“A Place to Stand:” Viewing Numa Ayrinhac’s Double Portrait of President Juan Perón and his Wife Eva María Duarte at the Museo del Bicentenario

by

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ABSTRACT

The current display of Numa Ayrinhac's double portrait of Argentinian presidential couple, Juan Domingo Perón and Eva María Duarte de Perón from 1948, at the Museo del Bicentenario in Buenos Aires remains a powerfully sacred instrument of presidential propaganda, now in support of current President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. A closer look, however, reveals multiple meanings and modes of viewing embedded within the portrait. While past anti-Peronist de-facto governments have attempted, and failed, to erase its material existence, the Argentinian art world has successfully excluded the name of Numa Ayrinhac from its canon until this day. My investigation complicates established understandings of Peronist portraiture and illuminates Numa Ayrinhac's still problematic position in the Argentinian art world, engages with nineteenth-century Argentinian official portraiture, and considers the past contexts of production and exhibition of Peronist portraiture during the mid-twentieth century. This thesis constitutes a performative act of individual viewing, productively inviting other viewers to join in an on-going conversation.

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INTRODUCTION: Unpacking Peronist Portraiture

Material culture scholar Eilean Hooper-Greenhill argues that "meanings are always constructed within social relationships, and social relationships are always enmeshed in power networks."[1] Furthermore, she argues that a particular material object may contain a multitude of meanings, where "earlier meanings still remain as traces."[2] Visiting the Museo del Bicentenario in Buenos Aires in August 2012, one official portrait and its manner of display prompted me to think further about the multiple meanings of an artwork. The current mode of display of Numa Ayrinhac's over life-sized oil portrait of presidential couple General Juan Domingo Perón and his wife Eva María Duarte (Figure 1), who governed Argentina between 1946 and 1955, attempts to erase the multiple meanings contained within by highlighting its status as an exceptional work of art possessing an almost sacral quality.

While standing in front of the portrait, I was surprised by how unyielding it seemed. Every time I attempted to pose questions related to its past histories or meanings, it allowed only a superficial engagement. Today the portrait is fully accessible to the general public and foreign visiting dignitaries alike; the latter are often photographed in front of the painting in the company of current Peronist President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. My thesis argues that this portrait is not as straightforward as it seems. In this thesis, I want the reader to "walk with me" as I uncover some of the multiple meanings that will help explain the current unyielding nature of the work.

In addition to my direct experience of spectatorship, my inquiry also responds to recent art historical research that focuses on previously neglected official images depicted in realistic styles, such as Soviet era and Maoist portraiture,[3] and a renewed interest in official portraiture in Argentina. Acknowledging past representations and prior exhibition contexts will help to see the

double portrait as an open-ended matrix of interrelated meanings, rather than a closed representation that resists deeper analysis.

The first question relates to how the current mode of display of Ayrinhac's portrait supports the prevalent interpretation of the work as an exception, without commonalities with past official representations. Standing on its own, it is separated by a nave-like space from the rest of the linear historical displays across from it, a display strategy that attempts to choreograph an eminently emotional and religious performance of spectatorship. Although this aspect of the double portrait is obvious to the art historian, my thesis will delve further into other somewhat concealed aspects of the portrait. Leaving my first impression and full examination of the portrait to unfold in the conclusion of my inquiry will allow others visiting the exhibition site to add their own meanings, allowing the matrix to remain open.

The first step in uncovering prior meanings attached to the double portrait is to question the material claims for the portrait's uniqueness as evidenced by its mode of display. Argentinian official portraiture has been enmeshed in gendered power and social relationships ever since the first decades of the nineteenth century, insistently circulated, combined, and displayed to create consensus and unify the country during a complex process of national formation and modernization. Immigration, territorial expansion, and drastic socio-economic change are key characteristics of Argentine history.[4]

In this context, I ask in my first chapter a set of questions related to official depictions of nineteenth-century Argentinian ruler Juan Manuel de Rosas, his wife Encarnación Ezcurra, and his daughter Manuela Rosas. I argue that images of Rosas, his wife, and his daughter constitute residual images that also remain within the art historical interpretation of the portrait.[5] According to historian Jeffrey M. Shumway, Juan Domingo Perón was an ardent admirer of Rosas, and in

many ways similar to the former dictator. Like Rosas, Perón had a military background, a popular base of power, and strong nationalist sentiments. He also experienced a life of exile and a denigrated memory in official histories of the nation.[6]

Numa Ayrinhac's representation of the Peróns recalls images of Rosas by Cayetano Descalzi in particular. Both Perón and Rosas associated themselves with past heroes from European history such as Napoleon Bonaparte and the Late Republican / Early Imperial Roman leader Caesar Augustus. Dorinda Outram's analysis of the post-revolutionary, modern state ruler as a heroic *Homo Clausus,* constantly needing to reinforce his legitimacy through the representation of reactive female figures, will inform my study of official portraiture from the Rosas period.

Accompanying the analysis of Rosas and Perón as heroic, stoic male archetypes that necessitate a reactive female presence, I also analyze depictions of Encarnación Ezcurra and of Manuela Rosas, who was portrayed by Prilidiano Pueyrredón in a fancy silk dress reminiscent of the female portraiture of Dominique Ingres, as prototypes for Eva Perón. This analysis also uncovers the similarities between Numa Ayrinhac and Pueyrredón, as both trained in the French academic artistic tradition and incorporated Ingres's treatment of the female subject into their portraiture. These works will expose the strategies and career choices of Numa Ayrinhac, who created material objects that exist in a physical space amidst, in Greenhill's words, "connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of force, and strategies."[7]

In the second chapter of my thesis, I explore Peronist portraiture in the context of the Argentine national exhibitions held between the years 1948 to 1953. This chapter delves into Ayrinhac's artistic strategies of self-exclusion and inclusion in the process of canon formation during a period the international avant-garde was divided along the lines of East and West as a

result of the Cold War. Like the re-evaluation of socialist realism and official Soviet art under Stalin by scholars such as M.C. Bown,[8]Argentinian art historian Andrea Giunta has begun addressing the place of official Peronist imagery and portraiture, inserting those representations into the fractious and complex context of the Argentinian National Fine Arts Salons during the 1940s and 50s.[9] Giunta argues that during those years, the figures of the Peróns, and in particular that of Eva Perón, occupied the centre of all official functions, acquiring until the coup of 1955 the aura of cult objects, after which a culture of "silence" erased such a narrative. Giunta's inquiry provides a compelling point of departure for my investigation.[10]

Giunta also acknowledges that the postwar artistic debates centered on whether Paris or New York embodied the aesthetic supremacy of the West.[11] The author posits that there were also "other postwars" and aesthetic debates. Her inquiry recuperates the Argentinian and Latin American avant gardes and those works and artists left aside by traditional art historical narratives. For Giunta, Ayrinhac's production of official portraiture under President Perón merits further investigation.[12]

I argue that Numa Ayrinhac exercised artistic agency by aligning himself firmly with the nationalistic Peronist regime. Promoting himself as the "artist of the people," Ayrinhac stood in sharp contrast to artists like Raquel Forner who vocally opposed the regime, becoming the quintessential art insider firmly anchored in the local (rather than international) Argentinian avant-garde. Ayrinhac's portraits of the Perons, depicting the presidential couple in the guise of glamorous figures and fashion plates derived from Argentine visual culture, effectively conveyed Argentinian masculinities and femininities in a populist style.[13] His artistic choices, I argue, complicate the posthumous insertion of Numa Ayrinhac into the Argentinian artistic canon and have tended to relegate his work and Peronist portraiture in general to the realm of propaganda

art. Such an exclusion and erasure of Ayrinhac's name from the fine arts canon contrasts with the fates of Argentinian pioneers Cayetano Descalzi and Prilidiano Pueyrredón, the painters who immortalized Juan Manuel de Rosas and his daughter Manuela Rosas. Unlike Ayrinhac, Delcalzi and Pueyrredón are still revered as the best examples of nineteenth-century official portraiture in Argentina.

Argentine History from Independence to the Centenary

Part of the Viceroyalty of Perú until May 25, 1810, Argentina became fully independent from Spain in 1816. As the independent Argentinian nation was being constructed and organized during the revolutionary decade, the inability to produce a constitution capable of including all the actors of the constitutional project resulted in the adoption of short-lived texts which institutionalized an intentionally provisional political regime.[14] In the early 1820s, post-independence Buenos Aires was a wealthy port enclave. After independence the influx of foreigners into Argentina steadily increased. By the mid-nineteenth century the population of the province was estimated variously at 150,000 to 200,000 persons, approximately half of whom had been born in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal.[15]

During this period in Argentinian history, the emergent nation engaged in internal battles between the Capital of the Confederation, the city of Buenos Aires, and the Provinces, as well as in wars with Brazil and Paraguay, its neighbours to the north, over trade and the annexation of Uruguay. The intellectual Creole elite of the province of Buenos Aires set up a parliamentary government led by Bernardino Rivadavia that enacted liberal reforms such as religious tolerance, low port tariffs to allow for free trade, and foreign borrowing from private banks. Buenos Aires, however, had two potential points of conflict: its problematic relationship with its sister

provinces and the occupation by Brazil of the *Banda Oriental* (Uruguay). A war against Brazil in 1825 weakened and ultimately disintegrated the country, prompting Rivadavia's resignation in 1828. Rivadavia's supporters were called Unitarians. On the opposite side were those who advocated for greater autonomy from the Provinces, called Federalists.[16] When the Unitarians executed Federalist Governor Manuel Dorrego on December 13, 1828, Federalist landowners, led by one of Buenos Aires' wealthiest ranchers, Juan Manuel de Rosas, were galvanized. By 1829, Argentina was a country of anarchy and civil war. In that year, Juan Manuel de Rosas was appointed Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires and obtained the power to represent the provinces in international circuits.

More than a political battle, the conflict between Unitarians and Federalists was a conflict about diverging ways of life. The Unitarians, an urban *porteño* society, were composed of a commercial, bureaucratic, and clerical Creole oligarchy, in addition to a heterogeneous working class. The Federalists were a provincial society, organized around the figure of the land owning *caudillo*, who served as guardian of the regional will, embodying a populist and hierarchical society.[17] While the Unitarians embraced European liberal ideas in an aristocratic and socially elitist context, the Federalists *caudillos* demanded order at all cost in the name of those that formed the provincial population.[18]

In the 1830s, Juan Manuel de Rosas capitalized on successive constitutional failures to create the perception that constitutional assemblies were the political equivalent of a Pandora's box. The leader of the Confederation saw the constitution not as a warranty of stability, but rather as a source of discord and conflicts. Rosas thus created a Federal Republic without a constitution, or rather a supra-provincial entity where the term "federalism" replaced "constitutionalism." The geopolitical base of his power resided in the province, rather than the

city of Buenos Aires, where his rule was supported by suffrage in the form of unanimous plebiscites. Relying on his political base of like-minded *estancieros* or landowners, Rosas was elected Governor by the House of Representatives of the Province of Buenos Aires in 1829 on the promise of pacifying the province, defending landowners from the Indians, and expanding the southern frontier. He demonstrated that it was possible not only to govern without a constitution but to exercise the public sum of public power (*Suma del poder público*) when he threatened to resign. On August 2, 1830, the same legislative body authorized him to exercise "extraordinary powers in all their entirety to be used according to the dictates of his own knowledge and conscience."[19] In 1832 he completed his first term in office and departed for the southern frontier to command an expedition against the Indigenous population, returning in 1834.

After a couple of short-lived tumultuous interim governments, Rosas agreed to serve as Governor again, with the condition that he be absolutely free to rule the Confederation. He now expanded his political support thanks to the numerous military personnel who had accompanied him on the Desert expedition and the new *estancieros* who acquired or were given land recently appropriated from the Indians.[20] In March 1835, the House of Representatives rewarded him with the *Suma del poder públic*o, allowing him to represent the rest of the Provinces in matters of Foreign Affairs.[21] The bulk of revenue of his administration came from custom revenues based on tariffs that protected agricultural exports, such as leather and later, wool.[22]

By 1837, Rosas had turned the Confederation into the most repressive regime since independence from Spain, demanding a public profession of allegiance from his citizens. His most vocal political opponents had fled to exile in Uruguay, where they plotted his defeat. Beginning in 1840, Rosas began demanding in his yearly addresses to the House of

Representatives that they find a successor, arguing he was ‘sacrificing his health,” but every year, he was unanimously re-elected through a pseudo-plebiscite.[23] Meanwhile, Rosas waged war intermittently against Great Britain, France and Brazil over commercial blockades in the River Plate area [24] The Anglo-French blockade between the years 1845-1850 over free commerce in the Confederation’s rivers, called the “*guerra grande*,” strengthened Rosas’s power within the territory, as he became known as the only man capable of defending the territory and commercial interests of the Confederation.[25]

In 1845, the French and the British joined forces to block the Buenos Aires port in protest against Rosas’ interference with the independence of Uruguay.[26] Europe, according to Alexander Graham Yool, became the ultimate ground to fight the war between the two Uruguayan opposing factions.[27] On one hand, the supporters of the Uruguayan leader in charge, Fructuoso Rivera, were mostly anti-Rosas intellectuals exiled from Buenos Aires and French foreigners. On the other hand, supporters of Manuel Oribe, the pro-Rosas Uruguayan leader, were backed by troops supplied by Rosas and Entre Ríos Confederation Province *caudillo* Justo José de Urquiza.

In addition to his real power, a formal structure conferred legitimacy to his mandate.[28] At the time, the polarization of society was absolute, with a small upper class of landowners and a lower class composing the rest of the population.[29] Even though Rosas was, like the earlier May revolution patriots and their heirs the Unitarians, a wealthy, highly educated *criollo,* he identified with the Federalist cause. This convenient political strategy served to neutralize the other provincial *caudillos,* who identified with his call to order and the fiscal autonomy of the Provinces of the Rio de La Plata. The church rallied to his support, together with the masses and a new merchant class comprised by newly arrived European immigrants allied to foreign interests. These groups believed in his power to pacify the region.[30] By January 1849, conditions

were such in England and France that both powers desired to terminate their blockade of the port of Buenos Aires. France had just been rocked by political revolution, and England was also experiencing domestic difficulties. Rosas submitted the terms under which he was willing to settle the trouble in the Rio de la Plata in April 1849. Once the intervention ended, Rosas continued his war policy, kept some of his discontented chieftains in Uruguay, and maintained his position in Buenos Aires.[31]

By the end of 1849, Rosas seemed determined to retire once more, but in October a mass petition requested his re-election. Although exports resumed and demand for agricultural materials grew with the blockade lifted, a devastating drought coupled with labour shortages generated inflation. Merchants, artisans, and farmers complained of the shortage of currency and the high price of money. The economy was handicapped by a depreciated and inconvertible paper currency, while the threat of war with the Confederation's neighbours loomed large.[32] On the political front, Rosas still wanted to control Uruguay and neutralize Brazil, while also recovering Paraguay. By 1851, Rosas had lost the support of foreigners, which had been until then a potent element in his favour.[33] The years 1850 to 1852 were crisis years for his administration. In late 1850, Brazil broke off relations with the Confederation, formed an alliance with Paraguay, and signed an understanding with Entre Ríos *caudillo* Justo José de Urquiza. Also in May 1851, the provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes declared war on Rosas. By May 29, 1851, a formal league comprised of Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay organized to fight Rosas, who was finally defeated at the Battle of Caseros on February 3, 1852.

As a *caudillo*, Rosas understood that in order to rule he needed to completely defeat the opposing faction, both the Unitarians and other provincial *caudillos* like himself. Intensive use of

mass propaganda consolidated his authority, in particular after he became Governor of Buenos Aires in 1829. The threat of violence at the hands of his militia, the *Mazorca* (a play of words in Spanish signifying more hangings, or *más horca* and the word corn-cob, a native crop, *mazorca*), intimidated the educated Buenos Aires elite. According to Rosas historian John Lynch, the Rosas militia "became an open prison into which the most miserable part of the rural population was forcibly herded."[34] Until 1852 Rosas was the dominant *caudillo* amongst a loose confederation of provinces all governed by military strongmen who themselves feared his methods. His Federalist cause, conflated with the worship of his figure, was a crusade-like phenomenon of quasi-religious fervour that had to be constantly reinforced and sustained by the mandatory demonization of the Unitarian faction and the constant dissemination and display of his likeness, as well as that of his wife, and later, his daughter Manuela Rosas.

At the end of the Rosas period, the new constitution of 1853 established a Federation with its political power firmly ensconced in Buenos Aires. This constitution, based on European liberal ideals and conceived by Juan Bautista Alberdi, was a key instrument in welcoming European immigration and the modernization of the country. The 1837 generation, represented by the presidencies of Bartolomé Mitre (1862-1868) and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1868-74), and the 1880s generation, exemplified by president Julio Argentino Roca (1880-1886 and 1898-1904), embraced Sarmiento's ideas of Civilization and Barbarism. This process resulted in the creation of schools and libraries, the publication of a new newspaper titled *La Nación* (1870), and the founding of the National Academy of History (1893), whose main purpose was the unification of the nation through the cult of national heroes. The modernization of the country was instrumental in furthering government efforts to occupy the southern desert and exterminate the Indigenous population.

From the Centenary to the First Presidency of Juan Perón

The one hundredth anniversary of the May Revolution in 1910 inspired a generation of thinkers such as Ricardo Rojas and Leopoldo Lugones to look for an authentic Argentinian national identity in the midst of massive immigration. The 1912 Saenz Peña Law instituted compulsory universal male vote, ushering in massive political participation that reached its apotheosis with the populist presidencies of Hipólito Irigoyen, from 1916 to 1922, and again from 1928 to 1930.

From the 1930s until 1943, beginning with the *de facto* presidency of José Evaristo Uriburu, a series of fraudulent conservative governments instituted authoritarian practices that favoured British interests as well as those of the landowning oligarchy. This period was to be known as "the infamous decade." These fraudulent practices resulted in weakened democratic institutions.[35]

The emergence of an organized army group known as the *Grupo de Oficiales Unidos* (GOU, or Group of United Officials) ousted *de facto* president Ramón Castillo, signaling the end of the "infamous decade" and exposing the increasing military interference in the political affairs of the country. A military coup took place on June 4, 1943.[36] After this intervention, Juan Domingo Perón, one of the military leaders in charge of the government, began cultivating a previously neglected and increasingly vocal sector of Argentinian society, the workers.[37] Perón headed the National Secretariat of Worker Relations (*Secretaría National del Trabajo*). His rhetoric focused on the inclusion of all Argentinians into a new political project and the building of a political movement around his leadership of the Labour Party.[38] An opposing military group within the government forced his resignation and detention on October 9, 1945. Eva Duarte, on the eve of her marriage to Perón, spearheaded efforts to free the leader. Juan Perón, who was

released shortly after, then addressed a massive concentration of supporters in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires on October 17, 1945. His victory in the presidential elections of February 1946 was partly due to his wife, who, according to historian Luis Alberto Romero, became from 1946 until her death in 1952 the interlocutor between Perón and the workers.[39] The media amplified the narrative of Eva Perón as the incarnation of the Benevolent State, creating a social category known as "the meek" (*los humildes*), which was essential for the expansion of Peronism.[40]

Peronism became the name of the populist movement that brought Juan Perón to power. Perón was a populist charismatic leader who cultivated a charming folksy style, directing his electrifying nationalist message against oligarchies and economic imperialism toward poor and middle class voters. Populism is defined as a system of mass politics that claims to act on behalf of the common people, and in the interest of this thesis, it constitutes a kind of government that, according to political historian Alan Knight, employs a political *style* that produces "a close bond between political leaders and led."[41] Perón's movement was part of a wave of nationalistic, paternalistic, and conservative governments sweeping Latin America in the aftermath of World War II.[42]

The period from 1946 to 1955, also known as First Peronism, encompasses the first presidency of Juan Perón. It was characterized by the rapid unionization of Argentina's industrial force and economic protectionism. The industrial working class would remain the mainstay of the Peronist movement. Its numbers would greatly increase after the nationalization of foreign owned railroads and electrical companies.[43]

Eva Perón, the president's wife, grew up poor and socially ostracized in the rural town of Junín, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Once in Buenos Aires, she became a glamorous actress of radio soap operas, meeting her future husband at a fundraiser for the Province of San Juan

earthquake victims in 1944. According to historian John Charles Chasteen, "her lavish wardrobe suited the Argentine workers' taste,"[44] inviting them to identify with and savour her triumph from poverty to riches. Through her foundation, created on July 8, 1948, she personally handed out social assistance to those most in need. In her own words, she saw herself as "a bridge of love between Perón and the people."[45]

Eva Perón helped win the vote for Argentinian women and advocated equal pay for equal work. On September 9, 1947, Law 13010 enshrined the female right to vote. The constitutional reform, finalized on August 16, 1949, included a clause of legal equality under the law for men and women within a marriage, a clause protecting workers' rights, and a clause of presidential reelection.[46] Amidst increasing military, social, and political unrest, and official confirmation of Eva Perón's ill health, Juan Perón was re-elected president on November 11, 1951.

Eva Perón's death from cancer, on July 26, 1952, provoked wrenching demonstrations of public grief, while also exposing increasingly violent opposition to her widower. His apparent lack of interest in continuing at the helm, and the forced detention of those opposed to his regime, culminated in several bomb explosions in the capital on April 1953. In 1954, political instability was affecting other Latin American countries, and North American efforts to prevent the spread of communism in the Southern Hemisphere were beginning to take hold. That same year President Perón began the prosecution of Catholic union members, accusing them of infiltrating Party structures. Increasing hostilities between Catholic militants (who opposed the passing of the Divorce Law and other measures destined to circumscribe ecclesiastical influence) and Peronist sympathizers, who were pressuring Perón to organize popular militias, ended in a violent military attempt to unseat the already weakened President. On June 16, 1955, the Navy

bombed a Peronist gathering held in the Plaza de Mayo, killing 350 people and wounding thousands. Juan Perón formally offered his resignation on September 18, 1955.

From the Fall of President Perón to his Return from Exile

Two days later, ousted by the military led "*Revolucion Libertadora*,"[47] Perón formally requested political asylum in the Paraguayan embassy and began a long period of exile.[48] The new regime, headed by retired General Eduardo A. Lonardi, ushered in a period of prohibition against Perón and his party. From 1955 to 1973, all images of the Peróns were proscribed and even the mention of his name was deemed a criminal act.[49] A succession of dictatorships attempted to maintain anti-Peronist hegemony. During this time, deep-seated emotions surrounding the proscription of Perón divided Argentinian society along class lines pitting the mostly Peronist working class and immigrants from the provinces, against the professional, cultural, urban, and rural anti-Peronist elites. Historian Cesar Seveso explains how in the aftermath of Perón's departure, anti-Peronist sympathizers engaged in a cathartic destruction of images of Perón and his wife, replacing street signs that bore their names with paper-made signs of the new heroes of the 1955 coup.[50] Peronist supporters, in the meantime, hid as many images as they could, worshipping these figures in secrecy in quiet defiance to the forceful erasure of all traces of the regime.[51] Decree 4161 of March 1956 specifically banned any oral and written transmission of the Peronist past, including artworks, images, symbols, signs, and doctrines that could be considered instruments of propagation of Peronist ideology.[52] The punishment for such a breach extended from thirty days to six years of imprisonment and pecuniary sanctions.

The military government attempted to normalize the political situation of the nation by calling for presidential elections in 1958, and on February 23, radical leader Arturo Frondizi

became the first democratically elected president after Juan Perón. But the unions and the military actively engaged in competition for political power, resulting in Persident Frondizi's detention in March 1962. As the Armed Forces became increasingly politicized, Argentinians elected radical Arturo Illia as president in 1963. The union sectors regrouped, engaged in fractious dialog with the executive, and re-established contact with Perón in exile. In 1966 the military, again threatened by increasingly vocal union leaders, deposed President Illia. A new general, Juan Carlos Onganía, took power, ushering in the political prosecution of intellectuals, academics, and students. Political and popular opposition to the regime, inspired by the Cuban Revolution, grew to the point of armed resistance, and increasing violence reached its apex with the assassination of General Pedro Eugenio Aramburu in June 1970. In 1972, another military leader, General Alejandro Lanusse, became president.

Juan Perón's increasing influence through interviews and correspondence while in exile transformed him from former tyrant to the only viable democratic alternative. But within his own party, two antagonizing groups engaged in increasingly violent confrontation. On the right were those who believed in blind obedience to the leader, and on the left were those who saw the old general as a tool for social change. On May 25, 1973, Peronist candidate Héctor José Cámpora, with the support of the increasingly armed and violent left, was elected the first civil president since 1963. The return of Perón from exile, on June 20, 1973, saw the most violent confrontation to date between Peronist sympathizers. Peronist groups from the left and the right converged at the international airport and engaged in a confrontation remembered today as the Ezeiza Massacre. Cámpora was forced to resign, and new general elections finally placed Perón (and his second wife, María Estela (better known as Isabel) Martínez de Perón) in power.

President Perón's death, on July 1, 1974, place Perón's wife in the presidency and plunged the country into chaos. Armed guerrilla groups on the left, such as *Montoneros* and the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP), and the right, such as the Triple A (*Alianza Anticomunista Argentina*), prompted the intervention of the military, culminating in the deposition of President Martínez de Perón and the beginning of the one of bloodiest dictatorships in South America on March 24, 1976.

From the 1976 Dictatorship to the Present

Between 1976 and 1983, tens of thousands Argentinians were detained and vanished at the hands of the military dictatorship. After the disastrous Falklands War in 1982, the military junta in charge of the government, after increasingly vocal popular protests, decided to call an election. On October 30, 1983, radical President Raúl Alfonsín won the election in a climate of economic stagnation and political turmoil. After a period of hyperinflation, Peronist candidate Carlos Menem was elected president in 1989. Even though Perón was long dead, the movement he founded had returned to power, this time singing praises to the free market economy. By 2001, his government had privatized the state-run telephone company and reformed the labour laws in favour of flexibility and part-time work. Such neoliberal policies and rampant corruption left the country impoverished, in default, and in political turmoil.[53] In 2001, under the presidency of radical Fernando de la Rúa, the country defaulted on its payments to the International Monetary Fund. A quick succession of Peronist presidents worked to stabilize the political situation. The Peronist presidencies of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) and his wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2014) demonstrate that Peronism has retained its electoral power, this time by emphasizing the welfare of those socially excluded as a consequence of the default of 2001.[54]

Numa Ayrinhac, Official Portraitist of the Peróns

Numa Ayrinhac epitomized the quintessential immigrant story of the end of the nineteenth century. Like other young artists of his generation, he trained in Europe, hoping to bring back to South America the prestige of a French academic education. His artistic development encompassed a time on the world art scene where in addition to the academic validation of exhibiting in the annual salons, both in Europe and Argentina, works of art increasingly represented the state of a nation and its accompanying artistic development as a synecdoche of a modern national identity. He always made sure his Argentinian audiences knew he was French and a member of the Societé des Artistes Françaises*,* establishing a transnational career by making both France and Argentina his working places. Like Prilidiano Pueyrredón, Ayrinhac's Parisian experience would serve him well once he returned to Argentina many years after.

Ayrinhac was born in Rodez, France, in 1881. In 1884, he arrived with his parents to settle in the middle of the Argentinian pampas, in the Aveyronnaise colony of Pigüé. In 1900 he decided to study in Buenos Aires with Ernesto de la Cárcova, who later directed the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. Thanks to de la Cárcova, Ayrinhac was selected for a government subsidy to study in Paris, where they travelled together in 1897. In 1901, he was accepted at the Académie des Beaux Arts in Paris.[55] Between 1905 and 1914 Ayrinhac exhibited at the Grand Palais, the Salon des Artistes Françaises, and other official exhibition spaces.[56] In 1910, when Argentina was celebrating the centenary of its independence with a major international and exhibition, Ayrinhac was being admitted to the Societè des Artistes Françaises.

During this period Ayrinhac exhibited *Descanso de gauchos en la pulpería* (figure 2) at the *Salon des Artistes Françaises* of 1905.[57] In 1913, he exhibited at the same venue *Cantos*

melancólicos.[58] These are *costumbrista* paintings, a type of painting prevalent in Argentinian artistic production that references literary works or the lives of the gauchos in the solitary Argentinian pampas. When the First World War was declared in August 1914, Ayrinhac enlisted to serve France in the infantry division and was gravely injured in Nancy. In 1916 he returned to Argentina and began his career painting prominent members of society. He became an Argentine citizen in 1949, was designated Provincial Director of Fine Arts under Perón that same year, and died in 1951 from cancer.[59]

Scope of Research

I began doing archival research, both in Argentina and Canada, in April 2014. In Argentina I visited the Museo del Bicentenario, where I photographed the exhibition context of the double portrait of the Peróns, on display since the museum's inauguration in 2010. I also visited the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, in order to photograph and access the catalogs of the National Salons of Fine Arts between 1946 and 1955. It is thanks to Dr. Roberto Amigo, curator at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires and an Argentinian scholar specializing in Argentinian and Latin American art during the period, that I read *Revista Continente*, a valuable cultural publication not yet sufficiently explored. *Continente* was a pro-government private publication that was published during the years Ayrinhac was producing portraits of the Peróns, from 1948 and 1951. In addition I studied the archives of opposition newspaper *La Prensa* from that same time period.

Also in Buenos Aires, Elisa Ayrinhac, the granddaughter of Numa Ayrinhac, provided me with copious amounts of primary documentation related to the professional activities of her grandfather before becoming official portraitist of the Peróns. She also provided me with several

surviving documents that attest to the process of commission of official portraiture under Peronism. These documents allowed me to understand Ayrinhac's handling of the Peronist commissions, the speed with which he created the portraits, and the prices at the time of their execution. These documents, along with auction information found in the archives of the Museo del Bicentenario, have never been analyzed in detail.

A visit to the Museo Evita also allowed me to reflect on the link between iconicity and the political strategies on gender. The Museo Evita, directed by the relatives of Eva Perón, includes an archive, a library, and an Institute of Historic Investigations, currently funded by the Argentinian government. There, it was possible to examine the modes of display of the different rooms while familiarizing myself with the intricate relationships between all the museums I had the fortune to visit, the role of the government in funding and promoting them, and how these relationships relate to the current display of Ayrinhac's double portrait of the Peróns in the Museo del Bicentenario. The linear narrative of the Evita museum's layout highlights key moments in the life of Eva Perón, from the magic encounter between Eva Duarte and her future husband, to her canonization after death.

Moving away from Buenos Aires, the geographic and artistic centre of the country, allowed me to ponder Numa Ayrinhac's role as painter of the most prominent Argentinian leader of the twentieth century while situating the artist in his local, provincial context, an aspect that still problematizes his insertion in the Argentinian canon. On my visit to the provincial city of Pigüé, I toured the house-museum built and designed by Numa Ayrinhac in the 1930's. Ayrinhac lived with his family in this house whenever he was not in Buenos Aires or France. Today, his family opens the museum on weekends so that tourists can view his artistic production and visit his studio, a replica of his Paris studio, on the second floor of the art-deco residence. While at the

Ayrinhac museum, I was able to see more material related to the artist's role as official Peronist portraitist and director of the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts in the city of La Plata. These materials confirmed my hypothesis that he remained largely known in the provincial orbit, never transcending into the national (or international) artistic milieu. I also viewed photographs, letters, magazine articles, and cameras that shed light on the incorporation of photographic techniques in Ayrinhac's production of portraits. The Archivo de la Provincia de Buenos Aires and the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts in the city of La Plata facilitated electronic copies of the magazine *Mundo Peronista*, another Peronist periodical. There I also saw a retrospective on Ayrinhac's role as Provincial Director of Fine Arts from 1949 to 1951, which finally confirmed that indeed, Ayrinhac's legacy is confined to the provincial level to this day. He is still a peripheral figure, even though there have also been exhibitions in his native city of Rodez, also a provincial outpost in France.

In November 2014, I returned to the Museo del Bicentenario and the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in order to re-experience the double portrait and also to see the portrait of Manuela Rosas, building on my previous research and immersing myself in the act of spectatorship, comparing the different displays and exhibition contexts. A major challenge for the historian, and in particular for this art historian, has been not just the lack of records, but also the necessary difficulties imposed by custodians on that material. Most of the records in connection to the original context of exhibition of Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns have been either destroyed or are located in closely guarded family archives, scattered between Buenos Aires, la Plata, and Pigüé. This brings into focus how art historical research necessarily implies the negotiation of memory, compulsory erasure, the ever-present official need to control the country's cultural resources, and the art researcher's attempt to uncover information.

The present research on the overlapping meanings of Ayrinhac's double portrait of President Perón and his wife stems from my initial viewing experience. Indeed, it constitutes a "place to stand,"[60] an "[auto]ethnography of occasions," where the visual merging of the present with the past incorporates "hybrid constructions of the self," as one way of establishing personal identities, in this case my own, within a complex post-colonial world."[61] Hooper-Greenhill argues that in effect, an object in a museum would look different according to the different epistemological perspectives and the values used to construct each view.[62] As an Argentinian-born researcher trained in Canada, on the receiving end of third party memories disguised as family lore, the present work is an opportunity to connect my own personal history to both the Rosas and the Peronist periods.

Figure 1 Numa Ayrinhac, *Double Portrait of President Juan Perón and his Wife Eva Duarte*, 1948. Oil on canvas, 220 x 150 cm. *Museo del Bicentenario*, Buenos Aires.

Figure 2 Numa Ayrinhac, *Descanso de gauchos en la pulpería*, 1905. Oil on Canvas.

NOTES

[1] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 50.
[2] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 52. In her investigation on the multiple meanings behind Maori *Hinemihi* House in exhibition at Clandon Park, Surrey, England, the author posits that, "It is an old but persistent museum fallacy that objects speak for themselves." She argues that this fallacy is now challenged by cultural theory, arguing that "meanings are contingent upon the circumstances within which meanings are made," and vary across time and space, 49. For Hooper-Greenhill, "We can see *Hinemihi* as an accumulation of discourses, both a stimulus for and repository of knowledge for gazes, behaviors and feelings," 130.
[3] See David King, *Russian Revolutionary Posters: from Civil War to Socialist Realism, from Bolshevism to the end of Stalin* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 2012), and Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[4] See Roberto Amigo, "Imágenes de la historia y discurso politico en el Estado de Buenos Aires (1852-1862)," in *Arte argentino de los siglos XVIII y/o XIX*: *Premio Telefónica a la Investigación en Historia de las Artes Plásticas Año 1998 : menciones especiales*, ed. Roberto Amigo and Patricia Dosio (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Investigación del Arte Argentino), 1999. See also, María Silvia Di Liscia, Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Marisa González de Oleaga, "Del centenario al bicentenario. Memorias (y desmemorias) en el Museo Histórico Nacional," *A Contracorriente* 7, no. 3 (Spring 2010): 100-125. http://www.ncsu.edu/acontracorriente/spring_10/articles/DiLiscia_Bohoslavsky_GonzalezdeOleaga.pdf, accessed, September 26, 2015.The authors argue that between the years 1916 to 1932, the Museo Histórico Nacional*,* under director Antonio Dellepiane*,* the museum became a didactic tool. The history of the nation would be systematically represented from the colonial times until the period of national organization, selecting the main events, fetishizing its patricians, matrons, and national heroes, whose relics signified national virtues of civility. In doing so, the Museum not only denied the existence of other social actors, but also showcased a laicist, military and political construction of the nation. The Museum was directed towards audiences mainly integrated by immigrants and school children, thought to be the museum's ideal audience, 106.
[5] Lyman Johnson, "Introduction," in *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 8, 10. Lyman L. Johnson argues that Latin America's "body politics" "rely on a symbolic language uniquely informed by the enduring importance of Catholic Christianity, by the region's experience of conquest and colonization, and by the complexity of cultural practices derived from the mixture of indigenous, African, and European origins," 8. In the case of the political similarities of Rosas and Perón, Johnson argues that "the analysis of patterns held true across cultural boundaries and across time periods…suggests that some broad similarities can be discovered" in addition he posits that establishing patterns, "no matter how imperfect, offers the best opportunity to understand how these dead political bodies speak to the living," Ibid, 10.
It is my aim thus to establish patterns of cultural similarities and differences between the selected examples of representations of both Rosas and Perón, to examine why the Peróns likenesses are venerated as if at a shrine, excluded from art historical evaluation, while representations of rulers from the past are excluded or relegated to the back bench from the official selection criteria for veneration and memorialization, yet including in the Argentinian arts canon.
[6] Jeffrey M. Shumway, "'Sometimes How to Forget is also Having Memory': The Repatriation of Juan Manuel de Rosas and the Healing of Argentina," in *Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America*, ed. Lyman L. Johnson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 114. Contrasting with the Rosas canon of official portraiture, executed mostly in oil and reproduced as lithographs, President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's official depictions, portray a modern nineteenth century leader through mostly photographic or photo-mechanic reproductions based on photographs, the quintessentially modern medium. Rather than embodying military force while solidly seconded by the women in his life, official

images of President Sarmiento depict exclusively the man himself -even though he was once married- showcasing his modern liberal intellectual ethos and his role of modernizer of the country. His presidential images appeared in daguerreotype form and were reproduced in the pages of his books as late as 1874, in particular *Facundo or Civilization and Barbarism*, his 1845 scathing critique of the Rosas regime, making the case for the enlightenment of the country at a time of political oppression. For an extended discussion on Sarmiento's photographic portraits, see Adriana Amante and Natalia Brizuela. "Iconografía sarmientina," Noe Jitrik and Adriana Amante, ed., vol. 4 of *Historia crítica de la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2012), 683-721.

[7] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture,* 49.

[8] See Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Art Under Stalin*. (Oxford : Phaidon, 1991); Matthew Cullerne Bown , *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1917–1992*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), and Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[9] Andrea Giunta, "Nacionales y populares: los salones del peronismo," in *Tras los pasos de la norma: Salones nacionales de Bellas Artes (1911-1989)*, ed. Marta Penhos, Diana Wechsler, and Miguel Angel Muñoz (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Jilguero, 1999).

[10] Andrea Giunta, "Polémicas alrededor de imágenes de Eva Perón," in *Escribir las imágenes: ensayos sobre arte argentino y latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011).

[11] Giunta, "Polémicas," 15.

[12] Giunta, "Polémicas."

[13] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997). Art historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau's inquiry into the problematic relationship between male nude iconography during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century informs my analysis of Juan Perón's depiction in relation to the unstable images of masculinities in Argentinian visual culture during the period 1946-1955. For Solomon Godeau, "Rather than privilege Brutus over Endymion (or *vice versa*), and in light of our contemporary recognition of the changing shapes of the masculine ideal, we therefore do well to try and identify those historical circumstances and determinations that variously promote one fantasy of masculinity over the other," 97. Solomon-Godeau applies "the term masculinity in much the same way as the term femininity is addressed within feminist theory; that is, as a concept that at least some feminists would claim bears only an adventitious relation to biological sex and whose various manifestations collectively constitute the cultural, social, and psychosexual expression of gender," 45.

