



# Portrait of a Country. Images of Peruvian Society in the early 20th Century

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**Abstract.** The lack of digital curation in general in Latin America, which promotes memory about printed journalistic products in the region, has led to the attempt to create a research-creation product such as the curatorship titled “Images of Peruvian Society at the Dawn of the Centennial of the Independence of Peru.” The present work is responsible for reviewing it and presenting its results. The project shows artistic images, advertisements, and caricatures that circulated in two illustrated magazines at the beginning of the 20th century: *Variedades* and *Mundial*. The research period is between 1919 and 1930, the years of the *Oncenio de Leguía*. As stated in this article, the objective of this image exhibition is to research the imaginaries found in those years. This article explains the phases the project was carried out, describes the final result, and briefly analyzes some representations found in the images. This way, we aim to show how the curatorship can expose the imaginaries present in Lima’s upper and middle classes at the beginning of the 20th century.

**Keywords:** digital curation, printed images, modernity, cartoons, advertising

## 1 Introduction

This article aims to present the results of a virtual curatorship based on a selection of images published in two of the most influential magazines printed in Lima (Peru) during the first decades of the 20th century: *Variedades* and *Mundial*. This research-creation project is “Images of Peruvian Society at the Dawn of the Centennial of the Independence of Peru.” This curatorship aims to allow these images—depicting the visual imaginary of modernity in Peru during the second government of Augusto B. Leguía (1919-1930)—to be reinterpreted by a new audience. The curatorship is displayed on a website featuring 390 images, including caricatures, advertisements, and artistic reproductions, showcasing various representations of national and global realities, as well as the imaginary of modernity through which these representations were produced and observed [1].

In this article, the results of the virtual curation are presented through an explanation of its preparation and a description of how the website—where the collection of images

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has been uploaded—has turned out. Additionally, a brief analysis is provided on how the different representations found in the images, based on the categories established in this work, allow us to interpret aspects of the imaginaries shared by the elites and the new middle classes who read *Variedades* and *Mundial*. This analysis demonstrates how the graphic images that circulated through these two weeklies during the modernization project *Patria Nueva* (New Homeland) contributed to the configuration of the graphic memory of Peruvian society and the construction of Peru's visual and cultural identity. Moreover, it illustrates how researchers can approach the discovery of the visual imaginaries of modernity present in Peru in the 1920s by interpreting the images on display.

### 1.1 The Advent of Digital Curatorship

Curation is a discipline responsible for the study of artistic-cultural creation [2]. It involves socializing objects and ideas through the curator's mediation between the artist and the public [3]. Additionally, in curation, discursive formations and non-discursive domains such as institutions, political events, practices, and economic processes must be considered [4]. The curator conceptualizes and organizes content by interpreting its values and meaning; they are specialists who develop a curatorial script for the public [2-5].

Previously, we have described how new information and communication technologies have enabled the advent of digital curation [6], with museums showing their collections virtually to the public, universities creating digital collections that function as archives [8, 9], and initiatives involving states and collaborative museums. Numerous archives and collections are currently displayed in digital format. Examples of this digital advent include the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York (USA), the World Digital Library, the Mexican Digital Library, Memoria Chilena, and the Museu da Pessoa in Brazil [10-13]. In the Peruvian context, there are projects such as Yuyanapaq and Tafos [14, 15].

The presence or absence of digital archives and collections affect how we reconstruct and narrate the past [16, 17], which is why these curations are an important task. The curator's work is also crucial, as they can collect and present content in different ways, influencing the represented content and the construction of meanings. Therefore, the curator must review the order and format of the collections and adjust the exhibition design according to real-time events [18].

### 1.2 The Discourse of Modernity and the *Variedades* and *Mundial* Magazines during the *Oncenio de Leguía*

As explained, the curation presented in this article has been carried out based on graphic images of different types—works of art on the covers, advertisements, caricatures, among others—published in *Variedades* and *Mundial* magazines. These weekly publications represented the imaginary of modernity both of their time and of the social sectors to which they were directed. The years 1919-1930 in Peru, period from which the images were obtained, were defined by the authoritarian government of Leguía.

This regime was mainly supported by the new urban middle classes growing in Lima [19, 20]. His modernity project, titled *Patria Nueva*, developed the capital city of Lima and contributed to the creation of an urban and centralized identity, in a modern lifestyle, marking the transformation of Lima society into a peripheral modernity in relations with developed countries [6].

