentieth century: in 1905 progressive university professors, writers and artists formed the Círculo Fomento de Bellas Artes in an effort to debunk the dominance of academism in Uruguay.

Contrary to Argentina and Uruguay, the Chilean government was involved in the promotion of the artistic education in the country from the mid-century, and thanks to the official funding and support the Academia de Pintura opened in Santiago as early as in 1849. Moreover, it was inaugurated by the President of Chile Manuel Bulnes (1799–1866) in presence of his ministers. The first director of the Academy was Alessandro Cicarelli, a graduate of the Reale Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli and Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma, but the structure and teaching programmes were borrowed from the French Académie des Beaux-Arts. [Figure 5] After Cicarelli the post was taken by the German Ernesto Kirchbach in 1871, from 1876, by another Italian Juan Mochi (1831–1892), and only in 1892 the honour was given to the Chilean painter – Pedro Lira finally became the head of the Academia de la Pintura.¹⁶² The Academy held full

¹⁵⁹ Laura Malosetti Costa, *Los primeros modernos. Arte y sociedad en Buenos Aires a fines del siglo XIX*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001, p. 87.

¹⁶⁰ *Plásticos Uruguayos*, vol. 1, Montevideo, Biblioteca del Poder Legislativo, 1975, p. 59.

¹⁶¹ Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en el Uruguay*, p. 34.

¹⁶² Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile*, pp. 26, 34.



Figure 5. Alessandro Ciccarelli, *Filoctetes abandonado*, oil on canvas, 75 x 62 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

control over the artistic life of Chile: its members not only taught and distributed scholarships, but also selected works for the exhibitions and formed the public taste.¹⁶³

The fact that the professional art schools opened in Latin America so late had an ambivalent impact on the arts. On the one hand, the lack of formal education played a significant role in the ranking and competitive potential of the local artists in the international art market. On the other hand, the absence of the iron grip of official aesthetic doctrines left more space for the preservation of local creativity and survival of “different” art practices. The modernist rupture between academic language and non-academic forms of artistic expression was less visible and probably less painful in Latin America than it was in Europe. Students of Latin American art schools lacked the baggage of centuries-old tradition and were open to eclecticism and artistic appropriation usually regarded as delay and inconsistency.

By the end of the nineteenth century the role and status of artists in society was slowly changing: from craftsmen they grew into professionals, and their work became an important factor in the so-called social progress. The “whitening” of the art world in Latin America ran in parallel to its professionalisation. This process can be interpreted figuratively, as the Europeanisation of aesthetics and submission of the arts to the rules of the global art system, but also it was a literal shift in the physical outlook of those who could, and would, pursue an artistic career in the new independent América. The transformation of the artisan into the artist took several centuries in Europe, but in Latin America this process was similar to a leap. After independence wars indigenous artisans and masters were gradually removed from the realm of the arts and their place taken by the European immigrants and privileged classes.¹⁶⁴

The first professional artists on the continent were mostly immigrants from Europe or members of the rich bourgeoisie and aristocratic families who had access to goods and crafts from Europe, could travel to European countries and buy artworks for their mansions. The social gaps in Latin America created racial and class biases in the artistic sphere: elitism and exclusive aspects of the modern art system sharpened in the countries struggling with a profound inequality caused by the centuries of colonisation.

¹⁶³ Pedro Emilio Zamorano Pérez, Claudio Cortés López and Patricio Muñoz Zárate, “Pintura Chilena durante la primera mitad del siglo XX: influjos y tendencias,” *Atenea*, no. 491, 2005, p. 160.

¹⁶⁴ Chevesich, “Por un arte nacional. Pintura y esfera pública en el siglo XIX chileno,” p. 293.

The acceptance of the new profession was happening not without contradictions: although the young generations of elites were encouraged to practice the arts in order to develop their taste and culture, they were not supposed to quit family businesses or promising political careers in favour of the artistic occupation.

This double standard was even more obvious in relation to women. Although women faced obstacles in establishing professional careers not only in Latin America, here we can notice a curious paradox: compared to Paris, in the local exhibitions there were much more women than men, in terms of ratio “men to women participation.”¹⁶⁵ However, very few of them managed to overcome the stereotypes of *aficionadas* and reach the status of the recognised professional. The social role of the woman was to be a mother and wife, while the involvement in the arts was supposed to help in exercising these “natural” roles, but not distract from them.¹⁶⁶

Exhibitions, museums and private collecting

The first exhibitions of the fine arts on the continent were established in Brazil. Since 1826 the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes would organise exhibitions featuring the works of its students and professors. From 1840 these exhibitions were renamed to the Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes, and apart from the students of the Academy were opened to all the artists willing to participate: Brazilians, foreigners, students and

¹⁶⁵ Since the 1970s the feminist art history produced a corpus of studies on the role and position of women within the modern art system and on the patriarchal discourse that dominated women’s artistic careers for centuries and whose impact is still considerable today. The “classic” texts that defined the direction of the scholarship addressing the issue and set an example for many scholars worldwide are: Linda Nochlin (ed.), *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays*, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1988; Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art*, London; New York, Routledge, 1994; Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art’s Histories*, London, New York, Routledge, 1999. Work of Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock inspired a surge of studies on women artists in Latin America as well. In the last decades the subject was treated in Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni, *Profissão artista: pintoras e esculturas acadêmicas brasileiras*, São Paulo, EDUSP: FAPESP, 2008; Gloria Cortés Aliaga, *Modernas. Historias de mujeres en el arte chileno (1900–1950)*, Santiago de Chile, Origo, 2013; Georgina G. Gluzman, *Trazos invisibles: mujeres artistas en Buenos Aires (1890–1923)*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, “Las mujeres y el imaginario nacional en el siglo XIX,” *Revista Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, vol. 19, no. 38, 1993.

established artists.¹⁶⁷ The Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes not only demonstrated the achievements of the Academy but also served as a regulator of public taste: the special committee would choose here the most significant works to enrich the collection of the Academy. After the reforms of the 1890s the acquisition policy changed, and the purchases from European exhibitions and galleries became another common practice.¹⁶⁸ In the twentieth century the collection of the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes became a foundation for the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro in 1937.

The first exhibitions in Santiago de Chile were mostly private: Monvoisin had an individual exhibition in 1843; the exhibition of the copies of old masters took place in 1858; and in 1878 the Minister of Public Education Miguel L. Amunátegui (1828–1888) organised an exhibition of foreign and national art.¹⁶⁹ The major transformation in the poor exhibition life of the capital was initiated by Pedro Lira in 1885 after he returned from Europe. Together with the sculptor José Miguel Blanco (1839–1897) he founded the Unión Artística whose task was to organise annual exhibitions of contemporary Chilean art similar to the Paris Salon.¹⁷⁰ These exhibitions were so successful that two years later they were taken over by the government and transformed into the Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes, an official annual Salon of Santiago de Chile.¹⁷¹

The situation in Argentina and Uruguay was slightly different. The governments of these two countries were less involved in the arts, and it took more time for them to see the first significant exhibitions that would have a lasting impact. In the 1880s there were no museums or art galleries in Buenos Aires, even the reproductions in the press were rare.¹⁷² The sporadic exhibitions that took place in the city in the 1870–1880s had

¹⁶⁷ Tavares Cavalcanti, “Les artistes brésiliens et ‘Les prix de voyage en Europe’ à la fin du XIXe siècle,” p. 33.

¹⁶⁸ Arthur Valle, “O acervo de pintura portuguesa da Escola Nacional de Belas Artes no contexto pedagógico pós ‘Reforma de 1890’” in Marize Malta, Sonia Gomes Pereira and Ana Maria Tavares Cavalcanti (eds.), *Ver para crer: visão, técnica e interpretação na Academia*, Rio de Janeiro, EBA/UFRJ, 2013, p. 118.

¹⁶⁹ Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile*, pp. 43–44.

¹⁷⁰ Romera, *Historia de la pintura chilena*, pp. 72–73.

¹⁷¹ Chevesich, “Por un arte nacional. Pintura y esfera pública en el siglo XIX chileno,” pp. 286–287.

¹⁷² Malosetti Costa, *Cuadros de viaje*, p. 13.

little success and were commercial failures.¹⁷³ Only in the 1890s the notorious Sociedad Estímulo de Bellas Artes ventured in organising the exhibitions of national art, the Salons of Ateneo of 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1896. Even despite such short life span, these exhibitions showed the first modernist expressions in Buenos Aires and had a great impact on the artistic development of the country.¹⁷⁴ Montevideo was even less fortunate than Buenos Aires, and it was almost impossible to encounter any more or less serious art in the city up until the twentieth century. In his memoir Joaquín Torres García (1874–1949) draws a sad picture of the exhibition life in Montevideo:

Lo que podía verse en algún comercio – por ejemplo en el de Juan Font, en la Plaza Matriz, llamado “El Bazarcito”, y algún otro – era ... pintura costumbrista (a veces con chiste y todo); “marinas” con o sin barcos; “retratos” de barcos de guerra, paisajes de cielos transparentes con nubes de algodón; lagos como espejos donde se reflejaba toda la gama de verdes; y hasta paisajes dramáticos de temporales marítimos y terrestres. Y luego, bellas napolitanas o romanas, sonriendo picarescamente y en trajes típicos; viejos barbudos y sucios, niños desarrapados; luego ... bodegones de caza y pesca, los cestos con uvas, la trajada de melón o de sandía y el vaso transparente de vino.

What can be seen in some shops – for example at the shop of Juan Font in Plaza Matriz, called “El Bazarcito” and in some others – was ... costumbrista painting (sometimes depicting anecdotes and everything like that); marinas with or without boats; “portraits” of military boats, landscapes of transparent skies with cotton clouds; mirror-liked lakes reflecting all shades of green; and even the dramatic depictions of the storms. Then, Neapolitan and Roman beauties, smiling mischievously and wearing typical costumes; dirty old men with beards; children in rags; also ... still-lives with fowl and fish, baskets with grapes and piles of melons or watermelons and a transparent carafe of wine.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, Buenos Aires and Montevideo had a shared artistic space, and it would be fair to say that Buenos Aires was a pole of attraction for Uruguayans due to a

¹⁷³ For instance, the French Exposition in Buenos Aires in 1888 comprised around 850 works, but the organisers had to close it only three months after the opening because it did not sell anything. María Isabel Baldasarre, “Gloria y ocaso de la Exposición Francesa de 1888” in *VII Jornaads de teoría e historia de las artes. Arte y recepción*, Buenos Aires, CAIA, 1997; Organised several months later Spanish exhibition had more success because the prices were lower, and the Spanish community of the city showed more support for this event. María Isabel Baldasarre, *Los dueños del arte. Coleccionismo y consumo cultural en Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, Edhasa, 2006, p. 48.

¹⁷⁴ See Malosetti Costa, *Los primeros modernos*.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Peluffo Linari, *Historia de la pintura en el Uruguay*, p. 31.

more stable economic position and more opportunities this city could provide. Most of the time painters from Uruguay sent their works to the exhibitions in Buenos Aires.

The main difficulties that Latin American artists faced when they tried to organise independent exhibitions were quite banal: the poor art market and the lack of interest in “national” art among American collectors. The local bourgeoisie and aristocracy either bought the kind of pictures described by Torres García in the bazaars and shops or, if they were interested in collecting contemporary art, sought to buy artworks in Europe or from European dealers having offices in Latin America.¹⁷⁶ In case of Buenos Aires we can see to what extent the development of state interest in art and the development of the art market are related. The market relies on the stable demand and taste for arts that are usually promoted by the state initiatives and, of course, on the purchasing power of the population.

The first collections of contemporary art in Latin America were mostly private, but many of them were “nationalised” in the twentieth century. Contemporary French painting was well represented in these collections and consisted of the most famous and accessible artists of the moment: Jules Lefebvre (1836–1911), Ferdinand Roybet (1840–1920), Jean-Jacques Henner (1829–1905), Courbet, Corot, Eugène Boudin (1824–1898), Daubigny, Rose Bonheur (1822–1899), Charles Chaplin (1825–1891), Léon Lhermitte (1844–1925), Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), Alfred Roll (1847–1919), Henri Gervex (1852–1929) among others.¹⁷⁷ In Chile the private collecting assumed the serious dimension earlier than in Argentina, and the preference for the French painting was even more notable: the works by Delacroix, David, Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891), Monvoisin, Corot, Daubigny, Eugène Fromentin (1820–1876), Elie Delaunay (1828–1891), Chaplin, Gudin, Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), Rousseau, Jean-Charles Cazin (1840–1901), Ernest Duez (1843–1896), Raphaël Collin (1850–1916) and others could be found in Chile:

Heureusement, quelques Chiliens fort riches, ayant fait un long séjour dans l’Ancien Monde, sentirent s’éveiller en eux le goût des Beaux-Arts. Ils revinrent dans leur pays, apportant avec eux un grand nombre de tableaux

¹⁷⁶ Laura Malosetti Costa, *El más viejo de los jóvenes. Eduardo Sívori en la construcción de una modernidad crítica*, Buenos Aires, FIAAR-Telefónica de Argentina, 1999, p. 82.

¹⁷⁷ Baldasarre, *Los dueños del arte*, p. 157.

et de sculptures. Le choix n'était peut-être pas irréprochable, mais ces collections comprenaient néanmoins beaucoup d'œuvres de mérite.

Luckily, some very rich Chileans, having spent much time in the Old World, felt the taste for fine arts awake in them. They returned to their country, bringing with them a large number of paintings and sculptures. The choice was perhaps not irreproachable, but nevertheless these collections included many worthy works.¹⁷⁸

In the meantime, the museums were usually opened as a part of the national projects and were supposed to preserve and promote national artists. The ideologist of the national art in Argentina Schiaffino was one of the originators of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires inaugurated in 1895.¹⁷⁹ The acquisition policy set for this institution by Schiaffino was in buying the best representations of the Argentinean art and the best examples of the contemporary European creation.¹⁸⁰ In Chile, the opening of the Museo Nacional de Pinturas took place in 1880 upon the suggestion of the sculptor José Miguel Blanco expressed in the *Revista Chilena* in 1879. Eventually, this museum merged with the Unión Artística and national exhibitions that became a primary source for the museum acquisitions.

Today the expositions of these American museums reflect the prevailing taste of the epoch somewhat conserved in its nineteenth-century form and revised by the modernist canon to a lesser extent. Their collections contain the works of the artists who were known and popular in the Americas and show how these fashions differ from the mainstream perception of the nineteenth century art. On the other hand, they also demonstrate that the access to modern art was conditioned by the geography, networking and availability of cash in the pockets of local collectors. The beauty of these collections is that they allow us to see alternative paths in the development of modernism and notice the discrepancy between the modernist narrative and its visual incarnations in Europe and abroad.

¹⁷⁸ Grez, *Les beaux-arts au Chili*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁹ Laura Malosetti Costa, "Arte e historia" in *El museo en escena. Política y cultura en América Latina*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Paidós SAICF, 2010, p. 81.

¹⁸⁰ María Isabel Baldasarre, "Museo universalista y nacional. El lugar del arte argentino en las primeras décadas de vida institucional del Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires," *A Contracorriente: una revista de estudios latinoamericanos*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2013, p. 255.

Art criticism and art history

In the second half of the nineteenth century art criticism became one of the main tools for the legitimization of modernist aesthetics. Each artistic movement in Paris had its defender among critics, and artists tended to take the reviews very seriously.¹⁸¹ Art criticism in Latin America had not yet reached the degree of professionalisation that it had attained in France. The artists usually were also critics and art historians: Lira in Chile and Schiaffino in Argentina are good examples. As for the professional criticism and specialised publications with good quality reproductions, they appeared only in the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, the critical reviews of the main American and European artistic events as well as the reflections on the artistic problems regularly appeared in the most popular newspapers in Buenos Aires, Uruguay, Santiago de Chile and Rio de Janeiro since the middle of the nineteenth century. The original materials sent by the American authors from Europe were published alongside the reprints of the reviews from the European press. The main drawback of this kind of publications was that they did not have any reproductions that could support the texts. More select audiences had access to better quality resources during their trips to Europe and thanks to the subscriptions to prestigious periodicals of international circulation. Most of the artistic societies and immigrant communities received newspapers and magazines from Europe, there were artistic periodical among them. For instance, the Sociedad Estímulo de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires had subscriptions to *L'Art*, *L'Artiste*, *L'Art Moderne*, *La Nature*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *Le Monde Illustré*, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, *La Illustración Española*, *La Illustración Italiana* (these subscriptions seized in 1878 because of the financial difficulties faced by the society).¹⁸² This society also launched its own art magazine *El arte en el Plata* following the model of similar European magazines, but only one issue saw the light in 1878.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Galenson and Jensen, *Careers and Canvases*, p. 33.

¹⁸² Malosetti Costa, *Los primeros modernos*, p. 97.

¹⁸³ María Isabel Baldassarre, “*El Arte en el Plata*, o el fugaz proyecto de una revista de artes plásticas en la Buenos Aires de 1878” in Patricia M. Artundo and María Inés Saavedra (eds.), *Leer las artes: las*

In the 1880s and 1890s new illustrated publications started appearing on the continent: *La Ilustración Sud-Americana* in Buenos Aires from 1892 until the beginning of the twentieth century, *El Taller Ilustrado* in Santiago de Chile in 1885–1889, *A Ilustração* in Rio de Janeiro in 1884–1892. The reviews of Paris Salons were regularly published in *La Ilustración Sud-Americana*, but it did have any illustrations or reproductions of the artworks mentioned in these reviews. *El Taller Ilustrado* had a similar illustration policy. On the other hand, each issue of these magazines contained lithographic reproductions of old masters, portraits of prominent politicians, writers and painters, and depictions of beautiful women representing national types of beauty: Chilean, Peruvian, Bolivian.

Brazil could boast of several illustrated periodicals: *A Revista Ilustrada* (1876–1898) and *A Ilustração* (1884–1892) are the most notable among them. The latter was more cosmopolitan and focused on the contemporary European art. This comes as no surprise that despite many reproductions of the artworks by painters from Germany, England and Italy, the French images were a dominant group; they constituted seventy one percent of all pictures reproduced in the magazine.¹⁸⁴ These were the reproductions from Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), Bouguereau, Gustave Boulanger (1824–1888), Jules Breton (1827–1906), Cabanel, Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant (1845–1902), Duez, Carolus-Duran (1838–1917), Augustin Feyen-Perrin (1826–1888), Gervex, Henner, Jean-Paul Laurens (1838–1921), Aimé Morot (1850–1913), Puvis de Chavannes, Émile Renouf (1845–1894) and Roll.¹⁸⁵ As for the works by impressionists, neo-impressionists, post-impressionists and other avant-garde groups, even though many reviews mentioned and referred to them, they were rarely reproduced even in French magazines, and never in Latin American. All this peculiarities of the art press created that interesting situation when the readers could know the notorious progressive

artes plásticas en ocho revistas culturales argentinas (1878–1951), Buenos Aires, FFyL, UBA, 2002, p. 26.

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Valle, “Transnational Dialogues in the Images of *A Ilustração*, 1884–1892,” *RIHA Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2015, online at <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2015/2015-jan-mar/valle-transnational-dialogues>. Accessed 6 March 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Arthur Valle, “Transnational Dialogues in the Images of *A Ilustração*, 1884–1892.” The author wonders about the “complete absence” of impressionist and post-impressionist references on the pages of the publication. We believe that this absence was rather usual taking into account the most influential art journals and magazines in Paris: they mostly reproduced the works by the celebrities of the Salon and mainstream artists.

painters by name but had to make an impression about their innovations and pictorial discoveries only from the reviews and descriptions. Such dissociation of the text and image was very common for the peripheries of the global art system.

As for the professional art history, it did not exist as a discrete discipline in the nineteenth-century Latin America. The history of art was being written simultaneously with the creation of the art system, so the first art historians were usually painters, critics and writers who documented the events they originated or were part of – Lira in Chile, Schiaffino in Argentina, Luís Gonzaga Duque Estrada (1863–1911) in Brazil. Telling the story of national art was a main preoccupation for all these authors, and their histories became the basis for the national historiographies in the twentieth century. *La pintura y la escultura en Argentina* and *La evolución del gusto artístico en Buenos Aires* by Schiaffino are still important references and rich sources of information about the first modern painters in Argentina.¹⁸⁶ Lira wrote *Cartas sobre el arte contemporáneo*, *Plutarco de los jóvenes – Tesoro americano de Bellas Artes*, *Las bellas artes en Chile* (1865) and a monumental for his times *Diccionario biográfico de pintores* (1880).¹⁸⁷ Gonzaga Duque published the first historical survey of Brazilian painting *A Arte Brasileira* in 1888, and it claimed for the invention of authentic Brazilian art.¹⁸⁸ All these works are interesting documents that not only give insights on the situations in the art worlds of these countries and list of names, but also help to see the art in Latin America and in Europe from different perspectives and through different critical lenses.

¹⁸⁶ José Emilio Burucúa and Ana María Telesca, *El arte y los historiadores*, Buenos Aires, Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1996, p. 226.

¹⁸⁷ Pedro Lira, *Diccionario biográfico de pintores*, Santiago, Encuadernación y Litogr. Esmeralda, 1902, online at <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9897.html>. Accessed 6 March 2018.

¹⁸⁸ Coli, “Fabrique et promotion de la brésilianité : art et enjeux nationaux,” p. 218.

CHAPTER 3.
**The French Salon and the foundation of
the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts**

Todos los argentinos conocen la existencia de estas exposiciones anuales que durante un mes sirven de tema á las conversaciones en los salones parisienses y que no menor interés suscitan entre los extranjeros que pasan por esta capital ... Nuestros compatriotas no faltarán; muchos de ellos asistieron á la apertura de los salones.

All the Argentineans know about the existence of these annual exhibitions that during one month are a subject of conversations in the Parisian salons and that spark not less interest among foreigners who pass through this capital ... Our compatriots will not be missing; many of them attend the opening of the Salons.¹⁸⁹

In the nineteenth century the Paris Salon was a truly global artistic spectacle: any artist coming to Paris was eager to visit and exhibit in the Salon. The history of this institution reflects political and social changes in the French society; it marks the shifts in tastes and policies of the Administration of Fine Arts and the Academy. In the modernist historiography it was constructed as a sort of the Other for avant-gardes. Despite the work done for the rehabilitation of this institution and for the dissociation of its institutional and aesthetic aspects, it still evokes rather negative connotations of oppression, saccharine aesthetics and compromised tastes as opposed to the revolutionary narrative of modern art.

¹⁸⁹ El corresponsal, "En Paris. Exposicion de bellas artes," *La Nación*, 28 May 1898, p. 2.

The Salon at the intersection of art and politics

The history of the Salon is still being written, but I will point out the main stages of its evolution.¹⁹⁰ The first step in the creation of the future Salon was the foundation of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648 which was among other things a response to the revolt of the Paris Guild of painters and instability of the Fronde (1648–1653). Very soon the Académie gained economic privileges and became a place where true art was created in opposition to the craftsmanship of the Guild. Moreover, the artists-members of the Académie sponsored by the monarchy received the status of civil servants.

The first exhibition of the Academy was organised in 1667. At the beginning it was a demonstration of the achievements of its members, but quite soon it turned into a marketplace for the artists who did not get royal commissions. However, the commercial issues and financial needs were always a taboo in the Académie whose ideology stood on the ideas of absolute creative freedom and Grand Art. Despite royal status, the first academic exhibitions were democratic in terms of participation and openness to the common audience; there were no jury; foreigners and women were accepted to participate, but gradually the situation changed, and the restrictions start to mount up. The first one was the introduction of the condition according to which each participant of the exhibition had to prove that he or she was a “real artist,” not a craftsmen.¹⁹¹ The verification of artist’s belonging to one category or another was realised either through the membership in the Académie, or through the decisions of the jury selecting the pieces for the Salon.¹⁹² Afterwards, the ambitious goal of the Salon –

¹⁹⁰ For a more detailed history of the Salon see Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *Histoire du Salon de peinture*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004; Dominique Lobstein, *Les salons au XIXe siècle : Paris, capitale des arts*, Paris, La Martinière, 2006.

¹⁹¹ The Academy was a project that “consisted in forming an elite.” Lemaire, *Histoire du Salon de peinture*, p. 26.

¹⁹² Larry Shiner analyses the invention of the concept of Art and draws on the idea of the fundamental divide between Art and craft developed and promoted in European philosophy since the Renaissance. According to him, the Enlightenment created a philosophic ground for this distinction, and the nineteenth century cemented the institutions and concepts that framed it into its present shape. Larry Shiner, *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2001.

to be elitist and democratic at the same time – became a source of constant conflicts and tensions that eventually contributed to its decline at the end of the nineteenth century.

The royal Salon was not suspended after the Revolution but, on the contrary, turned into one of the ideological battlefields for the Republican and monarchic regimes.¹⁹³ In 1791 the first Salon of liberty (*Salon de la liberté*) took place: all artists willing to exhibit were accepted without any selection by the jury. It was the most crowded exhibition in the previous history of the Salon and it had avid support of artists who wanted to crush the elitism and corporatism of the institution. However, the jury was restored several years later, and the newly founded Institut de France (1795) was charged to administer the selection and distribution of awards on the results of the exhibition. The rules and regulations of the Salon selection changed many times, yet the individual and group protests against the decisions of the Institut and its jury soon became a normal context of the art life in France.¹⁹⁴

The periodicity and the character of the Salon reflected the ideology of the regnant regime in France: it would be more selective (aristocratic) during the periods of the Empire, Restoration and Monarchy with the restrictive admissions and biannual periodicity, or more democratic during the Republics that would loosen up the admission rules and accept annual rhythm.¹⁹⁵ These swings are characteristic of the Salon as it had to fulfil many functions at once: to promote Grand Art, be an adequate demonstration of the latest achievements of French art and serve as a marketplace for the hundreds of painters, sculptors, architects and engravers.¹⁹⁶ In the second half of the nineteenth century the growing presence of foreign artists in Paris posed new challenges for the institution and its organisers. The contradictions of its ambivalent status overweighed its integrity, and finally the Salon crumbled into many Salons.

¹⁹³ After the Revolution the popularity of the Salon was so great that the organisers had to introduce security measures against pickpockets. Colette Caubisens-Lasfargues, “Le Salon de peinture pendant la Révolution,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française*, no. 164, 1961, p. 207.

¹⁹⁴ For instance, Horace Vernet (1789–1863) was among the first artists to stand up against the authority of the Salon and to organise private viewings in his studio. Lobstein, *Les Salons au XIXe siècle*, p. 103.

¹⁹⁵ Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁶ Philippe Poirrier, *La France contemporaine. L'État et la culture en France au XXe siècle*, Paris, Librairie générale française, 2000, p. 16.

“Liberation” of the Salon from the State

The bureaucratic apparatus of the French State evolved considerably during the nineteenth century, and it entailed the bureaucratisation of the artistic sector as well. The Administration had to accommodate the interests of the State, art establishment and the artists, but very soon this task proved impossible to complete. For some time the Administration and the Académie shared the responsibilities in the regulation of the Salon: appointment of the jury, acquisition of artworks for national collections, distribution of awards and official commissions, granting scholarships and appointment of professors. However, the artists who were left out of the official recognition system started to protest against the claim of the Académie des Beaux-Arts to be a universal representative of artists' interests. In fact, the Academy represented only a relatively small faction of artists, while the vast majority of artistic “proletariat” struggled with the precariousness of their condition. In the second half of the nineteenth century the breaches within the artistic community widened, and it broke into many separate groups, each of them trying to establish their own Salon independent of state meddling and academic policing.

The first turning point in the history of the unique Salon was the opening of the Salon des Refusés in 1863. That year the decision of the jury to reject almost a half of the submitted works led to a strong protest. The complaints and petitions reached the cabinets of the Administration of Fine Arts and even the ears of the Emperor Napoleon III (1808–1873) who gave his permission to open a supplementary room to the Salon where all the rejected works could be exposed to the judgment of audience. The *Salon annexe* opened on 15 May 1863, two weeks after the inauguration of the main exhibition.¹⁹⁷ Today this event is often considered as one of the milestones in the history of modern art, but what was significant about this event was that it set a precedent of the possibility of an alternative exhibition venue. It was a serious

¹⁹⁷ *Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture refusés par le Jury de 1863 et exposés, par décision de S. M. l'Empereur, au Salon annexe*, Paris, Les beaux-arts, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, 1863, online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114147v>. Accessed 6 March 2018.

challenge to the authority of the Académie des Beaux-Arts whose role was reduced to the defender of one particular style among others.¹⁹⁸ The critical reactions to the works in the *Salon annexe* varied from mockery to admiration and depending on the stylistic preferences and political views of the writers issuing them.¹⁹⁹

Another strike to the power of the Académie was the reformation of the École des Beaux-Arts launched a few months after the first Salon des Refusés: it reduced its domination in the domain of artistic education too.²⁰⁰ The authors of the reform saw the main problem of the École in the unbalance between the conservative methods of the academic teaching and changing conjunction in contemporary art. The main method of the Académie was in preserving the classical tradition based on drawing, study of anatomy and perspective, and copying and copying again. At the same time the colouring was neglected as a work worthy of a craftsman, not an artist.²⁰¹ These methods looked obsolete next to the achievements of Delacroix and École de Barbizon and in light of the growing popularity of the so-called low genres (landscape, still-life, genre scenes). Another factor that urged the reform was the advancement of the art industries in England that moved the country forward on the international artistic scene and with which France could not come to term.

The authors of the reform were the writer Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), architect Viollet-le-Duc and sculptor Alfred Émilien De Nieuwerkerke (1811–1892). They all had different agendas, but each of them encouraged freedom and originality as a moving force of artistic progress and supported economic viability as opposed to the restrictive rules of classicist methods. Mérimée suggested to improve the art industries in France by the involvement of less successful students of the École des Beaux-Arts in design, and Viollet-le-Duc promoted historicist approach and conservation of the “national” heritage as the means to strengthening the notion of the originality suppressed by classical ideals.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Boime, “The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art,” p. 414.

¹⁹⁹ Juliet Wilson-Bareau, “The Salon des Refusés of 1863: A New View,” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 149, no. 1250, 2007, p. 317.

²⁰⁰ Bonnet, “La réforme de l’École des beaux-arts de 1863,” p. 29.

²⁰¹ France Nerlich, Alain Bonnet and Arnaud Bertinet (eds), *Apprendre à peindre. Les ateliers privés à Paris 1780–1863*, Tours, Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, 2013, p. 9.

²⁰² Bonnet, “La réforme de l’École des beaux-arts de 1863,” p. 36.

In general terms the reform of 1863 failed but it was not entirely useless. One of its consequences was the creation of the free workshops (*ateliers*) of famous artists financed by the government: three in painting and three in sculpture. These workshops were public and free of charge, so soon they attracted artists from all over the world who wanted to improve their training. They undermined the prestige of the École des Beaux-Arts among foreigners who more often preferred to stay in free workshops and private schools. According to the regulations of the École, foreign artists could not participate in Prix de Rome competition, and thus the official career path, of which the École des Beaux-Arts was a first stage, was inaccessible to them. On the other hand, they could reach the same professors in the workshops and private schools without needing to pass entry exams of the École. Most of them would choose a studio of the professor whose style and teaching methods they liked the most or who served in the jury of the Salon and could help them to pass the selection.²⁰³

These two hits on the Académie's main sources of power – distribution and education – were marker of the new economic and social courses in art to which the old institutions were not adapted. These transformations in the academic system along with the development of the art market re-defined the art scene in Paris and made the negotiations between all the participants of the art system even more complex and sophisticated.

A bit less than two decades after the Salon des Refusés and the reform of the École des Beaux-Arts another decisive moment in the history of the Salon shook Paris: the State withdrew from the organisation of the exhibition. This decision was a response of the Administration of Fine Arts to the pressure from both, artists and the Académie: artists complained against the unfair decisions and corporatism of the jury and the Académie denounced turning the Salon into bazaar. The Administration could not satisfy these two camps and swiftly removed itself from the trap that went beyond its competence. The minister of Public Education and Fine Arts Jules Ferry gave a speech at the awards ceremony of the Salon and specified the new status of the State in relation to the exhibition:

Le rôle de l'État n'est pas de faire les affaires des artistes ; le rôle de l'État n'est pas d'être votre ménagère, Messieurs ; vous devez régler vous-mêmes

²⁰³ Nerlich, Bonnet and Bertinet (eds), *Apprendre à peindre*, p. 28.

vos propres affaires. Le rôle de l'État est exclusivement un rôle d'enseignement et un rôle d'encouragement.

The role of the State is not to manage the business of artists; the role of the State is not to be your housekeeper, gentlemen; you have to settle your own affairs. The role of the State is exclusively a role of education and encouragement.²⁰⁴

The “independence” of the Salon from the regulation of the State was announced by the Undersecretary of Fine Arts Edmond Turquet (1836–1914) on 17 January 1881.²⁰⁵ The new position of the State was to support all artistic expressions and implement the educational programme through awards, public commissions, purchases and scholarships.²⁰⁶

After the withdrawal, on 15 June 1882, the Comité de Quatre-vingt-dix formed of the most powerful artists in Paris founded the Société des Artistes Français responsible for the organisation and management of the Salon, while the State assured the premises and financial help.²⁰⁷ This new society, although managed by artists, was granted with the status of *établissement d'utilité publique* on 11 May 1883, and thus inherited the authority and prestige of the official exhibition.

However, the enthusiasm among artists did not last long as the power over the decision stayed in the hands of the same people against whom they rebelled. The conflicts continued, and the dissenters had to look for new exhibition spaces and possibilities ever more actively. The societies formed by artists themselves and the increasing influence of the art market put an end to the dominance of the Académie or Administration over the careers and professional well-being of artists. One decade after the first Salon des Refusés a group of artists organised the Société Anonyme Coopérative des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs et Graveurs, better known as impressionists. In 1884 already after the State withdrawal the Salon des indépendants

²⁰⁴ F.-G. Dumas (ed.), *Supplément au catalogue illustré du Salon*, Paris, Librairie d'art, L. Baschet, 1880, p. 360, online at <https://archive.org/stream/catalogueillustr1880suplsoci#page/358/mode/2up>. Accessed 8 December 2017.

²⁰⁵ Gaïte Dugnat (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts. I, 1890–1895*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2000, p. XI.

²⁰⁶ Simultaneously the Administration announced the project of the Exposition Triennale, a national exhibition that would show the achievements of the national art, but the project had only one issue in 1883.

²⁰⁷ Lobstein, *Les salons au XIXe siècle*, p. 235.

opened its doors, and many more societies and groups started organising their own shows in galleries and private locations. All these events and exhibitions are a part of the change celebrated by the modernist historiography and often associated with certain styles and movements, but they were more than anything else the attempts of painters and sculptors to gain more power over their own destinies and exhibition practices.

The “liberation” of the artists from the State or the Academy was played rather on the ground of their economic survival and, although today we see them as the revolutionaries and innovators, back in time their small shows were marginal and mostly ignored by mainstream press or international audiences. On the other hand, the Salon, despite its inability to accommodate every artist in Paris and the harsh criticism thrown at it from all the sides, still held the paramount place in the artistic imaginary of the global art world: it received most of the critical attention in France and abroad, it was a huge spectacle and the participation in the Salon was still an important step in marketing individual artists.²⁰⁸ The second major event, after the State withdrawal, in the history of the Salon which was noticed and discussed internationally was the conflict inside the Société des Artistes Français that resulted in its divide in two official Salons in 1890.

²⁰⁸ Galenson and Jensen, *Careers and Canvases*, p. 13-14.

The foundation of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts

The Salon organised by the Société des Artistes Français inherited the prestige and influence of the official state exhibition. The representatives of the government attended the openings, and the state acquisition committee was purchasing artworks for public collections exclusively from the Salon. At the beginning the SAF paid a symbolic rent – 1 franc per year – for the Palais de l’Industrie whose premises it occupied. However, the privilege of the exclusive governmental support ended in the winter 1889–1890 when the session of the Comité de Quatre-vingt-dix exploded with quarrels and mutual insults from the competing parties within the committee. These quarrels caused a swift and unexpected resignation of a remarkable group of artists who decided to organise a rival exhibition society instead of looking for compromises. The Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts was a result of the conflict. Its foundation marked another change in the exhibition climate in Paris and is believed to be the first artistic Secession in Europe.²⁰⁹

The conflict in the winter 1889–1890

The conflict at the session of the SAF occurred around the awards distributed to foreign artists after the Exposition Universelle of 1889. Traditionally, the awards conferred after the World Fairs (Expositions Universelles of 1855, 1867, 1878) would give awarded artists the same exhibition rights as the distinctions and prizes won at the Salon. The awardees used to gain the status of exempts and were allowed to expose their works in the Salon bypassing the jury selection. The jury decisions and exemptions was a sensitive issue during the whole century, but in 1889 it was even more so for several reasons. First, technically, the Expositions Universelles were under

²⁰⁹ Olivia Tolède argues that the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts set an example for the Secessionist movements in other countries: Berlin Secession, Vienna Secession and Mir iskusstva in St. Petersburg. Olivia Tolède, “Une sécession française : La Société nationale des beaux-arts (1889–1903),” PhD thesis, Paris 10, Université de Genève, 2008.

control of the State, so the regulations used for these events and for the state-run Salon before 1881 would not comply with the new regulations of the Salon run by the SAF as a private entity. In the statutes the SAF defined its main goal as defence of the artistic and financial interests of the members of the society: “It spoke out, for example, on copyright matters, sought to provide emergency and retirement funds for needy artist and ranked its members’ economic interests above national prestige.”²¹⁰ Second, the jury of the Exposition Universelle of 1889 was appointed by the Administration of Fine Arts without approval of the Comité de Quatre-vingt-dix which was, of course, noted and remembered.²¹¹ Third, the jury presided by Ernest Meissonier was indeed very generous in awarding foreign participants of the Exposition, so that the number of foreign artists who could exhibit in the Salon without submitting their works to the jury grew significantly after 1889.

On 26 December 1889 the committee of the SAF raised a question whether the awardees of the Exposition Universelle of 1889 could keep their privileges in the Salon next spring. The vice-presidents of the committee Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury (1837–1911) were against such course of actions, while Meissonier insisted on keeping the tradition of exempts in force. Very quickly the discussion grew into a scandal after which Meissonier and six other members of the Comité de Quatre-vingt-dix – Carolus-Duran, Pascal Dagnan-Bouveret (1852–1929), Duez, Gervex, Roll and Charles Waltner (1846–1925) – resigned from the SAF. The letter of resignation signed by Meissonier stated:

Mais, avant de vous quitter, laissez-moi vous dire qu’il serait déplorable que des artistes réunis en masse comme vous l’êtes ici, que des hommes de coeur, d’honneur, Français avant tout, ne pussent s’élever dans une région assez haute pour comprendre qu’au-dessus d’intérêts particuliers de groupes de Sociétés il y a un sentiment patriotique qui doit dominer tout, après le triomphe de l’Exposition, et que la France, par aucune fraction de ses enfants, ne doit chercher à diminuer la valeur de récompenses que les étrangers ont reçues publiquement de nos mains.

But, before leaving you, let me tell you that it would be deplorable if the artists united here in a group as you are, if kind-hearted men, French men above all, could not rise high enough to understand that above the private interests of groups and societies, there is the patriotic sentiment that must

²¹⁰ Hungerford, “Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,” p. 72.

²¹¹ Tolède, “Une sécession française,” p. 29.

be stronger than anything after the triumph of the Exposition and that France, by any fraction of her children, must not seek to diminish the value of the rewards given publicly to foreigners from our hands.²¹²

The days following the scandal were a demonstration of incredible determination on the part of Meissonier and his colleagues who not only wrote a letter of protest addressed to the French artists but rapidly created a project of a new society. They rejected all the propositions of reconciliation undertaken by the SAF and by the Administration of Fine Arts and soon obtained the support of the Minister of Public Education to launch the new Salon.²¹³ On 12 February 1890 the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts received a legal status confirmed by the ministerial order and announced the opening of its first Salon in the spring of the same year.

The press vividly discussed the conflict and pointed out that it revealed the old rivalries in the Parisian art world. Often, the Salon of the SAF was nicknamed as “Salon Bouguereau”, and the Salon of the SNBA was referred to as “Salon Meissonier”, so the rivalry was seen in terms of personal competition of two most prestigious painters of the time: “Tout le monde sait qu’au fond de la querelle il y a des questions de personnes, des rivalités, des rancunes, des incompatibilités d’humeur ; c’est le secret de polichinelle.” (Everybody knows that at the bottom of the fight there are personal issues, rivalries, grudges, incompatibility of personalities; this is a secret of Polichinelle.)²¹⁴ Indeed, Bouguereau and Meissonier represented two different types of artists and two different institutional paradigms: Bouguereau was an example of the successful academic career, while Meissonier’s career was rather backed by his patrons and art market.²¹⁵ At the time of the Secession Meissonier was one of the most popular French painters among foreign collectors, so he could afford not to participate in the Salon at all. However, his national pride was hurt by the discussion of the awards distributed by the committee under his leadership. Moreover, the fact that his speech was shouted down by the younger artists, the majority of whom were students of

²¹² “Concours et Expositions – Société des Artistes Français,” *La chronique des arts et de la curiosité. Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 40, 28 December 1889, p. 314.

²¹³ Tolède, “Une sécession française,” pp. 41-45.

²¹⁴ L. G., “Société des Artistes,” *La chronique des arts et de la curiosité. Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 2, 1890, p. 1.

²¹⁵ Hungerford, “Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,” p. 75.

Bouguereau and his supporters, intended another interpretation of the split – as the reaction against corporatism and power abuse:

Il s'agit de ce que les artistes appellent : la question des ateliers. Pour faire partie de la Société des artistes français et, par suite, nommer le comité et le jury, il suffit d'avoir été reçu au Salon, soit pour un dessin, soit pour un tableau. Or, tout un clan de personnalités artistiques professant dans les ateliers et leurs amis avaient été nommés membres du comité et du jury, lorsque l'État remit à la Société des artistes français le soin d'organiser le Salon. Depuis, ces personnalités, pour conserver la haute direction sur la Société, reçoivent facilement au Salon les élèves des ateliers. De leur côté, les élèves, devenus la majorité dans la société, les élisent, tous les ans, par reconnaissance, comme membres du comité et du jury.

This is what artists call the question of ateliers. To become member of the Société des Artistes Français and thereafter to vote for the committee and jury, it is enough to have been accepted to the Salon, either in painting or drawing section. However, a whole group of persons teaching in the ateliers and their friends were appointed at the committee and jury when the State transferred the organisation of the Salon to the Société des Artistes Français. From that time on, these people easily accept their students to the Salon in order to keep their positions in the society. In their turn, these students became the majority in the society and every year keep electing their professors in gratitude.²¹⁶

These two interpretations of the events were not the only ones that circulated around the city. For many critics the split was also a matter of aesthetics and had a political dimension.

