Stony Brook University

THE ARTS IN THE SHOWCASE: SANTIAGO'S *EXPOSICIÓN INTERNACIONAL* OF 1875

A Dissertation Presented

by

Marcela Alejandra Drien Fábregas

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Marcela Alejandra Drien Fábregas

We, the dissertation committee for the above candidate for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree, hereby recommend
acceptance of this dissertation.

Michele H. Bogart
Professor Department of Art

Barbara Frank
Associate Professor Department of Art

John Lutterbie
Professor Department of Art

Joseph Monteyne
Associate Professor Department of Art History and Visual Art
University of British Columbia

Olaya Sanfuentes
Professor History Department, Universidad Católica de Chile

This dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Dissertation

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During the 1870s, exhibition culture attained particular relevance among the Chilean elite, who saw exhibitions as a forum for portraying Chile as a modern nation. In this context, Santiago's *Exposición Internacional* of 1875, the first international exhibition carried out in the country, provided a unique opportunity for the display of Chile's material and cultural progress among national and international audiences.

This dissertation examines the role the arts played in shaping the international image of Chile as a "civilized" nation, while simultaneously attempting to highlight the unique features of Chilean national identity during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Thus, the use of imagery inspired by previous international exhibitions, the construction of an exhibition building, and a number of promotional and display strategies will be regarded as instrumental in aligning Santiago's international exhibition with its European predecessors. Rather than assuming that international exhibitions functioned merely as commercial platforms for exhibitors, this study looks at these universal exhibitions as settings that greatly surpassed the commercial realm to become strategic platforms for the host countries to put nationalism on display.

By focusing on artistic media, iconographies, and the participation of private collectors, this study will also demonstrate that the exhibition was not only a setting that was instrumental to the shaping of the country's public image for international audiences, but also a stage on which the prevailing ideas of the nineteenth century Chilean art system were expressed.

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List of Abbreviations

BEI 1: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile de 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Primera, Octubre 1º de 1873*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1873. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 2: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Segunda, Enero 1º de 1874*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1873. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 4: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Cuarta.* Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1874. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 5: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Quinta, Enero 1º de 1875*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 6: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Sesta, Agosto de 1875*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 7: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Setima, Noviembre 5 de 1875*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 8: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Octava, Marzo 1º de 1876*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1876. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BEI 9: *Boletín de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875. Publicación Oficial de la Comisión Directiva. Entrega Novena, Junio 1° de 1876*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1876. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

BSNA *Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura*. Biblioteca Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura.

CIRI: *Catálogo Ilustrado de lo Espuesto por Rose Innes y Ca. en su anexo. Esposición Internacional de Chile. Santiago, Septiembre 16 de 1875.* Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio de Tornero y Letelier, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

COBA: *Catalogo Oficial de la Esposicion Internacional de Chile en 1875. Sección IV. Bellas Artes e Injenieria.* Santiago: Imprenta de la Liberería del Mercurio, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

GVEI: *Guía del Visitante. Esposicion de Santiago. Setiembre de 1875. Con un Plan Litografiado* (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1875). Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

EISF: *Esposicion Internacional de Santiago de Chile. Sección Francesa. Catalogo de los Productos Franceses Cosnignados a los Señores Benjamin Fernandez Rodella y Ca. Y a Diversas Casas Francesas de Santiago. Catalogo de los Cuadros y Objectos de Arte Pertenecientes a los Señores Benjamin Fernandez Rodella y Ca*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1875. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

ENAI: *Esposicion Nacional de Artes e Industria en Santiago de Chile. Setiembre de 1872.* Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1872.

ENAIM: *Esposicion Nacional de Artes e Industria de 1872. Memorias Premiadas en el Certámen I Documentos que les Sirven de Antecedentes. Publicación Oficial*. Santiago: Imprenta de la República, 1873. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

LJP: *Exposicion International de Santiago de Chile en 1875*, *Lista Jeneral de Premios*. Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mericurio, 1876. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

PENAI: *Programa de las festividades cívicas de Septiembre de 1872. Guía Especial de los Visitantes a la Exposición de Artes e Industrias*. Santiago: Imprenta de la República, de Jacinto Núñez, 1872.

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INTRODUCTION

Nineteenth-century exhibition culture underwent its most significant change in 1851, when London's Great Exhibition set the standard for a new type of exhibit whose showcase surpassed local borders to unite "all civilized nations." These new types of exhibitions, which became known also as "universal exhibitions", embodied not only the commercial and cultural aspirations of the nations, but also emphasized the nationalistic motivations of the host countries that sponsored them.

In this context, the arts played a crucial role.[1] On the one hand, the arts were instrumental in shaping the imagery associated with international exhibitions, while also emphasizing national symbolisms. On the other hand, the arts on display enabled countries to display their cultural status, while the fine arts sections of exhibitions provided a stage for different nations to compete for cultural supremacy.

Thus, even though these exhibitions were intended as commercial platforms, they were also particularly advantageous for host countries, which realized they could also be exploited as strategic settings for representing their industrial, commercial, and cultural supremacy. In this way, the imagery that emerged from these events conveyed a sense of nationalism that also reached the fine arts sections in international exhibitions. Indeed, the arts were significant not only because they put national artistic accomplishments on display, but also because they became tools of cultural and political promotion that

[1] For the purposes of this research, "the arts" will be used in a comprehensive fashion to denote applied, decorative, and fine arts.

[2] As Chilean historian Bernardo Subercaseaux has pointed out, the Spanish conquest forced Latin Americans to reproduce European cultural models that relied on conceptual paradigms and periodizations from European intellectual and cultural history. According to the author, this phenomenon placed Latin

reinforced the civilized status of exhibiting countries. Thus, it could be argued that the arts were used as a tool of nationalistic propaganda as much as instruments to culturally position host countries.

This dissertation examines how the model of international exhibitions employed in Chile represented Latin American cosmopolitan aspirations to be seen on an equal footing with Europe. It also looks at how the arts contributed to shaping the international image of Chile as a civilized nation, while simultaneously attempting to highlight the unique features of Chilean national identity. This tension between the international and the local was underscored by Chile's (and other Latin American countries') attempts to overcome its marginal status resulting from Spanish colonial rule.[2] It accomplished this by endowing the exhibition with more cosmopolitan features, such as the construction of the exhibition palace, in order to position itself within the international context. At the same time, it also exposes the efforts on the part of exhibition organizers to develop imagery associated with the exhibition that accurately represented Chile's national identity. In this context, the arts operated in two ways: On the one hand, they served to culturally align Chile with international exhibitions through exhibitions' imagery. On the other, the arts helped to shape the international image of Chile through the development

[2] As Chilean historian Bernardo Subercaseaux has pointed out, the Spanish conquest forced Latin Americans to reproduce European cultural models that relied on conceptual paradigms and periodizations from European intellectual and cultural history. According to the author, this phenomenon placed Latin America in a peripheral position regarding Europe. After the Latin American Wars of Independence in the early nineteenth century, the "learned elites" played a significant role in reproducing of European cultural models—mainly French ones—and acted as mediators between the international and the local. Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, Vol. 2 (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2011), 22. Natalia Majluf's article on Peru's participation in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* is an interesting example of how the cosmopolitan aspirations of Latin American nations was expressed in the context of an international exhibition. Natalia Majluf, " 'Ce nést pas le Perou,' or, the Failure of Authenticity: Marginal Cosmopolitans at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Summer, 1997), 686-893. Accessed October 19, 2012. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344052?origin=JSTOR-pdf.

of the "national arts," which reinforced the country's national identity in the context of an international exhibition.[3]

Because of the strong influence of European international exhibitions on the Chilean exhibition, this dissertation will pay particular attention to the connections between the 1875 exhibition and previous European universal exhibitions held between 1851 and 1873, including the ones held in London, Paris, and Vienna. By using these examples, I seek to establish the points of convergence with and departure from Chile's predecessors in symbolic, cultural, and visual terms.

[3] However, a specific discussion on the emergence of the Chilean nation-building process during the nineteenth century is beyond the scope of this investigation. For more on this subject, see: Simon Collier, *Chile, la Construcción de una República, 1830-1865. Política e Ideas* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2008); Gabriel Salazar, *Construcción de Estado en Chile (1800-1837): Democracia de los "Pueblos", Militarismo Ciudadano, Golpismo Oligárquico* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2005); Ana María Stuven, *La Seducción de un Orden: Las Elites y la Construcción de Chile en las Polémicas Culturales y Políticas del Siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2000).
On the role of the arts in the construction of Latin American national identities, one of the most comprehensive articles is: Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, "El Papel de las Artes en la Construcción de las Identidades Nacionales en Iberoamérica," *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (2003), 341-390. Accesed September 20, 2013. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25139502. On the role of the arts in the construction of Chilean national imagery during the nineteenth century, see: Gabriel Cid, "Arte, Guerra e Imaginario Nacional: la Guerra del Pacífico en la Pintura de Historia Chilena, 1879-1912," in Carlos Donoso and Gonzalo Serrano (Eds.), *Chile y la Guerra del Pacífico* (Santiago: Universidad Andrés Bello/Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2011), 75-113; Alfonso Salgado, "Memoria, Heroicidad y Nación: Monumentos, Topónimos, Estampillas, Monedas y Billetes en Chile, 1880-1930," *Bicentenario. Revista de Historia de Chile y América*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2010), 29-58. Accessed August 6, 2013. http://www.bicentenariochile.cl/attachments/article/111/Memoria,%20heroicidad%20y%20nación%20---%20Alfonso%20Salgado.pdf; Josefina de la Maza, "Por un Arte Nacional. Pintura y Esfera Pública en el Siglo XIX Chileno," in *Ciencia–Mundo: Orden Republicano, Arte y Nación en América*, (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2010), 279-319; Gabriel Cid, "Representando "La Copia Feliz del Edén." Rugendas: Paisaje e Identidad Nacional en Chile, Siglo XIX," *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (2011), 109-35; Jacinta Vergara, "Desde el Bastidor al Imaginario Nacional: Rugendas y la Representación de la Identidad Chilena," in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX*, vol. 2 (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009), Trinidad Zaldívar and Macarena Sánchez, "Símbolos, Emblemas y Ritos en la Construcción de la Nación. La fiesta cívica republicana: Chile 1810-1830," in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX*, vol. 2 (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009), 73-115; Gloria Cortés, " 'Monumento al Roto…Piojento': la Construcción Oligárquica de la Identidad Nacional en Chile," *ARBOR Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, No. 740, (Noviembre-diciembre 2009), 1231-1241; Fernando Guzmán, Gloria Cortés, and Juan Manuel Martínez, *Iconografía, Identidad Nacional y Cambio de Siglo (XIX-XX)*, *Jornadas de Historia del Arte* (Santiago: RIL, 2003). Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Estudios sobre la Historia del Arte en el Chile Republicano* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1992).

Considering the influence previous international exhibitions exerted on Santiago's exhibit is crucial to this investigation, as it will provide a better understanding of the ideas that informed the way organizers aimed to portray the nation, and the tools and strategies they employed to accomplish this. Likewise, this dissertation will demonstrate that even though exhibition organizers attempted to align the exhibition with previous international exhibitions, the arts nonetheless contributed to shaping distinctive symbols linked to Chilean identity, which eventually reflected the existing tensions between the country's colonial origins and its new republican identity. Thus, since the purpose of this dissertation is to establish how images and artworks expressed the cultural aspirations of the organizers and how they shaped the imagery of the 1875 exhibition, the scope of this research will mostly relate to the cultural and symbolic realms.

Given the multifaceted nature of international exhibitions in general, and Chile's exhibition in particular, this study will rely on different approaches that respond not only to the diverse aspects involved in such exhibitions, but that are also informed by my own interest in expanding the possibilities of interpretation of artistic phenomena in Chile. Ranging from nineteenth century visual culture, to iconographic analysis, and the examination of the critics' perception, to the role of pictorial genres and the participation of private collectors, this research will not only draw upon existing scholarly literature on international exhibitions, but it will also rely heavily upon written and visual sources. For instance, I will analyze a number of primary sources on the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* including the exhibitions' catalogs, minutes, decrees, letters, visitors' accounts, and Chilean and international newspaper articles, which have not been examined before in Chilean art history. These primary sources will be particularly helpful

in reconstructing the process of planning, organizing, and realizing the exposition. Furthermore, they will also shed light on the ideas behind the exhibition and provide insight into the criteria for choosing specific images and selecting and displaying artworks. Likewise, I will analyze visual material such as engravings and illustrations included in catalogues, and illustrated magazines, as well as the iconography displayed on medals and in sculptures.

Ultimately, this dissertation also addresses issues often overlooked in studies dedicated to international exhibitions, and therefore, this study is intended to make a contribution not only to Chilean scholarship, but also to scholarship undertaken internationally. By looking at mass media, catalogues, and a variety of art forms, I seek to determine the crucial role these forms played in shaping and disseminating exhibition imagery as well as in demonstrating the artistic, cultural, and political significance these images had. Thus, in addition to imagery, artistic media also have a major place in this study and will be examined in terms of its role conveying assumptions and aspirations that strongly marked nineteenth century Chile's cultural, artistic, and political ideas.

Approaching Santiago's *Exposición Internacional* of 1875

There has been an increasing amount of scholarship of the last few decades focused on nineteenth-century international exhibitions. From comprehensive studies that consider broad periods from 1851 to the twentieth century, to research on specific exhibitions, past studies have considerably expanded the scope and perspectives from

which these universal exhibitions have been tackled.[4] Even so, the multifaceted nature of such exhibitions remains only partially examined, leaving the role the arts played in them unexplored. One of the few and most significant past studies on the subject is Patricia Mainardi's book on the political factors involved in the inclusion of the arts in the French universal exhibitions of 1855 and 1867.[5] Other publications, most of them exhibition catalogues, have considered the decorative arts[6] and others, also including exhibition catalogues, have focused on the architecture of exhibition buildings and the impact of these exhibitions in urban planning.[7] Only Sylvain Ageorges' study has considered

[4] Robert W. Rydell provides a detailed overview on international exhibitions, see: Robert W. Rydell, "The Literature of International Exhibitions," in *The Books of the Fairs. Materials about World's Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1992). Some studies that exemplify comprehensive views are Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 1988); Stanley K. Hunter, *Footsteps at the American World's Fairs: the International Exhibitions of Chicago, New York & Philadelphia, 1853-1965: revisited in 1993* (Glasgow: Exhibition Study, 1996); Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle. *Fair America, World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Marc Gaillard, *Les Expositions Universelles de 1855 à 1937* (Paris: Les Presses Franciliennes, 2003); Sylvain Ageorges, *Sur les Traces des Expositions Universelles. Paris 1855-1937. À la Recherche des Pavillons at des Monuments Oubliés* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006).

[5] Patricia Mainardi, *Arts and Politics of the Second Empire. The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). A more recent study on the relationship between the fine arts and nationalism in Parisian universal exhibitions is: Pascal Ruedin, *Beaux-Arts et Représentation Nationale. La Participation des Artistes Suisses aux Expositions Universelles de Paris (1855-1900)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

[6] See: Mitchell Wolfson Jr., *The Great World's Fairs and Expositions* (Miami, Fla.: Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, Miami-Dade Community College, 1986); Charlotte Gere, *European Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1850-1900* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999); Jason Busch, Catherine Futter, Regina Lee Blaszczyk, Stephen Harrison, and Karin A. Jones, *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Museum of Art. Kansas City, MO: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; New York: Skira, 2012).

[7] Markus Kristan, "Buildings on the Messegelaende in the Prater. 1873 to 1970," in Markus Kristan, *Messe Wien. Vienna Fair* (Wien: Springer, 2004), 162-92; John W. Stamper, "The Industry Palace of the 1873 World's Fair: Karl von Hasenauer, John Scott Russel, and New Technology in Nineteenth-Century Vienna," *Architectural History*, Vol. 47 (2004), 227-50. Accessed November 8, 2012. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568823; Caroline Mathieu, *Les Expositions Universelles à Paris: Architectures Réelles ou Utopiques* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 2007); Sylvie Clavel and Isabel Chalet-Bailhache, *Paris et ses Expositions Universelles. Architectures, 1855-1937* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, Centre des Monuments Nationaux, 2008); John R. Mullin, *World's Fairs and Their Impact Upon Urban*

sculptures, in particular those works created for decorating pavilions in international exhibitions and other public sculpture related with these international exhibitions.[8] This demonstrates that a wide range of issues related to the inclusion of the arts in universal exhibitions still needs to be explored.

While there is some literature on the arts in European and American international exhibitions, there is much less scholarship on international exhibitions carried out in Latin America. Only in the last few decades have Latin American scholars paid attention to international exhibitions, and when they have, it has been mainly to analyze the ways Latin American countries have been represented or perceived in universal exhibitions in Europe or the United States.[9]

Latin American scholars have predominantly focused on universal exhibitions in the United States and Europe, because such exhibitions (displaying arts and industry) were rarely carried out in Latin America, and therefore, Chile's exhibition constitutes a rather exceptional case. Moreover, the fact that European and American scholars have

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Planning (Monticello Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians, 1972); Wolfgang Kos, Ralph Gleis, Wien Museum, *Experiment Metropole. 1873: Wien und die Weltausstellung* (Wien: Czernin Verlags GmbH 2013).

[8] Sylvain Ageorges, *Sur les Traces des Expositions Universelles*.

[9] Natalia Majluf, " 'Ce nést pas le Perou' "; Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Artilugio de la Nación Moderna. México en las Exposiciones Universales, 1880-1930* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998); Andrea Lluch and María Silvia di Liscia, *Argentina en Exposición: Ferias y Exhibiciones Durante los Siglos XIX y XX* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009); Quiñones Tinoco, Leticia, *El Perú en la Vitrina: El Progreso Material del Perú a Través de las Exposiciones (1851-1893)* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2007); Carmen Norambuena, "Imagen de América Latina en la Exposición Universal de París de 1889," *Dimensión Histórica de Chile*, Nº17-18 (2002-2003), 87-122. Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, "Las Exposiciones Universales y su Impacto en América Latina. (1850 - 1930)," *Cuadernos de Historia*, No. 26 (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 2007), 57-89. More recently, Latin American scholars have also paid attention to national exhibitions. See: Laura Malosetti, *Los Primeros Modernos. Arte y Sociedad en Buenos Aires a Fines del Siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); Beatriz González Stephan and Jens Andermann, *Galerías del Progreso. Museos, Exposiciones y Cultura Visual en América Latina* (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2006)*;* Quiñones Tinoco, Leticia, *El Perú en la Vitrina;* Andrea Lluch and María Silvia di Liscia, *Argentina en Exposición*.

consistently overlooked international exhibitions outside the United States and Europe, demonstrates that international exhibitions in Latin America have generally been considered peripheral to other nineteenth century projects carried out in the United States and Europe. Thus, while European and American scholarship has produced extensive literature examining a multiplicity of perspectives on nineteenth-century international exhibitions, Latin American scholarship has mostly limited its scope to analyzing the representations of Latin American countries in European and American international exhibitions.[10]

Exhibitions in Chile

Despite the increasing interest of Latin American scholars in this subject during the last few decades, no extensive studies on nineteenth-century exhibitions have yet been published in Chilean scholarship. The research on Chilean exhibitions during this period demonstrates that this is a less developed field in comparison, for instance, to Argentina.[11] Indeed, in the last two decades, only a few articles have considered Chilean

[10] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*; Robert Rydell, *World of Fairs*; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1999); John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851-1893* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

[11] The first study to establish a chronology of nineteenth-century Chilean exhibitions was: Hernán Rodríguez Villegas, "Exposiciones de Arte en Santiago 1843-1887," in Maurice Agulhon, *Formas de Sociabilidad en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Vivaria, 1992), 279-314. On specific nineteenth century exhibitions in Chile, see: Carmen Hernandez, "Chile a Fines del Siglo XIX: Exposiciones, Museos y la Construcción del Arte Nacional," in *Galerías del Progreso,* edited by Beatriz González Stephan and Jens Andermann, 261-294. Claudio Robles, *Hacendados Progresistas y Modernización Agraria en Chile Central (1850-1880)* (Osorno: Editorial Universidad de Los Lagos, 2007), 64-89; Luis Alegría and Gloria Núñez, "La Política Patrimonial de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna: Rescate e Invención," in *Estudios de Arte*, edited by Marcela Drien and Juan Manuel Martínez (Santiago: Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, 2007), 67-74;

exhibitions as the main topics, and no books have analyzed in depth the role of exhibitions in the Chilean art system. This absence in the scholarship demonstrates the need for more exhaustive research in this area in order to establish the cultural, social, and artistic implications of Chilean exhibition practices.

The lack of a systematic analysis of Chilean exhibitions in general, and the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* in particular, may be explained in part by the limited attention Chilean scholarship has paid to nineteenth-century exhibition culture in general, despite the significant role exhibitions played in the nineteenth-century Chilean art system and the increasing international scholarly interest in exhibitions in recent years.[12] Despite the magnitude of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* in the Chilean context, no study has yet focused on it specifically, nor have its implications for the art realm been analyzed. Considering the absence of studies on the subject, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the expansion of the art historical field in Chile by broadening the understanding of the relevance of exhibitions in culturally positioning the country, in the education of taste, and the promotion of artists and private collectors.

Patience Schell, "Museos, Exposiciones y la Muestra de lo Chileno en el Siglo XIX," in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX* edited by Gabriel Cid and Alejandro San Francisco (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009); Luis Alegría and Gloria Núñez, "Patrimonio y Modernización en Chile (1910): La Exposición Histórica del Centenario," *Revista Atenea*, 495, (I Sem. 2007), 69-81. Accessed November 2, 2011. http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-04622007000100005&script=sci_arttext.

[12] The notion of "exhibition culture," associated to a large extent to Richard Altick's *The Shows of London* (1978), will be understood in the context of this dissertation as the study of exhibitions and exhibition practices. According to Kember, Plunkett, and Sullivan, the development of this field and cross-disciplinary perspectives have broadened the understanding of the adaptability of exhibitions in terms of content, medium, scale, pervasiveness, and status, and the number of issues in which these studies have focused on such as imperialism, gender, and nationality. Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill Sullivan, "What is an exhibition culture?" *Early Popular Visual Culture*, Vol. 8, Issue 4, (2010), 347.

Chapter Organization

The organization of chapters responds mainly to my interest in approaching this exhibition thematically, considering the issues that appear more relevant and representative of the multifaceted nature of international exhibitions and the role of the arts in them. The methodological approaches and utilization of images, documents, and bibliographies in the four chapters that comprise this dissertation, will thus vary accordingly.

Considering the importance that exhibition buildings attained in universal exhibitions, the first section seeks to shed light on the cultural, urban, and visual significance of the construction of Santiago's exhibition building. It also examines the extent to which this building served to align Chile's exhibition with its European precedents by taking into account aspects such as its stylistic features and the materials from which it was constructed. This chapter will rely on a review of exhibition buildings from European international exhibitions held between 1851 and 1873, in order to draw links between the role exhibition buildings played there and the relevance Santiago's building attained in Chile.

Thus, by focusing on the significance of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, this section will look at the building not only as a space intended to house the exhibition, but also as a symbol of progress. Indeed, the concept of "progress" was a central issue in Europe, as well as in Chile, permeating the cultural, political, and, commercial realms, all of which was crystallized in international exhibitions. As a state-sponsored project, the Chilean exhibition, which presented itself as a manifestation of progress, should be understood as a nationalistic endeavor and therefore, the image of the building and the cultural

nationalism it embodied, should also be seen as a representation of the Chilean government's aspirations to display both cultural and material progress.

This chapter will also consider the building from the perspective of its relevance within Chilean exhibition culture. Thus, the *Palacio de la Exposición* will be also examined in relation to the urban and architectural development that Santiago underwent during the period. Likewise, other issues, such as the debates on the selection of the showground will be also considered, in order to illustrate the kinds of discourse around cultural and scientific progress that existed at the time.

Furthermore, I will examine the exhibition building as the central element used for publicizing the exhibition. I will also analyze the relevance attained by the images of the building in general in the promotion of the exhibition, and the ways the organizers utilized specific media and visual strategies to advertise the spectacle, and therefore associate themselves with European visual practices. As this chapter will show, European visual practices operated as models for Chilean exhibition organizers, helping them position the Chilean exhibition in an international context.

In this light, I will examine the instrumental role played by engravings as a mass medium, as well as illustrated periodical publications, as vehicles of image dissemination in the wide-ranging circulation of images within national and international contexts. The particular attention paid to illustrated magazines responds to the fact that, as I will show, not only images, as well as the media through which they were circulated, occupied a central place in the formation of the exhibition in the public's imagination.

For this purpose, Chapter 1 will rely heavily on an analysis of engravings published in illustrated magazines and will examine specific images published in national

and international illustrated magazines and periodicals, in order to show the ways images of buildings operated. I will also consider more recent studies that demonstrate scholars' interest in looking at the nineteenth century illustrated press and their relevance in nineteenth-century visual culture.[13] Illustrated magazines will also be considered in the following chapters.

The second chapter examines how the iconographies of international exhibitions became a field for the negotiation of national identities and the Chilean identity, in particular. By paying particular attention to medals, sculptures, and print media, this section will examine not only iconographic sources, but also the artistic media selected to align the 1875 exhibition imagery with European models. I will also look at how various iconographies emerged, in order to show how the idea of "the national" was expressed in different art forms within the context of international exhibitions broadly, and the Chilean exhibition in particular. By considering the iconography of previous exhibitions, and the media in which these images were produced, this chapter examines the specific sources that inspired the Chilean exhibition's imagery. I will also look at how artistic media endowed those images with specific meanings, marking noticeable differences between the Chilean and European cases.

Thus, I will draw attention to the ways that the images that emerged around international exhibitions were part of a standard repertory of images of international exhibitions and how Chile sought to incorporate distinctive images intended to convey an

[13] Jean-Pierre Bacot, *La Presse Illustrée au XIXe Siècle. Une Histoire Oubliée* (Limoges, Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2005); Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *Hold That Pose: The Visual Culture in the Late-Nineteenth-Century Spanish Periodical* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 2008); Vicente Pla Vivas, *La Ilustración Gráfica del Siglo XIX. Funciones y Disfunciones* (Valencia: Publicaciones Universitat de València, 2010).

image of national identity into its own repertoire. Especially relevant to this discussion are images of exhibition buildings and nineteenth-century female representations of the nation.

Very few previous studies have explicitly considered art forms in international exhibitions as instrumental in reinforcing images of power or national symbols, which I consider central to the imagery of these exhibitions. However, the literature on medallic art and catalogues of medals have been especially helpful for establishing their relevance in the context of exhibitions. Indeed, literature and exhibition catalogues on numismatics and medals have greatly enhanced understanding of their valuable contribution to the consolidation of national iconographies that occupied a central place in universal exhibitions imagery.[14]

Within the scope of medallic art, few studies have specifically focused on international exhibitions imagery. Some literature has specifically addressed the medals issued for the 1851 Great Exhibition. For example, Jeremy Taylor's catalogue on architectural medals will be particularly helpful when analyzing the representation of exhibition buildings on exhibition medals. Likewise, Leslie Lewis Allen's catalogue has been particularly helpful in providing information about the range of circulation of exhibition medals issued for London international exhibitions, and therefore, it has

[14] Katharine Eustace, "Britannia: Some Points in the History of the Iconography on British Coinage," *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 76 (2006). Accessed, February 20, 2014 http://www.britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/pdfs/2006_BNJ_76_2_6.pdf; Nicolas Maier, *Französische Medaillenkunst/French Medallic Art/ L'Art de la Médaille en France, 1870-1940* (München: Nicolas Maier, 2010); Jeremy Taylor, *The Architectural Medal. England in the Nineteenth Century. An Annotated Catalogue, with Accompanying Illustrations and Biographical Notes on Architects and Medallists. Based on the Collection of Architectural Medals in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1978); Musée d'Orsay, *Au Creux de la Main: la Médaille en France au XIXe et XXe Siècle* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay: Skira Flammarion, 2012); Yvonne Goldenberg, *La Monnaie, Miroir des Rois*, Hôtel de la Monnaie, Paris, Février-Avril 1878 (Paris: Musée Monétaire, 1978).

contributed to evaluating the importance of medals in the consolidation of exhibitions' imagery.[15]

Likewise, representations of female allegories of the nation in medallic art have largely been overlooked within the context of international exhibitions. However, some studies have been particularly helpful in demonstrating the relevance of such images as symbols of nationalism, and therefore, are instrumental in demonstrating the role nationalistic motivations played in universal exhibitions. Considering the importance of female allegories in medals, Katharine Eustace's work on the image of Britannia is crucial, not only because it explains the trajectory of the image of Britannia in British coinage, but above all because Britannia was the first female allegorical figure utilized in an international exhibition, and therefore, an important precedent for Chile's exhibition.[16] In this spirit, this chapter also seeks to incorporate the iconographic repertories of medals and coins as crucial in shaping the image of Santiago's exhibition.

In the case of Chile, only a few catalogues about medals exist. The most complete catalogue of Chilean medals dates from the beginning of the twentieth century, which shows the lack of attention medals have received from Chilean scholars more recently.[17] However, studies on monetary art have also been helpful in providing information on

[15] While auction sites' records prove that a variety of designs of unofficial medals often exceeded official medals, determining the exact number of medals produced is probably one of the main difficulties I encountered, because there is no clear idea of how many circulated in each exhibition. Even so, it is clear that medals were crucial as vehicles of dissemination, and therefore they were key to the consolidation of the imagery associated with international exhibitions. See: Leslie Lewis Allen, *The World's Show: Coincraft's Catalogue of Crystal Palace Medals and Tokens, 1851-1936* (London: Standard Catalogue Publishers for Coincraft, 2000).

[16] Eustace's study is significant because, as the author explains, until recently, the figure of "Britannia" has received little scholarly attention, and scholarship on her in the field of art history has been until now almost non-existent. Eustace, 323.

[17] José Toribio Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*, (Santiago: Impreso en Casa del Autor, 1901).

nationalist iconographies and therefore, more recent works on the iconography of Chilean coins and banknotes will be especially valuable in determining the trajectory and range of the circulation of images.[18]

Although female allegories were often rendered on medals and coins, they were also represented in sculpture. Interestingly, more extensive literature can be found on this subject. In this sense, this chapter is indebted to the work of Maurice Agulhon who, from the perspective of cultural history, has consistently studied France's republican symbols, and particularly the female allegories of the nation.[19] Agulhon's studies are particularly significant because they highlight images that, because of their accessibility, have passed unnoticed by scholars. In the same way, this research attempts to draw attention to art forms and images that have been generally overlooked, either because they are not a part of the fine arts sections or because their association with function has overshadowed their significance. My interest in Agulhon in this section also responds to the fact that allegories of the republic used in Chile were mostly inspired by French republican imagery and therefore it constitutes a significant referent when examining their symbolic meaning and implications of the images in the context of the 1875 exhibition.

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[18] Juan Manuel Martínez and Lina Nagel, *Iconografía de Monedas y Billetes Chilenos. Colección de Monedas y Billetes del Banco Central de Chile* (Santiago: Origo, 2009); Juan Manuel Martínez, *Monedas Americanas. La Libertad Acuñada* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, 2013).

[19] On the female personification of the republic, some of the most influential studies are comprised in Maurice Agulhon's trilogy: *Marianne au Combat*, (1979), *Marianne au Pouvoir* (1989), and *Les Métamorphoses de Marianne* (2001). A number of scholars have continued in Agulhon's footsteps and have demonstrated his influence in their research, such as: *La République en Représentations. Autour de l'Oeuvre de Maurice Agulhon. Études Réunies par Maurice Agulhon, Annette Becker, Évelyne Cohen* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006). Likewise, recent exhibitions have also expressed his influence in the field of art, such as: *La Muse Républicaine, Artistes et Pouvoir 1870-1900*, Du 14 Juillet au 14 Novembre 2010, (Belfort: Éditions Snoeck, 2010). Another relevant study in this field is Marina Wagner's, analysis originally published in 1985. See: Marina Wagner, *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 2001).

Ultimately, the representation of female allegories in illustrated periodical publications created especially for international exhibitions will also be considered in this section, for they were often intended to convey nationalism. In this sense, I will examine how female allegories were not always aligned with the concept of the nation, but that in the Latin American context, they referenced colonial imagery. Here, the analysis will mostly focus on the comparison between engravings published in European illustrated magazines and the *Correo de la Exposición*, the official periodical of the exhibition.

In the third chapter, I discuss how the hierarchies of art, particularly in relation to sculpture, were seen in the context of the exhibition by both the exhibition organizers and critics. The focal point of this chapter is an examination of the degree to which function, location, materials, and the link between art and commerce determined the artistic hierarchy of sculpture.

Although the fact that an entire chapter is being dedicated to sculpture may seem to belie the lack of Chilean sculpture in the *Exposición Internacional*, the public excitement surrounding the European sculpture in the exhibition requires closer attention. The impact European, and particularly Italian, sculpture had on Chilean audiences is significant. Not only did the exhibition expose Chilean audiences to foreign sculptural practices, but also sculpture, more than any other medium in the exhibition, crystallized the tensions between fine and decorative arts, and put French and Italian sculpture in direct competition with one another. Indeed, previous exhibitions held in the country had not provided a suitable setting or enough artworks to establish such explicit distinctions between the decorative and fine arts.

Keeping this issue in mind, this chapter seeks to reexamine general assumptions regarding the French artistic influence on nineteenth-century Chilean society, which has only recently been challenged by Chilean scholars.[20] Indeed, it is only in the last few years that scholars have specifically explored the Italian influence in Chile during the nineteenth century. Until recently, Chilean scholarship generally assumed that French culture dominated Chilean artistic culture, which has overshadowed important Italian contributions, as will be discussed.

Also, this chapter examines the ambivalent attitude of Chilean audiences towards French and Italian sculpture and examines the importance of materials and the function they had on this perception. For this purpose, I will rely heavily on exhibition catalogues and contemporary accounts, both of which will reveal prevalent attitudes towards the sculpture at the time.

In order to demonstrate the different ways French metal and Italian marble statues were regarded, this chapter will also analyze the exhibition layout and sections in which sculptures were grouped. In this regard, location, classification, and materials will be

[20] The lack of specific texts on the Italian artistic influences in Chile, in Chilean scholarship before 2011 is evidenced in the absence of a specific study on the subject in the only comprehensive work that has examined the broader influence of Italian art in Latin America (including Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Cuba, Bolivia, Mexico, and Uruguay), which was published in 2010. See: Mario Sartor (Coord.), *América Latina y la Cultura Artística Italiana. Un Balance en el Bicencenario de la Independencia Latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Buenos Aires, 2010). Some of the most recent scholarship on Italian art in Chile and the Italian influence on Chilean art, are: Fernando Guzmán, *Italia en Chile, Transferencias Artísticas S. XIX* (Santiago: Museo de Artes Decorativas, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, 2012). Fernando Guzmán, "L'Arte di Roma nel Cile del XIX Secolo. Un elemento delle Strategie di Rappresentazione dell'Identità Nazionale. Il Caso degli Altari," in Giovanna Capitelli et Al. *Roma Fuori di Roma. L'Esportazione dell'Arte Moderna da Pio VI all'Unità 1775-1870* (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2012); Guzmán, Fernando, "Arte Durante el Siglo XIX en Santiago de Chile. Creación Artística y Religiosidad," in *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile, los Nuevos Caminos: la Iglesia y el Estado,* edited by Marcial Sánchez, Tomo III, (Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 2011), 693-704. Fernando Guzmán and Juan Manuel Martínez, *Vínculos Artísticos entre Italia y América. Silencio Historiográfico. VI Jornadas de Historia del Arte* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, and Centro de Restauración y Estudios Artísticos, CREA, 2012).

assumed as significant factors around which distinctions were established, since these distinctions greatly affected the audience perception of the works. Associations with artistic traditions, authorship, function, and technological aspects will also be noted, as well as the ways in which notions such as "modern," "classical," "decorative," and "fine" arts contributed to sharpening such distinctions.

International expositions were explicitly commercial, and yet exhibitors in the arts sections went to great lengths to hide that fact in the context of the Chilean exhibition. Although the general inclusion of the arts in international exhibitions has revealed a great deal about the relationship between art and commerce, it has also exposed important issues such as the ways that artists and merchants concealed or emphasized the commercial nature of their participation in the universal exhibition and their reasons for doing so. In this sense, this study also considers Walter Benjamin's approach to international exhibitions as "places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish."[21]

Finally, the fourth chapter discusses the role the national arts played in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. First, it will examine the criteria underlying the inclusion of Chilean arts in the exhibition, as well as the types of works on display. I will argue that the Chilean exhibition layout of the fine arts section operated as a space of negotiation between the cosmopolitan and the national by considering the predominant pictorial genres such as history painting and landscape painting and how they were related to the notions of the national and the modern. Moreover, it will show how the exhibition catalogue and critical reviews of the show highlighted Chilean art and promoted the

[21] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 18.

national artists and private art collectors, and ultimately, how they positioned Chilean painting vis-à-vis European painting on view.

This section also examines Chilean private art collectors within the context of the exhibition, because they actually played a significant role in both European international exhibitions and the Chilean one. Indeed, they were involved in the exhibition not only as organizers but also as exhibitors, and art consumers. Because of the dearth of studies on Chilean private collecting—so far only a few studies have been undertaken on this topic[22]—the case of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* provides an extraordinary opportunity to approach this issue. As will be shown, exhibitions provide ideal scenarios for studying collecting practices and the public display of private collections. Thus, this section considers the participation of collectors within the larger context of exhibition practices, as well as the role of both collectors and exhibitions in the Chilean art system at large. In fact, it was through exhibitions that the private taste embodied by private art collections temporarily transcended the domestic sphere, and was legitimized in the public sphere as a model of good taste that was considered crucial for the education of the public's taste.

Finally, this chapter will also shed light on the different ways that private collectors were publically perceived within the context of the exhibition. This discussion will show how the collectors attained public prestige as *connoisseurs*, philanthropists,

[22] Gloria Cortés, "Apogeo y Crisis del Coleccionismo Chileno: la Colección de Pintura de Pascual Baburizza," in *Arte y Crisis en Iberoamérica. Segundas Jornadas de Historia del Arte*, edited by Fernando Guzmán, Gloria Cortés, and Juan Manuel Martínez (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2004); Rosario Willumsen, *La Colección Cousiño Goyenechea. Una Aproximación al Arte y al Gusto de la Época. Chile, segunda Mitad del siglo XIX* (Tesis Magíster en Historia, Pontifica Universidad Católica de Chile, 2013).

and patrons. It will also reveal the place that female collectors occupied in the public imagination.

The conclusion will examine this research from a broader perspective, in order to establish its implications and draw broader inferences from my analyses. In this section, I will draw attention to possible subjects for future research that have emerged from this investigation and that may eventually contribute to expanding the understanding of the complexities involved in international exhibitions that, because of the nature of this research, I may have not being able to include here.

Ultimately, I contend that international exhibitions in general, and the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* in particular, should be considered as more than merely a commercial showcase, but as a scenario in which the complexities of the art system and ideas around the nation were put on display. Likewise, I argue that the role of the arts in universal exhibitions should be understood as something that largely exceeded aesthetic concerns, in order to crystallize a variety of interests linked not only to commercial, but also cultural, and political realms. In light of this, the *Exposición Internacional* can be seen as a stage where prevalent ideas related to the national arts were put on display. By bringing together a variety of commercial, cultural, and political motivations, the arts in the context of the exhibition, served as critical instruments of the Chilean state and local elite alike, who exploited them to construct an image of Chile as a member of the "civilized" world, a longed for objective that remained largely illusive.

CHAPTER I

THE EXHIBITION PALACE OF SANTIAGO: SHAPING THE IMAGE OF THE EXHIBITION

From London's Great Exhibition of 1851 onwards, public perceptions of international exhibitions were closely related to the buildings in which they were held. In fact, exhibition buildings seem to have attained almost as much attention as the shows they housed. The heightened attention planners gave to designing buildings and selecting their grounds demonstrates that these constructions were seen as more than mere containers; rather, as the environs where international exhibitions took place, buildings symbolized the material and cultural progress of the nation. Likewise, exhibition grounds were understood as more than simply neutral sites for buildings. Instead, they were intended to visually and symbolically underscore and celebrate cosmopolitan progress.

The exhibition building—generally known as a "palace"—was also significant in the case of Santiago's exhibition. In fact, the building designed for the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, known as the *Palacio de la Exposición* proved to be one of the organizers' central concerns throughout the exhibition's entire planning process. As in previous universal exhibitions, the *Palacio* functioned as much more that the location of the show. It also played a symbolic role as an expression of the country's progress, a role that was enhanced from the period of the exhibition's promotion to its opening.

The importance attained by exhibition palaces in general, and Santiago's building in particular, was expressed through several modes of visual representation that reached widespread circulation even before the exhibitions opened. Although exhibition buildings

were depicted in a variety of art forms during the second half of the nineteenth century, engravings, especially in illustrated magazines, became the most popular medium for representations of them.

EXHIBITION PALACES: FROM THE TEMPORARY PROJECT TO THE PERMANENT BUILDING

The temporary character of most exhibition buildings was consistent with ephemeral nature of international exhibitions. Nineteenth century international exhibition buildings were especially conceived for specific shows, after which they were frequently dismantled, used for subsequent temporary exhibitions or eventually, as museums.[23] Notably, it was the provisional character of these buildings that offered extraordinary opportunities for host countries to built magnificent buildings intended to exhibit the image of material and cultural development. That was the case with London's 1851 Crystal Palace, Paris's 1867 *Palais de l'Industrie*, and the Vienna's 1873 *Industriepalast*, which showed the efforts these nations made to show their supremacy in the international context.[24] Of these constructions, the most emblematic case is probably the Crystal Palace, in which the innovative character of the building's design—which boasted large

[23] Joseph Paxton, who designed the Crystal Palace for the 1851 Great Exhibition of London, stressed that his exhibition building was not only cheaper, but it could also be quickly dismantled. This fact demonstrates temporality as a central consideration underlying the premises of the exhibition and the building. For a more detailed account of the building's advantageous qualities, see: Allen, 24-5. It is important to note, however, that after the Crystal Palace, later exhibition buildings, including those constructed for the 1862 London International Exhibition, the 1867 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, the 1873 Vienna *Weltausstellung*, and the 1875 Santiago *Exposición Internacional* were not meant for removal. This shift reveals that despite the general impact of the Crystal Palace, organizers of subsequent exhibitions preferred permanent buildings that could be utilized for other ends afterwards.

[24] Kristan, 163; Stamper, 227.

scale glass and iron-framed structures—has led some scholars to describe it as the first modern building.[25]

Since buildings like the Crystal Palace were conceived as impermanent constructions, organizers and architects envisioned them not only as places in which objects would be displayed, but some also as opportunities to create bold new designs. In this way, they not only endowed each exhibition with a unique appearance, but also expressed the industrial, commercial, and cultural progress of the country sponsoring them.[26]

The strong interest in building design among exhibition organizers was also a response to the driving force behind international exhibitions more generally: competition.[27] This was particularly true in the cases of the Crystal Palace in London and the *Palais de l'Industrie* in Paris, in which the historical rivalry between Great Britain and France was manifested through their exhibitions in order to claim the supremacy over the other. This general perception of French ascendancy was evident shortly before the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* began, as a British correspondent of *The Illustrated London News* noted while in Paris:

> "We are reminded that Paris is more accessible than London; that there is more to see upon the banks of the Seine than upon the banks of the Thames; and, moreover, that the Paris Universal Exhibition will far surpass the Great

[25] Auerbach, 1.

[26] Stamper, 229.

[27] Auerbach, 14.

> Exhibition of Hyde Park in effect and in excellence. Our Exhibition is regarded here simply as an experiment, by which our neighbours intend to profit. "You see," said a Frenchman to me the other day, "the English initiate; but it is the mission of the French to perfect." Against prejudices of this stamp it is in vain to argue. We must be content in the presence of Frenchmen to allow that their Exhibition will almost obliterate the memory of ours, and to reserve criticism for the fireside on our return to England."[28]

The British journalist's reference to the magnitude of the exhibition demonstrates the sense of competition between the two countries. It also indicates that the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* was explicitly intended to exceed the 1851 Great Exhibition of London in terms of scale and prestige.

Indeed, the very conception of an international exhibition had been to a large extent the result of this historical competition in both commercial and in cultural terms. As historian Jeffrey A. Auerbach has pointed out, the organizers of the 1851 Great Exhibition "addressed British competitiveness, especially vis-à-vis France, in the manufacture of finished goods, where taste and design (the quality side of the quality versus quantity debate, or the culture side of the commerce versus culture debate) were important issues."[29] Indeed it was this concern that informed the impressive structures they built for their respective international exhibitions.

Even though this competitive spirit initially emerged between England and France, it also appeared in subsequent exhibitions, as is evident in the 1873

[28] *The Illustrated London News*, February 10, 1855, 123. British Newspaper Archive.

[29] Auerbach, 122.

Weltausstellung of Vienna, the first to be held outside England or France. There, the efforts to challenge its predecessors were visible in the dimensions of the exhibition building, the *Industriepalast*, which greatly surpassed the size of prior exhibition buildings, as well as in the exhibition site and the number of exhibitors.[30] For instance, whereas the Crystal Palace was 562 meters long (1,851 ft.) and the *Palais de l'Industrie* façade was 208 meters long (682 ft.), the Vienna *Industriepalast* was 907 meters long (2,953 ft.).[31] As architectural historian John W. Stamper has pointed out, the large scale of Vienna's exhibition building epitomizes the fact that each international exhibition attempted to surpass its predecessors, revealing the desire of exhibition organizers to symbolically display their own country's imperial dominance.[32] Thus, the implications of these international events should be seen also through the lens of nationalist projects.

Unlike previous exhibitions, however, the 1875 exhibition in Chile did not attempt to compete with its European counterparts. Although the nationalistic component was aligned with that of its predecessors, the organizers hardly had in mind the idea of competing with European exhibitions, as the general attitude towards European countries was to view them as models rather than equals. In fact, the idea of carrying out an international exhibition in Chile responded to the interest of being recognized by Europeans as part of the "civilized" commercial and cultural international community rather than competing with them.

Moreover, the Chilean government did not have comparable means at their

[30] Stamper, 229. The *Wien Museum* recently carried out an exhibition analyzing the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna as part of a larger modernization project intended to transform the Austrian capital into a modern city. See: Wolfgang Kos, Ralph Gleis, Wien Museum, *Experiment Metropole. 1873.*

[31] Stamper, 235.

[32] Ibid, 228-29.

disposal to construct a building so daring as to challenge European exhibition buildings. On the contrary, the Chilean building was only 96 meters long (315 ft.), a far cry from its European predecessors.[33]

Although most exhibition buildings provided a setting to put architectural innovations on display, conventional architectural features and elements were seldom abandoned. Like John W. Stamper has noted, most nineteenth-century exhibition buildings seem to have embraced tradition just as much as innovation. For instance, while the Crystal Palace put England's industrial development on display through the utilization of modern materials, the French organizers seemed more interested in emphasizing France's artistic and cultural supremacy through the 1855 *Palais de l'Industrie*.

While the palace's interior hall exhibited a novel iron-framed structure spanned by a 48-meter wide barrel-vault, its façade presented a rather traditional triumphal arch adorned with the emblems of the empire and figurative sculpture inspired by classical antiquity.[34] The combination of these elements resulted in a clash between its lightweight interior, influenced by English technical advances and the massive masonry of its exterior.[35] Thus, the monumental façade of the *Palais de l'Industrie* differed noticeably from the Crystal Palace. The former's façade stressed French cultural and artistic

[33] *BSNA*, Vol. V, No. 23, 20 de Septiembre, 1874, 64.

[34] Stamper, 227, 229. For a more detailed description of the building, see: Wolfgang Friebe, *Buildings of the World Exhibition* (Leipzig, Edition Leipzig, 1985), 33-37.

[35] Napoleon Bonaparte himself had encouraged the use of iron in French architecture in the late eighteenth century. Hence, its use did not represent a novelty in Paris at the time. On the earlier incorporation of iron in architectural projects in France see: Frances H. Steiner, "Building with Iron: A Napoleonic Controversy," *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 22 No. 4 (Oct. 1981), 700-724. Accessed February 8, 2013. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3104569.

superiority over technological innovation. Furthermore, through its use of the arch, it expressed a triumphal image of the French Empire.[36] The façade of the *Palais* demonstrated that exhibition buildings could be also used as arenas for host countries to symbolically convey nationalism.

Similarly, Vienna's 1873 *Industriepalast* combined both English techniques with traditional local aesthetics, which as Stamper has pointed out, was evident in the use of Austrian stylistic features, such as the exuberant decorative schemes on the building's facade.[37] In light of these precedents, the way in which the exhibition palace was conceived in Chile can be fairly situated in the frame of continental European international exhibition buildings, whose eclectic features incorporated modern elements with more traditional stylistic features.

Santiago's *Palacio de la Exposición* (Fig. 1), conceived as a permanent building that after the exhibition, would house the *Museo Nacional*, a state institution comprising the largest public collection of natural history and historical objects in the country.[38]

Even though the exhibition was a state-funded project, the plan to utilize the building as a museum was orchestrated by the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* (National Society of Agriculture), the institution in charge of organizating the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. It was the *Sociedad* that convinced the government to fund the

[36] Ruedin, 59.

[37] Stamper, 237-38.

[38] "Decreto de aprobación de los planos I presupuestos del edificio destinado a la esposicion," Marzo 14, 1873 in *BEI 1*, 7. Barros Arana, *El Doctor Rodolfo Amando Philippi su Vida i sus Obras* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1904), 107-9, 113, 177, 181. Accessed October 13, 2012. http://books.google.cl/books?id=waluoEPuhvIC&pg=PA178&lpg=PA178&dq=paul+lathoud&source=bl&ots=9LWcsV48d-&sig=zMksdhkyIEImbjfeA0Gcpvdyn80&hl=es&sa=X&ei=gPh5UJTANqy-0QGG8YCYCA&redir_esc=y.

building. Its members, prominent and influential men of the elite, were also on the exhibition's organizing committee. Comprised of landowners, businessmen, and politicians with significant influence, they were eager to promote the country's cultural and scientific development.[39]

Their particular interests in agricultural development were evident in the fact that part of the building would be used to house the School of Agriculture. Hence, the *Palacio* served two agendas: On the one hand, it served the landowners's agenda of providing new facilities to boost agricultural education in the country, and therefore, contribute to the country's development. On the other hand, it served the state's interests through the institution of a museum, which would be used as a tool for consolidating scientific and historical knowledge in the country. Ultimately, the interests of both factions were served by the choice of the showground: the *Quinta Normal de Agricultura*.[40]

Commissioned in 1873, the *Palacio de la Exposición* employed a mixed approach similar to the European structures created for other international exhibitions. The building, designed by the French architect Paul Lathoud[41] was constructed in galvanized iron framing (with iron imported from Europe), lime and bricks, wood for the interior,

[39] As historian Claudio Robles has asserted, the *Sociedad*, founded in 1869, was comprised of "progressive landowners" who were culturally aligned with positivist notions, who pursued the economic, scientific, educational and social modernization of Chilean agriculture. Thus, the organization, led by this modernizing elite, also involved intellectuals, such as Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, as well as traders interested in boosting agriculture. Even governmental secretaries, such as Ramón Barros Luco were active members of the organization's directorship. Robles, 33-37.

[40] A detailed analysis of the policies of the state regarding the creation of museum institutions is beyond the scope of this study, and therefore, this research will not include a specific discussion on this subject. A noteworthy study on the role of museums as instruments of the state to shape the national imaginaries during the second half of the nineteenth century in South America is Jens Andermann's. Jens Andermann, *The Optic of the State: Visuality and Power in Argentina and Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

[41] Little is known about Lathoud except that he participated in private architectural projects in Santiago at the time.

and masonry on the external walls, which recalled the appearance of the *Palais de l'Industrie* (Fig. 2).[42] According to contemporaneous accounts, the interior was apparently similar to the French exhibition palace, with columns separating the lateral galleries from the main gallery, and supported second floor, whose balconies dominated the main halls.