The illustrated magazines *Variedades* (1908-1931) and *Mundial* (1920-1931) circulated without interruption during the *Oncenio de Leguía* (Leguía's eleven-year government) and became spokespersons for the government [21-23]. Precisely, the representations of modernity that were part of the imaginaries of the new middle classes and the most progressive sectors of the elites are found in these weeklies' pages. These new middle sectors were configured in opposition to the old colonial elite and had a more materialistic vision of the country. However, like this elite, they use European countries as a reference in terms of modernity and development. [19, 20, 24].

These discourses appeared in the magazines and were part of the preaching of the intellectuals and artists who gave their opinions. Furthermore, within these visions, new discourses were also configured, ones that sought to vindicate traditional aspects, considered Peruvian, and insert them into modernity. The revaluation of the *mestizo* and the attempt to modernize it, for example, appear in these years [24]. At the same time, there is also a revaluation of the indigenous, which translates into indigenism. Carried forward as an artistic, intellectual, and political movement, this appeared to revalue Andean roots. Among different intellectuals, there was an attempt to resolve the tensions between modernity and Andean societies, to advance with a modernization project that would also include these groups in one way or another [25].

The Leguía government itself tried to appropriate the indigenous discourse and created institutions that sought to revalue the Indians and some aspects of their culture. However, this did not aim to solve the socioeconomic problems faced by indigenous communities, which was denounced by intellectuals like Mariátegui [26]. It must be remembered that, in the intellectual world of the 1920s, indigenism coexisted with ideas inherited from the diminished positivist discourse, which continued to permeate many cultural spaces of that time [27]. Thus, the demands for revaluation of the indigenous were often not contradicted by a discourse that, in essence, was colonizing, establishing foreign cultural elements over traditional ones, and classifying populations based on the idea of race [28]. All these discourses and representations are found in the pages of *Variedades* and *Mundial*, both in written form and in the graphic content of these magazines.

## 2 Methodology

The project, "Images of Peruvian Society at the Dawn of the Centennial of the Independence of Peru," showcases images that reflect the visual imaginaries of modernity existing during the *Oncenio de Leguía* through caricatures, advertisements, and cover images from *Variedades* and *Mundial* magazines (see Tables 1 and 2) [6].

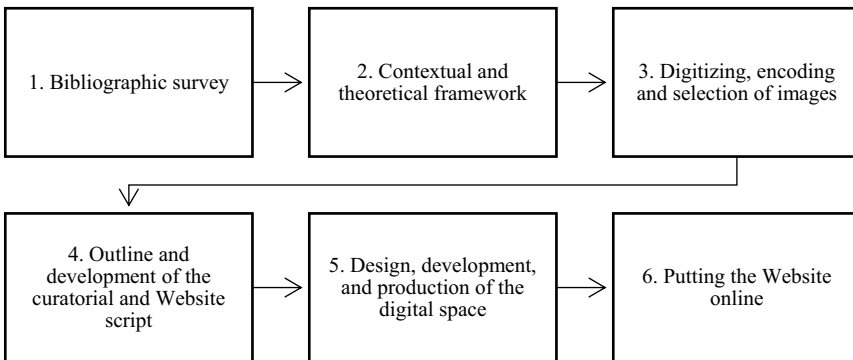
**Table 1.** *Variedades Magazine*

<i>Variedades</i>	
Start	March 7, 1908
End of publication	September 30, 1931
Published numbers	1230
Periodicity	Weekly
Years of edition	23
Number of pages	32 approx.
Themes	Political, economic, social, cultural, national, and international life

**Table 2.** *Mundial Magazine*

<i>Mundial</i>	
Start	April 23, 1920
End of publication	July 26, 1933
Published numbers	582
Periodicity	Weekly
Years of edition	13
Number of pages	24 approx.
Themes	Political, economic, social, cultural, national, and international life

The digital curation project has been carried out in six phases, all of which are now completed (see Figure 1) [6].