[14] Marcela Tarnevasio, "A doscientos años de la Asamblea del año XIII," *PolHis* 6, no. 12 (2013): 70. http://polhis.com.ar/datos/Polhis12_TERNAVASIO.pdf accessed September 26, 2015.

[15] William Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas as Viewed By Contemporary American Diplomats*," The Hispanic American Historical Review* XLI, no. 4 (1961): 512. http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/rosas.pdf accessed September 26, 2015.

[16] Tulio Halperín Donghi and John Charles Chasteen, *The Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 113.

[17] William H.Katra, *The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), 19.

[18] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 512.

[19] John Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo Juan Manuel de Rosas* (Wilmington: SR Books, 2001), 128. Federalists at the House of Representatives were divided between moderates and conservatives, mostly integrated by members of the landed elite, Rosas's political base. We must note, however, that within this sector there were Unitarian supporters who disliked Federalists, and even Federalists who abhorred dictatorship. According to Lynch, within the landowning class, criticism of Rosas was ideological, 16.

[20] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo,* 2.

[21] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo*, 16.

[22] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo*, 31.

[23] Lynch, Argentine Caudillo, 128.

[24] William Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 10, no. 2 (1930): 128. DOI: 10.2307/2506521. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2506521, accessed September 26, 2015.
[25] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo,* 31.
[26] In his address to the American Congress of December 6, 1842, President Tyler reinforced the Monroe Doctrine, which advocated for "an equal exemption from the interference of European Governments" in what related to the states of the American Continent. This pronouncement was more than relevant in the following years. It was reiterated in the American press on occasion of the Anglo French blockade. The Argentine dictator had this passage translated into Spanish and published in Buenos Aires, evidently for the purpose of using Tyler's declaration as a shield against French intervention in the River Plate. The French, in turn, quickly interpreted the insertion of this declaration in the Argentine official gazette as a *pronunciamiento* directed against any European intervention in the affairs of Hispanic-American nations. Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 130. See also Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 509.
[27] Andrew Graham Yool, *Imperial Skirmishes: War and Gunboat Diplomacy in Latin America*, (Oxford: Signal Books, 2002), 74-89.
[28] Tarnevasio, "La Asamblea," 71.
[29] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo*, 37.
[30] Halperín Donghi, *The Contemporary History*, 107-113.
[31] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 508.
[32] Lynch, *Argentine caudillo,* 135.
[33]Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 510.
[34] Lynch, *Argentine Caudillo*, 42.
[35] In regard to Argentina's earlier history, see Michael Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past: Nationalism and the Politics of History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).
[36] Luis Alberto Romero. *Breve historia contemporánea de la Argentina*: *1916-2010* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012), 101-107.
[37] Romero, *Breve Historia*, 112.
[38] Romero, *Breve historia contemporánea* , 116.
[39] Romero, *Breve historia*, 126.
[40] Romero, *Breve historia*, 127.
[41] Alan Knight, "Populism and Neo-Populism in Latin America, Especially Mexico." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 226.
[42] John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: a Concise History of Latin America* (New York: Norton, 2001), 248.
[43] Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire*, 258. For an in depth understanding of Peronism, as well as its different incarnations from 1946 until the present, see James P. Brennan, *Peronism and Argentina* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1998).
[44] Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire,* 258.
[45] Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire*, 259.
[46] Romero, *Breve Historia*, 131.
[47] Romero, *Breve Historia*, 147.
[48] Romero, *Breve Historia*,150.
[49]Romero, *Breve Historia*, 151.
[50] Cesar Seveso, "Political Emotions and the Origins of Peronist Resistence," in *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth Century Argentina,* eds. Matthew B. Karush and Oscar Chamosa (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 242.
[51] Seveso, "Political Emotions," 243.
[52] Seveso, "Political Emotions," 250.
[53] Chasteen, *Born in Bood and Fire*, 320.

[54] Romero, Luis Alberto, *Breve Historia de la Argentina*, 1-84, and Karush and Chamosa, *The New Cultural History of Peronism,* 1.
[55] As attested by the *Carte d'entrée personelle pour les jour d'etudes*, no. 2007, April 10, 1901. The card allowed Ayrinhac to visit the museums of Louvre, Luxembourg, Versailles, and Saint Germain as a student, in order to sketch, as part of his training as an academic painter while in Paris. Ayrinhac Museum Archives, Pigüé.
[56] 1910, Numa Ayrinhac, *Carte d'exposant*. *Societé des Artistes Françaises, Salon, Grand Palais des Champs Elysée*s. Ayrinhac family Archives, Pigüé.
[57] The work, in the vaults of the *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes* of Buenos Aires was de-accesioned at an antiquaries fair organized by the *Asociación de amigos del Museo de Bellas Artes* in Buenos Aires at the Alvear palace Hotel between May 15 and May 27, 1986. *IV Feria de anticuarios y decoradores 1986*, catalog, September, 1986. Ayrinhac Museum Archives, Pigüé.
[58] Argentinian collector Ezequiel C. Paz, owner of Argentinian newspaper La Prensa, purchased the painting in 1935, publishing an image of the work in its front page immediately after the purchase. Ayrinhac Museum Archives, Pigüé. April 7,1935.
[59] María Laura Litre Valentin and Elisa M. Ayrinhac, *Numa Ayrinhac: de la France à la Pampa* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2009). All of this section Ayrinhac's biographical information has been researched through Litre Valentín's book, and corroborated by archival material from the Ayrinhac Museum Archives, Pigüé.
[60] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 130.
[61] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture,* 74.
[62] Hooper-Greenhill. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 130.

CHAPTER 1

Nineteenth-Century Portraiture: Juan Manuel de Rosas, the *Homo Clausus* of Post-Independence River Plate

According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "each society has its 'regime of truth,' its discourses which are accepted as rational, and its methods for ensuring that the production and maintenance of 'truth' is policed."[1] Throughout Argentinian history, this 'regime of truth' has relied on the visual representation of the enforcers. Nineteenth-century Argentinian dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas was an ideal man in control of a heroic public body in need of "other bodies" to constantly reinforce the sovereignty and legitimacy of his rule. His regime necessitated both the ideal heroic man and the ideal political enemy, the unruly body of an "Imagined Unitarian" capable of encapsulating the enemy of Rosas and, therefore, the Confederation. This ideal enemy could be the exiled intellectuals of the Generation of 1837, the Jesuits, dissident Federalists, or "authentic" Unitarians who had fought in the civil wars after Rivadavia's fall in 1828.[2] At different times of his administration, particular figures were the very embodiment of the Rosist enemy, the "*Salvaje Unitario*" or savage Unitarian. As a consequence of this essentializing practice, the different and successive groups opposed to Rosas were reduced to one, "the savage Unitarian."[3] Rosas incarnated the exact opposite, the "Restorer of the Laws" and father of the Confederation.

An outstanding example of official portraiture from this period is the half-length three quarter view of Rosas by Italian artist Cayetano Descalzi, from ca. 1838-1840 (figure 1). This oil painting is considered the base image for subsequent lithographic reproductions. Two other representations of Rosas and his wife, Encarnación Ezcurra, one found on a leather cigarette holder from ca. 1840 and the other a small rectangular oil on tin from the same time period evidence the wide range of quality and materials involved in the production of official portraiture

at the time (figures 2 and 3). Finally, an individual standing portrait of Rosas' daughter Manuela Rosas by academically trained artist Prilidiano Pueyrredón, from 1851, visually exemplifies the shifts and continuities in the quasi-imperial and gendered hierarchical order of the Rosas administration (figure 4). These images form the basis for this chapter.

I argue that official portraiture from the Rosas administration references Roman, Renaissance, and Napoleonic Imperial portraiture. These were powerful choices for the depiction of a post-independence Argentinian ruler who wished to convey the idea of an omnipotent populist leader who did not hesitate to use military force when political circumstances required.[4] There is, however, an important caveat when discussing Argentinean portraiture from the Rosas period. Argentina was a newly independent nation. It was also considered a provincial backwater, dependent upon Britain and France for trade and commercial opportunities.[5] The works under consideration need to be considered not as art that privileges originality and creative independence, but as works—whether highly accomplished or highly crude—manufactured and embedded in a particular set of socio economic and political circumstances.

The newly independent nation was embodied by the figure of the Governor, who was in constant battle with other provincial *caudillos*. In debt from the previous administration of Bernardino Rivadavia, the nation under Rosas also struggled against an almost constant blockade at the hands of the British and the French. The port of Buenos Aires was the main source of commerce and imported materials. Finely crafted luxury items with effigies of Rosas and his wife, such as gloves and vases, were manufactured in France, while more crudely produced articles such as the cigarette holder in leather, a nascent local industry, were produced in Argentina. These articles were circulated internally to build social currency with a local audience

and demonstrate unwavering and constant allegiance to the regime. Lithographs after the portrait by Descalzi, in contrast, were aimed externally, particularly at France.[6]

Historic Connections

French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the most influential individuals of the early nineteenth century. His 1808 invasion of Spain resulted in the crowning of his brother Joseph Napoleon as King of Spain and became one of the catalysts for the Independence movements of Latin America.[7] Many Latin American *caudillos* modelled themselves after Napoleon, embracing his use of the army as representative of the nation, his presentation of himself as the embodiment of popular will, and his centralization of legal and educational systems. For several generations of nineteenth-century Latin American leaders, "Bonapartism" became both an ambition and an epithet.[8]

Visually, Napoleonic rule resorted to the dissemination of his imperial image, utilizing the main channels of public discourse for state propaganda as never before. Napoleon's regime worked aggressively to control the public sphere by transforming art into official propaganda.[9] European artists arriving in post-independence Argentina brought their academic training and visual knowledge of European portraiture to the River Plate region. Academic artists in France practiced a classicizing pictorial language that drew from sixteenth and seventeenth-century models. Referencing the world of the ancient Roman and Greek myths, these artists, according to art historian Pierre Francastel, "wished to become the Ancients" and held man as the measure of all things.[10] Beginning with depictions of Louis XIV, called the Sun King in reference to the Greco-Roman god Apollo, artists engaged in the production of French official portraiture

transposed classicism into a codified pictorial space and a hierarchical order of pictorial representation.

After the French Revolution, the cult of the Monarch shifted to that of the Revolutionary Republican martyr.[11] Although citizens of the First French Republic looked first towards ancient Republican Rome as a political example, they began in the Republic's final days to focus on the figure of Augustus, who initially respected the Republic and established a Principality in the year 49 BCE. Napoleon appropriated the political style of Augustus, conflating the figure of the god-like ruler with that of the collective Republican hero. Napoleon established, first as Consul and then as Emperor, sweeping Republican reforms, while directly borrowing from the vocabulary of the Roman Republic. Like Augustus, Napoleon first became Consul for life and then Emperor.[12] To further establish continuity with the First French Republic, whose artists had disavowed religious references, Napoleon's identification with the Rome of Augustus, according to Valérie Huet, "used and abused … Classical Antiquity in the Arts."[13] In order to establish visual continuity with the Classical past while distinguishing himself from recent post-revolutionary heroes, Napoleon enlisted the services of painters Jacques Louis David, François Gérard, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, amongst others. Napoleon and his art advisors understood the importance of transposing in the figure of Napoleon and his government the Roman portraiture conventions rooted in transitional Late Republican and early Imperial Roman depictions.

Inspired by Napoleon's military leadership and the visual language of his Empire, Latin American heroes and post-independence rulers such as José de San Martin, Simón Bolívar, and Juan Manuel de Rosas Europeanized their image and bridged the construction of the heroic with the memorialization of their individual legacies.[14] Like Napoleon, whose relentless use of art as propaganda became an instrument to legitimate his mandate, Rosas, like Juan Perón a century

later, was able to use the visual to promote his regime. While Rosas relied on the new medium of lithograph to disseminate his likeness, the Peróns utilized photography and the proliferating imagery of visual culture to help them wield and maintain political power.

In the early nineteenth century, likenesses of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas, his wife Encarnación Ezcurra, and later his daughter, Manuela Rosas, began to occupy the private and public spheres of the Confederation, decorating ballrooms, homes, and even the bodies of individuals through an organized program of dissemination. Like Napoleon, Rosas and his advisors used painting, printmaking, and coinage to reinforce his legitimacy, thereby attempting to imbue his rule with timelessness. Unlike Napoleonic France, however, Argentina did not have an established structure allowing for the production of large-scale history paintings. Visual production remained limited to the portrait.[15]

Art historian Roberto Amigo has demonstrated that there was an urgent need to fill the institutional vacuum left by the deposed Spanish colonial authority with new images of power after Argentina's declaration of independence in May 1810.[16] New portraits had to validate the seizure of power from the monarchy, while also strengthening an unstable state caught between nineteenth-century provincial authorities and the *porteño* elite in Buenos Aires.[17] Foreign and local artists began manufacturing portraits commissioned by military men, politicians, merchants, and members of high society, most of whom demanded accuracy and verisimilitude. This interest in verisimilitude aimed at expressing the individual, rather than representing the sitter as a subject of the king[18] and constituted an immediate cultural effect of independence. The insistence on resemblance between the sitter and the portrait became an imperative for which all artists strived.[19] This development coincided with the emergence of men who expressed their needs and expectations in the political sphere, selectively replacing or appropriating signifiers of

authority that had their roots in the office of the absolutist king.[20] In this context, the post-independence military elite that had participated in the liberation of the Americas began to see themselves as the allegorical fathers of the nation, founders of a new secular cult whose leadership had been born out of their display of force.[21] Such secularization of political authority allowed Juan Manuel de Rosas to establish the aesthetic vocabulary out of which his likeness as the embodiment of the Confederation was constructed.[22]

Rosas El Grande as *Napoléon Le Grand*

Official images of Rosas and his family bridged both the public and private spheres. Borrowing from Catholic practices, and those rooted in the modes of dissemination of princely images of the Italian Renaissance,[23] depictions of Juan Manuel de Rosas and Encarnación Ezcurra appeared in the streets, on red ribbons worn on the lapels of the citizens of the Federation, in churches, and in private altars, occupying every available space as a way to demand allegiance. Those depictions disciplined the Argentinian subject by threatening those who failed to defend the new project of national unity, Rosas' "Holy Federation."[24] Internally, likenesses of the ruling couple were accompanied by skulls and crossbones or written slogans in support of Rosas and against the Unitarians; [25] externally, Rosas' likeness conveyed the idea that he was a civilized European-style ruler.[26] What signalled the official character of the depictions of Rosas was the historic circumstances. The laws enforcing the display of his likeness constituted one more tool of support for his autocratic rule.

The public was either with Rosas, identifying with and displaying his likeness, or they were against him, *Salvajes Unitarios* who could be punished by Rosas' paramilitary, the *Mazorca*. Audiences could read the legends accompanying images of Rosas and ponder his

exploits by looking at his likeness as a display of absolute power. For Louis Marin, “the power effect of representation is representation itself…. It contains the negation and conservation of the absolute of force.”[27] In this case, representations of Rosas and his wife acted as both a protective and coercive instrument against the brutality of the Regime. Art historian Rosana Leonardi argues that, “[d]uring the Rosas period the portraits of Don Juan Manuel de Rosas, his collaborators, and his family, became political events in and of themselves.”[28] Many of the artists who were active during Rosas’ tenure painted his likeness, always portraying him in his army military uniform.

By 1835, Rosas had obtained full dictatorial powers, enacted protectionist measures, and consolidated the economy of the interior. At the time, the most perplexing problem confronting Rosas was the intervention by France and England in the River Plate region. French and British armed forces blockaded the Argentine coast, seized the island of Martín García, strategically located in the Plata estuary, captured the Argentine navy, and sent a joint expedition up the Paraná River.[29] It was time for Rosas to reassert his authority as the Restorer of the Law and put the face of the Confederation on the international stage.

In 1840, Rosas commissioned from Italian-Argentine painter Gaetano (Cayetano) Descalzi the definitive visual representation of his likeness, the image of absolute authority that would serve as a diplomatic tool to assert power beyond the borders of the Confederation.[30] Not much is known about Descalzi, the man whose portrait of Rosas was lithographed and widely circulated under the title *Rosas El Grande* or *Rosas, the Great* (figure 5). Descalzi was born in Genoa in 1809. His first name was Gaetano, Cayetano in Spanish, and he settled in Argentina in 1820. Descalzi taught painting and engraving to a generation of artists, including Cándido López and Claudio Morel, and he painted several prominent figures of the time.[31] This artist’s official

portrait of Rosas so pleased the ruler that he ordered it reproduced as a lithograph by the Parisian studio of Lemercier Benard et Cie. in 1842-43.[32]

Descalzi's life-sized bust-length portrait of Rosas is closely modeled on French painter Jacques-Louis David's *Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* from 1812 (figure 6).[33] S. Gans, a British printer and publisher of political imagery, reproduced David's full-length portrait of Napoleon as a lithographic print in 1828 by, as a half-length image titled *Napoleon Le Grand* (figure 7).[34] Napoleon's depiction as an ideal heroic military man constituted a much disseminated and reproduced model in the Americas well into the mid nineteenth century and early twentieth century.[35]

Like the sale of the lithographs of Napoleon, which were advertised in places like London's *Gentleman's Magazine*, the sale of prints depicting Descalzi's portrait of Rosas was announced in the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Gaceta Mercantil* on April 12, 1842.[36] The print also appeared in the background of Decalzi's oil painting, *Boudoir federal* (1845; current location unknown), which depicts a young Federalist woman getting dressed in the intimate space of her boudoir. The diversity of environments in which these lithographs might be hung blurs the lines between public and private sites of display. Descalzi's lithographic portrait was also circulated abroad, for by 1856, two years after Rosas' defeat and British exile, a lithographic reproduction of Descalzi's work was already in the inventory of the New York State Library.[37] By distributing a Europeanized image to foreign dignitaries, Rosas and his administration could convey his desire to be treated (both himself and the nation) as an equal.[38] The Descalzi print was especially effective as an instrument of propaganda in Europe and abroad.[39]

According to art historian Juan Pradere, lithographic reproductions of Descalzi's portrait were commissioned by Rosas' agents in France to be disseminated in Europe to counter rumours

"circulating in Europe that the Governor of Buenos Aires was a gaucho."[40] According to historian William Spence Robinson, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* published an article in 1835 called "Les Indiens des Pampas," in which the author expressed the opinion that the generals who had won the independence of Argentina had made peace more precarious and dangerous than open warfare because of the civil dissensions in which they had engaged.[41] In this context, the printing of lithographs of Rosas constituted an exercise in strengthening the dictator's political position within the country and abroad.[42]

Political observers from the time noted how Rosas positioned himself for favourable international opinion. The Duc de Broglie, for example, who became minister of foreign affairs in 1835, pointed at "the value which [Rosas)] seems to place upon the opinions of Europe"[43] In 1840, an officer from the French fleet that had blockaded the coast of Argentina wrote that,

> "[t]his man, who founded his power upon the affection of the people, did not feel that he was degrading himself when he engaged in diversions which they loved. But when he found himself in the presence of a distinguished foreigner, whose esteem he desired to gain, the rude gaucho disappeared: his language became refined, his sonorous voice pleased the ear, his eyes caressed, and his attentive and intelligent glance captivated."[44]

Descalzi's portrait promotes a similarly refined image.

Another traveler to the River Plate noted that Rosas, "substituted his personality for the existing institutions; he induced the entire population to adore his own portrait; he had incense burned before that portrait in the churches."[45] Close to the time of its production, in 1845, Edward A. Hopkins, United States special agent to Paraguay wrote to Rosas. Hopkins was very anxious that the have Rosas recognize Paraguayan independence and end his policy of controlling trade and navigation on rivers in the Plata basin.[46] Condemning the Rosas' controlled press and the necessity to preface all editorials with the phrase, "Death to the Savage Unitarians," Hopkins implored Rosas to "show the world an example of moderation, and it will

speak well for your heart and your head."[47] The Descalzi portrait, as we will see, engaged in dialogue with those who questioned Rosas' authoritarian rule.

Juan Manuel de Rosas as *Homo Clausus*

According to Dorinda Outram, "the body has been used [throughout western history] as an image of the order of state and society,"[48] and the bearing, features, and physical dignity –*Gravitas*– of the ruler still constitutes a political tool of legitimation in Third World countries. Outram builds on the work of scholars Ernst Kantorowicz, Norbert Elias, and Louis Marin, who also studied the medieval, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century body as a tool of political legitimacy and an instrument of discipline in society. Their work helps to position Descalzi's portrait of Juan Manuel de Rosas as a legitimizing tool of political authority for the newly independent Confederation.

In 1957, Ernst Kantorowicz traced the historical problem posed by the "King's two bodies," the body politic and the body natural, back to the Middle Ages and demonstrated, by placing the concept in medieval thought and political theory, how the early-modern Western monarchies gradually began to develop a "political theology." Based on documents from the time, Kantorowicz studied how the personal and natural body of the king (his *corpus naturale*) and his sovereign and sacred body (his *corpus mysticum)* became one and the same for the sake of political sovereignty.[49] Kantorowicz argued that pictorial representations of divinely ordained, monarchic authority had a substantial impact on the constitution and execution of absolute power, which was located in the king's physical body.

In the pre-modern world, the physical body was linked to the public sphere, to structures of power, authority and order.[50] Norbert Elias, who coincided with Kantorowicz at the University

of Frankfurt in early 1930s, also studied the connection between the ideal public body and the state. Elias, a sociologist, examined the increasing societal focus on the separation of private and public, the self and others, through the disciplining of the body. Like Kantorowicz, Elias began his historical exploration in the Middle Ages, when public repression of the body began to serve as a marker of courtly etiquette and a restrictive tool of social differentiation. This trend was transformed in the early modern period into currency for social ascent,[51] and in subsequent centuries these codes of self-control became the mores of society as a whole.

Elias argued that the restrained body became embodied in the ideal of the *Homo Clausus*, or "closed man," a model for public conduct that was directly connected to the creation of the modern state.[52] Elias's sociological study attempted to pinpoint the function of social norms of behaviour –bodily repression– in shaping the individual's interactions with the state and with one another. For Elias, such a repression of the body had both negative and positive connotations. It separated the individual from society, and it also implied respect for the physical sanctity of the bodies of others,[53] what Elias called the "civilizing process."[54] His work became known in the 1970s at a time when scholars were investigating the historical transformations of the representation of the body.

One scholar influenced by these ideas, French philosopher Louis Marin, published *The Portrait of the King* in 1989, which deals with Hyacinth Rigaud's painting of early modern absolutist ruler Louis XIV, who often equated himself with the Sun god Apollo. Building on Kantorowicz, Marin argued that a highly idealistic depiction of the king's natural body was necessary to represent his mystical, immortal self, the ultimate signifier of his absolute power and his identity with the body politic. He concluded that Rigaud's comparison of the monarch with Apollo served as a personal allegory that both legitimated his mandate and disciplined his

subjects. Much as the internalization of medieval court etiquette contributed to the self-disciplined restraint of the body, the image of the monarch enacted the substitution of direct state force.[55] The struggle between the state and the individual was replaced by struggles between representations that ordered the social world. This ordering process of representation derived, according to Roger Chartier, from "the rank of each estate, each body, each individual."[56]

If the king is the living representation of a god, the pictorial representation of the king is also imbued with divine qualities, a portrait of a god itself. As Marin suggests, "the king is only truly king, that is monarch, in images. They are his real presence."[57] These images, then, according to the author, constitute the only instance capable of overcoming the duality established by the division between his physical and his mystical body. This amalgamation allegorically represents and attempts to constitute the organic unity of the body politic as an extension of both the physical body of the monarch and his divine properties.

After the French Revolution, the absence of the king's body necessitated a new understanding of sovereignty and the bodies who were in charge of exercising the power of the state. New secular depictions had to stand in for the ambiguous relationship between the individual person and the new, secularly ordained body politic. These depictions were rooted in popular sovereignty rather than in the amalgamation of the sacred body of the ruler with that of the body politic. Following the French Revolution, the body of the individual acquired a new public significance, unleashing changes in public presentation, a crucial element in the taking of power during the nineteenth century.[58]

Dorinda Outram observes that even though Elias argued for the complexity of the "civilizing process" as a new cultural dynamic to be both condemned and appreciated, his historical analysis, which stopped at the end of the eighteenth century, defined ''civilization'' as

the increasing restraint of violence.[59] Outram extends the role of the *Homo Clausus* into the nineteenth and twentieth century, aiming to take the argument further by connecting "the disappearance of the sacral state with the disappearance of a sacral notion of the human body."[60] She argues that Elias's ideal *Homo Clausus* "is in fact, not the antithesis, but instead a necessary condition of the exhibition of physical violence as part of a revolutionary process."[61] After the French Revolution, for example, Republicans resorted to depictions that harkened back to Augustan Rome. According to Outram, they left behind the divine analogy of political power to focus on an image of heroic public dignity.[62] For Outram, the Revolution failed to produce "enduring and practical models for the dignified public body," allowing for the emergence of individual charismatic leaders, such as Napoleon and Rosas in the nineteenth century and Juan Domingo Perón in the twentieth.[63]

Both Napoleon and Rosas rose to power in periods of uncertainty, aware of the challenges and opportunities offered by opposing social forces and conflict.[64] The portraits of Napoleon and Rosas, and their lithographic reproductions, borrow from both monarchic representations and post-revolutionary heroic public depictions to stand in for their physical presence and legitimize their use of state power. The depictions of Napoleon and Rosas, with their clearly outlined features and accoutrements, form the quintessentially ideal *Homo Clausus,* public men of the Post-Revolutionary state. Their calm, controlled body language speaks of pacification and coercive social control. Their representations constitute political symbols of state control, sharply dividing their inner from their outside personae, as if their true identity were something safely "locked away inside."[65]

Through their portraits, these rulers appear to erect a barrier against the outside. They appear to be impermeable embodiments of authority that create new power relations and transmit

their political intentions amidst a post-revolutionary context of intense social and political instability.[66] These portraits aestheticize state violence by concealing it within an elegantly controlled body, like an aristocratic gentleman who has learned to control his body through physical activities like fencing and horsemanship, activities traditionally linked to the courtier.[67]

To fuse the state with a specific personage, the portraits by David and Descalzi convey a strikingly “realistic” image of their sitters, a pictorial convention rooted in Roman portraiture of the late Republic and early Imperial period. Depictions of the Roman *duces*, leaders who disregarded institutional constraints and aspired to personalized, tyrannical power, were based on a system of signs that deliberately addressed the spectator, attracted his or her attention, and insistently conveyed their message of absolute political authority. These types of representation consisted of patterns of recurrence, rendering the different subjects very much part of a type dictated by ideological motives, glamorizing their images and celebrating their god-like superiority, heroism, self-discipline, and shrewd calculation. An example is the Roman statue *Augustus of Primaporta* from 15 CE (figure 8). By combining the pose of the Greek *Doryphorus* by Polykleios with the Roman *Imperator*, the work fuses two separate signifying systems, the Classical Greek and the Imperial Roman. Such a depiction of heroic authoritarianism in an apparently single representation constitutes a montage. The audience for such an image had to actively interpret it in relation to other images of previous rulers.[68]

Both Napoleonic and Rosas portraiture portrayed the body of the ruler as an idealized corporeal metaphor for the state. In the case of Napoleon, the portrait conveyed all encompassing Imperial, military, and political power; in the case of Rosas, as the only authority in the Confederation, it placed him above all the other provincial *caudillos*. As Outram has noted, however, these representations also needed to emphasize the leader’s individuality. Rosas’

strategy differed from Napoleon's in this regard. While Napoleon used the French academic art system to suit his political goals, Rosas placed his likeness in the realm of visual culture. As in 1799, when a *coup d'etat* established Napoleon as leader of the Republic and later Emperor of the French, in 1834, the Confederation of the Provinces of the River Plate facing chaos, and anarchy, hastily named Rosas as the Restorer of the Laws. Both leaders embodied in their respective portraiture, as Emperor of the French and Restorer of the Laws, the metaphoric body of the state,[69] evidencing in their execution the politically charged artistic negotiation between the rendering of the portrait face as the *Vera Effigie,* or true likeness of the ruler, and the highly symbolic depiction of the body.

Descalzi's portrait of Rosas depicts the dictator richly attired in his blue cavalry uniform, with sash and medal as befits any official military portrait. Identified by Pradere as the source for the lithographs as well as for other paintings, the painting is now located in the Museo Histórico Nacional in Buenos Aires, where it hangs as a singular, exceptional pictorial instantiation of state power, much like the double portrait of the Peróns at the Museo del Bicentenario. The undated canvas, which was presumably executed between the years 1835 to 1840,[70] measures 72.8 x 59.8 cm. While the oil portrait is rectangular, the lithograph is rounded at the bottom, which makes it look like Roman commemorative medals, Renaissance miniatures, and early nineteenth-century French portraits.[71] This oval framing transforms the lithograph from a public and official portrait into a more private commemorative work. The oval spandrel also highlights the idealization of the ruler depicted in the portrait, separating Rosas from the world outside and directing the viewer to focus on his persona and the power evoked by his representation.

The painted likeness showcases Rosas' thick, reddish blond hair and rosy northern European complexion, both of which were atypical in nineteenth-century Argentina before the

arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe. By highlighting his exceptional physical appearance, the portrait accentuates Rosas' singularity as a leader in South America. In both the painted and lithographic representations, the most haunting feature of the portrait is Rosas' clear, calculating gaze. Rosas seems to follow the viewer with his blue beady eyes. Rather than gazing absently past the viewer, Rosas menacingly meets the gaze of the viewer, demanding accountability, or at least, a response. There is no choice but to submit to his demand, either looking back and risking insubordination or looking down, either as a signal of respect or as an admission of shame for not having complied with what the authoritarian subject demanded: complete adhesion to his cause. In a tentative compromise, the viewer may attempt to look down past Rosas' perfectly modeled Greek style nose, a pleasantly aesthetic respite, only to be stopped by an encounter with his mouth, with fine, pursed lips that seem to express a mixture of disapproval, contempt, and pride. British Argentinian writer William Henry Hudson described the terrifying experience of looking at the lithograph that hung in his childhood home. "Why did those eyes, unless they moved, which they didn't, always look back into ours no matter in which part of the room we stood?"[72] Hudson's account demonstrates the powerful effect the portrait exerted on those who still remembered gazing in the direction of his likeness even after the end of the Rosas period.

Rosas' military clothing also signals Argentinian independence. Framing his tight fitting blue jacket are sumptuously fringed gold epaulettes with an embroidered coat of arms. The front of the jacket is richly ornamented with laurel wreaths and oak leaves, symbols of strength, glory, and honour, which radiate upward from the centre of the torso towards the shoulders. The symbolism of laurel and oak, which also appear in the Argentinian national emblem and are referenced in the national anthem, overtly signifies Argentina's freedom from Spain.[73]

Crossing the blue and gold uniform from top left to bottom right is the scarlet silk sash that had been given to Rosas by the Honorable Room of Representatives in recognition for his Expedition to the Desert in 1833. Rosas' campaign incorporated productive land into the frontier to the south of the country. It also allowed the dictator to control Buenos Aires from afar, where he could remain above the conflicts for and against a centralized national government. The accompanying medal, made in gold, shaped like a star, and engraved with a legend, "The expedition to the Deserts of the South from the year 1833 which honored the Province and secured its territorial possessions," hangs from his thick neck by a red ribbon. Dressed in the finest military regalia befitting his position of Brigadier General of the Confederation, Rosas seems to expand his torso, taking all the air from the room in which his likeness is displayed.

Like Rosas, Napoleon occupies most of the pictorial space of David's oil portrait. Napoleon's blue and white uniform, corresponding to the Foot Grenadiers, is also framed by gold epaulettes. Beneath the jacket is a white-buttoned vest, into which he places his hand, and the red sash of the Legion of Honour. Napoleon wears a medal; the silver Grand Cross and the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour hang from the left side of his chest.[74] Gold buttons connecting his white chest piece with the blue jacket also depict the Imperial eagle. Posed in *contrapposto* like Rigaud's Louis XIV, Napoleon reads as continuous Imperial and administrative power. At the time of the portrait, Napoleon was writing the French Civil Code, a document that exerted particular influence in South America and Continental Europe.

Descalzi seems to have borrowed the sideburns and hair, combed over towards the forehead, from David's portrait. Napoleon's hair provides a visual contrast to the pale pink complexion of his plump face. His gaze, like that of Rosas, denotes power. Rather than through disciplined coldness, however, David amplifies Napoleon's powerful gaze by strategically

shading his upper lids, particularly the one on the right, adding gravitas to his soft green eyes and simultaneously communicating Napoleon's capricious personality. It is the viewer's responsibility as subject of his Empire the ability to "read" Napoleon's transitory mood. One can imagine his fatigue, since it is late in the night, while simultaneously admiring his formidable stamina. Looking further down the aquiline nose, the viewer sees Napoleon's pink, curvy upper lips. An imaginary line from the nose to the mouth continues, like an arrow, towards the prominent chin. This chin, as in Descalzi's portrait of Rosas, juts out with full force imbuing these rulers with implacable resolve.

Theories of physiognomy, a school of thought that attached psychological traits to physical facial characteristics, had been in circulation in Europe and among artists since the middle of the eighteenth century.[75] Those who met Rosas related his physiognomy to his personality and his style of rule. For example, French minister Baron Deffaudis, who was sent on an extraordinary mission to the River Plate on June 7, 1845, described the dictator in a dispatch to Paris as follows: "Intelligence, artifice, and determination are deeply engraved upon his face. If one were not aware that he held the lives of his adversaries very cheap, one would perhaps never divine this at all; but when one knows this, one is not in the least astonished at his physiognomy."[76]

The physical appearance of political figures from Latin America was a key concern for Europeans in this era. Foreign dignitaries constantly evaluated Rosas' appearance, exercising their colonial gaze on Latin American counterparts who aspired to be perceived as international equals. Rosas' contemporaries alternatively described him as a *gaucho*, a military man, a townsman, and administrator, thereby destabilizing and questioning his legitimacy. According to the French minister to the River Plate, Deffaudis, Rosas bordered on decrepitude:

> His postures are awkward and somewhat weak. His body is ten years older than his face. One does not notice in him the agility, skill, and vigor that placed him, as he once said, at the forefront of the gauchos. He has the air of a towns-man endowed with a strong constitution, who has become corpulent and enervated by a sedentary life.[77]

Deffaudis' physical description of Rosas corresponded in the eyes of French diplomats to both astuteness and tyranny. Count Walenski, another envoy, described Rosas as follows:

> Raised to supreme power by astuteness, General Rosas has seen his domination violently attacked, and he has not known how to maintain himself except by force. Vindictive and imperious by education and by temperament, he was precipitated into despotism, and has cheapened in the interior of the country that liberty of which he has spoken so much. He resembles those men portrayed by Tacitus who placed liberty to the fore in order thereby to overthrow the existing order, and, who, when they became masters of the empire, turned upon their mistress. Because of this tendency he has committed those sanguinary acts that have surrounded him with an aureola (sic) of terror.[78]

This air of desperate imperiousness and "*aureola* of terror" communicated by the colour red of the background permeates the oil portrait of Rosas by Descalzi.

Rosas also seems to have allowed his likeness to conform to the diplomat's impressions of him. In regards to European descriptions that called Rosas a *gaucho*, Deffaudis wrote, "I further believe that those Europeans who represent him as rather disposed to spring into a saddle to resume the vagrant life of the pampas than to yield to the more just and moderate demands of foreign diplomacy are interpreting him by traits that are out of date."[79] This diplomat found his gaze and his work as a "man of the cabinet" in much the same manner as Napoleon had been portrayed in David's portrait. According to Deffaudis, "[Rosas] boasts of his ability to discern by the first glance of his eye the species of seduction or corruption to which any particular man is susceptible. An indefatigable worker, he spends his days in supervising the smallest details of ministerial affairs."[80] Deffaudis argued that Rosas had expressed the desire that his political conduct meets with "the approval of France."[81] Rosas aspired to be seen as a great military man

and administrator, much like Napoleon in the portrait by David, administering the nation with relentless zeal.

Closer to home, Rosas' nephew, Lucio V. Mansilla, saw his uncle as a "quasi-obese Napoleon, of considerable size." He was "a tall, blond, pale man who combined the sanguine and bilious type;" with "forehead…as cold as a marble plaque, like his ideas;" with a "strong gaze, tempered by the blue of his almost not-there pupils" and a "big, fine nose, more Greek than Roman; and thin, almost sealed lips, which gave a measure of his reserve and the firmness behind his decisions; and without facial hair, which allowed a glimpse of the working of his muscles."[82] This 1851 description allows the viewer to ponder the influence of the Descalzi portrait on his friends, foes, and relatives. The facial and physical features present in Descalzi's portrait associated Rosas with the character traits of Napoleon and the Roman Emperors. It also stabilized Rosas' likeness, presenting him as a handsome ruler for posterity rather than as the bloated and bilious man described by his nephew. The Descalzi depiction also, and most importantly, strove to legitimize Rosas' rule, disciplining the public and the Confederation by embodying the ideal *Homo Clausus* of the River Plate. Simultaneously role model and dictator, this controlled, idealized portrait inserted Rosas into the highly hierarchical yet volatile order of the nineteenth-century international stage.

The adoption of defined public roles, in the case of Rosas as Restorer of the Law and Napoleon as Emperor of the French, implies, according to Dorinda Outram, a political culture that relies on a binary gender separation of male and female.[83] After the French Revolution, and during the nineteenth century, the body became self-referential, as bodily demeanour and behaviour constituted at the time guarantors of virtue and indicators of vice. As a consequence, according to Outram, "body and political symbols collapse into each other."[84] Thus, the public

space defined by the public dignity of embodied (male) individuals meant that Napoleon and Rosas, following their French Revolution predecessors, chose to combine the culturally available resources to play the role and take the identity of heroic rulers from Augustan Rome.[85] According to Outram the main objective of such a conflation with Classical references to rulership "was not so much a faithful recreation, but the continuous, public personification of the ethos of heroic dignity."[86] For the author, "the creation of the heroic male public persona is impossible to understand except as simultaneous exclusion of an imputed female body."[87] In the double depictions of Rosas and his wife Encarnación Ezcurra, which are discussed in the next section of this chapter, we observe, on the one hand, the negation of the public existence qua individual of Ezcurra, and, on the other, her circumscribed role as public supporter of her husband. These depictions, even though produced in modern times, reinforce concepts of heroic male dignity in a style reminiscent of pre-modern ideas of rulership, much like the representations studied by Kantorowicz and Marin, setting the visual precedent for Peronist official portraiture.

