Mapping Brazilian art in public collections across the UK

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Abstract

Title: Mapping Brazilian art across public collections in the UK

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This thesis analyses acquisitions of art from Brazil by public museums in the UK. The aim is to understand the motivations behind museums' decisions to permanently invest in artworks from that country and to reflect on museums' agency in producing knowledge and defining art canons and art historical narratives through the objects they collect. Both acquisitions and museums' agency are analysed through the lenses of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Decolonial Theory, paying attention to the actors and networks that contribute to both collecting practices and canon formation.

This research was based on three premises: that museums are colonial institutions, that the objects in their holdings are the material culture used for art historical research, and that their collecting activity contributes, therefore, to the production of knowledge. To undertake this analysis, I carried out a comprehensive survey to map art from Brazil in the UK, contacting over 500 public institutions to ask whether they held any artwork from that country. The results of this quantitative data collection led me to choose two case studies to investigate closely, namely ESCALA – Essex Collection of Art from Latin America, and Tate.

Covid Impact Statement

The impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on this research include limitations to data collection, which necessitated a re-scope of the project, and a lack of access to hard copies of secondary sources due to library closures, during which I was able to consult only those that were available digitally.

Fieldwork impact

I had planned to undertake most of my fieldwork in 2020, the second year of my PhD, which coincided with multiple lockdowns imposed in the UK and worldwide. The data I was required to collect for completing this thesis were found mostly in museums and public institutions' archives. Lockdowns resulted in these organisations being closed and their staff furloughed throughout 2020, causing delays in gathering the information required for analysis. More specifically, my plan was to conduct research between March and June 2020 at Tate Archives, in London, as this institution is a key case study in my thesis. Tate has strict protocols for accessing files and limited capacity to accommodate researchers, justifying the decision to spend a longer period of time for consulting their material. Moreover, my initial plan included visiting archives of other museums across the UK that held art from Brazil, following the results of a survey carried out in 2019 that identified public collections in Britain holding such objects. The objective of visiting such collections was to further my understanding of the practice of collecting art from Brazil in the UK. Given uncertainties concerning the duration of the pandemic and imposed lockdowns, I was unable to follow this plan.

Contingency plan

My supervisory team and I therefore agreed upon a contingency plan to ensure the continuation and completion of the research within the time scale, and this necessitated re-scoping the objectives of this thesis. Instead of focusing on multiple collections, I opted for analysing what motivated two institutions, namely ESCALA and Tate, to decide to acquire art from Brazil. The choice of case studies was based on the fact that each of these collections have played a fundamental role in collecting art from Brazil in the UK. A close analysis of their acquisition practice would therefore contribute to achieving the aims of this thesis. This course of action also involved rethinking the thesis work plan. During lockdown, I focused on drafting the Chapters for which I had already collected material, namely those on The Survey of Brazilian Art in the UK, and the ESCALA case study. During brief periods in 2020 when lockdowns were temporarily lifted, I contacted Tate Archives to request access to materials. Due to the economic impact of the pandemic on Tate, however, staffing of the archive remained restricted and access to material

was restricted to the provision of digital files on request via email. Because in situ consultation of archival files was not supported at this time, the material received was limited to the archivist's understanding of what I wished to consult. Moreover, due to staff shortages, researchers were permitted to request a limited number of files. To continue my research during lockdown, I brought forward interviews with key actors who had previously worked or were still affiliated to the institutions analysed at case study level. The interviews were originally planned to be conducted after data collection, to ensure that these conversations would occur after I had gained a more in-depth understanding of the subject. Since interviewees were also impacted by the pandemic, it was not possible to conduct all interviews during lockdown periods.

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List of abbreviations

ANT – Actor-Network Theory
BSP – Bienal de São Paulo (São Paulo Biennial)
ESCALA – Essex Collection of Art from Latin America
FCO – Foreign and Commonwealth Office
HO – Hélio Oiticica
ICA – Institute of Contemporary Arts
LAAC – Latin American Acquisitions Committee
MAC – Museo de Arte Contemporanea, Buenos Aires
MAC-SP – Museu de Arte Contemporânea, São Paulo
MAM-RJ – Museu de Arte Moderna, Rio de Janeiro
MAM-SP – Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo
MASP – Museu de Arte de São Paulo
MFAH – Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
MoMA – Museum of Modern Art, New York
NAAC - North American Acquisitions Committee
RA – Royal Academy of Arts
SDCELAR – Santo Domingo Centre of Excellence for Latin American Research/The British Museum
TAF – Tate Americas Foundation
UECLAA – University of Essex Collection of Latin American Art
UGC – University Grants Committee

Introduction

Autumn 2016

Walking through Tate Modern's permanent collection galleries in autumn 2016, I noticed works by Brazilian artists that I had never before seen on display in this museum. One of these was Cildo Meireles' *Babel* (2001), a massive tower made of hundreds analogue radios tuned to different stations emitting undistinguishable sounds and music at a low volume (Figure 0.1). This work's impressive physical presence was impossible to ignore. *Babel* was also then featured on promotional banners outside the gallery (Figure 0.2). I learned later that this installation also illustrated the cover of *Tate Modern: The Handbook*, a revised edition of the catalogue published to coincide with the opening of the Switch House building in 2016.[1]

0.1 – Babel *(2011), Cildo Meireles, installation with radios, lighting and sound ©Cildo Meireles/Tate. Photo: Eloisa Rodrigues*

0.2 – Promotional banner featuring Cildo Meireles' Babel *outside Tate Modern in October 2016. Photo: Eloisa Rodrigues*

[1] My observation referred to the re-hang of Tate's collection in light of the opening of 'The New Tate Modern'. More details at https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/new-tate-modern-opens (last access: 4 September 2022).

As a Brazilian art historian and museologist, the presence of this Brazilian work in London captured my attention. It triggered a curiosity to understand why *Babel,* and other objects from Brazil, were acquired by that institution and why they were now given a more prominent space at Tate Modern. I left that visit wondering how many other artworks by artists from Brazil might be held in Tate's storage, and extending the same question to other public museums in the UK. Given that museums are key actors in the production of art historical narratives, my interest lay in understanding the motivations and reasons why museums in the UK would collect these artworks.

The observations and questions that surfaced after visiting Tate Modern evolved into this research project, which aims to analyse the collecting practices of public institutions in the UK that have acquired art from Brazil by answering the following research questions:

1) Why do public museums and galleries in the UK collect Brazilian art?
2) Which institutions in the UK are collecting Brazilian art, by which artists and how?
3) Who are the main actors and networks involved in acquisitions of Brazilian art by public museums in the UK?
4) Who and what influences the decision-making process to acquire Brazilian art in public collections in the UK?
5) Have acquisitions of Brazilian art by public museums in the UK contributed to a shift and/or expansion of the art historical narrative and art canon of art from Brazil?

In focusing on museum acquisitions, this thesis emphasises the distinction between temporary reception (exhibitions) and permanent acquisitions (Caragol, Whitelegg, 2009) and addresses the implications of the latter in relation to the role that public collections play in producing knowledge and defining art canons. Whereas the temporary visibility of exhibitions allows for the reception of artworks to be analysed at specific moments in time, a focus on acquisitions impacts understanding of the broader factors that influence a public institution's decision to permanently invest in those objects.

This study is based on the premise that museums are responsible for defining the art canon and, consequently, for writing an art historical narrative through the objects that they decide to collect (Brzyski, 2007, Knell, 2019; Langfeld, 2018; Locher, 2012; Reinaldim, 2021). Thus, my premise is that the act of collecting can both grant such artworks and artists a place in an expanded historical canon and endow them with a capacity to represent – in this case – Brazilian art in perpetuity. Inversely, this

analysis also leads to reflections on how objects that are *not* collected by museums result in a restricted art historical narrative.

My objective is to understand museums' collecting practices through the specific lens of their engagements with Brazilian art. A unique focus on Brazil contributes to challenging the discriminatory processes inherent to canon formation. Additionally, this research contributes knowledge and understanding of Brazil's art history as a specific and complex field by providing both a valuable resource for interpretation and engagement and a model of analysis applicable to holdings of objects from other countries.

To undertake the proposed analysis, it was necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the practice of collecting Brazilian art in the UK. Using a quantitative research methodology, I carried out one of the original contributions of this project, namely the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK. A thorough method of data collection allowed me to map this collecting activity and create a database that signalled and revealed patterns of acquisition practice. The data gathered include information about which institutions, objects, artists, acquisition methods were involved, as well the dates of both acquisition and object production. This dataset enabled me to advance my questioning and to consider interrogating the actors and events behind decisions to collect certain objects. Moreover, analysing the objects acquired in the UK through comprehensive data collection allowed me to interrogate how shifting perceptions of the place of Brazilian art in relation to an established US-Western European art canon have influenced these acquisitions.

Through this research, it became my intention to write a thesis that could be applicable to and impact the museum sector, through its methods, data collection, or the analysis presented here. This intention follows ongoing debates about the large gap between research occurring in academic museology, and the realities of those working in the museum sector (Teather, 1991; Rice, 2003; Shelton, 2013; McCarthy, 2016). As such, this thesis functions as a reminder that museums are institutions made not only of the objects they hold, but most importantly of people and networks who are responsible for creating the rules to which institutions abide. My aim is to place these factors at the forefront when analysing acquisitions of Brazilian art in the UK. To the best of my knowledge, the aims proposed above have never previously been undertaken.

Literature Review

Although broader international acquisition policies have signalled a move away from viewing art history as a geographically Eurocentric and restricted canon, the factors that influence museums' decisions to acquire artworks from specific nations remain unexamined. During this research project, I encountered a gap in knowledge produced by limited research on both the broader field of museums acquisition activities and the specific field of collecting objects from particular nations. With regard to Brazilian art specifically, art historian and curator Michael Asbury (2004, p. 32) has observed that essays published in exhibition catalogues have "come to bear much of the responsibility of developing the historical understanding on Brazilian art". The list of catalogue essays that have contributed to this process is vast, and amongst many others this would include those published in *Transcontinental: An investigation of reality: Nine Latin American artists* (Brett, 1990); *Hélio Oiticica: Body of Colour* (Ramirez, Figueiredo, 2007), *Cildo Meireles* (Brett et al, 2008), *Ernesto Neto: The Edges of the World* (Hayward Gallery, 2010), *Lygia Pape: Magnetized Space* (Serpentine Gallery, 2011), *Mira Schendel* (Barson, Palhares, 2013), *Possibilities of the object: experiments in modern and contemporary Brazilian art* (Venancio et al, 2015). The knowledge produced in these catalogues is entangled with the work developed within museums and other art organisations, reinforcing the argument that these institutions play a pivotal role in producing and disseminating knowledge and contributing to the formation of an art canon, through both permanent collections and temporary exhibitions.

Existing literature on institutional collecting practices frequently concentrates on the role of individual collectors; the history of collections, and the influence of the art market in this activity. Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna (2019), for instance, explore the integration of art markets in relation to the rise of nationalist modes of thinking. Titia Hulst (2017) has published a selection of writings that trace the development of the art market in the West. Susan Pearce (1992, 1994, 1995, 1998) has written extensively on the subject of collecting through the perspective of our relationship with the material world, or by examining the reasons why people collect objects from a psychological and social perspective. Also paying attention to psychological and historical aspects of collecting is the work of John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (1994), who edited a volume that includes essays about the fascination of the West with the 'other'. Encounters between the 'East' and the 'West' in collections have also been analysed by Susan Bracken et al (2013). Jeremy Braddock (2011) and Krzystof Pomian (1990) have published studies focusing on collectors, and Graeme Were and Jonathan C H King (2012) have examined the process of collecting difficult objects, such material culture related to war, genocide,

human remains, mass produced objects and illicitly traded antiquities. Phyllis Messenger (1989) has also edited volumes that investigate ethical and legal issues of collecting and owning cultural artefacts.

Closer to the aims of this thesis, the work of Simon Knell (2004, 2019) has examined different aspects related to institutional collecting, such as omission, professional ethics and collecting policies. Bruce Altshuler (2005), on the other hand, has published what seems to be the first study approaching the challenges of museums' acquisitions of contemporary art. Despite the large breadth and depth of the aforementioned studies, their main scope does not examine issues concerning the reasons behind the motivations that lead museums to acquire objects from specific nations, although not completely neglected, particularly, Knell's (2019a) analysis of Western art canon has posed questions about museums' agency in canonical formation and the historical discriminatory nature of this practice.

The very few existing studies focusing on museum acquisition practices in the UK refer to general surveys and reports commissioned by organisations such as the Art Fund, a UK national fundraising charity for art. In 2017, this charity commissioned a quantitative survey to gather information about the current state of collecting and deaccessioning practices in the UK[2]. The report revealed that in the last fifteen years the number of objects being acquired by museums was broadly stable, observing, however, a drop in acquisitions in 2017. It also mentioned that "[a]cross all types of organisations, gifts and purchases were the most common methods used to add to the collection" (Art Fund, 2018, p. 86) – a pattern that is also observed in the collecting practice of Brazilian art in the UK, as I will show in Chapter 3. This survey also revealed that about 83% of accredited museums have a written collection development policy, which reveals these institutions' preoccupation in creating strategies when adding to their holdings.

Although the Art Fund survey included questions that aimed to capture the institutional motivations behind acquisitions, this query was designed in the format of a structured questionnaire in which participants would rate the importance of a series of listed factors, ranging from "the scientific/artistic/historic value of the collection" to "to create commercial opportunities" (Art Fund, 2018, p. 91). The results of this question revealed that 77% of the institutions considered the "scientific/artistic/historic value of the collection" to be very important when deciding to acquire an

[2] This survey received 266 replies from an open call, and it was aimed to build on the results from two previous surveys, also commissioned by the Art Fund: The Collecting Challenge (2006) and Gathering Challenges (2010). The 2017 survey's findings are published in Art Fund; Cannadine, D. (2018) *Why collect? A report on museum collecting today*. Available at https://www.artfund.org/blog/2018/02/15/why-collect-report.

object; whereas 75% considered that creating commercial opportunities is 'very' or 'somewhat' unimportant. Interestingly, 59% of respondents also considered the fact that the new acquisition will "create a distinct identity for the institution which establishes it as a special place" and "to fill a specific 'gap' in the collection" very important (Art Fund, 2018, pp. 90-91). These answers reveal museum professionals' concerns with having a collecting strategy that will ensure that new acquisitions form part of a coherent collection. Nonetheless, the results of this study remain generic because the survey did not permit analysis of specific strategies. It neither accounts for the existence of networks nor for the agency of specific actors in making acquisition decisions. As I will argue in this thesis, both factors are fundamental to understanding acquisition practices.

Stephen Deuchar, then Director of Art Fund, and Paul Ramsbottom, Chief Executive of the Wolfson Foundation, observed that questioning the purposes of why museums collect was once an unnecessary enquiry, as 'importance' was an acceptable criterion. Today, however, institutions cannot remain complacent due to the "views about the place of material culture in the global environment change and develop, and the definition of public benefit is itself contested" (Deuchar, Ramsbottom, 2018, p. 5). This observation was published in another report commissioned by the Art Fund with a similar aim of analysing the state of museum's collecting practices in the UK. Asking the question 'Why Collect?', although focusing on the activities of the Art Fund, this report focused mostly on the provision of funding to museums, rather than analysing the external factors and actors that influence an acquisition. 'Why Collect?' draws attention to "the ever-widening gap between the spiralling prices of works on the international art market on the one hand, and the limited resources for purchasing and acquisition possessed by, or available to, museums and galleries in the United Kingdom on the other" (Cannadine, 2018, p. 41). The surveys mentioned above provide noteworthy data on museums' collecting practices in the UK, although this data is, again, non-specific and refers to a broader analysis of the subject[3]. While the funding available is indeed an important factor in the decision-making process when acquiring objects, I am more interested in analysing the other relationships, and non-monetary motivations, that lead to acquisitions.

[3] This report presents individual purchase case-study, but on one artwork acquired using funding from the Art Fund.

Thesis structure

The thesis' structure reflects the idea of creating a model for analysing museums' acquisitions and how this activity impacts knowledge production. For this reason, following this introduction, Chapter 1 presents the thesis' research design and methodological framework. Drawing on Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Callon, Latour, 1981; Latour 2005, Law 1992) and Decolonial Theory (Quijano, 1992, 2007; Mignolo, 2000, 2007, 2013, 2018; Sousa Santos, 2016, 2006; Cusicanqui, 1991), the methodology was developed to serve as a model of analysis that can be applied to the study of museums' acquisitions more broadly. Whereas ANT provides a theoretical tool that supports the analysis of both institutions as macro-actors and the networks involved in acquisitions, decolonial theory's aim of rethinking knowledge production that supports an analysis of museums' roles in writing art historical narratives through the objects they collect. This Chapter also outlines methods of data collection applied in this study, such as archive research and interviews.

The thesis is then structured in three sections that function independently and complement each other. The first section, *Entities Forming Entities*, is formed by Chapter 2, which delves into the conjunction of actors that have played a role in the internationalisation and canonisation of Brazilian art. In order to analyse how acquisitions in the UK have contributed to the establishment, reinforcement, or expansion of Brazilian art canons, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of the processes that led to that country's artistic production becoming internationally recognised. For this reason, this Chapter focuses on actors and events that led to the canonisation of Brazilian art. Presenting an overview of how art from Brazil came to be part of a broader art historical discourse is fundamental for understanding the role of institutional collecting in the process.

I shift my focus to the UK in Section 2: *Mapping Brazilian art in the UK*. Here, I present the 'Survey of Brazilian art in the UK' (Chapter 3). As mentioned earlier, this project began with the aim of investigating the breadth of Brazilian artworks found in collections in the UK, and the motivations behind this collecting activity. The survey was designed with the objective of mapping acquisitions of art from Brazil in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland (see figure 0.3). The purpose of carrying out mass data collection was to produce a database that would allow me to analyse this data quantitatively and identify patterns of collecting activity. As such, Chapter 3 outlines the survey's aims, methods, and the results of the data analysis.

This section also includes Chapter 4, which outlines the practice of collecting Latin American art in the UK. This Chapter functions as an introduction to the two case studies, ESCALA and Tate, which will be investigated in-depth in Section 3.

The final section aims to interrogate the two macro-actors that are the case studies of this thesis, namely ESCALA and Tate. Prior to collecting the survey data, I intended to conduct an analysis of the practice of collecting Brazilian art from an object-specific biographical perspective (Appadurai, 1986; Joy, 2009; Joyce and Gillespie, 2015; Kopytoff, 1986). Following both the results of the survey and the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on the development of this project, however, I shifted my approach to focus on the actors and networks involved in the acquisitions of ESCALA and Tate. Given the extensive number of objects that emerged from the survey, focusing on only a handful of objects and their associated stories would not have provided me with a comprehensive understanding of the patterns of collecting activity observed in the data analysis. Moreover, with museums and archives closed and their staff furloughed, carrying out further qualitative data collection became challenging. Focusing on two case studies instead allowed me to continue investigating museums' motivations for acquiring these artworks based on an approach that extended from a general (the survey) to a specific (the case studies) viewpoint.

ESCALA's practice of collecting Brazilian art is analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, and that of Tate in Chapters 7 and 8. ESCALA was selected because it initiated a more systematic approach to collecting Brazilian (and Latin American) art in the UK in the 1990s. The opening of Tate Modern in London in 2000, and the subsequent establishment of Tate's Latin American Art Acquisitions Committee in 2002, on the other hand, reaffirmed an interest in art from this geographical region in the UK. Prior to ESCALA and Tate, interest in Brazilian art in Britain was sparse and incidental. Nonetheless, systematic collecting practices and circumstantial interest alike relied on the activities of agents – such as curators, scholars, donors, and artists – acting in specific networks. These networks and their process of assembly are the focus of my analysis in the two case study Chapters. Finally, the conclusion to this thesis brings the analysis together with a reflection on the method applied. Based on the current data collection and overall reflections, I also present the project's limitations and subjects for future research.

0.3 – The data gathered through the Survevy of Brazilian art in the UK allowed me to create this acquisitions' map, *which highlights the locations where art from Brazil can be found.* The Big Picture *(2022), Eloisa Rodrigues, watercolour on paper.*

Chapter 1 – Methodology

This Chapter outlines the thesis' methodological approach, which draws from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Decolonial Theory. This methodology was designed to serve as a practical model that can be applied to the analysis of other studies of museums' acquisitions, regardless of object type or country of origin. The Chapter begins by explaining the rationale behind this model and the importance of reflecting on canon formation. This is followed by an outline of the theoretical frameworks and qualitative data collection methods used, concluding with my reflection on this project.

Deconstructing processes

I developed this methodological model based on three premises. The first refers to the agency of museums as institutions that play a crucial role in constructing the art historical narrative and in defining art canons (Brzyski, 2007a; Knell, 2019; Langfeld, 2018). As museums produce knowledge through the objects they hold, my second premise is that any new acquisition can either extend an already-established canon or produce new forms of knowledge. The third premise is that museums are Western and colonial institutions (Mignolo, 2013, 2018) and as such, they operate according to ideas that emanated from European Enlightenment and modernity and spread worldwide as a consequence of colonialism.

These premises highlight issues that have already been raised since the 1980s by social and political philosophers who criticised museums as "agents (intellectual and physical) of social control of the poor and the uneducated by the ruling classes; as devices for demarcating the possession of social capital and for manipulating modes of knowledge; (…) and as agents of colonial oppression" (Waterfield, 2015, p. 4). Following these three premises, I approach the analysis of acquisitions of Brazilian art in the UK by focusing on deconstruction. As the acts of acquiring and collecting contribute to the role museums play in producing knowledge (e.g., art history, art canon), my methodological model aims to disassemble the motives behind acquisitions (curatorial, financial, research interests, or personal relations) and to identify the actors involved in this activity.

More often than not, surveys questioning the globality of art history have concluded that the same artists or artworks from the USA-Western Europe are continuously and repeatedly featured in museums' collections, exhibitions, and publications (Elkins, 2007), resulting in a narrow and limited art

historical narrative. As Walter Mignolo has asserted, museums are "houses of knowledge" and for that reason "it is important to consider the single story of the museum as a Western construct and to note how both modernity and tradition are concepts of European narratives" (Mignolo, 2013, p. 2). Moreover, and in relation to museums' agency, Knell (2019a, p. 14) rightly contended that by "[p]roviding the material resources for the practice of art history, institutionalised collections encourage this intellectual and cultural recycling for they implicitly suggest that the only art that has existed, or that is important, is that which they possess." Accordingly, museums are both responsible for and complicit in the fragmentation of the art historical narrative through the institutionalisation of art canons based on what they decide to collect. For this reason, the process of reflecting on canon formation includes a questioning of collecting practices.

Art canons

The art canon is an entity constructed and assembled through a conjunction of factors and actors. These factors and actors define selected artworks, artists, and artistic movements as the relevant and noteworthy model to follow and appreciate. Consequently, canonised artworks and artists are those given more prominent spaces in museums and private collections, permanent displays, and temporary exhibitions, in addition to being subjects of more research.

Influenced by Marxist and feminist theories, the tendency to revise and question the Eurocentric perspective of the art canon emerged in the 1970s. More recently, these issues have received attention from queer, postcolonial and decolonial studies (Brzyski, 2007a; Langfeld, 2018; Reinaldim, 2019). Additionally, globalization and the increased circulation of ideas, peoples, and capital since the late 1980s has contributed to the inclusion of other regions into the main historical narratives. This is particularly evident in how, by collecting and displaying Latin American artworks, North American and European museums have contributed to the formation of a canon of Latin American art. As art historian and curator Mari Carmen Ramírez has observed (2002, p.19), this development is the result of the "liberalization of the markets and the increased flow of art and money across national borders [which] in the last two [four] decades have not only provided greater opportunities for artists and their production, but also have created a new array of identities for those traditionally referred to as 'collectors'". In this regard, collectors – whether private individuals or public institutions – are key actors in the assembling process of canon formation.

Singling out the actors that play a role on how the art canon is created is highly relevant because, as noted by Gregor Langfeld and Tessel M. Bauduin (2018, p. 3), studying the processes by which a canon is formed "can lead to new insights that ultimately contribute to the transformation of the canon." Paying attention to this transformation is equally important for enabling reflections on the fact that canons – although rooted in hierarchies – are not fixed and stable entities. Canons can be, as Anna Brzyski (2007a) observed, specific and local, and this is the case with the Brazilian one. Although not a fixed entity, local art canons, however, are usually referred to in conjunction with their 'modifier' (i.e., Brazilian) as a way of distinguishing them from the Western art canon through which the idea of canonisation was initiated.

The concept of the canon, therefore, is a European invention, as is the discipline of art history, and the museum as an institution. The first to be canonised, and still remaining at the top of this hierarchy, is thus European art and culture. Brzyski (2007a, pp. 5-6) has contended that "the material culture of the West, enshrined by the designation 'art', became the domain of art history, while the material culture of the rest of the world, classed under the rubric 'artifact', was relegated to the domain of ethnography and later anthropology". Important in this context is that in the development of the discipline of art history, the attribution of value to art has depended on historical framing. Art as a historic phenomenon was established by the mid-nineteenth century, becoming what Brzyski (2007b, p. 254) has observed as "a continuous and autonomous tradition defined by canonical figures and schools and connected to the changing historic circumstances through the concepts of zeitgeist and style". Historical timeframe and value are then associated in the process of canon formation performed by art history and its actors (art historians, academics, curators, museums). This association emerged from Hegel's idea that art has temporal dimension, and therefore, functions as a tradition (Brzyski, 2007). Art historical discourse will rely on this concept of tradition – related to temporal framing – for canonical formation. In other words, art history attributes value by placing someone or something within the framework of tradition, and automatically excluding those who do not conform or fit in this category. This is important because museums tend not to collect artworks falling outside this concept, which results in a vicious cycle: museums refrain from collecting objects that are not part of a tradition because they are not being included in the art historical discourse; and there is less art-historical research on non-traditional artists and objects because they tend to not receive the validation of macro-actors, such as museums.

In this regard, I argue that paying attention to canon formation and establishing methodologies to analyse how this formation occurs can contribute to revisions of this process and assist with the

expansion of both this entity (art canon) and our own understanding of it. It can also have an impact on the work developed by museums, such as when defining collecting policies.

Despite the importance of the art canon in the historical narrative and its influence on museum acquisitions, research on this field has been limited (Langfeld 2018; Locher, 2012; Reinaldim, 2021). Hubert Locher (2012) has noted that a critical assessment of the canon in art historical studies began only in the early 1990s[4], because reflecting on canon formation has not been considered a task for the historian or the discipline of art history. These actors have held responsibility for registering and interpreting facts, but not attributing value. Locher (2012, p. 30) argues that "most art historians still usually avoid addressing [art canon] issues in a critical way, implicitly suggesting that it was not for them to select and decide about the prominence to be given to an object, but rather to 'history', the 'market', or 'the public'." Contrary to this notion, I argue that the process of canon formation begins as soon as a subject or object is selected as a topic to study, irrespective of whether the art historian's original intention was to define or create the hierarchies to the objects being studied, collected, or displayed. Ultimately, the act of choice is already one that constitutes attribution of value. The same logic applies when museums decide to acquire certain objects. The attribution of value occurs on two fronts: the symbolic sacralisation of the object as the 'chosen one' that will be permanently rest in the institution, and the commodity value of the transaction (Appadurai, 1986).

The avoidance of dealing critically with the concept of the art canon pointed out by Locher (2012) can be associated with the fact that understanding canon formation "requires questioning the mechanisms that lead to the sacralisation and fetishisation of art and conceal the socio-historical conditions under which art arises and is canonised," as argued by Langfeld (2018, p.5). It is such questioning that this thesis aims to enact by asking what factors and which actors influence an institution's decision to acquiring certain objects to the detriment of others. It is a challenging task because to achieve it, it is necessary to establish methodologies that question the structure of the art system and the practices that professionals undertake in museums. Despite the criticism museums have been subject to since the 1970s, this sector's resistance to change is a symptom of the distance between debates occurring in academia and the realities of practitioners (Teather, 1991; Rice, 2003; Shelton, 2013; McCarthy, 2016; Janes, Sandel, 2019). Anthony Shelton, for instance, has argued for the importance of theorising museum practices in order to reflect in its practitioners' daily activities, adding that "only through

[4] On this subject, see Locher (2012), p. 29.

rigorous deconstruction and reflexivity of that work can we develop fresh insights and innovations necessary to ensure the future development of museums" (2013, p. 14). However, professionals working in the sector are also constantly facing challenges that range from a decline in public investment in the arts, to reductions of both budget and personnel.

Despite the reflection and questioning introduced to the field since the 1970s, the Western art canon is still the main focus of scholars, curators, and institutions (Brzyski, 2007a; Elkins, 2017). Museum activities, such as temporary exhibitions and collecting practices, play a fundamental role in the formation of the art canon, given that museums rely on canonical standards to attract economic and cultural interest to their organisations. Brzyski (2007a, p. 2) observes that even though museums also invest "in noncanonical projects, they provide us with a steady diet of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist shows because they know what will garner most attention and, in the end, attract the largest crowds". Following this logic, institutions in the West tend to seek a more digestible alternative canon, that is, canons that introduce new flavours without shocking one's palate.

As such, I argue that investigating how museums operate in the global art system and challenging their status as 'houses of knowledge' (Mignolo, 2013) can broaden art historical practices and narratives. More specifically, this analysis must consider the work of agents and networks, established at local and global levels, that contribute to collecting practice. The result is a model of analysis that reveals the reasons why museums decide to acquire certain objects. Singling out these operations, actors and networks and mapping collecting activities can identify the limitations of networks. In order to achieve this, I approach deconstruction and mass data collection from a general (survey) and specific (case studies) perspective, by mapping Brazilian art acquired by public institutions in the UK to identify broader patterns of collecting practices.[5]

Although the survey's results were the starting point of this study, as I will show in Chapter 3, the artworks that emerged from the data collected are not this thesis' main object of analysis. The artworks are considered one of the actors of an assembling process – that of collecting – and not only the result of this act. This methodological model breaks down the networks of this act of assembly, identifying

[5] This project was also inspired by the Black Artists and Modernism (BAM), a three-year research project that analysed how artists of African and Asian descent in Britain are featured in the history of twentieth century art. More details at https://www.arts.ac.uk/research/current-research-and-projects/art-and-design-history-and-theory/black-artists-and-modernism-bam#:~:text=An%20online%20multi%2Dmedia%20website,well%20as%20historically%20important%20exhibitions (Last access: 30 May 2022).

actors, and understanding the process of association enacted by the actors involved in it. Therefore, objects are considered actors of this process, together with institutions, curators, artists, dealers, scholars, and others.

To conduct this analysis, I drew on two main bodies of theory: Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Decolonial Theory. Given that ANT aims to trace actors involved in the formation of an entity (be that 'museum', 'knowledge' or 'art canon'), therefore breaking down how these entities are created, this approach provides tools to investigate the actors and networks of collecting practices. While ANT also pays attention to the power dynamics occurring in this process, Decolonial Theory frames my analysis of the knowledge produced by museums and through canon formation due to its concern with delinking and rethinking Western knowledge. It is a pertinent theoretical framework given that the act of buying artworks is inherently linked to the capitalist system as a legacy of colonialism (Quijano, 2000) and that Brazil is a former European colony. Combining these theories to analyse evidence gathered from data collection allows for the observation of a) the complexity of networks and actors involved in acquisitions, and b) the structures of power that enable museums to contribute to the construction of knowledge.

Drawing on ANT and Decolonial Theory is also relevant given their interest in understanding and deconstructing entities. An entity can be understood as either 'the museum', 'a collection', or 'the art canon'. In the same way ANT understands that an entity is assembled through group formation where different actors operate (including humans and non-humans), Decolonial Theory is interested in dismantling the totality of knowledge as an entity, imposed by coloniality – a concept introduced by sociologist Anibal Quijano (1992, 2000, 2007). This concept is formed on the basis of the domination and exploitation of the Americas, which created a Euro-centred structure of power that persists until today. To explain the logic behind this idea of deconstructing entities, I will outline each of these theoretical approaches in the next section.

Finally, an outcome of this model of analysis is its contributions to debates about diversifying and decolonising museums and collections based on empirical and evidenced research. Employing ANT and decolonial theory, combined with methods such as mapping, large data collection, quantitative and qualitative data analysis, enabled me to identify valuable patterns of acquisition practices that are inspected at case study level.

Deconstructing entities

Actor-Network Theory emerged as a new approach to social sciences that aimed to dissect what is assembled under the umbrella of 'the social'. According to Bruno Latour (2005), ANT aims to redefine the notion of the social by returning to its original meaning, which allows for connections to be traced. This is necessary, Latour claimed (2005), because 'social' has become a word used to refer to stable entities, without considering how these entities have been assembled. In this sense, Latour (2005) argues that there are two approaches for studying entities: common sense and ANT. In this research, the common-sense approach would emphasise that museums' activities occur within the realm of social relations, but fall short of explaining how these social relations, or the power dynamics inherent to them, take place[6].