Ultimately, the eclectic character of the building was emphasized by the fact that exterior features of the building greatly contrasted with the interior, in which exotic arabesques of color on the ceiling and walls captured visitors' attention.[43]

The building as a civilizing instrument

From their inception, international exhibitions were regarded in Europe as well as in Latin America as more than mere commercial events; they were also seen as civilizing instruments. Although they were regarded as a way of educating visitors, they were also viewed as opportunities to portray the host country's material and cultural development, and the home countries' exhibitors, as civilized nations. In fact, Prince Albert himself

[42] Letter from the Minister of Finance, Ramón Barros Luco, to the President of the Directory of the *Exposición Internacional*, No. 430, January 18, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 569-70. Sesión 37 del 29 de abril, 1874, in *BEI 4*, 143. See also Roque Roco, *Al rededor de la Exposición. Apuntes críticos y descriptivos. Publicaciones en "El Estandarte* Católico" *Primera Parte* (Santiago: Imprenta de "El Estandarte Católico," 1875), 80; *BEI 4*, 138. While the exhibition palace was not the first Chilean building to incorporate modern materials like iron, its perceived novelty was more strongly related to its cultural significance and the permanent function it was intended to fulfill. The *Mercado Central* (Central Market) building, whose structure was designed and built in Great Britain, and which housed the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, had already achieved international attention because of its use of iron. On the design and architectural structure of the *Mercado Central*, see Pedro Guedes, "El Mercado Central de Santiago: Antes de su Embarque a Chile," *ARQ,* No. 64. *Chile dentro y fuera / Chile in & out*, (Diciembre, 2006), 10-16. Accessed November 1, 2012. http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0717-69962006000300002&script=sci_arttext.

[43] Liborio Brieba, *Mis Visitas a las Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875* (Santiago: Imprenta Franklin, 1875), 8-9.

emphasized this idea as a central aspect of London's Great Exhibition of 1851, when pointing out that it was addressed to "the whole civilized world," implying that the exhibition itself should be seen as a setting in which the notion of the "civilized" was an essential component.[44] Indeed, the role international exhibitions played as expressions of a nation's "civilized" status was consistent with nineteenth century Latin American countries' larger aspirations, to portray themselves as "civilized" and "cultured" in an array of cultural, social, and political discourses.[45]

The attempt by new Latin American republics to align themselves with the "civilized world"—that is, with Europe—corresponded to their desire to distance themselves from their colonial pasts, and thus vanquish their peripheral cultural and socio-economic positions towards Europe.

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the notions of "civilization" and "progress" were particularly strong in Chilean culture, because of the strong economic growth the country experienced as a result of the increased agriculture and mining activity, as well as the commercial ties with Britain that displaced colonial ties with Spain.[46] This financial

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[44] Auerbach, 25.

[45] Subercaseaux outlines two approaches to understanding Latin America's complex relationship with European culture: (1) the first model emphasizes Latin America's "cultural reproduction" of Europe. This is epitomized by the belief among nineteenth century elites that "civilizing" meant "Europeanizing." More importantly, such elites perceived themselves as European, which explains their preference for foreign cultural production and international artistic styles, and dismissal of the local art and culture. (2) The second model emphasizes "cultural appropriation," which Subercaseaux proposes as more suitable to analizing Latin American art. According to him, Latin America cultural production should not be read as merely echoing European trends, but rather as adaptating, transforming, and actively receiving a range of international influences. In these cases, specific contexts play a crucial role. While he does acknowledge that during most of the nineteenth century Latin America was largely engaged in the "cultural reproduction" model, elements such as adaptation, transformation, and active reception did appear in the second half of the century—although not systematically—and they were evident in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, as will be shown later. Subercaseaux, 22-9.

[46] Carmen Cariola Sutter and Osvaldo Sunkel, *La Historia Económica de Chile 1830-1930. Dos Ensayos y una Bibliografía* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1982), 24-5; Collier, 39.

prosperity contributed to the consolidation of the fortunes of a small, but powerful group of Chilean businessmen who extended their influence to the political, commercial, and cultural realms.[47]

As the result of this economic growth, railroads, architectural development, and the urban transformation of Santiago became expressions of the country's material and cultural aspirations. In this context, the exhibition building should be seen as a compelling representation of the country's development.

In fact, one of the main arguments that the organizers of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* put forward to explain the necessity of building the *Palacio de la Exposición* was that it would aid Chile's modern progress and development. A permanent building was indispensable, they argued, for carrying out "civilized and instructive celebrations," which included not only the international exhibition, but also subsequent regional and annual exhibitions, and the eventual installation of the *Museo Nacional*.[48]

In this way, the exhibition organizers utilized cultural and financial arguments to persuade the government to invest in the building. By stressing that the exhibition represented a step forward in the civilizing project of the nation, the organizers sought to reinforce the cultural and scientific significance of the building. Likewise, the subsequent

[47] According to the chronology established by Carmen Cariola and Osvaldo Sunkel, the decade of the 1870s was at the end of the first cycle of expansion of the Chilean economy (from 1830 to 1878) that resulted from the outstanding entrepreneurial spirit of a group of Chilean businessmen. In the 1860s, agricultural and mining activity brought the last economic boom of that cycle. However, by the time of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, the country was undergoing an economic crisis initiated in 1873, which would continue until the end of the decade. In light of this, Chile's exhibition could also be seen as an attempt to expand its markets and attract investors. Cariola and Sunkel, 30-8.

[48] "Edificios I demas trabajos materiales," in *BEI 8*, 985.

use of the building as a museum was also used as the main argument in favor of the financial commitment from the government.[49]

In Chile, exhibition practices operated also as instruments of assimilation that represented a means of symbolically incorporating the country into the wider European cultural system. Chile's exhibition building was intended to contribute to the consolidation of these civilizing practices by providing an official location that endowed the exhibition with its own place, further exhibitions with a regular site, and public collections with a permanent repository.

The fact that the organizers sought so many uses from the building reveals two characteristics of Chilean exhibition culture. On the one hand, it sheds light on the complete absence of exhibition buildings in the country at the time. On the other hand, it shows the increasing awareness in Chile of the cultural significance of exhibitions to consolidate what art historian Carol Duncan has called, "civilizing rituals."[50] Even though Duncan has used this term to refer to the museum experience—beyond its anthropological connotations—its application to nineteenth century international exhibitions appears pertinent in light of the transformative effects that exhibition practices, and international exhibitions, in particular, were believed to have over those who participated in them. Indeed, the favorable attitude towards international exhibitions in the nineteenth century demonstrates that they were regarded as able to affect audiences, exhibitors, and nations at large. Even more, the institutionalization of such wide-ranging events reinforces the idea that exhibitions were organized to a large extent

[49] Despite the fact that the budget had been approved for the construction of the building, further adjustments had to be done, leaving unfinished part of the second floor. Roco, 149-51.

[50] Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals. Inside the Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 13.

to permanently recreate the cosmopolitan exhibition experience in order to activate their so-desired transformative effects.

The *Palacio de la Exposición* in Chile's Exhibition Culture

The construction of the *Palacio de la Exposición* was a turning point in Chilean exhibition history, due to the embryonic state of museums and exhibition practices in Chile at the time of the international exhibition. For the first time, a building would be constructed for the sole purpose of housing both a temporary exhibition and a Chilean museum.

Even though the most successful temporary exhibitions took place in Chile in the 1870s, they had in fact been held in the country from the 1840s onwards. For example, the French painter Raymond Monvoisin carried out the first exhibition of painting in Santiago in 1843.[51] Likewise, the government established art and industry exhibitions in 1845, and national agricultural exhibitions first appeared in 1869.[52] However, they were always held in buildings intended for other purposes.[53] Hence, until 1875, the sites used as exhibition spaces were not selected because they were seen as adequate locations for the display of art and other objects, but because they did not require that the organizers incur additional expenses. Indeed, one of the most important precedents for the 1875

[51] On the impact of this particular exhibition in Chile, see: Rodríguez Villegas, 280-82. De la Maza, *Contesting Nationalism*.

[52] Information about the 1845 exhibition is limited. However, a brief mention of the exhibition in Hernán Rodríguez Villegas' article points out that the awards were granted on behalf of the President of the Republic, which indicates that this first exhibition of arts and industry was organized by the Chilean state. Rodríguez Villegas, 284. On the 1869 *Exposición Nacional de Agricultura* see, Robles, 64-89.

[53] For a chronology of art exhibitions in Chile during the nineteenth century see Rodríguez Villegas, 279-314.

Exposición Internacional of Santiago was the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, which took place in the new building of the *Mercado Central* (Central Market). This location was used, not because it provided suitable conditions to house the exhibit, but because it seemed a good opportunity to inaugurate the building while carrying out the exhibition, and therefore, it did not require further costs for the exhibition organizers.[54]

Furthermore, even though public collections already existed at the time of the international exhibition—the *Museo Nacional* and the *Museo Histórico*, founded in 1830 and 1874 respectively—no building had been ever built from scratch with the express purpose of housing a museum. Until 1875, museum collections had been housed in buildings intended for different purposes, which made it difficult for these institutions to operate properly.[55] For instance, although the French naturalist Claude Gay organized the *Museo Nacional*'s collection in 1830, the institution had never been given its own home. In fact, it originally occupied a hall of the Palace of Justice, and later took up a few rooms in an old building of a Jesuit convent, which in turn had been originally intended to house the University of Chile. At the time of the international exhibition, the museum was operating in facilities located in the gardens of the National Congress that were about to be demolished, posing the urgent necessity of finding a new place.[56]

Yet, the field of the fine arts was last in finding a permanent location for exhibiting its collections. Artists' and private collectors' pleas for an art museum only

[54] *ENAIM*, viii-ix.

[55] One of the more recent works on early modern museums is Carole Paul (Ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art. The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and early-19th-Century Europe,* (Los Angeles, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012).

[56] Barros Arana, 178.

bore fruit in 1880, when the *Museo de Bellas Artes* (Museum of Fine Arts) opened in a section of the National Congress building. A new museum building specifically intended for the museum, known as the "Parthenon," was built at the Quinta Normal, near the *Palacio de la Exposición* in 1885.[57]

Thus, in contrast with other international exhibition buildings such as the Crystal Palace of London or the *Industriepalast* of Vienna—both of which were conceived as temporary exhibition spaces—Chile's *Palacio de la Exposición* was intended to transcend the ephemerality of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* to eventually become a permanent building.[58]

Unlike the *Museo Nacional*, the *Museo Histórico* was not initiated through an existing collection, but rather it came about as the result of an exhibition and the personal initiative of the highest authority in the city of Santiago at the time, the Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886). Convinced by the success of the 1873 *Exposición del Coloniaje* (Colonial Exhibition), the Intendant, who had organized the show, decided that the objects displayed in the exhibition should be exhibited

[57] The decree of July 31, 1880 appointed the General Marcos Maturana, the Italian painter Giovanni Mochi, and the Chilean sculptor José Miguel Blanco as members of the executive committee in charge of organizing the new Museum of Fine Arts, at the time proposed as a National Museum of Painting. "Decretos I Otras Piezas Sobre Instrucción Pública. Comisión Organizadora del Museo Nacional de Pinturas en los Altos del Palacio del Congreso," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile, Segunda Sección, Boletín de Instrucción Pública,* Tomo LVIII (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, 1880), 304. Accessed October 26, 2012. http://books.google.com/books?id=UsUjAQAAIAAJ&pg=RA1-PA95&lpg=RA1-PA95&dq=Anales+de+la+Universidad+de+chile+1880&source=bl&ots=G0bkhbAXvY&sig=SdualcGC-FZwm0BcBqy1glNgQzE&hl=es&sa=X&ei=T-uKUJzLEOrG0QGXsoDoDQ&sqi=2&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false. On the creation of the Museum of Fine Arts, see Josefina de la Maza, "Por un Arte Nacional," 279-319; Berríos et Al, *Del Taller a las Aulas. La Institución Moderna del Arte en Chile (1797-1910)* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2009), 348-55; Patience A. Schell, "The High Art and High Ideals: The Museo Nacional de Pintura and the Development of Art in Chile, 1870-890," *Relics and Selves: Iconographies of the National in Argentina, Brazil and Chile 1880-1890*. Accessed October 26, 2012. http://www.bbk.ac.uk/ibamuseum/texts/Schell02.htm.

[58] Although the *Industriepalast* was used in Vienna until 1937, the Rotunda and other pavilions were finally demolished. Kristan, 166.

permanently.[59] The exhibition was first held at the *Palacio de los Gobernadores* (Governors' Palace) located in Santiago's main square, the *Plaza de Armas*, and in 1874, the collection was taken to the *Castillo Hidalgo* (Hidalgo Castle), an old prison and fortress located on Santa Lucía Hill, the location where the Spaniard Pedro de Valdivia, first founded the city of Santiago in 1541.

In light of the irregular development of Chilean exhibition culture, Vicuña Mackenna's conviction of the civilizing power of exhibitions transformed him into a key figure in the consolidation and increasing importance of exhibitions in the 1870s. Like many men of his time, Vicuña Mackenna vehemently fought for Chile to achieve a "civilized" status and for Santiago to attain the characteristics of a modern city. Indeed, as Chilean historian Armando De Ramón asserts, Vicuña Mackenna's support of exhibitions and inaugurations, expressed the belief in the elevated cultural status of such projects. Hence, the adoption of "civilizing rituals" by Chilean elites should not only be understood as the result of their desire to mimic European customs and urban habits, but

[59] An Intendant is the highest-ranking officer in the regional government of a province in Chile and is designated by the President of the Republic. Between 1872 and 1875, President Federico Errázuriz Zañartu appointed Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna as Intendant of Santiago. The role Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna played during his period in as Intendant was integral to Santiago's urban and cultural development, as he had been the driving force behind two of the most important exhibitions held in Santiago in the 1870s, namely, the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria* and the 1873 *Exposición del Coloniaje*. Although no explicit information exists regarding his direct participation in the organization of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, he nonetheless provided support to the organizers and from his position in the Intendancy contributed to the improvements of streets and the exhibition showground's surroundings. On the 1873 *Exposición del Coloniaje* see Luis Alegría and Gloria Núñez, "La Política Patrimonial de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna." See also: Patience A. Schell, "Desenterrando el Futuro con el Pasado en Mente. Exhibiciones y Museos en Chile a Finales del Siglo XIX," *Relics and Selves: Iconographies of the National in Argentina, Brazil and Chile 1880-1890*. Accessed August 17, 2012. http://www.bbk.ac.uk/ibamuseum/texts/Schell03sp.htm.

rather as a conscious strategy to position Santiago as a modern city through transformative social practices.[60]

Considering the itinerancy of Chilean collections and the absence of a permanent exhibition hall for national exhibitions before the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, the construction of the exhibition palace was instrumental in the success of the international exhibition, as much as for the institutionalization of exhibition practices in Chile. Yet, beyond the scope of the local Chilean context, the 1875 *Palacio de la Exposición* should also be considered in relation to South American exhibition culture more broadly, as the Chilean exhibition was not an isolated phenomenon in the region.

As in Chile, the interest in realizing national or international exhibitions in other Latin American countries was also directly related to the widespread belief in their civilizing potential. Even though they thought that material progress could be achieved through the development of commercial interests, they also knew that progress needed an intellectual and moral component capable of elevating and refining culture. In this context, the commercial and cultural aspirations expressed by exhibition buildings were shared by many Latin American countries which, like Chile, saw in these constructions a way to reinforce their cultural status as modern nations. This fact underscores the broader relevance of the symbolic character of exhibition buildings and of exhibition practices as expressions of cultural development attained outside Europe.

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[60] Although historian Armando de Ramón claims that the construction of the *Mercado Central*—where the *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria* was carried out in 1872—and the construction of the building for the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* in the Quinta Normal were both part of Vicuña Mackenna's broader plan to transform the city, no evidence directly relates Vicuña Mackenna with the design or construction of the *Palacio de la Exposición*. Armando de Ramón, *Santiago de Chile. Historia de una Sociedad Urbana* (Santiago: Catalonia 2007), 146-8.

Although Chile's exhibit was the first so-called international exhibition in South America,[61] Lima's 1872 *Exposición Nacional* had already commissioned a *Palacio de la Exposición*. The building, designed in 1869 by the Italian architect Antonio Leonardi was executed in a Renaissance revival style and was the first exhibition building in South America conceived as permanent, setting a significant precedent for Latin American exhibition culture.[62] In contrast, the Argentine *Palacio de la Exposición* for the 1871 *Exposición Nacional* of Cordoba was, from its inception, intended to be dismantled after the exhibition.[63] Thus, Lima's exhibition and *Palacio de la Exposición* can be considered as both the closest Latin American precedent for the Chilean 1875 *Palacio de la Exposición*, as well as an example that may have encouraged Chile's exhibition organizers to commission the construction of a building specifically for Santiago's exhibition.

This fact suggests that there existed a spirit of competition between Chile and other Latin American nations as is evident in the circular the organizers sent to other

[61] Despite the fact that the Chilean exhibition of 1875 was promoted as international, other national exhibitions carried out in Chile and other South American countries such as Peru and Argentina had invited a number of countries, which in fact endowed them with international overtones.

[62] The election of an Italian architect to design Lima's *Palacio de la Exposición* should be seen in light of the large presence of Italian immigrants in the Peruvian capital at the time. According to Gabriel Ramón, between 1847 and 1875 at least three of the six large buildings that were constructed, where designed by Italians, attesting to the significant cultural influence of Italian immigrants in Peru. Gabriel Ramón, "The Script of Urban Surgery: Lima, 1850-1940," in Arturo Almandoz (Ed.), *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950* (London: Routledge, 2002), 175. On Peru's 1872 *Exposición Nacional* and Lima's *Palacio de la Exposición*, see: Leticia Quiñones Tinoco, 79-106. On exhibitions held prior to the 1875 Chilean exhibition in Brasil, Lima, and Cordoba, see: Roco, 18, 37.

[63] On the 1871 *Exposición Nacional* of Cordoba, see: María Cristina Boixados, "Una ciudad en Exposición Córdoba 1871," in Di Liscia and Lluch, 147-171; Malosetti, 121-25; Marcelo Nusenovich, "La Exposición Nacional de 1871 en Córdoba como Espacio Ritual: Algunas Consideraciones," *Territorio Teatral*, No. 9, Abril 2013. 2013. Accesed September 15. http://territorioteatral.org.ar/html.2/articulos/pdf/n9_01.pdf; *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, Año XV, Num. XXXI, Madrid, 5 de Noviembre de 1871, 343.

Latin American countries.[64] This communication referred to the "tournaments of progress," in reference to the various exhibitions of different Latin American countries, indicating that they were the only instances in which Latin American nations should compete in order to measure their levels of productivity and cultural status. Other accounts have implied that the organizers of Chile's exhibition sought to compete with other Latin American countries and eventually to put the country in a regional leadership position. According to the Chilean organizers, international exhibitions were the only events in which Latin American nations should appear as rivals.[65] Since the Wars of Independence, Latin American countries had often manifested continental solidarity. Even so, they also wished to distinguish themselves by demonstrating higher standards of development than their neighbors, as was visible in the case of Chile.

The concept of the union of the Latin American republics as a "family of nations" with the unified goal of attaining "civilization and prosperity" had emerged as a crucial idea during and after the Independence period. Yet, during the second half of the nineteenth century, this concern reemerged only intermittently, alternating between supranational interests and national sovereignty.[66] According to historian Simon Collier, in the mid-nineteenth century, cultivated Chileans considered themselves as superior to their neighbors mostly because of those countries' political instability.[67] As Collier has pointed out, the political situations in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru contrasted greatly

[64] "Circular a las Comisiones Americanas," Núm. 2, Diciembre, 1873, in *BEI 2*, 64-65.

[65] About the relations between Latin American countries at the time of the exhibition see Roco, 122.

[66] Collier, 226-30.

[67] Ibid., 221-26.

with Chile's stability.[68] In fact, in several cases, the delay or absence of some Latin American countries in participating in the 1875 exhibition was due to political upheaval. Sigificantly, during the exhibition, the notions of both Latin America solidarity and competition were evident among exhibition organizers.

Seeking a position in the civilized world

The 1875 *Palacio de la Exposición* was intended to recreate in Chile—on a smaller scale—the cosmopolitan European experience of international exhibitions. It was also intended to set up a scenario in which the material and cultural aspirations of the exhibition organizers, most of whom were members of the Chilean elite, could converge with exhibitors' commercial interests and visitors' expectations. From a stylistic standpoint, then, the Chilean building showed affinities with the French architecture that predominated in the private residences of members of the Chilean elite, purposefully renouncing colonial architecture. The *Palacio de la Exposición* echoed European exhibition palaces, but above all, it crystallized the organizers' aspirations to challenge the marginal position of Latin American countries by reaching the cultural standards of the "civilized world."

In order to do so, the two-story exhibition palace incorporated classical European architectural elements in the exterior, including the Ionic order on its first floor and the Corinthian order on its second floor façade. Other classical elements included a classical arch at the entrance, as well as pediments, columns, and capitals, all endowing Paul Lathoud's building with an eclectic character that echoed the *Palais de l'Industrie* of

[68] Ibid., 23.

Paris.[69] Indeed, the formal arrangement of the building's façade reveals that in general terms, its exterior had more in common with French exhibition palaces than with British exhibition buildings.

Taking this fact into consideration, then, it seems paradoxical that while the Chilean building resembled a Parisian model, the glass and iron French pavilion (Fig. 3), which was described as a "little crystal palace," mimicked more closely the British model of the Crystal Palace rather than the Parisian *Palais de l'Industrie*.[70]

The materials used and stylistic choices made by designers of Santiago's exhibition palace reveal how significant European influences were on Chile's cultural and commercial development. Indeed, the building evidenced that the connections Chile had established with Great Britain and France after the Independence had remained strong.[71] In fact, as the exhibition organizers and Chilean diplomats abroad stressed, while Chile had maintained strong economic and commercial ties to Great Britain, it had allied itself culturally with France, a fact that was evident in the Chilean education

[69] Although no information has been found about who specifically determined the architectural style of the *Palacio de la Exposición* of Santiago, it can be assumed that the organizers made the final decision on that matter, since they were directly involved in all the other aspects related to the exhibition building.

[70] According to an article published in the *Correo de la Exposición*, the exhibition's representative of French manufacturers, Benjamín Fernández Rodella, wrote to his father (and Chilean Consul in Paris), Francisco Fernández Rodella, asking to commission the iron building. According to the younger Fernández Rodella, it was going to be necessary to build a separate pavilion, because the space available in the *Palacio de la Exposición* was too limited to house the products of more than 300 French manufacturers. The construction of the glass and iron pavilion, built by "five of the most notable French engineers," confirmed a favorable attitude among the French towards material and technological innovations in architecture. "El Pabellón Francés en la Exposición," *Correo de la Exposición*, 16 de septiembre, 1875, 37; AML, "L'Exposition de Santiago a Vol d'Oiseau," Ibid., 10.

[71] After the break with Spanish domain, Chile experienced an economic expansion that involved the commercial relations with European countries and particularly with Great Britain. On the presence of British merchants in Chile see: Eduardo Cavieres, *Comercio Chileno y Comerciantes Ingleses 1820-1880: Un Ciclo de Historia Económica* (Valparaíso: Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Instituto de Historia, 1988); Juan Ricardo Couyoumdjian, "El Alto Comercio de Valparaíso y las Grandes Casas Extranjeras, 1880-1930. Una Aproximación," *Historia*, V. 33 (2000). Accessed July 13, 2014. http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0717-71942000003300002.

system, its political and economic organization, contemporary trends in fashion, and artistic standards and training.[72] These influences were most evident in the building in its use of modern British materials in part of the building with a French inspired façade, which endowed the building with specific material and cultural connotations, almost exactly mirroring the type of relationship Chile maintained with each nation.

On the one hand, the use of iron in the *Palacio*'s structure, linked it to the notion of material progress. Although other buildindgs like the *Mercado Central* had first established iron construction before 1875, the inclusion of iron in this particular building linked the construction with modern architectural techniques more broadly. On the other hand, the use of stylistic references used in the building's exterior confirmed a cultural alignment with France.

According to the president of the exhibition, Rafael Larraín, the classical building's façade, made it "perfectly classic and adequate to its end."[73] The emphasis Larraín gave to the "adequacy" of its classical stylistic features underscores the more broadly held belief at the time that architectural classicism alluded to the "civilized world." This assertion was also a demonstration that the architectural aesthetics of Chile's building were aligned with some of the most prestigious European international exhibition buildings, particularly the Parisian *Palais de l'Industrie*. But most of all, it

[72] Letter from the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, December 15, 1874, *BEI 6*, 634. The cultural alignment with France resulted from Chile's independence process and endeavored to distance Chile from Spanish colonial heritage. On the French cultural influence among Chilean elites visible in Chilean different scopes such as education, sciences, architecture, and fine arts, see: Sol Serrano, *Universidad y Nación. Chile en el siglo XIX* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1993); Juan Pablo Conejeros, *La Influencia Cultural Francesa en la Educación Chilena, 1840-1880* (Santiago: Universidad Católica Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez, 1999); Fernando Pérez Oyarzún and José Rosas Vera, "Cities within the City: Urban and Architectural Transfers in Santiago de Chile, 1840-1940," in *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950*, edited by Arturo Almandoz (London: Routledge, 2002), 110-14; Pablo Berríos et Al., 35-71.

[73] Letter No. 309 from Rafael Larraín to the Editor of the "British Trade Journal," October 9, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 511.

demonstrates the significance of stylistic considerations in the process of cultural legitimation of the exhibition, proving that the building was seen as instrumental in endowing the exhibition with a cultured character.

Even more revealing is the fact that the organizers actually used the building, as a model fulfilling European standards, to demonstrate that the Chile was properly prepared to hold an international exhibition. While the exhibition was being promoted and its organizers were seeking to appeal to visitors from European countries, Larraín stressed the architectural style of the building in correspondence with the editor of a British journal: "The main building is sober in ornaments, severe in its perfectly classic style (Ionic and Corinthian order), and suitable to its end."[74] As Larraín's assertions show, the classical stylistic features of the building were assumed to endow the exhibition and the country with proper credentials. Even so, it is important to point out that such elements were not unfamiliar to Chileans: on the contrary, a favorable attitude toward the French artistic model had emerged in the 1840s to replace colonial architecture that characterized the period of Spanish rule. Hence, the construction of Santiago's exhibition building should be seen not only in relation to previous exhibition buildings, but also to the Chilean penchant for endowing private and public buildings with a European appearance. As will be shown, French models were predominant, especially in the case of private residences.

Thus, the fact that non-European countries followed the example of European exhibition palaces in their own buildings was not unusual at the time. In both North and South America, European models typically inspired public and private architecture as

[74] "El edificio principal es sobrio en adornos, severo en su estilo perfectamente clásico (orden jónico I corintio), I adecuado a su objeto." Ibid.

well as exhibition buildings.[75] This was true, for example, in the case of the 1853 Crystal Palace of New York, the 1871 *Palacio de la Exposición* of Cordoba, the 1872 *Palacio de la Exposición* of Lima, and the 1875 *Palacio de la Exposición* of Santiago. Yet, although the Crystal Palace of New York evinced similarities with the eponymous London building, the exhibition palaces of Lima and Santiago remained closer to continental European models.

The *Palacio de la Exposición* in Santiago's Urban Context

The realization of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* and the construction of the *Palacio de la Exposición* also helped to spur the urban and architectural transformation of Santiago undertaken by the Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna between 1872 and 1875. This project, the most important of its kind ever carried out in the city, thus fulfilled the elite's desire to position the capital as modern. Indeed, it was in the 1870s that the gradual abandonment of colonial features and the more generalized embrace of European urban elements and architectural design began to give way to a modern city.[76] In this context, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* represented a unique opportunity to portray the changes the city had accomplished and the modernization and material and cultural progress the nation had achieved. Thus, improvements made for the exhibition should not only be understood within the context of the event, but also in light of the broader urban development that was taking place at the time in Santiago, led largely

[75] See: Almandoz (editor), *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities.*

[76] On Vicuña Mackenna's transformation plan, see: Pérez Oyarzún and Rosas Vera, "Cities within the City," 115-120.

under the leadership of Vicuña Mackenna.

Likewise, the fact that the exhibition palace had been designed by Paul Lathoud according to the highest cultural and artistic standards of France underscores the high esteem Chilean elites held towards prevailing French artistic models both in the public and private spheres. However, despite the fact that the building's façade revealed an attempt to establish stylistic connections with Parisian architecture, connections can also be drawn with the stylistic influences present in contemporaneous Chilean architectural trends.

Some important public buildings at the time also underscored the Chilean authorities' interest in European stylistic references. This was evident, for example, in the commission of the *Teatro Municipal* (Municipal Theatre), the Congress, and the Church of the Veracruz, all designed by Claude François Brunet de Baines (1799-1855), as well as the building of the *Universidad de Chile*, designed by Lucien Ambroise Henault (1823-1770).[77] While some of these buildings, such as the Congress, emphasized Neoclassical features in the façade, others, such as the *Teatro Municipal* exhibited similarities with the architectural features of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, such as the use of classical columns and arched windows in the façade. This demonstrates that the exhibition building did not differ from the then prevalent architectural trends in Chilean public buildings.

Even though the construction of the exhibition building had no precedents within the country, the notion of a Palace, for example, was not new in Chile. European

[77] According to Fernando Pérez Oyarzún and other scholars, both Brunet de Baines and Henault adapted the Beaux Arts architectural language to the Chilean local context in terms of complexity and scale. Malcom Quantrill (Ed.), *Chilean Modern Architecture Since 1950* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010), x.

architects had designed other palaces in Santiago although they had predominantly appeared in the private sphere rather than as public architectural projects. Indeed, a number of these palaces had been built as private residences in Santiago from the 1860s onwards as a consequence of the country's financial prosperity.[78] This favorable financial conjuncture resulted from a number of Chilean agricultural, mining, and industrial businessmen settling in Santiago, many of whom were involved in the exhibition, both as organizers or exhibitors.[79]

In fact, it was the commission of these private residences by members of the wealthiest Chilean families that to a large extent contributed to the consolidation of European architectural traditions that had gradually began with the arrival of French architects hired by the Chilean government from the 1840s onwards to execute public buildings. The concentration of a number of personal fortunes, as well as the increasing contact of Chilean elites with European culture, had led to the construction of public as well as private French and Italian-inspired architectural projects.

In the public sphere, the interest in emulating European cultural practices was exemplified by the creation of social and cultural institutions that reflected the influence of the European urban lifestyle, such as clubs, the hippodrome, and public parks that emulated European parks like Hyde Park in London, or the Bois de Boulogne in Paris (as

[78] Although historian Richard Walter has pointed out that Chile's economic growth was more evident after the Pacific war in 1879, the construction of these mansions and the consumption of luxury objects were already apparent in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Richard Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile. 1891-1941* (California: Standford University Press, 2005), 11; Eduardo Balmaceda Valdés, *El Mundo que se fue* (Santiago: Ed. Andrés Bello, 1969), 353. About urban high class in Chile see Manuel Vicuña, *El París Americano. La Oligarquía Chilena como Actor Urbano en el Siglo XIX* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1996).

[79] De Ramón, 134.

did the *Parque Cousiño*).[80] In the private realm, the construction of palaces was a crucial part of Chilean elites' attempt to emulate the European urban life.[81] In this regard, the form of the palaces helped to convey the sense of "dignity" the Chilean exhibition building was intended to project.

Most of the new private residences in Santiago, ranging in style from eclectic to exotic, demonstrated a preference for European, and particularly French and Italian architectural traditions.[82] Hence, the exhibition building was aligned with the prevailing favorable attitude towards European architecture and commissioners sought to present the exhibition as an extension of such cultured taste.

Interestingly, Paul Lathoud had come to Chile to realize private commissions, rather than public projects. In fact, when he was hired to design the *Palacio de la Exposición* in April 1873, Lathoud was already working on one of the most important nineteenth-century private residences of Santiago, the *Palacio Cousiño* (1870-1878), an eclectic structure commissioned by Luis Cousiño, one of the most prominent businessmen in Chile and his wife, Isidora Goyenechea.

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[80] Ibid., 136.

[81] Some private residences built at the time included the *Palacio de la Alhambra* (1860-2), the *Palacio Urmeneta* (1868), the *Palacio Errázuriz*, designed by Eusebio Chelli, (1872), the *Palacio Larraín Zañartu* designed by the French architect Lucien Hénault (1872), the *Palacio Pereira* also by Lucien Hénault (1872), the *Palacio Díaz-Gana* (later known as the *Palacio Concha-Cazotte*) designed by the German architect Teordoro Burchard (1872-5), the house of the Uruguayan diplomat José Arrieta designed by Paul Lathoud, and the house of Eugenio Ossa. Patricio Díaz Silva, *Vitrales en Santiago de Chile. Obras Conservadas en Iglesias y Edificios Civiles* (Santiago: Ocho Libros, 2007), 38. On some of these private residences, see: Fernando Imas Brügmann and Mario Rojas Torrejón, *Palacios al Norte de la Alameda: el Sueño del París Americano*, (Santiago: Ograma, 2012); Solène Bergot, "Unidad y Distinción. El eclecticismo en Santiago en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX," *Revista 180*, Año 13, No. 23, Universidad Diego Portales (Agosto 2009), 31-35; Solène Bergot, "Les Palais de Santiago du Chili. Eclectisme et Hybridation (1860-1891)," *Bulletin de l'Institute Pierre Renouvin*, No. 24 (Automne 2006).

[82] On the stylistic characteristics of these private residences and their relationship to the transformation of Santiago, see: Solène Bergot, "Unidad y Distinción"; Solène Bergot, "Les Palais de Santiago du Chili."

In fact, it was likely this private commission what situated Lathoud in a very exclusive and influential social circle of which the exhibition organizers were themselves a part, and that presumably led them to entrust the French architect with the design of the exhibition palace. Thus, the fact that members of the elite were directly involved in different stages of the decision-making process of the exhibition organization may explain in part why Lathoud was commissioned to do the building. This situation sheds light on how public commissions may have been stylistically aligned with private artistic preferences. More importantly, it demonstrates the relevance personal connections had on the commission of the *Palacio de la Exposición*.

Indeed, members of the Chilean elite occupied most political, administrative, and economic positions in the government, resulting in rather porous boundaries between private and public taste. Moreover, the trust the organizers showed in Lathoud was expressed not only in the commission of the building, but also in his inclusion as a member of the commission for the exhibition's Fine Arts Section. Lathoud's close involvement in the exhibition confirms that French architects still enjoyed great prestige in Chile at the time.

This apparent connection between prevailing architectural styles in Chile and the exhibition building seems to confirm art historian John Stamper's observation that nineteenth-century international exhibition buildings in Europe "were directly related to the architectural and urban design traditions of the cities in which they were built."[83] Ultimately, this fact suggests that Chilean and continental European stylistic trends were not as different as might be assumed.

[83] Stamper, 227. See also Bergot, "Unidad y Distinción," 32.

The *Quinta Normal* as Exhibition Ground

Although there was no public discussion among the organizers and the government authorities on the building design or the architect from whom it would be commissioned, the location of the exhibition grounds was a matter of debate. In fact, the showground proved to be as important as the building itself. As with previous international exhibitions, the grounds for the Chilean exhibit acquired special relevance from both spatial and logistical standpoints. Because of their desire to project an image of progress through the exhibition, organizers paid particular attention to the site on which the exhibition palace would be built. Indeed, the grounds proved to be much more than the mere location for an exhibition building, as they were often chosen from among the city's most significant locations. In this context, existing parks were frequently considered appropriate for realizing these exhibitions as they provided alluring environments in which to host large events.

While the *Quinta Normal de Agricultura* (Fig. 4) was eventually designated the most suitable place to fulfill such requirements for the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, the site was not initially assumed to be the only possible site for the exhibition building, and its selection was not unanimous. Indeed, two sites were in the running: The *Parque Cousiño* and the *Quinta Normal*.[84] As mentioned, at the time Santiago was undergoing a number of transformations intended to endow the city with a modern appearance. Vicuña Mackenna had conceived an urban modernization plan that considered mainly the center of the city, and also included, for example, the paving of streets, the creation of parks,

[84] Significantly, in the second half of the nineteenth century both grounds were determinant points of reference for the urban growth of the city, as by the 1860s new neighborhoods were created around them, where upper and middle classes settled. De Ramón, 139; Roco, 104-7.

and the installation of ornamental sculpture.

The need for public places for leisure had led authorities and private individuals to undertake the creation or transformation of existing places for that end. One of them was the *Campo de Marte* (Field of Mars), a former military field whose transformation into a park, between 1870 and 1873, was inspired by the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. The works to transform the park were funded by the prominent businessman, politician, and philanthropist, Luis Cousiño (1835-1873)—who in 1870 had also commissioned his private residence in Santiago from Paul Lathoud—and were later donated by him to the city.[85] As the result of its transformation, the *Campo de Marte*, was called *Parque Cousiño* after 1872, and eventually provided Santiago's upper classes with a new place to socialize.[86] Because the site had become an alluring place, the park seemed to be a suitable candidate for becoming the official location for the exhibition.

Unlike the *Parque Cousiño*, however, the *Quinta Normal* had its origins in a radically different project. In the late 1830s, the state approved the creation of the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura*, to which the organization of the *Exposición Internacional* was entrusted in 1873. During the 1840s, the state decided to purchase land to carry out agricultural projects and activities intended to boost Chile's agricultural, scientific, and technological development, and to house the School of Agriculture. Thus, the *Quinta Normal* was originally created for educational purposes that pursued the

[85] On the *Parque Cousiño*, see Fernando Pérez Oyarzún and José Rosas Vera, "Portraying and Planning a City," in Jordana Dym and Karl Offen (Eds.), *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011), 172-6; Alfonso Calderón, *Memorial del Viejo Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1984), 189-199; Richard Walter, 11-2.

[86] Remarkably, the *Parque Cousiño* was inaugurated in the context of the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, on September 19, 1872. *PENAI,* 10. On the Parque Cousiño, see also Martín Domínguez Vial, "Parque Cousiño y Parque O'Higgins: Imagen Pasada, Presente y Futura de un Espacio Verde en la Metrópoli de Santiago de Chile," *Revista Urbanismo* No. 3, Universidad de Chile, (2000).

expansion of agricultural, scientific, and technical knowledge in the country. This fact sheds light on the rural character of the site, which greatly contrasted with the urban overtones of the *Parque Cousiño*.[87] Unlike the *Parque Cousiño*, the *Quinta Normal* was located outside the area of the city in which the elite had built their private residences. Even more rural areas, untouched by Vicuña Mackenna's modernization schemes, surrounded the *Quinta Normal*. Thus, in contrast to the *Parque Cousiño*, the *Quinta Normal* required a number of improvements in order to endow it with a modern and alluring appearance.

The press closely followed the debate about which site should be chosen for the exhibition. Arguments for and against these sites evaluated their differing characteristics, as well as the levels of influence of the individuals involved. On the one hand, Intendant Vicuña Mackenna insisted that the *Parque Cousiño*—donated to the city by Luis Cousiño under Vicuña Mackenna's administration—was the most appropriate location. According to the Intendant, a great universal exhibition should "represent the art, sociability, hospitality, and all the pleasantness of a great capital."[88] As commented upon in the press, some people believed the park to be more beautiful, more centrally located, and better connected to the center of the city, thus easier to access by public transportation.[89]

Vicuña Mackenna insisited on the inconveniences of the *Quinta Normal*, which in his opinion, had narrow avenues. He also argued that its railroad tracks would make a proper appreciation of the fair difficult. These problems, he contended, did not exist in

[87] René F. Le Feuvre, *Breve Reseña Sobre la Quinta Normal de Agricultura. Pan-American Exposition. Buffalo-1901* (Santiago: Imprenta moderna 1901), 3.

[88] "Representar el arte, la sociabilidad del país, su hospitalidad y todos los agrados y amenidades de una gran capital…" *La República*, 10 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

[89] *La República*, 7 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

the *Parque Cousiño*, where there were large avenues, a beautiful lake, and the sympathy of the people.[90] He also argued that a number of improvements in the adjoining streets should be made.

Vicuña Mackenna's final argument was related to previous international exhibitions. As he argued, in other countries these exhibitions were carried out in parks such as the Hyde Park in London, the Champs-Élysées and the Champ-de-Mars in Paris, and the Prater—which he considered equivalent to the *Parque Cousiño*—in Vienna.[91] Vicuña Mackenna's perception of this fact was probably influenced by his visit to the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, which was carried out on the Champs-Élysées.[92]

An article published in *El Ferrocarril* asserted that if the *Parque Cousiño* were to be chosen, the building could be utilized afterwards as a theatre for concerts, summer amusements, and as a painting gallery and museum for agriculture and mineralogy. In other words, as the article pointed out, after the exhibition, the building would be "our Museum of South Kensington."[93]

On the other hand, the arguments of the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* for choosing the *Quinta Normal* emphasized that the building would provide crucial services for agricultural education. The exhibition and the building would contribute to boosting the development of the agricultural industry, which was considered by the *Sociedad* a

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[90] Ibid.

[91] *La República*, 10 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

[92] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Pájinas de mi Diario Durante Tres Años de Viajes. 1853.-1854.-1855. California, Mejico* (Santiago: Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1856), 120. Accessed May 5, 2014. http://books.google.cl/books?id=a6MOAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=diario+de+viaje+vicu%C3%B1a+mackenna&hl=es&sa=X&ei=ns5nU6eCLcThsASOwYEo&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[93] *El Ferrocarril*, 7 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

source of material prosperity for the country.[94] Moreover, because of the expenses already incurred in the building design and the arrangements to alter the avenues, the idea of utilizing the *Parque Cousiño* proposed by Vicuña Mackenna alarmed the *Sociedad*'s members. As the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, contended, the realization of the exhibition in the *Parque Cousiño* would greatly harm the *Quinta Normal*.[95] One article claimed that if it were situated in the *Parque Cousiño*, the building would be used for frivolous pleasures.[96] The debate on the site was probably related to the awareness that the exhibition and the construction of the building, would transform the entire site, either to emphasize its amusement qualities or to feature the scientific and agricultural development of the country.

Ultimately, the President of the Republic Federico Errázuriz designated the *Quinta Normal* as the definitive place to hold the exhibition.[97] Although the *Quinta Normal* seems to have offered some advantages in addition to its 46 hectares, it is possible that the decision was made as a sign of support to the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura*, which organized the exhibition and owned of the site. President Errázuriz's resolution also underscores his interest in supporting the development of both education and science as essential to the country's progress.

Despite the decision to use the *Quinta Normal* instead of the *Parque Cousiño* for the exhibition site, Vicuña Mackenna nonetheless enthusiastically participated in the modification of some aspects of the areas surrounding the *Quinta Normal*. As he

[94] *El Ferrocarril*, 9 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

[95] *La República*, 7 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

[96] *El Ferrocarril*, 9 de Mayo, 1873, n/p.

[97] "Memoria," in *BEI 8*, 984.

contended, the city had to be prepared to receive European and Latin American visitors for the exhibition, and in order to do that, Santiago had to be transformed into "the Paris of America."[98] Hence, the embellishment of the site was accomplished not necessarily in relation to what the terrain offered, but rather, according to the organizers vision of "civilized" gardens.[99] In fact, the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, described the favorable conditions that the *Quinta Normal* offered, referring to the wonderful groves, parks and gardens in which all kind of ornaments and even artificial waterfalls, could be installed.[100]

In this way, landscape embellishments such as water fountains, commonly integrated in the grounds of other international exhibitions, were also included in Chile's exhibition. Likewise, the attention paid to fountains and other ornamental elements were important in transforming the site into an alluring area, in which it would be pleasant for visitors to spend long amounts of time. Also, special attention was paid to road approaches, gardens, and wide promenades that would enhance visitors' experience. Wide spaces were needed as well for horses, carriages, and transportation of heavy machinery.

Additionally, the strategic proximity to transportation and the city's main points of interest may have also been considerations that President Errázuriz took into account. Indeed, arrangements regarding transportation were especially considered, such as the modification of railway lines to reduce the transportation time. The *Quinta Normal*'s

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[98] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Un año en la Intendencia de Santiago. Lo que es la Capital i lo que Deberia ser. Memoria Leida a la Municipalidad de Santiago en su Sesión de Instalación el 5 de Mayo de 1873* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1873), 39.

[99] "Edificios I demas trabajos materiales," in *BEI 8*, 984.

[100] Letter No. 309 from Rafael Larraín to the Editor of the "British Trade Journal," 9 de Octubre, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 511.

strategic location near the Central Station made it easier to arrange for the Northern train to get near the vicinity of the showground, connecting the Valparaíso harbor to the very entrance of the showground. This arrangement would facilitate the transportation of objects intended for the exhibition, from their delivery at the harbor to the exhibition site.[101] In addition to the Northern Railroad, arrangements were also made for the urban tram to pass in front of the showground entrance (Fig. 5). By 1875 both the railroad and tramlines had experienced a notable expansion, endowing this part of the city with a new urban infrastructure that greatly favored the exhibition as well as the neighborhood. The train's contribution was as integral to the logistics of planning the exhibition, as it was in projecting an image of technological progress to foreign visitors and expanded modernizing elements to more rural sectors of the city. Since industrial development had historically been associated with railroads, it also greatly contributed to the exhibition's image of progress.[102]

Because the transformation undertaken by Vicuña Mackenna had not specifically considered the surroundings of the exhibition site, this part of the city was not prepared for an event of such a magnitude. Therefore, it was also necessary to perform urban improvements in nearby areas, such as the major avenues next to the *Quinta Normal*, as well as the main access roads to the showground. In this way, the exhibition can be considered the basis for the modernization that directly favored the *Quinta Normal*, and

[101] Sesión 52, Agosto 12, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 339.

[102] *ENAIM*, xxxi.

expanded the range of the project of transformation that Vicuña Mackenna had initially undertaken in the center of the city.[103]

In order to give the exhibition a modern appearance, specific arrangements were carried out in order to display paved streets, railroad tracks, wide avenues, lakes and other ornamental works in the surroundings of the exhibition showground. Indeed, a month before the exhibition opened, Cathedral Street, the main avenue that connected the city center with the entrance to the *Quinta Normal*, was paved specifically for the exhibition.[104] Likewise, sidewalks were asphalted and secondary streets were paved in order to present not only the showground, but also its surroundings, in the best conditions possible.[105] Without these improvements, visitors would have had experienced great difficulty trying to walk through a quagmire when it rained, or clouds of dust during the summer.

Thus, the exhibition palace, urban growth, transportation in expansion, a number of fortunes shaping the modern character of the city through the construction of private residences, and an elite eager to exhibit its cultural and material achievements, all were central elements in outlining the appearance of the 1875 exhibition. Even so, these signs of progress needed to be expressed beyond the urban context. Visual representations capable of projecting the image of Chilean progress were crucial in promoting the exhibition at the time. For that purpose, engravings depicting the building and the

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[103] Letter No. 394, 19 de Diciembre, 1874, in *BEI 6*, 567.

[104] Also Huérfanos, Agustinas, Nogal, Bulnes, Libertad, and Chacabuco Streets were paved for the exhibition. Correspondence No. 54, from Z. Freire to the President of the Exhibition, 9 de Agosto, 1875, *BEI 8*, 892-93. See also Letter No. 578, from Rafael Larraín to the Minister of Finance, Ramón Barros Luco, 1 de Junio, 1875, in *BEI 8*, 838.

[105] "Edificios I demas trabajos materiales," in *BEI 8*, 988.

improvements planned for the exhibition ground were created in order to display the exhibition as an appealing and pleasant environment that emphasized the idea that Chile, just like any other European country, was able to host an international exhibition. Such images, disseminated in print media, were crucial to the exhibition as they were the only means to internationally project the notion of Chilean progress.

PROMOTING THE EXHIBITION

After the 1851 Great Exhibition of London, it became common to visually represent and distribute images of exhibition palaces. Circulation of such images occurred in a variety of art forms, especially engravings that were used for promotional purposes. Planning international exhibitions required more than careful attention to the construction of a stunning building, keeping track of the number of exhibitors participating, and arranging the exhibition layout. It was also crucial that these efforts and the ideas behind them—such as material and cultural progress—were visible to the world before the exhibition was held.

In this context, the publication of images depicting exhibition buildings was instrumental in the national and international promotion of these exhibitions. On the one hand, they served to awaken the public's imagination; on the other hand, they showed the country's material progress, while also portraying its cultural status. In light of this fact, it can be argued that beyond merely illustrating the exhibition buildings, these images operated as advertisements of the host country's material and cultural ascendancy. Furthermore, images of exhibition buildings reveal the competitive nature of these

events, insofar as they were aimed at portraying exhibition palaces as magnificent constructions and their grounds as vast possessions. Moreover, some of these images were intended to overshadow the efforts of previous international shows or, as in the case of Chile, to internationally validate its status before the international community.

By being published in national and foreign media, these images also underscored the magnitude of the event and the goals they were intended to fulfill, as evidenced, for instance, in the early circulation of engravings in illustrated magazines. Notably, many engravings were published at least a year before the buildings were even finished, which demonstrates that they not only were intended to feed the public's expectations, but also projected the organizers' aspirations.

Advertising the Exhibition

During the second half of the nineteenth century, images of exhibition buildings circulated in a number of publications, in particular in illustrated magazines, that because of their nature reached wider audiences. Interestingly, the circulation of these images coincided with the popularity engravings enjoyed in the print media at the time.[106] Indeed, illustrated magazines such as *The Illustrated London News*—the first general-interest weekly-illustrated magazine, published as early as 1842—were the most effective vehicles for disseminating images of exhibition buildings.[107] In the case of Chile's

[106] On the use of engravings in nineteenth century illustrated magazines, see Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *Hold That Pose.*

[107] Tom Gretton, "The Pragmatics of Page Design in Nineteenth-Century General-Interest Weekly Illustrated News Magazines in London and Paris," *Art History*, Vol. 33 Issue 4 (September 2010), 685. Accessed March 21. 2013.http://web.ebscohost.com.libproxy.cc.stonybrook.edu/ehost/detail?sid=f3736d72-93c5-4d42-9c8f-

International Exhibition, these magazines were also the preferred media for publicizing the exhibit, a fact that underscores the organizers' awareness of the instrumental role played by the print media, and particularly periodical publications, in disseminating images.

The big efforts to promote the exhibition were evident in the general involvement of all kinds of strategies, ranging from diplomatic connections to the utilization of the media. Thus, the participation of Chilean diplomats in arranging the publication of articles about the exhibition in a number of foreign periodicals—particularly those addressed to potential exhibitors—was crucial for expanding the range of publications and countries in which images of the building were published. Such was the case of the General Consul in San Francisco, Francisco Casanueva, who confirmed in correspondence to the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, that arrangements had been made to publicize the exhibition by publishing images of the building's design in several American periodicals including *The Evening Bulletin*, *The Commercial Herald*, and *The Journal of Commerce*, while other articles, he commented, had already been published in newspapers in New York.[108]

The powerful role of periodicals as promotional tools had already been established in the first stages of the organization of the London Exhibition of 1851. At a time when the British exhibition faced opposition from local producers, the organizers used the publication of Joseph Paxton's original design of the Crystal Palace in *The Illustrated London News* on July 6, 1850 (Fig. 6) to obtain backing for the construction of

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9b4c9845ee22%40sessionmgr110&vid=4&hid=121&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1za XRl#db=a9h&AN=53051514.

[108] Letter from Francisco Casanueva to Rafael Larraín, September 21, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 454.

the building and the realization of the exhibition. Indeed, the publication of the image was aimed at garnering the emotional and financial support of local manufacturers in order to get them involved in the exhibition and to overcome the lack of enthusiasm for the exhibition among national producers, whose participation was seen as crucial. As Jeffrey Auerbach has noted, the publication was vital in gaining the support for the very construction of the building, as "Paxton's design in the *Illustrated London News* had captured England's imagination."[109] Auerbach's assertion reveals how effective the preliminary image of the un-built structure was in galvanizing support for London's project.

In the case of Chile's exhibition, images of the building were used in a similar way. Engravings of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, published a year before the exhibition opened, demonstrate that Chilean organizers pursued similar strategies in order to appeal to both potential exhibitors and visitors. As in previous international exhibitions, in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* periodicals both national and foreign were considered instrumental in advertising the show, as evident in the fact that most of the images found in these periodicals were mainly publicized abroad. Indeed, the fact that images were included in foreign publications demonstrates the organizers' intentions to also motivate international visitors and more importantly, foreign exhibitors.