The Official Female Body of Encarnación Ezcurra

By 1840, many of Rosas' opponents had returned to their provincial outposts, now prosperous thanks to Federalist rule. These former opponents, now provincial legislators and politicians, accommodated Rosas and his rule. "Although they were loath to admit it," explains Tulio Halperín Donghi, "the urban elites whose Unitarian political project had failed in 1825-1830 later found multiple advantages under the regime of Rosas."[88] Encarnación Ezcurra was instrumental in garnering popular support for her husband in the period leading up to this time.

Ezcurra held the Federation together while her husband participated in the 1833 "conquest of the desert." She also created the *Sociedad Popular Restauradora* and its security agency *La Mazorca.* Ezcurra was given the title "Heroine of the Holy Federation," and the ceremonies enacted upon her death, on October 20, 1838, were the greatest political events of the year.[89]

Descalzi's official portrait of Rosas and the lithographs made after it disseminated the dictator's highly controlled, dignified image in the guise of a European leader. This portrait functioned to assuage the anxieties of foreign diplomats and European visitors to the River Plate. It also surveyed and disciplined the subjects of the Confederation in their own territory.[90] Smaller works with Rosas' likeness, coupled with that of his wife, functioned locally as a complementary strategy of control. Portraits of the couple served to build social capital and demonstrate political allegiance to Rosas. They functioned in a similar way to commemorative medals produced during the Italian Renaissance and Napoleonic era.

Regina A. Root argues that during Argentina's post-Independence period one's possessions were vested with ideological meaning. Seemingly frivolous details, such as the width of the lapel, imbued newly independent subjects with the respectability and decorum demanded of the citizens of a Republic.[91] The Rosas regime harnessed this penchant for display, blurring the boundaries between the public and the private and subjecting Argentine citizens to the gaze of Confederation officials. The following section will look at how the heroic image of Rosas qua Restorer of the Laws appeared on private objects of personal adornment. These portraits of Rosas the quintessential *Homo Clausus* of the Argentinian Confederation, necessitated the presence of a public female body dependent on the intimate relation of husband and wife.

Double images of Rosas and his wife were valuable political currency that circulated in the daily social interactions of the Confederation.[92] These portraits combined the public

(political) and private realm into a cohesive unit that nonetheless encompassed multiple conditions of production, sites of display, and audiences.[93] Such multiplicity principally served the government, but by adapting the pro-Rosas discourse and message to diverse audiences within the Confederation, it also benefited Rosas' supporters.[94] Through the display of images of Rosas and his wife, the citizens of the Confederation engaged in a system of reward and punishment; small images of the couple, embedded in household or personal objects, were given as token gifts,[95] while huge "land grants were made as a reward for loyalty or in lieu of salaries to soldiers and bureaucrats."[96]

After Independence, secular authorities and their audience struggled for control of the power of seeing and being seen.[97] This allowed Rosas to function like a monarch, his image presiding at everything from forced political rallies to religious, civil, and military processions.[98] His portrait also appeared on small, personal items, like the compact leather cigarette box given to Hilario Lagos, an army colonel that fought under Rosas in the 1833 Conquest of the Desert (see figure 2). This object borrows its compositional layout from imperial Napoleonic medals.[99]

Like coins, medals constitute a multilayered method of currency. Produced since antiquity, they are exchanged and owned for both their material and symbolic value. Decorated with the official image of a ruler, they also constitute a public form of art. Medals and coins are usually round, with two sides and a portrait on the obverse. Medals differ from coins in their function, however. While coins are struck and produced by a government authority, conforming to specific weights and materials, medals are commemorative in nature and can be commissioned by anyone with the means to do so. Political allegiances thus become visible in a medal.[100]

European coins and medals circulated for political, material, and sentimental reasons in the River Plate, changing hands or hoarded for their intrinsic material and symbolic value.[101]

Before independence, the image of the Spanish king, stamped on coins, acted as an element of territorial, political, and economic unification of the Metropolis and the colonies. After independence, even though pre-revolutionary coins continued circulating well into the 1820s, new money with the propagandistic message of independence began to circulate in South America.[102] The double portrait on Hilario Lagos' cigarette case thus borrows from modes of representation used in an earlier period of Argentine history. Such a visual reference creates the effect of suspending historical time,[103] a strategy that helps to enforce national unity through the persona of the Restorer of the Law.

The image on the leather cigarette case of Rosas and Encarnación Ezcurra compares particularly well to that on a medal depicting Napoleon and his wife Marie Louise (figure 9). The Napoleonic medal was designed by Bertrand Andrieu, a French engraver of medals from Bordeaux, working under Dominique Vivant Denon, director of the *Monnaie des Médailles*. Designing most of the medals commemorating Napoleon's triumphs,[104] Andrieu restored the popularity of this art form, which had declined after the time of Louis XIV.[105]

Portrait medals were important signifiers of loyalty, constituting a measure of a man's identity and reflecting allegiance to a particular political or intellectual clan.[106] Such medals could transcend geographical boundaries. During the Confederation, the act of seeing was the archetypal mode of disciplining the individual, and laws mandated the display of insignias upholding loyalty to Rosas. Exile constituted the only mode of escaping that surveillance. Rosas relied on both public plebiscites and the Provincial Legislature to support his ascent to power, maintaining a semblance of Republicanism. As a consequence, individuals close to Rosas, as part of the body politic, not only participated in the looking at and controlling of other bodies, but also controlled how others saw them, thereby exercising agency. A male acquaintance of Colonel

Hilario Lagos, for example, would have been both impressed and intimidated when offered a cigarette from a case that displayed the effigies of Rosas and his wife. He might both envy and fear Lagos' close connection to the leader.

The portrait on Lagos' cigarette case depicts Rosas in profile, wearing a dark, high-collared military uniform. His prominent torso overlaps and eclipses the figure of his wife, Encarnación Ezcurra, his second in command, who wears a lighter colour and similarly high collar. Their facial features and expressions are indistinguishable. Gazing firmly towards the left, both have thin, pursed, frowning lips. Gender, however, is playing an important part in the design of the image. The imposing image of Rosas, as a man and husband, restricts his wife's visibility and space, taking more than two thirds of the image.[107] This strategy of female diminishment brings the double portraits of Rosas and Napoleon together, foreshadowing the pictorial depictions of the Peróns.

In a second double portrait (see figure 3), the concept of virtuous male heroic dignity, and the accompanying control of every aspect of the male ruler's body, enters in direct dialogue with its gendered female opposite, who mirrors the ruler's image. This unassuming work by an unknown artist probably belonged to a private individual supportive of Rosas and his regime. The heroic control and dignity present in male depictions of rulers was complemented by the depiction of female figures in an array of reactive states. According to Dorinda Outram, this representation of women "showed that they *did* belong to other people, and that they were concerned with the destiny of individuals near and dear to them."[108] The illustrated reactions ascribed to women such as Encarnación Ezcurra in this canon of heroism build upon the idea of the *Homo Clausus*. The feminine needs to be depicted as demonstrating and acting out of

courage and sacrifice because of the reactivity expected from a wife, acting out of married love.[109]

The double portrait of Rosas and Encarnación Ezcurra (presumably from before her death in 1838) blurs the boundaries between the public and the private realms. Their figures are depicted in profile, facing each other, on the same tin panel, framed by separate oval medallions. The double depiction upholds the heroic dignity of Juan Manuel de Rosas by presenting him in his uniform, with a stern demeanour, and physically separated from but supported by his wife. Constituting the ultimate Argentinian *Homo Clausus,* the double depiction presents the body of Rosas as a controlled, insulated, and impermeable body, in his role of Restorer of the Law. The forging of such role constituted the means by which his seizure of power could be validated and the new state strengthened.[110] This *Homo Clausus* was depicted as a non-reactive hero, controlling his body and emotions and also that of his female counterpart.[111]

A play between text and image reinforces the dictatorial authority of Rosas and his wife's role of Heroine of the Confederation. Below their respective painted likenesses, a handwritten text reads from left to right in red cursive lettering: "The Heroine and the Restorer." This inscription invokes the official political titles of Encarnación, Heroine of the Federation, and of Rosas, as the Restorer of the Law. The work appears to be inspired by separate miniature portraits of Rosas and his wife by painters Carlos Morel and Fernando García del Molino (figures 10 and 11). By reversing the image of Ezcurra, the figures appear to be engaged in a dialogue. Yet, there is no exchange of gestures or eye contact in the double depiction of Rosas and his wife, reminding the viewer of fifteenth-century portraits such as Piero della Francesca's *Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza* (figure 12), which also separate husband and wife pairs into individual spaces with separate frames.[112]

Close inspection indicates that the figures of Rosas and Ezcurra coexist cameo-like in separate spheres, but also in the same space. Both wear red, the colour of Rosas's Federalist party; Rosas wears his satin red sash, and Ezcurra wears a red dress, as an extension of her husband's body. The painted roundels separating the couple are made of tenuous rings of paint that could easily be blurred with a different coloured brush stroke. The double portrait presents the close bonds of a couple who exercised absolute power in 1830s Argentina and also are joined by marriage. They exist in between the public and private realm. The work's diminutive size suggests its existence in an intimate setting, where the viewer could hold the object in his or her hands, pass it amongst family members or visitors, or display it in a private altar, much like a colonial *retablo*.

Encarnación Ezcurra also embodies in this portrait fashionably virtuous Argentinian femininity, dictating public female behaviour. At the time that the portrait was made, a curious fashion phenomenon took place in Buenos Aires. After the revolution, according to Regina Root, women began to wear enlarged *peinetones* (hair combs) to "mark their presence in the public sphere."[113] At first, the *peinetón* was satirized in lithographs and the press as a metonym for lust, situating it within the framework of female prostitution,[114] and the Rosas regime initially struggled to convince the Federalist women to discard the fashion for more restrained styles.[115] Later, Encarnación Ezcurra appropriated this article of personal adornment and surrounded it with the red ribbon of the Federation, visually demonstrating its correct use.[116] Her attire combines the *peinetón* and red ribbon with the white lace Spanish mantilla that modest colonial ladies traditionally wore to mass. Her *peinetón,* made of tortoiseshell and intricately carved, serves as both a nod to her husband's cause and a fashionable feminine accessory. *Peinetones*, some of them engraved with an image of the Dictator himself, became, thanks to the

dissemination of Ezcurra's likeness, a walking billboard in support of the Rosas regime. The *peinetón* thus emerged as synonymous with Federal female identity.[117]

Although Descalzi's official representation of Rosas referenced Napoleonic portraiture, dissent to the Rosas regime also clothed itself in French fashion statements. Unitarian dissidents, grouped under the *Asociación de la Joven Argentina* (Association of the Young Argentine Generation), published between November 18, 1837 and April 21, 1838 a periodical called *La Moda*. This journal was modeled after the French periodical *La Mode*,[118] which had functioned earlier in the nineteenth century as a force of political opposition in revolutionary France. In the pages of *La Moda*, Buenos Aires intellectuals cleverly opposed the Rosas government through articles that critiqued Federalist attire. Promoting the replacement of the old colonial order, embodied by Federalist supporters, with Unitarian ideas, its writers criticized Spanish and colonial homes and sartorial fashions by introducing contemporary French fashions to the *porteño* audience.[119]

Under Rosas, however, demonstrating support of the Federal cause by wearing red remained fashionable, just as wearing an enormous *peinetón*, now signifying virtuous pro-Rosas femininity, was political. The hieratic image of Encarnación Ezcurra, clothed in Federal female attire, reinforced her husband's role as the legitimate leader of the country. Establishing continuity with Spanish and Catholic traditions by wearing the mantilla, her likeness conflated those traditions with the visual signifiers of the independent Federation, the colour red of the dress and the red bow adorning her comb for their contemporary audiences.

Encarnación Ezcurra *qua* official heroine of the Federation thus stands on equal footing with her husband. She must construct, like the men of her time, her political power through her masculine and stern demeanour, yet also uphold her femininity as the wife of the Restorer of the

Law. Her depictions do not convey typically feminine emotions or attitudes of the time, such as a gently tilted head and soft, subtle smile.[120] Her profile images evidence a firm gaze, looking straight towards the pictorial edge, past her husband, further emphasizing her forcefulness by the lines of her mouth.[121] Her role as the wife of the dictator was of the utmost importance, since it linked family and nation at a time when the designation of strict gender roles forced all women out of the public sphere and into the home.[122]

Manuelita Rosas and the Tailoring of the Confederation

The double portraits of Rosas and his wife attempted to convey a political stability that remained all but absent in the River Plate region. The political situation in the Rio de la Plata was rapidly deteriorating. Tension between Buenos Aires and Brazil over the independence of Uruguay, also known as *Banda Oriental,* was mounting. On May 29, 1851, Brazil joined Entre Ríos provincial *caudillo* Justo José de Urquiza, an opponent of Rosas, in a military alliance. Ill feeling between Rosas and Urquiza had reached an irreconcilable point. In addition, Paraguay and the province of Corrientes were struggling for political and commercial rights. U.S. diplomats correctly predicted that allied forces from Entre Rios, Corrientes, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil, led by Urquiza, would soon strike against Rosas and overthrow his regime.

In the fall of 1851 John S. Pendleton was designated *charge d'affaires* of the United States in Buenos Aires. In September of that year, Pendleton presented his impressions of Rosas in a letter to Secretary of State Daniel Webster. He called the dictator's regime “the most simple and rigorous despotism in the civilized world.” Pendleton also observed that the autocratic dictator relied exclusively on his daughter, Manuela Rosas, for assistance in the daily administration of government affairs. Rosas assumed all the power of the state, made the laws,

executed them, controlled the currency, and impressed individuals into the army and navy. According to Pendleton, his enemies, either imaginary or real, were liable to be shot without arraignment or trial of any sort.[123] Foreigners from Europe and the United States, on the other hand, had long felt secure in Argentina. Their sympathies had been generally with Rosas and his government, which maintained public order and gave them many advantages.[124]

During this turbulent year, Rosas was even more determined to articulate façades of power and its management through female and family images in portraiture. An oil portrait of his daughter, Manuela Rosas, by Prilidiano Pueyrredón from 1851 (see figure 4), attempts to present the Rosas regime as ready for a civilized and gentle succession of power. This portrait emphasizes a softer side of the Confederation at a time when Rosas was attempting to hold on to power even more than before.[125] In addition, this portrait provides an example of the visual rhetoric of reactive female demeanour. The political power of the depiction of Manuela Rosas derives from its demonstration of kindness imparted by the dutiful daughter of an authoritarian ruler. Ironically, it also appropriates the female dress code of the Francophile Unitarians and the anti-Rosas periodical, *La Moda*.

Prilidiano Pueyrredón, artist of the portrait, was born in Argentina to a staunchly Unitarian family in 1823 and educated in France, where he studied architecture and painting. He returned to Buenos Aires in 1849, and received the commission to paint the daughter of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1851, a year before the end of the dictator's rule. Pueyrredón had to submit to a specific pictorial program specified by the group in charge of the commission, but he also subtly subverted their instructions, which specified that crimson, the official color of the Federation, predominate in the painting.[126] To build political consensus through this crumbling period, Rosas had legally mandated, and violently enforced, that the city of Buenos

Aires, from the houses of its citizens to their interiors and personal attire, be bathed in red.[127] In response, Pueyrredón ironically covered his gigantic canvas in every imaginable shade of red, from Manuelita's many-layered dress to the curtain and chair in her study.

The instructions further specified that Manuelita be painted in a standing pose befitting her moral character, social, and political position. Her stance, reminiscent of Napoleon's pose in the portrait by David, confers *dignitas* upon the sitter. Just as her mother was portrayed with the stern expression of her husband, Manuelita is posed like one of the most influential male political figure in the world. According to Outram, "the entire realm of public dignity had been defined in a specifically male way through the use of the male-body image."[128] Manuelita also places her right hand on a missive sent by a Confederation citizen to her father.[129] This action, links daughter to father, as well as loyal functionary to Rosas the Head of State. It effectively collapses Manuelita's personality, which is presented as kind and understanding, into her role as daughter of the *caudillo*. Her action implies the performance of this role in the present and in the future.[130]

Pueyrredón's portrait of Manuelita also intersects the concept of nation with gender,[131] for women often became the focus of New World discourse during this time. According to literary historian Francine Masiello, "a feminization of values was destined not only to challenge the frontier but to offset barbarism in men themselves."[132] Manuelita's representation allegorically conflates femininity with sexual reproduction and generations of Federal supporters, representing and interceding on behalf of an entire people.[133]

Pueyrredón, the son of prominent exiled Unitarian Juan Martin de Pueyrredón, may also have perceived women as agents of resistance. Women became experts in feelings, refusing the rigor of male domination. According to Masiello, the political discourse of the Rosas opposition was enacted through feminization, as a liberal, bourgeois way to placate the brutality of the

regime.[134] If the masculine was firmly identified with the official image of Rosas, ubiquitously inhabiting the public and private sphere, then the introduction of the feminine into the official discursive system, in this case the portrait of Manuela Rosas by Pueyrredón, signalled Pueyrredón's refusal "to conform to a single strategy of interpretation and control."[135] Again according to Masiello, "the feminine in liberal works of art and literature eluded domination by any one particular political program."[136] This elusive quality can be detected in Pueyrredón's portrait of Manuela Rosas by virtue of both the time of its production and the artist's political sympathies, making Manuela Rosas clothed as Red Unitarian, a political synecdoche of the end of Rosas' regime.

Portraiture under the Rosas regime is decisively divided between the male, non-reactive persona embodied in the highly controlled posture of the Descalzi portrait, and the female, reactive persona of Manuela as the empathetic feeler and communitarian doer, the intercessor between her father and his people. Manuela stands at the end of the Rosas regime as both the heart of the Confederation and the best hope for its opponents.[137] The multiple positions she occupied, as a woman, as a daughter, as the daughter of the dictator, and as his political intercessor, offered a "disturbing yet attractive advantage" that allowed the liberals to embrace her representation as a challenge to tyranny. Pueyrredón's portrait contained the possibility of both control and subversion.[138]

Several historical facts are still missing from the record of the painting's production. It is not known whether Manuela Rosas posed for Pueyrredón's portrait, and we do not even know whether the dress was imagined by the artist or later executed according to the painting or vice-versa. Margaretta Lovell argues that in colonial America, artists customarily painted various female sitters seemingly wearing the same dress.[139] This practice began to wane by the

nineteenth century, creating multiple possibilities with regard to the dress, pose, and even backdrop for Manuela's portrait. It may have been painted from a lost daguerreotype. It may have been painted from life; it may have been based (to one degree or another) on a print; it may have been completely imagined by the artist; or it may have been some combination of all these manners of representation. We do know that Manuela Rosas, like Eva Perón, had access to the best French fashions and could afford to dress in consonance with the most up to date trends of the time. Her dress, constructed as a two-piece ensemble with a top tight bodice inserted like a clamp onto a voluminous skirt,[140] spoke of fashion. It also spoke of Rosas' control over the body of his daughter, and by extension the body politic, for as a dictator he was capable of opening or closing the port of Buenos Aires at will, controlling trade relations in the River Plate and, consequently, the import of French fashions.

The portrait of Manuela Rosas was commissioned to hang at a ball in her honour, organized by the merchants of Buenos Aires at the Coliseo Theatre. After the function, the organizers distributed lithographs of the portrait to attendees.[141] Manuelita wears an off the shoulder red velvet dress, with a voluminous multilayered skirt decorated by two red and gold bows and two tiers of translucent gold lace panels. She gently tilts her head to one side. Her perfectly coiffed head is adorned with a red flower, the official colour of the Federation, and she gazes kindly yet purposefully toward the viewer. Daintily, but with assurance, she touches her father's letter with the fingers of her left hand, indicating that she is a literate, educated woman. Her right hand resting on the front of the dress, complements this gesture. Manuelita's gold and crystal jewellery—earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings—seem delicately embroidered to her skin, complementing the lace of the skirt and adding luminosity to her brunette complexion. One white satin slipper peeks coquettishly from beneath her ball gown, a detail drawn from earlier

royal portraiture. The satin slipper signifies monarchic authority and noble bearing, and the royal foot, peeking from beneath the robes, is a non-threatening manner of visualizing authority.

Jorge López Anaya believes that the portrait of Manuela Rosas exhibits a visual connection to Romantic ideas, which became popular with Unitarians opposed to the Rosas regime. Anaya misses the subversive potential of the painting, however, and argues that the textural juxtapositions, such as the golden lace that covers the red dress and the tasselled velvet curtain that reveals her feminine splendour, evidence a mere change in taste, not a sign of political change.[142] I argue otherwise.

The image is reminiscent of female portraiture by another French painter, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, to whom, according to art historian Laura Malosetti Costa, Pueyrredón turned for inspiration after his second sojourn to Europe, between the years 1844 to 1849.[143] Manuela Rosas was in her thirties at the time of the portrait, and Pueyrredón had to negotiate the depiction of a woman still young, of marrying age, yet far from adolescent youth. Two of Ingres's female depictions come to mind when analyzing the Pueyrredón portrait. The first is the *Portrait of Madame de Senonnes,* painted at the end of the Napoleonic era in 1814 (figure 13). Ingres, like Pueyrredón, deploys rich textural work to enhance the feminine qualities of his sitter. Both artists depicted their sitters wearing a red velvet dress, ornamented with lace on the sleeves and delicate gold jewellery.

In a second Ingres portrait of a young bride, *The Comtesse d'Haussonville, neé Louise-Albertine de Broglie*, from 1845 (figure 14), the sitter coquettishly tilts her head to one side. Like Manuela Rosas, she wears a fashionably loose chignon and a red silk bow on the right side at the back of her coiffure. It is interesting to note that the Comtesse d'Haussonville was the daughter of the Duc de Broglie, who served as French Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1835, during the first

French blockade of Buenos Aires. In a further nod to French portraiture of prominent political figures of the period, the portrait of Manuela Rosas also speaks of European ideas about the representation of appropriate and legitimate female political power. Like both Madame de Senonnes and the young Comtesse d'Haussonville, Manuela Rosas wears her hair parted in the middle, tied at the back in a chignon, allowing the viewer a generous glimpse of her rounded shoulders and the graceful curve of her neck.

Manuela Rosas' hair style references the short lived Unitarian magazine *La Moda*, which suggested that simple hair fashions, with lines down the middle, epitomized democratic Republican style.[144] Such evocations of anti-Rosas styles in the portrait of his daughter may suggest either political weakness or productive hope for synthesis. Pueyrredón's work also evokes the earlier depictions of Manuela's mother Encarnación Ezcurra. Both wear the red bow, typical of female Federal fashions, and both allow a very Spanish, short single curl of hair to frame the side of their faces. Instead of the large comb popular earlier in the Rosas period, and a distinct signifier of Argentinian post-Independence femininity, Manuela Rosas wears a smaller mother of pearl and tortoiseshell comb. Delicately shaped to resemble a crown, her accessories refashions the virtuous Confederation woman into an image of European nobility, a fitting ambassador for the Confederation on the international stage.

Like Ingres, Pueyrredón utilized allegory to introduce a degree of stillness and fixity appropriate for such an important sitter.[145] On the one hand, Manuela Rosas stands very much like in David's portrait of Napoleon in his studio, surrounded by the red upholstered chair bearing the initials of her father, and the desk that confirms her workspace. On the other, her reactive femininity, embodied in her countenance and gesture, is fixed by the cocoon-like structure of the dress. The roses in a vase adorning her desk stand as an additional signifier of

femininity and (because they are roses) Catholic sainthood. This allegory of Confederation, ruled by a dictator with only a tenuous hold on power, is ambiguous and contradictory. Manuelita's tilted head suggests a certain docility and ability to listen, while her direct gaze and pursed lips remind viewers that she is very much the daughter of the authoritarian Rosas, someone to take seriously as a successor.

Pueyrredón's painting visually shelters Manuela Rosas from the political climate beyond the frame of the portrait. The padded environment that surrounds Manuela encases her like a precious jewel, further highlighting the fragility of her position. The portrait functions as the allegory of a Confederation that needs to be controlled, directed, and harnessed by the all encompassing figure of Juan Manuel de Rosas, who even in his physical absence permeates his daughter's space with a red halo of light similar to that in the official portrait by Descalzi. The curtain, traditionally a signifier of artistic virtuosity, intensifies the experience of revealing Manuelita's *Vera Effigie* to the 160 merchants assembled in her honour at the Coliseo Theatre, accentuating her role-playing as the foremost daughter of the Confederation. The layering of fabrics in the painting constitutes a pictorial strategy also utilized by Ingres to contain the female threat and reposition female portraiture as history painting.[146] The shape and texture of the roses, in different shades of red and pink, abundantly filling a tall *verdigris* vase sitting on her work-desk, mirror the abundance of layers in Manuelita's outfit and surroundings. While the setting seems to protect the daughter of the Restorer of the Laws from the regime's imminent demise, this layering motif is artistically and politically self-referential as well. The utilization of layered and even opposing signifiers in the portrait incorporates the conflicting ideologies of the committee who oversaw the execution of the portrait and Pueyrredón's anti-Rosas, pro-French sensibilities.

Finally, the flowers remind the viewer of the transience of life; they are a *Vanitas* symbol found in European portraiture since the sixteenth century.[147] Like Ingres and his French contemporaries, Pueyrredón had been trained in pictorial and technical strategies that reconcile the "real" of the transient present with the "ideal."[148] The bodies and visages of Manuela Rosas and her aristocratic French contemporaries also share the precise outlines of ancient cameo silhouettes, rooting their portraits in the political and artistic traditions of the classicizing past.[149] By referencing French academic artists and French fashions, the portrait of Pueyrredón enacts a brilliant act of public relations for the Rosas administration. Appropriating ideological, artistic, and sartorial signifiers from the pages of the fashion magazine *La Moda*, the portrait of Manuela Rosas reiterates the Federalist cause and simultaneously extends an olive branch towards the discontent merchant citizens of Buenos Aires and the Unitarian intellectuals in opposition to the Rosas regime.

Conclusion

Such attempts at diplomatic portraiture so late in the game did nothing to quell the growing political discontent at the end of the Rosas regime. General Justo José de Urquiza marched with 25,000 men upon Buenos Aires in early 1852. A new anti-Rosas alliance led by Urzquiza, a *caudillo* from the eastern province Entre Ríos, and the Brazilian empire, defeated Rosas at the Battle of Caseros on February 3, 1852. Rosas finally departed. Accompanied by his daughter Manuela, he went into exile and lived in Great Britain until his death in 1877.[150]

During the post Independence period, official Argentinian portraits depicted men as heroes and women playing the public roles of wives and daughters. They derived their artistic strategies from post-revolutionary French portraiture. The authoritarian rule of Governor Juan

Manuel de Rosas conflated politics and fashion in an attempt to legitimize his authority as Restorer of the Law. At the beginning of his tenure, Rosas' wife, Encarnación Ezcurra, Heroine of the Federation, performed under but also alongside of the figure of her husband a complex government-sanctioned type of Argentinian post-Independence femininity. After her death, their daughter, Manuelita, the epitome of Federal virtue, played the warm and receptive intercessor who linked her father to the people of the Federation. These portraits legitimated and visually supported the heroic dignity of Rosas. These women were portrayed as selflessly meeting the needs and demands of others, rather than those of themselves.[151] The heroic body of Rosas, *qua Homo Clausus,* embodied a site of conflict between a pre-Independence colonial public world and a post-Independence world that was still subjected to the economic consequences of colonialism well into the early decades of the twentieth century. Rosas portraiture referenced at once the colonial and pre-modern idea of the sacral body of the king, and a modern heroic body in need to be constantly recreated anew by the individual.[152] However different these depictions may seem, they are nonetheless equally immersed in a post-independence context where they existed and circulated, both internationally and nationally, as historically specific signifiers of gender. Hooper-Greenhill locates these material objects "within an international system of racial hierarchies which sustains Europeans as leaders, and places colonial people together as those subalterns who sustain this 'natural' leadership position."[153] In the national context, this conflict between post-colonial gender and racial hierarchies opened the way for the emergence of another charismatic, authoritarian leader of the masses in twentieth-century Argentina. President Juan Domingo Perón publicly performed his role as "First Worker of the Nation" alongside his wife Eva Duarte, the ultimate self-sacrificing First Lady.[154] In the Argentinian environment, official portraiture, in particular Peronist portraiture has remained until the present at the margins of both

academic and avant-garde artistic practices and discourses. The official depictions of the Peróns by Numa Ayrinhac problematize this tension between the female offering of the official body and her reactive feminine nature in conjunction with the self-possessed and self-contained body of the modern male Argentinian ruler. During the Rosas period, artists borrowed from French representations to seek political and artistic legitimation. Peronist portraiture, while traditionally executed, drew additionally from gendered representations of popular culture, further separating official Argentinian art from the canonical traditions of art history that are studied today.

Figure 1 Cayetano Descalzi, *Official Portrait of Brigadier General Juan Manuel de Rosas*, ca. 1838-1840. Oil on canvas, 72.8 x 59.8 cm. Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires.

Figure 2 Anonymous. *Leather Cigarette Box with Double Image of Rosas and his Wife,* ca. 1835-1840. Oil on leather. *Museo Histórico Nacional*, Buenos Aires.

Figure 3 Artist unknown, *Double Portrait of Rosas and his Wife, Encarnación Ezcurra*, ca. 1835-1840. Oil on tin. Inscribed at bottom: “La Heroína y el Restaurador.” Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires.

Figure 4 Prilidiano Pueyrredón. *Retrato de Manuelita Rosas*, 1851. Oil on canvas. 199 x 166 cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Figure 5 Julien and Lemercier (after Descalzi)*, Rosas El Grande*, ca. 1840-1842. Lithograph. Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires.

Figure 7 Jacques-Louis David. *Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*. 1812. Oil on canvas, 80 1/4 x 49 1/4 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 8 S. Gans (after David), *Napoleon Le Grand*, ca. 1828. Engraving, 50 x 35 cm (plate). McGill University Print Collection.

Figure 9 *Augustus of Primaporta,* 15 CE. Marble. Vatican Museum.

Figure 10 Workshop of Bertrand Andrieu, *Circular Lead Double Portrait Profile Relief of Napoleon and Marie Louise*, early 19th century (after 1810). 15 cm diameter. Metmuseum.org.

Figures 11-12 Carlos Morel and Fernando García del Molino*, Miniature Individual Portraits of Encarnación Ezcurra and Juan Manuel de Rosas*, ca. 1835. Oil on board. Public Domain.

Figure 13 Piero della Francesca. *Portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino*, *Duke Federigo da Montefeltro and his Wife Battista Sforza,* ca. 1467-1470. Oil on board, 47 x 33 cm. Uffizzi Gallery, Florence. Public Domain.

Figure 14 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. *Portrait of Madame de Senonnes*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 106 x 84 cm. Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes. Public Domain.

Figure 15 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait of Comtesse d'Haussonville,* 1845. Oil on canvas, 131,8 x 92,1 cm. The Frick Collection, New York. Public Domain.

NOTES

[1] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture (*London Routledge, 2000), 50.
[2]Javier Domínguez Arribas, "El enemigo unitario en el discurso rosista (1829-1852)," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 60, no. 2 (2003): 559.
DOI:10.3989/aeamer.2003.v60.i2.158, accessed, September 26, 2015.
[3] Domínguez Arribas, "El enemigo unitario," 571.
[4] I understand populism in a broad sense, as a historically dynamic term, where a movement, regime, leader or style claims some affinity with 'the people.' According to Alan Knight, populism is more a particular political style, and it is not circumscribed to a particularly historical era. In the context of the Rosas government, such a style encompassed the rural Argentinian Post-Independence environment, and the utilization of paramilitary cadres to enforce national unity under Rosas' Federación regime. See Alan Knight. "Populism and Neo-Populism in Latin America, Especially Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 223-248.
[5] Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 157-159.
[6] For an overarching investigation on the relationship between fashion and politics in Postcolonial Argentina, see Regina A. Root, *Couture and Consensus: Fashion and Politics in Postcolonial Argentina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
[7] Corsican Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as a Pro-Revolutionary soldier in the French Army. He was designated General of the French Army in Italy, and on his return in 1799, he seized power away from the French Directory ruling the Republic. He established a Consulate, and once self-appointed First Consul he proceeded to extend his personal control over France. By 1804, he had led battles in Egypt, defeated the Austrians and signed a Concordat with the Catholic Church. On that year the Senate designated Napoleon Emperor of the French. By 1811 he had engaged in the naval blockade against England, and ruled over 70 million people. Europe had not seen such geographical and political consolidation of power since the Roman Empire. His invasion of Russia in 1812 prompted the defeat of France and in turn the October 1813 invasion of France by the allied forces (Russia, Austria, and Prussia). Napoleon went into exile, escaping from his prison at the Isle of Elba, only to be defeated again by another coalition in the Battle of Waterloo on June 1815. See Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (New York: Viking, 2014).
[8] Heidi Roupp, *Teaching World History in the Twenty-First Century: a Resource Book* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2010), 114. Roupp argues that Latin American rulers embraced Napoleon's conflation of the army as representative of the Nation, (for instance, Rosas militias as the Confederation itself) the leader as the embodiment of the popular will (Rosas as El *Restaurador de las leyes*), embedding his likeness in the attire of the citizens of the Confederation thanks to a decree signed on February 3, 1832. The display of the *Divisa Punzó*, a red ribbon with the inscription *"Federación o Muerte"* or *"Federación"* became mandatory for government, ecclesiastical and military personnel, (in Juan A. Pradère and Fermín Chávez, *Rosas, su iconografía*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Oriente S.A, 1970), 38) and the centralization of the legal and educational system (ideas later embraced by Sarmiento). According to Roupp, ""Bonapartism" became both an ambition and an epithet," 114.
[9] David O'Brien and Antoine-Jean Gros. *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda Under Napoleon,* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 8.
[10] Pierre Francastel, *Historia de la Pintura Francesa* (Madrid: Ed. Alianza, 1970), 210, cited in Felipe Santiago del Solar, "José de San Martín y la construcción estética del héroe," *Bicentenaires des Indépendances Amérique Latine Caraïbes (cd)*, (Paris: Institut Francais, 2011), 2.

http://www.academia.edu/1805674/Jos%C3%A9_de_San_Martin_y_la_construcci%C3%B3n_est%C3%A9tica_del_h%C3%A9roe, accessed September 26, 2015.
[11]Del Solar, "San Martin," 3.
[12] Valérie Huet, "Napoleon I: a New Augustus?," in *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*, ed. Catharine Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53.
[13] Valeri Huet, "Napoleon I," 56.
[14] See del Solar, "José de San Martín," 3.
[15] Huet, "Napoleon I," 56.
[16] Roberto Amigo, "Imágenes de la historia," 11.
[17] Amigo, Imágenes de la historia," 11.
[18] Dorinda Outram. *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 74-75. Outram posits that at the time of the French Revolution "The idea of sovereignty as personalized, located within the physical body of the king, which was at the same time the mystical body of the state, and where subjects acted as the organs of the body in due subordination to the head, was already greatly weakened."…"Yet in this great reshaping of ideas on the nature of government, no firm consensus emerged," 74. I extend the analogy to Post-Independence Argentina, and well into the Rosas period, a time when the idea of popular sovereignty in the Americas was being conflated with the power of the secular ruler who nonetheless, embodied the "Holy Federation."
[19] María de las Nieves Agesta, "Imágenes, revolución y después," in *Historia del arte y la cultura, Blog de Cátedra*, (Bahia Blanca: Universidad Nacional del Sur), 12. https://historiadelarteylacultura2012.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/imagenes-revolucion-y-despues-agesta.pdf, Accessed September 26, 2015. Agesta explains that, "*militares, politicos, grandes comerciantes y damas de la alta sociedad pretendían ver plasmados sus rostros cada vez con mayor verosimilitud."* And that *"La relación de semejanza se convirtió en una exigencia permanente de los comitentes hacia sus retratistas."*
[20] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 75.
[21] Del Solar, "José de San Martín," 4.
[22] Brendan Lanctot, *Beyond Civilization and Barbarism: Culture and Politics in Postrevolutionary Argentina* (Lanham: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 46. Rosas obtained the Sum of Public Power on March 6, 1835, to restore peace after the assassination of Federal leader Facundo Quiroga. The only limitations to such extraordinary faculties consisted in preserving, defending and protecting the Roman Catholic Faith, the national Federal cause, staying in power "for as long as the Elected Governor considered necessary." (Quoted in Pradere, re-printed in Chávez, *Rosas*, 43) Rosas finally was officially invested on April 13, 1835.
[23] For a detailed analysis of the role of princely images in Renaissance daily life see Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
[24] See Pradère, Juan A. 1914. *Juan Manuel de Rosas, su iconografía; reproducción de óleos, acuarelas, grabados, litografías, viñetas de imprenta, monedas, porcelanas, curiosidades, etc., precedida de un breve estudio histórico* (Buenos Aires: J. Mendesky é hijo, 1914). Juan A. Pradère, then Director of the *Museo Histórico Nacional* in Buenos Aires provided a detailed inventory of images of Governor Rosas. His vivid account detailing the ubiquitous presence of portraits of both Rosas and his wife Encarnación Ezcurra is followed by inconsistently dated catalogued images that illustrate the period when he exercised the "sum of public power" (*Suma del Poder Público*).
[25] La *Divisa Punzó*, the red mandatory ribbon with the effigy of Rosas and the inscription "Federación o Muerte" was equated with the national colors, and was considered a symbol of national independence. It had to be displayed "visibly on the left side of the chest." (Chavez, citing Pradère, *Rosas,* 38, citing decree signed by Rosas and Balcarce from February 3, 1832.) By 1835, successive decrees had extended the mandatory use of the *Divisa* to the general public (Chávez, Pradère, 40). "El decreto del 2 de febrero de 1832 establecía su uso y parte del texto determinaba la lectura simbólica que Rosas imaginaba para las cintas: *"Consagrar del mismo modo que los colores nacionales el distintivo federal de esta provincia y*

constituirlo, no en una señal de división y de odio, sinó de fidelidad a la causa del orden y de paz y unión entre sus hijos bajo el sistema federal, para que recordando éstos los bienes que han gozado más de una vez por la influencia de este principio, y los desastres que fueron siempre el resultado de haberlo abandonado se afiancen al fin en él, y lo sostengan en adelante con tanto empeño como la misma independencia nacional." (sic) (Chávez, Pradère, *Rosas*, 39).