ANT, on the other hand, states that there is no such thing as 'social dimension' or 'social context'. In other words, ANT aims to understand how 'society' is constructed by tracing the elements and actors (also called actants) forming this entity. The appeal of this approach is that ANT "takes as the major puzzle to be solved what the first [the common-sense one] takes as its solution, namely the existence of specific social ties revealing the hidden presence of some specific social forces" (Latour, 2005, p.5). ANT is therefore interested in "social aggregates" and the associations that form the social phenomena. The definition of the social is a result of movements and constant reassembling, and it is understood as "a trail of *associations* between heterogeneous elements" (Latour, 2005, p.5; original emphasis)

The trail of associations mentioned by Latour occurs when groups are formed and actors act. Group formation leaves traces which can be analysed, as is the case with the survey carried out in the context of this project. Focusing on these traces, or data, allows researchers to identify how power is constructed in group formation. The survey that maps Brazilian art in the UK (Chapter 3) not only identified the key actors involved in collecting practices –i.e., the objects, artists, and institutions – but also unveiled factors that are less evident, and therefore required further investigation through qualitative research methods at case study level. Both collecting data and tracing connections are relevant, as these allow for challenging the idea that power is something inherent to actors (Latour,

[6] The common-sense approach refers to when the word 'social' is combined with other disciplines to explain a phenomenon, for instance, the 'social role of museums'. It is the so called 'social dimension' of things that uses 'the social' to "provide a certain type of explanation for what the other domains could not account for – an appeal to 'social factors' could explain the 'social aspects' of non-social phenomena" (Latour, 2005, p.3). This common-sense approach, therefore, refers to the idea that there is a 'social context' for any phenomena, and this 'social context' of a phenomenon is taken as its causality.

2005). Museums are institutions with agency, and this agency is translated into their activities – such as collecting, exhibition, research – and, thus into the knowledge produced as a consequence of this agency/power.

Data collection to identify actors and networks forming an entity becomes equally valuable because the process of actors associating with others may allow these actors to become a macro-actor (Latour, 1993). Power and agency emerge from the associations of actors into macro-actors, but this is not necessarily related to their scale. Instead, it is the transactions and translations they operate which allow macro-actors to increase power. As Latour (1993, p. 173) explained, "[a]n actor expands while it can convince others that it includes, protects, redeems, or understands them. It extends itself faster and further if it can secure actors who have already made themselves equivalent to many others." From this perspective, a museum having the funds to acquire artworks, or convincing an artist or their estate that they are an entity capable of safeguarding those objects, is the result of the associations of many actors having turned this museum into a macro-actor.

Thus, museums are macro-actors formed by different micro-actors. The decision to acquire an object occurs through heterogeneous networks formed by an array of actants (i.e., personnel, departments, audiences, objects, the art market). Breaking down how the museum becomes a macro-actor serves as a reminder that these organisations consist of people, objects, buildings, networks, rules, and policies. This is the aim of ANT research: to deconstruct how these macro-actors are formed instead of taking for granted that this is simply how they are or operate.

As observed by John Law (1992, p. 380), when taking the formation of a macro-actors for granted, "we close off most of the interesting questions about the origins of power and organisation". Instead of assuming things, Law suggests analysing the interactions that form macro-actors' power relations. This allows us to understand how micro-actors become macro-actors that generate power and agency. As such, ANT claims that tracing relations can reveal patterns to understand how entities become stable (Latour, 2005). These patterns, however, are not always easily identifiable. For instance, the behind-the-scenes interactions taking place during the act of acquiring an object are not always evident given that museums behave as stable entities – a sense of unity achieved by the associations of micro-actors into macro-actors. The identification of interactions might also not be obvious because institutions will

deliberately ensure that their *unit* remains intact by preventing access to information[7]. The appearance of unity embedded in the museum as a self-standing institution is what allows for the disintegration of patterns and the simplification of networks – leading to the 'common-sense' approach to social sciences, as argued by Latour (2005). This disintegration also occurs because we are unable to deal with or detect the multiple ramifications of networks and their complexities, given that they operate "as a single block, then it disappears, to be replaced by the action itself and the seemingly simple author of that action. (So it is that something much simpler – a working television, a well-managed bank or a healthy body – comes, for a time, to mask the networks that produce it." (Law, 1992, p. 385).

Michael Callon and Latour (1981) explained these ideas using the 'black box' metaphor, a term usually applied to scientific and technical work which refers to the ways in which the complex workings of something are made invisible by their success. In other words, it is when attention is paid only to macro-actors' inputs and outputs, and not how they are assembled (Latour, 2000):

> "An actor grows with the number of relations he or she can put, as we say, in black boxes. A black box contains that which no longer needs to be reconsidered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference. The more elements one can place in black boxes – modes of thoughts, habits, forces and objects – the broader the construction one can raise. Of course, black boxes never remain fully closed or properly fastened (...) but macro-actors can do as if they were closed and dark" (Callon and Latour, 1981, pp. 284-85).

When considering museums as macro-actors, I understand that their black boxes are formed by collections, staff, buildings, archives, curators, in-house expertise, conservators, front of house, and all the other micro-actors composing the organisation. I focus on tracing the power relations among the assembling of micro-actors involved in museums' collecting practices because decisions on what to collect occurs in the process of micro-actors associating with one another. This assembling process results not only in a collection, but also in knowledge – such as the art canon and the art historical narrative.

For ANT, actors can be both humans and non-humans, as it considers that objects – such as artworks – contribute equally to the formation of entities. They do so not by determining the action, but as

[7] In the UK, although the Freedom of Information Act was created to provide "access to information held by public authorities", there are exemption to these rules. More details available at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-freedom-of-information/refusing-a-request/#8 (Last access: 4 November 2022) .

participants involved in the assembling process. The objects of art collected by museums, together with the artists who create them, are key actors in the art historical narrative. Exploring the interactions and connections among these actants allows for an understanding of the power dynamics inherent to the formation of collections, thus providing a clear and traceable idea of how certain objects come to be part of a collection, while others are left aside.

Deconstructing the process by which entities are assembled resonates with Decolonial Theory's aim of challenging the Eurocentric construction of knowledge. Decolonial Theory emerged from the politics of knowledge production, contesting the legacy of European colonialism, with the aim of delinking from coloniality. Quijano (2007) argued that the colonial matrix of power has been supported by two axes: race (dominant and dominated) and a new structure of labour control (capitalism). The relation of these two axes is that the distribution of work through the capitalist system was discriminatory and organised following racial classifications. Notably, the colonial matrix of power produced discriminations "assumed to be 'objective', 'scientific', categories" (Quijano, 2007, p. 168), such as racism and sexism.

The colonisation of the Americas therefore resulted in a modern world-system with three central elements, namely coloniality of power, capitalism, and Eurocentrism (Quijano, 2000). The one being colonised became the 'object' of knowledge production, but not the producer of knowledge because the idea of reason (rationality) is considered to only be found in European culture. Consequently, other cultures were deemed "different in the sense that they are unequal, in fact inferior, by nature. They only can be 'objects' of knowledge or/and of domination practices." (Quijano, 2007, p. 174). As such, the idea of rationality of knowledge is both part of and created by the colonial matrix of power. Quijano (2000) formulated the compound expression *modernity/rationality* that combines both coloniality of power and coloniality of knowledge. Coloniality of knowledge emphasises the erasure and elimination of modes of living and knowing that did not comply with the Euro-centred structure of power. As Quijano explains, "Europeans generated a new temporal perspective of history and relocated the colonised population, along with their respective histories and cultures, in the past of a historical trajectory whose culmination was Europe" (2000, p. 541). Consequently, *modernity/rationality* were deemed as exclusively belonging to Europe.

Alongside territory and social domination and exploitation, colonialism was also responsible for epistemic genocide. For this reason, Boaventura Sousa Santos (2016) argues that there cannot be social justice without epistemic justice, emphasising the need to focus on knowledge production. Not only

were ways of knowing and living erased, but this was followed by the imposition of other systems of belief, living and knowing, which served "as a very efficient means of social and cultural control, when the immediate repression ceased to be constant and systematic." (Quijano, 2007, p. 169). In this regard, Quijano proposed a revision of the theory of history as a "linear sequence of universally valid events," (2000, p. 550) especially in relation to the Americas. He considers Latin America as the centre of modernity, and not peripheral to it, given that it was through the colonisation and exploitation of this region that the identity of modernity evolved.

A revision of the linearity and totality of Euro-centred history also resonates with ANT's aims of tracing how entities are formed because it considers the deconstruction of history as a stable assembled entity – which consequently challenges art historical discourse's and canon formation's reliance on the idea of tradition. Although colonialism in its political form ended with the independence movements, Quijano contends that coloniality of power still persists in Latin America, as the same colonial axis of racism and capitalism are still prominent. The independence of Latin American countries only prolonged a system already in place. To illustrate, Brazil achieved political independence in 1822 but became an Empire that was an offshoot of Portugal.

Decolonial theory, therefore, is concerned with delinking from and undoing the enunciation of Western modernity, whose rhetoric was accompanied by the idea of modernisation and development. This means, as stated, that only those who were modern – Europe – were *developed*, and the 'rest' – e.g., Latin America – needed the intervention of Western culture and knowledge in the form of Christian theology, secular science, and philosophy to potentially be elevated to the sphere of modernity – thus justifying colonialism. Consequently, by drawing on Decolonial Theory one sees modernity as a fictional construct that only benefits those "who built the imaginary and sustain it, through knowledge and war, military and financial means" (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018 p. 110). For this reason, the methodological model draws on this approach to reflect about the knowledge production by museums through their collecting practices since museums are institutions that belong to the colonial matrix of power. Moreover, by challenging the linearity of history, Decolonial Theory provides the basis for rethinking the art historical discourse and canon formation.

The *who* building the imaginary referred by Mignolo and Walsh (2018) is constituted by different actors, including those in power (Europeans), institutions (the Church, the university, and the museum), and the vernacular languages that replaced the spoken indigenous languages in the territories being colonised

(Mignolo, 2013, 2018). Consequently, colonialism repressed and eliminated all the modes of knowing – like images and symbols – of those being colonised, which are not included in the totality of historical narratives (Quijano, 2007). Hence the focus on epistemology since delinking and undoing begin with decolonising knowledge.

As museums are institutions that form the colonial matrix of power, it becomes crucial to undertake an analysis of the processes of knowledge production through a decolonial lens. It is by challenging the knowledge production from the narrative imposed as a consequence of European colonialism that decoloniality can be practiced. However, more than investigating the end result – i.e., the knowledge already produced – my proposal reflects on the assembling process of this knowledge. That is, paying attention to the actors and networks involved in this assembly. This is important because, as the thesis will reveal, these actors and networks tend to be limited, enduring and non-diverse.

In the process of delinking oneself from Western knowledge, Mignolo (2018) emphasised that the Western world was constructed on the formation of 'entities', hence focusing on knowledge in this deconstruction process. The author explains this idea as follows: "economy and politics are not transcendent entities but constituted through and by knowledge and human relations. It is knowledge weaved around concepts such as politics and economy that is crucial for decolonial thinking, and not politics and economy as transcendental entities" (Mignolo, 2018, p 136). By decolonising knowledge, therefore, one decolonises entities.

Here I encounter another parallel with ANT. In the same way ANT understands that an entity, such as 'society', 'museum' or 'art canon', is made up of group formation where different actors operate (including humans and non-humans), Decolonial Theory is interested in deconstructing the totality of knowledge imposed by coloniality. This idea of totality created what Quijano (2007) called a 'macro-historical subject', which is a macro-actor imposing one form of knowledge and one narrative at a global scale – which in museums and art history fields is observed by the constant repetition of artists being collected, exhibited and researched (Elkins, 2017). Hence, combining both approaches – ANT and decolonial – creates an effective framework for the analysis proposed in this thesis. If ANT provides the methodology to trace the networks involved in the process of acquisitions, Decolonial Theory allows for deconstructing and reflecting on the limitations of knowledge produced by museums through the objects they hold. I believe this is highly valuable as it emphasises the type of knowledge that is present and also absent in museums as institutions that compose the colonial matrix of power. As "it is through

knowledge that entities and relations are conceived, perceived, sensed, and described" (Mignolo, 2018, p 136), I argue that analysing the actors and networks involved in museums' acquisitions permits us to deconstruct how the entity of 'art canon' is assembled.

Data collection

Relations and interactions that form entities are traced through data collected during field work. For this research, data has been gathered through three main primary sources: the Survey of Brazilian Art in the UK (Chapter 3), archive research and interviews. This data was complemented with secondary sources, such as exhibition catalogues and scholarly literature on the subject. Therefore, this project combines a mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods of data collection, which "can provide a fuller description and/or more complete explanation of the phenomenon being studied by providing more than one perspective on it" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 150).

The quantitative strategy refers to the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK. Qualitative methods included interviews with key actors and archive research. In this sense, while the quantitative method offered me a broader picture of collecting patterns of Brazilian art in the UK, thus also assisting in the selection of case studies, the qualitative method was applied with the aim of deepening the analysis of the case studies and patterns previously observed. I opted to use case studies because they help to "illuminate the general by looking at the particular" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 53), allowing me to gain a focused understanding of the collecting activity of Brazilian art in the UK while not excluding an overall perspective.

Interviews

While the survey allowed me to map out the holdings of Brazilian art in the UK (see figure 0.3), archive research and interviews were essential for tracing associations and actors that emerged from the quantitative data analysis. The decision to conduct interviews was made as these offers better potential to explore "more complex and subtle phenomena" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 173). I conducted interviews strategically to ask questions that neither the survey and literature review nor the archive research were able to provide. I used a semi-structured approach, since it enabled me to include a list of questions

while also offering the flexibility to explore other subjects that emerged during the conversation. Moreover, semi-structured interviews permit participants to develop their own ideas and speak more freely about the questions being asked (Denscombe, 2010). The interviewees, listed in *table 1.A*, are key actors who either work at, have worked at, or have otherwise contributed to acquisitions made by the institutions analysed as case studies. Interviewing museum staff is also an opportunity to bring this research closer to the realities of the profession, as it allows me to understand the perspective of those practising the acquisition activity from within museums.

Interviewee	Role	Date of interview
Sara Demelo	Curator at ESCALA	16/09/2020
Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro	Former and first Assistant Curator at ESCALA	24/09/2020
Inti Guerrero	Former Tate's Adjunct Curator of Latin American Art (at the time he still occupied the role)	05/10/2020
Cuauhtémoc Medina	Former and first Tate's Associate Curator of Latin American Art	07/10/2020
Daniel Schaeffer	Head of Development at Tate Americas Foundation	26/10/2021
Siron Franco	Artist, acted as donor to ESCALA	11/11/2021
Alex Gama	Artist, acted as donor to ESCALA	11/11/2021
Charles Cosac	Art collector, former student at the University of Essex and one of ESCALA's founders	20/11/2021
Prof Dawn Ades	ESCALA's first director, Professor Emeritus of art history and theory at the University of Essex	23/11/2021
Cildo Meireles	Artist, collected by Tate and ESCALA	26/11/2021
César Oiticica	Director of Projeto Hélio Oiticica	01/12/2021
Michael Wellen	Tate's Senior Curator, International Art	22/02/2022
Tanya Barson	Former Tate's Senior Curator, International Art	14/03/2022

1.A – List of interviewees detailing their job roles and the date the interview was conducted

Archive research

Conducting research in archives provided me with access to key documents such as meeting minutes, acquisition files, catalogue entries, pre-acquisition conservation reports, and correspondence. However, accessing archives became challenging during the COVID-19 Pandemic and the several lockdowns implemented in the UK between March 2020 to December 2021 (Institute for Government analysis, no date). Pre-pandemic, I had undertaken archival research only at ESCALA. Curator Dr Sarah Demelo and

assistant curator Diego Chocano granted me access to all the material requested in a week-long visit I conducted in Colchester in November 2019. I was able to freely review and examine the files, gathering enough evidence to deconstruct ESCALA's networks and black boxes. Moreover, Demelo and Chocano led me through a guided visit to ESCALA's storage where the artworks are kept, allowing me to gain a better understanding of their materiality and care practices.

Accessing Tate's archives was more challenging, as the activity was heavily impacted by the pandemic and by rules and regulations restricting access to information to those who are not integrated within their structure.[8] I argue that the lack of access to information and full transparency are unquestionably symptoms of an organisation that aims to ensure that the processes that hold up their achievement of success, or those by which their black boxes are construed, remain invisible to others. In that way, we only pay attention to their inputs and outputs. For this reason, interviews with Tate's former and current staff were essential to gather details regarding acquisitions. Other documents, such as Tate's Annual Reports, proved equally important.

Other archives were consulted, either in person or through documentation shared via email, namely:

- The National Archives, to check files on the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* that took place in 1944 at the Royal Academy of Arts,
- The Whitechapel Gallery Archives, to consult documents related to the 1969 exhibition *Hélio Oiticica: Whitechapel Experience* and the 1997 show *Lines from Brazil* (*Rodrigo Saad, Lucia Nogueira, Adriana Varejão, Tatiana Grinberg),*
- Glasgow Museums shared information via email about the acquisition of photographs by Sebastião Salgado,
- The British Museum allowed me free access to their collection management system in which I was able to collect data about their Brazilian holdings. A four-month Research Placement in

[8] The files were redacted in accordance to the follow sections of the Freedom of Information Act: "Section 43(2) exempts information whose disclosure would, or would be likely to, prejudice the commercial interests of any legal person (an individual, a company, the public authority itself or any other legal entity)."; "S40(2): FOIA section 40(2) with 40(3A) and EIR regulation 13(1) with 13(2A) state that personal data which is not the personal data of the requester (i.e. third-party personal data) should not be disclosed if this would contravene the data protection principles"; "Section 31: "Section 31 is subject to a test of prejudice. This means that information can only be withheld if its disclosure would, or would be likely to, prejudice one of the activities listed in either subsection 31(1) or (2)". More details, see ICO (2013, 2020, 2021).

2021 at this museum's Santo Domingo Centre of Excellence for Latin American Research also contributed to gain further insight into their collecting practice,

- Northampton Museums and Art Gallery, Heritage Doncaster and Manchester Art Gallery also kindly shared archival information of their holdings via email.

Situating the research

I want to conclude this Chapter with a reflection on my own position in relation to this research and the model of analysis I developed using ANT and decolonial theory. My encounter with Decolonial Theory a few years ago was valuable to formulate a series of thoughts and ideas I experienced as an immigrant from Brazil living in the UK (and previously in Portugal), working in the arts, and coming from a working-class background. I understand now that these thoughts referred to the questioning of the Eurocentric totality of history challenged by Quijano (2000, 2007) in his conceptualisation of coloniality. Quijano's perspective is one of the few theories from the Global South that has influenced critical thinking at a global scale (Segato, 2021), becoming highly relevant to the study presented here.

Nonetheless, I acknowledge the challenges and limitation of drawing on Decolonial Theory to develop this model of analysis. Despite coming from the Global South, I am a white researcher and fourth generation of a family that (partially) migrated from Europe to Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, I hold the privileged position of not being part of a population heavily affected by the legacies of colonialism (i.e., indigenous peoples and afro-descendants).

Moreover, this research is being conducted from a university in the UK – an institution that constitutes the colonial matrix of power – drawing on many bibliographic sources written by authors from and working in Western institutions, although not limited to them – an issue compounded by the difficulties in accessing primary and secondary resources due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Another challenge of drawing on Decolonial Theory while undertaking this project is that this theoretical framework forces me to question and revise the Western model of knowing and being that has influenced me far longer than Decolonial Theory itself. Finally, it has also been challenging to ensure that my decolonial process of thinking does not translate my narrative into an attempt of universal and total truth. Decolonial Theory does not aim to represent a totality. If so, it would just be replacing one "totality" for another. Nonetheless, I argue that drawing on Decolonial Theory within a colonial institution still contributes to delinking processes from within by creating cracks (Walsh, 2018). Sousa Santos (2016) pointed out the

need to use existent ‘weapons’ within our own ‘weapons of life’ to be effective in this deconstructing and rethinking processes – which in this thesis is that of analysing acquisitions of Brazilian art in the UK and the consequent questioning of the knowledge produced through such an activity.

I am equally aware of the bias that being Brazilian and influenced by this theory can introduce to the analysis. Developing this model of analysis reflects the association between the subject being studied and the subject carrying out the study. Finding myself in a position as a de-territorialised person (Appadurai, 1990) had an impact on my interest in pursuing a research project in which the subject is related to my country of origin – in general – and the displacement (through acquisitions) of art from that country – in particular. For this reason, I understand the collecting practices analysed in this thesis as a complex field of overlapping relationships among different actors occurring at a global scale aiming also at dismantling the ideas of a centre and periphery relationship. This dichotomy, in my understanding, can be eliminated by considering these acquisitions through decolonial lenses applied to a practical model that challenges epistemological constructions, and through tracing the actors involved in the acquisitions’ networks to challenge power dynamics.

Section 1

Entities forming entities

This section aims to explore the broader contexts in which the formation of a Brazilian art canon occurred. In Chapter 2, I explore the canonisation of Brazilian art through its internationalisation, paying attention to the actors responsible for placing this artistic practice in the global art map. I focus particularly on the role of exhibitions and collecting practices in defining *a* Brazilian art canon. Deconstructing this process will demonstrate the limitations of the networks and actors involved in the process of canon formation.

Chapter 2 – Brazilian art canons

2.1 – Tropicália, Penetráveis PN 2 'Pureza é um mito' e PN 3 'Imagético' *(1966-67), Hélio Oiticica: 248 × 1514 × 635 cm. ©Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate. Photo: Eloisa Rodrigues.*

The image above (figure 2.1) shows *Tropicália, Penetráveis PN 2 'Pureza é um mito'* and *PN 3 'Imagético'* (1966-67) by Hélio Oiticica at Tate Modern in 2018[9]. At that time, this installation was part of a temporary display about Oiticica and fellow artist Lygia Clark, featuring objects on loan and from Tate's permanent collection. The room's introductory panel informed visitors that both artists were "leaders of the Neo-Concrete movement" of the 1960s in Brazil, a movement that "rejected the idea of the artwork as an isolated object, seeing it in a more complex relationship with the viewer and its surroundings." (Tate, no date14). The same label emphasised that Clark and Oiticica sought new art forms with the aim of empowering the "viewers by transforming them into participants" through dynamics such as "the transformable, the sensorial, the wearable, the energetic and the marginal." (Tate, no date14)

Take another glance at the photo, and you will notice many footprints registered on the thin sand. These record the experiential and participative nature of this artwork. For its purpose to be fulfilled, the

[9] Tate acquired this installation and other works by Oiticica in 2007 – a story I will return to in Chapter 8.

audience/visitors must walk through *Tropicália* and enter in the two wooden shacks (the *Penetráveis* = Penetrables). The experience is physical and multi-sensorial. As well as the feel of touching the sand with your feet and the sight of the shacks' bright colours, you can also hear sounds being emitted from a TV that is positioned inside one of the *Penetráveis*. Would concerns for animal welfare permit, there would also be two live parrots in birdcages (Brown, 2016). Placed by the window on a sunny day like this, the tropical atmosphere of *Tropicália* becomes accentuated.

Art historian Adele Nelson (2022, p. 9) has observed that Neoconcretismo "has received more attention than any other of Brazil's contributions to contemporary art". This is the result of a process that has placed this movement into a broader art historical narrative. It is now a consensus among art historians and curators that Neoconcretismo and the artists who were partisan to this movement, including Oiticica and Clark, have come to bear the responsibility of representing a Brazilian art canon (Asbury, 2004; Labra, 2014; Mesquita, 1999; Nelson, 2022; Pedrosa, 2010). Although *Tropicália* belongs to the Tropicalismo movement, which borrows its name from this installation – we will see in the analysis I present in Chapter 8 the importance of Tate's acquisition of this work in the process of consolidating Neoconcretismo's art canon.

Drawing on previous research that has analysed and reflected on the internationalisation of Brazilian art (Fialho, 2006, 2009; Labra, 2014, 2017; Mesquita, 1999), this chapter aims to address the formation of a canon of art from Brazil as an entity. The importance of paying attention to the process of canonisation through internationalisation lies in the fact that the valorisation (whether symbolic or monetary) of objects of art still occurs through their presence and circulation in a global art system (Fialho, 2019; Moulin, 2000; Ramírez, 2002). Understanding how this entity – the Brazilian art canon(s) – has been formed, and the actors and networks involved in this process, in addition to why movements such as Neoconcretismo and artists such as Oiticica and Clark have been canonised, is relevant because it influences decisions made by museums when acquiring objects, thus becoming an essential element of the context for analysing the reasons why museums in the UK have decided to collect art from Brazil.

Digesting Brazilian art

"It is always Lygia [Clark] and poor Hélio [Oiticica]," exclaimed art historian and curator Cuauhtémoc Medina (2020) during our interview. Medina's comment emerged when addressing the role played by

Brazilian art in the process of placing Latin America in the international art map. The adjective *poor* implies a resentment of the continued reliance on these artists' legacies in defining the artistic production of a whole country. It also hints at the limitations of the art world in constantly relying on elected few actors in building an art historical narrative. Already in 1999, when curating the Brazilian pavilion at the Biennale di Venezia, Ivo Mesquita underlined the reductionist and simplistic attribution of Oiticica and Clark as the precursors of a contemporary art tradition in Brazil. After the more than 20 years since Mesquita's observation, this simplification remains.

Through researching the internationalisation of art from Brazil, art historian Daniela Labra (2014, 2017) has also concluded that there is a standard narrative about this country's artistic practice since the 1970s that has favoured Neoconcretismo amongst other movements, such as Modernist Antropofagia, Concretismo and Tropicalismo. Labra's study focused on examining the discourse presented in catalogues of and other publications about flagship exhibitions in Brazil and abroad. These events played a key role in defining a Brazilian art canon that is still sought after today by institutions, whether through acquisition programmes or exhibition practice.

The generalisation observed by Labra (2014, p. 9) refers to the discourse encountered in curatorial texts, published in catalogues, that tend to associate Brazilian art "with notions of organicity, exuberance and spontaneity of form". These notions – as seen in Tate's display of *Tropicália* – emerged with the canonisation of movements such as Neoconcretismo, but also Modernist Antropofagia (1920s) and Tropicalismo (1960s). Moreover, the recognition of Oiticica and Clark's originality has attributed to them the position of being "inescapable, mythical and almost mandatory influences for contemporary Brazilian artists in general" (Labra, 2017, p. 97), thus becoming the artists that were the most studied, exhibited, and collected. Despite the increase in circulation of other artists from Brazil in the international art system since 2000, "few advances in the local institutional system and the art publishing market were promoted" (Labra, 2014, p. 9). In other words, the increase in circulation of art from Brazil internationally in the past two decades did not result in any expansion of the art canon and art historical narrative. The canon being sought out by different actors at a global level remained limited.

The standard narrative that Labra observes is marked by a simplification of the complex trajectory of historic and artistic events taking place in Brazil, which is one that encompasses the country's colonial

history. For this reason, and to understand how the entity 'Brazilian art canon' has been formed, I will outline the importance of Modernism and Antropofagia in this process.

Forging Brazilianness

Brazil's independence from Portugal in 1822 did not result in significant alterations to the political and economic systems already in place and to actors that were already in power. It only meant that the country became a politically independent nation state, also given the lack of "a widely spread national consciousness" (Jurt, 2012, p. 481). Differently from its neighbours, Brazil did not become a republic following its independence. Instead, it converted its territory politically into an Empire with the successor to the Portuguese throne, Dom Pedro I of Brazil, serving as its first Emperor. It was only in 1889 that the country ended its monarchical regime and became a republic. Brazil's foundation of a Republic occurred, however, and again, without the people (Jurt, 2012; Carvalho, 1990). The simplification of Brazil's history and artistic production observed by Labra (2014) refers also to discussions that emerged – or rather continued – in early twentieth century that placed Modernismo at the centre of a debate regarding national identity. Understanding Brazil's modernism in relation to the process that led to the canonisation of Neoconcretismo is relevant because throughout the twentieth century, until today, proposals reinforced by the Modernists would be used by different actors, such artists, critics, curators, and historians, in developing the art historical narrative of that country.

Brazil's Modernismo was a movement in which the quest for a modern aesthetic language in the arts occurred alongside a search for a national identity. It was a project that aimed to create an art that was *Brazilian* before it was *modern* (Chiarelli, 2010). The image forged in this period about Brazilian art and culture would impact future attribution of values in its canonisation process, hence the importance to understand this movement. This also relates to the fact that both artistic production and reflections that emerged in this period about the country's history would be employed by the Brazilian government of 1930s in building an 'official' national identity (Williams, 2001).

Modernismo in Brazil was concerned with themes deemed national in order to define a sense of Brazilianness and update its aesthetic following international avant-garde values. As observed by Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni (2013, p. 1), "[n]ot only were artistic values attributed to them, but also broader cultural and political values, such as identity symbols." Tadeu Chiarelli (2010) has argued that by using identity symbols, the modernists were constructing an allegory of Brazil in similar fashion as did the Romantic movement in the nineteenth century. Thus, the artists who embraced Modernism

adopted the premises of the European avant-garde to renovate their formal aesthetic but continued a tradition to define a Brazilianness in Brazilian art and culture through the use of symbols. The symbols assembled by the modernists were those identified as pure Brazilian: the natural and tropical landscape, the indigenous native population, poverty, the former enslaved people, and afro-descendants. The artistic production of this period favoured then figurative forms rather than an abstract language, the latter becoming more prominent from the 1950s onwards.

Preoccupation with matters of identity was thus key to Brazil's Modernismo, an issue linked to the country's past. Brazil held colonial status until 1815 and achieved political independence from Portugal in 1822. The Portuguese court relocation to Brazil in 1808 – in order to flee to an invasion of Lisbon by the Napoleonic forces and with the support of the British Navy – accelerated the process of Brazil's eventual independence. Rio de Janeiro became the new capital of the Portuguese Kingdom and Brazil shifted its status from 'colony' to 'kingdom in union with Portugal'. Prior to changing its status, however, Brazil's territory was essentially a trade route which land was used for the extraction and exploitation of natural resources.

The canonisation of Modernismo occurred mainly through its Antropofagia's vein, however, only towards the end of the twentieth century. Antropofagia emerged from the publication of 'Manifesto Antropófago' (1928) by Oswald de Andrade, which has become central to debates about culture and art in Brazil. Artists such as Oiticica revisited the Manifesto's ideas in the 1960s while theorising Tropicalismo (Coelho, 2012). It was the 24th Bienal de São Paulo (1998), known as the Bienal da Antropofagia, one of the actors that contributed to its consolidation. This was the most important event to discuss the significance of Andrade's thesis (Rocha, 2011), which concerned matters of hybridisation. Drawing on the cannibalist metaphor of consuming the enemy's flesh to absorb their strengths, the Manifesto defended an artistic practice that should draw on avant-gardes from European traditions (the enemy), combining them with what was deemed Brazilian (indigenism, tropical landscape, miscegenation). João Cesar de Castro Rocha has argued that Andrade's arguments helped to resolve "the paradox of a movement of 'rediscovery' of Brazil, whose base was on the other side of the Atlantic: the paradox dissolved in the anthropophagic swallowing of the values of the other, the 'foreigner'" (2011, p. 651). However, it resolved a paradox experienced by a white privileged elite that resorted on factors and actors from the country that were not necessarily part of their own context. Ironically, the Antropofágico movement failed to acknowledge its authors-protagonists' own roles as the internal *enemies* in this discourse. They were, with few exceptions, the sons and daughters of European

descendants who benefited from the country's colonial past (Nelson, 2022). These actors drew from autochthonous cultures to produce their theoretical framework that supported an artistic practice based on Brazil's colonial history but failed to integrate their subjects into that narrative as actors of their own. Instead of bringing them to "the core of the society" (Cusicanqui, 1991, p. 19), indigenous peoples and afro-descendants were relegated to characters of a story being told by others, and continued to play that role through the perspective of those who controlled the narrative. This scenario highlights Brazil's internal colonial issues.

The Bienal da Antropofagia was curated by art historian Paulo Herkenhoff, and this BSP edition managed to achieve the "recognition and legitimisation of a local discourse in relation to the global artistic scenario" (Spricigo, 2011, p. 38). Herkenhoff's was not interested in reinforcing the idea that Brazilian art and culture became hybrid by assimilating its European and indigenous roots. Instead, the curator tried "to rectify a Eurocentric art history, which was not able to incorporate avant-garde works from peripheral regions in its narrative" (Spricigo, 2011, pp. 81-82). His aims were to include art from Brazil in the international milieu at the same time questioning the art historical narrative stemming from Western centres. Undertaking this curatorial project at the Bienal de São Paulo was significant because by 1998, as I will address later in this chapter, BSP was then an established actor in the international art milieu, meaning that its curatorial programme participated in debates occurring in the global art system.

One can argue that by identifying in the indigenous peoples as the original Brazil, modernists acted as internal-Antropofágicos for claiming a hybridisation that, in reality, was not theirs. The unequal dynamics of the time is observed in a letter that Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973), one of the most well-known artists from the Modernist period, wrote to her family while studying in Paris in April 1923:

> "[...] I feel more and more Brazilian: I want to be the painter of my land. How grateful I am for having spent my entire childhood on the farm. The reminiscences of that time are becoming precious to me. I want, in art, to be the 'caipirinha' of São Bernardo (…). Do not think that this tendency is frowned upon here [Paris]. On the contrary. What is wanted here is for everyone to bring a contribution from their own country. (…) Paris is fed up with Parisian art" (Amaral, 1975, p. 78)[10].

The inability to confront a Eurocentric perspective of the world then can be examined now through what Sousa Santos (2016) defined as "The End of Colonialism without End". For part of Brazil's

[10] *Caipirinha* is the diminutive word for 'caipira', which can be translated to bumpkin, someone from rural areas and the countryside. The word caipira is often applied as a pejorative term.

population, political independence meant indeed the end of colonialism, without, however, addressing ethno-cultural-racial struggles. What occurred was a valorisation of hybridism, as in Andrade's Manifesto, "as extra proof that colonialism has been overcome. Accordingly, the idea of racial democracy, rather than being defended as a legitimate aspiration, is celebrated as being already fully accomplished" (Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 26). The internal colonialism that surfaced after political independence – or somehow continued since the country became an offshoot of Portugal – was central to the modernists' attitudes. Drawing again on Sousa Santos, this occurs because internal colonialism is "a very wide social grammar that permeates social relations, public and private spaces, culture, mentalities, and subjectivities. In sum, it is a way of life, a form of unequal conviviality that is often shared by both those who benefit from it and those who suffer its consequences" (2016, p. 26). Tarsila do Amaral spoke about her childhood in the farm and wanting to paint that experience, not as a farmer worker who aimed to dismantle the master's house– but as someone who owned that tool (Lorde, 1984).