The fact that such images circulated first in foreign periodicals proves that the organizers pursued at least two goals: publicizing the show internationally, while visually inserting the exhibition within the broader promoting practices of international exhibitions, and portraying the country as a civilized nation. However, engravings of Chile's *Palacio de la Exposición* were published not only in general-interest magazines,

[109] Auerbach, 50, 52.

but also in scientific and commercial publications, demonstrating that these images were intended to persuade potential international exhibitors. This is evident in one of the earliest engravings published in *Scientific American* in August 1874 (Fig. 7). Like images of previous international exhibitions, the engraving shows a three-quarters view of the exhibition palace, in which carriages and visitors are represented, proving that it was believed that the image would be able to motivate the participation of exhibitors by anticipating the sense of progress emphasized by the building enormous dimensions. Images often highlighted a building's monumentality, and therefore confirmed that they were projections of how organizers envisioned the actual building would look when finished.[110] In fact, the Chilean building was represented as slightly taller than it was in reality. This effect was executed through the depiction of narrower arches that elongated them and gave the impression that it was a taller structure. Other examples are also evident in images of the *Palais de l'Industrie* in Paris and the *Industriepalast* in Vienna that most likely served as a source of inspiration for the representations of Santiago's *Palacio de la Exposición*.

Exhibition images that included visitors suggest that they were also intended to emphasize the building's scale and add liveliness and excitement to the scene, animating it and thus anticipating the novel and cosmopolitan experience of the event. In these types of scenes, pleased and amazed visitors appear to enjoy themselves as they walk along wide avenues arranged for the exhibition. Using the three-quarters views of buildings that framed a broader perspective often highlighted vistas of the grounds showing wide

[110] *Scientific American,* Volume 31, No. 7 (August 1874), 103. Accessed August 8, 2012. http://archive.org/stream/scientific-american-1874-08-15/scientific-american-v31-n07-1874-08-15#page/n8/mode/1up; Letter from Arturo Villarroel to E. de la Barra, General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition on August 15, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 474.

promenades and fountains that provided a pleasant image of the show.

The use of exhibition buildings as main symbols of exhibits can be understood as advertising. Indeed, images of buildings were often used as symbols of material progress in late-nineteenth-century advertising.[111] This fact indicates that some connections could be drawn between both exhibition building images and commercial imagery. Even more, the similar interest in utilizing images of buildings as symbols of progress suggests that the imagery around international exhibitions and particularly exhibition buildings, can be assumed as a direct precedent of industrial imagery, visible in advertising produced from the 1880s onwards. In Chile similar images were used in advertising and soon expanded to financial imagery as visible in Chilean banknotes.[112]

Threatening the Exhibition

The organizers of the Chilean exhibition fervently promoted the exhibition abroad not only because of the necessity to publicize a large-scale event but moreover, because other factors posed difficulties that jeopardized the success of the exhibition. Among these factors, was a general climate of distrust that resulted from the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna, Chile's distant geographic location, and the upcoming realization of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia.[113]

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[111] See Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress. American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 116-32. For information on the case of Chile, see: Pedro Álvarez Caselli, *Chile. Marca Registrada. Historia general de las Marcas Comerciales y el Imaginario del Consumo en Chile* (Santiago: Ocho Libros / Universidad del Pacífico, 2008).

[112] This particular issue will be discussed in the second chapter.

[113] Letter from Thomas Weir, President of the British Committee to Rafael Larraín, December 14, 1874, in *BEI 6*, 654.

Despite the efforts of the organizers of Vienna's *Weltausstellung*, unexpected circumstances greatly affected the results of the event. A cholera outbreak in the Austrian capital and the crash of the Vienna Stock Exchange on May 9, 1873, known as "Black Friday," were responsible for the ruinous financial results for both the organizers and exhibitors that contributed to tarnishing what would have been the biggest world's fair. In light of these circumstances, many exhibitors were afraid to assume the financial risks of attending a new international exhibition, especially one as far away as South America. Of course, the Chilean organizers were aware of the concerns of the potential exhibitors. In fact, the Chilean Consul in Stuttgart, C. Krauss, commented in a letter that many of the countries interested in attending to the Chilean exhibition had eventually decided never to attend another international exhibition again because of how much money they had lost in Vienna. After Vienna's outcome, producers were also afraid of the excessive expenses that they would have to incur, and the potential loss of products due to Chile's long distance from Europe.[114] Indeed, European manufacturers found the distance to be problematic: a trip from Paris to Chile could take at least six weeks. Hence, they were afraid of the high transportation costs. Indeed, the distance was a problem for many countries, particularly those from Asia that finally decided to abandon their intentions to attend.

Likewise, European manufacturers expressed apprehension regarding what they called "the unknown."[115] This attitude revealed the ambiguous image of Chile in the European imaginary and the degree of uncertainty Europeans felt about their relationship

[114] *BEI 5*, 456.

[115] Letter from Augusto Gubler, President of the Swiss commission to Rafael Larraín, March 16, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 719.

with South America. Hence, even though the exhibition organizers targeted advertisements towards Europeans, Chile's geographic location posed accessibility challenges that could not always be overcome. Yet because the organizers were aware that Chile's geographical remoteness might pose problems, they gave special attention to promotional strategies to appeal to potential exhibitors from abroad. These included the publication of engravings of Santiago's exhibition building in illustrated magazines.

Furthermore, the upcoming 1876 Exhibition of Philadelphia drew traders' attention away from Santiago's exhibition. This situation posed an additional obstacle to the organizers' efforts to encourage the international participation in the Chilean exhibition. Also, the fact that the Chilean exhibition closed on January 9, 1876, just a few months before the opening of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia left too small a window of time for the exhibitors to transport their products to the United States.[116] Because Philadelphia was situated in the center of one of the largest markets in the world, the American exhibition offered a greater opportunity and lower expenses.[117] This situation reveals the marginal geographic and commercial position of the Chilean exhibition in comparison with the American one. In the end, the competition of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia resulted in a reduced participation in the Chilean exhibition; many countries simply chose to display their products in the United States rather than Chile.[118]

[116] Letter No. 1,107, from Rafael Larraín to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in *BEI 9*, 1077.

[117] Letter from Augusto Gubler, President of the Swiss commission to Rafael Larraín, March 16, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 719.

[118] On the limited participation of Latin American countries in the exhibition, see Roco, 111-14.

In this context, images of the exhibition building that circulated in illustrated press acquired great significance. They became a major way for the organizers to project internationally an image of the upcoming exhibition and thus to lure vendors and visitors.

Lasting images of ephemeral events

During the nineteenth century, images produced around international exhibitions endowed these ephemeral events with permanent symbols. In fact, the imagery of international exhibitions took shape to a large extent, around exhibition buildings. Given the ephemeral nature of international exhibitions, visual representations of exhibition buildings played a major role in articulating the aspirations behind them. A closer examination of some of these images suggests that the engravings used to promote exhibitions were of common use and were intended to emphasize specific aspects of the exhibition. By relying on certain views and formal arrangements, these visual representations eventually established conventionalized images types that shaped the general imagery of international exhibitions. By exploiting these perspectives, organizers sought to manage expectations created around the exhibition.

Although countless images of exhibition palaces were created and published around international exhibitions of the nineteenth century, some of the most common in the promotional materials were the ones portraying scenes of exterior views of the buildings. Notably, all they shared the common factor of omitting references to machinery or associations with commercialism, in order to emphasize the alluring

character of the exhibition experience.[119] The fact that engravings like these incorporated elements intended to please visitors confirms that these scenes, especially those published before the show, were also intended to feed the public's expectations of the unique cosmopolitan experience these international events could offer.

Within the local national scope, the exhibition was more visibly publicized in September 1874, when a second image of the building was published, this time in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* (Fig. 8).[120] Unlike images published abroad, this lithograph depicting the façade—apparently the first image of the building that appeared in Chile—shows a frontal view of the Exhibition Palace devoid of any spatial reference and presents a plan of the exhibition layout that includes the location of its different sections.[121] The fact that this lithograph was published in a specialized publication, as well as its informational quality, proves that it was not intended to appeal to the general public. Rather, it was addressed to the members of the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* as well as other potential exhibitors across the country, including local landowners and agricultural traders, whom the publication invited to submit their products to the exhibition.[122] Finally, a third engraving was published in two illustrated

[119] An examination of engravings published from 1851 onwards reveals that there were at least three identifiable types of views of exhibition buildings: front and three-quarters views of the building façade; the three-quarters view of the building and grounds in more panoramic views; and the bird's-eye views. Of these, engravings showing bird's-eye views of international exhibitions usually presented expanded frames that included the whole exhibition grounds. In contrast to the other kinds of images, these ones highlighted the vastness of the grounds, presenting the impressive magnitude of the event through an emphasis on their sprawling enormity. However, this category was absent in the imagery of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* and sources have not shed light on the reasons for the omission of this type of image. Although a more detailed analysis of these typologies is needed, they surpass the scope of the present study.

[120] *BSNA,* Vol. V, No. 23, 20 de Septiembre de 1874, n/p.

[121] Ibid, 64.

[122] Ibid, n/p.

magazines: *Le Monde Illustreé* and *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (Fig. 9) in 1875, a few months before the exhibition, demonstrating the wider circulation of images of the exhibition building.[123] In this image, visitors are depicted wearing European attire, a fact that bestows the scene with a sense of sophistication and portrays the exhibition as a cultured and refined event.

Ultimately, images of exhibition buildings published in periodical publications accomplished two main goals: they advertised the exhibition and they contributed to shaping expectations regarding international exhibitions. Despite the significant role exhibition buildings had in promoting international exhibitions, their visual representation had further implications. In fact, images of exhibition buildings were included not only in illustrated magazines, but also in other visual forms, such as medals, as we shall see, thus confirming the relevance of these "virtual" buildings in shaping the imagery of international exhibitions, and in particular, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago.

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[123] *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 15 de Marzo, 1875, 172.

CHAPTER II

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES: THE 1875 *EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL* IMAGERY

Although representations of exhibition buildings became a central aspect of the promotion of international exhibitions, other kinds of iconographies also emerged as crucial components of the imagery associated to these events. Such images addressed not only commercial and artistic interests, but also underscored nationalist motivations that confirmed that international exhibitions were, ultimately, national endeavors intended to reinforce the national image of host countries.

The significance attained by images of exhibition palaces depicted in other media, besides engravings demonstrates that their impact surpassed their role in exhibition promotion. In the case of Chile, the image of the exhibition palace was the first architectural image to be used as a nineteenth century symbol of Chilean progress. Hence, it was eventually consolidated into a well-known image in Chilean visual culture, as demonstrated in its inclusion in national financial imagery as well as the actual building's eventual consideration as a city landmark.

In general, the imagery associated with international exhibitions was typically aligned with generic national symbols—such as depictions of exhibition buildings, allegories of the nation, and ruler portraits—and therefore they underwent little variation from one exhibition to another. However, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* demonstrated that although Chile generally adopted these conventional images, it also incorporated local iconography that emphasized Chilean historical, political, and cultural

features. This helped the exhibition to establish itself as unique from previous European international exhibitions as well as previous exhibits carried out in Chile.

Unlike its predecessors, the imagery disseminated in Santiago's exhibition did not exactly mirror the imagery in other universal exhibitions. The inclusion of iconography alluding to Chilean culture and history departed from conventional imagery used in Europe, and reflected the existing tensions between competing notions of the European and the local in Chilean identity.

Although the adaptability of classical images had facilitated a shared repertoire of exhibition imagery, the significant differences in the Chilean political situation as a republican nation versus European political systems strongly marked by royal and imperial leadership greatly affected the way Santiago's exhibition shaped its own imagery. However, while the idea of liberty underscored the representations of the republic, some images still conveyed a subordinate cultural position of Chile in relation to Europe.

Specific media, such as medals and sculptures, were also deemed appropriate for endowing images with an official status. In fact, medallic art played a major role in the official installation and dissemination of international exhibitions symbols. In addition to the commemorative nature of medals, initially utilized to award participants and publically recognize the contributions of the individuals involved in the organization of the exhibition, other qualities like reproducibility became instrumental in their dissemination. In fact, medallic art demonstrated an enormous potential for formally positioning images in the public imagination and to popularizing images among wide-ranging audiences. Medals thus proved instrumental in creating an iconic "image" of

international exhibitions, most of them rooted within the iconographic traditions of medallic art.

THE IMAGERY OF BUILDINGS IN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

Although exhibition buildings attained a wide-ranging visibility in print media prior to the opening of exhibitions, their inclusion in other art forms, such as commemorative medals, was instrumental in the establishment of such buildings as official symbols of international exhibitions. Thus, while engravings had given these buildings national and international visibility, medals endowed their likeness with an enduring commemorative status.[124] Exhibitions organizers often commissioned more than one medal design, and usually at least one of them would bear an image of their own exhibition building on the verso.[125]

However, it was not just the images of exhibition buildings that heralded the commemorative nature of such medals, but also the fact that their front sides often depicted portraits of sovereign rulers, or allegories symbolizing the nation. Indeed, medals that included exhibition palaces generally included a profile portrait of Queen Victoria or Prince Albert, or Napoleon III on the front, which formally legitimized the building seen on the back side, as a significant component of the imagery of international exhibitions.

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[124] Maier, 9.

[125] In a less formal fashion, objects produced as souvenirs, such as unofficial medals, fans, and commemorative plates also bore images of exhibition buildings, as evident in the case of the 1851 Great Exhibition of London. Robert Wilson, *Great Exhibitions. The World Fairs 1851-1937*, Exhibition at NGV International (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2007), 22-3.

The architectural iconography that appeared on medals can be traced back to Greek and Roman traditions, and in the nineteenth-century England it was common for architectural medals to be used for commemorating public buildings.[126] As Jeremy Taylor points out, the appearance of this type of medal in Great Britain during the nineteenth century responded largely to the increase in urban development the country experienced as the result of the Industrial Revolution, which was then echoed in the production of architectural medals.[127] Moreover, technological improvements played a key role in the increased production of medals, which in turn resulted in lower fabrication costs.[128] These factors explain the fact that thousands of medals were produced and circulated during the 1851 Great Exhibition of London.

Yet, despite the general development of architectural and urban projects during the period, in the particular case of the international exhibition of 1851, the inclusion of exhibition buildings on medals should not only be seen as documentary records of newly completed buildings but also as a mode of commemorating the realization of the first international exhibition to ever be carried out.[129] This background helps to explain the fact that thirty-three architectural medals depicting interior and exterior views of the

[126] On architectural coins in ancient Greek and Roman traditions, see: Thomas Leverton Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica: Ancient Architecture on Greek and Roman Coins and Medals* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1966). On the influence of ancient Roman coins in nineteenth-century in Great Britain, and the reasons for representing buildings on British medals, see: Taylor, 5-15.

[127] Jeremy Taylor identifies three reasons to portray buildings in medals: (1) recording stages in the life of the building's fabric, (2) marking an event related to the use of the building, and (3) celebrating the form of a building and its associations. According to this classification, medals issued for international exhibtions belong to the second category. See: Ibid.

[128] Ibid., 31-33.

[129] Although there is no accurate information about who secifically decided on the design of medals for the exhibition, it is posible to conjecture that iconographies were aproved by the state since, as will be shown later in this chapter, medallic art was a royal art form and therefore designs were generally determined by the state policies. Maier, 13.

Crystal Palace were reproduced. According to Taylor, this group of medals constitutes the largest variety and number depicting nineteenth-century buildings in Great Britain.[130] Moreover, unlike other medals that usually portrayed only one view of buildings, the medals designed for the 1851 Great Exhibition displayed interior and exterior views of the exhibition palace, revealing both the importance of the exhibition and the popularity of the building.[131] It also discloses the great interest in the Crystal Palace among medal designers and exhibition organizers alike.[132]

Because some artists' representations of buildings were not always successful, nineteenth-century architectural medals generally resorted to depicting elevations of the building designed by its architects. In this way, a number of medalists used architects' designs or printed sources as models for the representation of buildings. They also relied on the advantages provided by the technique of striking medals. This technique, which invoved a mechanical process in which a metal disc is pressed by force between two engraved metal dies, facilitated the production of mass quantities of medals. Striking resulted in sharper relief edges, which were more appropriate for capturing images with finer details, such as architectural renderings.[133]

It is important to point out that exhibition buildings were not only depicted on official medals, but also on unofficial medals, which helped to popularize exhibition

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[130] Ibid, 13.

[131] Ibid, 23.

[132] Allen's works constitutes the first publication exclusively focused on Crystal Palace medals and tokens. Allen, 42.

[133] Taylor, 25-31. On the struck medal technique, see: V&A Medal Casting & Striking. Victoria and Albert Musuem. Accessed July 20, 2014. http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/casting-a-medal/

buildings.[134] Of these, medals depicting the Crystal Palace of 1851 were the most significant. Thus, whereas official medals usually were made of bronze, those intended as souvenirs, were issued by private companies and were predominantly made of a cheaper white metal alloy, often of lead or zinc, that reduced the costs of production and allowed for thousands more to be issued. The incorporation of cheaper metals, traditionally not associated with medallic art, demonstrated the increasing popularity of lower quality materials for the mass production of medals. It also positioned bronze as less popular for medallic use in massive events such as international exhibitions. The lower prices of the unofficial medals made them more accessible and enabled them to circulate more widely, increasing the popularity of the images they bore.[135]

Audiences bought unofficial medals as souvenirs memorializing exhibition buildings. As Jeremy Taylor has noted in reference to the architectural medals issued for the 1851 Great Exhibition: "The majority [of medals] were produced on white metal to act as mementos for the enormous crowds, many of whom had never visited London before, let alone set eyes on such a range of exhibits."[136] Indeed, for audiences not acquainted with international exhibitions, medallic images operated as vehicles for remembering them. Moreover, because images of exhibition buildings were usually depicted on most medals, they quickly came to be recognized as the main symbol of the event, and circulated among wide-ranging audiences. It was in this way that the new association of medals with mass-produced objects reinforced the commercialization of

[134] At international exhibitions, unofficial medals were usually produced to commemorate the exhibition. Unlike oficial medals, they were not used as awards, but rather as souvenirs and were produced by private firms not always linked to the organization of the exhibition.

[135] Allen, 42.

[136] Taylor, 13.

the exhibition. In the case of the 1851 exhibition, this was epitomized by one of the most powerful images of British progress at the time: the Crystal Palace.

Indeed, exhibition organizers and the private firms that issued unofficial medals were very cognizant of the commercial potential international exhibitions posed in helping to expand mass consumption habits. On this issue, Taylor is quite eloquent: "Publishers appear to have been quick to realize what would prove a popular subject, and to have found it profitable to meet the demand. Ironically the use of the cheaper white metal for such strikings, the longer runs, and the apparently ephemeral quality of such medals, has often meant their preservation due to the very fact that they have not been resold or circulated."[137] The cheaper medium used in making unofficial medals helped to improve their circulation, and therefore, the circulation of the images they bore. Ultimately, the mass production of medals in the commercial context promoted by international exhibitions was key to the dissemination of exhibition building imagery as well as exhibition imagery more broadly.

In fact, unofficial medals were widely marketed and sold for one shilling, which made them affordable to all kinds of buyers. As medal collector Leslie L. Allen has explained, these medals were "sold by street traders on every street corner along the route of the royal procession, and others in the vicinity of Hyde Park. Some were sold by advertisements placed in the press."[138] This description establishes that the distribution of these medals reached a wide public. It also confirms their relevance as effective vehicles for the dissemination of international exhibition iconography.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Allen, 42.

In fact, the popularity of the building soon reached the commercial realm eventually even overshadowing the most traditional British icons. As the *Bell's Unofficial Farthings. A Supplement* (1994) pointed out, even "the supremacy of the Queen as a popular symbol was temporarily eclipsed during the Great Exhibition of 1851 and many unofficial farthings display[ed] the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park."[139] The building's extraordinary popularity even crossed British borders, as at least five other countries commissioned Crystal Palace tokens.[140]

Indeed, the phenomenon of representing the Crystal Palace on tokens reveals that traders saw in them a unique opportunity to capitalize on the association of the exhibition —and the popular building as its main symbol—with commerce. Even local British traders not involved in the Great Exhibition attempted to exploit the building's recognition, by issuing tokens that, like some of the medals, depicted the Crystal Palace.[141] According to Allen, this fact demonstrates that traders recognized the commercial potential of associating their products or services with what would be known as one of the most significant events of the nineteenth century.[142]

The 1851 Great Exhibition established a unique precedent that subsequent exhibitions imitated. The show was able to exploit and consolidate the effects images had on the public imaginary, and thus initiated an iconographic tradition emulated by

[139] Quoted in Ibid, 65.

[140] Tokens, used instead of coins for trading activities, had appeared in Great Britain in the seventeenth century, and therefore British traders were familiar with them. Ibid., 66. On the use and historical context of trade tokens, see: John Roger Scott Whiting, *British Trade Tokens: A Social and Economic History* (New York: Drake Publishers Inc., 1972).

[141] Allen, 65.

[142] Ibid.

subsequent universal exhibitions, such as the Paris 1855 and 1867 exhibitions, the Vienna 1873 exhibition, and the Santiago 1875 exhibition.

Architectural medals after 1851

Although subsequent exhibition buildings did not attain the same level of public impact as the Crystal Palace, they were nonetheless consistently included in medal designs. This was particularly true for Santiago's exhibition, which imitated such conventions. As the strong associations of the Crystal Palace with commercialization gradually diminished over time, later exhibition buildings came to be seen as symbols of progress. Likewise, medals representing these other exhibition palaces were also used as mementos of the exhibit and were valued for their capability to symbolically represent the exhibition experience as represented by the building. That was certainly the case with the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*, in which at least four views of the *Palais de l'Industrie* were depicted on the official copper and zinc medals: three different exterior vistas and one interior view.[143] Similarly, the medals issued for the 1862 International Exhibition of London included at least two external views of the Exhibition Palace.[144]

[143] According to official records, at least six official medals were commissioned for the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*. The five medals were identified by the numbers 2021, 2029, 2030, 2661, 2095, and 2155 respectively. *Departement des Médailles. Dépot Légal. 1841-1889*, Tome II, s/n. Bibliotèque National de France; Archives Municipales d'Aix-les-Bains. Inventaire des médailles. Accessed February 26, 2013. http://www.aixlesbains.fr/var/aixinter/static/medaille/Medaillesaixlesbains.htm.

[144] It is difficult to evaluate the function played by medals in the 1862 International Exhibition in comparison with the 1851 Great Exhibition, because there are fewer studies on the former in comparison with the latter, and because there were apparently less medals issued for the 1862 exhibition.

In the case of the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna, none of the official medals included an image of the *Industriepalast.*[145] However, other medals produced in tin—likely intended as souvenirs—demonstrated the continued high regard held for exhibition buildings.[146] The inclusion of the *Industriepalast* on cheaper souvenir medals that probably attained a wide circulation confirms that it came to be a popular represention of the *Weltausstellung*. The *Industriepalast* was only rendered on unofficial medals because exhibition organizers wanted to emphasize the image of the emperor, whose profile was included on all the official medals. As the first international exhibition realized outside of London and Paris, it was important for the country to emphasize the authority of the emperor as a powerful head of state on the world stage. Even so, the fact that the building still appeared on other medals confirms the general awareness of the importance of exhibition palaces to the public, for whom those medals were intended.

Thus, by the time of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago, exhibition buildings had become part of the repertory of images that identified international exhibitions. Consequently, the Chilean exhibition palace was also included on one of the official medals. This is particularly significant in the Chilean context because the building not only became a symbol of the exhibition, but it also became the first building ever represented on a Chilean medal. It eventually took on a symbolic significance beyond the scope of the exhibition, as will be shown later.

Yet, unlike previous international exhibitions, unofficial medals were not issued in Chile. Although there is no specific information on the reasons why Chile did not issue

[145] *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna. Publicazione dell Universo Illustrato*, Numero 5, 15 Giugno, 1873, Treves, Milano, 61.

[146] Ibid, Numero 8, 29 Giugno, 1873, 101.

unofficial medals, two explanations are possible: One possibility is the fact that in Chile, unlike Europe, there were limited technological, industrial, and commercial outlets capable of producing unofficial medals. Another possible explanation is that the smaller scale of the exhibition did not provide a large enough market for the circulation of large amounts of souvenirs.

The *Palacio de la Exposición* on Chilean Medals

Once again, the Chileans turned to the French to articulate the Chilean image of progress and national identity. In 1875, the organizers of the *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago commissioned four types of medals from two French medal engravers: two copper medals were commissioned from Alphée Dubois (1831-1905)[147] and another two, one in bronze and one in gold, from Jean Bainville (b. 1829).[148]

Both artists had already designed medals for Chile prior to 1875. Dubois had fashioned two medals for the city of Valparaíso: one in 1872 in homage to the Scottish naval officer, Lord Thomas Cochrane, for his services to the Chilean navy during the Wars of Independence, and the other in 1874 for the exhibitors of the Province of

[147] The medals are indicated as follows:
Envoi du Mois d'Août 1875
6231, 161 Exposition du Chili. A.. 30.
6232, 162 Exposition du Chili. A. Dubois. 68.
Département des Médailles. Dépot Légal. 1841-1889, Tome II, s/n. Bibliotèque National de France. On the awards the medals were intended for, see: BEI 4, 161-62. Extraordinary session, Agosto 25, 1875, *BEI 7*, 782-3. José Toribio Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*, (Santiago: Impreso en Casa del Autor, 1901), 204-05. On the medalls commisioned from Alphée Dubois, see: Acta Sesión 113, December 29, 1875, *BEI 9*, 1024. On Alphée Dubois, see: Musée d'Orsay, 90.

[148] Medina, José Toribio, *Las Monedas Chilenas* (Santiago: Casa del Autor, 1902), 306.

Valparaíso participating in the *Exposición International* of 1875.[149] One of the medals designed by Dubois for the exhibition represented a three quarters view of the building depicted in the Beaux-Arts style on the front, (Figs. 10 and 11), below which appeared an inscription that read: "PALACIO DE LA EXPOSICIÓN," under which appeared the name of the engraver: "ALPHÉE DUBOIS". On the back, the words "EXPOSICIÓN INTERNACIONAL DE SANTIAGO DE CHILE" were inscribed on the edge surrounding a laurel wreath, with "SETIEMBRE 1875" written in the center.

Since Dubois did not have a first-hand knowledge of the building, he probably used an engraving published in an illustrated magazine as a model since drawings and printed images were often used for medal designs. This fact attests to exhibition organizers' interest in commissioning these medals from a prestigious French medalist rather than from Jean Bainville, who while also French and able to directly observe the building, did not have the same reputation as Dubois. In any case, it is possible that the decision to use an engraving as a model for the image may have corresponded to the fact that (as with British architectural medals), medal designs were usually inspired by the architect's design, rather than on the actual buildings.

Since no mass-produced medals were issued as souvenirs for the exhibition of 1875, it might be assumed that the image was circulated less than in previous exhibitions. Yet, this was not the case. On the contrary, the *Palacio de la Exposición* was widely visible through the publication of images of the building in periodical publications and

[149] The medals are indicated as follows:
Envoi du Mois de Décembre 1872
5462, 113 Le peuple de Valparaiso à Cochrane, par suscription. Dubois. 50.
Envoi du Mois de Décembre 1874
6066, 360) Minucipalité de Valparaíso. Aux Exposants. Dubois. 50.
Département des Médailles. Dépot Légal. 1841-1889, Tome II, s/n. Bibliotèque National de France.
Ibid. See: Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*, 205.

the use of other images of the building in Chile even after the exhibition. This confirms that the impact the building had on the Chilean cultural imaginary greatly surpassed the scope of the exhibition, and reveals how it became a symbol of both urban modernization and commercial progress.

The *Palacio de la Exposición*: Beyond the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*

The image of the Chilean exhibition building exceeded its function in promoting the show and as a symbol of the exhibit. In addition to representations of the building on medals and in engravings, the image of the *Palacio de la Exposición* was also disseminated in the realm of urban representation. The first image of the building that appeared outside the context of the exhibition, was one included in a plan of Santiago that the Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna commissioned from the French engineer Ernest Ansart in 1875. However, rather than only providing an idea of the engineering projects either projected or executed in the city, the elaboration of this plan was likely intended to serve as propaganda highlighting the endeavors of the Intendant's administration.

Notably, the plan (Fig. 4), intended to show the city and projections of the upcoming transformations of Santiago that the Intendant had planned, introduced an innovative approach to Chilean urban representation.[150] Indeed, Ansart's plan not only depicts the urban grid, but also highlights the city's main urban spaces and architectural structures through the inclusion of images of elevations of buildings and engravings depicting views of the *Parque Cousiño*, the Santa Lucía Hill, and the General Cemetery

[150] Pérez Oyarzún and Rosas Vera, 175.

on the actual sites where they were located. Thus, the inclusion of the *Palacio de la Exposición* on the map underscores the contribution the building made to Santiago's urban progress.[151]

A closer examination of the plan suggests that the image of the *Palacio* was most likely based on the lithograph published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* in 1874. Although both images share similar features, the one that appears in Ansart's plan does not include the sculptures shown in the lithograph, which suggests that the image was intended to provide more technical information, rather than showcase its cultural connotations.[152]

The plan, designed the same year the exhibition was held, shows the *Palacio de la Exposición* in the middle of the *Quinta Normal*. It also depicts it as the largest building in the city, demonstrating that the building's size largely exceeded any other public building at the time. It was thereby positioned as one of the most significant constructions of its time. Likewise, the representation of the building underscored its architectural significance and indicated the contribution the exhibition made to building activity in the city. Considering the personal involvement of the Intendant and his constant promotion of exhibitions in the country, it may be assumed that the image of the exhibition building also expressed the value Vicuña Mackenna attributed to exhibitions in boosting the city's progress.

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[151] Scholars have noted that Ansart's map was a turning point in urban representation because it marks the emergence of the map as a planning-oriented tool, combining the representation of actual facts with the projection of future events. Ibid, 176. See also: René Martínez Lemoine, "Santiago, los planos de transformación. 1984-1929," *Revista Electrónica DU&P. Diseño Urbano y Paisaje* Volumen IV, No. 10. Centro de Estudios Arquitectónicos, Urbanísticos y del Paisaje, Universidad Central, Santiago, Abril 2007. http://www.ucentral.cl/dup/pdf/10_santiago_planos.pdf Accessed November 5, 2012.

[152] *BSNA*, Vol. 5, Núm. 23, September 20, 1874, n/p.

Indeed, the plan was instrumental to Vicuña Mackenna's political aspirations, as he left the Intendancy of Santiago in order to participate as candidate for president the same year.[153] This fact suggests that although the purpose of the map was ostensibly to visually represent the city, it was also used as political propaganda.[154] Notably, once Vicuña Mackenna abandoned public office, he was appointed as member of the executive committee of the exhibition.[155]

The Exhibition Building in Financial Imagery

Although Ansart's map associated the building with urban modernization, the plan did not attain as broad a circulation as engravings published in periodicals would have. After the exhibition, the building was regarded as a significant reference of national development in a variety of ways. Moreover, the circulation of its image confirmed that its popularity did not decrease, but rather expanded into other realms.

The economic boom the country underwent in the 1860s led to the development of the financial sector, as was evident in the emergence of private banks from 1860 onwards. By the late nineteenth century, banks were prevalent throughout the country, and with them, banknotes, which were decorated with increasingly nationalist designs. The broader circulation of the image of the building can be explained partly by the issuing of these banknotes, some of which included an image of the building on them. Significantly, the Chilean state did not begin to print banknotes until the 1870s, which

[153] Pérez Oyarzún and Rosas Vera, 175.

[154] Ibid., 173.

[155] Sesión 76, Marzo 17, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 546.

indicates that it was only in that decade that the iconography they depicted represented officially-sanctioned images of the nation-state. [156]

In this context, banknotes served as vehicles for disseminating of images that eventually contributed—because of their national circulation—to installing Chilean imagery in the public imagination. Thus, the commercial and financial realms proved the most hospitable spheres for the portrayal of national culture and ideas, such as national identity, progress, and modernization.[157] In this way, the proliferation of banknotes was central to both Chile's financial and commercial development, as well as to the dissemination of iconographies that increasingly represented Chilean culture.

Until 1918, both private and public Chilean banknotes were printed abroad in London and New York and the influence of these issuing institutions, such as the American Banknote Company in New York and Waterlow & Sons Limited in London, was evident in both the ornamental patterns and Classical motifs they presented.[158]

The American Bank Note Company published catalogues that provided a repertory of images that included a variety of allegorical figures representing commerce and industry, and historical figures that were subsequently incorporated in Chilean currency. Even though many images used in Chile were similar to those used in other countries, from the 1880s onwards, some banknotes also incorporated images that identified specific bank owners or national symbols, such as portraits, national emblems, buildings, and public monuments intended to strengthen national identity.[159]

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[156] Martínez and Nagel, 74.

[157] Ibid., 66-8; Salgado, 29-58.

[158] Martínez and Nagel, 66-8, 87

[159] Ibid., 71-88.

Since motifs used on Chilean currency portrayed the material and cultural progress of the nation, the representation of Chilean buildings on currency was not only intended to demonstrate financial prosperity, but also to showcase cultural achievements that the economic boom had brought to the country. In fact, the images of buildings on Chilean currency should be understood as both material and symbolic representations of the similar images on American currency, which appeared earlier in the 1860s on banknotes that were also printed by the American Bank Note Company, and that therefore may have directly influenced such iconography on Chilean banknotes issued by that same company.[160] The representation of the *Palacio de la Exposición* on banknotes in the 1880s explains its increasing visibility as a symbol of the country's progress within the financial realm. Indeed, it was money that introduced the image of the *Palacio* to a wider audience and to the repertory of Chilean nationalistic iconography.

An example of this imagery appearing on currency is a banknote of one *peso* issued by the Chilean state in 1880 and 1885, which included an image of the *Palacio*. The banknote (Fig. 12) included an image of the *Palacio de la Exposición*—by that time already transformed into the *Museo Nacional*, although it does not appear identified as such—confirming that the building was still regarded as a significant symbol of progress. Printed by the American Bank Note Company, the banknote of 1885 is noteworthy not only because it situates the image of the building within the financial realm, but also because it positions the building among a range of Chilean national symbols: with Chile's coat of arms on one side and President Aníbal Pinto (1876-1881) on the other, the building acquires nationalistic overtones.

[160] George S. Cuhaj (ed.) *Standard Catalogue of United States Paper Money* (Iowa, WI: Krause Publications, 2011), Kindle Edition.

However, in contrast with previous engravings of the building, in this case, the structure is depicted in a three-quarters view from the right hand side, and includes a depiction of a pond, which was absent in earlier images. It thus appears that after the exhibition, subsequent images of the *Palacio*, such as those on banknotes, responded to motivations that differed from those of the exhibition organizers. In fact, from the 1880s onwards, views of the building departed from the ones created for the exhibition. Visitors were no longer depicted and the pond was transformed into a permanent element as is evident in a photograph from 1883 (Fig. 13) that coincidently captures a similar view as the image on the banknote. Likewise, a photograph included in Charles Wiener's *Chili & Chiliens* (Fig. 14), published in 1888, depicts a comparable perspective of the building and grounds, which confirms that in banknote designs the building was seen from a new visual and cultural perspective that portrayed the building as an autonomous symbol of progress. About a decade had passed since its contruction, by which time both the *Palacio* and the *Quinta Normal* were landmarks, as Wiener's account confirms.[161]

Just as images of the exhibition migrated to other social realms to enrich the Chilean national imagery, images existing in the repertoire of Chilean national identity also were incorporated in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* imagery. Indeed, the incorporation of allegorical images and national symbols were crucial in aligning the Chilean exhibition to its European predecessors.

[161] Charles Wiener, *Chili & Chiliens*, Sixième Edition (Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1888), 29-33.

UNFOLDING NATIONALISMS: THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY IN THE IMAGERY OF INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

In the context of international exhibitions, the medium in which a work was fashioned was instrumental not only in popularizing and disseminating images, as occurred with exhibition buildings, but also in articulating nationalism through symbols. Medals, sculpture, and print media were as crucial in shaping the national imagery associated with international exhibitions as the iconography they bore. The official character of medals made them instrumental in endowing images with a status that facilitated the formal introduction of national iconographies in international exhibitions imagery. Among such images, two types were predominantly used: portraits of sovereign leaders and allegories of the nation.

The Queen, the Emperor, the Republic

The representations of sovereign rulers on medals responded to a tradition that had been initiated long before the emergence of international exhibitions. Indeed, medals had originally been considered a royal art form, and therefore, initially developed under royal patronage. As such, they have traditionally reflected rulers' aspirations and worldviews. Indeed, the bond between medals and political power is evidenced by their consistent use as tools of propaganda, often celebrating national rulers, military victories, and other significant events.[162]

[162] Jean Ganiage, "La Médaille Mirois des Rois de France," in Goldenberg, 417-20.

The political aims undergirding medals are most evident in the detailed instructions given from the state to the engravers who made them, relating to their design and the type of image they depicted. This consequently affected artists' creative autonomy and confirmed that medallic art responded above all, to the interests of the state.[163] Thus, by the time of the first international exhibition in 1851, medals were controlled by state policies that determined how images of rulers and other national symbols should be rendered.[164] In this context, images of rulers on commemorative medals for international exhibitions were perceived as having the same official status that portraits of sovereigns had in the national and international domain.

Medals issued for the 1851 Great Exhibition of London maintained this celebratory character. This feature was most evident in the representations of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on the exhibition's medals, showing that there were very few variations between official and unofficial medals, both of which emphasized the royal presence in the exhibition. At least three types of profile portraits were depicted on these medals. One depicted Prince Albert as the President of the Royal Commission for the Great Exhibition in order to celebrate his role as the driving force behind the exhibition.[165] Some medals portrayed Queen Victoria and Prince Albert together, while others depicted Queen Victoria alone. This iconography would change for the 1862 International Exhibition of London, when, after the death of Prince Albert, only Queen Victoria's portrait appeared on exhibition medals.

[163] Maier, 13-6; Musée d'Orsay, 13-6; Ganiage, 420-21.

[164] Maier, 13.

[165] Taylor, 135-139.

While the long reign of Queen Victoria provided British medals with consistent iconography, the turbulent political shifts in France resulted in medal designs that were more unstable. During the first half of the nineteenth century, traditional monarchical rule had been discredited as a consequence of the French Revolution. Hence, rulers saw medals as a means of disseminating propaganda and reinforcing authority. This was expressed, for example, in the approximately one hundred medals that King Louis-Phillippe commissioned during his reign.[166]

During the Second Empire, the inclusion of the profile portrait of Napoleon III on medals issued for both the 1855 and 1867 *Exposition Universelles* proved that French medals were consistently used for international events. As with the medals depicting the portraits of the sovereigns in Great Britain, the emperor's image was accurately rendered, either alone or with his wife, Empress Eugénie. However, the image of the ruler was noticeably different between the two exhibitions. While the 1855 portraits generally rendered the emperor devoid of any particular attribute, by 1867, they generally depicted a laurel-wreath on his head, evoking the classical attribute that enhanced his imperial status.

In the case of Vienna's 1873 *Weltausstellung*, emperor Franz Joseph I was the only royal figure represented on the exhibition's medals and his portrait remained rather consistent. The classical rendering of the ruler, depicted crowned with a laurel wreath, and his likeness executed accurately, was probably done to emphasize the concept of the medal as an actual manifestation of the sovereign's presence, a personification of political power. Notably, the boldness of the relief and the sculptural qualities of the figure, suggests that the design may have been inspired by an official bust of the emperor.

[166] Louis Chaurand, "Le Compte de Chambord" in Goldenberg, 310-11; Musée d'Orsay, 13.

The fact that, like the 1867 representations of Napoleon III, the Austrian emperor was often represented crowned with a laurel wreath, emphasized his imperial rank on the front of the five official commemorative medals.[167] In this case, as in Napoleon III's the political overtones of the attributes are unmistakable, especially if we consider that the exhibition itself clearly attempted to surpass its predecessors in every possible way. For example, the dimensions of the exhibition building greatly exceeded all previous exhibition palaces in order to challenge the supremacy of previous host countries. Nonetheless, representations of royal figures were not the only way to identify international exhibitions. The link with national identities was also reinforced in the utilization of female allegories that represented the nation.[168]

Personifying the Nation

In addition to ruler portraits, international exhibition organizers relied on allegorical images of the nation to endow their exhibits with a sense of distinction. Unlike the depiction of monarchs, female allegories of the nation appeared not only on medals, but also in sculptures and printed media, a fact that shows that they were used to identify the host country of an exhibition. While the use of these allegorical figures was common in representing nations, they nonetheless displayed distinctive qualities.

As with monarch portraits, female personifications of the nation had a long tradition in Greek and Roman art, particularly on currency. These images were based on

[167] *The British Section at the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873. Official Catalogue, With Plans and Illustrations* (London: J.M. Johnson & Sons, 1873), 20-1. National Art Library, London.

[168] Ganiage, 419.

goddesses and were originally associated with the cities they were believed to guard, such as Pallas Athena in Athens, later identified as Minerva under the Roman Republic. As Katherine Eustace has pointed out, the tetradrachm of Lysimachus of Thrace (306-281 BC) inspired a tradition in which female allegorical images were used on Roman currency to identify colonized territories, such as Gallia, Dacia, and Africa. This marked the beginning of a lasting tradition that continued for many centuries to follow.[169]

Central to the 1851 Great Exhibition of London was the image of Britannia, which also had its origins in monetary art before entering into medal iconography.[170] Indeed, she first appeared on Roman coins as far back as the second century, and served as a source for some of the first coins produced in Great Britain. She first appeared as a symbol of the British Empire on medals at the time of the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. However, the attributes that have characterized Britannia have varied over time. Sometimes she appears with a spear and a shield and other times with a trident, as a reference to the British Empire's maritime domain. Indeed, her changing attributes have endowed the icon with a flexible symbolism, so that she can be used in a variety of contexts, from the financial to the political spheres.[171] Hence, by the time the 1851 Great Exhibition was carried out, Britannia was one of the national symbols that had attained the most visibility, not only in the political realm, but also commercially, because of her inclusion on currency since the seventeenth century.[172]

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[169] Eustace, 324.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid., 324-29.

[172] Ibid., 323. Other examples of medals representing Britannia are in Charles Welch, *Numismata Londinesia. Medals Struck by the Corporation of London to Commemorate Important Municipal Events*

Hence, it is no surprise that one of the medals designed for the 1851 Great Exhibition included an allegorical representation of Britannia on the back (Fig. 15). Indeed, she appears wearing classical attire and a royal wreath, which reveals the associations the image established with both its classical origins and its official status as a symbol of Great Britain. In the image, Britannia appears before a group of flags while extending her arms out and holding two laurel wreaths in order to crown Industry on her left and Mercury on her right, emphasizing the link of the image to the commercial scope of the exhibition, and reinforcing its mercantile nature. Because profile portraits of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert appear on the front of the medal, the image of Britannia on the back can be read as a nationalistic symbol celebrating the magnitude of the Great Exhibition.

International Exhibitions in Paris also frequently depicted female allegories to symbolically represent France. Because personifications of the republic had attained great popularity during the French Revolution, images of women continued to be the most significant symbols of the nation during the nineteenth century, even though their attributes underwent numerous changes. For instance, the iconic image of a woman wearing a Phrygian cap from the revolutionary period transformed into a female wearing a radiating wreath as an allegory of liberty.[173]

By the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* representations of women, some of which served as the inspiration for images used in Chile's exhibition, appeared on medals issued

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1831-1893. With Descriptive Notices by Charles Welch, F.S.A, Librarian to the Corporation of London (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1894).

[173] Regarding representations of the republic in France, see literature by Maurice Agulhon in the Introduction.

especially for the occasion. One example of this appeared on an 1855 medal signed by Armand Auguste Caqué, the official medal engraver of Napoleon III. The figure, described as an allegory of the *Exposition*, appears wearing a crown and seated on a throne surrounded by attributes of the arts and sciences, while distributing medals and laurel wreaths.[174] A second type of image appearing on other medals (Fig. 16) shows an allegorical female figure in the center that, rendered in her classical attire, resembles the classical style of Britannia offering laurel wreaths to two other figures that symetrically appear seated to each side. The group is identified in the lower part of the medal as: LA FRANCE COURONNE L'ART ET L'INDUSTRIE. On the back, the medal depicts a three-quarters view of the *Palais de l'Industrie*.[175] Whereas the allegorical figure of Industry is depicted holding a hammer, the Arts is depicted with a book in her left hand. Yet, unlike the British allegorical figure, both do not wear wreaths made of laurel. While Industry's wreath is made of laurel, the wreath for the Arts is made of stars, which shows that both personifications were regarded differently. The fact that Mercury in the British version was replaced by the allegorical figure of the Arts in the French version, underscores the significance the French organizers gave to the arts, a fact that marked a crucial difference between the 1851 Great Exhibition and 1855 *Exposition Universelle*, or rather, between Great Britain and France.[176]

What is most remarkable about this particular image from 1855 is that it corresponded not only to the representation of the allegory of France but more

[174] Compagne Génerale de Bourse. Accessed April 13, 2014. http://www.cgb.fr/expositions-diverses-exposition-universelle,fjt_250655,a.html

[175] Archives Municipales d'Aix-les-Bains. Inventaire des médailles. Accessed February 26, 2013. http://www.aixlesbains.fr/var/aixinter/static/medaille/Medaillesaixlesbains.htm A variation of this design shows a portrait of Napoleon III instead of the three quarters view of the building.

[176] Mainardi, 7.

importantly, to a sculptural group by Elias Robert titled *La France Couronnant l'Art et l'Industrie*, commissioned to crown the *Palais de l'Industrie*.[177] Hence, for the first time in the context of an international exhibition, an allegory of a nation was not only represented in the small form of a medal, but now, as a sculpture intended for the most visible location of the exhibition, namely, the northern façade of the exhibition building that, resembling a triumphal arch, welcomed the visitors. Moreover, for the first time, a sculptural group that had been also created specifically for the exhibition directly inspired the iconography depicted on an exhibition medal.

As with medal design, allegorical representations of the nation were not new in sculpture. An earlier example in France is a relief located on the pediment of the Paris Pantheon by David D'Angers from the 1830s depicting an allegory of France.[178] The perceived universality of such allegorical figures explains their subsequent use in the visual branding of international exhibitions, as evidenced in the allegorical representation of Austria that crowned the south portal of the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna.[179] This sculpture utilized the same composition Robert had used in *La France Couronnant l'Art et l'Industrie*, that is, a main female figure in the center and two other female figures on either side. However, in this case, two additional male figures appeared next to the central woman. Even though not much has been said about this particular work, the

[177] "Exposition Universelle de 1855," *Le Magasin Pittoresque* XXIIe Année, 1855, 209-16. Accessed, November 14, 2012. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k31438m/f97.planchecontact.r=Le%20magasin%20pittoresque%201855.langEN#; Stamper, 238.

[178] See: Jacques de Caso, *David D'Angers: Sculptural Communication in the Age of Romanticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 115.

[179] Kristan, 166; *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna. Publicazione dell Universo Illustrato*, Numero 12, 20 Lugglio, 1873, Treves, Milano, 164; Stamper, 237.

position of the figures suggests that the composition was directly inspired by Robert's piece.[180]

Sculpture was likely believed to the best medium for conveying nationalist symbolism because its placement on building exteriors was ideal for the promotion of political viewpoints in the public realm. This fact may explain the appearance of other statues depicting female allegories of European nations in the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, such as the representation of *Austria* in a statue by Giovanni Benk; a sculptural group depicting *Geneva and Switzerland* by Dorer, and a depiction of *Germania* by Federico Rentich, all of which were published in illustrated magazines such as *Universo Illustrato*.[181]

In the Chilean context, a similar allegory of the nation crowning the arts and industry was depicted crowning the exhibition building in the three engravings published to promote the exhibition. Thus, the French architect Paul Lathoud presumably included this imagery in his own design for the *Palacio de la Exposición*. Hence, Lathoud seemingly intended to identify the building with other international exhibitions by using the most important figure of Robert's sculptural group, the allegory of the nation with the radiant crown. Ultimately, the inclusion of this image demonstrates the centrality of French iconographic references for Chile's exhibition, which, as will be shown, were also utilized in other artistic media.

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[180] In fact Robert's sculptural group also inspired a number of subsequent works outside Europe, such as Caspar Buberl's Columbia protecting Science and Industry (1879) for the Arts and Industry building in Washington D.C. and the sculptures commissioned for the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago. For more on Buberl's work, see Carol A. Grissom, *Zinc Sculpture in America 1850-1950,* (NJ: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corp, 2009), 207.

[181] *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna. Publicazione dell Universo Illustrato*, Numero 39, Dicembre, 1873, Treves, Milano, 576; Ibid., Numero 36, 14 Dicembre, 1873, Treves, Milano, 524; Ibid., Numero 34, 30 Novembre, 1873, Treves, Milano, 500.

Revealing Chilean Nationalism

The use of symbols that characterized European universal exhibitions should be seen as instrumental in culturally and artistically aligning the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* with those exhibitions. Such symbols not only endowed these exhibits with iconographic continuity, but they also demonstrated the Chilean exhibition organizers' assumption that such images were crucial in making the country appear on equal footing with Europe.

However, while the exhibition organizers made every effort to present an image of progress to Europeans and other Latin Americans alike, they also had to confront the issue of defining Chilean national imagery for Chileans themselves. Their solution was to assimilate the universal qualities of European female allegories, by endowing them with local connotations.

Taking this fact into consideration, two specific images require a closer analysis. One of them is the second medal designed by Alphée Dubois for the Chilean exhibition, which included one of the most recurrent images in other international exhibitions: a female allegory of the nation.[182] However, in this case, the image on the medal demonstrates a significant variation that reveals Chile's departure from the conventional use of iconographies displayed in other international exhibitions. Instead of the image of the seated or standing figure crowning the arts and industry, the front of the medal shows a profile bust of Minerva (Figs. 17 and 18) that appears framed within a laurel wreath. Her helmet suggests that the image likely took Athena or Pallas of Velletri as a model.

[182] This medal, intended to award the exhibitors, only varied in its inscriptions that identified First, Second, and Third Prize, and Medal of Honor.

Right below the bust, the inclusion of Chile's emblem with a solitary star in the center confirms that the image is intended to symbolically represent the Republic of Chile.[183]

Thus, although the medal's iconography correlates to the use of a female allegory, Dubois' image depicted the bust of Minerva similarly to the way rulers had been generally depicted, that is, in a profile portrait. This is as an important difference, since it crystallized crucial distinctions between the historical and political situations in Europe versus those in most of Latin America countries. Because Chile was already independent from the Spanish monarchy, images representing royal figures had been removed from Chilean national imagery and replaced by images with republican connotations.[184] The use of the image of Minerva, originally associated with the Roman republic and later used as a female allegorical representation of the nation, transformed previous personifications of the nation from the imperial connotations of European medals to the republican associations that predominated in Latin American nations.

Although other international exhibitions did not include this particular image, the helmeted bust of Minerva had been utilized on other types of medals in France and Great Britain, and these were likely the examples on which Dubois based his design.[185]

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[183] The so-called solitary star was included in Chile's coat of arms and flag soon after Independence. Zaldívar and Sánchez, 93-5; Luis Valencia, *Símbolos Patrios* (Santiago: Ed. Gabriela Mistral, 1974), 24-9.

[184] José Toribio Medina, *Las Monedas Chilenas*.

