

The Boundaries of Race, the Boundaries of Representation: Disordering Mestizaje in Alfredo Guido's *Chola Desnuda*

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In Alfredo Guido's *Chola Desnuda*, the lunar hue of a nude woman captures the attention of the viewer (Figure 1). The chromatic homogeneity of the *Chola's* skin and her exaggerated, almost fictional whiteness (given the blue reflections that emphasize her silhouette), visually contrast with the variety of textures and colors of the Andean fabrics, tropical fruits, and folkloric accessories that surround her. This canvas, fashioned in 1924 for the National Salon of Arts of Argentina, explores the sensuality associated with the female mestizo body.¹ As asserted by the name of the image, originally chosen by Guido, the painting depicts a *chola* or *mestiza*, a woman of Amerindian and European descent.² The visual information provided by the painting, however, complicates her racial categorization.

While the setting of the image indicates the character's interraciality, the figure's skin does not operate as a decisive ethnic marker. Although the title identifies her as an interracial body, Guido separates the two components of her ethnicity in this painting. The European ancestry of the *Chola*, which in this context refers to a triad of whiteness, civility, and virtuosity, is symbolized by the sexual desirability of her body. The portrayal of this woman certainly emulates the canons of white beauty and nudity conceptualized and popularized by the European academies of art. Her indigeneity, on the other hand, depends upon the multiple attributes that since colonial times have associated America and Amerindian figures with exotica and primitivism, i.e. wild fruits, simple ornamental textiles, and nakedness. Such attributes symbolize the figure's cultural and racial *Otherness*. Likewise, her uncovered figure embodies the

tensions of the nude and the naked, which beyond modern art historical debates, evoke the binary association of nudity with art and civilization, and nakedness with savagery.

This paper argues that Alfredo Guido's *Chola Desnuda* deconstructs the conventional iconographies of mestizaje and evinces the racial tensions of early twentieth-century Argentina, a period defined by a whitening and modernizing project. Given Guido's acquaintance with Western art since he studied with the Italian artist Mateo Casella and graduated from the National Academy of Fine Arts, this essay compares Guido's canvas to the two pictorial traditions which are referenced therein. First, a comparison with *casta* paintings sheds light on how Guido built an iconography of mestizaje upon colonial representations of racial difference in the Americas. Second, the *Chola's* visual relationship with Orientalist and modernist nudes further denotes the capacity of this canvas to undermine the ability of the viewer to distinguish whiteness from *Otherness*, challenging the boundaries of representation and racial denomination. Because Guido intended to codify Argentinean identity in an indigenous visual language, his depiction of mestizaje evokes the country's racial tensions.³

The Chola and Casta Paintings

The iconographic origins of Guido's *Chola* date to *casta* painting, the colonial artistic genre devoted to the representation and organization of the ethnicities that arose in Spanish America as a result of the Conquest.⁴ Comparing Guido's painting with Vicente Albán's *Yapanga de Quito (Mestiza of Quito)*, an Andean *casta* painting, illustrates how the colonial iconography of mestizaje informed Guido's canvas (Figure 2).⁵

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1 In her study of the *Chola*, Georgina Gluzman discusses the figure's pale skin tone as a residue of patriarchy that required the woman/odalisque to be white in order to be desired. While I agree with such an assertion, in this paper I problematize the *Chola's* whiteness given the overtly racializing nature of this image. Appealing to previous art historical studies of nativism in modern art, such as Abigail Solomon-Godeau's "Going Native," I observe how the coalescence of race, gender, and sexual availability of Alfredo Guido's *Chola Desnuda* speaks to the sociopolitical context of Argentina at the time. See Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native" in *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 139-155.

2 The *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la lengua Española* defines a *cholo* or *chola* as a mestizo of European and Amerindian descent. While this colonial category is used in contemporary times, it has a pejorative meaning in some countries.

3 Guido referred to such a combination as Eurindia. See Adriana Beatriz Armando, "Alfredo Guido y el americanismo en los años veinte," in *La Hora Americana* (Buenos Aires, AR: MNBA, 2014), 191-192.