Placing Antropofagia at the centre of an important event such as BSP is significant because Antropofagia has been central to Brazilian culture "in three crucial moments in its intellectual history: romantism, modernism and tropicalism", as Rocha observed (2011, p. 648). What Andrade presented in his 1928 Manifesto was the return to a proposal already explored by the nineteenth century romantics, although their view was based on the idea of 'noble savage' that understood the practice of flesh-eating as part of the transcendental ritual in which indigenous peoples devour those who were considered strong and brave, honouring the enemy and absorb their strengths. Cannibalism passed to be associated with a positive message, offering an alternative discourse to those developed by European travellers in the previous century that viewed anthropophagy as a barbarous and uncivilised act that required Christianity and European intervention[11]. Modernists would recuperate and expand on the romantics' ideas.

[11] To illustrate his argument, Rocha refers to accounts written by Europeans travellers in the sixteenth century narrating cannibalist practices encountered in the territory of today's Brazil. An example is German explorer Hans Staden's book published in 1557, which received the long title *True History and Description of a Land of Savages, Naked and Cruel Man Eaters, Set in the New World of America, Unknown Before and After Jesus Christ in the Lands of Hessen Until the Last Two Years, Whereas Hans Staden of Homberg , in Hessen, knew it from his own experience and now brings it to the public with this impression*; and the French philosopher Michel de Montaigne's book *Of Cannibals*, c. 1550, describing this practice of natives from Brazil. Rocha also argues that the spread of this information in Europe contributed to justifying colonisation of the territory and its population – turning the 'savages' into 'good Christians'.

Authors such as Ronaldo Brito (1983) underlined that the originality of Brazil's modernism lies precisely in this exercise of searching for a national identity. The modernists built their imaginary of Brazilianness by drawing on their own views of the native indigenous population and natural landscapes as synonymous of a Brazilian identity, combining these elements with their European heritage. Moreover, Modernists also included the afro-descendant population in their Brazilianness narrative and the process of modernisation, i.e., industrialisation, they were witnessing. Brito (1983) emphasised the paradox of this process of looking towards the future by rescuing the past: "While European avant-gardes were striving to dissolve identities and overturn the icons of tradition, Brazilian avant-garde made an effort to assume local conditions, characterize them, and in short, make them positive. That was our way of *being* modern" (Brito, 1983, p. 15). Carlos Zílio (2009) equally pointed out that whereas international avant-gardes were less concerned with matters of nationalism, Brazilian Modernism drifted in the opposite direction. Nonetheless, I argue that there is no modernity versus tradition dichotomy in Brazilian Modernismo.

Revisions that underline limitations to Brazil's modernism stem from comparisons of its peculiarities in relation to the international avant-garde. This discourse is based on the principle that there is one way of being modern: the accepted form of modernism that emerged with European avant-gardes. It is a discourse closely linked to colonial issues and that ignores relationality, that is, the building of "understandings that both cross geopolitical locations and colonial differences" (Walsh, Mignolo, 2018, p.1), and the particularities of specific historical and cultural events, such as those described above regarding Brazil's colonial past.

By not strictly following the premises of European avant-gardes in building an aesthetic that would break with a figurative language, Brazil's modernism resulted in an art that responded to factors related to the country's own past. It placed an emphasis in the self and subjectivity. Its practice manifested in a figurative language that accentuates the theme first, and the aesthetic second, whilst still concerned with the latter. This is the result of a Modernismo that assumed an activist format to attack the current establishment that valorised academicism and realism. Modern and tradition, future and past, urban and rural concerned Brazilian modernists: there was no 'either/or' in their practice in relation to the subject-matter. These concepts run in parallel and not in competition. The desire to 'update' the aesthetic in the arts was combined with the aim of valorising traditions particular to factors and actors that forged the country and reflecting matters of national identity, which will influence the canonisation of Brazilian art.

Despite the *local* importance of Modernismo in the artistic trajectory of that country, the Brazilian art canon that has entered a broader art historical discourse is still limited to Neoconcretismo, as observed previously. One of the symptoms of this limitation is the equally limited networks of the international art milieu. In this regard, it is crucial to not only identify these symptoms but also to understand why and how they occur. On one hand, the influence of theories that challenge the Eurocentric perspective of art history accounts for why these artists and movements gained the interest of actors operating globally. On the other hand, as argued by Ana Letícia Fialho (2006, p. 3-5), artworks from "'peripheral' zones" like Brazil enter the international art scene when there is a "need to renew the offer of cultural goods", adding that "[w]hat is presented as the 'democratization' of the international art world is in fact the answer to the demand of new goods by different 'markets': institutional, academic, commercial" (Fialho, 2006, p. 4). Her research concluded that art from Brazil has benefitted from globalization, becoming more current in the international art milieu since the 1980s. However, it remained "marginal compared to leading countries in terms of contemporary art."

Moreover, the Brazilianness initiated by the modernists would be reinforced officially by the government who would appropriate those ideas, and some of its actors, with the aim of bringing together a sense of national unity. It was during Getúlio Vargas Estado Novo regime that (1930-1945), for the first time, cultural policies were implemented in the country, including initiatives to promote Brazilian art and culture abroad (Calebre 2009; Labra 2014; Williams 2001). Vargas Regime was interested in promoting ideas associated with Modernism, in addition to popular culture. Football, samba, and Carnival – which are now globally associated with Brazil – were institutionalised as Brazilian heritage during the Vargas Regime, receiving extensive public funding for their development (Skidmore, 1999; Machado, 2018). These strategies were well calculated by Vargas' government. National heritage, together with symbols such as the country's flags, the green and yellow colours, and anthems, occupy an important position amid people's imaginary about a nation (Jurt, 2012; Carvalho, 1990; Thiesse, 1999; Hobsbawm, Ranger 2012).

Vargas' nation-building exercise presented the novelty of including a large part of the population who had been systematically excluded from the "cultural profile of the nation" (Machado, 2018, p. 214), both in relation to race and socioeconomics. This enforcement of a national identity occurred via official propaganda and the educational system. With Vargas, the ideals of nationalism, citizenship and cultural identity were being imposed from the Federal state to the people, from above to below, reaching out over the broad territory.

The Vargas regime's cultural policies are important for two main reasons. First, because politics towards culture passed to be in control of the government, moving away from private patronage (Cardoso, 2021). Secondly, it contributed to the institutionalisation of Brazilian culture and art, despite censorship, political repression and social control that occurred in his Regime. As Williams observed:

> "… the Vargas regime absorbed modernist artists and modernist projects into federal cultural management. Modernist literary figures including Mario de Andrade, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, and even novelist Graciliano Ramos (imprisoned during the Estado Novo for his leftist political sympathies) gravitated toward the federal government. With the cover of state support, these figures wielded considerable influence in defining and administering Brazil's cultural identities during the 1930s and 1940s." (Williams, 2001, p. 15).

Modernism in Brazil meant, then, a period in which the pursuit of aesthetic renovation met a desire for understanding the country's recent past and a search for national identity. The post-war period witnessed an authoritarian regime that used the local Brazilian modernist premisses to build a sense of unity in a country contrasted by regional differences. On one hand, Modernism drew on subjects that composes and relates to the country's complex colonial past; on the other, it also appealed to a language that was familiar to an international audience, suiting well the aims of a state-turned-patron.

Artworks of Brazil's Modernist Antropofagia have not been sought after by collecting institutions in the UK as these artworks are now both rare to become available in the market and tend to be elevated in price. For instance, when Tate established collecting policies to acquire art from Latin America, they decided to focus on the contemporary art scene precisely because historic artworks were difficult to find and more expensive – a subject I return to in Chapter 4. However, understanding Modernismo and Antropofagia is relevant because their premises would become synonymous of Brazilianness – and therefore present in the discourse about art from Brazil.

Neoconcretismo

Artists from 'peripheral zones' being incorporated into a broader art historical narrative can be understood as the result of the revisionism that questioned modernity since the 1970s. However, and almost contradictorily, Neoconcretismo, Oiticica and Clark, as members of an abstract tradition, are considered as following suit with an ideal of modernity. Referring to these two artists and names such as Jac Leirner, Cildo Meireles, and Tunga, curator Adriano Pedrosa (2010, pp. 30-31) has claimed that

“some Brazilian experiments of the second half of the twentieth century offered themselves as another tradition of modernity, constituting an effectively singular repertoire that would kindle the interest of a new generation of artists”. So, if Modernismo and Antropofagia spoke about a Brazilianness that had national ties, Neoconcretismo spoke a more international language. The artists named above are regarded as alternative canons to the established Western one, whilst at the same time being understood within and dialoguing with that tradition. Neoconcretismo has been associated with the development of formal and non-figurative art, being at times interpreted only through the lenses of form and abstraction. The valorisation of an abstract art practice was highly sought by the Brazilian elite in charge of establishing museums and other cultural programmes in that country, especially from the 1950s onward (Nelson, 2022). Nelson (2022, p. 5) also categorically pointed out the connection “between wealth, whiteness, and the consumption of abstract art” in her analysis of abstractionism in Brazil.

Abstract art is stripped from any evident thematic that explores matters of identity, although not completely exempt from any relationship to it. It is an art opposed to what defined the Modernist movement of the early twentieth century in Brazil, becoming, therefore, more accessible for audiences not so familiar with the dynamics that have shaped the colonial history of that country. Therefore, the canonisation of Neoconcretismo relates to a practice that have added new flavours to art historical discourses, otherwise it would have been interpreted as a simple derivative of international abstractionism. Brazil’s abstractionism of the 1950s and 1960s offered a more tangible and original approach: two qualities sought by the discipline of art history, which is always in search of rupture and break-through moments within parameters that still allow for placing such artistic practice into a sequential and logical narrative (or tradition and historical timeframe).

Medina’s comment, Mesquita’s observation, Labra’s research and Pedrosa’s assessment reinforce the prominent position achieved by Neoconcretismo, Clark and Oiticica into broader art historical narrative. These artists have been crowned as the precursors of a Brazilian tradition and from whose practice future generations of artists would be the heirs of – a reductionistic and simplistic narrative about the artistic production of a country as monumental and as diverse as Brazil. As a result, a genealogy of Brazilian art history has been built based on their practice (Asbury, 2004; Labra, 2014; Mesquita 1999; Pedrosa, 2010; Spricigo, 2009).

As Tate's introductory room panel has already explained to us, Neoconcretismo dates from the 1960s and it valorised the viewers' participation in the artwork. This movement's perceived originality, and consequently the ingenuity of the artists who were its members, such as Oiticica, lies in considering the art-object as something to be handled and interacted with (Venancio, 2015). As the footprints on *Tropicália*'s sand indicate, this interaction occurs by dismantling the walls that separate artist and artwork from the audience. Participants' engagement with objects is, therefore, essential to the *raison d'être* of Neoconcreto artworks*,* whether this participation is physical or sensorial. As Venancio described, "the viewer becomes aware of themselves not only in relation to the object but also, and especially, in relation to themselves" (2015, p. 62). For artists such as Clark, engagement is so fundamental that "[w]ithout the action the object is a void" (Venancio, 2015. p. 82).

The great theoriser of Neoconcretismo was poet and art critic Ferreira Gullar through two main texts, the 'Neoconcrete Manifesto' and 'Theory of the non-object'*,* both published in 1959. In the latter, Gullar (2005 [1959]) explained that artworks "become special objects – non-objects – for which the denominations *painting* and *sculpture* perhaps no longer apply". These are objects that break away from frames and bases to invade "the space of common experience, opening itself to all stimuli, sensations, feelings, impulses and desires, all of which now envelop and traverse the work" (Venancio, 2015, p. 72). There is, therefore, a focus on the object.

This valorisation of the object that emerged in the post war period has been understood to be the result of an abundance of commodities, and expansion of a consumer society (Venancio, 2015). Many texts published during the 1950s and 1960s about the object, and words such as 'form', 'objectivity' and 'new objectivity', "gained currency in the artistic vocabulary of the time as artists, critics and art historians wrote countless texts, manifestos and theoretical essays" (Venancio, 2015, p. 56; Nelson, 2022), which Gullar's manifesto is an example of. In Brazil, these reflections about the object resulted in the "endgame of constructivism and of Mondrian's neoplasticism. In America, the debate about the problematics of the object was focused on minimalism, and in Brazil on neoconcretism." (Venancio, 2015, p. 56). Nelson (2022, p. 47) also observed that in the 1950s, many artists and intellectuals in Brazil used the word forma (form) to explain their practice[12], which "oriented early theorizations of nonobjective abstraction and underpinned the first definitions of Concretism by Brazilian artists."

[12] On this subject, see chapter 2 in Nelson (2022).

The valorisation of Neoconcretismo and its main actors perceived originality gained more prominence from the later 1980s and early 1990s through key events, such as exhibitions in Europe and the United States, the Bienal de São Paulo, and also collecting practices. It is important to emphasise that this is not the only artistic movement canonised in Brazil, although, as mentioned previously, there is a consensus that Neoconcretismo and the artists that belonged to this movement are those that receive most attention from museums, art fairs, curators, and scholars. Although actors from Brazil have also contributed to the canonisation of this movement, it was recognition occurring internationally that ultimately contributed to their entry into a broader art historical narrative. It is on these actors that I therefore now turn my attention to, drawing on Labra's (2014, 2017) research on exhibition discourse and other studies (Fialho, 2005, 2006, 2019; Pedrosa, 2010; Spricigo, 2009, 2011). These events – namely exhibitions and collecting practice – demonstrate both the process of creating an entity – the Neoconcrete art canon – and reveal the limitations of the art milieu's networks.

Exhibitions and collections

Exhibitions organised in Europe and the USA in the late 80s and early 90s, including *Brazil Projects* at PS:1, in New York in 1988; Oiticica's touring retrospective between 1992 and 1994; and *documenta X*, in 1997 in Kassel (Labra, 2014; Fialho, 2006; Pedrosa, 2010) serve as examples of the limitations of global networks, which is evident in the consistent repetition of both subjects being displayed and actors (i.e., curators) selecting subjects and objects. More often than not, the repetition of the same actors and the same stories contributes to underpinning canons and discourses.

The PS:1 enterprise in 1988 was spearheaded by Chris Dercon and focused on artists from the 1960s and 1970s. The idea of a *Brazil Projects* was outlined in the diverse range of media in the show, which included performance, installations, photography, architecture and television in addition to a programme of film screenings[13]. Dercon's selection of artworks took place with the assistance of Brazilian curators. This occurred because he did not believe in "Americans or Europeans travelling to Brazil to simply 'pick' artists", preferring, instead, to build collaboration in order to avoid offering "a so-called complete survey of contemporary Brazilian culture. Instead, in the exhibition, we represent individual projects" (Dercon, 1989, p. 26-29). Nonetheless, a review published on The New York Times

[13] *Brazil Projects* was the result of a partnership between PS:1 and Sociedade Cultural Arte Brasil, under a programme of cultural relations between both countries promoted by Sociedade.

emphasised the show's ambitions and flaws, highlighting that "it is a survey that pretends it is not a survey, a grandiose project without grandiose art" (Brenson, 1988), although acknowledging that the section dedicated to Oiticica was one of the show's strengths. By placing Oiticica's work at central stage of an event that aimed at showing only "a small but sufficiently strong and impressive example" of contemporary Brazilian art, as stated by Frederico Morais (1989, p. 30) in the catalogue of *Brazil Projects*, and highlighting Oiticica's past connections with New York where the artist lived between 1970 and 1978, this exhibition contributed leverage to Oiticica's – and consequently Neoconcretismo's – international recognition. The latter is also the result of Dercon contributing to other major projects in which Oiticica was a protagonist.

An example is Dercon's participation in the curatorial team that organised Oiticica's first retrospective after his death in 1980. This travelled to Rotterdam (Witte de With Center), Paris (Galerie Nationale du Jeu de Paume), Barcelona (Fundació Antoni Tàpies), Lisbon (Museu Calouste Gulbenkian) and Minneapolis (Walker Art Center) between 1992 and 1994. According to Labra, Oiticica was presented within this show, curated by Guy Brett, together with Dercon, Catherine David, Luciano Figueiredo, and Lygia Pape, as an innovator: "the creator of a sui generis modern aesthetic, originally Brazilian, capable of expanding the geopolitical boundaries of what was considered a legitimate practice of contemporary art" (2014, p. 85). This view was inserted within an alterity discourse that valorised the *difference* in his practice and followed multiculturalism debates of that period. In other words, the retrospective placed his practice within the view of a Brazil that was tropical and associated it with the sensual, the conceptual, and the precarious. Nonetheless, and as observed by Rafael Cardoso, by touring to five different countries, Oiticica's retrospective contributed to "generating interest within the art world" (2019b, p. 180).

The growing interest in his practice continued with one of the curators of the Oiticica retrospective, Catherine David. As Artistic Director of documenta X (1997), she contributed to widening Oiticica's insertion into an international art circuit and broader canon by placing his practice as central to the event's curatorial discourse (Spricigo, 2009). Oiticica was not the only artist from Brazil featured at this event. As observed by Mónica Amor (1997, p. 99), "Latin American participation was signalled by the Brazilian presence, a scene with which David has been involved for a long time, and which included the performative pieces of Tunga and Cabelo", in addition to Oiticica and Clark[14].

[14] Mexican Gabriel Orozco was the only other artists from Latin America in document X's roster.

The inclusion of these artists was part of documenta X's broader objective of questioning matters of globalization. David explains that figures such as Oiticica have contributed to "a radical questioning of the categories of the 'fine arts' and of the anthropological foundations of Western culture" for "an inversion of centre and periphery through the emergence of 'marginal' values" (1997, p. 9). By placing Oiticica, Clark and others alongside artists from regions considered non-peripherical, David's curatorial project contributed to inserting their practice amongst a broader canon, particularly to artistic production of the sixties (Amor, 1997). Pedrosa also noted that it was "precisely this historical recognition that opens the path for younger artists and intellectuals to establish dialogs with Brazilian culture of the second half of the twentieth century" (2010, p. 31). David's aims are outlined in the introduction of documenta X's short guide, in which the curator questioned the possibility of peripheral [Third World] countries in introducing an experimental avant-garde art, problematising there – instead of reinforcing – the Eurocentric perspective of art history.

Documenta X was a political enterprise, argued by Kompatsiaris as being "a paradigmatic moment in curatorial history for thinking through the exhibition as a space of militant knowledge production" (2017, p. 42). In this sense, having these specific Brazilian artists centrally placed at an international event of this significance contributed to their insertion onto a broader canon. However, as observed by Amor (1997), David's existing familiarity with their practice was evident from her prior involvement in Oiticica's touring retrospective – demonstrating, once more, the limitations of the art milieu's network and knowledge. David, as documenta X's art director, contributed to the expansion of art historical narratives by including these artists in the show's roster, but her own internal knowledge-expansion was limited to previously assembled knowledge.

Another important actor in the process of canonisation of both Oiticica and Neoconcretismo has been the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (MFAH), in different strains: research, conservation, collecting and exhibition practices. Soon after Oiticica's death in 1980, an Art Centre was created in Rio de Janeiro to preserve his legacy, managed by his family. In 2002, due to lack of public funds to support this Centre, Oiticica's works were sent to MFAH to be part of a project to study and conserve his works, a partnership established between Projeto Hélio Oiticica, based in Rio, and that museum. One of the aims of this collaboration was to produce a catalogue raisonné of his oeuvre, but due to conflicts between both institutions this was not realised (Spricigo, 2009; Barson, 2022). Nonetheless, the research stemming from this partnership resulted in the exhibition *Hélio Oiticica: The Body of Colour*, first staged at MFAH in 2006, and the following year at Tate Modern. As I will address in Chapter 8, hosting the

exhibition in 2007 served as an opportunity for Tate to display a large body of Oiticica's work that they acquired – making Tate another actor that contributed to the consolidation of this particular Brazilian art canon.

Ramírez, curator of Latin American art at MFAH since 2001, has argued that *The Body of Colour* generated a momentum that led to Oiticica's "representation in influential biennials and historic surveys of post-1945 art worldwide" (2007, p. 17). As the exhibitions mentioned previously testify, however, this was a process that had already been in motion since late 1980s. MFAH both drew on that momentum, and certainly added to it. The MFAH roles in researching, conserving, exhibiting, and collecting his work contributed to the institutionalisation and canonisation of his practice.

Concrete collecting practices

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston also played a role in forming other canons by paying attention to the role of private collections in assembling holdings of Latin American art. Ramírez explained that "[h]ampered by complex histories of nationalism, uneven modernization, economic stagnation, and an unbelievable (though understandable) indifference towards other countries in the continent, very few institutions in Latin America have embarked on such far-reaching collection-building efforts" (2002, pp. 13-15). As a result, individual and private collectors with financial means have contributed to museums' collecting activities.

Ramírez and Adam (2002) argued that institutional collecting practice of Latin American art initiated in the United States through the efforts of Nelson Rockefeller, who established in 1943 the Inter-American Purchase Fund to support MoMA in building a collection from that region (MoMA Archives 43329-20). In doing so, MoMA set standards for this collecting practice, which echoed to other institutions in the United States[15]. For this reason, Ramírez (2002) contended that the United States, since the 1960s, has become the centre for the validation of Latin American art – reinforcing the idea that there is a centre from which knowledge and validation is produced and disseminated.

[15] For instance, the Archer M Huntington Art Gallery of the University of Texas, Austin (now the Jack S Blaton Museum of Art). This gallery received the support of art collector Barbara Duncan and her husband, John. Another example is Patricia Phelps Cisneros collection that was partially donated to MoMA, in 2016. In 2018, other institutions received objects from her collection, namely MoMA, the Bronx Museum of the Arts, the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid, Spain, the Museo de Arte Moderno in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the Museo de Arte de Lima in Lima, Peru, and the Blanton Museum of Art at the University of Texas, Austin in Austin, Texas.

Through partnerships, private collectors trustfully deposit their collections into the guardianship of public institutions. In Ramírez' views, this act grants more public accessibility to this artistic production in addition to allowing institutional research on and display of these works, resulting in "the long-overdue recognition of their aesthetic merit be[ing] obtained" (2002, pp. 15-17). Ramírez' argument is accompanied with the fact that in 2011 she developed a programme entitled 'Latin Maecenas' at the MFAH, through which private collectors support the museum's acquisition of Latin American art. A similar scheme had been introduced a decade earlier by Tate, as I will explain in Chapter 4. The official establishment of this programme at the MFAH was inaugurated with the organisation of the exhibition *Cosmopolitan Routes. Houston Collection of Latin American Art*, in 2010-2011, showcasing a selection of artworks collected by individuals who had joined the 'Latin Maecenas' programme.

This type of programme has its shortcomings. Although relying on private collectors can contribute to a rapid development of a collection and to fill gaps in museums' holdings – and therefore, art historical narratives –, the long-term result is limited to examples of what collectors are interested in acquiring. These initiatives also tend to constantly valorise the exchange of ideas, forms and objects across borders through the partnership established between private collectors based in Latin America, concealing from the analysis the power imbalance and limitations of these exchanges. If prior to such initiatives there was not a pre-established art canon (or canons, in plural), the reliance on private collectors results in the production of knowledge stemming from what collectors are willing to invest in, and in this sense, is constrained by the market consensus. This scenario is highly evident in the insertion of Brazilian abstract art into a broader art historical narrative, a process in which the MFAH played a significant role.

Between 2005 and 2007, MFAH acquired the collection of Adolfo Leirner: an assemblage of artworks that had previously been labelled as a thorough representative of Brazil's abstract art (Amaral, 1977). This categorisation of Leirner's collection emerged from exhibition practice dating back to 1977, when Aracy Amaral and Ronaldo Brito curated *Projeto Construtivo Brasileiro na art*e (Brazilian Constructive Project in art), in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Both curators selected artworks for this show that belonged to Leirner's private holdings, associating the objects and artists in his collection forever with Brazilian abstract art canon.

Leirner's own understanding of his collection contributed to furthering this consolidation. In 1998, he commissioned Amaral "to coordinate and realize an intensive study on Brazilian Constructive and Concrete art" in his possession (Leirner, 2009, p. xi). This resulted in the publication *Arte construtiva no*

Brasil (*Constructive art in Brazil*) alongside an exhibition at both the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo and at the Museum de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro.

While the intricacies of the negotiations involved in MFAH acquiring Leirner's collection are outside the scope of the core research of this thesis, one could speculate that the already established recognition of his holdings in Brazil contributed to that museum's interest in acquiring his collection. An already established tradition in the USA of private patronage and museum collecting can also be understood in this act, together with the growing interest in abstract art from Latin America, and Brazil, that emerged since the 1990s.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston's acquisition was accompanied by and celebrated with a symposium in 2007 entitled *Concretismo and Neoconcretismo: Fifty Years Later*, in which Amaral and Brito also participated. This event was organised alongside the exhibition *Dimensions of Constructive Art in Brazil*, "which presented my entire collection in its new and permanent home at the MFAH", explained Leirner in the catalogue of that show (2009, p. XI). This museum not only acquired a collection that had already been categorised and canonised locally, in Brazil, but took the opportunity to present it for the first time whilst organising an event that brought even more attention to that act. By acquiring Leirner's collection and organising its display, MFAH played the role of a macro-actor institution in defining narratives and forming art canons[16].

Although private collectors' involvement in institutional practice is present in the very genesis of the museum as institutional model (Bennett, 1995), Ramírez understood that private collecting practices of Latin American art had become a "public undertaking" (2002, p. 25). This scenario clearly demonstrates the contribution of private individuals in a consolidation that gains weight when institutionalised into flagship institutions – such as the case of MFAH and Tate, as we will see later.

The Bienal de São Paulo

A local event with international remit such as the Bienal de São Paulo (BSP) has also played a role in canon formation of Brazilian art. Established in 1951, it has been considered decisive in the process of

[16] This was corroborated with the creation of the ICAA (International Centre for the Arts of the Americas), which "is the intellectual arm of the MFAH's Latin American Art Department. Its purpose is to articulate an intellectual platform that fills the gap between the university and the museum" (Olea, Ramírez, 2009, p. 1).

internationalisation of Brazilian art and for bringing the world's attention to that geographical region (Alambert and Canhête, 2004; Jones, 2017; Labra, 2014; Magalhães, 2015; Pedrosa, 1973; Spricigo, 2009, 2011; Villas Boas, 2022;).

Initially created as part of the programme of the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM-SP), opened in 1948, both museum and biennial were founded by wealthy industrial magnate Francisco "Ciccillo" Matarazzo Sobrinho[17]. The idea for establishing this event in São Paulo emerged after Ciccillo visited the Biennale di Venezia in 1948, and again in 1950, as the Brazilian commissioner. Upon his return to Brazil, he planned a festival of arts inspired by the Italian counterpart (Garlake, 1991; Whitelegg, 2018). The São Paulo Biennial thus became the third of its kind established in the world after Venice (founded in 1893) and the Carnegie International (created in 1896 in Pittsburgh).

The establishment of new museums in Brazil in late 1940s and the Bienal as an internationally facing event contributed to the intensification of cultural and artistic relationships and exchanges with art centres and agents internationally[18]. Among those from the UK who participated in early editions, Herbert Read (1893-1968), one of the Institute of Contemporary Art's founders, acted as both the British representative selecting artworks for the Bienal de São Paulo in the 1950s and a judge of its prizes (Magalhães, 2015). Guy Brett (1942-2021), a key-actor in the promotion of Brazilian and Latin American art in UK since the 1960s, travelled to that the country for the first time to visit BSP in 1965 (Brett, 2005). The British Council, Tate's director John Rothenstein, Roland Penrose, another founder-member of ICA, were also part of early UK's delegation selecting artists to be sent to Brazil (BSP, 1961).

[17] MAM-SP and biennial's histories are intertwined: part of the collection of the MAM-SP came from BSP's acquisition prizes. In an intricated series of events entangling the history of these two institutions, the MAM-SP collection was transferred in 1962 to the then recently created Museu de Arte Contemporanea (MAC-USP) belonging to the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) (Magalhães, 2015). Matarazzo Sobrinho donated MAM-SP's collection to the University at the same time he established the Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, which passed to manage the event, thus separating it completely from the museum (Whitelegg, 2018). The Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo continued to exist after the separation from the Biennial and is today located in the same building complex as the São Paulo Biennial at Parque Ibirapuera. What complicates even more an already intricated story is the close location of the "new" museum to the Biennial building (literally a few minutes walking). The collection of the original MAM-SP is now at MAC-SP – which building is located just across the road from the Parque Ibirapuera. More on this, see Whitelegg (2018).

[18] The museums that were established in this period are Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP) in 1947 and the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM-SP) in 1948, both in the city of São Paulo, and the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM-RJ) in Rio de Janeiro in 1948.

The Bienal de São Paulo has been the subject of a vast literature on its history, impact, and influence in the art milieu (Alambert and Canhête, 2004; Asbury, 2006; Garlake, 1991; Jones, 2017; Myada, 2022; Nelson, 2022; Spricigo, 2011; Whitelegg, 2009, 2012, 2018, 2021, 2022). Its role in steadily positioning Brazil (or São Paulo) in relation to the international art system has exerted an influence in the process of canonisation of Brazilian art. Moreover, as noted by Francisco Alambert and Polyana Canhête (2004), in its seventy years of existence, it also played a role in characterising the history of Brazilian art. According to its first artistic director, Lourival Gomes Machado, BSP's mission was "(…) to place modern art from Brazil, not in simple confrontation, but in active contact with the art from the rest of the world, at the same time we would seek to conquer for São Paulo the position of a world artistic centre."[19] (Machado, 1951, p. 15). BSP, in particular, envisaged placing the country, that city and Brazilian art in the international art map.

The Bienal's vision presented by Machado would be further reinforced by Mario Pedrosa in the organisation of the 6th Bienal de Sao Paulo in 1961. This edition celebrated BSP's tenth anniversary, and Pedrosa faced the occasion by putting together an event that critics labelled as a "monster exhibition" (Amaral, 1961, quoted in Villas Boas, 2022, p. 98). He was aware that BSP "was the special locus of symbolic production, offering visibility and relevance to works, artists and trends, attributing value and generating belief in that value time and time again" (Villas Boas, 2022, p. 98). The 1961 event celebrated ten years of BSP but also, and most importantly, *universalidade*. Universality – of time and space – was key to Pedrosa's curatorial project, as explained in the event's catalogue introduction:

> "This universality is not only translated in the geographical or political plane, that is, in space; but it is also translated in time, that is, it leaves artistic contemporaneity to reach the depths of the past. Indeed, it contains artistic forms representing the most diverse degrees of civilization, primitive or complex cultures, living or already dead. This trait of universality is increasingly characteristic of the angle of vision of the young American world of which we are a part. Hence, we do not distinguish our privileged artistic periods, since all, even those of maturity and tradition for the Mediterranean field (classical Greco-Roman art, Renaissance, etc.) all artistic expressions, past and present, whether from the West or the East, form part of our sensibility and our art. Our Biennials reflect, more and more, this unifying force of the art of our days. (Pedrosa, 1961, pp. 30-31).

[19] Translated by the author from original in Portuguese: "...colocar a arte moderna do Brasil, não em simples confronto, mas em vivo contacto com a arte do resto do mundo, ao mesmo tempo que para São Paulo se buscaria conquistar a posição de centro artístico mundial" (Machado, 1951, p. 15).

Pedrosa understood the position of the Bienal as a potential and important connecting point between Brazil's art milieu with other centres, hence the appeal to ideas of *universalidade*.

While in depth analysis of the BSP is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to address the role played by few of its editions in the canonisation process of art from Brazil in general, and Neoconcretismo in particular at the 22nd (1994) and 27th edition (2006). The former, curated by Nelson Aguilar, included "special rooms to exhibit Hélio Oiticica, Lygia Clark and Mira Schendel with the aim of highlighting the quality of local artists, inserting them on the same level of other equally prestigious national representations." (Spricigo, 2011, 82). The latter, curated by Lisette Lagnado, drew on Oiticica's writings to build the curatorial project conceptual framework.

Aguilar's curatorial project focused on "the issue of the support, which represents the bridge uniting and defining contemporary art from the 1950s to the present day" (1994, p. 22) – not limiting the focus to any particular geographical region. The introduction to the event's catalogue, entitled 'Breaking away from support', presents a brief narrative of the contemporary art's interest in freeing itself away from support. Categorically, Aguilar stated that "[t]he perception of tradition support limits was daringly put into words as early as February 6, 1962, in a text written by Hélio Oiticica" (1994, p. 23). He continues naming artists of the second half of twentieth century that are examples of rupture. Apart from two other Brazilians – Lygia Clark and Mira Schendel –, the list included Robert Rauschenberg, Lucio Fontana, Marcel Broodthaers, Richard Long, Jesús Rafael Soto – all of whom had their Special Rooms: because they all "illustrate this self-same search, over the years, to define support" (Aguilar, 1994, p. 23).

Vinicius Spricigo observed that Aguilar's curatorial project aimed at questioning the Eurocentric narrative of art history to claim "a revision of a Conceptual Art genealogy from Pop Art to North American Minimalism" (2011, p.82). Aguilar's intentions were of including the rupture with traditional supports and de-materialisation of the object found in the works of Oiticica, Clark and Schendel in this genealogy. The curator drew on Lucy Lippard's publication on conceptual art (1973) to present his criticism, since Lippard did not include neither of those artists in her chronology on the "de-materialisation of artworks". Aguilar was then proposing an alternative canon for conceptual art (Spricigo, 2011).

