26 Hugo's plays were also performed in French at the Théâtre Français in Berlin, but here too with a very short run.

27 Data drawn respectively from W. Buth, "Das Lessing Theater in Berlin unter der Direktion von Otto Brahm (1904–1912)" (PhD diss., FU Berlin, 1965), printed in Munich; G. Muhle, "Die Geschichte des Residenztheaters in Berlin von 1871–1887" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1955); C. Rhode, "Das 'Berliner Theater' von 1888–1899" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1966); J. Wilcke, "Das Lessing Theater in Berlin unter Oscar Blumenthal" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1958); H. Windelboth, "Das Central-Theater in Berlin 1880–1908" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1956); E. Wischer, "Das Wallner-Theater im Berlin" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1967); *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien; Budapest székesf˝ováros statisztikai évkönyve = Statistisches Jahrbuch der Haupt-und Residenzstadt Budapest* (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vallalat, 1894–1898).

28 Anker Øyvind, *Christiania Theater Repertoire 1827–1899* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1956); S. Reznikow, *Francophilie et identité tchèque (1848–1914)* (Paris: Champion, 2002), 612–3, 621–2.

29 These figures are taken from studies made of the years 1890–92, 1900–02, 1910–12, 1920–22, and 1930–32 by J.P. Wearing: *The London Stage 1890–1899, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976); *The London Stage 1900–1909, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981); *The London Stage 1910–19, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982); *The London Stage 1920–29, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 3 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984); *The London Stage 1930–39, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1990).

30 Hamilton Mason, *French Theatre in New York, a List of Plays 1899–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

31 See B. Michel, *Prague belle époque* (Paris: Aubier, 2008), 93–94, 116–17.

32 Philipp Ther's study of the Dresden, Prague, and Lemberg (now Lviv) theaters confirms this phenomenon, despite the appearance of national operas that were more diversified but occupied only a restricted place vis-à-vis the great classics that were constantly replayed from the end of the nineteenth century. See his *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914* (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), particularly 398–400.

33 See Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans*, 762–65.

34 For a more detailed view on opera circulations in Europe during the nineteenth century see my recent paper "La circulation des opéras en Europe au XIXe siècle," *Relations internationales*, no. 155 (December 2013): 11–31.

35 The type of interpretation so often privileged by cultural studies or historians of "mass culture."

36 W. Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

37 H.-E. Bödeker, P. Veit, and M. Werner, eds., *Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe* (Paris: Editions de la MSH, 2002); edited by the same authors, *Les sociétés de musique en Europe, 1700–1920: Structures, pratiques musicales, sociabilités* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007); *Organisateurs et formes d'organisation du concert en Europe, 1700–1920* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008); and *Espaces et lieux de concert en Europe 1700–1920* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008).

7

MAPPING CULTURAL EXCHANGE: LATIN AMERICAN ARTISTS IN PARIS BETWEEN THE WARS

Michele Greet

With the increased focus on multiculturalism and globalism in academia, writing national histories has begun to take a back seat to projects that look at connections and circulations among cultures. But existing secondary sources are, for the most part, written from a more circumscribed perspective. As I began research on my current project on Latin American artists in Paris between the wars, I read monograph after monograph on individual artists as well as various national histories. All these sources mentioned artists' important sojourns abroad, but rarely made significant connections with other artists' activities—except to mention that he or she had met Picasso or Matisse or shared a drink with Modigliani—or with the dynamic experience of living in an international city full of immigrants. Nor was their work situated amidst current aesthetic debates taking place in Paris. Sources that focus on Paris frequently describe the scene in a hierarchical manner, giving greater importance to French nationals and long-time residents than to the experience of transient artists or students. And most sources on Paris between the wars simply ignore Latin American artists altogether, instead highlighting Jewish artists of the School of Paris as the sole group of foreigners who made an impact on the Parisian art world. I am not at all suggesting that this group was not important, but rather that it is the only example of an integrative history of foreigners in Paris that has achieved any degree of recognition and scholarly analysis. A new type of art history, which foregrounds circulations of people and ideas to complicate traditional modernist narratives, is necessary to shed new light on the period.