The ideology of the new society

From the moment of the foundation the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts demanded the recognition from the State, and it was a remarkable difference between this society and all the smaller secessions that happened before. In contrast to impressionists and Indépendants, the SNBA did not want to be in opposition.²¹⁷ Its

²¹⁶ “Les artistes français,” *Le Matin*, 25 Decembre 1889, p. 2.

²¹⁷ Although today the Société des Artistes Indépendants is celebrated as one of the laboratories of the avant-garde (for the artists like Georges Seurat and Paul Signac the participation in these Salons indeed became a determinative point), from the perspective of the general public this society was virtually inexistent. The attention and coverage it received can hardly be compared to the noise around the official Salons of the SAF and SNBA. See Jean-Paul Bouillon, “Sociétés d’artistes et institutions officielles dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle,” *Romantisme*, 16, no. 54, 1986, p. 96.

founders wanted to get the leading position in the exhibition life of Paris and take advantage of the prestige of the official Salon. Thus, the new society was recognised of *utilité public* almost immediately. Meissonier and C^o replaced the democratic discourse of the impressionists, Indépendants and even Société des Artistes Français with a new elitist programme.²¹⁸ They played on the ambiguous role of the Salon as the marketplace and marker of the superiority of French art; for them the protectionist measures suggested by Bouguereau were an expression of antipatriotic sentiment.²¹⁹ The conflict between Bouguereau and Meissonier was not only a personal rivalry, but also a result of the liberalisation of the arts in France. It was congruent with the growing xenophobia among French artists who felt threatened by the new economic paradigm and “invasion” of the French school by foreigners.

The elitist aspirations of the SNBA better corresponded to the liberal “British-style” approach praised by Proust and Larroumet. The society was funded by the contributions of its founders and private sponsors.²²⁰ For the exhibition the SNBA rented the premises at Champ-de-Mars from the City of Paris for 15,000 francs.²²¹ The new programme manifested itself not only in the statutes but also in a new approach to the installation of the Salon based on the experience of private shows and department stores. Compared to the traditional hanging when pictures covered walls floor-to-ceiling, the arrangements of the Salons of the SNBA were well-conceived and spacious which facilitated contemplation and relaxation.²²²

²¹⁸ Vaisse, *La IIIe République et les peintres*, p. 115.

²¹⁹ Hungerford, “Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,” p. 73.

²²⁰ The details and numbers of the funding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts are documented in Olivia Tolède, “Le salon de la Société nationale des beaux-arts comme lieu d’épanouissement du mécénat privé dans les années 1890” in James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse (eds.), “*Ce Salon à qui tout se ramène*”. *Le Salon de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1791–1890*, Bern, Peter Lang AG, 2010, pp. 101-115.

²²¹ After the split the rent for the SAF was also reconsidered in order to assure equal treatment of rival societies by the State. After a heated exchange of letters between the president of the SAF Antoine-Nicolas Louis Bailly (1810–1892) and the minister of Finance and Public Education, the rent was raised to 5,000 francs, which was still lower than the rent the SNBA paid to the city of Paris. Cote F/21/7045 1890–1962 Associations et sociétés artistiques, Archives de l’École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

²²² For the decoration of the Salons the founders of the SNBA used plants, flowers, carpets and sofas; the pictures hung at a distance comfortable for watching and were arranged in groupings: the works by the same artist were exhibited together. Marie Jeannine Aquilino, “The Decorating Campaigns at the

As for the terms of participation, the SNBA offered equal rights for French and foreign artists. Nevertheless, this internationalism of the society was designed as a display of its devotion to the national interests of the Republic; hence, the word “national” in the title of the society. Although the statutes of the SAF insisted on the protection of the interests of French artists as its primary goal, it did not mean that foreigners could not participate in the Salon. They just did not have the privileges and aids that the SAF provided to its members, neither could they could not participate in the administration of the society, which slowly became a quasi-trade-union. In the meantime, the SNBA offered foreign artists the possibility to apply for membership and play more active role in its management and decisions. Moreover, according to the regulations of the new society, its full members (*sociétaires*) could exhibit as many works as they wanted without jury selection, while the SAF limited the annual submission to two pieces. This principle was supposed to replace the questionable concept of exemptions, as the members would automatically become exempts. However, the jury still existed for the artists who did not adhere. These new rules were designed in order to abolish the favouritism that existed in the SAF, but in fact the jury of the SNBA gained even more power thanks to these measures, so the accusations of its corporatism returned back to it very soon.²²³ Besides, the principle of universal membership was cancelled in 1900, and foreign members were deprived of their right to vote: “Les sociétaires étrangers conservent tous leurs droits d’exposants mais ne prennent pas part ni aux opérations du Jury, ni aux votes.” (Foreign members of the society keep all their rights of exhibitors, but do not take part either in jury examinations, or in elections.)²²⁴

The two artistic societies – Société des Artistes Français and Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts – illustrate the divisive nature of the liberal policies of the Third Republic and the polarities within the French political context. The liberal vector benefited some artists but betrayed the interest of the artistic community at large. The

Salon Du Champ-de-Mars and the Salon Des Champs-Élysées in the 1890s,” *Art Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1989, pp. 78-84.

²²³ Aquilino, “The Decorating Campaigns at the Salon du Champ-de-Mars and the Salon des Champs-Élysées in the 1890s,” p. 79.

²²⁴ The quote from the statute of the society published in the catalogue of the Salon of 1901. Gaité Dugnat (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts. III, 1901–1905*, Dijon, Échelle de Jacob, 2002.

SAF promoted the unity among the artists and rejected the educational agenda of the State, while the SNBA benefited from its entrepreneurial status and manipulated the official discourse for its own ends. In fact, the SNBA was a private, anti-democratic institution sanctioned by the republican government, and its foundation showed the fluctuations of the Parisian art world between internationalism and xenophobia, public and private, elitism and democracy.

The reception of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in France and Latin America

As we saw the split of 1890 was first and foremost an event of institutional, not aesthetic, order, like the majority of the artistic societies in Paris in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²²⁵ However, even if the latest tendencies in French scholarship insists on the dissociation of institutional and stylistic histories, and even if we agree that the confusion of these two aspects does not produce any clarity but only reinforces the stereotypes and clichés of modernist historiography, we still have to admit that such confusions were very common among artists and critics active at the end of the nineteenth century. In the critical reviews that circulated internationally the SNBA very soon acquired a reputation of a “new school”, “young art” and an expression of “modern art.” The Salons of both societies were eclectic and inconsistent, and counted thousands of artworks, but the critics writing about these exhibitions were singling out their most outstanding participants who eventually created an “aesthetic” identity of each Salon in France and abroad. Right after its foundation the new society was welcomed by critics, and its “youth” was often underlined in comparison with the “academism” of the SAF. It was a promise of stylistic diversity and openness to new tendencies:

Bien que la composition de la jeune société ne fût point rigoureusement homogène, il était facile de voir, dès l’abord, que l’École nouvelle en formait la majorité ; ... les tendances novatrices, – ce mot convient mieux ici que celui d’“école”, – prennent au contraire, à cette épreuve, une cohésion et une unité qui surprendront bien des gens.

²²⁵ Bouillon, “Sociétés d’artistes et institutions officielles dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle.”

Although the composition of the young society was not at all rigidly homogeneous, it was easy to notice from the beginning that the new school formed a majority here; ... innovative tendencies – in this case this word is preferable to “school” – on the contrary show cohesion and unity which will be a surprise for many.²²⁶

The heterogeneity of the exhibition did not hide the commonalities in the aesthetics of its founders and leading figures.²²⁷

Complaints about decline and mediocrity of two main Salons were usual in the reviews of French critics. The number of artworks exposed every year was overwhelming, but the names of the authors whose works qualified as “clous de l’exposition” (highlights of the exhibition) were the same in every review.²²⁸ Even when the critics insisted on the eclectism of both exhibitions, the protagonists of their reviews were the same every year for more than a decade: the “academics” in the first society (Bouguereau, Bonnat, Gervex, Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), Lefebvre, Laurens) and the representatives of the “young school” (Puvis de Chavannes, Dagnan-Bouveret, Lhermitte, Carrière, Besnard, Cazin, Aman-Jean) in the SNBA. Bouguereau and Bonnat were the honoured members of the Académie, Puvis de Chavannes and Dagnan-Bouveret had reputations of independent poets, innovators, successors of naturalism. [Figure 6] Besides, the painters like Besnard and Cazin were often called impressionists, and back at the time their names stood next to the canonised today Monet and Edgar Degas (1834–1917).

The core members of each society constituted its avant-garde, and their styles and artistic principles were in a way extrapolated to the other exhibitors. The SNBA presented a compromise between academic *fini* and luminous discoveries of

²²⁶ Léopold Mabillean, “Le Salon du Champ de Mars (1^{er} article),” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1 June 1890, p. 475-476.

²²⁷ See more quotes from French, English, Russian, American press in the Appendix 1.

²²⁸ Léonce Benedite in 1898 criticised this habit to find a “landmark” piece of every exhibition: “Les ‘clous,’ mot barbare d’argot qui marque bien l’esprit fétichiste de notre pays qui n’admet ni dans les êtres, ni dans les choses, la diversité et la vie. Notre esprit synthétique de Latins veut toujours trouver un sujet qui personnifie à lui seul tout le genre, une figure concrète sur laquelle il porte toute son admiration ou toute son horreur. Nous vivons de simplification et de formules.” (*Clous*, the barbarian slang word that shows the fetishist mind of our nation. It rejects the diversity of life both, in human beings and in inanimate things. Our Latin synthetic spirit always seeks for the subject expressing in itself all the genres; it looks for an artist to whom it can bring all its admiration and all its horror. We live for simplifications and formulas). Léonce Benedite, “Les Salons de 1898 (première article),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 May 1898, p. 363.



Figure 6. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, *Les Bretonnes au Pardon*, 1887, oil on canvas, 125 x 141 cm, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Portugal. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

impressionists, “*plein-airism* judiciously combined with academic niceties of draughtsmanship and modelling ... in this, paradoxically, was to be found their modernity.”²²⁹ For many these two Salons – of the SAF and SNBA – represented two branches of modernism in the 1890s:

Pour ceux enfin que l'Exposition attire, non seulement comme une fête des yeux et de l'esprit, mais comme un bon salon d'étude, quel profit il y avait à tenir là, en quelque sorte sous la main, cadre contre cadre, les représentants les plus divers et les plus opposés de l'École moderne, les Bouguereau et les Carolus Duran, les Bonnat et les Besnard, les Henner et les Cazin, les Puvis de Chavannes et les Benjamin Constant !

Finally, for those who see the Exhibition not only as a feast for eyes and spirit, but also as a good learning space, what an advantage they could have here, sort of at hand, frame against frame, the most diverse and contrasting representatives of the modern school, the Bouguereau and the Carolus-Duran, the Bonnat and the Besnard, the Henner and the Cazin, the Puvis de Chavannes and the Benjamin Constant!²³⁰

The reputation of the SNBA as the place of innovation and artistic freedom was also sound in Latin America.²³¹ As was mentioned, the main newspapers and rare art publications in American capitals regularly printed the reviews of two official Salons.

²²⁹ Juliet Simpson, “The Société Nationale: The Politics of Innovation in Late Nineteenth-Century France,” *Apollo*, no. 44, 1999, p. 51-53.

²³⁰ Maurice Albert, “Le Salon de 1890 aux Champs-Élysées (1^{er} article),” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1 June 1890, p. 450.

²³¹ The reputation of the SNBA was international. Russian critics expressed very similar to French and Latin American evaluations of the Paris Salons at the turn of the twentieth century. They saw the Salon du Champ-de-Mars as a place to encounter new fresh art, while the Salon des Champs-Élysées was just a bazaar: “Всего современного искусства нечего и ожидать, так как французы, нация наиболее замкнутая, ненавидят и отстраняют иностранцев... Впрочем, нечего искать хорошего среди уймы картин Елисейского Салона: там по-прежнему жеманятся фарфоровые нимфы Бугеро, тупо глядят господа Бонна, развешиваются неизмеримые исторические полотна с латами, вьездами, пиками, пытками и оперными декорациями. Но стоит только внимательно изучить Салон Марсова поля, как между хламом, и там в изобилии развешанном, все-таки найдешь много весьма порядочного, немало вещей хороших и даже несколько прекрасных.” (No point to expect to see all modern art here because French, as a very reserved nation, hate and push aside foreigners ... There is nothing interesting among the paintings of the Salon des Champs-Élysées: there are the same saccharine nymphs of Bouguereau, dull faces of Bonnat's monsieurs; there are unmeasurable historical canvases full of armors, parades, peaks, tortures and opera-like decorations. But if you only study carefully the Salon du Champ-de-Mars, among rubbish hanging there in abundance, you will find a lot of very fine, good things and some wonderful ones). Alexander Benua Александр Бенуа, “Besedy hudozhnika” “Беседы художника,” *Mir iskusstva*, 1899, no. 15, p. 10.

The conflict of 1890 was also noticed: Lira dedicated an article to the artistic quarrel in Paris and specifically pointed at the disadvantageous position of foreigners in the French capital. According to him, it was the presence of foreigners that assured such a prominence of Paris in the art world, “Pero la expulsión del elemento extranjero será la primera señal de la decadencia; y la hora en que éstos dejen á París será la primera de su abdicación como capital del mundo.” (But the expulsion of the foreign element will be the first sign of decadence; the moment when foreigners leave Paris will be the moment of its abdication as the capital of the world.)²³² Lira criticised the split and noted the competition and mercantile calculations behind it. For him the protectionism of Comité de Quatre-vingt-dix and the attack on the foreigners were the main reasons of the conflict. The Chilean painter talked about illusionary chances of success for foreigners in Paris, so for him another hit on his colleagues and compatriots was painful and enraging.

Other critics were less inclined to enter into details of the conflict and analysed the split mostly from the point of view of stylistic or generational differences. The author of *El Siglo* in Montevideo regarded it as the “fight” between academism and avant-garde:

El general Meissonnier es quien ha tomado el mando de las tropas disidentes, compuestas en su mayoría de la vanguardia del arte moderno, y hemos podido asistir al espectáculo del plácido Bouguereau, apellidado “la Perfeccion misma”, levantado el estandarte de la resistencia y poniéndose á la cabeza del ejército de la tradicion.

The General Meissonnier took the command over the troops of dissidents whose majority consists of the avant-garde of modern art and we could witness a spectacle of the placid Bouguereau, called “Perfection itself,” who rose the banner of resistance and stood as the lead of the army of tradition.²³³

Similar opinions can be found on pages of *La Nación* in Buenos Aires: the Salon of the SNBA was an expression of “arte independiente” (independent art)²³⁴ and

²³² Pedro Lira, “Gran conflicto entre los artistas franceses,” *Revista de Bellas Artes*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1890, p. 140.

²³³ Armand Gouzien, “Bellas Artes,” *El Siglo*, 19 June 1890, p. 1.

²³⁴ Alfredo Ebelot, “Desde Paris,” *La Nación*, 24 May 1897, p. 3.

“manifestación brillantísima del arte moderno” (brilliant demonstration of modern art.)²³⁵

Such remarkable appreciation of the SNBA seems surprising today and such giants of the 1890s like Besnard and Carrière are regarded as conventional painters who looked for commercial success rather than a radical renovation of the artistic language and system.²³⁶ Some of these painters exhibited with impressionists and were identified as such, although French critics seemed to manage to sort the wheat from the chaff and distinguish the “core impressionists” from the painters who exhibited with them at the epoch but who were not the part of the initial group.²³⁷ As for the critics abroad, they were less perspicacious in their evaluations. Even the painters and writers from Latin America who travelled to Paris and sent their reviews first-hand were less integrated in the artistic context than their French colleagues and did not have the same access to exhibitions, conversations, and artistic circles. For them it was much more difficult to navigate through all the movements and tendencies of modern art, especially if we take into account that in the 1880–1890s impressionists and post-impressionists could be rarely seen in the Salon. The majority of them looked for the opportunities and popularity outside of Paris.²³⁸ Their presence in Paris was rather symbolic: they were

²³⁵ Ernesto Garcia Ladevese, “Cronica Parisiense,” *La Nación*, 21 June 1891, p. 2.

²³⁶ Robert Jensen’s definition of *juste milieu*: “more the political manifestation of the struggle over markets than an aesthetic “movement.” They represent the effort to construct an artistic elite outside a bankrupt Salon and Academy, without, however, rejecting the professional ambitions previously enshrined in and certified by those institutions ... To this *juste milieu international* I would name artists as diverse as the American painters Sargent and Gari Melchers, the Germans Liebermann and Fritz von Uhde, French painters such as Ernest-Ange Duez, Alfred Roll, Albert Besnard and Henri Gervex, Scandinavian artists Anders Zorn and Peder Krøyer, Italians Giovanni Boldini, Giuseppe de Nittis and the Italo-Swiss painter Giovanni Segantini, the Spaniards Raimundo de Madrazo and Joaquin Sorolla and from the Lowlands painters such as Alfred Stevens and Emile Claus.” Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, p. 135.

²³⁷ Galenson and Jensen, *Careers and Canvases*, p. 28.

²³⁸ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel writes that the “international tour” was a pre-condition for artist’s consecration in Paris so they looked for exhibition opportunities in other European capitals and used the rumors about their fame abroad in order to consolidate their positions back in Paris. Joyeux-Prunel, *Nul N’est Prophète En Son Pays ? L’internationalisation de La Peinture Des Avant-Gardes Parisiennes, 1855–1914*. As an example of this internationalisation we can look at the exhibition activity of Claude Monet in 1893: Tenth Exhibition of Modern Pictures held by the New English Art Club The Dudley Gallery in London; Galerie Durand-Ruel, Galerie Martin Camentron, Galerie Georges Petit in Paris; Twenty-third Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures, Walker Art Gallery in

an important part of the imaginary of modern art but at the same time almost invisible at the most visited exhibitions. The vision of Parisian art scene and French art formed by foreign artists and critics differed both from the one described by the contemporary French criticism and by the one described by later histories of French art. It was formed by diverse fragments and discourses and can be compared to the collages in which all the richness of Parisian museums and exhibitions collides without any order or logic. This “messiness” of the moment allowed Schiaffino to put Cazin and Degas as equals in his version of the evolution of modern art:

La evolución moderna que comenzó con Gericault y el baron Gros, para darnos en seguida los inmortales paisajistas que se llamaron Dupré, Rousseau, Corot, Díaz y Dobigny, que fue creciendo con Millet, Courbet, Ulysse Butin, Manet, De Nittis y Bastien-Lepage, cuenta hoy con ilustraciones de la talla de Puvis, el escultor Rodin, Cazin, Collin, Degas, Raffaelli, Claude Monet, etcétera.

The evolution of modern art that began with Gericault and Baron Gros, right after it gave us such immortal landscapists like Dupré, Rousseau, Corot, Díaz and Daubigny, that grew with Millet, Courbet, Ulysse Butin, Manet, De Nittis and Bastien-Lepage and today counts the personalities such as Puvis, the sculptor Rodin, Cazin, Collin, Degas, Raffaelli, Claude Monet, etc.²³⁹

The pantheon of painters cherished by the modern canon does not coincide with the list of Schiaffino. He has his own version of the canon, and it is as relevant and coherent as the one taught by the textbooks in European and North-Atlantic schools. It is still relevant not only because it reflects the perspective of the critic and his understanding of the artistic process, but because even today Argentineans, Chileans and Brazilians do not have an opportunity to decorate their museums with the originals of Monet and Van Gogh just as they did not have them in the nineteenth century. The names and titles of the most famous modern paintings have a global recognition, but the actual artworks that hold these names are distributed very unevenly between the centres and peripheries. When the reproductions were scarce and images travelled slower than words, there was a gap in the imaginaries of modernism in Paris and Latin American capitals. This gap exists even today and is very interesting to explore.

Liverpool; Haagsche Kunstkring in The Hague; Galerie Gurlitt Berlin. 1893. *L'Europe des peintres*, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993.

²³⁹ Eduardo Schiaffino, “Evoluciones de la estética,” *Sud América*, 28 August 1886. Quoted in Malosetti Costa, *Cuadros de Viaje*, p. 196.

CHAPTER 4.
Painters between Latin America and
France

Como Atenas, como Roma, París cumple su misión de centro de la luz. Pero, actualmente, ¿es París, en verdad, el centro de toda sabiduría y de toda iniciación? Hombres de ciencia extranjeros dicen que no, y muchos artistas son de opinión igual; pero la consagración no puede negarse que la da París, sobre todo, en arte. Y para eso vienen D'Annunzio de Italia, Sienkiewicz de Polonia, la Wiehe de Dinamarca, la Guerrero de España y Sada Yacco del Japón.

Like Athens, like Rome, Paris fulfils its mission as the centre of light. But today, is Paris really a centre of all wisdom and all invention? Foreign intellectuals say no and many artists share the same opinion; but in terms of consecration, it cannot be denied, it is Paris's to give, especially in arts. And that is why they come here: D'Annunzio from Italy, Sienkiewicz from Poland, Wiehe from Denmark, Guerrero from Spain and Sada Yacco from Japan.

Rubén Darío, "Reflexiones de año nuevo parisiense."²⁴⁰

Paris is more than a capital of the art or nineteenth century. It is an artistic myth. This city became a centre of artistic innovation not only thanks to the rich collections, century-long tradition and extravagant vibe, but also because of the colonial and imperialist policies that France led at the end of the nineteenth century, because of its rapid accumulation of capital and establishment of republican liberalism. To a large extent its high status in the art world was due to the presence of foreigners in city's organism: they were bringing diversity, weirdness, strong accents and strange habits to the city life.

²⁴⁰ Rubén Darío, "Reflexiones de año nuevo parisiense. 1 de enero de 1901." Quoted in Rubén Darío, *Viajes de un cosmopolita extremo*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013, p. 116.

Latin American painters in Paris

Paris was a dream of progress and civilization. In the second half of the nineteenth century it became an unmissable spot for anyone interested in new artistic languages and expressions. The conviction that modern and progressive art is possible only in Paris was strong among foreigners; Paris could give the alternative to the classicism and conservatism of Italy and Spain:

... París como el “foco del arte moderno”, adonde estudiantes de todo el mundo (y en particular norteamericanos) se congregaban de a millares para estudiar en las prestigiosas academias y talleres libres. Pero la tradición de pintura y escultura que se había ido gestando en Buenos Aires, aunque poco desarrollada, tenía un inconfundible sello italiano.

... Paris as the “heart of modern art,” where students from all over the world (especially North Americans) gathered in thousands to study in the prestigious academies and free ateliers. But the tradition of painting and sculpture that was adopted in Buenos Aires, although underdeveloped, had an unmistakable Italian signature.²⁴¹

According to Raymond Williams, the cosmopolitan nature of the modern metropolis like Paris was essential for the modernism born out of strangeness and cultural richness, “The most important general element of the innovations in form is the fact of immigration to the metropolis, and it cannot too often be emphasised how many of the major innovators were, in this precise sense, immigrants.”²⁴² The high number of foreigners coming to Paris had an ambiguous impact on the ideology of the French school and the notion of French art. According to French critics, all the artists studying in France were agents of the French school, but gradually the understanding of what is French and what is not was blurred in the round dance of nationalities, regional differences, broken accents and diverse personalities. The art made in France became an international phenomenon without a passport. We know today that the artistic thrive

²⁴¹ Malosetti Costa, “Palabras y gestos para una modernidad,” p. 23.

²⁴² Raymond Williams, “The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism” in Peter Brooker (ed.), *Modernism / Postmodernism*, New York, Longman, 1992, p. 91.

of Paris, and later New York, was fostered by immigrants, but their impact is often “underplayed, denounced, denied or tunnelled into a national art discourse.”²⁴³

Latin Americans constituted a relatively small faction of the immigrants coming to France; in the last decade of the nineteenth century they would be counted in dozens, not hundreds.²⁴⁴ The number and visibility of Latin American artists of the same period was even less significant. The majority of foreign artists who completed their studies and exhibited in Paris in the nineteenth century were unnoticed by French art criticism, and therefore by modernist narrative, but they were successfully appropriated by the national art histories in their home countries.²⁴⁵ For instance, such painters as Sívori from Argentina, Lira from Chile and Belmiro de Almeida (1858–1935) from Brazil all studied in France and became the pioneers of modernism upon return. The situation with the painters who stayed in Paris is more complicated. On the one hand, their archival record and oeuvre are incomplete (at times absent); on the other hand, their places in the national historiographies were compromised by their immigrant condition. These artists balanced on the shaky ground of national / international artistic discourse and struggled with the inherent inequalities of the art system. They had to negotiate their cultural identities and reconcile their personal and professional needs with the requirements and conditions imposed by the places they crossed.

The interplay of nationalist and internationalist ideologies in art acquired very uneven shape in different geopolitical regions: while in Europe modern and avant-gardes artists could step away from the official discourse of nation-building and longed for the celebration of cosmopolitanism, in the Americas the moving force behind modernism was still based in the need of national self-identification.²⁴⁶ In most cases Latin American painters active before the turn of the twentieth century aimed to

²⁴³ Peter Wollen, “The Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Arts” in George Robertson (ed.), *Travellers’ Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, London, New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 193.

²⁴⁴ According to the registers of the Contrôle Général des Étrangers in 1898 there were 521 Argentineans, 1,298 Brazilians, 259 Chileans and 40 Dominicans in the Département de la Seine. Collection C-Administrative 85 Étrangers en France : police des étrangers, protection des ouvriers étrangers en France. Liste des sociétés étrangères de secours mutuels. Tableaux statistiques par départements, Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve, La Courneuve, France.

²⁴⁵ There were a few notable exceptions to this rule: Whistler, Sargent, Boldini, Edelfelt, Frits Thaulow (1847–1906), Mihály Munkácsy (1844–1900).

²⁴⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 230.

become international, to mimic the French style and to excel the mastery of European schools as a way to uplift national art. That is why they can be easily accused of imitation and epigonism even though in the long run their strategy enabled the outburst of the radical avant-gardes of the early twentieth century in Latin America. The latter needed the tradition to break with, and it was provided by the first generations of European-trained painters.²⁴⁷

Statistics and classifications

The formal reason for the split between the SAF and the SNBA was the “frightening” number of foreign painters awarded after the Exposition Universelle of 1889 and the unwillingness of the SAF to grant them the privileges these awards entailed. Latin American painters exhibited in the Salon long before the World Fair, but only four of them received honorary mentions and awards that allowed them to bypass the jury: Lira in 1882, Michelena in 1887, Boggio and José Tomás Errázuriz (Chile) in 1888. After 1889 twelve other painters were to gain that right: Andrés Belmont, Antonio Bribiesca, José Jara (1866–1939) and Velasco from Mexico; Célia Castro (1860–1930), Rafael Correa (1872–1959), Enrique Swinburne (1859–1929) and Valenzuela Puelma from Chile; two painters from Uruguay – Domingo Laporte (1855–1928) and Urbana-M. Samaran; Schiaffino and the Brazilian Henrique Bernardelli. Some of these painters studied in Paris and participated in the Salons, so eventually they could take advantage of their new privileges; but others lived and worked in their countries and only participated in the Expositions Universelles on invitation from the national committees.²⁴⁸ Despite the fears of the French, the painters living outside France were very unlikely to send their artworks to Paris; on the contrary, they were eager to create Salons in their home countries.

²⁴⁷ In the twentieth century the pride of French critics grew into new forms of xenophobia. The ability of foreigners to assimilate French styles and innovations was seen as a threat, so Latin American artists had to either recognise their indebtedness to French, or play out their exotic authenticity. Michele Greet, “An International Proving Ground: Latin American Artists at the Paris Salons,” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, June 2017, 2017, online at <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/70847>. Accessed 1 December 2017.

²⁴⁸ For instance, the Mexican painters José Jara and José María Velasco did not study in Europe and therefore did not participate in Paris Salons. However, they sent their works to the national sections during the World Fairs.

After the conflict of 1890 the painters who used to exhibit in Paris had to choose one or another society, because the statutes of both forbade the simultaneous participation in several Salons. The choice of the venue was determined by many factors, and despite the accent the SNBA put on its international agenda, the foreign painters did not fled the SAF in favour of the new Salon. In absolute numbers there were much more foreigners in the exhibitions of the SAF than in those of the SNBA. There were only nine Latin American painters in the Salons of the latter in the time lapse 1890–1899 in comparison with thirty-six painters in the former. [Appendix 2] However, in relative terms foreigners represented forty percent of painters in the SNBA, while only fifteen percent of painters were not French in the SAF.²⁴⁹

Michelle Greet suggests that the entry requirements were more stringent in the new Salon, so Latin American painters tended to submit to the older one.²⁵⁰ Indeed, the majority of artists who exhibited in Paris before the split preferred to stay with the Société des Artistes Français instead of venturing the jury selection in the new society. On the other hand, for newcomers in Paris the choice of the Salon depended also on personal references and aesthetic preferences. Almost all famous professors were influential members of one or another artistic society and could promote their students' submissions, so very often the choice of the first exhibition by a young artists coincided with the choice of his or her teacher. Another factor that could play a role in the decisions made by precarious foreign artists was the fact that the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts replaced the democratic discourse with the competitive liberal and elitist programme. Not surprisingly, the millionaire and cosmopolite Errázuriz was the only Latin American who hurried to become a *membre associé* of the new society: his interest in painting was not related to his economic security, so he could afford not to sell or even sign his works.²⁵¹ The Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts proposed a higher selection bar in exchange for the right to exhibit as many works as the artist wanted, but it was not what the most of them looked for at the beginning of their careers. The new

²⁴⁹ Olivia Tolède devotes a big part of her doctorate dissertation to foreign members and exhibitors at the Salons of the SNBA. Her statistics gives some hints for understanding the dynamics among foreigners in two official Salons in Paris. Tolède, “Une sécession française : la société nationale des beaux-arts (1889–1903).”

²⁵⁰ Greet, “An International Proving Ground.”

²⁵¹ “José Tomás Errázuriz,” *Artistas Visuales Chilenos*, <http://www.artistasvisualeschilenos.cl/658/w3-article-40413.html>. Accessed 1 January 2018.

Salon was a selective, somewhat snobbish, environment that favoured established artists and presented more risks to young painters.

The number of specialised studies talking about communities and networks of foreign artists in Paris is impressive, but there is still much to discover and analyse.²⁵² Most of these studies apply the classifications within the vast category of the foreign based on the vague understanding of the national or ethnic belonging: British, American, Jewish, Scandinavian painters. However, Chileans, Argentineans, Mexicans, Nicaraguans and Cubans become Latin Americans united by the concept of *latinidad*. These categories are essential for statistical analysis and databases that usually begin this kind of research, but often such taxonomic operations tinted by the discourses of colonialism and nationalism may conceal more than they reveal. Olivia Tolède's statistics seems to give a detailed picture on the foreign participation in the Salons of the SNBA, but considering the political climate of our days some of the categories she used could be a reason for some debates and probably conflicts on the verge of diplomatic wars:

Les artistes appartenant à des nations ou populations qui possèdent une unité historique, linguistique, culturelle et économique plus ou moins forte et se fondent sur leurs traditions historiques spécifiques, mais qui ont été rattachées, incorporées, ou cédées à des États dominateurs ont été considérés comme représentants de leur communauté nationale. Ainsi nous avons fait une distinction entre l'Autriche, la Hongrie et la Bohême-Moravie, entre la Suède et la Norvège, entre la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne. Compte tenu du nombre extrêmement restreint d'artistes appartenant à des minorités nationales et de la complexité territoriale des pays et des régions, nous avons opté pour les classements suivants : Silésie : Allemagne ; Tyrol : Autriche ; Macédonie : Empire ottomane ; Transylvanie : Hongrie ; Lettonie, Ukraine, Caucase et Crimée : Russie. En ce qui concerne le Royaume-Uni, nous avons fait une distinction, entre l'Angleterre, le Pays de Galles, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande (qui formaient depuis

²⁵² The majority of the case studies focus on migrations and displacements within Europe and between Europe and North America. Latin Americanists try to cover their section of the field, so there are many studies on students from Latin American countries in France appeared that in the last decades. The Asian presence in Paris is also becoming a focus of interest for scholars from Europe and Asia (Japan, China). However, when I look at the catalogues that contain names of painters from the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, Algeria, Turkey, Puerto Rico, I hope that the geography will expand further.

1801 le Royaume-Uni d'Angleterre et d'Irlande) et les dominions et colonies (Canada, Australie, Inde, Nouvelle-Zélande.)

The artists belonging to the nations or populations that have more or less strong historical, linguistic, cultural, economic unity and are based on the specific historical traditions, but were attached, incorporated or ceded to dominant states, were considered as representatives of their national community. Thus, we distinguish Austria, Hungary and Bohemia-Moravia, Sweden and Norway, Russia, Finland and Poland. Taking into account a very limited number of artists who belonged to the national minorities and the complexity of territorial divisions in some countries and regions, we opted for the following categories: Silesia as a part of Germany; Tyrol as Austria; Macedonia as Ottoman Empire; Transylvania as Hungary; Latvia, the Ukraine, Caucasus and Crimea as parts of Russia. As for the United Kingdom, we distinguish between England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland (that form the United Kingdom of England and Ireland from 1801) and the dominions and colonies (Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand.)²⁵³

In Tolède's classification South America was represented as a unique block with only one painter, whose nationality was not specified: José Tomás Errázuriz.

This kind of categorisations seems inevitable, and the title of this dissertation proves the difficulty in escaping them in. The notion of the foreignness operates as “a disciplinary mechanism that distributes individuals and fixes them in space, manipulates their bodies, forms around them an apparatus of perpetual observation, registers and records their movements.”²⁵⁴ Foreign painters in Paris often formed separate groups whose institutional rights were limited and whose modes of artistic expression were policed. The foreignness as a quality of exclusion implied the hierarchisation and distinctive value between the national and the foreign. Artists' foreignness could even be measured and compared:

Autour de MM. Burne-Jones et Bramley, Frédéric et Courtens, Israëls et Mesdag, Edelfelt et Thaulow, Liebermann, Uhde, Kuehl, Harrison, qui personnifient avec le plus d'éclat les tendances de l'art étranger, nous pourrions encore examiner avec plaisir un certain nombre de leurs compatriotes ; les uns se meuvent dans la même atmosphère de recherches et d'intentions, les autres, habitant la France, ont perdu plus ou moins leur saveur exotique et forment simplement une classe spéciale d'artistes parisiens.

²⁵³ Tolède, “Une sécession française,” p. 431.

²⁵⁴ Rebecca Saunders (ed.), *The Concept of the Foreign: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, New York, Lexington Books, 2003, p. 12.

Around Burn-Jones and Bramley, Frédéric and Courtent, Israels and Mesdag, Edelfelt and Thaulow, Liebermann, Uhde, Kuehl, Harrison who brilliantly present the tendencies of foreign art, we can also mention with great pleasure a certain number of their compatriots; some move in the same atmosphere of research and intentions, the others, who live in France, have more or less lost their exotic flavour and just constitute a specific class of Parisian artists.²⁵⁵

The level of the foreignness depended on stylistic qualities but also on the longevity of artists' sojourn in Paris: the artists who lived here were less foreign, than the artists who only sent their works for such occasions as World Fairs or Salons.

The categorisation does not end with the foreign versus national dichotomy. Foreign, foreign-born, travellers, cosmopolites are the most frequent denominations for non-French painters exhibiting in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century. As for the artists who worked in Paris in the twentieth century, the terminology is even more elaborate: expatriate, exile, *émigré*, refugee, migrant, immigrant, emigrant, migration tourist, traveller, nomad, cosmopolitan, diaspora.²⁵⁶ The proliferation of categories comes from the diversity of the experiences lived by artists and from the complexity of political, social, cultural, psychological and other contexts in which these experiences unfolded. The longing of Latin Americans for Europe makes us wonder to what degree they felt foreign in Paris and London, or whether they ever felt native in their home countries. The aspects that are often overlooked by the studies about foreign artists in Paris are their before- and after-Paris experiences. To say that they all negotiated their places in Paris, or that they interpreted modernism in their own way and contributed to its spreading on the global scale is a commonplace. Yet this narrative, although recognises their role and agency, still singles out Paris as a centre of modernism. Paris is a playmaker. The situation is, of course, changing but it is still possible to study international modernism with very little regard to the places like Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santiago de Chile. These cities sent artists to migrate between different realities, and their art must have reflected their experiences and confusions. They crossed lands and oceans and became a part of the international community of nomads

²⁵⁵ George Lafenestre, "Les Salons de 1893," *La Revue des deux mondes*, July 1893, p. 174.

²⁵⁶ See the interpretations of some of these terms and examples of their use in art history in the introduction to Karen L. Carter and Susan Waller (eds.), *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870–1914*, Farnham, Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2015.

whose experiences are usually levelled by the fact that their paths at a certain moment crossed in Paris.

Latin Americans in the exhibitions of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts

As I mentioned, only nine painters from Latin America exhibited in the Salons of the SNBA in 1890–1899. Their places of birth were indicated in the catalogues: Albert-Émile Artigue born in Buenos Aires from French parents, Alberto Castellanos from Montevideo, Diana Cid García and Jean Cid from Buenos Aires, José Tomás Errázuriz from Santiago de Chile, Charles Flach from Brazil, Arturo Grullón from Santiago in the Dominican Republic, Eduardo de la Torre from Tampico and Eliseu Visconti from Rio de Janeiro. The majority of these painters also participated in the exhibitions of the SAF, before and after the split of 1890: Artigue, Grullón, Errázuriz, Castellanos and Visconti.

While submitting their works to Salons, artists had to indicate their nationalities, teachers and addresses for the catalogue, and today they are a valuable source of information that helps to track the artists in Paris, both in terms of geography and in terms of their leaning towards certain networks and movements. The catalogues are not only a valuable source, but sometimes the only source of information about a painter. Jean Cid is one of such artists: he is mentioned in the catalogue of the Salon of 1898, but this is the only mention of his name that I have found. Castellanos, Artigue and Errázuriz participated in the Salons of the SAF in the 1880s and represented a relatively older generation in comparison with the other painters from our list. Right after the split Errázuriz became a member of the SNBA, and his first submission consisted of six works. It is very possible that placed together these pictures attracted more attention from the audience and from the critics, so even Gabriel Albert Aurier (1865–1892) noticed the “poétiques crépuscules” (poetic twilights) of the Chilean painter among other 900 pictures of the exhibition.²⁵⁷ Artigue was also attracted by the new venue, but after two years he returned to the SAF where continued exhibiting regularly until the

²⁵⁷ G. Albert-Aurier, “Le salon de champs de mars,” *Mercure de France*, July 1890, p. 248.

1920s. It seems that the younger painters with no record in the Salon before 1890 were choosing the new society in hope for equality and open-mindedness.

Some of our painters present rather historical than artistic interest. Besides, their works are either lost or scattered in distant storages and private collections. Their paintings (or presumably theirs) sometimes reappear on the market where they are sold for quite modest prices.²⁵⁸ They are half-forgotten in their home countries and utterly unknown anywhere else with Eliseu Visconti as the only exception to this rule. All of them went to Paris because in comparison with Latin American capitals it promised more opportunities, but at the same time it posed more risks for their professional growth. The crowds of painters rushing to France were the cause and effect of Paris's leading position in the imaginary of the global art world, and eventually the chances to succeed there were getting slimmer for the majority of them. The artists who decided to bring their French knowledge and experience back to their home countries proved to have chosen the most viable strategy of success. Also, it allowed to preserve more traces of their migrations in the archives, newspapers and museums.

The stories of our nine protagonists demonstrate the harshness of the competition in Paris, operations of exclusion, marketing negotiations, identity politics, and selective historiographies that form the narrative of modern art. I try to expose artists' personal strategies and imagine their lives in Paris. Without intentions to crusade for the integration of these artists in the canon or prove their artistic value, I would like to explore their itineraries and pictures in order to bring human curiosity back into art history made of statistics, networks, and hierarchies.

Parisian geography: Where and how the painters lived

All our painters lived and experienced Paris very differently, and their locations show the divisions inherent in Parisian geography. The social stratification of the bureaucratised art world in France was reflected in the way artistic neighbourhoods

²⁵⁸ For instance Artigue's *The goose girl* was sold for 5,715 EUR at Christie's in May 2016, while his another work of similar format *La chasse aux papillons* was not sold even with quite low estimates 600-800 EUR at Millon & Associés SAS in September 2017. More information at the ArtPrice database <https://www.artprice.com/>. Accessed 11 March 2018.

were located on the map of the city.²⁵⁹ Usually, the artists gathered around art schools and the studios of famous professors. Later galleries and art shops began to influence the movement of artists throughout Paris. Cafes, theatres and nightlife spots were another meeting points for all kinds of public and a source of inspiration for many modern painters.

Very often immigrants in Paris tended to stay together and form a sort of community, e.g. Russian painters in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ They also tended to organise societies and associations of mutual help, like the American Art Association of Paris.²⁶¹ I do not know about any formal organisation of Latin American painters in Paris in the nineteenth century, but I can guess that they knew of each other's existence: Latin Americans were not so numerous in the SNBA, and the Parisian art world provided them with many chances to meet.

Out of nine painters from our list, six lived in VI arrondissement of Paris, in Montparnasse. It is the old artistic neighbourhood: École des Beaux-Arts is located here, and the studios in Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Stanislas and Bara streets were occupied by students and professors who preferred to stay not far from the school. At the end of the nineteenth century the rents here were relatively low, and the ambiance suggested exchange and creation: "Le quartier du Montparnasse rassembla rapidement une foule de jeunes artistes peu fortunés, attirés par la modicité des loyers et la rusticité des lieux." (The Montparnasse neighbourhood soon gathered a crowd of young artists, not very rich, who were attracted by modest rents and rusticity of places.)²⁶² Alberto Castellanos, Albert-Émile Artigue, Diana Cid García, Eliseu Visconti, Charles Flach,

²⁵⁹ John Milner's draws the map of the artistic Paris on which the city is divided according to the statuses of artists, their positions within the official art system and their proximity to the sites associated with avant-garde movements (cafés, theatres, galleries, studios). John Milner, *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late 19th Century*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1988. Another way to divide the city was proposed by Pierre Bourdieu: "commercial" Right bank against "avant-garde" Left bank. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1995, p. 161-162.

²⁶⁰ In 1877–1819 there existed a Society of Russian artists in Paris. Its goals were to promote Russian art and to help Russian artists while they were in France. Н. Лендер N. Lender, *По Европе и Востоку По Европе i Vostoku*, Saint-Petersburg, Izдание A.S.Suvorina, 1908.

²⁶¹ Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*, p. 130.

²⁶² Andrée Jacob and Jean-Marc Léri, *Vie et histoire du VIe arrondissement de Paris*, Paris, Hervas, 1986, p. 61.