[26] "La línea que dividía los ámbitos privados de los públicos se hizo cada vez más permeable y el ingreso de la política en la cotidianeidad encontró su máxima expresión durante los años del gobierno de Juan Manuel de Rosas en Buenos Aires (1829-1852), especialmente en su segundo período de gobierno. Y si bien el uso político de la imagen no era algo nuevo, sí se trató de ordenar la cultura visual de tal forma que respondiera a las necesidades de propaganda del régimen. La invasión del contenido político sobre todo el universo visual de la época hace reflexionar sobre la operatividad de las visiones de la historia del arte para armar un discurso que incluya a un material tan heterogéneo de formatos, técnicas, géneros, calidades, usos e intenciones." In Marcelo Marino, "Moda, cuerpo y política en la cultura visual durante la época de Rosas," ed. María Isabel Baldasarre y Dolinko Silvia, vol. 1 of *Travesías de la imagen. Historias de las artes visuales en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: CAIA/UNTREF, 2011), 5. See also for use of *peinetón*, 14. See also Marcelo Marino, "Manuela Rosas. Su apariencia entre un daguerrotipo y una pintura," in *Imágenes perdidas: censura, olvido, descuido. IV Congreso Internacional de Teoría e Historia del Arte/XII Jornadas de CAIA*, Buenos Aires, CAIA (2007): p. 465. Also about a daguerreotype of Manuela Rosas and her oil painting by Pueyrredón, Marino argues that, "las dos efigies de Manuela, lejos de contraponerse, establecen dinámicas mucho más complejas pues ambas actúan en espacios muy distantes, y si bien se dijo que la separación entre los ámbitos público y privado era muy lábil en aquel momento, hubo dispositivos visuales que sin embargo los mantenían, cuando no separados, por lo menos diferenciados. Finalmente, lo que se da en llamar la cultura visual del rosismo requiere de una constante referencia de los objetos entre sí, independientemente de los medios de su producción y de los géneros y categorías a los que remiten, pues éstos se ven alterados, modificados y ampliados en su sentido en un momento de profundo cambio del uso y de las funciones de la imagen," 461.

[27] Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 6-7.

[28] Rosana Leonardi. "Los retratos de Encarnación Ezcurra. Indumentaria e iconografía," *Épocas - Revista De Historia* 6, (2012): 109. http://p3.usal.edu.ar/index.php/epocas/article/view/1149, accessed, September 29, 2015.

[29] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 500.

[30] According to Pradére, this oil painting by Descalzi could be considered the quintessential iconographic base source, from which other works of Rosas derive. This painting, located at the *Museo Histórico Nacional* however, cannot be confirmed as the exact base for the lithograph "Rosas el Grande" by Lemercier, Bernard et Cie. Although he posits that it is possible that Descalzi himself "repeated this oil painting so that it could be utilized by the French printers. The author ignores " whether there exists any other portrait of Rosas by Descalzi exactly identical to the "French type" and since the lithograph mentions the fact that "Descalzi painted the oil portrait in life (Natural) size*" "pintó del mismo grandor al oleo."* Pradere concludes that "It is logical to assume that the portrait at the Museo Histórico was the definitive model, Pradére and Chávez, *Rosas*, 135-136.

[31] http://www.proa.org/exhibiciones/pasadas/italianos/exhibi-fr5.html, accessed September 29, 2015. Descalzi arrived in the country in 1820 together with his brothers Nicolas, a surveyor and Pedro, a pharmacist. His brother Nicolás took part in Rosas desert expedition of 1833. For more information on Nicolás Descalzi, read: Juan José Kopp. Nicolás Descalzi. *Diario Ampliado Expedición al Río Bermejo 1826* (Chiavari: Societá Económica di Chiávari, 2011) https://archive.org/details/NicolasDescalziDiarioAmpliadoExpedicionAlRioBermejo1826, accessed September 29, 2015.

[32] Also known as Lemercier & Cie; Lemercier Benard et Cie; Lemercier, J & A; J & A Lemercier; Lemercier, A; Lemercier, Benard & Cie; Lemercier. Address: Rue Pierre Sarrasin, No.2 (c.1829) before 1835 rue du Four S.G. 55 55 (later 57?) rue de Seine, Paris, in partnership with Bénard (1829-36) 55 rue

du Four-Saint-Germain, Paris (1840) 57 rue de Seine (later). Important Parisian firm of lithographic (and later photogravure) printers founded by Joseph Rose Lemercier (1803-1887), who began as the foreman for Langlumé in 1825; working on his own account from 1827; 1829-36 in partnership with Bénard (association formed in 1837 according to IFF catalogue for Joseph Lemercier; still active in 1841) "Lemercier & Cie (Biographical details)" *The British Museum*. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=117499 accessed September 29, 2015.

[33] Alexander, Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (Scotland) commissioned the portrait to David in 1811, requesting him to "*Commit to the canvas the features of the Great Man, and represent him in one of the historic moments that have made him immortal."* Even though it is a private commission, and not an official portrait, the portrait nonetheless was part of an ambitious plan by the Marquis, to ingratiate himself in the Napoleonic court, exercising cultural diplomacy. http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/highlights/highlight46114.html, accessed September 29, 2015.

[34] "*Napoleon Le Grand. D'aprés le Portrait de S.M. l'Empereur Fait par M'r. David son premier Peintre*. (Napoleon the Great. After the Portrait of the Emperor by Monsieur David, His Premier Painter.) London. Published by S. Gans. No. 22, Southampton Street Strand." The Gentleman's Magazine advertised this event, saying in page 64 of the July 1828 Volume that, "Mr. S. Gans, of Southampton's street, has just published a large three-quarter length of the Emperor of the French, from the portrait of him by M. David, generally considered the most faithful likeness ever taken. This print is most extremely popular with the Parisienes, and we have no doubt it will receive the patronage of our own country. The engraving is very creditably executed." https://books.google.ca/books?id=-I83AAAAYAAJ&pg=PA64&lpg=PA64&dq=This+print+is+most+extremely+popular+with+the+Parisienes,+and+we+have+no+doubt+it+will+receive+the+patronage+of+our+own+country.+The+engraving+is+very+creditably+executed&source=bl&ots=0qIJdgHjtt&sig=LPcYUKNu9QoDsp913HOf2NRfq7A&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAGoVChMI0L3e3cCdyAIVw5uICh1QlAK-#v=onepage&q=This%20print%20is%20most%20extremely%20popular%20with%20the%20Parisienes%2C%20and%20we%20have%20no%20doubt%20it%20will%20receive%20the%20patronage%20of%20our%20own%20country.%20The%20engraving%20is%20very%20creditably%20executed&f=false, accessed September 29, 2015.
http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/napoleon/search/large.php?ID=5819&language=English&doctype=Prints
See also "English Caricature: English Artists: George Cruikshank." In "*Very Ill:" The Many Faces of Medical Caricature in Nineteenth-Century England and France,* online exhibition from the Historical Collections at the Claude Moore Health Sciences Library, University of Virginia. http://exhibits.hsl.virginia.edu/caricatures/en8-artists/, accessed September 29, 2015.
One of the copies of Napoleon's lithograph is located at McGill's University Napoleon Collection. One of these *Napoleon Le Grand* prints was part of the collection of the Hon. Jas. T. Mitchell, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. The auction catalog dating from 1908 mentions that "the whole world has been ramsacked in search for portraits of Napoleon Bonaparte." See James T Mitchell, *The unequalled collection of engraved portraits of Napoleon Bonaparte and his family and marshals, belonging to Hon. James T. Mitchell ... embracing the most important collection of portraits in mezzotinto, aquatint, line, and stipple; including many printed in colors, as well as choice proofs, also the extraordinary collection of caricatures on Napoleon by Cruikshank, Gillray, Rowlandson, and others. To be sold ... December 18 ... and ... December 19, 1908 ... Catalogue compiled and sale conducted by Stan V. Henkels. At the book auction rooms of Samuel T. Freeman & co* (Philadelphia: Press of W.F. Fell Co, 1908). http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89073172660;view=thumb;seq=1, accessed September 29, 2015.

[35] Daniel Fabre, *Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme*, 1999, 244. Cited in del Solar, "José de San Martín," 3.

[36] The advertisement read: *"En la calle del Restaurador n. 201, se acaban de recibir, recién llegados de Europa, unos magníficos retratos de S.E, el ilustre Restaurador de las Leyes, en que le representa de un*

medio cuerpo,del grandor natural, hechos en parís por el primer grabador de la Escuela Real de Francia teniendo por modelo uno pintado al oleo en esta ciudad por el profesor D. Cayetano Descalzi. Los retratos que hasta ahora había del Exmo. Señor D. Juan Manuel de Rosas e resentían en cierta mezquindad que no correspondía a la grandeza del héroe a quien representan y no parecían propios para ocupar el primer lugar en los salones de esta ciudad, ni en los establecimientos públicos, en que el federal patriotism y la gratitud de los empleados ha querido espontáneamente colocarlos. Los argentinos ansiaban poseer una prenda que correspondiese a su amor vivo y puro afecto hacia la persona del Gran Rosas y sentían que las prensas litográficas de esta capital no se hubiesen ocupado de tan digno objeto; lo anhelaban también nuestros hermanos, los hijos de las demás republicas, que en otro tiempo pertenecieron a la Metrópoli española, y los extranjeros mismos deseaban conocer al Héroe que tan célebre se ha hecho, sosteniendo dignamente la independencia del continente americano." Cited in Susana Fabrici, "Ostentación e intimidad. Los ámbitos del retrato en la Argentina del siglo XIX (segunda mitad)," *Epocas revista de historia,* no. 3 (2010): 73. See also, José Emilio Burucúa, *Arte, sociedad y política: Nueva Historia Argentina* vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999), 128.

[37] *Rosas el grande. Pintado de el mismo grandor natural por Cayetano Descalzi. Lith Julien. Paris, Lemercier. Vol. 3 of the Catalogue of the New-York State Library. Engravings. Albany: New York State Library, 1855/1856* (Albany: C. Van Benthuysen: 1865)*,* 143. http://books.google.com/books?id=v9YZAAAAMAAJ&oe=UTF-8, accessed September 26, 2015.

[38]Bernardo Ignacio Salduna, *La rebelión jordanista* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2005), 309.

[39] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 509. See also Andrew Graham Yool, *Imperial Skirmishes: War and Gunboat Diplomacy in Latin America* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2002), 74-89.

[40] Pradere, *Iconografía de Rosas*. The author posits that the printers fulfilled this wish so well that "he was almost considered a second Louis Philippe," 121-122.

[41] Th. Pavie, "Les Indiens de la Pampa", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1845, 4th series, I, 144, Cited in William Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 10, no. 2 (1930): 48. DOI: 10.2307/2506521. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2506521, accessed September 26, 2015. Pavie proceeded to give his impressions of the dictator of the Argentine Confederation, whom he had observed during a recent carnival in Buenos Aires. "In fact", said the Frenchman, "no one can tame a colt, or break a savage horse, or hunt a cougar better than Rosas. He made a show of compelling his fine Chilean steed to gallop through the worst paved streets of the capital; then he would suddenly wheel about, retrace his steps, and pirouette over the slippery stones, dodging not only the buckets of water but also the eggs which on that day, according to custom, the women showered upon the passersby," 48. Such an opinion generated a heated diplomatic incident, prompting the Marquis de Peysac, French Consul in Buenos Aires, to issue a swift condemnation of Pavie's piece, followed by a glowing public evaluation of Rosas' horsemanship skills as a signifier of strong leadership. According to the Consul, Rosas was "a most consummate statesman with the intrepidity, agility, and bravery of a warrior, and with the traits of a most clever gaucho," combining qualities that make "him the most perfect exemplar of the politician, the hero, the warrior, and the great citizen," 48.

[42] In 1846, Rosas was again compelled to resort to the printing press to emit currency. The provinces suffered the consequences of a delicate financial situation quickly deteriorating due to their dependence on the tributary monopoly of the Province of Buenos Aires and the Anglo-French blockade of the Port of Buenos Aires, which had cut off most of the revenues. Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 509.

[43] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 128.

[44] "I'Affaires de Buenos Ayres; expeditions de la France contre la R'publique Argentine, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1841, 4th series, XXV, 361, cited in Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 128-129.

[45] "Les deux rives de la Plata," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1843, 13th year, new series, II, 39, cited in Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 131.

[46] In frustration and before leaving his post, Hopkins wrote to Rosas himself a scathing letter that haunted American and Argentinian foreign relations during the remainder of the Rosas administration: "I know

that not in the wide world have you a man as a friend in whom you can confide, nor is there one among your own countrymen who will speak to you what he thinks and feels," condemning the Rosas-controlled press and the necessity to preface all editorials with "Death to the Savage Unitarians." Furthermore, he implored Rosas to "Show the world an example of moderation, and it will speak well for your heart and your head . . ." Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 501-502.
[47] Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 501-502.
[48] Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1989), 1.
[49] Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).
[50] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 1.
[51] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution,* 11.
[52] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution,* 8-9.
[53] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 10.
[54] For an in depth analysis of the transformation between the pre-modern or medieval *Homo Apertus* and the emergence of increasingly self-contained aristocratic, and later, bourgeois *Homo Clausus*, see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (New York: Urizen Books, 1978) His book was written nine years after the German publication of Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents*, also focused on bodily repression, at a time when bodies in German society were being highly disciplined and abused by the German state. Restricting the civil freedoms of Jewish and other minorities, Nazism also choreographed in mass rallies and parades the ideal German body, because it felt threatened in its political sovereignty. The body then, became the prime area of public gesture and political control.
[55] Roger Chartier follows the *oeuvre* of French philosopher Louis Marin on the power of the absolutist monarch's images and connects it to the historical sociology of Norbert Elias and his work on power and civility. *On The Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 95-96.
[56] Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*, 95-96.
[57] Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 8.
[58] Outram, 2. For an exhaustive theoretical investigation on monarchic and revolutionary representation, see Philippe Jeandrée, "A Perfect Model of the Great King."
[59] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 10-11.
[60] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 12.
[61] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 13.
[62] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 4.
[63] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 5. My research delves into Dorinda Outram's argument that "[t]he French Revolution unleashed changes in the public presentation and public significance of the bodies of individuals which were crucial in the formation of public space in the nineteenth century," and that this public space "was ripe for a take-over of power along the lines of the totalitarian movements in the twentieth century."[63] Through the lens of nineteenth century official portraiture under Rosas, I will examine how the Peronist movement has consistently attempted to take over public space through the public presentation of the bodies of Juan and Eva Perón since its inception in 1946, to this day.
[64] Philipp Jeandrée, "A Perfect Model of the Great King," *Eikones* 11 (2011): 79. https://rheinsprung11.unibas.ch/fileadmin/documents/Edition_PDF/Ausgabe02/thema_jeandree.pdf, accessed September 29, 2015.
[65] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 253.
[66] Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 21. Outram's tome constitutes a relevant source from where to analyze depictions of Rosas and his wife and daughter. Her contention that "No modernized capitalistic economic system followed in the wake of the Revolution: France did not fully industrialize until late in the nineteenth century and some would argue for an even later date," (29) also applies to Argentina at the time of Rosas, still an agricultural backwater, where industrialization was

beginning to occur, even though both Napoleon and Rosas epitomize the nineteenth century ruler as a modern individual.

[67] Harry Berger, *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 150.

[68] Sheldon Nodelman, "How to Read a Roman Portrait," *Art in America* 63 (1975): 27-33.

[69] After the French Revolution, Susan Sigfried argues, "The reforms of the Revolution effected a collapse of the individual into the role of the elected deputy or governing official. This conflation of the person with the role changed the locus of power…The personification of political values focused on the official or ruler as an individual." In Todd B. Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 19.

[70] Pradere and Chávez, *Iconografía de Rosas*, 161.

[71] The spandrel is also common in U.S. official portraiture of that time. See Doris Devine Fanelli, and Karie Diethorn, *History of the Portrait Collection, Independence National Historical Park* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), 69.

[72] William H. Hudson, *Far Away and Long Ago* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1918), 15, cited in Regina Root, *Fashion and Consensus*, 108-109.

[73] *"Sean eternos los laureles/Que supimos conseguir,"* quoted in Carlos Mangone and Jorge Warley, *El manifiesto: un género entre el arte y la política* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 1992), 121. The Argentinian National Anthem, by Blas Parera and Vicente López y Planes was published on May 14, 1813. See also Judith Miller, *The Style Sourcebook: The Definitive Illustrated Directory of Fabrics, Wallpapers, Paints, Flooring and Tiles* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2003), 92.

[74] "After becoming emperor, Napoleon presided over the first investiture into the Legion, which took place in 1804 at the *Hôtel des Invalides*, Paris. During the Consulate and the First Empire, Napoleon served as the grand master of the order, while a grand council of seven grand officers administered the 15 territorial units, or "cohorts," into which the order was divided.
Originally, the star of the order depicted a crown surrounded by oak and laurel wreaths with the head of Napoleon, while the other side displayed an eagle holding a thunderbolt with the motto emblazoned "Honneur et Patrie" ("Honour and Country")."
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/335043/Legion-of-Honour
Se also http://www.legiondhonneur.fr/fr/page/la-france/244, accessed September 29, 2015.
"*En 1804, Napoléon devenu empereur, fixe les insignes : une étoile à son effigie avec au revers l'aigle impériale et la devise Honneur et Patrie*." Pierre-Louis Roederer, "Speech Proposing the Creation of a Legion of Honour," in *Napoleon: Symbol for an Age, A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Rafe Blaufarb (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008), 101–102.

[75] For a comprehensive study of how French eighteenth century artists began to highlight physiognomic traits, see Melissa Helen Percival, "The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Mid-Eighteenth Century France." (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1997). See also Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 33. According to the authors, Lavater saw Physiognomy as a poetic feeling, which perceives causes in effects, a remnant of the classical idea of *Ut Pictura Poesis*, looking for beauty, resemblances, and caricature. In addition see: Richard Francis Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay. With a Map and Illustrations* (London: Tinsley Bros, 1870), 160. He discusses in light of physiognomy and phrenology, the likenesses of Argentinian former Paraguay warriors and Argentinian Presidents Sarmiento and Mitre; proving that the physical appearance of political figures, during the nineteenth century was a key concern related to psychological or character traits. The description of Sir Burton on Argentinian nineteenth century leaders is particularly relevant to evaluation of Rosas' appearance by foreign dignitaries, speaking of the colonial gaze on their Latin American counterparts who aspired to be perceived as international equals.

[76] Deffaudis to Guizot, *Archives du Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres, Correspondance Politique*, Buenos Ayres, vol. 34, cited in Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 132.

[77] Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 133.
[78] Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 136.
[79] Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 133.
[80] Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," 133.
[81] Spence Robinson, "Foreign Estimates," letter from Walenski to Guizot, June 12, 1847, 133.
[82] Lucio V. Mansilla cited in Pradere and Chávez, "Iconografía de Rosas," 140. *"Mi tío apareció: era un hombre alto, rubio, blanco, semipálido, combinación de sangre y de bilis, un cuasi adipose napoleónico, de gran talla; de frente perpendicular, amplia, rasa como una plancha de mármol fría, lo mismo que sus concepciones; de cejas no muy guarnecidas, poco arquadas, de movilidad difícil, de mirada fuerte, templada por el azul de una pupila casi perdida por lo tenue del matiz, dentro de unas órbitas escondidas en concavidades insondables. De nariz grande, afilada y correcta, tirando mas al griego que al romano, de labios delgados y casi cerrados, como dando la medida de su reserve, de la firmeza de sus resoluciones, sin pelo de barba, de modo que el juego de sus músculos era perceptible."*
[83] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 33.
[84] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 51.
[85]Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 38-40.
[86] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 78.
[87] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 41.
[88] Tulio Halperín Donghi, and John Charles Chasteen, *The Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 113.
[89] Leonardi, "Los retratos de Encarnación Ezcurra," 112.
[90] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution,* 79-80.
[91] Regina Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 101.
[92] Regina Root argues that Rosas' supporters, like former military men and *compadres,* could stand to acquire "substantial material benefits in exchange for their services." Not only the government enforced Federal style dress codes, the self disciplining of the subjects extended to the very tailoring of men's jackets, to differentiate themselves from the Europeanized Unitarian style of male dressing. Every public and private instance of support for Rosas had political meaning. Regina Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 22. See also Verónica Capasso, "El discurso visual durante el régimen rosista: imbricaciones entre lo público político y lo privado," in *VI Jornadas de Investigación en Disciplinas Artísticas y Proyectuales* (La Plata, 2012): 1-10. http://hdl.handle.net/10915/40943, accessed September 29, 2015.
[93] Capasso argues that: *"En el ámbito privado se incluyen los recursos visuales de lo político público y cómo pensarlo desde la categoría de unanimismo de González Bernaldo de Quirós, quien plantea que en la época de Rosas tanto el espacio público como el privado se unifican, se imbrican bajo un signo común,"* Ibid, 1. For Capasso, within such a unity, *"tanto las condiciones de producción de los discursos del rosismo como sus destinatarios fueron variados. Así el régimen pretendía ocupar todos los espacios sociales, adaptando su discurso político a los distintos auditorios y estructuras formales que cada uno de esos registros reclamaba, variando su énfasis, tono y contenido."* Capasso, "El discurso visual durante el regimen Rosista," 3.
[94] Capasso, "El discurso visual durante el regimen Rosista," 3.
[95] Root, *Couture and Consensus,* 21-22.
[96] John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator*, 21.
[97] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 44. Lynch, *Argentine Dictator*, 165.
[98] Lynch, *Argentine Dictator*, 165.
[99] Gordon Campbell, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*, vol 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 260.
[100] Stephen K. Scher, *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal* (New York: Garland Pub, 2000), 3. Scher's discussion on how the display of Renaissance medals conveyed the loyalty and protection of those close to princely power illuminates my assertion that to own personalized objects with the likeness of Rosas and his wife, afforded the owner with invaluable political capital.

[101] Robert Giffen, “A Problem in Money,” *The Nineteenth Century, a Monthly Review* 26 (1889): 873. https://books.google.ca/books?id=knotesVvc-YC&pg=PA579&lpg=PA579&dq=%E2%80%9CA+Problem+in+Money%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=iPpbaenTak&sig=DiX7dO3TQ4_rsolpm5yp7oT3zqM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCMQ6AEwAWoVChMIxNigiZ-VyAIVwSmICh0uKgNq#v=onepage&q=%E2%80%9CA%20Problem%20in%20Money%E2%80%9D&f=false, accessed, September 26, 2015.

[102] Jorge Tierno García, “La moneda en guerra: los procesos independentistas hispanoamericanos (1808-1826),” *Estudios de Historia Monetaria (II) Ab Initio*, no. 2 (2012): 268. http://www.ab-initio.es/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/EX0210-INDEPENDENCIAS.pdf, accessed September 29, 2015.
Tierno García posits that, *“En el Río de la Plata, tras los acontecimientos de mayo no se ordenó la acuñación de nueva moneda para no romper la dependencia formal de Fernando VII, con lo que se mantuvo la circulación habitual. No fue hasta 1813 cuando se decidió la acuñación de la primera “moneda patria” en Potosí. Entre tanto, la escasez de numerario debido al aislamiento y la guerra se resolvió extraoficialmente. Hay numerosas referencias a falsificaciones de toleradas de cuartos sin marca de ceca y moneda macuquina, o su fundición y rebaje con cobre, para producir monedas de baja ley en provincias del interior en conflicto como Salta, Rioja y Tucumán”, 248. In regards to re-stamping: “La ocupación de Lima de 1824 dejó constancia numismática por la orden de resello de la moneda acuñada por la junta en 1822 y 1823, con una corona real y la fecha 1824, que sin embargo, tuvo poco éxito.”* Tierno García, “La moneda en Guerra,” 268.

[103] Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres and David*, 9.

[104] https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/denonv.htm, accessed September 29, 2015.

[105] Sigfried, *Staging Empire*, 9.

[106] Scher, *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, 3. Commemorative medals have their origins in Imperial Rome and were adapted during Early Renaissance Italy to depict the images of Princely fathers and sons --*all'antica*-- to commemorate the military victories of princely ancestors and the interest of their descendants and supporters in evoking the individual heroism and cult of fame from Ancient Rome.

[107] Catrien G. Santing, Barbara Baert, and Anita Traninger, *Disembodied Heads in Medieval And Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 264.

[108] Outram, *The Body and The French Revolution,* 85.

[109] Outram, *The Body and The French Revolution*, 84.

[110] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 82.

[111] Outram, *The Body and The French Revolution*, 84.

[112] Dena Marie Woodall, “Sharing Space: Double Portraiture in Renaissance Italy” (Order No. 3346273, Case Western Reserve University, 2008), 70. http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/276071162?accountid=14474. Accessed, September 29, 2015. “Semiotically, the signifiers (the painted subjects) are conflated with both the referent (the living individuals as well as the actual relationship between the two people) and the signified (the couple's individual identities or status as, for example, man [noble, professional, husband, friend] and woman [beauty, wife, mother, lover] and their collective identity as married couple, lovers, professionals or friends-or a blend of these roles). There is a division between the relationship as it is understood from the double portrait and the actual everyday nature of the rapport between the two people. Not only are two individuals immortalized, but also the relationship between them is commemorated for the viewer to inspect and perhaps esteem.”

[113] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 109.

[114] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 86.

[115] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 109.

[116] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 85, Regina Root transcribes from the Spanish an example of how the Federal press under the guise of humorous poems conflated the Unitarian girl in a blue dress and *peinetón*

as the epitome of shameful female behavior, associating her diseased and contaminated body to the body of those opposed to Rosas.

[117] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 80.

[118] Bithy R., Goodman "The Modernity of la Mode: a History of the French Revolution Through the Lens of Fashion, Culture, and Identity" (2012). Honor's Theses. Paper 123. http://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1119&context=honors_theses, accessed September 29, 2015.

Goodman engages in a thorough discussion of French fashion and politics between the years 1789 and 1815 that illuminates the contested terrain of pictorial representation of political power under Rosas as imbued by French ideas of dress.

[119] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 106.

[120] Leonardi, "Los retratos de Encarnación Ezcurra," 120. "*En todos los casos hallados hasta el momento el retrato remite a Encarnación en tanto heroína. Por esto no se exaltan en los mismos su condición femenina sino su postura hierática cercana a la adoptada por los varones de su época. Es un caso extraordinario, no una mujer corriente. Por eso sus retratos no transmiten emociones o actitudes dulcificadas.*"

[121] Leonardi, "Los retratos de Encarnación Ezcurra,"113.

[122] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 81.

[123]Dusenberry, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," 509.

[124] Dusenberry, "Juan manuel de Rosas," 510.

[125] As attested by Spanish chronicles published in Peninsular newspapers. "*Después de haber insistido durante muchos dias en que se le admitiera la renuncia del cargo de gobernador de Buenos Aires, ha concluido por retirarla, y los representantes de doce estados, entre los catorce de que se compone la confederación argentina, lo han elegido gefe supremo de la confederación, de manera que ahora tiene una extension de mando y autoridad que nunca ha tenido.*

Esta elevación hecha con toda solemnidad, fue acogida por el público con grandes muestras de regocijo. Rosas podrá en su nuevo puesto hacer mucho en favor de la independencia y nacionalidad americana, tan combatidas ambas por las intrigas y aun por las armas de los estrangeros. Al retirarse el representante anglo americano por haber terminado su misión, ha dirigido al ministro de relaciones esteriores don FELIPE DE ARANA un discurso notable por su originalidad. Después de exaltar hasta las nubes el mérito y el patrioiismo del presidente, hace un elogio no menos cumplido de su hija doña Manuela Rosas y Ezcurra, a quien llama entre otras cosas "ministra de caridad y clemencia." *La España*, Friday November 21, 1851, 1. http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0002665169&page=1&search=%22Manuela+Rosas%22&lang=en, accessed September 29, 2015.

While the article from *La España* was clearly laudatory of his administration, the Spanish newspaper *La Ilustración* wrote critically about Rosas. Both articles, however, agreed that Manuela Rosas was the softer side of the Confederation, for better or for worse.

"*Único dueño de su poder, como del pueblo que esclaviza con él, radiante con esa aureola de sangre que rodea su frente, fascinador con su inflexible tiranía, no es un dios, pero es un demonio que hacia bajar la frente á cuantos se lo acercan, presa todos de esa doble enfermedad del cuerpo y del espíritu que se llama terror. Y su hija, única persona que lo ve, qué lo oye, y que participa de sú confianza, es para el pueblo enfermo, débil y fanatizado, el altar donde corre á poner de rodillas el homenaje servil de su postración. Manuela oye á todos, recibe á todos con afabilidad y dulzura*." *La Ilustración, Periódico Universal.* Sábado 17 de Abril de 1852. *http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0004239924&page=3&search=%22Manuela+Rosas%22&lang=en*, accessed September 29, 2015.

[126] The group consisted of Juan Nepomuceno Terrero, Luis Dorrego, and Gervasio Ortiz de Rosas. Jorge López Anaya, *Historia del arte Argentino* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores 1997), 34.

[127] Roberto Amigo, *Benjamin Franklin Rawson* (Buenos Aires: Museo Provincial Franklin Rawson, 2014), 35.
[128] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 85.
[129] López Anaya, *Historia del arte*, 34.
[130] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*, 101. Outram posits that heroic male representations and the accompanying representation of female bodies as reactive or doers, "was successful in collapsing personality into role, and making role bear the entire meaning of a political process." While adding that, "It also had the advantage of placing a purchase on the future." 101.
[131] Nancy Hanway, *Embodying Argentina: Body, Space, and Nation in 19th Century Narrative* **(**Jefferson: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2003), 35. Hanway quotes José Mármol's description of Manuelita's portrait by Pueyrredón as "standing with a cheerful expression on her physiognomy, and in the act of placing on her desk a request directed to her daddy. In this way the goodness of the young woman would be represented in her smile, while her role as intermediary between the people and the Supreme Chief would be represented in the request that she was placing on the desk."
[132] Francine Masiello, *Between Civilization and Barbarism: Women, Nation and Literary Culture*, 20.
[133] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 99.
[134] Masiello, *Between Civilization*, 22.
[135] Masiello, *Between Civilization,* 22.
[136] Masiello, *Between Civilization*, 22.
[137] Masiello, *Between Civilization,* 22.
[138] Masiello, *Between Civilization,* 22.
[139] Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 18-21.
[140] Marino, "Manuela Rosas," 465.
[141] Hanway, *Embodying Argentina*, 34-37.
[142] López Anaya, *Historia del arte Argentino*, 33.
[143] Laura Malosetti Costa, "Los desnudos de Prilidiano Pueyrredón como tension entre lo public y lo privado," in *El arte entre lo público y lo privado. VI Jornadas de Teoría e Historia de las* Artes (Buenos Aires: CAIA, 1995), 129. http://www.caia.org.ar/docs/Malosetti%20Costa.pdf, accessed September 29, 2015.
[144] Root, *Couture and Consensus*, 109.
[145] Betzer, *Ingres and the Studio*, 39. For a discussion of the allegorical nature of the Manuela Rosas portrait by Prilidiano Pueyrredón, see Marcelo Marino, "Manuela Rosas, su apariencia entre un daguerrotipo y una pintura," 462-463. Marino posits that an extant daguerreotype of Manuela Rosas lacks the attributes depicted in the allegorical portrait, yet nonetheless acts as an index of modernity. Unlike the Pueyrredón painting, the daguerreotype of Manuela Rosas activates her private persona.
[146] Betzer, *Ingres and the Studio*, 67.
[147] María Lía Munilla Lacasa, José Emilio Burucúa, Andrea Jáuregui and Laura Malosetti, "Influencia de tipos iconográficos de la Revolución Francesa en los países del Plata," in "Imagen y recepción de la Revolución Francesa en la Argentina." In *VV.AA*: *Imagen y recepción de la Revolución Francesa en la* Argentina (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1990), cited in Jorge López Anaya, *Historia del arte Argentino,* 34.
[148] Betzer, *Ingres and the Studio*, 43.
[149] For a discussion of Ingres and his use of Roman cameos and antiques, see Agnes Mongan, "Ingres and the Antique," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 1-13. DOI: 10.2307/750392 Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/750392, accessed September 30, 2015.
[150] Halperin Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, 107-113.
[151] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution,* 150.
[152] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution,*160.
[153] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Culture*, 69.

[154] Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution*. The author argues that the body of the heroic ruler, based on the *Homo Clausus,* "weakened models for change. It thus opened the way for the emergence of modern totalitarian states led by charismatic figures who were able to focus the unspoken desires of individuals, inexpressible because of the culture's validation of *Homo Clausus*, upon their own public performances,"163. Furthermore, she argues that the male type *Homo Clausus* -the body chosen to represent the post revolutionary and legitimated "body politic"- "was validated by his separation of affect from instinct, by body control leading to an increasingly painful, yet necessary sense of separation from other individual human beings. *Homo Clausus* legitimated himself by his superiority to the somatic relationship enjoyed by other classes and by the other gender." The author argues that this male body was a "*non*-body, which, rather than projecting itself, retained itself. In doing so, it became the location of abstract value systems, such as rationality and objectivity," 158. In regards to the "body politic" Outram adds that it produced a highly sensitized public realm, which included women only as a source of imagery for male political debate, denying "an acceptable, forceful public body to women." While evacuating religious meaning from the body it also did away with "the whole validation of political power through a sacral body." 159.

CHAPTER 2

"*Nuestro mejor espejo:*" Numa Ayrinhac's Presidential Portraits of Juan and Eva Perón at the 1952 Fine Arts Argentinian Retrospective Exhibition

By the end of the Rosas regime, the 1838 oil portrait *Rosas el Grande* by Cayetano Descalzi and its lithographed reproductions, along with Prilidiano Pueyrredón's 1851 oil portrait of Manuela Rosas, daughter of authoritarian ruler, had become the "gendered synecdoche" of the Rosas administration.[1] These portraits helped establish Juan Manuel de Rosas as the *Homo Clausus* of Argentina, both in the River Plate and abroad. While the work by Descalzi conveyed to local and foreign audiences Rosas' Napoleonic style, the Pueyrredón portrait portrayed his daughter positioned to succeed her father and wearing up-to-date French attire, which was simultaneously adopted by those opposing Rosas' failing rule. Both works, in addition to immortalizing the Rosas regime, also contributed to installing Descalzi and Pueyrredón in the canon of Argentinian art. A century later, Franco-Argentinian Numa Ayrinhac, an academically trained artist who has been erased from Argentina's artistic canon, cannily conveyed another populist leader in decline, twentieth-century *Homo Clausus* Juan Domingo Perón, and his wife Eva María Duarte. Drawing upon both nineteenth-century French portraiture and Argentinian visual culture from the 1940s, Ayrinhac was instrumental in helping to maintain Perón's autocratic rule.

In 1952, two life-sized oil portraits of President Perón and his wife Eva Duarte by Numa Ayrinhac (figures 1 and 2) graced the main entrance of a retrospective exhibition of Argentine painting, *La pintura y la escultura argentinas de este siglo*, held at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. The two separate portraits theatrically flanking the entrance to the exhibition (figures 3 and 4) openly compete for attention with the other works exhibited. At the same time, Ayrinhac's authorship is almost completely disavowed. The catalogue of the

exhibition, which took place between October 30, 1952 and March 29, 1953, described this retrospective as "*the* artistic endeavor" of the Peronist regime's second five-year plan or *plan quinquenal*. According to the catalogue, which was published after the exhibition opened to the public, audiences arrived by the thousands, overflowing the museum, rendering it an all-day "place of celebration," or "*lugar de fiesta*."[2] But contrasting with this joyous pronouncement, and with the portraits by Ayrinhac, is a poignant oil painting from 1942 by Argentinian avant-garde artist Raquel Forner called *Retablo del dolor (Altar of Sorrow)*. This work constitutes a silent invitation to look beyond the triumphant atmosphere of the exhibition. Forner's painting, hidden away in Room XIX (figure 5), suggests a less celebratory mood in the streets of Buenos Aires and the art world of the country.

Organized by the Ministry of Education, the retrospective exhibition contained more than 519 works by 271 Argentinian artists, all of whom had exhibited in past National Salons. In addition, the catalogue called the showcase "*nuestro mejor espejo*" (our best mirror),[3] suggesting a kind of identification between the Peronist regime, the general public, the artists selected, and the artworks. The catalogue predicted a positive reception by the general public and the specialized press, confident of the regime's political validation by all sectors of society. In addition to omitting any reference to Ayrinhac and his authorship of the two paintings at the exhibition's entrance, the catalogue ignored underlying conflicts that had emerged in the Argentinian art world during Perón's regime. The art on display came primarily from the permanent collection of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes selected by government officials, even including pieces by dissident artists who had participated in national exhibitions prior to 1946, but had boycotted them after Perón's election. The exhibition presented to the public an official act of affirmation and artistic unity under Peronism.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill argues that a museum object may simultaneously function as a work of art and as an object that tells a story of our past, forming a canon created through a process of inclusions, omissions, and exclusions. Hooper-Greenhill argues that "[w]ithin a discourse of this nature, the other objects that would form part of the context of meaning-construction would be other works of art."[4] Following Hooper-Greenhill, my inquiry asks of Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns, "Who is advantaged by the meaning made available, and whose history is being suppressed?"[5] To answer this question, the historical backdrop against which the production and exhibition of Peronist portraiture took place between the years 1946 and 1955 must first be understood.

Understanding the Argentinian Canon(s): A Brief History of the National Salon

According to Anna Brzyzki, the mechanics of the canonical system rely on the rhetorical insistence of the singularity of the canon, obscuring a structural and functional condition that allows and, most importantly, requires multiplicity. Brzyzki argues that "There exist different, and multiple canons, historically and geographically situated . . . On the level of function, those canonical formations are discursive structures that organize information within a particular field according to a hierarchical order, which engenders cultural meanings, confers, and withholds value, and ultimately participates in the production of knowledge."[6] Through a process of "selective tradition,"[7] Ayrinhac has been labelled the creator of Peronist political propaganda and ignored by the artistic establishment. In contrast, Dezcalzi and Pueyrredón are seen as foundational contributors to Argentina's artistic canon, and Forner has been given a central role in the development of the Argentinian avant-garde. The portraits of the Peróns by Ayrinhac remain absent even in the most recent surveys of Argentine art.[8] Such exclusion prevents

contemporary audiences from critically engaging with Ayrinhac's still-controversial contribution to the expanding canon of art in Argentina.

Beginning in the 1880s, Argentinian art was subjected to a notion of progress that linked Europe to civilization and America to barbarism. The process of "civilizing" Argentina was dependent upon a liberal economic model, based on exporting agricultural products, while industrializing the nation through railway and port construction and creating public spaces for leisure like those found in Europe.[9] During the first half of the twentieth century, massive numbers of new European immigrants arrived in Argentina, causing political and cultural elites to become concerned with the creation of a "native" national identity. During this period, the artistic community participated in the process of identity formation, engaged in increasingly politicized artistic debates, exhibiting their work annually at the *Salón Nacional* (National Salon).[10]

The Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (MNBA) officially opened on December 25, 1896. Its first director was Eduardo Schiaffino, an artist, critic, and the first historian of Argentinian art. The first National Salon took place in 1911 under the direction of the artist Cupertino del Campo, and works in this exhibition received equal support from the art world and the public.[11] The national salons became the most important artistic and high society events of each spring; the exhibitions were held annually in the September to October period. With the historic weight of the European salons in Paris and Madrid behind them, the national salons constituted the foremost space of legitimation of artistic practices. Like their European counterparts, they accepted, refused, rewarded, and acquired art in an official context. They also created and contained tensions; the national salons privileged continuity over the new, and dissenting voices attempted to undermine their role.

