

A Picturesque Modernity in 1920s Peru and Argentina: Ruins, Cuzco and Americanism in the Photographic Reportages of *Variedades* and *Plus Ultra*

Abstract

This essay focuses on a series of pictorial reportages on the city of Cuzco and surrounding region published in the Peruvian illustrated magazine *Variedades* in 1924 and 1925. Looking at the interplay of the aesthetic and documentary value of photographs, I analyse how the reportages on Cuzco's architecture and ruins contributed to the *indigenista* proposal of regional and national identity and how, in so doing, they articulated an idea of modernity which opposed the main narrative of western modernization produced by the magazine. I argue that *Variedades* became the discursive place of an interplay between opposite ideas of modernity since it afforded its readers-viewers a dual, almost conflictive, experience. Moreover, I posit that the magazine 'mediated' the regional discourse for the Limeño readers through the discourses of tourism and the picturesque familiarizing them with those 'unknown' regions. By comparing the reportages with similar documents published in the same decade by the Argentine magazine *Plus Ultra*, I also show that this was not something exclusive to Peru, but rather part of a broader Americanist trend that was shaping the relationship between native tradition and modernization as well as giving form to a proposal for a 'pan-American' identity in the 1920s.

Variedades's Photographic reportages

Between 1924 and 1925, the Peruvian weekly illustrated popular¹ magazine *Variedades* (1908-1931) published a series of articles and pictorial (photographic) reportages on the city of Cuzco and the Cuzco region. This was not the first time that the magazine published pictures and texts on the landscapes and life of the Peruvian Andes. It was, however, the first time that this material was articulated in a coherent narrative, which spanned across a considerable number of issues.² These reportages were hybrid forms³ that mixed features of what journalistic studies call 'retrospective', 'didactic', 'photographic', 'itinerary' (Bonini 2009)⁴ as well as 'ethnographic' reportages. They merged facts, description, narration, and detailed historical and anthropological investigation. They encompassed the depiction of Cuzco's contemporary architecture and ruins in relation to the city's history;⁵ the coverage of news, such as the visit of the US ambassador or the inauguration of a new headquarters;⁶

specific pieces on Cuzco's streets and *barrios*;⁷ and reports of the agricultural labour and social customs of the 'Indians.'⁸ The texts were written mostly by the Cuzqueño intellectual Carlos Ríos Pagaza,⁹ the magazine's correspondent in Cuzco, although one was written by the anthropologist Luis E. Valcárcel. Despite the differences between them, they constitute a fairly homogenous corpus. The centrality bestowed to the pictures and the specific relationship between these and the texts allow us to consider them 'photographic reportages', a category different to that of 'photo-reportage', in use in the field of photojournalism, for two reasons. The first is that the latter term is associated with a later development of photojournalism (embodied by magazines such as LIFE)¹⁰ but also with the visual representation of actualities and with 'notions of immediacy' (Hill and Schwartz 2015, 106); *Variedades's* reportages, on the contrary, are concerned with the expression and communication of the past and its 'presence' in contemporary architecture and ruins. The second reason is that a photo-reportage has been defined as 'a sequence of pictures that tell a story' (Cookman 2009, 142) or a piece that 'reports a fact or subject through photos' (Bonini 2009, 202). While it could be argued that *Variedades's* reportages do offer 'a sequence of pictures that tell a story', nevertheless, what they tell is not a 'story' in journalistic terms, but rather a set of narratives and articulated discourses related to a city, its present and past culture.

One could also argue that these reportages were conceived of as a series that was introduced by an article written by José Otero, which outlined their themes. In 'Apuntaciones de arte' [Notes on Art], Otero addresses two subjects: photography as a craft and the Peruvian historical cities of Arequipa and Cuzco.¹¹ He draws attention to the high quality of Peruvian artistic photography and to the need to disseminate it through the popular press. He backs up his argument describing a set of pictures of Arequipa and Cuzco by renowned photographers such as the Vargas Hermanos (Arequipa) and the Cuzqueño Martín Chambi. The latter was, alongside Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar, one of the main pictorial contributors to the reportages.¹² In fact, Chambi worked as a photographer-correspondent for *Variedades*.¹³ In his text, Otero is particularly concerned with Chambi's images of Cuzco. He highlights the aesthetic value of the photographs, underlying 'Chambi's artistic taste' while simultaneously praising the uniqueness of Cuzco's urban order and Inca monuments. Furthermore, Otero makes a significant claim on Inca ruins and their dual value by stating that they offer an unlimited number of both 'artistic photographic motives' and indications of 'the survival of uses, customs, clothing and racial types' (n.840).

In what follows, I aim to discuss the ways in which the reportages contributed to both what Yasmín López Lenci (2004) has called a ‘modern cartography of Cuzco’ and contemporary regional proposals of national identity. I argue that the photographic reportages articulated an idea of modernity different from, and alternative to, the main westernized one shaped by the magazine. I posit that the illustrated magazine offered its readership a ‘conflictive’ or ‘dual’ experience of modernity. Given the limited scholarly work on this magazine, it is difficult to establish with exactitude what its readership was. While the magazine’s format would lead one to think that *Varietades* was aimed at larger sectors of the population, it is possible to state – drawing on the magazine’s articles, coverage and advertising, alongside the little information available – that this magazine addressed predominantly middle and upper classes. Although it reached the *provincias* and indeed actively promoted the creation of a market outside the capital (for example, through the so called *Varietades*’ tours), its public remained predominantly a Limeño one. Therefore, it could be stated that the reportages offered the readership a fixed appointment with a reality quite different from the one they were used to see, and read about.¹⁴

As the investigation of similar documents in the Argentine press reveals, this was not something exclusive to Peru, but rather a process occurring in Latin America countries which reflected broader trends and interactions between modernity and tradition within the continent. Such an interaction is a key feature of the experience of modernity in Latin America. As has been argued, Latin American modernity did not entail the eradication of ‘pre-modern’ traditions and memories (Rowe and Schelling 1991, 3) nor ‘an evolutionist sequence between modes of production’ (Quijano 2008, 219).¹⁵ In Latin America, as Quijano (1993) famously stated, ‘what is sequence in other countries is a simultaneity. It is also a sequence, but in the first place, it is simultaneity’ (149-50). Nelson Manrique (2000) uses the expression ‘traditionalist modernization’, borrowed from Fernando de Trazegnies, to describe the coexistence of modernization and colonial legacy in Peru. William Rowe (2007) advocates a nonlinear approach to the subject of modernity in Peru, which contends the very notion of Peruvian modernity as a temporal continuum because ‘there is no such thing as a single temporal continuity [...], but rather, various moments in which the time of the modern is constituted in Peru’ (121). Both Quijano and Rowe consider necessary to avoid linear historicist perspectives in approaching Latin America modernity for such perspectives cannot explain the simultaneous coexistence of the modern and the non modern as well as of forms of rationality and temporality which are different from the western ones. As Quijano notes,

‘in Latin America the past runs through the present in a different way than is pictured in the premodern European imaginary’ (150). My case study confirms the multilayered temporality of Peruvian and Latin American modernity and, more importantly, offers a tangible example of how the indigenous pre-Columbian legacy was reformulated and incorporated into an incipient and contradictory mass culture.