Jean Cid lived here, at times at a distance of a dozen meters from each other.
[Appendix 3]

Albert-Émile Artigue lived at 117 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs from 1883 to 1894. In the 1880s he paid 1,200 francs for his apartment that consisted of “vestibule, cuisine, pièce à feu, passage, salon, salle à manger, f. à f., cabinet” (entrance hall, kitchen, room with fireplace, corridor, salon, dining room, living room with fireplace, study). For the atelier, rented in the same building, he paid additional 790 francs. In 1890 he moved to another apartment at the same address, for 3,000 francs.²⁶³ It means that his financial situation improved and probably the reason for that was his professional success.²⁶⁴ The majority of Artigue’s neighbours were also painters and sculptors: Laurens, Bouguereau, Carolus-Duran lived in the same street.

José Tomás Errázuriz preferred to rent a luxurious apartment in 43 avenue Bois de Boulogne and paid 11,200 for it.²⁶⁵ The distance between the houses of Artigue and Errázuriz was not only measured in miles; it was a distance in the social status of these two painters. The Chilean lived a bohemian life whose pleasures were far from the humdrum of the École des Beaux-Arts and romanticism of the poor student condition. Diana Cid García was much closer to Artigue: in 1894–1895 she rented an apartment with a kitchen, dining room, living room, antechamber, room with fireplace and corridor at 5bis rue Bara for 2,160 francs.²⁶⁶ These two painters likely knew each other: they were almost neighbours in Paris, both of them represented Argentina at the St. Louis World Fair of 1904, and both of them were friends with Schiaffino who campaigned for the acquisition of their paintings for the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Cote D1P4 811, *Calepins des propriétés bâties* (1852–1900), Archives de Paris, Paris, France.

²⁶⁴ For a reference, in the 1890s the annual salary of a postman in Paris was 600 francs, the daily payment of a maid – 1,5 francs, a litre of wine – 10 centimes. “Évolution du pouvoir d’achat des monnaies françaises,” Wikipedia, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89volution_du_pouvoir_d%27achat_des_monnaies_fran%C3%A7aises. Accessed 19 December 2017.

²⁶⁵ This is the price for 1876. Cote D1P4 133, *Calepins des propriétés bâties* (1852–1900), Archives de Paris, Paris, France.

²⁶⁶ Cote D1P4 70, *Calepins des propriétés bâties* (1852–1900), Archives de Paris, Paris, France.

²⁶⁷ The Fondo Schiaffino conserves the correspondence between Eduardo Schiaffino and many Argentinean painters living abroad whose paintings Schiaffino wanted to acquire for the national collection. His purchase demands for Cid García’s and Artigue’s paintings were rejected. Armario III

In 1896–1897 Cid García moved to 7 passage Stanislas, and in 1898 the same address is indicated in the catalogue entry of Jean Cid. Jean Cid is a riddle. I only know his place of birth and his residence in Paris. However, too many coincidences between him and Diana Cid García make me imagine that they were relatives, maybe cousins. However, I can only speculate about their relationship as there are no documents that could prove or contest these assumptions.²⁶⁸

Another unexpected and intriguing vicinity connects Diana Cid García and Eliseu Visconti. Cid García married a French sculptor Jean Dampé (1854–1945). They both exhibited in the Salons of the SNBA and shared the same address, 17 rue Campagne Première, from 1903. In 1905 Eliseu Visconti, according to the catalogue, was lodged “chez M. Dampé,” which means that not only Cid García and Visconti knew each other, but that they were friends. Dampé was well-known in symbolist circles and worked in decorative arts and design. Cid García helped him in his projects, and Visconti was a pioneer of symbolism, art nouveau and applied arts in Brazil.²⁶⁹ These parallels suggest certain proximity of aesthetic choices and exhibition practices between these three artists, that, probably, were not a mere coincidence but were somehow interconnected. In addition to this, Diana Cid García happened to regularly exhibit in Rio de Janeiro, although it was not a common practice for Argentineans to exhibit in Brazil and vice versa.²⁷⁰ Most probably, Eliseu Visconti was her guide into the artistic life of Rio de Janeiro.

As for Eliseu Visconti, in the 1890s his Parisian address was 16 rue de la Grande-Chaumière, next door to the famous Académie Colarossi. Knowing his motivation and

/E2/ BVIIC11d18, Eduardo Schiaffino, Carta al Ministro de Instrucción Pública (copia), 9 de agosto de 1904, Fondo Schiaffino, Área de Documentación y Registro, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

²⁶⁸ When I think of it, I usually imagine these two as cousins. Diana Cid García was married to Jean Dampé, so Jean Cid could not be her husband; at the same time he could not be her brother as they did not have the same family name. There is also a strong possibility that they were not related at all, but such a proposition is so barren that my mind forged by the evolution to look for patterns in random events find it improbable.

²⁶⁹ Luciano Migliaccio, “Eliseu Visconti and Symbolism” in *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012, pp. 266-267.

²⁷⁰ Maria do Carmo Couto da Silva, “Artistas Latino-Americanos no acervo do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro, obras adquiridas no final do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX,” *Encontro Nacional da ANPAP*, vol. 22, 2013, pp. 575-582.

enthusiasm, I suggest that he attended this school too, although none of the artist's biographies mentions this fact.

Latin American painters: stories and historiographies

The story of each painter is unique, as well as is unique each artwork. The leading characters of this dissertation are different, and their itineraries present the mix of many souvenirs, forgotten facts, external influences and personal epiphanies. On the other hand, our memory of them is made of the silence in the primary resources, rare descriptions by critics in the nineteenth and fragmentary accounts of historians in the twentieth century, and most of all by their rare paintings. Some of these stories are brief and incomplete; others are imaginative, yet pretending to be plausible. Combining personal stories with interpretations of the pictures and reading critically what was said or written before, I try to learn something new about these painters, art and historiographic issues that define our understanding of art history. I try to notice the signs of resistance on the part of artists and see how they dealt with the rules imposed on them at their times, but also to find out if it is possible to resist the rules by modernist narrative imposed on us today.

Travels from the periphery and back

In the epigraph to this chapter Rubén Darío (1867—1916) asks himself a question that reminds of today's discussion whether Paris was indeed the centre of art at the turn of the twentieth century or just a centre among others. Many scholars insist that there were multiple centres and propose not to look at the art world through the simplifying lenses of centre-periphery model.²⁷¹ However, the suggestive prose of Darío makes us take another look at the forces that drove Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938), Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), Wiehe, Guerrero and Sada Yacco (1871–1946) to Paris.

The notion of periphery is a sensitive issue in Latin American art history. Today, instead of contemplating and complaining about a presumably secondary place of Latin

²⁷¹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Introductoin 1. The Idea of World Art History" in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, Victoria, The Miegunyah Press, 2009, p. 73.

American art in the chorus of the global art world, the scholars recognise its conflictual, complex position. New models are being developed in order to comprehend and address this complexity. One of such new approaches is to alternate the negative connotation of the “peripheral” and to present it as a sign of originality and authenticity opposed to the dominant aesthetics: “Les périphéries participent enfin à des mouvements culturels centraux mais à partir de valeurs et de stratégies qui leur étaient propres.” (The peripheries participate in the cultural movements of the centre but retaining the values and strategies specific for them).²⁷² Another way is to deny the causality supposed by the centre-periphery dichotomy altogether. An Argentinean art historian and curator Andrea Giunta offers the notion of the simultaneity instead of genealogy and the situation instead of the context: “The scheme of centers and peripheries is an invalid one for the study of contemporary art. On the contrary, the notion of simultaneous avant-gardes is proposed in order to analyze works that have been incorporated into art’s global logic while still activating specific situations.”²⁷³

Indeed, it seems absurd to interpret an artwork and determine its value solely on the basis of its geographical provenance. If we think about the creative process in which the artist is involved while making a piece, we will have to admit that there are way too many factors that can play in the final result of his or her efforts, from the weather conditions on a particular day to the proximity of the deadline. However, when we define the value of the piece, more often than not we let ourselves be guided by the sets of principles and criteria determined by the market and its massive apparatus, instead of relying on artists’ or our own feeling and understanding. Art market brings geopolitics into the aesthetic judgment and demonstrates the inequalities between the regions sharpened by the narrative of modern art. My understanding of the centre-periphery dichotomy is a response to Foteini Vlachou’s invitation to “disengage the periphery from its exclusive geographical and spatial association.”²⁷⁴ We cannot prove that being in the centre or in the periphery of the global art system directly determines

²⁷² Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni, “Le modernisme brésilien, entre consécration et contestation” *Perspective*, vol. 2, 2013, p. 330.

²⁷³ Andrea Giunta, *¿Cuándo empieza el arte contemporáneo? / When Does Contemporary Art Begin?* Buenos Aires, Fundación arteBA, 2014, p. 105.

²⁷⁴ Foteini Vlachou, “Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery,” *Visual Resources*, vol. 32, no. 1-2, 2016, p. 2.

the aesthetic choices and stylistic preferences of artists, but we can see how it defines their access to art and the art world in the first place. The centre-periphery model in my opinion does not automatically assign value to certain expressions and traditions but indicates the power relations within the structure of the institutionalised art world. When we talk about artistic migration, the institutional aspect of the movement gets interconnected with the aesthetic considerations. These two issues, although not unrelated, belong to different orders and have different tolerance to the use of the centre-periphery model. The question of the aesthetic value cannot be addressed from the point of view of centre-periphery division, but this very division might be very helpful in exploring the migration patterns of Latin American painters and in assessing their access to education, collections, museums and exhibitions. It places their trajectories into a larger context of global political and economic hierarchies and reveals the power inequalities that formed dominant art historical discourses.

Analysing the dynamics between artistic centres and peripheries, Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg underlined the importance of extra-artistic factors in the establishment of power structures of the art world.²⁷⁵ Their observations have provided a convenient framework for many art historians working on the periphery. The structure of the global art system reflects the political and socio-economic forces that shape modernity. Although we may examine this system at different levels, from the deconstruction of institutional apparatus to the interpretation of individual artworks, the pervasive structural inequality will lurk beneath each level.²⁷⁶

The nature of the relations between Europe and Latin America has been at the focus of interest of economists, sociologists, political and cultural theorists for many decades. The much-discussed dichotomy between centre and periphery was formulated for the first time by the Argentinean economist Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986) in the

²⁷⁵ Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, “Domination symbolique et géographie artistique” in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 40, November 1981, pp. 53-54.

²⁷⁶ James Elkins considered the “focus on socio-economic context as a way to present provincial or belated material” to be a problem of the art history influenced by postcolonial theory. James Elkins, *The Impending Single History of Art: North Atlantic Art History and Its Alternatives*, unpublished manuscript, online at <http://www.jameselkins.com/index.php/experimental-writing/249-proposal-for-an-ideal-text>. Accessed 12 March 2018. Indeed, if socio-economic context replaces the visual analysis, instead of actually contextualising it, such approach could be problematic. However, the uncritical use of such terms as “belated” and “provincial” is also problematic.

1940s. Prebisch looked at the structural inequality in the trade deals between the centre (Western Europe and United States) and the periphery (Latin America). In “The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems,” Prebisch pointed out to the patterns of uneven distribution of innovation between the center and the periphery: “Mientras los centros han retenido integramente el fruto del progreso técnico de su industria, los países de la periferia les han traspasado una parte del fruto de su propio progreso técnico.” (While the centres kept the fruits of their technical and industrial progress, the peripheral countries transferred to the former a part of their own achievements.)²⁷⁷ The periphery, he argued, is thus deprived of the result of its own progress: not only is it subordinated to the centre, but also supports it and perpetuates its power. According to Prebisch, the balance of the global economic system relies on the inequality between the active centre and the passive periphery, and the same pattern is also reflected in the lifestyle, ideology, institutions and the collective imagination of the periphery about the powerful centre.²⁷⁸ The desired development becomes a promise that never comes true, so the periphery is doomed to stay in a subservient position which guarantees the prosperity of the centre. When applied to the art world, the logic behind the centre-periphery model proposed by Prebisch retains its capacity to demonstrate the structural inequalities and hierarchies in the global art system. At the same time, it invalidates the value judgment with which the same model is associated in art history. Accepting the geopolitical dimension of the centre-periphery paradigm and recognising its implication in art, I admit that the notion of value is one of the constructs of the power discourse, the construct that enacts the hierarchies and rankings for the purposes other than purely contemplative.

Similarly to the economic relations, the direction of the transcontinental artistic exchange is also based on the domination of the centre over the periphery. The same as the industrial innovations were kept for the service of the centre, the avant-garde innovations did not find their way to the peripheries either. The majority of the foreign artists, who filled the classes and studios of French art schools, were left on the margins of the artistic process even in Paris. They did not catch the attention of critics and

²⁷⁷ Raúl Prebisch, “El desarrollo económico de la América Latina y algunos de sus principales problemas,” *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 26, no. 103, 1986, p. 483.

²⁷⁸ Raúl Prebisch, “Cinco etapas de mi pensamiento sobre el desarrollo,” *El trimestre económico*, vol. 50, 1982, p. 1088.

historians focused on the defence of “national art schools” either in France, or in their home countries. They were ignored by the dealers and collectors. They were invisible in France for ideological reasons and due to the arrogance ruling in a highly competitive environment of Paris, while in their own countries they were invisible because of poor circulation of artworks, exhibitions and images at the turn of the twentieth century.

Despite a certain degree of simplification, the centre-periphery dichotomy is still helpful in giving a new look at the transcontinental artistic migration. It had travelled from sociology to art history, and today the bond between the two elements of the construction loosened; more and more often the notions of centre and periphery are used separately. Immanuel Wallerstein points out that “core-periphery is a relational concept, not a pair of terms that are reified, that is, have separate essential meanings.”²⁷⁹ The focus on the unbreakable connection between the core and periphery and the relativity of the value that is attached to these two poles provide a frame in which the international artistic migrations can be reconsidered. Artists, who travelled from Latin America to Europe, to study and copy the perfection of the so-called Italian and French schools, reinforced the dominance of the centres and found themselves in the trap of being always only imitators. In the meantime their role in the reinventing art in their home countries was downplayed by the canon.

Prebisch was the first to interpret the inequality of the centre-periphery power disposition in the realm of global economy. As for the narrower application of the centre-periphery logic in arts, the Russian formalists used it for the investigation of literature and its “evolution” as early as in the 1920s. Talking about the dynamics defining the literary evolution, a Russian writer and literary critic Yury Tynyanov (1894–1943) distinguished the centre and the periphery in the body of literature. For him the shifts between these two poles, propensity for constant exchange, drive of the peripheral phenomena to reach for the centre and the slippage of the central ones into periphery were the moving forces of literature. As the true representative of Russian revolutionary avant-garde he argued against continuity, but supported the idea of struggle and replacement as the stages of literary evolution. He concluded that the interpretation of the “literary fact” can only be valid and valuable if it is considered in

²⁷⁹ Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, p. 17.

the larger context: not from the point of view of canonical texts, but from the perspective that takes into account small genres and transitory events contributing to the overall literary production:

Неосторожно говорить по поводу какого-либо литературного произведения о его эстетических качествах вообще ... Обособляя литературное произведение, исследователь вовсе не ставит его вне исторических проекций, он только подходит к нему с дурным, несовершенным историческим аппаратом современника чужой эпохи.

It is carefree to talk about the aesthetic qualities of a literary piece taken separately ... Isolating the literary piece, the scholar does not position it beyond historical projections, but rather approaches it with the inappropriate, deficient historical apparatus of a contemporary from a foreign epoch.²⁸⁰

About fifty years later Lotman relied on Tynyanov's understanding of the centre-periphery dynamics to introduce it in his interpretation of the semiotic systems, such as cultures and arts. He noted that when the phenomena move from the centre to the periphery their value and position in the hierarchy also change:

Поскольку в каждой культурной системе соотношение ядро / периферия получает дополнительную ценностную характеристику как соотношение верх / низ, то динамическое состояние системы семиотического типа, как правило, сопровождается меной верха и низа, ценного и лишённого ценности, существующего и как бы несуществующего, описываемого и не подлежащего описанию.

In any cultural system the core / periphery relations are attributed additional value-judgmental characteristics like top / down relations, so any dynamic change of the system usually leads to a swap between top and down, valuable and unimportant, existent and as if non-existent, describable and not subject to description.²⁸¹

Tynyanov and Lotman not only show how art functions as a system but demonstrate that the structural elements of this system have unstable value that can change with time. However, usually this value is taken for granted and remains unquestioned. Prebisch demonstrated the structure of the different order, but it also has the centre-periphery dynamics as its formative characteristics and also indicates the

²⁸⁰ Юрий Тынянов Yuri Tynyanov, *Поэтика. История Литературы. Кино Poetica. Istoriya literatury. Kino*, Moscow, Nauka, 1977, pp. 258-259.

²⁸¹ Юрий Лотман Yuri Lotman, *Избранные Статьи Izbrannie stati*, vol. 1, Таллин, Александра, 1992, p. 99.

relativity of the value judgment imposed from the centre. Seeing the relative nature of value and the dynamic nature of the centre-periphery relations not only gives a new meaning to the interest in artists and artworks that are “not subject to description,” but draws in a new light the positions of recognised masters and masterpieces.

Arturo Grullón, Alberto Castellanos, Eduardo de la Torre, Charles Flach

Arturo Grullón (1869–1942) “né à Santiago (République dominicaine), élève de MM. Gérôme et Domingo.” (Born in Santiago (Dominican Republic), student of Gérôme and Domingo.)²⁸²

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Dominican Republic like other Latin American countries experienced important transformations in its economic and intellectual environments. The long period full of wars, rebellions and dictatorship resulted in the establishment of the new liberal regime, economic and demographic growth, and an increasing presence of the United States in all spheres of Dominican life. The cultural institutions were also on rise, but the progress in visual arts was not as remarkable as in literature. The slow professionalisation of fine arts on the island was due to the absence of specialised drawing schools and limited circulation of artworks and reproductions. First Dominican artists were either foreign-born or students of continental American schools and workshops.²⁸³

The Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes was founded only in 1942. In the nineteenth century the basic artistic education was provided by the drawing classes of Escuela Normal or private studios of rare European artists passing by the island. The Escuela Municipal de Dibujo, focused particularly on the “artistic” side of the drawing, opened in Santiago in 1883; its first director was the painter from Madrid Juan

²⁸² The story of each painter opens with a short entry he or she had in the catalogues of the Paris Salons. Here is the quote from the Catalogue of the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1890. Pierre Sanchez (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons. XVI, 1890–1892*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2009.

²⁸³ Frank Moya-Pons (ed.), *Historia de la República Dominicana*, Madrid, CSIC: Doce Calles, 2010, pp. 557-558.

Fernández Corredor.²⁸⁴ Just a few months after the opening he organised an exhibition to show the works of his eleven students, one of whom was Arturo Grullón.²⁸⁵

Arturo Grullón was one of the first artists in the history of the Dominican Republic and the first one who pursued his artistic education in Europe. In 1885 he went to Paris and tried to enter the École des Beaux-Arts but could not pass entry exams. Only many years later, after persistent efforts and attempts he was finally enrolled in the class of Gérôme in 1891.²⁸⁶ As we know at that time the popularity of the École des Beaux-Arts was declining among foreigners, so the commitment of Grullón proves not only the strength of his character but also his firm belief in the classical academic doctrine provided by the École. According to the French national archives he attended classes and studios of this school at least until 1900.²⁸⁷

Grullón was not only one of the first professional painters in the Dominican Republic, he was also one of its first brilliant doctors. According to the story repeated by the artist and critic Danilo de los Santos, the painter discovered his vocation for medicine during the anatomy classes in the École des Beaux-Arts. Thus, not only he studied painting while in Europe but also attended medical schools in Paris and in Algiers.²⁸⁸ However, Dominican historians of medicine insist that the painter studied medicine in the Instituto Profesional de Santo Domingo even before his European travel.²⁸⁹ It means that the medicine was his first love, not painting. In any case, today Arturo Grullón is far better known for his achievements in health care than as an artist: he was an eminent ophthalmologist and surgeon, introduced many innovative procedures and techniques and his name was given to the Hospital Infantil Regional Universitario Dr. Arturo Grullón.

²⁸⁴ Mariano Lebón Saviñón, *Historia de la cultura dominicana*, Santo Domingo, Comisión Oficial para la Celebración del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia Nacional, 1994, pp. 529-530.

²⁸⁵ Danilo de los Santos, *Arte e historia. De la colección de Artes Visuales del Banco Popular Dominicano*, Santiago, República Dominicana, Popular, 2013, p. 24.

²⁸⁶ Cote AJ/52/926 Inscriptions et contrôles de la présence des élèves. 1824–1949, Élèves. Seconde moitié du XIXe siècle–1970, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

²⁸⁷ Cote AJ/52/280 Dossiers individuels des élèves peintres : quatre séries alphabétiques et chronologiques. Milieu XIXe siècle–1920, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

²⁸⁸ Santos, *Arte e historia*, p 51.

²⁸⁹ “Dr. Arturo Grullón Julia,” *Historia Dominicana en Gráficas*, <http://historiadominicanaengraficas.blogspot.com/2017/03/dr-arturo-grullon-julia.html>. Accessed 22 December 2017.

In total Grullón spent seventeen years in France: from 1885 until his return to the Dominican Republic in 1902. During this time he exhibited a landscape *Effet de neige* in the Salon of the SAF in 1890, and a *Portrait de Mme D.* in the Salon of the SNBA in 1891. The traces of these paintings are hidden miles away from Lyon and looking for them would require much more time and resources than this particular research could afford with no guarantee of success. The ghosts of many paintings surround this dissertation and instead of hunting for them, we have to live in their presence as a reminder of the complicated routes of artistic migration. Fortunately, instead of the paintings mentioned in the catalogues, I could find two others that were made around the same time, but not exhibited in Paris. These are two pictures from the Algerian voyage of Grullón.

In the 1890s while in Algiers the painter made a pastel depiction of an Arab man *El Moro* (1900), now in the collection of the Banco Popular Dominicano, and an oil sketch of the city at seaside *Paisaje argelino*, now in the private collection. Danilo de los Santos calls these paintings the masterpieces of the Dominican visual culture. He not only praises the skill of the nineteenth-century master but compares him to Degas:

“El Moro” es una obra maestra por la ejecución técnica, por el exótico tema y su principalía relacionada a grandes obras históricas de autores dominicanos; principalía también dentro de los tesoros de arte del Banco Popular. Se trata de un retrato tipificado de un árabe ejecutado en la etapa argelina del pintor, alrededor del 1897, fecha de un “Paisaje argelino” de pinceladas dominadas por la soltura y la precisión. En “El Moro”, tales dominios fluyen precisando fisonomía, gesto y pose de un cuerpo varonil de rostro muy soleado y de beduina vestimenta cubriéndole desde la cabeza con turbante. La sumersión del personaje en un contexto claroscuro fortalece el plano principal de la composición, donde la destreza de las gamas del pastel a su manera, nos recuerda a Edgar Degas, un excepcional tratadista del impresionismo. Arturo Grullón se desarrolló como pintor en el período de la bella época francesa.

“The Moor” is considered a masterpiece due to its technical realization, its thematic exoticism and its preponderance compared with relevant historical pieces from other Dominican authors, as well as among the Banco Popular art treasures. It is a categorised portrait of an executed arabic man, during the painter’s Algerian period around 1897, date of a “Algerian landscape” in which, easy and precise brush-stroke prevails. In “The Moore” such commands flow, defining physiognomy, gesture and a mannish body pose, a very tanned face and a Bedouins costume crowned with a turban. The chiaroscuro surrounding the figure, give strength to the composition’s main plane, where the ability in using the pastel spectrum on its own way, remind us of Edgar Degas, the exceptional Impressionism’s master. Arturo Grullón



Figure 7. Arturo Grullón, *El Moro*, ca. 1900, pastel on papier mache, 46 x 61 cm, Colección de artes visuales del Banco Popular Dominicano, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Image: Danilo de los Santos, *Arte e historia*, 2013.

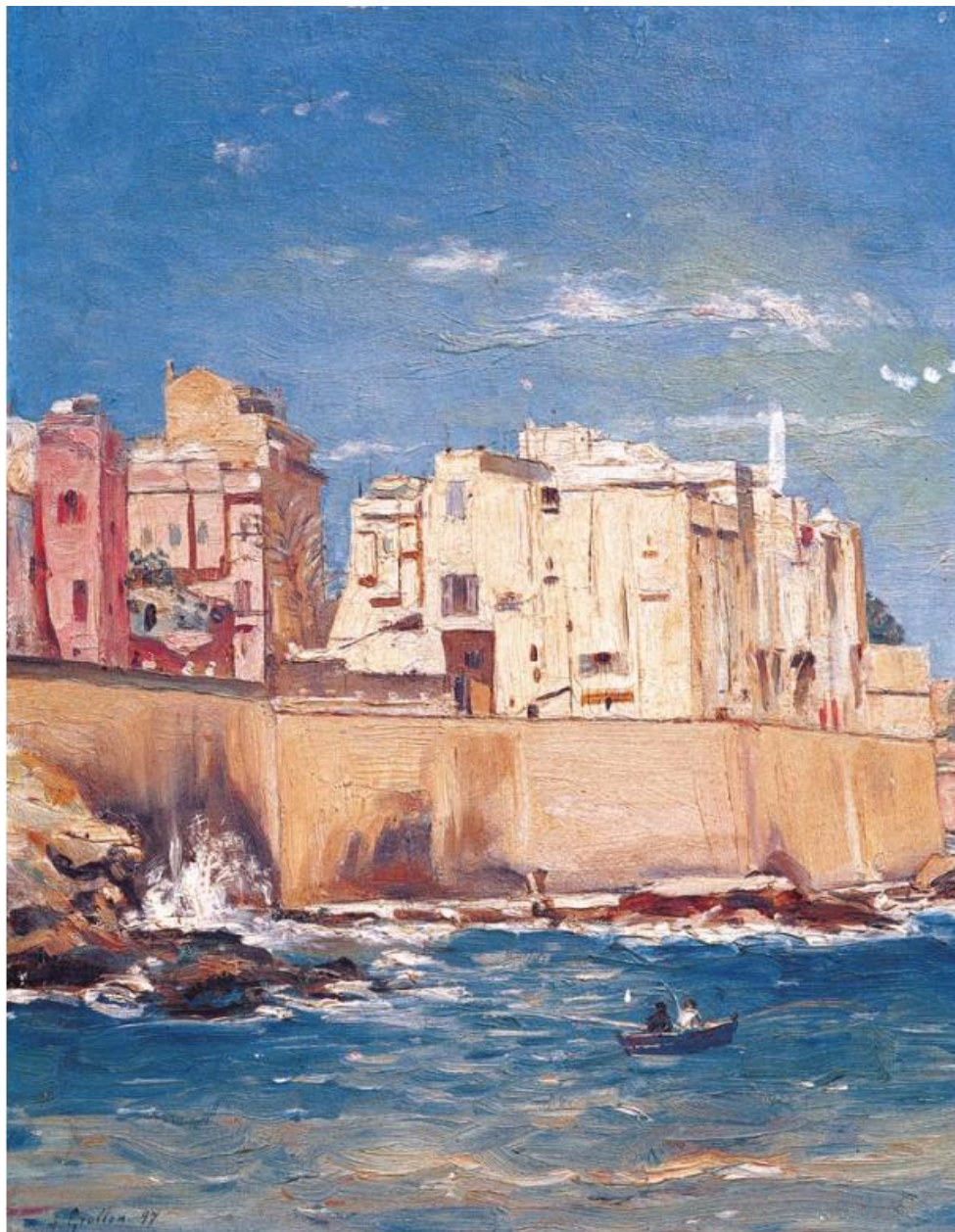


Figure 8. Arturo Grullón, *Paisaje argelino*, 1897, oil on canvas, 28 x 35 cm, collection Carlos Barreras Grullón. Image: Dominican Art Blog.

grew as a painter during the French Belle Époque period (English translation by Alejandro Aguilar).²⁹⁰ [Figure 7]

The reference to Edgar Degas or the feeling that somehow Grullón's painting "reminds us of" his French contemporary is not accidental or uncommon. Based on the commensuration of dates and the version of French art timeline, this comparison goes beyond the stylistic analysis or factual verification whether the Dominican painter knew Degas or about him. In fact, this "similarity" between two painters is purely symbolic and does not reflect any quality or peculiarity of either of them. It is a figure of speech that serves as a sign of quality, a proof that Grullón's *El Moro* is a modern work worth being included in the canon. At the same time it is an example of approaching an object with the "inappropriate, deficient historical apparatus of a contemporary from a foreign epoch" against which Tynyanov warned us.

Indeed, we can easily recognise late nineteenth century in *El Moro* and *Paisaje argenlino*. [Figure 8] In the 1890s exotism in types and landscapes was in great vogue, as well as the relative liberty in execution and colouring were common among artists working outdoors. However, these two tendencies did not mix very often. Grullón's teacher in the École des Beaux-Arts, Gérôme, was among the first masters of the oriental genre but he was faithful to the academic technique. On the other hand, the "exotic" research of the vibrant light and bright colours by impressionists in the 1880s and the *plein-air*'ists in the 1890s usually did not go farther than the Mediterranean shores of France. The typical *El Moro* was Grullón's tribute to the orientalist imagery while *Paisaje argenlino* was symptomatic of the changes in pictorial languages produced by the development of landscape painting in the nineteenth century. Both these pictures make the Dominican artists a part of what we call modern art, but he probably, should not be lined up next to Degas. The value of his pictures is in fact that they represent the viewpoint of the person who lives inside the complex and contradictory moment in the history of modern art and demonstrate the confusion characteristic for that moment, but not because they remind us of some recognised master of modernism. Grullón belonged to a different segment of the art world, not the one inhabited by painters like Degas and Cezanne and the attempts to bring them together does not serve any good for the Dominican artist.

²⁹⁰ Santos, *Arte e historia*, pp. 51, 351.

Alberto Castellanos (1869–1908) “né à Montevideo (Uruguay), élève de M. Carolus-Duran.” (Born in Montevideo (Uruguay), disciple of Carolus-Duran.)²⁹¹

Alberto Castellanos is a very enigmatic persona. According to the Benezit dictionary he was born in 1869, but his first submission to the Salon – a painting *Pommes* – bears a date 1884. He must have been fifteen at the moment of his first success with the Salon jury, but it seems very unlikely. In another dictionary published in Uruguay he is mentioned to have received Orden de la Cruz de Carlos III from the king Alfonso XII (1857–1885), which is also doubtful for the same reasons.²⁹² By all appearances, these are the fragments of the biographies of different Albertos Castellanos compiled by historians and critics who had a similar to mine problem: unavailability of reliable documents combined with the desire to say something about the painter. All inconsistencies aside, a certain Alberto did exhibit in Paris in the 1880–1890s and studied in the workshop of Carolus-Duran. After the split of 1890 he followed his teacher and from the SAF migrated to the SNBA where exhibited from 1894 to 1898.

Castellanos was a landscapist fond of marines, twilights or fogs, which is not surprising for the artist from Montevideo. In the 1890s this genre became an expression of the national idea in Uruguay and at the same time enjoyed commercial success among local art lovers and tourists.²⁹³ There are in total thirteen pictures by Castellanos in the Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales in Montevideo, but none of them found its place in the permanent exposition.²⁹⁴ Most of these paintings are foggy sea landscapes, not very big (average size 40 x 50 cm) or extravagant. One of them is *Puerta de Ostende* that depicts a grey day in Belgium and is indicative of Castellanos’ style. It has a simple balanced composition, almost monochrome colour scheme and nicely renders the stillness of the dying day. [Figure 9] This picture corresponds well to the idea of Belgian ports and grey days, but it could be a depiction of the port in Montevideo as

²⁹¹ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1884. Pierre Sanchez (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons. XIV, 1884–1886*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2009.

²⁹² *Plásticos Uruguayos*, p. 168.

²⁹³ Gabriel Peluffo Linari, *El paisaje a través del arte en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, Edición Galería Latina, 1995.

²⁹⁴ “Alberto Castellanos”, *AUTORES. La base de datos de autores de Uruguay*, <https://autores.uy/autor/1402>. Accessed 12 March 2018.



Figure 9. Alberto Castellanos, *Puerta de Ostende*, oil on canvas, 41 x 32 cm, Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales, Montevideo, Uruguay. Image: Autores.UY.

well. It has this generic quality: it does not promote any particular movement or style, does not reveal artist's personality or solve any technical dilemmas. It is what it depicts – the port in Ostende. At the end of the nineteenth century when the number of painters like Castellanos grew progressively, their works became “universally Europeanised”: a good craftsmanship used to treat the motive that repeats for as long as there is demand for it.

Eduardo de la Torre “né à Tampico (Mexique). (Born in Tampico (Mexico).)”²⁹⁵ The Mexican painter exhibited only twice in the Salons of the SNBA: *Environs de Pontoise* in 1892 and *Arbre géant de Tula (Mexique)* in 1902. In between these submissions he participated in the Mexican section at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 where received an honorary mention.²⁹⁶ An American critic from New York William Walton (1843 – 1915) analysed Torre's place within the fine art section of the World Fair, reflected on the “origins” of the Mexican school and concluded that Eduardo de la Torre was a bearer of Mexican genius and did not have Parisian training:

Though now so largely dominated by French traditions and methods, the art of Mexico, of Brazil and probably of all the other South American States, was originally derived from Spain. It is, however, asserted by intelligent travellers in that country that the art of Mexico is by no means a pale imitation of the Spanish, – and, indeed, by at least one of these travellers, in 1893, that “no one can comprehend the Spanish school of painting who has not made a preliminary study, however cursory, of the galleries of the National School of the Fine Arts in the city of Mexico, the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes.” Most of these republics send promising pupils to Paris and Rome to complete their technical education, by means of travelling scholarships, Prix de Rome, etc. The names that appear in the catalogues of the present Exposition are, with a very few exceptions, not those which figure in the art histories of these countries, or even those which appeared at the Chicago Fair in 1893, where there was an interesting little group of pictures from Brazil and Mexico. Of the latter country [Mexico], the two painters who are represented at the Grand Palais do not seem to be Paris trained; Luis Jacoby y Gomez exhibits two marines, one

²⁹⁵ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts of 1892. Gaïte Dugnat (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts. I, 1890–1895*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2005.

²⁹⁶ Sebastian B. De Mier, *México en la exposición de Paris, 1900*, París, Imprenta de J. Dumoulin, 1901, p. 137, online at <https://archive.org/details/mexicoenlaexpos00mier>. Accessed 12 March 2018.

by moonlight and one by morning light and Eduardo de la Torre, a landscape in conventional daylight.²⁹⁷

This quote is interesting not because its author did not know that de la Torre actually studied in the Académie Julian in 1891 but because it gives a slightly alternative vision of the art world and its genesis from that produced by the French criticism. Repeating the words of French critics about the domination of French tradition and methods, the author, nevertheless, brings Spain back into the picture and even refers to the non-linear but two-directional continuity between the artistic traditions in Mexico and Spain. Seen from the USA, the position of Paris in the centre of the artistic universe does not cancel the importance of other cities and places, and the critic intends that the contemporary Mexican painting does not owe everything to France. This subtle difference goes a long way in the context of the nineteenth century competition of national art schools and shows the signs of resistance to the European domination from the peripheral critics.

Charles Flach (1863–1933) “né au Brésil.” (Born in Brazil.)²⁹⁸

Charles Flach is another ghostly painter of whom we know almost nothing, but whose works sometimes re-surface at the auctions and in the galleries specialised in nineteenth-century art. He was born on 22 February 1863 in Colônia Leopoldina in Brazil, studied painting Europe with Hubert Herkomer (1849–1914) nearby London and Albert Besnard and Alfred Roll in Paris.²⁹⁹ Besnard and Roll were among the most notable and successful representatives of the so-called “young school” of the SNBA so it is not surprising that Flach exhibited in the Salons of the younger society instead of SAF. In 1899 he showed two landscapes – *Paysage (effet de soleil)* and *Type Farm* – in the painting section and in 1897–1898 several graphic works in the drawing section. Flach was a master of graphic art and skilful pastellist which is proved by his late *Portrait of a girl* (1918) currently on sale in Switzerland and a very similar untitled portrait of 1897 sold at the Gonnelli auction in 2014. [Figures 10, 11] It is interesting

²⁹⁷ Victor Champier, William Walton and André Saglio, *Exposition universelle, 1900 : the chefs-d'œuvre*, Philadelphia, G. Barrie & Son, 1900, p. 79, online at <https://archive.org/details/expositionuniver06walt>. Accessed 12 March 2018.

²⁹⁸ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts of 1899. Dugnat (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts. II, 1896–1900*.

²⁹⁹ Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs : de tous les temps et de tous les pays*. III, D-Forain, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1960.



Figure 10. Charles Flach, *Portrait of a girl*, 1918, pastel on paper, Village Antiques, Switzerland. Image: Village Antiques.

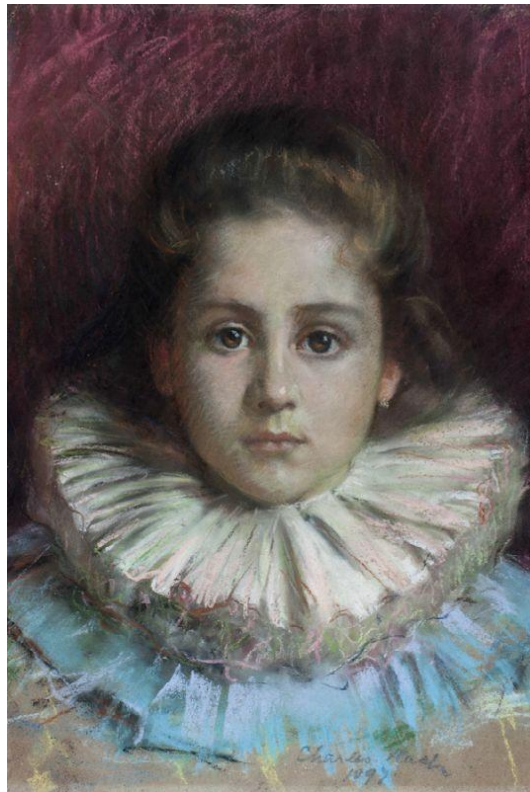


Figure 11. Charles Flach, *Volto di ragazza*, 1897, pastel on paper, 44 x 30 cm, private collection. Image: Gonnelli Casa d'Aste.

how much these two portraits look alike in spite of almost two decades that divide them, except perhaps the later portrait being more finished and polished. The portrait of 1918 reminds of the communion portraits and photographs of the early twentieth century, while the drawing of 1897 might be a sketch made at one of the family celebrations of parties. In any case both these drawings were destined for the walls of family mansions and more than likely show a narrow specialisation of the painter living out of his pencil and brush.³⁰⁰

Albert-Émile Artigue (1850–1927)

“né à Buenos Ayres, de parents français, élève de Cabanel et l’École municipale de Bordeaux.” (Born in Buenos Aires from French parents, student of Cabanel and École Municipale de Bordeaux.)³⁰¹

Albert-Émile Artigue, also known as Emilio, opened the discussion of this dissertation. He was born in Buenos Aires in a French family from Bordeaux. His father was a photographer; one among the thousands of European immigrants who went to Argentina attracted by the policy of open immigration.³⁰² When Albert-Émile was fifteen the family moved back to France, and he started learning drawing in the municipal school in Bordeaux. In 1873 he went to Paris and enrolled in the École des Beaux-Arts in the class of Alexandre Cabanel.³⁰³ Cabanel was a prominent painter, influential professor and member of the art establishment. He was appointed as the head of one of the free workshops formed after the reform of 1863, and soon his atelier became the main attraction for young artists in Paris. Cabanel is a legendary master of academic art but during his lifetime he gained respect for his open-mindedness and

³⁰⁰ “Lot 802, Home Auction calendar Auction 16,” *Gonnelli*, <https://www.gonnelli.it/uk/auction-0016/flach-charles-volto-di-ragazza--7.asp>. Accessed 18 July 2018.

³⁰¹ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1893. Pierre Sanchez (ed.), *Les catalogues des Salons. XVII, 1893–1895*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2009.

³⁰² José León Pagano, *El arte de los argentinos*, vol. 1, Buenos Aires, Ed. Del autor, 1937, pp. 324–325.

³⁰³ Cote AJ/52/236 Élèves. 1800–1945, Registres matricules des élèves peintres et sculpteurs. 1807–1894, Archives de l’École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

ability to accept and understand different tendencies in contemporary painting even if they did not correspond to his aesthetics.³⁰⁴

During his studentship years Artigue started showing his paintings in the Salon: a portrayal of a coquette *Moquese* in 1882, a genre scene *Une somnambule extra-lucide* in 1883, and a sketch *Adèle* in 1888. After the split of 1890, Artigue tested the new venue in 1890 and 1891 but afterwards returned to the SAF and regularly exhibited at the Salons des Champs Élysées until the 1920s. Knowing about the power of École's professors in the jury of the Salon, the influence of Cabanel could be decisive for Artigue's entrance in the world of Parisian exhibitions and also for the style of his early submissions characterised by the academic technique, easily decoded narration of the subject-matter, inclination towards pathos in genre scenes or seductiveness in female depictions, interest in oriental genre. However, after a brief period in the SNBA the 1890s the stylistic and aesthetic searches of Artigue finally crystallised: although in 1890 he exhibited rather academic oriental scenes, in 1891 he re-invented himself as a painter of elegant leisure scenes similar in style and "mood" to the compromise aesthetics of the leaders of the SNBA. Since then his paintings mostly portrayed pleasant moments of bourgeois leisure, beautiful peasant girls and sweet ladies in the idyllic sceneries and interiors. Before entering this world of joy and lightness, I would like to mention a short but bright oriental period in Artigue's work.

In 1890 the painter submitted three oriental scenes to the Salon of the SNBA: *Marchand Tunisien*, *Un nettoyeur de cuivres*, *Deux Gardiens*.³⁰⁵ In comparison with the canvases of his teacher or other famous Orientalists, Artigue's pictures were intimate and devoid of grandeur and pathos usually expected from this kind of painting. In the last three decades *Marchand Tunisien* and *Un nettoyeur de cuivres* several times appeared at the auction sales in Europe and USA and were acquired by private

³⁰⁴ Cabanel taught Gervex, Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884), Fernand Cormon (1845–1924), Henri Regnault (1843–1871), Eugène Carrière, Henri Le Sidaner (1862–1939), brazilians Rodolfo Amoedo (1857–1941) and José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850–1899), the founder of the Académie Julian Rodolphe Julian (1839–1907), Dagnan-Bouveret, Collin and many others. Michel Hilaire and Sylvain Amic, *Alexandre Cabanel, 1823–1889 : la tradition du beau*, Montpellier, Musée Fabre, 2010.

³⁰⁵ Two of these pictures were reproduced in the *Catalogue illustré* and can be easily identified. As for *Deux gardiens* we assume that it also depicted an oriental scene based on the title and consistency of Artigue's painterly research. *Catalogue Illustré des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure exposés au Champ-de-Mars le 15 Mai 1890*, Paris, Lemerancier et Cie, 1890.