4 Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, 1st ed., Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003).

5 Although Albán's work is not a conventional *casta* painting, art historian Edward Sullivan has made the case of its conceptual and visual resemblance to Mexican *casta* paintings. In addition to the geographical proximity between the Royal Audiences of Quito (where Albán's canvas was produced) and Buenos Aires, Ecuador commercialized large amounts of colonial art in the Southern Cone. Furthermore, museums devoted to collecting and exhibiting colonial art in Argentina opened their doors in the 1920s, and Guido's brother—Ángel—contributed to the revival of Hispanic American architecture. See Edward Sullivan, *The Language of Objects in the Arts of the Americas* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 85.

In Albán's painting the hieratic figure of a well-dressed *yapanga* holding a cluster of Andean berries directs the attention of the viewer to her face and to a plate of hyperbolized fruits lying on a pedestal. The magnified size of this American produce⁶ exacerbates its appetizing and curious appearance, characterizing the interracial figure as equally tempting, available, and as exotic as the fruits on display.⁷ This picture further presents the female figure as an autochthonous character of the continent. Like the trees and fruits surrounding her, the *yapanga* appears as the result of the continent's extravagant fertility; because she is barefoot, the painting explicitly expresses her dependence on the soil. The skin tone of her legs, noticeably less pale than her upper body, evokes her relationship with the soil of the New World. The naturalization of the mestiza as a native ethnicity of the continent avoids further discussion about miscegenation, creating a fictional idea of interracial bodies as strictly American, completely unrelated to Europe.

In a similar way to Albán's canvas, the *Chola* offers her body to the spectator on a pedestal. The pineapple and the apples scattered on the floor replicate the shape of the female figure, inviting the viewer to observe the rhythm of her body carefully.⁸ Likewise, the clay vessel—an Andean allusion to the womb and thus to fertility—is located at the same level of the character's genitalia.⁹ The purposeful arrangement of the apples, fruits biblically associated with the sinful act of taking and eating, echoes the effortless position of the *Chola*'s legs. Guido alters the *casta* painting's trope of the fruits where endemic produce and flowers express the desirability, fertility, and availability of non-white bodies. Indeed, Linda Nochlin asserts that the comparison of the desirable body with ripe fruit constitutes a prime topos of erotic imagery in nineteenth

century Western art, e.g. Gauguin's *Tahitian Women with Mango Blossoms*.¹⁰ Beyond the European artistic production, and in addition to its presence in *casta* painting, this trope commonly appears in depictions of women of African and Amerindian descent in Latin American art. Fausto Ramírez has described "the traditional association of woman-fruit-flower [as a] typicality that categorically represents nationhood."¹¹ Nevertheless, the *Chola*'s ambiguities complicate Guido's nationalist artistic project because the spilling over of the fruit triggers a new way to look at the interracial figure.

In the first place, Guido disorders Albán's centralized and confined fruits to indicate that the *Chola*'s abundance has exceeded its container. While in Albán's pictures the *yapanga* displays the cluster and invites the viewer to observe the curious bounty that accompanies her, there is no clear invitation to touch. The compositional order of the picture anticipates a similar behavior on the part of the spectators. Regarding this assertion, John Berger claims that the pose and attitude of a woman in a painting "defines what can or cannot be done to her."¹² A modest, demure woman, according to this logic, inspires the viewers' respect, while an explicitly sensual figure provokes an equally bold reaction from the spectator. As such, even if the *Chola* does not hold the fruit or offer it to the spectator, the spilling over of her bounty, in terms of her body and of her tropical feast, invites the viewer to take from it. The disarray of the still life on the floor ostensibly incites the viewer to touch and taste, or further implies "that the feasters have come and gone."¹³ Such disorder categorically differs from the original motivation of *casta* paintings, which was to create systematic iconographies of racial intermixture and to alleviate the European anxiety in categorizing the ethnic diversity of the Americas. Guido's composition, conversely, makes the liminality of mestizaje visible, presenting it as a racial category simultaneously native and foreign. The ambiguity of Guido's protagonist spoke to the racial apprehension of Argentina, which, even if rooted in the colonial model, incorporated a concern about the relationship of race and modernity.