Varietades was one of the main periodicals of the time and a leading publication in the history of Peruvian photojournalism (Tauro del Pino 1987). The Peruvian illustrated press was initiated by *El Correo del Perú* (1871-76) and continued, more consistently, by *El Peru Ilustrado* (1887-92).¹⁶ *Varietades*, however, represents the new ‘magazine’ format produced by the print revolution that took place in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, defined as the inaugural moment of mass culture (Ohmann 1996), technological and economic changes in the production and reproduction of paper, the development of the mechanical printing process known as *half tone* and the choices of a number of European and American editors, made possible the fall of the press’s prices and the invention of new formats (Gervais 2015). Founded in 1908 in Lima by the Portuguese photographer Manuel Moral y Vega, *Varietades* was an example of the new ‘magazine’ format and of the new ways of reading and seeing that this allowed. With smaller pages and texts, and wide-ranging contents no longer hierarchically ordered (Reed 1997), those magazines sought to attract and entertain, rather than instruct, the reader-consumer (Ossandón and Santa Cruz 2005). The need to capture the reader’s attention, as well the above mentioned historical and technological developments, led to a greater use of photographic technology (Gervais 2015). Through texts and photographs of foreign actualities, the latest technologies, new scientific discoveries, and of ‘modern’ European and westernized Limeño middle and upper class lifestyles and fashions, *Varietades* ‘familiarised’ modernity for their readers (Ossandón and Santa Cruz 2005). The illustrated press’s technology presented modernity as a discourse as well as an experience: through the regular access to text and, most important, images, and the physical act of leafing through the pages, the readers would feel to be part of a global process of changes.¹⁷

Varietades was particularly concerned with modernity and the ‘vocabulary of the new’ (Reed 1997). The magazine will become notorious for embodying Lima’s cosmopolitan and modern character during the historical periods known as the *República Aristocrática* [1895-1919] and the *Oncenio Leguía* [1919-1930], both characterised by an accelerated process of modernization mixed with provincialism and cultural traditionalism.¹⁸ Just like

other Latin American cities, such as the Buenos Aires described by Beatriz Sarlo (1988), early twentieth-century Limeños were experiencing ‘new perceptions of time and space’, ‘forms of subjectivities’ and ‘sensibilities’ (Sarlo 1988). Lima did not show the sensorial stimuli of the Argentine capital, but it was undergoing dramatic changes. In the mid-nineteenth century, new public buildings¹⁹ were constructed thanks to the revenues from the exportation of guano, which changed the aspect of the city following the model of Haussmann’s Parisian reforms (Ramón 2004, 17). After the abrupt interruption produced by the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), Lima’s urban transformation started again in 1895. The modernizing elites created new state institutions and carried out social, political and fiscal reforms (Muñoz 2001). The city’s structure was reshaped by the creation of large avenues and expanded its limits with new urbanizations in the south. Its population increased and people’s life improved thanks to technologies such as the sewage systems and streetlight. By 1908, the city boasted cinemas, telegraphs, telephones, extended electrical nets and cars in addition to railways and tramways. By the 1920s and 30s Lima was unrecognizable (Parker 1998). *Variedades* actively promoted the elites’ ideology and its ideals of ‘progress’ and ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Muñoz 2001), embracing their modernizing agenda.

The image of Cuzco

Within the magazine’s main narrative of linear progress and westernized modernization, the ‘regional’ reportages conveyed a different and alternative narrative of modernity; one that did not draw on novelty, future and speed, but on a different notion of progress, which embraced ruins, the past and the Andean indigenous heritage, all elements that in early twentieth-century Cuzco were shaping a proposal for both a regional and a national identity. The interplay between these two modernities within the discursive space of the magazine reveals that in the dominant – although uneven – process of peripheral modernity that was taking place at a material level both in Lima and Cuzco, opposite symbolical representations of modernity were being elaborated through texts and images. The imagination of *Variedades*’s readers, which was filled with European and North American models – in science, technology, fashion and so on – was thus exposed to ‘other’ manners of being modern.²⁰ The analysis of similar reportages in the Argentine magazine *Plus Ultra* demonstrate that comparable processes were occurring in Buenos Aires, one of the most ‘modern’ Latin American capitals of the period. A Rowe has pointed out (2007), the history of Peru has been characterised by the simultaneous presence of declarations of modernity and

of counterstatements that have opposed them. For example, González Prada's assertion that the future of a modern Peru entailed the embracement of science and positivist progress against any colonial legacy was contested by the portrayal of Peruvian society in Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones Peruanas*. Rowe analyses a number of moments in which modernity has been made 'recognizable and readable' (121) in Peru. I argue that *Variedades* could be added as one more 'moment' of conflictive declarations of modernity; one that is particularly interesting for, firstly, it harbours different arguments of modernity in the same medium (a medium that was, for its very nature, involved in the uneven and contradictory development of a modern mass culture in Peru); secondly, it shows how modernity in Peru was concerned not only with temporality (as Quijano points out with regard to Latin America) but also with spatiality (something suggested, though not discussed in detail, by Rowe); thirdly, because its arguments take both a verbal and a visual form.

The alternative modernity articulated in the *Variedades*'s reportages centred on the city of Cuzco. At the beginning of the century, as López Lenci (2004) has argued, the city of Cuzco became the source of new cultural and social representations associated with the idea of national origins and foundation. Cuzco was re-invented by intellectuals and photographers through articles, books, illustrations, photographs and guides, constructing a precise cartography of the city – made of both its architecture (streets, buildings and ruins) as well as its inhabitants – that expressed an 'alternative' idea about the modern nation. Cuzco was constructed as 'other' to Lima (López Lenci 2004, 345), interpreted and presented as the cradle of Peruvian historical originality; it was the site of the country's pre-Hispanic memory and the place where an historical process of cultural *mestizaje* had taken place. Archaeology and ruins played a major role in such a construction. On the one hand, the excavations and archaeological studies had been among the factors that had produced a new interest in Cuzco and the national past; on the other hand, ruins and Inca architecture became the symbolic places of modern Cuzco.