[185] These include: the *Institut National des Sciences et des Arts* medal of 1803; the School of Art in Rome medal of 1812; the East India College of Science, Economics, and Politics Gold Medal Prize of 1851; and the Tottenham, Edmonton & Enfield Industrial Exhibition medal of 1865. Royal Museum Greenwich. Accessed April 13, 2013. http://collections.rmg.co.uk/usercollections/7d7ded6fb50d6031e2884961a2054775.html; James L. Halperin, *2004 Ana Signature Auction #352*. Heritage Numismatic Auctions, August 18-21, 2004 (Pittsburgh, PA, Numismatic Auctions, Inc. 2004), 610. Accessed March 8. 2013. http://books.google.cl/books?id=J5c8x664MkoC&pg=PA610&dq=medals+bust+of++minerva&hl=es&sa=X&ei=_d05UduzHorO9ATW4oH4Bw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=medals%20bust%20of%20%20minerva&f=true; Baldwin's. Accessed April 13, 2014. http://www.baldwin.co.uk/media/cms/auction-archive/auction-a207/A207%20FINAL.pdf.

Nonetheless, the figure of Minerva did not only have a precedent in Europe. Her image had also been significant in the Chilean context in which it had been used in several medals as early as 1832, including medals for the *Instituto Nacional*, the oldest and one of the most important schools in the country. Nonetheless, this earlier example did not directly allude to the image of the nation, but rather to the intellectual connotations of Minerva as the goddess of wisdom, evident in the fact that most of these medals read: VIRTUTI, INGENIO, LABORI.[186] In this case, Minerva's association with the educational realm shows that despite the early incorporation of this particular iconography in Chilean imagery, the bust of Minerva as a symbol of the republic did not assume a political connotation until the 1875 exhibition. It can be said that the exhibition was also a setting in which imagery already existing in the country was explicitly endowed with a national—specifically republican—character.

In fact, one of the medals commissioned from Jean Bainville also included a personification of the republic.[187] Although the design depicts a profile image of a seated female figure, which parallels European medals imagery, this figure appears wearing a Phrygian cap, an attribute that endows the image with republican overtones.[188]

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[186] According to José Toribio Medina, the Instituto Nacional, created in 1813, decreed in 1832 that award medals for students should include the image of Minerva holding a laurel crown in her hand. Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*, 246-47.

[187] Ibid., 205.

[188] This type of representation had precedents in previous Chilean medas, which had also been created by Bainville for national exhibitions, revealing the organizers intention to specifically emphasize Chilean republicanism. The first medal signed by Bainville was created for the 1869 *Exposición de Agricultura.* In 1872 he designed the medal for the *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*. Unlike Dubois, Bainville had established close connections with Chile since the Mint of Santiago had hired him as an engraver to endow Chilean coins with designs of international quality. Bainville had begun his studies at the École des Beaux Arts of Paris in 1847, and in 1862 was hired to work in the Mint of Santiago until 1889, when he retired. José Toribio Medina, *Las Monedas Chilenas*, cccvi. Lina Nagel, "La Representación Iconográfica Humana en Billetes de Banco en Chile a Fines del Siglo XIX," in Fernando Guzmán, Gloria Cortés, and Juan

Even though representations of female allegories of the republic had appeared in exhibitions prior to 1875, Chilean audiences had already become familiar with these images through monetary art and advertising. As early as 1841, female allegories had been included on Chilean coins, which demonstrates that currency became a vehicle for the introduction of republican imagery in Chile. Such imagery also appeared in engravings such as an advertisement depicting the medal designed by Bainville for the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria* (Fig. 19) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura.* The image depicted a female figure in a Phrygian cap in a three-quarters view, seated, and stretching her right arm forward to offer a laurel wreath.[189] Attributes such as the Chilean coat of arms identify her as a personification of the Republic of Chile.[190] Thus, by the time of the 1875 exhibition, Chilean audiences could recognize this image—one that had also entered the commercial realm—as a personification of the Chilean republic.

Notably, as in the case of the medal of 1872, the medal by Dubois including the helmeted bust of Minerva was published in a number of advertisements and labels of products as varied as beer, tea, sewing machines, gunpowder, and noodles. Of particular interest is an advertisement for wine produced in the vineyards of José Tomás de Urmeneta (Fig. 20) published in 1881.[191] It depicts a number of other medals awarded to

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Manuel Martínez *Iconografía, Identidad Nacional y Cambio de Siglo (XIX-XX)*; Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*, 199.

[189] *BSNA*, Vol VI, Núm. 7, (Enero 20, 1873), p. 153.

[190] This same image was used by the engraver who also designed the gold medal intended for the directors of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago.

[191] Pedro Álvarez Caselli (Ed.), *Historia Gráfica de la Propiedad Industrial en Chile* (Santiago: Instituto Nacional de Propiedad Industrial 2010), 27.

the product, among which appears the medal designed by Dubois for the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. This image is significant not only because it shows other medals influential at the time, but also because it shows the importance of medals in the commercial realm and it reveals how advertisers capitalized on the prestige of exhibitions. Advertising images and captions highlighting types of awards were frequently used to assert the success of that particular brand in the exhibition as well as to certify the product's quality. Indeed, images of medals in advertising were used to attest to the prestige and excellence of the product for sale, to improve public perception of the product, and ultimately, to increase sales. This confirms not only the importance of the exhibition as a commercial platform, as most international exhibitions were, but also the importance of the exhibition's imagery to Chile's emerging commercial culture.[192]

Allegories in Printed Matter

Print culture also provided an ideal realm for the dissemination of exhibition imagery that visually represented the nation. The proliferation of illustrated magazines during the second half of the nineteenth century not only contributed to spreading images of exhibition buildings prior to the opening of exhibitions, but also helped to endow each exhibition with visual documentation. Thus, along with general interest illustrated magazines, a large number of other periodicals or supplements created for each exhibition demonstrated that printed culture could also provide a suitable platform for shaping the iconography of exhibitions.

[192] Pedro Álvarez Caselli, *Marca Registrada, Historia General de las Marcas Comerciales y el Imaginario del Consumo en Chile* (Santiago: Ocho Libros, 2008), 34-95.

International exhibitions visibly influenced illustrated media from the 1851 Great Exhibition onwards. For instance, *The Illustrated London News*, one of the most prestigious illustrated magazines of its time, issued a sixteen-page special supplement titled *Exhibition Supplement to The Illustrated London News*, which covered different aspects of the exhibit. The fact that the length of the supplement was equivalent to the length of the regular magazine shows the eagerness around the exhibition and the copious information it produced.

The several special publications produced for the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, (including *Paris en 1855. Journal de L'Exposition Général*, and *L'Union du Commerce et de l'Industie. Echo du Palais de l'Exposition Universelle*) scarcely included illustrations, except on the cover page, where they often included allegorical figures. This was the case, for example, with *Paris en 1855. Journal de L'Exposition Général,* which included on the cover page a three-quarters view of Minerva surrounded by a variety of elements symbolizing the sciences, industry, and the arts. As in other representations, Minerva, likely representing the French republic, holds a laurel wreath in her right hand and a branch in her left.[193] Remarkably, these images were consistent with the iconographies represented in official media such as medals.

In general, the proliferation of illustrated publications took longer to take hold in France than Great Britain, where illustrated periodicals became increasingly important to exhibitions insofar as they contributed to the circulation of a large number of images. Only in 1867 did illustrated publications appear specifically for the Paris Exhibition, such

[193] *Paris en 1855. Journal de L'Exposition Général et de L'Industrie Francaise, Artistique, Scientifique, Industriel et Commercial*, Numero 1, Fevrier 1855. Accessed April 15, 2014. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32832434j.

as *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée* and *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*. In the case of the former, the cover displayed a bird's eye view of the exhibition building, demonstrating that the building was framed by periodicals as one of the main symbols of the exhibition. Meanwhile, the latter shows a female figure with classical attire offering a laurel wreath, accompanied with two lateral figures representing the arts and industry, and surrounded by male figures of different races that allude to the universal character of the exhibition, that observe the main figure.[194]

Several publications also emerged in response to the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, including the *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*, (1872-1873). Significantly, in the case of the latter, a panoramic view of the showground including the *Industriepalast* was utilized as the cover image. Yet, despite the proliferation of local attention, interest in the *Weltausstellung* also exceeded the national boundaries, as was demonstrated by the fact that foreign media also produced special supplements to keep up to date information on the exhibition. Take for instance, the Italian magazine *Universo Illustrato*, which published a special supplement titled *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna* that specifically included information on the *Weltausstellung*. Thus, *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna* profusely illustrated every aspect of the exhibition and included on the cover page, a profile view of a woman, presumably a representation of Austria, offering a laurel wreath to male representations of different races that seem to have alluded to the intercontinental character of the exhibition. Hence, the proliferation of illustrated

[194] Interestingly, these types of illustrated magazines often appeared before the exhibition was carried out, as in the case of *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867* that was first published in 1865. *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867,* No. 1 Dimanche 8 Octobre 1865. Accessed April 15, 2014. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62637599.image.

magazines both contributed to the dissemination of the imagery of international exhibitions, and demonstrated that the interest in these exhibitions largely surpassed the national boundaries of host countries.

El Correo de la Exposición

El Correo de la Exposición, the main periodical that covered the Santiago exhibition, was the only one that included illustrations of the show, most of which were created by the Chilean artist, Luis Fernando Rojas.[195] While, the exhibition organizers were not directly involved in defining the contents of this publication, they showed a favorable attitude towards the periodical. The organizers supported the publication, both because it served to publicize the exhibition, and because the periodical enabled the exhibition to be associated with the same kinds of printing practices that surrounded previous international exhibitions.[196]

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[195] Luis Fernando Rojas, started his career at *El Correo de la Exposición* and was one of the first and most important illustrators in the country. According an article Enrique Blanchard-Chessi published in the magazine *El Peneca*, Rojas—who had left his studies at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* of Santiago—was 17 when Máximo Cubillos, editor of the *Correo de la Exposición* entrusted him with the illustrations for the periodical. According Blanchard-Chessi, Cubillos had been complaining about the paucity of quality draftsmen in Santiago when he met Rojas, who demonstrated notable artistic skill when Cubillos asked him to draw a statuette in order to evaluate his talent. Enrique Blanchard-Chessi, "El Dibujante Rojas," *El Peneca*, 16 de enero de 1911, 1-3. Accessed September 7, 2014. http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0002260.pdf. The only specific study on Luis Fernando Rojas' work is: Pedro Álvarez Caselli and Carola Ureta Marín, *Luis Fernando Rojas*. *Obra Gráfica 1875-1942* (Santiago: LOM, 2014).

[196] According the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, the exhibition had not been able to fund its own publication. Therefore, he supported the printing of the *Correo de la Exposición*, by asking the government for financial support for the publication. Letter from Rafael Larraín to the Minister of Public Instruction. *BEI 9*, 28 de Octubre, 1875, 1065. Although the publication of periodicals in Chile began as early as 1812 (with the appearance of *La Aurora de Chile*) and while it has showed an increasing development over the century, it was not comparable with the European printing industry in terms of scale. The first illustrated periodical publication in Chile was *El Correo Literario,* which first appeared in 1858. Álvarez Caselli. 53.

Even though the *Correo de la Exposición* appeared every two weeks, unlike other European publications of its kind, the periodical began only the day the exhibition opened, and therefore, it did not play a substantial role in the earlier aspects of the organization of the exhibition. Created specifically for the exhibition, the periodical's main features, including its length and cover page format, reveal that European weekly general-interest magazines were its direct inspiration.

The *Correo* was also intended to be circulated abroad, which explains why some of the articles were written in French.[197] This fact not only underscores the editor's aim to expand the periodical's readership primarily to the French, but it also reveals their desire to align Chilean cultural production with its French counterpart. This may also explain their use of an allegorical figure that paralleled allegorical representations seen in similar European publications such as the *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867* or *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna* of the *Universo Illustrato.*

Like many of these magazines, the cover page included an engraving in the upper section that served as a distinctive feature of the publication, apparently commissioned from a French artist (Fig. 21).[198] However, in this case, the image was utilized as a vehicle for disseminating distinctive Chilean symbols, demonstrating the prevalence of representations that tied the country to colonial visual conventions that the exhibition had consistently tried to avoid. Hence, the engraving, intended as a characteristic image of the publication, revealed conflicted visualizations of Chilean national identity.

[197] *Correo de la Exposición*, 16 de septiembre, 1875, 14.

[198] I have not found any information about the identity of the engraver, nor have I determined the reasons why the periodical's editors hired him to create its official image.

The image (Fig. 22) includes three female figures: a winged woman with classical attire in the center standing behind a rising sun, and extending her arms towards the heads of the two other female figures. In fact, the group resembles the sculptural group by Elias Robert. However, unlike Robert's work, in which the allegory of the nation crowns the allegories of the arts and industry, in this case, the lateral figures represent instead the female personifications of America and Europe. To the left is a seated woman with feathers on her head, following traditional symbolic representations of the American continent.

However, the figure departs from other iconographic representations that, following Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, depicted America as a semi-naked woman. This demonstrates that although the iconographic tradition represented by Ripa was still used in Latin America during the first half of the nineteenth century, the engraving published in the *Correo* attests to the gradual abandonment of these iconographic references during the second half of the nineteenth century.[199]

The woman depicted in the *Correo*'s image is dressed in a costume that resembles an indigenous robe of some sort that suggests a more "civilized" status for the indigenous woman, devoid of the primitive and savage features implied in earlier representations. Thus, the image belies two different assumptions: on the one hand, it envisions America

[199] At least two examples demonstrate that Ripa's influence was still evident during the first half of the nineteenth century. One of them is the *Monumento a la Libertad Americana*, the sculptural group by Francesco Orsolino installed in Santiago in 1838 and the other, the image of the personification of America published in the *Revista Biblioteca Americana,* a publication created by the Venezuelan intellectual Andrés Bello, published in London in 1823. On Orsolino's sculpture, see: Liisa Flora Voionmaa Tanner, *Escultura Pública. Del Monumento Conmemorativo a la Escultura Urbana,* Vol. 1 (Santiago: Ocho Libros, 2004), 88-9. On the *Revista Biblioteca Americana*, see*:* Iván Jaksic, *Andrés Bello: La Pasión por el Orden* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2001), 97. On the specific representation of America during the first half of the nineteenth century, see: Josefina de la Maza, "'Al Pueblo Americano': la Alegoría de América en los tiempos de la Independencia." In Guzmán, Fernando and Martínez, Juan Manuel (Eds.), *Arte Americano e Independencia. Nuevas Iconografías. V Jornadas de Historia del Arte* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Centro de Restauración, Conservación y Estudios Artísticos, CREA, 2010), 73-81.

as having partially abandoned the "primitiveness" traditionally associated with it, while on the other hand, it evidences the fact, that the indigenous image remained a dominant mode for representing America.

Holding her hand and mirroring America's pose, another woman to the right, representing Europe, completes the triad. The figure is depicted according to traditional representations of Europe, namely, she appears clothed with a crown. Unlike the allegorical representation of America, she wears more elaborate attire that includes what seems to be a cape. Both women are seated on a globe representing the world, right above the location of America and Europe on the map, holding a ribbon that reads: 1875.

The other two sections are consistent with the position America and Europe had in the composition. On the left hand side, next to the allegory of America appears a set of icons, representing distinctively Chilean attributes, among which it is possible to identify specific references to the city of Santiago in the background. Behind a partial view of the *Palacio de la Exposición,* appears an image of the Andes Mountains, which serves as symbol of Chilean national identity. Crowning the building is the female figure with the radiating crown that inspired earlier engravings depicting the exhibition building. Notably, a solitary palm tree on the border of the building indicates the exotic connotations traditionally associated with the continent. Also in the background between the palm tree and the personification of America appears a railroad on a bridge, an image that implied that Chile was also reaching progress, although the small scale of that particular figure greatly contrast with the European section of the image, on the right, in which elements associated with progress appear larger and in the foreground.

Indeed, next to the personification of Europe, a depiction of ships and a steam machine emphasize industrialization as a main characteristic of Europe. Unlike its American counterpart, the images represented on the European side associate the continent with its material progress. This contrasts with the references to the landscape that are emphasized on the American side of the engraving.

Although the engraving could be assumed as a self-representation of Chile because it was included in a Chilean periodical, it actually reflects a European view of the Americas that likely responded to the fact that the engraver himself seems to have been European. In fact, other images intended to represent the nation in the context of the exhibition did not include indigenous imagery. This is probably because the organizers attempted to underscore the cultural progress and Europeanization of the nation. Why, then would the editors include this particular image as the distinctive logo of the periodical? Although there is no information that sheds light on this particular matter, it may be conjectured that the editors did not see the problematic aspect of the image and, on the contrary, accepted the image that represented a colonial European notion of the Americas. This fact is particularly notable considering that the engraving was used on the cover of the only illustrated publication of the exhibition, which was intended for European and Chilean audiences alike. Hence, although the general composition of the group in the center suggests that the artist may have been inspired by allegorical representations used in previous exhibitions, the engraving relies on iconographic conventions that are related with traditional representations of the American continent rather than with images that appeared in prior European exhibitions.

Thus, despite the efforts of the organizers to represent Chile as a "civilized" nation on par with any European state, images such as the one on the cover of *El Correo de la Exposición* suggest the ongoing prevalence of colonial conventions in images made by European artists. These in turn, confirm tensions between representations of the local, evidenced by the indigenous character of the personification of America, and the idea of progress, as seen in images such as the building or the railroad.

Sculpting National Identity

Sculpture was also utilized to shape expressions of Chilean national identity in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. Yet, despite a general reflection of European models, the iconography that appeared in the Chilean sculptures for both the exhibition building and exhibition grounds did not completely replicate the imagery found in the sculpture of other international exhibitions. In fact, in many ways, it departed from the iconographic conventions of other international exhibitions, revealing many distinctive elements that were intended to highlight Chile's national identity.

In the same way that sculptures in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* had included allegorical personifications of the nation, the organizers of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* also saw sculpture as a suitable medium for representing the republic. The sculptures intended to crown the building's cornices were commissioned from two artists: the French sculptor and former director of the School of Sculpture of Santiago, August François (1800-1876), and François' former student, the Chilean sculptor and then-

current director of the School of Sculpture, Nicanor Plaza (1841-1918).[200] Whereas François realized the main figure intended to crown the building, Plaza was entrusted with a group of condors intended for the building's cornices.[201]

As in previous international exhibitions, François' galvanized iron sculpture, titled *Chile Enarbolando su Pabellón el 18 de Setiembre* (Chile Raising its Flag on September 18), depicted an allegorical representation of the republic.[202] Although engravings used to promote the exhibition reveal the organizers' intention to install a sculpture on top of the *Palacio de la Exposición,* they also reveal that the original idea included a female personification of the republic with attire and attributes similar to those seen in the sculptural group Elias Robert created for the 1855 exhibition. Yet, while the image's resemblance to Roberts' sculpture suggests that his work served as a model for the version displayed at Santiago's exhibition, later descriptions and images of the actual statue by François prove that he introduced enough variations into the work to make it quite distinctive from the earlier piece.[203] Indeed, later pictures of the building demonstrate that the original design published in earlier engravings (Figs. 8 and 9) had undergone important modifications.

This shift is evident in a photograph published in 1908 (Fig. 23) and an engraving published in 1901 (Fig. 24), possibly based on a photograph, which reveal that, as in

[200] Sesión 67, Diciembre 9, 1874, *BEI 6,* 530. The most recent study on Nicanor Plaza appears in: Pedro Zamorano, *Gestación de la Escultura en Chile y la Figura de Nicanor Plaza*, (Santiago: Artespacio, 2011).

[201] Memoria Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1875. Sesión 43 del 10 de junio, 1874, in *BEI 4*, 158.

[202] Ambrosio Letelier, *Reseña Descriptiva de la Exposición Internacional de Chile en 1875* (Santiago: Imprenta Franklin, 1875), 28. The sculpture was also identified as a bronze sculpture, which was not an uncommon assumption at the time. See also GVEI, 22. *Museo Nacional de Historia Natural*, (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, 1983), 17; Roco, 142. Some of the most influential female personifications of the republic appear in Maurice Agulhon's studies mentioned in the Introduction.

[203] *BSNA*, Vol. 5, Núm. 23, September 20, 1874, n/p. Also published in *Revista Santa Lucía*, 28 de Septiembre, 1874, n/p.

previous allegorical representations of the nation in international exhibitions, while her attire is still classical, her position differs notably from the female representation depicted in most engravings. Instead of having outstretched arms, as she does in engravings, the Republic's right arm is extended down toward her body, while her left arm lifts up the Chilean tricolor flag.[204] This new stance reveals that even though the general idea of the female personification remained, the statue, the first sculptural allegory representing the Chilean nation, explicitly included a republican attribute: the tricolor flag. The inclusion of the flag is crucial in that it emphasized the republican character of the representation, and therefore, the political connotations of the allegory.

This modification to the conventional representation suggests that the sculpture was deliberately intended to establish itself as distinct from other allegorical representations through the depiction of the flag as a symbol of republicanism. This approach echoes Sébastien-Melchior Cornu's painting titled *Allégorie de la République* (1848), which depicts a symbolic figure representing the republic holding the French flag in her left hand. This was also confirmed by the very title of the work, *Chile Enarbolando su Pabellón el 18 de Setiembre* (Chile Raising its Flag on September 18), that interestingly, does not make any reference to the exhibition itself, as did Robert's sculptural group. Rather, it clearly refers to the national flag and the day of celebration of Chile's independence. In this way, François' sculpture does not celebrate the exhibition, but rather promotes republicanism and emphasizes Chilean national identity, which underscored the political connotations of the image. Furthermore, according to contemporaneous commentaries, the female personification of the Chilean republic not

[204] *El Ferrocarril*, 17 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

only held the flag, but also gazed towards a condor, the Andean bird that directly alluded to Chilean national identity.[205] This description underscores the nationalist connotation of the image, and reveals a link with condor sculptures commissioned from Nicanor Plaza that would complete the scene and enhance the representation of Chilean national identity associated with the building.[206]

While François' statue departed from traditional sculptures crowning exhibition buildings, a second female representation of the nation, attributed to the Chilean sculptor Nicanor Plaza, depicted a more conventional image. The freestanding statue, installed in front of the *Palacio*, represented Minerva wearing a laurel wreath reaching her arms out as if to place two laurel wreaths onto other figures, though the other figures were missing. Titled *La República de Chile Coronando las Artes e Industria* (Fig. 25) (The Republic of Chile Crowning the Arts and Industry), the statue ended up becoming a symbol of the exhibition.[207] Unlike François, Plaza's sculpture did allude to female representations in European international exhibitions, both to emphasize the role of the nation as host of the exhibition, and that of the arts and instrustry in the exhibit.

Even though Plaza was a prominent artist in Chile at the time, the fact that François' work was used to crown the building instead of his, may have corresponded both to the organizers' interest in highlighting republicanism, as well as to the fact that the French sculptor, Plaza's mentor, garnered greater artistic authority than Plaza as first director of the School of Sculpture.

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[205] Ibid.

[206] Brieba, 29. About the comission of the condors from Nicanor Plaza, see: Sesión 67 del Directorio de la Exposición, 9 de Diciembre, 1874, *BEI 6*, 530.

[207] *Museo Nacional de Historia Natural* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, 1983), 21. The statue has also been identified as an Allegory of the Industry. Voionmaa Tanner, 115.

Significantly, the resemblance of Plaza's statue to a figure depicted on the cover of *Le Moniteur de L'Exposition Universelle de 1867* (Fig. 26) reveals that his work may have been inspired by that image. This assumption seems likely since the sculptor participated in the 1867 exhibition and therefore, he was surely familiar with this particular image.[208] This fact is of note not only because it confirms the mutual iconographic influences between different artistic media, but also demonstrates the particular interest the 1875 fair organizers had in formally aligning with specific imagery of French international exhibitions. The Santiago organizers' desire to reproduce French exhibitions and visual culture underscores the fact that they believed that relying on the iconographic repertoire of Parisian exhibitions would strengthen the perception of Chile as host country.

However, despite the great influence French iconographies had in Santiago's exhibition, Chilean national icons, such as the condor, also proved to be significant in the imagery of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*.

The Condor and Chilean Imagery

In addition to including the two sculptural allegories personifying the nation in the iconographic repertoire of Santiago's exhibition—one crowning the building and the other located on the showgrounds—the President of the Exhibition, Rafael Larraín, made it know, that the Directors of the Exhibition had agreed that other sculptures should be

[208] *Le Moniteur de L'Exposition Universelle de 1867,* 8 Octobre 1865, 1. Accessed May 11, 2014. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62637599.image

included on the building. Although the specific reasons for choosing the condor were not mentioned, it surely responded to the necessity the organizers saw in establishing iconographic connections between the exhibit and national symbols. They surely entrusted these works to Nicanor Plaza because he was the most important Chilean sculptor in the country at the time.[209] Thus, by the beginning of the exhibition, the condor sculptures had replaced the sculptural groups typically seen on the cornices of previous Parisian exhibition buildings.

Notably, the sculptures of condors were not included in the engravings used to promote the exhibition abroad, likely because the intention of such engravings was to make the exhibition appear as cosmopolitan as possible, and therefore, local iconographies may have been dismissed in images that were circulated internationally. This explanation seems to be confirmed by the fact that images of the condors were incorporated in Chilean publications, as is seen in a lithograph published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* in 1874 (Fig. 8).

The condor as symbol had entered into the Chilean cultural imaginary as early as 1834, when it appeared on Chile's coat of arms, designed by the British painter Charles Wood and on a coin also designed by Wood.[210] Within the context of the 1875 Exhibition, the condor had appeared before the architectural sculptures, in an image of the coat of arms included in the official program of the exhibition sent to other nations.

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[209] Juan Domingo Dávila, a member of the Directory of the Exhibition was in charge of commissioning the condors from Nicanor Plaza. Sesión 43, 10 de Junio, 1874, *BEI 4*, 158. The sculptures designed by Plaza were about to enter the foundry in Europe in December 1874. However, it would take until May for them to be sent to Chile. Letter from Alberto Blest Gana to the Presidente of the Exhibiton, May 7, 1875, in *BEI 8*, 912.

[210] *Boletín de las leyes y de las ordenes y decretos del gobierno.* Tomo Segundo, Libro Sexto, Núm. 5 (Santiago: La Independencia, 1824), 297. Accessed October 16, 2012. http://www.memoriachilena.cl/temas/documento_detalle.asp?id=MC0016165.

In this image, the Chilean coat of arms appeared in front of a view of the Andes Mountains (Fig. 27), the condors' natural habitat and one of the most conventional representations of Chilean identity, increasingly represented after Independence as one of the elements used to visually represent the nation. Thus, the program image included two of the most emblematic symbols of national identity, namely, the coat of arms and the Chilean landscape.

Indeed, although the condor was not the only animal included on the coat of arms, it became much more popular than the image of the *huemul*, the Andean deer that accompanies the condor in the coat of arms. The greater popularity of the condor may have been related to the fact that it was not only a national symbol, but also a symbol of the Andean region more broadly, which also includes Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia. Thus, the condor not only represented national identity but also, South American identity more broadly.

The sole figure of the condor was included in a number of other images such as banknotes, coins, and advertisements, attaining wide-ranging circulation among Chilean audiences. The solitary image of the condor was also seen on banknotes, such as those of the *Banco de la Alianza* (Fig. 28) issued in 1873 by the American Bank Note Company, demonstrating that by 1875, the condor was a well-entrenched symbol of Chilean identity.[211] The left hand side of the banknote shows a condor located on top of a cliff, likely the Andes Mountains, from which it dominates the valley below, through a vigilant attitude. Spreading its wings, it appears as if the condor is about to fly. Notably, Plaza's sculptures exhibit a similar posture; located on the cornices of the Palace, the edge of the building seems to replace the edge of the cliff in the original picture.

[211] Martínez and Nagel, 74.

Considering both the formal resemblance between Plaza's sculpture and the banknote and the fact that the latter circulated at the time Plaza was entrusted with the realization of the sculptures, it seems likely that the sculptor had been inspired by a similar image or even that one.

However, an additional sculpture would complete the sculptural repertory of themes intended to emphasize the Chilean nation identity: the statue of Pedro de Valdivia. In contrast to the function that images of condors and the representations of the republic had in defining Chile's identity, the statue of the Spanish conquistador unexpectedly provided a historical reference that linked the country back to the nation's colonial origins.

The problematic Image of Pedro de Valdivia

Although the *Exposición* organizers commissioned official sculptures representing the republic and condors as distinctive symbols of Chile, an additional and unexpected sculpture was installed next to the main entrance gate of the exhibition: a three-meter tall marble statue depicting Pedro de Valdivia, the Spanish conquistador who had founded Santiago in 1541 at one of the most meaningful landmarks of the city: the Santa Lucía Hill. Originally, Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna had commissioned the statue (Fig. 29) from the Italian sculptor, Aristodemo Costoli (1803-1871), to be installed on one of the highest rocks of the Santa Lucía Hill.[212]

[212] Sesión 98, 13 de Agosto, 1875, *BEI 7*, 766. On the origins of the statue of Costoli see: Roco, 76-8. Costoli, Professor of the *Accademia di Belle Arti of Florence*, was also known for his controversial cleaning of Michelangelo's *David* in 1843. The sculptor also restored the right toe of Michelangelo's statue in 1843 and again in 1851. Susanna Bracci (Ed.), *Exploring David: Diagnostic Tests and State of Conservation* (Milan: Giunti Editore, 2004), 61-2, 77. Giulio Barsanti and Guido Chelazzi, (Editors), *Il*

However, because the monument arrived shortly before the exhibition began, Vicuña Mackenna loaned it to the International Exhibition to temporarily adorn the entrance to the exhibition showground. The installation of Costoli's statue on the exhibition grounds was significant because it was the first sculptural representation of Valdivia in Chile as well as the first statue to depict a historical figure that specifically alluded to the colonial era.

The Neoclassical marble statue of the Spaniard depicted the moment of the founding of Santiago in which a pensive Valdivia, clad in armor holds a map in his right hand while looking down the city.[213] Because the statue was specifically intended for the location atop the Santa Lucía Hill, Costoli had adapted the position of the figure to specifically recreate the exact moment of the foundation of the city, emphasizing the image's historical connotations.

However, the reception of the statue on the exhibition showground reveals that it did not inspire as favorable a reception as it did when finally installed on the Santa Lucía Hill in 1876. The depiction of Valdivia took into consideration its future site, rather than its temporary location at the international exhibition, a fact that was noted by Chilean reviewers of the exhibition, who commented that it looked out of place on the *Quinta Normal*. Indeed, although the statue—whose image was published in the *Correo de la Exposición*—was on a pedestal, the fact that it looked downwards did not necessarily

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Museo di storia natural dell'Università degli studi di Firenze: Le Collezioni della Specola: Zoologia e cere Anatomiche, Vo. 1 (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009), 36, 44.

[213] Costoli's work was inspired by a photograph of the portrait of Valdivia, created by the Spanish painter Eugenio Lucas y Padilla in 1853, located in the Church of the Vera Cruz, that Queen Isabel II of Spain had sent as a gift to Chile. On this particular painting see Julio C. González Avendaño, "El Retrato de Pedro de Valdivia y la Iglesia de la Vera-Cruz," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, Año XX, No. 49, 1953, 31-42. *Correo de la Exposición*, Año I, No. 1, 16 Septiembre, 1875, 7.

mean that it would appear out of place. However, because the figure faced the entrance gate, its pose had no relationship with its location.

The negative reception focused not only on its perceived unsuitable location, but also on its quality. One reviewer named Roque Roco pointed out that it looked like "*mamarracho*"[214]—a derogatory term generally used to describe an artwork of scarce artistic merit—that "invited one to yawn."[215] This critique proves that even some supposedly faultless European artworks received criticism, despite the fact that the official guide to the exhibition referred to the work as a "beautiful statue."[216]

Interestingly, the guidebook also stressed the beauty and medium of the statue, a characteristic that was frequently highlighted in regards to Italian sculpture. The admiration Chileans had for marble can be explained by the paucity of that material at the time, evident in the fact that the statue of Pedro de Valdivia was the second marble statue ever installed in the Chilean public realm.[217] That the statue was crafted from the "finest Carrara marble," according to the book, endowed the work with "simplicity and elegance," notions that Chileans greatly valued. Simplicity and elegance alluded to the cultured qualities the Chilean elite wished to cultivate. Moreover, the cultural connotations of Italian art with the cradle of Western civilization and the connotations of marble as a noble medium (marble was virtually nonexistent in Chile) all collaborated to

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[214] On the concept of *mamarracho* see Josefina de la Maza, *Contesting Nationalism: Mamarrachos, Slave-pieces, and "Masterpieces" in Chilean Nineteenth-Century Painting,* Dissertation (Ph.D., Stony Brook University, 2013).

[215] Roco, 77-79.

[216] *GVEI*, 23

[217] The first marble statue installed in Santiago was *La Libertad Americana* by another Italian sculptor Francesco Orsolino, in 1838. On this particular statue, see: Sady Zañartu, *Primer Monumento de Bolívar a la Libertad Americana: Plaza de Armas Año 1836* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1952) Voionmaa Tanner, Vol. 1 84-91.

augment the perceived value of the marble sculpture.[218] Other reviewers were more cautious, only tepidly praising the sculpture, focusing their reviews on imagining how it would appear in its final destination on Santa Lucía Hill.[219]

Notably, in contrast to descriptions of the work that coincided with its installation on Santa Lucía Hill in January 1876, none of the reviews of the work from the *Exposición Internacional* specifically referred to its representative qualities, nor to its association with Chile's colonial history. Upon its installation on the hill, no reference was made to its aesthetic qualities. Rather, the enthusiastic discourses addressed Valdivia's historical significance and praised his bravery, generosity, and rectitude.

However, the favorable attitude toward Valdivia should not only be understood in relation to the interest of the authorities in commemorating Chile's historical past, but also, in light of the then ongoing occupation of the indigenous Mapuche territories by the Chilean government between 1861 to 1883.[220] In the cultural imaginary of the elite, Chileans of European origin embodied "civilization" while the Mapuche people represented "barbarism." Hence, the statue seemed to have functioned to implicitly reinforce the idea that the occupation of the Mapuche territories, known as *Araucanía*, was a necessary state policy. This idea was crystallized in Intendant Vicuña Mackenna's discourse, which stressed Valdivia not only as founder of the city, but as a civilizing, and more importantly, a moralizing force:

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[218] Ibid., 23-24.

[219] Brieba, 4.

[220] On this particular conflict, see: Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, *De la Inclusion a la Exclusion: la Formación del Estado, la Nación y el Pueblo Mapuche* (Santiago: Editorial de la Universidad de Santiago, 2000).

> Pedro de Valdivia founded the holy heart of marriage where [before] lay the dirty awning of polygamy; he erected the temple of mercy where barbarians' *machi* devoured the beating bowels of the Virgin and Child in their rites of sanguinary idolatry; he established the threshold of school on the family already created and redeemed; at last he covered human sorrow with a roof of loving charity.[221]

Vicuña Mackenna's assertions reveal how historically and culturally loaded the figure of Pedro de Valdivia was. As he implied, by claiming Chile for the Spanish Crown, Valdivia had not only established colonial dominion of Spain over Chilean territory, but he also instituted Catholicism in Chile and showed how Eurocentric civilizing discourse undermined indigenous peoples, in particular, the Mapuche. For Vicuña Mackenna, the sculpture of Valdivia helped to promote a vision of Chilean identity that emphasized the benefits of the colonial period in countering the perceived "barbarism" of the pre-Columbian period.

The sculpture's historical and political allusions were totally overlooked during the exhibition. Indeed, Vicuña Mackenna's celebration of Valdivia was not even suggested by the exhibition reviewers, who paid more attention to the figure's formal qualities rather than assessing the significance of the conquistador as a symbol of the nation's past. Moreover, the celebration of Pedro de Valdivia, a symbol of Spanish

[221] "Pedro de Valdivia fundó el santo hogar de los esposos donde yacia el sucio toldo de la poligamia; erigió el templo de las misericordias donde el machi de los bárbaros devoraba las entrañas palpitantes de la vírjen y del niño en los ritos de su sanguinaria idolatria; puso el umbral de la escuela sobre la familia ya creada y redimida; cubrió por fin el dolor humano con la techumbre de cariñosa caridad." *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, 1º de Enero, 1876, n/p. In the Mapuche culture the *machi* has an important role as spiritual leader and healer.

dominion in Chile, greatly contrasted with the republican statement the exhibition organizers sought to emphasize through medals and sculptures. Valdivia's image significantly contradicted the general iconographic discourse of the exhibition, revealing that national imagery had not yet been totally consolidated, and that some images still remained controversial.

The fact that the exhibition included iconography as symbolically dissimilar as the Republic—emphasizing French-inspired nationalism and rejecting colonial ties—and Pedro de Valdivia—celebrating the Spanish colonial influence on the nation—demonstrates that by the time of the exhibition, conflicting notions of Chilean national identity were instrumentalized by the local elites to pursue their own cultural and political agendas.

CHAPTER III

THE PLACES OF SCULPTURE: ART, COMMERCE, AND THE HIERARCHIES OF ART

Even though the preparations for the 1875 *Exposición* had begun in 1873, by the opening day on September 16, 1875, many aspects of the exhibit were not yet set up. For instance, nearly eighty sculptures and several paintings were still missing due to a delay in the arrival of shipments coming from Europe. For this reason, collections including Italian sculpture from the Permanent Exhibition of Milan would be installed only in the first few days of November. Even so, the delay did not discourage the general public's interest in the Italian artworks, but on the contrary, generated even greater anticipation among critics and visitors. Moreover, Italian sculpture would become the major attraction of the Fine Arts Section, one of the most commented upon aspects of the exhibition at large, and one of the most appealing for Chilean collectors looking to buy.

However, despite the considerable attention paid to Italian works, and particularly Italian sculpture, the same was not true of other sculptures presented in the exhibition. Unlike the Italian works, other sculptures on view, including Chilean sculpture, seemed practically invisible to critics and reviewers. The popularity of Italian sculptures among Chilean audiences had several implications on the Chilean art system at the time. For example, not only was the exhibition responsible for the importation of the largest quantity of Italian sculptures ever to Chile, but it also reinforced the prestige of the Italian academic style within Chilean culture.

Along with the delay of the arrival of artworks, the general catalogue of the whole exhibition had not been printed by the time the exhibition opened, nor would it be published during the exhibition, despite widespread complaints. For this reason, only a series of smaller catalogues was prepared, such as the Fine Arts Section catalogue, which was criticized for providing only a partial record of the exhibition's galleries. Likewise, exhibitors who had decided to build their own pavilions due to the limited space available in the main building also printed separate catalogues, as was the case with the French Section and the Rose Innes and Co. trading company's section. Notably, these three catalogues—the Fine Arts Section, the French Section, and Rose Innes and Co.'s Section—included sculpture in bronze, iron, or marble. They were crucial in providing evidence on how the status of sculpture in the exhibition varied according to the artistic medium, how closely the works were related or not related to the commercial realm, and how they were classified as either fine art or manufactured goods. Hence, in addition to uncovering prevailing assumptions about the hierarchies of art in Chile, catalogues also revealed the tensions between art and commerce, which was either deliberately exposed or concealed by exhibitors in these exhibition catalogues.

Finally, these exhibition catalogues' entries demonstrated the repercussions nineteenth-century technological innovations had on metal sculpture in particular, and how serial reproduction, and non-traditional media such as cast iron, challenged the artistic status of sculptures in the exhibition by questioning issues of authorship, singularity, and authenticity. Hence, an examination of three case studies—the art collection of the Permanent Exhibition of Milan, the Val d'Osne art foundry, and the Rose Innes and Co. trading company—will show how these aspects converged in the

context of the exhibition. Ultimately, these catalogues shed light on the notions around the hierarchies of art held by the exhibition's organizers and showed how the relation between art and commerce affected the artistic status of the works.

DEFINING POSITIONS: SCULPTURE AND THE FINE, APPLIED, AND DECORATIVE ARTS

International exhibitions provided a unique scenario in which a variety of art forms, and particularly sculpture, could be exhibited. However, the distinctive features of sculpture that linked it with the fine, applied, or decorative arts directly affected the places it occupied in Chile's *Exposición Internacional*. This was apparent not only in the location in which sculptures were displayed but also in the sections in which they were classified.

The organization of the objects was not a trivial aspect of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago. Although it was initially assumed that the *Palacio de la Exposición* would be capable of housing the products of all exhibitioners, soon the organizers realized that such a task would be a difficult one. The lack of space in the exhibition building and the exhibitioners' expectations of suitable conditions for displaying their products led some countries and companies to build their own pavilions. Such was the case, for example, with France and Rose Innes and Co., each of which

decided to display their objects all together in their own private pavilions, although they both had objects that technically belonged to different sections. [222]

The construction of these private pavilions resulted in a substantial modification in the exhibition layout, which had been originally arranged by section.[223] Thus, the general layout eventually resulted in a hybrid organization. Even so, the main building—the *Palacio de la Exposición*—seems to have remained according to the original plan, which included a First Section (Raw Materials), a Third Section (Manufactured Items), a Fourth Section (Fine Arts), and a Fifth Section (Primary Instruction).[224] A separate pavilion had been especially arranged for the Second Section, which was intended for machinery.

Since the exhibition layout was affected by the construction of additional pavilions, objects intended for a specific section were not necessarily always displayed together, but rather, were sometimes disseminated in different locations in the exhibition. Moreover, in some cases, the outdoor location of works responded to the interest of manufacturers and trading companies in displaying them in the exterior locations they were intended for, like for example, in the case of cast iron sculptures exhibited by Val d'Osne and Rose Innes and Co. Thus, Val d'Osne displayed bronze and cast iron statues flanking the entrance of the French pavilion, as well as vases and water fountains, located in front of the pavilion (Fig. 3).[225] Something similar occurred in the case of the Rose

[222] Indeed, in such early stage of the process of organization, it was particularly difficult to make accurate estimations of the room necessary for the participants. "Decreto de aprobación de los planos y presupuesto del edificio destinado a la exposición," 14 de marzo, 1873, in *BEI 2*, 34-5.

[223] Sesión Extraordinaria 26 de Febrero, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 542-43.

[224] *GVEI*, 7-9.

[225] Ibid., 14; Roco, 181, 185.

Innes and Co. pavilion, in which cast metal works were also arranged at the pavilion entrance (Fig. 30).

This situation was disadvantageous for these pieces because their location made it difficult to develop a sense of cohesiveness in the Fine Arts Section. The dispersal of fine art objects throughout the exhibition, not just in one section, may have affected public perception as well as the opinions of reviewers, who could not see them within the context of the development of the metal sculpture industry, as they were originally intended, but rather as objects decorating various random sites throughout the exhibition.

A preliminary image of the exhibition layout, published as early as 1874 (Fig. 8), reveals that the Fine Arts Section, would occupy the southern area: two large halls, two pavilions, and a lobby. Despite the fact that specific galleries had been arranged for the fine arts, the sites sculpture occupied in the exhibition varied greatly. Sculptures were disseminated throughout the Exhibition Palace, the pavilions, and in the gardens of the *Quinta Normal*.

Notably, while the galleries of the Fourth Section (Fine Arts), which was located inside the exhibition building, were mostly filled with marble sculptures, metal statues were predominantly installed outdoors or inside the special pavilions as a result of the modifications in the layout and their eventual classification in sections other than the fine arts. Interestingly, these factors not only affected the location of these sculptural pieces, but they also greatly determined the ways in which sculptures were publically regarded.

Indeed, the kind of attention sculptures received differed dramatically depending on whether they were presented in the exhibition palace or in other pavilions. Although critics did not make these distinctions explicit, the scarce attention they paid to artworks

located outside the main building confirms that the place in which works were displayed was a crucial matter at the moment to define the artistic status of sculptures.

In fact, whether works were installed inside or outside the building not only expressed aesthetic considerations, but also commercial, material, and functional ones. Hence, the variety of locations occupied by sculptures in the exhibition should be seen as an indication of the different positions they occupied in the hierarchies of art, the sculptural field, and the art market.

Although marble sculpture predominated in the main building, there were also a few cast bronze sculptures as well. The aesthetic qualities of the latter were not disregarded, even though their function remained one of the main aspects to which reviewers referred, as evident, for example, in cast metal sculptures that served as candelabra. Some of them were installed in the *Palacio de la Exposición*, although located outside the fine arts galleries, and used to illuminate the building. Even if reviewers commented on their artistic merit, these nearly three-meters-tall statues were nonetheless identified by the function for which they were intended and were presented as detached from the Fine Arts Section.[226]

Where sculptures were located in the exhibition was partly related to the categories in which they were classified. In most cases a sculpture's inclusion in one section or another related to its function, which to a large extent reinforced its association with either the fine arts or the applied, and decorative arts. This categorization is essential in understanding the reasons underlying why different works received uneven attention, initially from the organizers, and later, from reviewers and critics.

[226] *GVEI*, 9.

Classifying Sculpture: Artwork or Product?

The different categories in which sculptures were grouped in the exhibition reveals the variety of spheres in which sculpture had a place, from the aesthetic to the functional, from the fine arts to the applied or decorative arts. The ways sculptures were categorized also demonstrates the connections between art and commerce. In fact, it was function that associated certain sculptures with the applied or decorative arts, and lack of function that associated other with the fine arts.

Although the objects displayed in the exhibition were essentially there to be sold, the Fine Arts Section catalogue demonstrated exhibition organizers' efforts to avoid any association between the artworks and their eventual commercialization. Yet, while the commercial value of objects categorized as "fine arts" was largely concealed, by contrast, many examples of decorative and applied arts were generally regarded as products. Thus, despite the commercial nature of the exhibition and the financial aspirations underlying exhibitors' participation in it, the fact that a piece was classified in the Fine Arts Section had further effects on the connection between the artistic and the commercial.

This fact not only affected the different artistic statuses of the works on view, but also determined how the public perceived them, and how they were described in exhibition catalogues. Since the organizers' main premise, particularly regarding aestheticized objects, was that their artistic status should be the determining factor in deciding their location within the exhibition, every object endowed with a function, even if it had an artistic/aesthetic value, was to be included in the Manufactured Items Section.

This was true in the case of works of applied and decorative art.[227] The distinction made between fine versus applied and decorative arts was related to the fact that the fine arts were assumed to be more intellectual. According to the exhibition president, Rafael Larraín, the decision to include the fine arts in the exhibition was made in order to emphasize the intellectual character of the event.[228] Hence, what was perceived as the "more" intellectual fine arts objects were physically segregated from what was seen as "less" intellectual applied and decorative art objects.

In this context, aesthetic objects devoid of any obvious practical utility were included in the Fine Arts Section and consequently, located inside the exhibition palace. Since they were more directly related with aesthetic pleasure and not with function, fine artworks were seen as more elevated and related with cultural progress than decorative objects. For instance, in his account of the exhibition, Ambrosio Letelier asserted that the fine arts were one of the highest expressions of the civilized world, which demonstrated that he assumed the arts, progress, and industry to be closely related.

The organizers' criteria were evident in at least three cases that presented different types of sculpture in the exhibition: the art collection presented by the Permanent Exhibition of Milan, which competed in the Fine Arts Sections, the works presented by

[227] Although the classification of objects in exhibition catalogues varied from one exhibition to another, the fine arts were generally grouped separatedly from the decorative and applied arts. For example, in the 1855 Exposition Universelle of Paris, there was a clear división between "Industry Products" and "Works of Arts." *Exposition Universelle. Système de classification. 1855.* (Paris: Imp. de Schiller aîné1855). Accessed August 5, 2014. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62094582.r=%22Exposition+internationale+1855%2C+Paris%22.langFR.

[228] "Segunda Memoria presentada al Supremo Gobierno por el Directorio de la Exposición Internacional en 1875", in *BEI 8*, 992.

the Val d'Osne art foundry, and by the Rose Innes and Co. trading company.[229] Both of which, by contrast, were grouped in the Manufactured Items Section.

The Significance of the Medium

Along with function, medium was another important attribute that determined how sculptures were seen and to which section they were relegated. In European international exhibitions categories were organized by medium, not only because differing materials seemed a pertinent way to classify objects, but because medium indicated varying artistic practices used by artists. For example, the 1851 Great Exhibition of London decided that there were distinctions between works made of bronze and cast iron. Indeed, works of iron were arranged along with other metalwork, and therefore, not included in fine arts sections, as confirmed in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*.

Perceptions on the intrinsic artistic value of the two metals varied at the time in Europe, even though the same foundries produced cast iron and bronze pieces. The differences in how they were regarded, however, were not just based on the medium

[229] Rose Innes and Co., was a British firm that sold a wide range of manufactured goods, settled in Valparaíso in the 1850s, when the city was the most important center of commerce in Chile. As historian Claudio Robles has noted, Rose Innes and Co. was among the main companies that controlled commerce between Chile and a variety of nations, among them Great Britain. By the time of the exhibition, the company had established close connections with the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura*. In fact, the company was a member of the *Sociedad* since the society was founded in 1869. Both the company and the *Sociedad* were interested in promoting agricultural machinery, the former as a seller of these products and the latter as a promoter of the modernization of Chilean agricultural production. This fact sheds light on the strategic nature of the company's participation in the 1875 exhibition. Moreover, the explicit support of the exhibition by the company's owner, George Rose Innes was expressed in a brochure he wrote that same year about Chile's development. Robles, 83- 89; George Rose-Innes, *The Progress and Present Position of Chili* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1875), 4. Accessed August 6, 2014. http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/2574955?n=4&s=4&printThumbnails=no.

itself, but moreover, on how the artisans who worked with each type of metal and their production techniques were viewed. As Catherine Chevillot has pointed out, iron casting seems to have been considered a less noble activity than working in bronze. This perception is most evident in the fact that, in international exhibitions "bronze modelers, casters and carvers were listed as collaborators… [while] workers in cast iron were not."[230] Chevillot goes on to note that iron casters were not as able to give final touches to works as other foundry artisans, because cast iron pieces needed to be rustproofed with materials or treatments that made direct intervention into finished works difficult. For example, in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris cast iron pieces were grouped with works of bronze, probably because of the increasing role metals like iron had at the time in the French cast sculpture industry. By the 1862 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, metal works were finally included in a separate category: "artistic bronzes, cast-iron art, and embossed metals."[231]

In Chile's exhibition the distinctions were not as sharp as in previous international exhibitions, because at the time the country lacked art foundries, so discourse around these questions had not developed in the same way as in Europe. Moreover, despite the fact that Val d'Osne was known as an art foundry, its inclusion in the group "Metal Foundries, Rural Railroads, Steelyards, Statues, Water Fountains, and Fences," in the French Section suggest that in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago, Val d'Osne was primarily considered a manufacturer. Moreover, although there were many other art foundries in France at the time, Val d'Osne was the only French art foundry

[230] *El Arte del Hierro Fundido. Artes de México*, No. 72 (Mexico, D.F.: Artes de México, 2004), 92.

[231] Ibid, 91-2.

participating in the exhibition and so it can be assumed that there was no need to establish a specific group for it. Thus, in the French Section's catalogue Val d'Osne remained associated with the metallurgic industry at large rather than directly linked to the art realm.[232]

Likewise, the objects presented in the Rose Innes and Co. exhibition catalogue—including cast metal sculptures, reliefs used in water fountains, and other functional objects made of iron as well as zinc—also remained linked to manufacturers. The inclusion of zinc pieces reveals the range of the objects the company marketed. While iron was mostly associated with French artistic practices at the time, zinc, because of its lower costs, was more extensively used in German and American applied arts and public statuary.[233] This fact shows the varied provenance of the objects imported by Rose Innes and Co. and demonstrates that commerce, especially in the context of the exhibition, put Chilean consumers in contact with a diverse number of products and art markets.

The kind of sculptural media used expressed much about countries' artistic practices and specifically reflected the desired national artistic identity of France and Italy within the context of the exhibition. While Italian sculpture remained associated with marble, and with more academic artistic practices as a "unique artwork," French sculpture established a closer connection to technological innovations associated with metals that linked art and industry through the notion of serial reproduction. It was this set of associations to industry that, despite the artistic qualities of many of the cast metal

[232] *EISF*, 6.