As part of the national modernization project and in rejection of the indigenous population of the country, the 1800s Argentinean governments promoted the so-called *Conquest of the Desert*.¹⁴ Such military campaigns resulted in the genocide of the indigenous populations of Patagonia, which allowed Argentina to expand its territory to the south of the continent. A few years after the "pacification" of these terrains, the incoming European

6 We know that the fruits in this painting are American because the captions in the canvas identify each fruit and plant.

7 Charmaine Nelson has discussed how the endemic American fruits accompanying black figures conveyed the exoticism, overindulgence, and immediacy of consumption that characterized both the produce and the sitter. Such a claim also applies to Amerindian bodies. See Charmaine A. Nelson, *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 77-87; E. Sullivan has interpreted fruits in *casta* paintings as expressions of the material prosperity of the New World "displayed for the delectation of the viewer" (84).

8 It is significant that the fruits displayed with the *Chola* are a pineapple and apples. C. Nelson also describes pineapples as the ultimate European symbol of exoticism and wealth due to their rarity, high price, and extravagant look (82). Likewise, Meyer Schapiro studied the meaning of apples in Cézanne's work, where these fruits signify the lushness of the female body. Such an association originated in Greek art, continued in the Renaissance, and extended to modernism. See Meyer Schapiro, "The Apples of Cézanne: An Essay on the Meaning of Still-Life," in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, NY: George Braziller, 1979), 34-53.

9 Guido often depicted Amerindian women surrounded by clay vessels, i.e. his murals in *La Loma*. The articulation of archeology in Argentina influenced Guido's oeuvre, since the artist himself organized an exhibit of American ceramics in 1918. See Armando, "Alfredo Guido y el americanismo," 189-203. The inclusion of the vessel in the painting has also been described as a topos of Latin American rural lifestyle that emphasizes the *Chola*'s modernity and urbanism. See Georgina Gluzman, "La *Chola* Desnuda de Alfredo Guido: Ficciones Femeninas, Ficciones Nacionales," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundo Nuevo* (2015).

10 Linda Nochlin, "Eroticism and Female Imagery in Nineteenth Century Art," in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1988), 136-145. For a postcolonial reading of Gauguin's women and fruits see Wayne Andersen, *Gauguin's Paradise Lost* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1971).

11 Fausto Ramírez, *Modernización y Modernismo en el Arte Mexicano* (Mexico: UNAM, 2008), 370.

12 John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, UK: Harmondsworth: British Broadcasting Corporation, Penguin, 1972), 46.

13 Nelson, *Representing the Black Female Subject*, 84.

14 Alfred Hasbrouck, "The Conquest of the Desert," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (1935), 196.

settlers turned them into a breadbasket fundamental for the agricultural success of Argentina in the international market.¹⁵ In addition to such financial motivations, a nationalist discourse that perceived civilization as the antithesis of indigeneity also prompted the *Conquest of the Desert*.

Fausto Domingo Sarmiento, the most influential Argentinean thinker and politician of the mid-nineteenth century, stated that the racial intermixture of Latin Americans was naturally incompatible with civilization.¹⁶ Sarmiento often described mestizos and indigenous peoples as barbarians who prevented the modernization of Argentina and Latin America, generally.¹⁷ Rebecca Earle has made clear that “the Indian problem—that is, the belief that a large indigenous population weakened the state and impeded the development of national identity” aggravated the problematics of assimilating the native into national culture.¹⁸ Nonetheless, for Sarmiento, while the indigenous populations were a “lost cause,” gauchos and mestizos were perceived as “fixable.”¹⁹ In addition to launching missionary campaigns and land grants to civilize the population, the Argentinean government promoted European immigration by embracing foreigners as a whitening and civilizing force.²⁰ Likewise, in 1919 the Argentinean intellectual Carlos Bunge published an essay about the degeneration of race that categorized mestizaje as a “true hybridization” only able to produce “infertile or dysgenic individuals.”²¹ Depicting a desirable mestiza in 1924, only five years after Bunge’s publication, Guido alluded to this negative conceptualization of racial intermixture.