The image of Cuzco conveyed by the reportages is made of four main elements: pre-Hispanic/Inca features, the contamination of cultures, *arqueología viva* and an aesthetic of the sublime. One of the first reportages, 'Cuzco, the capital of the Inkas', establishes Cuzco as the cradle of the Inca culture in its very title and presents a re-imagined city in terms of its space and time. This text was illustrated mainly by Chambi's photographs and functioned as a guide through Cuzco's history and archaeology, focusing on its 'primitive monuments' and 'the periods and civilizations that coexist within the ancient city' (*Variedades*, n. 843). The

first of Chambi's photographs depicts the Sacsayhuamán fortress (Figure 1). Chambi's image creates a visual balance by placing the fortress right in the middle, between the earth and the sky, articulating in this manner the classical values of Inca architecture argued by Cuzqueño intellectuals: 'harmony, strength, simplicity, symmetry' (*Varietades*, n. 843), words that appear in the caption of another picture of the reportage: an Inca façade that evokes the 'Apollonian figure of the Inca' (Figure 2). The text of this reportage is written by Luis E. Valcárcel. Valcárcel was, as is well known, one of the main ideologues of Cuzqueño *Indigenismo*, the early twentieth-century movement that aimed to vindicate Peruvian native culture and to forge a new regional and national identity based on the Inca past, native culture and indigeneity.

Indigenismo was one facet of a complex and radical transformation that affected Peruvian cultural history in the early twentieth century and that, in the Cuzco region, took the form of 'an explosion of narratives on the nation' (López Lenci 2004b, 697). The process of cultural renovation in Cuzco stemmed from the Reform of the University San Antonio Abad, initiated in 1909. For the young north-American principal Albert A. Giesecke and the group of young intellectuals that led the reform (which included Valcárcel, Félix Cossio and José Uriel García, among others), modernization should involve the rescue of Peruvian past and, most important, the possibility of the 'resurgence of the Andean culture' (López Lenci 2004b, 699). The project would be implemented through the development of disciplines such as history, archaeology, ethnography, sociology, folklore. 'Cuscología' ['Cuzcology'] – the study of Cuzco, its archaeology and indigenous culture – and 'cusqueñismo' – a new 'amor por la tierra' [love for the land] (Aparicio Vega, 2000, 117) – became terms that described the new cultural climate. According to Giesecke, *Cuscología* was the scientific (ethnographic, anthropological, sociological, historical, economical and political) study of the contemporary and ancient culture of Cuzco (Aparicio Vega, 2000). *Cusqueñismo*, on the other hand, was, according to *indigenista* intellectual José Ángel Escalante, both a feeling and a modern ideology that drew on Inca culture: 'We, the *serranos*, declare the existence of an original ideology, which, while moulded into new forms, features and precise contours, is inspired by the marvellous legend of the noble, arrogant, combative, magnanimous and righteous temperament of our Incas.' (quoted in Aparicio Vega 2000, 117). Cuzco was the core of the new regionalist ideology because, according to Escalante, it represented 'el corazón, el ánfora sagrada, el tabernáculo de la sierra' [the heart, the sacred amphora, the tabernacle of the

sierra] (quoted in Aparicio Vega 2000, 117). This context constitutes the framework in which the reportages were produced and with which, as I aim to show, they actively engaged.

In a moment in which Cuzco was experiencing major changes such as urban development (electric streetlight and sanitation measures) and the implementation of new means of communication and transportation (the telegraph, telephone, tramways, cars) (Mendoza 2008), intellectuals postulated a new regional and national identity which opposed the hegemonic centralist discourses and drew, not on the myth of a sequential progress, but on another myth: that of the ancient race, and of the city of Cuzco as the symbol of the national past (Mendoza 2008).²¹ They elaborated an alternative discourse that reconciled modernization and tradition.

Within the reportages, Cuzco's architecture is presented mostly as a vestige of that of the Incas, preserving the features of an ancient urbanism in its stonework, buildings and streets. Indeed, Chambi's photograph of Sacsayhuamán draws the reader's attention to the Inca stonework rather than to the whole fortress (the structure of which is not clearly shown). The stone was one element of Cuzco's originality, for it preserved, in García's words, the spirit of the ancient race. The stone, writes García (1922), 'is the concretion of history, [...] [it] holds the secret of the Indian spirit, [...] it is the synthesis of the complex Inca life' (8). This idea of the spiritual feature of the stone has to be understood within the *indigenista* conception of race as a moral, rather than biological, entity.²² Re-formulating Incas' belief that stones were alive (Rebecca Stone-Miller 1996, 187), the reportages depict the stones as vital entities: 'The Inka built [the walls] for the eternal memory of his race'; 'in those stones, there is the spirit of the ancient culture', 'the stone admirably smoothed [...] speaks of strong races' (*Varietades*, n. 847).

Cuzco's architecture, however, is not only Inca. It is, rather, *mestizo* since it is made of layers of different civilizations, the Inca and colonial being the most prominent. Cuzco's spatial *mestizaje* is another feature of the city's uniqueness. Valcárcel's text states that 'Cuzco is the only capital in the Americas in which ages and civilizations cohabit, with all their contrasts partly amalgamated and partly irreconcilable' (*Varietades*, n. 843). Ríos Pagaza points out the 'picturesque promiscuity' in which 'colonial mansions [...] emerge along with the remains of the Keswas [sic] cultures' (*Varietades*, n. 844). The second image of Figure 1 shows a contemporary Cuzco presented as a 'contaminated' place in which traces of different civilizations coexist. The image offers a panoramic view of the city; among the buildings, the most prominent is the cathedral, the colonial church erected in the Plaza

Mayor, which is one of the main symbols of Cuzco's originality. The Plaza itself represents the juxtaposition of Inca culture – it was the location of the Inca palace of Huiracocha –, colonial religiosity and the indigenous and popular rebellions during the Independence. The coexistence of Sacsayhuamán and the Cathedral represents the memory of Cuzco's history, as Valcárcel states:

In Cuzco, the fortress of Sajsawamán [sic] and the Cathedral stand face to face, as if defying the centuries: both gigantic stone structures, symbols of two proud cultures. Clandestine conjunctions, however, take place, either in the shade of the narrow alleys or amidst the darkness of the ancient courtyard. In more than two thousand years, no one has succeeded in forcing these stony walls to bend before the victor. (quoted in Aparicio Vega, 2000, 114)

According to Valcárcel, Cuzco's 'local flavour' consists of the simultaneous presence of different cultures: 'there is no other city of deeper and more complex evocations, in which the history is not succession but coexistence. When we imagine the Cuzco of previous times, Inkas, Iberian conquerors, independence heroes, Indians and Spaniards simultaneously appear, with an astonishing anachronism' (*Varietades*, n. 843). The concepts of 'coexistence' and 'anachronism' might be read as early formulations of what the above mentioned scholars define as simultaneity and non linear temporality.