Figure 12. Emilio Artigue, *El pebetero*, oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Image: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires.

collectors. However, there is an accessible oriental painting by Artigue in a public collection – *El pebetero* donated to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires by an Argentinean collector Ángel Roverano in 1910. This canvas is not signed, neither is it dated, it was not exhibited in any of Paris Salons, but if it is indeed Artigue's work, it would be reasonable to assume that it was one of his early student paintings created during the oriental phase before the pictures exhibited in 1890, probably somewhere in the late 1880s.³⁰⁶ [Figure 12]

At first sight *El pebetero* seems to be a conventional oriental painting like many others at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁰⁷ It follows the imaginative, but disguised as ethnographic, representation mode adopted by the later generation of orientalists like Cabanel and Gérôme instead of the imagery of grandeur of Delacroix and Fromentin. However, it is more laconic and less noisy than the canvases of famous masters. It does not impress or oppress the viewer by the format, elaboration of details or intensity of the encoded narration. It is the biggest of all Artigue's oriental pictures and the one on which he worked for some time: a variant of the same scene in smaller format and cropped composition was sold at Sotheby's auction in 1994 for very moderate price – € 264. This smaller canvas features exactly the same female figure in the centre without any surrounding entourage, and the title was chosen accordingly: *Dancing maiden* – a straightforward description of what is depicted. The difference between *Dancing maiden* and the picture from Buenos Aires is that in the second case we might doubt whether the woman is really performing a dance. She seems to exist in her normal state which is by definition a performance of beauty and femininity but not necessarily through dancing. The voyeuristic nature of the depiction is quite explicit but offering

³⁰⁶ The judgment of the curators of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires upon accepting the donation was brief and crushing: "Cuadro mal ejecutado y cursi" (Painting is badly executed and pretentious). Armario III /E4/ BXIXC9d16, Eduardo Schiaffino, Borrador de Catálogo con notas descriptivas para consultar, ca. 1901–1920, Fondo Schiaffino, Área de Documentación y Registro, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

³⁰⁷ Today the term "Orientalism" is often replaced by "exotism" for the latter is argued to better expresses the balance between the ethnographic realism and imagination in Orientalist painting: "The exoticist paradigm is once again more useful to explore such [as demonstrated in the studies of Michel Thévoz, Olivier Richon, Peter Mason and Frederic Bohrer] oscillation, paradox and hybridity, which transgress the neat binaries of (Saidian) Orientalism." Julia Kuehn, "Exotic Harem Paintings: Gender, Documentation and Imagination," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2011, p. 46. I believe that "exotic" is a convenient term in a sense that it can provide more liberty to interpretation and is less "site-specific," but at the same time its latitude makes it less precise.

inconclusive clues and hints it invites the viewer to develop his or her own interpretation of the scene.

Most likely both titles, *El pebetero* and *Dancing maiden*, were given to these pictures by dealers and collectors who owned them. Both of them name what is depicted on the canvas, but if *Dancing maiden* is an obvious, somewhat stereotypical, title that can be derived from the portrayal of the woman in a stylised oriental costume, *El pebetero* bewilders us with its shifted focus from the figure of the apparent protagonist of the scene to the censer. This shift opens a new dimension in the space of the picture and in our relations with it. It gives the beginning to the narration and fills the shared between the painter and the viewer space with almost physical presence of scents, sounds, and touches associated with the Orient in Western imagination. The clichés employed in this picture date back to the times of French colonial conquests but from the fantasy worlds of the nineteenth century they persisted in the present, so the contemporary viewer can easily grasp and feel them even without any specific instruction or knowledge of oriental painting.³⁰⁸

The simple censer is our door into the world of the picture. This would seem secondary object in fact initiates the movement of the composition and gives a smooth sequence to the actions of two figures. Having attracted our attention, it indicates the direction for our eyes to follow and dictates the reading of picture's narrative. The servant and the woman do not interact with each other, but their communication is assured by the censer: its smoke revives and connects them. The man blows the censer with an expression of utter devotion and concentration in his face and whole figure. The plume of smoke produced by the power of his lungs curls around the woman and passes on to her the vibration of this exhale. It whirls around her, fuses with her transparent veil and curves into the twist of her body. She appears as if made of this smoke; she is as a creation of the effort and imagination of the man.

³⁰⁸ From the moment of publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* the number of studies build on his thought exploded. Art history and visual studies were especially interested in testing his methodology as Said himself did not analyse the vast domain of the orientalist painting of the nineteenth century. The research of Inge E. Boer relies on the work of Said and at the same time provides a critique to it. The author addresses the issue of relations between representation and reality in the artefacts circulating in France in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Her interest in the stereotypes and their deviations feed on our reflection about the Oriental scenes by Artigue. Inge E. Boer, *Disorienting Vision: Rereading Stereotypes in French Orientalist Texts and Images*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2004.



Figure 13. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Dance of the Almeh*, 1863, oil on wood, 50 x 81 cm, The Dayton Art Institute. Image: The Dayton Art Institute.

Artigue's presumed dancer stands as a metonymy of harems and female sensuality produced by and for the enjoyment of men. Linda Nochlin would say that she poses for "the white man, the Westerner" who is always present in orientalist paintings.³⁰⁹ I would add that not only the "white man" but all men and many white women participate in the transformation of women's lives into a permanent performance. The heroine of *El pebetero* is a product of our imagination and mirrors back to us all the stereotypes that we tend to impose on the so-called oriental women. She indeed resembles a dancer – one of the powerful tropes of orientalist painting wide-spread at the time when the popularity of belly-dance was "almost hysterical."³¹⁰ The famous *Almée* (1863) by Gérôme is a classical depiction of the oriental dancer in French painting. [Figure 13] On this picture we can "tick all the boxes" that indicate oriental dance: outfit associated with performance, typical gestures and moves, the musicians on the right and the audience on the left, the structure of *mis-en-scène* and of course the central point of the scene – a belly-button. Gérôme's work was praised by audience and critics; it cleverly combined the voyeuristic appeal of the genre and technical virtuosity of the brushwork.³¹¹ Artigue's picture is less articulate in this sense. We assume that the woman dances following the habit of turning all oriental women into performers. There are no particular accessories, objects or narrative hints that would prove us wrong or right in this assumption. Is one drum a strong enough index to signify dance and excuse the absence of naked belly?

El pebetero belongs to the imaginary of Oriental sensuality fabricated by the visual culture in France, but Artigue responds to the tradition that favoured depictions of sexualised women controlled by the male gaze in his own manner. In his picture the woman, obviously, attracts the most attention, but one of the reasons for this is that she confronts our gaze. She looks outside of the canvas and engages with the viewer unlike the servant whose eyes are closed and who is wilfully pushed into the corner of the composition. Not only is he displaced, his space is shrunk by the carpet on which he

³⁰⁹ Linda Nochlin was among the first art historians to respond to apply Said's optics to interpretation of orientalist painting. Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient" in Linda Nochlin (ed.), *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, New York, Harper & Row, 1989, p. 57.

³¹⁰ Antonio Baldassarre, "Being Engaged, Not Informed: French 'Orientalists' Revisited," *Music in Art*, vol. 38, no. 1-2, 2013, p. 71.

³¹¹ Jean-Léon Gérôme, *1824–1904 : l'histoire en spectacle*, Paris, Skira Flammarion, 2010, p. 268.



Figure 14. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Naissance de Venus*, 1879, oil on canvas, 300 x 218 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

is sitting, background against which he is squeezed and censer that cuts him from the foreground. Even the colouring of his outfit, tapis and skin shade made him merge with the sculpted wall behind. The female figure, on the other hand, contrasts with the wall: the colours of her transparent veil, violet garments and the flowers at her feet move her closer to the border between the pictorial space and the viewer's world.

The outfit of our presumed dancer is quite strange: it is not ethnographically accurate or even articulate, but it fulfils the function of being seductive, even without nudity exposure. The deliberate representation of the most unimaginative female nudity destined for rich collectors were usual in the late nineteenth-century painting. In certain way Artigue's painting fit in with the pictures like *Naissance de Vénus* (1879) by Bouguereau that have only one objective to showcase female flesh, but at the same time it differs from them. [Figure 14] Oriental odalisques continued the classical tradition of depiction of female nudes, but added to it an aspect of domination – of men over women and of the coloniser over the colonised. This kind of painting was a celebration of the imperial attitudes of France.³¹² In comparison to the famous examples of the genre Artigue's painting is almost prude. Despite the apparent transparency of woman's clothes, she is still covered from head to toes, and her nudity is rather a promise, not a given fact. She is abundantly decorated with flowers and jewellery: in the hair, on the neck and hips, fingers and toes. Under a closer examination the pleasures that she prompts are more sophisticated than, for instance, the nudes of Bouguereau: she offers a joy of exploring textures, sparkling surfaces and bright gems. The eye wanders all over the pleats and chains of her outfit as it would wander in the window of a jewellery shop. The lazy motion of Artigue's character does not reveal a meaningful movement of the dance because it is the performance of another kind – this woman is a gem herself, expensive and inaccessible precious stone.

The extravagance of Artigue's canvas does not end here. His beauty not only shines as a diamond, her figure destroys the balance of antique *contrapposto*: it is too curved, almost ecstatic. It harnesses a baroque impulse of arrested explosion instead of classical steadiness. This curve and the splash of contained energy it engenders is repeated in the animal sculpture on the stairs in the background. The compositional role of the feline is quite pragmatic: it gives a necessary balance to the swirling dynamics of

³¹² Baldassarre, "Being Engaged, Not Informed," p. 66.



Figure 15. Guardian figure from the entrance to the Temple of Ishtar, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), Mesopotamia, Iraq, 865–860 BCE, The British Museum, London, UK. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

the colourful spot in the foreground and stops the wall from falling. At the same time it mirrors the bend of the female figure and thus transforms the woman into a statue, or the woman lends her vital energy to the cat. These two powerful creatures break the limits of the pictorial space and rush into our reality.

The monstrous sculpture in the painting was Artigue's reaction to the "Assyrian fashion" of the late nineteenth century. The expeditions in the Middle East enriched the collections of British and French museums with magnificent objects from the ancient cities, like, for instance, the Assyrian lion from the British Museum. [Figure 15] Another Assyrian motive is the flat screen behind two figures that separates the scene with the censer from the outer world behind it. It resembles a tapestry, but it is a bas-relief with the characteristic for ancient Mesopotamia sculpted patterns: horses, archers, hippocentaurs and chariots with wheels. Artigue's interest in textures and factures made him explore not only orientalist imaginary but also archaeological collections installed in the Louvre and British Museum on which the leading art magazines reported extensively: "Le regard se perd au milieu de ce luxe de détails, qui créent une étrange confusion, et le bas-relief, ainsi conçu, prend l'apparence d'une tapisserie." (The gaze is lost in the midst of this luxury of details, that create a strange confusion and the bas-relief, viewed from this position, looks like a tapestry).³¹³

Of all the areas and territories associated with the Orient in nineteenth-century France, the Assyrian imagery was probably the least explored and the most enigmatic. It attracted artists by its "glaring absences as well as almost ghostly presences."³¹⁴ It tickled the imagination and provided a rich material for the formal experiments by the artists who were fond of academic technique and abjured inclusion of the modern life subjects into the art of painting. To some extent it was an academic response to the expansion of styles and techniques within the strictly regulated domain of classical tradition. The French symbolist painter Ary Renan (1857–1900) was not strange to the oriental genre and explained its appeal as follows:

³¹³ Maxime Collignon, "La Sculpture antique au British Museum (1^{er} article)," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1 February 1887, pp. 89-94.

³¹⁴ The popularity of Assyria also manifested in famous Courbet's beard, Degas's drawings of Assyrian bas-reliefs and Moreau's sketchbooks. Frederick N. Bohrer, "Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and Reception in Nineteenth-Century England and France," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, no. 2, 1998, pp. 336-356.

Ainsi, l'art qui se fonde sur l'exotisme est en raison directe des préoccupations innées que l'artiste emporte avec lui. La foi et l'enthousiasme peuvent seuls transfigurer le spectacle de la nature étrangère, de même qu'une pointe de tendresse est nécessaire à la peinture de la nature voisine et familière. Or, l'Orient n'est assimilable à nos races ni par son idéal ni par sa philosophie. Les voyages d'Orient élargissent les idées ; ils ne sauraient faire naître chez personne une idée véritablement nouvelle, car les symboles sont trop différents. La peinture orientaliste n'a donc qu'une raison d'être : c'est de montrer, à leur paroxysme, certaines beautés des phénomènes naturels : la pureté du ciel, le charme des eaux courantes, les vertus des couleurs, que sais-je?

Thus, the art that is based on exotism is a direct expression of the inner preoccupations of the artist. Faith and enthusiasm alone can transfigure the spectacle of the alien nature, in the same way as a touch of tenderness is necessary for rendering of the nearby and familiar nature. Yet, the Orient cannot be assimilated by our races either in its ideal or philosophy. The travels to the Orient widen the ideas, but they cannot produce the truly new ideas, as its symbols are too different. Orientalist painting does not have another function and meaning as to show certain beauties of the natural phenomena: clarity of the sky, charms of running waters, virtues of colours, what else?³¹⁵

Artigue adhered to the objective of expressing beauty as an ideal of his art. He played with painterly effects on the shiny surfaces and turned the human figures into some sort of objects; they are also *bebilots*, accessories, and signs of the exotic.³¹⁶

El pebetero is a picture about beautiful objects and textures, and the tendency to render women as accessories remained significant in Artigue's painting even after he switched from orientalism to the scenes of bourgeois pastime and recreation in idyllic landscapes. The striking feature of these new paintings is the same objectification of women and turning them in the element of decor. Artigue used to make his characters undistinguishable from the environment in which they were placed. Dresses, accessories, gestures were mirrored in the details of the surroundings and would become a part of the flamboyant nature. The "harmony" between the heroines and the background is stunning in the diptych *The Goose girl / Songbirds*. [Figure 16]

³¹⁵ Ary Renan, "La Peinture orientaliste," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1 January 1894, pp. 52-53.

³¹⁶ Such rendering of the Oriental woman was a commonplace. Marc Gotlieb about *Salome* (1870) by Henri Regnault: "Salome offered a feast for the eyes, a licentious, supercharged, perceptual luxuriousness so evocative that it seemed to Gautier to incarnate the Orient. Predictably, such ravishment came in the shape of a woman." Marc Gotlieb, "Figures of Sublimity in Orientalist Painting," *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 74, 2009, p. 332.

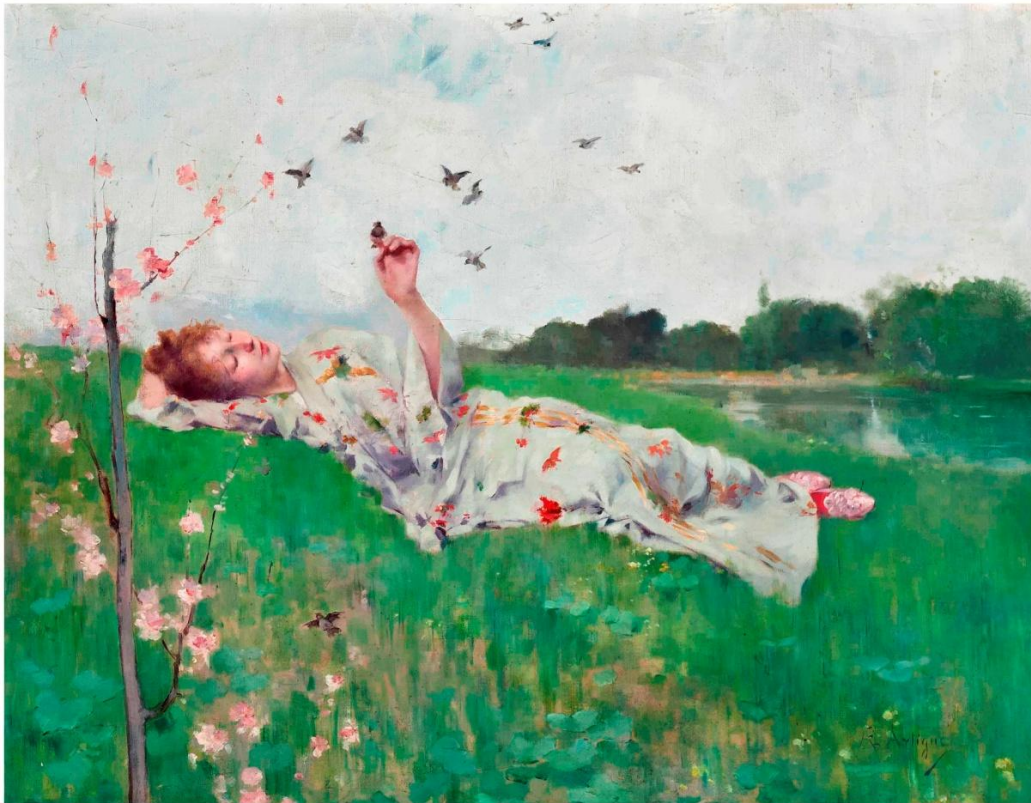


Figure 16. Albert-Émile Artigue, *The Goose Girl / Songbirds*, ca. 1896, oil on canvas, 60 x 85 cm, private collection. Image: Christie's.

These pictures are executed with lightness and brio that make Artigue an exemplary representative of the international *juste milieu*. He masterly combined moderate experiments of the outdoor painting with the academic technique. Brightness and vivid colouring are the main qualities of this new period in the stylistic evolution of the painter. Even contemporary French critics accepted him as an integral part of the French school, although rated him low:

Puisque il est question des imitateurs, nous citerons encore, mais cette fois parmi nos compatriotes, MM. Buland, Dinet, Aimé, Perret, de Monvel, qui s'inspirent de M. Bastien-Lepage; MM. Artigue, Geoffroy, Brispot, qui peignent d'après le système de Manet.

As for the question of imitators, we will cite also, this time among our compatriots, MM. Buland, Dinet, Aimé, who take inspiration from M. Bastien-Lepage; MM. Artigue, Geoffroy, Brispot, who paint according to the system of Manet.³¹⁷

Artigue's works of the 1890s could be easily confused with the kind of painting exhibited in the SNBA that was associated with Impressionism back at the time: fresh, vibrant, executed outdoor in dashing brushwork, but at the same time simple and understandable. They were supposed to satisfy ethic and aesthetic aspirations of international bourgeoisie, which constituted the primary audience for *juste milieu* painting.

Amid the maelstrom of tendencies, techniques and movements painters had to invent their original styles, while considering the demands of the collectors coming to Paris from all the corners of the world. The shift in Artigue's style was partly dictated by the fashion and tastes of Parisian art lovers.³¹⁸ To establish himself in the new specialisation, the painter even took classes of such successful painters of the moment

³¹⁷ Henry Houssaye, "Le salon de 1884," *La revue des deux mondes*, May 1884, p. 581.

³¹⁸ Artigue's "adaptation" to the demands of the art market is not considered as decisive factor in defining aesthetic value of his work. According to Jürgen Habermas, "The function of the market was confined to the distribution of the cultural goods and to their removal from the exclusive use of wealthy patrons and noble connoisseurs. Exchange value still failed to influence the quality of the goods themselves: something of the incompatibility between these kinds of products and the commodity form has been attached to the trade with cultural goods down to our own day." Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1991, p. 165.



Figure 17. Giovanni Boldini, *Spring*, 1873, oil on canvas, 29 x 51 cm, private collection. Image: Wikiart.

as Gustave Courtois (1852–1923) and Gustave Moreau (1826–1898).³¹⁹ The genre featuring an idealised countryside inhabited by idealised young women was also a reaction to the growing popularity of Normandy and Brittany as vacation destinations for cosmopolitan elites of Paris. Artigue’s paintings cleverly combined the elements of landscape painting revolutionised by Impressionists and flattering portrayal of female beauty. A remarkable representative of this genre, Giovanni Boldini (1842–1931), practiced this kind of pleasant painting in the 1870s and gained immediate success among collectors.³²⁰ [Figure 17]

Late nineteenth-century painters often depicted their female models for the sake of luminous effects and virtuosity rather than in order to reveal their personalities or render psychological portrayals. The best of them, John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), Besnard, James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), Jacques-Émile Blanche (1861–1942) would succeed in both aspects.³²¹ The difference between Artigue’s pictures and the works of these portraitists is that they are not portraits. Like in the case with El pebetero his female figures act like staffage in the classical painting. They are not sexualised as we could expect it, but are rendered as the objects for aesthetic contemplation. They are mere “sights” of their own presence in the carefully constructed entourage.³²²

Decorativeness and amenity are undeniable qualities of Artigue’s painting: he would easily turn his subjects into lavish florid surfaces. He was a versatile artist who worked in many media (oil painting, drawing, etching and poster), and all his works show technical skill and sophistication of the master. His career did not have radical turns and leaps, but his painting evolved over time, and his late canvases lost the

³¹⁹ Artigue attended classes of Gustave Courtois in 1897 and Gustave Moreau in 1898. Cote AJ/52/72 Concours : inscriptions des candidats. 1896–1947, Archives de l’École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

³²⁰ Sarah Lees (ed.), *Giovanni Boldini in Impressionist Paris*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 2010, p. 130.

³²¹ The destinies of these artists in modernist historiographies were different: the French portraitist are usually not given much credit in comparison with their more “advanced” colleagues like Degas or Cézanne, while the foreigners are usually perceived as the translators of innovation and avant-garde in their respective countries. Since the points of reference applied in French, international and diverse national contexts change, the same (or very similar) painters acquire different positions in the hierarchies and canons produced by art histories.

³²² John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, Penguin books, 1972, p. 47.

lightness and exuberance of the early works. Artigue's late portraits from the Argentinean collections demonstrate painter's interest in psychological interpretation of the sitter that makes a good portraiture. I could repeat after the French critic and say that Artigue was just a follower of Parisian tendencies, but I prefer to see his oeuvre as a complex entity conditioned by the contradictory, yet mutually dependent, discourses of originality and respect for tradition, rebellion and audience-pleasing.

The adaptability of Albert-Émile Artigue concerned not only his style but his self-identification as well. The artist played out the ambiguity of his origin as a professional strategy: in the Argentinean art world dominated by the national art discourse he claimed being a patriot, while in Paris he joined the cohorts of international artistic networks. Although he lived the biggest part of his life in Paris, he did not lose a connection with Buenos Aires where his patriotism was almost proverbial.

Durante este largo lapso, no olvidó nunca su condición de argentino; habiendo obtenido el primer premio de dibujo, en el Liceo de Burdeos, le correspondía una beca municipal para perfeccionar sus estudios artísticos en París, pero era menester optar por la ciudadanía francesa; Emilio Artigue rehusó la beca, con tal de conservar la ciudadanía Argentina.

During this long lapse of time, he did not forget that he was Argentinean. When he received a first prize in drawing at the Bordeaux lycée, he had also the right for the municipal scholarship to continue artistic studies in Paris, but before accepting it, he had to take the French citizenship. Emilio refused the scholarship in order to keep his Argentinean citizenship.³²³

The author of these lines, an Argentinean painter and art historian Eduardo Schiaffino, made a significant effort for the "nationalisation" of Artigue. It spans from retelling the anecdotes about the painter to purchasing his pictures for the collection of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. It was Artigue's patriotism that allowed him to get a professorship at the newly-founded National Academy of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires in 1909, participate in the Argentinean sections of the World Fairs in Europe and USA and sell paintings to Argentinean collectors.³²⁴

³²³ Eduardo Schiaffino, *La evolución del gusto artístico en Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, Francisco A. Colombo, 1982, p. 97.

³²⁴ Armario III /E4/ BXIXC8d8, Artigue (Emilio) 1850, Fondo Schiaffino, Área de documentación y registro, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Of course, patriotism of Artigue was well-received in Argentina; it was a sign of personal virtue. But it was “French” excellence and cosmopolitan appeal of Artigue’s painting that gained him professional recognition. Such contradiction between national and international discourses was common for artistic ideologies of Latin American countries who tried to win their place among the “civilized” nations by accepting imposed by Europe modes of expression. Argentina was less spoiled by the diversity and boldness of artistic languages than France, so the positions of Artigue in the respective hierarchies of these two worlds were very different: in Paris he was rather an invisible epigone of modernism but in Buenos Aires – first of the modern painters who contributed to the development of fine arts in the country. His patriotism in one case and cosmopolitanism in another were the strategies that helped him to navigate through the complexities of the modern art system.

Although the academic background and the international appeal of Artigue’s style were welcomed in Buenos Aires at the turn of the twentieth century, in the long run they lacked the “national” component necessary for artist’s consecration. An Argentinean art historian of the first half of the twentieth century José León Pagano (1875–1964) explained the oblivion of the painter as follows: “Vivió mucho tiempo ausente de su tierra natal, y esto contribuyó no poco a la escasa nombradía alcanzada entre nosotros; limitada con relación al valor efectivo de su obra.” (He lived for a long time outside of his native land and this contributed a lot to the lack of renown among us; his fame was limited in relation to the real value of his work.)³²⁵

In case of painters travelling between the continents, the real and symbolic distance between the centre and periphery is often translated into the value of their work. This value is defined by artist’s proximity to each of the poles. Artigue is located in the space between France and Argentina, and the memory of him blurred in this grey area. By constantly crossing the borders between two art worlds Artigue reveals the power of the centre and its judgement, but at the same time he brings to light the continuation between the artistic processes on both ends of the movement and the relativity of any evaluation. Artistic bilingualism of Artigue was a result of his inbetweenness; for him the translatability of his oeuvre was a key condition for

³²⁵ Pagano, *El arte de los argentinos*, p. 324.

professional survival in Paris and Buenos Aires. Without intending so, he translated the European modernism into its Argentinean version.

María Isabel Baldasarre and Laura Malosetti Costa noted that artists like were doubly ignored in Europe and in Latin America because of their “doble extranjería” (double foreignness).³²⁶ However, I would say Artigue’s problem is not in being too foreign, but in not being foreign enough. His double “nativeness” poses more problems: he escaped rigid categorisation and unequivocal interpretations because he equally belongs to both worlds and his nativeness opens possibilities and options with which art history has difficulty to cope. His case shows that the concepts of the foreignness, as well as nativeness, are not very helpful when applied to Artigue, but calling on someone’s foreignness helps in creating fixed identities and neat narratives. It implies exclusion and thus closes the question, condemning artists to remain in the area of the uncertain and incomprehensible. Artigue’s incompatibility with the given hierarchies and divisions is too uncomfortable, so it is easier to dismiss him than look for yet another category.

Eventually, Paris swallowed this painter like it swallowed thousands of his colleagues who navigated through stylistic fashions and art market demands of the time. At least he had a safety net of the second “motherland” that preserved the memory of him. He was right to look for consecration in Buenos Aires rather than in Paris and to send his “best works” to Argentina.³²⁷ Thanks to his donations and efforts of the first Argentinean art historians we remember Emilio Artigue, but their accounts were not sufficient to fully consecrate him in the canon of Argentinean painting—the distance between Buenos Aires and Paris was too large, as well as the discrepancy between the narrative of his patriotism and his conventional pictorial style. With time,

³²⁶ María Isabel Baldasarre and Laura Malosetti Costa, “París, 1900–1914. Plataforma para la construcción de un arte hispanoamericano” in Verónica Hernández Díaz (ed.), *XXXV Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte. Continuo / discontinuo. Los dilemas de la historia del arte en América Latina*, Mexico City, UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2017, p. 45.

³²⁷ The Museo Nacional des Bellas Artes possesses five paintings by Artigue: *Muchachas bretonas* (1909), *Cabeza de vieja* and *Autoretrato* donated by the painter, *El pebetero* donated by Angel Roverano, *Vieja criolla* purchased from the first Salón Nacional de Artes Plásticas in 1911. Emilio Artigue, Fichas técnicas, Área de Documentación y Registro, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

his name disappeared from art history textbooks and his paintings are kept in the darkness of storage rooms.

Europe as a model, Latin America as an “imitation”

The example of Artigue, and the ambivalence of his reception in Argentina and France, prove the irrelevance of the unique evaluation system for the art of these two countries. We saw in the previous chapters that the art institutions in Latin America were copied from the European models and became a part of the global art system. The notion and criteria of the aesthetic value were transported together with the institutions, but due to their ideological nature did not adjust as effectively to the new environment. Therefore, in most cases the artists and artworks produced locally did not satisfy the ideal of the European-born aesthetics and were deemed weak and imitative. Tynyanov regarded literature as a system in which each literary piece takes a meaningful place and contributes to the whole. He also noticed that none of the system's elements is stable and anchored in one particular niche; on the contrary they fulfil different functions in different situations and thus their value is also “relative”. It changes in relation to each epoch-system in which these elements exist:

Самая оценка при этом должна лишиться своей субъективной окраски, и «ценность» того или иного литературного явления должна рассматриваться как «эволюционное значение и характерность». То же должно произойти и с такими оценочными пока что понятиями, как «эпигонство», «дилетантизм» или «массовая литература».

The very evaluation must lose its subjectivity, and the “value” of one or other literary phenomenon should be regarded as “evolutionary meaning and specificity”. The same procedure should be undertaken with such evaluative notions as “epigone”, “amateur” or “mass literature.”³²⁸

Tynyanov's understanding of the literary evolution as a complex systemic phenomenon helps us to nuance the idea stating that Europe is a model for Latin America. In most cases the art from Latin America is judged and evaluated from the wrong perspective and through the inappropriate “evolutionary” lens: not from the context of periphery where it existed, but from the centre which imposed the rules of

³²⁸ Юрий Тынянов Yuri Tynyanov, *Литературная Эволюция. Избранные Труды Literaturnaya evolutsiya. Izbrannye trudy*, Moscow, Agraf, 2002, pp. 190-191.

game. This operation is a basis of the modernist historiography, but the bias it carries is not always recognised and comprehended. To say even more, as it turns out it is not enough to be just aware of the bias and swap the “minus” and “plus” signs applied to peripheral art, but we need some readjustment of our understanding of what art is and how we build our relationships with it. In case with Artigue the reception must be active and the approach must encourage the viewer to see the “images as sources of value, rather than objects of evaluation.”³²⁹ This requires an effort which audiences and even specialists prefer not to make in order to avoid disputes, ridicule, and mistake, but on the other hand it can be very liberating and even entertaining.

The mutual gaze of Europe and Latin America has existed for centuries, but while Europe presents itself as a self-sufficient entity, Latin America is traditionally regarded in relation to its Other. Latin America and Europe are creating each other through the constant exchange and to a certain degree they are trapped in this dependent relationships. Intercontinental artistic circulations reveal the complexity of the cultural realities on both continents, and the traditional concepts of styles, movements and usual periodisations are obsolete in dealing with this complexity. Multiple identities, stylistic inventions and simultaneous existence of different aesthetic codes in the peripheries are usually treated as “failures,” “unorthodoxies,” “chronological disjunctions,” “delay,” so the very existence of the artists and pieces that do not fit into the given categories becomes troubling. At the end of the nineteenth century Latin American artists and critics often complained about their own artistic backwardness, but it was seen as a temporary challenge on the way to civilization. Already Schiaffino saw a solution for this problem in altering the approach to art and his proposition was a very avant-garde idea if we think of it:

Era preciso que en Francia un artista de genio tuviera la visión, instintiva o no, de los grandes destinos del arte moderno y el coraje de romper bruscamente con una tradición absurda que nos ligaba al pasado, para hacernos saber que la forma y el color no es el privilegio de los griegos ni el del Renacimiento; que toda forma es artística, que todo color es pintoresco para quien sabe observar y sentir.

It was clear that in France the talented artist could find the vision, instinctive or not, of the great destiny of modern art and the courage to

³²⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Surplus value of images” in W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 83.

break abruptly with the absurd tradition that bound us to the past. All this to make us understand that perfection of form and colour are not privileges of Greeks or Renaissance, that any form is artistic, that any colour is picturesque for those who know how to observe and feel.³³⁰

This principle questions the continuous attempts to see artistic phenomena in Latin America through the filters of European aesthetics. In case of interwar modernisms and contemporary art the practice of measuring American art from the point of view of the centre was dropped, but when it comes to the nineteenth-century painting we still hear the intonations of regret and discontent about the “*importación tardía*” (belated import) of one or another stylistic movement to the continent.³³¹

A monumental, and in a sense classic, narrative about the handicapped, in comparison to Europe, artistic evolution in Latin America can be found in the chapter devoted to the visual arts in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*:

Nineteenth-century painting was in the grip of academism and social convention. Open-air painting was unknown [emphasis added] in Latin America well into the century and impressionism arrived after its end, more than two decades later than its literary equivalent, *modernismo* and almost half a century after its European model. Although the delay was understandable, the failure to assimilate impressionism was particularly unfortunate, since European painting in the last third of the century was in the vanguard of changes in artistic perception. Given the specificity of the plastic arts, there was no repertory of popular styles to quote from as in music; and if in the first phase of nineteenth-century painting the depiction of native themes was learned from European travellers in search of the picturesque, in the second, after 1870, Latin American visitors to Europe invariably returned to their homelands with the latest version of academic painting, blind to the new visions of Monet, Renoir, Manet, Pissarro or Cezanne, men who really had put the stifling influence of academic neo-classicism behind them. When impressionism did arrive, early in the new century, the results were timid and its very lateness permitted its conversion, despite general public hostility, into a new academism. As with

³³⁰ Eduardo Schiaffino, “Evoluciones de la estética,” *Sud América*, 28 August 1886. Quoted in Malosetti Costa, *Cuadros de Viaje*, p. 193.

³³¹ Francisco Palomar, *Primeros salones de arte en Buenos Aires. Reseña histórica de algunas exposiciones desde 1829*, Buenos Aires, Municipalidad de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, Secretaría de Cultura y Acción Social, 1972, p. 67.

music, it was not until the 1920s that Latin American painters finally – and all the more suddenly – joined the international avant-garde.³³²

This text is an artefact in itself, but, although its “age” should be taken into consideration, it was written almost two decades after Theotonio Dos Santos’s statement that, “Attempts to analyze backwardness as a failure to assimilate more advanced models of production or to modernize are nothing more than ideology disguised as science.”³³³ The “ideology disguised as science” tends to persist and take new shapes with time. Most probably, today we will not find such extreme examples of the ideological narrative in art history but its traces, subtle and more sophisticated, still reappear in the written pages, not to mention the mass imaginary.

Another example of the approach that interprets Latin America through the assimilation of the European models is taken from a more recent textbook:

Although artists adopted some of the recent European models in art, the unorthodoxies present in the art of Latin America have never been fully explained except as chronological disjunctions. One explanation could be that Latin American artists who went abroad saw several styles or types of art all at once rather than as they had developed sequentially over a period of several decades in Europe. As a result, they often synthesized these multiple styles in their work rather than follow the specific characteristics of a single style.³³⁴

The problem of “chronological disjunctions” is one of the basic points in the discussion of the non-European art, and, unfortunately, the idea of the simultaneity proposed by Andrea Giunta is not very helpful in dealing with these disjunctions. Foteini Vlachou noticed that the notions of delay, eclecticism, “concealment of unevenness”, which are often associated with the art outside of the European canon, almost always lead to “tidying historical complexity into a neat line of development.”³³⁵ The desire to adjust uncomfortable artists and artworks to the established models is not only biased in relation to them, but it shows a lack of imagination in interpreting the canon against

³³² Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. IV, p. 473. This volume was published long time ago, but in a city such as Lyon it is the most comprehensive study of Latin American art available to students.

³³³ Theotonio Dos Santos, “The Structure of Dependence,” *The American Economic Review*, vol. 60, no. 2, 1970, p. 235.

³³⁴ Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2001, p. 14.

³³⁵ Vlachou, “Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery,” p. 5.

which everything else is measured. Such rigidity can be only harmful, no matter what the subject of the academic enterprise is.

Back in the nineteenth century French art was seen as a source of perfection, so every artists in Latin America was measured by the criteria of success and innovation established in Paris. For instance, Lira does not have a better way to characterise the work of his compatriot than to compare him to Ingres:

San-Martin se ha llamado siempre Monsieur Ingres, i pocos sobrenombres ha habido mas bien puestos. Como el grande artista francés en nuestra época, así sobresalía él en la escuela por la insistencia en el diseño: tenia i conserva las mismas lentitudes pero la misma tenacidad escrupulosa que el célebre maestro.

San-Martin was always called Monsieur Ingres and not so many nicknames are so accurate. Like the great French artist of our times, he stood out in our school thanks to his attention to drawing: he acquired and preserved the same slowness but also meticulous persistence as the celebrated master.³³⁶

This is just one example among many others, but it sets a model for all the subsequent critical reactions. Such comparisons were the most widespread critical method in France and in Latin America. Preaching the civilizatory role of European art and hoping for the rapid development of the national art schools, American critics kept using the references and comparisons as proofs of high artistic value of the “local” artworks:

No hablo de Schiaffino; copio unas palabras de Montrosier sobre Puvis de Chavannes, porque es grande la analogía que retratan esas palabras y el carácter de Schiaffino, como hay también analogía entre el estilo del insigne maestro y el estilo adoptado por el joven pintor argentino. La analogía de carácter podrá ser casual, pero la de estilo se explica: Schiaffino es *puvisiste*. Quizá esto sea consecuencia de aquello.

I am not talking about Schiaffino; I repeat Montrosier’s words about Puvis de Chavannes, because the analogy between these words and the character of Schiaffino is great. Because there is also an analogy between the style of the great master and the style adopted by the young Argentinean painter.

³³⁶ Pedro Lira, “Artistas nacionales. Don Cosme San Martín y Don Nicolás Guzmán,” *Revista de Santiago*, 1872–73, p. 698.

The analogy of character may be casual, but the style can be explained: Schiaffino is *puvisiste*. Maybe this is a consequence of his character.³³⁷

Marcello Eduardo Pacheco noticed that while looking for the correspondences between the arts in Latin America and in Europe, critics would often invent them according to their understanding of the artistic evolution and disregarded the differences as a side-effect of this invention.³³⁸ In the biased by dependency relations between Latin American and European art, the temptation to put everything on the rails of comparison is strong, and the trope of imitation becomes the ground for this operation. Comparisons not only reinforce the domination of the canon, but they equalise the arts of different places and times to a dystopian vision of universal unidirectional artistic teleology. Such approach not only shows the deficiency of comparative model, but also draws a plain history of European art in terms of linear development and progress. It produces a seemingly polished stylistic evolution of French art with little regard to its complexity and diversity.

Mieke Bal points out the dangers proper to comparisons: they easily become judgments and distract the viewer from “just looking” at objects. She notices that focusing on similarities the comparisons widely practiced in art history usually lead to the neglect of differences in the compared artworks. In the quoted above examples this peculiarity of comparative vision is well demonstrated as we do not learn much about Cosme San Martín (1850–1906), who is utterly overshadowed by the legendary figure of Ingres, and Schiaffino is presented as an imitator of his French teachers with no agency. Bal insists that the comparison, instead of being a tool for maintaining hierarchies based on the value judgement, should be turned into a “source of differentiation.”³³⁹

The problem of comparisons in the context of “global art history” was also addressed by Craig Clunas who reflects on the propositions of Mieke Bal and shows that a very common mistake in dealing with non-European art is to approach an object

³³⁷ J. M. D. M., “Schiaffino,” *La Nación*, 2 July 1890. Quoted in Malosetti Costa, *Cuadros de viaje*, p. 197.

³³⁸ Marcelo Eduardo Pacheco, “La Argentina y una mirada travestida. Emilio Pettoruti entre los espejos” in *Arte, historia e identidad en América: visiones comparativas*, vol. 2, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994, p. 1005.

³³⁹ Mieke Bal, “Grounds of Comparison,” in *The Artemisia Files: Artemisia Gentileschi for Feminists and Other Thinking People*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 167.

from the perspective of what is already known (or imagined) about it, instead of looking at what it might really be.³⁴⁰ Moreover, the group of scholars from Latin America united by the Getty Foundation's Connecting Art Histories initiative "Grounds for Comparison: Neo-Vanguards and Latin American / U.S. Latino Art, 1960–90" question the political implications of the comparative methodology as the one that invigorate the modernist narrative and canon in the context of "global art history." Here again the participants of the project insist on synchronicity and parallelism as a model that could be more efficient in exploration of the post-war and contemporary art in Latin America than the centre-periphery or comparative ones.³⁴¹

At times the search of new approaches and models is not only necessary, but urgent, but I cannot help thinking that the situation with the late nineteenth-century art in Latin American is very different from the twentieth century. It was the moment when the fine arts were introduced and institutionalised on the continent as a part of its social and cultural transformation, and the need to rely on already successful models and examples was acknowledge by all the participants of this process. In the context when generations of artists and critics were literally learning how to do art either in Europe or from European artists, the assertion of parallelism or synchronicity would not be very persuasive. However, for the sake of mental experiment we could try to look at Latin American artists in Paris not as delays but equal creators of the global visual culture of the 1890s. In this case, putting aside the questions of genealogies and influences, we have to look for the synchronicity between Latin American and French art not where the traditional art history tell us to do it. The linear evolution of the French art must be broken and shuffled so that Latin American painters are put next to their actual contemporaries and immediate colleagues. Thus, the painters like Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh has to be replaced by Besnard, Aman-Jean, Carrière and Simon who were the icons of the last decade of the nineteenth century and with whom our painters were synchronised.

The goal is to tame the comparative mode of reception and criticism and go beyond it in order to see not only similarities and borrowings but also differences. Of

³⁴⁰ Craig Clunas, "The Art of Global Comparisons," *Writing the History*, September, 2012, p. 168.

³⁴¹ Andrea Giunta and George F. Flaherty, "Latin American Art History: An Historiographic Turn," *Art in Translation*, vol. 8, 2017, pp. 121-142.

course, the centuries of colonisation and the profound impact it had on the self-determination of Latin America cannot be dismissed: the culture and art were colonised in the same way as the economic and political life. The European culture presented itself, and was adopted by the Creole elites, as universal, so its power over the local imaginary and knowledge persisted for many centuries:

Entonces, la cultura europea se convirtió, además, en una seducción; daba acceso al poder... La cultura europea pasó ser un modelo cultural universal. El imaginario en las cultural no europeas, hoy difícilmente podría existir y, sobre todo, reproducirse, fuera de esas relaciones... América Latina es, sin duda, el caso extremo de la colonización cultural de Europa.

Thus, European culture became a seduction; it promised the access to power ... European culture became a universal cultural model. Today the imaginary in the non-European cultures can hardly exist and above all auto-reproduce, outside of these relations [determined by the colonality of power] ... No doubt, Latin America is an extreme case of the cultural colonisation of Europe.³⁴²

The art about which I talk in this dissertation was brought by and for the American elites who self-identified as Europeans and who actively sought for the imposition of the European civilization model.³⁴³ However, the nature of artistic creativity is so that it overpasses personal determinations and intentions, and distorts all influences and models in its capacity to react and interact with the context in which it is inserted. Every artwork is a complex set of relations, mutual influences, adaptations and resistances that are surprisingly easy to ignore due to their sophistication. This is where the challenge of the research on the late nineteenth-century art in Latin America lies: I cannot rely on genealogies and influences but have to take into account the relations of dependency; I cannot claim originality and authenticity but have to derive the value from the analysed artworks. With migrating artists all the usual points of reference become questionable, and each artwork becomes a place in which many elements collide, fuse and co-exist. In each interpretation I try to find new bits of information that might shift our idea about Latin American painting at the very end of the

³⁴² Palermo and Quintero (eds.), *Aníbal Quijano. Textos de fundación*, pp. 60-61.