The horizontal pose of the *Chola* on a chaise-longue further evinces Guido’s intention of playing with the iconography of mestizaje.²² This compositional change dissolves to some extent the aforementioned relation of the interracial body with

nature, blurring her sense of belonging to the Americas. In contrast with the landscape setting that surrounds the figure of the *yapanga*, Guido depicts his protagonist in an interior space, specifically designed for her posing. The blue textile that serves as a backdrop evokes a starry night; the quilt’s patterns depict flowers and herbs that suggest an open field. A *calchaquí*, artificially indigenous setting substituted the conventional surrounding of a mestiza.²³ Charmaine Nelson asserts that Western art has traditionally associated the white female body with tamable nature and the female *Other* with the sublime. A sublime female body threatens the spectator because its nature is unknowable and undermines the agency of the viewer. In the *Chola*’s case, her tamed environment and overt sexuality place her in a liminal space between passive and sublime nature.²⁴

By means of distancing this mestiza from her “land of origin,” Guido modifies the colonial iconography without being radically abrupt. Such a change certainly disorients the spectator by not fulfilling the expectations of a mestiza’s appearance; yet because Guido references colonial imagery, the visual background of the viewer allows the modifications to be recognized and processed.

The Chola as a Modern Nude

Guido’s reference to Edouard Manet’s *Olympia* demonstrates his intention to depict an ambiguous body whose sexuality is the central conflict. Similar to *Olympia*, the *Chola* produces an ambivalent reaction in the viewer, since her sexual desirability depends upon her whiteness, while her sexual availability is contingent upon her *Otherness*.²⁵ The difficult-to-categorize racial identity of this female figure translates into an equivocal sexuality.

Mario H. Gradowczyk has argued that Guido’s painting, like Manet’s canvas, simulated a courtesan scene.²⁶ According to Gradowczyk, Guido depicted a prostitute codified in Andean terms.²⁷ Although his analysis does not problematize the *Chola*’s mestizaje, it prompts further discussion about the intersection of sexual and racial tensions of this painting. For instance, prostitution in Argentina had a clear racial mark. Despite the legalization of prostitution in 1875, Buenos Aires was involved in the sexual trade of white European

15 Ibid.

16 Jorge Larraín, *Identity and Modernity in Latin America* (Cambridge, UK: Oxford; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2000), 83.

17 Katherine E. Manthorne defines gauchos as male characters who inhabit the “desert,” the frontier of civilization and barbarism. They are hypersexual, loyal, bellicose, and nomadic. Gauchos do not have a defined ethnicity, they are always interracial and of Amerindian descent, however. See Katherine E. Manthorne, “Hermanos del Alma: Los gauchos de Blanes y la delineación de los tipos fronterizos del Oeste americano,” in *El Arte de Juan Manuel Blanes* (Buenos Aires, AR: Fundación Bunge y Born, 1994), 151.

18 Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 163.

19 Lesli Ray and Society for Latin American Studies, “A European Enclave in an Alien Continent? Enduring European Civilisation and Indigenous Barbarism in Argentina Today,” in *Negotiating Difference in the Hispanic World: From Conquest to Globalisation*, Bulletin of Latin American Research Book Series (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 149.

20 Earle, *The Return of the Native*, 162.

21 Lourdes Martínez-Echazabal, “Mestizaje and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845-1959,” *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 3 (1998): 23.

22 Hal Foster has contended that Picasso’s contribution to the artistic nude consisted of pushing it vertically, thus changing the approach to the female body. Likewise, one could argue that Guido’s contribution to the representation of the interracial female figure consisted of laying it down. See Hal Foster, *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (New York, NY: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 68.

23 The nineteenth-century calchaquí style combined Inca, pre-Inca, and northeastern Argentinean indigenous imagery. The textiles of Guido’s *Chola* relate to a generalized interest in decorative arts triggered by the European art deco movement. See Armando, “Alfredo Guido,” 193-197.