Based on the experience of researching and writing a book on Latin American artists in Paris between the world wars, and creating an online

database and interactive maps to accompany the manuscript, this analysis will reflect on how established methodologies can be augmented by new techniques in the digital humanities as a means to better understand these circulations and exchanges. Traditionally, concrete archival studies deal with the specific and the local, whereas analyses of global interchange remain theoretical and speculative. Mapping provides visual evidence of the transnational circulation of people and ideas, thereby raising isolated narratives to the level of recurrent phenomena. While mapping and collecting large data sets is nothing new, creating digital maps and searchable databases allows for the manipulation of data in non-static ways, with the hope that future studies can incorporate, augment or interpret the data for different ends. My discussion will contemplate the advantages and challenges of weaving between narrative and digital formats and how the integrative use of these methodologies allows for a more comprehensive understanding of transnational exchange. By examining the formation of conflicting cultural identities and their function and interpretation in Paris between the wars, my project attempts to correct the Eurocentrism of current scholarship on the Parisian art scene and illuminate an historical precedent to the current globalized art world.

Most research projects begin with an assessment of the secondary source material on a selected topic, the formulation of a significant unanswered research question, the location of pertinent archival collections, and finally digging through the documents. This formula works well when the topic is an individual artist, institution, or a national or regional history. But what happens when the research topic is one of transnational or global reach? When the archives and documents are scattered throughout the world and written in multiple languages? One strategy that has emerged, particularly in Cultural Studies, is the creation of new theories to understand broad-reaching phenomena. When done well, and based on sufficient core knowledge of the regions under consideration, these studies can facilitate new and innovative ways of interpreting cultural contact. Post-colonial and globalization theories are recent examples that have been particularly innovative in this regard. By addressing the impact of uneven power relations, political inequalities, and social and economic tensions, these studies ask a different set of questions than those which analyze a limited geographic region. The theories and methodologies developed in these emerging disciplines can also illuminate the relationship between cultural contact and artistic production. But, as sometimes happens, these broad-reaching theories mask an underlying lack of archival or on-the-ground research about specific regions, and broad generalizations smooth over local distinctions. Moreover, canonical figures and traditional artistic centers still often provide an archetypal model for evaluating lesser-known artists and non-European or North American geographies. The challenge for scholars is to reconcile archival techniques

with new theoretical approaches. Digital and spatial tools can provide a means to visualize and synthesize large datasets and to analyze them with the necessary level of detail.

My study of Latin American artists in Paris draws on these recent studies in the humanities that focus on cultural contact, colonialism, transnationalism, globalization, and ethnic diasporas to understand how these artists created new visual languages to articulate or contest notions of nationalism, universality, authenticity, and hybridity based on their experiences abroad. The desire to formulate and embrace a particular identity often developed in response to Parisians' stereotyped perceptions of Latin America. In my research, I look closely at how artists deployed style or subject matter as a strategic presentation of identity to serve their individual or collective needs. Mapping and the creation of a digital database allowed me to evaluate these artists' movements and contacts visually and quantitatively, providing a concrete framework for a more theoretical assessment of these circulations.

Whereas Latin American artists had been traveling to Paris to study and exhibit since the nineteenth century, the sheer numbers of artists who arrived after World War I, coupled with the increased allocation of government grants (from Latin American nations), distinguish the influx of artists between the wars from previous migrations. Nineteenth-century migrations were primarily an upper-class phenomenon. After World War I, however, transatlantic liners became more affordable and living in Paris was relatively inexpensive because of the economic impact of war, making travel to Paris much more feasible for students and lower- and middle-class artists. The presence of more than three hundred Latin American artists living and working in Paris between 1918 and 1939, staying anywhere from several months to several decades, demonstrates a critical mass that rivaled or even surpassed other groups of foreigners such as Scandinavian, Japanese, German, or Russian Jewish artists associated with the School of Paris.

I chose to examine Latin American artists as a group in addition to tracing national alliances because I believe that it was the experience of Paris that allowed for a broader notion of "Latin American art" to take shape. While the idea of "Latin America" as a geopolitical construct existed since the days of Simon Bolívar (1783–1830), art academies primarily emerged after independence, in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, with the formation of nation-states. Consequently their agendas were decidedly nationalist. Indeed, national governments often sponsored artists' studies abroad since a European education was still envisioned as a sign of cultural status. Ironically, it was during their time abroad that these art students came into contact with artists from other Latin American countries and began to form alliances that would complicate a purely national construction of identity. In the open academies of Montparnasse such as the Académie Colarossi,

7.1 Académie André Lhote, undated photograph. André Lhote Archives, reproduced with permission of Dominique Berman-Martin

the Académie Julian, the Académie de la Grand Chaumière, and later the Académie André Lhote (Fig 7.1) and Fernand Léger's Académie Moderne—where art students could pay a daily or monthly registration fee and draw from a live model—those who shared a common language, expatriate status, and cultural heritage as citizens of former Spanish or Portuguese colonies began to band together to increase the possibility of recognition in a highly competitive art market that was already inundated with foreigners. I also believe that the critical mass of Latin American artists working in Paris expanded the worldview of European artists and intellectuals. Without contact with these artists, for example, it seems unlikely that the surrealist poet André Breton would have organized an exhibition of surrealist art in Mexico in 1940. Hence, without the intense transnational dialogues that occurred in Paris between the wars, neither Latin American nor European modernism would have taken the forms it did.