³⁴³ Roberto Amgio Cerisola, "Imágenes para una nación. Juan Manuel Blanes y la pintura de tema histórico en la Argentina" in *Arte, historia e identidad en América: visiones comparativas*, vol. 2, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1994, p. 315.

nineteenth century and its interaction the French art of the same epoch. Doing so, I do not discredit comparison completely, but rather replace it with the juxtaposition as a way to make our understanding of the international visual culture in Paris more complete and nuanced.

José Tomás Errázuriz (1856–1927)

“né à Santiago (Chili), élève de MM. Humbert et Gervex.” (Born in Santiago (Chile), student of Humbert and Gervex.)³⁴⁴

José Tomás Errázuriz was the only Latin American artist accepted as an associate member to the SNBA. His star rose in Paris in the 1880s: in 1886, 1887 and 1889 he exhibited in the SAF, but after the conflict chose the new society and was an eager participant of its first Salons. At the beginning of the 1890s he would submit five to six works at once until disappeared from Paris exhibitions in 1896.

Errázuriz was born in Santiago de Chile in the family of the millionaire Maximiano Errázuriz Valdivieso (1832–1890) and Amalia Urmeneta Quiroga (1837–1861). His father made a fortune in commerce, later entered the world of politics, was a senator, president of the chamber of deputies, ran for presidential elections and overall left a substantial trace in the life of his country.³⁴⁵ Like other representatives of the Chilean aristocracy don Maximiano preferred Europeanised lifestyle and regularly travelled, alone or with his sons, to Europe. Back in Chile he did not want to leave his European habits, so he commissioned a mansion in Italian style in Santiago and filled it with porcelain, furniture, artworks, tapestries brought from the Old Continent. The description of this mansion gives a hint on the lifestyle of this refined family:

En esta suntuosa mansión, la más elegante y hermosa de Santiago, se reunieron a menudo diplomáticos y extranjeros de nota, y aunque su dueño no era muy sociable, cultivaba algunas amistades predilectas, y su mesa estaba siempre lista para recibir selectos invitados ... Pronto sus hijos, ya crecidos, empezaron a desertar el hogar paterno, atraídos por la vida de

³⁴⁴ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1886. Sanchez (ed.), *Les catalogues des Salons. XIV, 1884–1886*.

³⁴⁵ Jose Toribio Medina, *Los Errázuriz. Notas biograficas y documentos para historia de esta familia en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1964, p. 237.

Europa, entonces tan inmensamente superior a la nuestra. El primogénito, José Tomás, muy aficionado a la pintura, arte que llegó a dominar con maestría, y su esposa, la fascinadora Eugenia Huici, preferían residir en París o en Londres, y allá se radicaron definitivamente.

In this sumptuous mansion, the most elegant and beautiful in Santiago, diplomats and renowned foreigners would gather often. Although the host was not very sociable, he cherished some favourite friendships, and his table was always ready to round select guests ... Soon his children, already adults, began to desert the paternal home attracted by the life of Europe, so superior to ours at that time. The first-born, José Tomás, was very fond of painting and mastered this art. Together with his wife, the fascinating Eugenia Huici, he preferred to reside in Paris or London, where they settled permanently.³⁴⁶

Among all the countries on the American continent the admiration for everything French was the strongest in Chile. Europeanisation took its full swing in the art life of Santiago, and the involvement of the elites in artistic affairs was prominent. The Chilean presence in Paris was also notable: Chilean aristocracy constituted a close-knit community in the French capital, connected through wide family relations. From the childhood José Tomás was immersed in the European lifestyle both in Chile and during the prolonged travels to the Old World. In 1870 his brother and he studied in a private college in London, while their father continued his Grand Tour around the continent buying pieces of contemporary art for his collection.³⁴⁷ Eventually, the habits of Europeanised lifestyle that José Tomás acquired in his house and during his European voyages, plus the political instability in Chile in the 1890s, were the reasons why he never came back to his home country after his self-imposed expatriation.

Contrary to the will of his father who projected diplomatic career for his son, José Tomás decided to pursue the artistic vocation and entered the class of Kirchbach in the Academia de Pintura in Santiago.³⁴⁸ This German artist was the director of the Academia from 1869 to 1875 and was known for his conservative tastes, ardent

³⁴⁶ Medina, *Los Errázuriz*, p. 245.

³⁴⁷ Vicente Grez noted that the majority of works in the first fine art collections in Chile were French. Grez, *Les beaux-arts au Chili*, p. 45.

³⁴⁸ Don Maximiano saw his oldest son as diplomat, but his expectations did not correspond to the desires of José Tomás who preferred painting to the career of a politician. However, trying to reach the compromise and preserve the social decorum the latter was appointed at the diplomatic service. Alejandro Canseco-Jerez, *Le mécénat de Eugenia Huici de Errázuriz*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2000, p. 22. We believe that Errázuriz's role in the diplomatic missions of Chile was rather marginal; he was not indicated in any of the diplomatic yearbooks published in France from 1880 to 1900.

defence of antiquity as the ideal form of any artistic expression, and unpleasant character causing unpopularity among students.³⁴⁹ During his time in the Academia Errázuriz participated in the local exhibitions and even won two medals, in 1877 and 1878. In 1880 the painter married Eugenia Huici Arguedas (1860–1951), and soon after the wedding the couple moved to Europe: first London, later Paris. This honeymoon in Europe turned into a lifetime for José Tomás who, as it became clear later, left the country forever.³⁵⁰ In Paris he indulged in the bohemian life and attended almost all famous workshops: Ferdinand Humbert (1842–1934) and Gervex, Boulanger and Lefebvre, Laurens and Benjamin-Constant.³⁵¹ Moreover, together with two compatriots, the painters Alberto Orrego Luco (1854–1931) and Ramón Subercaseaux (1854–1937), he formed a group of “pintores diplomáticos,” whose artistic network was thriving. [Figures 18, 19]

Errázuriz’s submissions to Paris Salons were met enthusiastically by the jury and critics. In 1888 his landscape received an honorary mention, and the critic of *Gazette des beaux-arts* briefly noticed him among many talented but underappreciated painters.³⁵² Like Artigue, he decided to exhibit in the new society after the split of 1890, but his decision was definitive compared to the one of the Argentinean painter. Errázuriz was a millionaire, so the financial issues and the necessity to earn living did not bother him. He could choose the exhibition venue in accordance with his personal and professional sympathies, and the elitist, liberal and eclectic SNBA corresponded to Errázuriz’s worldview more than any other artistic society in Paris.

The artistic career of José Tomás Errázuriz was not particularly remarkable. It is not even sure that the word career is appropriate in his case. He followed his passion free from any economic burden, but also without much of the motivation it could

³⁴⁹ Bindis Fuller and Maino Aguirre, *Pintura chilena 200 años: despertar, maestros, vanguardias*, p. 65.

³⁵⁰ He only went back to Chile once, in 1890, for the funeral of his father. “Errázuriz Urmeneta, José Tomás (1856–1927),” *Biografías*, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=errazuriz-urmeneta-jose-tomas>. Accessed 8 February 2017.

³⁵¹ Cote 63AS/9 Supplément, Fonds de l’Académie Julian (1870–1930), Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

³⁵² André Michel, “Salon de 1888,” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1 août 1888, p. 142.



Figure 18. Ramón Subercaseaux, *Diques de Valparaíso*, 1884, oil on canvas, 60 x 78 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 19. Alberto Orrego Luco, *Puesta de sol, Venecia*, 1893, oil on canvas, 57 x 98 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Artistas Visuales Chilenos.

provide. Among his compatriots in Paris he was known as a “painter of the weekends” rather than a professional artist.³⁵³

The role of the Chilean community in the destiny of José Tomás Errázuriz is paramount. Thanks to his many relatives he met many famous painters, and thanks to the memoirs of his acquaintances we know about these encounters and their impact on the artist. The mentioned above Ramón Subercaseaux contributed to the development of the artistic network around José Tomás and Eugenia Errázuriz. He introduced the couple to Sargent who was commissioned to paint a portrait of Amalia Subercaseaux (the sister of Errázuriz), and who painted Eugenia later. This meeting grew into a long-term friendship between Eugenia and the American painter.³⁵⁴ Other painters who entered the circle of the young family thanks to Subercaseaux were Boldini and Anders Zorn (1860–1920); both of them painted Subercaseaux’s children.³⁵⁵

Not all the souvenirs about the Errázurizes were bright and positive: many noted the tension between José Tomás and his wife, and their unpronounced rivalry that damaged the reputation of the painter. Eugenia Huici Arguedas was a daughter of a silver-mining magnate in Chile, famous for her beauty and excellent manners. After arrival to Paris quite soon she attracted the attention of the high society and was often referred to as *Belle Chilienne*. Eugenia followed José Tomás in his voyages around Europe and supported his artistic aspirations, but even this shared admiration of art did not prevent the couple from divorcing. At the turn of the twentieth century José Tomás moved to Switzerland, stopped exhibiting in Europe and sought to re-establish the lost contact with Chile: in 1910 he sent paintings to the exhibition in Santiago and donated all his works as a gift for the country a year before his death.³⁵⁶ Eugenia divided her life between Paris and her mansion in Biarritz surrounded by the artists looking for her friendship and sponsorship. She marked lives of many avant-garde artists of the

³⁵³ Jorge Edwards, *Diálogos en un tejado*, Barcelona, Tusquets Editores, 2003, p. 142.

³⁵⁴ Canseco-Jerez, *Le mécénat de Eugenia Huici de Errázuriz*, p. 22.

³⁵⁵ The son of Subercaseaux, Pedro, left an inspired souvenir of José Tomás whose distinction at the Salon was celebrated by the large Subercaseaux-Errázuriz family. Pedro Subercaseaux, *Memorias*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Del Pacifico, 1962, p. 73.

³⁵⁶ “José Tomás Errázuriz,” *Artistas Visuales Chilenos*, <http://www.artistasvisualeschilenos.cl/658/w3-article-40413.html>. Accessed 8 February 2017.

twentieth century, but when her wealth melted down and she moved back to Santiago in her last days, she was very soon forgotten.³⁵⁷

The popularity of Eugenia outshined that of José Tomás. The Chilean writer Inés Echevarría Bello (1868–1949) was obviously not very fond of Errázuriz but admired Eugenia as a source of pride of the *colonia chilena* in Paris. In her words, which pretend to be a shared opinion, next to his brilliant wife José Tomás was:

Ceco, estirado y, según Ramón Larrain, “gringo de agua dulce”, lo que equivalía a ser imitador de costumbres británicas para tapar su criollismo ... José Tomás cultivaba la pintura. Se había presentado en los concursos parisienses y la prensa lo había designado como “le mari de la belle madame Errázuriz”. En esta designación iba ya envuelto todo el drama conyugal.

Dry, long and, according to Ramón Larrain, “fresh water gringo,” meaning that he tried to imitate British customs to cover his *criollismo* ... José Tomás painted. He exhibited in Paris exhibitions and the press mentioned him as “the husband of the beautiful Madame Errázuriz.” The whole marital drama unfolded around these words.³⁵⁸

This anecdote was repeated in another memoir by the nephew of José Tomás, Julio Subercaseaux Browne (1870–1951), who recalls an acrid remark addressed to Errázuriz at one of the festive dinners: “Que el triunfo no se les debía a sus méritos, sino al hecho de ser casado con la mujer más bonita de París.” (His triumph was not because of his talent, but because of the fact that he is married to the prettiest woman in Paris.)³⁵⁹ Not only women, but men as well could be crushed by the sexist prejudices and stereotypes of their environment. Eugenia’s conduct corresponded to the ideals of Chilean aristocracy, and her philanthropic involvement in the arts was accepted as worthy of her social status, while the occupation of José Tomás was mostly ridiculed.

Eugenia Huici Errázuriz deserves a special attention. She was not an artist but devoted her life to art and artists. While her husband tried to enter the ranks of professional painters, Eugenia had to limit her field of action to patronage and philanthropy. These activities were acceptable for an aristocratic woman in the Chilean

³⁵⁷ Canseco-Jerez, *Le mécénat de Eugenia Huici de Errázuriz*.

³⁵⁸ Inés Echeverría Bello, *Memorias de Iris: 1899–1925*, Santiago, Aguilar, 2005, p. 128.

³⁵⁹ Julio Subercaseaux Browne, *Reminiscencias*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1976, p. 152.

society.³⁶⁰ Her position in the Parisian beau monde, personal charm and wealth attracted many artists to Eugenia, and her delicate taste allowed her to find interest in the avant-gardes of the twentieth century in return to these advances.

Sargent and Eugenia were close friends, and this friendship gave birth to several portraits of *Belle Chilienne*: two sketchy portraits of a young woman, skilful depiction of a society hostess and a drawing of the fine lady. The oil portraits by Sargent demonstrate his virtuosity but also his sincere interest in the model. [Figures 20, 21] Each of his interpretations shows Eugenia in motion, and the rapid brushstrokes enhance the dynamism of the figure. The first portrait seems at once unspecific, because of the shades on the face of the model, and very personal thanks to the vibrant texture of the surface. The swift execution as if reduces the distance between the painter and the sitter. The sensation we get when looking at the pastose touches is almost tactile. The messy curls of Eugenia's hair weave with the smoky smears in the background. This portrait grasps the beauty of the depicted woman, but also painter's mastery. In the second portrait the movement slows down in order to highlight the face of Eugenia and underline her posture of an elegant woman. The excellent rendering of the black dress accentuates the delicate working of the head. Looking at this portrait and seeing those deep shadows on the face of Eugenia, we understand why she caused so much drama and drew so much admiration among her friends and entourage.

All Eugenia's portraits could fill a small exhibition hall or make a representative gallery of fin-de-siècle portraiture. They illustrate different styles and approaches to the depiction of women. Besides Sargent, she was also painted by her husband, Blanche, the English painters Charles Conder (1868–1909) and Ambrose McEvoy (1878–1927). Her biographers also mention portraits by Boldini, Paul Helleu (1859–1927) and Auguste Rodin (1840–1917).³⁶¹ Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) would also take part in this imaginary exhibition with his drawing of Eugenia from the collection of the Chicago Institute of Art. [Figure 22]

³⁶⁰ Gloria Cortés Aliaga, "Femeninas o feministas, aristocráticas o desclasadas. Asociaciones artísticas femeninas en Chile (1914–1927)," *Boletín de Arte*, no. 17, 2017, p. 2.

³⁶¹ The attribution and location of these portraits is to be confirmed. Sitting for popular portraitist was an activity favoured by many generations and branches of the Errázuriz-Subercaseaux family, so not all the portraits of "Madame Errázuriz" feature Eugenia.



Figure 20. John Singer Sargent, *Madame Errázuriz*, ca. 1883–84, oil on canvas, 48 x 39 cm, private collection. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

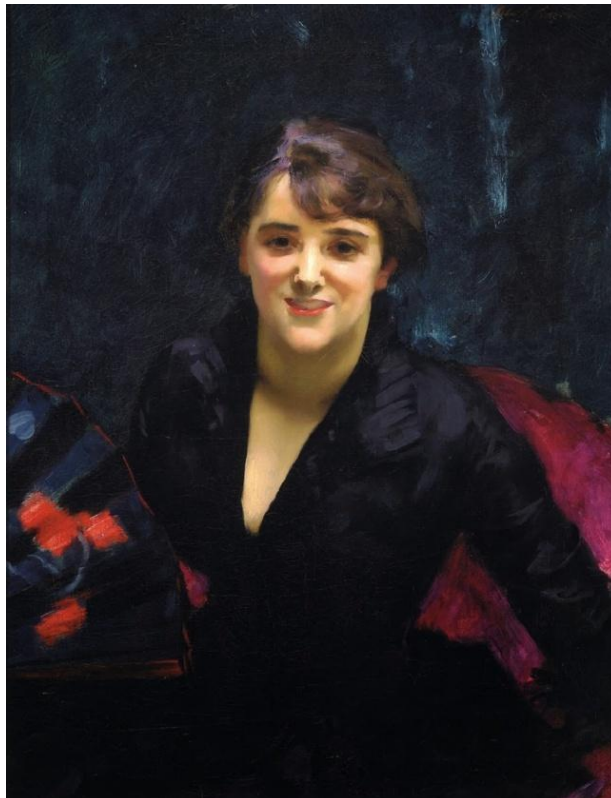


Figure 21. John Singer Sargent, *Madame Errázuriz* or *The Lady in Black*, ca. 1882–1883, oil on canvas, 82 x 60 cm, private collection. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 22. Pablo Picasso, *Portrait of Eugenia Errázuriz*, 1921, graphite on paper, 30 x 23 cm, Chicago Institute of Art, United States. Image: Art Institute Chicago.

The drawing is very simple and in a way endearing. The artist used the minimum of his technical arsenal to draw the contours and only hinted the shades of the face. Making a swift sketch of his friend, maybe during one of the visits of her villa in Biarritz, Picasso tells the story of the intimate relationship between the wealthy philanthropist Eugenia Errázuriz and a Spanish painter looking for recognition and financial support in Paris. It was Eugenia who in May 1916 introduced Picasso to Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929) who was looking for collaborators for his new project – the ballet *Parade*.³⁶² Eugenia was not only an advocate, but a generous sponsor of the Spanish painter: “Besides counselling him on dress and behaviour, Errázuriz paid many of Picasso’s expenses during the remaining years of the war, just as she did Stravinsky’s (at the rate of a thousand francs a month). In thanks, Picasso seems to have given her two of his finest paintings from that period, *Man Leaning on a Table* and *Portrait of a Young Girl*.”³⁶³

Despite the role Eugenia Errázuriz played in Picasso’s life, her contribution to his career and the careers of some of her other famous friends is ignored. For instance, her part in the destiny of the *Parade* is completely omitted in the most recent biography of Diaghilev by Sjeng Scheijen.³⁶⁴ Michael C. FitzGerald suggests that, “perhaps because she was a woman, her remarkable life and fundamental contribution to Picasso’s career have received little attention.”³⁶⁵ Another reason is the modernist tradition to venerate artists as geniuses, rebels, fighters with conventions and suffering for their beliefs. Their apocryphal lives become ultimate expression of determination and talent that downplay lucky encounters and useful connections that helped them to mount the Olympus. In this conjuncture Eugenia did not have a chance, especially being a woman. She was not taken seriously as philanthropist, and even in the sympathetic

³⁶² Larry Witham, *Picasso and the Chess Player: Pablo Picasso, Marcel Duchamp and the Battle for the Soul of Modern Art*, Hanover, London, University Press of New England, 2012, p. 104.

³⁶³ Michael C. FitzGerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art*, Berkeley, University of California press, 1996, p. 70.

³⁶⁴ Sjeng Scheijen, *Diaghilev: A Life*, London, Profile Books, 2010. The reviewer in *The Guardian* notes the “male” approach of the author to writing biography of Diaghilev; women are given secondary places in the story regardless their roles in personal and professional life of the Russian entrepreneur. Luke Jennings, “*Diaghilev: A Life* by Sjeng Scheijen,” *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/oct/25/diaghilev-a-life-sjeng-scheijen>. Accessed 17 October 2017.

³⁶⁵ FitzGerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 67.

memories of the people who knew her, the persona of Eugenia is drawn flat and dull: a perfect incarnation of the lady. Her beauty outshined her progressive views in art. Echevarría Bello reacted to this in rough terms:

Vivía en su narcisismo, dejándose amar y admirar por todos los hombres fascinados por su belleza, cuyo mayor encanto residía en esa suave feminidad inocente, sencilla, imprevista, de lengua algo corta.

She lived in her narcissism, allowing herself to be loved and admired by all the men fascinated with her beauty. Her greatest charm was in that swift innocent, simple, unforeseen femininity somewhat short-spoken.³⁶⁶

None of the above-mentioned Chilean memoirists made a single comment about Eugenia's interest in arts; not a word recalls her personality and humour. It seems that José Tomás Errázuriz was not in great favour among his compatriots, but his personality stands out in their souvenirs: he was an enthusiastic dancer, loved children and apparently did not express much excitement about the official gatherings of the Chilean community.³⁶⁷ Nothing of this sort is revealed about Eugenia: she does not speak or act in those memories, she only appears. This distorted image of Eugenia Errázuriz refrains the women's depictions by Artigue in which beauty and decorativeness are enhanced at the expense of models' personalities.

The objectification of women in the nineteenth-century literature and visual arts turned them in a "repository for male longing rather than a recognizable and recognizing separate human self with desires and needs of her own."³⁶⁸ The commodification of femininity added to this objectification.³⁶⁹ The society portraits were literally selling female beauty: by means of portraits the beauties were trying to

³⁶⁶ Echevarría Bello, *Memorias de Iris: 1899–1925*, p. 132. In the article devoted to Inés Echevarría Bello, national ideology and condition of women in Chile, Mary Louise Pratt suggests that very often writer's disconcerting views and controversial statements were not an expression of frustration or ignorance, but a strategy of critique of the republican ideology that failed women in Chile. Echevarría Bello's judgment of Eugenia's way of life could be an attack on the social role that she represented, not a personal incident. Pratt, "Las mujeres y el imaginario nacional en el siglo XIX," p. 61.

³⁶⁷ Subercaseaux Browne, *Reminiscencias*, p. 152.

³⁶⁸ Judith Mitchell, "George Eliot and the Problematic of Female Beauty," *Modern Language Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1990, p. 18.

³⁶⁹ Cheryl Buckley and Hilary Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin de Siècle to the Present*, London, New York, I.B. Tauris, 2002, p. 9.



Figure 23. Jacques-Emile Blanche, *Portrait of Eugenia Huici Arguedas de Errazuriz (fragment)*, 1890, pastel on canvas, 162 x 97 cm, Dixon Gallery & Gardens. Image: Dixon Gallery & Gardens.

attract potential grooms.³⁷⁰ The notable representatives of the genre – Cabanel, Sargent, Besnard, Boldini – made their works attractive for sitters, collectors and even critics, who looked for stories and gossips to tell. These portraits demonstrate the prominent skill and pictorial technique, but the beauty of their characters is transformed into an aesthetic trope. Eugenia joined the army of the “professional beauties” conquering Paris at the end of the nineteenth century. The skill of keeping balance between the luxurious life and tasteful modesty was fostered by the upper classes, and all the portraits of Eugenia manifest this equilibrium. We see a woman subordinated to the world in which she lives and painters who savour the textures of her outfit in the same manner as the freshness of her face. [Figure 23]

José Tomás Errázuriz, like Artigue, had difficulties in finding his place between Latin America and Europe. From his early childhood he experienced the fissures and contradictions in the discourses that shaped his identity: “Criollo europeizante,” he was foreign in the republican Chile, but so was he in London or Paris. Or, on the contrary, he was at home in all these places. The cosmopolitan stance of Errázuriz matches the definition by Peter Wollen: “It asserts the need neither for nationality, nor for an identity based upon the lived vicissitudes of expatriation.”³⁷¹

Today Errázuriz is considered as the most European of all Chilean painters, and his works are inevitably read through the “influences” he absorbed in London, Venice and Paris. The question whether he was European or Chilean is not so simple to answer, as he is both. Any attempt to inscribe him in the national history of Chilean painting fails because his oeuvre and Europeanised lifestyle escape the limits of the fixed national identity. The majority of authors agree he was “demasiado servil a los modelos europeos” (too servile to European models), but they do not agree on the exact

³⁷⁰ Leanne Zalewski wonders to what extent the portraits of young Americans by Cabanel were used as high-end “advertising” in the Paris Salons in order to help in arranging successful marriages. Leanne Zalewski, “Alexandre Cabanel’s Portraits of the American ‘Aristocracy’ of the Early Gilded Age,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2005, online at http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=300:-alexandre-cabanel-portraits-of-the-american-aristocracy-of-the-early-gilded-age&catid=64:spring05article&Itemid=78. Accessed 14 March 2018.

³⁷¹ Wollen, “The Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Arts,” p 190.

genealogy of his style.³⁷² José Tomás Errázuriz crossed many geographical and aesthetic territories, so it is difficult to pin him to one particular place or pictorial movement. He travelled between the continents and countries, and at the same time explored various aesthetic traditions and forms of artistic expression.

The eclecticism of Errázuriz's landscapes is a result of his fidelity to the place he paints. His landscapes are site-specific: the London views are imbued with the so-called English chromatism, so the painter quite naturally becomes a Londoner in the eyes of painter's contemporary, art historian and collector Luis Álvarez Urquieta (b. 1877):

Por su larga estada en Londres y su temperamento británico, su pincel adquirió todas las características de la pintura inglesa. Sus paisajes se distinguen por su colorido y están saturados de aire y de luz.

Thanks to his long sojourns in London and his British temperament, his brush acquired all the characteristics of English painting. His landscapes outstand in colour scheme and are saturated with air and light.³⁷³ [Figure 24]

The painting *Gaviotas en el Támesis* is a representation of the precise locality at a particular moment. While many painters would stay faithful to a certain place and view, Errázuriz was less anchored in the motive. When he moves from the Thames embankments to the seashores of Normandy, he easily changes his artistic identity and turns into a praiser of the French countryside. His French landscapes exhibited in the Salon of the SNBA in 1891 inspired Antonin Proust to write about painter's remarkable fidelity to the moment and site he depicts in line with the "best practices" of outdoor painting and newly established vogue for rendering fleeting moments:

M. Errázuriz peut passer pour un chronomètre irréprochable. Il marque l'heure de chacune de ses études de plein air avec une exactitude parfaite. On ne s'y peut pas tromper, et c'est grande joie d'aller, du plein midi de ses falaises, à la minute tardive qui répand une égale lumière sur le pâturages, en laissant un reste de soleil s'attarder aux cimes des arbres.

Errázuriz can be considered as an irreproachable chronometer. He meticulously notes the time of each of his outdoor sketches. We cannot be wrong here, it is a great joy to go from the afternoon of his cliffs to the later

³⁷² Bindis Fuller and Maino Aguirre, *Pintura chilena 200 años: despertar, maestros, vanguardias*, p. 104.

³⁷³ Álvarez Urquieta, *La pintura en Chile*, p. 33.



Figure 24. José Tomás Errázuriz, *Gaviotas en el Támesis*, oil on canvas, 60 x 70 cm, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile. Image: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.

hours shedding the diffuse light over the pastures and leaving the fading sunrays on the peaks of trees.³⁷⁴

The swings in Errázuriz's style tend to confuse Chilean art historians. Antonio Romera, whose *Historia de la pintura chilena* had four editions from 1951 to 1974, could not decide whether to identify him as the disciple of English school of "chromatism" or as the painter of French "atmospherisation." He outlines the qualities that approach Errázuriz to his French contemporaries (absence of narrative, observation of the nature, interest in luminous effects), but also notes the rigidity of his drawing. At the same time he unexpectedly uses a method of "geographical juxtaposition" as a way to insert Errázuriz in the modernist evolution. That is to say, he extrapolates the painterly quality and aesthetics associated with a particular place painted by famous masters of avant-garde with the Chilean painter who had a chance to work in the same place on the same motive. The fame of Étretat is so that it wraps over the formal qualities of Errázuriz's painting:

Sería exagerado incluirlo entre los impresionistas, pero su obra oscila, dentro del *plein air*, entre la delicadeza del cromatismo inglés y la atmosferización francesa ... En estos años José Tomás Errázuriz pinta en Etretat algunos de sus mejores lienzos: *Lavanderas*, *Interior de una finca normanda*. El hecho es significativo, puesto que en el mismo tiempo Monet pinta igualmente en el pueblecillo costero de Etretat sus telas más luminosas y vigorosas, como *Barques de pêche*, 1880. No se apartó el artista de unas formas construidas; lo que persiguió fue la síntesis de lo volumétrico y de la atmosferización.

It would be an exaggeration to include him among impressionists, but his work oscillates, within outdoor painting, between the delicacy of English chromatism and French atmospherisation ... During these years José Tomás Errázuriz painted in Étretat some of his best canvases: *Lavanderas*, *Interior de una finca normanda*. What is significant, is that at the same time Monet was painting in the same village his most luminous and vigorous works, like *Barques de pêche*, 1880. Errázuriz did not depart from the careful construction of shapes; however, he pursued the synthesis of the volumes and atmosphere.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ Antonin Proust, *Le Salon de 1891*, Paris, Boussod, Valadon & Co, 1891, p. 54, online at https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008956993. Accessed 10 October 2017.

³⁷⁵ Romera, *Historia de la pintura chilena*, p. 82. The same interpretation of Errázuriz work was repeated in Isabel Cruz de Amenabar, *Arte. Historia de la pintura y escultura en Chile desde la colonia al siglo XX*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Antártica, 1984, p. 233.



Figure 25. José Tomás Errázuriz, *Washerwomen at Étretat in Normandy*, ca. 1888, oil on canvas, 35 x 45 cm, private collection. Image: Koller.

It seems that Romera uses the geographical proximity as a way to bring Errázuriz closer to Impressionism even though with some remarks. The Chilean painter and his prominent contemporary not only are close to each other in the physical space but their styles become connected due to this closeness and due to persuasiveness of Monet's presence just around the corner.

Monet and Errázuriz painted practically the same view with the gap in several years. The painting *Laveuses in Étretat (Washerwomen at Étretat)* features a legendary place and inserts the Chilean painter into the succession of Étretat views rendered by many French and foreign painters. [Figure 25] This is a genre scene depicting a group of washerwomen and their simple inventory on the beach in Étretat. Moving through the scene, we constantly stumble over the piles of rags, vats and shovels until we meet a bended woman almost in the centre. Her wide back slows our walking, so we have to make a small tour in order to find the way further depthward to those of her fellows who rinse their raggedry by the water. One of them is looking far away, distracted from her work by something out of our sight. Suddenly, this figure changes our perspective, and following the turn of her head and body we discover a landscape inside of the picture. Instead of carefully examining the stuff under our feet, we notice the view that the painter only hinted, but which is completed by our souvenirs and imaginary of the beach in Étretat: shiny waters, rocks melting in the haze of the sunset light, noisy gulls who always make the marines not only visual but also audible. We are accomplices of the woman taking a break from the hard work, and this complicity transmits this painting its warmth and familiarity. On the other hand, this familiarity comes not only from the possible identification with the heroines of the scene (most likely, not every viewer would identify with them), but also from the dozens of paintings, reproductions and postcards that glorify Normandy in every travel guide in France, and that are stored somewhere in our memories. [Figure 26]

Normandy was a popular touristic destination during the Second Empire, and gradually it became an artistic stronghold as well. This region was a main summer attraction for the cosmopolitan bourgeoisie, among whom artists and art lovers constituted a significant number.³⁷⁶ Having started as a site of aristocratic picnics, it

³⁷⁶ Joyeux-Prunel, "Monet au risque d'une cartographie : du territoire à sa dilution," p. 220.



Figure 26. Postcard *Etretat – Les Laveuses*, ca. 1910. Image: Geneanet.

soon lost its luxurious vibe diluted by the ramblings of dozens, if not hundreds, of artists looking for inspiration at the seaside. Normandy is an important locus of European modernist imaginary. The tendency to identify the locality with a certain style or movement was common in the nineteenth-century painting, e.g. the schools of Barbizon, Pont-Aven, Fontainebleau. All these places were the epicentres of innovation that united diverse painters with many personal styles, but in later conceptualisations and classifications they were all attributed with certain homogeneity and vague stylistic identity.

José Tomás Errázuriz was not alone in his investigation of the painterly qualities of the washerwomen scenes. Thanks to the attention from French and British painters, these working women became a symbol of the region's artistic fame. One of the first artists who painted the waves and boats in Normandy was Eugène Boudin, and the *Laveuses* was a recurrent subject of his oeuvre. He made many versions of the washers working by rivers or on the seashores. Other painters who contributed to the artistic popularity of the region were Boudin's friends, whom he introduced to the outdoor painting on the beaches.³⁷⁷ Courbet, Monet, Johan Jongkind (1819–1891) and Whistler are his most famous visitors.³⁷⁸

Boudin's picture *Washerwomen on the Beach of Étretat* (1894) reminds of Errázuriz's painting: both have identical subject-matter painted from the same spot but they are very different, at least technically. [Figure 27] Where the Chilean painter faithfully exercised his *metier* in a way he learned it in all those ateliers he attended in Santiago and in Paris, Boudin broke the conventions of the academic *tableau* and threw the paints on the canvas as fast as the methods of outdoor painting allowed. Errázuriz painted his washers of the Étretat almost at the same time Monet was making his vigorous marines, but Errázuriz's picture seems almost academic compared to Boudin and Monet. He demonstrated his solid sense of composition in rendering the planes of foreground and background. The groups of people and objects are strategically placed on the canvas in order to guide the spectator through the scene. The colouring corresponds to the compositional structure: the spots of dark blue colour stand for the

³⁷⁷ Susan D. Greenberg, "The Face of Impressionism in 1870: Claude Monet's 'Camille on the Beach at Trouville'," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, 2001, p. 67.

³⁷⁸ Ruth L. Benjamin, "Eugène Boudin, King of Skies," *The American Magazine of Art*, 1931, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 193-194.



Figure 27. Eugène Boudin, *Washerwomen on the Beach of Étretat*, 1894, oil on wood, 37 x 54 cm, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., United States. Image: National Gallery of Art.

direction marks, while the white spots open the perspectives within the space of the picture. The artist tried to trick us into believing in the momentary nature of this landscape, but its thoughtful construction makes me wonder whether it was painted outdoor at all. Judging from the rendering of the light and the location of light sources, I believe it was a studio work, well balanced and thought out. The washers are depicted in the even diffused illumination that could not be brought by the sunset.

Painterly approach of José Tomás Errázuriz was a result of his schooling. It perfectly matches with the world of art that surrounded him in Chile and in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. This world was described by his nephew, Pedro Subercaseaux:

En 1905, época de la que trato ahora, se apercibían en los medios que yo frecuentaba, solamente vagos indicios de impresionistas aparecían, ante la inmensa mayoría del público, como extravagantes que no debían tomarse en serio. De los cubistas aún ni se hablaba. La enseñanza oficial del arte seguía insistiendo en la veneración de Monsieur Ingres, y el refrán que se repetía sin cesar era: Imite, copie a Rafael.

In 1905, the time I am talking about now, in the circles I used to frequent, only vague indications of impressionists appeared. For the vast majority of the audience they were an extravaganza that were not to be taken seriously. Nobody talked about cubists. The official art teaching continued to insist on the veneration of Monsieur Ingres and the refrain was repeated endlessly: Emulate, copy Rafael.³⁷⁹

As a painter Errázuriz would probably know about impressionists or even saw their pictures in Musée de Luxembourg, but it would be fair to say that in the 1890s their influence in Paris was fading or at least was not straightforward. It is true that they reigned in minds and imaginaries of the younger generation, but many of them exhibited abroad or sold their paintings directly from the studio. In this decade Impressionism already had an army of powerful followers who acted as intermediaries between the radicalism of its agenda and rather conservative audiences. Namely, it was popularised by Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884) who united the academic *fini* with the moderate impressionist techniques and popular sentimentalism.³⁸⁰ The influence of

³⁷⁹ Subercaseaux, *Memorias*, p. 120.

³⁸⁰ Laurent Manoeuvre, *Les Pionnières : femmes et impressionnistes*, Rouen, Editions des Falaises, 2016, pp. 111-112.



Figure 28. José Tomás Errázuriz, *Campesina recostada*, oil on canvas. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 29. Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Hay making*, 1877, oil on canvas, 160 x 195 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

this painter was immense, and his works were not only accepted in the Salon but praised by critics as prime examples of the new direction in art hinted by the discoveries of Manet and Degas. This painter created a bridge between the radical experimentation of core impressionists and artists who did not have access to the insider life of the Parisian art world. Some of the attributed to Errázuriz paintings bear a remote resemblance with the peasant scenes by Bastien-Lepage. [Figures 28, 29]

Errázuriz was not impressionist and did not try to be one, yet sometimes the reputation of Étretat takes over him, and his artistic personality is eclipsed by the unfortunate comparison with Monet. Painter's closeness to such a symbolic place becomes a strategic point for sanctioning his modernism, but at the same time the artist turns into someone he was not, and his art again is judged from the standpoints inadequate to its qualities.

Becoming impressionist on the way to modernism

The attempts of Chilean art historians to connect the name of José Tomás Errázuriz with Impressionism are not accidental. The search of references, influences, juxtapositions, imitations, coincidences, any sort of relations between Latin American painters studying in Paris in the last decades of the nineteenth century and Impressionism seems to be one of the main preoccupations of many historical surveys. In spite of the complexity and manifold nature of aesthetic modernism, not to say of modernism at large, Impressionism became one of its fundamental pillars. From being an artistic phenomenon produced by a particular moment and situation, it became a tool of inclusion in and exclusion from the modern art.

Modernism can be conceptualised in many different ways: modern as the new opposed to tradition, but secretly tied to the classical, as Jürgen Habermas would have it; an aesthetic response to the new altered situation determined by imperialism, technology, commodification and mass culture, according to Fredric Jameson; or as David Harvey put it, as a condition that signifies a sharp rupture with all preceding history, and that is characterised by the never-ending process of internal

fragmentation.³⁸¹ These definitions are not conclusive even for the cited authors, but all of them underline the rupture as the basic quality of modernism. Impressionism was a first pronounced phenomenon in art that demonstrated this rupture. Instead of being regarded as a local avant-garde outburst, it turned into an event whose significance cannot be measured by geography or temporality of French art history. The questions of what is and what is not “authentic” Impressionism, investigation of its historiography and evaluation of its role for international art processes are inexhaustible topics of art historical inquiry up to this day.³⁸²

More often than not, the term Impressionism loses its historical specificity and is used as an epithet that can signify an array of things: a movement, a style, a technique, an institutional transformation. Historically, Impressionism is associated with the exhibitions in Paris in the 1870s organised by artists in opposition to the unfairness of jury selection in the Salon and that are considered the starting point for the avant-garde revolution in French art. In modernist historiography Impressionism became an approach or method of artistic thinking, that migrated from Paris to many other countries in the world. Such expressions like Norwegian or Brazilian Impressionism are especially confusing as they evoke the issues of temporality, artistic geography and causality that are not unequivocal in different contexts. Impressionism seems to embrace painters of the most variable personal styles, different ages and working in different places. There is a lively debate over who and for what reasons has the right to be counted as impressionist in non-European art histories. The vague and inconsistent definition of the term is open to manipulations and adaptation, so very often association with Impressionism becomes an “entry pass” to the modernist canon. Very soon after the first manifestations of impressionists, their “revolution” got into an orbit of

³⁸¹ Jürgen Habermas, “Modernity – An Incomplete Project” in Hal Foster (ed.) *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Port Townsend, Washington, Bay Press, 1983, p. 4.

Fredric Jameson, “Modernism and Imperialism” in Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Edward W. Said (eds.), *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, Minneapolis, London, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, p. 50.

David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers, 1989, p. 12.

³⁸² The conference *Writing Impressionism Into and Out of Art History, 1874 to Today* held at the The Courtauld Institute of Art in London in November 2017 is an example of contemporary interest in the subject, <http://courtauld.ac.uk/event/writing-impressionism-into-and-out-of-art-history>. Accessed 23 October 2017.

historicist thinking and was incorporated into the narrative of the national school of art. The newness of their formal pursuits coincided with the demand for an alternative to academic painting based on antique and Italian tradition.

The reputations of impressionists were forged not only in France but also abroad, and during the Exposition Universelle of 1900 the decisive role of Impressionism in the evolution of the French school became an internationally acclaimed evidence. The famous work by the German art historian Richard Muther (1860–1909), *Geschichte der Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert*, was among the first authoritative publications that promoted Impressionism as the highest point in the development of the French art in the nineteenth century.³⁸³ Muther explained this phenomenon as the latest victory of the French artistic tradition, but also insisted on its importance for the artistic development of European art in general. The German author interpreted Impressionism as a revolution that liberated art from the academism; it was a pure expression of modern art:

Through the Impressionists art was enriched by an opulence of new beauties and a new province – a province peculiar to herself – was won for painting. The step which they made was the last and most important taken by nineteenth-century art and if later painters arrived at more harmonious results, results more completely purged from extraneous mixture, the Independents have still the glory of being the bold hussars of the vanguard, the Jacobins of the revolution in art which has since been accomplished throughout all Europe.³⁸⁴

The reception of Impressionism as a turning point is at the centre of the modernist narrative. The particular influence of this idea comes from the fact that impressionists were touring around the world with great efficiency, and the affirmation of their liberatory appeal sounded simultaneously in the most distant corners of the nineteenth-century art world. By the end of the century the focus from the institutional change enacted by the first impressionist exhibitions shifted to the promotion of the specific aesthetic vision and stylistic qualities defined as impressionist. In the context of unprecedented proliferation of “original” techniques and methods, the attempts to

³⁸³ Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, p. 212.

³⁸⁴ Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol. 2, translation by Arthur Cecil Hillier, London, Henry and Co, 1896, p. 771, online at <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.208285>. Accessed 4 January 2018.

identify the precise features that would distinguish “core Impressionists” from their followers and epigones were many, but most often they only caused more confusion.³⁸⁵ The capacity of the term Impressionism to stand for everything modern in contemporary art made the discussion of its nature more than just a matter of timely fashion. The critics and dealers contributed to transforming it into a set of beliefs that ensured high rates and prices for everything related to French Impressionism. The reputation of this phenomenon was spreading much farther than the artists and paintings that were supposed to represent it.

Ceux qu’on appelle aujourd’hui les “impressionnistes” ne sont plus qu’une fraction, presque une secte parmi les peintres épris de modernité ; mais le mot d’*impressoinnisme* a un sens étymologique et historique à la fois, qui résume assez bien le trait commun de toutes les tendances novatrices : c’est un système qui a pour objet le retour à l’impression vraie, c’est-à-dire immédiate, ingénue, personnelle.