**Fig. 1.** Stages of Research-Creation

The deep hermeneutics analysis method proposed by Thompson [29] has been followed as a guide for the coding of the images used in this project. This entails a social-histor-

ical analysis prior to analyzing the images, a discursive analysis of them, and an interpretation and reinterpretation. All of this has been done to select the images and categorize them. Thus, after preparing the bibliographic analysis and the theoretical framework, the more than 3,500 images found in the magazines were digitized and saved in the cloud in order to proceed with their coding.

This coding process was long and went through multiple modifications depending on the type of content found in the images themselves. Initially, the categories and codes applied to the images were selected based on three axes: inhabitants, social practices, and territories. Further codes were then obtained for gender, ethnic origin, social group, performance space, and interaction genres [6]. These codes were subsequently modified from the second phase of the hermeneutic analysis and were attributed to each image. Each of the images had multiple codes, and the objective was that they could have their multiple representations labeled using these codes. With this, the aim was to make analyzing the images more manageable for the curator's observer and for the resulting website to have a better order and ease of navigation. This need for a better presentation also created the need to combine and eliminate some of the less representative codes so that each image was not overloaded with them. Finally, 18 categories were defined to sort and classify the different images.

For phase 4, the curatorial script was defined based on the results obtained. The main idea was to organize the different codes based on axes that related them. Then, two large categories were recognized; they grouped the representations of the most significant social and cultural aspects of the period of the *Oncenio de Leguía*: the project of modernity of the regime, which has been called *Patria Nueva* (based on the name that the president himself put to his government to give an image of renewal), and Lima's and Peruvian society in general. To these two, other relevant axes were added: "Woman" and "Scientific and Technological Creation." Subsequently, each of these major axes was changed to represent the final 18 categories more adequately. The axis that grouped the categories of *Patria Nueva* (New Homeland) was renamed "Symbols" in reference to the symbolic value attributed to the political representations of the Leguía government and the historical narratives related to politics—such as the representations of historical figures. The "Society" axis, for its part, was divided into "Social Group," "Practices," and "Spaces" in order to differentiate the forms of representation of the different human groups presented from those of their cultural practices and those of the spaces in which they participate. The "Woman" axis was integrated into "Social Group" and the "Scientific and Technological Creation" axis into "Practices." Furthermore, it was recognized that images belonged to multiple categories. Finally, each of these four sections or axes brings together a series of images that give shape to the main characteristics that draw the historical period reviewed (1919-1930), in addition to showing the ways of being and acting of Peruvian society during those years, although emphasizing mainly those from Lima (see Table 3).

**Table 3.** Matrix of the 4 Sections or Axes and the 18 Categories

Spaces	Social Group	Practices	Symbolic
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- Natural landscapes
  - Tacna and Arica
  - Meeting places
  - Institutional
  - Army and Police Forces
  - Afro-Peruvian
  - Andean
  - Asian
  - Women
  - Traditional celebrations
  - Policy
  - Religious
  - Family and domestic
  - Social
  - Labor
  - Science and technology
  - Leguía
  - Historical figures and symbols
- 

In order to materialize these findings, we proceeded with the development of the project's main result: the website Portrait of a Country, Peru, 1919-1930 [1]. This website has been developed so that new audiences discover the agency of the images shown in the curatorship. For this process, it was necessary to design the website and insert the images into it, categorized based on what was determined in the coding and curatorial script process. Subsequently, curation was performed directly by placing the collection of images on the website and categorizing them with the 18 categories established above.

On the other hand, the image interpretation methodology proposed and used as an example in this article, when describing the imaginaries found in the image collection, starts from a quantitative approach based on an interpretive paradigm [30]. The technique used is documentary analysis from a critical and communicational approach. The critical approach follows Rose [31]. It proposes the analysis of images not only from the context but also from the effects of the image itself, considering social conditions and its modes of distribution. Our own way of looking at the images is also considered.

## 2.1 Ethical Considerations

The issues of the press magazines *Varietades* and *Mundial* mentioned in the research-creation are part of the personal collection and archive of one of the project's researchers. When scanning and encoding the images in this study, the moral rights of the authors were protected and their use was limited to academic and research purposes only.

## 3 Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Research-Creation and the Web

The digital space was essential for the development and advancement of this project. In addition to providing easy access to the curatorship, it allowed its first phases to be carried out while the authors were in different spaces. After the coding was done, the categories allowed images to be grouped more efficiently, which helped to perceive patterns, similarities, and differences between images of the same type. With this, the

imaginaries present in these publications could be inferred. There were cases of codes that had been registered but had to be removed as they were not represented in the images. An example of this is the “Rainforest” code, referring to the traditional geographic region of Peru. However, even this lack of representation can tell us some details about the imaginaries that existed in Lima at the time, about what social groups of this city they considered important to show.