Among the pre-Hispanic cultures that inhabited Cuzco, early twentieth-century intellectuals placed the Inca at the core of their geo-cultural project. As López Lenci (2004) asserts, the *indigenista* construction of Cuzco was made of three main narratives: the pre-Inca, the Inca and the colonial. However, both the pre-Inca cultures and the colonial one were 'Incanised' (López Lenci 2004; Khuon Arce et al. 2009), as an effect of this process, the previous civilization practically disappeared from the modern discursive formation. By focusing almost entirely on the Inca ruins and not on buildings in which the two architectural styles and materials coexist, the reportages contributed to the 'Incanization of the Spanish element by the quechua soul and the Andean nature' (López Lenci 2004, 319).

In the reportages of *Varietades*, the Incanization is also evident in the attention given to the general structure of Cuzco streets, which, according to the *Indigenistas*, dated from the Inca period. One reportage is completely devoted to Cuzco's streets: they are described as 'narrow, dark, [...] the last vestiges of the Incas's royal mansions' (*Varietades*, n. 844). As

was the case with the ruins, the streets are not only material traces of ancient civilizations, they are permeated by their memory and spirit. Furthermore, they are represented as secret, mysterious paths that connect ancient Cuzco to the current city. The *Calle de Loreto* ‘seems a crossroads for its high walls; these seem to hold a grave secret that could be violated by the sunshine, whose access they block’ (*Variedades*, n. 844). The streets are ‘the scene of crucial episodes; during the night under the moonlight, they are inhabited by archaic people who perform great adventures in somnambulist evocations’ (*Variedades*, n. 844). They are personified (‘they crawl’, ‘express’, ‘evoke’, ‘end’) and associated with mystery and secrecy: they are ‘filled with shadows, vague noises’ (*Variedades*, n. 844), they ‘evoke the whole ancient history of this people now downhearted and melancholic’ (*Variedades*, n. 844). The photographs, with their visual focus on restricted spaces, infinite paths, and absence of light contribute to the sense of intimate secrecy (Figures 3). The secret and mystery of Cuzco recurs in the texts of *Variedades*. In the above mentioned article by Valcárcel, for example, the stones of the fortress reproduce the mystery of the ‘Druids, magical transporters of enormous monoliths, fantastic champions of resistance’ (*Variedades*, n. 843).

The majestic dimensions of Inca architecture and the obscure mystery of Inca streets seem to trigger aesthetic responses associated with the perception of the sublime. Indeed, it might be argued that the reportages’ regional discourse on the urban – as well as the natural – Andean space seeks an emotional rather than rational response in the viewers, as we can appreciate in the images that stress the enormousness, limitlessness, extraordinariness, and grandeur of Cuzco’s space. In the reportage on the trip made by the US ambassador Miles Poindexter, the *Valle sagrado* is described as ineffable: its landscape ‘suspends the soul’ (*Variedades*, n. 847). The way to Machu Picchu, on the other hand, is associated with abysm and fear. The presence of an aesthetic of the sublime, of mystery and irrationality can be read as a way of opposing the rational westernized positivist narrative of a modernized Lima. While Lima was being remoulded through a rational urbanization of open public spaces and symbolically constructed as the site of the modern, the city of Cuzco (although undergoing similar processes of urban development) was narrativized and visualized as the city of shadows, secrets and even magic. The modern buildings of Cuzco were excluded from this narrative: in one caption it is written that ‘modern buildings of horrible taste [...] de-characterize the venerable city’ (*Variedades*, n. 843).²³

Such a ‘subjective’ aesthetics is an example of the ways in which the reportages’ photographs challenge the dichotomies between ‘photography as expression and photography

as reportage, theories of imagination (and inner truth) vs theories of empirical truth, affective value vs informative value' (Sekula 1982, 108) which have traditionally bounded photography. As Alan Sekula (1982) points out, 'all photographic communication seems to take place within the conditions of a kind of binary folklore. [...] The misleading but popular form of opposition is "art photography" vs "documentary photography"' (198). This challenge is particularly evident in Chambi's pictures. James Scorer (2014) has pointed out that the aesthetic quality of Chambi's photographs of ruins, specifically those of Macchu Picchu, consists of three main elements: the photographer's positioning of the camera in order to frame particular architectural patterns, his emphasis on the 'symbolic dialogues between the ruins and the surrounding landscape' (8) and his use of light and the interplay between sunlight and shadow, at times producing a dramatic effect. The use of light, backlighting and drama was indeed a regular feature of Chambi's photography. Many of his photographs produced for the reportages share these patterns. In addition to his 'Portada incaica' and 'Sacsayhuamán fortress', mentioned above, it is worth mentioning his picture included in 'Notes on art' (Figure 4) and, to certain extent, those in the reportage on Cuzco's streets (Figure 3) as examples of the interplay between light and shadow, 'El Intiwana de Pisac' (Figure 5) as one of the dialogue between ruin and landscape, and 'Belen de los Reyes' (Figure 6) as one showing symmetrical composition. Moreover, those patterns, the use of backlighting in particular, characterise also the pictures by other photographers (Figures 7 and 8).²⁴ The aesthetic quality of the images is often reinforced by the dramatic descriptions of the captions.²⁵

What makes these pictures particularly original is that they are not postcards or part of catalogues or touristic guides, but rather the 'visual documents' sent by a correspondent in order to accompany the reportages. Thus the photographs of Chambi are a very peculiar case of press photography, a genre certainly concerned with credibility;²⁶ they question the usual consensus that photojournalism is considered not a 'mise en forme' of reality, but rather a means of direct access to it (Gervais 2015, 9). As Gervais notes, the history of photojournalism has been characterised by the paradoxical coexistence of two opposite discourses, one that has given centrality to the objectivity of the photographic apparatus and one that has given centrality to the subjectivism of the photographer. Some of *Variedades's* reportages present a sort of third case: photography is at the same time a form of expression and reportage; the photographs are highly subjective in terms of aesthetics, however this does not undermine, but rather 'increases' their 'documentary' value in relation to the contents of

the texts. The above mentioned reportages of Cuzco's streets are example of this: both pictures and text use a metaphoric and symbolic language to 'document' what is presented as the 'reality' of the urban landscape. Other cases, however, are more problematic, such as the reportage on the Indians that use Figueroa Aznar's staged photograph. The picture constructs an idealised Andean type, which might ultimately undermine its 'documentary' quality.