As I plowed through sources on these artists, I created a database of information on each individual, recording their nation of origin, address in Paris, dates in Paris, schools attended, group and individual exhibitions, government grants, awards and honors, and Parisian contacts. As the database

grew to more than three hundred artists, it became clear that writing about all of them was neither useful nor interesting. The book needed a different format, based on case studies and institutional structures and affiliations to avoid becoming merely an encyclopedia. With preliminary research completed, I began applying for grants to support continued research and writing. It was the feedback from a rejected grant proposal that provided the impetus for implementing a digital and spatial component of the project. One of the commentators noted that I needed to reconcile the narrative goals of the project with the large amount of data collected. What should I do with all that data, if it were not to be incorporated into the book? I therefore decided to create a website, with the help of some very capable graduate students and George Mason's Center for History and New Media, to accompany the book.[1] The website includes a searchable database of artists and the Parisian galleries that exhibited their work, and two interactive maps. Whereas the collection of large amounts of data and mapping that data is nothing new to the art historical discipline, doing so in an interactive digital format provides a unique way of visualizing and processing this material.

Mapping the Paris Galleries

Maps produced in print are static, fixed, once drawn. But now that *googlemaps* and other similar programs have become ubiquitous, users are accustomed to zooming in, moving around, and manipulating maps to gain new perspectives. The maps on the Transatlantic Encounters website are intended to reveal patterns in artists' activities in different ways. The first map plots the addresses of Paris galleries that hosted at least one individual or group exhibition of Latin American art. Each gallery on the map links to an information page about the gallery, listing its address, ownership, dates of operation, and a sampling of additional artists exhibited at that gallery. Where possible we included installation photographs or views of the gallery. The goal with this map is to pinpoint which galleries were open to exhibiting non-European art and how these galleries integrated Latin American art into their broader agenda. This map also allows users to see how these galleries were distributed throughout the city.

For Latin American artists, for whom an art market was virtually non-existent in their home countries, the Paris art scene represented a unique opportunity. An individual exhibition at a Paris gallery was the ultimate rite of passage, evidence that their work warranted recognition. By the mid-1920s private galleries were the primary venue for the display and sale of works of art. In 1923 there were 130 dealers in the city, and by 1930 that number reached 200, with 113 of them focusing on modern art.[2] While there was a great emphasis on modernism, the styles favored by dealers, with a

few exceptions, were not generally radical and nonconformist. Nor were all Paris galleries created equal. The Seine created a great divide, with the more luxurious and established galleries on the right bank and new more modest galleries popping up every day on the left bank and into Montparnasse. While often newer and more precarious, the galleries on the left bank were also generally more open to the risk inherent in presenting experimental art. The divide between traditional and avant-garde sectors was not cut and dried, however, and some right bank galleries presented new art comparable to that of their left bank counterparts. With geospatial mapping it is possible to situate discussions of individual galleries and exhibitions within the broader context of the gallery system and layout in Paris.

The gallery map reveals that, contrary to what one might presume, Latin American artists were not relegated to the more experimental galleries on the left bank. Galleries on both the right and left bank exhibited Latin American art and many of the prominent right bank galleries on or near the famous rue de la Boétie were among them. Many artists also exhibited in and around Montparnasse, where most of the art schools and cafés were located. Thus, Latin American art does not seem to have been relegated to obscure galleries, but rather formed part of a global vision of art that was permeating the Parisian art scene.

To date, I have identified more than seventy-five galleries that held at least one exhibition that included Latin American art, counting prominent galleries such as the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, the Galerie Pierre, the Galerie Percier, and the Galerie Zak. Additionally, more than thirty artists held individual exhibitions during this period, many of whom held more than one. One of the most important and audacious galleries to support Latin American art was the Galerie Zak. According to Cuban writer and art critic Alejo Carpentier,

> the Gallery Zak is one of the most famous of the progressive art galleries of Paris. Like the shops on the rue La Boétie, it maintains rigid criteria for acceptance of a painter; those who aim to hang paintings there must undergo careful examination by a house expert who determines whether or not they are liable to let down a selective clientele.[3]

Carpentier sets up a comparison with right bank galleries, suggesting that the Galerie Zak was competitive with the high standards set by the rue de La Boétie galleries. By comparing the individual account of this gallery with other galleries that exhibited Latin American art, it is possible to make a special case for the significance of the Galerie Zak's exhibition program.