Lagnado's conceptual paradigm for the 27th Bienal de São Paulo's curatorial project meanwhile drew on Oiticica's 'Environmental Programme'. This was chosen as theoretical framework "to demonstrate two premises: that it is possible to activate one's repertoire through the 'proposer' rather than the 'artist'

stance, and that Brazilian experimentality meant to reach beyond the 'interactive' horizon, promoting the visible transformations of today's art" (Lagnado, 2006, p. 63). It was a proposal that was both political, but also aesthetic. As such, the 27th BSP debated themes related to globalization by selecting artworks that touched upon social and political issues. The curatorial team also removed the traditional format of having national delegations with the aim of constructing shared and common spaces – reflected on its title: *Como viver juntos* (*How to live together*). Given the importance achieved by the Bienal de São Paulo in the international art milieu, having these editions focusing on these artists and movements contributed to a process of consolidation and canonisation that was occurring in parallel to the work of other actors, such as exhibitions and collecting practices.

Other canons: Tropicalismo

Tropicalismo, also from the 1960s, is another Brazilian art movement that has gained prominent space in collecting and exhibition practices. Its roots lie in Oiticica's writings and practice, strongly influenced by the ideas of hybridisation from Antropofagia and Andrade's Manifesto. In the words of Oiticica as its own theoriser, Tropicalismo "is the very first conscious, objective attempt to impose an obviously Brazilian image upon the current context of the avant-garde and nationalist art manifestations in general." (Oiticica, 1968, p. 239). Oiticica explained that the idea for conceptualising Tropicalismo was the combination of his 'New Objectivity' theory combined with Andrade's Antropofagia to distinguish what he called "a Brazilian condition" in art and culture. New Objectivity was Oiticica's understanding of the then Brazil's avant-garde. In addition to embracing Neconcretist's premises, it advocated for an art with political dimensions and collective actions. Antropofagia, therefore, laid the grounds for Oiticica's understanding of what for him was characteristic of Brazil's artistic production in which issues related to identity were still relevant.

Tropicalismo contributed to the revitalisation of Antropofagia, observed Rocha, which is related not only "to external elements, but also to the beginnings of popular mass culture, outlined in the main urban centres in the 1950s and 1960s" (2011, p. 652). Artists (Oiticica), musicians (Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil), and filmmakers (Glauber Rocha) of those years appropriated ideas from Antropofagia, however now subscribing them to the realities of their own time. The 1960s in Brazil witness the advance of a Military Dictatorship that would last over 20 years. In this sense, the political and activist nature of the Manifesto Antropófago continued resonating in the country.

The artwork opening this Chapter is an exponent of Tropicalismo – in fact, the movement borrowed its name from this installation. *Tropicália* evokes a place, Rio de Janeiro, and the artist's conceptualisation of feelings, sensation, and participation in art. About this work, Oiticica wrote that the "environment was obviously tropical, like something hidden away in a backyard and, most importantly, one had the feeling of treading upon the earth" (1968, p.240). These feelings came from his own personal experience of "walking through the hills or the *favela*", meaning that "the trajectory of entering, leaving, and winding through Tropicália's corridors is strongly reminiscent of walks through the Hill [of Rio de Janeiro]" (Oiticica, 1986, pp. 99-100, quoted in Venancio, 2007, p. 32). Sensorial experiences, feelings, hybridisation, matters of identity and participative artworks are characteristics that have come to define a Brazilian art canon and one that have been formed and gained prominent space through exhibition and collecting practices, in Brazil and abroad. Macro-actor museums like Tate and MFAH, together with curators and events such as documenta X and BSP, contribute to both the establishment and reinforcement of this canon through acquisition, display and discourse on this artistic practice.

Conclusion

This Chapter explored the process that led to the recognition of Neoconcretismo as the Brazilian art canon, in addition to having underpinned the main actors responsible for this activity. This process was considered through the integration of this artistic practice in the international milieu because the global circulation of objects and actors contribute to canon formation. Neoconcretismo and artists such as Oiticica and Clark have been canonised revealing an interest in practices that present a new flavour – a Brazilian one – that can nevertheless be placed within a Western art historical narrative.

Singling out the actors involved in this process allowed for observing the limitations of networks. Not only are the same artists and movements being considered for exhibitions and collecting activities, but we can identify the same actors behind those shows pursuing these activities. Through this Chapter, it was possible to identify other canons such as Modernist Antropofagia that, although not being collected by institutions in the UK, debated issues that resonated in the artistic practice in Brazil throughout the twentieth century until today. They are examples of canonised entities that are more prominent in local art historical narrative. It was the practice of an avant-garde that dialogue with Western traditions, such as Neoconcretismo, that have been included in broader art historical narratives.

As seen in Chapter 1, Brzyski (2007) and Elkins (2017) argued that the Western art canon is still predominant in art historical narratives, despite museums investing in alternative canonical projects. This search for alternative canons, however, tends to occur within parameters that have been established by art history as a Western -born discipline. As a result, institutions' quest for artistic practices falling outside the Western canon tends to focus on more digestible alternatives – for both their audiences and themselves. This scenario can be understood by limitations encountered in the art milieu's networks where actors – such as curators, art historian, objects, and ideas – circulate, as this thesis will unveil and others have observed (Dávila, 2019; Fialho, 2019; Quemin, 2014; Verger, 1991). It becomes a vicious cycle: we consume what is known to us, and typically what is common to us is more easily accessible and available. The now established Brazilian art canon, of which *Tropicália* is an example of, is limited in its scope for accounting practices whose artistic language is more easily assimilated by foreign audiences.

Section 2

Mapping Brazilian art in the UK

In the previous chapters I focused on outlining the thesis methodology (Chapter 1) and on analysing the process of canon formation of art from Brazil through its internationalisation (Chapter 2).

I turn my attention now to the reception of Brazilian art in the United Kingdom. As outlined in the introduction, my research questions include investigating which institutions in the UK, whose artists, and what objects from Brazil, have been collected and how. This section focuses precisely on these questions, by presenting the methods and results of the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK, designed to map out these acquisitions (Chapter 3).

This Section also includes Chapter 4, which outlines the process that allowed for art from Latin America to become a subject of interest in the UK. Coincidently, the two case studies, ESCALA and Tate, played a key role in this process. The context presented in Chapter 4 is important to the case studies analysis in the thesis' last section.

When referring to the acquisition of an artwork, I follow the UK museums management standard SPECTRUM's definition for this procedure. SPECTRUM defines acquisition as the "'transfer of title' from the previous owner [to the museum]" (Collection Trust, 2017). This procedure provides the museum with a proof of ownership of the object acquired. SPECTRUM also assumes that objects that have been acquired will then be accessioned by the museum. Accessioning an object entail "ethical responsibilities to preserve objects over the long term, and should not be done without careful thought in the light of [the museum] agreed collecting policy" (Collection Trust, 2017). Although collecting policies vary from institution to institution, by acquisitions this thesis refers, therefore, to artworks that have entered museums' permanent collection.

Chapter 3 – The survey of Brazilian art in the UK

The rationale for undertaking this survey emerged from the idea that to understand why museums are acquiring objects from Brazil, I had first to know the breadth of this collecting practice. Carrying out this survey was a nuanced task essential for the aims of this thesis as it allowed for the identification of patterns of collecting activity. Combining the survey with qualitative research methods – i.e., archive research and interviews – proved to be an effective model for the study of institution's collecting activity. The clues that surfaced from observing patterns in the data gathered informed the choice of case studies, in addition to opening paths for future research. In this Chapter, I present the methods and results of the survey, in addition to an analysis of the data gathered.

Methods

A structured survey was chosen as a method because it is an effective strategy for mass data collection and it works well in research with "clear and narrow targets in terms of information it is trying to gather" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 12), such as those of this thesis. Moreover, this project required gathering factual data to be analysed quantitatively to measure patterns of collecting practices. This included the number of Brazilian artworks found across the UK, which institutions are collecting these objects, who are the artists being collected, when the objects were acquired and produced, and acquisition methods.

In total, 515 institutions were contacted to answer to the questionnaire (listed in Appendix 2 – List of museums contacted to answer to the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK). The survey was first distributed between 15 November and 19 December 2019. By the end of December 2019, as a response rate of only 15% was reached, a follow up email was sent in the week of 14 January 2020 to the institutions that had not yet replied. The survey was closed on 29 February 2020, with a response rate of 54%.

Study design

As quantitative research methods produce numerical data that can be measured (Denscombe, 2010), I opted to gather categorical data about what, who, where, when and how artworks have been collected. These data were collected from public and non-profit museums (private collections were not

considered) with a permanent collection; they could be either national, local authorities, independent not for profit, university collections, based in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales.

In the process of selecting institutions, I encountered the challenge that there is no official list of museums in Britain (Cannadine, 2018). The closest to a centralised database of public art collections in the UK is the Art UK project, which aims to serve as the online home for every public art collection in Britain (Art UK, no date). This platform was used as a starting point for data collection, as it permits users to search and filter objects by artist's nationality.

There are 25 artists under the 'Brazilian' category in the Art UK project[20]. However, among these artists we find Frans Post (1612–1680), a Dutch painter who accompanied the Dutch West India Company's voyage to Brazil, where he lived between 1637-1644. Post painted the flora and fauna he encountered in Brazil and continued to portray these subjects after his return to the Netherlands (Oliver, 2013). In the Art UK project, his name is associated with both Dutch and Brazilian nationalities: the former due to his place of birth, and the latter due to his well-known artistic production. This raises questions about what leads an artist and/or an artwork to be categorised under a particular nationality. Although artists born in other countries who have lived and worked in Brazil can be considered within the thesis' scope, Post's case is more problematic. He lived in Brazil during a time when the idea of Brazil as a nation did not yet exist. For this reason, Post is not considered within the scope of this thesis. Although the Art UK project is a useful resource, it presents some limitations. For instance, at the time the survey was being designed, the type of objects considered in the Art UK project was restricted to paintings, with sculptures and prints added to their database from February 2019 onwards (ART UK, no date).

Given the lack of an official list of public museums in the UK, the process of selecting institutions to be contacted was based on two sets of data: the first was a list of accredited museums published by the Arts Council, comprising 1,742 museums[21]; the second was a list available on Wikipedia, which included

[20] This number refers to a search performed on 25 April 2022. In a search carried out in March 2020, this database had 20 Brazilian artists listed, which shows that more objects have recently been added to the project. More details here: https://artuk.org/discover/artists/view_as/grid/search/nationality:brazilian

[21] This list consulted dated November 2019 and is available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/document/list-accredited-museums-uk-channel-islands-and-isle-man or here https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/accreditation-scheme/about-accreditation#section-4 (Accessed: 24 October 2019 and 19 December 2019).

over 3,500 institutions[22]. These lists combined resulted in an extensive database of museums, which was then narrowed down by selecting the institutions within the scope of this thesis, as explained above.

The process of narrowing down the combined list began by removing duplicates, followed by eliminating museums devoted to specific subjects that did not include art or did not have permanent collections – such as art centres, museums of science, natural history, industry, military, transport, and archaeological sites. This process continued by checking each institution's websites to verify if they fit within the scope of this thesis. During this process, I also collected the institutions' e-mail, since I opted to carry out an online survey. The idea of selecting specific institutions was to overcome one of the disadvantages of using surveys for mass data collection, which as per Descombe (2010) can lead to the receipt of fewer replies. For this reason, I opted to contact specific collections instead of sending the survey out to general mailing lists.

Structured questionnaire

I used a structured questionnaire with standardised questions, since the answers received in this format allow for quantitative analysis (Cheung, 2014). The survey's questions included the following definition of Brazilian art:

> *By Brazilian art we refer to art made in Brazil or abroad by artists born in Brazil living and working both in the country or abroad; and also, by artists from other countries who have moved to live and work in Brazil (e.g., Mira Schendel). The term art should be considered in a broad sense, embracing artistic production which is usually placed under the category of artefact, such as indigenous artworks, from the colonial period to the present day.*

This definition has been formulated considering the development of Brazil into a nation-state from a former Portuguese colony. This definition was included due to the complexities around Brazilian and Latin American identity in general, which is the result of "the multiplicity of components in our [Latin Americans] ethno-genesis, the complex processes of creolization and hybridization, and the presence of large groups of indigenous peoples who are excluded or only partially integrated into postcolonial nationalities." (Mosquera, 2003, p. 70). To these facts, one can add the immigration of peoples from

[22] This list is available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_museums_in_the_United_Kingdom (Accessed 28 March 2019). The limitations of using a platform such as Wikipedia to collect data, given its model of openly editable content, have been considered and acknowledged during this process. In this regard, the list available on Wikipedia was not used in this project as the main source to select museums, but as a complementary one.

Europe and Asia to Brazil in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the outward process of Latin Americans emigrating to other regions.

Moreover, this thesis aims to be as inclusive as possible in its definition of art. I kept the concept of art and the timeframe as broad as possible in the survey question to allow for institutions to reflect on their own definition of art and how that interpretation is applied to their own holdings. In this regard, the idea was to embrace all forms of artistic production – even if at the time of acquisition, the object per se was not understood as 'art'. Thus, the words 'art', 'artwork', 'work' and/or 'object' will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis, without applying any sort of hierarchies such as 'high' or 'low' forms of art.

Following these definitions, the survey asked for the institutions' name and location, and if they held any art from Brazil. When a positive answer was received, I then asked for additional details about the objects, including the artwork title, name of the artist, date of production, date of acquisition, acquisition method (e.g., purchased, donated, etc), and type of artwork (e.g., painting, sculpture, etc). In cases where Brazilian artwork was not held in the institutions' collection, a field was included where the option "My institution does not hold any Brazilian artwork in their collection" could be selected.

Data cleaning

The survey resulted in a database exceeding 3700 objects. However, almost 60% of the responses received did not fit the definition criteria provided for 'Brazilian art' and were consequently excluded from the analysis. The objects that were considered out of scope came from replies regarding spears, bows, human remains, weapons and tools amongst others. This posed a methodological challenge as to whether these objects should be considered relevant for further analysis, given that institutions were allowed to reflect on their own holdings. Whereas certain objects listed through the survey were easier to exclude from the 'Brazilian art' definition, others required a more careful consideration, such as headdresses and other works produced, for instance, by indigenous peoples (figure 3.1). The dataset went then through a cleaning process to remove entries that were considered out of scope and also to standardise the raw data received in order to perform quantitative analysis.

3.1 – Ornament (c. 1800), Munduruku People, feather and cotton. ©The British Museum

An example of how data have been categorised can be found in the field 'acquisition method' as raw data standardisation was required for two main reasons. First, the details provided for the acquisition of some objects can be very extensive at times. One specific example is the acquisition credit line for Meireles' installation *Babel* (2001) specifying that the object was purchased jointly by Tate with assistance of the Latin American Acquisitions Committee and the D. Daskalopoulos Collection, as a promised gift to the art gallery (Tate, no date12). Although these factors are relevant for further analysis regarding acquisition methods, they are not suitable for quantitative analysis. In order to account for differences in the details provided, a column entitled 'Acquisition Method – one word' was applied to the analysis, where the acquisition method was described in one word – in the case of Babel, the object was coded as 'purchased'. The second reason pointing to the need for data standardisation stems from the fact that different museums use different words to describe similar methods of acquisition: 'donation', 'gift', 'presented' are all terms that have been used to refer to objects given to museums. To allow for these discrepancies, all objects given to a museum (and not purchased) have been coded as 'donation'.

Data analysis

The quantitative data analysis aimed to identify categories and patterns of collecting Brazilian art in the UK. The data were treated as nominal/categorical data, meaning that they can be counted and placed into categories (Denscombe, 2010). In this analysis, the data were split in the following six categories:

the institutions, the acquisition date, the artists, the acquisition method, the types of objects and date of production.

The analysis of nominal data was carried out using the mode measurement method. This method permits identifying and describing both the most and least popular figures in a data set and to finding central patterns, given that the "identification of the modal value simply consists of seeing which value among a set occurs most frequently" (Denscombe, 2010, 250). Although this method is effective for quantitative analysis, it presents some limitations as it does not allow for the explanation or meaning behind the most common value. Moreover, as Claire Bishop observed in her critique of using digital strategies in the field of art history, "[c]omputational metrics can help aggregate data and indicate patterns, but they struggle to explain causality, which in the humanities is always a question of interpretation" (2018, p. 127). Although I agree with Bishop that data and patterns alone do not provide substantial answers, the lack of interpretation stemming from only observing patterns can be confronted by further investigating broader factors and in finding correlations in the same dataset. This includes exploring and understanding the interaction and interplays of the dataset and the relations and interrelations of the categories and patterns (Saldaña, 2011). Additionally, the meaning of modal values can be interpreted by combining quantitative research methods with qualitative ones, which I undertake in the case studies by collecting further primary data through archive research and interviews.

The data analysis that follows was carried out in two stages. First, the data was treated as nominal data and analysed through the mode method to identify patterns and tendencies in the collecting activity, which aimed to provide answers the following questions: Which institutions hold the highest number of Brazilian artworks in the UK? When did these acquisitions occur and was there a specific period when the collecting activity peaked? Who are the most collected artists? What is the most common method of acquisition? What is the most common type of object being collected? When were the objects produced? Once the data was analysed according to the above questions, the second stage aimed to interpret the collected data through interrelation and interplay of the most common patterns observed.

The results

The response rate of the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK was 54%, which corresponds to 276 museums. In total, 15% confirmed holding Brazilian art in their collections. This method of data collection

generated three datasets. The first was a metadata database listing the institutions contacted, their geolocations, and if they replied to the questionnaire or not. The second was the database of Brazilian art in public collections in the UK, which is the main dataset analysed in this thesis, listing in total 1488 objects. The third dataset is a database of the objects that extend beyond the scope of this thesis, which is not considered in the analysis carried out hereafter. The results are organised by description of study sample.

Geolocations

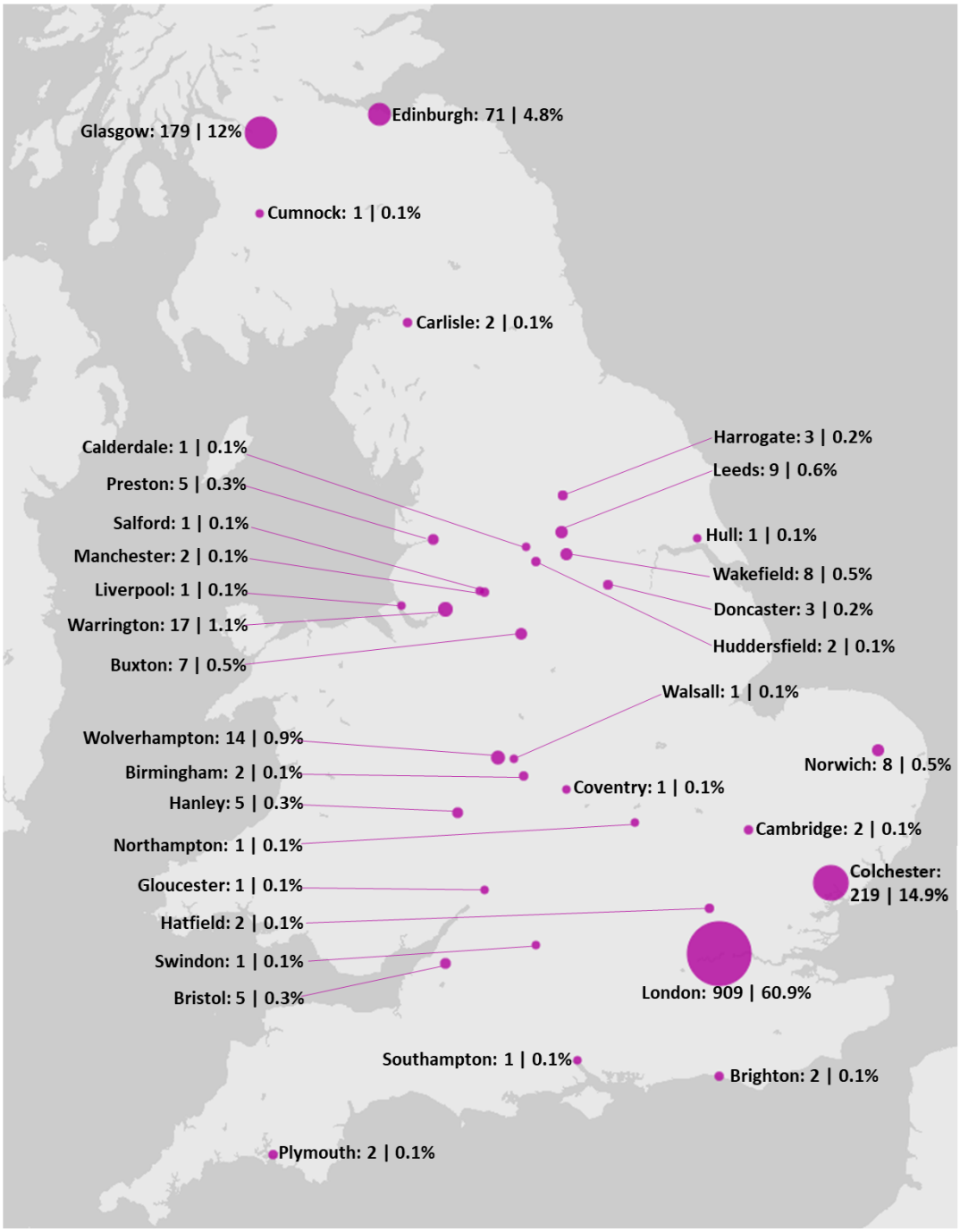
Most venues contacted are located in England (72%), followed by Scotland (19%), Wales (5%) and Northern Ireland (4%).[23] Of the institutions that replied to the questionnaire, only museums in England and Scotland have Brazilian art in their collections. Table 3.A summarises the number of responses received per nation, including the number of artworks and museums holding these objects.

Nation	Contacted (N)	Responses (N)	Response rate (%)	Number of artworks overall	Museums with >=1 Brazilian artworks (N)	Proportion of responding museums with Brazilian artworks (%)
England	370	214	58%	1237	37	17%
Northern Ireland	22	6	27%	0	0	0
Scotland	98	50	52%	251	4	8%
Wales	25	6	24%	0	0	0
UK Total:	*515*	*276*	*54%*	*1488*	*41*	*15%*

3.A – Summary of the number of responses received per nation

[23] Collections such as the Arts Council, which represent the UK as a whole, were placed in England given that is where their headquarters are located.

The museums that confirmed holding Brazilian art in their collections are mostly concentrated in three main cities: London, Colchester, and Glasgow, as shown in the map in figure 3.2. Over 60% of these objects are held in London.



3.2 – Map of Brazilian art in the UK, created based on data collected through the survey and using the platform Palladio. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

The Museums

According to the survey, there are 41 institutions collecting Brazilian art in the UK, listed below with their respective number and percentage of artworks in relation to the total (see table 3.B).

Institution	Number of objects	%
The British Museum	666	44.7
ESCALA	219	14.7
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)	179	12.0
Tate	170	11.4
National Museums of Scotland	62	4.2
V&A	54	3.6
Warrington Museum	17	1.1
Wolverhampton Art Gallery	14	0.9
Arts Council UK	11	0.7
Leeds Museums and Art Gallery	9	0.6
National Galleries of Scotland	9	0.6
The Hepworth Wakefield	8	0.5
Buxton Museum and Art Gallery	7	0.5
Imperial War Museum	7	0.5
Norfolk Museums Service	6	0.4
Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery	5	0.3
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	5	0.3
Potteries Museum & Art Gallery	5	0.3
Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery	3	0.2
The Mercer Art Gallery	3	0.2
Birmingham Museums Trust	2	0.1
Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries	2	0.1
Kirklees Museums and Galleries	2	0.1
Manchester Art Gallery	2	0.1
Mill Green Mill & Museum	2	0.1
New Hall Art Collection	2	0.1
Plymouth Museums and Galleries	2	0.1
Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts	2	0.1
Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery	2	0.1
Calderdale Museums	1	0.1
Ferens Art Gallery	1	0.1
Nature in art	1	0.1
Northampton Museum and Art Gallery	1	0.1
Salford Museum and Art Gallery	1	0.1
Southampton City Art Gallery	1	0.1
Swindon Art Gallery	1	0.1
The New Art Gallery	1	0.1
University of Warwick Art Collection	1	0.1
University Hospital Aintree	1	0.1
Dumfries House	1	0.1
Great Ormond Street Hospital	1	0.1

3.B – List of museums in the UK with respective number of Brazilian artworks in their collections, as per survey sample.

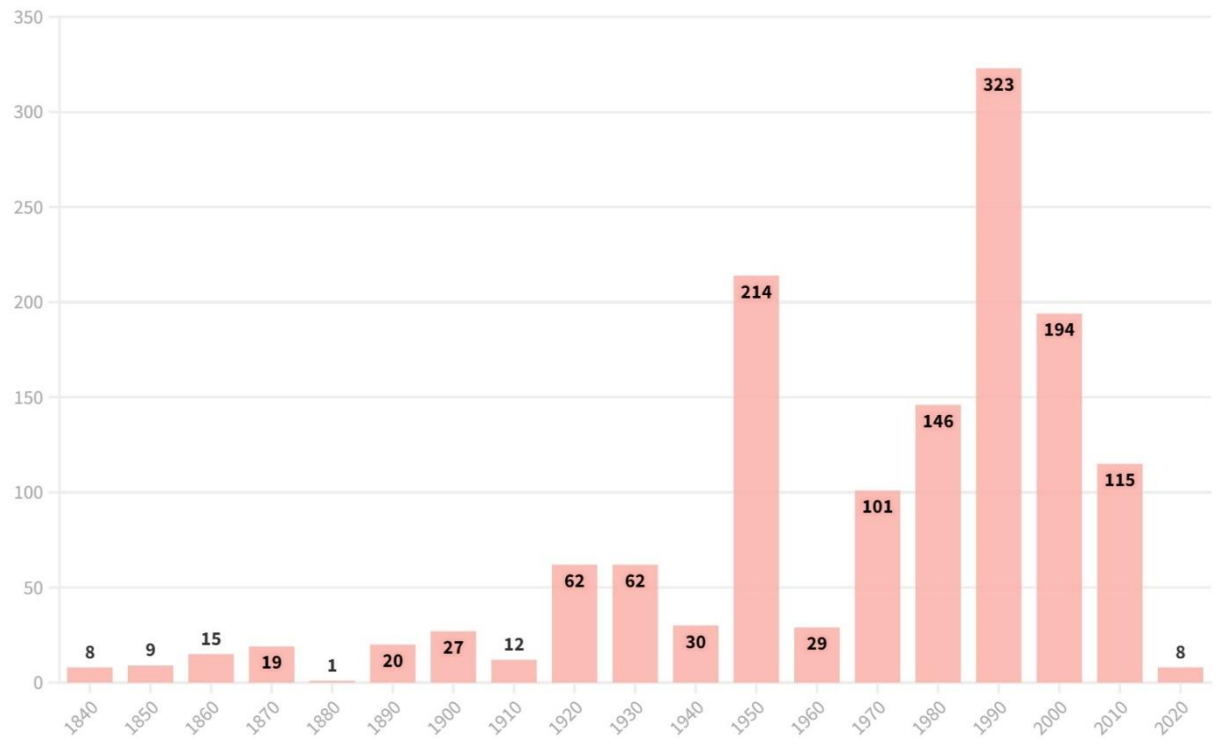
A closer look at the top four museums with the highest number of holdings reveals that together, they correspond to approximately 83% of the total (see table 3.C).

Institution	Number of objects	%
The British Museum	666	44.7
ESCALA	219	14.7
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)	179	12.0
Tate	170	11.4
total	*1234*	*82.9*

3.C – Top four museums with the highest number of objects from Brazil in their holdings, as per survey sample.

Acquisition dates

According to the survey, the first objects from Brazil entered public collections in the UK in the 1840s and consist of a group of pottery objects from the early nineteenth century from the state of Pará donated to the British Museum by Reginald Graham. The most recent acquisitions are six works by Hudinilson Jr donated to ESCALA by the Estate of the artist in 2021 (ESCALA, no date).



3.3 – Graph showing number of artworks from Brazil acquired by public museums in the UK per decade, as per survey sample.

The graph in figure 3.3 shows the acquisition dates, organised by decade. A total of 93 objects (6%) have not been included in the graph, as the acquisition date remains unknown.

The artists

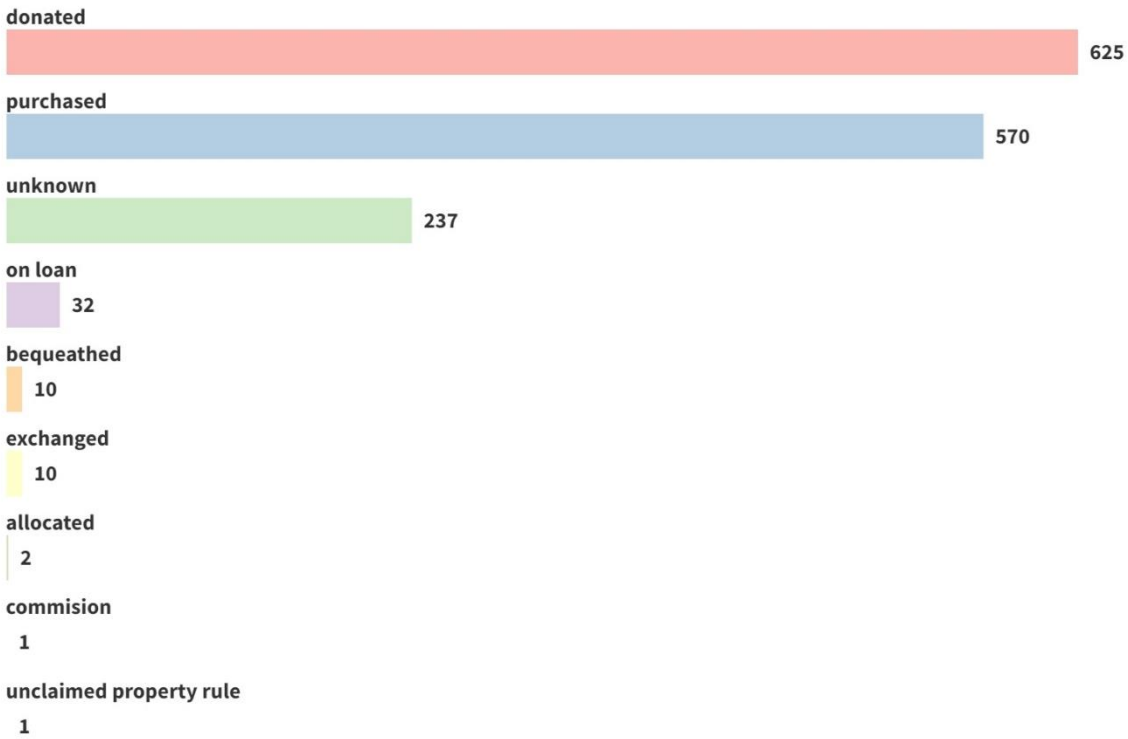
The survey resulted in a list of approximately 260 artists, including those whose names are unknown. Table 3.D lists the top 10 (including unknown) most collected artists by number of objects found in public collections the UK.

Artist	number	%
unknown	262	17.6
Sebastião Salgado	114	7.7
Ana Maria Pacheco	82	5.5
Karaja People	78	5.2
Xavante People	59	4.0
Krahô People	48	3.2
Cashinahua People	45	3.0
Cildo Meireles	35	2.4
Munduruku People	34	2.3
Alex Gama	33	2.2

3.D – Top nine most collected Brazilian artists by number of individual objects found in collections in the UK, as per survey sample.

Acquisition method

The acquisition method varies significantly between institutions, depending on the size and type of the organisation and their available acquisition budget. The chart the follows (see figure 3.4) presents the acquisition method of the objects in consideration, showing that the two most common methods were donation (42%) and purchase (38%). The acquisition methods classified as 'unknown' included cases where the information was either unavailable or not disclosed during the survey, or where the relevant details were not included in the institution's public catalogue.



3.4 – Chart showing the number of objects as per method of acquisition, as per survey sample.