Ambivalent modernities

Cuzco's ruins are not seen by the authors of the reportages as the product of deterioration through time but as the material and symbolic reminders of invasion and destruction. As vestiges, they are traces of ancient lives. They simultaneously embody the spirit of an eternal race and the experience and the memory of the devastation. The pluritemporality of the ruins (DeSilvey 2013) is regarded ambivalently in the texts: while *mestizaje* is praised as a form of uniqueness and originality, the presence of ruins is critically presented as the debris of the autochthonous culture, as stated by Ríos Pagaza in a reportage on the 'Barrio San Blas' (*Variedades*, n. 857). Nevertheless, their presence in the reportages and their relevance is linked more to the present than to a nostalgia for past times. Their function is, in fact, to create a new discursive formation, a modern Cuzco (López Lenci 2004), imagined as the cradle of an authentic American culture (Aparicio 2000). The *Indigenistas'* discursive and symbolic use of ruins illustrates how 'imperial debris' can be, as Caitlin DeSilvey (2013) explains, not only 'painful reminders of loss', but also, as Alice Mah (2010) suggests, part of a 'lived process' (468). In effect, it might be argued that what the reportages show and what the intellectuals were creating was a sort of 'lived archaeology' whereby stones and remains were turned into vital entities; as Valcárcel claimed: 'Cuzco is a vital entity [...] where life continues after thousands of years'; 'in its urban space, the sounds of a remote humanity can be heard as if from inside an echo chamber; its stony walls are a "living organism"' (quoted in Aparicio Vega 2000, 114). This discourse draws on the unique archaeological situation of Cuzco, in which the ruins are part of the lived spaces; for example, Inca walls are part of mansions, streets and public spaces. This is what would make Cuzco unique in the whole modern world. Valcárcel clearly stated it years later in his article 'Nuevo significado del Cuzco' [New Meaning of Cuzco] (1944):

In modern historical terms, Cuzco is not, nor can it be, a simple antiquity: 'the archaeological capital of South America', as if we said a venerable mummy, very millenarian, but dead, definitively dead; something extinguished for those alive

today and for those yet to come in the future. Cuzco is alive, however, and not only archaeologists have an interest in it. Not only scholars. Those who have and must have a more passionate interest in Cuzco are the Cusqueños themselves, the Peruvians and any son of America. For Cuzco is a vital, historical and most singular entity. There are not two Cuzcos in the world just as there are not two Romes or two Pekings. We have hundreds of ‘archaeological’ places on every continent; but very few cities exist where the life of millennia ‘continues’. (quoted in Aparicio Vega, 2000, 114)

As already stated, Cuzqueño intellectuals were responding to the modernization processes in the country and the region. Jorge Coronado (2009) rightly asserts that the discourses of *Indigenismo* were ‘also a way of figuring how the region might, in its own way, be modern’ and the *indigenista* works ‘a commentary on and a reaction to the appearance and implementation of modernization in its different forms within a region marginal to Europe and the United States’ (1-2). By hosting their proposal within a visual and verbal discourse of westernized progress, *Varietades* expressed a conflictive duality – the modern capital, on one side, and ancient Cuzco, on the other side, with their respective ideas of modernity –, a duality that could be found in other public, cultural and political spheres (Elmore 1993). While Lima, continuing a nineteenth-century discourse (De la Cadena 2004), was considered the progressive capital, Cuzco, as de la Cadena explains, was imagined as the opposite, drawing on a different conception of the relationship between modernity and the past:

The cusqueño exaltation of the ‘Inca race’ and the historical past of the country – which was based on archaeological studies – represented a challenge for the modernizing *limeños*, whose discourse drew on a clear dichotomy between past identified with backwardness and a future identified with the progress of society. (De la Cadena 2004, 81-82)

How did these contrasting ideas of modernity interact within the verbal and visual discursive space of the magazine? What strategies did the magazine employ to make such a diverse regional experience accessible to its Limeño readership? If we look at the titles of the ethnographic reportages, we will note that the term ‘picturesque’, a term also widely used in the texts, appears frequently: ‘Aspectos pintorescos de la vida del indio’ [Picturesque Aspects of Indians’ Life], ‘Costumbres pintorescas del Indio’ [Picturesque Customs of the Indian];

‘La sierra pintoresca’ [The Picturesque Mountain], ‘Aspectos pintorescos de Huaraz y Yungay’ [Picturesque Aspects of Huaraz and Yungay]. We can understand the use of this term as a discursive strategy aimed at familiarising the readership with Andean diversity. Limeño readers arguably saw the Andes and its inhabitants as an ‘inérita’, as written in one reportage, that is to say a relatively ‘unknown’ region. To the eyes of the cosmopolitan readers of the illustrated magazines, the Andean indigenous people were exotic others.

In *Variedades*, the picturesque is a way of describing to the Limeño readers what is perceived by them as foreign.²⁷ The picturesque has a long history in the Western history of art. As Malcolm Andrews (1999) explains, ‘The formulae derived from picturesque conventions reduce novelty and variety to secure uniformity. The picturesque makes different places seem like each other. It encourages us to edit out diversity, eccentricity [...], what was strange and wild becomes increasingly familiarized’ (129). Rather than suggesting an equivalence between Cuzco’s culture and that of Lima, the editors’ strategy was to attenuate its diversity, reducing the former to the category of the exotic and attractive other. Aesthetically, the picturesque taste ‘favours natural scenery for its untouched status and remoteness [...] it celebrates what is alien and wild and spontaneous’ (Andrews 1999, 129). In Latin America, this aesthetic was used by eighteenth/nineteenth-century travellers to depict pleasantly wild and irregular types of natural landscape and their inhabitants. It was, therefore, an aesthetic linked to a foreign gaze, a way of interpreting American diversity. Likewise, in *Variedades*, it can be seen as a way of naming and approaching the cultural diversity of Peru. Considered in this way, the picturesque becomes a discursive rather than an aesthetic strategy; its aim being to make difference familiar. In her study of the urban picturesque in Victorian New York, Carrie Tirado Bramen (2000) argues that in late nineteenth-century magazine culture, the picturesque was a category used to familiarize and, thus, make less terrifying the changes brought about by modernity. In particular, to familiarize the heterogeneity of the city and the cultural diversity brought about by immigration. In the case of *Variedades*, it offered a vocabulary to readers and reduced the impact of ‘difference’ of the *sierra* to the eyes of the readership; it allowed an ‘intimidating novelty’ to graduate ‘into safe familiarity’ (Andrews 1999, 129).