The painters who we call “impressionists” today are no more than a faction, almost a sect among all the painters in love with modernity. But the word *impressionism* has an etymological and historical meaning at once, this meaning sums up the common feature of all the innovating tendencies: it is a system that defines its main goal as a return to the true impression, so to say immediate, sincere, personal one.³⁸⁶

The diffusion of the news about Impressionism on the global scale was much more rapid than the circulation of the reproductions, not to say actual artworks. In a time period of two decades, from a marginal event on the Parisian art scene it grew into a global marker of modernity. The theoretical and critical consecration of modernism, and Impressionism as its first aesthetic expression, was international by the turn of the twentieth century, even though there was no complete and coherent understanding of this phenomenon. However, in terms of visibility Impressionism was not easily accessible outside of private galleries and wealthy collections, with the exception of the

³⁸⁵ Anthea Callen points out the features specific to impressionist painting according to critics in the nineteenth century. She calls them “myths” because they repeat in the mainstream descriptions of impressionist painting up to our days: spontaneity, empiricism, gestural facture. “Impressionist painting is particularly susceptible to the cultural paradigm of art-as-unfettered-enjoyment, a paradigm encouraging the easy consumption of art and avoiding the real difficulties it raises.” Anthea Callen, *The Art of Impressionism: Painting Technique and the Making of Modernity*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 13-14.

³⁸⁶ Léopold Mabilleau, “Le salon du Champ de Mars (deuxième article),” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, July 1890, p. 6.

Caillebotte collection in the Musée de Luxembourg. In the 1890s the first-hand knowledge of impressionist paintings outside of Paris was quite vague, yet the critics in the peripheries freely talked and formed opinions about famous “fathers” of modernism. Even the travels to Paris did not guarantee that an artist or critic from Latin America would discover the works of avant-garde painters who thanks to the strategies of Parisian dealers disappeared from the Parisian art scene quite soon. At the turn of the centuries Latin American painters learned about modernism in Salons and from the mythology propagated by art criticism and younger generations of French painters. [Figure 30]

In the peripheries the word Impressionism not necessarily refers to the exhibitions of the 1870s and its participants. It is an umbrella term that covers many similar phenomena: “But impressionism became a catchall term used to define any brightly colored impastoed painting, usually of a landscape with or without figures, in which light and color played an important part.”³⁸⁷ Each country integrated into the global art system was eager to produce its own Impressionism, and Latin American countries were no exception to this rule. The authors of numerous reviews and books keep looking for the signs of Impressionism in the pictures of artists travelling from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil to Europe and back. Each national art history has its own list of impressionists. Gradually, the evolutionary logic of the modernist discourse made Impressionism a stage of the notorious artistic evolution: an artist had to go through this stage to become modern:

La “demora” ee la adopción del impresionismo por parte de los artistas argentinos ha sido un *topos* historiográfico que condenó toda la producción de los pintores, escultores, grabadores, fotógrafos e ilustradores de entresiglos a una desvalorización que consistió simplemente en sostener que estaban “retrasados” temporalmente respecto de un camino – el diseñado por tales relatos historiográficos – que debían inevitablemente recorrer para llegar a ser “modernos”.

The “delay” in the adoption of Impressionism by the Argentinean artists was a historiographic topos that condemned the production of painters, sculptures, drawers, photographers and illustrators of the fin-de-siècle for devaluation based on the simple affirmation that they were temporarily

³⁸⁷ Barnitz, *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America*, p. 23.

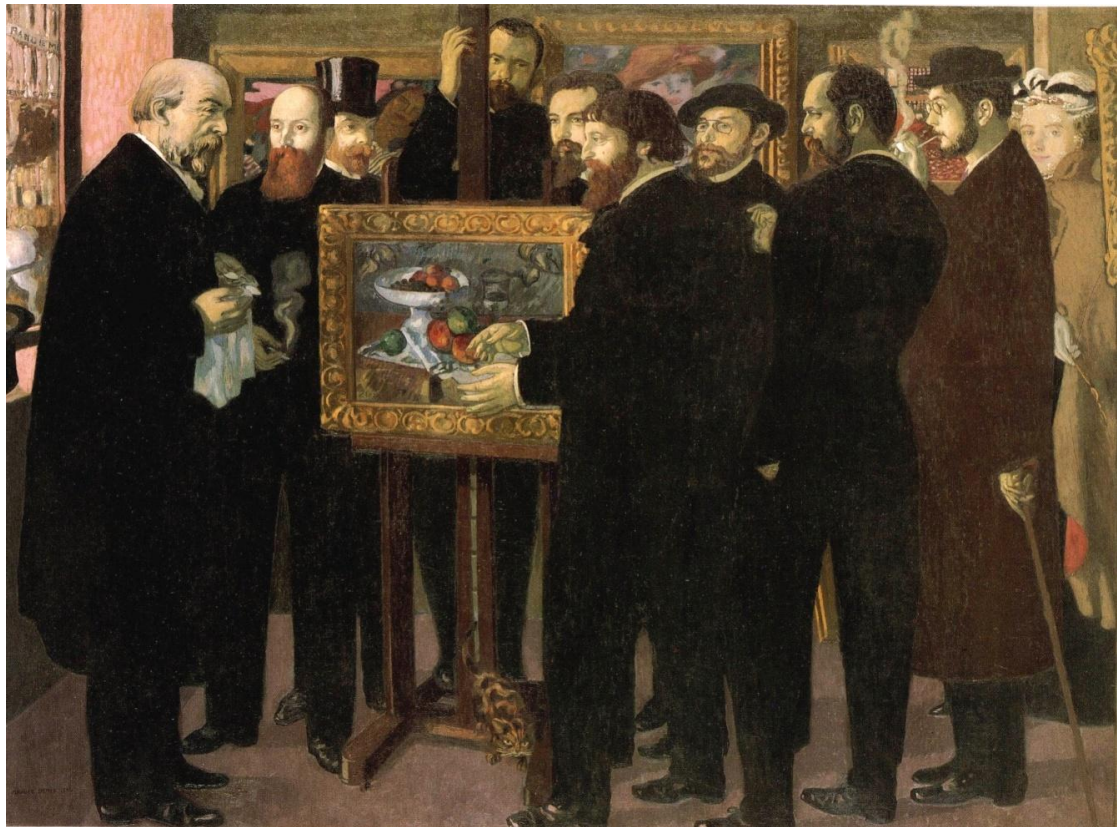


Figure 30. Maurice Denis, *Homage à Cézanne*, 1900, oil on canvas, 240 x 180 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

“late” in relation to the path – designed by the historiographies – that was to be followed in order to be “modern.”³⁸⁸

Such vision of the path to modernity crystallised in Europe, but its implementation was especially rigid in the non-European world.³⁸⁹ This rigidity together with the absence of original impressionist works in local museums and collections resulted in the paradoxical “long-distance” acquaintance with this mythic movement that contributed to the widening of the pool of potential impressionists in the imagination of peripheries.³⁹⁰

In Latin America this dynamics of modern art reflected the complex relations between the so-called European models and their local “imitations,” as well as the internal tensions within the art world of the continent. The majority of painters in the late nineteenth century would adopt some sort of impressionist technique but not necessarily in a form and to the level as to become impressionists. Yet, the critics and historians trapped in the patterns of evolutionary modernist thinking would associate a whole discourse of revolution and discovery with pastose touches and sketchy brushwork. Formal similarities and coincidences were thought of as a ground on which the temporalities and rhythms of French and Latin American artistic processes were to click and correspond. However, Latin American artists, like artists of any other

³⁸⁸ Laura Malosetti Costa, “¿Un Ruskin, en Buenos Aires? Rubén Darío y el Salon del Ateneo en 1895” in Susana Zanetti (ed.), *Rubén Darío en La Nación de Buenos Aires 1892–1916*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Universitaria, 2004, p. 107.

³⁸⁹ Kazimir Malevich (1879–1935) made an elaborate attempt to reconstruct his artistic evolution and misdated his late works. His case demonstrates the power of the modernist narrative that imposes the sequence Impressionism – post-Impressionism – Cubism – abstract painting as a universal law. From the position of a theoretician and ideologue of suprematism Malevich executed and dated his late works as correspondent to the stages of his gradual “development” from Impressionism through Cezannisme and Cubism to the pure form of suprematism. Elena Basner, the author of reattribution of late Malevich’s paintings, called this mystification “retrospective impressionism”. Елена Баснер Elena Basner, “Живопись Малевича из собрания Русского музея. (Проблемы творческой эволюции художника)” *Zhivopis Malevicha iz sobraniya Russkogo muzeya. (Problemy tvorcheskoy evolyucii hudozhnika)* in *Казимир Малевич в Русском музее Kazimir Malevich v Russkom muzee*, Saint-Petersburg, Gosudarstvennyj Russkij Muzej, 2000, pp. 15-27.

³⁹⁰ In the reviews from Argentinean press such painters as Duez, Roll, Collin, Gervex were identified as impressionists. María Isabel Baldasarre, “La pintura de la luz arriba a la capital porteña. Reflexiones sobre la recepción del impresionismo y el arte moderno francés en Buenos Aires,” in *Europa y Latinoamérica. Artes visuales y música. III Jornadas de Estudios y Investigaciones*, Buenos Aires, FFyL, UBA, 2000. pp. 8-10.

country, could not possibly recreate the trajectory from realism through Impressionism into post-Impressionism designed in Europe.

If Impressionism was flesh and blood of Paris as an artistic centre, I prefer to think that it could not exist in any other city at any other time. The very expression Latin American Impressionism becomes counterproductive because, on the one hand, it forcibly reduces our understanding of Impressionism, on the other hand, it prevents us from seeing the differences in the evolvement of Latin American art labeled according to foreign categories.

Eliseu Visconti (1866–1944)

“Né à Rio-de-Janeiro (Brésil), élève de MM. Bouguereau et G. Ferrier, et de l’École nationale des Beaux-Arts de Rio-de-Janeiro.” (Born in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), student of Bouguereau and Ferrier and of the National School of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro.)³⁹¹

Eliseu Visconti is the most studied painter from our list.³⁹² He is recognised as the first Brazilian impressionist, but both these definitions – Brazilian and impressionist – are still being argued. Visconti’s “impressionist period” started much later than the original French Impressionism, in the 1920s. However, Brazilian critics were eager to indicate impressionist notes in Visconti’s work as soon as he returned to Brazil from his first Parisian travel in 1900:

Nestes retratos o Sr. Visconti mostra-se muito moderno e impressionista da melhor espécie. São, pode-se dizer, sinfonias em verde, porque os seus fundos, que dão a tonalidade dominante, são verdes. Como essa cor é extremamente absorvente, por vezes prejudica a apresentação da figura; mas em alguns dos seus trabalhos, como nos retratos do Sr. Dr. O. Romeiro e do Sr. Simas consegue de modo admirável vencer as grandes dificuldades propositalmente procuradas, e dar a sensação exata do ambiente.

³⁹¹ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1894. Pierre Sanchez (ed.), *Les catalogues des Salons. XVII, 1893–1895*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2009.

³⁹² See Frederico Barata, *Eliseu Visconti e seu tempo*, Rio de Janeiro, Z. Valverde, 1964; Maria Izabel Branco Ribeiro, *Eliseu Visconti*, São Paulo, Instituto Itaú Cultural, 2013; *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012.

In these portraits Mr. Visconti appears as very modern and as impressionist of the best rank. One could say these pictures are symphonies in green because their backgrounds, giving the dominant tone, are green. Since this colour is extremely absorbent, sometimes it harms the rendering of the figure. But in other works, like the portrait of Dr. O. Romeiro or Mr. Simas, the artist admirably overcomes the great difficulties he purposely looked for and gives an accurate impression of the ambiance.³⁹³

Later the impressionist reputation of Visconti strengthened even more. Most scholars agree that the painter mastered impressionist techniques, but the “belatedness” of his experiments, the fact that he was virtually the only representative of pictorial Impressionism in the country and that his Impressionism coincided in time with the debut of the Brazilian modernism, are a source of discomfort in the Brazilian historiography.

Visconti’s style was always eclectic. The painter tried many methods and forms of artistic expression when he studied in Paris in the 1890s. He used to combine and mix them in order to solve particular tasks and challenges: “He used the abilities learned during his education whenever he needed to achieve an effect he desired, as was the case with ideas and tools from Impressionism, Divisionism, Art Nouveau, Symbolism, or pre-Raphaelism.”³⁹⁴ In Visconti’s case these terms would lose their attachment to the original contexts and movements and meant technical qualities of painterly execution. The late landscapes by the painter certainly have nothing in common with the French Impressionism of the 1870s, except formal resemblance. However, such “formal” reading of Viscontian Impressionism sparks off resistance from those who want to stress his modernism and make him a, “legítimo introdutor do impressionismo no Brasil, tornando-se modelo para inúmeros artistas pré-modernistas” (legitimate introducer of Impressionism in Brazil, becoming the model for countless pre-modernist artists.)³⁹⁵ The conceptualisation of Impressionism as a mode of

³⁹³ “Notas de arte,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 7 September 1902, p. 3, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=NOTAS_DE_ARTE._Jornal_do_Commercio%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_7_set._1902%2C_p.3. Accessed 25 October 2017.

³⁹⁴ Mirian N. Seraphim, “Visconti’s Artistic Career” in *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012, p. 252.

³⁹⁵ The quote is taken from the web-site *Projeto Eliseu Visconti* founded by painter’s grandson. Pedro Xexéo – Na publicação “Museu Nacional de Belas Artes – Acervo” – Dezembro de 2002, Mestre do Impressionismo – Depoimentos, *Projeto Eliseu Visconti*,

innovative thinking, instead of seeing it as a disparate technique, is necessary to confirm the status of Visconti in the Brazilian canon.

Like French Impressionism, Brazilian modernism is a specific phenomenon associated with the art festival *Semana de Arte Moderna* held in São Paulo in 1922. Visconti was not invited to this event but followed it with genuine interest.³⁹⁶ The effect of the *Semana de Arte Moderna* on the formation of modern art mythology in Brazil and internationally was enormous. However, the development that preceded this festival does not correlate with the evolutionary logic of European modernism, so the terms like “pre-modern” or “modern before modernism” had to be invented in order to define the painters who worked in this questionable period. Visconti was one of these artists who came from the academic tradition and were keen on following the cosmopolitan claims of European capitals but who very soon turned into strangers for the radical localism of the Brazilian modernists:

Vista como europeizada, desenraizada, elitista, cosmopolita etc., a pintura desse momento tende a ser condenada por não estar vinculada a uma plataforma nacionalista, a qual se tornou obrigatória a partir da ascensão dos modernistas em meados dos anos 1920.

Viewed as Europeanised, uprooted, elitist, cosmopolitan, etc., the painting of this moment tends to be condemned for not being linked to the nationalist platform, which became obligatory from the rise of the modernists in the mid-1920s.³⁹⁷

Visconti was different from the new generation of Brazilian artists, but at the same time he was unlike his academic teachers in the *Escola Nacional de Bellas Artes* in Rio de Janeiro. This painter existed in his own time-space and did not correspond to the narratives produced either by Paris or São Paulo. The eclecticism and continuity of his work were antithetical to the discourse of the Brazilian modernists: to be a negation of everything that existed before in the pursuit of the new. On the other hand, he never stopped searching for new means of expression and arrived to the results that could not

<http://www.eliseuvisconti.com.br/Site/Apresentacao/MestreImpressionismo.aspx>. Accessed 25 October 2017.

³⁹⁶ Tobias Stourdzé Visconti, “A Pioneering Career” in *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012, pp. 249-250.

³⁹⁷ Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni and Lúcia K. Stumpf, “O Moderno antes do Modernismo: paradoxos da pintura brasileira no nascimento da República,” *Teresa revista de Literatura Brasileira*, no. 14, 2014, p. 112.

be deemed less valuable or less interesting just because they were distinct from the aesthetics proposed by the avant-gardes of the 1920s.

Eliseu d'Angelo Visconti was born in a village Giffoni Valle e Piana, nearby Salerno in Italy, but at the early age was brought to Brazil by dona Fransica de Souza Monteiro de Barros, the Baroness of Guarema (d. 1899). According to painter's grandson, Eliseu and his older siblings were supposed to help at the coffee plantation, but the heart of the Baroness softened when she met a seven-year-old boy, so she took him under protection and educated as one of her children.³⁹⁸ Visconti studied music and drawing at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios and later enrolled at the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro. It was a moment when the institution was going through the reformation, so Visconti entered the Academia Imperial, but in 1892 graduated from the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. While at school, he joined the camp of *modernos* in the Academia. These painters wanted the restoration of the suspended European scholarship, so when they won the fight Visconti became the first pensioner of the reformed school.³⁹⁹

From 1893 to 1900 the young artist lived in Paris. According to the conditions of his grant, he entered the École des Beaux-Arts and stayed there long enough to satisfy all the requirements of his scholarship. He also studied in the Académie Julian which offered classes of nude and at the school of design and decorative arts École Guérin in the class of Eugène Grasset.⁴⁰⁰ In his enthusiastic rush Visconti went much farther than it was expected from a painting pensioner from Brazil, and used the benefits of Paris to the fullest: he refined his painting and drawing, learned the techniques of prints and ornament, experimented with pottery and design; his paintings featured nudes, landscapes, interiors, mythological subjects; he mixed academic technique, art nouveau stylization, *plein air* execution, and symbolist aesthetics. Apart from filling every hour of his time in Paris with studying, Visconti also participated in Paris Salons: at first at the SAF, probably upon suggestion of Bouguereau who was his professor at the École des Beaux-Arts, and from 1897, at the Salons of the SNBA. By this time Visconti was

³⁹⁸ Tobias Stourdzé Visconti studied the family archives and recreated the timeline of painter's childhood and the conditions of his arrival to Brazil. Tobias Stourdzé Visconti, "A Pioneering Career," p. 245.

³⁹⁹ Branco Ribeira, *Eliseu Visconti*, p. 19.

⁴⁰⁰ Tavares Cavalcanti, "Les artistes brésiliens et 'Les prix de voyage en Europe' à la fin du XIXe siècle," p. 166.

already well acquainted with the newest tendencies in the decorative arts thanks to his training in the École Guérin and showed sincere interest in symbolist aesthetics. Both these directions were better represented in the SNBA: in the innovative section of “objets d’arts,” and in the symbolism of its founders. It is highly likely that at this very time the Brazilian painter met Jean Dampt who was a member of the SNBA and Diana Cid García who worked with Dampt on some decorative projects and studied painting with Aman-Jean, another prominent *sociétaire*.⁴⁰¹

The first Parisian sojourn of Visconti ended with his participation in the Exposition Universelle of 1900 where he represented Brazil with the paintings that proved him as a true master of European painting: an allegoric depiction of youth *Gioventù*, also exhibited in the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1899 under the title *Mélancholie*, and a scene of Dionysian rites *Oréadas*. These are allegoric depictions of youth: *Oréadas* represents a group of adolescents dancing in the woods, while *Gioventù* could be a portrait of one of these dancing nymphs.⁴⁰² [Figures 31, 32] The picture *Oréadas* follows the tradition of European mythological painting and at once departs from it. At first glance, it represents a quite known motive from the ancient mythology: nymphs dancing and worshipping their god in enchanted woods. The thyrsus in the hand of the character on the left clearly refers to the ritual of Dionysus, so the whole scene must mean the celebration of hedonism, fertility and sexuality.⁴⁰³ The painter masterly choreographs the dance performed by the nymphs. They follow the spiral of their tight circle and invite the viewer to join – the girl in the middle of the scene looks at us making us participate in the festivity even if unwillingly. The synergy of the circle derives from the rhythm of holding hands, crossed legs and floating ribbons. Most characters on this picture are female, there is

⁴⁰¹ The contact between Dampt and Visconti is overlooked by Visconti’s biographers who concentrated only on the time the Brazilian artist spent in the class of Eugène Grasset: “Visconti sought to introduce to Brazil the same view shared by Grasset and other European artists and architects, that of an artist serving the needs of the new industrial society, actively participating in the creation of utilitarian objects manufactured by the industry.” Leonardo Visconti Cavalleiro and Claudio Lamas de Farias, “Visconti, Designer” in *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012, p. 258.

⁴⁰² Luciano Migliaccio believes that these two pictures were created as a part of pendants. Migliaccio, “Eliseu Visconti and Symbolism,” p. 226.

⁴⁰³ In the Greek mythology the nymphs that participated in Dionysian rites were Maenads, not Oreadas.



Figure 31. Eliseu Visconti, *Oréadas*, 1899, oil on canvas, 200 x 108 cm, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Image: Projeto Eliseu Visconti.

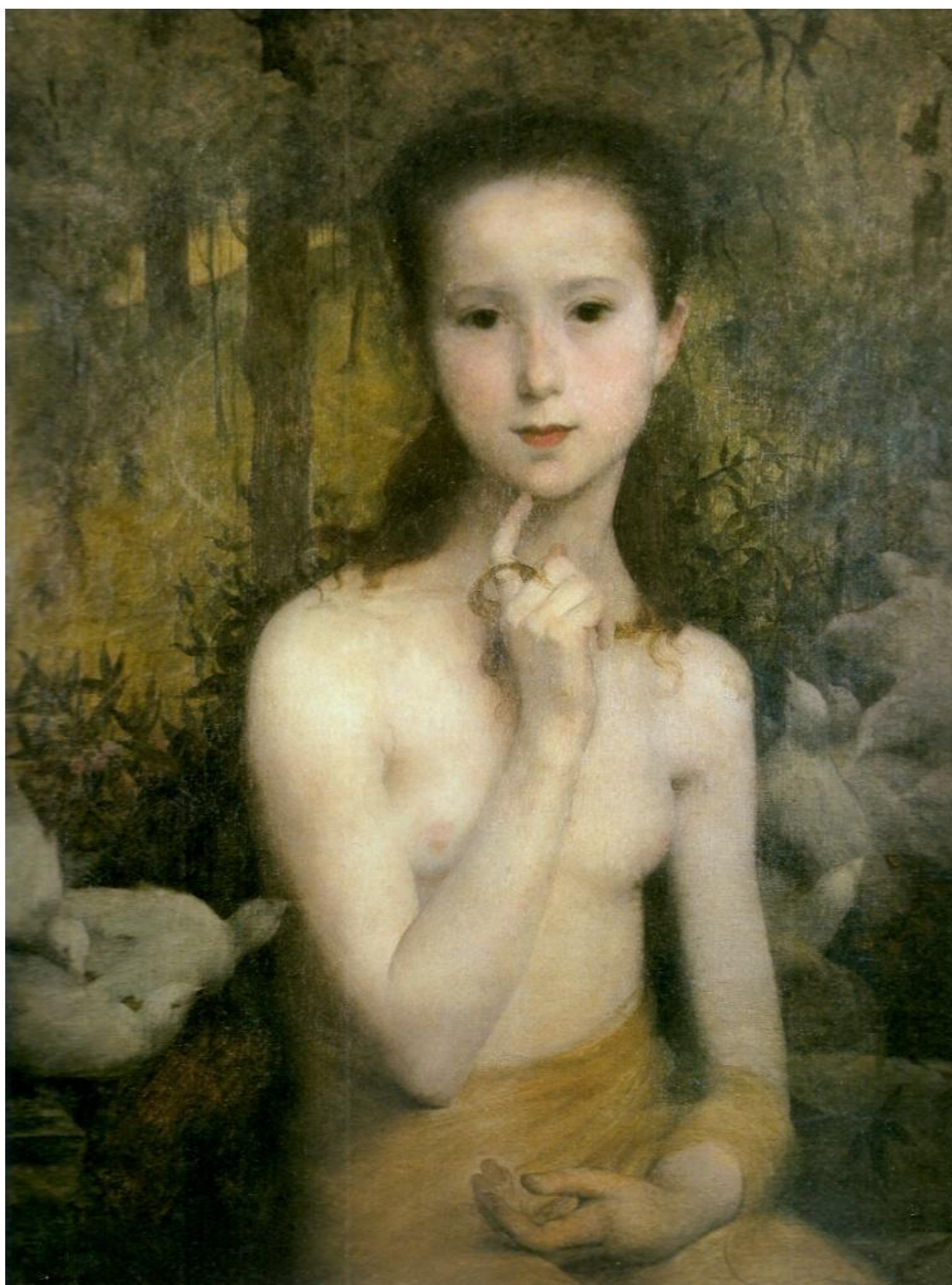


Figure 32. Eliseu Visconti, *Gioventù*, 1898, oil on canvas, 65 x 49 cm, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

only one boy on the right; however, the abstraction of the dance and the young age of the dancers make them almost sexless. This fact oddly coincides with the ambivalent nature of the Dionysian rite: it has an explicit erotic component, but the Dionysus himself has no fixed gender, as the “play with gender distinctions was a basic feature of Dionysiac liminality.”⁴⁰⁴ Visconti managed to transmit this gender ambiguity in his painting, and, only by doing so, he stepped aside from the tradition of nymphs’ depiction in the late nineteenth-century painting.

During the 1890s Visconti worked a lot with nudes that prevailed in his Salon submissions. *Gioventù* and *Oréadas* in some way reflect artist’s interest in this genre. At that time, many prominent French painters made their renderings of mythological scenes overtly sexualised. They rather displayed erotic games for the enjoyment of refined audiences, than illustrated antiquity myths as it was demanded by the classical aesthetics.⁴⁰⁵ *Oréadas* is a controversial and uncomfortable picture because it makes collide two cultural codes: the sexualised interpretation of the Dionysus cult and the neutrality of the androgynous creatures in the Viscontian dance.

The theme of the “eros adolescente” in Visconti’s painting was discussed by Mirian N. Seraphim who looked at the early nudes by the painter and suggested that allegorical and mythological subject-matter was a “cultural alibi” supposed to protected him from the moralist attacks.⁴⁰⁶ Seraphim lightly alludes to the “perversity” of Visconti’s paintings, while the quoted in her article assessment of the “contented exhaustion” by Bram Dijkstra’s is explicit.⁴⁰⁷ [Figure 33]

Our unease with the interpretation of the adolescent nudity by Brazilian artist is not accidental. The sexualised depictions of adolescents, and even children, are not uncommon in European painting. The genre that took the questionable morals of such depictions out of equation and made them play for the commercial success was

⁴⁰⁴ Eric Csapo, “Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual and Gender-Role De / Construction,” *Phoenix*, vol. 51, no. 3 / 4, 1997, pp. 263-264.

⁴⁰⁵ For instance, the mythological nudes by Bouguereau. David Scobey, “Nymphs and Satyrs Sex and the Bourgeois Public Sphere in Victorian New York,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2002.

⁴⁰⁶ Mirian N. Seraphim, “Novas descobertas sobre duas pinturas de Eliseu Visconti,” *19&20*, vol. V, no. 2, 2010, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/obras/ev_mirian2.htm. Accessed 27 October 2017.

⁴⁰⁷ The attribution that preoccupied Mirian N. Seraphim proves to be of paramount importance for the interpretation of the picture. Whether its title is “In summertime” or “Two sisters” changes the propensity of the viewer to read it as “perverted” or “innocent.”



Figure 33. Eliseu Visconti, *As duas irmãs / No verão*, 1894, oil on canvas, 59 x 80 cm, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

invented by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) in the eighteenth century and bears his name – Greuze Girl. This genre was a product of the culture of French rococo with its hedonism and playfulness, admiration of youth and eroticism. In previous epochs the sexualisation of children was not only acceptable but was in demand among French aristocracy.⁴⁰⁸ At the end of the nineteenth century, when indulging in the most exquisite experiments and fantasies of all kinds was on the rise, the appeal of late rococo saw a great revival. Erotic imagery, featuring also Greuze Girl motives, was in large circulation among the bourgeoisie of fin-de-siècle.⁴⁰⁹

Bouguereau is known for his saccharine depictions of young girls as shepherdesses and for his skilful manipulation of the academic mode or representation to cover the questionable undertones of such pictures. This painter was a master of the classical tradition; he brilliantly played on the genre hierarchies in order to comply with the sanctimonious morals of his time: “His most culturally orthodox work tended to be executed in the “lower” medium of the genre scene; his most perverse images were almost always rendered in the idealizing form of the mythological *tableau*.”⁴¹⁰ [Figures 34, 35] Bouguereau was one of Visconti’s teachers in Paris and one of the most successful artists of his time. If anything, the Brazilian painter could learn from him the flexibility in interpreting the rules of the academic tradition.

However, apart from the Greuze Girl and Bouguereau who could determine Visconti’s vision, the Brazilian painter was also in tune with the artists whose sensitivity was more sophisticated and less earthly. In the late nineteenth-century art and literature the alternative understanding of adolescent nudity was widespread among so-called decadents: androgyne as “an embodiment of the concept of the integrated soul ... revolt against the bourgeoisie and against the society of exchange values and polar

⁴⁰⁸ About child prostitution in the eighteenth century see Emma Barker, “Imaging Childhood in Eighteenth-Century France: Greuze’s Little Girl with a Dog,” *Art Bulletin*, vol. 91, no. 4, 2009, pp. 426-445.

⁴⁰⁹ Camille Mauclair (1872–1945): “When a bourgeois, speaking of a young girl, says today with a knowing air: ‘It’s a Greuze,’ he knows very well what he means. Greuze created the type of the French adolescent.” Quoted in Bernadette Fort, “The Greuze Girl: The Invention of a Pictorial Paradigm,” *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 72, 2007, p. 129.

⁴¹⁰ David Scobey, “Nymphs and Satyrs Sex and the Bourgeois Public Sphere in Victorian New York,” p. 50.



Figure 34. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Les Oréades*, 1902, oil on canvas, 236 x 182 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 35. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *La Frileuse*, 1879, oil on canvas, 72 x 50 cm, private collection. Image: Rehs Galleries Inc.

oppositions which the bourgeoisie had fostered.”⁴¹¹ Perhaps, this can explain better why Visconti’s nymphs look sexless and gender indistinct. It was the moment when the perception of nudity was questioned, academic conventions were destroyed and the artist had to make an active choice and hold responsibility for his interpretation of the genre that was at the foundation of European painting.⁴¹² Let us not forget that Eliseu Visconti came from Latin America where the nude painting was still forbidden in art schools, and each time it was exhibited, it caused scandals in press.⁴¹³ During his short stay in Paris he had to excel in this genre, absorb the centuries-long tradition of the European nude and navigate through the intricacies of its interpretation in the fin-de-siècle Paris. *Oréadas* and *Gioventù* were the result of this process and demonstrated Visconti’s personal take on the subject. He did not adhere to Bouguereau’s heavy polished eroticism but invented his own anti-erotic mythology. The artist combined different modes of representation in his work: he depicted mythological nudes as androgynes and rendered the motive of Greuze Girl as the allegory of youth. Visconti’s adaptations of the conventional subject-matter are very personal, and their readings depend to a large extent on the perspective adopted by the viewer.

Oréadas and *Gioventù* mark the end of the first Parisian period of Eliseu Visconti, usually associated with symbolism and art nouveau.⁴¹⁴ After the end of the government grant in 1900 Visconti went back to Rio de Janeiro and organised a series of personal exhibitions to demonstrate his achievements in the fine and applied arts. While the painter was in Brazil, his wife and children stayed in France, so for the next two decades he had to travel back and forth between the continents until they finally settled in Brazil in 1920. In Paris Visconti worked on his commissions for the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Theatre, and in Brazil he experimented with the decorative arts and

⁴¹¹ Bram Dijkstra, “The Androgyne in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature,” *Comparative Literature*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1974, p. 73.

⁴¹² The classical examples are Manet’s *Olympia* (1863) and Gervex’s *Rolla* (1878).

⁴¹³ The first Argentinean naturalist nude *Lever de la Bonne* by Sívori (1887) caused a scandal in Buenos Aires and was deemed “pornographic.” Laura Malosetti Costa, “Comentario sobre Le lever de la bonne (El despertar de la criada),” *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes*, <https://www.bellasartes.gob.ar/coleccion/obra/1894>. Accessed 7 January 2018.

⁴¹⁴ Valeria Ochoa Oliveira, *A arte na belle époque. O simbolismo de Eliseu Visconti e as Musas*, Uberlândia, EDUFU, 2008, p. 46.

design, briefly taught and exhibited.⁴¹⁵ Brazilian critics met Visconti enthusiastically. In line with the nationalist thinking, they tried to underline his localism and independence from the European artistic tradition, which was their contribution to the elaboration of the national art school project:

Vem da Europa influenciado pelas tendências ruskinianas e pelos trabalhos do Suíço Boeklim [sic]. É o que me parece e é o que parece salientar-se nas suas belíssimas *Oréadas* e na sua *Giuventú*. Chegando aqui, naturalmente, era fatal, a luz do trópico fez na sua retina a consabida e eterna revolução e começou a esquadrihar-lhe os efeitos.

He came from Europe influenced by the Ruskinian tendencies and by the works of the Swiss painter Boeklim [sic]. That is what I think and that is what is obvious in his beautiful *Oréadas* and *Gioventù*. Arriving here, of course, was fatal: the light of the tropics made the usual and eternal revolution in his retina and began to scour the effects.⁴¹⁶

During Visconti's formative years Brazil tried to conceptualise its national identity based on the harmonious unity of three races: Indian, European and Black.⁴¹⁷ An important aspect to this harmony of races was the idea of the nativism that imposed a distinction between native Americans and European-born people. The incident of being foreign-born haunted Visconti during his lifetime, and even today we can come across the words that state that he was, "Italian painter who lived in Rio de Janeiro," implying that he was not exactly Brazilian.⁴¹⁸ The painter himself and his biographers had to insist on his Brazilianness and use a range of arguments to prove it, from referring to the legal documents confirming the citizenship of Eliseu Visconti to detecting "Brazilian" elements in his painting:

Entretanto na década de 1920 em diante, depois da sua volta definitiva ao Brasil, até a sua morte em 1944, Visconti não para de evoluir, e é nesta fase

⁴¹⁵ Tobias Stourdzé Visconti, "Rio de Janeiro Municipal Theatre" in *Eliseu Visconti: A Arte em Movimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Hólos Consultores Associados, Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 2012, pp. 260-263.

⁴¹⁶ A. Morales de los Rios, "Belas artes," *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 September 1902, p. 3, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=RIOS%2C_A._Morales_de_los._BELA_S_ARTES._Correio_da_Manh%C3%A3%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_3_set._1902%2C_p._3. Accessed 6 November 2017.

⁴¹⁷ Coli, "Fabrique et promotion de la brésilianité," p. 216.

⁴¹⁸ *Entre duas modernidades: do Neoclassicismo ao Pós-Impressionismo na coleção do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes*, Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, 2004, p. 112.

que se torna “bem brasileiro”, empenhando-se no estudo da luminosa e vibrante atmosfera do Brasil.

Starting from the 1920s, after his definitive return to Brazil and until his death in 1944, Visconti continued to evolve and at this stage he became “very Brazilian,” trying to study the luminous and vibrant atmosphere of Brazil.⁴¹⁹

While in Paris Visconti experimented with different styles and techniques, but from the 1920s onwards his inclination to the bright colouring and rapid *plein air* practice overpassed all other tendencies. To become even more “Brazilian,” he painted his garden and surroundings in Copacabana and Teresópolis using impressionist brushwork and experimenting with light effects.

Already mentioned *Retrato de Ovidio Romeiro* and *Fundo de casas* are examples of the most “Brazilian” of Visconti’s paintings. [Figures 36, 37] Both are executed in intense primary colours, feature local vegetation, and the feeling of the sun in zenith can be grasped even from the reproductions. The first picture is simultaneously a portrait of Dr. Romeiro and a portrait of the garden behind his back. The man and the nature co-exist in this picture as equals, and their unity is enhanced by the composition and palette. The landscape also shows painter’s enjoyment of the decorative qualities of the depicted scene.

The attention to the local subject-matter, unusual brightness and “exotic” light proved Visconti as a true poet of the Brazilian nature. Ironically, these “very Brazilian” paintings were executed in the Impressionist technique—the most European of all the artistic expressions of the nineteenth century. The “tropical” light and nature displayed a stronger bond between Visconti and Brazil than his birthplace or details of the biography. This whimsical collision and fusion of the national and the European technique in the late landscapes of Visconti elevated his status from a mere epigone of French Impressionism to that of the innovator of Brazilian painting:

Eliseu Visconti teve a coragem de romper com as tradições acadêmicas e conservar-se impressionista até os últimos dias de sua vida, principalmente nas paisagens impregnadas de luz tropical e de lirismo de composição, que o tornaram maior do que Monet, Renoir, Seurat, Pissarro, Sisley e Cezanne.

⁴¹⁹ Tobias D’Ângelo Visconti, “Meu pai, Eliseu Visconti,” Projeto Eliseu Visconti, 1994, <https://eliseuvisconti.com.br/textos/tobias-visconti/>. Accessed 14 August 2018.



Figure 36. Eliseu Visconti, *Retrato de Ovidio Romeiro*, 1901, oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm, private collection. Image: Projeto Eliseu Visconti.

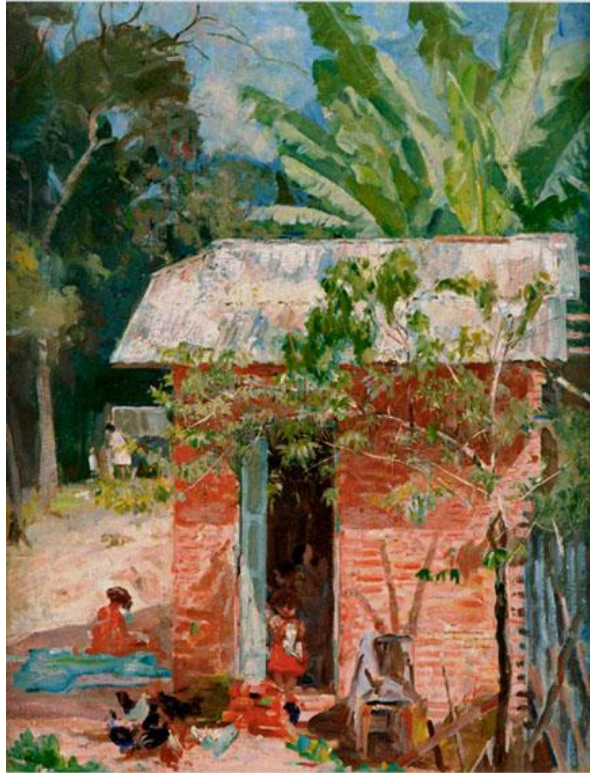


Figure 37. Eliseu Visconti, *Fundo de casas*, ca. 1930, oil on canvas, 74 x 61 cm, private collection. Image: Projeto Eliseu Visconti.

Eliseu Visconti had the courage to break with academic traditions and to remain Impressionists until the last days of his life in his landscapes full of tropical light and poetic compositions, that made him greater than Monet, Renoir, Seurat, Pissarro, Sisley and Cezanne.⁴²⁰

Tropical luminosity of Visconti's late paintings was not only a proof of his Brazilian identity, but also a sign of his artistic independence from all the European -isms. The myth of the local light showing artist's profound understanding and belonging to the place is very common in art criticism, especially when it concerns non-European art. To render the colours of a certain place is to root oneself in that place and appropriate it. The so-called tropical luminosity works as *ostranenie* theorised by Viktor Shklovsky: it challenges the viewer's habits and visual experience to make him or her see the depicted scene instead of recognising it.⁴²¹ The *costumbrismo* genre and classical tradition shaped the patterns of landscape reception in Europe and in Latin America in the nineteenth century. Conventional paintings, drawings and engravings would guarantee viewers the "pleasure of recognition," but Visconti mixed modernist techniques in a truly innovative way: he defamiliarised the views of Copacabana and Teresópolis in order to make them the loci of the national and the modern.⁴²²

Artistic migration and complex identities

The accent on the so-called Brazilianness of Eliseu Visconti had a double function: on the one hand, it emphasised his originality in relation to his long-term affiliation to Europe, on the other hand, it was the way to incorporate him into the Brazilian canon. The issue of identity is very problematic in Latin American art and the cases of Artigue, Errázuriz and now Visconti become the illustrations of how and by

⁴²⁰ Hugo Auler, "Eliseu Visconti – Precursor do Modernismo," *Correio Brasiliense*, 22 October 1967, *Projeto Eliseu Visconti*, <http://www.eliseuvisconti.com.br/Site/TextosCriticos/HugoAuler.aspx>. Accessed 25 December 2017.

⁴²¹ Shklovsky's term *ostranenie* translates into English as defamiliarisation or estrangement. This word was the author's neologism, so it was at once a theoretical term and an illustration of the effect it was to name. Виктор Шкловский Viktor Shklovsky, "Искусство как прием" "Iskusstvo kak priem" in *О теории прозы О теории prozy*, Moscow, Federaciya, 1929.

⁴²² Ana Maria Belluzzo, "The Traveller and the Brazilian Landscape," *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2007, p. 40.

whom these identities were constructed. As practice shows it is impossible to assign a unitary identity to these painters but the attempts to do so persist. Most of the time, these attempts are grounded not in the careful exploration of artists' paintings, but rather in the mechanical apposition of the artists' migrating trajectories and "their use of identifying elements taken from folklore, religion, the physical environment of history."⁴²³

For migrating artists the issue of identity is in certain way a question of survival. They had to adapt and re-invent themselves according to the places they crossed, and this process of constant adaptation is still carried by the historians who try to include (or exclude) them in the existing narratives: "Instead of seeing the different forms of identity as allegiances to a place or as a property, we ought to realise that they are the stake of a power struggle."⁴²⁴ The difficulties in incorporating Artigue, Visconti, and Errázuriz into fixed categories based on the principle of the national belonging demonstrate not only the complexities of their biographies but also the complexity of the modern world structure with its empires, colonies and postcolonial dependencies. At the end of the day the concept of the national proves unreliable despite its ubiquitous use in art history.

According to the requirements of the SAF and SNBA, painters had to indicate their places of birth when submitting their works to Salons; the SAF also wanted to know the nationality of the exponent. In most cases the nationality would coincide with the place of birth, but when it comes to the countries with the complex history of migration like Brazil and Argentina, artists' self-identifications become questionable. The examples of Albert-Émile Artigue and Eliseu Visconti are illustrations of their ambiguous attitude towards their origins and national belonging. None of them was neutral, but both of them could benefit or lose from adopting one or another "identity card." The strategies of being national, cosmopolitan, European or American had different relevance in different moments of their lives and careers.

⁴²³ Gerardo Mosquera, "Good-bye identity, welcome difference," *Third Text*, 2001, vol. 15, issue 56, p. 30.

⁴²⁴ Chantal Mouffe, "For a Politics of Nomadic Identity" in George Robertson (ed.), *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, London, New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 107.

The nurturing of the national art projects was a primary concern of the nineteenth-century art world. For Europeans it was a matter of spreading and confirming its cultural and economic power, for Latin Americans it was a way to join the club of the “civilized” nations. Based on racial theories and enhanced by liberal competition, the discourse of the national became a field in which the peripheries had to assert themselves and argue for leadership without seeing that their efforts were set up for failure from the beginning. Latin American artists and critics accepted the challenge, and launched their own constructions of the national art school following the rules instituted in the centre. Every artist would become a part of this process and had to fit in a certain niche in the construction. The question was rather simple: whether he or she was the bearer of the national or not; all the other details of their biographies and styles were secondary for their consecration.