During the early twentieth century, the salon jury privileged work that spoke of the nation, showcasing these works both locally in Buenos Aires and in exhibitions abroad. The national salons were at the centre of two interrelated debates regarding identity and art. One concerned subject matter, for the jury-preferred work that depicted the "native" Argentinian, a "race" of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, the *gaucho* and his rural landscape. *El Embrujador* (The Witch Doctor), painted by Cesareo Bernaldo de Quirós in 1919, characterizes this type of work (figure 6). The other centered on style. Artists painting realistic works with narrative content were more frequently rewarded than those, like Emilio Pettoruti, who were pursuing formal innovation-based Cubism, Futurism, and the European avant-garde (figure 7).[12]

In the early twentieth century, artists who participated in the National Salon also began to participate in alternative modes of exhibition, expanding the art field and creating a varied audience. Dissident artist groups, such as the *Recusados* and *Independientes*, appeared in this period, and the *Salón de Artistas Independientes* was established in 1918. These annual exhibitions, which continued until 1945, took place without prizes and juries, generally occurred a month earlier than the National Salon, providing an alternative space for those artists rejected by the state-sponsored institution.[13] Parallel and conflicting modes of exhibition and spectatorship therefore overlapped in this period, creating a public that had to differentiate and eventually choose between many artistic options. The main objective during this period was the demarcation of territory, the staking of an artistic ground that would become increasingly politicized during the following years. By the early 1940s, the *Salón de Artistas Independientes* had become the venue where artists would engage as democratic citizens.

The Allied victory over the Axis prompted a massive street celebration on September 19, 1945, that also served as a demonstration against the government, controlled by a Pro-Fascist

group of military men, with protestors demanding a return to democracy. The protesters were angered by the government's late, and reluctant, support for Allied forces and its repression of a local rally celebrating the liberation of Paris, which had taken place earlier that year.[14] Artists, associating the National Salon with the government, actively protested and boycotted the 1945 state-sponsored exhibition. Explicitly siding with pro-democratic forces in the country, they reaffirmed a commitment to socially engaged subjects and avant-garde styles, rather than to the nostalgic paintings of Argentinian ethnic types and landscapes favoured by the National Salon elite.

The *Salón de Artistas Independientes* dissolved after Perón came to power in June of 1946, and the artists decided to lift the boycott and participate in successive national salons, still "remaining alert." Artistic and political disagreements between dissident artists and the Peronist Government continued until the end of the regime in 1955, but on an individual level. Some artists, like Forner, continued to boycott the national salons, while others did not. The Peronist government managed to disrupt any group activity that would oppose their administration, utilizing the yearly National Salon to mandate content and compel artists to produce a national art.

As early as 1946, the Peronist regime began intervening in the National Salon by mandating new rules on how to give artistic form to the characteristics and events of national life. Adhering to a strategy of "political nationalism," cultural officials repudiated abstraction, which was considered too foreign, and insisted on nativist subject matter.[15] In response, dissident artists reaffirmed their commitment to abstraction and began to oppose the government and its support of artistic representations of Eva Perón. The liberal artistic and cultural elite did not consider portraits of Eva Perón and her husband legitimate cultural or artistic productions. They

were not discussed in the press in the same way as the other works exhibited at the National Salon.[16]

The "Peronization" of the National Salon

The text of the 1952 catalogue for *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo* attempted to describe Argentinian artistic production between the years 1900 and 1952 as a straight line, as if the seismic emergence of Peronism into Argentinian society, and into the art world, had been part of a gradual and logical progression. According to the text, the paintings were exhibited in the different rooms following a criteria of "conceptual unity and artistic language," "highlighting the natural course of those units in their historical process."[17] The photographs in the catalogue, however, tell a more complex story. If Peronization in general consisted of the efforts of government bureaucrats to secure the electorate's adherence to the regime through rituals and administrative measures, in the art world, it translated into the increasing regulation of the National Salons as to subject matter and style. The placement of the Ayrinhac portraits of the Peróns at the entrance to the exhibition space overtly visualized the "Peronization" of the salon, according to art historian Andrea Giunta.[18] In addition, Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns, which brought together nineteenth-century portrait conventions with twentieth-century visual culture and modern photographic techniques, implicitly expanded the Argentinian artistic canon by blurring the lines between high and low art.

This process of Peronization was not exclusive to the National Salon. According to historian Luis Alberto Romero, it was part of a set of measures by the Ministry of Education, in a clear move towards totalitarianism that sought to enlist "all members of society in organizations that were controlled and Peronized." For Romero, the Peronization of society's institutions "was

a project with its own dynamic, implemented by a coterie of government functionaries who marched independently of the will or leadership of the president."[19] Such measures extended not only to education and public administration, but also to the armed forces; they included

> [T]he creation of the Union of Secondary Students, demands for affiliation to the party, the wearing of the Peronist "badge," obligatory mourning for Eva Perón, pressures to make contributions to the latter's foundation, and demonstrations in support of Perón and his wife, whose names emblazoned railroad stations, hospitals, streets, plazas, cities, and entire provinces.[20]

According to Romero, the government also sought to rebuild a space for peaceful coexistence with the opposition, whose parties were on the brink of being stripped of legitimacy.[21] Therefore, we can conclude that the retrospective exhibition encompassed both aspects of the Peronist regime: Peronization and, by including avant-garde artists, an attempt at inclusiveness.

Peronization of the National Salon also resulted in a change of the exhibition's date, which opened at the request of pro-Peronist artists during the celebrations of October 17 rather than in September, as was usual. For Giunta, this change of date "consolidated the transformation of the salon into a state-directed ritual, moving an event traditionally linked to elite society into the context of Peronist festivities."[22] Such a process, according to the author, became even more evident with the creation in 1951 of the National Salon of Students of Fine Arts "Eva Perón."[23]

Numa Ayrinhac and Raquel Forner: Divergent Artistic Strategies at the Peronist Salon

Numa Ayrinhac, a French-born artist who trained in Argentina and France, specialized in painting provincial high society. From 1948 until his death in 1952, he was the official painter of the Peronist regime, producing more than twenty portraits of the couple. His career, artistic production, and strategy up until 1947 was similar to with what Penhos and Weschler have called

"Manet's strategy," where the artist would select works to be exhibited according to the "consecrated academic norm, seeking acceptance" in the French salon environment.[24] Like Manet, Ayrinhac studied and exhibited in the French academic system.

After settling in Argentina, Ayrinhac established himself as an academically trained French painter, portraying ecclesiastical and society figures alike.[25] According to his biographers, Ayrinhac received a commission to paint a portrait of Doña Juana Duarte, Eva Perón's mother, in 1947. Eva Perón appropriated Ayrinhac as her personal portraitist in much the same way she appropriated the opulent French fashions and accoutrements of young *porteño* society ladies, visually and politically mimicking their social practices, while mocking and attacking them in her discourses. Ayrinhac, for his part, introduced a new artistic strategy upon becoming the official portraitist to the presidential couple. In alignment with the populist regime, he began to incorporate masculine and feminine types derived from Argentinian visual culture into his portraits of the Peróns.

Ayrinhac's production of official portraits of the Peróns involved a process of mediation that brought together nineteenth-century portrait painting techniques, popular images of Argentinian film stars, and photographs of the couple. During his tenure as official painter of the Peróns, Ayrinhac had to attend to an increasing number of requests for official portraits, to be hung everywhere from embassies to transatlantic ships, and he utilized the same photograph to paint many of those works.[26] The facial expressions remained unchanged from portrait to portrait, while the outfits varied, according to the specification of the sitters (Figures 8–12). According to Andrea Giunta, his repertoire of facial renderings of the first lady still constitutes an essential part of today's repertoire of images destined to immortalize her figure.[27] Their only double official portrait, from 1948, is now at the Museo del Bicentenario in Buenos Aires.

While investigation has made it possible to elucidate the method of execution of Peronist portraiture by Ayrinhac, it is still a challenge for the researcher to obtain written documents directly linked to the commissioning of the portraits of the Peróns, perhaps because of Ayrinhac's assembly-line-like mode of production. However, previously unpublished information in the Numa Ayrinhac Museum Archives sheds some light on the system of political loyalties at the heart of such commissions, Ayrinhac's central role within the Peronist structure, and his work as a compliant arts bureaucrat, crafting discourses and official correspondence during his tenure as Provincial Director of Fine Arts.[28]

After 1948 Ayrinhac began to accept commissions for portraits of the presidential couple from all three levels of government. Ayrinhac was designated Director of the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts in 1949,[29] and Provincial Director of Fine Arts on January 23, 1950.[30] By this time, he was producing work at an increasing speed and in larger numbers. For instance, there is documentary information dated November 11, 1950, attesting that the *Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación* (Argentina's Federal Legislative body) paid Numa Ayrinhac $6,600 "moneda nacional" for a 1.90 × 1.90 portrait of "Doña Eva Perón." On January 8, 1950, the Province of Buenos Aires acquired for $6,600 pesos a portrait of President Perón "especially commissioned by the Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, Colonel (R) Domingo A. Mercante." And on February 15, 1950, Ayrinhac was paid $10,000 for a portrait of General Perón, commissioned by the Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Province of Buenos Aires, Dr. Valenzuela.[31]

In creating these images, Ayrinhac utilized traditional academic portrait painting techniques, inserting the figure into an imaginary background assembled from different elements borrowed from reality. He also used a similar process to select the elements of the figures

themselves, utilizing both sketches produced in the studio and the modern medium of photography. Piecing together different photographs of the sitters, the artist constructed the final portraits from fragments (figure 8). This process of mediation and fragmentary selection supplanted the more extended work from life sometimes employed by academic portrait painters. Such extended work with the sitter would have been impossible, given the speed at which the commission of official portraits of the First Couple succeeded one another.

Peronist portraiture circulated in a highly hierarchical manner, whereby embassies and government-owned ocean liners commissioned "original" portraits of the Peróns, while union representatives received photographic reproductions of the portraits, or in some cases, official photographs of Eva Perón posing next to the oil painting exhibited at the 1952 retrospective (figure 9). Photographic portraits like these, given to Perón's subordinates, were to be exhibited in the representative's office or home.[32] The Peróns were placed at the top of the hierarchy of Argentinian society, while workers and the military, as seen in the magazine *Continente* (figure 10), were below. The portraits of the Peróns dwarfed all the other works present at the 1952 retrospective exhibition as well. With the arrival of Peronism, the workers unions, originally loyal to Labour party leader Cipriano Reyes, struggled to re-organize and become more homogenous under the newly formed Peronist Party. Meatpacking plant worker María Roldán, for example, recalls "the internal struggle with our own *compañeros* (comrades). At times it was tougher than struggling against the boss himself."[33] As explained above, the Argentinian art world suffered internal political turmoil during the years of Perón's rule as well.

If Ayrinhac enjoyed the status of "artist of the people," as he was described in the obituaries that immediately followed his death in 1951,[34] Raquel Forner, an Argentinian artist also trained in France, became part of the liberal intelligentsia that eventually displaced the

National Salon and prevented Ayrinhac and his portraits of the Peróns from entering the Argentinian artistic canon. Raquel Forner opposed fascism and the anti-democratic government in Argentina, creating work that contained highly charged iconographic content. Born in Buenos Aires in 1902, Forner trained first at the National Academy of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires before moving to Paris to study at the Scandinavian Academy. She participated for the first time in the National Salon in 1924.

Forner's work was alternatively accepted at the National Salon in 1924 and 1942 and rejected in 1934. Simultaneously, she exhibited her work in other commercial and alternative venues. Critics were especially impressed by *Liberación,* the work she submitted to the *Salon de Artistas Independientes* in 1945 (figure 11).[35] *Liberación* denounces the atrocities of World War II and by extension the support of Argentinian military authorities for the Axis powers. The painting depicts a female allegorical figure, emerging from the dead with her laurel wreath precariously crowning her disheveled head. She signifies victory, ravaged and wounded, yet alive. The expressionistically-rendered painting, which is part of a series of paintings about the European conflict, is life size, provoking in the viewer a quasi-physical identification with the experience of universal oppression. Forner refused to participate in the National Salon during the Peronist period. She and her supporters saw it as conventional and insignificant, whereas the *Salon de Independientes*, they claimed, was filled with "living art." After Perón was ousted, Forner declared to the press that the 1955 military coup constituted a return to artistic freedom. She claimed she had "lived [during the Peronist period] as an exile in her own country."[36]

***La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo*: "Our Best Mirror"**

The 1952 Retrospective Exhibition provides an understudied opportunity for the inquiry into Peronist portraiture and canon formation in Argentina. A detailed analysis of the display context

of Ayrinhac's portraits of the presidential couple, or "the company they kept," will shed new light on the problematic position of Ayrinhac in the canon of Argentinian art. My interrogation of the conditions of display for Peronist portraiture in the 1952 Retrospective Exhibition delves deeply into the concomitant silences and omissions that obscure visual analysis of Peronist official portraiture and builds upon previous studies of the politics of canon formation in Argentina during the first half of the twentieth century.

The death of First Lady Eva Perón on July 26, 1952 thrust Buenos Aires and the nation into a profound state of collective grief. The government-ordered period of mourning following her death was also coupled with aggressive attempts by the Peronist regime to coopt society at a time of rising inflation, food shortages, and discontent among the Catholic, military, and judicial establishment.[37] Perón's recent re-election, in June 1952, gave way in the words of historian Luis Alberto Romero to a "consolidation of authoritarianism"[38] that extended, as previously explained, to the national salons, though more as a haphazardly combined individual strategy of obsequious government bureaucrats, than as an organized top-to-bottom strategy.

The Peronist government, rooted in authoritarian political practices developed during the previous decade, intervened in the National Salon by regulating the content of paintings and choreographing exhibitions and openings. Although avant-garde and dissident artists, navigating this period on their own, often chose to boycott the National Salon, their work was hung along with traditional work by Peronist supporters in the 1952 retrospective. The catalogue of the exhibition, written by government officials, called the exhibition "our best mirror" for the nation, constructing a myth of consensus that claimed to overcome artistic and political differences.[39] By including artworks acquired by the Museum before Perón's rise to power, the exhibition imbued

them with new meaning. The exhibition, with Ayrinhac's portraits at the entrance, presented Argentina as nation reflected in the mirror of an art scene unified under Peronism.

The exhibition catalogue includes captions under its black and white photographs, identifying the exhibition spaces, works, and authors. It also includes two alphabetical lists of the participating artists, one of the painters and the other of the sculptors, at the end. Ayrinhac's name, however, does not appear. It is as if the artist responsible for painting the portraits of the Peróns had posthumously resigned his agency in favour of his sitters. Such an omission could be perceived as an oversight or as an unabashed act of obsequiousness towards the Peróns on the part of the government bureaucrats in charge of documenting the exhibition. Ayrinhac's anonymity makes him one more member of the general public, appearing to rise above the politically charged environment of the Argentinian artistic world of his time. While his obituary in the press described him as "the artist of the people," Forner and her work were fully identified with those artists who had chosen to resist the regime.[40]

As an example of the authoritarian impulse manifested by the exhibition, Juan Zocchi, then Director of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, wrote in the catalogue that Argentinians express themselves "through their own and unique aesthetic."[41] Zocchi's words establish Argentina's inability to encompass more than one set of aesthetic principles, suggesting that the country, and therefore its artists, remained both politically and artistically "alone in the world." Such an argument, while validating the regime's position as a "Robinson who has had to do everything in secretive isolation, pierced by an international sea,"[42] deliberately disregarded the diversity of the works included in the exhibition and negated the individual career strategies deployed by artists under the regime. The portrayal of a fictively peaceful coexistence of

diverging artistic opinions under the tutelage of the government was one of Perón's many attempts at silencing artistic debate in the official sphere.

At the 1952 retrospective exhibition, the Perón portraits were placed across from one another at the museum's main entrance (see figures 3 and 4). Flanking these two separate works, the organizers placed several monochromatic stone sculptural works that direct the viewer's eye toward Ayrinhac's colourful portraits. In the left painting, a smiling General Perón wears his white Army military jacket and stands in three-quarter profile, in contrapposto, against a green-painted interior (see figure 1). A marble bust of Augustus, like the nineteenth-century reproduction in figure 12, depicting the Roman emperor who first ruled in a triumvirate and later emerged victorious as the first Roman imperial ruler, sits on a mantle. Following Louis Marin and his analysis of the portrait of Louis XIV, Ayrinhac's portrait of Perón constitutes power by multiplying the sitter's influence in myriad ways, imposing the fear of the law while building upon former examples of political force. Ayrinhac's portrait imbues Perón with a protean ability to slip into the heroic and imperial figure of Augustus.[43] In addition, the works selected to frame the portrait define Perón as a benevolent yet powerful Pygmalion to Eva Perón's Galatea, deepening the painting's references to the Classical World. As in the portraits of Napoleon and Rosas discussed in chapter one, Perón is in dialogue with the first imperial ruler of Rome, establishing a historic and political tradition of autocratic rule that spans centuries and continents. In the aftermath of World War II and at the beginning of the Cold War, Perón aimed to become a model for all the Latin nations of America and Europe. As the natural heir and bridge between the continents, Perón promoted an idea of Pan Latinism that clashed with the ideal of Pan Americanism favoured by the United States.[44]

Curiously, the bust is reflected in the mirror on the right of the canvas, but the image of the General is not, highlighting the tension between the quasi-photographic (as if he were actually here) representation of Perón and the illusionism of art. Ayrinhac places the image of General Perón directly in front of the viewer and appropriates the idea of the mirror from academic artists like Ingres, who utilized it as a mode of engaging the audience.[45] In the *Portrait of Madame de Senonnes* (see chapter one, figure 14), for example, the mirror acts as an amplifier of sensual excess. By refusing to reflect Perón in the mirror, Ayrinhac highlights the singularity of the president. Perón is portrayed as a powerful contemporary emperor, presented to the viewer without mediation. Ayrinhac claims a bit of Perón's power for himself as well; as author of this portrait, he positions himself as the sole mediator between General Perón and his people, as the unassuming yet *true* "artist of the people."

The absent reflection allows viewers to identify (or not) with the figure of the seemingly benevolent and democratic General, who had won the 1946 elections by a landslide. At the entrance to the 1952 exhibition, they might consider the mirroring process, recall the catalogue's reference to "our best mirror," and admire Ayrinhac's talent and training as an academic painter. The viewer might ponder Perón's role as a new Augustus, capable of uniting Latin America and Latin Europe. Such reading is furthered in the context of Eva Perón's 1947 diplomatic and charity mission, during which the President's wife brought the country's riches, such as wheat and beef, to the doorsteps of impoverished post-war Spain and Italy. During her visit, the Italian government gave the first lady a reproduction of the She-Wolf, mother of Romulus and Remus, with the founders of Rome latched onto her breasts, visually cementing the cultural ties binding Argentina and Italy.[46]

According to cultural historian Natalia Milanesio, Perón's political rivals —particularly the socialists— often "portrayed Perón in his military uniform as the local incarnation of infamous authoritarian figures, most commonly Napoleon, Julius Caesar, Hitler and Mussolini."[47] In these representations, Perón's military clothes, as symbol of privilege and despotism, underscored the General's hierarchical relations with the citizenry, his political and military subordinates, as well as his opponents. Ayrinhac's portrait puts this criticism to rest. By deliberately omitting Perón's reflection in the mirror, the comparisons between the Argentinian leader and the Roman ruler become diluted, highlighting Perón's exceptional role in a particular geographical place and moment in time.

Natalia Milanesio, in her study of Perón and masculinity, argues that "[i]n order to be intelligible to his audience, Perón's self-presentation required the use of culturally prevalent and socially valued expectations and attributes."[48] Like the portraits of *Napoleon Le Grand* and *Rosas el Grande*, Perón's portrait includes uniform and decorations that remind the viewer of the military training and strategic capabilities he had developed in Mussolini's Italy.[49] These Neo-Classical references are rooted in Latin America's long-standing tradition of imagining the state through the personal qualities of leaders —from the Spanish monarch during the colonial period and the provincial *caudillos* of the nineteenth century to twentieth-century left-wing revolutionary figures like Che Guevara.[50] Unlike Rosas, who exhibits a hyper-masculine demeanour through clenched jaw and penetrating eyes, Perón smiles and relaxes his stance. He redefines the image of the Argentinian *caudillo*.[51]

Two sculptures frame Ayrinhac's painting of Perón. On the left is a nineteenth-century marble bust by Francisco Cafferatta, now at the *Casa Rosada* in Buenos Aires, depicting *The Argentinian Republic*. On the right is José Fioravanti's *Mujer leyendo/ Mujer con libro*, winner

of the National Salon of 1937 (figure 13). These works emphasize Perón's democratic and (appropriately) masculine mode of leadership. The display suggests that we are in the presence of a highly educated, well-read republican, who builds on the Argentinian past. The bust of the *Argentinian Republic* dates from the 1880s, a time when liberal elites ruled the country, and the reading woman, dates from 1937. This second piece speaks of Perón's support for Eva Duarte, who came from humble origins, worked to empower women, and campaigned for the female vote. These sculptures reiterate some of the political messages disseminated during Perón's presidency from 1946 to 55.

Like her husband, Eva Perón is standing in three-quarter profile (figure 2). Her stance is similar to that found in portraits of European nobility and also to that in Pueyrredón's portrait of Manuela Rosas. Like Manuela Rosas, Eva Perón allows one delicate satin slipper to peak from beneath her dress, providing the only solid indication that she is actually connected to the ground. Her arms follow the contours of the dress, casually pointing with delicately manicured hands towards the voluminous gold, blue and purple train. The background is similar to that of her husband, a green interior wall. Just like Pueyrredón and Ingres, Ayrinhac emphasized the youthfulness, affluence, and femininity of his sitter, depicting Mrs. Perón in fashionable evening attire and expensive jewelry. The proximity of the painting to the portrait of Juan Perón, in addition to the surrounding works, further contribute to fetishizing her figure as the official embodiment of femininity.

The extremely detailed portrait depicts Argentina's first lady as a sophisticated albeit flashy socialite, wearing a voluminous purplish blue taffeta and gold dress by French designer Jacques Fath. Ayrinhac, like Ingres and Pueyrredón before him, displays his academic French training by emphasizing his ability to portray the glittering texture of the fabric. To her left, an

open door suggests a place of either entry or exit. The viewer is not sure whether she is about to disappear behind the door, as her body language seems to suggest, or she is moving away from it. Eva Perón had only recently passed away, and the ambiguity of the open door reminded viewers that she was transitioning from one realm to the next. As official announcements of her death proclaimed, she was entering into eternity.

The most striking feature of the portrait, her mask-like facial expression, exhibits in the words of feminist theorist Joan Riviere, a "mask of femininity,"[52] belying her fiery temper and passionate speeches[53] and minimizing her prominent political role. Her fragile demeanour and smiling face contrast with the very assertive, even abrupt manner of public address heard in radio and public speeches from the period. Peronist official portraiture concealed this aspect of Eva Perón's personality in order to avoid criticism and earn the approval of the patriarchal Argentinian political-military establishment. However, contemporary reports suggest that Mrs. Perón was far from demure. According to the testimony of activist Doña María Roldán, "She came with Perón [to Berisso, a provincial meatpacking town] to choose the site for the *Barrio Obrero* (workers' urbanization). She marched along with him, stride for stride, like a man, through the debris and the earth. Very bold." Roldán also recalled her as "a little violent" and surrounded by supporters: "an iron circle they maintained around her."[54]

Eva Perón's "mask of femininity," in dialogue with the two sculptures that flank her portrait, further aligns Ayrinhac's sitter with a specific model of Argentinian womanliness. On the left, by sculptor Carlos de la Cárcova, is *Figura*, which was awarded first prize and acquired from the National Salon of 1947 (figure 14). This bronze sculpture depicts a nude woman seated with her legs crossed, in a pose somewhat reminiscent of Pre-Columbian deities like the Aztec god Xochipilli. With her head turned upward, the figure closes her eyes and covers her ears with

her hands. She is silent, and mute. To the right of Ayrinhac's portrait is a marble bust from 1888 by Lucio Correa Morales, depicting his daughter Delia (figure 15). The facial expression of this young woman conveys a maturity and seriousness that belies her young age, suggested by the loosely pulled back hairstyle and frilly, demure collar of the blouse. The bust of Delia suggests a chaste version of Eva Perón's own young self, a strikingly different version from that of promiscuous theatre starlet disseminated by opposition circles. These two sculptures, when seen in relation to the portrait of Eva Perón, convey a multilayered idea of Argentinian femininity, half Indigenous and half European. The female nude on the left seems uninterested in seeing or hearing, absorbed in her own inner world. The other work, a fragile, young and modest model of nineteenth-century femininity, provides a second foundation for Eva Perón's modern, yet lady-like aspirations.

According to Andrea Giunta, images of Eva Perón became the focus of both cult-like worship and artistic conflict between the years 1950 and 1952.[55] At the heart of the matter were two types of artistic representations of the wife of Juan Perón; on the one hand, she was represented as a *criolla*, half aboriginal and half Spanish, and on the other hand, she was portrayed as a modern European and overtly regal first lady. Reproductions of Ayrinhac's representations of Eva Perón, with her blonde mane tied up in a sophisticated chignon and clad in French fashions, were carried in public rallies and at collective prayers in the year leading up to her death. In contrast, a contemporary Cubist-inspired sculpture by Sesostris Vitullo, *Eva Perón, Arquetipo Símbolo* from 1951 (figure 16), represented the First Lady as an angular, archaic force emerging from a solid mass of stone. Eva Perón, in the words of the artist, was "the liberator of the oppressed races of the Americas," a far cry from the Europeanized representation by Ayrinhac. According to Giunta, government officials simply could not bring themselves to

accept “this visage, both impersonal and rustic, which seemed to represent an amazon enmeshed in vegetation, rather than the popularized image of ‘Evita.’”[56] Although it had been commissioned by the director of the National Museum of Decorative Arts, Ignacio Pirovano, Vitullo’s sculpture was rejected upon completion.

In the 1952 exhibition catalogue, the sculptures on either side of the portrait of Eva Perón are simply labelled *Figura* (Figure) and *Retrato* (Portrait). Correa Morales is correctly identified, but de la Cárcova is mistaken for his father, the painter Ernesto. Ayrinhac’s name is entirely absent. His name, in fact, never appears in the catalogue, making it all the easier to erase him from the Argentinian artistic canon. Ayrinhac did not register with either the government or the public as an artist, and his portraits did not qualify as works of art in the artistic sphere. Artistic recognition was difficult, given the bureaucratic and assembly-line nature of his production. Recognition was also made difficult by changes in the art world that were promoted by culturally influential artistic groups opposed to Perón and his government.

Ayrinhac’s portraits, surrounded by small-scale sculptural works at the entrance, established an unspoken tension with other works in the exhibition. A painting by Raquel Forner, even though physically removed from the powerful aura of the Perón’s portraits, makes a particularly useful comparison. Occupying a central wall space in room XIX of the exhibition, Forner’s *Retablo del Dolor* from 1942 (figure 17), depicts a martyred woman dressed in a simple contemporary skirt and short-sleeved top, wearing a crown of thorns and displaying stigmata. The woman, imprinted on a ripped canvas like the Virgin of Guadalupe on the *tiltmatli* (figure 18), has her hands tied in the front. Below, a grieving group of women cover their eyes and ears, like the sculpture next to Eva Perón at the entrance to the exhibition. This sexually ambiguous representation of femininity (referencing a female Christ, allegorizing through a masculine

archetype a universal modern woman) allows viewers to engage with a multitude of meanings. If they are knowledgeable about Forner's political commitment, her selective participation in the National Salon, and the artistic debates of the time, they may see an artist in pain, a dissident artist, who privileged the use of the female figure to communicate universal emotions rather than the officially-sanctioned "native Argentinian" types. Artists like Forner, with expressionist brushwork and government outsider pedigrees, would eclipse academic insiders like Numa Ayrinhac in the history of Argentinian art.

Ayrinhac's Populist Strategy: Peronist Portraiture and Visual Culture

Just as the government used the 1952 exhibition to silence opponents by presenting the discordant art world as a unified cultural entity, the government-sponsored cultural magazine, *Continente,*[57] published from 1947 to 1955, reproduced Ayrinhac's portraits in the disparate company of work by Raquel Forner and advertisements for tango movies (figures 19 and 20). One of Ayrinhac's portraits, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, appears in a photograph depicting the inauguration of a cruise ship illustrating the hierarchical relations and loyalties within the regime (see figure 10). The magazine's bilingual (Spanish and English) caption further confirms the government's intention behind the display of official portraits to convey the President's authority as indisputable leader of the country to both national and international audiences.[58]

Ayrinhac's manner of using photography and postwar visual and popular culture served to separate him sharply from Argentina's avant-garde. The artist was a keen photographer, taking part during the late 1930s in his local photo-club in Pigüé.[59] He also drew extensively from visual culture, and his work compares in useful ways to popular imagery found in *Continente*. This

magazine constitutes one of the few surviving instances where the coexistence of Peronist official portraiture and visual culture gender models in Argentina is visible. According to cultural historians Mathew Karush and Oscar Chamosa, the nexus between the state and popular consciousness became mutually constitutive under Peronism, despite the hierarchical nature of the regime.[60]

Ayrinhac's artistic choices were immersed in a cultural construction of Argentinian modernity where race and class came together with both traditional and modern gender representations. The period before Perón's rise to power provided the material out of which Peronism was built. In the 1920s and 1930s, the radio, cinema, spectator sports, and mass circulation journalism transformed daily life. According to Karush, nearly all these mass cultural forms appropriated the conventions and narrative strategies of Argentinian melodrama, a literary tradition with roots in the nineteenth century that presupposed a "Manichean world in which poverty was a guarantor of virtue and authenticity and wealth a moral flaw."[61] The "types" portrayed in those melodramas were the rich kid, or "*niño bien,*" a perennially spoiled mama's boy, spending his family's fortune on women, gambling, and alcohol, and the *milonguita*, a young woman from the province, much like Eva Perón, who arrived in the big city only to find a sordid life of prostitution.

Melodramas also contained an optimistic substratum exemplified by the belief that social harmony could be enacted through interclass romance, much like Perón's affair with his wife.[62] In this context, according to Karush, "Juan and Evita Perón explained their political project through a series of basic oppositions: national versus antinational, *pueblo* versus *antipueblo*, workers versus oligarchs" . . . rooted in moralist thought inscribed in the historical struggle between good and evil.[63] This practice allowed popular audiences to fantasize about wealth even

as it reinforced the idea that the poor were morally superior to the rich. Karush argues that Perón's political success was due to his ability to politicize the tensions between modernity and tradition, celebrating working class solidarity and promoting the goal of upward mobility. In his rhetoric, Perón conflated modernity with tradition, and spoke of the poor (who were defined as authentically Argentinian, traditional) as the main beneficiaries of Argentinian modernity.[64]

According to Milanesio, Perón was a leader represented an approachable everyman, attractive and unthreatening to men and women alike. Yet these images coexisted with others that highlighted his exceptionality. Ayrinhac's portrait of Perón in the 1952 retrospective, flanked by a bust of Augustus and smiling like a friendly (and deceitful) *tanguero*, speaks of this tension between being perceived as simultaneously exceptional yet non-threatening, virile yet refined.[65] Ayrinhac's Perón seems to embody, as Milanesio argues, "a textured masculinity assembled by interweaving expectations, beliefs and attributes that defied conventional mid-twentieth-century gender ideologies."[66]

Ayrihnac's portrait conveys Perón's populist style of leadership.[67] In the 1930s, tango in Argentina became a privileged symbol of national identity and an instrument to articulate cultural difference. Its image as a "primitive and exotic form"[68] persists even today. *Qua* cultural form, tango was, and to an extent still is, according to historian Florencia Garramuño, "the battlefield upon which national identity is fought over and continuously redefined."[69] Tango's African roots complicated the discourse of modernization versus primitivism in Argentina, especially when the European and Latin American artistic avant-gardes, from the 1920s onward, began appropriating African cultural and visual signifiers into their work. One of the solutions to this dilemma was to portray tango as having "evolved" to become civilized, modern, and young, in opposition to belonging to the old social order. This linear metamorphosis from "primitive" to

“civilized” allegorically summed up the struggle of Argentina’s popular classes for increasing social mobility and the construction of a new space for Argentina in the world system.[70] Ayrinhac’s portraits of Juan Perón reference the *tanguero*, evoking Argentina’s modernization through the depiction of Perón. At the 1952 exhibition, the portrait of Perón placed this Argentinian archetype in the context of nineteenth-century signifiers of authority, such as the bust of Augustus and by extension the Argentinian *caudillo* (Rosas), thereby exposing the cultural, artistic, and political complexities surrounding gendered representations of power in Peronist Argentina.

Perón’s backcombed hair and knowing smile compare productively to images of popular tango singer Carlos Gardel, who had died tragically in a plane crash in 1935 but remained enormously popular with immigrants from the provinces, in Argentina at large, and throughout Latin America. The figure of Carlos Gardel constituted a potent role model of Argentinian masculinity.[71] His music evoked both Latin European and *criollo* rhythms and established historical continuity between Argentina’s turbulent and impoverished 1930s and Perón’s socially inclusive regime.[72] Furthermore, several state-sponsored films featuring Gardel were made during Perón’s presidency in an attempt to attract support for the Argentinian leader outside his own country.[73] From one of these films comes the 1949 advertisement for the movie *Se llamaba Carlos Gardel* (see figure 20). Images like this appeared in *Continente* in close proximity to photographs with Ayrinhac’s portraits in the background (figure 21).

The stylistic similarities between a perennially smiling, and suspiciously sleek, Carlos Gardel and depictions of Juan Perón invite further analysis of a specific type of Argentinian masculinity played out in Peronist portraiture.[74] By way of comparison, Gardel appears with tuxedo and white bow tie in a movie still from 1937, Perón appears similarly attired for a gala

event in a photograph from ten years later, and finally the President displays his Gardel-like smile while drinking coffee in his office (figures 22, 23, and 24). Anthropologist Eduardo Archetti, in his investigation of tango, polo, *fútbol* (soccer) and Argentinian masculinities, questions the relationship of these leisure activities to Argentinian nationalism. Archetti argues that tango, *fútbol* and polo have historically functioned as models and mirrors of Argentinian identity, greatly influencing the national psyche.[75]

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, tango culture became an integral part of the consolidation of Argentina's modernization. Philosopher Beatriz Sarlo has interpreted this period as a moment of "Peripheral Modernity."[76] Eduardo Archetti argues that between the 1920s and '30s, "key stereotypes of masculinities were created through this modernization as part of a general quest for identities, imageries and symbols, making the abstract more concrete."[77] These stereotypes, according to Archetti, "constitute [to this day] sociocultural hybrids in which the traditional and the modern are mixed."[78] They are the result of the "sedimentation, juxtaposition, and interweaving of indigenous traditions, of Catholic colonial Hispanism, and of modern political, educational and communicational action."[79] The paradox of such hybrids lies in them being both transgressive and normal.[80] Perón's resemblance to iconic *tanguero* Carlos Gardel was representative of the presence of multiple masculine narratives in the construction of a national culture and character. There was the good *tanguero* and the bad one, corresponding to the assertive woman and the submissive one. Ayrinhac's portraits of Juan and Eva Perón captured and effectively promoted the slippages between those national types.

The embrace of tango by the middle class during the 1940s and '50s confirmed the modernization of masculinity in Argentina. Masculinities such as the middle-class *tanguero* from the *barrio,* the Argentinian equivalent of the boy next door, or the slightly shady *compadrito*

fluctuated during this time of political effervescence.[81] Ayrinhac's portrait of Perón cannily evoked those diverse *tanguero* personas embodied in the figure of Carlos Gardel, allowing Pro-Peronist viewers to see in the President's persona the quintessential boy next door. Perón represented the suave and modern *tanguero*; he was slightly effeminate, a mama's boy, an "alternative masculinity."[82] For those who were suspicious of his political maneuvering, the image could also evoke the rougher *tanguero* archetype, the *compadrito* or *milonguero*. The *compadrito*, whose code of honour centered on violence used to establish and maintain social hierarchies, had a defiant and hostile attitude towards other men.[83] Such a character could be a master dancer and guitar player, or an elegant seducer that spent time in prison. He was admired for his courage, physical strength and capacity to cheat, if necessary.

Most importantly, the figure of the *tanguero*, *compadrito*, and *milonguero* embodied in the masculine performances of Gardel and Perón contains within itself the idea of masculinity as masquerade. Their performances constitute a tool of male privilege. This "straight camp performance,"[84] according to anthropologist Jeffrey Tobin, depending on its performers and audience, "can celebrate and subvert male tango dancers' privilege in relation to women, and can mock the foreign tourists [or dignitaries] and scholars who presume to understand it."[85] Ayrinhac's portrait also mocked those opposed to Perón's regime, and those who presumed to understand his similarities to Gardel but failed to perceive the semi-satirical tongue-in-cheek populist wink from the leader of the masses to his people.

Ayrinhac's portrait of Juan Perón, by containing references to past representations of rulers such as Rosas, Napoleon, and Augustus, and in addition, references to popular Argentinian masculinities such as tango singer Carlos Gardel, established a simultaneous system of "mirrors and masks" that reflected a long historical process, created and recreated over time, in

conversation with the aims of the organizers of the 1952 retrospective exhibition.[86] These mirrors and masks attempted to conflate under a particular national imagery, Argentina's different "others." The European immigrants and the internal national immigrants from the provinces, homogenized, according to Archetti, "all the dislocated and mismatched identities"[87] in the same way the retrospective exhibition attempted, and failed, to homogenize national artistic production. If according to Archetti, "[Argentina's] cultural identity was highly dependent upon multiplicity producing a series of contradictory tendencies impossible to harness under a single national imagery,"[88] then, the idea of a singular Peronist mirror behind the 1952 exhibition was doomed from the start. The visual dissonance contained in the display of the Perón portraits in juxtaposition with the other works at the retrospective, and within the portraits themselves, only highlighted the unattainable aims behind the government's proposition, and it might have also contributed to the problematic position of Ayrinhac and his works in the Argentinian canon.