24 Nelson, *Representing the Black Subject*, 105-21. Nelson also considers Manet’s *Olympia* as a sublime body: “She was seen as uncontainable, dirty and deceased, pushing beyond her bodily boundaries” (111).

25 T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1985), 96.

26 Gradowczyk, “Los Salones Nacionales y La Vanguardia.”

27 Sander Gilman claims that the prostitute was the essential sexualized female. The figure of the prostitute merged with that of the primitive *Other* during the late nineteenth century. In this sense, the *Chola*’s racial *Otherness* in combination with her nudity is suggestive of prostitution and hypersexuality. See Sander Gilman, “The Hottentot and the Prostitute,” in *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 126-30.

women, particularly of French, Polish, Jewish, and Hungarian origin.²⁸ Under the guise of immigration, this phenomenon triggered strong social reactions during the first decades of the twentieth century. The idea of these “white slaves,” as they came to be called, having forced sexual intercourse with men of all races, scandalized Argentinean society.²⁹ This historical reality sheds light upon the fetishization of the white body and the societal fear surrounding miscegenation. In such a context, Guido’s available mestiza ostensibly triggered a mixed reaction from the spectators who would concurrently be attracted to her white skin while rejecting her indigenous ancestry.

When compared to *Olympia*, it is clear that the *Chola*’s torso, legs, and defiant gaze cite Manet’s canvas. Even if her confident attitude contradicts previous depictions of servile and naïve indigenous women,³⁰ the skin and nudity of Guido’s female character manifest her racial indeterminacy. For example, it is well known that most of the Parisian critics denigrated *Olympia* as a result of her “dirty skin,” which they linked to her working-class origins.³¹ *Olympia*’s skin not only seems flat because of the lack of modelling, but also impure due to the ochre brushstrokes that stress her joints and the lines that delimit her body. Likewise, blue and yellow reflections characterize the skin of Guido’s *Chola*, which the art critics of the time described as cadaverous. While she looks undeniably white, her non-naturalistic shading makes her mysterious.³²

In *Olympia*, Manet challenged the traditional appeal of female bodies by rendering the distinctions between the nude and naked unclear.³³ According to Nelson, this canvas was sublime since “a courtesan removed from her allegorical disguise, she walked the tightrope between art and pornography.”³⁴ Furthermore, the *Chola*’s defiant attitude toward the viewer resembles the imaginaries of the *femme fatale*.³⁵ In fact, *Olympia*’s act of covering her genitalia, and thus controlling her sexuality while acknowledging the presence of the viewer, made her a real woman who was not

nude but naked. In addition to her empowered pose, the ambiguity of Guido’s protagonist relates to the aforementioned conflict of barbarism and civilization.

The relation of nudity with indigeneity originated in the discovery of the Americas; Columbus often described the inhabitants of the New World as “naked and bewildered savages.”³⁶ In addition to its relation with barbarism, this nakedness also related to Paradise since the colonizers considered the Americas as virgin lands whose inhabitants did not recognize their nakedness, just as Adam and Eve originally did not. “Through this Edenic association, Europeans could view the indigenous women of the Americas as simultaneously virginal and promiscuous, ready to be sexually awakened by the whispered words of European men.”³⁷ Such a combination of nakedness, promiscuity, wilderness, and virginity characterized the sexual availability of the indigenous female body.

On the other hand, the history of the academic nude goes back to Greco-Roman art, specifically to the creation of allegories.³⁸ For centuries, the European audiences only considered a nude immoral when it portrayed an actual woman instead of an idealized female body. Nevertheless, scholars have argued that a “repressed eroticism” characterized the nineteenth-century nude, which incorporated Orientalist markers to the female white body.³⁹ Jenna Judd has asserted that the exotization of the white female body expressed white women’s sexuality because they appeared culturally distant enough to be desired. The imaginary allure of odalisques, for instance, allowed the European viewer to possess white bodies visually and symbolically.⁴⁰ The white body became sexually available to European men only after becoming an Orientalized *Other*. Accordingly, Guido transformed this Orientalist trope into a mestizo one.