The types of objects

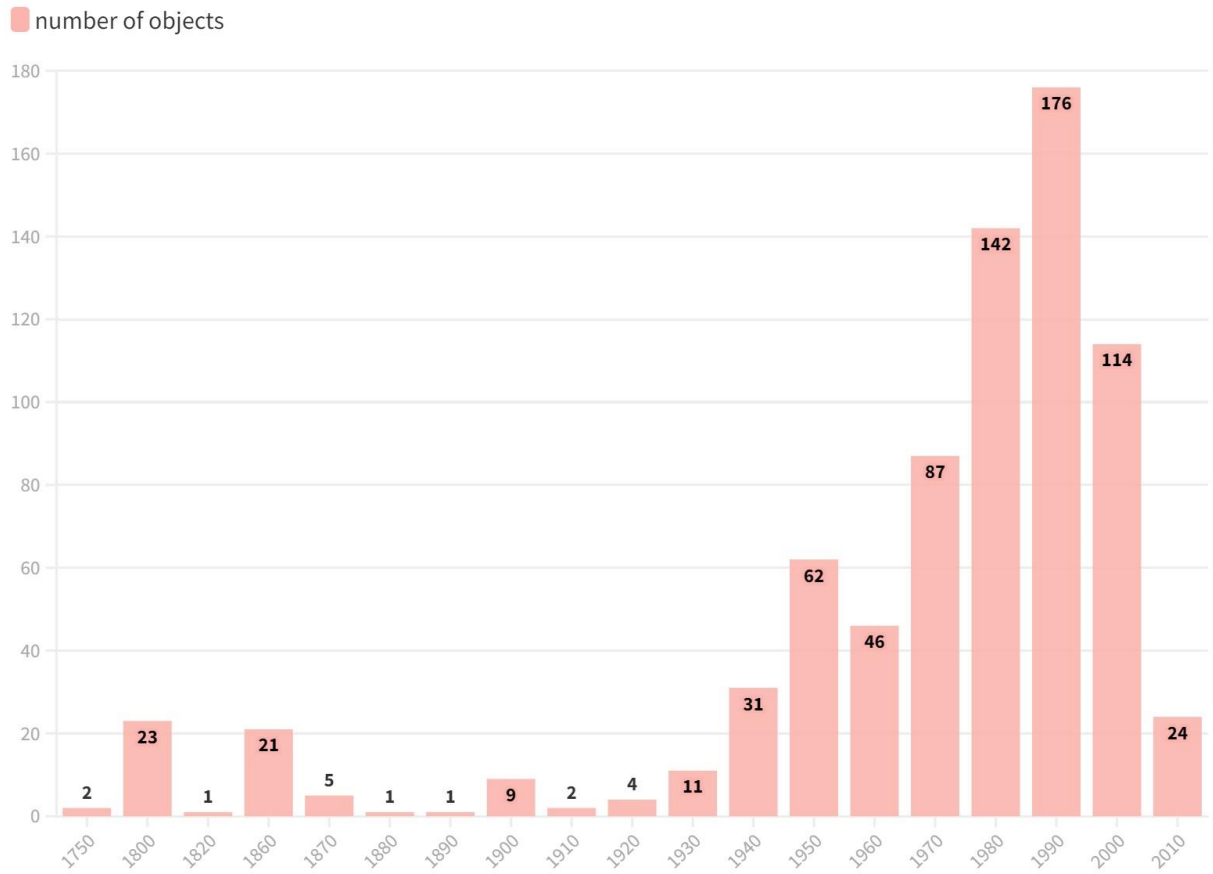
The types of objects being collected vary significantly (see table 3.E). The top six most collected types of objects include prints, photographs, head ornaments, necklaces, paintings, and sculptures and represent over 50% of the total.

what	number	%	what	number	%
print	227	15.3	artefact	5	0.3
photograph	153	10.3	breast ornament	5	0.3
head ornament	128	8.6	legband/leglet	4	0.3
necklace	111	7.5	pot	4	0.3
painting	89	6.0	textile	4	0.3
sculpture	89	6.0	anklet	3	0.2
ornament	74	5.0	circlet	3	0.2
basket	57	3.8	object	3	0.2
armband/armlet	51	3.4	plume	3	0.2
figure	50	3.4	board	2	0.1
drawing	44	3.0	cheek-ornament	2	0.1
banknote	31	2.1	coin	2	0.1
rattle	30	2.0	collar	2	0.1
bowl	29	1.9	crown	2	0.1
bracelet	27	1.8	fringe	2	0.1
belt	23	1.5	sceptre	2	0.1
pottery	19	1.3	snuff tray	2	0.1
mask	18	1.2	assemblage	1	0.1
earring	16	1.1	book	1	0.1
garment	16	1.1	cape	1	0.1
poster	16	1.1	cast	1	0.1
chapbook	15	1.0	charm	1	0.1
doll	14	0.9	hat	1	0.1
vase	13	0.9	horn	1	0.1
video	12	0.8	knee ornament	1	0.1
pendant	11	0.7	lance	1	0.1
computer art	9	0.6	model	1	0.1
lip ornament	9	0.6	neck-ring	1	0.1
installation	8	0.5	rocking chair	1	0.1
amulet	7	0.5	sash	1	0.1
collage	7	0.5	slide, film	1	0.1
cap	6	0.4	wall-hanging	1	0.1
ear-ornament	6	0.4	watercolour	1	0.1
staff	6	0.4	wristlet	1	0.1

3.E – List of type of objects from Brazil found in public collections in the UK, as per survey sample.

Objects date

The sample surveyed shows that objects from Brazil in public collections in the UK were produced between the 1750s and the present day (see figure 3.5), although almost half of the objects (726) in consideration do not have a date of production associated to them.



3.5 – Graph showing the decade of production of objects from Brazil in public collections in the UK, as per survey sample.

Discussion

The results of the data analysis presented above unveil noteworthy patterns of collecting activity of Brazilian art in the UK that warrants further consideration. For instance, looking more closely at the geolocation of these objects, their high concentration in London (over 60% of the total) is expected given that this city has the highest number of museums contacted for the survey: just about 10% of the

total. This includes large national collections such as the British Museum and Tate that sit on the top 6 institutions collecting art from Brazil. In contrast, the percentage of cities with only one museum is 52%. These numbers reveal patterns that need to be interpreted carefully as they represent specific contexts. For instance, as seen on the map in figure 3.2, Colchester holds almost 15% of the objects within the scope of this thesis – the second largest holding of Brazilian art in the UK – whereas the city concentrates only 0.78% of the venues contacted. Moreover, these 15% belong to just one institution, ESCALA.

ESCALA, then, is listed as one of the top institutions collecting art from Brazil. Table 3.B shows that the British Museum is the institution with the highest number of objects, with almost 45% of the total being analysed in this thesis. Despite this elevated number, I opted for ESCALA and Tate as case studies because their holdings and collecting practices are similar – i.e., they both focus on modern and contemporary art from Latin America. Moreover, in ESCALA's Collection Management Policies, Tate is cited as the only other comparable collection in the UK that should be consulted prior to obtaining new acquisitions to avoid any conflict of interest, unnecessary duplication, or waste of resources (ESCALA, no date).

Nonetheless, the British Museum emerged as a case for future research. In 2018, this institution established the Santo Domingo Centre of Excellence for Latin American Research (SDCELAR). This Centre aims to challenge "the ways in which Latin America is commonly represented and studied in museums" (SDCELAR, no date1), by supporting activities that will yield more visibility to the British Museum's Latin American collections. These include conducting research on their holdings, hosting residencies, and acquisitions. In relation to the former, the SDCELAR has been collecting contemporary art by indigenous and local artists from Latin America, an activity that usually evolves from fieldwork in the region carried out by their staff. An example is the purchase of watercolours by Feliciano Lana (1937-2020), an indigenous artist from the Tukano community of the Brazilian Amazon. The work acquired is *Gente-peixe/Fishpeople* (2019; figure 3.6), a series of twelve watercolours that "illustrates the mythic origins of the Tukano people", acquired from the artist in 2019 after a fieldwork trip that the SDCELAR's curators undertook to the Amazon (SDCELAR, no date2,3). As a fairly-recently established centre, it is still too early to analyse the impact of the SDCELAR's work on the overall British Museum's collecting policies. This institution does not use the word 'art' in their acquisition strategy (The British Museum, no date1), and yet SDCELAR seems to be defying this notion by explicitly acquiring works that are then categorised as art.

3.6 – Gente-peixe *(2019), Feliciano Lana, watercolour on paper. ©The British Museum*

The other institution featured as collecting a great number of objects from Brazil is Glasgow Museums (see table 3.F), however further investigation has revealed that this relates to one single purchase in 1994 of 102 photographs by Sebastião Salgado (b. 1944). In the same year of this acquisition, the Glasgow-based McLellan Galleries held the exhibition *Salgado: Photographs 1977-1992*. According to information shared via email by Patricia Allan, Curator of World Cultures, the photographs were acquired directly from Salgado, except for one entitled *Child burial with open eyes*, "which was purchased from the Magnum Photographic Agency in October 1994 as part of a collection of 6 photographic images by different artists, specifically for the new St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art which opened in 1993" (Allan, 2020). The remaining photographs were purchased for the Gallery of Modern Art, in Glasgow, which opened in 1996. Salgado's photographs correspond to 57% of the Brazilian holdings at Glasgow Museums. Table 3.F presents the other artists in their collection, mostly unknown names from indigenous communities.

Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)	
Sebastião Salgado	102
Karaja People	52
WaiWai People	11
unknown	10
Ticuna people	2
Manuel Martins	1
Urbano de Macedo	1
total	**179**

3.F – List of artists and number of objects from Brazil in Glasgow Museums' collection.

This large purchase by Glasgow Museums also explains why Sebastião Salgado features as the most collected artist (after unknown artists, see table 3.D). Despite being an internationally renowned photographer, being on the top of this list does not necessarily imply that Salgado is the artist from Brazil that generates most interest in the UK. Glasgow Museums hold almost 90% of Salgado's work found in public collections in the UK, as per sample surveyed. His work is found in three other institutions (see table 3.G). What is more evident in this case is that the interest in collecting his work in the UK is more specific to Glasgow Museums.

Sebastião Salgado	
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)	102
ESCALA	9
Tate	2
V&A	1
Total:	114

3.G – List of institutions in the UK holding artworks by Sebastião Salgado, as per survey sample.

Furthermore, it is also due to this purchase that Glasgow Museums feature in the list of top nine institutions with the highest number of objects with a total of 179 artworks, – of which Salgado's work represents 57% of the total. Despite being on the top nine, a preliminary conclusion shows that the numbers of objects in Glasgow Museums collections does not reflect an actual strategy of collecting art from Brazil, being therefore a more incidental collecting practice. This is equally evident in Glasgow

Museums Collecting Policy, which emphasises their priorities in collecting objects that "reflect the development of the arts in Scotland, particularly the west of Scotland, and with lesser emphasis on British and world contexts. There is particular stress on the works of living Scottish artists in all media" (2008, p. 8).

In contrast, Ana Maria Pacheco, the second most collected artist in terms of the number of objects acquired, appears to be one more featured in various museums (see table 3.H). Pacheco is, however, another particular case. She can be catalogued in collections in the UK as both a Brazilian and – as is the case for The British Museum (The British Museum, no date3) – as a British artist. Born in Brazil in 1943, Pacheco has been living in the UK since 1973, when she was awarded a British Council Scholarship to undertake a course at the Slade School of Fine Art. She stayed in Britain ever since, being very active in the local art milieu. For instance, Pacheco held the position of Head of Fine Art at the Norwich School of Art between 1985 and 1989 and undertook an artistic residency at the National Gallery in London from 1997 to 2000 (Bush, no date).

Ana Maria Pacheco	
The British Museum	36
Wolverhampton Art Gallery	14
Tate	12
Norfolk Museums Service	6
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	3
The Hepworth Wakefield	3
Arts Council UK	2
Birmingham Museums Trust	2
ESCALA	2
New Hall Art Collection	1
V&A	1
Total:	82

3.H – List of institutions in the UK holding works by Ana Maria Pacheco, as per survey sample.

This closer investigation into the cases of Salgado and Pacheco reveals the limitations of quantitative data analysis. Observing only the numbers of objects does not yet reveal factors and causalities, although it provides clues for further investigation. In this regard, the most and least popular numbers that emerged from the quantitative analysis of Brazilian artists being collected in the UK exposes the

need to pay attention to the circumstances in which these acquisitions have taken place, instead of assuming that a popular figure reflects absolute truths about collecting practices.

Karaja People	
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)	52
The British Museum	26

Xavante People	
The British Museum	59

Krahô People	
The British Museum	48

Cashinahua People	
The British Museum	45

Cildo Meireles	
ESCALA	4
Tate	30
The New Art Gallery	1

Munduruku People	
The British Museum	34

Alex Gama	
ESCALA	33

3.I – List of the most collected artists from Brazil and the institutions in the UK collecting them, , as per survey sample.

As such, it is more useful to interplay the popular numbers of the most collected artists with data on where these objects are located. Table 3.I lists the institutions where the other names featured in the top 9 most collected artists are found. It shows that objects by unknown artists from the indigenous communities of Xavante, Krahô, Cashinahua, Munduruku and Karajá are all found at the British Museum only, except for the latter that is also featured at Glasgow Museums. On the other hand, Alex Gama is

only being collected by ESCALA, whereas Cildo Meireles can be found in three institutions: ESCALA, Tate and The New Art Gallery.

These numbers raise questions such as: Why does ESCALA have a high number of objects by Alex Gama and why is this artist not being collected elsewhere? What are the collecting practices of the British Museum, which can collect both objects from indigenous communities (e.g., Xavante People) and Ana Maria Pacheco, an artist who falls into a Western category of art, whilst also not including the word 'art' in its acquisition policy?

About the dates and acquisition methods

Another relevant pattern that emerged from the data analysis is observed in the date of acquisitions. There is a clear increased interest in Brazilian art in the UK from the 1990s, although earlier peaks of interest were also noted, such as in the 1950s.

A closer examination of these peaks shows that most of the acquisitions that took place in the 1950s relate to purchases carried out by the British Museum, corresponding to 85% of the total acquisitions occurring in that decade. In terms of absolute acquisition numbers, that institution acquired 184 works in the 1950s, which were purchases made from different groups of people. Out of this, 64% of these objects were acquired from David Maybury Lewis (1929-2007), a British anthropologist who travelled to Brazil in 1953 to study indigenous cultures (Graham, Prins, 2008). He sold his collection to the British Museum in 1956 and 1959-60, and these included works by unknown artists from the Xavante, Xerente, and Krahô communities (The British Museum, no date2).

Among acquisitions in the 1950s, there are two paintings that stand out, namely *Huns and Bersaglieri* (1943) by Urbano de Macedo, and *Head* (1940), by Alcides da Rocha Miranda, belonging to Glasgow Museums and Harris Museum & Art Gallery respectively. The history of both paintings is associated with the first exhibition of art from Brazil to occur in the UK (Navarra, 1944; Gadelha, 2018). They were displayed and sold at the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* hosted by the Royal Academy of Arts in 1944. Both paintings are registered as donated to those museums, with the one belonging to Harris Museums & Art Gallery specifically listed as donated by the British Council.

In addition to the paintings by Macedo and Miranda mentioned above, there are at least 28 other artworks in public collections in the UK that were acquired from this exhibition, detailed in table 3.J. The results of the questionnaire have shown that most of these acquisitions are isolated cases and do not reflect a systematic collecting activity practice by the institutions holding them. This is justified by the fact that, and according to sample surveyed, the majority of the museums these paintings belong to have not acquired any artworks from Brazil afterwards. Moreover, the paintings acquired from this exhibition also evince the role played by the British Council in soft-power politics and in supporting collections, as most of these objects were acquired by that organisation which then presented the artworks to institutions across the UK.

National Galleries of Scotland	
Lucy with flower (1942), Lasar Segall	Donated in 1945 by the British Council
The Mercer Art Gallery	
Head of a Girl (1943), José Moraes	Donated in 1946, by the British Council
Figure in boat (1942), Lívio Abramo	Date and method of acquisition unknown
The Scarecrow (The Half-Wit) (1940), Candido Portinari	Donated in 1946, by the British Council
Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery	
Menina e gato (1943), Lucy Citti Ferreira *Luveruada* (1941), Odette Tremeunbé	Donated by the British Council in 1949, via the Director, Fine Art Department
Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries	
Women from Bahia (no date), Emiliano di Cavalcanti *Landscape (1943),* Roberto Burle Marx	Date and source of donation unknown
Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery	
Composition [Brazilian Landscape] (1941), Théa Haberfield	Donated by the British Council in 1949, on behalf of the Brazilian Government
Calderdale Museums	
Fish (1944), Théa Haberfield	Donated in 1960, source of donation unknown
Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery	
Pastoral (1944), Luiz Soares *Sailor (no date),* Oscar Meira *Landscape (1949),* Théa Haberfield	Donated to Doncaster Heritage Services in 1949, source of donation unknown
Ferens Art Gallery	
São Paulo Suburb, Brazil (1942), Manuel Martins	Donated in 1949, source of donation unknown
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	
Huns and Bersaglieri (1943), Urbano de Macedo	Donated by the artist through His Majesty's Government in 1950
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	
Head / Cabeca (1940), Alcides da Rocha Miranda	Donated by the British Council in 1950
Kirklees Museums and Galleries	
Bairro proletario (Tenements) (1943), José Pancetti	Acquired in 1985, acquisition method unknown
Portrait of a young man (1943), Roberto Burle Marx	Method and date of acquisition unknown
Manchester Art Gallery	
Still Life with Lamp (no date), Lucy Citti Ferreira	Donated by the artist in 1949

Brazilian Dance (c.1945), Luiz Soares	Donated by the British Council through His Majesty's Government for the Rutherston Collection in 1949
Plymouth Museums and Galleries	
Head of a Girl (1942), Milton Dacosta *Composition* (1943), Oswald de Andrade Filho	Donated by the British Council in 1949
Southampton City Art Gallery	
Family Group (1942), Bella Paes Leme	Donated by the artist through His Majesty's Government in 1949
Swindon Art Gallery	
Tenis (1928), Vicente do Rego Monteiro	Donated by the Contemporary Art Society in 1963
Tate	
Elas se divertem (c. 1935), José Cardoso Júnior	Presented by Lord Bossom in 1945
The Hepworth Wakefield	
Ballerina (1942), Clovis Graciano *Still life (no date),* Gastão Worms *Portrait of a Boy (1942),* José Moraes *Man and Woman* (1943), Lucy Citti Ferreira *Peixe Vermelho* (no date), Oswaldo Goeldi	Donated by H. M. Government and the British Council via the Brazilian Government in 1949

3.J – List of museums in the UK that hold objects acquired from the Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Painting*, hosted by the Royal Academy in 1944.*

The increased interest observed in the 1990s (see table 3.K) is related to the establishment of ESCALA in 1993 – which I analyse in Chapters 5 and 6 – and to the acquisition of Salgado's photographs by the Glasgow Museums, as explained previously.

1990s	
ESCALA	151
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	102
The British Museum	37
Tate	12
Norfolk Museums Service	6
Arts Council UK	3
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	3
Leeds Museums and Art Gallery	3
V&A	3
Birmingham Museums Trust	1
Nature in art	1
Wolverhampton Art Gallery	1

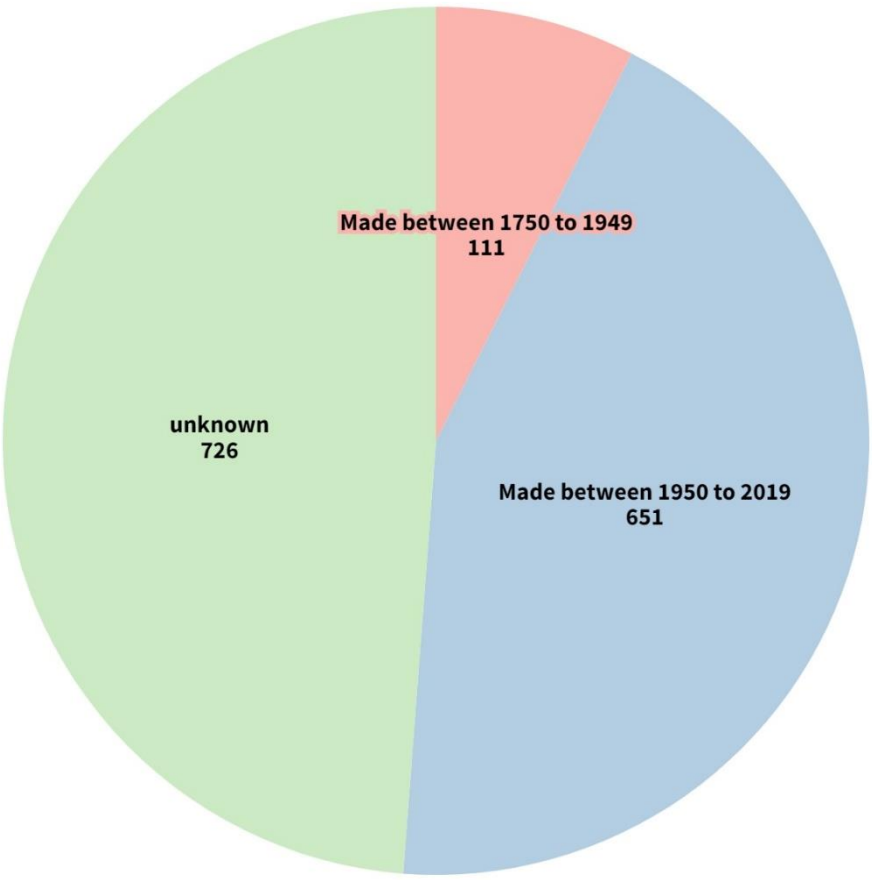
3.K – List of Institutions that acquired art from Brazil in the 1990s, as per survey sample.

The decades following 1990s are characterised by acquisitions made by Tate, ESCALA and the V&A. Tate's interest in collecting art from Brazil peaked with the opening of Tate Modern, in 2000, followed by the creation of a committee established to increase the representation of art from that region (the Latin American Acquisitions Committee) in 2002. A total of 153 (90.5%) of Brazilian works at Tate were acquired from 2001 onwards, and this case that will be analysed in Chapters 7 and 8. The 45 objects that entered the V&A in the 2010s, on the other hand, refer to works donated by several artists; amongst the objects that stand out are a series of 22 architectural drawings by Isay Weinfeld (b. 1952) and computer artworks by Analivia Cordeiro (b. 1954), which were given to the institution by the artists (see table 3.L).

2000s	
Tate	91
ESCALA	61
The British Museum	32
New Hall Art Collection	2
The Hepworth Wakefield	2
V&A	2
Arts Council UK	1
Birmingham Museums Trust	1
The New Art Gallery	1
University of Warwick Art Collection	1
2010s	
Tate	61
V&A	45
Leeds Museums and Art Gallery	5
Dumfries House	1
ESCALA	1
Great Ormond Street Hospital	1
The British Museum	1
2020s	
ESCALA	6
Tate	1
University Hospital Aintree	1

3.L – List of the institutions in the UK that acquired art from Brazil between 2000 and 2020s, as per survey sample.

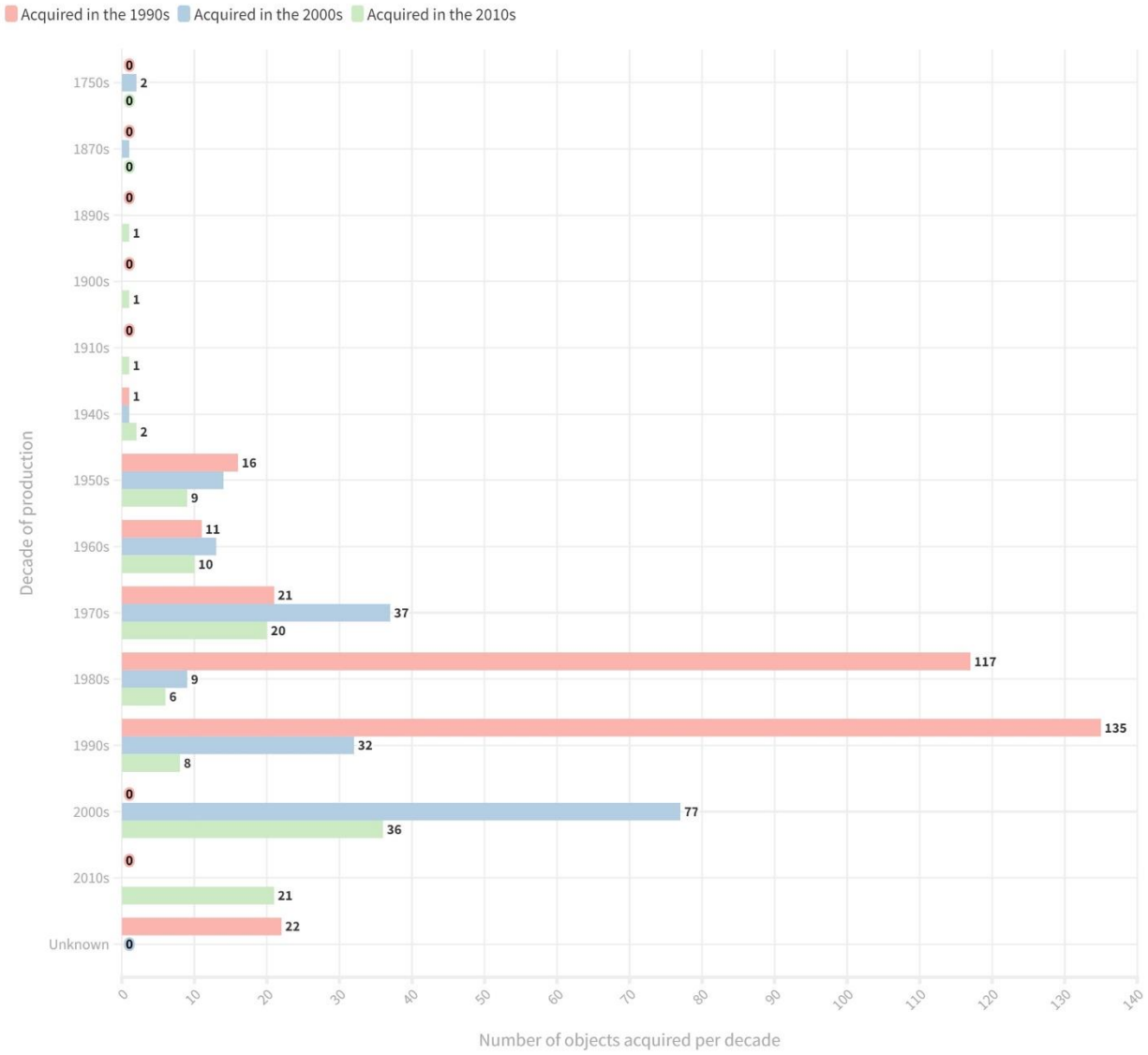
Mirroring the pattern observed in the acquisition date, the data collected revealed that there is an increased interest for works made from mid-twentieth century onwards, and particularly in the 1990s. In numbers, objects made between 1750 and 1949 correspond to 7% of the total, whilst those produced between 1950 and 2019 comprise 44% of the total – the remaining 49% corresponds to the objects whose date of production is unknown (see figure 3.7).



3.7 – Graph showing the date range of production of objects from Brazil in collections in the UK, as per survey sample.

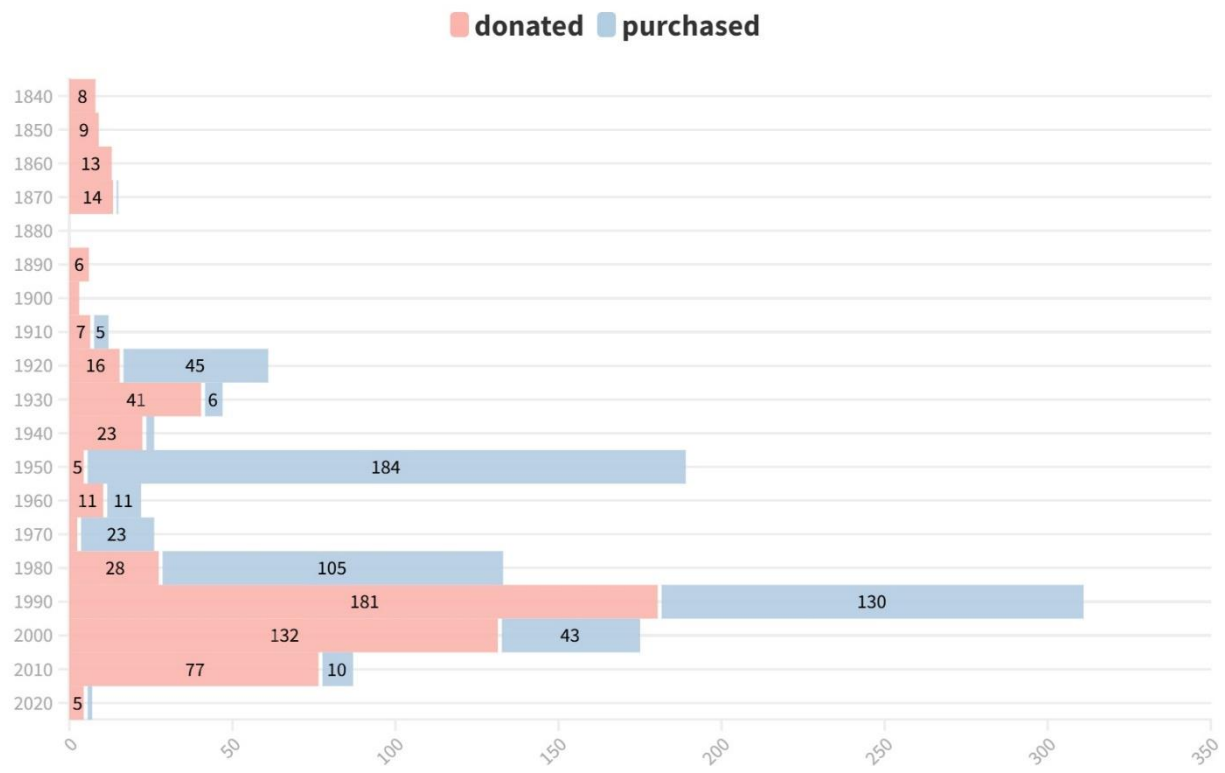
Cross-referencing date of acquisition and date of production of two of the most popular figures – i.e., objects produced in the 1990s and 2000s[24] – demonstrates that there has been a higher interest in acquiring contemporary objects. In other words, 78% of the objects acquired in the 1990s were produced in the immediate previous and current decades, that is, between 1980 and 1999. A similar pattern is observed in the 2000s, with 56% of the objects acquired in that decade being created between 1990 and 2009. The acquisitions effected in the 2010s reveal a similar trend, with 50% of these objects created between 2010 and 2019. These numbers reveal an interest in acquiring contemporary artworks instead of historical ones. Figure 3.8 shows the decades when objects were produced and when they were acquired.

[24] I have not included the 1980s given that 93% of the objects acquired in that decade do not have a date of production.



3.8 – Chart showing a correlation between decade of production and acquisition of objects from Brazil in the UK, as per survey sample.

Interplaying information of date of acquisition with method of acquisition, and focusing only on donations and purchases, shows that both acquisition methods occurred in parallel to each other (see figure 3.9). The high number of donations observed in the 1990s relates to the creation of ESCALA in 1993. In total, 150 objects, which corresponds to 83% of the donations that happened in that decade, belong to this institution. This pattern continued in the following decade, although fewer objects entered their collection in that period through donations: 48 in total (36%). This fact became a crucial aspect to consider in the analysis carried out in Chapters 5 and 6, as ESCALA relied heavily on donations to form its collections.



3.9 – Chart showing the methods of acquisition donations and purchases per decade, as per survey sample.

Analysing purchases across the decades reveals that the high number of objects acquired in the 1990s, for instance, refers mostly to the photographs by Salgado bought by the Glasgow Museums, which is the equivalent of 78% of the purchases that occurred in that decade. The 184 objects acquired in the 1950s belong exclusively to the British Museum, as previously observed. Similarly, all the purchases in the 1980s were carried out by the British Museum who acquired, for instance, 45 objects by Cashinahua People from Cecilia McCallum, a British anthropologist who carried out extensive research among that

indigenous community. As observed in the 1950s, the British Museum seems to rely on a network of experts studying and collecting objects while in fieldwork. What remains to be investigated and can form the basis for future research, is how these networks were developed, whether the objects are collected with the intent to be sold to the museum, and if the sale is agreed upon prior to the expert travelling for fieldwork. Another question relates to how these objects are originally acquired by these experts: are these objects given by members of the communities being studied and then sold in London, or are they purchased by the expert? What is the type of relationship developed in these exchanges? Investigating these questions can shed light on the power dynamics inherent to collecting activity of art by previously (and currently) underrepresented communities and countries.

About the types of objects

A closer look at the top six most collected type of object in relation to the institutions holding them will show that almost 50% of prints are found at ESCALA. This relates to one of the networks established by this institution that resulted in the donation of several prints – as I will explain in Chapter 6. On the other hand, photographs are mostly collected by the Glasgow Museums – which is again due to the large number of photographs by Sebastião Salgado this institution acquired in 1994.

The British Museum emerges as the institution with most of the holdings of head ornaments and necklaces. The category of head ornament includes objects such as indigenous headdresses, typically made of feather, cord, hair, bones, fibres, among other materials. Their meaning and function vary, but it is usually indicative of a status the person wearing it holds among their community. It is no surprise that the British Museum is the institution holding most of these objects, as collecting them reflects the Enlightenment values that praised scientific research of cultures around the world upon which this museum was founded. Paintings and sculptures are predominantly found at both ESCALA and Tate, which together hold 59% of the former and 77% of the latter (see table 3.M –).

print		
ESCALA	112	49
The British Museum	38	17
Tate	26	11
V&A	19	8
Wolverhampton Art Gallery	10	4
photograph		
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	102	67
Tate	39	25
National Galleries of Scotland	8	5
ESCALA	2	1
V&A	2	1
head ornament		
The British Museum	97	76
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	21	16
National Museums of Scotland	8	6
Leeds Museums and Art Gallery	1	1
Warrington Museum	1	1
necklace		
The British Museum	80	72
National Museums of Scotland	14	13
Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	12	11
Leeds Museums and Art Gallery	3	3
Warrington Museum	2	2
painting		
ESCALA	34	38
Tate	19	21
Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery	3	3
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	3	3
The Hepworth Wakefield	3	3
sculpture		
Tate	38	43
ESCALA	30	34
Arts Council UK	9	10
Harris Museum & Art Gallery	2	2
Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts	2	2

3.M – List of the most collected type of objects from Brazil and the institutions in the UK holding them, as per survey sample.