The Galerie Zak seems to have taken a keen interest in Latin American art, hosting individual exhibitions by Uruguayan Joaquin Torres García (1928), Cuban Eduardo Abela (1928), Argentinean Juan del Prete (1930), Cuban Amelia Peláez (1933), Peruvian Ricardo Grau (1935), a joint show of works by Uruguayans José Cuneo and Barnabé Michelena (1930), and in

1930 a group exhibition of Latin American art organized by Torres García, the *Première Exposition du Groupe Latino-Americain de Paris* (First Exhibition of the Latin American Group), which showcased the work of 21 artists who were experimenting with vanguard tendencies. This exhibition allowed Latin American artists to begin to conceive of themselves as a cohesive group, not to the exclusion of their national identity or European collaborations, but as an additional alliance within the international artistic community in Paris. It was the experience of living and exhibiting in Paris that facilitated this self-identification as a group, which in turn allowed for an expanded sense of kinship among Latin American artists once they returned home.

The Galerie Zak was founded by the Russian artist of Polish descent, Eugène Zak, at 16, rue de l'Abbaye in Saint Germain des Prés on the left bank probably around 1923, and featured artists such as Chagall, Derain, Dufy, Modigliani, Utrillo, and Vlaminck as well as many other artists of Polish and Jewish heritage. Kandinsky held his first one-man show in Paris there in 1929. After Zak died in 1926 his wife Jadwiga Kon took over management of the gallery and it was at this point that it began showcasing Latin American art. Her reasons for this broadening of scope are unclear; nevertheless, the gallery became an important venue for the exhibition of Latin American art in Paris. Unfortunately, gallery records were lost during World War II, when Jadwiga and her son were taken to Auschwitz where they died. Whereas the Galerie Zak's support of Jewish immigrant artists is well known, its promotion of Latin American art is not. What is interesting here is the confluence of these diverse groups in a Paris gallery. While it is impossible to determine the extent to which they interacted, mapping their presence in the same space demonstrates the potential for contact, be it personal interaction or simply the observation of each other's work. Contact with and participation in an international avant-garde community in Paris fundamentally shaped the future direction of Modern Latin American art, whether it provoked a rejection or an embrace or a selective reinterpretation of European tendencies.

Mapping Artists' Residences

On a second digital map we plotted the residential addresses of the numerous Latin American artists living in Paris. Since the city layout of Paris has not changed significantly since the 1920s and 1930s, we elected to employ contemporary maps available through *googlemaps* to allow users to zoom in on the areas where artists lived. Each artist's name is plotted on the map with a link back to an entry on the individual in the database. Names have been color coded by the artist's country of origin to provide a visual presentation of national presence as well as possible areas of transnational contact.

While there are more than three hundred artists in the database, we were only able to identify addresses for about half of those artists so far, most of which were gathered from salon and exhibition catalogues. In the period between the wars it was common practice to list an artist's studio or residential address in exhibition catalogues (often, but not always these were one and the same) so that critics or dealers could pay a visit to an artist's studio to acquire work or assess potential clients. The majority of the addresses in the database come from the catalogue for the 1924 *Exposition d'Art Américain-Latin* (Exhibition of Latin American Art) at the Musée Galliera, or those of the Independent and Autumn salons. Others were obtained from secondary source monographs. Despite the incomplete data, with addresses for more than half of the Latin American artists living in Paris, it is possible to look for patterns in residential arrangements.

Artists traveled to Paris from 17 different Latin American countries between the wars. Understandably, the highest concentration came from the largest counties in Latin America such as Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. (Many fewer came from Mexico because of the intensified artistic activity there after the Revolution). Once in Paris, these artists initially socialized, exhibited, and sometimes shared a studio with their compatriots, but soon a broader sense of a Latin American community began to take shape. In isolation, within an artist's monograph, mention of a Paris address means very little. It is difficult to know who was living nearby or which schools or galleries were in close proximity. Mapping can tell us whether a neighborhood was populated with numerous Latin American artists, or provided an escape from the melee of constant competition and comparison.