With the advancement of the twentieth century the paradigm of “civilization” stemming from Europe showed its deficiency. Gradually, from the figure of imitation it turned into a figure of resistance. The need of Latin American artists to escape from the internationalism and cosmopolitanism of the centre, and from the narrow understanding of the nations constructed by the American states, made them look for different meanings to being national. “Authenticity” and “exotism” were their responses to the risk of being lost on the halfway between Europe and Latin America. The nationalism of the American modernist movements was a demonstration of the “struggle against Western domination everywhere in the non-European world ... resistance to what they perceived as an unjust practice against them, mainly for being what they were, i.e., non-Western.”⁴²⁵ Already in the early twentieth century they tried to valorise those painful temporal “delays,” “backwardness” and “unorthodoxies” and turn them into assets of local originality. This strategy seemed to work until the moment when the trope of the national was appropriated by the official ideologies of the American dictatorships and turned into a repressive dogma according to which art was made and analysed.

Visconti and his biographers were the most consistent in proving his Brazilianness. In case of Artigue and Errázuriz the work of their “nationalisation” was carried mostly by the historians writing (or not writing) about them in the twentieth century and by the museums classifying their paintings according to the principle of

⁴²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage books, 1994, p. 218.

national categories. Visconti, Artigue, Errázuriz, Grullón, Flach, de la Torre, Castellanos are listed in the respective national historiographies, yet none of these artists fits the category they were assigned. The difficulty in dealing with this artists, and the compulsive need to define them according to the national, shows a particular contradiction of the global art history, which is very common for the academic environment in general: the artists from the periphery, as well as non-white and female artists, are introduced through their taxonomic attributes, while the so-called international art of the centres does not need specifications due to its universality.

According to Ihor Junyk, travelling artists of the beginning of the twentieth century would create “cosmopolitan enclaves” and lived by their own rules and impulses; they valued movement and change more than roots and stability.⁴²⁶ Our painters belonged to this generation of cosmopolites, artistic omnivores experiencing different traditions and constantly transgressing borders. Perhaps not without doubt and hesitation, they tried to fill the gaps in their education and artistic experiences, and their cautious steps into the era of modern art put the ground on which the younger generations of modernists could make their own revolutions denouncing the compromises and wrongdoings of their predecessors. Their cosmopolitanism makes these artists difficult to incorporate into any sort of coherent national narrative; they make up their own stories.

As long as artists move and migrate, and as long as the discourse of the nation-states preserves its power in the modern world-system, the questions of identities will arise. The stories of Artigue, Visconti, and Errázuriz demonstrate the intersection of multiple factors and forces that define their identities; they are subjects of negotiations even after painters’ deaths and against their will. The cosmopolitan metropolis like Paris make the operations of identity politics and its agents even more visible: artists, dealers, critics, museums, art historians all contribute to the classifications of artists and thus keep maintaining the hierarchies of the modernist narrative. The imagined identities sustain these hierarchies through placing artists into meaningless grids that often only prevent us from noticing and appreciating “foreign” artistic expressions.

⁴²⁶ Ihor Junyk, *Foreign Modernism: Cosmopolitanism, Identity and Style in Paris*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013, p. 32.

Diana Cid García (d. 1938)

“née à Buenos-Ayres.” (Born in Buenos-Aires.)⁴²⁷

Diana Cid García is the only woman in my research and I have to admit that I know almost nothing about her with certainty. However, I know relatively much about the men who surrounded her at different stages of her life. It is not surprising but still impressive that in order to reconstruct her life, and maybe even re-invent her work, I have to rely on the references to her romance and friendships with men. This particularity of the scholarship in feminist art history was demonstrated by Charlotte Foucher Zarmanian in her research on artists' couples at the turn of the twentieth century. She noticed that being married to an artist could open many possibilities for a woman who in such a union could kill two birds with one stone: fulfil her role of mother and wife and develop professionally,

On peut en effet penser que, grâce à leur compagnon, les femmes bénéficient à l'époque d'un réseau de personnalités influentes censées leur ouvrir les portes des Salons, des expositions et des revues critiques, autant de structures justifiant leur statut d'artiste.

We can, in fact, think that back in time thanks to their partners women benefited from the networks of influential personalities that could open them access to Salons, exhibitions and press, all of which could justify their status as artists.⁴²⁸

It seems that Diana indeed benefited from her marriage with the sculptor Jean Dampé in terms of professional growth and access to exhibitions and artistic circles.

Another lucky coincidence not unrelated to the fact that she was a woman is that several critics in Latin America noticed her paintings in local exhibitions and left us interesting texts in which we can learn something about the painter whose works are

⁴²⁷ Catalogue of the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts of 1896. Gaïte. Dugnat (ed.), *Les catalogues des salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts. II, 1896–1900*, Dijon, Echelle de Jacob, 2001.

⁴²⁸ It was only one of possible scenarios as according to Charlotte Foucher Zarmanian women could also be “effaced” or “subordinated” in such couples. Charlotte Foucher Zarmanian, “Partenariats stratégiques. Réflexions sur le couple d’artistes autour de 1900,” in *AWARE: Parent-elles, compagne de, fille de, sœur de... : les femmes artistes au risque de la parentèle*, June 2015, online at <https://awarewomenartists.com/publications/partenariats-strategiques-reflexions-couple-dartistes-autour-de-1900/>. Accessed 21 July 2018.

mostly lost or inaccessible. The Argentinean art historians Laura Malosetti Costa and Georgina Gluzman wrote extensively about women artists in Argentina in the nineteenth century, and they did not miss the figure of Diana Cid García in their accounts. Malosetti Costa analysed the critical reactions to her paintings exhibited in the Salons of Ateneo and was the first author to bring to light an enthusiastic review by Darío in which he praises Diana's works.⁴²⁹ The attention of the famous writer was one of the reasons for which the memory of Cid García survived, although sometimes it is noted that he was more charmed by painter's beauty, than her talent.⁴³⁰

One of the pictures by Diana Cid García whose location is known and certain is *Portrait du Mme Maurice Dubois* donated by Jean Dampt to the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon in 1938.⁴³¹ [Figure 38] Looking at this portrait, I will not dare to engage in the debate over the greatness of Diana Cid García or contest the decision of museum's curators not to include the work in the permanent exhibition. However, I insist that the story of this painter has to be told. The fact that the image of this woman in history is created by men's words and through their gaze together with the unavailability of her artworks next to the bright critical descriptions make up a combination of circumstances that tickles investigative imagination of a researcher.

The first thing to figure out about Cid García is her place of birth. The catalogues say that she was born in Buenos Aires, but Schiaffino, who included a chapter about women artists in the manuscript of his book *La evolución del gusto artístico en Buenos Aires*, mentioned that she was born in Lobos:

La señora Diana Cid de Dampt, esposa del ilustre estatuario francés, nació en Lobos, Provincia de Buenos Aires y estudió pintura en París, en donde

⁴²⁹ According to Malosetti Costa there are no works by Diana Cid García in Argentine's collections, either public or private. Malosetti Costa, *Los primeros modernos*, pp. 386-387.

⁴³⁰ The critics were mostly men and they tended to write about women artists in a distinctive manner: they interpreted their works as expression of female sensitivity, devotion and finesse. Gluzman, *Trazos invisibles*, pp. 93, 100; Cavalcanti Simioni, *Profissão artista*, p. 55.

⁴³¹ The portrait was stored as a presumed self-portrait of Diana Cid García, but thanks to the precious help of the curator of the museum in Dijon Naïs Lefrançois we have discovered that it was a *Portrait of Madame Maurice Dubois* by Cid García that was mistakenly registered as her self-portrait during cataloging. The picture was donated to the museum by Jean Dampt but considered "non digne d'être exposé" (not worthy of being exhibited). Le rapport sur l'activité du Musée pendant l'année 1939, Séance du 19 février 1940, extract from the report provided by Naïs Lefrançois.



Figure 38. Diane Cid de Damp, *Portrait du Mme Maurice Dubois*, oil on canvas, 76 x 95 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, France. Image: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

se ha radicado. Cultiva el género simbolista con sentimiento, mitigado hora imperfecciones de ejecución.

Mrs. Diana Cid de Damp, wife of a distinguished French sculptor, was born in Lobos, province of Buenos Aires and studied painting in Paris where she settled. She worked in a symbolist manner full of sensitivity that at times mitigated the imperfections of the execution.⁴³²

Lobos is a small town in about a hundred kilometres from Buenos Aires famous for being a place of birth of Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974). It was founded at the end of the eighteenth century to mark the border between the Buenos Aires province and the lands of indigenous people.⁴³³ During the nineteenth century this area was populated mainly by creoles leading conservative provincial life in which girls and women were destined for domestic and charity work.⁴³⁴ If Diana was indeed born here, her motivation and courage in pursuing the career of a professional artist is truly remarkable. In any case, she did not stay in this provincial city for a long time and already in the 1890s chose Paris as her new home.

To land in Paris in early age Cid García must have been of an upper class family like Eugenia Errázuriz. At that time the opportunities to receive professional artistic education in Argentina were limited, even more so for women. As was mentioned before the girls from rich bourgeois families were encouraged to practice arts and become amateurs, so that famous artists opened workshops specifically for female students, but they were rarely considered as colleagues by their professors and male peers.⁴³⁵ The school of the Sociedad Estímulo de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires offered classes for women from 1873, but only in the 1890s their presence in the artistic milieu became visible thanks to the exhibitions of the Ateneo where numerous “aficionadas”

⁴³² Armario III /E3/ BXIIC1d15, Eduardo Schiaffino, *Pintores y escultores femeninos IV para La evolución del gusto artístico en Buenos Aires*, manuscript, ca. 1896–1909, p. 277, Fondo Schiaffino, Área de Documentación y Registro, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

⁴³³ *Reseña general, histórica, geográfica y económica del Partido de Lobos (Provincia de Buenos Aires)*, Instituto Agrario Argentino, 1939, online at <http://www.museopagodeloslobos.com.ar/2010/01/resenas-ano-1-n2-resena-general.html>. Accessed 10 January 2018.

⁴³⁴ Juan R. Angueira, “El Pago de los Lobos – Noticias y Apuntes,” *La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales*, 1937, p. 52, online at <http://www.museopagodeloslobos.com.ar/2010/01/el-pago-de-los-lobos-noticias-y-apuntes.html>. Accessed 10 January 2018.

⁴³⁵ Julia Ariza, “Del caballete al telar. La Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, las escuelas profesionales y los debates en torno de la formación artística femenina en la Argentina de la primera mitad del siglo XX,” *Artelogie*, no. 5, 2013, online at <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/spip.php?article242>. Accessed 16 March 2018.

were impossible not to notice.⁴³⁶ Diana Cid García was one of them, but she also participated in the exhibitions in Paris and Rio de Janeiro.

Paris was accustomed to women artists, but even here it was not an easy career choice: women were not accepted to the École des Beaux-Arts until 1897 and had to pay almost a double price for the same classes in private schools in comparison to men.⁴³⁷ Moreover, they were not allowed to work with the male nude (only draped), which was the basis of academic education and classical training.⁴³⁸ Under these circumstances not every woman could afford to become an artists. Often those who were wealthy enough to pay all the expenses were downgraded in the eyes of contemporaries because of this very wealth and trapped in the stereotype of the rich amateur.

Diana Cid García studied painting in the workshop of Edmond Aman-Jean.⁴³⁹ He was a notable painter of his time, equally well-received by conservative and avant-garde criticism. The circle of Aman-Jean's close friends was wide and prominent: Georges Seurat (1859–1891) with whom he shared the studio during studentship; the director of the Musée de Luxembourg Léonce Bénédict; Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898) and Paul Verlaine (1844–1896); Puvis de Chavannes – Aman-Jean worked with him on the murals in the 1880s and asked the famous painter to be his best man at the wedding.⁴⁴⁰ He also belonged to the so-called “new school” that formed the core of the SNBA, exhibited in the Salon de la Rose-Croix, and was at the origins of the Salon des Tuileries in 1923. At the end of the nineteenth century Aman-Jean was an active exhibitor, and his paintings received many positive critiques, but he did not hold any official teaching position. If Diana Cid García considered him to be her teacher, it is

⁴³⁶ In 1896 the number of women and men participating in the Ateneo exhibition was equal. Gluzman, *Trazos invisibles*, p. 81.

⁴³⁷ In the Académie Julian the price for a full-day class was 100 francs per month for women and only 50 francs for men; the difference for the half-day class was even bigger: 60 francs for women and 25 for men. Cote 63 AS/2-3 Livres de comptabilité des élèves, Fonds de l'académie Julian (1870–1932), Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France.

⁴³⁸ Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Femmes Peintres, 1550–1950*, Paris, Ed. des Femmes, 1981, p. 52

⁴³⁹ Aman-Jean is indicated as Diana Cid's teacher in the catalogues of the Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro. Cavalcanti Simioni, *Profissão artista*.

⁴⁴⁰ Patrick Gilles Persin, *Aman-Jean : peintre de la femme*, Paris, S. Thierry-Bibliothèque des Arts, 1993, p. 20.



Figure 39. Edmond Aman-Jean, *Portrait de Madame Dampt, née Diane de Cid y Garcia*, 1887, oil on canvas, 132 x 98 cm, private collection. Image: Artnet.



Figure 40. Edmond Aman-Jean, *Portrait du sculpteur Jean Dampt*, 1894, oil on canvas, 140 x 106 cm, Petit Palais, Paris, France. Image: Paris Musées.

possible that their relationship was framed in a sort of master-apprentice paradigm. It supposed a higher degree of kinship on personal and professional levels than the methods of the crowded private schools of Paris. Cid García was not just Aman-Jean's student, she was a godmother of his son François born in 1894 and later married her teacher's friend Jean Dampt, who in his turn was the teacher of Aman-Jean's wife.⁴⁴¹ [Figures 39, 40]

Jean Dampt was a sculptor and decorator appreciated by critics and by buyers.⁴⁴² He had a solid academic training, but, apart from sculpture, in the 1890s he worked extensively in decorative and applied arts, *arts mineurs* and art industries. Dampt was one of the founders of the group "Cinq" whose objective was the creation of "useful" artworks for the embellishment of the daily life.⁴⁴³ Cid García collaborated in one of Dampt's projects in 1896: they exhibited *Un lit* in the Salon of the SNBA for which she embroidered the silky cover. The couple got married in 1898, and during five consecutive years after this event Diana did not exhibit in Paris.⁴⁴⁴

In the 1890s Cid García made her first steps not only in the exhibition life of Paris but also exposed in the Salons of Ateneo in Buenos Aires and Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro. If her participation in the Argentinean exhibitions is understandable, it was her native city, her apparition in Brazil is quite unexpected. In the nineteenth century the artistic circulations usually happened in the circuit centre-periphery while the artistic exchange between peripheral countries was not very common. I believe that it was thanks to Diana's friendship with Eliseu Visconti that she could break the pattern of the bilateral movement and storm into the art world of Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁴⁵ [Figure 41]

⁴⁴¹ Persin, *Aman-Jean : peintre de la femme*, p. 31.

⁴⁴² Milner, *The Studios of Paris*, p. 219.

⁴⁴³ Rossella Froissart Pezone, *L'art dans tout : les arts décoratifs en France et l'utopie d'un art nouveau*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2005, online at <http://books.openedition.org/editions-cnrs/8431>. Accessed 16 March 2018.

⁴⁴⁴ In 1903 the couple took a maid Alice Poitou to help Mme Dampt with "home tasks." Claire Blache, *Recherches sur un sculpteur du XIXe siècle Jean Dampt*, MA thesis, Université de Dijon, 1985, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁴⁵ In 1906 Diana Dampt and Aman-Jean participated in the Salon in Rio de Janeiro. Most probably, their presence among mostly Brazil-based artists was Eliseu Visconti's achievement. A Brazilian critic complained about the "denationalisation" of the exhibition because of the massive participation of

She did storm into Brazilian exhibition life, and her paintings sparked a vivid critical reaction in Buenos Aires and in Rio de Janeiro. Rubén Darío wrote a passionate eulogy to Diana Cid García for the newspaper *La Prensa* in 1895. Georgina Gluzman suggests that Darío was charmed by painter's beauty not less than by her pictures, although I have doubts that they knew each other. Darío's description of the presumed self-portrait by Cid García does not resemble the woman from the portrait by Aman-Jean: "*Pensativa*, es un retrato de la autora, según se sabe. Ojos azules, rubia, boca fina y pequeña, es una mujer frágil, delicada, vibrante, arpa de nervios" (*Pensativa* is a portrait of the author, as you know. Blue eyes, blond hair, thin small mouth, this is a fragile, delicate woman; she vibrated like the harp of nerves).⁴⁴⁶

Darío's inclination to see the painter in the painting that is not intended as portrait was a part of the common opinion that women could only paint themselves. It is not an accident that Darío compared Diana Cid García to Jeanne Jacquemin (1863–1938) who were also subject to such simplifications: "Jacquemin's objectification into muse is related to the frequent assertion by male critics that the figures in her works were self-images."⁴⁴⁷ And it is not an coincidence that today Jeanne Jacquemin, who was also an active figure in the symbolist circles in Paris in the 1890s, and whose work provoked much critical response from praise to mockery, is forgotten today just like Cid García.⁴⁴⁸

foreigners, but the vast majority of these foreigners, except Aman-Jean, Collin and Diana Dampt, lived or used to live in Rio de Janeiro. O. N. O, "Salão de 1906," *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 9 September 1906, p. 5, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=O._N._O._%22Sal%C3%A3o_de_1906%22._Correio_da_Manh%C3%A3%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_9_set._1906%2C_p._5. Accessed 16 March 2018.

⁴⁴⁶ Here and further the chronicles of Rubén Darío for *La Prensa* are quoted from the reprinted publication: Rodrigo Javier Caresani, "El arte de la crítica: Rubén Darío y sus crónicas desconocidas del Salón de 1895 para *La Prensa*," *Anales de Literatura Hispanoamericana*, vol. 44, 2015, pp. 175.

⁴⁴⁷ Leslie Stewart Curtis, "Jeanne Jacquemin: A French Symbolist," *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2000, p. 32.

⁴⁴⁸ This destiny was common for hundreds of women artists. Their condition in the society at large and their strategies in the art world in particular are documented and interpreted in the dissertation of Charlotte Foucher. Charlotte Foucher, *Un symbolisme enfoui : les femmes artistes dans les milieux symbolistes en France au passage du siècle (XIXe–XXe)*, PhD thesis, Université Paris 1 Panthéon – Sorbonne, 2012.



Figure 41. Caricatures on the works by Diana Dampt and Aman-Jean at the Salon 1906 in Rio de Janeiro. Centre: Diana Dampt – *A tetação. Quadro teratológico; exposição de maminhas*. On the right: Aman-Jean – *Retrato a lusco-fusco de um cavalheiro espírita...* Image: Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ “Exposição de belas-artistas o Salão Cômico,” *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 9 September 1906, p.11, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=EXPOSI%C3%87%C3%83O_DE_BELAS-ARTES_O_SAL%C3%83O_C%C3%94MICO._Jornal_do_Brasil%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_9_set._1906%2C_p.11. Accessed 16 March 2018.

In 1911 Diana Cid García was interviewed for the illustrated woman magazine *Elegancias* edited by Darío.⁴⁵⁰ That year she exhibited the picture *La Dama de las camelias* in the Salon of the SNBA, and the photograph of her picture was reproduced in the magazine. When asked during the interview, she refused to talk about her art and preferred a witty small talk about Paris instead. [Figure 42] Such reluctance to have a professional discussion is a reaction of the woman who lives and works in the world dominated by men. Art was a form of transgression for women who were “meant to be mothers and domestic angels who did not work and certainly did not earn money.”⁴⁵¹ Cid García was an artist, but she was not a rebel: she preferred to perform socially acceptable behaviour and downplay her artistic aspirations in return for her right to draw and paint.

The reaction to Cid García’s painting in Latin America was mixed. Critical opinions varied from indignant rejection to admiration, so the same picture could be dismissed as an unfinished sketch or praised as a skilful masterpiece. This contradictory response shows that her work did not match the expectations and tastes of local audiences: critics did not know how to approach it and how to judge it. She was called symbolist, impressionist, often accused of being decadent, but the argumentation to prove these opinions was always insufficient. This uncertainty reveals the general confusion caused by the avant-gardes of the nineteenth century and discussed on both continents: perfection of the technique was opposed to poetry, the *habilité* of academism was opposed to sincerity of the Indépendants, symbolists, and Nabis. Trying to justify art as an expression of poetry, soul, emotion, impression, critics stepped on the shaky ground of relative and conflicting interpretations. As a result, Diana Cid García was at once “uma sonhadora adorável” (an adorable dreamer) and “loucura *suigeneris* que ameaçaria arruinar a arte” (madness *suigeneris* that threatened to ruin art).⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Jorge Dupuy, “Una pintora argentina en el Salón de primavera, de Paris,” *Elegancias*, 1 May 1911, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁵¹ Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 10.

⁴⁵² “Fantasio na exposição vi Almeida Junior,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 September 1895, p.1, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=FANTASIO._FANTASIO_NA_EXPOST%C3%87%C3%83O_VI_ALMEIDA_JUNIOR._Gazeta_de_Noticias%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_12_set._1895%2C_p.1. Accessed 16 March 2018.



Figure 42. The photograph of Diana Cid de Dampt and the reproduction of her picture *La Dama de las camelias*. Image: *Elegancias*, 1911.

O. G., "Artes e artistas," *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 7 September 1897, p.3, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=O._G._ARTES_E_ARTISTAS._O_Paiz%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_7_set._1897%2C_p.3. Accessed 16 March 2018.

To begin with J.B. admits his negative attitude towards symbolism but credits the positive impulse behind the “revolutionary attempt” at departing from the out-dated tradition:

That is why, looking at the works of dear Diana Cid, I feel a great fear: how to criticise, as a school, what is detestable already as a genre. This fear is increased by another one – to discuss the work of a woman, not simply an artist. If I do it, however, it is because Diana Cid is the only representative of the brand-new school that breaks with the classical moulds, marks a revolutionary attempt and thus deserves to be discussed.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ J. B., “Exposição Geral de Belas Artes,” *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 13 October 1894, p. 2, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=J._B._EXPOSI%C3%87%C3%83O_GERAL_D_E_BELAS_ARTES._A_Noticia%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_13-13_out._1894%2C_p._2. Accessed 16 March 2018.

⁴⁵⁴ Migliaccio, "Eliseu Visconti and Symbolism," p. 266.

and friend Aman-Jean and by her husband Jean Dampt, none of whom was particularly extravagant or extreme. Further, the critic becomes more specific; he indicates the formal distortions in painter's works as the source of his annoyance:

Fantasia em rosa? Mas quem compreende a intenção da artista? *Mistério?* Com certeza que nada simboliza ... *A Meditação* é um horror; aquele barco mal desenhado, aquela meditação sobre as águas e o colorido são tão estranhos, tão inatingíveis que, (talvez a culpa seja minha) não os percebo.

Fantasia em rosa? But who can understand the intention of the artist? Mystery? It does not symbolise anything ... *Meditation* is a horror; that boat is poorly drawn, that meditation by the waters and the colouring are so strange, so unattainable that (maybe it is my fault) I do not understand them.⁴⁵⁵

He seems to struggle with the lack of coherent narrative in these pictures. The pictorial strategies used by the artist to enhance the abstract idea remain impenetrable and irrelevant for the writer.

The picture *Fantasia em rosa* received a third gold medal at the Exposição Geral de Belas Artes and was purchased for the collection of the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes.⁴⁵⁶ Despite incomprehensible plot of the depicted scene, it attracted the audience by its decorative quality and new visuality. Even J. B. generously noticed certain beauty and notes of Japanism on the canvas, although his tone remained quite cold:

Já na *Fantasia em rosa*, se nota uma certa beleza decorativa, sopro vago da influência dos mestres japoneses na pintura de hoje; há tal ou qual colorido, um desenho regular das flores e mesmo das roupas.

⁴⁵⁵ J. B., "Exposição Geral de Belas Artes."

⁴⁵⁶ According to Maria Do Carmo Couto da Silva at least three paintings by Diana Cid García belong to the collection of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro: *Fantasia em Rosa* (purchased in 1894), *Descansando no jardim* and *Cristo e adúltera* (purchased in 1905). Do Carmo Couto da Silva, "Artistas latino-americanos no acervo do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro, obras adquiridas no final do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX," p. 576. After unsuccessful attempts to reach the Museum I was rewarded by the generosity of Arthur Valle who sent me three reproductions of Diana's paintings he gathered at the Museum years ago. However, we do not have either exact titles, or any information concerning the provenance of these pictures. According to the reproduction, *Cristo e adúltera* is the same picture as *Christ et la femme adultère* reproduced also in the *Catalogue illustré* of the Salon of the SNBA in Paris in 1906. It would be interesting to track the movements of this painting and to check how could it be bought in Brazil in 1905 and exhibited in Paris in 1906 but this curiosity will have to wait another moment to be investigated.

In *Fantasia em rosa*, there is a certain decorative beauty, a vague breathing of Japanese masters' influence in today's painting; there is a some sort of colouring; the drawing of the flowers and even clothes is regular.⁴⁵⁷

Another Brazilian critic was more enthusiastic and specific:

Teve terceira medalha de outro pelo quadro n. 81, *Fantasia em rosa*, quadro que muita gente acha extravagante, mas que é positivamente muito expressivo. É uma figura de mulher, com umas papoulas grandes nos cabelos, e ao lado de uma moita dessas flores. Há na figura detalhes apenas esboçados, mas o todo é graciosíssimo, e um verdadeiro triunfo no gênero simbólico.

She received a third medal for her work n. 81 *Fantasia en rosa* – a picture that many people find extravagant, but which is very expressive. It is a figure of woman, with big poppies in her hair and with the clumps of these flowers next to her. The details of the figure are only outlined, but it is very gracious and a true triumph in the symbolist genre.⁴⁵⁸

Finally, my own version of the same picture, formed by the vague descriptions, associations with Aman-Jean and Dampt, and “poetic” interpretations of symbolist criticism, is as follows: a small canvas depicts a woman in the garden surrounded by flowers. The figure is elongated and almost weightless as if she floated through the landscape taken by her dreams and fantasies. The bright colours of the poppies around her are earthly reflections of her inner beauty; their physicality renders the woman even more distant and mysterious. The colours are somewhat sombre but intense, their cold gamut reminds of the chilly abandoned garden. The painter does not follow the rules of “correct” drawing and colouring, and thus creates the impression of surreal vibration of the image: the figure, the poppies, the garden are phantoms that can disappear at any moment.

After this description was written and fantasised about, I suddenly received a relatively good quality reproduction of the same painting. [Figure 43] Although it does not correspond to my own imaginary about it, I keep it as an evidence of the experiment that can be interpreted both as failed and successful depending on our focus either on the goals we set or results we achieve. It fails because I guess wrong, and

⁴⁵⁷ J. B., “Exposição Geral de Belas Artes.”

⁴⁵⁸ “Exposição Geral de Belas Artes,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 1 November 1894, p.1, online at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/egba/index.php?title=EXPOSI%C3%87%C3%83O_GERAL_DE_BELAS_ARTES._Gazeta_de_Noticias%2C_Rio_de_Janeiro%2C_1_nov._1894%2C_p.1. Accessed 16 March 2018.



Figure 43. Diana Cid García, *Fantasia em rosa*, 1894, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro.
Image: Arthur Valle

what I imagined as a hazy mysterious scene in the park with strange “unrealistically” shaped female figure turned out to be a rather realistic sentimental portrait in which the artist obviously enjoys applying colours on the canvas and rendering the complex gamut of the dress and shades of the bouquet. She focuses more on the pictorial qualities and colouring than on the character of the woman and thus joins the common tendency of the late nineteenth century (see Whistler’s harmonies, Sargent’s society portraits, Artigue’s “decorative” women in landscapes). The shades of pink are rich on the face, dress, in the background and flowers in the foreground. Diana’s paintings often depict women and flowers. Portraits, flowers and still-lives were believed to be the only accessible to women genres, and many of them devoted their best effort to this forms of painting.⁴⁵⁹ On the other hand, there was something in the epoch that made both men and women turn to the subject of women-flowers. Artigue’s canvases also qualify into this category of pictorial *bebilots* popular in symbolist and art nouveau circles. This genre could either excite a pity for being a sign of women’s limited capacity or regarded as a sort of the viable strategy that allowed them to continue exercise their craft.

Dario’s critical language is very different from the approach of the Brazilian critic, and from my own imaginary review of the invisible picture. His uses ekphrasis brilliantly and emphasises his emotional experiencing of the painting. The writer does not seem to bother about specificities of colouring or accuracy of drawing. In his descriptions he goes beyond the picture into the world of the feelings and sensations it evokes in him. He even mentions the musical associations that help him and his reader to overcome the limits of the flat two-dimensional medium of painting. While this kind of criticism was common for writer-as-critics, it is the exactitude of Dario’s comparisons that is the most interesting. He finds the similarities between Cid García and the Parisian celebrities Puvis de Chavannes and Grasset:

En *Meditación*, sobre una barca rústicamente construida, en un país legendario, en un agua blanca entre espadañas y yerbas acuáticas, una mujer, de pie, está con los brazos cruzados. Es una visión, al hablar de la cual han nombrado el *Pobre pescador* de Puvis ... *Hespérides* representa en un parque solitario una mujer de ensueño, alta y delgada, vestida de blanco, con un chal violeta que descende por sus flancos descuidadamente. Pálida,

⁴⁵⁹ Foucher, *Un symbolisme enfoui*, pp. 60, 319.

con el pecho sin opulencia, casi insexual, está bajo un naranjo – y aquí aparece otra vez Grasset, con su *vitrail* de *L'Automne*, ejecutado por Gaudin, y que por más de un punto tiene semejanza con la obra de Diana.

In *Meditation*, on a rustic boat in a legendary country, on the white water between bulrush and aquatic plants, there is a woman standing with her arms crossed. This is the vision that reminds of *Le pauvre pêcheur* by Puvis, when we talk about it ... *Hesperides* shows a dreamy woman in a solitary park, tall and thin, dressed in white, with a violet shawl that carelessly glides down her shoulders. Pale, with her flat chest, almost sexless, she is standing under an orange tree – and here again Grasset appears with his stained-glass *L'Automne*, executed by Gaudin, and that has more than slight resemblance to Diana's work.⁴⁶⁰ [Figures 45, 46]

In these descriptions Darío performs as a modern artists, not just critic. His power in creating images is stronger than that of Cid García: his descriptions produce her paintings, not the other way around.⁴⁶¹ If the role of ekphrasis is to make the reader see what is described, Darío's text plays it flawlessly. He makes his reader see not only the painting that suggested him to write the review in the first place, he also makes him or her imagine the works that otherwise were not accessible in Buenos Aires – the latest works by the French artists. Thanks to him the reader can recognise the famous masterpieces in Cid García's creation. Darío's comparisons and allusions bring the European painterly tradition to Buenos Aires and create the imaginary space where art is not divided by borders or languages.⁴⁶² As W. J. T. Mitchell says the ekphrasis enacts two forms of “translation and exchange: (1) the conversion of the visual representation into a verbal representation ... ; (2) the reconversion of the verbal representation back into the visual object in the reception of the reader.”⁴⁶³ The trick of Darío's descriptions is in their capacity to switch the visual objects somewhere on the half-way from one form of translation to the second: the paintings by Diana Cid García are replaced by the works of Puvis de Chavannes and Grasset. Darío transforms Diana's pictures into texts

⁴⁶⁰ Caresani, “El arte de la crítica,” pp. 174-175.

⁴⁶¹ Paraphrasing Mieke Bal's analysis of the ekphrasis in the *Nightwood* novel by Djuna Barnes: “If this description is ekphrasitic, does the ekphrasis produce the woman, or the woman the ekphrasis?” Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 40.

⁴⁶² More on ekphrasis and tradition see Jaś Elsner, “Art History as Ekphrasis,” *Art History*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 10-27.

⁴⁶³ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Ekphrasis and the Other” in W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 164.



Figure 44. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Le pauvre pêcheur*, 1881, oil on canvas, 155 x 192 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Image: Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 45. Eugène Grasset, Félix Gaudin, *Le Printemps*, 1894, glass and lead, 294 x 132 cm, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, France. Image: MAD Paris.

but these texts recover more visual objects than were given at the beginning; he captures new artists, paintings, styles.

Darío and other critics writing about European art in Latin America at the end of the nineteenth century contributed to the production of non-existent images in readers' imagination. The Nicaraguan writer created a new form of cultural appropriation in his literary work in order to inverse the model-imitation paradigm, and his audacity also noticeable in his art criticism.⁴⁶⁴ In his reviews he tries to understand the nature of relationship between the European and Latin America art worlds. Looking at Diana's paintings sent from Paris to Buenos Aires, Darío wonders where Diana belongs to – to the “isla encantada” where the true masters of modern art reside, or to the artistic “kamtchatka,” a topographic metaphor in which Argentina is identified with the most distant peninsula of the former Russian Empire:

¿Viene V. de esa recién descubierta península, señorita Diana Cid de García? No hay duda de que su barca de viajera se ha detenido por allí; pero ha permanecido también un buen tiempo en la isla encantada en que hoy está ya consagrada para siempre, con su luz melodiosa, y su especial visión, la figura del insigne decorador, del maravilloso poeta, del gran Puvis... Esta señorita argentina ha vivido en París en indudable contacto con intelectuales; conoce maestros verdaderos y legítimos Kamtchatkas.

Do you come from this recently discovered peninsula, Miss Diana Cid de García? No doubt her traveller's boat has stopped there; but it also stayed for a long time at the enchanted island where the figure of a great decorator, a wonderful poet Puvis, with his melodious light and his unique vision, is consecrated for ever ... This Argentinean lady has lived in Paris in obvious contact with intellectuals; she knows true masters and legitimate kamtchatkas.⁴⁶⁵

Obviously, the enchanted island refers to the centre of the artistic creation – Paris, while Buenos Aires, maybe the whole Latin America, crossed far and wide by Darío, is qualified as the remote region on the margins of Eurasia – Kamchatka. As if in response to these words, a critic from Rio de Janeiro found in Diana an expression of the “latest French art,” while considering himself being “lost in America”:

⁴⁶⁴ Rodrigo Javier Caresani, *Rubén Darío. Crónicas viajeras. Derroteros de una poética*, Buenos Aires, Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2013, p. 18.

⁴⁶⁵ Caresani, “El arte de la crítica,” p. 4.

[Diana Cid] representa na exposição os últimos processos da arte francesa. Como nós, perdidos neste pedaço da América, não acompanhamos nem podemos acompanhar com os olhos as evoluções da pintura moderna, só recebendo apenas a impressão insuficiente que nos trazem as gravuras, temos que nos colocar sob um ponto de vista especial diante dos quadros de Diana Cid, que são, aliás, interessantíssimos.

[Diana Cid] represents the latest processes of French art in this exhibition. As we are lost in this corner of America, as we do not and cannot, follow with our own eyes the evolutions of modern painting, but only have an insufficient impression formed after the engravings, we have to adapt a special position in front of paintings by Diana Cid, which are indeed very interesting.⁴⁶⁶

These words by two critics are an astute illustration of the symbolic distance between Paris and Latin American capitals. This distance cannot be measured in miles; it is almost insurmountable, so any glimpse at the “enchanted island” becomes a revelation and surprise. When the exhibitions and public collections were virtually absent in Latin America and the engravings in rare illustrated editions could not possibly render the profound transformations of modern painting, Diana Cid García and painters like her became the incarnation of European avant-gardes. Just like today we try to imagine her works from the descriptions published in Brazilian and Argentinean press, the readers of those descriptions struggled to imagine Puvis de Chavannes and Grasset. This realisation is the successful outcome of my experiment with imagining Diana’s picture – it shows one more time to what degree critical reviews and our own visual background define our reception. When reading descriptions of visual artworks, we unconsciously try to reconstruct them and in doing so rely on the imaginary collections that we already have in memory. The artists and critics in the periphery who read and wrote about contemporary French art without actually seeing it, must have reproduced the same mental experiments and come to the most divergent and unexpected receptions prompted by their own artistic environment.

⁴⁶⁶ “Exposição de Bellas Artes,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 1 December 1894, p.1. Quoted in Do Carmo Couto da Silva, “Artistas latino-americanos no acervo do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro, obras adquiridas no final do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX,” p. 577.

Epilogue

Looking at Diana Cid García's case and trying to cope with the painful for an art historian absence of original paintings was not fruitless. The vexatious methodological problem drew my attention to the way images and words create each other in any cultural text, including the modern canon about which I talked so much in this research. The pictures and images might disappear from museums and online databases, but as long as they exist in the interpretations of critics, as long as they are surrounded by the works of teachers, students, friends, colleagues and family members, they will be a part of the imaginary museum we create for ourselves. Diana Cid García was a noticeable figure in the art worlds of Brazil and Argentina, and we cannot dismiss her role and impact just because we cannot find her pictures. On the contrary, it makes the reconstruction even more urgent and valuable.

In case of Latin American art the tasks of collecting and interpreting the data are of paramount importance, but they require different approaches than the investigation of relatively better documented phenomena of European art. The peripheries have to re-articulate the knowledge coming from the centre to their own use and fill the gaps in their narrative with available fragments. Every region and every cultural tradition has a unique set of souvenirs, references, images. This is true for the Buenos Aires of the 1890s, and Cid García is an important part of its set: her work was discussed, her paintings were translated to the audience, and through these translations the reader could also get a hint about French art. These critical descriptions stand for the Argentinean painter, but also for the painters to whom she is compared. For Darío she is more than just a disciple or a follower of Grasset, her picture replaces the works of Grasset, unavailable in the "kamtchatka"; her painting gives the only possible in the "kamtchatka" notion of the famous artist: "De un *vitrail* de este egregio maestro procede sin duda alguna la *Morphine* de Diana Cid de García. La cual tela es un Grasset que ha leído Rollinat y es amigo de Des Esseintes." (With no doubt the *Morphine* of Diana Cid de García takes its roots from the stained-glass of this great master. This canvas is the Grasset who read Rollinat and is a friend of Des

Esseintes.)⁴⁶⁷ *Morphine* represents Diana Cid García and Grasset at once. On the one hand, this semantic game can be counterproductive, for instance, if the reader is familiar with the originals of Grasset. On the other hand, the effect can be revealing, if the reader encounters Grasset through the works of Diana Cid García for the first time. In such a manner, contrary to the rules of the historicist rationale, the French artist comes after the Argentinean painter and for a moment becomes her follower.

Another aspect in Cid García's case is the complexity of the word-image relationships revealed by Darío. The visuals and texts have different impact on the viewer and reader, and when they are translated into each other, the result is always the creation of new intertexts. At the end of the day, the poor circulation of artworks and reproductions between Europe and Latin America was compensated by the descriptions and fantasies about notorious European artists. In certain way it is the reason why Latin American art was so distinctive from the European "models" even despite the imitation narrative. I tried to re-create Diana's painting with the help of Darío, Aman-Jean and Puvis de Chavannes, and suppose my predecessors from Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro were doing the same thing, but they tried to imagine Aman-Jean and Puvis de Chavannes with the help of Cid García. Yuri Lotman said:

Текст, представляющий собой наибольшую культурную ценность, передача которого должна быть высоко гарантирована, оказывается наименее приспособленным для передачи ... Передача сообщения — не единственная функция как коммуникативного, так и культурного механизма в целом. Наряду с этим они осуществляют выработку новых сообщений, то есть выступают в той же роли, что и творческое сознание мыслящего индивида.

The text that presents the highest cultural value and whose transfer must be guaranteed appears to be the least suitable for the transmission ... The transmission of the message is not the only function of communicative and cultural mechanisms. They also produce new messages, that is to say they act as a creative consciousness of a thinking individual.⁴⁶⁸

If the modern canon is a cultural text, we have to admit that it was transmitted to a new cultural environment by Eliseu Visconti, Diana Cid García, José Tomás Errázuriz and Albert-Émile Artigue. These painters serve two masters at once: the oppressive

⁴⁶⁷ Caresani, "El arte de la crítica," p. 173.

⁴⁶⁸ Лотман Lotman, *Избранные Статьи Izbrannie stati*, p. 114.

dominance of the canon and the peripheral resistance to it. The intricacies of translation and transfer between the centre and periphery are forming the ground on which the legitimacy of the canon can be disputed and its formation explored:

We have thus not only ‘art-hisotical canon’ but competing canons, canons embodying national identity, or canons for groups of individuals within it, who are trying to develop a specific identity, not in contradiction, but in relation to society at large by using the reference system of art. Each canon will have its own specific history, structure and purpose.⁴⁶⁹

Not only we have to admit that we live in the world of competing canons but we also have to recognise that the notorious modernist canon featuring Impressionism – Post-Impressionism – Fauvism – Cubism – etc. might have different dimensions and images associated with it depending on the situation and context. Canonical paintings are still controlled and consumed exclusively in the centre, peripheries have to form their stories and histories of national and international art relying on what is available in the local museums and textbooks. The solid of the modernist narrative construction dissipates when seen from the periphery through the works by artists like Artigue, Errázuriz, Visconti and Cid García. Impressionism, symbolism and art nouveau arrived to Argentina, Chile and Brazil in the paintings of those artists who transgressed the boundaries of the so-called national schools and lived in the borderland between two continents. Their paintings are more valid in the periphery than the originals of Monet and Degas. The tendency to compare American painters with their European masters will persist, but at least we might build the proper pairs for these comparison. Each case discussed above proves one more time proves Tynyanov’s idea that no art piece is isolated and that its place in the system is variable. The problem with the modernist canon is that it made us forget about this variability; it turned a playful practice of recomposing and reshuffling endless lists of artworks according to historical moments and situations into a rigid hierarchy with a universalist claim.

⁴⁶⁹ Hubert Locher, “The Idea of the Canon and Canon Formation in Art History” in Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain (eds), *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, Leiden, Brill, 2012, p. 34.

CONCLUSION

The long-term interest in artistic migration and its impact on creativity was at the beginning of the current research. When thinking about migration that took place more than a hundred years ago, the first questions that arise are not so philosophical, but rather obvious: How to document the movement and find its trace? How to write about artworks that were lost? How to talk about artists who are invisible, and how to substantiate the conversation? How to approach paintings and texts that do not fit well into the existing version of history and canon? In the course of years the questions were piling up while the answers seemed more complicated and controversial until I realised that maybe art history, even academic research, are not able to provide them. In the research on art it is crucial, and quite risky, to use the power of imagination and to be willing to step outside of familiar disciplines and mental frameworks.

From the beginning this research was a permanent questioning of its own legitimacy and existence. It went through many stages and tried different approaches from social art history to close reading to fantasising about artists and their pictures. This process is reflected in the structure of the dissertation that goes from the general overviews of epochs and continents to the institutional history to the interpretation of individual artworks from the perspective of the contemporary viewer. All these stages and transformations brought me to the point where I want to reclaim my right to engage with art and look for its value without hiding behind the supposed objectivity and so-called historical “disinterestedness.”