In contrast to the portrait of her husband, Ayrinhac's depiction of Eva Perón references sophisticated fashion plates in magazine illustrations rather than the popular archetype of the *milonguita*, or poor girl from the outskirts of Buenos Aires, the female counterpoint to the *tanguero*. The latter was closer to Eva Perón's actual upbringing as well as to her aggressive demeanour in defense of the regime. Fashion advertisements depicting women easily interchangeable with Eva Perón appeared regularly in *Continente*. These images provide evidence of how the regime attempted to cultivate the upper middle class. They engage with "high culture," cultural orthodoxy, and the established hierarchies of taste and respectable behaviour, while also associating Eva Perón's public image with youth and a breath of fresh air. According to cultural historian Eduardo Elena, the Peronist regime adapted stylistic markers corresponding to those they sought to replace, "including the taste judgments of the very same

elites condemned politically by Perón."[89] In addition to targeting the upper middle classes, the images in *Continente* also addressed the Peronist movement's working-class base. The government's demand that consumers increase consumption in the late 1940s was riddled with contradictions, promoting the virtues of thriftiness while endorsing advertisements of foreign luxury items beyond the reach of the average consumer.

In a society that promised upward mobility, one did not have to be a member of the Argentine bourgeoisie to identify with bourgeois taste.[90] The legacy of colonialism and its dependency on Western European fashion was the dominant paradigm of what it meant to be "civilized" and "modern"[91] As Elena points out, images like those in *Continente* also appeared in other magazines, filled with "pages of illustrations for lavish garments of taffeta, lace and silk … floor length evening gowns, complete with jeweled accessories . . . of scant practical use for transforming working class women into disciplined consumers."[92]

The photographs and illustrations of male and female fashion plates in *Continente* emphasized the elitist tastes of the aspirational Argentinian upper middle class, informing the reader about the merits of such luxury items as *Champagne Crillon*, marketed "For a Select Minority" (figure 25). This advertisement depicts a couple attired exactly like Perón and his wife in Ayrinhac's double portrait, enjoying themselves on the dance floor, Argentinian stand-ins for Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire. In another example, a fashionable Eva Perón look-alike with her hair pulled back in a glamorous *chignon* wears an elaborately draped white and blue floral dress, adorned with a bow (figure 26). Included with this advertisement for fabrics by Franco-Argentinian *haute couture* designer Jacques Fouquet is a message to the discerning consumer, asking them to inspect the fabric and request the one that "*tiene la marca en el orillo"* (has its name printed on the edge). This is a popular saying meaning that an individual's particular

quality can be seen, but only by those in the know. The advertisement is meant to appeal to the consumer as connoisseur, much like an art aficionado, rather than a new consumer. At the same time, it employs an expression found in vernacular culture to identify a person's social extraction.

Such a call to both exclusivity and the popular is also found in *Continente* photographs of Juan and Eva Perón at diverse public functions, such as mass rallies or soccer matches (figure 27). These images imbue their populism with an accessible aura of glamour. As the regime's hold on the press increased —it funded publications sympathetic to the Peronist cause and co-opted others— so too did the number of photographs of the presidential couple performing gendered tasks at public ceremonies. Even before Eva Perón fell ill in 1950, photographs of the couple appearing in *Continente* emphasized Perón's strength as a leader and the fragility of the first lady, who always seemed to be in need of physical support from her husband.

Cultural historian Valeria Grinberg Plá has identified four major rhetorical clusters traversing the multiple depictions, body, and persona of Eva Perón.[93] These four discourses, which function as a synecdoche for the national, include a mystic-religious rhetoric, or the image of Eva Perón as a martyred saint; a secular rhetoric, or the notion of Eva Perón as nothing more than a prostitute; the idea of the first lady as a Latin American revolutionary; and the rhetoric of a marvelous fairy tale, the Argentinian Cinderella who meets her Prince Charming. According to Grinberg Plá, the extant photographic record of Eva Perón's short life are being constantly re-signified, remaining perennially indeterminate.[94] Ayrinhac's portraits function in this way as well.

This indeterminacy has transformed the figure of Eva Perón into what Daniel James has called an "empty signifier available for appropriation and use by working women."[95] Eva Perón's

official life-story, an impoverished child who grew up to become the "protectress of the *grasitas*" (the filthy or greasy ones), legitimizes the quasi-religious practice of female political activism for which she became known.[96] Regarding Eva Perón's sumptuous dress and style, Peronist meatpacking activitst Doña María Roldán reasoned that Eva Perón was able to use her guile and power to take from the rich and give to the poor: "So the fact that she had those fancy trinkets, that she had fine clothes, any woman nowadays if she can put on a little, why not the wife of a president? All those jewels were gifts, gifts given to her by the oligarchy so they could control her, because she had the nation in her hands, though it's hard to believe."[97] Doña María rationalized through the figure of Eva Perón both the working class's desire for and their resentment over the denial of material possessions.

James suggests that Peronism reconverted the tropes of envy and shame, which were often expressed in Perón's discourses, into a desire for consumer goods. With Juan Perón's marriage to Eva Duarte, these tropes were incorporated into the first lady's life story, where "the *sermo humilis* took possession of the language of power."[98] Partially dedicated to the construction of the figure of Eva Perón, official Peronist rhetoric indirectly disciplined the female subject by re-using tropes and traces of popular discourse such as melodrama and advertising, incorporating them into state rhetoric. In turn, Peronist female subjects, like Doña María, expressed their own working female consciousness, internalizing, and promulgating Peronist discourse.[99]

Eva Perón's depiction as a high-class fashion plate, according to Natalia Milanesio, responded to the blurring of class boundaries. If before 1946, "dress was one of the earliest and strongest elements in constructing a differentiated class and political identity and a fundamental component of stereotypes,"[100] improved living conditions after Perón's election made it difficult

to distinguish the well-to-do middle-class person from the worker. However, both Peronist and anti-Peronist sentiment was expressed through class boundaries, identifying both workers and the elite with certain physical characteristics and tastes in entertainment. It is well known, according to Milanesio, that Eva Perón engaged in contentious arguments with aristocratic women, with plenty of contempt and mutual snubbing, while anti-Peronists mocked the Peronist sympathizers out of anxiety, coupled with their conscious self-mockery in the Peronist specialized press.[101] For Milanesio, class division was not confirmed by the uniform of the subaltern but actively disavowed by it.[102]

Throughout her tenure as First Lady, Eva Perón was criticized for her ostentatious style and her exhibition of luxury attire. Cultural critic Anahí Ballant claims that Perón's public image produced a consistent slippage between the public and the private.[103] Ballant sees the presentation of Perón's person and the role played by her wardrobe, jewels, and hairstyles as the use of private aspects of a life to construct a public political image. Ballant argues that the political (public) use of her (private) appearance began after 1948, in the early years of creating the Eva Perón Foundation, when Perón began to present herself as *Evita*, evoking the physical appearance of the actress she had been prior to marrying Perón. For Ballant, "luxury manifested itself in Evita's clothing through contrast and abundance" and "[t]he Eva Perón who inaugurated works until 1949 was different from the later one . . ."[104]

Ayrinhac's portrait captures and proffers these many intangibles. But while the artist, drawing upon his deep background in academic salon art and knowledge of visual culture, produced images that became tools to discipline the art world and Peronist society more broadly, he failed to produce work that would ensure his artistic legacy beyond the end of the regime. By the 1952 Retrospective Exhibition, which was mounted shortly after the deaths of both Numa

Ayrinhac and the first lady, it was the name of Eva Perón, still reminding viewers of contemporary fashion plates while also attempting to stabilize the fragmented and multifaceted cultural memory of her persona, that is recorded in the catalogue. The name of Numa Ayrinhac is nowhere to be found.

Staking a Place in the Argentinian Canon

According to Anna Brzyzki, artists may occupy canonical spaces, "presumably for their own advantage of whatever agenda they seek to promote,"[105] and from 1946 to 1952, the canonical structures of Argentinian art were available to those who occupied both the center and the oppositional fringes of the established hierarchy. These structures made it possible for Numa Ayrinhac and Raquel Forner to stake their place in the Argentinian art world, Ayrinhac as official artist of the Peróns and the "artist of the people" and Forner as the courageously dissident female artist, one of the pioneers of the Argentinian artistic avant-garde. Such claims in turn gave way to two mutually exclusive canons, the disavowed propagandistic canon of Peronist portraiture and the validated modernist canon of avant-garde Argentinian art. As Brzyzki argues, "When two or more ideologically opposed agents claim ownership of the same cultural territory, different, contending interpretations of historic tradition and therefore different, contending canons may arise."[106]

The 1952 exhibition presented an illusion, a simulacrum of democracy, through the apparent democratization of space encapsulating the symbolic capital of the nation in the artificial space of the exhibition. This illusion functioned much like the masks and mirrors present in the depictions and display of the Perón portraits at the entrance to the exhibition. Ayrinhac's omission from the catalogue was in direct tension with his uneasy presence at the

entrance. Beginning at this time, the artistic community in Argentina art began to *dis-locate* Ayrinhac's artistic identity, disavowing his contribution to the construction of the Argentinian artistic canon.

To leave Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns unattributed had two effects in 1952; on the one hand, it removed the artist from the public sphere, privileging the protagonism of the Peróns and, on the other hand, it belittled Ayrinhac's artistic choices, diminishing the importance of his fascinating fusion of nineteenth-century academic portraiture with twentieth-century photography and visual culture. Ayrinhac's utilization of photo-reproductive techniques ironically echoes Decalzi's use of lithography to disseminate the image and power of Dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas.[107]

The closing of the 1952 exhibition, on March 29, 1953, coincided with the end of tenuous attempts on the part of the government to open up political dialogue amidst a climate of totalitarianism, under the benevolent gaze of the President. On April 15, 1953, during a demonstration in the Plaza de Mayo, while Perón was giving a speech, opposition groups set off bombs and killed several Peronist sympathizers. In a spiral of violence, pro-Perón groups, according to Romero, "set fire to the *Casa Radical*, the Socialist *Casa del Pueblo*, and the *Jockey Club*, symbol of the *porteño* 'oligarchy.'"[108] These events initiated a turbulent period that would lead to the 1955 coup and the erasure of both Ayrinhac and temporarily the Peróns from the history of the country.

While Forner's works began to form part of the modernist canon of Argentinian art, Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns were legally banned. Rather than being integrated into the politically charged canon of official Argentinian portraiture, as were the nineteenth-century oil portraits of Rosas by Descalzi and of Manuela Rosas by Pueyrredón, Ayrinhac's portraits

seemed to form a canon of their own. In creating his own canon, Ayrinhac and his work moved into a singular position above the frayed Argentinian artistic establishment, rather than becoming part of an already formed hierarchical structure of official representations. This strategy served the Peróns by placing them as the central figures in these representations, above the artist that created them, reinforcing the hierarchical nature of the regime.

With Ayrinhac's death in 1951, the death of Eva Perón in 1952, and the end of the Peronist regime in 1955, the artist's name and his works, together with the sitters he helped immortalize, were erased from Argentinian art history, not to reappear until the 1990s. Although the Peróns have today been reinstated in the official context, Ayrinhac continues to remain a complex case of artistic erasure. Ayrinhac's descendants have eagerly invited the public to revisit his works and legacy, attempting to install his name in the public conscience, but they have simultaneously asked the viewer to exercise silence in regards to his artistic strategies and career as official portrait painter to the Peróns. Such a hesitant stance might be in response to anxieties and hopes regarding Ayrinhac's potential posthumous inclusion in the Argentinian artistic canon, something curators and art historians have still insufficiently addressed.

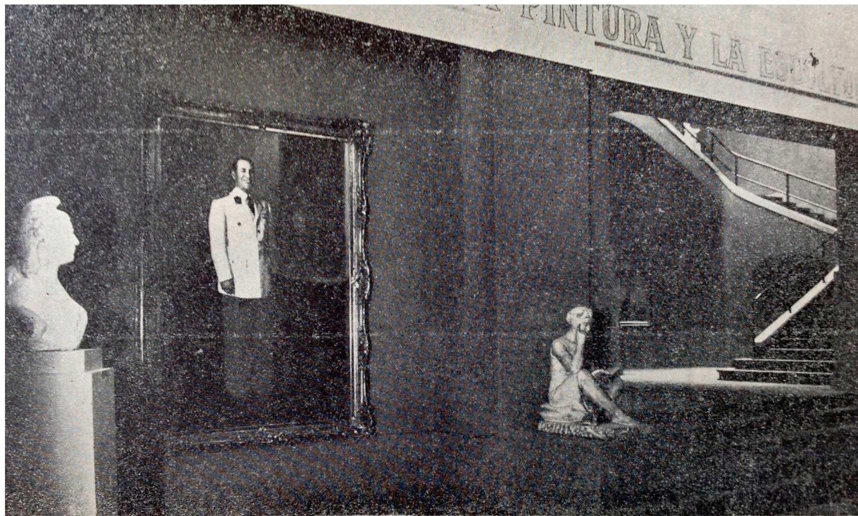
While exhibiting Ayrinhac's works in his native France, the painter's granddaughter Elisa Ayrinhac explicitly invited viewers to contemplate the works of Ayrinhac in respectful silence. In the foreword to the exhibition catalogue *Numa Ayrinhac: du Rouergue à la Pampa, d'Eugène Raynaldy à Eva Perón*, held at the Vieux-Palais d'Espalion from July 1 to August 7, 2011,[109] Elisa Ayrinhac explained: "A work of art is an appeal to silence. It is only when we are able to silence our inner voices and prejudices that that we are able to listen to its message."[110] Including the portrait of Eva Perón that was exhibited in the 1952 retrospective exhibition, the corresponding caption, merely pointed to Ayrinhac's role as official portraitist, omitting his

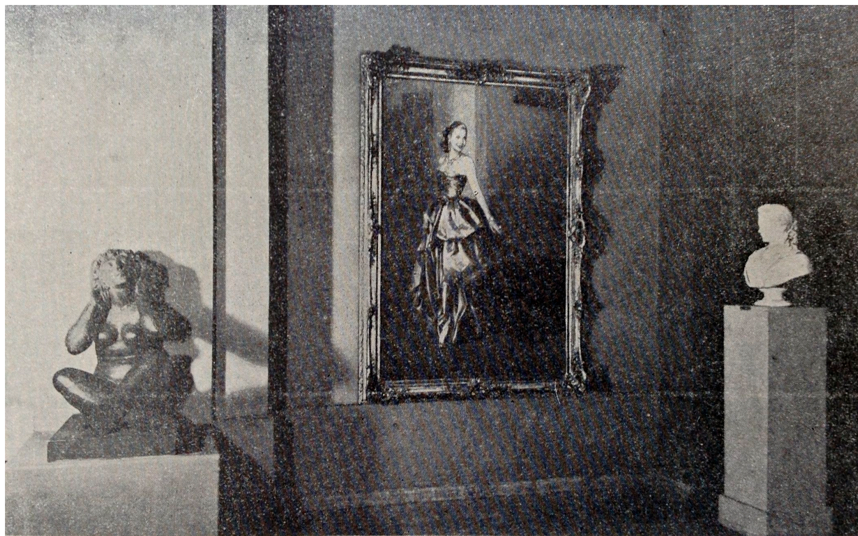
short-lived identification in Peronist propaganda as "artist of the people." Equating silence with respect for one's ancestors, Ayrinhac's granddaughter asks viewers to stand before Ayrinhac's works without speaking, politely denying the audience the necessary agency to interrogate her grandfather's work.

This attempt to choreograph individual and collective viewing experiences bears striking similarities to that of the organizers of the 1952 retrospective and, as we will observe in the conclusion, to that of the present exhibition context of Ayrinhac's double portrait of the Peróns at the Museo del Bicentenario. As a researcher of Ayrinhac's Peronist portraits and the context in which they were created, I have to respectfully (and productively) disagree with any demand for silence that dismisses dissent, by publicly and openly promoting and establishing a dialogue with Ayrinhac's works in order to address our inner voices and prejudices and acknowledge our infinitely varied modes of spectatorship.

Figure 1 Numa Ayrinhac, *Portrait of President General Juan Domingo Perón*, ca. 1947–1949. Oil on canvas, 216 × 149 cm. Private Collection.

Figure 2 Numa Ayrinhac, *Portrait of First Lady Eva María Duarte de Perón*, ca. 1947–1949. Oil on canvas, 216 × 150 cm. Private Collection Carlos Spadone.





Figures 3 and 4 Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo, 1952–53*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General de Cultura, 1953, pages 8 and 9.

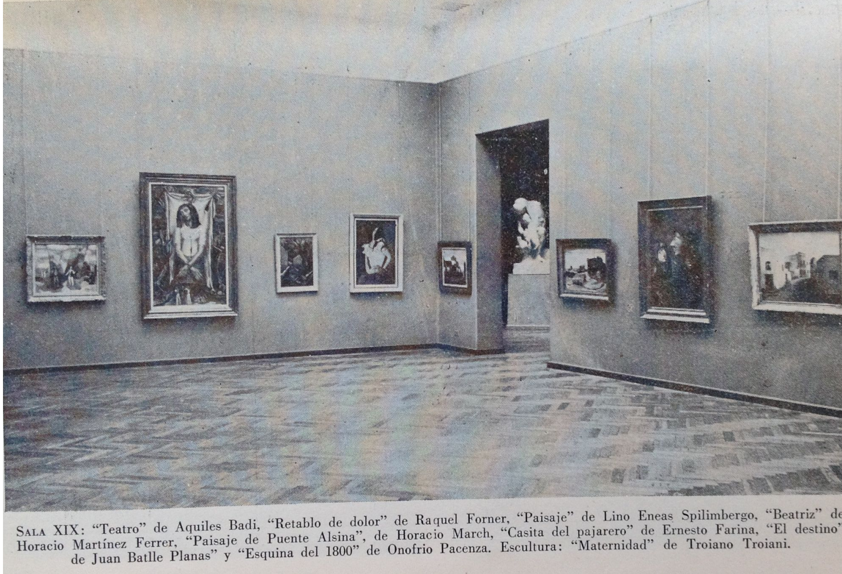


Figure 5 Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo, 1952–53*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General de Cultura, 1953, page 49.

Figure 6 Cesareo Bernaldo de Quirós, *El Embrujador*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 111.5 × 91 cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Figure 7 Emilio Pettoruti, *Pensierosa*, 1920. Oil on cardboard, 64 × 49 cm. Private Collection Natalia Kohen.

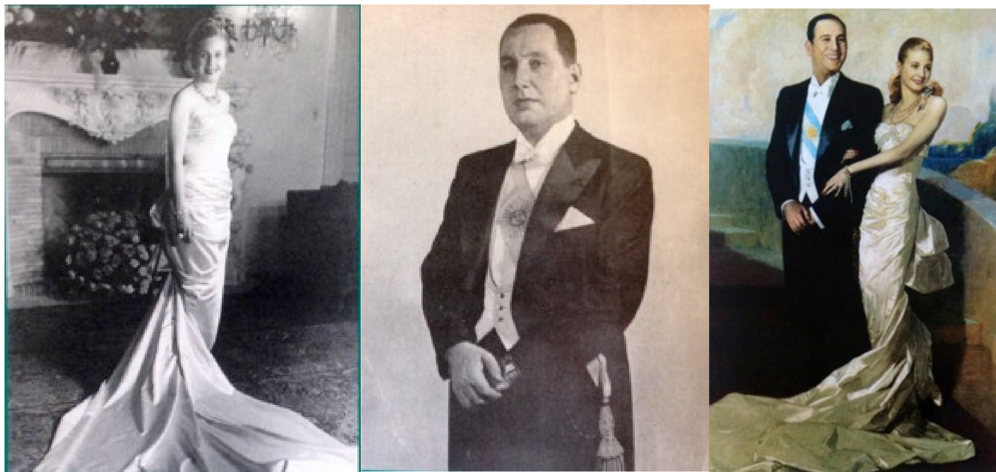


Figure 8 *Photographs and paintings of President Juan Perón and First Lady Eva Perón by Numa Ayrinhac, demonstrating his use of photography, ca.* 1946–49. Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé.

Figure 9 *Eva Perón posing in front of her portrait by Numa Ayrinhac*, ca. 1949. Framed color photograph, 40 × 30 cm. Gift of Mrs. Perón to CGT Union Leader Oscar Fernández.

esbelta figura del "Presidente Perón",
mer transatlántico argentino destinado
servicio de pasajeros y recientemente
orporado, como un alto valor, a nues-
creciente flota mercante. En uno de
salones de la nave, que consulta todas
exigencias de la técnica moderna, apa-
e un retrato del primer mandatario, jus-
homenaje a quien tan grande impulso
sabido comunicar a la marina del país.

The gallant "Presidente Perón", the first Argentine tras-Atlantic ship destined to convey passengers which has been recently incorporated, as a truly valuable asset, to our growing merchant fleet. In one of the ship's offices a portrait of the President occupies a prominent place as a just tribute to one who has given such ample support to the progress of the country's navy. The ship has been built according to all the latest modern requirements.

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Figure 10 Photograph of Perón's subordinates in front of a portrait by Numa Ayrinhac on board the transatlantic ship *Presidente Perón*, from *Continente,* May 1949, page 47.

Figure 11 Raquel Forner, *Liberación*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 154 × 097 cm, reproduced in *Continente,* April, 1947, page 68.
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Figure 12 Attributed to Benedetto Boschetti, *The Emperor Augustus*, ca. 1850–1875. Marble. Photo: artnet.

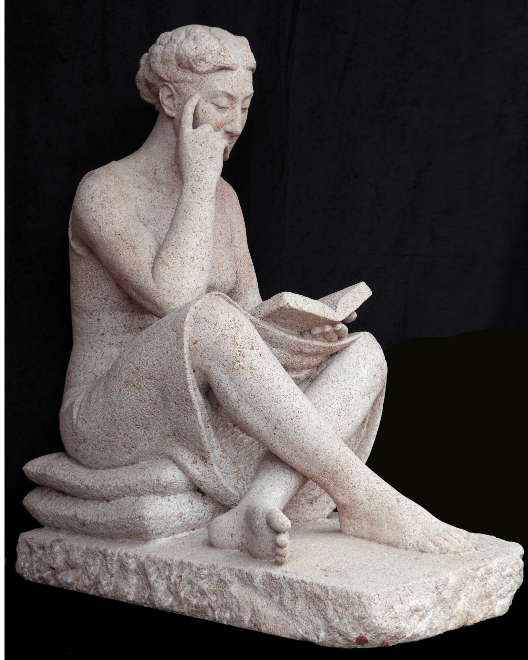

Figure 13 José Fioravanti, *Mujer leyendo/ Mujer con libro,* 1937. *Piedra de Francia,* 103.5 × 90 × 51 cm .Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Figure 14 Carlos de la Cárcova, *Figura,* 1947. Bronze with patina, 98 × 55 × 87 cm. Museo National de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Figure 15 Lucio Correa Morales, *Retrato de Delia Correa Morales,* 1888. Marble, 65 × 47.5 × 29 cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires; Gift of Delia Correa Morales de Cobo.

Figure 16 Sesostris Vitullo, *Eva Perón, arquetipo símbolo* (Eva Perón, Archetypal Symbol), 1952. Stone, height 112 cm. Collection Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires.

Figure 17 (left) Raquel Forner, *Retablo del dolor*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 152 × 87 cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.
Figure 18 (right) Artist unknown, *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe,* presented by Juan Diego in 1531. Tempera on ayate, 5.5 × 4.6 feet. Nueva Basílica de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Mexico.

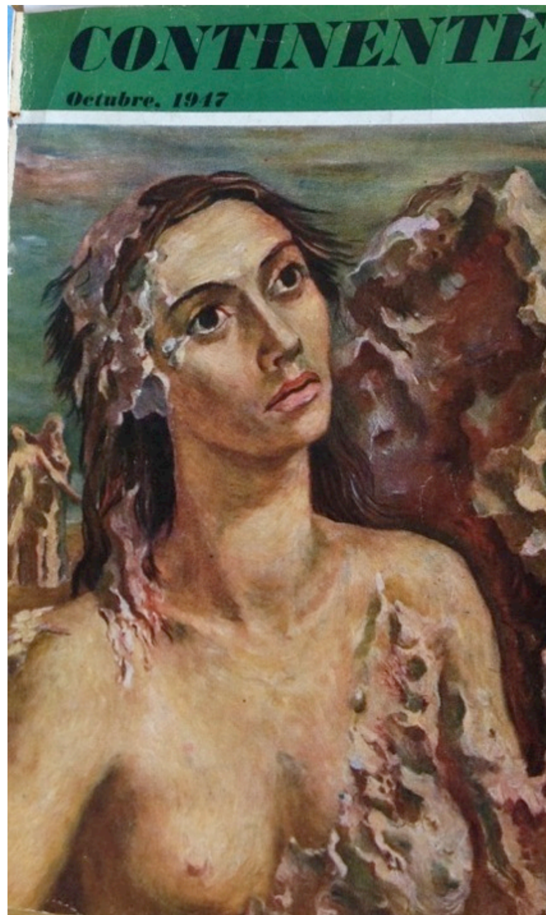

Figure 19 Raquel Forner's *La piedra viva*, reproduced on the cover of *Continente,* October 1947.

Figure 20 Advertisement for the movie *Se llamaba Carlos Gardel,* from *Continente*, April 1949, page 27.

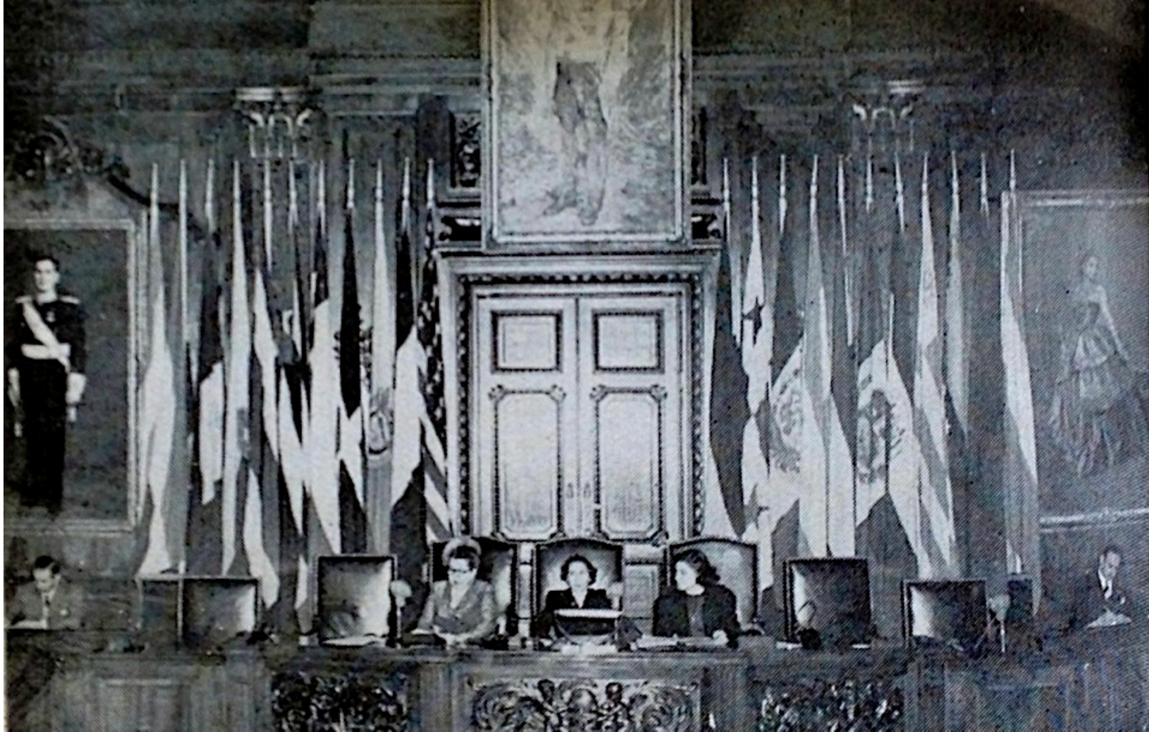

Figure 21 Ayrinhac's portraits of Juan and Eva Perón hanging to the left and right of the Extraordinary Assembly of the Inter-American Commission of Women, photograph from *Continente,* September 1949, page 52.

Figure 22 (left) Carlos Gardel in a film still from *El Día Que Me Quieras,* 1937.
Figure 23 (middle) *Photograph of President Juan Domingo Perón in Gala Attire*, 1946. Estudio Witcomb; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires.
Figure 24 (right) *Photograph of President Perón Drinking Coffee*, from *Mundo Peronista*, 1949. Archivo de la Provincia de Buenos Aires.

Figure 25 Advertisement for Champagne Crillón, from *Continente*, January 1948, page 93.

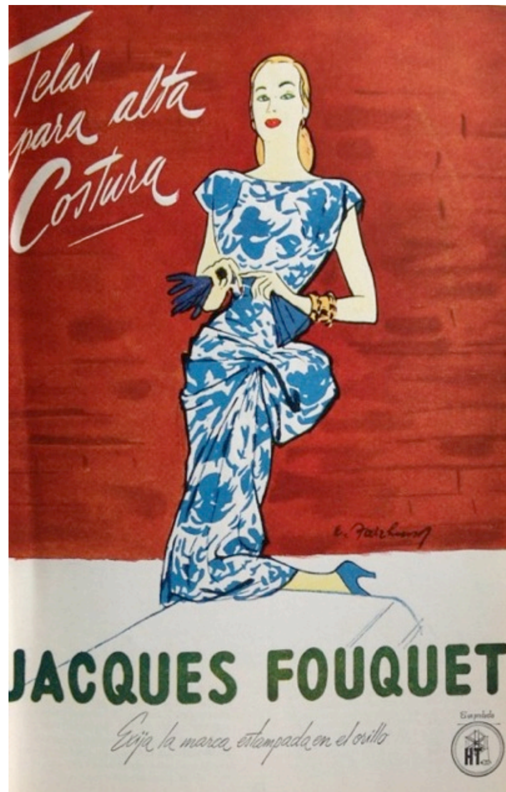

Figure 26 Advertisement for Jacques Fouquet Couture Fabrics, from *Continente,* January 1948, page 77.

Figure 27 Photograph of the Peróns at a gala function celebrating Argentinian Independence, from *Continente,* July 9, 1949, 210.

Figure 28 Photograph of President Juan and Eva Perón at a soccer match, from *Continente*, May 1949, page 62.

NOTES

[1] For an exploration of gendered presidential representations as the gendered synecdoche of militaristic presidential power, see Kristina Horn Sheeler and Karrin Vasby Anderson, *Woman President: Confronting Postfeminist Political Culture* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2013). The authors posit that the representation of gendered presidentiality "reinforces the norms of presidentiality such as masculinity, militarism, and whiteness," while female representations perpetuate the stereotype of the woman in charge as "primarily sexual, maternal, and humanitarian," 40. Both traits are present in the representations of Juan Manuel de Rosas by Descalzi and Manuela Rosas by Pueyrredón, and Ayrinhac's representations of the Peróns.
[2] Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo, 1952–53* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General de Cultura, 1953), 5.
[3] Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo*, 6.
[4] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 76.
[5] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 77.
[6] Anna Brzyzky, introduction to *Partisan Canons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.
[7] According to art historians Marta Penhos and Diana Weschler, who borrow the term "selective tradition" from academic and critic Raymond Williams, the Argentinian "academic tradition" "is the result of an active process of selection of artists, works, modes of expression, and iconographies." Martha Penhos, Diana Weschler, and Miguel Angel Muñoz, introduction to *Tras los pasos de la norma*: *salones nacionales de bellas artes (1911–1989)*, eds. Martha Penhos, Weschler Diana, and Muñoz Miguel Angel, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Jilguero, 1999), 8.
8. Penhos and Weschler argue that the 1952 retrospective can be seen as the result of this "operation of delineation of 'official art,'" introduction to *Tras los pasos de la norma*, 9. Such a selection of works, taking place each year at the National Salons of Fine Arts since 1910, in addition to inscribing a pattern of inclusions and exclusions that implied belonging to the canon of Argentinian official art, aspired to create heterogeneous, massive, and modern audiences. The specialized press increasingly contributed to delineating audiences according to taste, originating debates surrounding, first, a "national art," and later an art capable of representing the country in the international context, underlined by the debates surrounding modern art, Ibid, 9.
[8] The most recent survey of Argentinian art, the 2014 tome *Cien años de arte argentino*, by María José Herrera, provides a comprehensive list of Argentinian artists from the last one hundred years, omitting the name of Ayrinhac and devoting only two pages to the present exhibition, briefly commenting on the Peronization of the salon, thereby enacting this pattern of "selective tradition" by focusing mostly on the modern artists who influentially contributed to shaping the Argentinian artistic canon until the present day. See María José Herrera, *Cien años de arte argentino* (Buenos Aires: Biblos-Fundación OSDE, 2014).
[9] María José Herrera, *Cien años de arte argentino*, 17.
[10] Herrera, *Cien años de arte argentino,* 25–27.
[11] Miguel Angel Muñoz, "Obertura 1910: La Exposición Internacional de Arte del Centenario," in Penhos et al. *Tras los pasos de la norma*, 13–40.
[12] Martha N. Penhos, "Nativos en el salon: artes plásticas e identidad en la primera mitad del siglo XX," in in Penhos et al. *Tras los pasos de la norma,* 111–152. For an understanding of how nieteenth-century Argentinian academic art also engaged in dialog with European identity, oscillating between references to the artistic and cultural influences of Spain and France, see also 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," *Revue d'art canadien/Canadian Art Review (RACAR)* 38:2 (Fall 2013): 90–108.

[13] Diana Beatriz Wechsler, "Salones y contra-salones," in Penhos et al. *Tras los pasos de la norma,* 41–73.

[14] Andrea Giunta, "Nacionales y populares: los salones del Peronismo," in Penhos et al. *Tras los pasos de la norma,* 153–190.

[15] Giunta, "Nacionales y populares," 153–190.

[16] Andrea Giunta, "Eva Perón: Imágenes y Público," *AA.VV Arte y Recepción, II Jornadas de teoría e historia de las artes*, CAIA, Buenos Aires (September 1997): 177–184.

[17] Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, *La pintura y la escultura argentina de este siglo*, 5.

[18] Giunta, "Nacionales y populares" In the particular case of the 1952 retrospective exhibition, Giunta argues that the increasing control and "pressure" of the state over the National Salons, whose high-ranked bureaucrats privileged figurative works over abstract ones, did not preclude the voluntary participation of all sectors of the art world, 172–173. For Giunta, the retrospective was an attempt on the part of the government to leave behind the debate initiated by former Minister of Justice and Education Oscar Ivanissevich, embracing once and for all modern and abstract works. His inflammatory rhetoric and diatribes against abstract artists in the discourse of the National Salon of 1948, openly pitted one sector of the Argentinian art world against the other, while evoking the Nazi regime's stance against "degenerate" art, 176. Unlike in Germany, according to Giunta, artists working during the Peronist regime did not "sacralize the regime in their works, neither were there exhibitions of a political nature that would imply the systematic disregard and exclusion of particular works and artists." However, the government utilized images of the Peróns as part of their propaganda system, 162.

[19] Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 127.

[20] See Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 125.

[21] See Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 125.

[22] See Giunta, "nacionales y populares," 168.

[23] See Giunta, "Nacionales y populares," 168–170.

[24] Penhos and Weschler, in Penhos et al. *Tras los pasos de la norma*, 8.

[25] Argentinian art critic Fernán Félix de Amador described Ayrinhac as a "dignified representative of academic art." His work was imbued with "the technique and the spirit of the purest of French traditions." *"Trátase de un paisajista de raza que se distingue por la técnica y el espíritu de la más pura tradición francesa."* Fernán Félix de Amador, *La Prensa,* May 9, 1937, quoted in María Laura Litre Valentin and Elisa M. Ayrinhac. *Numa Ayrinhac: de la France à la Pampa* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2009), 55. According to Litre Valentin, Ayrinhac exhibited in Argentina, first in Pigüé in 1934 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the town. In an article from December 31, 1934, local magazine *El Mensajero* mentions that "according to the artist, most of the works exhibited are landscapes from Aveyron, his birth place," quoted in Litre Valentin, *Numa Ayrinhac*, 101. The same article praises his restraint, where "nothing is missing or in excess" and "its absence of luxury and unnecessary adornment," 103. In December 1935 he exhibits in Bahía Blanca, with much success. His portraits are praised for their realism and as "a vigorous example of contemporary painting,"103. On April 13, 1935, Pigüé's newspaper, *Reflejos,* announces that Ayrinhac's gaucho painting *Cantos Melancólicos* was reproduced in the national newspaper *La Prensa*, a newspaper with a wide readership, in its edition of April 7, 1935. In 1936 he juried two exhibitions in Bahía Blanca, the VI Municipal Salon of Art and the Annual Salon of Art organized by "PROA," then a school of Fine Arts and later the Municipal School of Fine Arts of Bahia Blanca (*Associacion de Artistas Plasticos de Bahía Blanca*) where he also exhibited portraits of local society ladies: Mrs. Pillado, Mrs. Tagliabúe and Mrs. Dietrich, 105. Between May 7 and May 22, 1937 he exhibited in *Galería Witcomb* in Buenos Aires. In September 1940 Ayrinhac exhibited in the headquarters of A.L.M.A. (Literary-Musical association of Argentina), Buenos Aires. In 1943 at *Casa Nordiska*, also

showing in Buenos Aires, in a charity fundraiser for disadvantaged children, 107. In May 1944 he exhibited landscapes at *Pineral* Gallery in Buenos Aires. A posthumous retrospective exhibition, held between August 29 and September 10, 1955 at *Witcomb* Gallery displayed more than fifty works, of mostly French and South American landscapes, 107.

[26] Giunta, "Eva Perón: Imágenes y Público," 177–184.

[27] Giunta, "Eva Perón: Imágenes y Público," 177–184.

[28] On January 11, 1950, Numa Ayrinhac wrote a glowing letter to Mrs. María Elena Bravo de Legrand, a former actress known as Malena Legrand, close friend of Eva Perón in her actress days and member of a committee in charge of gifting a portrait of Perón to the Argentinian Embassy in Uruguay. Ayrinhac thanked her for the commission of an oil portrait of General Perón, "as testimony of the recognition to his work for hard working and noble people." The letter also specified the conditions for the realization of the work, in which the general was to be depicted in "a life size three quarter profile image of the general in military uniform, the latter, a direct wish of Mr. President himself, measuring 120 × 90 cm." "The delivery of the work will take place in Buenos Aires on February 20 to the person or institution that you specify, with the committee in charge of receiving it in Montevideo. … My fees will comprise a total of ten thousand pesos ($10,000) including the frame, which will be built according to the characteristic of the work. … I request you return the signed attached copy, establishing the validity of this agreement." Letter in Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. On February 28, 1950, Ayrinhac received a letter from Ms. Bravo de Legrand, as member of the Argentinian embassy in Uruguay to congratulate Ayrinhac for the execution of a portrait of General Perón, and expressing her excitement at the imminent prospect of receiving the portrait of our "dearest EVITA" "queridísima EVITA" (sic), asking Ayrinhac on guidelines regarding care of the paintings. Letter in Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. On February 15, 1950, Ayrinhac was paid $10,000 for a portrait of General Perón, commissioned by the Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Province of Buenos Aires, Dr. Valenzuela. Letter in Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. On March 11, 1950, Ayrinhac wrote a letter to the "Worker Delegate" (*Delegado obrero*) Mr. Narciso Bellino at the Argentinian embassy in Uruguay to thank him "for the commission of a portrait of "the dignified wife of the Most Excellent Mr. President of the Nation General D. Juan Domingo Perón, Doña María Eva Duarte de Perón, destined to the embassy of our friendly neighbour nation." Repeating almost to the letter the wording of the letter to Mrs. Legrand, Ayrinhac wrote that, "The painting will represent the life size figure of the first lady in three quarter profile, contemplating her wishes in regards to the dress of her choice, measuring 120 x 90 cm." The letter specified the delivery date in Argentina on June 30, 1950, and the price, of $10,000 again included the frame. This contract letter was signed by Narciso Bellino and the Secretary General of the embassy, Saverio Ragno, Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. It is safe to assume that most of the individual portraits of the Peróns were commissioned by the different levels of government and private citizens connected to the government in Argentina and abroad.