We also faced various challenges in plotting these addresses. First, artists often moved around and occupied different residences during their sojourn in Paris. When known, we listed all addresses for each artist with notations on the year, but this method creates chronological discrepancies. Second, some artists never rented an apartment at all and simply resided with friends or in residential hotels. So there are quite a few entries for the Hôtel du Maine, for example. Artists sometimes shared studio spaces, or perhaps, for the sake of an exhibition catalogue, listed a colleague's address. Ecuadorian Manuel Rendón Seminario, Brazilian Domingos Viegas Toledo Piza, and Colombian Marco Tobón Mejía all listed the same address in the Musée Galliera catalogue, for example. Interestingly, these artists never exhibited together, they painted in very different styles, and they are never mentioned in connection to one another in reviews. Was their shared address perhaps simply a financial arrangement or a matter of convenience? Mapping therefore reveals constellations of artists that may never have come forth otherwise. It also suggests that Latin American artists did not establish isolated enclaves or cultural communities based on national or regional origin. Instead, while there was certainly a high concentration of

Latin American artists living in Montparnasse, artists from all countries lived in various parts of the city.

It is also interesting that none of these artists lived in *La Ruche*. This absence suggests that despite contact with Russian Jewish artists in the galleries, residential arrangements involved different choices. One reason for the avoidance of *La Ruche* may be because of political and class differences. Whereas many of the Central and Eastern European artists who arrived in Paris in the 1910s came as refugees from devastating government pogroms, artists traveling in the twenties, including those from Japan, Scandinavia, the US, and Latin America, came by choice, establishing a distinction between those who could return and those in permanent exile, those with family and government funds and those who were forced to live in extreme poverty.

Determining an artist's national identity also presented problems in some cases. What happens when an artist becomes a naturalized French citizen or if he or she is a second-generation immigrant? What about dual citizenship or artists who reject the very notion of "national identity"? These very practical concerns raise questions about the parameters of national and Latin American identity. By assigning individuals to a category are we somehow perpetuating a system of center and periphery, cementing categories that are in fact malleable or, to quote Benedict Anderson, entirely "imagined"?

A particularly interesting case study is that of Francis Picabia. The French art critic, Raymond Cogniat, decided to claim Picabia as a Latin American artist. Although Picabia was born in France—his mother was French, and his father was a Spanish-Cuban who served as a cultural attaché for the Cuban legation in Paris—Picabia had never set foot in Cuba, and was not interested in specifically aligning himself with that heritage.[4] In 1920 Picabia wrote a satirical letter to "Madame Rachilde, writer and good patriot," published in his journal *Cannibale*:

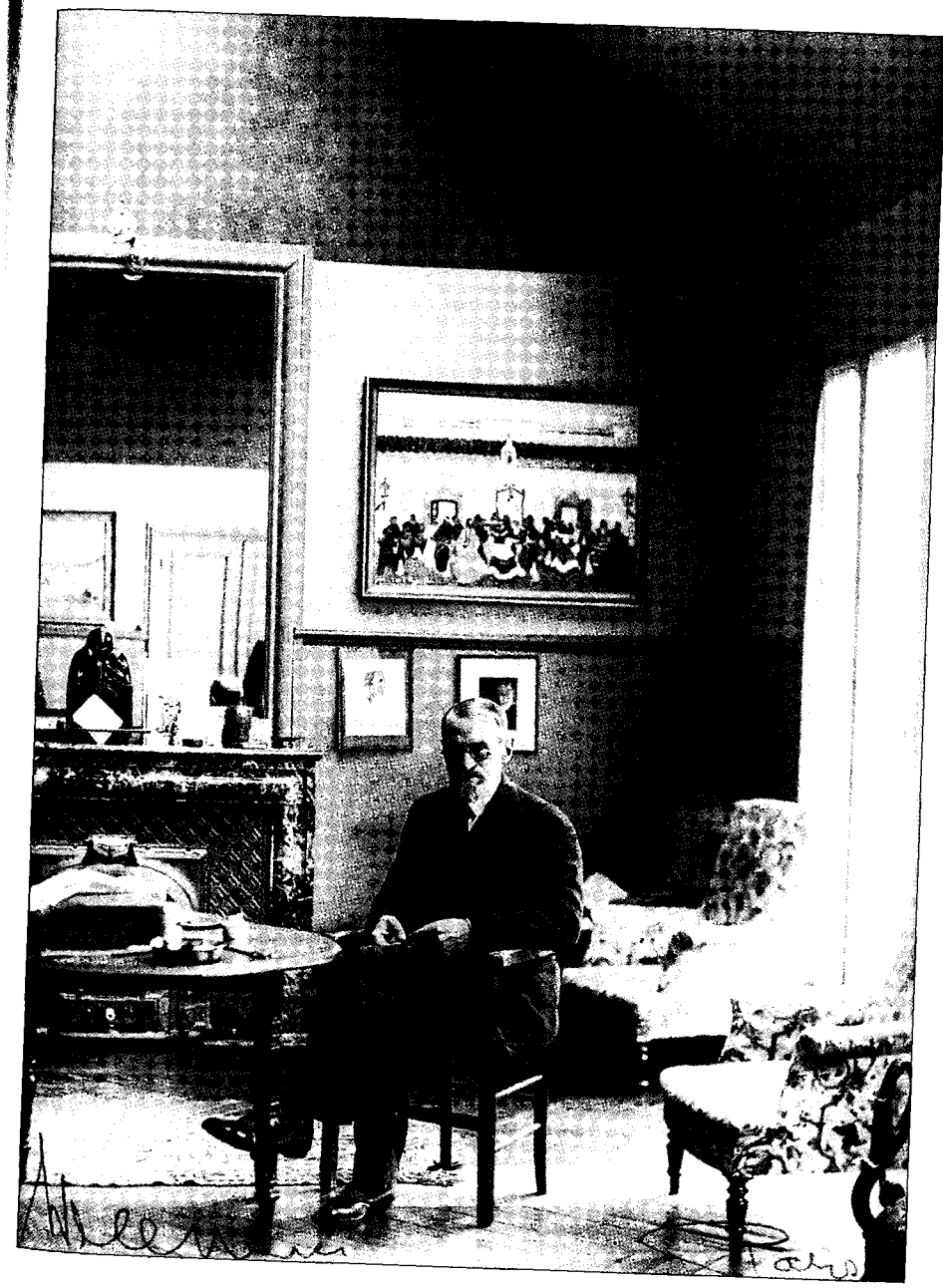
> Madame, you set out alone, with your single French nationality, I congratulate you. I am of several nationalities and Dada is like me. I was born in Paris, to a Cuban, Spanish, French, Italian, American family, and the most surprising thing is that I have a very clear sense of being all these nationalities at the same time.[5]

During his Dada period, Picabia set out to confound nationality and to undermine the xenophobic nationalism that had fueled World War I. Although Picabia abandoned his Dada stance and adopted an aesthetic of figurative pastiche in the mid-1920s, he did not suddenly seek to profess his Cuban heritage. Rather it was Cogniat who classified him in this manner, publishing two reviews of his new work in 1927 and 1928 in *La Revue de L'Amérique Latine* in which he labeled him "an American in Paris" and foregrounded his Cuban heritage.[6] Whereas by discussing Picabia in this

manner, Cogniat's reviews attempted to claim for Latin America one of the most nonconformist members of the Parisian avant-garde, his assessment of the artist was critical, suggesting that Picabia had lost his edge and that he was suffering a "crisis of originality." Cogniat even accuses him of confusing "simplicity with banality."[7] His purpose therefore seems to be to assert his authority over a formerly radical artist and, in relegating him to Latin America, undermine Picabia's project of transnationalism. But in the project of mapping whose voice to do we listen to, that of the artist or the critic? Here the close reading revealed by the narrative project complicates the more systematic exercise of mapping, and highlights some of the pitfalls of relying too much on one method or the other. Ultimately, we decided not to include Picabia in the database, but each case presents its own particular challenges.

Another concern is chronology. Unless the map could morph to reflect temporal changes in residency data, it creates a false sense of contiguity. Artists may have lived in the same area, but not at the same time. And even living in the same area, although it creates greater probability of contact, does not guarantee acquaintance. Indeed, how many of us do not know our neighbors two doors down? While mapping does not provide definitive proof of contact or interaction, it does enable a visual assessment of population density and distribution, and residential proximity. Although imperfect, it also facilitates an evaluation of whether artists lived closer to art schools or galleries, near their compatriots, or widely dispersed. By determining the economic status of the neighborhood in which they lived, these maps also provide clues as to artists' class backgrounds. Residency patterns along gender or age lines can also be determined.