As a matter of fact, the French-inspired Argentinean Orientalism played an important artistic role during the early twentieth century.⁴¹ Esther Espinar Castañer claims that although some critics perceived this imagery as gaudy and superficially bohemian, most of the artistic world celebrated its exoticism and embraced in it the “renovation”

28 Donna J. Guy, “White Slavery, Public Health, and the Socialist Position on Legalized Prostitution in Argentina, 1913-1936,” *Latin American Research Review* 23, no. 3 (1988): 60–80.

29 Ibid.

30 Gradowczyk, “Los Salones Nacionales y La Vanguardia.”

31 Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 85–87.

32 This lunar aura could associate the *Chola* with Diana, the Greco-Roman goddess of hunting, the moon, and fertility. Accordingly, the *Chola* could evoke depictions of other female hunters such as *La cazadora de los Andes* of Felipe Santiago Gutiérrez (c. 1874), among others. For references of the reception of Guido’s canvas see “El XIV Salón de Bellas Artes: pintura” in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 21 de septiembre de 1924, 7.

33 Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*.

34 Nelson, *Representing the Black Subject*, 111.

35 Laura Malosetti claims that the image of the *femme fatale* became extremely popular at the turn of the twentieth century. These characters were often identified as dangerous, impossible, beautiful, cold, and perverse. See Laura Malosetti Costa, *La seducción fatal: imaginarios eróticos del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires, AR: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2014), introduction.

36 Michael Householder, “Eden’s Translations: Women and Temptation in Early America,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2007): 11.

37 Ibid., 14.

38 *Grove Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Nude,” by David Rodgers and Dimitris Plantzos, accessed 12 October 2017, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>.

39 Ibid.

40 Jenna Judd, “White-Skinned Odalisques: The Residue of Patriarchy; The Means to Subvert It,” in *Computing in the Humanities and Social Sciences—University of Toronto*, accessed 7 May 2017, <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~ikalmar/illustex/juddfashion.htm>.

41 Among other factors, Orientalist art was popularized in Argentina by artists who had studied in Europe and started teaching at the National Academy of Fine Arts after returning to their home country. See Esther Espinar Castañer, “Gregorio López Naguil y la crítica artística orientalista en Buenos Aires,” *Cuadernos Del CILHA* 13, no. 1 (July 2012): 80–104.

of the local pictorial production.⁴² These images became so prolific in Buenos Aires that the National Salon was filled with Orientalist-themed canvases during the 1910s.

The work of Gregorio López Naguil illustrates the impact of Orientalism in the Argentinean arts. For one, in *Laca China (Chinese Lacquer)*, Naguil portrays a nude woman lying on a chaise-longue (Figure 3). The Oriental-themed drapery that caresses the woman's light skin and frames her body, reveals an Asian folding screen containing scenes that evoke Chinese decorative arts in the background. The pose and submissive gaze of this character exemplify how Orientalism allowed the viewer to desire white women through exotic bodies. The successful performance of this painting in the Salon of Arts in 1918 evinces the positive reception of this style in Argentina.⁴³ Moreover, as Naguil and other artists kept exploring such subject matter, both Guido and the Argentinean audience were axiomatically familiar with conventional Orientalist tropes, in particular, with representations of exotic—and hence sexually available—white nudes. Guido's transformation of the odalisque into a mestiza disturbs the viewer, who could recognize the Orientalist modifiers incorporated in the canvas, but could not certainly identify the *Chola's* body, race, and sexuality.

The exotic *Otherness* conveyed by the *Chola's* attributes and pose also resembles the depictions of Roma women produced by the Spanish artists of the early twentieth century. The work of Ignacio Zuloaga was particularly influential among Guido's artistic generation, when his paintings were successfully presented at the International Exposition organized in Buenos Aires in 1910.⁴⁴ Given Zuloaga's presence and long-lasting impact in the artistic scene of Buenos Aires, it is likely that Guido saw his work on more than one occasion and decided to emulate it in his own production.⁴⁵ Since Guido was interested in both Amerindian and Spanish traditions, it seems logical that he felt compelled by images of gypsies, who became the international symbol of Spain at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁶

La gitana del loro (The Gypsy and the Parrot, 1906) illustrates the influence of Zuloaga in Guido's work. The

picture depicts a sumptuous body in a dancing pose typical of flamenco. Even if the woman neglects the presence of the viewer and interacts with the parrot standing next to her, she displays her body with pride for those who stand before her. Her left leg forms a diagonal that calls attention to her perfectly defined silhouette, while directing the viewer's gaze toward her uncovered pubis, arched torso, and breasts. The figure holds a dark shawl in her stretched arms and a colorful fan that combines with the bird's plumage. This painting demonstrates the hypersexualization of Roma women, a feature associated with bohemian life in Spain and a central theme of Zuloaga's production. Pablo Jiménez Burillo explains that the romantic sexualization of gypsies was possible because of their racial difference.⁴⁷ Because it was also the case with Orientalist art, the attributes of alterity allow the female body to be desirable and desired in a painting. Just as the *Otherness* of Zuloaga's gypsies is codified by their comfortable nudity and exotic ornaments, such as the parrot and the shawl, it is congruent with Guido's use of racial markers in the *Chola*. Both artists employ colorful and exotic attributes in order to render a female nude overtly sexual and desirable.

Using the iconography of exotic desirability in the depiction of a non-white figure pushed the spectator to confront his visual expectations. The white body of the *Chola* was desirable and her Orientalist allure made her available, but her attributes of indigeneity insinuated a social and racial detestability. Because Guido's *Chola Desnuda* relates to the construction of Argentinean national mythologies, the power of the canvas relies on the ambivalence of each of the racial markers that defines the female figure.⁴⁸ Rather than visually reconciling two supposedly antithetical racial components, this painting urges the viewer to acknowledge the limits of sight in determining the subject's race. Indeed, Guido did not create a new iconography of mestizaje that harmonically brought together the conceptual poles surrounding miscegenation in the country. Instead, his painting reveals the fictionality of racial categories, the incapacity of the viewer to discern race, and, overall, the boundaries of representation itself.

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⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ This painting was awarded the second place in the Salon.

⁴⁴ This event commemorated the Independence of Argentina from Spain (1810) and served to revalorize the cultural contribution of the Iberian country to Argentina. Zuloaga exhibited thirty-six canvases in the Spanish pavilion of the fair, thus becoming the artist most widely represented during the whole event. Zuloaga's show was so successful that the National Museum of Fine Arts of Buenos Aires and other private patrons acquired some of his pieces. Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, "La pintura argentina y la presencia de Ignacio Zuloaga (1900-1930)," in *Cuadernos Ignacio Zuloaga* (Segovia, ES: Casa Museo Ignacio Zuloaga, 2000), 33.

⁴⁵ Gutiérrez Viñuales asserts that artist Cesáreo Bernaldo de Quirós served as a bridge between Zuloaga's studio and Argentina. This artist emulated Zuloaga's style and subject matter. Ibid., 34.

⁴⁶ Carmen González Castro and Eduardo Quesada Dorador, "Gitanos en el arte español," in *Luces de Bohemia*, (Madrid, ES: Fundación MAPFRE, 2013), 43.

⁴⁷ Pablo Jiménez Burillo, "El mito de la gitana," in *Luces de Bohemia* (Madrid, ES: Fundación MAPFRE, 2013), 127.

⁴⁸ More about the *Chola* as a representative of gender and national mythologies is available in Gluzman, "La *Chola Desnuda* de Alfredo Guido (1924): Ficciones Femeninas, Ficciones Nacionales."



Figure 1. Alfredo Guido, *Chola desnuda (Nude Chola)*, 1924, oil on canvas, 162 x 205 cm. Image courtesy of Museo Castagnino+ Macro, Rosario, Argentina.

►Figure 2 [facing page, top]. Vicente Albán, *Yapanga de Quito (Mestiza of Quito)*, 1783, oil on canvas, 80 x 109 cm. Image provided by the Museo de las Américas, Madrid, Spain.

►Figure 3 [facing page, bottom]. Gregorio López Naguil, *Laca China*, 1918, oil on canvas, 118 x 151 cm. Museo de Bellas Artes de Argentina.