[29] The Provincial Ministry of Education of the Province of Buenos Aires, Decree 27208, designated Numa Ayrinhac Director of the Palace of Fine Arts, serving under Provincial Minister of Education Bernardo A. Cornejo. Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé, Province of Buenos Aires.

[30] The Provincial Ministry of Education's Decree 935 was signed by Province of Buenos Aires Minister of Education Gerardo A. Cornejo. Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé.

[31] All documentation in the Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé.

[32] The photographic portrait in figure 9 was given by Eva Perón in 1949 to Oscar Fernández (a textiles union representative loyal to Perón, a high-ranking delegate at the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), between the years 1947 and 1949), according to his daughter Susana Fernández, with the directive that it was to be displayed at his house or office. Oral testimony. September 28, 2014, Coronel Brandsen, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

[33] Daniel James, *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 50.

[34] Giunta, "Polémicas en torno a las imágines de Eva Perón," *Escribir las imágenes: ensayos sobre arte argentino y latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011), 123.
[35] Giunta, "Nacionales y populares," in Penhos et al., *Tras los pasos de la norma,* 156.
[36] Cited in Giunta, "Nacionales y populares," 177.
[37] Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina*, 124.
[38] Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina*, 124.
[39] Darlene M. Juschka, *Political Bodies/Body Politic: The Semiotics of Gender* (Oakville: Equinox, 2009). Juschka argues that myths take already formed signs, or language, which then act as the signifiers of new signifieds (concepts) in order to produce new signs. The author establishes that binaries "operate in open sets and therefore are able to acquire further meaning from their association with other binaries." She further posits that "These open sets are often incorporated into discursive formations, such as gender/sex, sexuality, race, or geopolitical relations," 46. The myth of the unity of Argentina as a nation through a united art scene under Peronism takes already formed signs (the artworks already entered in the Museum's inventory through acquisitions), which then act as the signifiers of new signifieds (concepts, in this case the Retrospective Exhibition Display) in order to produce new signs within the discursive formations of the Argentinian artistic canon, as well as national discourses on gender and the state.
[40] Giunta explains that in 1956, immediately following the fall of the Peronist regime, Raquel Forner received the Honor Prize of the National Salon, for her painting *El envío* (*The Message*) as an "act of recognition of her opposition to the regime." Giunta, "Nacionales y populares," 179.
[41] Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. *La pintura y la escultura argentinas de este siglo*, 16.
[42] Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. *La pintura y la escultura argentinas de este siglo*, 15. The reference is to Robinson Crusoe. "*Porque en cuanto a su ser, la Argentina es un Robinson que ha tenido que hacérselo todo en un secreto aislamiento, traspasado por un mar internacional*."
[43] See Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988). See also, Mitchell Greenberg, *Baroque Bodies: Psychoanalysis and The Culture of French Absolutism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 7. In addition, see Josée Desforges, "Une arme à double tranchant: le déploiement du portrait de la reine dans les édifices gouvernementaux et dans les caricatures Québécoises," *Racar Xl*, no. 1 (2015): 1–16.
[44] For a thorough discussion of the diplomatic and domestic implications of the Pan-Latinist stance under Perón between the years 1946 and 1955, see Loris Zanatta, *La internacional justicialista: Auge y ocaso de los sueños imperiales de Perón* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2013).
[45] Sarah E. Betzer, *Ingres and the Studio: Women, Painting, History* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 34.
[46] "Discurso de Evita en España," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3j8U9XN_AbQ, accessed September 30, 2015, and "Madam Peron In Italy AKA Eva Peron Interview Rome (1947)" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7sFnI7dX4KY, accessed September 30, 2015.
[47] Natalia Milanesio, "A Man Like You: Juan Domingo Perón and the Politics of Attraction in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina," *Gender & History* 26, no. 1 (2014): 93.
[48] Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 86.
[49] Joseph A. Page, author of the most thoroughly researched biography on the Argentinian leader, wrote that "Perón's dossier indicates that between July 1, 1939 and May 31, 1940, he served with various alpine units of the Italian army and attended a school for mountain warfare . . . From June 1940 until his return in December he assisted the military attaché at the Argentine embassy." Page adds, however, that despite Perón's ulterior claims that he met with Mussolini and even might have advised *Il Duce* himself, the closest contact Perón had with Italy's dictator was partaking in a massive pro-Mussolini rally in Piazza Venezia in Rome when Mussolini propelled Italy into war as Germany's ally. See Joseph A. Page, *Perón: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1983), 36.
[50] Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 84.
[51] Milanesio argues that, "For many Peronists, Juan Manuel de Rosas, the epitome of the local nineteenth-century *caudillo*, was the true historical predecessor of their leader, a tough and well-liked ruler with an

almost hypnotic influence over his followers. For anti-Peronists, Rosas also offered a historical antecedent to Perón but, in this case, they saw both as brutal and egomaniacal dictators," Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 95.

[52] Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as a Masquerade." Originally published in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* Vol 10 (1929): 303–313. Riviere argues that, "Womanliness therefore could be assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the possession of masculinity and to avert the reprisals expected if she was found to possess it – much as a thief will turn out his pockets and ask to be searched to prove that he has not the stolen goods. The reader may now ask how I define womanliness or where I draw the line between genuine womanliness and the 'masquerade.' My suggestion is not, however, that there is any such difference; whether radical or superficial, they are the same thing." 306. I believe that Riviere's interpretation of "womanliness as masquerade" is a fitting one in the case of Mrs. Perón given the male-dominated and hetero-normative environment of Argentinian politics and society during the first part of the twentieth century. We must account for historical differences if we want to engage in a productive inquiry of Ayrinhac's work and the denaturalization of gender binaries in Argentina at the time. The construction of gender, as Anna Tripp argues, is marked by difference between cultures, difference within cultures, and it is also subject to historical differences. Anna Tripp, *Gender* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 8.

[53] It is not necessary to understand Spanish to glean meaning from the tone of voice in Eva Perón's public speeches. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOnGK5DK0RY, accessed October 2, 2015.

[54] James, *Doña María's Story*, 80.

[55] Giunta, "Eva Perón: Imágenes y Público," 177–184.

[56] Giunta, "Eva Perón: imágenes y público," 182.

[57] Adrian G. Zarrilli, "Un símbolo cultural de la nueva Argentina: *Continente*, 1947–1955," in *Cuando opinar es actuar: Revistas Argentinas del siglo XX*, eds. Norma Girbal-Blacha and Diana Quattrocchi-Woisson (Buenos Aires: Academia nacional de la Historia, 1999), 337–362. The relative anonymity in regards to the authorship of official Peronist portraiture under Perón between the years 1946 and 1955 was also echoed in the world of cultural magazines. The Peronist magazine *Continente* appeared between the years 1947 and 1955. Its directors were Oscar Lomuto and Joaquín Dávila, Peronist government supporters and former military personnel. Its writers were kept anonymous, and according to Diana Quattrocchi-Woisson, "it was as if the intellectuals, *qua* individuals would have to disappear within the working masses, and obviously, within the 'first' and 'most prominent' amongst them, General Perón" *("Como si los individuos intelectuales tuviesen que desaparecer frente a la masa de los trabajadores y, obviamente, del 'primero' y más 'destacado' de entre ellos, el General Perón"*), 37. Simultaneously, as might have been the case with Ayrinhac, this practice of anonymity could also conceal the fact that those intellectuals or artists of the regime were not considered part of the artistic or cultural elite of the country. According to the authors, *Continente,* more than a cultural magazine, was an illustrated almanac, which was a novelty in and of itself and a thinly veiled vehicle of official propaganda, 38. Adrián G. Zarrilli analyzes the extent to which *Continente* operated as another vehicle of government propaganda, detailing the insufficient efforts of the magazine's editors to engage the liberal intellectual elite. The "ideal reader" of *Continente*, according to Zarrilli, was not the typical consumer of popular culture. The magazine was bilingual with its articles translated into English, aiming to capture the aesthetic and intellectual curiosity of the middle class with cultural preoccupations in order to defensively engage with this mostly reluctant group (361). This engagement with its readership contained a two-pronged strategy; on the one hand, *Continente* attempted to attract this public with an aesthetic proposition apparently divorced from all political connotations; on the other hand, its articles defended the government's actions while showcasing the merits of the "New Argentina" under Perón, 361. Zarrilli does not examine directly the visual means such a strategy entailed, but despite this shortcoming, his investigation can be useful for gleaning meaning when analyzing the illustrated advertisements, fine art, and photographic reproductions present in the magazine, by pointing out that the regime utilized the magazine "to display the social equality of

the regime and the eradication of old class conflicts," 353; in other words, it was one more tool for silencing Perón's opponents.

[58] The caption reads: "The gallant 'Presidente Perón', the first Argentine trans-Atlantic ship destined to convey passengers which has been recently incorporated as a truly valuable asset to our growing merchant fleet. In one of the ship's offices a portrait of the President occupies a prominent place as a just tribute to one who has given such ample support in the progress of the country's navy. The ship has been built according to all the latest modern requirements."

[59] An image dated August 8, 1938, shows Numa Ayrinhac posing in a group photograph, the day of the founding of the *Pigüé Foto Cine Club*. Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé.

[60] Matthew Karush, Introduction to *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina,* ed. Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa (Durham: Duke U. Press, 2010), 14.

[61] Matthew Karush, "Populism, Melodrama, and the Market: the Mass Cultural Origins of Peronism," in *The New Cultural History of Peronism*, 25.

[62] Karush, "Populism, Melodrama, and the Market," 28.

[63] Karush, "Populism, Melodrama, and the Market," 23.

[64] Karush, "Populism, Melodrama, and the Market," 43–45.

[65] Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 87.

[66] Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 87.

[67] I understand populism as a style of political leadership, after Latin American historian Alan Knight for whom populism constitutes a "politico-stylistic" phenomenon. Knight starts from the etymological derivation of "populism" from *populus*, or the implication that a movement, regime, leader, or style claims some affinity with "the people," 226. For the author, these characteristics imply a political *style* that produces "a close bond between political leaders and led," 226, proposing to look at populism historically in dynamic terms by looking at specific movements, leaders, regimes, and their particular political *style*, 231. Knight anchors his loose definition of populism and refutes others by pairing different Latin American leaders from different times and places according to an array of criteria, utilizing the concept of "'Leaders' as surrogate for movements/parties/ regimes," 233. See Alan Knight, "Populism and Neo-Populism in Latin America, Especially Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 223–248.

[68] Florencia Garramuño critically refers here to the linear perception of tango as a cultural form traditionally studied as subject to a "cleansing" or sanitizing process that rids it of perceived "indecencies" or their ethnic and class characteristics. Florencia Garramuño, "Primitivist Iconographies: Tango and Samba, Images of the Nation," in *Images of Power: Iconography, Culture, and the State in Latin America*, eds. Jens Andermann and William Rowe (New York: Berghahn Books: 2005), 128.

[69] Garramuño, "Primitivist Iconographies," 128.

[70] Garramuño, "Primitivist Iconographies," 128–131.

[71] In the last two decades or so, there has been a surge in the study of masculinities as a complex, relational, and changing cultural construction in connection to femininities while trying to break free from and question the gender binaries and categorizations existent within the "heterosexual matrix." According to Angela Tripp, "Masculinity is no more stable, free standing or internally coherent than femininity; produced through ongoing processes of identification and differentiation, it is continually threatened by that which defines it." Tripp, *Gender*, 12. My analysis of Ayrinhac's portrayal of Perón's masculinity highlights the anxieties of the political and cultural establishment under Perón, who, like members of other Modern Western cultures, produced, in Angela Tripp's words, "a notion of the 'deviant' or 'queer' in order to shore up a sense of heterosexual 'normality', a queerness which the 'straight' must then simultaneously deny and depend on as its constitutive difference," 15.

[72] Carlos Gardel historian Jorge Aravena Llanca explains that in 1943 Juan Domingo Perón said in an interview that, "the day a president sports Gardel's smile he will have the Argentinian people wrapped around his little finger" (*"El día que aparezca un presidente con la sonrisa de Gardel se mete al pueblo*

en el bolsillo"). He also posits that "once he became president of Argentina, Perón appeared in a photograph in identical three quarter profile, wearing an identical *frac*, identical parted lips and toothy grin, and the same sleek pulled back hair as Gardel in his film *The Day You Love Me*." Jorge Aravena Llanca, *El tango y la historia de Carlos Gardel* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003), 133.

[73] See *Latin Music: Musicians, Genres, and Themes*, ed. Ilan Stavans (Santa Barbara: Greenwood), 294. Cultural historians Toby Miller and George Yúdice also posit that the most important aspect of the screen during Perón's period was political spectacle, "as Perón mimicked the style and demeanor of Carlos Gardel." Toby Miller and George Yúdice, *Cultural Policy* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2002), 99.

[74] Natalia Milanesio argues that "To his advantage, Perón bore a remarkable resemblance to internationally famous tango singer and actor Carlos Gardel who died in an airplane crash in 1935. Gardel was the quintessential icon of Argentine masculinity, admired by men and adored by women. Always impeccably dressed in fine suits and tuxedos, his lustrous black hair combed smoothly back, Gardel's trademark was his charming smile with perfect teeth. Like Gardel, Perón had a broad and enchanting white smile that became his personal signature . . . a fresh departure from the traditional imagery of political and military figures with solemn and severe expressions. Stern faces were a characteristic of nineteenth and early twentieth-century politicians worldwide." Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 88. See also, Marcela Gené, *"*Los rostros del General Perón, del retrato protocolar a la caricatura," *Prohistoria* IX, no. 9 (2005): 83–108. http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2188732, accessed September 26, 2015.

[75] Eduardo P. Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 19. For Archetti, Argentinian soccer (*fútbol*), polo and tango operate as "free zones," liminal spaces that allow the articulation of hybrid bodily performances of sexuality, xvi.

[76] Argentinian philosopher Beatriz Sarlo, in her tome *Una modernidad periférica: Buenos Aires 1920 y 1930*, delves into the rapid urban transformations of Buenos Aires during the 1920s and '30s and how Buenos Aires intellectuals responded in their works to those changes. The concept of Peripheral Modernity constitutes for Sarlo the conflation of "European modernity and *rioplatense* difference, acceleration and anguish, traditionalism, and spirit of renewal; criollism and a culture of mixing." "modernidad europea y diferencia rioplatense, aceleración y angustia, tradicionalismo y espíritu renovador; criollismo y vanguardia. Buenos Aires: el gran escenario de una cultura de mezcla." Beatriz Sarlo, *"Una modernidad periférica: Buenos Aires 1920 y 1930"* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva visión, 1988), 15.

[77] Eduardo P. Archetti, introduction to *Masculinities: Football, Polo and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), xiii.

[78] Archetti, *Masculinities*, xv.

[79] Archetti, *Masculinities*, xv.

[80] Archetti, *Masculinities*, xvi.

[81] Archetti, *Masculinities*, 155–157.

[82] According to Milanesio, "In Argentina, Perón's smile was more than a deviation from the conventional portraits of political figures whose coldness evoked their grave responsibilities; it suggested an alternative masculinity. A serious face has historically been a form of gender affirmation among men – an expression of strength, competence and expertise – while smiling has been traditionally associated with weakness, frivolity and femininity. The dissociation between smile and masculinity was so strong that political opponents condemned the smiling Perón as an impostor. For them, his smile was tacky, fake and concealing vicious intentions . . . According to anti-Peronists, Perón was a 'laughing hyena.'" Milanesio, "A Man Like You," 88.

[83]Archetti, *Masculinities*, 153.

[84] Camp in this context is understood as per Susan Sontag, for whom "To perceive Camp in persons . . . is to understand 'Being-as-playing-a-role' or to think of 'life as theatre.'" Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp," in *Camp: Against Interpretation, and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 280, quoted in Jeffrey Tobin, "Models of Machismo: The Troublesome Masculinity of Argentine Male Tango dancers," in

Tango in Translation, ed. Gabriele Klein (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2009), 157. Also Tobin Jeffrey explains that in the *porteño* tango scene, being masculine is commonly understood to be playing a role, 157.
https://books.google.ca/books?id=6VodutecZ48C&pg=PA139&lpg=PA139&dq=Models+of+Machismo:+The+Troublesome+Masculinity+of+Argentine+Male+Tango+Dancers.&source=bl&ots=pb6LKCJwb8&sig=gl5xt4ARvA5UbIB_Aol5EtyuY4o&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAGoVChMI_PqcvLSVyAIVkj6ICh3BQAQA#v=onepage&q=Models%20of%20Machismo%3A%20The%20Troublesome%20Masculinity%20of%20Argentine%20Male%20Tango%20Dancers.&f=false, accessed September 26, 2015.

[85] Tobin, "Tango in Translation," 160. Anthropologist Jeffrey Tobin explains that the "Male tango dancer's masculinity and, indeed, masculinity in general can be read as masquerade, but unlike femininity performed by women, masculinity performed by men does not conceal the presence of the phallus; rather it conceals that a penis is not the phallus . . .As Eugenie Lemoine-Luccioni argues, 'if the penis were the phallus, men would have no need of feathers or ties or medals.'"158, quoted in Chris Holmlund: "Masculinity as Multiple Masquerade: the 'Mature' Stallone and the Stallone Clone," in: Steven Cohan/Ina Rae Hark (eds.): *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 213–229, p. 226. Paraphrasing Lemoine-Luccioni, if Perón's (and of course Gardel's) penis were the phallus, they would have no need of wearing the *tanguero* smoking jacket and pulled-back hair, the sly smile, and, in the case of Perón, his military uniform. According to Chris Holmlund, "Masquerade masks need not produce answers which are mutually exclusive. What are decisive . . . are the concrete effects masquerades have," 225.

[86] Archetti, *Masculinities,* 17.

[87] Archetti, *Masculinities*, 41.

[88] Archetti, *Masculinities*, 42.

[89] Eduardo Elena, "Peronism in Good Taste: Culture and Consumption in the Magazine *Argentina,*" in *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina,* ed. Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 209.

[90] Elena, "Peronism in Good Taste," 225.

[91] Elena, "Peronism in Good Taste," 226.

[92] Elena, "Peronism in Good Taste," 221. Elena also refers to "An ad for a perfume called *Bohemia* (most certainly produced locally) stressed that it was manufactured with French 'essences.' The accompanying illustration departed from the moralistic tone of the magazine's editorials and articles, as it portrayed a high society party, with men in tuxedos and women in ball gowns sipping champagne and cavorting happily," 229. Likewise*, Continente* was also peppered with articles with a moralistic tone, countered by aspirational ads such as the one analyzed and discussed in my inquiry.

[93] See Valeria Grinberg Plá, *Eva Perón: cuerpo, género, nación: estudio crítico de sus representaciones en la literatura, el cine y el discurso académico desde 1951 hasta le actualidad*. (San José, Costa Rica: Ciudad Universitaria Rodrigo Facio, 2013).

[94] Valeria Grinberg Plá, introduction to *Eva Perón*, xxvi. Also see Susana Rosano, "Rostros y mascaras de Eva Perón: Imaginario Populista y representación." Rosano, Susana. *Rostros y máscaras de Eva Perón: imaginario populista y representación*," (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2006) For Rosano, the representations of Eva Perón occupied a central role in connecting gender relations, political power, and modernity in populist Peronist Argentina.

[95] James, *Doña Maria's Story*, 239.

[96] James, *Doña Maria's Story*, 236–237.

[97] James, *Doña Maria's Story*, 238.

[98] James, *Doña María's Story*, 239.

[99] James, *Doña Maria's Story*, 239–240.

[100] Natalia Milanesio, "*Peronistas* and *Cabecitas*: Stereotypes at the Peak of Social Change," in Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa, eds. *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina* (Duke U. Press, 2010), 62.

[101] Milanesio, "*Peronistas* and *Cabecitas*," 72–75.
[102] Milanesio, "*Peronistas* and *Cabecitas*," 66. Drawing upon cartoons in pro-government magazines such as *Descamisada* and *Mundo Peronista,* Milanesio argues that these publications mocked or commented on the elite's accusations of the Perónist government as authoritarian by showing that the allegation was a strategy to oppose social justice. For Milanesio, mocking as strategy "suggests the blurring of class identities that might occur when indicators that previously revealed one's membership in a specific social class no longer conveyed this message," 62. Ayrinhac's portrait, showing Eva dressed in couture fashion, can be unsettlingly perceived by diverse audiences as a grey zone between mimicry (almost the same, *but not quite*; in the case of Eva Perón's portraits by Ayrinhac, one more element of a proliferation of inappropriate objects that ensure its strategic failure, at once resemblance and menace) and mockery. For an in-depth discussion of these concepts, see Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 85–92.
[103] Anahí Ballant, "Unforgettable Kitsch: Images Around Eva Perón," in *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina*, eds. Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa (Duke U. Press, 2010), 158. Ballant links to architectural production as well as visual images of Eva two recognizable variables of kitsch as distinguished by Calinescu, "market kitsch," which involves excessively Frenchified images (Eva is sporting French fashions to an excess in the painting) and the "kitsch of political propaganda…characterized by a hackneyed version of the sublime," 146. Ballant's inquiry, most importantly, focuses on the period that most interests me in relation to the portrait, the years of 1947 until 1950. The portrait was produced in the year 1948, the same year the Eva Perón Foundation began its work, 147. According to Ballant, in *La razón de mi vida* (*My Mission in Life*), there is a quote attributed to Eva Perón: ". . . a century of miserable asylums cannot be wiped out except by another century of 'excessively luxurious' homes. Yes, excessively luxurious . . . No, I am not afraid (that the poor will get accustomed to living like the rich). On the contrary, I wish them to accustom themselves to live like the rich," quoted in Ballant, 144.
[104] Ballant, "Unforgettable Kitsch," 158.
[105] Brzyzki, *Partisan Canons*, 4.
[106] Brzyzki, *Partisan Canons*, 4.
[107] See Beatriz González Stephan, "Subversive Needlework: Gender, Class and History at Venezuela's National Exhibition, 1883," regarding the omission of the work of women embroiderers in Venezuela's national Exhibition of 1853. González Stephan's case study on canon exclusions of women embroiderers at the turn of the century in Venezuela, provides a useful parallel and point of contrast from which to study Ayrinhac's exclusion from the Argentinian canon and in particular the omission of his name in the 1952 Retrospective exhibition Beatriz González Stephan, "Subversive Needlework: Gender, Class and History at Venezuela's National Exhibition, 1883," in *Images of Power: Iconography, Culture, and the State in Latin America*, eds. Jens Andermann and William Rowe (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 51–77. (See 59–62 in particular).
[108] Romero, *A History of Argentina*, 126.
[109] "Espalion: L'exposition Numa Ayrinhac anime le Vieux Palais," *La Depeche. fr*, July 27, 2011. http://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2011/07/27/1135747-espalion-l-exposition-numa-ayrinhac-anime-le-vieux-palais.html, accessed September 26, 2015.
[110] Elisa Ayrinhac, introduction to *Numa Ayrinhac: du Rouergue à la Pampa, d'Eugène Raynaldy à Eva Perón* (Rodez: Groupe Burlat Rodez, 2011), 5.

CONCLUSION

"A Web of Shrines:" Peronist Portraiture and Civic Piety after 1955

The 1952 retrospective exhibition inserted Ayrinhac's portraits of the Peróns into the context of the museum where, according to Eilean-Hooper Greenhill, works of art exist as "maps that depict values and picture relationships, delineating power relations and boundaries of influence."[1] Unlike Vitullo's *Archetype Symbol,* which evoked an Archaic, even Indigenous Argentinian past, Ayrinhac's portraits referenced Creole identity and religious practice.[2] The sanctification of Peronist portraiture began shortly before the death of Eva Perón. By 1951, following the expropriation of anti-Peronist newspapers like *La Prensa,* the portraits were already becoming a central instrument of Peronist propaganda. These images mapped the Peróns, especially Eva Perón, into the realm of the sacred; the portraits were reproduced in newspapers and displayed like relics worthy of religious worship in the civic pantheon of male-dominated Argentinian politics.[3] Perón's hold on the press increased after 1952, as he attempted to stem a relentless criticism in the non-Peronist national and international print media.[4] Like the lithograph of Cayetano Descalzi's Juan Manuel de Rosas, *Rosas el Grande*, Ayrinhac's likenesses of the Peróns circulated in printed materials. However, unlike Descalzi and his image, Ayrinhac and his portraits have remained largely unrecognized.

After Eva Perón's death, Ayrinhac's portraits were transformed into memorial sites, guiding the conduct of the ideal Peronist citizen, united behind the Argentinian leader in perpetual and unwavering mourning. On Sunday, January 3, 1954, *La Prensa*, formerly an anti-government publication and now in the hands of the Peronist worker's union, reproduced Ayrinhac's double portrait of the Peróns from 1948 (figure 1).[5] The image was accompanied by a

poem that attempted to stabilize Eva's femininity while also inviting the viewer to consider her liminal qualities. The narrative of Eva Perón as a martyr who sacrificed her life for her people, succumbing to cancer at the Christ-like age of 33, set in motion a quasi-religious cult that permeates the display of Ayrinhac's double portrait of the presidential couple to this day.[6]

If the reader of *La Prensa* was anti-Peronist, the image and poem constituted one more demand for leader worship and served only to reinforce his or her contempt for the presidential couple. If the reader supported the Peronist government, the poem served as a prayer for Eva Perón's eternal peace, scripting civic piety. The expression "pasó a la inmortalidad" (she passed into immortality) is still used today to refer to Eva Perón's death.[7] Much like the double image of Rosas, the Restorer of the Law, and Encarnación Ezcurra, Heroine of the Federation, the reproduction of the Peróns and its accompanying poem reminded the reader of the early modern duality of Ayrinhac's representation.

The strength of Perón as a leader was linked to his wife's hyper-feminine demeanour in much the same way as Pueyrredon's Manuela Rosas aligned itself to the power of her father. The poem began:

> *Nos miras desde el fondo de un retrato*
> *Con tu fija expresión de dama antigua,*
> *Sonriente y grácil, con la mano exigua*
> *Que enlaza el brazo fuerte, con recato…*
>
> You look in our direction from the depths of a portrait
> With the aloof gaze of a colonial grand dame,
> Smiling and graceful, you demurely embrace
> The strong arm of your husband with your lifeless hand…

The phrase "colonial grand dame" links Eva Perón to traditional, elite, colonial feminine behaviour;[8] while "the strong arm" refers to the traditional masculinity trait of physical strength,

and by extension to a popular Argentinian-Spanish expression that indicates strong authoritarian leadership, the "*mano dura.*"[9] Eva's "lifeless hand" presents femininity as physical weakness.

Like images of Juan Manuel de Rosas and his wife Encarnación Ezcurra, printed reproductions the Peróns acquired the aura of cult objects, adorning private homes in makeshift altars.[10] But after the military coup of 1955, the portraits of the Peróns by Ayrinhac were forcibly erased from the public realm.[11] Of the more than twenty portraits painted by Ayrinhac of the presidential couple, no more than four have survived; the rest were destroyed either by the regime's opponents or by government officials themselves after the military revolution that brought down the Perón presidency in 1955.[12]

Peronist Portraiture Reenters Civic Life

After the brutal Argentinian dictatorship known as the *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* (National Reorganization Process, 1976-1983), three surviving portraits of the Peróns re-emerged into the public realm, only to be re-appropriated by a new generation of Peronist leaders and their supporters. The name and memory of Numa Ayrinhac, however, has remained in the background, detached from that of his far more famous sitters. Ayrinhac continues to sacrifice his protagonism not just for that of the Peróns, as during his lifetime, but now for that of the current Peronist president *du jour*.

Ayrinhac's works reentered the public sphere in September 1992, when the two portraits that had been exhibited in 1952 appeared at the auction house Posadas Remates (figures 2a and 2b).[13] The Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación* announced the auction with the headline "Painted by a French Artist: Portraits of Perón and *Evita* to be auctioned off."[14] Pro-Peronist theatre impresario Carlos Spadone was the successful bidder for the portrait of Eva Perón. The

double portrait, which had been published with the poem *"Eva, en un retrato"* in 1954, was sold by the same auction house two months later, in November 1992 (figure 3). Newspapers explained that the double portrait was displayed and auctioned along with a Hoffmann motorcycle that had belonged to General Perón[15] and a photograph of the leader riding the vehicle.[16] According to documents in the Archives of the Museo del Bicentenario, the double portrait was purchased on June 6, 1994 by the Argentinian government, controlled at the time by neoliberal Peronist President Carlos Saúl Menem, to be shown in public exhibitions.[17]

Exhibitions organized by the Museo de la Casa Rosada have emphasized the uniqueness of the double portrait and failed to explore its relationship to either Ayrinhac's artistic career or to past Argentinian examples of official portraiture, such as the portraits of Rosas and his family. Ayrinhac's double portrait was presented for the first time to the public at the Casa Rosada Museum in November 1994 as part of the exhibition "Presidential Sashes and Staffs."[18] This presentation minimized the protagonism of the portrait's creator, Numa Ayrinhac, and placed the spotlight instead on the political power of the Peróns.[19] Such a context of display operates quite differently from the way, for example, Prilidiano Pueyrredón's portrait of Manuela Rosas is displayed at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. At the museum of art (in contrast to the government's museum of Argentinian history), Pueyrredón is presented as one of the pioneers of Argentinian art. The presentation ignores the way Manuela Rosas was used to stabilize and amplify her father's political power during the last days of his authoritarian regime and stands solely as an early masterpiece of academic painting in Argentina. Ayrinhac's work is nowhere to be found at Argentina's preeminent museum of national art.[20]

Three years later Ayrinhac's double portrait, in April 1997, became the centrepiece for an exhibition called by the newspaper *Clarín,* "a Peronist display." The brochure for the

exhibition, *Un retrato presidencial: Perón y Evita de Numa Ayrinhac,* reproduced the double portrait on both the front and back cover (figures 4a and 4b). According to a newspaper article dated April 13, 1997, the exhibition "revolves around Perón and *Evita*."[21] Once again, the name of Ayrinhac was eclipsed by that of his ever-popular sitters. The artist, when discussed, was described as one of the "few chosen ones that enjoyed the privilege of contributing to the idealization of Eva's figure," a posthumous recognition to his artistic strategy.

Simultaneous with this exhibition, also in April 1997, a retrospective of sculptor Sesostri Vitullo, whose *Arquetipo símbolo*, the image of an archaic Eva Perón, had been rejected by the Peronist government in 1952, was mounted at the Fundación PROA in Buenos Aires. A review in the magazine *D & D (Diseño y Decoración*) called the exhibition a "double re-discovery," for not only had a previously forgotten artist been brought back to light, but his sculpture of Eva Perón was finally available for public viewing.[22] This exhibition and its review offer a compelling contrast to Ayrinhac's reception. Whereas Vitullo, an artist working in a modernist style that readily links to the avant-garde, was rediscovered and welcomed into the canon of Argentinian artists, Ayrinhac remained eclipsed by his sitters. His image of Eva Perón had become the *Vera Effigie*.

Today, in the twenty first century, the double portrait of Perón is displayed as if it were a Catholic shrine, engaging those spectators who are always already converted or near conversion to Peronism. The signs and codes of nineteenth and early twentieth century European Creole elites coalesce into a national and popular hybrid museum experience,[23] with religious undertones that make it difficult to incorporate experiences of spectatorship that may depart from its ascribed meaning. Museum scholar Carol Duncan explains in her book *Civilizing Rituals* that the museum is the ultimate *regisseur,* or stage manager, of museum spectatorship *qua* ritualistic

performance.[24] As a ritual, argues Duncan, the museum experience constitutes a liminal, or in-between, environment where spectators are able to look at the world anew, stepping out of time into an a-temporal space that aims to communicate timeless values so that at the end of the experience they feel in spiritual equilibrium, rejuvenated, having 'communed' with the works on display.[25] The museum ritual, argues Duncan, involves an element of performance on the part of the spectator: "A ritual performance need not be a formal spectacle; it may be something an individual enacts alone by following a prescribed route, by repeating a prayer, by recalling a narrative, or by engaging in some other structured experience that relates to the history or meaning of a site or objects within it."[26] Ritual performances of spectatorship surrounding Peronist portraiture thus acquire in the twenty-first century new layers of meaning that have been largely unacknowledged at the museum that currently houses Ayrinhac's double portrait.

The Pious Spectator

Twenty years after the re-emergence of Ayrinhac's Perón paintings, the double portrait has become the centre of, in the words of medieval relic studies scholar Charles Freeman, a "web of shrines" that creates, much like a religious shrine, a "layer of consciousness of the sacred."[27] The current display of Ayrinhac's double portrait at the Museo del Bicentenario in Buenos Aires harnesses the power of Juan Perón as Argentina's *Homo Clausus* and the political sacredness of the "double body" of Eva Perón as tools of consensus building at the hands of the histrionically expressive and hyper-feminine Peronist President, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-present).

Other manifestations of the "canonization" that elevates the Peróns and bypasses Ayrinhac—among them the recent unveiling of the Eva Perón 100 peso banknote and the

museological display at the Museo Evita in Buenos Aires—work with the Museo del Bicentenario to prepare spectators for this ritualistic experience. As a "web of shrines," the banknote and the museum dedicated to Eva Perón attempt to prime the viewer for a one-dimensional performance of spectatorship appropriately submissive to the civic piety of First Peronism.

Perhaps the ultimate act of commodification of the First Lady's memory is the newly released Eva Perón banknote, based on a design from 1952 (figure 5).[28] Issued to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of Eva Perón's death, the government of President Cristina Kirchner printed the 100 pesos bill with Perón's profile on the obverse and an image of the *Tellus Mater*, the Roman Earth Goddess, on the reverse in 2012. The inclusion of the *Tellus Mater* from the *Ara Pacis (Altar of Augustan Peace),* which was restored under Mussolini's rule between 1937 and 1941, affirms the ideological affinity between First Peronism and Mussolini's Italy. It also builds upon the symbolism of the bust of Cesar Augustus in Numa Ayrinhac's portrait of President Perón, exhibited in the 1952 retrospective exhibition.

The narrative of Republican and imperial divinity expressed by the banknote has augmented the Peronist narrative of religious martyrdom. If immediately after the death of Eva Perón, the regime resorted to the dissemination of her likenesses in the press to garner support through memorialization, the twenty first century has seen the institutionalization of these mechanisms. These new forms of memorialization bridge the private and public spheres, merging personal memories of the former First Lady and her family with her political contribution to the Peronist project thanks to the pecuniary support of the Argentinian government.

A case in point is the Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Historicas Eva Perón (National Institute of Historical Investigation Eva Perón), created by the government in 1998.[29] Since 2002, the Institute has been located at the Museo Evita, which is also supported by government funding.[30] The museum opened its doors on July 26, 2002 in the original location of one of the *Hogares de Tránsito,* or transition homes for impoverished women and children, run by the Eva Perón Foundation from 1948 until 1955. Presided over by Eva Perón's niece, Cristina Alvarez Rodríguez, who is also a Peronist minister in the Province of Buenos Aires, the museum aspires to "open its doors to narrate Eva's life and way of thinking." According to its museum director, Norma Durango, "Ideology transforms into culture when it merges with the people and EVA PERÓN, today indissolubly associated to the Argentinian people." The museum, she continues, is "a live institution, as alive as Evita's thinking."[31] The Museum houses personal artifacts that belonged to the former First Lady, old photographs, documents, and intimate items such as half-empty vials of perfume. A typical visit is structured as an emotional journey that seamlessly interweaves her life with that of the political life of the country.

Beginning on the first floor of the museum, the visitor encounters a makeshift altar with votive candles and a reproduction of Ayrinhac's most famous image of Eva Perón, the smiling bust-length portrait used for the cover of her autobiography, *La razón de mi vida* (figure 6). Next, a descriptive panel pitting the "White Myth" against the "Black Myth" of Eva Perón, presents the debate surrounding her and asks the visitor to take a side. The exhibition then follows Perón's beginnings as an impoverished and illegitimate child from the provinces to her move as a young adult to the big city to work in the movies. Traditionally feminine props like her clothing and a sewing machine that belonged to her mother complete the display. As the viewer ascends to the second floor of the mansion, a wall inscription with the quote, "The most

wonderful day in my life was when it coincided with Perón's," reinforces the ascent from the personal to political aspects of her life.

On the second floor, displays of Perón's political activities —public speeches and social work at her eponymous foundation— takes precedence over the personal aspects of her life. The process of civic canonization begins at this point. Dresses and personal items give way to objects that formed part of her work at the foundation, such as toys and children's pajamas. Interweaving the end of her life with that of the regime, items that were allegedly damaged during the coup of 1955 prime the viewer for Perón's martyrdom, first through the cancer that took her life, and then, through the unimaginable indignity of having her embalmed body spirited away, delaying for decades its quest for eternal peace. The final stop on the tour offers the viewer confirmation that Eva Perón is indeed a secular saint. Footage of her funeral and the repatriation of her body play in a constant loop, framed by a timeline of the whereabouts of her corpse and that of the country since the moment of her death.

Immediately across from the concluding display, a vitrine houses an assortment of candles given to mourners by unions and the government on the occasion of her funeral vigil. There are also posters demanding her canonization, a request that exacerbated tensions between Juan Perón and the Catholic Church in 1955. Next to the vitrine, the original chapel of the *Hogar de Tránsito*, where children took communion, displays the most popular of Argentinian religious symbols, the *Virgen de Luján* (figure 7). Here the visitor may ponder Eva Perón's afterlife, engage with her memory as part of an emotionally-charged spiritual exercise, ask for a favor, or consider a visit the Museo del Bicentenario in order to further understand the country's ongoing fascination with the Peróns.