[233] Indeed, the German section exhibited not only bronze statues and vases but also two zinc sculptures. Brieba, 8. About the production of zinc sculpture during the nineteenth century see Grissom, *Zinc Sculpture in America 1850-1950*.

works in the show, positioned them within the commercial scope as "products" rather than artworks. Likewise, the aesthetic character of these works became subordinated to their functional nature. Whereas Italy's art collection emphasized the prominence of the fine arts, France put greater emphasis on the relation between art and industry, and the applied and decorative arts. In light of this situation, we can understand how in the public mentality metal sculptures were largely associated with French artistic practices, in which foundries acquired great prestige, while marble remained associated with Italian sculptural traditions.[234]

Used as candelabras, or as ornaments, the function of cast metal sculptures usually displayed on the exhibition grounds often contrasted with the role played by the marble statues displayed outdoors. That was the case, for example, with the temporary installation of Costoli's statue of Pedro de Valdivia, in which the iconography as well as the fact that it was made in the "noble medium" of marble helped it to attain greater relevance. In fact, it was placed at the entrance of the exhibition showground, not only because it represented the celebrated Spanish conquistador, but probably also because of its medium. Also, it garnered a number of reviews by critics—both favorable and unfavorable—mainly because of its heightened visibility at that location.[235] Moreover, it was partly because of its materials that it was generally perceived as more valuable and more expensive than the other cast metal sculptures representing animals and gods from Antiquity that were also situated outdoors. In fact, when metal statues were mentioned in

[234] The prominence of marble sculpture in the *Palacio de la Exposición* underscores the fact that in the realm of the fine arts marble was seen as the most valued sculptural medium, Italian marble being its greatest example. Letter No. 665, from Rafael Larraín, President to the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* to S. Samminiatelli, business manager of Italia. August 2, 1875, in *BEI 8*, 937.

[235] Notably, the statue also appeared in the catalogue of the Fine Arts Section. *COBA*, 26. Also, other two life-size marble statues representing *Music* and *Poetry* of C. Chelli were located flanking the access to the opening pavilion facing the Exhibition Palace. Brieba, 6. *El Ferrocarril*, 17 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

reviews, they were referred to generally as "metal statues" and rarely individualized by title.[236] This phenomenon was not unique to Chile, however; in the international context, metal sculpture also tended to mostly be identified generally by the medium.

Exhibition Catalogues: Portraying the Arts

The catalogues that circulated during the exhibition not only provided information about products, but also revealed the types of relationships established between art and commerce and the efforts exhibitors made to highlight the artistic features of the objects on display. Thus, catalogues can be seen as snapshots of the exhibitors framing of the artistic status of the works on view, which reveal an occasionally fraught relationship between art and commerce.

Even though the objects on display were ultimately intended for sale, catalogue entries for works located, for example, in the Fine Arts Section, explicitly omitted any commercial or market-related information, including any reference to the commercial value of the artworks. This fact demonstrates not only some exhibitors' desire to obscure works' marketability in favor of their aesthetic qualities, but it also discloses the organizers's desire to highlight in the catalogue, what they perceived as the intellectual and more elevated status of the fine arts in the Chilean milieu.

Indeed, the information contained in the catalogues on such works carefully framed them as "elevated," associating them with educational purposes. In order to emphasize their artistic statuses, the Fine Arts Section catalogue paid particular attention to three aspects, namely, the artist's name, the artist's nationality and the title of the

[236] *GVEI*, 31.

work. In some instances, the date of creation and the official representative of the work or the artist for the exhibition were included. Although the latter was the only information that may have been considered as related to the commercial realm, the others shed light on the prestige of the artist as proof of the work's quality. While the fine arts catalogue provided information similar to that included in any art exhibition, the catalogues of the French Section and Rose Innes and Co. crystallized the tensions between the commercial connotations of the works and the attempts to stress their artistic qualities. In some cases, these two catalogues included additional information on artistic schools, the identification of a work as a copy, medium, or further information about works' themes.

The fact that the fine arts section stressed the association of the artwork with aesthetic contemplation rather than commercial issues is evident in contemporaneous accounts. Take, for instance, the writing of the Chilean reviewer Ambrosio Letelier, whose "useful and pleasant report" especially commented on works that he considered outstanding because of their beauty and good taste. Because of this, he paid most of his attention to the works grouped in the Fine Arts Section, especially remarking on the Italian sculptures.[237] Indeed, the Italian sculptures presented in the fine arts galleries were praised not only by Letelier, but also by others that recognized in them artistic merit based on accuracy of expression, and the pleasant effect they had on the viewer.[238]

In contrast, the works included in other catalogues, such as those in the French and Rose Innes and Co.'s sections faced a more challenging situation in proving their artistic status. Although these catalogues reveal that no effort was made to hide the

[237] Letelier, vi.

[238] *GVEI,* 41.

objects' commercialization, they also attempted to emphasize the artistic features of the pieces. The connection between sculptures and commerce was especially reinforced through their descriptions in the catalogue of Rose Innes and Co. These descriptions emphasized the artistic status of works, while posed questions on issues such as authorship, uniqueness, and style, which were key at the time in establishing artworks within the artistic realm.

Indeed, the information included in the catalogues of the French Section and Rose Innes and Co. demonstrates the concern the exhibitioners had in making more or less evident their commercial interests, according to the degree of artistic status they aimed to achieve. This intention was particularly visible, for example, in the inclusion of prices. Also, information about the works, authors, and provenance varied significantly.

Although Val d'Osne was described in the of the French pavilion's catalogue as an art foundry, the information about the works included in it considered the number of works, the size of the pieces, prizes works garnered in previous international exhibitions such as Vienna, and the price. Also, references to popular designs in Europe appeared in the catalogue, presumably to make the artworks appeal to buyers. This was true in the case of a reference made to a candelabrum identified as a "great model of the city of Paris."[239] In other cases, titles identifying iconography were added such as a "colossal *Diana the Hunter,*" or allegorical representations comprised in series such as *Commerce*, *Industry*, and *Agriculture*, or *Winter* and *Fall.* Additional information regarding

[239] *EISF*, 7.

technological procedures such as "coppered" or "galvanized" was also included. However, the names of artists were consistently omitted.[240]

In the case of Rose Innes and Co., the catalogue provides not only information about the pieces, but more importantly, included profuse illustrations of the works, as well as details referring to materials, measures, prices, and even indications about the places in which objects could be located. Such information endowed the objects with commercial connotations avoided in the catalogue of the Fine Arts Section. Even so, titles, stylistic references and occasionally some artists' names were also included in the catalogue of Rose Innes and Co.

As previously mentioned, in the French Pavilion's catalogue, authorship remained absent in reference to the Val d'Osne works. Unlike general catalogues of the art foundry, the one presented in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* focused more on works' connections to the fine arts. Whereas the catalogue of Rose Innes and Co. was usually illustrated and included the names of some artists involved in the design of pieces, the catalogue of the French pavilion emphasized commercial aspects of the works over others that would have established a closer relation with the fine arts. Whereas in general no reference to artists was made regarding metal works in the French catalogue, in the Fine Arts Section authorship was assumed as central in confirming sculptures artistic status.

The description of the media and techniques utilized in the production of the works grouped in the Rose Innes and Co. catalogue, as well as the inclusion of prices established clearer links between the works and industrial production. Indeed, Rose Innes

[240] Ibid., 6-7.

marketed European bronzed iron statues and fountains (Fig 31) and coppered zinc or galvanized pieces, all of which were largely associated with industrial metallurgy.[241]

SELLING ITALIAN SCULPTURE

The emphasis on the artistic merit and stylistic characteristics of Italian sculpture, particularly in the case of the works from the Permanent Exhibition of Milan, not only concealed the connection between art and commerce, but also showed the organizers' deeper motivations in including the Italian collection in the exhibition. Even though the arrival of the Italian collection in Chile could be assumed as the result of the organizers' interest in displaying prestigious works of Italian art as well as in potentially providing models for Chilean artists, it nonetheless responded to the Italian artists' interest in overcoming the difficult moment Italian art market experienced at the time.

Indeed, it was not the organizers of Chile's exhibition that took the first step in inviting the Milanese exhibition to participate. On the contrary, it was an Italian initiative born out of a desire on the part of Italian artists, who were interested in expanding their

[241] On the use of these materials for industrial and artistic purposes during the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States, see: Grissom, 23-34. Remarkably, Grissom points out that the debut of zinc statues on the world stage ocurred during the 1851 Great Exhibition of London, when the manufacturer M. Geiss displayed a work titled *Amazon on Horseback Attacked by a Lion* by the Prussian sculptor, August Kiss. Ibid., 27. See also: *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations,* Vol. 4 (London: W. Cloves & Sons, 1851), 1063-65. Accessed August7, 2014. http://books.google.cl/books?id=BMs-AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA1063&lpg=PA1063&dq=geiss+london+great+exhibition&source=bl&ots=sI28DUkZgq&sig=lW-APzoD9ICGvt05Et7DAZ2iGMg&hl=es&sa=X&ei=UJnjU7b3Ipe-sQSoxoKgBw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=geiss%20london%20great%20exhibition&f=false. Despite the great quantity of images illustrating the products in the catalogue, there are no image of the statues it listed, including pieces by the French sculptor, Maturin Moreau. *CIRI*, 253.

art market, which brought the collection to Chile.[242] In fact, the participation of the Permanent Exhibition of Milan had been organized by the Institute of Milan, created in 1869, for the development of the Italian fine arts.[243]

This interest the Italian art institution had in sending its collection to international exhibitions in general, and to Chile's in particular, needs to be understood in relation to the problems Italian sculptors faced at the time. As the newspaper *El Estandarte Católico* explained, the saturation of the Italian art market had posed several difficulties for the commercialization of Italian artworks, leading Italian artists to seek new strategies to expand their art market.[244] In light of this, international exhibitions proved to be suitable in providing alternative markets for Italian artists, as demonstrated, for example, in the collection's inclusion in the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna.

Collections already displayed in the Vienna exhibition were of great interest to the planners of the Chilean exhibition because they both saved time, and provided prestige. Shipping products to Chile generally took a considerable amount of time and many countries were already focused on preparing their products and devoting their resources to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia, so "pre-packaged" exhibits were very

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[242] Letter from Rafael Larraín to Joaquin Santos Rodriguez, Cónsul de Chile en Roma, December 17, 1874, *BEI 6*, 638-9. On the incorporation of the Permanent Exhibition of Milan in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, see: *BEI 6*, 561-3; Acta Sesión 108, November 25, 1875, in *BEI 9*, 1017.

[243] *GVEI*, 44.

[244] The article published in Spanish in *El Estandarte Católico* on December 17, 1875, was originally published in the Milanese newspaper, *La Perseveranza*. *El Estandarte Católico*, December 17, 1875, No. 433. The compelling study of the Italian art historian Matteo Gardonio discusses the commercial motivations of Italian sculptors in participating in the Parisian universal exhibitions carried out in the nineteenth century, which should be considered as direct precedents for the participation of these artists in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. Matteo Gardonio, *Scultori italiani alle Esposizioni Universali di Parigi (1855-1889): aspettative, successi e delusioni* (Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Trieste, 2009). Accessed September 5, 2014. http://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/handle/10077/3130; Matteo Gardonio, "Scultori italiani a Parigi tra Esposizioni Universali, mercato e strategie" *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte* 33, 2011.

useful. Thus, in the eyes of the Chilean exhibition organizers, the Italian collection perfectly fit the needs of the exhibit. The collection had already succeeded in previous international exhibitions: at least thirteen Italian artists had won awards in Vienna in 1873, thus certifying the collection's international prestige.[245] Additionally, the shipment was ready to be sent to Chile.

Considering this context, then, the Chilean exhibition's inclusion of Italian art should not only be seen as beneficial to Chileans, but also as serving the Italian artists' interests by providing them an international stage to sell their works. This is a crucial consideration for a broader understanding of the nineteenth-century artistic connections between Europe and Latin America, since it has been generally assumed that the arrival of European artists in Latin America during the nineteenth century was only beneficial for Latin Americans. Seen in this light, Chile's *Exposición Internacional* provided a mutually beneficial exchange insofar as it allowed European artists to expand their commercial prospects while also enabling Chileans audiences to appreaciate current European art.

Although the Milanese collection included both painting and sculpture, it was the latter that captured the greatest attention among critics and visitors.[246] As mentioned, reviewers gave great attention to Italian sculptures not only because of their quantities surpassed those of other nations, but also because the group represented an

[245] According an article published during the exhibition of Santiago, Argenti had won awards in Paris and Vienna. *Correo de la Exposición*, 19 de diciembre, 1875, 162. Among the artists awarded prized in Vienna's exhibition were: Angelo Argenti, Francesco Barzaghi, Domenico Battaglia (Barcaglia), Enrico Braga, Pietro Calvi, Quintilio Corbellini, Pietro Guarnerio, Pietro Magni, Vincenzo Lucardi, Carlo Pessina (Pessino), Antonio Rossetti, Antonio Tantardini, and Emilio Zocchi. *L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna. Publicazione dell Universo Illustrato*, Numero 30, 9 Novembre, 1873, Treves, Milano, 437.

[246] Letelier, 25-28.

unprecedented opportunity for Chilean audiences to see original Italian works. This was in fact, the largest number of Italian originals ever displayed in Chile.[247]

Even though members of the Chilean elite could see this type of works (and eventually acquire them) when they traveled to Europe, the popular classes generally had limited or no access to original European sculptures, aside from mainly bronze monuments installed in the public realm. In this sense, the collection was a significant contribution to the education of Chilean artists and art students alike. Since copies were commonly used for academic training in Chile as in Europe, the chance to appreciate original works of "Italian masters" was seen as a compelling incentive for Chilean artists to improve their own work. Indeed, the Director of the Institute of Milan and its official representative in the exhibition, Alessandro Rossi, contended that the exhibition would give young Chilean artists a first-hand look at original Italian artworks, in which they could appreciate modern trends as well as the way to handle ancient subjects.[248] Rossi's awareness of Italian art's prestige as well as his interest in promoting the collection was evident in his positioning Italian sculpture as a valuable academic referent.

However, the high regard the fine arts and this collection in particular received, were demonstrated not only in the attention critics paid to them, but also in the exceptional benefits they received from the Chilean government in the context of the exhibition, including tax incentives and the eventual government purchase of works. In order to facilitate their participation in the exhibition, the purchase of Italian sculptures by the government had been considered even before the exhibition began and

[247] "Bellas Artes," *Correo de la Exposición*, 2 de Octubre, 1875, 24.

[248] Alejandro Rossi, "Bellas Artes," *Correo de la Exposición*, 6 de Noviembre, 1875, 21.

consequently *Socrates* (Fig. 21) and *David* (Fig. 32) both by Pietro Magni (1817-1877) were finally acquired for the Congress building.[249]

The Classical and the Modern in Italian Sculpture

One of the aspects that Rossi especially emphasized during the exhibition was that Italian artists had demonstrated a capacity for executing classical as well as modern subjects. This is particularly relevant in light of the fact that in the nineteenth century, they were especially interested in situating Italian sculpture beyond just the "classical" in order to position it among modern artistic trends. This suggests that one reason for their eagerness to participate in the Chilean exhibition was to commercially promote Italian art as "contemporary".

Notably, the Italian exhibitors placed a great deal of emphasis on the capability of Italian artists to execute works with "modern" qualities. This fact was consistent with their need to position Italian art as competitive with other modern forms of sculpture. However, what was "modern" and what was "classical" depended not only on the technological innovation, or modern materials, but also on subject matter and style.

Indeed, until the 1875 exhibition of Santiago, it was generally assumed that Italian sculpture remained aligned with traditional marble sculptural practices. For example, Rossi emphasized Pietro Magni's ability to represent classical and modern styles, as in his works *Socrates* (Fig. 21) and *La Lettrice* (The Reader) (Fig. 33) respectively. While

[249] These two works were destroyed in a fire in 1895. Tomás Pablo Elorza, *El Congreso Visto desde su Presidencia*, (Santiago: Andrés Bello, 1971), 21. On the arrangements for the purchase, see: Acta Sesión 119, February 16, 1876, in *BEI 9*, 1037. Letter from Rafael Larraín to the Ministro de Hacienda, January 26, 1876, in *BEI 9*, 1080-2. See also Letter from S. Samminatelli, business manager of Italy to Rafael Larraín, 23 de Octubre, 1875, in *BEI 9*, 1090-1.

the former depicts the Greek philosopher in the idealizing Neoclassicist style, barefoot and clad in classical attire, standing before an armchair, *La Lettrice* displays the stylistic features of Italian *verismo*, endowing the figure with a notable sense of realism that characterized mid-nineteenth-century Italian art. The figure, seated on a chair and wearing a nightgown, is absorbed in reading a book of poetry by Giovanni Battista Niccolini. Because of the political overtones of Niccolini's writings, in favor of Lombard liberation from the Austrian domain, and the fact that hanging from the figure's neck is a portrait medallion depicting Giuseppe Garibaldi, the statue has been seen as a representation of Italian patriotism.[250]

However, the political connotations of the artwork did not affect Chilean critics' observations. In fact, for the most part, they completely overlooked the subject. Instead, they paid attention to the stylistic qualities of both works. Although there are no explicit indications to clarify how reviewers understood the notions of "modern" and "classical"—a reviewer only mentioned that Magni was admired because he had cultivated with similar success "the classical style of the Greeks and the modern familiar style"[251]—it is possible to assume that they were aware of the contrast between the more

[250] Alejandro Rossi, "Bellas Artes," *Correo de la Exposición*, 6 de Noviembre, 1875, 83. While *Socrates* was seemingly exhibited before in the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna, *La Lettrice* was displayed in several international exhibitions starting with the 1862 International Exhibition of London and including the 1873 *Weltausstellung* (under the title *Die Leserin*). *Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien. Officieller Kunst-Catalog. Zweite Vermehrte und Verbesserte Auflage* (Wien: Verlag Der General Direction, 1873), 134. Accessed November 8, 2013. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/weltausstellung1873/0001/thumbs?sid=ff0a5dd660ab96977fce40d2c00bf6aa#current_page; National Gallery of Art, Accessed, August 7, 2014. http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.127589.html.

[251] Isidoro Becerra, "Impresiones de un Neófito," *Correo de la Exposición*, 23 de Octubre, 1875, 51.

severe Neoclassical representation of *Socrates* and the more lively and intimate depiction of *La Lettrice*.[252]

Other Italian sculptors such as Alessandro Rossi, Director of the Institute of Milan, were also praised. Rossi's *Lucia, dei Prommessi Spossi* (Lucía de los Novios de Manzoni/ Lucia of *The Betrothed* by Manzoni) (Fig. 34) was inspired by the historical novel *I Promessi Sposi* by Alessandro Manzoni, first published in 1827. The first historical novel written in Italy, the story is set in Lombardy in the seventeenth century, during the period when the region was under Spanish dominion. Because of this, the novel has been read as a veiled critique against Austrian rule over Lombardy at the time Manzoni wrote it.[253] The statue likely depicts a scene in which Lucia appears serenely embroidering, right before receiving the news that her fiancée, Renzo, has just escaped from an uprising in Milan in which he had been taken prisoner and condemned to be hanged.

Ultimately, just as the political overtones of Magni's *La Lettrice* passed unnoticed among Chilean reviewers, so too did Rossi's *Lucia, dei Prommessi Spossi.* Instead, reviewers commented on its stylistic qualities that demonstrated a great attention to formal elements rather than the subject matter.

Hence, the pieces by Magni and Rossi demonstrate that the exhibition constituted a suitable stage for showcasing Italian artists, who focused on nineteenth century subjects inspired by political situations and contemporary literature. In this context, Rossi was

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[252] *GVEI*, 46. *La Lettrice* had been exhibited in universal exhibitions since its display in the 1862 International Exhibition, thus endowing the sculptor with international prestige. The National Gallery of Art owns the original exhibited in the 1862 International Exhibition of London. National Gallery of Art, Accessed, August 7, 2014. http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.127589.html.

[253] On Manzoni's novel, see: Brian Hamnett, *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Representations of Reality in History and Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 156-172.

successful in garnering laudatory commentaries on his "undisputable merit." Furthermore, like Magni's *La Lettrice*, Rossi's "modern genre" work was publically celebrated.[254]

In general, the focus on Italian sculptures' formal qualities by Rossi and reviewers alike, tended to obscure the commercial motivations underlying the Milanese collection's presence in the exhibition. However, Rossi did eventually reveal his explicit interest in selling Italian works to Chileans during the last days of the exhibition, when announcements were published in newspapers explicitly marketing the remaining Italian sculptures from the Permanent Exhibition of Milan, finally disclosing the real purpose behind the Italian collections' participation in the exhibition.[255] Not surprisingly, the works that did not sell in Chile were sent on to the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition.[256]

Though it is generally assumed that Chileans were more interested in French cultural and artistic models during the nineteenth century, the critical acclaim for and acquisition of so many Italian sculptures from the Chilean Exhibition demonstrates that Italian art and culture were very popular as well.[257] In fact, at the time of Rossi's announcement, a number of Chilean private collectors had already acquired Italian sculptures. Indeed, a number of pieces displayed in the exhibition captured the attention of wealthy Chilean private collectors. Just one month after the Milanese collection arrived in Chile, individuals like José Tomás Urmeneta, one of the wealthiest men in Chile, acquired Ugo Zannoni's *Estudio y Labor* (Study and Work) (Fig. 35) and *El*

[254] *GVEI*, 45.

[255] *El Estandarte Católico*, Enero 3, 1876, No. 450.

[256] *Correo de la Exposición*, 6 de Noviembre, 1875, 88.

[257] Note of Juaquin S. Rodriguez quoted in the letter from Antonio Subercaseaux to Rafael Larraín, 29 de Febrero, 1875, in *BEI 8*, 947.

Futuro Artista (Future Artist).[258] Likewise, Isidora Goyenechea, one of the wealthiest women in the country at the time, purchased Giosuè Argenti's *Eva* (Eve) (Fig. 36),[259] Calvi's *Mignon* (Fig. 37), Lombardi's *Mujer velada* (Veiled Woman), Magni's *La Lettrice*[260] and Rossi's *Lucia, dei Prommessi Spossi* (Fig. 38).[261] Moreover, Coronel Manuel Rengifo bought Barcaglia's *La Mariposa* (The Butterfly); Luis Pereira purchased Bernasconi's *La Desgracia Infantil* (Child's Misfortune), Braga's *La Vergonzosa* (The Shy Girl), and Barcaglia's *Cazador* (Hunter) and *El Valor Civil* (Civic Courage). Lastly, Mrs. Undurraga purchased Guarnerio's *La Plegaria Forzada* (Forced Prayer).[262]

Notably, some of these works were also exhibited in both 1876 Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia as well as in previous exhibitions, such as the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna, which indicates that there were multiple marble editions of these pieces. The fact that these artists made reproductions of their marble sculptures attests to both their awareness of the commercial potential of international exhibitions and to the fact that bronze was not the only medium that challenged the uniqueness of the work of art.

In this light, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* can be understood as a crucial platform for popularizing and disseminating Italian sculpture in Chile. In fact, in many

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[258] *El Ferrocarril*, 26 de Noviembre, 1875, n/p. These two works were also displayed in the 1873 Vienna's exhibition. *Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien. Officieller Kunst-Catalog,* 135.

[259] The image of *Eva* was published on the cover of and issue of *El Correo de la Exposición* incorrectly identified as a work by Bernasconi.*Correo de la Exposición*, 19 de diciembre, 1875, 161.

[260] *Inventario de Bienes de Isidora Goyenechea de Cousiño, Mayo-Julio de 1898*. Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Fondos Notarios, Vol. 1081, n/p. I would like to thank Rosario Willumsen for sharing her own findings of this inventory with me.

[261] To this day, the sculpture remains in the *Palacio Cousiño,* where it is identified as *Margarita la bordadora* (Margarita the needlewoman).

[262] *El Ferrocarril*, 30 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

ways, the exhibition provided a context in which Italian art even exceeded the prestige associated with French art in the Chile public imaginary. Likewise, the Italians' attempt to position their sculpture as "modern" must also be understood as a sign of their competition with the French as well as their desire to recover the historical supremacy of Italian sculpture. Yet, despite the augmented reputation of Italian sculpture during the exhibition, French sculpture still maintained its reputation in Chile, due in part to their achievements in metal sculpture.

Overlooking Cordier

The attention given to the works displayed in the fine arts section by contemporaneous critical reviews reveals that the public visibility and reception of sculpture depended largely on its location within the exhibition. Indeed, the fact that sculpture was placed in the exhibition palace in general, and in the fine arts gallery in particular, led Chilean exhibition reviewers and newspaper critics to focus almost exclusively on the sculpture in the fine arts gallery, while ignoring other marble works in the exhibition which, although belonging to the fine arts section, were not actually displayed there. Such was the case with a marble bust titled *Atenas* (*Jeunne femme grecque*) by the French artist, Charles Cordier (1827-1905). Most likely conceived as one in a series of ethnographic busts that the artist realized throughout his career, it was intended for an ethnographic gallery of racial types.[263]

[263] There is no additional information about this particular work, nor are there any images that shed light on its formal features. The catalogue raisonée of Cordier's works, published in 2004, does not include the statue presented in the exhibition, although the work presented in Chile could have been a marble version of *Jeune Grecque* (1858-59) made in bronze during Codier's travels in Greece. Laure de Margerie and

Like most products coming from France, Cordier's *Atenas* did not appear in the *Palacio de la Exposición*, but rather in the French pavilion. Despite his prestige in Europe at the time, this clearly affected the public visibility of his work—as well as of Cordier himself—in the exhibition.[264] The inclusion of Cordier's work in the French pavilion also implied another disadvantage. In contrast to sculpture displayed in the Fine Arts section of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, which was presented as a purely aesthetic experience, artworks displayed in the French pavilion were explicitly linked to the commercial realm of the exhibition and catalogue. Indeed, Cordier's work was mentioned in the catalogue like any other product: the price was clearly labeled. Even so, in order to demonstrate his artistic prestige, the catalogue described Cordier as a "modern" sculptor, and mentioned some of his previous works, including his statues of *Ibrahim Pasha, Christopher Columbus*, and *Libretto* and *Harmonia*, created for the Paris Opera House.[265] Thus, even though the entries on Cordier's work included much more information about the artist and his works than other objects in the French Section's catalogue, the link between art and commerce was still rather explicit.

Cordier had succeeded in obtaining the backing of the French State in his artistic endeavors and even Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie had acquired some of his works, greatly contributing to his public recognition.[266] Similarly, Cordier's sculptures had been

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Édouard Papet, *Facing the Other. Charles Cordier (1827-1905) Ethnographic Sculptor* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2004), 87-91.

[264] In the catalogue of the French pavilion only two sculptures appear: *Atenas* of Charles Cordier and *Margaret of Goethe* of Boisseau. Froc Robert's papier-maché sculptures appeared in "Arts Applied to the Industry," Ibid., 5, 8.

[265] The catalogue indicates that the piece was offered for $1,300, Ibid., 5.

[266] De Margerie and Papet, 66.

extensively displayed in France as well as in previous international exhibitions, confirming his fame among international audiences.[267]

However, despite his fame, the only article that commented on Cordier's work appeared in *El Correo de la Exposición*, the exhibition's newspaper. In order to cater to European audiences, the article, like others in the publication, was published in French. The problem was that this prevented local popular audiences (who did not read French) from being acquainted with Cordier's work. Instead, it was targeted at elite and European audiences, and acknowledged Cordier's artistic relevance, the significance of his work and most importantly, emphasized that he signed the work.[268] The fact that the artist's signature was deemed important—ostensibly as proof of authenticity, a fact that had not been stressed in reviews of works by other artist—confirms the prestige Cordier's sculptures had attained. It also reveals the desire on the part of the *Correo*'s editors to inform elite and European audiences, that the exhibition was presenting prominent European artists like Cordier. Even so, no further articles commented on Cordier or his work.[269]

Thus, despite Cordier's prominence abroad, the fact that his work was categorized within the Fine Arts Section, and that it was excecuted in a "noble" medium (marble), most Chilean critics practically ignored his work, focusing instead on Italian sculpture.[270]

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[267] Ibid, 229-37.

[268] "Sculpture Francaise. M. Charles Cordier," *Correo de la Exposición*, 6 de Noviembre, 1875, 87-88.

[269] Ibid.

[270] *Correo de la Exposición*, 2 de Octubre, 1875, 21. "Sculpture Francaise. M. Charles Cordier" in *Correo de la Exposición*, 6 de Noviembre, 1875, 87-8. Cordier's work, it was awarded with a second medal prize. *Exposicion International de Santiago de Chile en 1875, Lista Jeneral de Premios* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mericurio, 1876), 94.

Notably, Cordier's work represented the only marble sculpture by a French artist presented at the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*; the rest of the French sculpture on view was in metal and papier-maché. [271]

METAL SCULPTURES AND THE CHILEAN ART MARKET

The inclusion of so much metal sculpture in the French pavilion was largely the result of changes in the nineteenth-century art market. The extraordinary development of serial reproduction also affected the Chilean art market, as metal sculpture was increasingly purchased from France to be installed in the public realm, just as Chilean artistic taste was beginning to develop.

As historian Francisco Javier González has pointed out, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* played a crucial role in the transformation of Chileans' habits. Although most wealthy Chileans—having spent long periods of travel in France—were already familiar with French products, the exhibition provided a broader segment of the population access to French manufactured goods such as carriages, decoration, furniture, and porcelain.[272] The fact that members of the Chilean elite purchased French decorative art and furniture not only responded to the desire for aesthetic enjoyment, but also to the

[271] In the catalogue of the French pavilion only two sculptures appear: *Athenas* of Charles Cordier and *Margaret of Goethe* of Boisseau. Froc Robert's papier-maché sculptures appeared in "Arts Applied to the Industry."

[272] Francisco Javier González Errázuriz, "Aires Franceses en Santiago en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX," in Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 49.

interest in emulating French aristocracy, thus consolidating Chileans social capital and improving their perceived class position within Chilean society.[273]

In fact, along with an increase in wealth in Chile, the consumption of luxury items and artworks rose sharply in the 1870s. Indeed, when exhibition organizers attempted to boost the participation of foreign manufacturers and traders, they often mentioned the excellent conditions Chile offered for the commoditization of ornamental pieces, and the favorable opportunities this offered for traders to sell sculptural works to cities or private individuals. The fact that other Latin American countries were participating was also stressed as providing further potential markets to which exhibitors could address their products. Likewise, in order to entice potential exhibitors, exhibition organizers often touted Chile's favorable economic situation in their correspondence to them: "Santiago is a capital where large fortunes are frequent," noted Eduardo de la Barra, General Secretary of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional,* to F. Kahle & Sons, a German firm of architectural decorations, ornaments, and zinc sculptures. "Its surroundings are covered with country houses in which spending is not scarce. The city itself spends large sums on its private mansions and buildings and promenades, and the taste for fine arts, which are encouraged, is very widespread."[274]

Despite the newfound zeal for Italian art, Chile had also cultivated fruitful commercial relations with French art foundries, such as the Val d'Osne foundry. In fact,

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[273] Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 54.

[274] "Santiago es una capital donde las grandes fortunas son mui frecuentes. Sus alrededores están cubiertos de quintas de recreo, en las que no se escasea ningun gasto. La ciudad misma gasta gran lujo en sus mansions privadas i edificios I paseos públicos, I es mui jeneral el gusto por las bellas artes, que son estimuladas." Letter from Eduardo de la Barra, General Secretary of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* to the F. Kahle & Sons, Agosto 18, 1874, *BEI 5*, 511. As Carol Grissom points out, the roofing and sheet metal company, founded in 1837 by the German businessman, Friedrich Kahle, started producing cast-zinc art in 1841. One of the three main producers of zinc sculpture in the Berlin area, it participated in the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris. Grissom, 643.

due to the lack of art foundries in Chile at the time, most metal ornaments and statues were acquired from France. The close relationship between Chile and the French foundry is demonstrated in the fact that the managers of the Val d'Osne foundry, M. Mignon, Gaudin, and Rouart, visited Chile in 1875, presumably in preparation for the *Exposición Internacional*.[275] At the time, Val d'Osne was one of the most important art foundries in Europe, and one of the few working with cast iron, which at the time faced little competition, since most art foundries worked with bronze.[276]

Val d'Osne embodied technological achievements that had helped to take metal sculpture to a new artistic and commercial level. It was also one of the main centers of production for both urban statuary and private parks ornaments.[277] In fact, Val d'Osne's participation in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* coincided with an increase of public statuary in Santiago. From the 1850s onwards, a number of bronze monuments produced in France had been installed in Santiago. In 1870, ornamental sculpture, water fountains, statues, vases and cast iron decorations produced by French foundries such as Val d'Osne began to adorn the landmarks of Santiago.[278] Thus, as the main provider of cast sculpture in Chile prior to the exhibitions's opening, the foundry's participation in the exhibition also paralleled the expansion of metal sculpture in the Chilean public realm.[279]

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[275] Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 64.

[276] *El Arte del Hierro Fundido,* 13-5.

[277] *Correo de la Exposición*, 2 de Octubre, 1875, 21.

[278] Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 7.

[279] Since 2005, more than 200 French statuary works have been identified. Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 10, 28.

In the 1870s, businessman Luis Cousiño, and the Intendant Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna had promoted the installation of ornamental sculpture in Santiago's public spaces by commissioning a number of metal statues both in bronze and iron intended for two emerging parks and promenades, namely, the Parque Cousiño and the Santa Lucía Hill.[280] For both, works had been commissioned from the Val d'Osne foundry. In the case of Santa Lucía Hill, a number of metal statues and cast iron ornaments from Val d'Osne were acquired.[281] Also, in numerous locations throughout the city, such as the gardens of the former Palace of Congress and the Catholic and General Cemeteries, statues of allegories, and religious and classical subjects were also installed. Later, in the early twentieth century, the *Inmaculada Concepción* (Immaculate Conception), one of the largest statues in the city, which was also produced by Val d'Osne, was installed on San Cristóbal Hill.[282]

When the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* was organized, a number of urban transformations were taking place in Santiago and, as in many other Latin American capitals at the time, the urban ornaments on view were an integral part of the city's modernization process. Indeed, during the second half of the nineteenth century, many

[280] Although marble was generally the most appreciated medium for monuments and buildings, the technology required to work it did not exist at the time in Chile, and it was more expensive to import from Europe than buying works in metal. Alejandro Vial, "Mineralojia. Sobre los mármoles en Chile," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* (31 de Enero, 1850), 93-96. Acessed, August 9, 2014. http://books.google.cl/books?id=w5E_AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA93&dq=marmol+en+chile&hl=es&sa=X&ei=L8bmU9aBJ6bfsASe-YCwAQ&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=true

[281] Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín. *Album del Santa Lucía* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1874).

[282] Elisabeth Robert-Dehault, "Origen de Desarrollo y la Expansión de las Grandes Fundiciones de Arte Francesas," in Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 29-32. On the increasing number of public statuary during the second half of the nineteenth century in France, see: Maurice Agulhon, "La "statuomanie" et l'Histoire," *Ethnologie Française*, Nouevelle Serie, T. 8, No. 2 /3, Pour une Anthropologie de l'Art, Presses Universitaires de France (1878), 145-72. Accessed July 1, 201. http://jstor.org/stable/40988487.

Latin American cities, including Santiago, assimilated the urban design of European metropolises, such as Haussmann's Paris, through their urban ornamental sculpture.[283] This fact suggests that ornamental statuary attained a cultural significance beyond mere decoration. Public statuary, associated with material progress and cultural status, was intended to contribute to the city's modern appearance. However, because of the lack of art foundries in the region at the time, Latin American cities had to turn to French art foundries to produce the sculptures that decorated their public spaces.[284]

The escalation of the art market stimulated technological innovation and serial reproduction, which resulted in the increasing use of materials such as cast iron and zinc for the production of sculptures. Iron and zinc had reduced the costs of production and serial reproduction of metal sculpture had given private consumers unprecedented access to artworks, encouraging the establishment of more foundries in Europe. Yet, these technical innovations in the production of European metal sculpture slowly eroded the market for the "unique piece of sculpture," which was largely replaced by smaller, serially reproduced art objects.

As evidenced by the increasing number of serially produced metal statues in France and their commercialization in a number of countries in Europe, North and South America, the production of serial metal sculpture made possible a broader range of affordable works.[285] In this context, the participation of French foundries such as Val

[283] Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 14. Maurice Agulhon, "Imagerie civique et décor urbain dans la France du XIXe Siècle" in *Ethnologie Française*, Nouvelle Serie, T. 5, Presses Universitaires de France, (1975), 33-56. Accesed July 1, 2013. http://jstor.org/stable/40988344.

[284] Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, *Monumento Conmemorativo y Espacio Público en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Cátedra 2004), 93-98.

[285] Michele Bogart, "The Development of a Popular Market for Sculpture in America, 1850-1880," *Journal of American Culture* (Spring, 1981), 3-27.

d'Osne in international exhibitions should be understood in relation to the interest they had in consolidating new markets. Furthermore, the demand in Chile for metal artworks confirms Elisabeth Robert-Dehault's assertion that Chile's exhibition of 1875 can be considered a key moment in the consolidation of the French-Chilean alliance.[286]

The commercialization of serially produced metal sculpture by art foundries and traders challenged traditional notions of authorship and authenticity of artworks, a fact to which both the Val d'Osne and Rose Innes and Co. catalogues attest.[287] Nonetheless, both companies also relied on crediting authorship of some of their works as compelling marketing strategy that legitimated the artistic status of the objects on sale. Since, in the case of serially-produced metal sculpture authorship was not always recognized, the perceived artistic status of such objects intended for the commercial realm was jeopardized. While in the beginning of the nineteenth century art foundries employed a number of well known French sculptors including Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, Isidore Bonheur, Gabriel Dubray, and Mathurin Moreau (all of whom had frequently collaborated with Val d'Osne), during the second half of the century, the sculptors with whom they worked were not as prominent. According to Catherine Chevillot, it is likely that these foundries had hired prestigious artists before they had attained public recognition. However, she goes on to explain, by the end of the century, they began to hire second-tier artists because it became more important that they work in traditional styles than they be famous.[288] While the Chilean academic sculptor,

[286] Robert-Dehault, 21.

[287] Robert Kashey and Martin Reymert, *Western European Bronzes of the Nineteenth Century. A Survey* (New York: Shephers Gallery, 1973), n/p.

[288] Catherine Chevillot, "Escultura de Hierro Colado en la Francia del Siglo XIX," *El Arte del Hierro Fundido. Artes de México*, 17-8.

Nicanor Plaza was neither European not top-tier artist, his work was included in a later catalogue Val d'Osne used to market its products because of the foundry's attempt to forge new relationships with the Latin American market. Remarkably, the work by Plaza that appeared in the catalogue was the very same condor sculpture used for the cornices of the *Palacio de la Exposición* in Santiago. Although more details are unknown, the fact that Plaza's work was included in the catalogue also underscores his close ties to the foundry.[289]

Despite the dearth of critical reviews on the metal sculpture in the exhibition, the last minute decision to establish a special jury to evaluate industrial art suggests that the exhibition organizers eventually demonstrated greater interest in metal artworks.[290] Indeed, on December 22, 1875, less than three weeks before the exhibition closed, a jury examined objects of industrial art including sculpture from the Val d'Osne art foundry, oleographs, paintings in glass and crockery, plastic-galvanized works, and other works that "had not found a place in the general program."[291] Although there is no specific information about the reasons that awards for the industrial arts were relegated to a separate category, the fact that this decision was taken at the last minute suggests that some exhibitors may have noted the absence of such a category to the organizers, as the

[289] Plaza's Condor is identified in the Val d'Osne catalogue as number 133. *Societé Anonyme des Hauts-fourneaux et fonderies du Val d'Osne*. Album No.2 (1900), pl. 637. Accessed August 9, 2014. http://www.e-monumen.net/index.php?option=com_volumen&volumenTask=volumenDetails&catid=16&volumenId=2489&Itemid=. The condor Plaza designed was later replicated in statues installed in Valparaíso, Chile and Natal, Brazil. Elisabeth Robert-Dehault, "Los Grandes Escultores de la Industria Metalúrgica Francesa. Las Principales Líneas Temáticas y Tendencias Estilísticas," in Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 32.

[290] The jury was comprised of five members: the sculptor and engraver Jean Bainville, Francisco Miralles, Daniel Barros Grez, the sculptor Nicanor Plaza, and Luis Dávila Larraín, who replaced the President of the Fine Arts Section, Maximiano Errázuriz, on January 3, 1876. The participation of Plaza in this jury probably had to do with the ties Plaza had established with Val d'Osne. Letter No. 1008, January 3, 1876, in *BEI 9*, 1058.

[291] Acta Sesión 111, 22 de Diciembre, 1875, in *BEI 9*, 1023.

industrial arts had been included in previous international exhibitions. This fact is particularly notable because it demonstrates the limited development the decorative and applied arts had at the time in Chile. It also shows that Chileans largely associated "art" with the fine arts.

Objects of "Truly Artistic Taste"

The fact that metal sculpture was mostly associated with decorative and applied art often relegated it to a peripheral position outside the fine arts. For this reason, companies such as Rose Innes and Co. made efforts to endow these works with a high art status. The company exercised a number of strategies to accomplish this goal, one being imbuing works with artistic styles—frequently the classical style. The significance of the style was the key to enhancing the works' artistic qualities and thus endowing them with a higher status. In the nineteenth century, objects that had a "function" were positioned in a lower status, while painting, sculpture, and architecture were considered among the fine arts. In the context of the exhibition, this meant that the decorative arts were grouped in the manufactured products section, which explains the efforts traders took to link these objects with artistic styles.[292] Indeed, in the Rose Innes and Co. exhibition catalogue,

[292] The validity of these notions in the second half of the nineteenth century is confirmed in the fact that only two years after the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, William Morris advocated for the decorative arts in *The Lesser Arts,* a lecture delivered before the Trade's Guild of Learning in London and that would be published later, in 1882. In this lecture, Morris contended that the decorative arts should be considered in the same category as painting, sculpture and architecture, which confirms that the status of the arts was a broader concern and matter of debate at the time. See William Morris, "The Lesser Arts," in Norman Kelvin (Ed.), *William Morris on Art and Socialism* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc. 1999), 1-18.

vases, statues, water fountains, and metal ornaments were all explicitly linked to referents from Antiquity to nineteenth century art.[293]

Given the fact that decorative and applied works like water fountains, vases, and statuettes were located along with manufactured products like tools, carriages, guns, and sewing machines, traders such as Rose Innes and Co. attempted to make their decorative objects appear more appealing by emphasizing their artistic character.[294] This strategy was intended to elevate the status of their decorative art objects in order to present their products to consumers in the most attractive manner possible. Thus, this new approach to marketing their products indicates that either customers demonstrated an increased interest in fine art objects, or that the company deliberately aimed to instigate that desire among them.

Objects in the Rose Innes and Co. catalogue were identified by titles that both identified them, and aligned them with classical themes and the iconography of ancient antiquity, which appear to have been intended to reinforce their connection to art historical or design styles. In fact, the use of classical iconography in statues and decorative designs was popular in both Chilean public and domestic spaces. The former is exemplified by the popularity of ornamental sculpture such as water fountains or urban decorations installed throughout Santiago involving classical gods. This fact attests to the prestige of the classical style as well as its commercial potential.

Notably, accounts of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* describing works on display in the Rose Innes and Co.'s pavilion, such as classically-inspired bronze statues used as candelabras, described them as pieces "of tru[e] artistic taste." Such reviews

[293] *CIRI,* 231-275. *GVEI,* 69.

[294] Roco, 188-90.

demonstrate that visitors actually appreciated the artistic qualities of the Rose Innes and Co.'s applied and decorative artworks.[295] By giving works titles with stylistic references or general descriptions, the Rose Innes and Co. catalogue reinforced the objects' stylistic connotations in order to situate them within an art historical context. Describing some pieces in their catalogue as "great artistic water fountains," reveals the eagerness of the company to underscore their artistic quality over their functional purpose.[296] Thus, in order to successfully market the works, the company stressed their artistic quality over their functional use. Hence, function (or lack thereof), had served as the category the exhibition's organizers used for classifying objects in the exhibition—which led to the distinction between the decorative arts versus fine arts sections. By contrast, the Rose Innes and Co. chose to focus instead on their objects' style.

Even water fountains were given titles that described their subjects, as evident in a number of water fountains that bore titles linked to art historical iconography including *Child, Dolphin and Rock*, *The Sphinx*, *Griffin*, *Naiad, Children and Geese*, *Caiman and Serpent,* and *The Slave.* In the case of *The Slave* (Fig. 39), which was illustrated in the catalogue, the title clearly indicates the subjects and theme of the fountain, which was both representational and decorative. The object included a figure of a slave, his arms uplifted, tied to a column, which stood on the fountain's base and also supported its upper portion, which was comprised by a basin into which the water spouting from the highest part of the fountain fell. The profusely ornamented base was adorned with vegetal motifs on the corners that transformed into feline paws at their ends, while its four sides depicted

[295] *GVEI*, 16.

[296] *CIRI*, 233.

reliefs of four bearded faces issuing water from their mouths into shells located on the lower part of the fountain.

Other titles more generally referred to decorative style such as "Athens" or "Greek", confirming that classical references were commonly used in decorative objects at the time, and that traders were aware of the potential of artistic styles in capturing customers' attention.[297] Something similar occurred in the case of bronzed sofas that were identified by style, such as *Moorish*, *Kensington*, *Windsor*, *Central Park*, or *Italian*, likely in reference to the most popular current styles, or according their decorative elements, for example, *Medallion and Nymph*.[298] Likewise the design of vase handles was often identified by references such as *Caryatid Serpent Handles*, and *Deer Head*.[299]

Along these lines, zinc and bronze statues also bore titles, yet they seem to have been considered to have a different artistic status. Even though both shared common themes such as figures of children, or mythological subjects in allegorical representations such as those titled *Winter*, *Summer*, *Spring*, *Fall,* and *Faith, Hope, and Charity* or others, for example, *Child Praying,* authorship was not a feature that was commonly recognized in these works. Indeed Rose Innes and Co.'s catalogue only indicated the name of the author in a group of five cast iron statues attributed to Mathurin Moreau.[300]

The hierarchy of the arts, the categories in which objects were organized, and the ways in which they were displayed, demonstrate that in the Santiago exhibition of 1875, the tension between art and commerce determined an artwork status. Moreover, accounts

[297] Ibid., 231-40.

[298] Ibid., 260-1.

[299] Ibid., 246-8.

[300] Ibid., 253.

from Chilean critics and reviewers reveal that in the public realm, the fine arts received almost exclusive attention, whereas the decorative arts were scarcely considered, despite traders' efforts to stress their artistic qualities.[301] The Chilean public's relative disinterest in the decorative arts can be explained in part by the attitudes of the elites, who disseminated the idea that it was only through an appreciation of the fine art that the public's taste could be developed and refined, and that the nation could become cultured. Hence, the exhibition's organizers' attempt to obscure the commercial aspects of the fine art objects, while highlighting their aesthetic and cultural qualities can be understood as an instance of the pervasive attitude that the fine arts had an elevated cultural status.

In this context, Chilean sculptors did not have much to say, since the scarce number of Chilean works presented in the competition only shed light on the fact that Chilean sculpture was still an incipient field. Indeed, a closer examination of Chilean sculpture is necessary in order to determine the ways in which Chilean arts operated in the exhibition.

[301] A further analysis on the impact of the commercial strategies used by traders in Chile during the nineteenth century requires a specific study that is beyond the scope of this investigation and therefore, should be undertaken in future research.

CHAPTER IV

CHILE IN THE EXHIBITION: FROM NATIONAL ART TO THE ART OF COLLECTING

Although international exhibitions were intended to display the development of both the arts and industry, the fine arts usually attained the most public visibility. Because of the organizers' awareness of the appeal of the fine arts in these exhibitions, the participation of both artists and collectors was particularly encouraged in both the European and Chilean exhibits. International exhibitions were especially seen as ideal venues for showcasing the host country's "national arts." Thus, the arts were not only used to present a nation's cultural progress, but they also crystallized the nationalistic motivations behind these exhibits.

The popularity of the fine arts among exhibition visitors and reviewers alike explains to a great extent, exhibition organizers' high expectations for the art sections of these events. It also explains the artists' motivations for participating in the fine arts sections of universal exhibitions, particularly those in Europe, where they could establish a broad platform for displaying and marketing their works. The excitement around these exhibitions was visible, for example, in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris. A few weeks before it opened, the press vividly described the artists' enthusiasm:

> On this day, according to official announcement, the doors of the Fine Art Galleries were to close upon contributors early this morning, therefore, artists began to arrive before the back doors of the galleries, accompanied

> by their works. Before mid-day the scene was most amusing; every variety of Parisian conveyance, from the dashing remise down to the humble hand-barrow, had been in requisition. Some, too economical to employ the proprietors even of hand-barrows, arrived, carrying their pictures under their arms. Great excitement prevailed when a colossal painting was driven up: and, under cover of this excitement, timid ladies were seen to make their way to the doors, and taking a little portrait from under their cloak, to leave it, and hasten away.[302]

This eloquent description provides a clear idea of the excitement international exhibitions produced, and confirmed that artists saw them as significant opportunities to promote their works to wide-ranging audiences. Likewise, the public would be able to appreciate a large and varied quantity of artworks, which transformed the fine art sections of exhibitions into unique settings for the comparison of national and foreign arts.

Approximately 600 paintings and sculptures displayed in the Fine Arts section of Chile's *Exposición Internacional,* which was notably fewer than those exhibited in Europe. For example, the 1873 *Weltausstellung* largely exceeded the 5,000 pieces on display in its Fine Arts section.[303] Nonetheless, the arrival of foreign paintings and sculptures in Santiago produced a great deal of excitement among the city's inhabitants. The display of so many national and foreign artworks transformed the *Exposición* into the largest and most complete art show ever carried out in the country. Thus, it represented a

[302] "Paris Universal Exhibition," *Illustrated London News*, March 24, 1855, 282. British Newspaper Archive.

[303] *Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien. Officieller Kunst-Catalog.*

unique opportunity to both introduce local audiences to original European artworks, and to show the state of Chilean art to foreigners and Chileans alike.

This general enthusiasm was also evident in the press covering the show. A few days after the exhibition opened, for example, *El Independiente* boasted: "A publicly displayed painting collection like the one now on view in the magnificent galleries of our *Exposición Internacional* has never been seen in Chile. All the schools are well represented in the different pictorial genres."[304] Such commentaries underscore the general public's enthusiasm for both the large quantity of works on view (in comparison with previous exhibitions in Chile), as well as for the variety of artistic styles on display. In fact, the author's reference to "the schools" on display in the exhition, is most likely a reference to the various national origins of the paintings on view: French, Spanish, Italian, German, Swiss, and Dutch works, providing a varied group of artworks.

Indeed, many participating Chilean artists were presenting their works for the first time in an international setting, an achievement made especially exciting by the fact that they were showing their work alongside paintings and sculptures by artists who had already attained international recognition in the salons of Paris. Although some French and Italian artists had sporadically arrived in Chile from the 1840s onwards, the number of pieces they had produced and displayed in Chile could hardly be compared with the works on display in 1875. Nonetheless, what at first seemed to represent an exceptional opportunity for portraying the progress of the national arts, provided instead an image of the uneven development of art in Chile. While the Chilean painting gallery gathered a

[304] "Nunca se había visto en Chile una colección de cuadros expuesta al public, como la que existe ahora en los magníficos salones de nuestra Exposición Internacional. Todas las escuelas están bien reprresentadas en los distintos jéneros de la pintura." *El Independiente*, 26 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

number of emerging Chilean artists, the Chilean sculpture gallery only presented a few artists, among which only one, Nicanor Plaza, had attained prestige in Chile at the time.

CHILEAN SCULPTURE: THE BLIND SIDE OF THE NATIONAL ARTS

Although the 1875 exhibition represented a unique opportunity for Chilean artists to show their works, the exhibit revealed the paucity of Chilean sculptors, and consequently, the lesser production of Chilean sculptures in comparison with Chilean painting. In contrast to the overwhelming popularity of Italian sculpture, which according to the catalogue included 119 works, the group of Chilean works was dramatically smaller—five sculptures presented by five Chilean artists, one of whom was an amateur, and therefore had not received academic training—and passed almost unnoticed by contemporary reviewers. The fact that there were 58 paintings by 24 Chilean artists, left Chilean sculpture in a disadvantageous position within the context of the "national arts."[305]

One of the few commentaries about Chilean sculpture found in the Chilean press was an article in *El Independiente*, published the day after the exhibition opened (when many of the international artworks had still not yet arrived from Europe), that contended that there did not seem to be *any* Chilean sculptures on display.[306] The fact that so few

[305] In fact, according the catalogue, 119 sculptures were expected to be displayed by Italian artists whereas only five corresponded to Latin American sculptors: two of them Chilean, one Ecuadorian, and one Peruvian. Although the catalogue included only two Chilean sculptors, five sculptors were finally awarded: Nicanor Plaza, Virginio Arias, Nicolás Romero, Alvaro Garín, and S. Bravo. This fact proves that additional works were included in the exhibition after the catalogue was printed. *COBA*, 31; *LJP,* 91.