By plotting residency data, it becomes eminently clear that not all Latin American artists had similar experiences in Paris. Although Montparnasse was a proving ground for many young artists, especially those who wished to attend art school, not all foreign artists opted to live there. Perhaps because he was older and had his family in tow, Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García only lived briefly in Montparnasse in 1926, but soon left the Montparnasse area to rent an apartment on the northern outskirts of Paris at 3, rue Marcel Sembat. He transformed the garage into a studio and lived there with his family for six years.[8] Despite his distance from the cultural heart of Paris, he managed to position himself as a major organizer among international artists in Paris. Others with more lucrative means also opted not to reside in Montparnasse. Tarsila do Amaral's studio on Hégésippe Moreau near Montmartre became a gathering place for artists and intellectuals,[9] and Uruguayan artist Pedro Figari had a luxurious apartment in front of the Jardin de Luxembourg (Fig 7.2), with a light-filled studio overlooking the Pantheon.[10] Mature artists or those with means tended to live in other areas of the city, whereas art students who had recently arrived valued the



7.2 Pedro Figari (Uruguay) in his studio at 13, rue du Panthéon, undated photograph. Reproduced with permission of Fernando Saavedra

edginess of Montparnasse. As Cuban artist and writer Armando Maribona observed: "An abundance of Latin Americans in Paris kept increasing their colonies of twenty flags. They formed two distinct sectors divided by the Seine: the rich, on the right bank, and the students and the studious on the left."[11] Mapping allows the specific circumstances that Latin American artists confronted, including the prejudices faced in locating housing and studio space, and economic hardships in day-to-day living, to be situated against that of other artists and intellectuals both French and foreign. Since conditions of production and availability of resources had a great impact on an artist's ability to contribute meaningfully to the Parisian art scene, locating these artists in a broader social and spatial context is essential to understanding the challenges they faced.

Overlaying coordinates for the addresses of other prominent French and foreign artists residing in Paris between the wars would allow for a much greater vision of possible points of convergence. The challenge, however, is where to draw the parameters. Do we include critics, dealers, or artists working in other mediums? If, for example, we were to overlay data on prominent members of the School of Paris, we would be able to expand our understanding of the transnational context of Paris beyond the scope of interactions between artists from Latin American countries to include contact across continental boundaries. My hope is that other scholars will be able to employ the digital framework we set up to create and link maps and/or databases of Eastern or Central European, African, US American, or Asian artists in Paris during this (or other) periods, to create a geographically and chronologically more layered database and, consequently, a much more comprehensive vision of artistic interchange. Since the website was created using free open source software (Omeka) and digital mapping tools (*googlemaps*), anyone with Internet access could create their own parallel sites. Not only could other scholars search and utilize the extant data for different ends, they could also augment other cities as points of convergence and eventually establish a world map of artistic networks. Individual case studies would become much richer within this broader vision of global artistic exchange.

Creating these maps and databases greatly impacted the narrative goals of the project. In addition to illuminating the geospatial context for these artists' time in Paris, these maps raise personal stories to the level of sustained phenomena. Recounting in a narrative fashion the events of an artist's sojourn in Paris by itself remains on the level of anecdote, an isolated instance. Compared to other stories these narratives reveal generalizations or tendencies, but situating a sampling of accounts within the framework of a broad range of data provides the evidence of sustained and measurable participation in the Paris art scene necessary to postulate a theory of contact and to proclaim trends across a particular group.

Conclusion

Demographics and mapped evidence of physical presence can start to challenge the canonical stories of art history. This data can illuminate new and different trajectories as well as question the assumed cultural makeup of traditional urban "centers." Mapping is not an end it itself, but rather a tool to navigate between the specific and the broad, the local and the global. When used in conjunction with narrative methods such as formal analysis, social history, and mining of archival sources, it provides a link between the specificity of archival research and personal anecdote, and overarching theories about contact and cultural exchange. Mary Louise Pratt's theory of contact zones, which she defines as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today,"[12] could provide a theoretical framework for a critical analysis of these circulations of people and ideas, for example. But if we simply superimpose the notion of contact onto Paris, the result will be a very generic understanding of what actually happened there. Key players retain their prominence and their influence spreads outward to transient residents of the city. The use of digital spatial tools to synthesize large datasets combined with narrative accounts provide nuance. Both patterns and anomalies can be identified, revealing just how "asymmetrical relations of power" were at play. The theory gains validity as it becomes grounded in specifics.

Maps can also be read as visual objects. Whereas formal analysis foregrounds the aesthetic properties of an image created by an individual, maps, too, employ color, line, and composition to convey meaning. They provide the spatial interpretation of data, allowing the user to make visual rather than textual connections. The digital map adds a temporal and spatial dimension as the user navigates its surface and zooms in on specific locations. The broad view allows quantitative and geographic comparisons, whereas the street view lets the viewer virtually walk the path of the artist from studio to art academy or from art gallery to home. A sense of neighborhood and proximity allows scholars new ways of conceptualizing transcultural interactions. And just like a map, a narrative account can "zoom in" to position the formal analysis of individual works within a broader discussion of place, context, and cultural exchange.