All these categorization processes mentioned can be seen through the main result of this project: the website *Portrait of a Country, Peru 1919-1930*. The sections established from the curatorial script are shown in it. In each section, different categories are established from the representations found in the images presented, which in this virtual space serve as a way of organizing the space and allowing the user to filter and prioritize the search for certain types of elements (see Figure 2) [1].

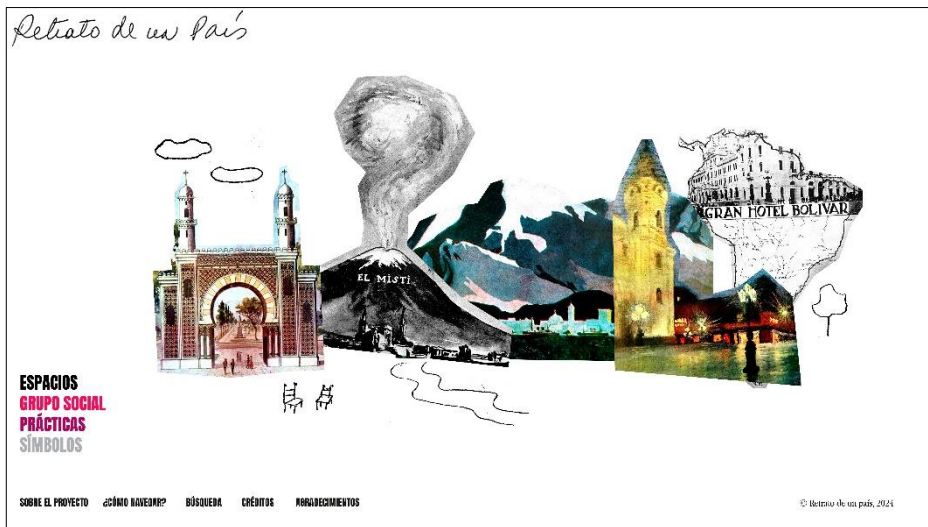


Fig. 2. Website *Retrato de un país* (Portrait of a Country) [6]

Thanks to the digital support and the codes assigned, it was possible to create the curatorial script. The images that give shape to the main characteristics that depict the *Oncenio de Leguía* have been grouped on the website through the four sections established in this; in addition to the ways of being and acting of Peruvian society, although emphasizing mainly Lima, as the capital and center of the country, as well as the center of the modernity project promoted by the government of those years.

Thus, the different graphic publications already coded have been uploaded to the virtual space, from which they can be easily viewed by clicking on a category. This allows access to all images related to the chosen category. Likewise, passing the mouse cursor over each image shows the different categories it belongs to. Each image has multiple identification codes, which allow the users who review the collection to relate

an image to different categories, from which they can make their analysis and obtain new findings.

Along with the images, texts from different writings by the Peruvian socialist and indigenous intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui from the 1920s were included. It is expected that these quotes will contribute to expanding the context and generating a dialogue between the social reality perceived in the intellectual's text and the reality perceived in the image. The reason for choosing Mariátegui as the author to make this textual accompaniment to the images is not only because he is one of the great interpreters of the Peruvian reality of the 1920s but also because, in his work as an interpreter, he became a representative of the imaginaries of modernity found both in his texts and in the images on display. The best proof is that, despite political differences, the author collaborated as a correspondent and editor of articles in the two magazines studied—*Variedades* and *Mundial*—during many of the years of the *Oncenio de Leguía*, like other intellectuals of his time.

Finally, the website presented as a final product [1], within which the curation is found, contributes to disseminating visual history to an audience interested in it. The images shown are, finally, part of a period of our national history. In their representations, we can interpret, sometimes less explicitly than others, the great imaginaries about modernity that permeated the economic elites and the new middle classes and the intellectual sectors that were part of them during the decade of 1920 in Lima. The fact that this is a dynamic project allows it to be constantly updated, and the categories can be transformed, united, and split along the way. Easy access to this, thanks to virtuality, contributes to the dissemination of these images and the possibility of different interpretations in this regard.