[306] *El Independiente*, 17 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

local sculptors and artists participated in this category was an indication of the slower development of Chilean sculpture. Indeed, the lack of Chilean sculptors and the limited sculptural production in Chile more broadly, explain the dearth of Chilean sculpture in the exhibition. This was even more noticeable considering that sculpture—particularly Italian sculpture—proved to be one of the greatest attractions to the exhibit in general.

The relative scarcity of Chilean sculptural production at the fair reflected to a large extent, the secondary place sculpture occupied in the Chilean art system in general. In part, this situation resulted from the higher costs of sculptural practice, which led sculptors to financially depend on a small number of philanthropists and private collectors existing at the time in the country. Mostly wealthy members of the Chilean elite, the artistic tastes of these individuals were developed in tandem with their increasing contact with European, and particularly French art in the first half of the nineteenth century, which gradually led them to start buying European art. Around the same time, the *Academia de Pintura* (Academy of Painting) was founded in Santiago in 1849, resulting in the emergence of academic painters and sculptors in the country, whom Chilean collectors began to support in order to boost the national arts scene. Hence, the acquisition of Chilean academic art by local private collectors can be understood as their attempt to stimulate the development of the national arts.

Yet, despite the fact that there were few sculptors in Chile, their academic training in Europe started earlier than painters. It was in this context that in 1863 the Chilean government decided to send the first Chilean artist to Paris to complete his studies: the sculptor Nicanor Plaza.[307] Even so, the difficulties faced by the School of Sculpture of

[307] After Plaza, who left for Paris in 1863, José Miguel Blanco did so in 1867 and Virginio Arias in 1882. Berríos et. Al., 212, 317, 333.

Santiago during the 1860s greatly affected the development of the sculptural field in Chile. For five years, beginning in 1867, the School temporarily suspended sculpture classes due to an illness of the School of Sculpture's director, the French sculptor Auguste François, who returned to Paris. Nonetheless, François's sculpture would crown Santiago's exhibition building of 1875.[308]

Rescuing Sculpture

With François gone from Chile, a replacement was needed for his position as professor of sculpture at the School of Sculpture. Nicanor Plaza's return from Paris in 1872 was partly the result of François's departure and the need for a new professor. This opportunity helped to transform Plaza into a central figure in the development of Chilean sculpture.[309] Even so, by 1875 there were still very few sculptors working in Chile because some of them still remained in Europe in order to complete their academic training. Notably, the phenomenon of Chilean artists travelling to France, had actually been instigated in the 1860s with Nicanor Plaza's first trip in 1863. Because of this, Plaza was the only sculptor available who had completed his training in France, and therefore, the only one who had won practically all public commissions since 1872, and who sold the most to private collectors during the 1870s.

Private individuals were mainly interested in Plaza because of his French academic background, which endowed him with an increasing prestige that was enhanced even further upon his return to Chile in 1872. However, the support and promotion he

[308] Ibid., 224

[309] Ibid., 244-45.

received from members of the Chilean elite was evident even before his travel to Europe, when Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna first gave his public support to the young student. In fact, in the Painting Exhibition of the *Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria* (Society of Primary Instruction), in 1858, one of the first art exhibitions carried out in the country, Vicuña Mackenna recommended that the government should pay attention to the young Plaza and send him to complete his academic training to Europe.[310] His favorable attitude towards Plaza eventually resulted in Vicuña Mackenna's commissioning of a number of works from Plaza in the 1870s. Similarly, in 1863, in addition to the scholarship to study abroad, Plaza also received financial backing from the Cousiño family during his stay in Paris, where the family also commissioned works and acquired pieces from the artist.

Thus, it was not in Chile, but rather in Paris, that Plaza's relationship with Chilean patrons and collectors were consolidated. In fact, Paris had provided him not only academic training, but also crucial connections with Chilean diplomats and businessmen for whom the sculptor made a number of works. These included: an 1866 bust of the Chilean diplomat, Francisco Javier Rosales; an 1867 marble bust of the Chilean Consul in Paris, Francisco Fernández Rodella, who was responsible for the French pavilion in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*; and an 1867 bust of Matías Cousiño, Luis Cousiño's father, all of them likely rendered in the Neoclassical style that characterized most Plaza's works.[311] Notably, some of these works were also displayed in the Salon of Paris, in which the artist participated at least between 1866 and 1870. Plaza was also the only

[310] "Una Visita a la Exposicion de Pinturas de 1858," *Revista del Pacífico*, Tomo I, (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1858), 448-49. According to Arturo Blanco, *Genio Chileno de la Guerra* and a medallion of Wenceslao Castellón by Nicanor Plaza were located in Vicuña Mackenna's country house. Arturo Blanco, "Biografía del escultor don Nicanor Plaza," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, (Octubre-Diciembre, 1930), 265-67.

[311] The appearance and current location of these busts are unknown.

Chilean sculptor who participated in the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris,[312] which also is probably what most contributed to his subsequent prestige in Chile.[313]

Thus, when Plaza returned to Chile in 1872 after nine years in Paris, many of his works already belonged to prestigious Chilean private art collections, as was demonstrated by the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*. In the exhibit, two of the most prominent Chilean collectors, Luis Cousiño, and Maximiano Errázuriz—who later would be appointed as President of the Fine Arts Section of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* —owned the largest number of his works.[314] Hence, it was Plaza's French academic training, the backing of the Chilean elite, as well as the support of the local press, that consolidated his reputation and status as a high quality, cosmopolitan sculptor. Indeed, Plaza's success in the exhibition was heralded in contemporary commentaries, such as the following:

> Mr. Plaza's numerous and important sculptures have caused true and fair admiration in the public. In the quietness of his studio, few had contemplated his works, today surrounded by admirers. Having just returned from a long study trip, he exhibits a beautiful account of the use of his time and of the support he received from the state.

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[312] According to the catalogue, Plaza exhibited three works in the Fine Arts section, described as follows:
1. Sara, la baigneuse (Bas-relief marbre) [Sarah, the Bather (marble low relief)]
2. Cousino jeune (Marbre) [Young Cousiño (marble)]
3. Hercule (étude en plâtre) [Hercules (plaster study)]
Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue Général Publié par la Commission Impériale. 1re Livraison. Oeuvres d'Art. Groupe I. Classes 1 a 5 (Deuxième edition, revue et corrigée) (Paris: E. Dentu Èditeur, 17 et 19, Palais Royal, 1867), 249. Accessed February 7, 2014. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b262782;view=1up;seq=255

[313] Plaza only presented works again in the Salon of 1875, the same year of Santiago's Exhibition.

[314] At the 1872 exhibition, eight of the works of Nicanor Plaza belonged to Luis Cousiño and eleven to Maximiano Errázuriz, the largest group of works of an artist in the exhibit. *ENAI*, 21-22.

> Today, now that Santiago is being transformed, that public avenues are being created and monuments being planned, we hope the young Mr. Plaza will have occasion to show us new creations from his delicate fantasy, embodied in marble by his intelligent and vigorous chisel.[315]

Soon the sculptor's reputation as a leading artist in Chile was consolidated, and by the time the organizers commissioned the sculptures for the *Palacio de la Exposición* from him, he was already recognized as a prestigious artist in Chile. Yet, Plaza's fame was not only ensured among private art consumers, but also in the public realm, in which the sculptor received an increasing number of commissions in the following years. Prior to 1872, public commissions were mostly commissioned from more experienced European artists. For many years, this left Chilean artists in a secondary position. For instance, although the first public sculpture was installed in Santiago in 1836, Chilean sculptors did not participate in a public commission until 1872.

Of the public commissions awarded to Plaza, the first was the base of monument by the French sculptor, Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, titled *Monumento a Bernardo O'Higgins*. Plaza was entrusted with the reliefs on the pedestal that depicted the main battles of Chile's Wars of Independence as well as other meaningful episodes of Chilean history, such as the abdication of Bernardo O'Higgins, which will be analyzed later in this chapter. It is significant that one of the conditions the commissioners—mainly

[315] "Verdadera I justa admiracion han causado en el público las numerosas e importantes obras de escultura del señor Plaza. En el tranquilo retiro de su taller, bien pocos habían podido contemplar sus trabajos rodeados hoi de admiradores. Recien regresado de un largo viaje de estudio, exhibe una Hermosa cuenta del empleo de su tiempo I de los ausilios que ha recibido del Estado.

Hoi que Santiago se transforma, que se crean paseos públicos I se proyectan monumentos, esperamos que el jóven Plaza tendra ocasion de mostrarnos nuevas creaciones de su delicada fantasia, encarnadas en el mármol por su cincel intelijente I vigoroso." *ENAIM*, xli-lii.

prominent individuals of the Chilean elite among whom was Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna[316]—imposed on Carrier-Belleuse for the commission was that he allow Plaza to participate on the project. Hence, the commission represents the first attempt to include a Chilean sculptor in the realization of a public monument.[317] Plaza's inclusion in a public art commission probably responded to the enthusiasm surrounding his debut in Chile, having just returned from Europe.

Plaza's prominence is also evidenced in the sheer number of works he displayed in Chilean exhibitions. In the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, for example, Plaza exhibited twenty-eight of the more than sixty sculptures on view, whereas other sculptors, such as Alvaro Garín, presented only five works.[318] This fact throws into sharp relief the contrast between Plaza's prolific output in France, and the paucity of works by Chilean sculptors at the time. The result of Plaza's heightened visibility was the increasing number of commissions he was awarded of both public and private sculptures in the following years.

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[316] Other members of the commission were: Guillermo Matta, Miguel Luis Amunàtegui, José Manuel Balmaceda, Antono Varas, Manuel Blanco Encalada, Marcos Maturana, José Tomás de Urmeneta, Melchor Concha y Toro, Domingo Fernández Concha, Marcial Matínez, and Domingo Santa María. On the monument see: José M. Muñoz Hermosilla, "Monumentos Nacionales," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, Tomo LXI (1929), 352.

[317] The following year, in 1873, Plaza had been entrusted with the statue of the Chilean politician Francisco Bilbao and other works of "public interest" such as the marble statue of the Archbishop Vicuña, bronze statues for the city of Lima and a statue of Minerva intended to crown the monument to the Escritores de la Historia de la Independencia, marble statues of Andrés Bello and Domingo Eyzaguirre, ornamental works for the National Congress, statues and allegories for the Exhibition Palace, two marble statues of Bernardo O'Higgins and José Miguel Carrera for the parliamentary sessions' hall, and allegories for the façade of the University of Chile's building. "Estatua de Francisco Bilbao," *La República*, 13 de Julio, 1873, s/n.

[318] Interestingly, although the number of sculptors was not significantly higher than in 1875, the quantity of works presented in 1872 was notably larger. In spite of the larger number of works in 1872, the relation regarding the largest number of paintings remained, as a hundred and twenty works were exhibited, which was twice the number of sculptures. *ENAI,* 17-23.

Thus, by the time of the exhibition of 1875, Plaza was considered the most prominent local artist by the Chilean elite, press, and public alike, which explains why he was entrusted with several sculptures intended to decorate the exhibition building. It was also why the exhibition's directors appointed him as one of the commissioners of the fine arts section. Yet, even that was not enough, Plaza also participated in the competition with a marble medallion depicting a profile bust of *Comandante Manuel Chacón* (Fig. 40), Commander of the Municipal Guard of Santiago, which he had presented earlier that year at the Salon of Paris.[319] Ultimately, Plaza's participation in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* was likely seen by the organizers as a way to endow the section with greater prestige, considering that the other Chilean sculptors in the competition were still students or amateurs.

However, the inclusion of a prominent artist like Plaza in the Chilean art section was not highlighted in the press as much as one might imagine. Indeed, given his prolific output, some might find it odd that he only presented one medallion in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. However, the reason for this was that another artwork that was apparently intended for the exhibition—a life-sized plaster grouping of three allegorical figures—only arrived from Paris on November 19 (two months after the exhibition opened), and was severely damaged during the trip. Showing its nationalistic overtones, the work was titled *La Jura del 12 de Febrero* (The Oath of February 12), and represented the proclamation and oath of Chilean independence.

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[319] Plaza's work is identified in the Salon's catalogue by the number 3335. *Salon de 1875. Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes Vivants, Exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er Mai 1875* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), No. 3335, 507. Accessed March 17, 2014. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k497644/f2.image. According to the information provided by the *Museo Histórico de Carabineros de Chile*, the medallion was commissioned in 1875 by the Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna as an homage to Manuel Chacón Garay, Commander of the Municipal Guard of Santiago between 1864 and 1880, from the city of Santiago.

According to a description of the work published in an article in *El Independiente*, the central figure of the group personified the nation, while on her sides, were two men taking an oath of independence.[320] Significantly, this article reveals aspects of Chilean sculpture unexplored until now in Chilean scholarship. For instance, it discloses Plaza's explicit intention to depict Chilean subjects and historical narratives. Likewise, it demonstrates that the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* was a significant occasion for Chilean artists to represent allegories of the nation, and to shape the image of "the national" in the arts.[321] Hence, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* can be understood as a platform for reinforcing Chilean nationalism, and the arts were instrumental in accomplishing this.

The fact that Plaza had intended to display this national allegory in the exhibition demonstrates his interest in representing a significant theme of Chilean history. It also shows his efforts to create a truly Chilean genre of sculpture, which was endowed with a sense of nationalistic spirit. The eventual display of a work of such dimensions and subject matter would have certainly captured the public's attention, and probably would have enhanced the image of Chilean sculpture in the exhibition. However, in the end, the work was not shown, the result being an uneven sculptural presentation in the Chilean section of the exhibition.

Yet, the important role Plaza played in the exhibition did not cease with his sculptural contributions. He appeared not only as a creator, but also as the subject of one

[320] *El Independiente*, 20 de Noviembre, 1875, n/p.

[321] Prior to the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, female allegories of the republic had only been depicted on coins, medals, and in caricatures. See: José Toribio Medina, *Las Medallas Chilenas*; Juan Manuel Martínez, *Monedas Americanas. La Libertad Acuñada*; Isabel Cruz de Amenábar, "Diosas Atribuladas: Alegorías Cívicas. Caricatura y Política en Chile Durante el siglo XIX," *Revista Historia* PUC, (1997), 105-158.

of the works on view: his closest pupil, Virginio Arias, presented an academically rendered bronze bust of his mentor (Fig. 41), which bore an inscription that reads "A mi professor Don N. Plaza. V. Arias. Paris marzo de 1875" (To my professor Don N. Plaza. V. Arias. Paris March 1875).[322] Granted a second place prize and a Honorable Mention in the international competition of the *Exposición Nacional* of Santiago, the piece should be seen as an expression of public recognition and gratitude, since Plaza was not only his professor at the School of Sculpture, but had also taken Arias to Paris and funded part of his stay there in 1874, in order to position the young student in the Parisian artistic milieu.[323]

What is most significant is that neither Plaza nor Arias presented foreign subjects, but rather, both depicted Chilean individuals and subjects. Yet, while the exhibition's Chilean sculpture section intended to showcase national subjects in order to endow national sculpture with a distinctive character, it failed to accomplish its goal because of the lack of consistency and quantity of the Chilean sculptural works on view. In contrast to the situation of national painting in Chile, sculpture in the country still relied on the "cult status" of one artist to attain visibility in Chilean art.

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[322] Like Plaza's medallion, the bust had been previously displayed in the Salon of Paris that same year. Arias' work is identified in the Salon's catalogue by the number 2846. *Salon de 1875. Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes Vivants, Exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er Mai 1875* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), 424. Accessed March 17, 2014.http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k497644/f2.image.

[323] Berríos et Al. 291. Other Chilean sculptors awarded in the 1875 exhibition were Nicolás Romero, who obtained a Honorable Mention for a plaster bust of "F.E." (presumably president Federico Errázuriz); Álvaro Garín received a third place prize as amateur, and S. Bravo, a third place prize for a wood crucifix. *COBA,* 31. *LJP*, 91. In the case of Nicanor Plaza and Álvaro Garín, both had been awarded a gold medal and a bronze medal respectively in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*. *ENAIM,* xlvii.

CHILEAN PAINTING AND THE NATIONAL IMAGE

In light of the scarcity of Chilean sculptures and lack of critical attention paid to it, public interest turned to Chilean painting, which along with Italian sculpture, was one of the most commented on in the fine arts section. The significant role played by history and landscape painting in the Chilean gallery greatly determined the way in which critics perceived and portrayed Chilean art and artists. Likewise, the exhibition layout revealed the key role played by pictorial genres in the process of consolidating a national art, revealing the cultural aspirations of both artists and collectors.

Shaping Chilean Painting

The way in which Chilean art was portrayed in Chilean accounts of the exhibit was related to a great extent to the way in which the works were organized in it. Indeed, the layout of the Chilean painting gallery revealed how the organizers and reviewers saw national painting. It also demonstrated how public's perceptions of Chilean national art represented an ongoing negotiation between a search for authenticity versus international artistic legitimization.

For many Chilean painters, the exhibition represented their first opportunity to show their works in an international setting. For some of them, it was a chance to consolidate their still incipient careers. Accordingly, the way in which the works were organized in the exhibition expressed the organizers' assumptions about Chile's developing arts and their own perception of Chile's subordinate position in the international context.

While it was a common practice at the time to display foreign and domestic artworks separately in international exhibitions, the motivations behind this decision responded to different criteria. In the case of Chile, the layout of the fine arts section demonstrated similarities with other exhibitions carried out since the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, because London's Great Exhibition of 1851 had paid little attention to the fine arts section.

Chilean organizers proved to have understood the cultural connotations of the arts and thus gave them a significant place in the exhibition. Indeed, the exhibition's directors paid particular attention to the arts, because they believed them to endow the fair with an intellectual and cultured sensibility that would appeal to Europeans.

However, the organizers made efforts to avoid direct comparisons between the Chilean and European art on view, a strategy that differed from the approach of the organizers' of the Parisian exhibition of 1855. Indeed, in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*, works were grouped by country in order to stress the splendor of the French School, which was highlighted by a number of works by David and Delacroix, as well as other prominent French artists.[324] Because artworks were organized by country, comparisons between France and Great Britain were inevitable, and the differences proved to have dramatically affected British art, as noted in an article published in *The Illustrated London News*:

[324] Of the more than 5,000 artworks presented in 1855, more than fifty percent were of French origin. The sheer abundance of French works on view in the fine arts section cast the image of cultural dominance that France was so eager to project. The total of works were divided among 2,923 paintings, 684 sculptures, 472 engravings, 155 lithographs, and 350 architecture works. Maxime Du Camp, *Les Beaux-Arts a L'Exposition Universelle de 1855* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1855), 425-26. See also Mainardi, 46.

> It may interest you readers to learn that the English engravings and water-colour paintings bid fair to be the first contributions arranged in the Fine Arts Building. When I was last in the galleries there were no more than five or six French paintings upon the walls; but then many of these paintings will each take the side of an apartment. Horace Vernet's acres of canvas from Versailles; Gerome's colossal picture painted for the French government, a portrait of the present Emperor five or six times the size of life; a colossal eagle; colossal groups of sculpture—everything immense, if not great. […] The English paintings will be generally regarded as microscopic studies by the French. Here, a portrait only the size of life is a miniature.[325]

This poor reputation of British art did not seem to have changed much by the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris. Indeed, commentary from the British press reveals how the organizers' exhibition layout stressed the strategic goals behind the show:

> […] the British fine-art galleries are very contracted compared with those of France, it should be remembered that we really require far less space. Nearly all English pictures are of cabinet and "easel" sizes; and we have little to correspond with the numerous class of large religious and historical works painted for churches and public buildings in France, and with which acres of wall-space could be occupied. For the same reason we can scarcely cover the upper part of the lofty walls actually at command. Inquiries have

[325] "The Paris Universal Exhibition," *Illustrated London News*, April 14, 1855. British Newspaper Archive.

> been made respecting the possibility of removing to Paris some of the mural painting in the Westminster Palace, but the artists consider the risk much greater of transferring a stereochrome painting than a fresco. A more marked disadvantage, however, than lack of space for the British fine-art classes is that the galleries are curved throughout their whole extent—not straight like most of the French.[326]

This description of the way the spaces were organized reveals the relevance of the conditions of display and the consequences they may have had on public perception. It therefore demonstrates that display could be used as a strategic tool to undermine or enhance the image of a nation in one of the sections of international exhibitions that garnered the most attention and that were believed to most represent a country's cultural progress.

In the same way that the "national" and foreign arts were a matter of debate in previous exhibitions, in the case of the Chilean exhibition, comparisons were also employed to advance the nationalistic agenda underlying the exhibition. As with previous international exhibitions, the Chilean arts were separated from the others, but instead of being grouped in the catalogue by country, foreign fine arts were listed together, in alphabetical order. A similar criterion seems to have been applied to the exhibition layout. By separating national and foreign painting, the organizers sought to avoid direct comparisons with European art that would show Chilean art's lesser cultural and artistic development.

[326] "Fine Arts," *Illustrated London News*, December 8, 1866, 550.

Indeed, artists exhibiting in the Chilean gallery consisted mostly of emerging painters that had just started their careers a few years before the exhibition. It was believed that the greater history and more complex mastery of the European artists would contrast too strongly against the less experienced Chilean artists who lacked the long artistic tradition of European art. Thus, a consolidated "national school" of international prestige was nonexistent in Chilean art, and therefore an open competition among them would only accentuate the distance between them. Their desire to avoid comparisons was also evident in the initiative of the General Secretary of the *Exposición*, Eduardo de la Barra, who proposed that awards for national art should be separate from those of foreign art.[327]

Thus, at the behest of the Chilean exhibition directory, Chilean painting was separate from European art: nonetheless, critics saw great potential in national painting and their reviews greatly contributed to the promotion of Chilean artists. Indeed, rather than stressing the qualities of European painting, commentaries mostly highlighted the emergent national school, emphasizing the promising qualities of young Chilean painters.

Moreover, commentaries by Chilean critics and reviewers greatly contributed to publically shaping the image of Chilean painting and national and cultural progress, and therefore, their accounts should be seen as instrumental in translating the cultural agenda of the exhibition for the wider public. For instance, an article published in the *Correo de la Exposición* enthusiastically asserted that the progress of the national arts achieved in the last twenty years, had captured the attention of both national and foreign visitors. Such reviews reveal how national art was read as a cipher of national progress. It even

[327] Letter from Eduardo de la Barra to the Directory of the Exhibition, 4 de Marzo, 1875, in *BEI 6*, 736-37.

enthusiastically proclaimed that before the century's end, Santiago would be worthy of being called "the Athens of America."[328]

Remarkably, such advancements were assumed to be the result of the European influences Chileans had incorporated into Chilean culture. The same article pointed out that the improvement evinced in the arts was explained in part because of the country's closer connections with Europe: "…the easier and clearer it is to explain the progress of the arts for the general progress of the country, for our frequent travels and even more continuous relations with the cultured Europe, and for the increasing development that takes between us the cult to beauty, and the good, as well as wealth and good taste."[329] Although this assertion confirms the prevalence of the European influence on the cultural development of the country, this favorable perception of European culture would not prevent reviewers from criticizing European paintings in the exhibition.[330]

The failure or success of the "national arts" had constituted a concern in Chile since the foundation of the *Academia de Pintura* in 1849. Consequently, it also underlied

[328] M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. I. El Paisaje," *Correo de la Exposición*, 23 de octubre, 1875, 57. Notably, the idea of Chile as "the Athens of America" echoed Alessandro Cicarelli, the first Director of the Chilean *Academia de Pintura*, founded in 1849, who on the day the *Academia* opened, had anticipated that some day Chile would be "the Athens of South America." *Discurso pronunciado en la Inauguración de la Academia de Pintura por su Director D. Alejandro Ciccarelli* (Santiago: Imprenta Chilena, Marzo de 1849), 16.

[329] "…lo más sencillo i lo mas claro es explicar el progreso de las artes por el adelanto general del país, por nuestros viajes frecuentes i nuestras relaciones mas i mas contínuas con la culta Europa, i por el desarrollo cada dia mayor que toman entre nosotros el culto de lo bello i de lo bueno así como la riqueza i el buen gusto." M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. I. El Paisaje," *Correo de la Exposición*, 23 de octubre, 1875, 57.

[330] Although the Chilean press had expanded during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was not a consolidated "art press" and therefore, artistic matters were often discussed in exhibition reviews, periodicals, and general interest magazines. More generally, newspapers also included articles that commented on art. One of the most important publications on artistic matters, *El Taller Illustrado* created by the sculptor José Miguel Blanco appeared in 1885.

national exhibitions carried out in the country prior to 1875.[331] However, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago provided audiences the opportunity to directly compare Chilean paintings with European artworks. It was this opportunity to directly evaluate the two together, which seems to have encouraged critics' celebration of national painting and, unexpectedly, the simultaneous unfavorable reception of the quality of the European paintings on display.[332]

The Judgment on European Painting

Despite the perceived superiority of European over Chilean art, reviewers' nonetheless demonstrated a rather critical attitude towards European works. Indeed, the perception of European artists' mastery seemed to have vanished when the European paintings arrived in Chile. In spite of the large number of foreign paintings on display—more than 260 paintings to be exact—the critics claimed that some of the European works in the exhibition were not the best examples of European art, probably alluding to the absence of acknowledged masterpieces. This was probably true, to the extent that it was very likely that European artists did not send their best works to an exhibition they may have considered of secondary importance to international exhibitions of Europe. Thus, although the status of the painters was not discussed, some critics directly

[331] While institutions of art education such as the *Academia de Pintura* (founded in 1849) and the *Escuela de Escultura* (founded in 1854)—both inspired by the European academic tradition—evidenced a focus on training national artists, a unified concept of "the national arts" was not consolidated as visible in the late founding of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in 1880. Although Josefina de la Maza mostly focuses on issues related to the national arts in the 1880s—that is, after the *Exposición Internacional* was carried out—it is nonetheless useful in establishing the overall context of the national arts in Chile in the second half of the nineteenth century. See: Josefina de la Maza, "Por un Arte Nacional."
[332] *COBA,* 5-16; Letelier, 14.

questioned the quality of the works, which shows that European art was less passively perceived in Chile than had been generally assumed. Moreover, the negative reviews of the poor quality of the European art in the exhibition situated Chilean art criticism as the crucial lynchpin that crystallized the increasing disapproval of European art in favor of Chilean art.

Reviewers not only commented on the quality of the works, but they also emphasized the public's favorable attitude towards Chilean painting. For example, in his account of the exhibition, the Chilean writer Liborio Brieba described how in the Fine Arts Section "people crowd[ed] with more interest in national painting" than art from other countries and later contended that "the foreigners have been left behind in painting."[333] However, an article in the *Correo de la Exposición* suggested that the difficulty of appreciating the European paintings on view might have resulted not only from their alleged lack of quality but also from the way in which they were arranged.[334] In fact, the article contended, the works had not been classified in chronological order, nor by artistic schools, so links between artists, subjects or formal features were more difficult to grasp, which made harder for the public to appreciate the works.[335]

Among the few reviewers who praised European artworks and provided specific aesthetic criteria—generally absent in other accounts—was Ambrosio Letelier. His praise

[333] "La jente se agolpa con mas interes a la pintura nacional, i aunque en verdad que ois decir:—'Los estranjeros se han quedado atras en pintura.'" Brieba, 10. Notably, the first prize for international painting was awarded to *Philoctetes* by Jacques Louis David. Although this recognition may indicate the jury's preference for the Neoclassical style, a closer consideration of the rest of the prizes awarded suggests that the prize was actually conferred because of the artist's prominence and prestige, rather than for the piece's stylistic qualities. In fact, critics did not say much about that particular painting, which not only reveals the discrepancies existing between the prizes awarded to European artists and the public relevance of their works. Even though the painting was not one of the most well-known works of the artist, David was still the most impostant painter whose work was included in the exhibition.

[334] M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos II. Historia y Jénero," *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de octubre, 1875, 66.

[335] Ibid.

focused on the adept portrayal of figural expression, physiognomy, and attitude in several European paintings. In contrast to the aformentioned negative critiques, Letelier was specific about the criteria he used to evaluate the "quality" of the works. For Letelier, it seems that quality was closely tied to a painting's "vivid character." Indeed, in the cases that Leterlier also criticized the quality of European pieces, he mentioned that they lacked "naturalism and truth."[336]

Some of the most criticized works were two paintings by the French artist André-Charles Voillemot (1822-1893) that crowned the entrance to the Chilean painting gallery.[337] These two works, consisting of allegorical representations titled *La Ley* (The Law) and *La Instrucción Primaria* (Primary Instruction), were part of a commission of ten paintings intended to decorate the Congress building of Santiago that included allegorical and historical subjects commissioned by Francisco Fernández Rodella, Consul of Chile in Paris, on behalf of the Chilean government.[338] Other paintings by the artist included in the exhibition catalogue were, *El Nido* (The Nest), as well as two other

[336] Letelier, 13.

[337] Voillemot, known for his allegorical representations, had executed the ceiling decorations of the Emperor's pavilion for the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, which likely explains why Chileans considered him a "credentialed" artist. James H. Bowen, *Paris Universal Exposition, 1867. Reports of the United States Commissioners. Report upon Buildings, Building Materials, and Methods of Building* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), 12. Accessed August 14, 2013. http://books.google.cl/books?id=w_c_AAAAYAAJ&pg=RA4-PA12&dq=voillemot+1867&hl=es&sa=X&ei=MiTtU96sHonLsQT5nYGgDw&ved=0CBoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=voillemot%201867&f=false; Catherine Granger, *L'Empereur & Les Artes. La liste civile de Napoléon III* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), footnote 128, 245. Accessed August 14, 2014. http://books.google.cl/books?id=oTESsdmY_ugC&pg=PA245&dq=voillemot+1867&hl=es&sa=X&ei=MiTtU96sHonLsQT5nYGgDw&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=voillemot%201867&f=false; Louis Viardot, *The Masterpieces of French art Illustrated. Being a Biographical History of Art in France, from the Earliest Period to and Including the Salon of 1882*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Co. Publishers, 1883), 66. Accessed August 14, 2014. https://archive.org/stream/masterpiecesoffr02viaruoft#page/66/mode/1up.

[338] GVEI, 36. The lack of images and the scarce information about these paintings suggest that they may have been destroyed in the building's 1895 fire, along with most of the works that decorated the Congress building. This seems confirmed by the fact that a number of new paintings were commisioned for the building during the twentieth century. Elorza, 21-3.

allegories titled *La Aurora de Chile* (The Dawn of Chile), and *Chile,* the latter two clearly referring to nationalistic subjects.[339]

El Independiente included Voillemot's paintings in the list of poor quality works claiming that they were not worthy of the place they were intended for: "There are many bad, some regular, and some good: the bad ones are the paintings commissioned from Europe for the new Congress: each costs a thousand pesos and they are 'real *mamarrachos.*' It is inconceivable that works worthy of a painter from Quito have been brought from Paris for the first of our public buildings."[340] By referring to an Ecuadorian painter ("a painter from Quito"), the author of the article was comparing Voillemot's paintings to Ecuadorian colonial painting, highly valued during the colonial period, but spurned and pejoratively treated during the second half of nineteenth century, when colonial art was generally seen as opposed to European art which was considered more refined and cultured. It is important to note that this was not the first time the term *mamarracho* was used to describe the artistic quality of European works in the exhibition. As we have seen, the statue of Pedro de Valdivia, installed at the entrance of the exhibition grounds had already been criticized for its dubious artistic quality. This is significant insofar as it proves that despite the general favorable attitude towards European art, Chilean public perception was not as passive as it may have been towards the first European artists who showed there in the 1840s.

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[339] Letter from Francisco Fernández Rodella to Rafael Larraín, 28 de Noviembre, 1874, in *BEI 6*, 647. See *GVEI*, 36.

[340] "Hay mucho malo, algo regular y algo bueno: malos son los cuadros encargados de Europa para el nuevo congreso: vale cada uno mil pesos y son verdaderos mamarrachos. No se concibe que de París se hayan traído, y para el primero de nuestros edificios públicos, obras dignas de un pintor quiteño." *El Independiente*, 17 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

Ultimately, Voillemot's paintings also shed light on the fact that despite the general drive to boost Chilean arts and to support domestic artists, official commissions remained entrusted to European artists, even when their standards of quality were questioned. In fact, the vehement challenges posed by some critics towards European paintings resulted in a shift of their attention to a Latin American painter: the Uruguayan academic painter, Juan Manuel Blanes (1830-1901), who at the time enjoyed great popularity in the region.

"After Blanes, there is no big thing"

The general disappointment registered in the commentaries on European painting greatly contrasted with the positive impression left by the Uruguayan history painter Juan Manuel Blanes. The laudatory commentaries about his paintings soon eclipsed the few favorable impressions on other foreign works to the extent that the reviewer Ambrosio Letelier pointed out: "we are in the center of the large gallery of foreign painting, among some hundreds of oil paintings, watercolors and mosaics, large and small, where there are all kinds of works, good and bad, in which unfortunately the latter abound".[341] Even more, Letelier contended that after Blanes, there was "no big thing to see in the foreign painting."[342] This commentary not only confirmed the public recognition the artist had at the time—Blanes was at the highest point of his career—but it also situated the artist above most Europeans.

[341] "…nos hallamos en el centro de la gran sala de pintura estranjera, en medio de algunos centenaries de cuadros al óleo, acuarelas i mosaicos de colores, grandes i pequeños, donde hai de todo, bueno I malo, siendo de sentir que lo ultimo sea lo que mas abunde. Efectivamente, después de Blanes, no hai gran cosa que ver en material de cuadros estranjeros." Letelier, 12.

[342] Ibid.

History painting was popular among many Latin American nations at the time, because it was a genre that could be used to reinforce a historical national discourse that took wars of independence and epic deeds of national heroes as some of the main themes, as was visible in *Los Últimos Momentos de Carrera* (The Last Moments of Carrera) (1873) (Fig. 42), one of Blanes' most popular works, and the most celebrated foreign painting in the exhibition.[343] The painting represented the moments just prior to the execution of the Chilean General José Miguel Carrera, one of the most crucial leaders of Chile's wars of independence, after being captured in Argentina. In the painting, Carrera appears in the center of a cell wearing his uniform. His attitude is stoic, as he is just about to be taken to his execution. The door opening in the background indicates that the time of his death has arrived, and emphasizes the foreboding mood of the scene. The light that comes in by the door reveals the presence of other individuals who are devastated by Carrera's imminent death, enhancing the drama of the moment. Meanwhile, Carrera still grips the quill for writing letters to his family as the guard arrives to take him away.[344]

Since this was a well-known event in Chilean history, Chilean audiences' familiarity with the scene considerably amplified its reception among the public and reviews, which celebrated its artistic and historic attributes.[345] Although Blanes was a prestigious painter at the time, the favorable attitude towards his work was likely related to the fact that he had represented a Chilean subject, which reflected the organizers' and

[343] Another example of the interest in history painting in Latin America was *La Libertad del Salvador* (The Liberty of El Salvador) of the artist Juan Lacayo. *GVEI*, 53. On Blanes see *GVEI*, 35. On the painting see Juan María Torres, *Últimos Momentos de D. José Miguel Carrera Cuadro del Pintor Oriental D. Juan M. Blanes* (Montevideo: Imprenta del "Ferro-Carril" Plaza Independencia, 1873); Carta de Rafael Larraín a José Arrieta, encargado de negocios de la República del Uruguay, 16 de Diciembre, 1875, in *BEI 9*, 1101.

[344] Torres, 13.

[345] Letelier, 9.

public's desire for images that celebrated national history.[346] The epic character of the painting had been widely discussed in both South America and Chile since its creation in 1873, hence it was naturally well received among Chilean audiences and critics in 1875.[347]

Although Blanes also presented another painting related to Chilean history, titled *La Revista de Rancagua* (The Review in Rancagua), depicting the Argentinean General José de San Martín reviewing the patriot troops in the Chilean city of Rancagua, most reviews almost exclusively focused on the former painting. The painting depicting Carrera's last moments attained such popularity that an image of it was published on the cover of the *Correo de la Exposición*, and reproductions of the painting were put up for sale. Although the *Correo* did not explicitly address the reasons for selling reproductions of the image, one might conjecture that the newspaper's editors, motivated by their desire to promote Chilean identity, saw the image and the Chilean subject it represented as a vehicle for endorsing national imagery within the context of the exhibition.[348]

The reproduction of the image was particularly unique, since none of the other foreign paintings presented in the exhibition were reproduced, not only confirming the popularity of the work, but also the relevance of subjects that celebrated Chilean heroes.[349] In this way, the participation of Blanes proved that history painting played a

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[346] According to *El Independiente* other works of Blanes were apparently on their way to Chile, a portrait of the Arrieta family, a portrait of Blanes' mother and possibly "La fiebre amarilla en Buenos Aires" another of the artist most important works. *El Independiente*, 8 de Diciembre, 1875, n/p.

[347] Letelier, 8-12; Brieba, 10; Roco, 173-4; "Los Últimos Momentos de Carrera, célebre cuadro del pintor oriental señor Juan M. Blanes," *Correo de la Exposición,* 21 de Noviembre, 1875, 115.

[348] "El Cuadro de Carrera," *Correo de la Exposición*, 5 de Diciembre, 1875, 160.

[349] Comisión Nacional de Bellas Artes, *Exposición de las Obras de Juan Manuel Blanes*, (Uruguay: Impresora Uruguaya, 1941), 35.

significant role in the formation of the Chilean national image and reinforced the idea that international exhibitions should ultimately be seen as national endeavors intended to reinforce the host country's presence in the international community.

Ultimately, the questioned attributes of the European works contributed to turning the general attention to a "rising Chilean national school" that, as Ambrosio Letelier contended, surpassed those works presented by European artists:

> It seems like a dream; but it is an overwhelming reality: until today our rising national school it is very well or better represented in the Exhibition, than the biggest masters of the old Europe. If it is true that there are few paintings in this [Chilean] group, it is not less [true] that in general, they are of incontestable merit and some of them very outstanding.[350]

This favorable attitude toward Chilean painting not only demonstrates reviewers' critical stance towards foreign works, but it also crystallizes their interest in endowing national art, which they viewed as having great potential, with a higher status than it had previously received. Thus, even though the organizers attempted to avoid comparisons between European and Chilean art, reviewers did in fact use comparison as the means of enhancing perceptions of Chilean painting, and unlike the initial expectations of the organizers, that comparison had favorable results for Chilean painting.

The Rise of National Painting

[350] Letelier, 15.

Even though the Chilean painting gallery included a variety of subjects, only history and landscape painting captured the attention of the critics. This preference reveals a lot about the then-prevalent hierarchies of pictorial genres, and the attempt to show the existence of a national school by highlighting works that conveyed the idea of the national. Significantly, the Chilean works depicting historical scenes and landscapes constituted only thirty percent of the group of Chilean painting. Of these, four corresponded to history painting, one of them unfinished, and less than fifteen depicted landscapes. The fact that most attention was paid to history painting, despite the small number of works in this genre, confirms the organizers' intention to promote the nation to both the Chilean and international audiences attending to the exhibition.[351] Indeed, among reviewers, the most discussed works were those that depicted significant epic events in Chile's wars of independence or that portrayed Chilean landscapes. This underscores the central role the events of the Chilean independence movement played in the popular imaginary and demonstrates the ways in which notions of "the national" were tied to representations of the land. Ultimately, these facts reveal that it was largely due to the critical reception of the exhibition by art critics and reviewers that helped unveil its nationalistic agenda.

While fifty-eight works by Chilean artists were displayed in the Chilean painting gallery, the critics almost exclusively commented on history and landscape painting.

[351] More recent works on Chilean landscape painting are *Puro Chile. Paisaje y Territorio* (Santiago: Fundación Centro Cultural Palacio La Moneda, 2014); Juan Manuel Martínez, *El Paisaje Chileno. Itinerario de una Mirada Colección de Dibujos y Estampas del Museo Histórico Nacional* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, 2011); Paulina Ahumada F., "Paisaje y Nación: la Majestuosa Montaña en el Imaginario del Siglo XIX," *Dossier Thématique - Image de la Nation: Art et Nature au Chili. (c) Artelogie, n° 3, Septembre 2012.* Acessed: November 15, 2013. http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/spip.php?article144; Sebastián Schoennenbeck Grohnert, "Paisaje, Nación y Representación del Sujeto Popular: Visiones de un Chile Imaginado," *Aisthesis*, No. 53, (2013), 73-94. Accessed: November 15, 2013. http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0718-71812013000100004&lng=es&tlng=es. 10.4067/S0718-71812013000100004.

Notably, they often focused on Chilean history paintings, which had corresponding entries in the historical outlines, included in the exhibition catalogue, which were absent for foreign paintings listed in the catalogue. This suggests that reviewers were mostly guided by the emphasis given to works in the catalogue in preparing their accounts. Although these historical descriptions were probably included to provide background information to foreign visitors who were unfamiliar with Chilean history, they also served to capture the attention of the Chilean public as well.

Ultimately, the Chilean painting gallery demonstrated that unlike the European painting section—which only included a few examples of history painting because of the preference for landscape and genre painting in the 1870s in Europe—in the Chilean context, history painting enjoyed a privileged position. Notably, while history painting was popular in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*, by the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, genre painting and landscape had gradually replaced historical subjects.[352]

The pictorial hierarchy had been established in Chile with the creation of the *Academia de Pintura* in 1849 when its director, Alejandro Cicarelli, situated history painting as a central component of the national art. In fact, history painting's pedagogical function was employed as a crucial instrument in promoting civic values such as virtue and patriotism. Likewise, it was assumed that it would help nations to gain respect from their neighbors, underscoring the political connotations associated with the genre.[353]

[352] On "the death of history painting" and the increasing attention to landscape and genre painting in Parisian universal exhibitions, see: Mainardi, 154-193.

[353] M.A.V.J, "La Abdicación del Supremo Director Don Bernardo O´Higgins," *Correo de la Exposición*, 2 de Octubre, 1875, 17-9. M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. II. Historia y Jénero," *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de Octubre, 1875, 66.

Given this context, it is understandable that Blanes' works acquired political associations, whether or not it was deliberate on his part.[354]

One of the most commented on Chilean paintings was *La Abdicación de O'Higgins* (The Abdication of O'Higgins) (1875) (Fig. 43) by Manuel Antonio Caro (1835-1903), a Chilean painter that had completed his artistic training in Paris between 1859-1866. Rendered in an academic fashion, the painting represents a crucial moment in Chilean history: the moment of the resignation from office of General Bernardo O'Higgins, the first Supreme Director of Chile after independence, on January 28, 1823.[355] This historic moment represented the culmination of increasing tensions between his authoritarian regime and the local artistocracy, which put the nation on the brink of civil war, a situation that was narrowly avoided by his abdication. In Caro's painting, O'Higgins is theatrically posed, heightening the dramatic effect of his decision to put his own interests aside in favor of the interests of the nation.

Caro's selection of a well-known historical narrative responded to its popularity in the Chilean imaginary. In fact, O'Higgins' patriotic gesture had already been depicted in previous representations. Caro's painting was surely inspired by a painting with the same title and the same subject by Raymond Monvoisin.[356] Also, an engraving by the French artist Godefroy Durand depicting the O'Higgins resignation had been published in a book by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna titled *El Ostracismo del Jeneral D. Bernardo*

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[354] *Discurso pronunciado en la Inauguración de la Academia de Pintura,* 21.

[355] Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Kindle Edition, Loc.801-824.

[356] Waldo Vila, Isaías Cabezón, and Enrique Lihn, "Críticas de Artes Plásticas," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, No. 100 (Octubre-Diciembre, 1955), 196.

O´Higgins (1860) in which the author describes O'Higgins decision to abdicate power as a heroic demonstration of patriotism.[357]

Similarly, the *Monumento de Bernardo O'Higgins* (1872) (Fig. 44) by Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, on which one of the four pedestal reliefs by Nicanor Plaza, also depicted the scene of the abdication of O'Higgins (Fig. 45). The fact that Caro's *La Abdicación de O'Higgins* was granted the first prize for Chilean painting not only boosted Caro's career, by building on the previous success of the two paintings he displayed in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, but it also confirmed the importance of history painting in the 1875 exhibition. The painting's success was evident in the publication of the piece on one of the first covers of the *Correo de la Exposición* as well as in an article that encouraged Chilean painters to make history painting, facts which underscore the generally favorable attitude towards this genre, and the celebration of the image of the nation.[358]

Contemporaneous accounts concurred in their assessments that over the years, Caro's works had showed a notable improvement, particularly in two of his most well-known works: *La Zamacueca* and *El Velorio*. Both works depicted traditional Chilean cultural customs, and received recognition in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria.*[359] Significantly, since these two paintings consolidated Caro's reputation as a *costumbrista* painter, many were surprised that the work he presented in 1875 was a historical subject that represented one of the most significant episodes of Chile's history.

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[357] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *El Ostracismo del Jeneral D. Bernardo O´Higgins. Escrito sobre documentos inéditos i noticias auténticas* (Santiago: Imprenta i Librerías del Mercurio, 1860), 459. Accessed July 12, 2014. http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0008855.pdf.

[358] M.A.V.J, "La Abdicación del Supremo Director Don Bernardo O´Higgins," 17-9; M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. II. Historia y Jénero," *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de octubre, 1875, 66.

[359] According to the 1872 exhibition catalogue, these two works belonged to Maximiano Errázuriz. *ENAI,* 19.

This shift in the painter's thematic choice may have represented his response to the context of the exhibition and the fact that he may have seen history painting as a more appropriate genre, which seems confirmed by the fact that this work was created specifically for the *Exposición Internacional* and was his first historical subject.

Although most reviewers celebrated Caro's painting, others such as Ambrosio Letelier, lamented the artist's incursion into more dramatic subjects: "It is a great pity that possessing to such a high degree this happy and admirable natural predisposition for representing the jocular comedy of customs, the true gift of the genius, so unusual among artists, it is a pity we say, that at times he wanted to leave this field, which is the natural homeland of his splendid numen, to enter the terrain of serious drama."[360] Interestingly, Letelier's assertions do not refer to Caro's artistic skills, which he praises. Indeed, Letelier lauds the historical value of the painting as well as its color effects and "perfectly portrayed" characters. However, what the critic denounces is that the expressions of the individuals depicted do not correspond with either the circumstances or the "historic truth" of the scene. Specifically, Letelier criticizes the rendering of O'Higgins' gesture, which he claims is overtly expressive, while the other individuals in the image, appear to have been given less attention. This has resulted, he contends, in a scene that lacks naturalism and gravitas. Hence, Letelier's critique focused more on the painting's spirit—which he considers unsuitable for the subject—than the painter's artistic abilities. Despite this review, the painting received great public recognition and was even granted first prize in the national painting category.

[360] "I es lástima, i grande, que poseyendo en tan alto grado esa felicísima y admirable predisposición natural para la representación de la comedia jocosa de costumbres, verdadero don del jénio, que tan raro es entre los artistas, es lástima decimos, que a las veces haya querido salir de ese campo, que es la patria natural de su espléndido númen para entrar en el terreno del drama serio." Letelier, 16-7.

The general support for history painting was confirmed in reviews focusing on historical paintings, such as *Los Últimos Momentos de Pedro de Valdivia* (The Last Moments of Pedro de Valdivia) by Nicolás Guzmán (1850-1928), depicting the moment in which the Spanish conquistador and founder of the city of Santiago, was about to be assassinated by the Araucanians after his capture.[361] In the case of Guzmán, the exhibition served as a platform for the recognition of his artistic merit with this painting, the first original work Guzmán displayed in an exhibition.[362] Notably, the work was not only granted with a second-place prize, but it also inspired the jury to publically recommend that the government send him to Europe to continue his training.[363]

Remarkably, critics also emphasized Guzmán's artistic potential. In a comparison of Guzmán's depiction of Pedro de Valdivia with Costoli's sculpture installed at the entrance of the Quinta Normal, Roque Roco highlighted the Guzmán's ability to convey the conquistador's vigor, fierceness, and the boldness through his painting, which according to the critic was absent in the statue. Such cases demonstrate how being able to compare Chilean art with foreign works helped to highlight Chilean painters' progress and potential.[364]

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[361] The painting appeared in an 1896 *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes* catalogue as *Muerte de Pedro de Valdivia por los Araucanos* (The Death of Pedro de Valdivia by the Araucanians) and was identified by the number 173. Although the painting is recorded in the catalogue as purchased by the government and thus belonging to the museum, its current location is unknown. *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Santiago de Chile. Catálogo* (Santiago: Imprenta i Librería Ercilla, 1896), 4. Accessed August 30, 2014. http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0036528.pdf. *GVEI*, 38-40.

[362] In 1872, Guzmán presented only one work, a copy of Tintoreto. *ENAI*, 19.

[363] M.C., "El autor de Los Últimos Momentos de Valdivia," *Correo de la Exposición*, 19 de diciembre, 1875, 166. El Ferrocarril, 21 de Enero, 1876, n/p. Acta Sesión 115, January 19, 1876, in *BEI 9*, 1030; *LJP*, 90.

[364] Roco, 79.

Another young painter that received favorable comments was Manuel Tapia (1835-1915), whose *La Batalla de Maipú* (Fig. 46) also obtained a second-place medal.[365] Tapia's painting, representing the decisive battle in the Chilean War of Independence between the Spanish royalists and Chilean patriots which occurred on April 5, 1818, underscores not only the nationalist convictions of the paintings on display in the exhibition, but also the importance of military history in Chilean imagery. The painting depicts the patriot troops entering swiftly from the right, a soldier brandishing the Chilean flag, while the Spanish troops on the left abandon the battleground. Ultimately, the image conveys the patriot's triumph over the Spanish colonial dominance.[366]

Before the exhibition, this military episode had been represented in an eponymous painting by the German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802-1858) in 1837 and would remain a central subject in twentieth-century Chilean history painting.[367] This fact shows that Chilean history painters recognized in the Battle of Maipú, a meaningful episode of national history through which patriotism could be represented. Thus, in the context of

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[365] "La Batalla de Maipú, cuadro del señor Manuel Tapia," Correo de la Exposición, 14 de noviembre, 1875, 101-2. *LJP*, 90.

[366] Simon Collier, *Patriotas y ciudadanos* (Saniago: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo, 2003), 23.

[367] The German traveler-artist, Johann Moritz Rugendas arrived in Chile in 1834 with a scientific expedition and remained in Chile for almost ten years to record what he saw in drawings, illustrations, and paintings. Because of his prolific documentation of Chilean history, landscapes, and customs, he is considered a key source in the production of early imagery of Chile. See: Pablo Diener, *Rugendas: Su viaje por Chile, 1834-1842* (Santiago: Origo Ediciones, 2012); Viviana Gallardo Porras, "Rugendas, artista viajero y su aporte a la construcción de la representación indígena," *Tiempo Histórico*, No. 4, (2012), 67-86. Accessed July 12, 2014. http://bibliotecadigital.academia.cl/bitstream/123456789/1228/1/67-86.pdf; Gabriel Cid, "Representando "La copia feliz del Edén"; Jacinta Vergara "Desde el bastidor al imaginario nacional: Rugendas y la representación de la identidad chilena"; *Chile y Juan Mauricio Rugendas* (Ausburg: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes/Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg 2007); Pablo Diener, *Rugendas: 1802-1858* (Ausburg, Wissner, 1997); Pablo Diener, *Rugendas, América de punta a cabo: Rugendas y la Araucanía* (Santiago: Editorial Aleda, 1992); Ricardo Bindis, *Rugendas en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Barcelona, 1973).

the exhibition, national art directly reinforced the image of Chile as an independent nation.[368] The display of *La Batalla de Maipú* is especially significant because after this battle, General O'Higgins was appointed as Supreme Director of Chile, which ended in 1823 with his abdication, an event which is addressed by Caro's *La Abdicación de O'Higgins*, as previously discussed. Hence, by chronologically preceded Caro's painting, Tapia's painting was situated within the same historical narrative via its inclusion in the exhibition.