Strengths and limitations of the study

The Survey of Brazilian Art in the UK was a challenging initiative that resulted in a positive outcome, although it did also bear some limitations. The main one was the fact that not every institution contacted replied to the survey. Despite the nuanced process of selecting the institutions to be contacted, others might have been left out due to the lack of an official list of museums in the UK. Another limitation is found in the fact that not all museums include the nationality of the artist or object in their own databases, hampering the identification and search for objects. Furthermore, given the time constraints of this project, I had to set a deadline for receiving responses to allow time for data analyses and further research. Future research involving quantitative analysis, such as that proposed here, would certainly benefit from both a larger timeframe for data collection and the involvement of more personnel.

As for its main strength, the data collected allowed for patterns in this collecting activity to be identified providing an informed and evidenced selection of case studies. Through this survey, I have gained a thorough understanding of certain UK institutions' practices of collecting art from Brazil. Moreover, this was an exercise that had never before been attempted or performed. In this regard, the data analysed has also opened up opportunities for future research. Finally, carrying out this research has produced reflections concerning how museums manage their own databases, and improvements that can be implemented in their cataloguing procedures.

Conclusion

The survey allowed for a better understanding of the collecting practices of Brazilian art in the UK. Among the results presented, only four museums, out of the forty-one institutions with Brazilian art in their collections, hold almost 83% of the objects in consideration in this study (see table 3.C). Three of top four institutions, namely the British Museum, ESCALA and Tate, hold the largest number of objects from Brazil for having collecting strategies in place for acquiring works from Latin America. Finally, observing these patterns of collecting activity revealed that an interest in the art from Brazil in the UK increased from the 1990s onward, which is related to the creation of ESCALA in 1993, and the opening of Tate Modern in 2000, providing further justification for selecting these institutions as case studies.

Chapter 4 – Collecting Latin American art in the UK

This chapter focuses on investigating the factors and actors that have contributed to placing Latin American art in Britain's art milieu. The data collected through the Survey, archive research and interviews with key-actors have allowed me to stitch together the many stories of how art from Latin America became a field of research and collecting interest in the UK. As mentioned before, the two case studies that will be analysed in the thesis' last section – namely ESCALA and Tate – have contributed to this context. As such, this chapter begins by outlining the role played by the University of Essex in becoming home of the first UK/Europe collection focusing exclusively on Latin American art: UECLAA/ESCALA, created in 1993. I also dwell on the role played by Tate in contributing to consolidating art from Latin America in the UK. The latter was highly influenced by the presence of experts on this subject at Essex who assisted Tate's aims in expanding the remit of their collection to other geographies – which is closely related to the project of creating Tate Modern. The stories presented in this chapter will also inform the analysis carried out in the case studies' section.

Latin American studies at the University of Essex

The University of Essex Collection of Latin American Art (UECLAA, renamed ESCALA – Essex Collection of Art from Latin America in 2010) was established in 1993. Its story is intertwined with the role that this university played in introducing Latin American studies in the UK. Understanding the formation of this collection thus involves assembling factors and actors related to the creation of the university three decades earlier.

Inaugurated in 1963, the University of Essex was envisioned as a response to the scientific and technological developments of its time. It prioritised advanced technology studies and applied and social sciences subjects over the arts (Lubbock, 2014). The university's project was conceptualised and emerged as a direct consequence of the political and social changes and upheavals happening in the 1950s, as the decade of

> "Pop Art, Elvis, Brigitte Bardot, DNA, commercial TV, Espresso bars, anti-colonial movements, American civil rights, the H bomb, the Cold War, the Space Race, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Common Market, motorways, tailfin gas guzzlers, jet airliners, Brutalist architecture and more" (Lubbock, 2014, no page).

The excitement and creativity of this period were embedded in the principles that guided Sir Albert Sloman, as Essex's founding Vice-Chancellor, in designing the new university. When appointed to the role, Sloman was a Professor of Spanish at Liverpool University. He envisioned Essex to be "a vocational powerhouse to train a technocratic elite practically equipped to meet the challenges of the modern world" (Lubbock, 2014, no page). Despite being designed as a technological university, Sloman introduced humanities subjects in the form of Comparative Studies. His aim was to eliminate divisions between subjects, since their concerns inherently overlapped. For instance, subjects such as literature and government could both focus on "the cultures of the USA, Soviet Russia, Latin America and Britain, to be studied in comparison to one another" (Lubbock; 2014, no page). Although originally designed as a teaching-only university, Sloman was a fierce supporter of research. Introducing research in the curriculum was an important factor in the history of ESCALA, as its creation emerged from the idea of using artworks in the research carried out not only by the academic staff at the Art History and Theory Department, but throughout other areas of teaching and research at that University.

The former Department of Art History and Theory, created in 1968, was placed within the School of Comparative Studies[25], where two centres were founded: Russian Studies, and the Latin American Centre[26]. Academic staff, researchers, and students of different departments, including Art History, were drawn to these centres following Sloman's vision of having different disciplines studying the same geographical area (Rosero, 2014). This overlapping of subjects would be observed in activities and exhibitions developed by ESCALA throughout the years[27] .

The Parry Report

Including Latin America as a subject to be studied and researched at the University of Essex was also a response to an appeal made by the UK government in the 1960s. An example of this is a report commissioned by the University Grants Committee (UGC)[28] to evaluate the situation of Latin American studies in universities in the UK. This report is relevant because it was the Foreign Office (FO) who

[25] This department is today part of the School of Philosophy and Art History (SPAH).
[26] The Latin American Centre was later renamed Centre for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS).
[27] To illustrate, the exhibition *UECLAAcross* (2006), which happened in collaboration with other departments and research centre; *Connecting through collecting* (2014) also invited researchers from other departments.
[28] The University Grants Committee was responsible for advising the British government on the distribution of funding to universities and it functioned from 1919 to 1989.

instigated it, despite being commissioned by the UGC (Paquette, 2018). The geopolitical shift occurring during this period, and events such as the "Cuban Revolution (1959), the failed Bay of Pigs invasion to overthrow Fidel Castro's regime (1961), and US President John F. Kennedy's 'Alliance for Progress' (launched in 1961)" (Paquette, 2018, p. 3) impacted policies being implemented in Britain. Chaired by historian John H Parry, known as the 'Parry Report' and published in 1965, it recommended actions for the expansion of Latin American studies at universities in the UK. The post-colonial position of the UK was an important factor in this scenario. Gabriel Paquette pointed out that "[t]he Parry Committee was convened in the same year a prominent US observer noted that 'Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role'" (2018, p. 3). Expanding the study and research on that region at universities would contribute to fill a gap in knowledge. The Parry Report, therefore, urged academics to solidify Latin American Studies in Britain, as this field was almost entirely absent from UK universities. Liverpool, Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, London, Essex, and Warwick each responded to this appeal by creating research centres focusing on Latin America (Rosero, 2014).

Essex already had a strong background in Marxist and Post-Marxist schools of thought, meaning that: "the University's interest in the cultural expressions of Latin America was based on a project of solidarity with the region, and in a strong rejection of the interventionist policies established in the continent after the Second World War, and in particular, after the military Coup in Chile in 1973." (Rosero, 2014, p.12)[29]. Accordingly, studies of art from Latin America at the University of Essex were gradually developed into an independent field of expertise. Given the existence of the Latin American Area Studies degree, staff from the Department of Art History were invited to offer their students the option to focus on that geographical region.

Dawn Ades and Valerie Fraser were the two academic staff responsible for creating and structuring what were the first specialised courses on Latin American art in the UK, playing a crucial role in expanding the study and research of Latin American art, not only at the University of Essex, but also in Britain and abroad. At the beginning, these courses focused mainly on Mexican, Pre-Columbian and Colonial Art as part of optional modules for students in the School of Comparative Studies. Eventually, these courses turned into a more specialised master's degree (Rebaza-Soraluz, Ades and Fraser, 2007). As Fraser explained, when she first joined the University of Essex, the teaching of Latin American art was split in

[29] These events had a significant impact on actors that emerged from Signals Gallery as well. For instance, Medalla and Brett established, in 1974, the organisation 'Artists for Democracy', "that placed post-coup Chile at the centre of its activists." (Whitelegg, 2014, p. 65).

two separate courses: “a pre-Columbian course, in which she [Ades] taught the Mexican material and I [Valerie] taught the Andean; and a colonial and modern course, in which I taught the colonial and she taught the modern (Rebaza-Soraluz, Ades and Fraser, 2007, p. 559).

Studying, teaching and researching Latin American art in the UK at that time was challenging, as there were few objects from that geographical region in public collections. There were also very few resources, such as books and publications in English or images of artworks. In order to improve its own resources and to promote a more first-hand experience with Latin American artworks, the Department of Art History and Philosophy sent Ades on a research trip to Latin America. When developing this programme, Ades travelled to that region twice, first in 1966 and then again in 1972, visiting Mexico, Guatemala and Peru. These trips were designed to carry out research *about* Latin America *in* Latin America. During her travels, she was able to photograph materials and artwork samples in addition to collecting key texts and manifestoes. She also managed to gather a great number of slides that today forms the University’s slide collection (Rebaza-Soraluz, Ades and Fraser, 2007; Rosero, 2014).

With the first undergraduate course focusing on Latin American art being developed in the 1980s, Essex began to attract several students interested in the subject. As Ades observed, back then, students were more eager to take on a course about a subject in process of expansion. Today, on the other hand she argues that students choose Essex “because they know that’s where we carry on research on the subject of Latin American art, and that’s quite true, because that was not the case in the late 1960s, early 1970s, because there was no sort of existing structure” (Ades, Caragol, 2014, p. 59). This reputation attracted Brazilian art collector Charles Cosac to undertake an MA degree at Essex, ultimately resulting in the creation of ESCALA (Cosac, 2021), which is a story I will return to in Chapter 5. Moreover, it is important to underline the fact that the University of Essex and ESCALA became a hub in the UK for the research and study of Latin American art. Many highly established experts, both in the UK and abroad, taught, studied, or worked there. This includes Ades and Fraser, who shaped the study and research of Latin American art in Britain and became leading figures in the field[30].

[30] Other examples include Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro, who completed his PhD in 1996 at the University of Essex, and also played a fundamental role in the formation of today’s ESCALA. He worked there as a curator from 1993 to 1998, managing the collection and using his personal contacts to increase the number of donations for the collection. Today, Pérez-Barreiro is Senior Advisor of Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, one of the world’s largest private collections of Latin American art. He was chief curator of the 33rd Bienal de Sao Paulo in 2018. Lecturer, researcher and curator Isobel Whitelegg also completed her PhD at Essex. An expert in the history and

Art in Latin America – The Modern Era, 1820-1980

Another important outcome that emerged from the establishment of academic research in this field at the University of Essex was the exhibition *Art in Latin America – The Modern Era, 1820-1980*, held at the Hayward Gallery, London, in 1989. This show emerged from research carried out by Ades at Essex and it was the first comprehensive exhibition in the UK on Latin American art. This exhibition focused on communicating national histories and had an ambitious goal: to present art covering 160 years from a vast geographical region to a public that was not familiar with the subject. It was the first attempt in the UK to organise an exhibition of such scope, "as works of the period are almost wholly absent from public collections in Britain", as Joanna Drew and Susan Ferleger Brades, respectively the Hayward Gallery's Director and Senior Exhibition Organiser at the South Bank Centre, observed in the exhibition's catalogue's preface (1989, p. ix). The starting point of the show was the independence movements within Latin American countries that occurred in the early nineteenth century. As Ades wrote in the catalogue's introduction "The idea has in a sense been to create a temporary museum of Latin American art, which offers a necessarily selective and partial, rather than comprehensive view" (1989, p. 1). This is an interesting paradox, as one could argue that a museum of Latin American art should present a comprehensive view of its own subject.

As with many challenging projects, this exhibition received criticism. On one hand, some critics thought that the show promoted a Eurocentric and exotic perspective of Latin America by deferring to a national historical approach. On the other hand, the very Eurocentric perspective of art criticism condemned the "poor" quality of some of the artworks on display. Rodney Palmer (1989), for instance, criticised the exhibition's scope and outlined artworks that were excluded, for example, indigenous idioms and religious art. And yet he thought that "it would be fruitless to criticise *Art in Latin America* for its

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theory of modern and contemporary art from Latin America with a focus on Brazil, she is also the lead supervisor of this thesis, establishing her position as an expert in Latin American and Brazilian art. She has researched and published extensively on the São Paulo Biennial and Signals London, becoming a leading expert in the study of this event not only in the UK, but internationally, as well as curating exhibitions of artists from Brazil and Latin America. The University of Essex and ESCALA also played a fundamental role in the formation of curator Tanya Barson, who became Tate's expert in this subject following the creation of Tate Modern (Barson, 2022, interview with the author). Following his graduation, Charles Cosac pursued a different career route, founding the publishing house Cosac & Naify in Brazil. He was, however, still closely connected to ESCALA and Latin American art, liaising with other artists and donors in Brazil who contributed to the growth of ESCALA's holdings. His publishing house also edited and published extensively on Brazilian and Latin American art. Cosac & Naify, for instance, edited and published in 1995 a book written by Ades entitled "*Siron Franco: figuras e semelhanças, pinturas de 1968 a 1995*" (*Siron Franco: figures and likeness, paintings 1968-1995*). The three of them – Cosac, Ades and Franco – having a tight connection to Essex and ESCALA.

incompleteness; the problem, rather, is that it embraces too much" (p. 569). David Thomas (1989, p. 588), on the other hand, targets the "artistic quality" of the works, acknowledging the attractiveness of some artworks owing to their social, and not artistic, interest.

Art in Latin America explored themes that had been identified as belonging to all Latin American countries. The artworks were used to narrate national histories and cultural identities. The exhibition did not have a direct impact on acquisitions of Latin American art by public collections in the UK, but it was an important moment in the history of reception of Latin American and Brazilian art in the UK due to the knowledge it produced. The knowledge and research about Latin American art stemming from this show, consolidated through its catalogue, has played an important role and informed many generations of researchers studying this artistic practice (Caragol and Whitelegg, 2009). Moreover, this exhibition further contributed to establishing Essex as the centre of Latin American art studies and research across the UK. This consolidation would be enhanced a few years later with the creation of ESCALA in 1993, the first public collection in Europe to focus exclusively on art from Latin America.

This exhibition was also considered important because according to Ades (2021), "it was partly through that exhibition that some people came from Latin America, as graduate students, to work with me. And that was probably one of the key things because Cuauhtémoc Medina came from Mexico, and Charles [Cosac] came from Brazil". As we will see in the chapters that follow, Medina and Cosac would each become key actors responsible for the development of Latin American art collecting activity in the UK.

Signals London

Art in Latin America included a section focusing on the artistic production of the 1950s and 1960s. Receiving the title of 'Radical Leap', it was curated by Guy Brett and included works of Lucio Fontana, Alejandro Otero, Jesús Soto, Carlos Cruz–Díez, Lygia Clark, Lygia Pape, Hélio Oiticica, and Sérgio Camargo. These artists had been featured in many solo or group exhibitions at Signals London.

Founded by Paul Keeler and David Medalla, Signals London functioned for only two years, between November 1964 and October 1966. Its importance, however, exceeded its short existence. Through its programme of exhibitions, and the publication of a Newsbulletin, Signals showcased artists and artworks that have become "central to the history of Latin American art" and who have "entered the newly internationalised canon that now forms the genealogy of the contemporary", as Whitelegg has observed

(2014, p. 57). As such, Signals London was an actor that responded to the circumstances of its time, that is, the 1960s. Signals' interest in Latin America occurred in parallel with the establishment of the University of Essex, when there was also an emergent interest in that region on the part of the UK Government – as seen, for instance, in the commission of the previously mentioned 'Parry Report'.

The Brazilian artists Sérgio de Camargo, Lygia Clark and Mira Schendel had their first solo exhibitions in the UK at Signals London, and the gallery promoted artists who were otherwise not seen in museums in the UK at that time. Signals London displaying these artists resulted in acquisitions by institutions in the UK, such as Tate, who purchased a work by Camargo from this gallery in 1965, as well as works by other Latin American artists including Jesus Rafael Soto. As we will see in Chapters 7 and 8, the work by Camargo in Tate's collection is today used to reinforce a genealogy of Brazilian art that is tightly connected with other actors from this period.

Although Signals did not exclusively specialise in Latin American art, artists from that region were consistently featured in their exhibition programme. Their first group show, the *Festival of Modern Art from Latin America*, in 1964, brought together over one hundred works by artists from twenty-one Latin American countries, and thus "represented a broader definition of the region than the later solo and collective shows at Signals combined" (Whitelegg, 2014, p. 57). More importantly, Signals was not interested in these artists only because of their country of origin, as they granted the same value to Latin American art as to artists within a Western Europe-North American canon of modern art. They were attracted to the connections between Latin American artists and those from other centres. An example is the case of Camargo, who was living in Paris at the time he met Keeler, Medalla and Brett. Their encounter with Camargo in particular represented "both a link to a dispersed but collaboratively constituted European milieu and an entrée into a field of knowledge existing beyond this network, namely modern Latin American art", as Whitelegg observed (2014, pp. 61-62).

Today it can be seen that Signals acknowledged the limitations of an art historical narrative that focused mostly on Western traditions. This scenario is also observed, for instance, in the Signals' founders' interest in traveling to Latin America to witness that artistic production first-hand. The first visit occurred in 1965, when both Brett and Keeler went to Brazil to attend the VIII Bienal de São Paulo. On this occasion, they met both Oiticica and Schendel, both of whom were introduced to them by Camargo (Brett, 2005), and became fascinated by and interested in Oiticica's social and participatory art (Brett, 2005; Whitelegg, 2014). They were not only interested in such figures as Latin American artists. In the

case of the Brazilian artists, their Brazilianness was neither rejected nor exoticized – perhaps because they were not aware of what constituted Brazilianness in the context of the mid-1960s[31]. Nonetheless, this lack of knowledge did not push them in the direction of an ethnocentric or colonial gaze (Labra, 2014) when reading those artworks. Instead, they allowed the manifestation of these artists' *brasilidade* to be claimed by the artists as they wished. If at first it was a link between artists from Brazil and European centres such as Paris that connected them to Signals, these networks also opened the doors to other possibilities. As Brett told Whitelegg (2018a, p. 21), "everything was connected", and it was these networks that placed Brett in the position of being as a key actor in producing knowledge of Latin American art in the UK.

Subsequently to the *Art in Latin America* exhibition, Brett curated the show *Transcontinental: Nine Latin American Artists* at Ikon Gallery, in Birmingham, and Cornerhouse, in Manchester, in 1990. *Transcontinental* presented nine artists from Brazil (Waltércio Caldas, Jac Leirner, Cildo Meireles, Tunga, Regina Vater and Roberto Evangelista), Chile (Juan Davila and Eugenio Dittborn) and Argentina (Victor Grippo). The show's catalogue featured both individual essays on each artist and an account of Brett's criticism of the simplification of curatorial strategies performed by Western institutions when exhibiting Latin American art. In his views, there had been either a simplification of this *other* reality or a prolonged idea of an art from a distant place in constant search for identity.

In Brett's words, any artwork that is not part of the great narrative "is made to look peripheral, or less successful, even if, in historical terms, it appeared first" (Brett, 1990, pp. 19-22). The relation of centre-periphery is a broader one that, as Mitter has observed (2008), is associated to the (post-)colonial order, which, consequently, looks at art from what is considered the periphery as one that is "derivative" of the centre. Although Brett proposed a discourse that emphasises the exchange of ideas and forms across national borders, it is now clearer that the artists presented in this show were part of a network limited to what that curator already knew (Caragol and Whitelegg, 2009, no page) – an observation that emphasises my argument that limitations related to knowledge production and museums' collecting practice are linked to the limitations of networks themselves. As Caragol and Whitelegg (2009, no page) commented, Transcontinental "might be considered a retreat and also an affirmation, in that it presented only what he could possibly, authentically, know about contemporary Latin American art".

[31] They did not seem aware of the 1964 coup which installed a military dictatorship in Brazil (Whitelegg, 2018).

From British art to an international collection

As we have seen, ESCALA was created at the University of Essex through the networks established as a consequence of introducing Latin American studies in their curriculum. I turn now my attention to the case of Tate, which in addition to responding to the questioning of Eurocentric perspectives of art and history introduced by Marxist, feminist and postcolonial theories since the 1970s, this institution's acquisitions of Latin American and Brazilian art also drew from the expertise built at Essex.

Tate is a macro-actor that has grown swiftly since the bequest of Henry Tate (1819-1899), who donated his collection of British art together with a sum of £80,000 for the construction of a venue to hold and display these artworks in 1889. This venue (today Tate Britain), at Millbank in London, opened its doors in 1897. The growth of the collection was accompanied by extensions made to the building in Millbank, and by the opening of Tate Liverpool (1988), Tate St Ives (1993) and Tate Modern (2000). Whereas Tate Liverpool was created following the dock re-development in Liverpool, Tate St Ives is a consequence of links already held by Tate through managing Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden since 1980. The latter aimed to showcase works "by artists who had lived or worked in St Ives, loaned from the collection", whereas Tate Liverpool was created for displaying "modern art and encouraging a new, younger audience through an active education programme" (Tate, no date1,3,4,5,6).

Tate Modern, on the other hand, is the most ambitious of these projects, one that "upgraded and wrecked the [art] system" (Medina, 2020). This occurred not only because of its physical dimensions and the size of its budget, but because of what it came to represent in the UK artistic milieu: a public venue dedicated to collecting and displaying modern and contemporary art. As a macro-actor, Tate constructed solid associations and relationships through networks that enabled them to achieve the status they undeniably continue to sustain among art institutions at a global level.

Tate Modern

To reflect the aims of this new project that hoped to consolidate modern and contemporary art in the UK, Tate Modern's opening in 2000 introduced dramatic changes in Tate's collecting policies. The UK interest in modern and contemporary art in the post-war period developed slowly. Although the

Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) was established in 1946, its model followed what Medina (2020) referred to as "club culture" – that is, modern and contemporary art were being exhibited and discussed among those who already had an interest in these subjects. Thus, their activities would raise the interest of limited audiences. Tate Modern, on the other hand, came in to change this scenario, as its concerns were, essentially, a matter of increasing audiences. As a publicly funded institution, Tate Gallery's mission abided to rules set up by the UK government. Broadening access to cultural facilities, such as museums, had been on the UK political agenda since before the post-war period (Bennett, 1995). Moreover, ensuring that museums are institutions open for all had been emphasised by the Labour Party in 1965 and later by the Conservative Party in their Manifesto of 1987 (Donnellan, 2017).

The history of the Tate Modern project has been analysed in-depth by Caroline Donnellan (2017) in her book *Towards Tate Modern: Public Policy, Private Vision*. For this Chapter, I will consider those factors relevant to the expansion of the collection that led to its acquisitions of Brazilian art. One of these factors was the 1987 open call that appointed Sir Nicholas Serota as Tate Gallery's director, a post that he held from 1988 to 2017. The call stated that the candidate needed to have knowledge of contemporary art together with the skills to organise fundraising initiatives and oversee a building development (Donnellan, 2017). This thus demonstrated an existing interest in expanding the gallery, although this did not specifically foresee the opening of an entirely new venue. Donnellan pointed out that "Nicholas Serota approached the task as an audit and outlined areas that required attention", turning Tate into a "laboratory for experimenting" (2017, p. 3). This included trying out new displays and curatorial practices, in addition to fundraising initiatives that targeted private and commercial funding[32].

Approval for Serota to pursue Tate Gallery of Modern Art project was granted in 1992[33]. For a project that focused on modern and contemporary art, however, the collections were insufficient and reflected Tate's own inconsistent interest in modern and contemporary art throughout its history. Serota and Tate's senior curators realised then that there was a major discrepancy between their holdings and the aims of the new project (Medina, 2020; Barson, 2022). There was also a notable geographical bias in the collection that favoured Britain's artistic production, with its few foreign artworks being mostly French

[32] That was when Tate secured, in 1990, sponsorship with the British Petroleum Company (BP) that so much criticism yielded throughout their 26 years relationship (Mathiesen: 2015; Khomami: 2016).
[33] See Donnellan 2017, *Towards Tate Modern: Public Policy, Private Vision*, who carried out an in-depth analysis of the agents involved in the process of creating this new institution.

or North American. As Medina explained, “the immediate understanding was that the collections were lacking, [and] that it was very hard to go back to fill the gaps” (2020).

In 2002, Medina was appointed as the first Associate Curator of Latin American Art at Tate, a position he held until 2008. He played a key role in formulating a collecting strategy that aimed to expand the representation of Latin American art in their holdings. I interviewed him because he holds the privileged position of an actor who witnessed and participated in Tate’s initiatives to collect Latin American art. Our online conversation lasted almost two hours and it was filled with informative stories, anecdotes, nostalgic memories of a not-so-distant past, and sharp-witted opinions.

Medina recalled that while undertaking an assessment of the collection, Tate realised that they had been unable to respond to issues related to inclusion and “the questioning of the centre” (Medina, 2020). This was related to the ways in which modern and contemporary art had been dealt with in the UK in the post-war period. For Medina (2020), Britain held the position of being a “strange alternative centre that failed to be the centre”, and for Tate it resulted in a collection that consisted mostly of British art. Other factors, such as object transfers to the National Gallery had similarly contributed to this scenario (Alley, 1959; Barson, 2022)[34]. There have also been moments in Tate’s history when the institution “failed, or passed up the opportunity, to secure important and now highly regarded masterpieces”, as observed by Frances Morris (2006), who at the time of writing is the current director of Tate Modern, and is a former head of Tate’s International Council.

Tate Americas Foundation and Latin American Acquisitions Committee

The opening of Tate Modern marked the beginning of a strategic approach to collecting art from Brazil, under the umbrella of Latin American art. Tate Modern accelerated a process of ensuring that closer attention was paid to art outside a West European-North American milieu, thus responding to the

[34] In a catalogue published in 1959 about Tate’s collection of foreign modern art, Ronald Alley, Tate Gallery’s Keeper for Modern Art, observed that the collection had many gaps. He justified this gap “largely because the Gallery received no official purchase grant until 1946 and had to rely on private benefaction, such as the Courtauld Fund (reserved mainly for the purchase of impressionist pictures) and the trust funds bequeathed by Miss Helen Knapping and R. P. Cleve. In 1946 the Gallery was given an annual purchase grant of £2,000, which had risen by 1958-9 to £7,500, but the increase did little more than keep pace with the rise in prices. However, as the catalogue is in galley proof, there comes the news that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has increased the grant to the much higher level of £40,000. This catalogue, which is completed up to the end of 1958, forms therefore a sort of stocktaking at the end of an era in the Gallery’s history” (Alley, 1959, no page).

questioning of Eurocentric views of art history as previously outlined in Chapter 1. Despite not displaying its collection according to geography, acquisition committees dedicated to specific geographical regions were created by Tate in order to address geographical bias. The first was the American Acquisitions Committee (now named, North American Acquisitions Committee - NAAC), created in 2001, which stemmed from an endowment left by Sir Edwin Manton and Lady Manton who founded the American Patrons of Tate in 1987. This endowment established that every year Tate should purchase objects from the Americas – North and South. In 2013, this organisation went through a rebranding process and changed its name to Tate Americas Foundation (TAF) (Tate, 2013).

The American Patrons of Tate played two important roles. First, it started acquiring works of art from Latin America, in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, as sharply observed by Medina (2020), this "was not [part of] a strategy; it was just that somebody realised that Doris Salcedo was a major artist". Medina (2020) explained that "when the curatorial team and Serota, in particular, were assessing what to do with that geographical bias, they realised that without having really thought about it, they had been incorporating these Latin American works into the collection". Tanya Barson (2022), who was Tate's curator with a focus on Latin America until 2016 and worked closely with Medina, also confirmed that these were *ad hoc* acquisitions, and not part of a strategy. Four works by the following Brazilian artists were acquired prior to the development of specific acquisition policies: Vik Muniz (b. 1961, São Paulo), Adriana Varejão (b. 1964, Rio de Janeiro), Ernesto Neto (b. 1964, Rio de Janeiro) and Jose Leonilson (1957-1993, Fortaleza). Apart from Leonilson's work, presented to Tate by his family in homage to Leonilson in 2001, the other three were purchased by the American Fund for Tate Gallery. The work *After Richard Serra, Prop, 1968* by Vik Muniz, for instance, was approved for acquisition in NAAC's first meeting (American Patrons of Tate Annual Report, 2006).

The second key role played by the American Patrons of Tate relates to the creation of the American Acquisitions Committee, which served as the foundational model for Tate's second regional acquisition committee, the Latin American Acquisitions Committee (LAAC) in 2002. As a TAF sub-committee, LAAC came to consolidate what had previously been happening without much planning: the creation of a strategy for increasing the representation of the art from this geographical region in Tate's collection.

As explained by Daniel Schaeffer (2021), TAF's Director of Development, the legal status of TAF is as an independent 501(C)(3) United States-based non-profit organisation with the mission "to support acquisitions of American art within Tate collection". They work closely with Tate, ensuring that their

activities match with Tate's collecting aims. Both TAF and LAAC are therefore actors that populate Tate's acquisitions and funding black box, while also working independently within their own black boxes. Understanding the work of TAF and LAAC, and their relationship with Tate, was only possible thanks to an interview I conducted with Schaeffer in October 2021[35]. Based in New York, TAF's original purpose was to acquire artworks, but their activities have expanded to raising funding to support research travel programmes in the region. Schaeffer emphasised the importance of this programme for allowing "our donors and curators to get better acquainted with the local art, artists, and institutions, as well as give context to where and how the art is produced" (Schaeffer, 2021).

LAAC is formed by members who each pay an annual membership of $15,000[36], which provides the organisation with funds to purchase artworks. Shaeffer explained that LAAC's members are collectors who have been purchasing art from Latin America for a long time. The expertise built on this collecting practice is valued by TAF/LAAC, which presents the artworks to members "for their approval and business discussions" (Shaeffer, 2021). According to TAF (2021), over 300 artworks from Latin America have been accessioned into Tate's collection since its creation. Moreover, according to the data gathered through the survey, TAF and LAAC were involved in the acquisition of about 40% of the 170 Brazilian art in Tate's holdings, meaning that acquisitions of Latin American art are not exclusively made via LAAC.

Deciphering acquisition procedure and credit lines

The TAF acquisition process is composed of six stages, which Schaeffer (2021) mapped out during our interview[37]:

1) Monitoring Groups: an internal curatorial research group that examines the artworks being proposed, including logistical considerations and if the work is displayable. Issues regarding conservation, storage and transport are also discussed, together with reflecting on whether the proposed artwork fills in gaps in the collection and follows the collecting strategy.

[35] I requested to interview Tate's Development Department to gain a better understanding of their internal acquisition procedures, however unsuccessfully.
[36] There are other memberships available at TAF and Tate, with fees ranging from $1,000+ to £50,000. More details at http://tateamericas.org/support/. Its member's list can be accessed at http://tateamericas.org/committees/.
[37] Tate's internal procedures are similar to TAF's, explained Schaeffer.

According to Schaeffer (2021), Tate's current collecting vision includes "indigenous art, variety of mediums, variety of international representation, female artists, transgender artists, full spectrum of sexuality, [and] gender expression."

2) Collections Group: another internal process as Tate, when the assessment outlined above goes through other departments, curators, conservators, shippers, etc.
3) Collections Committee: it is the work of Committees such as LAAC and when its members come in to vote. "It is the step where the committee is signalling that they would like to allocate their funds towards these works" (Schaeffer, 2021).
4) Board of Trustees: the governing body of TAF, "who oversees the entire entity and have the final word". The final decision is made at this stage (Schaeffer, 2021).
5) Post Board processing: when additional and final checks about the artworks are undertaken.
6) Annual report: the final step is when Tate's director and the Board of Trustees sign off the acquisition, followed by the relevant announcement and the publication of their annual report.

Identifying whether an artwork was purchased through TAF or LAAC is relatively simple. Each artwork entry contains a credit line that explains how it entered the collection. Although these details are simple to track down, they are not always easy to decipher. The credit line for Adriana Varejão's work *Green Tile work in Live Flesh*, for example, reveals the following: "Lent by the American Fund for Tate Gallery 2001. On long term loan". Neto's *Nós Pescando o Tempo* (*densities and wormholes)* and Muniz' *After Richard Serra, Prop, 1968*, meanwhile are described as "presented by the American Fund for Tate Gallery 2004" and "Presented by the American Fund for Tate Gallery, courtesy of American Acquisitions Committee 2009", respectively (see figure 4.1). The purchase of all these artworks, however, occurred in 2001.

ARTIST	Adriana Varejao born 1964
MEDIUM	Mixed media on canvas
DIMENSIONS	Object: 2247 x 2898 x 657 mm, 85 kg
COLLECTION	Lent by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery 2001 On long term loan
REFERENCE	L02325

ARTIST	Ernesto Neto born 1964
ORIGINAL TITLE	Nós Pescando o Tempo (densities and wormholes)
MEDIUM	Textiles and spices
DIMENSIONS	Overall display dimensions variable
COLLECTION	Tate
ACQUISITION	Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery 2004
REFERENCE	T11928

ARTIST	Vik Muniz born 1961
PART OF	'Pictures of Dust'
MEDIUM	Photograph, colour, Cibachrome print, on paper mounted onto plastic
DIMENSIONS	Unconfirmed: 1524 × 1219 mm
COLLECTION	Tate
ACQUISITION	Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery, courtesy of American Acquisitions Committee 2009
REFERENCE	T12917

4.1 – Screenshots of credit lines available on Tate's website

The apparent discrepancy observed in the dates reflects the complexities of acquisition procedures. Those credit lines refer to the model of collecting taking place at Tate Americas Foundation, showing both the fund origin and whether the artwork's ownership has been transferred to Tate. In practical terms, Varejão's piece appears *on loan* because TAF is the owner who has loaned it to Tate since it was acquired, in 2001. On the other hand, the ownership of Muniz' and Neto's pieces has already been transferred to Tate from TAF, and therefore are shown as *presented*. As Schaeffer explained, "we [can] acquire these works ourselves and we can grant them to Tate as the permanent custodian, because we do not have capacity to showcase [them]" (2021). It is worth stressing that despite being *presented* to Tate, these works acquired through Tate Americas Foundation and the Latin American Acquisitions Committee are chosen following the rigorous acquisition process explained before – which involves considering Tate's collecting policy and strategy.