This operation of cultural translation responded to specific aims of the magazine. *Variedades* had an interest in promoting national tourism. We need to bear in mind that the reportages, for being published in a magazine, were part of a net of relations that involves, paraphrasing Hill and Schwartz (2015), the material history of the making of the reportages

themselves, that of the media institution and of the people that make the editorial choices, organise the material and transmit it to the public (105). The publication of the reportages on Cuzco fulfilled arguably an informative function: to expand readers' knowledge of those territories and show them, through photography, the 'reality' of the region, in order to promote the arrival of tourists. Indeed, in the above mentioned text, Otero calls explicitly upon the development of artistic and commercial tourism within the country. Otero, who was one of the first Peruvians actively engaged in the promotion of tourism, specifically of the city of Tarma,²⁸ stresses the importance of photography and tourism for the country's progress: '*Variedades* has been publishing the beautiful photographs sent by its correspondents, images of the diverse picturesque motifs that abound in our extended territory' (*Variedades*, n. 840). He then makes an appeal for 'the national tourism to get started and the State to offer help':

artistic tourism always comes before commercial tourism and this should happen even more in Peru, which is a completely unknown country, but worth visiting for its natural beauties and, above all, a past rich in unique monuments, all of which is the best incentive one could present in the search, and advertising, for rich foreign tourists who could invest capital in new agrarian and commercial centres. (*Variedades*, n. 840)

As Zoila Mendoza has argued, tourism was an important tool of the *indigenista* intellectuals (2008). While it might seem paradoxical, strong regionalist or nationalist movements of the period gave importance to tourism, as has been demonstrated in the case of Mexico (Lindsey 2014). In Cuzco, 'those who proposed and developed the new regional and nationalist ideology, which valued everything *mestizo* and *cholo*, became direct promoters of the touristic potential of Cuzco, and this reinforced the image of the region as a national and international symbol of the glorious Incan past' (Mendoza 2008, 66).²⁹ In order to succeed in representing Cuzco as the unique modern-ancient capital of native America, the *indigenista* discourse needed to be acknowledged by Peruvian and foreign people and that was an objective to be reached through tourism: 'It was in the 1920-50 that the perception of Cuzco as a tourist centre became significant in the activities of the intellectuals and artists in the city of Cuzco' (Mendoza 2008, 66), even if only much later, in the seventies, tourism would also become a source of economic revenue. Unlike the *indigenistas*, however, Otero, who was

also a politician, does not focus on cultural and artistic tourism but rather sees this as a step towards the development of commercial tourism. The elements (art, tourism, pre-Hispanic past, ruins and uniqueness of Cuzco) used in those decades by the Cuzqueño intellectuals to forge a regional/national identity were now used to promote activities that would bring money to the country. Considered from this angle, the reportages can be seen as catalogues that participate at the same time in the Cuzqueño regional narrative and the hegemonic discourse of progress.

Americanismo in Plus Ultra

The purpose of expanding the knowledge of a readership familiarized more with Western culture than with their own Latin American native one, was also among the reasons for the publication of similar reportages in *Plus Ultra*, the cultural supplement of Argentine magazine *Caras y caretas*. In the same years in which the reportages appeared in *Variedades*, similar illustrated texts appeared in the magazine under the title 'Por tierras del Perú' [Through the lands of Peru]. One of them was written by Valcárcel and some included the same photographs published in *Variedades* (Figure 9). Their contents were similar to those discussed above: descriptions of Cuzco's culture, architecture, history and ruins. In one of these reportages, Cuzco's 'mix of cultures' and its struggle between ancient and modern culture are highlighted: 'Lo antiguo y lo moderno excluyéndose como en guerra a muerte' (*Plus Ultra* 1924). Interestingly, the duality ancient/modern is more emphasised in *Plus Ultra* than in *Variedades*. This shows a more explicit discourse on the alternative modernities that were being shaped by the magazine. Although arguably the dominant narrative on Argentina was that of a white country with no substantial indigenous heritage and in pursuit of a modern European model of development (Khuon Arce et al. 2009), there was also another alternative trend that highlighted Argentine native legacy and its 'other' geocultural realities as 'authentic'. In a review of the play *Sajsawaman* [sic], staged by the *Compañía Inkáica del Cuzco* – also known as the *Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico*³⁰ – in Buenos Aires, the journalist states that 'a trend is emerging in the country towards a heartfelt enthusiasm for the millenary traits of the land, which have been forgotten for so long' (*Plus Ultra* 1923) while also bringing out the role played by the archaeological excavations and studies in this renewed interest.

The interest in Inca culture in an Argentine magazine is related to a well-established cultural route between Buenos Aires and Cuzco. While communication between Lima and Cuzco was quite difficult because of the poor infrastructure that connected the two cities, Buenos Aires and the Andean capital were well connected through the railways that reached La Paz and roadways from La Paz to Cuzco. At the beginning of the century this route allowed a rich circulation of ideas, people and materials between Argentina, Bolivia and Cuzco (Khuon Arce et al. 2009). Among the Cusqueño artists that crossed Argentina, it is worth mentioning the tour made in 1923 by Valcárcel's theatre company the *Compañía Inkaica del Cuzco* and reviewed in *Plus Ultra*.

While this cultural route afforded easier access to information about cultural production and artistic expressions focussing on the pre-Hispanic world, it does not, however, explain the reasons behind the presence of Inca culture in the magazine. What the magazine articulated was in fact an editorial campaign aimed at 'American pre-history' (*Plus Ultra* 1923). This Americanist interest seems to be more consistent in the Argentine publication than in *Varietades* given the amount and diversity of the material published. In fact, *Plus Ultra*'s reportages on Peru are part of a broader interest in pre-Hispanic culture, which encompasses, only in the decade of the 1920s, articles and images of archaeological excavations and ruins in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, on Mexican folklore, and on the Argentine *sierra*, alongside reviews of Inca theatre, tales of Inca subject matter, articles and reproductions of *indigenista* visual arts and applied arts as well as texts on native culture and education. Furthermore, in *Plus Ultra*, the interest in pre-Hispanic culture is reflected in the magazine's visual layout. The pages that host tales or reportages have Inca-style drawings (Figure 9), as these were known through ceramics and textiles.

In the Argentine magazine, the editorial aims of the campaign are clearly stated. A principal one was to spread the scientific knowledge on archaeology and geography to the magazine's readership, constituted by the Porteño *clases letradas*: 'with the exception of specialists and scholars, the physiographic information about our territory has just begun to spread among the lettered classes' (*Plus Ultra* 1924). This is an example of the role played by illustrated magazines in the vulgarization of scientific knowledge in the period. The illustrated aspect of the magazine is relevant here. Unlike previous publications, the archaeological and geographic contents were accompanied by photographs that allowed readers to 'see' the landscapes. Drawing on the contemporary conception of photography as a scientific medium that allowed a 'true' representation of reality,³¹ the magazine claimed to be

an instrument that offered the public knowledge on something that until then they had only imagined. A distinction between previous visual depictions (such as those in painting and engravings) is implicit to this claim. Photographs, the magazine is implying, are more truthful than paintings. This brings us to the second objective of *Plus Ultra*: to enable readers to see, through photography, the ‘authentic’ indigenous people and landscape: ‘understand the features of certain landscapes, which have been arbitrarily imagined’ (*Plus Ultra* 1924). For the *clases letradas*, *Plus Ultra* functioned as a sort of modern travel literature: it allowed them to see and imagine their own continental and national ‘other.’³²

Plus Ultra responded and contributed to an existing trend in Argentina and Latin America. The archaeological excavations of Peru and other countries, the coming of ideas such as primitivism and orientalism from Europe and the outbreak of the First World War, which interrupted the usual flow between the two continents, were among the factors which generated a new curiosity, in many disciplines, amongst early twentieth-century scientists, artists and intellectuals, towards America and its native cultures. The magazine’s article and pictures allow us to understand Americanism as a wide interdisciplinary trend that ranged from the visual arts to architecture and education. In addition to the material mentioned above related to archaeology, folklore and the Argentine indigenous population, the magazine published articles and images on the *indigenista* and regionalist modern trends in painting and applied arts as well as on a new teaching methodology for primary children,³³ which used pre-Hispanic forms. Articles on such subjects also appeared in *Variedades*.