Yet, while young artists predominated in the Chilean painting gallery, the exhibition also included more experienced painters such as José Tomás Vandorse, who presented an unfinished painting titled *Batalla de Chacabuco* (1867) (Fig. 47), depicting the first battle of the *Patria Nueva*, the period in Chilean history in which the independence process was consolidated (1817-1823).[369] Moreover, the three finished Chilean paintings that presented historical subjects obtained an award and were the only ones that merited a description in the catalogue.

[368] Maria Ligia Coelho Prado confirms that military subjects and particularly *La Batalla de Maipú* was a central subject for Chilean history painters until the first half of the twentieth century, when Chilean painter Pedro Subercaseaux made a number of paintings on the subject between 1904 and 1954. According to Prado, a painting by Rugendas was the source of inspiration for one of Subercaseaux's versions, demonstrating how influential Rugendas was to Chilean painters. It also shows that history painting in the academic tradition continued to be a relevant model well into the twentieth century. Maria Ligia Coelho Prado, "Nación y pintura histórica: reflexiones en torno a Pedro Subercaseaux," in Ana María Stuven and Marco A. Pamplona (Eds.) *Estado y Nación en Chile y Brasil* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009), 178.

[369] *GVEI*, 36. Letelier, 23.

Modern Chilean Painting

Landscape painting was particularly significant in the context of the exhibition. This was mainly because, through its representations of Chilean terrain, it linked Chileanness with the land, reinforcing notions of national identity.[370] In addition, the genre also demonstrated national artists' facility with what they understood as a modern genre. While European traveler-artists and *costumbrista* painters such as Auguste Borget and Johann Moritz Rugendas, were the first to represent the Chilean landscape during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, representations of the Chilean landscape by Chilean artists became common in the second half of the nineteenth century after the creation of the *Academia de Pintura*.

Among these artists, Antonio Smith (1832-1877) was considered a pioneer, as demonstrated in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria* when Smith presented some of his works and was awarded prizes. Even though Smith initiated his academic training in Chile, he departed from academic conventions.[371] While his artistic merits were also highlighted in 1875—particularly regarding his study of nature and topography—others criticized his complete omission of individuals in his paintings,

[370] A 2014 exhibition in Chile titled *Puro Chile. Paisaje y Territorio* (Pure Chile: Landscape and Territory) is not only the largest show ever realized in the country on the theme of the Chilean landscape, but it also attests to the continued relevance that landscape painting has in defining Chilean national identity. See: *Puro Chile. Paisaje y Territorio*.

[371] Antonio Smith created the illustrations—mostly caricatures—for *El Correo Literario* (1858). Through his illustrations, he both commented on politicsand critiqued the art world of the era. On Antonio Smith's caricatures and his participation in art criticism, see Gloria Cortés, "De Plumas y Pinceles: Texto y Visualidad en la Crítica de Arte en Chile, en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX," *Estudios de Arte*, edited by Marcela Drien and Juan Manuel Martínez (Santiago: Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, 2007), 15-17; Arturo Blanco, "Antonio Smith, Pintor de Paisajes y Caricaturista Chileno," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, No. 94, (1954), 164-65. Accessed November 15, 2013. On Smith and his departure from the Academy, see Berríos et Al., 186-87.

accusing him of lacking the skill to represent human figures.[372] This fact shows that for some critics, it was still assumed that landscape paintings should include human representations, and sheds light on the conventional standards that were still prevalent among Chilean critics. Although he presented only one landscape titled *Puesta de Sol en las Cordilleras de Peñalolén*,[373] this work earned him first prize, along with Caro's *La Abdicación de O'Higgins*, which left history and landscape as the most representative genres of national painting.[374]

Even so, landscape was not only seen as a mode of representing national identity; unlike history painting, it was also able to provide an additional component to Chilean painting: the association with modern art and a position among prevalent European trends. As mentioned in an article published in the *Correo de la Exposición*, national art was keeping pace with "modern art." What the author probably meant, was that landscape painting was considered a modern pictorial genre. Although the term is not clearly explained by the article, the author specifically referred to landscape painting, and in particular works by Antonio Smith.[375]

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[372] M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. I. El Paisaje," 57.

[373] Although there is no information on the current location of this painting, Arturo Blanco asserts that the Uruguayan diplomat, José Arrieta, purchased it. Blanco, 167.

[374] Juan Manuel Martínez, *El Paisaje Chileno,* 163-67; Luis Álvarez Urquieta, *La Pintura en Chile. Colección Luis Álvarez Urquieta* (Santiago: Imprenta La Ilustración, 1928), 27; Brieba, 10; Blanco, 164-171; Catalina Valdés E., "Comienzo y deriva de un paisaje. Alessandro Ciccarelli, Antonio Smith y los Historiadores del Arte Chileno," *Dossier Thématique - Image de la Nation: Art et Nature au Chili. (c) Artelogie,* N° 3, Septembre 2012, 12. Accessed: November 15, 2013. http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/spip.php?article129. See also Vicente Grez, *Antonio Smith (Historia del Pasaje en Chile)* (Santiago: Establecimiento topográfico de la Época, 1882). Accesed November 15, 2013. http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0031799.pdf.

[375] Another landscape painter in the Chilean gallery was Onofre Jarpa, who presented two works titled *Paisajes de Lebu* (Landscapes of Lebu). Also, Alberto Orrego Luco, who exhibited for the first time, presented a work titled *En la Floresta* (In the Glade). Other Chilean painters presented European landscapes, such as the case of F.R. Undurraga Vicuña, however, Chilean critics gave more attention to works depicting Chilean landscapes. M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos II. Historia y Jénero," *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de Octubre, 1875, 66.

Yet, references to landscape painting were not only related to "modern" artistic trends. Commentaries also linked landscape to private collectors. An article on the proper conditions for displaying landscape painting, especially regarding lighting, asserted that the best display conditions were provided in private spaces rather than in public exhibitions. According the author—presumably Marcial González—the charm of landscape painting was that it was "more intimate, and manifests itself in the soft light of a home study, since it is the companion of retreat, and the confidant of quiet and solitary meditation."[376] As an art collector himself, the author was most likely describing his own attitudes towards painting.

Moreover, this particular commentary, uncommon in the context of the exhibition, demonstrated how private collecting was shaped in the public imagination. Indeed, it was in the private sphere where, according to the article, a suitable setting for painting could be found. Thus, the text indicated how social practices were linked to private collecting, and the role landscape played in this context. In this way, the article not only guided the readers in the very specific use and placement of artworks in the private and domestic sphere, but it also indirectly referred to works that predominated in another relevant group of paintings on display: those of Chilean private collectors.

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[376] "El paisaje necesita la luz discreta de nuestras habitaciones domésticas i no puede emplearse como cuadro de aparato salvo en caso de que esté concebido con un objeto decorative, porque su encanto es mas recogido I mas íntimo i no se manifienta sino en la medialuz del escritorio o del gabinete de trabajo, como que es el compañero de retiro i el confidente de la meditación solitaria i tranquila." M.G., "Los Pintores Chilenos. I. El Paisaje," *Correo de la Exposición*, 23 de Octubre, 1875, 58.

COLLECTORS, EXHIBITORS, AND PHILANTRHOPISTS: THE ELITE ON DISPLAY

It was not unusual for art collectors to participate in international exhibitions. Although countries usually relied on their local artists and public collections, which sometimes included works from museums to represent their national arts, collectors themselves gradually became contributors to the fine arts sections of international exhibitions.[377] The increasing importance of art collectors was demonstrated by the fact that their participation eventually led to the creation of a new category for grouping private collections on display. Hence, international exhibitions could be considered not only as platforms for promoting artists and marketing their works, but also as forums for art owners to attain public visibility.

From the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris onwards, private collections were displayed in the national fine arts sections of international exhibitions. In the 1855 exhibition, for example, Great Britain and France were represented largely by private collections.[378] Thus, nations also relied on art owners for displaying the progress of their national arts. Take for example, the British fine art group in the 1855 exhibition, in which almost three hundred works from different places in the country were sent to the exhibition, among which prominent collectors such as Queen Victoria and Prince Albert

[377] As indicated in an article published in 1871 in the Daily News of London, the Vienna exhibition of 1873, would include a group identified as "Representation of the operation of museums of art and industry", which sheds light on the role museums were assumed to have in the education of the public's artistic taste. As the article asserted: "The object of this departement is to bring into view the means by the aid of which museums of art and industry of our time endeavour to influence the improvement of artistic taste and artistic culture in general." "The International Exhibition at Vienna in 1871," *Daily News*, London, September 25, 1871, n/p. British Newspaper Archive.

[378] See *Exposition Universelle de 1855. Explication des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Gravure, Lithographie et Architecture des Artistes Vivants Étrangers et Francais Exposés au Palais des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Vinchon, 1855).

were included.[379] As in Europe, the Chilean collectors that participated in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* were wealthy individuals and politicians, although prominent figures such as the President of the Republic Federico Errázuriz did not appear among them.

Collectors' public visibility in 1855 and subsequent international exhibitions resulted from the fact that their names were listed next to the artworks they owned in the exhibition catalogues, which were often arranged by artist's names in alphabetical order.[380] By the 1862 International Exhibition of London, the participation of art collectors was as expected as the artists' participation: "In the exhibition of 1862 the pictorial art will form a distinct and important feature, to which artists and owners of pictures in all parts of the world will be invited to contribute."[381] This remark demonstrates not only the increasing role of collectors, but also Great Britain's attempt to convene a large number of British works to remedy the absence of a representative national fine arts section in the earlier 1851 Great Exhibition of London. The favourable attitude towards collectors was also confirmed in the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris, in which the number of individuals identified as art owners in the exhibition catalogue increased exponentially in comparison with its predecessors, not only for France and Great Britain, but also for other countries, such as the Netherlands and Belgium.

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[379] *Exposition Universelle, 1855. Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition, in French and English; with Exhibitors Prospectuses, Prices Current, &c.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855), 74-94.

[379] *Illustrated London News*, March 23, 1861, 71, 274. British Newspaper Archive.
[380] *Exposition Universelle, 1855. Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section,* 74-94.

[381] *Illustrated London News*, March 23, 1861, 274. British Newspaper Archive.

In addition to the British monarch, rulers of other countries also loaned works from their collections to the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, including the king of Belgium, the Emperor and the Empress of France—who appeared as separately identified owners—the king of Bavaria, the Emperor of Austria, the king of Sweden and Norway, the Emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia. Thus, the official involvement of rulers in the representation of their nations' arts greatly contributed to support an image of the "national arts", while simultaneously portraying them as leading figures in the cultural development of their nations.[382]

In the 1873 *Weltausstellung* of Vienna, Great Britain made more of an effort to properly represent its national art, a fact evident in the catalogue of the British section, which consistently listed the "names of proprietors of objects of fine art lent for exhibition," including among them, Queen Victoria.[383] Indeed, collectors' participation in international exhibitions underwent a major shift in the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, when a section specifically intended to gather collectors was included in the exhibition.[384] This part of the exhibition was reserved for "Objects of art and industry of former times exhibited by amateurs and collectors or belonging to *Expositions des Amateurs*", showing that by 1873, private collections had attained a greater relevance in fine arts sections. Indeed, contemporaneous commentaries shed light on the new role private collections had: "an attempt will be made by arming this group to bring together the treasures of private collections of works of art, which are usually accessible only to a limited few,

[382] *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue Général Publié par la Commission Impériale*; "Fine Arts," *Illustrated London News*, December 8, 1866, 550. British Newspaper Archive.

[383] The catalogue organized owners according to the works they owned: oil paintings, watercolor paintings, architecture, sculpture, and engraving. *The British Section at the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873,* 10-13.

[384] *Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien. Officieller Kunst-Catalog,* 23-39.

thus giving to students and others engaged in artistic and industrial pursuits an opportunity to enrich the domain of artistic industry by new ideas."[385] Significantly, this statement acknowledges the quality of the works presented by collectors, underscoring their crucial role in educating artists and developing the arts and industry. In this context, the participation of collectors attained a new dimension, as their collections were seen as a valuable and a meaningful contribution to the arts.

This change was also seen in the way in which collectors were publically regarded. Indeed, individuals that had been generally identified by the press as art "owners" prior to the 1867 International Exhibition, were now formally recognized as "collectors", which gave them and the works they owned a new status.[386] This distinctive labelling of their position was especially evident in the fact that in the catalogue of the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, the new classification organized their collections by country, instead of including them in the artists' lists of works. Moreover, this categorization not only presented works by artist names, but also by period: "antique," "medieval," and "early modern art." In this way, works of private collectors were presented not so much in relation to the national arts, but more so in relation to private taste.

The role played by private collections in Chile was consistent with the way they were regarded in Vienna's *Weltasusstellung*. However, there were distinctions between

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[385] Works by living artists would be included in the 25th group, "Plastic Art of the Present Time," which included works produced by living artists from the 1851 Great Exhibition of London onwards. "The International Exhibition at Vienna in 1873", *Daily News* (London, England), Monday, September 25, 1871. British Newspaper Archive; "The Vienna Exhibition of 1873," *The Standard*, (London, England), Tuesday October 29, 1872, 6. British Newspaper Archive; "La exposición… *La República*, 21 de Enero, 1872, n/p.

[386] Although in the context of the Vienna exhibition, owners of artworks were generally identified as "collectors," the official catalogue of the British section still listed them as "proprietors." In previous exhibition catalogues such as the catalogue of the Paris 1855 exhibition, works appear as *Appartenient à* (belonging to), in relation to the artwork title. As in Vienna, the Chilean catalogue of the fine arts section utilized the term "collectors." *The British Section at the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873*, 10.

the Austrian and Chilean exhibitions. Whereas Vienna included works of collectors from different countries, in Santiago, only Chilean collectors participated as exhibitors.[387]

Although private collectors only displayed a small part of their collections, the works they chose to put on display revealed their desire to align their collections with European artistic trends. Unlike previous exhibitions carried out in Chile that tipically included the Chilean and European works owned by Chilean collectors, in 1875, collectors only displayed their European works, while excluding the Chilean artists in their collections, which in turn, made them appear more refined, or so they believed. Hence, Chilean collectors such as the President of the Fine Arts Section, Maximiano Errázuriz, exhibited French, Spanish, English, Italian, and Flemish paintings among which, according to the catalogue, there were works by Decamps, Daubigny, Corot, and Van Dyck.[388]

Significantly, the number of paintings owned by private collectors largely exceeded the number of works by Chilean artists, so that while Chilean artists displayed fifty-eight paintings in total, private collectors presented 146 works. The artworks in these collections reflected the large number of European works in Chileans' hands at the time and the still limited local art production in the country. Likewise, most of the works on view were not from historical periods, but by living artists and predominantly in the fields of landscape and genre painting. This fact indicates that modern art styles, like Impressionism, had not yet been adopted by mainstream Chilean artistic taste.

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[387] There is no information regarding why only national collectors were included. However, the Fine Arts section's catalogue reveals that most foreign works, such as those from Italy, belonged to the artists. An exception was the group of artworks of the French Section that belonged to Benjamín Fernández Rodella and Co. Hence, in the catalogue, in the portion of the text where collectors' names were usually listed, the text instead stated the names of the individuals who operated as artworks' "representatives." *COBA*, 5-16.

[388] Ibid., 22-3.

Exhibiting a "Domestic Museum"

Although the exhibition of 1875 was influenced by the Vienna exhibition in its showcasing of collectors, the role art collections played in the Chilean exhibition can also be understood within the local context of Chilean art collecting and exhibition practices. In fact, the display of artworks belonging to private art collections in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* was also influenced by the emphasis on collectors in previous Chilean exhibitions. Because art museums did not yet exist in the country at the time, temporary exhibitions became the only opportunity for Chilean audiences to come into contact with European and Chilean art. For this reason, national as well as international exhibitions were seen as unique opportunities to educate the public and improve their taste. In this way, they exerted a significant influence on the then-prevalent notions of good taste and artistic quality among Chilean audiences.

The exhibition of private collections began in Chile as early as 1856, when the Society of Primary Instruction—an institution intended for improving the quality of scholarly education—organized its first exhibition to raise funds.[389] However, the implications of the exhibition exceeded the aims of its organizers. Beyond just funding scholarly education projects, the exhibit also ended up contributing to the development of educating the public's artistic taste.

Although this was not the first time that an exhibition included artworks, the 1856 organizers decided this time to ask for the collaboration of "all the families of the capital that had any art treasure."[390] As result of this request, local families loaned a total of 140

[389] Rodríguez Villegas, 294.

[390] Ibid.

paintings for the exhibition, the largest group of artworks of private collectors ever displayed in Chile. It was also the first time that collectors' names were included next to the works they owned in an exhibition catalogue. By identifying collectors, this exhibition marked the first moment that collectors were publicly recognized.[391]

Art exhibitions eventually came to be seen as beneficial for the cultural development of the country, as demonstrated in 1858, in the context of the second exhibition of the Society of Primary Instruction. One of its founders, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, one of the most prominent men of Chilean society at the time, even insisted that the education of taste was important not only for refined circles, but also for common people, who he said would find in the "magical appeal of art" a "civilizing seed."[392] In this context, Vicuña Mackenna insisted that art exhibitions were important because they allowed viewers to compare works, an act that he asserted was essential in the education of taste.

Subsequent exhibitions continued to consider comparison an essential component, an act that found its great expression in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, which formally positioned collectors in a competitive setting. Just like any other participant, art collectors competed against each other for the best collection of paintings and sculptures in the exhibit. Consistent with previous exhibitions carried out in Chile, owners's names were listed next to works they owned, although in 1872, the

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[391] See *Catálogo de los Cuadros que Contiene la Exposición de Bellas Artes de la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria* (Santiago: Imprenta del Ferrocarril: 1856). There is no official information or correspondence that reveals the criteria used for Chilean collectors' participation in the 1875 exhibition, nor is there any specific information about the way they selected their works for display.

[392] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, "Una Visita a la Exposicion de Pinturas de 1858," *Revista del Pacífico*, Tomo I, (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1858), 430-31. See: María Loreto Egaña Baraona, *La Educación primaria popular en el siglo XIX en Chile: Una Práctica de Política Estatal*, (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2000), 54. Vicuña Mackenna, "Una Visita," 430-31.

catalogue separated artworks into two groups so that national works were grouped by artist, indicating the name of the owner, while foreign works were organized by collector.

Thus, by the 1870s, art exhibitions in which private collectors' works were displayed were directly associated with the education of taste, and were associated with elevated cultural qualities that transformed the perception of these exhibits into uplifting mechanisms of instruction. In fact, the inclusion of private collections in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* was also seen as contributing to this premise of uplift: "Since apparently we have no insignificant collections, they will shine in an annual exhibition, [which will] educate taste, awaken inspiration, create a celebration, a beneficial solemnity, giving entertainment better employment than racing or the comical opera, those who need it, for God's sake! The unemployed."[393] This commentary shows that whereas art was associated with cultural aims, attendance at art exhibitions was seen as an edifying social practice. Ultimately, private art collections—or, as Puerto Rican intellectual Eugenio María Hostos referred to them in 1872, "domestic museums"—were appreciated because of their public contribution to both social and cultural improvement.[394]

Just as Intendant Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna had wanted to promote the cultural and social role of the fine arts, the President of the Fine Arts Section of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, Maximiano Errázuriz, considered art—and particularly artistic taste—to be civilizing. Indeed, he believed that private collections were instrumental in

[393] "Ya que, por lo visto poseemos no insignificantes colecciones, lucirán en una exposición anual, formando el gusto, despertando la inspiración, constituyendo una fiesta, una solemnidad provechosa, dando al ocio mejor empleo que el de las *carreras* i el de las óperas cómicas, que bien lo necesitan, y por Dios! Los desocupados." *El Independiente*, 8 de Octubre, 1875.

[394] Hostos used this expression in the context of the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, when he was awarded with the first prize for his review on the exhibition. *ENAIM*, 1-96.

enhancing art appreciation. He deemed it necessary to organize strong private collections of painting and sculpture, which could operate as museums, nonexistent at the time in Chile, which "would contribute to disseminating artistic taste, one of the most powerful known agents of civilization."[395] This assertion is relevant not only because it reveals the belief that private collections were considered imperative to exhibitions, but also, because Errázuriz himself was at the time one of the most prestigious private collectors in Chile, which demonstrates that he saw himself as playing a role in the civilizing process.

Although collectors were generally assumed to have belonged to a group of wealthy and cultured individuals, the idea of comparison underlying their participation in exhibitions eventually affected their public image. Notably, the way in which they were portrayed also reflected prevalent social and cultural assumptions at the time in Chile.

Portraying Chilean Collectors

The influence collectors exerted on the Chilean art system has been demonstrated through their increasing involvement in exhibitions and artistic patronage from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The active participation of art owners in the Chilean art milieu put them in a central position within the Chilean art system, which reached its apogee in the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*. Indeed, collectors not only participated as exhibitors in the exhibition, but some were also involved in its organization, as demonstrated by the case of Maximiano Errázuriz. Others eventually acquired some of the works on display. Collectors found in the exhibition the chance to align themselves

[395] Letter from Maximiano Errázuriz, President of the Fine Arts Section to the Rafael Larraín, President of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, 8 de Julio, 1874, in *BEI 5*, 359.

culturally with European trends and, therefore, to portray themselves as cultured individuals, all while reinforcing their social positions in Chilean society.[396]

Chilean art collectors were often prominent individuals or members of old moneyed families linked mainly to agriculture and the mining industry, and who demonstrated a variety of interests in addition to the arts. This was the case, for example, with prosperous individuals such as Maximiano Errázuriz, José Tomás de Urmeneta, and Luis Cousiño, who were also well-known politicians who actively participated in the cultural development of the country.[397]

Owning art collections situated individuals as part of a rather homogeneous cultural, social, and economic elite. However, the way they were publicly regarded varied.[398] Whereas most collectors attained public recognition as individuals of good taste, some were also known as national art supporters, while others were respected for the depth of their artistic knowledge.

The public image of collectors—one strongly shaped by the press—was varied. While collectors' philanthropy was underscored in some press accounts, others

[396] Argentinean art historian María Isabel Baldasarre has executed one of the most insightful studies on collecting practices in the Latin American context. Specifically, she analyzes the relationship between collectors' aesthetic choices and their social identities, in which economic, political, and ideological components play a central role. María Isabel Baldasarre, *Los dueños del arte. Coleccionismo y consumo cultural en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2006).

[397] Luis Cousiño was elected congressman for the period 1864-1867 and 1870-1873; Maximiano Errázuriz had been Plenipotentiary Minister in Great Britain, elected congressman (1870-1873) and senator (1873-1882). Rafael Larrain Moxó, President of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago had been senator from 1864-1873 and 1873-1882. In 1871, José Tomás de Urmeneta, Maximiano Errázurz's father-in-law-, had been senator from 1855-1864 and had been candidate for President. *Anales de la República: Textos Constitucionales de Chile y Registro de los Ciudadanos que han Intergrado los Poderes Ejecutivo y Legislativo Desde 1810*. Vol. 2 (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1951), 205, 220, 225, 227, 237-238, 247.

[398] On the public perception of Chilean art collectors during the 1870s, see: Marcela Drien, "Coleccionistas en la Vitrina: Expertos, Filántropos y Modelos del Buen Gusto,"in Raquel Abella, Angela Brandão, Fernando Guzmán, Carla Miranda, and André Tavares (Eds.), *El Sistema de las Artes. VII Jornadas de Historia del Arte* (Santiago: Universidade Federal de São Paulo, Museo Histórico Nacional, Facultad de Artes Liberales de la Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, and Centro de Restauración y Estudios Artísticos CREA, 2014), 131-138

highlighted their sense of good taste or artistic knowledge. Among the collectors that participated in the 1875 exhibition of Santiago, three individuals embodied these qualities: Maximiano Errázuriz (1832-1890), José Tomás de Urmeneta (1808-1878), and Isidora Goyenechea (1836-1898).

The Collector as a Connoisseur

Like many Chilean private collectors of the time, Maximiano Errázuriz was a prosperous businessman and politician—he was senator of the republic and brother of the then President, Federico Errázuriz—, which gave him a great deal of public visibility. However, he was also known because his collection was considered one of the largest and most valuable in the country.[399] Consisting mainly of European works, his collection was an expression of his deep interest in European art, which over the years, had been fed by his travels to Europe.

European museums, in particular, had seduced him during his travels in Europe, and the dynamism of the European art market provided the perfect conditions for him to acquire a variety of pieces of decorative and fine arts, as well as to commission paintings, such as the family portrait he entrusted to Maurice Blum in 1871.[400] While he was in Italy and France, Errázuriz bought a number of pieces, including splendid furniture in different styles, classical and modern sculptures, curious objects, tapestry, jewels, and stones, and "authentic paintings" by "well-known Italian masters."[401] The variety of objects he

[399] *La República*, 7 de Agosto, 1872, n/p; *La República*, 27 de Agosto, 1872, n/p.

[400] Carmen Valle, *Don Maximiano* (Santiago: Alonso de Ovalle, 1954), 117.

[401] Ibid.

acquired sheds light on the comprehensive nature of the works and the selective character of the paintings and sculptures that comprised his collection, and provides a sense of the impression it had on the public upon his return to Chile.

Notably, Errázuriz's grandiose taste and interest in masterpieces, *objets d'art*, and "all kinds of beautiful things"[402] greatly contrasted with his austere personality. Even though he did not seem particularly interested in elevating his social status, his daughter Amalia's observations reveal that the pieces he acquired in Europe actually corresponded to social status. As she recalled, on the return to Chile from Paris in 1872, everything had to be carefully prepared: "we had to make the necessary arrangements with all the requirements…it was necessary to arrive prepared with dignity to present ourselves to Santiago's society with decorum and elegance according to our position."[403] Although she does not specifically refer to art, this description nonetheless suggests that the pieces acquired in Europe were likely believed to play a significant role in reinforcing their social position.

However, when the "splendid collection of objects" arrived in Chile, Errázuriz's old colonial residence was deemed not adequate to house them.[404] The pieces needed a more appropriate setting, which presumably led Errázuriz to undertake a new project: the construction of a residence that he commissioned in 1872 from the Italian architect, Eusebio Chelli.[405] The construction of what came to be known as the *Palacio Errázuriz*

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[402] Ibid.

[403] "[…] había que prepararse necesariamente con todos los requisitos…había que llegar dignamente acondicionados y presentarte a la sociedad de Santiago con el decoro y elegancia que correspondía a nuestra situación." Ibid.

[404] Ibid., 121-22.

[405] Ibid., 115.

demonstrates the owner's belief that the structure that would house his collection should be stylistically aligned with the works it contained, revealing the prevalent belief that colonial architecture was no longer consistent with notions of the nation's cultural progress.

By the year of the exhibition, Errázuriz was a well-known collector due not only to the prestige of his collections, but also to his broad knowledge of art history. According to his daughter, he was able to distinguish artists, schools, and art periods, as well as architectural styles, knowledge on which he constantly relied to teach her while in Europe.[406] Moreover, Amalia asserted, Errázuriz anticipated and introduced artistic tendencies to Chile that had barely existed before.[407] Although her comments referred mostly to his appreciation of antiquities and decorative arts, her statements also reveal her father's detailed and extensive knowledge of art history.[408] Errázuriz's understanding of art and the fact that he had visited the 1862 International Exhibition of London, gave him first-hand knowledge of the way international exhibitions operated, which explains why he was appointed President of the Fine Arts Section in the 1875.[409]

Remarkably, Errázuriz's prestige as collector was amplified in 1875, when an article published in the *Correo de la Exposición* referred to the quality of his collection, described as the largest collection in Chile, and recognized him as "*collectionneur*

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[406] Ibid., 116.

[407] Ibid., 117.

[408] Amalia Errázuriz (1860-1930), inheriting her father's love for art, would later share her interests with her husband, the painter Ramón Subercaseaux. The pair with whom she met the American painter John Singer Sargent in 1880, who made a portrait of Amalia, which he presented in the Salon of Paris. Blanca Subercaseaux de Valdés, *Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux*, (Padre Las Casas: Imprenta y Editorial San Francisco, ca.1934), 82.

[409] Valle, 57-58.

émérit."[410] According to the article, the selection of works Errázuriz presented, were arranged in such a way that it interested true *connoisseurs* as much as amateurs. Errázuriz's ability to achieve a "majestic ensemble" of true masterpieces from Italy, France, and Belgium, the article contended, was the result of the "perfect taste" with which he had formed his collection and around which, Chilean art gravitated.[411] His decision to lend part of his collection in 1875, out of the competition, was surely related to his role as President of the Fine Arts section and the need to present Chilean private collectors to international guests. Thus, Errázuriz himself appeared not only as a *connoisseur*, but his collection was also seen as a model for national artists, reinforcing the idea of the educational role private collections played.

The Collector, an Individual of "Good Taste"

It was generally assumed by the press that collectors—particularly those that owned large and prestigious collections—had good taste. Yet, "good taste" was not only deemed to be beneficial for collectors, but also for artists. Indeed, an artist's prestigious reputation was established not only by his artistic accomplishments in exhibitions or his commercial success, but also by the personal relationships he established with prestigious collectors who would often have a direct influence on his work. A perfect example of this situation is the case of José Tomás de Urmeneta.

[410] As many articles published in the newspaper, this one was written in French, which clearly contributed to shaping the image of Maximiano Errázuriz among the French. About the image of the connoisseur, see: Harry Mount, "The Monkey with the Magnifying Glass: Constructions of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Oxford Art Journal* (June 2006), 167-184.

[411] AML, "L'Exposition de Santiago a Vol d'Oiseau," 10. The fact that Errázuriz had loaned 62 paintings is significant considering that he had refused to display his collection in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*. *La República*, 7 de Agosto, 1872. *La República*, 27 de Agosto, 1872.

Urmeneta, Maximino Errázuriz's father-in-law, was a prominent industrialist, who had also participated in politics. He had been congressman and, in 1871 ran for president against Federico Errázuriz, Maximiano's brother. Like most Chilean private collectors, José Tomás de Urmeneta had gained public prominence as a prosperous man, and was known for his philanthropic initiatives in a variety of spheres, including the arts. However, in contrast to Maximiano's fame as a *connoisseur*, Urmeneta attained prestige as a patron. Significantly, Urmeneta's influence on improving the national art system put him in an important position among collectors. Although his knowledge of art was never equated to Errázuriz's, he was generally assumed to have "good taste," especially regarding painting.

In the context of the 1875 exhibition, this impact of collectors on artists was particularly evident in the case of the Chilean history painter Manuel Tapia (1835-1915). According to an article published in the *Correo de la Exposición,* the quality of *La Batalla de Maipú* (Fig. 46), the work Manuel Tapia presented in the exhibition, was closely related to the support he had received from the collector José Tomás de Urmeneta, who was described as a man of good taste: "No one who knows Mr. Urmeneta will question the good taste of painting that characterizes him: it can be said that it is his artistic criteria that has shaped the good taste and delicacy of Tapia's works. It is [Urmeneta's] encouragement that has stimulated and protected [Tapia] as to elevate him to the place he occupies today among national history painters."[412]

[412] "Nadie, que conozca al señor Urmeneta pondrá en duda el buen gusto que le caracteriza tratándose de pinturas: es su criterio artístico el que, puede decirse, ha formado el buen gusto i la delicadeza acabada de los cuadros de Tapia. Es su aliento quien le ha entusiasmado I protejido hasta hacerle subir al lugar que ocupa entre los pintores de hisoria nacional." M.C., "La Batalla de Maipú, cuadro del señor Manuel Tapia," *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de Octubre, 1875, 102.

This quotation demonstrates the critical role of collectors who also acted as patrons, and how these relationships contributed to the improvement of individual artists. The article finally emphasized: "if Tapia deserves applause for having taking the subject of the battle of Maipú to such a happy end, as Chileans we can only wish that there were many gentlemen like Mr. Urmeneta to protect the beautiful art of painting. Such patrons will contribute to the glory of Chile and its artists."[413]

This assertion is illuminating for two reasons. On the one hand, it demonstrates that some Chilean collectors also operated as patrons. On the other hand, it highlights the decisive role patronage had in shaping the style of Chilean art, which was dominated by academic principles. Consequently, it reveals the critical influence private individuals had on the development of Chilean art. Indeed, Urmeneta not only supported Tapia, but he also bought *La Batalla de Maipú,* which won a medal in the exhibition.[414] Likewise, Urmeneta's support of national artists' careers is also in the case of Manuel Antonio Caro, from whom he acquired *La Abdicación de O'Higgins*, which won the first prize in the national painting section, a few days after the exhibition of 1875 opened.

Urmeneta's public reputation as a philanthropist was consolidated in an homage he received when he died in 1878, in which the press highlighted his contribution to the development of the country:

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[413] "Si Tapia merece aplausos por haber llevado a tan feliz término el asunto de la batalla de Maipú, como chilenos no podemos ménos que desear haya muchos caballeros como el señor Urmeneta que protejan el bellísimo arte de la pintura. Mecenas semejantes harán la Gloria de Chile i de sus artistas." M.C., "La Batalla de Maipú, cuadro del señor Manuel Tapia" in *Correo de la Exposición*, 30 de octubre, 1875, 102. On José Tomás de Urmeneta see: Ricardo Nazer Ahumada, *José Tomás de Urmeneta: Un Empresario del Siglo XIX*, Colección Sociedad y Cultura (Santiago, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, DIBAM, 1994).

[414] M.C., "La Batalla de Maipú, cuadro del señor Manuel Tapia."

> …Mr. José Tomás de Urmeneta's name has been intimately and constantly tied to the history of moral and material progress of our country over the last thirty years…if the artistic sentiment and the power of aesthetics of which we are capable, has had space and light to spread its wings in these last years, to that, has greatly contributed that liberality of Mr. Urmeneta, whose till was always open when it was necessary to stimulate the sculptor's chisel and the painter's brush.[415]

The acquisition of Tapia's and Caro's works sheds light on two aspects of Urmeneta's art consumption practices: it shows Urmeneta's preference for history painting, at least in the context of the 1875 exhibition, and it suggests a relationship between the paintings he bought and those that were awarded prizes. Since the prizes were not yet announced when Urmeneta bought the works, it could be speculated that either Urmeneta merely anticipated the success of those paintings, or that the prestige of his collection and his perceived good taste somehow reinforced the judges' decision to give awards to those particular paintings. In the same way, in the 1872 *Exposición de Artes e Industria* two works by Caro—*La Zamacueca* and *El Velorio*, both of which eventually won the competition—also belonged to a collector, Maximiano Errázuriz, just as at the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, when Caro's *La Abdicación de O'Higgins* (bought by Urmeneta) was awarded first prize. This suggests that there may be a connection between the collectors' choices and the perceived prestige of artworks.

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[415]"…el nombre del señor urmeneta aparece íntima y constantmente unido a la historia del pogreso moral y material de nuestro país en los últimos treinta años… si el sentimiento artístico y el poder de estética de que somos capaces ha tenido en estos últimos años espacio y luz en que desplegar sus alas, a ello ha contribuido grandemente aquella liberalidad del señor Urmeneta, cuya caja no dejó de estar abierta cuando se necesitó dar estímulo al cincel del estatuario y al pincel del pintor." Quoted in Nazer, 270.

Women as collectors

While the expertise in and influence on art by male collectors like Errázuriz and Urmeneta were publicly acknowledged, female collectors were barely mentioned by reviewers. When they were, their knowledge or influence on artists was not an aspect that was considered. Instead, like their male counterparts, their "good taste" was highlighted.

By the time of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, the most significant female collector was Isidora Goyenechea, publicly known for being Luis Cousiño's widow.[416] After her husband died, in 1873, Goyenechea inherited the family patrimony, which included one of the largest art collections in the country: at the time of her death in 1898, it exceeded the two hundred paintings and sculptures.[417] However, even though she displayed part of this significant collection in the 1875 exhibition, she received little attention.

Despite Goyenechea's interest in art, contemporaneous accounts did not discuss her with the same regard as they did Errázuriz and Urmeneta. The different treatment women received may have resulted from the fact that because connoisseurship was more closely associated with "masculinity", and because her deceased husband was still publicly recognized as one of the most important art collectors and philanthropists of the

[416] On this particular collection, see: Rosario Willumsen, "Una Colección Europea, con Impronta Francesa: la Presencia Europea en el Arte en Chile a Partor de la Colección Cousiño Goyenechea. Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX," in Raquel Abella, Angela Brandão, Fernando Guzmán, Carla Miranda, and André Tavares (Eds.), 139-147.

[417] See, Willumsen, *La Colección Cousiño Goyenechea*.

country, his reputation overshadowed her public visibility as the proprietor of such a remarkable collection.[418]

Like Errázuriz and Urmeneta, Luis Cousiño had also promoted and supported national artists, particularly Nicanor Plaza, from whom Cousiño acquired at least twelve works, the largest number of works from a Chilean artist existing in Cousiño's collection.[419] Indeed, his collection also captured public attention in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, in which Cousiño was awarded a "great special award" for the best art collection.[420] For this reason, Cousiño's positive reputation persisted after his death, as demonstrated the various posthumous homages paid to him. Press at the time frequently highlighted his role as a supporter of the arts. Take for instance, this speech delivered by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna:

> In his first years of opulence, [Cousiño] boosted the arts with open and generous hands. His rich collections were the adornment and greatest example of all the art fairs carried out in the last twenty years […] It was he who put the first burin in the hands of our sculptor Plaza, and it can be assured that no Chilean artist ever stepped on the threshold of our lamented

[418] During the nineteenth century, the role of women in the Chilean urban context was mainly associated with the care of the home and family, and therefore, it was circumscribed to the domestic realm. On the women's status in the private and public spheres in Chile in the nineteenth century, see: Manuel Vicuña, *La belle époque chilena. Alta Sociedad y mujeres de élite* (Santiago, Catalonia, 2010); Lucía Santa Cruz, Teresa Pereira, Isabel Zegers, and Valeria Maino, *Tres ensayos sobre la mujer chilena: siglos XVIII-XIX-XX* (Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 1978), 74-182; Luis Barros Baeza and Ximena Vergara Johnson, "La imagen de la mujer aristocrática hacia el novecientos," in *Chile: mujer y sociedad*, edited by Paz Covarrubias y Rolando Franco (Santiago, Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia,1978), 229-247.

[419] *Inventario de Bienes de Isidora Goyenechea de Cousiño,* n/p.

[420] *ENAIM*, xlv.

> friend without receiving his applause and support. What the national arts owed to his heart, industry, to a greater extent, owed it to his fortune.[421]

Along with this public recognition of Cousiño's contributions to the national arts, artists themselves also expressed their appreciation to him the day a bust by Nicanor Plaza was installed on the Santa Lucía Hill.[422] On that occasion, the Chilean painter, Pedro Lira spoke on behalf of the Chilean artists saying:

> Introducing to Chile one of our most numerous and selective art collections, Cousiño gave an example of taste to men of fortune and presented models from which artists could learn. But his generosity went further, as he later bought from those same artists their weak trial [works] in order to encourage them in their careers and thus facilitate their paths to glory.[423]

Lira's words shed light on the fact that quality was not necessarily the main motivation for collectors to buy a Chilean work. Instead, what motivated Chilean

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[421] "En sus primeros años de opulencia estimuló el arte con mano abierta i jenerosa. Sus ricas colecciones fueron el adorno I el buen ejemplo de todas las ferias de arte que han tenido lugar en los últimos 20 años […] El fue el quien puso el primer buril en mano de nuestro escultor Plaza, I puede asegurarse que ningún artista chileno pisó jamas los umbrales de nuestro lamentado amigo sin recibir la ofrenda de su aplauso I de su apoyo. Lo que el arte nacional ha debido a su corazón,, la industria, en mucho mayor escala, lo ha debido a su fortuna." *La República*, 1º de Junio, 1873.

[422] *Decreto 30 de Mayo de 1873* published in Ibid..

[423] Introduciendo en Chile una de nuestras mas numerosas I escojidas colecciones artísticas, Cousiño dió a los hombres de fortuna un ejemplo de gusto I present a los artistas modelos en que educarse. Pero esto no fué bastante a su jenerosidad, que luego compró a esos mismos artistas sius dpebiles ensayos para alentarlos eb su Carrera I facilitarles el camino de la gloria." *La República*, 17 de Junio, 1873.

collectors to acquire national works was largely related to a great extent, to their desire to support national artists.

In light of the overwhelming recognition given to Goyenechea's husband, it is not surprising that her own reputation in the public eye was diminished. While during her husband's life, she was designated to the domestic realm—a more acceptable sphere for a nineteenth century woman—after Cousiño's death, she became more involved in the management of his businesses, such as the coal mining of Lota. These new tasks required her to travel often to Europe where she combined her learning of industrial techniques and industry with her cultural, social, and artistic interests.[424]

Isidora Goyenchea direct involvement in family projects can also be seen in the construction and decoration of the *Palacio Cousiño*—entrusted to Paul Lathoud, the architect in charge of the *Palacio de la Exposición*—which was finished in 1878. Thus, she most certainly was familiar with the finest objects of decorative and fine arts and the then current artistic trends.[425] The construction of the *Palacio Cousiño* expressed Isidora Goyenechea eclectic stylistic preferences: marble was brought from Carrara for the staircase arabesques, the finest wood (cedar, mahogany, walnut, cherry, ebony, oak, and rosewood) for the parquet and floor, plafonds that decorated the ceilings were painted by a French artist, Louis XVI-style furniture, majolica for the winter garden, Italian marble sculptures and a majolica fountain in the glasshouse, and German baroque sideboards endowed the mansion with a magnificent appearance that transformed it into one of the

[424] Octavio Astorquiza, *Cien Años del Carbón de Lota: 1852-Septiembre-1952: Antecedentes Históricos, Monografía y Estudios Sobre el Desarrollo Industrial, Económico y Social de las Minas Carboníferas de Lota en su Primer Siglo de Vida*, (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1952), 69. Ana María Peña Mora, *Parque Isidora Goyenechea Cousiño: la Flor de Lota*, (Lota: Ilustre Municipalidad de Lota 2011), 27.

[425] Mario Fonseca, *Cousiño, Huellas de la Familia* (Santiago: Ograma, 1999), 68.

city's more outstanding private residences.[426] Likewise, her determination and personal interest in architecture and art would be visible in her commission of a building in Valparaíso in 1881, in memory of her husband, as well as a new palace in Lota in 1885.[427]

The less favorable attitude towards female collectors was also visible in the way art consumption practices were perceived in the context of the exhibition. Take for instance, a commentary published in *El Independiente*, which discussed the potential buyers of artworks. Referring to the Italian sculptures on display, the article commented that such pieces would be "worthy of being in the art galleries that embellished the halls of some gentleman of Santiago."[428] Notably, this assertion did not refer to a family, but rather to a male individual, which shows that art consumption and owning art were seen as dominated by men.

Similarly, only a few days after the exhibition began, contemporaneous accounts explicitly indicated the type of individual who would be interested in art, asserting that: "several gentlemen have manifested their intention in acquiring those [works] of their taste."[429] Thus, taste and property were publically defined as belonging to the male realm, which is understandable since it was mainly men who collected art. In fact, it was known

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[426] Manuel Peña Muñoz, *Chile, Memorial de la Tierra Larga* (Santiago: RIL 2008), 164-65.

[427] Peña Mora, 4. Astorquiza, 71, 99-101-106. See also Willumsen, *La Colección Cousiño Goyenechea,* 28-9, 42. Fonseca, *Cousiño, Huellas de la Familia*, (Santiago: 1999).

[428] *El Independiente*, 24 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

[429] Although there are no specific studies in Chile about local art consumption practices in the nineteenth century, this type of commentary, specifically referring to the acquisition of artworks by male individuals, suggests that it was likely a standard practice at the time in Chile. *El Independiente*, 28 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p. Buyers of the Italian sculptures included Luis Pereira and Manuel Rengifo, one of the judges of industrial art objects. *El Independiente*, 30 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p. *El Ferrocarril*, 30 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p. *El Ferrocarril*, 26 de Noviembre, 1975.

that both Urmeneta and Errázuriz were personally involved in the acquisition of the works existing in their collections. Errázuriz's daughter recalled that her father spent days buying objects. Likewise, letters written by Urmeneta from Europe revealed that he himself bought the furniture and artworks intended to decorate his new residence, a gothic building known as the *Palacio Urmeneta*, the construction of which had started in 1868. Like Errázuriz, Urmeneta also commissioned portraits from European artists.[430]

Hence, while art collecting seems to have been restricted to male circles, the exhibition itself proved that assumption to be only partially true. In fact, women—like Isidora Goyenechea—also bought works during the exhibition. Among collectors at the exhibition, she seems to have acquired the largest number of Italian sculptures, a fact that proves not only her interest in art, but also, that in the absence of her husband, she continued expanding the family collection. For this reason, she should be seen as Cousiño's rightful successor.

Goyenechea's interest in extending her husband's legacy was evinced in the selection of works she exhibited in 1875. Notably, she showed the same works that her husband did in the 1872 *Exposición Nacional de Artes e Industria*, for which he was awarded the best collection.[431] Perhaps she assumed that those works would put her in a better position in the 1875 competition, although she presented considerably fewer works than her husband did in 1872. In fact, the eight paintings she displayed greatly contrasted with the twenty-two works he exhibited in 1872, largely because his display also included sculpture.[432]

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[430] Nazer, 264-266.

[431] *ENAIM*, xx.

Goyenechea mostly displayed genre paintings, corresponding to French artists that had participated at the Salon in Paris, such as Alfred de Dreux—whose work was praised as a "splendid piece," while nothing was said about its owner[433]—Worms, Meissonier, and the Spanish genre painter, Bernardo Ferrándiz.[434] Hence, the works she chose to display were carefully orchestrated to underscore a link between her collection and an exhibition as prestigious as the Salon of Paris.

Although Isidora Goyenechea continued to demonstrate an interest in art after her husband died, she seems to have been more interested in European art rather than in Chilean works, as evidenced by the greater appeal Italian sculpture exerted on her. Indeed, an inventory of her collection that was realized after her death, confirms that she bought at least five sculptures in the exhibition: *Mignon* by Pietro Calvi, *Eva* by Giosuè Argenti, *La Lettrice* by Pietro Magni, *La Dama Velada* by Lombardi, and Alessandro Rossi's *Lucia, dei Prommessi,* all of which were installed in the *Palacio Cousiño*.[435] Notably, even though Magni, was identified as "one of the three greatest modern sculptors, contestant of Vela and Monteverde," and that "in that magnificent work many

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[432] *COBA,* 20. *ENAI*, 11-12.
[433] Letelier, 24.

[434] *COBA*, 20.

[435] There are two other sculptures that appear under different names in the inventory of her patrimony that she may have bought from the exhibition: Pietro Bernasconi's *La Arrepentida* (The Remorseful)—possibly one of the works identified in the catalogue as either *Eva Después del Pecado* (Eve after the Sin) or *La Adúltera* (The Adulteress)—and Alessandro Rossi's *La pensativa* (The Pensive)—most likely identified in the catalogue as *La Esperanza* (The Hope). In the inventory, *La Lettrice* appears as *Una Joven Leyendo* (The Reader). *Inventario de Bienes de Isidora Goyenechea de Cousiño; COBA*, 25-29. She presumably also bought *La Noche* (The Night) of Guarnerio, *La Lluvia Improvisada* (The Improvised Rain) by Dall'Negro, and likely *La Sorpresa* (The Surprise) and *Después del Recreo* (After the Break). *El Independiente*, 5 de Octubre, 1875.

of our young sculptors can study and learn," stressing the prestige of the artist and the role it may play in artistic education, nothing was said about the new owner's taste.[436]

The inconsistent manner that women collectors were perceived was also evident in the way their motivations for purchasing items was discussed: they were usually described as buying art for more emotional reasons than men. For example, when *El Independiente* referred to Miss E. Undurraga, who had bought Guarnerio's *La Plegaria Forzada*, the article commented: "Miss Undurraga has given proof of very good taste and that her heart knows how to be moved by art and the inspirations of art."[437] Thus, even if good taste was recognized in this case, it was not attributed to the woman's reason, but rather to her emotion.

These examples confirm that the perception of women collectors was markedly different than that of male collectors, and likewise was less discussed in the press and other media. Consequently, male collectors attained greater visibility than female collectors, confirming that a deeper understanding of art was assumed to have been exclusively reserved for men.

Exhibitions as Art Markets

Exhibitions were not only suitable platforms for individuals to publicly show their collections, but also represented an opportunity for art collectors to acquire artworks. Yet, their motivations for buying works varied. In the context of the 1875 *Exposición*

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[436] A. Zambrana, *El Independiente*, 5 de Octubre, 1875, n/p.

[437] "La señorita Undurraga ha dado pruebas de muy buen gusto y de que su corazón sabe ser conmovido por el arte y por las inspiraciones del arte," *El Independiente*, 30 de Septiembre, 1875, n/p.

Internacional, at least two factors seem to have guided their decision to acquire paintings and sculptures: the desire to expand their collections, as in the case of Isidora Goyenechea, and the goal of supporting Chilean artists.

As mentioned, collectors not only bought European works from the exhibition, but also acquired paintings by Chilean artists, a fact which suggests that the latter may have responded not only to their artistic preferences, but also to their philanthropic intention of contributing to the development of the national arts.

During the exhibition, a number of articles commented on the works that were being bought by Chileans. In fact, the press itself encouraged Chilean collectors to buy works on display. The show was billed as a unique occasion for the public to be in contact with a number of European and Chilean works. For example, an article in *El Independiente* insisted that foreign paintings and sculptures displayed in the exhibition should remain in Chilean private homes after the exhibition was over. As the article pointed out, they would improve Chilean schools and help to encourage patronage for national artists.[438]

Similarly, while local reviewers advised Chileans to buy European artworks, the press passionately promoted the market for Chilean art. The buzz the exhibition produced among critics also stimulated domestic art consumption, as evident in the same article in *El Independiente*, which promoted the works of Chilean painters by stressing their artistic quality: "Tapia, Caro, Smith will find buyers for their paintings," and by directly addressing buyers: "the Chilean patrician who has *La Muerte de Valdivia* in his gallery

[438] *El Independiente*, 8 de Octubre, 1875, n/p.

will be motivated to be prouder than if he possessed a wonder of Rafael."[439] Although this assertion only demonstrates the enthusiasm of its author, the fervent support the press gave to national artists may have helped reinforce some collectors' interests in including national artists in their collections, although their interest in European works was still primary. So, while some collectors, such as Maximiano Errázuriz and José Tomás de Urmeneta, were publicly recognized for having included Chilean art in their collections, they still had less Chilean art than European art, which tended to dominate their collections.[440]

Ultimately, the attempt by the Chilean painting gallery's organizers to stress national qualities in the art on view only ended up accentuating the differences between the thematic interests of Chilean artists and the preferences of collectors. While Chilean art largely emphasized "the national" through history and landscape painting, private collections demonstrated collectors' interest in displaying their elite cultured status through European paintings, which included mainly European landscape and genre paintings.

Indeed, Chilean collectors only displayed their European paintings—even though they also owned Chilean paintings—in the exhibition. Yet, the fact they also purchased Chilean art from the exhibition, suggests that their interest in Chilean art was more related to supporting national artists, rather than publicly flaunting national works in their

[439] Ibid.

[440] Even if collectors such as José Tomás de Urmeneta acquired Chilean paintings in the exhibition, they also acquired European art, as evidenced by the fact that Urmeneta also purchased at least two Italian sculptures: Ugo Zanonni's *Estudio y Labor* (Study and Labor) and *El Futuro Artista* (The Future Artist). *El Ferrocarril*, 26 de Noviembre, 1875, n/p.

prestigious collections. It also sheds light on the fact that, since private collections were seen as models for the education of taste, European painting was considered superior.