The Adjunct Curator of Latin American Art

In the same year that the Latin American Art Acquisitions Committee was established, the position of Associate Curator of Latin American Art was created, funded by Tate International Council, a network group formed by patrons of the arts who supported the work of Tate. Subsequent holders of this post, which is now named Adjunct Curator of Latin American Art, were sponsored by art collector Estrellita B. Brodsky, who is a LAAC's founder member. The creation of this role brought an expert on the art from Latin America to Tate for the first time. Barson (2002) explained that the idea was for the adjunct curator to be based in the region, and to be someone "who would be advising Tate on a pro rata basis (…) [and] who was already an expert, and that was crucially embedded in the networks and debates in the region". Although not a full-time position, the person holding this title still plays a crucial role in shaping Tate's collecting strategy for Latin American art.

The first to occupy this position was Medina, who contributed to the development of Tate's first strategy for acquisitions of Latin American art[38]. Medina had already developed a relationship with the UK art milieu before accepting this role. He undertook his PhD at the University of Essex under the supervision of Ades, and was already part of a network of Latin Americanists in the UK. He recalls that when he was back in Mexico after finishing his PhD in 1999, he received a letter from Tate inviting him to be shortlisted for the position of Associate Curator of Latin American art. At that time, Medina (2020) held strong opinions "about the horrible job done by institutions [in Europe and the USA] in relation to the representation of Latin America". He told me that he was going to reject the invitation, but instead opted for a different approach - he wrote a paper to explain why he was not going to participate, including "that institutions, particularly in the United States and Spain, have done wrongly [towards Latin American art] in the hope that they [Tate] will understand why they should not do" (Medina, 2020).

Medina's paper, written in response to Tate, addressed the representation of Latin American art by Western institutions and included suggestions on how to deal with this matter. Having lived in the UK prior to the opening of Tate Modern, and visiting Tate regularly equipped him with the experience to assess the situation from a privileged perspective. He was familiar with the few artworks from Latin America in Tate's collection, and in his view, these were representative of a relationship with modern European movements, thus relating to the idea of collecting digestible alternative canons. According to

[38] I did not have access to these written strategies despite having requested them.

Medina, it was because he explained the issues and directed them to possible solutions that Tate decided that he was the right candidate for the job.

The policy created for acquiring Latin American art was built to overcome the issues presented by Medina. The strategy was to focus on contemporary art, instead of historical works. The rationale for this approach was both financial and practical. There were not many historical artworks available to acquire, and those that were available were already too expensive. On the other hand, contemporary artworks, even by already established artists, were not only more readily available but also cheaper. Furthermore, focusing on the contemporary art scene would demonstrate a strong commitment to the aims of addressing the collection's geographical bias. This would indubitably drive Tate to work more closely with institutions, artists and other actors based in Latin America, consequently strengthening these relationships. For Medina, it was too late for Tate to start collecting Latin American art according to the aim of filling in historical gaps. In his words:

> "The contemporary scene coming from the 90s [was] having a very significant presence. Dealing with them, opening to that field, will allow you to stretch your money, you will be able to show commitment, and will eventually create the conditions to look for resources (…). And this [was] a good moment to try these because the whole process of the previous decade had created a network that can be easily explored." (Medina, 2020).

The networks mentioned by Medina are those associated with the University of Essex and ESCALA, where there was already an existing commitment, and connections with Latin America, from which Tate could draw. Building relationships was, therefore, central to Medina's strategy: "You also need to address the fact that everybody in the field look[ed] at Tate as a completely wrong institution that has been neglecting everything outside of Europe (…). So, you will need to start involving precisely the people that have been operating in Latin America and other geographies in the process to create a synergy with them." It was thus decided that the associate curator should be based in Latin America and be closer to that local art milieu (Barson, 2022).

Another way of demonstrating real commitment to increasing the representation of art from Latin America was to think carefully on how to display these objects. Medina advised that they should not be shown as Latin American practices. Instead, they should be included within the current collection, because:

> (…) nobody wants to be labelled inside a specific narrative. The very important starting point is a question of what kind of art has developed in the UK, because the bond between London and Latin America has been very strong. And, therefore, you will not only start developing the international collections, but you are also going to be able to archive and to trace back a British history. And your own [goal] in the long term would be to get even some key collections that have to do with those relationships that are located in Britain." (Medina, 2020).

As the first person in this role, Medina's responsibilities also included "to convert Tate Curators into Latin Americanists". Barson came in to undergo this process, and also as an internal curator that could assist Medina with knowledge of the collection. As she explained during our interview, when Medina was appointed, he "needed someone (…) who could explain what Tate was and might need".

Barson's involvement with Latin American art had begun during the preparation for the exhibition *Century City*, in 2001. This was when she first encountered the works of Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica, and she recalls beginning "to appreciate that there was another whole history that was related to European modernism, [but] that wasn't European modernism (…) that I haven't really been taught about in my art historical training" (Barson, 2022). As she was becoming acquainted with these works, she also met key actors working with Latin American art in the UK. These included Paulo Venancio Filho and Michael Asbury, who were responsible for the Rio de Janeiro section of *Century City*; Guy Brett, together with an understanding of his contribution of Signals London, and the research being carried out at the University of Essex. Ades also became involved in the setting up of LAAC at Tate, for whom she acted as a Trustee. Therefore, both Medina and the group formed by Ades and Brett played an equally important role in her training (Medina, 2020; Barson, 2022).

Medina's ideas for collecting Latin American art were welcomed by Tate, but not without some challenges. For instance, he told me that he experienced resistance and distrust from some LAAC members in relation to the proposed acquisition of political artworks, or those by artists that were not yet fully established. As he commented, "this was not canonical (…), some of the pieces that you see in the collection (…) were bought for nothing, because nobody understood who Luis Camnitzer, or Leon Ferrari, or Rosângela Rennó were". (Medina, 2020). Medina's experience highlights issues related to a collecting model that relies on the expertise of those who collect art privately. From the perspective of decolonial debates in museums, one must question the impact of this influence and the limitations of such networks, as this model reinforces a particular network that still relies on the market consensus.

On the other hand, one must equally acknowledge the direct and indirect benefits of a public as opposed to private collection.

Medina's own assessment of the opportunities ahead for Tate in developing strategies to collect Latin American art allowed them to decide which stories to focus on. By focusing on the contemporary, Tate could display "the power of consolidating a canon, rather than depending on the canon created by others; that we had to rely on the possibility of establishing, having a power and using it." (Medina, 2020). Awareness of being able to establish a canon through a collection is a powerful position to hold, and one which again points to Tate's status as a macro-actor that sets trends and defines standards that have implications for the art historical narrative. As I will address through an analysis of its acquisitions in Chapters 7 and 8, however, the Brazilian art canon developed through Tate's collecting practices merely contributed to the consolidation of a trend that was already in place in the global art system.

Why Latin America?

A crucial question that arises is why Latin America was chosen as the first geographical region after North America, for Tate to focus their interest on[39]. Although the *ad hoc* collecting practice occurring since the late 1990s contributed to this fact, other aspects are important to consider. Medina (2020) pointed out that this is related, first, to Serota being Tate's director. Serota had already developed an interest in Latin American art, as is demonstrated by his previous position as director of the Whitechapel Gallery (London), where in 1982 he oversaw the organisation of the first comprehensive show of Frida Kahlo's work in the UK and outside Mexico (Durrant, 2021).

Secondly, there was the influence exercised by what Medina called "the Latin American lobby" group. This informal group included Ades and Brett, who, as seen previously, had already played an important role in promoting, researching, and exhibiting Latin American art in the UK. While supporting the Latin American case specifically, they contributed to raising the issue of geographical bias within Tate's collection. The already established research and teaching at the University of Essex, as well as the

[39] The other geographical acquisition Committees were created only a few years later: the Asia-Pacific Acquisitions Committee, in 2007; the Middle East and North Africa Acquisitions Committee, in 2009; the Africa Acquisitions Committee, in 2011; and in 2012, the Russia and Eastern Europe Acquisitions Committee, and the South Asia Acquisitions Committee. There is also the Photography Acquisitions Committee, which was created in 2010.

existence – since 1993 – of ESCALA as a specialised collection in Latin American art, therefore contributed to Tate's interest in expanding its collection of Latin American art.

Finally, by focusing on Latin America, Tate also avoided dealing with issues related to the UK's many legacies of colonialism (Medina, 2020). It was perhaps simpler, or less problematic and polemic for Tate – as it was for the UK's government and society more broadly – to address matters that were not so close to home. As Medina (2020) observed, matters of representation, such as the ones faced by Tate's assessment of its collection, should not be addressed from a position of anger or mere sympathy. A real commitment demands real interest for change, and perhaps Tate was not yet ready to face the task of increasing the representation of artistic practices that would spark further debates about immigration and the violence of Britain's colonial past.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the process that led to the creation of both ESCALA and the policies that Tate developed in order to collect art from Latin America. Whereas the first emerged from the need to hold objects for the purpose of teaching and research at the University of Essex, the latter responded to the assessment of a collection that was not fit for the purpose of the new project that came to be Tate Modern. Moreover, Tate was both influenced and drew from an expertise already developed in the UK at Essex, thus entangling the story of both institutions. Another important outcome of this chapter is the observation that the networks related to Latin American art in the UK tend to be limited.

In the next section I interrogate the collecting practices of the two case studies by analysing ESCALA's and Tate's Brazilian art holds, paying attention to the networks involved in this collecting activity. Learning ESCALA's relationship with the University is fundamental for this analysis. In the same way, knowing Tate and TAF/LAAC's internal acquisition process contributes to deconstructing their black boxes and reflecting on the ways in which these networks played a role in the consolidation of Brazilian art canon(s).

Section 3

Interrogating macro-actors

This section focuses on the two case studies: ESCALA (Case Study I) and Tate (Case Study II). Part I includes Chapter 5, which presents an analysis of the establishment of ESCALA; discussions held by this institution in relation to their own definition of Latin American art, and an outline of their collecting strategy throughout time. Part I also includes Chapter 6, in which I investigate the acquisitions of Brazilian art in their holdings, focusing on the main networks that allowed Brazil to become the most strongly represented Latin American country in ESCALA's collection. Part II turns its attention to Tate's practices of collecting art from Brazil. The two chapters within this part focus on, respectively, the periods before and after the opening of Tate Modern, in 2000. Tate's collecting strategy, as seen in Chapter 3, changed dramatically with the establishment of this branch dedicated to modern and contemporary international art.

Case study 1: ESCALA

Building on the historical background that led to the creation of ESCALA at the University of Essex seen in Chapter 4, the analysis of this case study is carried out in two chapters. The first focuses on the process of creating ESCALA and how this institution developed throughout the years. From the outset, ESCALA relied on artwork donations as the main acquisition method. The second chapter dwells on the networks that facilitated acquisitions of art from Brazil, which are composed of multiple agents, including members of the University staff, current and former students, artists, and art dealers.

I argue that analysing networks allows for an understanding of the reasons for ESCALA's acquisitions of art from Brazil as well as the agency behind such reasoning. This analysis reveals networks that demonstrate the active participation of artists as contributors to the collection. The large number of artworks from Brazil held by ESCALA sets the ground for pairing this collection with Tate as a second UK institution that has been acquiring Brazilian art.

This chapter's narrative is largely informed by primary sources, comprehensively collected during a week-long visit to ESCALA's archive in Colchester. There, I consulted meeting minutes, which recorded valuable accounts of discussions among ESCALA's founders and enthusiasts, during the collection's formative years[40]. Correspondence with key actors has also been carefully kept in their archives, becoming a source that has informed the process of stitching together the stories of this collection. In addition, I accessed the acquisition files of each Brazilian artist held by ESCALA, retrieving information about donors, and collecting data that permitted both quantitative and qualitative analysis of relevant networks. The details collected through archive research were complemented with interviews with several of ESCALA's founders and former and current staff, including Dawn Ades, Charles Cosac, Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro and Sara Demelo, as well as the artists Siron Franco and Alex Gama, who were considerably committed to the development of this collection. In accordance with the characteristically entangled network of Latin Americanists in the UK, ESCALA was also part of my conversation with Cuauhtémoc Medina, who was undertaking his PhD at the University of Essex when this collection was founded.

[40] When I refer to the founders of ESCALA, I mean the staff and students responsible for making the project of the collection happen, namely Dawn Ades, Valerie Fraser, Charles Cosac, Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro, and Paula Terra Cabo. Prof Peter Vergo, Jeremy Theophilus, and Chris Anderton are names also featured in the minutes of UECLAA'S first meetings.

Chapter 5 – Establishing memories

5.1 – Memória *(1990-92), Siron Franco, mixed media on canvas, 180x191cm ©ESCALA*

Standing in front of the large painting *Memória* (1990-92), by Siron Franco, one might not immediately perceive the different stories portrayed by this artwork (see figure 5.1). The first is related to a memory that the artist wished not to be forgotten. Franco's painting is about a tragedy that occurred in Goiânia, Brazil, in 1987 which is registered as one of the worst nuclear disasters in the world. Over 240 people were exposed to the radioactive substance Caesium-137 (Pappon, 2018). The story began two years prior to the incident, when a private radiotherapy clinic moved premises and left behind a radiation therapy machine (Dafné, Natividade and Agências, 2017). On 13th of September 1987, two men broke into the abandoned building and removed parts of the machine, taking them to a junkyard dealer. Unaware of the type of material they were dealing with, the junkyard dealer and their employees dismantled the object, finding inside a capsule containing a shining substance. This substance had a curious appeal: it was white during the day, but in the dark, it shone a very bright and attractive blue colour. "Children, attracted to the bright blue of the radioactive material, touched it, and rubbed it on their skin", reported Time magazine (no date). The first person to pass away from this incident was the

six-year-old niece of the junkyard owner (Pappon, 2018). Many other people died from the exposure to this radioactive element, and several others suffered from illnesses as a consequence of this incident. It took over two weeks from the junkyard dealers first finding the substance to people starting to fall ill before a correlation between the two was made. Only then did authorities act to prevent further spread of the substance. Franco responded to the incident by painting *Memória.*

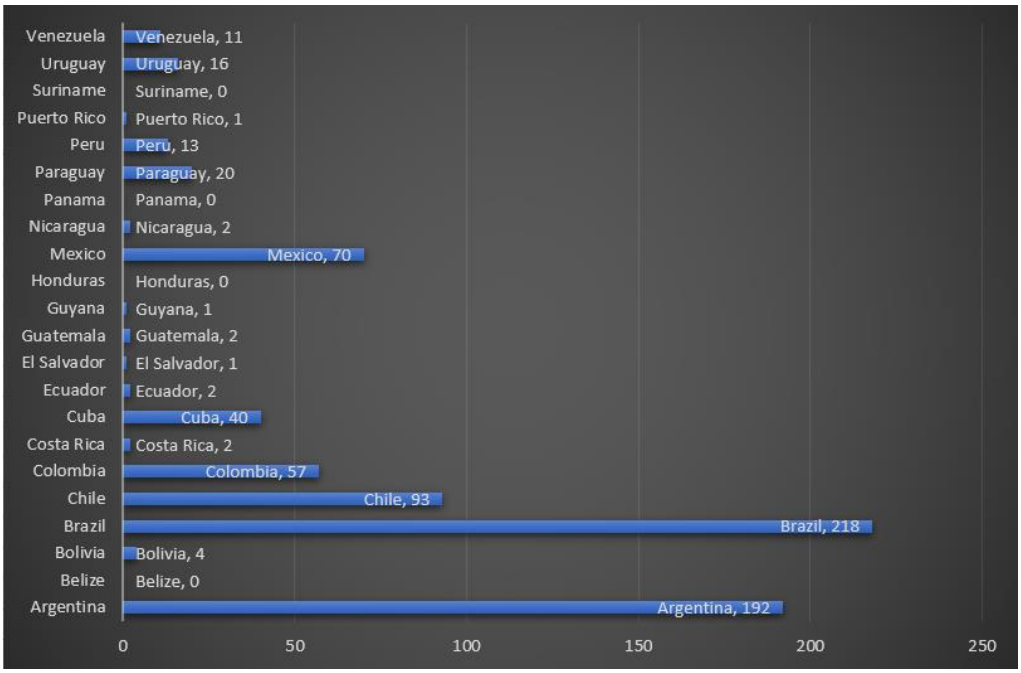
Memória is not the only painting that Franco created to register this incident. In the immediate aftermath of this episode, he worked on the *1987: Cesium* series. Franco used to live near the area where the tragedy occurred, and started to produce drawings to record this event. As Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro noted, much of his work is "more conceptual and deals with the artist's ethical or visceral responses to the world around him" (1998, p. 58). Franco, however, is also interested in matters that are purely visual, such as shapes, forms, and colours. The radioactive accident he witnessed in Goiânia in 1987 served as a turning point in his career and practice, since "[r]adioactivity is also, crucially, invisible, forcing Siron to find an abstract language of symbol to signify the force which was devastating the area [of Goiania]" (Pérez-Barreiro, 1998). In *Memória*, this is visually expressed in the different shades of shiny silver colours that Franco used, which although not clear in reproductions, are highly impactful when seen in the flesh.

A second story depicted in the same painting is related to another "equally destructive aspect of Brazil's involvement in the global economy", namely the illegal trade of animals' *peles* from the Amazon rainforest, as Valerie Fraser observed (2014, p. 76). *Peles* – which can be translated from Portuguese as either *pelts*, *skin* or *fur* – are a recurrent theme in Franco's practice. In *Memória* this is referenced in the cattle's silhouettes and the animal fur resembling that of an *onça-pintada* (a species of Jaguar native from the Americas that is at risk of extinction). Franco's consistent concern with social and political issues, and the idea that artworks could be used to start conversations about such matters, was one of the reasons that motivated Charles Cosac, a Brazilian MA graduate student at the University of Essex at the time, to donate *Memória* to the University in 1993 (Rosero, 2014).

The donation of *Memória* to the University is the third story linked to this painting. It is this story that leads to the formation of the first public collection in the United Kingdom (and Europe) dedicated exclusively to the art from Latin America, originally named UECLAA (The University of Essex Collection of

Latin American art) and rebranded ESCALA (The Essex Collection of Art from Latin America) in 2010[41]. When donating the painting, Cosac's intention was to spark discussions in the classroom, but this action also triggered a series of events that led to the formation of a new collection. According to Dawn Ades (2021), there had always been a desire to have a physical collection of artworks from Latin America at the University that could be used for teaching and researching Latin American art. Today, *Memória* is on permanent display at the Silberrad Student Centre building, at the University of Essex's Colchester Campus.

Since its establishment in 1993, ESCALA's collection grew steadily and today holds about 745 artworks from across Latin America. Out of these, 219 are from Brazil, making it the most represented country within their holdings. There are ninety-two Brazilian artists represented by works ranging from prints, paintings, and sculptures to video, photography, and installation and covering a period from the eighteenth century to the present day. The graph below (see figure 5.2), shared by ESCALA's curator, Sara Demelo, shows the number of objects per country in their collection.



5.2 – Graph showing number of objects per country in ESCALA's collection as per 2022 data, ©ESCALA.

[41] From hereafter I will address the collection only as ESCALA, even when referring to periods prior to the name change.

Creating a collection

The official proposal to form a collection was forwarded to the University in the form of a memorandum. This document, held by ESCALA's archives, is entitled 'A Latin American Art Collection at Essex'. Ades and Fraser wrote to the University of Essex Registrar and Secretary in April 1993 to propose the creation of a "specialist collection of contemporary Latin American art at Essex" (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993). This memorandum was carefully prepared to include the details and challenges that starting a new public collection would entail, including its benefits, the stages in which the collection would take shape, and how it would be maintained. Among the benefits, Ades and Fraser highlighted the opportunities that having this collection would bring for both the Art History and Theory Department and the University as a whole. They underlined the fact that there was no similar collection in either the UK or Europe. Secondly, Essex's expertise on this subject and the networks already established throughout the years would justify such an enterprise (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993). These same networks, as I will show, would be used for seeking donations.

That same memorandum outlined that the first step for beginning the collection would be to accept an "existing offer by one of Brazil's foremost contemporary artists to donate a work of art to the university" (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993). The correspondence pointed out that a "graduate student currently doing an MA in our department" had liaised with the Brazilian artist who "is prepared to donate a work to the university" (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993). The graduate student was Cosac, and the painting came to be Franco's *Memória*. According to Pérez-Barreiro (1994, p. 91), given Franco's prestige at the time, having this painting as the founding donation "set the highest standard for subsequent [ones]".

Other benefits highlighted in the same document included strengthening relationships with Latin America on different fronts, with a particular interest in establishing connections with the diplomatic and banking circles. The justification, Ades and Fraser explained, was that "unlike the unremittingly philistine British government, most Latin American countries treat the diplomatic profession as a way of providing some of their leading artists and writers with secure incomes; and an appreciation of the arts is regarded as part of the professional responsibility of businessmen and politicians alike" (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993). Consequently, Ades and Fraser argued, these actions could result in more graduate students from Latin America choosing to study in Essex. The collection would contribute towards the University becoming a major research resource, appealing to PhD students

interested in this subject. The improvement of the image of both Essex and the University was also used as an argument: "if Essex can establish a reputation as the home of Britain's (Europe's?) only major collection of Latin American art, then surely that will help to dispel the popular image of Essex as a dirty grey concrete jungle" (ESCALA archives, Memorandum, 25 April 1993).

The original proposal was presented to the University in April 1993, and the official inauguration of the collection took place in December 1993. Having a specialist collection onsite was met with enthusiasm from staff and students working on the subject of Latin American art within the Department of Art History and Theory. I emphasise that the enthusiasm was coming from those interested in Latin American art because, even though the then vice-chancellor Ivor Crewe took an interest in the project, not everyone in the Art History department seemed to be in favour of or keen on it (Pérez-Barreiro, 2020; Ades, 2021). According to Pérez-Barreiro (2020), who was one of ESCALA's founders and its first assistant curator, "the Art History department was ambiguous about this collection from the start", adding that "there was a sense of sort of invading the art history with real art and real artists that was sort of shocking, in a way", a reasonable consideration given that the University already had an art collection with a focus on British art.

Nonetheless, those involved in the project registered their enthusiasm in the minutes of a meeting held in November 1993, a few weeks prior to the event that officially launched the collection:

> "It was noted that the project had escalated from the plan to inaugurate a special collection of Latin American art with a small party to celebrate the initial donation by Charles Cosac. Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro's enthusiasm had led to the involvement of the Museo de Arte Contemporaneo of Buenos Aires (…) who are donating several carefully chosen works. Josefina Durini of the Durini Gallery in London was also excited by the idea and is donating 10 works of various artists she handles" (ESCALA archives, UECLAA Minutes, 24 November 1993).

Other stakeholders became involved in the project, including official government bodies. Due to his personal connections to Colchester and interests in Latin American art, Nicholas Elam, then Head of Cultural Relations of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), expressed his interest in ESCALA's project (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994). He arranged for FCO sponsorship to pay for the launch reception, and the transport of works waiting to be despatched from Buenos Aires. The latter were donations brokered by Perez-Barreiro while undertaking fieldwork in Argentina for his doctoral research (Pérez-Barreiro, 2020).

Elam also convinced "Mark Lennox-Boyd MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to inaugurate the collection at very short notice" (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994, p. 91). The symbolic presence of the Foreign Office and politicians with connections to Latin America meant that ESCALA could potentially secure support from fronts beyond the artists, scholars, students, and art galleries that had already expressed interest in the project[42]. Inaugurated with forty-six artworks, ESCALA's official launch took place on 13 December 1993 (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994).

Following this, ESCALA's founders and supporters began to establish clearer objectives for the project. Becoming a leading collection was always one of their main goals, as is clearly detailed in the first draft of their 'aims and purposes', which is registered in the minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting of February 1994. They hoped to develop "a specialist permanent collection of high-quality twentieth century Latin American art at the University of Essex". The members of this Sub-Committee were in agreement that the collection should be kept "as unlimited as possible (with a particular stress on contemporary art), noting however that anything falling outside its description could always be accepted as part of the [wider] University collection" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 3 February 1994)[43].

This first draft also stated that the aims and purposes of the collection were "to promote interest in Latin American art in Britain and Europe"; to serve as a resource for future research; "to disseminate knowledge about Latin American art and the Essex collection in particular by loaning items to temporary exhibitions"; and finally, to promote Essex's profile as a centre of research of Latin America (ESCALA archives, Aims and Purposes).

Demonstrating the emphasis placed on teaching and research, the first draft of the acquisition policy also specified that the works were to be acquired "around a number of key areas, particularly those which are, or which become areas of research within the Department of Art History and Theory", (ESCALA archives, Aims and Purposes attached to letter from Cosac to Fraser, 9 December 1993). A revised draft of the aims and purposes also specified that the collection would be used as the basis for

[42] Some of these ideas were put into practice throughout the years. For instance, ESCALA established an agreement with the law firm Olswang, based in London, that would pay a fee of £5000 annually to borrow artworks to be hung in their offices (ESCALA archive, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Extraordinary Meeting, 13 January 2003). Other example refers to using the collection during a visit of the Chile President to the UK in 1996 (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 17 October 1996). There has also been a partnership established for an exhibition programme with the Brazilian embassy.

[43] Prior to the creation of UECLAA, the University of Essex already held an art collection with a focus on British art.

an archive of complementary research material on Latin American art, to encourage interdisciplinary discussions and to present works in a didactic context, whenever possible (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 11 May 1995). Once again, donations of artworks and archival material were emphasised, with the revised version of their aims and purposes clearly stating that these would be actively sought and encouraged (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 11 May 1995).

While dealing with the bureaucracy of starting a collection within a university, receiving gifts seemed like an easier solution. Ades (2021) recalls that questions of physical space, finance, and human resources were "not at all easy because to start a [specialised] collection did not fit in to any of the university structures", even though there was already a collection that focused on British art. The University had a gallery, whose director, Jess Kenny, was a fierce supporter of the project. However, a major issue that soon emerged was where artworks that continued to be donated would be stored. Ades recalled that "works that came in would be in our offices, and I had a wonderful work by Roberto da Matta, which Charles had borrowed from his brother[-in-law], and it was hanging in my office. But we hadn't really dealt with things like insurance, which came later." (2021).

Defining Latin America

Another concern registered in ESCALA's archival files was how to define what constituted 'art from Latin America'. These debates were held throughout the years, but a definition was never settled. This is observed, for instance, in a meeting to discuss a second draft of the acquisition policy in May 1995, when the question of what was meant by 'Latin American artist' was brought to the table. Among those attending this meeting were Ades, Pérez-Barreiro, and other figures (then PhD students) who were later to become actors in the field of Latin American art within and beyond the UK, including art historian and curator Cecilia Fajardo-Hill and curator Paula Terra-Neale. The main question asked in this meeting was "Should it be by birth, training, residence or a combination of these factors?" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 11 May 1995). The Sub-Committee did not come to a conclusion, although the collection's formalised aims came to present a more detailed account of what was meant by Latin America as a geographical region:

> "For the purpose of the collection, 'Latin America' refers to the geographical area of North America (Mexico), Central America and South America. French-speaking Canada is not considered to be Latin America. Art produced by Latin American migrant communities (in the USA or Europe, for example) is considered to be Latin America" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 11 May 1995).

To this day, ESCALA does not provide an absolute definition of what it means by 'art from Latin America', or the type of object being collected. This "inclusivity", as former ESCALA's curatorial assistant Andrés Rosero (2014, p. 15) underscored, "also extends to the definition of what art is. The Collection does not create hierarchies between 'high' and 'low' forms of art, between 'popular art' and art with a capital A". These ongoing discussions regarding the definition of Latin American art evidently made an impact on UECLAA's founders. During our interviews, Ades (2021), Medina (2020) and Pérez-Barreiro (2020) each individually recalled the same story summarising the ideas then debated.

This story was also registered in the minutes of a meeting (ESCALA Archives, UECLAA Sub-Committee, 6 December 1995), and refers to a discussion about whether they should acquire *chuwas* (1995), ceramic pots made by artist Warmi (see figure 5.3).

5.3 – Chuwas *(1995), Warmi, ceramic. ©ESCALA*

Originally from the southern highlands of Peru, artist Susie Goulder chose the name Warmi because it is "the generic term for woman in the indigenous language of Quechua" (Fraser, 2019, p. 17). Returning to her roots is essential to her practice, hence choosing this name. Chuwas, in Quechua, means earthenware bowl, and although usually used for food, *chuwas* with flowers were displayed in the artist's family garden (Fraser, 2019). The *chuwas* found at ESCALA are made of clay and shaped by hand,

delicately decorated with a sequence of words on the inner rims that "are the personal pronouns in the three main languages of the Andean highlands: Quechua, Aymara and Spanish" (Fraser, 2019). These objects were brought into the collection after Fraser's trip to Peru in the early 1990s. The entry catalogued for these objects in ESCALA's website states that the pronouns written on these bowls "vividly illustrates how we (Westerners) can learn from different cultures, but we need to be open to this" (ESCALA, 2019; Fraser, 2019, p. 17), hinting at the results of a debate that decided these works should enter ESCALA's collection.

In the December 1995 meeting, these bowls triggered a debate about whether or not they should be considered art. Pérez-Barreiro (2020) recalls that they "were discussing a little-known artist that led to a very interesting conversation about how the collection should not reflect a consensus which was much less of an issue then that it is now, because [now] there's a market consensus" (Pérez-Barreiro, 2020). They debated the reasons why these bowls would *not* be of interest from a research and academic point of view since they resist a canonical or validating reading. Since the market for Latin American art was not as active or prominent back in the early 1990s, Pérez-Barreiro explained that its validation stemmed from auction houses. This did not mean, however, that they "respected [the auction houses] very much. Outside of Guy Brett and Dawn Ades, and a couple of people who we respected generally, there was not a lot of canonical thinking [about Latin American art in the UK]", Pérez-Barreiro argued. Equally interesting was the conclusion of this debate: "if [an artwork] has prompted this kind of debate, then it must be worth having [it in the collection]." (Ades, 2021). Following a similar line of thought, Pérez-Barreiro added that the criterion "if we're still talking about it, we should include it" represents a radical approach of curatorial thinking:

> "It's a really powerful, revolutionary idea, which is that an artwork is only as interesting as the conversation you can have about it. Because that sort of pushes back on a lot of consensual things, such as we should get it because this person is famous, because they were in the last-minute biennial, because there's all this buzz around them, and sometimes the work is just not that interesting." (Pérez-Barreiro, 2020).

The reflections that stemmed from that debate are also found in the rationale for their decision to change the name of the collection in 2010. The change from UECLAA (The University of Essex Collection of *Latin American art*) to ESCALA (The Essex Collection of art *from Latin America*) aimed to emphasise a more pluralistic view of artistic production from that region. According to Joanne Harwood, ESCALA's former director, the change reflected "a concerted effort to be understood not only by our

international, and specifically Latin American supporters, but also by our own institution in the widest sense" (Harwood, 2014, p. 4). As Demelo (2020) explained, Harwood's comment referred to the fact that the previous name evoked a feeling that the collection was for those who had prior knowledge of the subject, but this was not its aim.

Moreover, renaming the collection occurred in view of reflections that were simultaneously taking place in Latin America concerning how its artistic production had been interpreted, displayed and understood by the international art system. As Demelo explained (2020), such discussions built on debates by authors including art historian and curator Gerardo Mosquera (1996; 2001; 2003; 2010) which refer to the "neurosis of identity" found with discourse of Latin American art.

This tendency was first articulated by Frederico Morais (1979), who argued that an obsession with matters of identity related to the continent's colonial past and to the invention of 'Latin America' as a category. Morais (1979) contended that to tackle this neurosis of identity it was necessary to question, first, the global art system and, second, Latin America's own position in relation to it. Building on Morais, Mosquera (1996) spoke about the trap of thinking that art from Latin America is merely derivative of the West, and warned of the danger of finding Latin American art's originality only in a certain appeal to 'traditional cultures', the idea of the 'fantastic' and/or in the constant search for its identity.

For Mosquera (2001), Latin American art went through a process of 'ceasing to be Latin American art', meaning that the artistic production of that region became part of the international system by adopting an international language, which occurred via two processes. The first referred to an artistic production overcoming the so-called "neurosis of identity" (Mosquera, 2001, p. 27) by adopting an international language that was mostly manifested through geometrical abstraction art.

The second related to the circulation and reception of the art produced in Latin America in a global system that started to receive this artistic production without specifically noting its origin. "Instead of demanding of it that it declares its identity", Mosquera explained, "art from Latin America is now being recognised more and more as a participant in a general practice that does not by necessity show its context, and that on occasion refers to art itself", by achieving, for instance, an international language (Mosquera, 2001, p. 27). Building on these ideas, Mosquera (2003) also argued that the term 'art *from* Latin America', in opposition to '*Latin American art'*, gives emphasis to the global circulation and the recognition of an 'international' language in the art produced in that region that is no longer, or not so obviously, reduced to questions of identity. In the process of achieving an international art language and

space, Mosquera (2001) criticised a degree of 'self-exoticism' often found in Latin American art, emerging, in his view, from the artists' interest in being part of a global art system that still sees Latin American art as the 'other'.