### 3.2 Redefinition and Reinterpretation Based on the Use of Images

In this section, a brief interpretation of the modern imaginaries of Lima del *Oncenio de Leguía* has been prepared based on the representations found in the curated images. This serves as an example to demonstrate how the established categories and the axes determined from the curatorial script allow us to emphasize certain aspects represented in the graphic content of the magazines *Variedades* and *Mundial*. Some of these common elements are perceived even in spaces that seem to be as different as works of art produced by local artists and foreign advertising made to promote consumption in Lima.

In general, the codes obtained from the compilation and observation of the images, as well as from the development of the script related to them, show us that there are certain types of representations that become representative of the period studied. For example, the image of President Leguía is a great topic of representation. Its image is linked to different social and cultural spaces, such as the Catholic world, national symbols, and the relations of dependency between Peru and the United States. Precisely, on this last point, the advertising collected from the magazines studied shows us how American companies and capital are promoted through advertising. Moreover, how values related to the heteronormative, the foreign as the civilized, the science and technology as forms of modernity, were promoted. Finally, in the images, it is possible



to find different degrees of substitution, invisibility, or exclusion of certain social groups, such as indigenous sectors, for example.

Precisely, one of the main findings was the majority male presence in the images, a situation that led to the elimination of the “Man” code due to its constant repetition and to the fact that greater attention was paid to the “Woman” code. In the images that have been selected, the little diversity with which the middle class is represented is evident. There are constant allusions to the foreign through symbols, which tells us about the lack of a Peruvian identity detached from modernity, perceived as linked to those foreign elements. In the imaginary of Lima’s middle class, belonging to it means moving away from the Andean and approaching foreign customs. In this scenario, indigenism emerged—an intellectual, artistic, and political movement—that had the purpose of revaluing miscegenation from its Andean roots and inserting it into modernity. As part of this process, the images attempted to authenticate the Incan past through paintings. In addition, there are some images—paintings from the Indigenous movement—that show Andean settings and characters from social groups linked to these spaces, but in general, there is little representation of them, as well as a lack of will to highlight the culture of the indigenous world.

Then, the image classification and code selection phase continued. For example, codes like “Rainforest” had almost no representation, so it is impossible to infer imaginary images. Therefore, an issue in the images was that they resulted in some findings in relation to the imaginaries of the time known through the historical record and what the researchers connotatively derived from Thompson’s hermeneutic analysis when visualizing the images [6]. Finally, curation seeks that the future users or visitors in the online staging are the ones who analyze the images and that the resignification is carried out by themselves. In this case, the curatorial script started being written from the moment in which the codes assigned via digital support created a route in which the researchers would decide the paths through which the user would go in the next stage.

## 4 Conclusions

This article first shows one of the ways in which digital curation, made from images published in journalistic media, can be developed. To do this, it is required to know the context in which the material to be exhibited has been published: in this case, images of advertisements, pieces of art, and caricatures found on the covers of the magazines *Varietades* and *Mundial*. The creation of units of meaning from the coding process and the subsequent elaboration of the curatorial script allowed us to understand a little more about the production, development, and reproduction of the cultural imaginaries of an era. So, finally, through the script and the categories grouped around their respective axes, the presentation space of the curated graphic material was organized. In this case, said space was the Portrait of a Country website [1].

This article also seeks to demonstrate the task of redefinition that falls on each user who observes the collection, based on the brief interpretation found from the observation of the curated images themselves, by considering the categories represented in them. This interpretation showed how the selected images mostly related

modernity to the foreign, in contrast to the local Andean world, seen as backward even at a time of the rise of indigenism. Likewise, President Leguía's link with different social sectors of the country and with the modernity brought from the United States is perceived as being associated with the scientific and technological products that arrived from that country.

Finally, we hope that this staging through virtuality contributes from a graphic conceptualization to the dissemination of part of our visual history. We also hope that all types of interested audiences can access the website in a practical and affordable way, to be able to explore these images about a period in our national history and know what they say and what they hide. It is from this observation process carried out by different users that we hope that new interpretations of these images will be found. Finally, we hope that this project encourages all those people interested in Peruvian graphic culture to continue producing knowledge and analyzing our society based on visual productions.

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