Ultimately, the comparison between foreign and Chilean art that the organizers had wanted to avoid, actually proved to have favorable consequences for the appreciation of Chilean painting. In this way, the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* can be considered successful in its ability to consolidate the prestige of national artists in Chile, and for the installation of both history and landscape painting as official representatives of the national arts in an international setting. Finally, the incorporation of private collections in the public sphere resulted not only in the establishment of private collections as models for educating both the public and artists alike, but moreover, for legitimizing individual taste as a shaper of the public perception of art in Chile.

CONCLUSION

This investigation of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago has woven together two main ideas: a) that through nineteenth-century international exhibitions it is possible to examine how the arts operated in the commercial, cultural, and political spheres in mid-to-late nineteenth-century Chile and b) that in the context of universal exhibitions, the arts served to visually express the nationalist motivations of host countries that organized such events. In the case of Chile, the 1875 exhibition provides a unique case study for confirming these premises in the Latin American context, for examining how the Chilean organizers prepared the first project of this magnitude, and for looking at crucial aspects of the Chilean art system.

Studying universal exhibitions has shown that the role the arts played greatly exceeded the fine arts sections. Indeed, through universal exhibitions, the spheres of commerce, industry, culture, and politics converged. This research has sought to identify the specific functions that the arts played among all these social frameworks by paying particular attention to the role of iconography and artistic media in these endeavors.

An analysis of the organization of the 1875 *Exposicion Internacional* of Santiago has revealed the organizers' desire to produce an international cosmopolitan experience on Chilean soil. From this perspective, the exhibition provided an exceptional opportunity for Chile to align itself with Europe by emulating other universal exhibitions. Likewise, through the use of specific iconographies and the media through which these iconographies circulated, the 1875 exhibition organizers also mimicked European

antecedents. Yet, at the same time, the exhibition also simultaneously promoted a pre-existing set of images that represented Chilean national identity.

Thus, whereas the sculpture that crowned the *Palacio de la Exposición* visually aligned the exhibition with European representations of the nation, the condors and the statue of Pedro de Valdivia proved that the organizers were also interested in portraying specifically Chilean historical and cultural references. In this way, the exhibition proved to be not only a commercial endeavor, as was originally intended, but also a platform for presenting a national image. Ultimately, national iconographies constituted a crucial aspect of these events, as they contributed to defining a shared repertory of images that both identified and distinguished these exhibitions.

Along with the imagery that accompanied international exhibitions, buildings intended to house these exhibitions were crucial, not only as symbols of progress, but also as cultural icons, as exhibition organizers believed that their architectural styles endowed them with a civilizing character. Images of buildings acted as a point of convergence between exhibitions' official imagery, and their commercial and urban representations. Indeed, the circulation of images of these buildings in illustrated magazines and on medals, as well as the actual buildings themselves, demonstrated their significance not only within the context of the exhibition, but also in local architectural and urban development more broadly.

In the case of Chile's exhibition, the construction of the exhibition building not only culturally aligned the exhibition with its French predecessors but also had an impact on Chilean exhibition culture. Unlike previous European exhibition buildings, the Chilean exhibition building was intended from the beginning to house the *Museo*

Nacional. On the one hand, its importance lay in the fact that it was the first building intended as a museum, although its adequacy for that purpose was a matter of debate. On the other hand, the building contributed to consolidating Chile's museum culture and served as an immediate precedent for the Fine Arts Museum building. In this sense, the impact of the exhibition largely exceeded the context of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional,* marking a turning point in Chilean exhibition culture at large.

Furthermore, one of the assumptions that the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* challenged was the exclusive influence of French culture in Chile during the nineteenth century. It is true that the exhibition demonstrated an official inclination toward French artists (that paradoxically were largely in charge of creating the national image of Chile in the exhibition). This preference was particularly visible in the commission of the *Palacio de la Exposición*, the engravings that were published in foreign illustrated magazines, medal design, and the sculpture intended to crown the exhibition building. However, critical responses to the show proved to be rather disparaging of European, and particularly, French art. An explanation for this fact may be either that the French paintings sent to Chile were not first-line works, or that Chilean critics were more interested in promoting Chilean art, or both. Notably, this response demonstrates that the reception of foreign and particularly French art was not passive. On the contrary, it establishes that local Chilean arts were undergoing a transition at the time, and suggests both the formation of a "national school", and the public's positive reception of emerging national artists. Nonetheless, we can presume that the reason Chilean artists were still blocked from receiving official commissions was because the national art scene's development was still at an incipient stage.

Despite the exhibition's organizers' preference for French art in general, they seemed ambivalent towards French sculpture. Indeed, the exhibition reveals that French cast metal sculptures was perceived differently in both the exhibition and the public sphere. This is especially evident when considering the increased demand for French cast iron sculptures commissioned or purchased by the city of Santiago from Val d'Osne in the 1870s. Many of these works were installed in public spaces as part of the urban modernization project of the capital, thus capturing the attention of the press. However, at the exhibition, the interest in French sculpture evaporated when Italian sculpture was introduced. In fact, in the exhibition, the press hardly mentioned the French metal sculpture on view at all, a stark contrast to the overwhelming attention given to the Italian sculpture in the show. This positive response given to Italian in the press provides additional evidence to bolster recent Chilean scholarship that has sought to re-examine the previously overlooked influence of Italian art on the Chilean art system.

The significance of the *Exposición* on Chilean art should be understood in light of individuals that have been previously under-examined by scholars: private art collectors. In actuality, collectors played a crucial role in European international exhibitions as much as in Chile. Private collecting by the aristocracy greatly contributed to the formation of the fine arts sections in previous international exhibitions. Its significance in Chile, although visible before the exhibition, seems to have reached its highest point in 1875.

As mentioned in this study, Chilean art collecting has had a greater impact in the public realm than scholars have generally assumed. In the private realm, collections served to socially and culturally position individuals as refined. However, in the public realm, the lack of art museums resulted in a Chilean public that had little contact with

both foreign and national art. Thus, it was only through the display of private art collections that people had the chance to see art, transforming these collections into models of "good taste" and the collectors who owned them, into trendsetters in the development of the national scene.

Looking at Future Research

Because of the nature of this study, the scope of my research has had some limitations. Future studies are needed to examine other aspects of universal exhibitions such as the motivations and assumptions behind artist's participation particularly in Chile's exhibition. Although this dissertation has broadly sketched some of the possible motivations Italian artists had in participating in international exhibitions, these need to be examined in more depth. Also, other related issues need to be investigated, such as how the subject matter in works intended for international settings differed from those themes created for national exhibitions. Such research should also consider artists' expectations and the ways their participation in international exhibitions specifically contributed to expanding the art market.

Another issue that needs to be examined not only in terms of international exhibitions, but also in terms of nineteenth century exhibition culture more broadly, is how artworks were represented in the illustrated press. Such images were more than mere visual records that "illustrated" artworks for unreachable audiences. They should also be seen as art galleries on paper, that responded to specific criteria, which need to be examined. For example, such images could be understood in terms of the selection

criteria used for their inclusion in printed matter, which may shed light on their role in the education of the public's taste, an area that deserves further study. The reproductions of artworks in the illustrated press could also be understood as a way for the organizers to promote specific artists or artistic styles as well as a labor source for artists. The latter is particularly relevant in the case of Chile, insofar as the artists who created most engravings and drawings included in the *Correo de la Exposición* were trained at the *Academia de Pintura*. Indeed, Antonio Smith himself had worked for illustrated periodicals. A study that undertakes this particular matter would be significant, as no research has specifically tackled the relationship between artists and the illustrated press. Although this dissertation has tackled the role of private collections in the public realm, further research is needed to continue to help broaden the understanding of private collecting practices in Chile in both the public and private realms. Such studies will need to delve into areas such as art consumption practices, collector taste, and patronage.

Another important area that deserves further consideration is the role of the female collector, an issue that would pose fascinating questions for nineteenth-century gender studies that until now, have not been developed in depth in Chilean art history. Furthermore, specific research related to art consumption, also outlined to some degree in this dissertation in relation to Chilean art collectors, constitutes an interesting topic that may contribute to broadening our understanding of Chilean purchasing habits, particularly in relation to the emerging consumption of decorative and fine arts in the country. Greater attention should be paid to trading companies such as Rose Innes and Co., mentioned in chapter three. These companies, overlooked so far by Chilean art historical scholarship, were the main source for the introduction of decorative arts and

fine arts into the country during the second half of the nineteenth century, helping to establish a marked divergence away from the colonial art market that preceded it. For this reason, it deserves further research.

Finally, although this dissertation has partially examined the connections between artists and collectors in Chile, further research should explore in more detail the relationship between artists and patrons and the extent to which that relationship determined or influenced artists' thematic choices, particularly considering the relevance these patrons played, as collectors, in the education of the public's taste.

Ultimately, I do not consider this dissertation to be the conclusion of my research. Rather, I see it as a starting point that has largely exceeded my own expectations of the possible readings of international exhibitions. The exhibition that motivates this study has been considered as a case study for examining a host of issues related to the status of the arts in Chile. Moreover, through this research I have sought to examine international exhibitions, from a broader perspective of the arts and their commercial, cultural, and political connotations. I believe that one of the greater contributions of this research is the insight into how universal exhibitions relied on the arts as a means to deploy nationalist propaganda. In this light, the various and coordinated means by which the arts operated for that end is, ultimately, what I think constitutes one of the major contributions of this dissertation.

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FIGURES

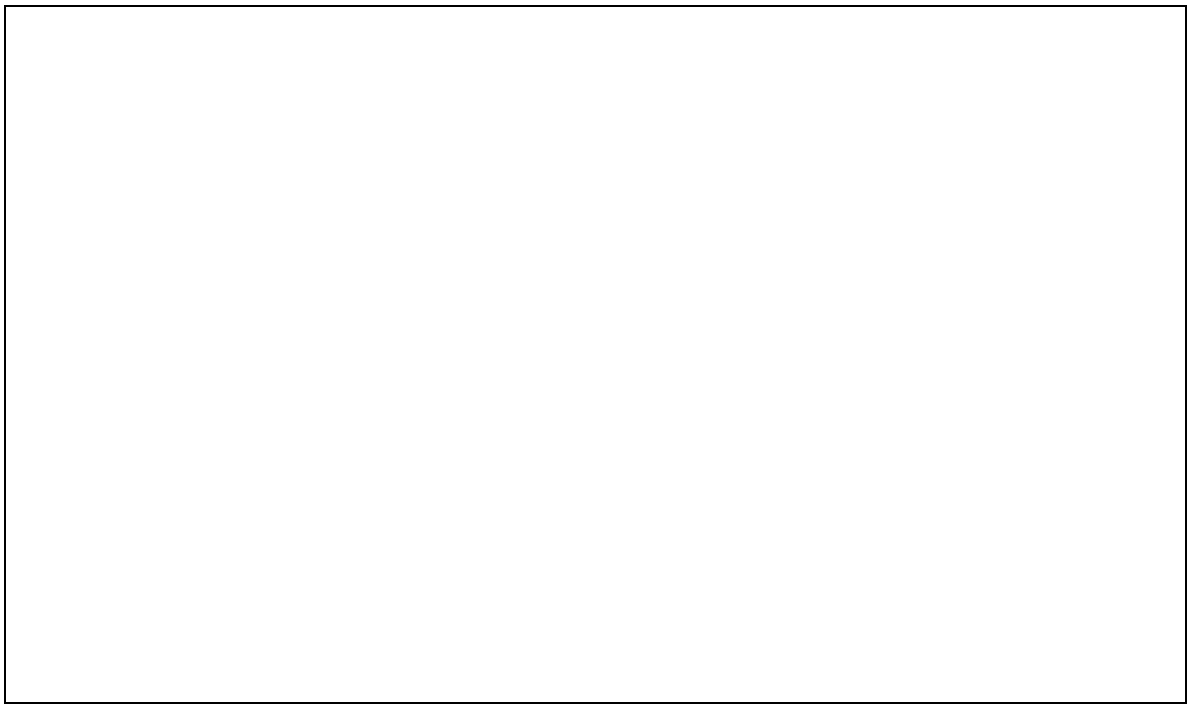

Fig. 1: *Palacio de la Exposición*, *1875 Exposición Internacional* of Santiago.
Centro Nacional del Patrimonio Fotográfico, Chile. Accessed September 28, 2014.
http://catalogo.patrimoniofotografico.cl/fichas/busqueda_simple?valor=museo&commit=Buscar.

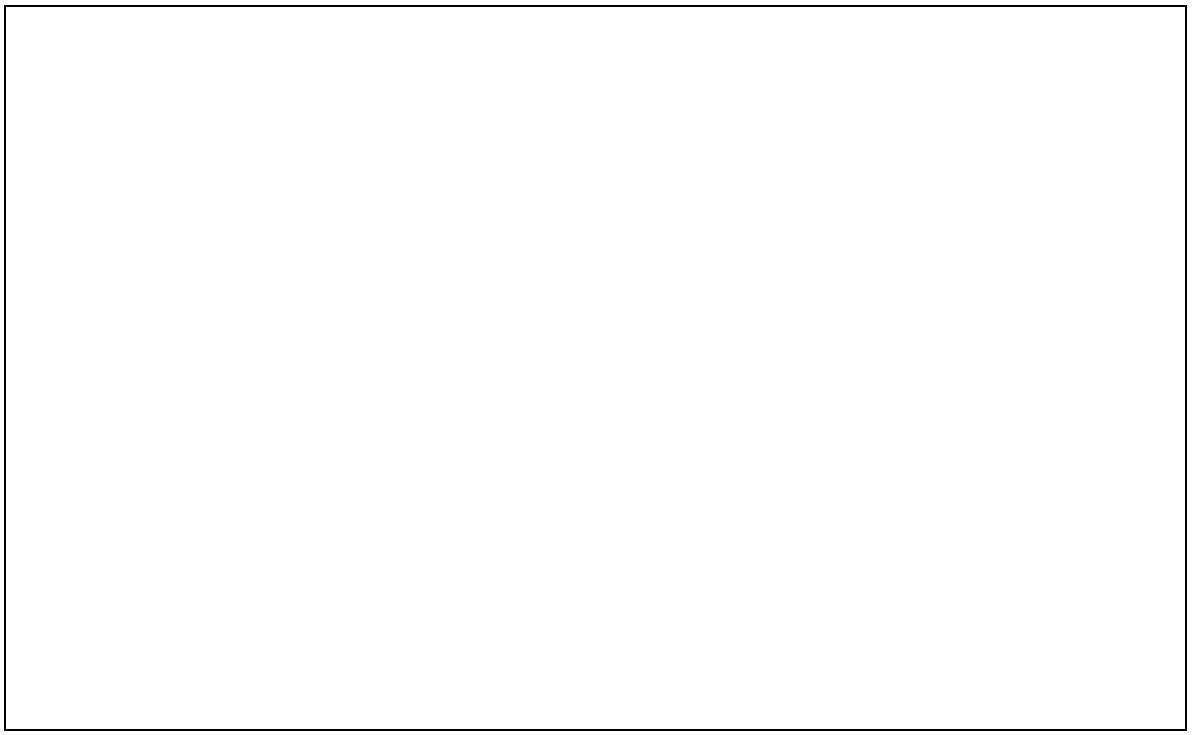

Fig. 2: *Palais de l'Industrie*, 1855 *Exposition Universelle* of Paris.
Source: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College. Accessed December 10, 2012.
http://mobius.wellesley.edu/detail.php?t=objects&type=browse&f=maker&s=Champagne%2C+A.+C.&record=10.

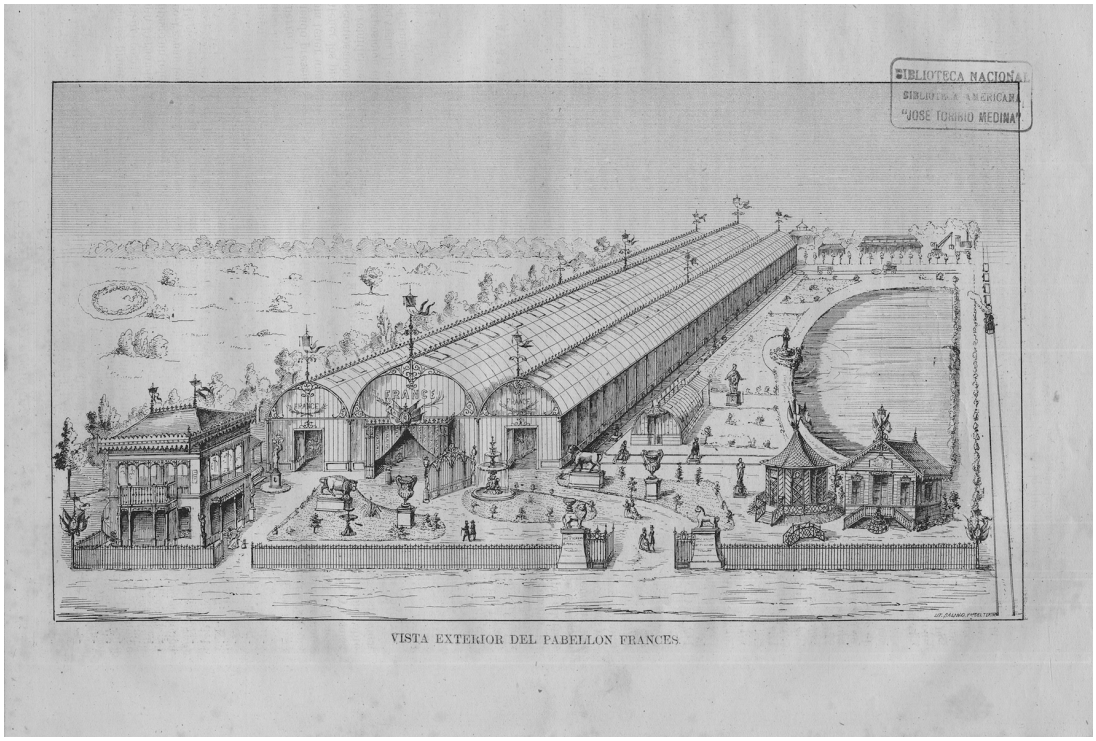

Fig. 3: External view of the French Pavilion, 1875 *Exposición Internacional*.
Correo de la Exposición, 16 de Octubre, 1875, 36.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.

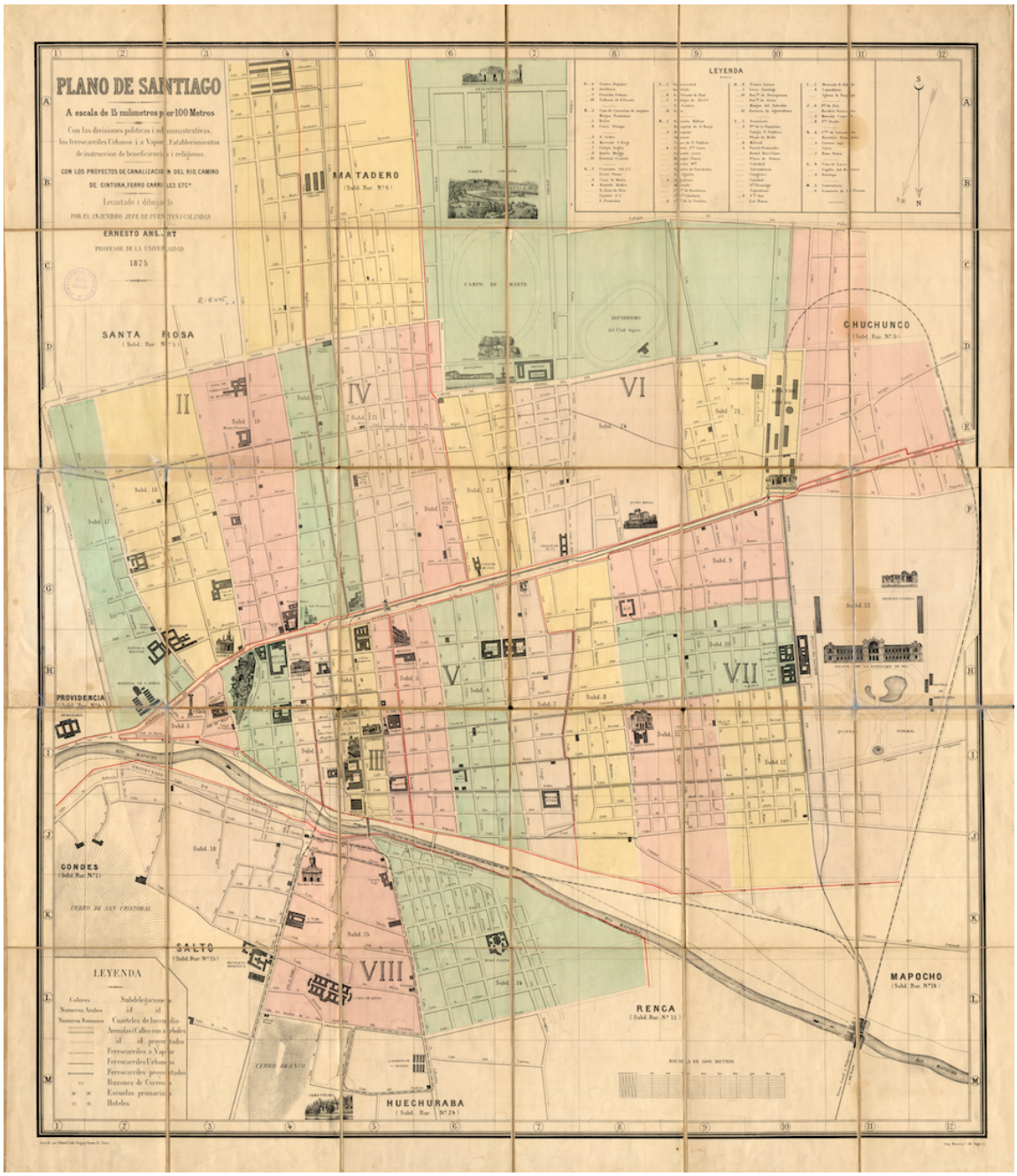

Fig. 4: The Quinta Normal (on the right).
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Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

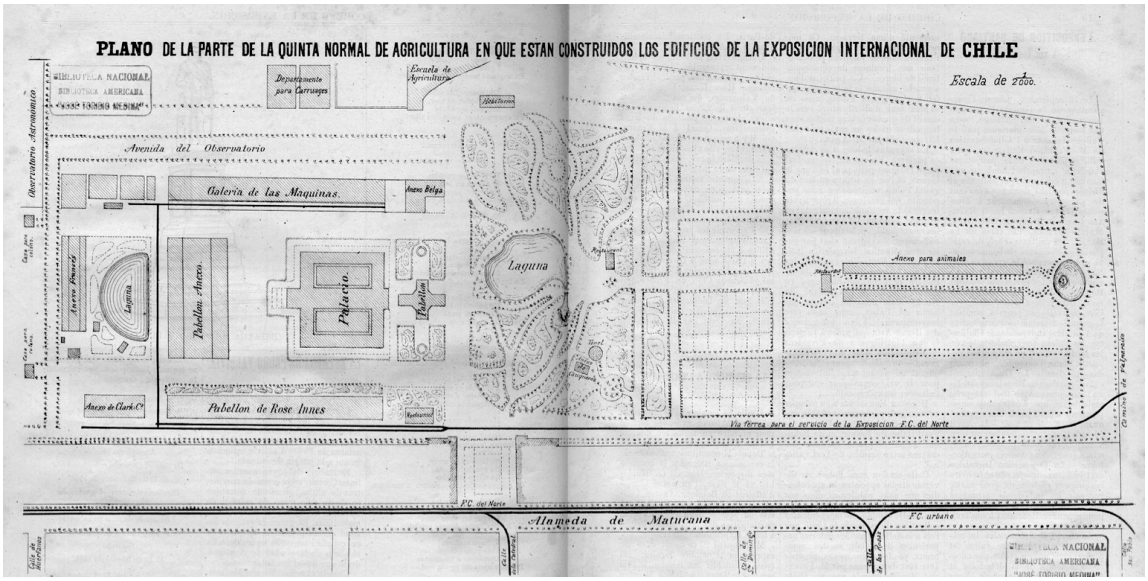

Fig. 5: Plan of the 1875 *Exposición Internacional* showground.
Correo de la Exposición, 16 de Septiembre, 1875, 8-9.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf

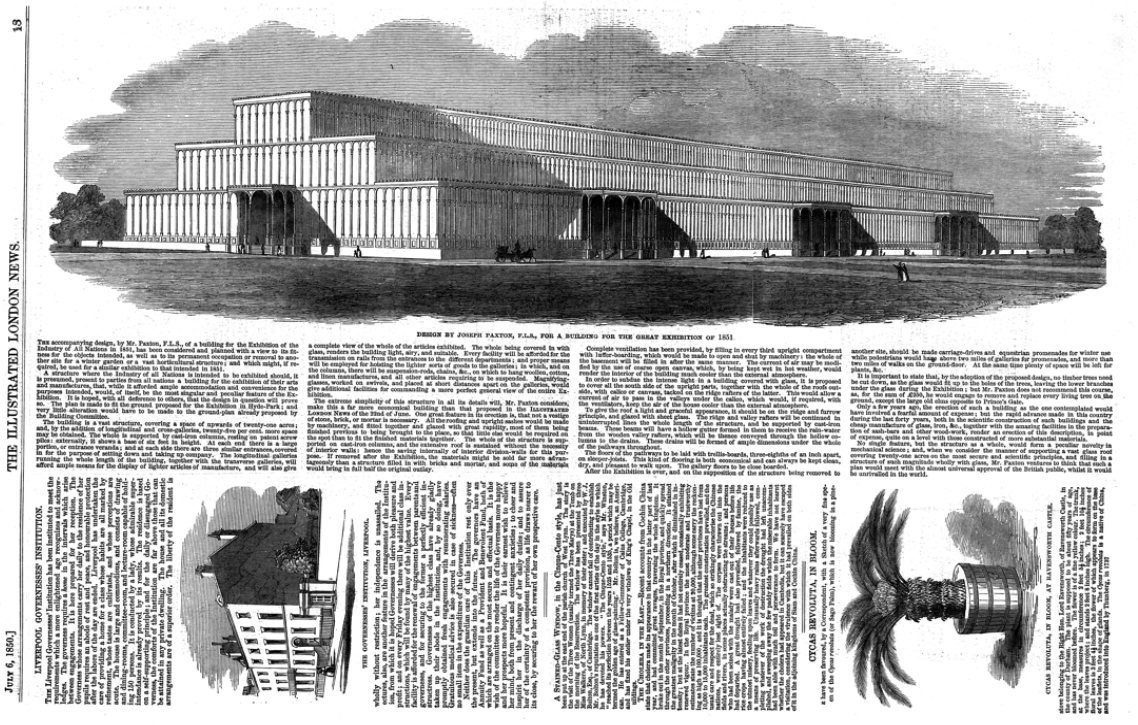

Fig. 6: Joseph Paxton's original design of the Crystal Palace.
Illustrated London News, July 6, 1850.
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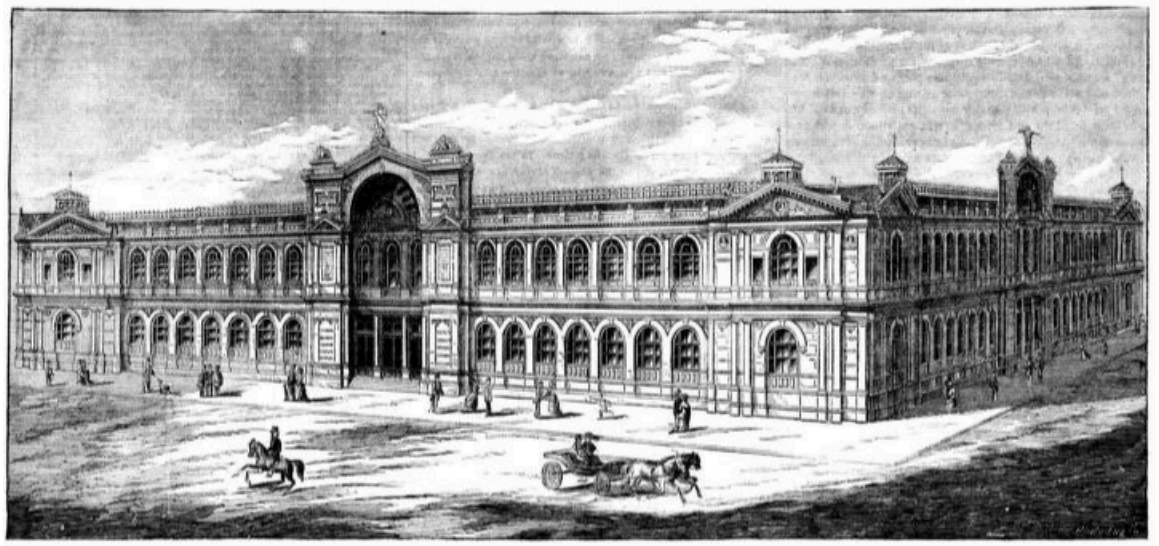

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Fig. 7: *Palacio de la Exposición*, 1875 *Exposición Internacional* of Santiago.
Scientific American, Volume 31 No. 7 (August 1874), 103. Accessed August 8, 2012.
http://archive.org/stream/scientific-american-1874-08-15/scientific-american-v31-n07-1874-08-15#page/n8/mode/1up.

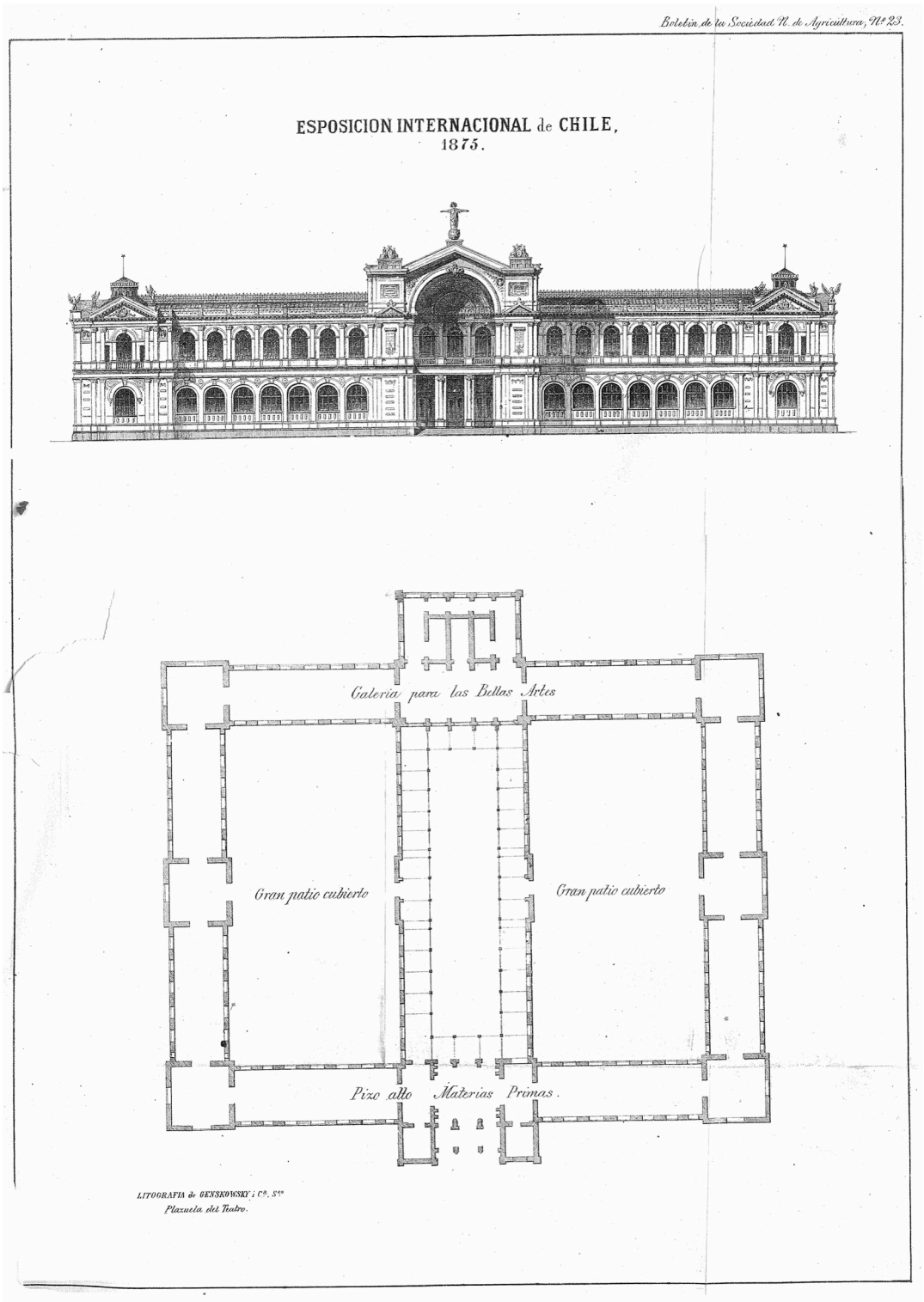
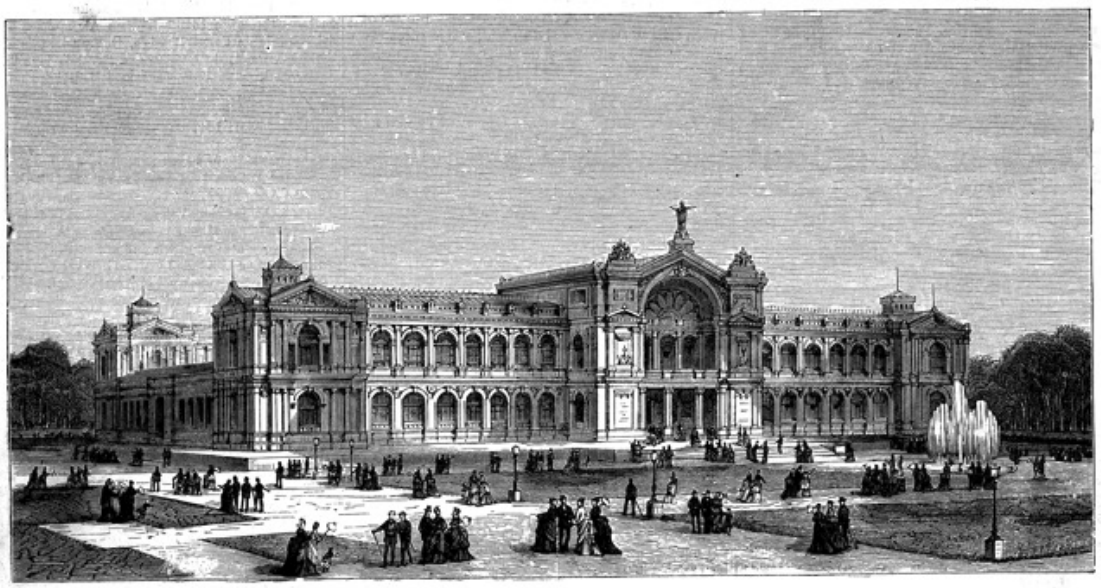


Fig. 8: Elevation of the 1875 *Palacio de la Exposición* and Plan of the Exhibition layout.
Litografía de Genskowsky I Ca., Sco. Plazuela del Teatro
Boletín de la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, Vol. V, No. 23, 20 de Septiembre, 1874, n/p.
Courtesy of Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, Chile



SANTIAGO DE CHILE.—EXTERIOR DEL PALACIO DE LA EXPOSICION INDUSTRIAL QUE SE INAUGURARÁ EL 16 DE SETIEMBRE PRÓXIMO.

Fig. 9: *Palacio de la Exposición*, 1875 *Exposición Internacional* de Santiago.
La Ilustración Española y Americana, Año XIX, Núm X, 15 de Marzo, 1875, 172.
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Figs. 10 and 11: Alphée Dubois, Meda*l 1875 Exposición Internacional*, 1875.
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Fig. 12: Chilean Banknote of *1 Peso*, 1885.
Courtesy of Banco Central de Chile

Fig. 13: *Quinta Normal*.
South America, 1883.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, PET FOL-VH-182 (2).
Accessed August 13, 2013. http: //gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8443052t.

Palais construit en vue de l'Exposition de 1875. Après la clôture de l'Exposition on a tenu à conserver ce monument et on l'a utilisé en y installant un musée d'histoire naturelle des plus complets et une école supérieure d'agriculture. Cet édifice est situé dans le parc de la *Quinta Normal*, à l'extrémité ouest de Santiago.

Fig. 14: View of the *Palacio de la Exposición*.
Chili & Chiliens, Charles Wiener, Paris Librairie Lèopold Cerf, Paris1888, 30. Accessed September 25, 2012.
http://books.google.com/books?id=t4IaAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=chili+le+chilien&ei=pGi3S9y_Jp7-zQSgw8gm&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Fig. 15: Medal 1851 Great Exhibition of London.
Victoria and Albert Museum. Accessed February 13, 2013.
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O111522/council-medal-for-the-great-medal-wyon-william/

Fig. 16: Medal 1855 *Exposition Universelle*.
Archives Municipales d'Aix-les-Bains. Inventaire des médailles. Accessed February 26, 2013.
http://www.aixlesbains.fr/var/aixinter/static/medaille/Medaillesaixlesbains.htm.

Figs. 17 and 18: Alphée Dubois, First Prize Medal 1875 *Exposición Internacional*, 1875.
Private Collection.

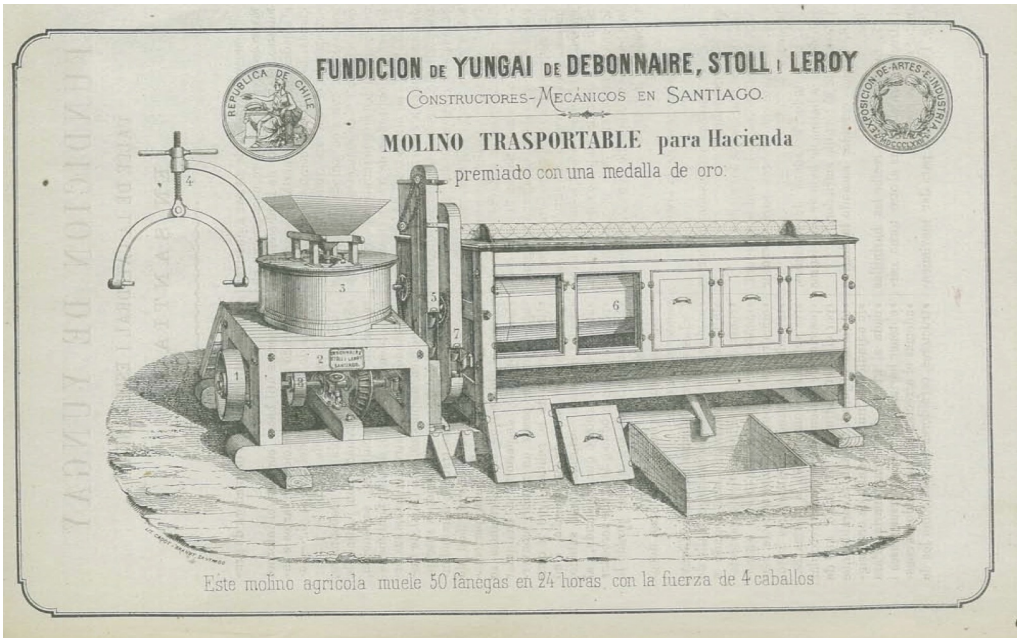

Fig. 19: Advertisement of Fundición de Yungay de Debonnaire, Stoll I Leroy.
Boletín Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, Vol. 5, *n/p.*
Courtesy of Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, Chile

Fig. 20: Advertisement of wine from the Hacienda de Limache.
Courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Propiedad Industrial (INAPI), Chile


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Fig. 21: Cover page of the *Correo de la Exposición*
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf


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Fig. 22: Detail cover page of the *Correo de la Exposición*.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.

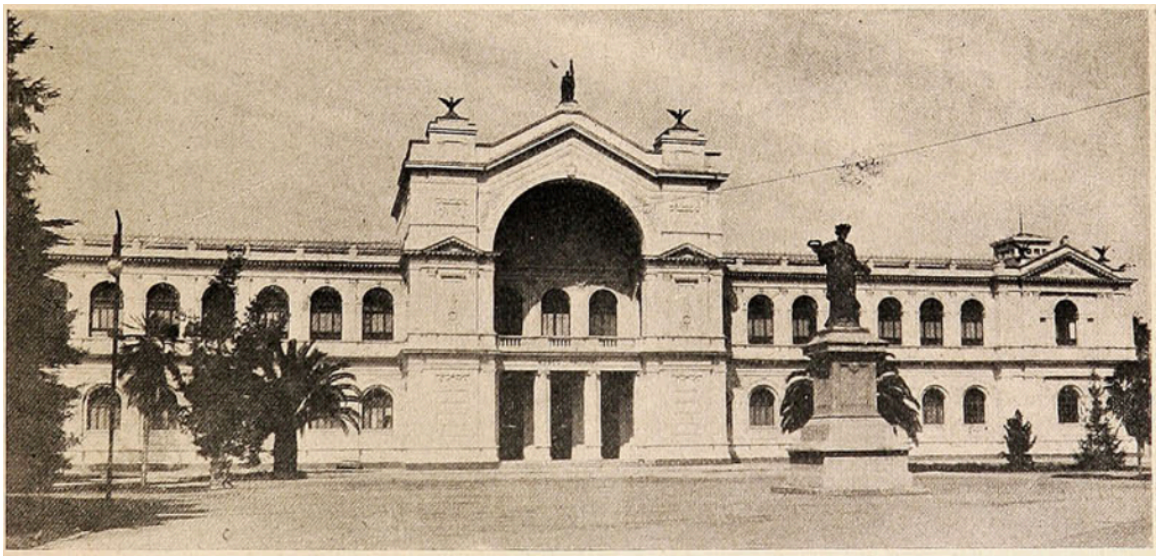

Fig. 23: Façade of the *Museo Nacional*, former *Palacio de la Exposición*
Sucesos, Año VII, Septiembre 17, 1908, n/p
Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Memoria Chilena. Accessed September 26, 2014
http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0063708.pdf.

Fig. 24: Façade of the *Museo Nacional*
BROCKHAUS, F. A. *A Short Description of the Republic of Chile, According to Official Data*. (Leipzig: 1901).
BNF: GRA-1901-BRO-BNF-09. Accessed October 19 2012.
http://www.archivovisual.cl/museum-of-natural-history.

Fig, 25: Nicanor Plaza, *La República Coronando las Artes e Industria*, 1875.
Personal archive.

Fig. 26: Cover page of *Le Moniteur de L'Exposition Universelle de 1867.*
Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Accessed May 11, 2014.
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62637599.image

Fig. 27: *Exposición Internacional de Chile de 1875*.
Biblioteca Nacional de España. Accessed May 10, 2014.
http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es/view/action/singleViewer.do?dvs=1399742402025~59&locale=en_US&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/singleViewer.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=10&frameId=1&usePid1=true&usePid2=true

Fig. 28: Chilean Banknote of *5 Pesos*, Banco de la Alianza, 1885.
Courtesy of Banco Central de Chile

Fig. 29: Aristodemo Costoli, Statue of *Pedro de Valdivia*, 1873, Santa Lucía Hill.
Personal archive.

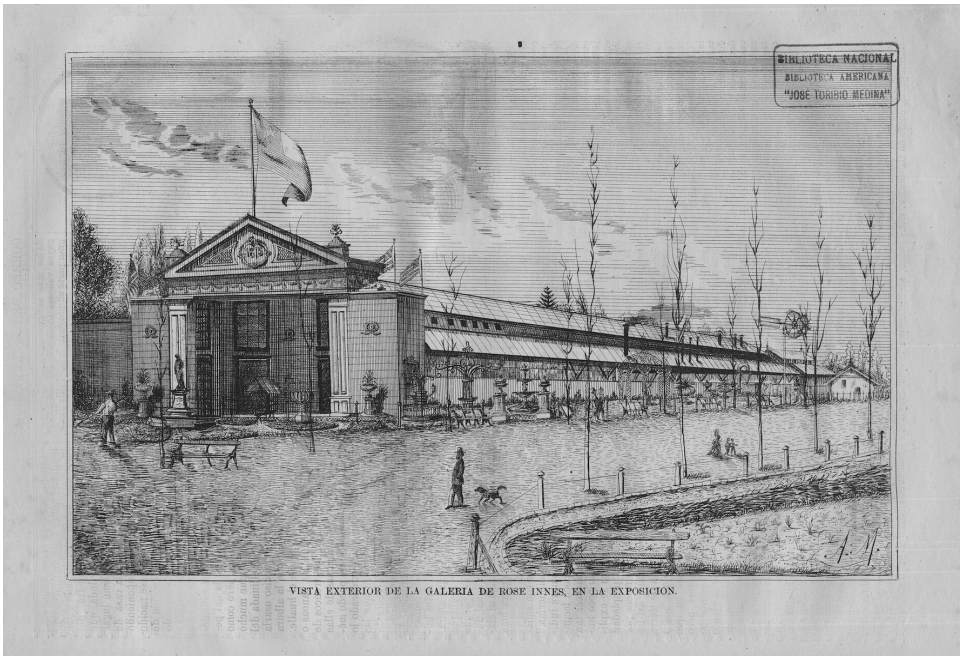

Fig. 30: Exterior view of the Rose Innes and Co. Pavilion.
El Correo de la Exposición, 6 de Noviembre, 1876, 93.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.

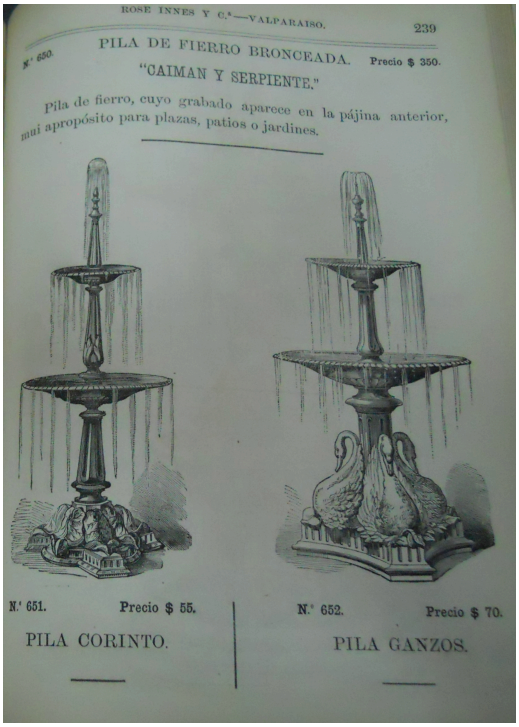

Fig. 31: Fountains commercialized by Rose Innes and Co.
Catálogo Ilustrado de lo Espuesto por Rose Innes y Ca. en su anexo. Esposición Internacional de Chile. Santiago, Septiembre 16 de 1875. Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio de Tornero y Letelier, 1875, 239.
Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

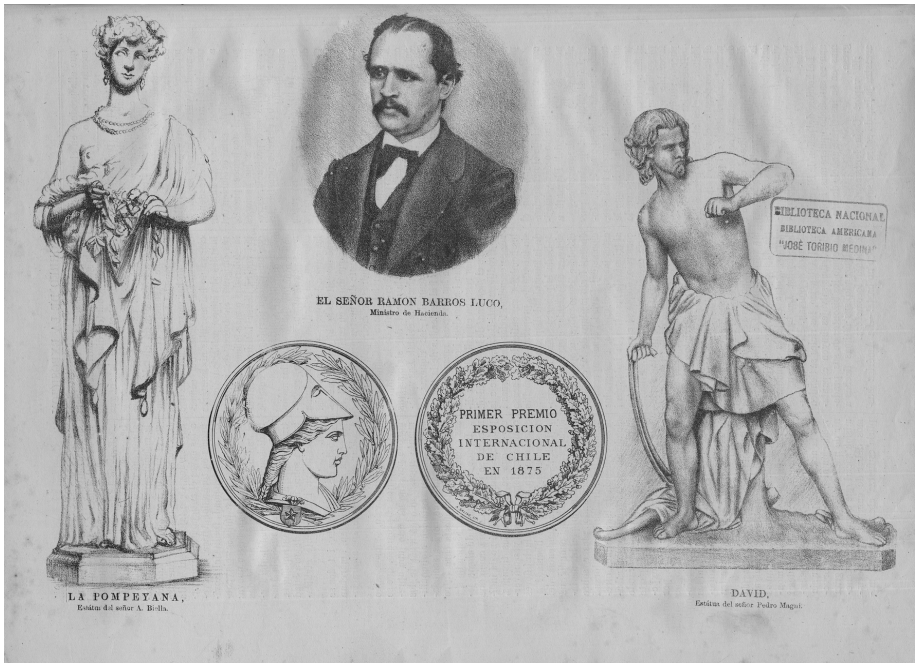

Fig. 32: Pietro Magni, Statue of *David* (on the right).
El Correo de la Exposición, 26 de Enero, 1876, 180.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.


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Fig. 33: Pietro Magni, *La Lettrice*..
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.


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Fig. 34: Alessandro Rossi, *Lucia dei Prommessi Spossi.*
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.

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Fig. 35: Ugo Zannoni, *Estudio y Labor*.
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.
Available in Memoria Chilena: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0007494.pdf.

Fig. 36: Giosuè Argenti, *Eva.*
Courtesy of Palacio Cousiño, Chile.

Fig. 37: Pietro Calvi, *Mignon*.
Courtesy of Palacio Cousiño, Chile.


Fig. 38: Alessandro Rossi, *Lucia, dei Prommessi Spossi.*
Courtesy of Palacio Cousiño, Chile.

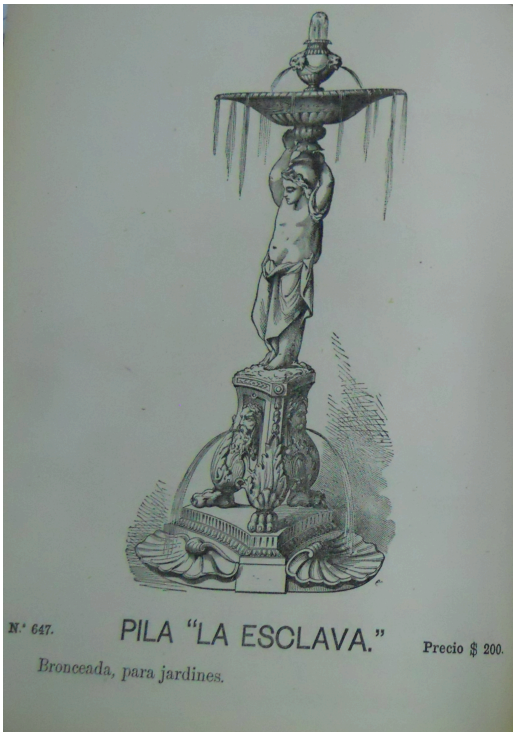

Fig. 39: "The Slave."
Catálogo Ilustrado de lo Espuesto por Rose Innes y Ca. en su anexo. Esposición Internacional de Chile. Santiago, Septiembre 16 de 1875. Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio de Tornero y Letelier, 1875, 236.
Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.

Fig. 40: Nicanor Plaza, Medallion of *Comandante Manuel Chacón*, 1875.
Courtesy of Museo Histórico de Carabineros de Chile.

Fig. 41: Virginio Arias, Bust of *Nicanor Plaza*, 1875.
Courtesy of Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Chile.

Fig. 42: Juan Manuel Blanes *Los Últimos momentos del General Carrera* 1873.
Illustration by Luis Fernando Rojas, published in the *Correo de la Exposición.*
Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Chile
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Fig. 43: Manuel Antonio Caro, *La Abdicación de O'Higgins*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 160.5 x 191 cm. Courtesy of Museo Histórico Nacional, Chile

Fig. 44: Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, *Monumento de Bernardo O'Higgins*, 1872. Personal Archive.

Fig. 45: Nicanor Plaza, *La Abdicación de O'Higgins*, 1872.
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Fig; 46: Manuel Tapia, *La Batalla de Maipú*, 1875.
Luis Álvarez Urquieta Collection.
Courtesy of Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Chile

Fig. 47: Tomás Vandorse, *La Batalla de Chacabuco*, 1863.
Courtesy of Museo Histórico Nacional, Chile.