The first step on this road was the choice of corpus: the investigation focused on a group of artists united by their exhibition practices. This corpus cannot be approached from the viewpoint of the standard narratives of movements, styles, monographic or institutional scholarship. It seems to form an aleatory list of artists from different countries and with diverse styles. However, the fact that my artists were representatives of different generations, had different aesthetic views, followed different careers and eventually took different places in the history and historiography of the Latin American art of the nineteenth century makes this case a sort of a “Petri dish” for exploring routes of intercontinental artistic migration and whims of modernist historiographies. Some of the painters were forgotten, others proved to be worthy of inclusion into local canons, but none of them happened to be included in the “first rate” of the modernist canon. I was curious to learn what happened to these painters and why they disappeared from the radars of art historians so easily. Even if this goal was not fully achieved, I believe

that my efforts were not fruitless. If anything, the paintings deemed imitative and second-rate were granted a right to enter the imaginary museums of a few more people, those who read these lines, and the authors of these pictures have their stories finally written.

Trying to reconstruct the world from the point of view of my protagonists, I used top-down approach. Hence, the first and second chapters of the dissertation provided an overview of the socio-political context on both ends of the migration and gave the outline of the global art system at the end of the nineteenth century. I wanted to give the same attention to France and Latin America in order to avoid enhancing the regional distinctions by cutting the focus and scope of research unevenly. To stand on both continents was twice as tricky in terms of academic tenability, but it was necessary for the creation of a stable basis for the investigation to be transatlantic and transcultural.

The art system as it was formed in the nineteenth century, and as we know it now, is part and parcel of the modernity: diffusion of the liberal ideologies, growing influence of the art market, colonial expansion, surge of the nationalism – all these factors were decisive in the development of the global art world. If we accept the idea that there is a “system” in the global art world, we also have to accept that it is not homogeneous but has centres and peripheries, is characterised by uneven flows of information and perpetuates tricky power games. A swift glance at the relationships between the players of the global art system makes us see the inequality as its constructive quality. The centre-periphery model that has been recently under attack helped me to see the hidden logic in the operations of the modernist narrative and find structural commonalities between otherwise disparate phenomena and events. According to this model, the innovation praised by the modern art system and advertised as a reflection of free genius, is conditioned by the place of birth as it is by the talent of an artist. The modern canon stands on the idea of the universal value built up by the competition between artists who enter this very competition from unequal positions in the first place. It is enough to see how the art system developed in Europe and Latin America at the end of the nineteenth century to assess the opportunities available to Latin American artists and the leeway that they were to “catch up and outstrip” when they went to Paris.

In the nineteenth century France experienced the moment of artistic glory. Its institutions and bureaucracy flourished and were copied all over the world. Compared to the complexity of the French institutional structure, Latin American countries saw only the origins of their own systems of fine arts. In the context of dependent relationships between European powers and young nation-states in the New World, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the artistic institutions in Latin America were constructed according to European models, structures, teaching methods and aesthetic ideologies. They were conceived to connect postcolonial condition of the continent with the imaginary of the “civilized” Europe. Peripheral nations had to comply with the modes of representation and rules of competition imposed by the centre. Sometimes such disposition defined the destinies and reputations of artists more than the subjective value of their works or force of their talents. Saying this I expose myself to accusations in determinism, but if I understood anything during these years, it would be that simple fact that the number of factors that “determine” the artistic expression is so huge that even the most precise and historically grounded research will fail to interpret an art piece truthfully and definitively. It would be naive to call for certainty in artistic matters in the world made of uncertainties and random events that our brains, nevertheless, try to put into patterns.

One of such patterns is the model-imitation relations in art. It would be difficult to argue that certain countries are models for others, as well as certain artists could be models for their peers, but it would be impossible to deny that the outcomes of supposed imitations always differ from the copied model. The agency of the artist outgrows any sort of mimicry, influence and emulation. In the same way the perfect construction of the French-style institution transforms under the pressure of the alien setting in which it was implanted. The ambiguity of the relations between the young artists who were going from Latin America to France with the explicit task to emulate the brilliance of classical painting and the so-called European tradition make the task of placing them into the binary of model-imitation incredibly difficult. The solution to this methodological issue was in accepting the desires and goals of these artists – to be European artists – as the basis for the investigation of those little differences, aesthetic strategies and stylistic decisions that made each of them unique.

Participation in Paris Salons was essential for the careers of painters in the nineteenth century, no matter if they were French or not. Although the Salon was a very

French institution, the exploration of its exhibitions and exhibitors at the end of the nineteenth century is not a matter of French art history. The power and global prestige of the Salon make it an international phenomenon and a perfect case for transcultural research. I looked at the Salons of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts because this society gained an international notoriety and because in their official statements its founders appealed to the artists deprived of opportunities for the reason of not being French-born. The interplay of internationalist attitudes and xenophobic reactions was an integral part of the art life in the nineteenth century. Latin American painters who went to Paris had to balance between the contradictory discourses ruling in the art worlds in Paris and back in their home countries. As a result, their places in each of these worlds were unstable: they were displaced in the art system divided by the (inter-)national competition during their lifetime, and they remain displaced in the national historiographies today.

In spite of the international programme of the SNBA, there were only nine painters from Latin America who chose this Salon among other alternatives proposed by Paris: Albert-Émile Artigue, Diana Cid García, Jean Cid, José Tomás Errázuriz, Eliseu Visconti, Charles Flach, Alberto Castellanos, Eduardo de la Torre and Arturo Grullón. Most of them did not leave a remarkable trace in art history, with the exception of Visconti who is an important figure in the Brazilian canon. All of these painters engaged with the European tradition but at the same time they were touched by modern forms of expression. They created their artistic personalities out of the inspirations and influences they encountered in Europe, but also from the resistances to these influences and reworkings of these inspirations. That is why I insist that treating them as mere followers of certain styles and movements is meaningless.

The data and archive resources about these painters are scarce. Writing their stories was a task on the merge of academic investigation and fiction. If I am allowed to use metaphors, it was like a mosaic restoration when certain pieces had to be replaced by what we only could guess, not what we certainly knew. Carlo Rovelli gives a great explanation of the nature of scientific knowledge, and it is very tempting to use his words to explain my own research,

The answers given by science, then, are not reliable because they are definitive ... They are reliable because they are the best available today.

And they are the best we have because we don't consider them to be definitive, but see them as open to improvement.⁴⁷⁰

None of the stories told in this thesis is definitive, but all of them give the best possible account of lives and oeuvres of the painters ignored by far. I discovered that Artigue and Visconti were nomads in their personal and professional lives, and that their questionable identities were instrumental for their migration trajectories and had a lasting impact on the reception of their works in Latin America. The nationalities of the artists were important for their professional advancement because international circuits of exhibitions, fairs and market transactions were aligned with the inescapable dominance of national divisions and global power relations. In a way it is a fundamental practice in art history, to cut its field according to the national borders, but, paraphrasing the words of Gregory B. Lee, I have to admit that it is impossible to talk about modern art without addressing its global dimension.

In the nineteenth century all the independent nation-states were conceptualising their national art schools, but it was also the century when the regional specificities in artistic expressions gradually disappeared. The distinction between so-called French and non-French art was not just blurry, it ceased to exist giving a way to the complex transnational culture saturated with migrations, circulations and transfers. The accent shifted from the sustaining of the tradition to the elevation of the individual styles and original manners. Yet, the concept of the national was widely used in the official ideology and as the marketing tool by dealers and artists themselves. As much as the artistic personalities of Artigue and Visconti are framed by their transnational migrations and multiple identities, their styles and pictorial languages resist any kind of nationalist approach. The peculiarities of their painting cannot be explained by their national belonging, but, on the contrary, they were a result of their ability to transcend the limits of the national and regional.

The stories of Errázuriz and Cid García indicated another problem. Apart from vain attempts at “nationalising” these painters, for a long time critics and historians did not see them for what they were: Errázuriz was an “almost impressionist”, and Cid García – an emanation of French symbolism in Latin America. Errázuriz breaks the

⁴⁷⁰ Carlo Rovelli, *Reality Is Not What It Seems: The Journey to Quantum Gravity*, London, Penguin Books, 2016.

myth of the rebellious modern painter: he was wealthy and independent but not radical; he was surrounded by famous painters but not pursued fame and recognition; he could enjoy aspired freedom more than any other modern painter, but he was not using it for re-inventing artistic languages. He painted what he wanted and how he wanted without worrying about selling his works or responding to the demands of audience or expectations of his fellow artists. Yet, this ultimate freedom resulted in a quite conventional pictorial language, if regarded from France, or rather advanced stylisation from the point of view of Chile. This was not enough, so in the end the painter was excluded from the artistic networks of both continents and did not have a remarkable impact in either of the countries to which he was attached.

The case of Cid García is similar in certain way. Her recent rehabilitation in Argentina was due to her “feminism” and eloquence of Rubén Darío, but the rehabilitation of her art is yet awaited. Darío’s compliments to this painter were rather questionable if considered retrospectively: on the one hand, he translated her paintings into ekphrases that help us to imagine them today, but on the other hand, he turned her works into the avatars of Puvis de Chavannes and Eugène Grasset back in the day. The unfortunate destiny of Cid García’s paintings permitted us to see that translations of images into texts is more than just a preoccupation of iconology or semiotics. This process has a much more substantial impact on the imaginary of modern art. This imaginary is build on the interweaving of fleeting glances at artworks, vague souvenirs, critical descriptions, low quality reproductions and exhibits from the small museums that try to fill the modern art section with any other picture associated with French avant-gardes. The mental imprints of the canon in different corners of the global art world are made of the entwinement of very different images and texts: the imagery behind the European canon is different for the visitor of the Musée d’Orsay in Paris and for that of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires.

Visconti and Artigue taught in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, Cid García and Errázuriz sent their works to the exhibitions in Latin America – they all contributed to the advancement of European art in their home countries, but at the same time they re-invented it. All the artists discussed in this dissertation had to be Americans in Paris but Parisians in America. They were not less modern in their search of individual creative methods than their European counterparts; they were also willing to break with the past of their own and looked forward for new art. French critics ignored foreigners in Paris

and broadcasted French superiority on the global scale, and the critics in the peripheries sustained this message through their comparisons and references. Today we recognise that this superiority was guaranteed by the immigrants, but we still often fail to see their distinctive faces. I want to underline that the painting of our artists was not (or not only) conditioned by their Parisian education, but by their double citizenships, intercontinental migrations, and the complex mix of European and American experiences exceeding the significance of short-term schooling periods.

The challenges that I faced during research were manifold: unavailability of artworks, poor archives, methodological confusion. Contemporary art discourse is exploding with new approaches and ways of thinking, including critical race theories and intersectional feminism, diversifying practices and community-driven initiatives in encyclopaedic museums and contemporary art biennials. Regarding the power and attractiveness of these tendencies, I find myself studying the so-called High Art of so-called Latin American Creole elites and their engagement with the classical European tradition. This cultural text is controversial and can play a mean trick seeming to be yet another affirmation of the modernist canon, while calling for the inclusion of several new names into the pantheon of modern artists. Accepting the risk and possible contradictions, I still stand to underline that this research was not so much about fighting the canon but about providing more space for comfortable existence outside and far from it. If modern European canon is an imaginary, why cannot we invent all kinds of different imaginaries that will include different artists and different pictures? In this research I am not suggesting a “true” story of the nineteenth-century art but open up one of the parallel routes along which it moved. There were plenty of them, and if we were physicist, we would have to follow the groundbreaking approach of Richard Feynman who first offered to “sum up” all the possible routes and histories of subatomic particles in the attempt to understand the behaviour of complex system of which they were a part. Just like Feynman we can sum up all the possible stories and interpretations as equally relevant and consistent instead of cancelling them out and looking for the one and only correct way of seeing the world.

The visual analysis combined with the regard into the personal stories of the painters became my way out of the methodological dead-ends. The interpretations of paintings gave a new spin to the narrative and brought the concreteness needed to balance the generalisations of the first two chapters. They stand as independent texts,

and I cannot say that they work exactly in the way I expected them to work. On the contrary, they opened new directions for further reflection on the issues not necessarily directly related to the question of the artistic migration at the end of the nineteenth century. Putting these interpretations along with the historiographic issues, which in my opinion determine the body of modernist discourse, namely in the peripheries, was my response to the invitation to write a different and differentiate art history. By doing so, I one more time asserted that an artwork is an inexhaustible universe that creates meanings that surpass the intentions of the painter and viewer.

I wanted to look at the artworks in a larger perspective and if possible detect my own biases revealed by the contact with unfamiliar artistic practice. I tried to find a balance between the generalising statements about such notions as the fine arts and national painting, and recognition of the peculiarities of each artist's story in order not to reduce them to mere illustrations of movement, styles, national identities at the expense of their individualities. Therefore, in the second half of the thesis I switched from the approach that dealt with the art system to the mode of story-telling, which created an uncomfortable situation of facing artists and paintings with few clues on how to approach them. If it is true that any art historian participates in the game of establishing canons of art history and that "his or her choices involve value judgements," then I had to accept that this research in a way contributes to maintaining the hierarchical frame of thinking.⁴⁷¹ On the other hand, I insist that the value of the analysed artworks does not necessarily resides in their formal qualities or their position in the timescale of modernism, but it is being born and created by each encounter with the viewer.

Another achievement of this research is the disillusion with the all-encompassing and comprehensive art history. This project was intended to explain everything about one particular case, but even with the firmly established time-limits the task turned out to be impossible to complete, because there is always more to add to every story I just briefly mentioned. Any kind of academic investigation tends to simplify in order to comprehend, so in a certain sense the picture that I drew is also a simplification. While focusing on personal stories, artworks, reviews, words and colour splashes, I give these

⁴⁷¹ Hubert Locher, "The Idea of the Canon and Canon Formation in Art History," p. 33.

simplifications the necessary plausibility, so that they hint at new turns for my thinking about art.

As for the perspectives for further development of the topic, they are many: from digging deeper into archives and finding lost paintings to making databases of Latin American painters in the Salons, international exhibitions, and European press to exploration of the circulations between cities and exhibition venues to extracting the overlooked meanings of travelling paintings. For instance, the example of the friendship between Cid García and Visconti, unnoticed by the scholars writing about these two artists in Argentina and Brazil, prompts that the investigation of multilateral relations in modern art would be much more productive than the prevailing bilateral perspective. This dissertation is only a swift glance through a half-opened door; it poses more questions than it gives answers. Many archives were not visited, many artworks were not brought to daylight, many articles and books were not read. Maybe the interpretations given here will become obsolete in a year and a new research will put some assumptions into question; or they will be just lost in Internet archives.

The undoubted and sure conclusion that I will bring from this experience is that neither history can be done, nor art can be seen, with innocent eyes. The research on Latin American painters in Paris in the nineteenth century started as a safe project, a recourse to the “ivory tower” from the heart-breaking subjects of other disciplines in the humanities. The geographical and temporal distance promised happy ramblings through the labyrinths of a “positive discipline,” as Linda Nochlin defined art history.⁴⁷² However, during the years it became clear that art is not a neutral activity, neither is academic research. The recent strive for the global art history is more than just an academic enterprise; it has its own agenda that often sparks resistance in the periphery. It seems that writing art history from the periphery is a potentially politically charged action in itself, even if its implication in big important issues is little and cautious. If anything, art should teach difference and sensitivity, not universal rules and laws of creativity. This dissertation questions the modes of our involvement with art and reflects on the role of artists, art historians, critics and audiences in this process. It shows that any of us has the power to create his or her own version of artistic universe which will inevitably be biased and personal. Maybe my artists were not great and

⁴⁷² Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” p. 57.

maybe their names were forgotten for good reasons but their stories teach us how to look at things from a new angle and how to navigate through “pre-existent” opinions, metanarratives and rankings that are pervasive in the modern world. The capacity to change and resist are my assets from this research: together with Artigue, Visconti, Errázuriz, Cid García and others I try to resist the imposed truths of schools and traditions, fashions and consumption patterns, ugliness, abuse, inequality, oppression and pessimism: “Только создание новых форм искусства может возвратить человеку переживание мира, воскресить вещи и убить пессимизм.” (Only creation of new forms of art can make the human being to experience the world, to revive things and kill the pessimism.)⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ Виктор Шкловский Viktor Shklovsky, “Воскрешение слова” “Voskreshenie slova,” 1914, *Philolog.ru*, <http://philolog.petsu.ru/filolog/shklov.htm>. Accessed 13 January 2018.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Some critical reactions from French and international press

Paul Leroi, “Salon de 1890,” *L’Art*, No. 622, 15 April 1890, p. 200.

La caractéristique générale de l’art en Amérique en fait actuellement une résultante de l’École française ; ce qui n’a rien de surprenant puisque c’est chez elle que tout Américain qui entre dans la carrière vien se former. On en était plus spécialement impressionné par le vaste contingent des États-Unis, un absolu succédané de l’enseignement des maîtres français, se répétait-on, évidemment en manière de blâme. On avait tort. C’est en effet juger à la légère une situation qui n’est point particulière aux peintres des états-unis ; elle est générale, à une seule exception près, et il est fort malheureux qu’il n’y ait que cette exception unique, honneur de l’École anglaise, la seule franchement originale, complètement indépendante, ne relevant réellement que d’elle-même.

Léopold Mabileau, “Le Salon du Champ de Mars (2e et dernier article),” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, July 1890, p. 6.

Nous n’avons pas à refaire ici l’histoire de la lente et continelle évolution que suit, depuis quelque trente ans, la peinture française, obéissant tantôt à l’influence étrangère, tantôt à l’action immédiate des réformateurs sortis de son propre sein, tels que Courbet, Corot, Manet, Jules Breton, Bastien-Lepage. Mais l’occasion est bonne pour établir une sorte de bilan des résultats qu’ont produits toutes les tentatives progressistes. Nous l’avons dit déjà, la jeune École ne s’est jamais affirmée avec autant de cohésion et de netteté qu’en cette exposition du Champ de Mars où elle trouvait le terrain libre. Voyons si, de la comparaison de tant d’oeuvre différentes, nous pourrions dégager une formule suffisante pour donner à l’art nouveau la consécration de la théorie après l’épreuve de la pratique.

Pierre L. Maud, “Notes d’Art et d’Esthétique,” La Revue blanche, June 1892, p. 360.

Dirions-nous, par exemple, que Puvis de Chavannes, Whistler, Carrière, sont d’admirables maîtres? Personne ne le nie. Nous aimons mieux faire cette remarque, qu’on les voudrait voir en des milieux plus discrets et plus calmes; et que s’il y a des très belles toiles, elles sont fort mal entourées. En particulier, la jeune école impressionniste ou luministe nous semble abuser, pour exprimer la lumière, d’une série de tons plutôt vulgaires, les mêmes qu’emploie depuis fort longtemps M. Carolus Duran au coloriage de draperies d’une déplorable intensité. Cette jeune école est terriblement bruyante: qu’elle s’adresse à M. Whistler pour apprendre à manier les gris; ou bien qu’elle revienne à la mode déjà surannée de la couleur crayeuse et qu’elle imite M. Puvis de Chavannes. Aussi bien, s’il est vrai qu’on appelle “jeune”, les artistes qui imitent les maîtres les plus récents, le Salon du Champ-de-Mars est proprement le Salon des jeunes. Une foule de choses aimables y requièrent l’attention, des coins de tableaux, parfois des tableaux tout entiers: mais on les a déjà vus.

Georges Lafenestre, “Le Salon de 1890,” La Revue des deux mondes, May 1890, p. 645.

Au point de vue de l’art, le seul qui nous préoccupe, la scission n’a pas d’ailleurs grosse importance. Ce n’est point une école dressée vis-à-vis d’une école, un drapeau déployé vis-à-vis d’un drapeau. Des deux côtés même indiscipline, même confusion, même désarroi; partout le même pêle-mêle de tendances, de pratique, de théories, aussi bien dans un camp que dans l’autre. De ce que quelques-uns des modernistes les plus en vue se sont transportés au Champ de Mars, il ne s’ensuit pas qu’ils y aient emmené avec eux tous les jeunes artistes qui se livrent à une observation attentive du monde contemporain et que préoccupent, avec juste raison, les problèmes compliqués de la lumière, si chers à tous les peintres, depuis qu’il y a des peintres au monde. De ce que la plupart des membres de l’Institut, des professeurs, des chefs d’ateliers sont demeurés aux Champs-Élysées, il n’en résulte pas non plus qu’ils n’y soient entourés que d’élèves soumis et de caudataires serviles, ni qu’on ne puisse trouver autre part des enseignement différent et plus libres, toujours fondés d’ailleurs sur l’étude combinée de la nature et de la tradition.

G. Albert-Aurier, “Le salon de Champs-de-Mars,” *Mercure de France*, July 1890, p. 248.

Soyons brefs. C’est le mieux, n’est-ce pas? Et d’abord, un pur et incontestable chef-d’oeuvre : « Inter artes et naturam » de Puvis de Chavannes. Puis six lumineux paysages de Sisley. Des fantaisies, d’éblouissantes symphonies de couleurs de Besnard ; des morceaux de nuit de Ribot; d’exquises figures noyées de brouillard de Carrière; une « femme dans un paysage » et deux adorables études au pastel, d’Anquetin; des ensoleillements intenses et multicolorement farineux de Montenard; des plein air, de Harrison; des portraits très britanniques de Théodore Rousset; des paradoxes de Blanche, de Boldini, de Zorn; de poétiques crépuscules d’Errazuriz; des baigneuses – oh! si cochonnes! – d’Alber Aublet; un « Monte-Carlo » de Jean Béraud, qui défie la photographie en exactitude et en bêtise; d’étonnants croquis de Forain; des pastels de Béthume; enfin des Carolus Duran; des Roll; des Lhermitte; des Courtois; des Friant; des Stevens; des Gervex.

Сергей Глаголь, “Про Парижский салон,” *Артист*, 1891, no. 15, с. 110-111.

Старый Салон справедливо прозвали Салоном Бугро в противоположность Салону Марсова поля или Салону Мейссонье. – второе название дано из уважения к маститому художнику, бывшему председателем нового общества и не характерно для нового салона, но первое крайне удачно – Бугро прекрасно характеризует дух старого Салона, его принципы, достоинства и недостатки. – Бугро большой любимец публики, его сюжеты не затрагивают ничьих страстей, фигуры его прекрасно нарисованы и старательно написаны, картины его красивы, вы с удовольствием повесите их в своей гостиной будете на них любоваться, но их красота – не натуральная красота. Это именно красота картины, а не жизни, красота грациозных линий и мутноватых гармонических красок, но не блеск живой наготы, не живые линии, не живые формы ... Наиболее характерным представителем нового Салона надо считать сравнительно еще молодого художника А.П.Ролля. картины его давно обращали на себя внимание в Салоне. В своих вещах он ищет более всего передави натуры и общего е впечатления. Сюжет обыкновенно совсем его не занимает.

Сергей Дягилев, “Парижские выставки,” Мир искусства, 1901, no. 7, с. 56.

Салон «Champs Elysees», это старое присутственное место с опытным чиновным людом, художниками с красной петличкой, расположился крайне удобно и широко в сорока бесконечных залах, похожих на сараи. Он занял лучшую часть и взял себе главный вход Большого Дворца. Есть где развесить всех «Выгнанных Адамов», «Царей Соломонов» и «Карлов Пярых». И публика, везде всегда одна и та-же, искренняя, хорошего тона и старых традиций, бежит в «Большой Салон» и движется густой толпой под убедительный напев опытных гидом: «Voilà le grand maître Bouguereau ... Voilà donc cet effet de lumière...». Все смотрят, все довольны, все понимают и чувствуют искусства, так как не понимать и не чувствовать искусства значит не иметь вкуса и чутья! Конечно, и в этом Салоне попадаются «вещи уродливые» (у нас бы сказали «декадентские»). ... Выставка, soit disant «Champ de Mars», запрятана в оставшуюся от «Большого Салона» свободной заднюю часть «Дворца». Даже в самой зеленой молодежи искания как бы приостановились, все стали осторожны, разумны, осмотрительны, не слишком передовиты, но и не отстали. Что-то не видно ошибающихся; кажется, что Claud’ы из «Oeuvre»’а более невозможны, чем Коро, Моне и Бенар уже достаточно навоевали, а потому пора и отдохнуть немного.

Gaston Schéfer, “Le Salon du Champ-de-Mars,” L’Artiste, June 1890, pp. 424-426.

Commençons donc par les anciens, puisque les protecteurs de ce Salon de jeunes révolutionnaires sont des vétérans, des vétérans de l’art classique ; commençons par les maîtres, puisque les chefs de cette Académie des inconnus sont les plus incontestés qui soient... La première visite à l’exposition du Champ-de-Mars avait laissé au public une impression de jeunesse, de gaîté, d’acuité dans la vision, d’habileté surprenante dans l’exécution. La seconde visite, qui est la revanche des oeuvres méditées, a refroidi cette première impression.

Emile Blémont “Le Salon du Champ-de-Mars (suite),” *L’Artiste*, July 1891, pp. 43-44.

Quoique la vie moderne soit représentée d’une façon copieuse et parfois brillante au Salon des Champs-élysées, c’est au Palais du Champ-de-Mars qu’elle a véritablement son temple et ses autels. Là, sans intolérance, sans exclusivisme, mais avec une richesse et une variété singulières, elle s’épanouit dans toute la fraîcheur, parfois un peu âcre, de sa jeune gloire ... Le sanctuaire des Champs-élysées est plus classique. C’est une académie, largement ouverte, mais où règne une forte tradition d’ordre et de discipline ; et les exposants y sont de respectables maîtres ou de bons disciples. Aux galeries de la rive gauche, qui est pourtant la rive des écoles, on entre dans un milieu plus libre et plus mondain, plus hardi et plus élégant ; et là des tempéraments plus originaux montrent à la fois plus de sincérité et de coquetterie. Il est très rare qu’une oeuvre d’art y sente l’huile, l’huile de l’urne antique et solennelle, l’huile de la tragédie, de la fable et de l’allégorie. On y respire des arômes beaucoup plus subtils, toute la parfumerie sensuelle du luxe fin-de-siècle, toutes les émanations capiteuses de la haute existence, toutes les vapeurs du dernier rêve. Cela inquiète parfois, mais intéresse presque toujours.

“Studio-Talk,” *The Studio*, June 1897, no. 51, pp. 58-62

The two Salons are neither better nor worse than those of former years. At the Camps-elysees we may see the same profusion of canvases – anecdotic, mythological, military, and historical; at the Champ de Mars the same more or less Whistlerian portraits, the same feeble bits of “imagination.” Still each exhibition has this year a sort of sentimental interest; for the public is bidding a last adieu to two buildings which, the Salons once over, will speedily fall prey to the demolishing pick-axe... At the Champ-elysees there is not much to be found. We know well enough beforehand what to expect from such men as Benjamin-Constant, Bonnat, Bouguereau, Jean-Paul Laurens, Gerome, Detaille, Clairin, and Tony Robert-Fleury, and we don’t expect them to give us anything new. Their art is always the same, as far removed from life as it is from dreamland, as far from truth as from the ideal – an art steeped in antiquated conventionalities, with no trace of life about it... We shall find something more satisfying at the Champ de Mars. First we have a landscapist of such class as M. J.

Cazin, whose exhibits this year are unquestionable of the highest order, and a painter like M. A. Besnard, whose Portrait de M.L.D. – is almost a masterpiece. These two men alone would suffice to prove the superiority of this Salon over the other. But there is more still. Canvases of great power we have from M. Charles Cottet, who, some slight coarseness apart, is fast developing into artist of the first rank; from M. Lucien Simon, whose great abilities are amply confirmed here, and whose Les Haleurs like his portraits, is a fine piece of colouring; and from M. Rene Menard, forceful and charming as ever. Then we have M. Jacques Blanche, more and more characteristic in his work, and showing really remarkable gifts of composition and technique in his Portraits dans un Interieur; M. Rene Bilotte, still the graceful landscapist enamoured of half-tints we know so well; M. Dagnan-Bouveret, sincere and original as always, and M. Aman-Jean who retains all the qualities by which his work has so greatly endeared itself to us.

Gabriel Mourey, “The Salon of the Champs-Élysées,” The Studio, June 1896, no. 39, pp. 101-102.

There is no one master-work in the Palais de l’Industrie; no manifestation of a great personality or a great idea, standing out above the rest, for present and for future admiration. In the Champ de Mars Puvis de Chavannes remains at once the centre-piece and the summit; everything seems to be grounded around him; everything gravitates in his direction, triumphing, as he does, by the strength and the charm of his work. In sculpture, Rodin holds an equally brilliant position; and these two realise and personify all that is best and completes in contemporary art, and that in the most striking fashion... There is nothing to be compared to this in the Champs-elysees.

Ernesto Garcia Ladevese, “Cronica Parisiense,” La Nación, 21 June 1891, p. 2.

Casi toda la prensa de Paris declara unánime que la exposicion de Campo de Marte es superior á la de los Campos Eliseos. Constituye, en verdad, el salon numero 2 una manifestacion brillantissima del arte moderno; mas no hay en el Campo de Marte un cuadro de la importancia del de Rochegrosse, que es la obra capital del Palacio de la industria... En el salon de los Campos Eliseos faltan obras ligeras, risueñas y graciosas; en el del Campo de Marte se eshalte menos un morceaux de résistance, un pagina vigorosa de esas que revelan el esfuerzo de una inspiracion potente. Si los cuadros del

Palacio de la industria son demasiado grandes, los del Palacio de bellas artes resultan, en cambio, demasiado pequeños.

Alfredo Ebelot, “Desde Paris,” La Nación, 24 May 1897, p. 3.

[Salon del Campo de Marte] esta consagrado al arte independiente esto es mas independizado aun de las tradiciones academicas, me suministrara una nueva y mas decisiva ocasion de hacer tocar como con mano las tendencias de la moderna alma artistica. Esta pugna esforzadamente por hallar sen eros nuevos, los aue la conducen a veces a la rareza mas que a la originalidad, - que Ruben Dario me perdone tamana impertinencia, - pero que, como orientacion general del pensamiento, responden a un elevado y refinado deseo de espiritualisar hasta las formas materiales de los objetos exteriores poniendolas en correspondencia con lo mas hondo y sutil de nuestro ser interno tanto sensible como reflexico y hasta metafisico.

U. Checa, “El Mundo del Arte,” Ilustracion Sud-Americana, 1 June 1897, No. 107, p. 203.

El Salon del Campo de Marte cambia de aspecto, y como ya dije en mis cartas anteriores, el movimiento que la pintura ha tomado en estos ultimos anos, debe llevarnos indudablemente a algun resultado; este resultado (que es bueno) por ahora, es apreciado solo por la gente del oficio; la muchedumbre no lo entiende: el ojo ignorante no esta hecho para apreciar esos efectos aue el artista moderno se complace en estudiarm y si bien yo no apruebo la cosa en general, hay autores de verdadero genio que no solo me gustan, sino que me encantan... Mr. Boldini, por ejemplo, con su pintura archimodernista.

Appendix 2. Latin American painters in the Salons in 1890–1899

Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts

The table also indicates whether they exhibited in the Salons of the Société des Artistes Français

	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Artigue, Albert-Émile (Argentina)	SNBA	SNBA		SAF	SAF	SAF	SAF	SAF	SAF	SAF
Castellanos, Alberto (Uruguay)				SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	
Cid, Jean (Argentina)									SNBA	
Cid García, Diana (Argentina)					SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA		
Errázuriz, José Tomás (Chile)	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA			
Flach, Charles (Brazil)										SNBA
Grullón, Arturo (Dominican Rep.)	SAF	SNBA								
Torre, Eduardo de la (Mexico)			SNBA							
Visconti, Eliseu (Brazil)					SAF	SAF	SAF	SNBA	SNBA	SNBA

Société des Artistes Français

Alvarez Calderon, Abelardo	Peru
Alvim-Correa, Henri	Brazil
Azevedo, Carlos C. de	Brazil
Belmiro, Almeida de	Brazil
Bernardelli, Felix	Brazil
Betalu, Mme	Cuba
Boggio, Emile	Venezuela
Borges, Pedro-Alexandrino	Brazil
Brocos, Modesto	Brazil (born in Spain)
Collazo, Guillermo	Cuba
Fuster, Alberto	Mexico
Gonzalez, Juan	Chile
Gonzalez-Mendez, Nicanor	Chile
Harris, Juan-Eduardo	Chile
Hernandez, Daniel	Peru
Hora, Horace	Brazil
Kreutzer, Alexandre-Ferdinand	Venezuela (German parents)

Lacazette, Amelie	Cuba (French parents)
Lopez Rodriguez, Manuel	Brazil
Lynch, Albert	Peru
Madrugá, Manuel	Brazil
Manceau, Pierre	Cuba (French parents)
Michelena, Arturo	Venezuela
Oller, Francisco	Puerto Rico
Pont, V. M. Marco del	Argentina
Ribero, Rosaldo	Brazil
Rodriguez, Pedro	Venezuela
Rojas, Christobal	Venezuela
Samaran, U. M.	Uruguay (French parents)
San-Carlos	Cuba
Severo-Rodriguez, Etchart	Argentina
Silva, Oscar-Pereira da	Brazil
Simoes da Fonseca, Gazton	Brazil (French parents)
Sívorí, Eduardo	Argentina
Vauthier, Pierre-Louis	Brazil
Weindartner, Pedro	Brazil (German parents)

Appendix 3. Artists' addresses in Paris gathered from the catalogues of the SAF and SNBA

Albert-Émile Artigue

1882	35 rue du Sommerard, Paris
1883, 1888, 1890–1891, 1894–1894	117 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris
1895–1898	13 bis rue Campagne-Première, Paris
1899–1900	205 rue de Paris, Clamart
1901–1904, 1906–1907	18 rue Boissonade, Paris

José Tomás Errázuriz

1886 – 1889	72 av. Marceau, Paris
1890 – 1892	14 rue Alphonse-de-Neuville, Paris
1893 – 1895	43 av. Du Bois-de-Boulogne, Paris

Arturo Grullón

1890	60 rue Mazarine
1891	2 rue du Sommerard

Eduardo de la Torre

1892	43 rue Fontaine
1902	23 av. Niel

Alberto Castellanos

1884	13, rue du Moulin-de-Beurre
1894	3 rue Bara
1895	Au val de Vesquité près Menton
1896	bd. De Beaulieu à Beaulieu
1897 – 1898	Saint-Jean-sur-Mer

Diana Cid García

1894 – 1895	5 bis rue Bara
1896 – 1897	7 passage Stanislas
1903 – 1904, 1906 – 1907, 1911 – 1914	17 rue Campagne Première

Jean Cid

1898	7 passage Stanislas

Eliseu Visconti

1894 – 1896	16 rue de la Grande-Chaumière
1897 – 1899	9 rue des Fourneaux
1905	17 rue Campagne Première
1906	Chez M. Dampt, 17 rue Campagne Première
1907	38 bd du Château, Neuilly, Seine

1919 – 1920

102 rue Didot

Charles Flach

1899 – 1901

49, boulevard Rochechouart

Appendix 4. Paintings by Latin American painters in the Salons

Submissions of the nine painters defined as the protagonists of the research in both official Salons in order to demonstrate their exhibiting strategies over a larger time lapse

Alber-Émile Artigue

1882	SAF	<i>Moquese</i>
1883	SAF	<i>Une somnambule extra-lucide</i>
1884	SAF	<i>Le quai de la Grève à Bordeaux</i>
1885	SAF	<i>Hans (étude)</i>
1888	SAF	<i>Adèle (étude)</i>
1890	SNBA	<i>Marchand Tunisien</i>
		<i>Un nettoyeur de cuivres</i>
		<i>Deux Gardiens</i>
1891	SNBA	<i>Avril</i>
1893	SAF	<i>Aveux</i>
1894	SAF	<i>Caprice</i>
1895	SAF	<i>Réprimande</i>
		<i>Bouquet des champs</i>
1896	SAF	<i>“Colin-maillard”</i>
1897	SAF	<i>Fleurs de printemps</i>
1898	SAF	<i>L’heure du thé</i>
		<i>Endormie!</i>
1899	SAF	<i>Elle s’admire</i>
1900	SAF	<i>En mai</i>
1901	SAF	<i>Premier baiser</i>
1902	SAF	<i>Enivrement</i>
1903	SAF	<i>Heureux age!</i>
1904	SAF	<i>Sur la falaise</i>
1906	SAF	<i>Jeuness s’amuse</i>
1907	SAF	<i>Les sardinières de Douellan</i>
		<i>Souvenir de Bretagne</i>

Alberto Castellanos

1884	SAF	<i>Pommes</i>
1893	SNBA	<i>Lever de lune</i>
		<i>Ile de Noirmoutier</i>
1894	SNBA	<i>Une rue à Douarnenez</i>
1895	SNBA	<i>Coucher de soleil (marine)</i>
1896	SNBA	<i>La vague (marine)</i>
1897	SNBA	<i>Coucher de Soleil</i>
1898	SNBA	<i>La moisson</i>

Jean Cid

1898	SNBA	<i>Portrait de Mme G.</i>

Diana Cid García

1894	SNBA	<i>Portrait de Mlle G.</i> <i>Mélancolie</i>
1895	SNBA	<i>Portrait de Mme C.</i> <i>Portrait de l'auteur</i> <i>En détresse</i>
1896	SNBA	<i>La Toussaint</i>
1897	SNBA	<i>Un portrait de Mme L.</i>
1903	SNBA	<i>Harmonie</i>
1904	SNBA	<i>Portrait de Mlle Péan</i>
1906	SNBA	<i>Christ et la femme adultère</i>
1907	SNBA	<i>Saint-Genève</i>
1911	SNBA	<i>Dame aux camélias</i>
1914	SNBA	<i>Portrait</i> <i>Femme en rose</i>

José Tomás Errázuriz

1886	SAF	<i>Laveuses à Étretat</i>
1887	SAF	<i>Pêcheuse de moules, à Villerville</i> <i>Le coin abandonné (étude)</i>
1888	SAF	<i>Portrait</i> <i>Sur les dunes, au printemps</i>
1889	SAF	<i>Soir de septembre</i> <i>Dans les champs</i>
1890	SNBA	<i>Une Rencontre désagréable (paysage)</i> <i>Une femme dans l'Ile de Wight</i> <i>En Normandie</i> <i>Vue sur la Marne</i> <i>Crépuscule</i> <i>Portrait de Mme L...</i>
1891	SNBA	<i>Lever de lune sur les falaises (Angleterre)</i> <i>Soleil couchant dans la brume</i> <i>Paysage d'automne (Angleterre)</i> <i>Le Chemin à travers les champs (Angleterre)</i> <i>Paysage (étude)</i>
1892	SNBA	<i>Soir d'octobre – paysage anglais</i> <i>Feuille mortes</i> <i>Sur les falaises (Ile de Wight)</i> <i>Le Livre à images</i> <i>Bords de la Seine</i>
1893	SNBA	<i>Portrait de jeunes filles</i> <i>Ile de Wight (paysage)</i> <i>Ile de Wight (paysage)</i>
1894	SNBA	<i>Paysage avec moutons (Angleterre)</i> <i>Paysage avec figures (Angleterre)</i> <i>Paysage (Printemps)</i>
1895	SNBA	<i>Étude</i>
1896	SNBA	<i>Étude</i>

Charles Flach

1899 SNBA *Paysage (effet de soleil)*
Type Farm

Arturo Grullón

1890 SAF *Effet de neige*
1891 SNBA *Portrait de Mme D.*

Eduardo de la Torre

1892 SNBA *Environs de Pontoise*
1902 SNBA *Arbre géant de Tula (Mexique)*

Eliseu Visconti

1894 SAF *En été*
La lecture
1895 SAF *Communiantes*
Portrait de A. N.
1896 SAF *La convalescente*
Femme nue (étude)
1897 SNBA *Rêve mystique (nu)*
Noceuse (nu)
1898 SNBA *Saint Sébastien*
1899 SNBA *Mélancolie*
Tendresse
1904 SNBA *Portrait de Mme de Assis*
Portrait de Mlle B. Lindheimer
1906 SNBA *Maternité*
En semaine (Luxembourg)
1907 SNBA *La lettre*
Au Luxembourg
1919 SNBA *Les enfants joyeux*
1920 SNBA *Samothrace*
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Artistic migration from Latin America to Paris. Stories of nine exhibitors at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts and some of their paintings

Artistic migration; Latin American art; nineteenth-century painting; José Tomás Errázuriz; Albert-Émile Artigue; Eliseu Visconti; Diana Cid García; centre-periphery; modernism; canon; Salon.

In the nineteenth century Latin American painters were going to Europe in search of artistic perfection. Paris as the centre of modern art was one of the main destinations for intercontinental artistic migration. The artists from Latin American countries went to Paris to study in famous art schools and to participate in the Salon in order to prove their professional status and to begin their careers in the international arena. Many of them stayed in Europe, but they were usually ignored by French criticism and later, by modernist historiographies. These painters were pushed back to the periphery to which they belonged regardless of their geographical choices. The dissertation explores the trajectories of Latin American painters in Paris who participated in the Salons of the Société Nationale des Beaux-arts from 1890 to 1899 and revisits their position in the modern canon. The research starts with the general overview of the art system on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and goes from the investigation of artists' places in national historiographies to the interpretation of their paintings. The multiple factors that shape the reception of the art from periphery are brought to light in order to see the painters erased from history and to find the ways to resist the domination of the master narrative in art history.

La migration artistique de l'Amérique latine à Paris. Les histoires de neuf participants aux salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts et leurs peintures

Migration artistique ; Art latino-américain ; peinture du XIXe siècle ; José Tomás Errázuriz ; Albert-Émile Artigue ; Eliseu Visconti ; Diana Cid García ; centre-périphérie ; art moderne ; canon ; Salon.

Au XIXe siècle les peintres latino-américains se rendaient en Europe à la recherche de la perfection artistique. Paris, le centre de l'art moderne, était l'une des principales destinations de la migration artistique intercontinentale. Les artistes de l'Amérique latine sont venus à Paris pour étudier dans des écoles d'art célèbres et pour participer aux salons afin de montrer la qualité de leur travail et tenter de lancer leur carrière sur la scène internationale. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont restés en Europe, mais ont été ignorés par la critique française et plus tard par les historiographies modernistes. Ces peintres ont été repoussés à la périphérie à laquelle ils appartenaient, quels que soient leurs choix géographiques. Cette thèse explore les trajectoires des peintres latino-américains à Paris qui ont participé aux Salons de la Société nationale des beaux-arts de 1890 à 1899 et revisite leurs positions dans le canon moderne. La recherche commence par l'aperçu général du système d'art des deux côtés de l'océan Atlantique et va de l'étude de la place des artistes dans les historiographies nationales à l'interprétation de leurs oeuvres. Les multiples facteurs qui façonnent la réception de l'art dans la périphérie sont analysés pour redécouvrir les peintres effacés de l'histoire et pour écarter leurs histoires d'un récit dominant dans l'histoire de l'art.