The inauguration of the Museo del Bicentenario on May 24, 2011 coincided with the two hundred year anniversary of Argentina's independence.[32] Housed in the restored Aduana Taylor (Taylor Customs House), built in 1855, the building sits very near the Casa Rosada on the site of the original port of Buenos Aires. The site served also as the seat of Spanish colonial and early independence governments in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The displays in the building's basilica-like interior commemorate 200 years of history, housing in the west "aisles" a linear narrative of the country, protected by the remains of nineteenth-century arches that create chapel-like niches (figures 8a and 8b). Viewers walking through the nave of the building engage with the different moments of Argentina's turbulent history as if they were viewing the *Via Crucis* (Stations of the Cross). Of the fourteen "stations," the first six summarize the history of Argentina before the first presidency of Juan Perón and the following eight refer to Peronism in its various incarnations, with leftist revolutionaries, doomed democrats, and neoliberal populists culminating in the years of Kirchnerism (2003-2015), or as the government triumphantly announces on the museum website, a period "Of Political, Economic, and Social Recuperation, the *Patria* of the Bicentennial."[33]

At the seventh station, marked by the archway which introduces the first presidency of Juan Perón, is a glass floor panel that extends across the center of the nave toward the east aisle, allowing visitors to glimpse the remains of the customs house below (figures 9a, 9b and 9c). Visible are the machines used to haul commodities to and from the ships that docked at the port of Buenos Aires, a reminder of the country's role as one of the foremost agricultural providers in the world during the first half of the twentieth century. Above the glass floor, across from arch number seven, is the joyful double portrait of the Juan and Eva Perón in gala attire. The 1948 portrait by Franco-Argentinian artist Numa Ayrinhac offers an a-historical visual experience of

gendered presidential power. Standing in the discreet space of a side-chapel, the Peróns are flanked by a pair of altar-like brick wall enclosures, remains from the top floor of the customs house.

On either side of Ayrinhac's painting, but a respectful distance away, are two other artworks, Alberto Schwartz's *Rendición del Parque* (Surrender in the Park) from 1891 and Lino Scotucci's *Cambio de guardia* (Changing of the Guard) from 1920 (figures 10 and 11). Schwartz's painting depicts a political revolt in the streets of Buenos Aires and Scotucci's shows three Grenadiers changing the guard in the portico of Casa Rosada; together the paintings suggest the pacification of the country. However, neither disturbs the singularity of the Perón's display. Further away, in the apse of the museum, the 1933 mural *Ejercicio Plástico* by radical Mexican communist David Alfaro Siqueiros, is housed in its own separate room, its presence announced by a gigantic photo-mural of the artist visible from the nave (figure 12). Even in this panegyric to the history of Argentina through the lens of twenty-first century Peronism, the biases of artistic canon formation take place. The portrait of Siqueiros takes precedence over the other (Argentinian) artists, who like Ayrinhac, do not figure in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes of Buenos Aires.

The portrait of the Peróns, in the centre of the east aisle and facing the historical displays, is staged as a political myth ingrained by popular Peronist lore. The staging of traditions, according to Néstor García Canclini, has the power to legitimize those who appropriate them. Cultural patrimony, he continues, "exists as a political force insofar as it is dramatized—in comemorations, monuments, and museums."[34] Canclini argues that because of lower literacy rates, there exists in most countries of Latin America a strong need to construct culture through the visual dramatization of power. Exhibitions like the one at the Museo del

Bicentenario attempt to fix meaning through embodied spectatorship, allowing viewers to act out either direct or indirect memories related to past political trauma.[35]

In its twenty-first century exhibition context, the 1948 double portrait still presents, as if time stood still, the same representation of Argentinian masculinities and femininities that were employed by the Peróns, crystalized, perennial, and ever potent symbols of political power.[36] Eva Perón's painted satin dress appears to spill out into the environment of the museum, establishing a visual continuity with her actual dress (figures 13a and 13b). Housed in a vitrine, like a Catholic relic, the actual "Christian" Dior dress worn by Eva Perón transforms the double depiction into a total work of art that sacralizes and memorializes official femininity under Peronism. The basilica-like architectural structure of the museum accentuates the religious overtones of the portrait's display, creating a spiritually-inflected space conducive to silence and quiet reflection. The space activates the performative component of museum spectatorship as ritual, exempting the Peróns from reasoned historical analysis.[37]

Ayrinhac's double portrait of the Peróns is the backdrop of choice for the current Peronist president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who has been photographed with the painting in the company of such dignitaries as the President Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia (figure 14). Wearing her customary black attire, to signal her widowhood from President Néstor Kirchner, President Kirchner offers a compelling visual comparison with and contrast to First Lady Eva Perón's ethereal, almost ghostly depiction in white satin. By and of itself, the double portrait is a unable to stabilize meaning, save for the presidential investiture of General Perón. The still intact original dress in the museum display, lent to the Museo del Bicentenario by the descendants of Eva Perón, and the presence of the current president, inscribes the portrait as both a private and public memorial site, in addition to serving as a ceremonial site of presidential succession.

General Perón visually transfers the presidential mantle to Cristina Kirchner, who seems to incarnate the power of both Perón and his wife, while preserving the identification of the Argentinian people with the body of Eva Perón through her proximity with the dress-relic. President Kirchner plays with the idea of the mirror image, engaging the viewer in an exercise of comparison between herself and the Peróns. If Ayrinhac's individual portrait of President Perón omitted the reflection of the Argentinian leader in the mirror, allowing Perón to engage directly with the spectator, President Kirchner exercises her presidential power by choosing to deliberately mediate between the representation of the Peróns and the spectator. She, like the Peróns before her, bypasses the protagonism of the painting's artist Numa Ayrinhac.

The act of drawing power from the double portrait of the Peróns was particularly evident at the inaugural ceremonies of the Museo del Bicentenario on May 24, 2011.[38] Without mentioning the double portrait that served as the almost constant backdrop to her speech, President Kirchner offered her impressions of the museum, acting like the ideal museum spectator, a self-described art connoisseur, and preemptively imbuing her persona not only with political power but also with the expertise of an art insider. She spoke in this speech of "Unifiying Argentina" under Peronism, denying the possibility of historical differences and individual responses to the museum's historical and pictorial narratives, in much the same way as the 1952 exhibition organizers glossed over political differences in the art world at the time.

Chilean art historian Manuel Durán suggests that while art historians and museum professionals in Latin America have addressed in their work key museological issues such as documentation and preservation, they still need to engage more fully in gender debates related to areas such as museum display, that have been traditionally considered universal, neutral, and paradoxically "masculine."[39] While the current exhibition of Ayrinhac's double portrait of the

Peróns suggests the performance of hyper-feminine emotional spectatorship in the persona of President Kirchner, it also denies other types of spectatorship. By highlighting the work as a religious relic instead of propitiating an art historical inquiry into the painting's historical precursors or gendered strategies of display —such as the portraits of the Rosas family by Descalzi and Pueyrredón or the role of Peronist portraiture at the 1952 retrospective exhibition— the current exhibition misses an opportunity to engage with the artistic past and relegates (again) the double portrait of the Peróns to the realm of propaganda art. As a researcher with an interest in the politics of canon formation and the display of official portraiture in Argentina and throughout the Americas, my objective with this thesis has been to open up for inquiry the artistic strategies and modes of display used during a succession of Peronist governments in order to re-insert Ayrinhac's portraits into other webs of meaning. My goal, in other words, has been to look critically into prescriptive constructions of sacredness and beyond the politics of canon formation, towards the possibility of multivalent forms of viewer performance.

Especial para "La Prensa"

EVA, EN UN RETRATO

Nos miras desde el fondo de un retrato
con tu fija expresión de dama antigua,
sonriente y grácil, con la mano exigua
que enlaza el brazo fuerte, con recato...

¡Todo era una ilusión!... Y en el boato
de tu traje de fiesta, se santigua
otra mano de adiós, con esa ambigua,
pálida ausencia que pintó el retrato...

¡Cómo eras de feliz!... Con una aureola
de amor y de piedad, te arqueabas, mimbre
que desgajó la furia de la ola...

Y te desdibujaste, dulce y sola,
cuando la muerte, silenciosa urdimbre,
te hizo escuchar su vieja caracola...

Figure 1 Numa Ayrinhac's *Portrait of Juan and Eva Perón,* accompanied by the poem *Eva, in a Portrait*; reproduced in *La Prensa*, January 3, 1954. Archives of the Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires. Photo: Luciana Erregue

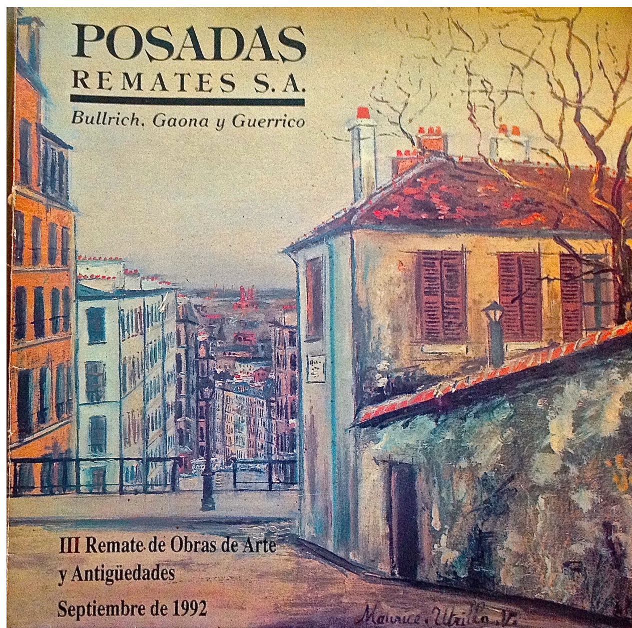

Figure 2a (top) Cover of a catalogue for Posadas Auction House, September 1992. Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. Photo: Luciana Erregue
Figure 2b (bottom) Lots 107 and 108 (Numa Ayrinhac's portraits of President Juan Perón and Eva Perón) in a catalogue for Posadas Auction House, September 1992. Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. Photo: Luciana Erregue

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POSA

Bullrich, Ga

NUMA AYRINHAC
Argentino (1881-1951)
RETRATO DEL GENERAL JUAN DOMINGO PERON
Y MARIA EVA DUARTE DE PERON. Oleo
Mide: 220 x 150 cm.

CUCHILLO QUE PERTENE

CUARTO REMA

Figure 3 Advertisement for Posadas Auction House, with Numa Ayrinhac's Double Portrait, reproduced in *La Nación*, November 1992. Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. Photo: Luciana Erregue

EL CUADRO

El retrato oficial del Presidente Juan Perón tiene algunas características peculiares.

No sorprende la indumentaria del mandatario, ya que el frac era el traje de etiqueta oficial con la que se lucía la Banda Presidencial, y de esta forma están retratados la mayoría de los Presidentes que lo precedieron.

Sí resulta llamativa la amplia sonrisa que ostenta Perón en el retrato, ya que tanto sus antecesores como los que lo sucedieron en la Presidencia están retratados serios o ceñudos.

Otra característica interesante, y tal vez la más peculiar de la obra, es el hecho de que en el retrato presidencial aparece también la Primera Dama. Este hecho constituye un hito, ya que es el único retrato oficial de un Presidente con su esposa.

Completando estas observaciones, es interesante señalar que el fondo de la escena es un paisaje imaginario y casi teatral; a diferencia de los demás retratos presidenciales, que ostentan un fondo neutro o un ambiente amoblado de características realistas.

Esta pintura de la pareja presidencial no sólo nos muestra a dos personas, a dos retratados. Nos ilustra sobre modificaciones protocolares y sociales propias de las dos primeras presidencias de Perón: un Presidente formal pero no solemne; con una fuerte y muy activa participación de la Primera Dama, Eva Perón, en la gestión de gobierno.

Numa Ayrinhac no contó con los retratados como modelos, y para realizar sus obras se valió de fotografías y de su agudísimo poder de observación.

Retrato Oficial del Pte. Juan Domingo Perón y su Esposa María Eva Duarte de Perón. 1948 óleo s/tela, 220 x 150. Col. M.C.R.

Museo de la Casa Rosada - Abril / Julio de 1997

UN RETRATO PRESIDENCIAL
PERÓN Y EVITA DE NUMA AYRINHAC

Figure 4 Back and front cover of *Un Retrato Presidencial: Perón y Evita de Numa Ayrinhac*. Buenos Aires: Museo de la Casa Rosada, April-July, 1997. Fundación Espigas Archives. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 5 Obverse and reverse of the 100 Peso Eva Perón Bank Note, ca. 2013. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 6 Entrance "Shrine" at the Museo Evita, Buenos Aires, 2014. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 7 Chapel with the *Virgen de Luján*, at the Museo Evita, Buenos Aires, 2014. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 8a View of the Main Entrance of the Museo del Bicentenario, ca. 2012. Photo: Creative Commons.

Figure 8b View of the West Wing Historic Displays with Arches No. 7 and 8 and Blown Up photograph of David Alfaro Siqueiros in the background, *Museo del Bicentenario*, Buenos Aires ca. 2014. Photo: Museo del Bicentenario, by permission

Figure 9a West Aisle, Arch No. 7, *El Peronismo*, directly across from Ayrinhac's Double Portrait. *Museo del Bicentenario*, Buenos Aires ca. 2014. Photo: *Museo del Bicentenario*, by permission.

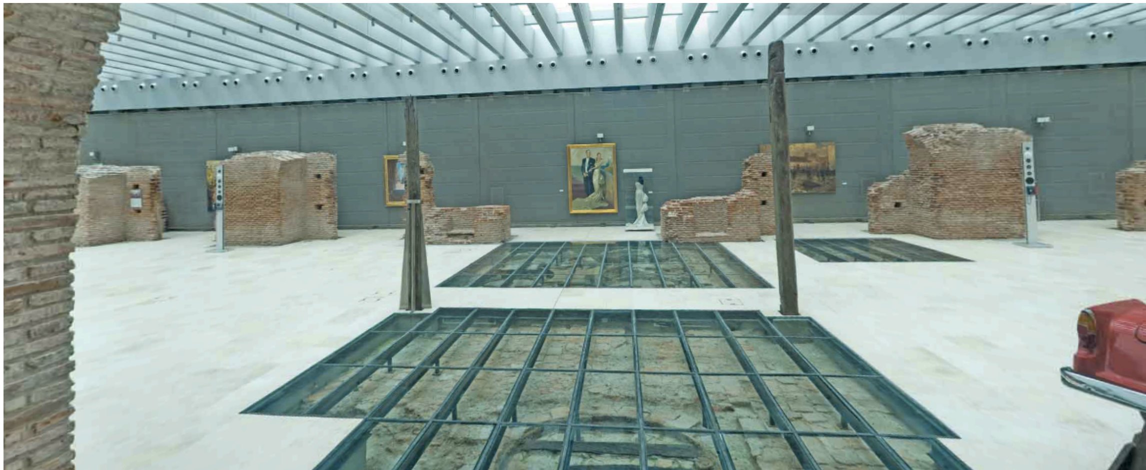

Figure 9b East Aisle, View Numa Ayrinhac's Double Portrait from Arch No. 7. *Museo del Bicentenario*, Buenos Aires ca. 2014. Photo: *Museo del Bicentenario*, by permission.

Figure 9c View Numa Ayrinhac's Double Portrait at the Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires, 2014. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 10 Alberto Schwartz, *Rendición del parque,* 1891. Oil on canvas. Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires. Photo: Museo del Bicentenario, by permission

Figure 11 Lino Scotucci, *Cambio de guardia,* 1920. Oil on canvas. Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires. Photo: Museo del Bicentenario, by permission

Figure 12 Photo-mural depicting David Alfaro Siqueiros in the central nave of the Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires ca. 2014. Photo: Museo del Bicentenario, by permission

Figure 13a Ayrinhac's portrait of the Peróns with the Christian Dior dress, at the Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires, 2014. Photo: Luciana Erregue

Figure 13b Glass encased Christian Dior dress belonging to First Lady Eva Perón. Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires, 2014. Photo: Luciana Erregue.

Figure 14 President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and President of Colombia Juan Manuel Santos, standing in front of Numa Ayrinhac's double portrait, August 2011. Photo: Alicia de Arteaga

NOTES

[1] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 7.

[2] For an anthropological study of the place of indigenous culture in Argentinian museums, see Carolynne R. Larson, *Our Indigenous Ancestors: A Cultural History of Museums, Science, and Identity in Argentina, 1877-1943* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

[3] As of 1945, the national press was largely in favour of the party running opposite Perón's Laborist Party, the Democratic Union. Raanan Rain, and Claudio Panella, *Peronismo y prensa escrita: Abordajes, miradas e interpretaciones nacionales y extranjeras* (La Plata: Editorial de la Universidad de La Plata, 2008), 35. By the year 1947, national newspaper *La Prensa* was one of the most vocal opponents to the regime, later expropriated by the Perón administration through the Visca parliamentary commission, which purchased the national newspapers with the largest nation wide circulation. Between 1949 and 1950, a total of seventy newspapers had stopped their presses, due to the government's control of the supply of news printing paper, 108-109. Newspaper *La Prensa* was the only media expropriated by a law promulgated by the National Legislative body in the history of Argentinian journalism. The newspaper, founded on October 18, 1896 by José Clemente Paz, embodied the most representative of the conservative-liberal intellectual current. Its intended audience was the most prominent social and political sectors of the country, the agro-military elite. The influential newspaper, feared by the governments *du jour*, was considered an institution. By 1949, the newspaper had become a sore spot in Perón's regime due to its criticism of the 1949 constitutional reform. The conflict that derived in the expropriation of the newspaper had its roots in tax evasion claims and union conflicts within the newspaper workers. The newspaper was expropriated on April 12, 1951, Law no. 14,021. See Claudio Panella, "La expropiación del diario *La Prensa*: ataque a la libertad de prensa o acto revolucionario?" in *Peronismo y prensa escrita*, ed. Raanan Rain and Claudio Panella, 131-194.

[4] The non-Peronist press reacted unfavorably to Peronism and his "Third Position" in the aftermath of the Second World War. Perón's Third Position translated at the time in subscribing neither to all out Capitalism, nor to Communism, aligning with the West. While he was perceived as a Pro-Fascist leader by the American Press, the Argentinian Communist Party saw the government of Perón as a problem to be solved, in light of Perón's attempts to separate the Argentinian working class from Marxist union activists, and still affect social transformation. The Third Position translated, to the dismay of Argentinian communists, in the Peronist regime supporting the Fascist regime of Franco especially between the years 1946-1948. After 1949 and the beginning of the Cold War with the division of Berlin between the Soviet Block and the Western Block, Argentinian Communists and Stalin himself, saw the international involvement of the Perón regime as mediator in Berlin through the Security Council of the UN, as siding with the West. See Myriam Pelazas, "*Democracia*: El apoyo condicionado a Perón," in *Peronismo y prensa escrita*, 35-103. In the international sphere, the government's shift towards an increasing cultural nationalism was seen as a populist strategy with international repercussions in the field of cultural diplomacy. Spain protested the government's accent on *Argentinidad* in particular after the 1952 Second Five Year Plan. Peronism saw at the time Argentinian local culture as closer to *Latinidad*, based on the country's Italian heritage, in detriment of *Hispanidad*, a direct response to Franco's increasingly close relationship to the United States and the increasingly strained relationship of Perón's regime with the Catholic Church, mostly composed of Spanish religious orders. Such a strategy attempted to expand Perón's Argentina's cultural influence rather than accept Spain's historical claim of cultural superiority in the country and incidentally the whole of Latin America. Ranaan Rain, "Una Guerra de palabras: La prensa española y argentina en el ocaso de la alianza Perón-Franco" in Rain and Panella, *Peronismo y prensa escrita,* 279-311.

[5] "Eva, en un retrato," *La Prensa*, January 3, 1954. Archives of the Museo del Bicentenario, Buenos Aires.

[6] Charles Freeman explains that after late fourth century CE relics were dramatized and displayed as symbols of spiritual and political power. See Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 41.
[7] http://www.jus.gob.ar/derechoshumanos/efemerides/2014/07/26/26-de-julio-de-1952-paso-a-la-inmortalidad-de-eva-peron.aspx. Accessed September 26, 2015. When the Archivo General de la Nación posted on its Facebook page an autographed reproduction of the most iconic portrait of Eva Perón by Ayrinhac, the one in the cover of her autobiography *La razón de mi vida,* they used this same phrase.
[8] See Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[9] According to the proceedings of the Argentinian National Congress, "La expresión *mano dura* tiene en nuestro pais connotaciones muy claras. *Mano dura* es lo que siempre han pedido quienes han alentado la instalación de dictaduras militares." *Trámite parlamentario*, Issues 134-159, 7128. *Congreso de la Nación. Cámara de Diputados de la Nación. Secretaría Parlamentaria.* Argentina.
[10] I am arguing against Walter Benjamin's theory that the aura of a work of art loses its power when it is reproduced in printed media, Portraits of the Peróns, reproduced in popular magazines and newspapers were displayed in makeshift shrines in the homes of its Peronist supporters, and venerated alongside printed images of Catholic saints and virgins well into the 1970's. Andrew E. Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin and Art* (London: Continuum, 2005) http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=436232, accessed, September 17, 2015.
[11] See Andrea Giunta, "Polémicas alrededor de imágenes de Eva Perón," in *Escribir las imágenes: Ensayos sobre arte argentino y latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011), 117-130.
[12] Cesar Seveso, "Political Emotions and the Origins of Peronist Resistence," in *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth Century Argentina,* ed. Matthew B. Karush and Oscar Chamosa (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 242-243. Decree 4161 of March 1956 specifically banned any oral and written transmission of the Peronist past, including artworks, images, symbols, signs, and doctrines that could be considered instruments of propagation of Peronist ideology. The punishment for such breach extended from thirty days to six years of imprisonment and pecuniary sanctions.
[13] On September 15, 1992, the Posadas, Gaona & Guerrico auction house auctioned off the two portraits as lot 107 and lot 108. Peronist businessman Carlos Spadone purchased the portrait of Eva Perón for U$S 48,000, according to Patagonian newspaper *Jornada*. The article also asserts that more than five hundred people, amongst them the son of Numa Ayrinhac, had gathered to witness and participate in the auction. The portrait of President Perón was sold after the portrait of his wife, to a collector who went by the sole name of Juan Manuel, for U$S 35,000 plus a commission of U$S 3,500. With a base price of U$S 10,000, the portrait of Eva Perón by Ayrinhac quickly reached the final price, after a ten minute bids exchange between Spadone and an anonymous buyer represented by Argentinian fashion designer Manuel Lamarca. After the auction, an ecstatic Spadone told reporters that he was ready to pay up to U$S 55,000 for the painting, "Evita: Su retrato queda en el país," *Jornada,* November 27, 1992, Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. Also according to the press, "numerous political pro-Peronist players" have visited the Posadas auction house in order to "measure" the paintings and their possible placement in prominent offices and private residences." *"Singular subasta: Arte, historia y política a la venta en Posadas," La Nación*, September 14, 1992, Museo del Bicentenario, Archivo Casa Rosada. Incidentally, according to *Clarín* newspaper, a painting by Raquel Forner, had also been auctioned by Posadas on the same day. The newspaper also mentions that the portrait of the former First Lady generated far more interest from the public than the portrait of her husband; more than twenty people visited the auction house daily during the two months since they began its exhibition. "Spadone compró el oleo de Evita en 48 mil dólares," *Clarín*, *Información General*, September 16, 1992, 56.
[14] The national press, once anti-Peronist and now Pro-Menem due to his neoliberal stance, explained that the auctioning of the paintings by the Posadas auction house (once linked to Anti-Peronist supporters)

symbolized the "closing of old wounds." "Pintados por un francés: Retratos de Perón y Evita en venta," *La Nación*, September 15, 1992.

[15] According to art critic Alicia de Arteaga, The painting was sold to Carlos Spadone who in turn gifted it to Casa Rosada during the presidency of Carlos Menem in 1994, Alicia de Arteaga, "Cristina, Perón y Evita," http://blogs.lanacion.com.ar/arte/artistas-en-vivo/cristina-peron-y-evita/, accessed September 29, 2015. According to documents I have obtained from the Casa Rosada Museum as explained in footnote 16 of the present inquiry, this information is if not erroneous, at least incongruous. These documents at least formally demonstrate that the double portrait was purchased directly by the Argentinian government from the Posadas auction house.

[16] Under a photograph of the actual display, a newspaper caption read: "Peronist corner: a portrait of Eva and Juan Perón by Numa Ayrinhac; the motorcycle Hoffmann, with a certificate signed by Perón and the photograph in which he can be seen riding his motorcycle, will be auctioned tomorrow at the Posadas auction." *La Nación*, November 29, 1992. Museo del Bicentenario Archives, Casa Rosada.

[17] On March 15, 1994, a memorandum by Irma Aristizábal, then Director of the Museum of *Casa Rosada*, under the orbit of the Presidential Office, requested the direct purchase of the 1948 double portrait of President Perón and his wife Eva Duarte by Numa Ayrinhac. The director recommended such a purchase because "there is not any portrait either in the Museum or the Casa Rosada itself, of the only Argentinian citizen who was a National Constitutional president three times, neither a portrait of his wife, Mrs. Eva Perón, of great presence in the popular sentiment, with unparalleled international prestige." *"Que no existe ni en el Museo de la Casa Rosada ni en ninguna otra dependencia de la Casa de Gobierno retrato alguno del único ciudadano argentino que fuera tres veces Presidente Constitucional de la Nación, ni de la Señora Eva Perón de gran presencia en el sentimiento popular y de reconocido prestigio internacional."* On May 30, 1994, the Executive approved the purchase of the double portrait for $33,000, for the purpose of public exhibition. Resolution no. 215, May 30, 1994. Secretary of the Presidency. The inventory number of the double portrait is 138,500. Museo del Bicentenario, Casa Rosada.

[18] "Pintura," *La Nación*, November 26, 1994, 13. Museo del Bicentanario, Casa Rosada.

[19] What is compelling about the re-emergence of the double portrait in the public realm, and the exhibition in a context directly linked to presidential power such as the Museo del Bicentenario now, and the Casa Rosada Museum before that, is the current government's attempts to capture the enduring political power of the Peróns and in particular, Eva Perón. While the absent gazes of the presidential couple separate the private side of the painted figures from their public personas, the Peróns offer their mythical power towards the contemplating audience and lend their powerful images to support the political credibility and continuity of President Cristina Kirchner. According to Louis Marin, representations of figures of power constitute "an allegory of absolute difference," 425. Such an allegory contains a split in the body of power in private and in public, an exposed side and a hidden side, where the control of the ruler resides in "an eyeless gaze, the gaze that looks at all those eyes that gaze upon the body dispersed in dazzling fragments, the sight of the monarch that cannot be situated …the void of "seeing himself being seen" 436. The recognition of the body of power takes place "through dissimilarity and difference in the identification of the same," 443. Marin posits that "The circumstances, surroundings, and accompaniments external to the king's physical body are "envisaged on his face…for all those who gaze upon him," naturalizing in his or her "figure" the belief in his power and that of his discourse, 437. In this context, the power of the representation of the Peróns acquires new currency thanks to the fact that the double portrait is President Cristina Kirchner's most frequently chosen backdrop for photo ops. The power of the double representation, in this context, "rubs on" President Kirchner as the sole surviving member of a presidential couple (alongside her deceased husband former president Néstor Kirchner), establishing a new hierarchy where she is as powerful as the sum of President Perón and his wife combined. See Louis Marin, "The Body of Power and Incarnation at Port Royal and in Pascal, or Of the Figurability of the Political Absolute," in *Zone 3: Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Part 1, ed. Michael Feher with R. Naddaff & N. Tazi (New York: Urzone, 1989).

[20] I base this assertion on my visit to the MNBA in 2014, when Pueyrredón's portrait was placed in the company of other "masters" of Argentine art. In contrast, there were no examples of Ayrinhac's work hanging in the museum.

[21] "La Exposición de Numa Ayrinhac gira en torno a Perón y Evita," "Una Muestra Peronista," *Clarín*, April 13, 1997, Entertainment Section, 10. Museo del Bicentenario, Casa Rosada Archives. It is important to highlight the role the family of Numa Ayrinhac played during and after the exhibition. Organized by the Museo de la Casa Rosada, under the direction of Irma Aristizábal, and curated by Gabriel Miremont and Juan José Ganduglia, the exhibition "*Un retrato presidencial: Perón y Evita*" ran from April 8, until July 16, 1997. The main objective was to highlight the representation of the Peróns as social, cultural, and artistic symbols of their epoch. Alongside the protagonism of the double portrait, Numa Ayrinhac's French and Argentinian landscapes and portraits of provincial society types played supporting roles. The exhibition thus, claimed the exceptionality of the double portrait, as "the axis of the present exhibition."

The dossier of the exhibition, handed to the Ayrinhac family, claims that "All of [Eva Perón's] commitments precluded her from the distraction of posing for a portrait before an artist, so Numa Ayrinhac utilized a group of photographs to execute the painting in question." In pencil, in the margin, we read: "NO, Evita posed" (NO, Evita posó) written by the hand of the son of Numa Ayrinhac. Dossier of exhibition "Un retrato presidencial: Perón y Evita." Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé. Even before the exhibition, Luis Ayrinhac, son of Numa Ayrinhac, wrote to *La Nación*, attempting to settle "once and for all" the fact that the portraits of the Peróns by Ayrinhac are the only ones, (in support of a previous letter submitted to the newspaper on February 5, 1997 by the authorities of the Museo Casa Rosada), and the fact that "*Evita* posed" for Ayrinhac, her portraits were the result of "many sessions," and that "Perón himself was witness to the posing sessions, because he was an amateur painter and was very interested in portraiture techniques." He offers as proof "an infinity of photographs that she herself gave my father to complete the details [of the works, as well as photographs of] "the already mentioned paintings of *Evita* in different stages of her life." He cites as witness of his statements the Director of the Museo Casa Rosada, Irma Aristizábal, in the hopes of "clarifying this "*Evita* mania"…lamenting that the oeuvre of artists like my father is obscured by those hoping to profit by bringing up fashionable topics." The letter, dated February (no day specified), 1997, evidences the complicated nature of Ayrinhac's legacy, and the strategy of his heirs to insert Ayrinhac in the canon of Argentinian art. Luis Ayrinhac, letter to the Director of *La Nación* newspaper, Bartolomé Mitre. Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigüé.

In addition to defending the artistic merits of his father, Ayrinhac's son also hoped to capitalize on the momentum, this instance of "Evita mania." The son of Ayrinhac wrote to the Director of the *Salas Nacionales de Exposición*, Julio Sapolnick, located at the Palais de Glace in Buenos Aires, on May 10, 1997, a month after the inauguration of the 1997 exhibition of the Perón double portrait at the Museo de la Casa Rosada. Ayrinhac refers to a previous conversation, hoping to "organize a new exhibition based on other works" by Numa Ayrinhac, given "the reception of the exhibition *"Un cuadro de Perón y Evita"*" hoping to produce an exhibition of "great category." That way, his relatives would be able to install Ayrinhac slowly in the canon of Argentinian art, by developing a history of exhibition of his "other" works, still keeping Peronist portraiture away from the canon. Numa Ayrinhac Museum and Archives, Pigúé.

[22] "La exposición de diez esculturas de Sesostris Vitullo (1899-1953) hace justicia y es un hallazgo doble. Permite redescubrir a este artista y rescata la famosa escultura 'Arquetipo Símbolo.' La imagen de Eva Perón realizada en 1951 fue rechazada entonces por el gobierno argentino por no ser realista y desapareció hasta la actualidad." Victoria Verlichak, "Noticias de Arte: La exposición de diez esculturas de Sesostris Vitullo," *D & D (Diseño y decoración),* April 1997. Museo del Bicentenario, Casa Rosada Archive.

[23] Néstor Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Exiting Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). García Canclini suggests that hybridization emerges from the practices of everyday life and technological development, reconverting a heritage or resource (a factory, a professional skill, a set of techniques and types of knowledge) by reintegrating it to new conditions of

production and distribution, xxvii. For García Canclini, hybridization constitutes a dynamic process, "which individuals can gain access to or abandon, from which one can be excluded, or to which one can be subordinated," xxx, that is, an open, unstable, process punctuated by real existing historical moments where hegemonic and subaltern subject positions institute ""essentializations" of a particular state of hybridization." That moment of essentialization, is called "reconversion," xxxii. The study of these processes, however, must take into account instances of resistance, challenging modern analytic thought, accustomed to binary oppositions, xxxxvii. Delving in a little explored area, that of the social uses of historical patrimony, he posits that: "historical meaning intervenes in the constitution of agents that are central to the constitution of modern identities (such as schools and museums)," while delving into the role rite and commemorations play in the renewal of political hegemony, 108. García Canclini suggests that cultural patrimony is presented in the museum setting as alien to debates. Cultural patrimony --like the double portrait of the Peróns by Ayrinhac, becomes perennial, transcending time, class, and constituting a source of collective consensus that erases the different ways of appropriating such patrimony, 108. The sole function of the preservation of such patrimony is for the author "a task with no other end than that of guarding aesthetic and symbolic models," 109.

[24] See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[25] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 19.

[26] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 12.

[27] Charles Freeman calls the rise of relic cults in medieval Europe and their cultural meaning a "web of shrines" that create a "layer of consciousness of the sacred" while commodifying death. His inquiry contributes to my thesis the argument that the display of the double portrait of the Peróns creates a layer of commodified sacredness around their likenesses and, in particular, that of Eva Perón.
See Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 35.

[28] The history of the design and creation of the bill is intimately related to the cultural and political affinities between Argentina and Italy, and the political upheaval in the aftermath of the death of Eva Perón, when the bill was originally conceived and designed. After the death of Eva Peron in 1952 both the Central Bank and the banknote printer, Casa de Moneda (CMA), started work immediately, to replace the Liberty effigy in the existing 5 *Peso* banknote with a portrait of the deceased First Lady, but this idea was rejected by the authorities. It was then that Italian artist Renato Garrasi created a new sepia-tinted design that had Eva's portrait on one side, and the Tellus Mother on the other. In 1934 he designed the paper currency and coins of Mussolini's Italian State. After immigrating to Argentina, he worked in the Production Department in the *Casa de La Moneda* (the Argentinian Mint) and simultaneously engaged in the apprenticeship training of Argentinian designers and engravers together with other Italian colleagues. His contract had been extended until 1956, but in 1954 he leaves for Italy too ill to return, dying in Rome on June 12, 1954. See Prof. Nora E. Matassi. *Museo Casa de La Moneda*. Rein, Message 5982, "RE: 1952 Eva Perón Definitives." http://foro.filateliaargentina.com.ar/viewtopic.php?f=137&t=4667, accessed October 1, 2015. See also, Pablo Vázquez, "Entre Minerva y Venus. Las imágenes de Evita utilizadas oficialmente durante el primer peronismo por Casa de Moneda," *VI Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP*. Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. Departamento de Sociología, La Plata (2010): 1-18. http://www.aacademica.com/000-027/10/137, accessed September 29, 2015. According to Vázquez, "*La imagen de Evita como diosa romana y de "cabeza de la república" lo reafirma* [the image of Evita as a Roman goddess and "head of the Republic" reaffirms the intention behind the assimilation of the figures of President Perón and his wife to the Republic and the State through the Augustan Roman style of portraiture], *hasta llegar al cambio del rostro de dicha república con el de Evita*." (completing the transformation with the visage of Evita as the Republic itself), 16. In 1955 President Perón was ousted in a military coup, and the subsequent regime set about eliminating all signs of Peronism, including the destruction of any images associated with Juan and Eva Peron. To avoid the loss of the banknote designs, a CMA employee hid them, and they remained hidden, and forgotten, for the next five and a half decades. It was only in 2006 – with the removal of furniture as part of a

refurbishment of the design department – that the original sepia-tinted artwork, hand-painted by Garrasi, came to light. Ivana Romero, "*Una muestra relata la verdadera historia sobre el billete de Evita*," *Tiempo Argentino*, July 30, 2012. http://tiempo.infonews.com/nota/88822, accessed October 1, 2015.

[29] See *Numero de Expediente* 1892/98. *Oudin y otros: proyecto de declaracion manifestando beneplácito por la creación del Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Historicas "Eva Perón."* http://www.senado.gov.ar/parlamentario/parlamentaria/avanzada, accessed October 1, 2015.

[30] http://www.evitaperon.org/eva_peron_museum.htm, accessed October 1, 2015.

[31] Capitalization in the original. Norma Durango, Director Museo Evita. *Museo Evita* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Museo Evita, 2010), 9.

[32] According to Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa, over the years, Peronism has become the political constant in Argentina, an economically unstable country, who came back from the brink of an economic and social collapse during 2001. This most recent resurgence indicates that Peronism has retained electoral power, through many of its central images and rhetorical moves that remain staples of political discourse. Matthew B. Karush, and Oscar Chamosa. *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1. For more information on the Museo del Bicentenario, see http://www.museobicentenario.gob.ar/, accessed October 1, 2015.

[33] See http://www.museobicentenario.gob.ar/exposiciones-200historia.php, accessed October 1, 2015. For an inventory of all the items on display at the Museo del Bicentenario see *Orden de compra* 13/15, *Presidencia de La Nación*. http://www.secretariageneral.gob.ar/wpcontent/uploads/Licitaciones/558/01_30_OC_13_15.pdf accessed September 29, 2015.

[34] García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, 109.

[35] According to theatre scholar Brenda Werth, "When folded into official discourse, narratives of collective trauma may advance normative messages of reconciliation and overshadow other modes of embodied expression that contribute to shaping the debates surrounding the politics of memory." Brenda Werth, *Theatre, Performance, and Memory Politics in Argentina* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2010), 10.

[36] Omar Acha posits that during First Peronism, the body of Perón legitimized his power through performance. The author posits: "Perón tenía una corporalidad duplicada. Por un lado era el líder del pueblo, constituido como tal por la adhesión democrática de la mayoría e institucionalizado en el estado. Por otro lado, era Juan Perón, conductor de carne y hueso, depositario de la lealtad de todos los "descamisados". De tal manera, Perón y el estado eran dos figuras de una misma realidad política, ciertamente ambivalente." In Omar Acha, "La biografía del líder y el populismo argentino: El nacimiento de la 'historia de Perón,'" *Intersticios de la política y la cultura latinoamericana: Los movimientos sociales* no. 1 (2011): 105. http://publicaciones.ffyh.unc.edu.ar/index.php/filolat, accessed September 26, 2015.

[37] Andrea Giunta, "Feeling the Past: Display and the Art of Memory in Latin America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies*, Volume 3, Issue 2-3 (2014): 343.

[38] The President's speech may be watched at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EykVIdbkq8c, accessed October 1, 2015.

[39] Manuel Durán, "Presentación mesa redonda," in *Seminario historia del arte y feminismo: Relatos lecturas escrituras omisiones* (Santiago de Chile: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2012), 21.

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