Thus, while there are certainly challenges involved, digital databases and mapping can provide a link between traditional narrative approaches to art history and more theoretical models by making concrete and visible large datasets. They provide tangible evidence for broad claims and help prevent overarching generalizations by revealing unexpected patterns of contact and demographic distribution. I envision these tools as complements

not replacements for narrative approaches. There is nothing more satisfying than engaging in a close formal analysis of a painting or finding an obscure document in an artist's archive. These practices are still the core of art historical research, but need to be situated within a broader comparative framework. Networks, constellations, encounters, circulations: these concepts express the new multicultural and global direction of art history that can be more fully elaborated with digital tools.

Coda

While I had originally conceived of this project as a means of disseminating data gathered by an individual scholar to a broad public, several interesting developments occurred while building the website. First, this project provided an opportunity for collaborative work with graduate students, something that is frequently uncommon or difficult to facilitate in the humanities. Second, after the site was launched, as scholars searched the Internet for topics related to their own research, they started to come across the "Transatlantic Encounters" site. Among those who have contacted me are a French researcher working on a catalogue for the 1925 Decorative Arts exposition, a Montreal-based collector of Cuban art, the daughter of a Chilean journalist, family members of two Colombian artists, and art historians from the Netherlands, Uruguay, and Argentina, and the inquiries keep coming. All these contacts provided additional details to add to the site as well as, in some cases, photographs of artists or artwork. The process has become a global collaboration in a way I never thought possible and has facilitated contacts between international scholars in an unprecedented way. I believe that projects such as this one may provide a path toward a truly global approach to art history.

Notes

1 I would like to thank my graduate students Adriana Ospina, Beth Shook, Melissa Derecola, and Suzanne Gilbert for their help with research and the technical implementation of the website: see http://chnm.gmu.edu/transatlanticencounters/.

2 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Géopolitique des avant-gardes: Une histoire transnationale, 1848–1968*, Folio Histoire (Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming), 138.

3 Alejo Carpentier, "Abela en la Galería Zak," *Social* 14, no. 1 (January 1929), repr. in Alejo Carpentier, *Crónicas*, Arte y Sociedad (La Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1975), 112.

4 It is possible that he traveled there from New York briefly during World War I, but travel to the Caribbean does not seem to have had any impact on his work.

5 "Madame, Vous vous présentez seule, avec votre seule nationalité française, je vous en félicite. Je suis, moi, de plusieurs nationalités et Dada est comme moi. Je suis né à Paris, d'une famille cubaine, espagnole, française, italienne, américaine, et le plus étonnant, c'est que j'ai l'impression très nette d'être de toutes ces nationalités à la fois." Francis Picabia, "A Madame Rachilde, femme de lettres et bonne patriote," in *Cannibale* (Paris: Au Sans Pareil), 25 April 1920.

6 Raymond Cogniat, "Les Américains à Paris: Les Arts: Ou Picabia fait de la peinture et de la politique," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine*, Supplément Illustré (1 March 1927): xxxv–xxxvi. Raymond Cogniat, "La vie artistique: Exposition Picabia," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine* 15, no. 73 (1 January 1928): 74–75.

7 "crise d'originalité" and "confond simplicité avec banalité." Cogniat, "La vie artistique," 75.

8 Pedro da Cruz, *Torres García and Cercle et Carré: The Creation of Constructive Universalism, Paris 1927–1932* (Lund: Hansson & Kotte, 1994), 35.

9 Aracy A. Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua obra e seu tempo* (São Paulo: Editora 34: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2003), 103.

10 Julio María Sanguinetti, *El Doctor Figari*, Biografías Aguilar (Montevideo: Fundación Bank Boston, 2002), 238. See also "L'atelier de Pedro Figari," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine*, Supplément Illustré (1 April 1927): liv.

11 "La afluencia de latinoamericanos a París iba aumentando sus colonias de 20 banderas: Formaban dos sectores aparte, divididos por el Sena: los ricos, en la ribera derecha, y los estudiantes y los estudiosos, en la izquierda." Armando Maribona, *El Arte y el amor en Montparnasse: Documental novelado, Paris, 1923–1930* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1950), 237.

12 Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* 91 (1991): 33–40.