Plus Ultra’s explicit Americanism leads one to reinterpret the focus in *Variedades* on Cuzco as also part of this broader trend. It can be argued that the editorial choice of including the reportages on Andean culture in a magazine such as *Variedades* responded partly to this trend, in addition to constituting, as I have argued above, a campaign aimed at expanding the Limeños’ knowledge of their country and at familiarising them with Cuzco’s culture. Considered from this perspective, the magazines’ reportages serve to articulate a third idea of modernity, a pan-American idea – coming from the South – opposed to Europe and North America,³⁴ according to which Cuzco would be the ‘neuralgic centre of American culture’ (Khuon Arce et al. 2009, 489).

With respect to the Cusqueño intellectuals, the Americanist dimension of their *Cusqueñismo* was clear: Cuzco, writes Escalante, ‘is not only of Peru, but of America and the world’ (quoted in Aparicio Vega 2000, 117); according to Escalante:

Cuzco is the heart of the continent, the fabulous treasure chest of American tradition, [...] the secular temple where it is only possible to consume the Eucharist of Americanism. For Cuzco is the monument that ages have raised up to the glory of those inimitable warriors and legislators who, with magnificent gallantry, paraded their victorious standards throughout South America. (quoted in Aparicio Vega 2000, 117)

Cuzco was declared ‘archaeological capital of America’ in 1932 at the *XXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* in La Plata and awarded the title officially from the Peruvian government the year after. Almost a decade before, the Cusqueño intellectuals had embarked upon their own quasi-propagandistic campaign in order to make Cuzco the capital of pre-Hispanic culture and the symbolic place of an alternative modernity. This process took place not only in Cusqueño cultural magazines, theatre, music, touristic guides and, to certain extent, photography, but also in Lima-based illustrated ‘popular’ press³⁵. Within the latter, instruments of such a campaign were photography, archaeological ruins, the aesthetics and discourses of the sublime and the picturesque and tourism. The reportages in *Variedades* were thus part not only of a new regional proposal, but also of a continental process that crossed disciplines and countries in a search for a pan-American modern identity based on pre-Hispanic culture and, in the Andean and Argentine regions, on the Inca legacy. Illustrated popular magazines were ideal media to carry out such cultural projects because of the type of readers/viewers they were simultaneously addressing and shaping, and because of their exceptional symbiotic relation with the social, cultural, technological changes of modern times. Both *Variedades* and *Plus Ultra* participated in the various ‘forms of integration of “indigenous” arts into daily life’ (Khuon Arce et al. 2009, 286); both harboured and articulated different forms of modernity, which drew on different, even opposite, relations between present, past and local and native traditions.

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¹ The term 'popular' refers to the format of the magazine but not necessarily to its readership. In fact, the use of this term in relation to *Variedades* is problematic and should be discussed in detail, which is not possible due to the limitations of this article. As explained in the next pages, *Variedades* imported and adapted a European and North American format aimed at a mass public. If, on the one hand, the price of the publication and its illustrated aspect lead one

to think that larger and also lower sectors of the population would buy it, on the other hand, elements such as its contents and advertising suggest that its readership was predominantly constituted by middle and upper social sectors, mostly (though not only) from the capital.

² Articles and reportages were published in the issues that go from the n.840 (1924) to the n. 883 (1925), although they did not appear on all of them.

³ The very genre of reportage is difficult to define and differentiate from that of the ‘news’. For some scholars, the reportage ‘ranges from a simple news complement [...] to an essay able to reveal, from the historical practice, contents of permanent interest [...]’ while for others it ‘is not directed at the coverage of a fact or a series of facts, but at the exploration of a subject from a pre-established angle’ (Bonini, 200). For a full discussion see Bonini 2009.

⁴ This classification is proposed by M. C. Chaparro (discussed in Bonini 2009): the retrospective reportage is characterised by a narrative structure and the search in the past for ‘the contextual reason for today’s relevant journalistic events’; the didactic one is ‘triggered by issues of situations which require certain behaviours or which arouse the need for certain knowledge; the photographic type ‘reports a fact or subject through photos’; the itinerary type has ‘a descriptive text [...] is logically ordered by some chronological, geographical or spatial criterion’ (202-3).

⁵ Such as ‘Ciudades del Perú. Cuzco, la capital de los Inkas’ [Cities of Peru. Cuzco, the capital of the Inkas].

⁶ Such as ‘El embajador americano en el Cuzco’ [The American ambassador in Cuzco], ‘El Intiwatana de Pisak’ [The Intiwatana of Pisak], ‘*Variedades* en la Republica. La vida en el Cuzco’ [*Variedades* in the Republic. Life in Cuzco].

⁷Such as ‘En la urbe ancestral. Impresiones de viaje’ [In the ancestral urbe. Impressions from travelling], ‘En la urbe ancestral. Los barrios viejos’ [In the ancestral urbe. The ancient neighbourhoods].

⁸ Such as the series ‘Aspectos pintorescos de la vida del Indio’ [Picturesque aspects of the life of the Indians].

⁹ Carlos Ríos Pagaza was a Cuzqueño writer and journalist. He is presented, in *Variedades*, as the magazine’s correspondent in Cuzco and wrote also for *El Comercio* of Cuzco. Zoila Mendoza (2008) discusses his articles on Cuzqueño folklore written for *El Comercio* in 1927, in which he defended local traditional dances and made a call for the implementation of regional contests. Reflecting a position common to many intellectuals, Ríos Pagaza advocated a fusion of (westernised) erudition and folkloric material: ‘he hoped that artists trained in the erudite techniques would participate so that the creation of a regionalist and nationalist repertoire could “progress”’ (Mendoza 2008, 54). Years before, he had participated in the *Primer Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes* [First National Conference of Students], held in Cusco in 1920, a major event within the context of the Peruvian and Latin American University Reform movement of the early twentieth century (Robles Ortiz 2013, 17). The young Peruvian ‘reformists’ participated in the conference: among them, were Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (who would later found the APRA party), Jorge Basadre and the intellectuals Giesecke, Valcárcel and José Gabriel Cossio from Cuzco. Ríos Pagaza’s participation demonstrates his link with the contemporary cultural and regionalist debates concerning indigenous culture, past and progress, which reinforces my argument on the articulation of *indigenista* ideology in *Variedades*’s pictorial reportages.

¹⁰ Modern photojournalism is considered to begin in the interwar period in Germany. See Gervais 2015, p.73.

¹¹ The pictures, Otero reveals, had been selected and sent to him by the female artists Elena y Victoria Izcue who were doing a research trip in Southern Peru sponsored by the Dirección General de Instrucción. See also note 30.

¹² At the turn of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century an important photographic tradition developed in Cuzco. Photographers such as Luis Alvina, Luis D. Gismondi, Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar and Miguel Chani are considered its initiators. Among the representatives of such tradition (called by the historian Pablo Macera ‘Cuzco School of Photography’), were Martín Chambi, Eulogio Nishiyama, David Salas, Avelino Ochoa, César Meza, Horacio Ochoa, Fidel Mora and Pablo Veramendi. See Benavente (2000), Majluf and Wuffarden (2001), Trevisan and Massa (2009).

¹³ Chambi was also the photographer-correspondent for *La crónica* (which, like *Varietades*, was founded by Manuel Moral y Vega and directed by Clemente Palma until 1929). His photographs were also published by another leading magazine of the period, *Mundial* (1920-1931, founded by Andrés Aramburu). Herman Schwarz (2007) discusses Chambi’s work as a photographic-correspondent. See also Gargurevich 2004.

¹⁴ Edward Ranney (2000) makes a similar point in his discussion on Chambi’s images in *Varietades*.

¹⁵ Beatriz Sarlo addresses similar issues through the concept of ‘peripheral modernity’. See Sarlo 1988.

¹⁶ For the development of the illustrated press in Peru, see Juan Gargurevich Regal (2006). Espinoza Portocarrero (2013) studies *Varietades* within the context of the process of modernization during the *República Aristocrática*.

¹⁷ Marshall Berman (1983) describes modernity as an ‘experience’: a ‘mode of vital experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life’s possibilities and perils’ (15).

¹⁸ Espinoza Portocarrero (2015) points out that *Varietades* had a different attitude towards the ruling elites’ discourses of modernization during those two periods: while the magazine explicitly supported Leguía’s politics and its modernizing agenda, it had a more ambivalent attitude towards the *civilista* governments of the *República Aristocrática* by opposing their attempt to eradicate *criollo* (namely, urban popular) customs. During the period 1908-1919, the scholar maintains, the magazine proposed a discourse of modernity which incorporated not only European models but also *criollo* stereotypes, forms of behaviour and traditions. Espinoza’s point on the *modernidad negociada* (136) promoted by the magazine in a period previous to the one studied in this article, could then be seen as yet another way in which *Varietades* harboured different ideas on how to pursue modernity in early twentieth-century Peru.

¹⁹ Such as rail station terminals, the central market, the *Palacio de la Exposición nacional* and the asylum.

²⁰ The cross-pollinations between westernized ‘criollo’ culture and the ‘indigenous’ culture within the magazine is a complex area that deserves to be investigated in depth, which the limits of this essay do not permit. One of the many examples of such ‘interactions’ are the photographs that frame the upper class women’s fashion of posing dressed with indigenous clothes .

²¹ This interest in the local native culture was of course also a regionalist political stance that aimed to contrast the project of the Limeño politicians (see De la Cadena 2004).

²² For the *indigenista* conception(s) of race see Poole (1997) and De la Cadena (2004).

²³ While I see the sublime as a discourse and aesthetics that opposes a specific modernizing discourse, that of Limeño intellectuals and politicians, I disagree with Lenci (2004) in interpreting it as opposed to modernity.

²⁴ Particularly the pictures by Luis Yabár Palacios and Figueroa Aznar. As Michele M. Penhall (2000) points out, ‘Peruvian photographers used [backlighting] to create an aesthetic aura, in which light and shade represented nostalgia, thereby recasting the present into an impressionistic memory’ (107).

²⁵ In the captions of the photographs of Cuzco's streets we read, for example, that 'the shadows, which stretch out and shrink, invade it all' and that the street is 'disturbing and mysterious'. Other captions refer explicitly to aesthetic qualities such as the 'contraluz' [back-lit]. The captions also use a rich variety of adjectives to describe the ruins and their relationship with the surroundings.

²⁶ See, for example, Gervais 2015 and Freund 1980.

²⁷ In terms of aesthetics, the category of the picturesque is present in many of the landscape photographs published in *Varietades*, as noted by Penhall (2000).

²⁸ He wrote the touristic guide 'Tarma, Ciudad de los Árboles.'

²⁹ For example, U. García's *Guía Histórico-Artística del Cuzco* (1925) or Larco Herrera's *Cusco histórico* (1934), with photographs by Chambi and Figueroa Aznar. Chambi too was particularly concerned with the development of tourism in the Andes; in addition to be a photographic-correspondent, he had a photography studio in Cuzco; among the several genres he cultivated, were Andean postcards.

³⁰ For the role of the *Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico* in relation to the discourses of *Indigenismo*, see Mendoza (2008), De la Cadena (2004) and Khuon Arce et al. (2009).

³¹ For the concept of photography's 'truth claim' see Gunning (2008) and Tagg (1988).

³² *Plus Ultra* showed an interest not only in Latin American indigenous culture but also in Argentine native legacy by hosting, for example, texts and images on the landscapes of the Argentine *sierra*.

³³ Ramón Gutiérrez and Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales (2005) discuss the use of pre-Columbian art as a pedagogical tool in primary schools in early twentieth-century Argentina. In 1926, Peruvian artist Elena Izcue published the book *El arte peruano en la escuela* on the use of Peruvian Precolumbian art as a teaching methodology. See the catalogue *Elena Izcue. El arte precolombino en la vida moderna* (1999).

³⁴ The presence of North America in the discourses on Cuzco and its ruins and in the early twentieth-century formulations of a pan-American identity is indeed complex. Lenci (2004) analyses how the North American 'discovery' of Machu Picchu was part of a re-writing of the Inca Empire by North American scientists and travellers in accordance with their elaboration of an 'American imperial paradigm' and the concept of a 'Pan-American modernity' (126-129).

³⁵ Not only in *Varietades*. Periodicals such as *La crónica* and *Mundial* also published photographic reportages on the Andean region.