I argue, however, that this line of thought assumes a passive attitude from artists, whose artistic production would seemingly only be grounded by trends set by the market, the international art system and agents operating within them. Mosquera (2001, p. 27) talked about the artist being "complacent" to self-exoticism in order to be accepted by this system. If there is a neurosis of identity, it may well not be a diagnosis but a symptom instead - one that reveals deeper problems, that is, those related to the region's colonial history. Through this understanding, the problem would not lie so much in the artistic production per se (that reveals the neurotic symptom), but rather in the discourse that chooses to respond to this production by exoticising it. The latter arises from a Eurocentric perspective on art history and a lack of understanding of a colonialism that systematically erased different ways of being and knowing (Quijano, 2007; Sousa Santos, 2016; Mignolo, 2018). In this regard, and as previously suggested by Morais (1979), it is the discourse-production that needs revision, considering broader contexts that scrutinise both the global art system and the art market. In other words, the issue is not the interest of Latin American artists in matters of identity, but the knowledge produced about these artworks that overlooks, at times, the complexities behind this artistic production.

This is evident today in the increased interest in the artistic practices of indigenous artists whose work combines issues of identity, history, and activism. As pointed out by indigenous curator Naine Terena, easier access to communication tools and technology has allowed for an expansion of contemporary indigenous art and for indigenous artists to become "strong allies in the search for self-representation" (2019, no page). Matters of identity – or rather, the problematization of matters of identity – are being clearly sought after by contemporary artists who, in turn, use these to criticise the global art system.

UECLAA changed its name to ESCALA because art *from* Latin America had the potential to allow those who were not so familiar with the history of that region to become interested in the subject. This would occur because by emphasising that the artworks are *from* that region, it would broaden the idea of mobility and circulation of objects, people and ideas. Consequently, art from Latin America would become more accessible to those who are neither familiar with the history of that geographical region nor matters of identity. Focusing on the *from*, it placed Latin American art within the debate about transnational exchanges.

Consequently, analysing the actors and networks involved in acquisitions functions well as a method and a model for investigating ESCALA's collecting practices. By focusing on actors and networks, we can separate from what I call a 'neurosis of the global' (or of the national, for that matter) which seems to limit the canonical definition to only what is validated by international actors and events. This neurosis is a symptom and a consequence of coloniality. As seen previously, the repression imposed by colonialism not only supressed ideas, beliefs, and knowledge of the colonised, but also "fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual" (Quijano, 2007, p. 169). In this regard, the idea of 'neurosis of identity' can be seen as a consequence of this oppression, in which the colonised modes of being, believing, and knowing, were continuously oppressed, neglected and erased, resulting in a constant search for their own identity, in addition to a paradoxical attempt to fit in within the post-colonial order. A constant revision of these discourses is necessary to consider the growing interest in indigenous artistic production in relation to current debates about decolonising the museum and the art system[44]. Art history and the art system seem to go through a full cycle: overemphasising matters of identity, rejecting them, to return to the same issues.

Established within a University created in the context of the Cold War and grounded in Marxist theories (Rosero, 2014), ESCALA was ahead of the UK art milieu in considering issues that are now considered as highly relevant for both museums and art history today, such as the inclusivity manifested in this collection's broader definition of art. Although works accepted through donations did not exclusively touch upon on socio-political issues, as Pérez-Barreiro (2020) stated, Essex already held the tradition of being "connected to area studies and to social reading of artworks, very clearly on the left (…). We all read Canclini, Galeano, or to some extent that was the pantheon of thinkers in a general sense".

ESCALA's openness to collecting non-canonical objects, however, also related to its reliance on donations. This acquisition method mostly occurred through networks that operated locally, that is, within Latin America. Moreover, this openness is also partially explained by the fact that ESCALA did not

[44] This is highly evident through many academic events, such as conferences and symposiums, organised in the past few years, and publications. To name a few that took place only in the UK, conference *Worldviews: Latin American Art and the Decolonial Turn*, organised by The Centre for Visual Culture (University of Cambridge) and The Research Centre for Transnational Art, Identity, Nation (UAL) in November 2021; the Association for Art History Summer Conference *Global Britain: Decolonising Art's History*, June 2021; Workshop *Doing the work: Collecting practices and acquisition strategies*, co-produced by the Contemporary Art Society and the Decolonising Arts Institute (University of the Arts London), May 2021.

have a budget for purchasing works, which resulted in their acceptance of almost anything offered as a donation. Ades (2021) explained that they "had no money, so it was a matter of donations", adding that there was not a specific criterion per se, just quality of interest.

This quality of interest was certainly limited to what the networks had to offer. Within the UK context of the early 1990s however, the establishment of ESCALA - and the networks already formed through the teaching and research on Latin American art since the late seventies - resulted in a collection that was not dictated by trends stemming from the art market. The discussions presented above demonstrate that this was also being considered and debated. In the following session, I turn my attention to the importance of donations as an acquisition method and the networks that allowed for objects from Brazil held today by ESCALA that exemplify these claims.

Donations: networks as criteria

Those involved in the ESCALA project hoped to use Cosac's gift as an example when reaching out to other artists and agents who might potentially follow similar steps, and donations became the main acquisition method enabling the rapid growth of this collection. The first donation demonstrates the crucial role of personal relationships in the entangled networks responsible for turning the collection into reality, and personal contacts continued to be the primary source for identifying other donors.

The appeal for donations matched with the ethos of some of the first artists involved in the project. As Franco explained to me during an interview, he believes in donations as a form of cultural exchange. In his view, "being an artist is not a profession", but a way of expressing oneself (Franco, 2021). Despite selling his works to private collectors (such as Cosac), Franco explained that donating objects is part of his attitude as an artist who has never wished to be part of a market system but instead to avoid any type of commercial pressure in his artistic production (Franco, 2021). This ethos, as we will see, was conveyed in the role he played as both donor and liaison of donations.

The correspondence in ESCALA's archive demonstrates that actively seeking donations was part of ESCALA's strategy to increase the collection from its outset. This is clearly observed in a discussion held in February 1994, in which a suggestion was made to set a budget for the purchase of artworks. At that time, an agreement was reached that no purchases should be made for the foreseeable future as to not jeopardise possible donations (ESCALA Archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 3 February

1994). The first purchase of a Brazilian artwork occurred only in 2003, following ESCALA'S successful application for a fund to purchase Eduardo Kac's hologram sculpture *Holo/Olho* (1983; ESCALA Archives, artist file); this grant was provided by the Shearwater Foundation specifically designed to support works and research on holographic art (ESCALA Archives, artist file).

While objects were donated by a wide range of people, they each constituted part of the networks established by the collection's founders. These networks started with personal contacts who agreed to donate the artworks that inaugurated the collection. In the first three years of its activity, the collection grew rapidly. The inauguration saw forty-six artworks in December 1993, and a total of 242 works by 162 artists from twelve different countries had been accessioned by May 1996 (EA, Minutes of UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting). In 2004, there were 610 artworks and, today, ESCALA holds 745 objects (ESCALA archives, UECLAA review, Draft, firstsite May 2004; Demelo, 2022).

In addition to Cosac and Pérez-Barreiro, the Museo de Arte Contemporanea, Buenos Aires, and Josefina Durini also contributed with early donations. Additionally, ESCALA invited artists with close connections to Essex to gift works. Ana Maria Pacheco, Rita Bonfim, Ofelia Rodriguez, and Ana Placencia, for instance, presented Essex with works that had been previously exhibited at the university gallery (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994). The connections and relationships with these artists had been established prior to the inauguration of the collection, revealing that Essex was already a centre towards which artists from Latin America gravitated.

The Museo de Arte Contemporaneo (MAC) in Buenos Aires, a private museum of contemporary art created in 1977 by collector Marcos Curi, donated several works for the inauguration of ESCALA. Pérez-Barreiro connected MAC and Essex, using personal contacts developed in the context of his PhD research. Pérez-Barreiro (2020) told me that, while on a research trip to Argentina in 1993, he received a phone call from Fraser about Cosac's first donation and the idea of forming a collection in Essex. This call aimed to encourage the then doctoral candidate to seek donations while he was in Argentina, and these efforts resulted in Curi and Roque De Bonis, MAC's curator, gifting twenty artworks to ESCALA in 1994. According to Pérez-Barreiro (1994, p. 91), this made ESCALA, at that time, the institution with the largest number of registered contemporary works from Argentina "anywhere outside Argentina, covering a broad range of tendencies and languages". In turn, Josefina Durini - who in the early 1990s managed the only commercial art gallery in London specialised in art from Latin America (Durini Gallery)– made a few

donations herself, and helped to promote ESCALA by approaching sponsors and potential donors (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994)[45].

Although donating objects to museums is a common practice, relying solely on donations and personal contacts to form a collection raises practical and ethical issues[46]. Firstly, there is the issue of the limitations of networks. In ESCALA's case, "it was very opportunistic, because our networks had great strength and weakness. The first two years of the collection it's all Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay", stated Pérez-Barreiro (2020). This tendency is quite visible on the chart presented previously (see figure 5.2), where certain countries – such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Mexico – are substantially more represented than others. To avoid jeopardising personal relationships, the degree of autonomy in deciding what is accepted and rejected also risks being compromised. One might not want to endanger personal or professional connections by rejecting a donation, but if all donations were to be accepted indiscriminately, a collection could grow without any clear direction. On the other hand, if a newly-established public collection that relies heavily on donations fails to present any concrete strategy, agents responsible for liaising with donors would be left on less solid ground when approaching their contacts.

Moreover, in the post-colonial context, which applies in this case, donations often evince a power imbalance. ESCALA is an institution based in the UK collecting artworks from countries that not only have a history of being underrepresented in the art historical narrative, but are also largely misinterpreted. In addition, another imbalance was created by the lack of an active market for the artistic production of Latin America at the time. Medina (2020) – who was not formally involved with ESCALA but was undertaking his PhD in Essex and joined some of their meetings – felt that acquisition through donations was as problematic as the relationship between Latin America and the so-called centre. He emphasised the fact, for instance, that artists in Mexico "lived in a situation where there was neither local nor international market" (Medina, 2020). Pérez-Barreiro (2020) recalled that the ethics of donations and their potential unfairness were discussed. The justification given in favour of donations stated that the artworks were to be used for research, and Essex – due to its tradition of teaching and researching Latin American art – was an important place to have these works. As Pérez-Barreiro (2020)

[45] Durini donated, in 1993, 12 works by the following artists: Miguel Angel D'Arienzo, Rómulo Sidañez, Antonia Guzmán, Adriana Zapisek, Julio Chaile, Beatriz Sánchez, Hugo Rodríguez; Eulises Niebla, and Ramiro Arango.
[46] As seen in chapter 3, the survey revealed that donation has been the most common method of acquisition used by museums in the UK to collect art from Brazil.

explained, “The gift culture became really important to articulate why it was worth being there. (…) [It was a] very different kind of compensation, and that this was a completely non-commercial venture”.

Archived correspondence reveals Cosac and Pérez-Barreiro addressing some of these concerns with Ades and Fraser in the early stages of the project. They emphasised the urgency of professionalising ESCALA, and dealing with outstanding issues concerning the donations that kept arriving. In a letter sent to Fraser in December 1993, Cosac criticised the first draft of ESCALA’s aims, and particularly the idea of the collection being used for research purposes. “Theoretically”, Cosac wrote, “this is a very attractive idea, but unworkable in practice. From the moment a student’s field of interest changed with the arrival of new students, such an aim would become entirely unfeasible. In my case, I would not possibly approach collectors or artists with such a proposal” (ESCALA archives, Letter from Cosac to Fraser, 9 December 1993). He also criticised the names listed as ESCALA’s Executive Committee, from whom the assistant curator would have to seek approval to form the collection. In his view, this Committee was formed of people “with absolutely no knowledge on the subject [of art from Latin America]” (ESCALA archives, Letter from Cosac to Fraser, 9 December 1993). Cosac held a strong position on these matters, adding that his participation in the project would be “promptly suspended until such a terrible position is altered”, but also emphasising that he was loyal to the project and to “not to look on my withdrawal as a threat” (ESCALA archives, Letter from Cosac to Fraser, 9 December 1993).

Similarly, Pérez-Barreiro did not feel comfortable in having to explain and justify acquisitions to non-specialists’ members of the Executive Committee – as emphasised in a letter to Ades and Fraser. According to the curator, the way the collection was being managed caused several issues, as the list of people in the Board of Management was not “equipped to deal with the issues of Latin American art, and less with the type of communication which this inevitably entails” (ESCALA archives, Letter from Pérez-Barreiro to Ades and Fraser, 18 December 1993). Pérez-Barreiro and Cosac seemed to have conferred on these matters, as their concerns were analogous. They were both using their personal contacts to contribute to the collection. In Pérez-Barreiro’s own words:

> “…if we are to build up the collection of works of art by using our contacts, we need guarantees on basic issues in the administration of the collection. The reason I say this is because to whoever we are dealing with, we represent UECLAA and any donations we get are largely due to their trust in us as part of the structure. If then something goes wrong, it is not so much UECLAA as us personally who will be blamed (this is part of the Latin mentality).” (ESCALA archives, Letter from Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro to Ades and Fraser, 18 December 1993).

Pérez-Barreiro recommended that they – as liaisons for donations – should be allowed "to follow an individual [donation] case right through ([as] this would also avoid the kind of crossed wires we had occasionally over the past few weeks). For this we should be allowed to write and send letter[s] in an official capacity up until acceptance" (ESCALA archives, Letter from Pérez-Barreiro to Ades and Fraser, 18 December 1993). However, these frustrations were consistently accompanied with great support and enthusiasm for the project.

The account above unveils the dynamic in which the collection was founded, evidencing that personal relationships established by the founders were essential to its growth.

From this perspective, one might raise questions regarding the criteria that were followed for accepting artworks. The reality was that, at the beginning, there were no defined criteria for what would be accessioned, and all donations were being accepted. As Ades explained (2021), "When we started, it was just really a matter of trying to get what we could that was of sufficient quality. But we didn't really have the clarity that there should be an environmental focus, or a focus on abstraction, whatever it might be".

With the growth of the collection and storage space becoming an issue, however, the need to establish clear guidelines for accepting donations became evident. It was understood that "there was no point in accumulating works for its own sake, but that it may be the time to target specific artists" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 27 October 1997). Lack of storage space was considered an acceptable reason for rejecting donations, although the Committee agreed that the criteria for rejecting an artwork should be "quality and historical or stylistic relevance" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 24 May 1999). It was not until 2004 that UECLAA established an Acquisition Committee that would deal only with the acceptance or rejection of new acquisitions, aiming to "have guidelines, and also develop standard rejection letters that explain to artists why their work did not fit into UECLAA's mandate" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 2 June 2004). The criteria and questions to pose on a new object were: if the artwork could be used for teaching or research purposes; if it has have other outreach and exhibition value for use in other areas of the art history department; if the size was suitable to fit in the storage and exhibition space; and, finally, whether the artwork functioned within the context of the collection and the other works already included (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 2 June 2004).

Conclusion

Despite the discussions above, it is evident that acquisitions were still more dependent on networks than on the selection criteria. This observation was also emphasised by Pérez-Barreiro (2020) during our interview. As he rightly phrased it, “the criterion was a network effect”, adding that “If Charles thought it was good, it was good, there was no sense that anyone was going to question. They questioned it financially and other ways, but not curatorially. The same way with the stuff that I was able to get”, which justified addressing issues about professionalising the collection to not jeopardise the relationships between these brokers and others gifting works. If the criteria were based on networks, then the questions that follow are linked to the way these networks were developed; the type of objects gifted through them, and the limitations associated with acquisitions that rely only, or mostly, on this method. In the next Chapter, I tackle those questions by looking into the networks that permitted Brazilian artworks to enter ESCALA’s holdings.

Chapter 6 – Six degrees of separation

The 219 objects from Brazil held by ESCALA correspond to approximately fifteen percent of all Brazilian artworks found in UK public collections[47], making this the second largest holding of Brazilian artworks – behind only the British Museum (with 45%). The data gathered during the survey has shown that the collecting activity of Brazilian art in the UK increased from the late 1990s onward, and this is largely due to the foundation of ESCALA. Out of its 219 artworks by Brazilian artists, 206 (93%) were donated; thirteen (6%) were provided as long-term loans (meaning that the collection holds but does not own them); and three (1%) were purchased. Although the donors of these objects vary considerably, 146 (66%) items are registered as donated by the artists who created them.

Closer investigation in ESCALA's archives, together with information collected through interviews, reveals, however, that the connections that led the artists to act as donors are more entangled than the official and public records show. Brazilian donors contributed heavily in the early years of the collection. Tracing the acquisition trajectory of many of the donations over the years unveils a series of networks and relationships between the institution and its donors that allows for a better understanding of the history of this collection and the motivations behind these acquisitions. Stating that a donation was made by the artist, for example, does not reveal who introduced them to ESCALA. It is on these networks that this Chapter focuses on.

Charles Cosac

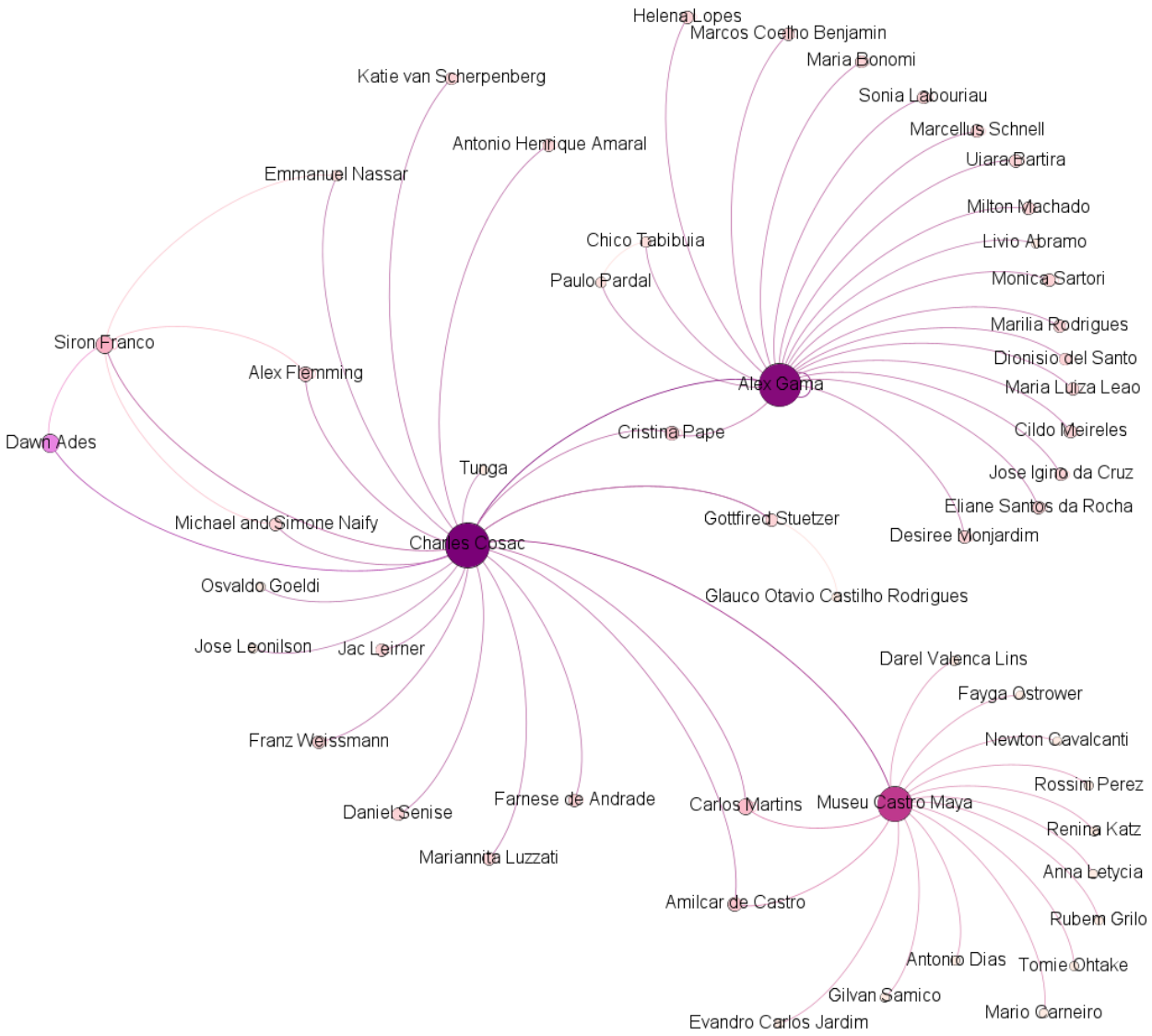
The network stemming from Cosac stands out amongst those that contributed to the formation of ESCCALA. He was central to donations of Brazilian artworks and a key agent responsible for establishing a network of donors that resulted in many gifts to the collection. His role in the project was so central that Pérez-Barreiro (2020) stated that would "Charles [Cosac] not been there, there would be no collection, or the collection would not have any of the importance it has today". The importance attributed to Cosac is evident in the process of disentangling the networks that started with him – even after he was no longer actively involved in this project. I managed to verify that the acquisition of at least 132 works is connected to Cosac, which corresponds to nearly 60% of the total of 219 Brazilian artworks.

[47] Considering the objects within the scope of this thesis as per the survey of Brazilian art in the UK (chapter 2).

If Cosac aimed to start a debate about socio-political issues through artworks when choosing *Memória* as the first gift, as seen in the previous Chapter, the choice of a painting by Franco also related to the fact that he is an avid collector of this artist. “I met Siron when I was 20 years old and I always collected his work”, Cosac told me in an interview in September 2021. Cosac (b. 1964, Rio de Janeiro) is a businessperson from a wealthy family whose fortune comes from mining companies. A well-known art collector of religious and contemporary art, he completed an MA in History of Art and Theory at the University of Essex in 1994. During our interview, Cosac explained that after returning to live permanently in Brazil, he founded a year later the publishing house Cosac Naify with his brother-in-law, Michael Naify in 1997, which became a staple in the art publishing sector in that country. After Cosac Naify ended its activities in 2015, Cosac acted as the Director of the Biblioteca Mário de Andrade, Sao Paulo, between 2017 and 2019, and the Museu Nacional Honestino Guimarães, Brasília, between 2019 and 2020. He is, therefore, a person with deep connections in the art milieu in Brazil. Ades (2021) reinforced these claims, stating that “Charles had such wonderful contacts among great artists [which] was really crucial… and, of course, [he] is a very brilliant collector himself”.

Cosac’s contribution to the collection continued after he graduated from his MA at the University and returned to Brazil (Cosac, 2021). There, he carried on liaising with his contacts to grant more gifts to ESCALA. Pérez-Barreiro (2020) observed that there was then a “sense of community” between artists who were acquainted with and respected each other, even if they worked on different themes of techniques. The person establishing these connections would be Cosac, as he “was very good at following those leads, like somebody would lead to somebody else would lead to somebody. And that would create the networks”, explained Pérez-Barreiro (2020). These connections are visualised in the network diagram that follows (figure 6.1), which illustrates the degrees of separation that link Cosac, directly and indirectly, to the artists whose works are featured in ESCALA[48].

[48] All the diagram in this chapter have been created by the author using the open-source network analysis and visualisation software Gephi.

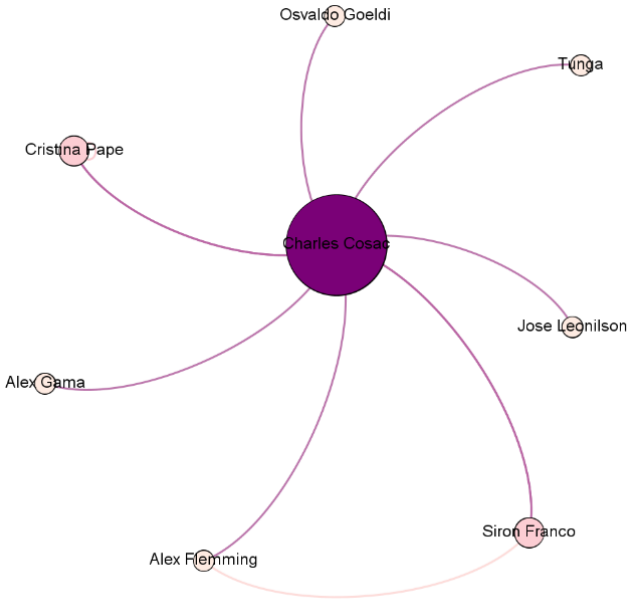


6.1 – Charles Cosac's networks of direct and indirect connections to artists acquired by ESCALA. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

Cosac himself was directly responsible for the donation of eight artworks, including Franco's *Memória* (figure 6.2) and those listed as follows:

- The sculpture *Jardins de Mandrágoras* (1996) by Tunga, donated in 1994.
- The print *N.Y.2* (1993) by Alex Gama gifted in 1995.
- The painting *Sem Título* (1995) and sculpture *Air du temps* (1995) by Cristina Pape, the latter being donated by the artist together with Cosac, and both entering the collection in 1995 and 1996, respectively.
- The print *Untitled* (unknown date) by Osvaldo Goeldi, donated in 1995.

- The installation, *Radiografia Brasileira* (1996), again by Franco, donated in 1996.
- And the work *Soberba* (1997) by Alex Flemming, donated jointly by Cosac and Franco in 1997.
- and finally, a sculpture *Untitled* (1992) by José Leonilson, gifted in 1997.

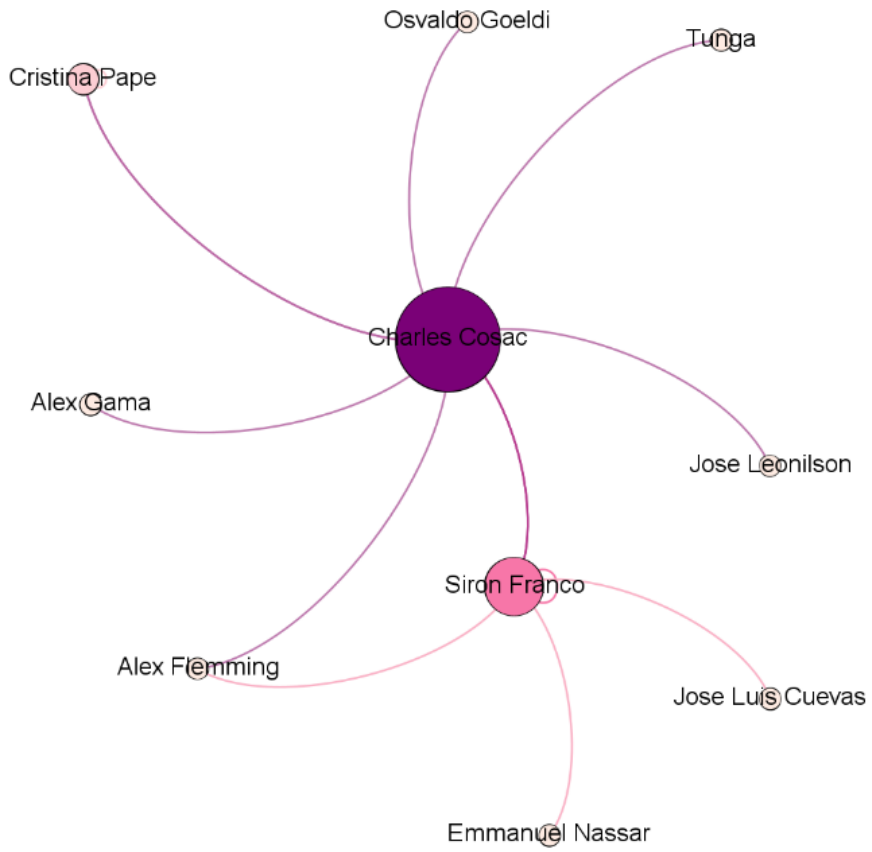


6.2 – Charles Cosac's networks of direct donations to ESCALA's collection. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

Listing these donations, and gradually presenting the illustrations of these networks, helps to show the connections that facilitated these acquisitions and identify details of the growing networks originating from Cosac's personal contacts. Although these networks are not always identified in the objects' catalogue entries, a closer investigation into ESCALA's archival records, acquisition files and details gathered during interviews, assisted in tracing the data and mapping the networks behind these acquisitions. These networks have resulted in either donations or long-term loans, and some of the connections established by Cosac also developed into longstanding collaborations between artists, donors, and ESCALA. Investigating these networks is also revealing of the dynamics that formed the collection and the active role played by artists in contributing to the collection through the actors that facilitated their connection with ESCALA.

Franco is an example of both forming long-lasting relationships with that institution and holding agency to act as an artist-donor. His introduction to the University of Essex stemmed from a personal relationship with Cosac, who as an art collector had been purchasing Franco's work from a young age

(Cosac, 2021). Consequently, the gift of *Memória* evolved into a closer relationship between Franco and the University of Essex, more broadly, and ESCALA and its staff, in particular. The collaboration between the artist and this institution occurred on different fronts: he is featured in the collection with six artworks and participated in solo and group exhibitions. He also acted as a donor and liaison for donations on works extending beyond his own, and was the focus of a book written by Dawn Ades - the first English language study of his work, published by Cosac Naify in 1995[49].



6.3 – Siron Franco's networks of objects acquired by ESCALA, stemming from his relationship with Cosac. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

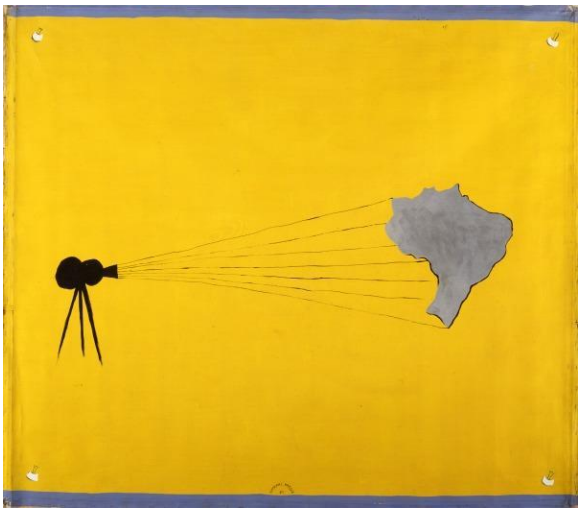
[49] The book's title is *Siron Franco: Figures and Likenesses, Paintings from 1968 to 1995*.

The network illustrated in figure 6.3 expands on the previous one (figure 6.2), showing the direct involvement of Franco in donations to Essex and the growth of these networks. As a donor, Franco directly gifted four artworks:

- the painting *Untitled* (1987) by Emmanuel Nassar in 1995.
- *Soberba* (1997) by Alex Flemming in 1997, which was a joint donation with Cosac.
- his own *Self-portrait* (2001) in 2001.[50]
- a print by José Luis Cuevas entitled *Quevedo #3* (1969), in 1995.

After singling out these donations and visiting the works in Essex, it is possible to observe a deeper intersection in the practices of Franco, Nassar and Flemming. This intersection supports my claim that by being built through networks and donations, this collection presents a degree of coherence – either generational, style or formal – in their holdings. Nassar can be used as a representative example; his practice establishes a dialogue between two different traditions in Brazil's art scene: one that is closely related to popular culture, and another linked to the search for geometrical forms that is a reference for the concretism movement in Brazil. Maria do Carmo Pontes (2020) defines Nassar's oeuvre as a combination of pop with geometry. His practice, however, is not only concerned with forms and shapes. Nassar also gravitates towards political and social issues concerning Brazilian identity, just as Franco does in his own practice. For example, Nassar's painting *Untitled* (1987) has a clear political statement: it presents the silhouette of Brazil's map projected by a movie-camera: the country is floating, almost lost, but certainly isolated, in the yellow background (see figure 6.4). This can easily be read as a metaphor for the country's geographical position in relation to its continent. ESCALA's catalogue entry interprets this work as follows: "Brazil is isolated from the South American continent and from the rest of the world but linked to the camera by imaginary rays" (Whitelegg, 2008c). These rays are imaginary, as is the idea of encountering a common identity across all the countries in Latin America. Moreover, it is common to observe the incorporation of three-dimensional objects in Nassar's compositions, transforming paintings into sculptural pieces, which is a characteristic again also seen in Franco's practice.

[50] In the diagram, donations direct from the artists are represented by an edge that stems from their names and return to it.



6.4 – Untitled *(1987), Emmanuel Nassar, acrylic on canvas, 125x144 cm. ©ESCALA*

6.5 – Soberba *(1997), Alex Flemming, garment, emulsion, 77x70 cm. ©ESCALA*

The donation of Flemming's work, meanwhile, was made jointly by Franco and Cosac in 1997. The object is titled *Soberba* (1997; figure 6.5) – which can be translated as either 'pride' or 'arrogance'. This piece consists of a jacket covered in paint which is part of a series the artist names *Conceptual-Paintings-on-non-Traditional-Supports* (ESCALA, 2008b). All objects in this series have an autobiographical characteristic, functioning as self-portraits. Flemming was wearing this piece of clothing when he felt the emotion that lends it its title – *soberba* – instigating "the process of sacrificial preservation" of the jacket (Whitelegg 2008; Enciclopédia 2020), that is, turning a common object – a jacket – into an artwork.

The autobiographical facet of Flemming's *Soberba* resonates with another of ESCALA's works by Franco: *Self-Portrait*. In this work, Franco uses objects to represent himself; a pair of white overalls is attached to the canvas, and instead of his face, we see a thick layer of paint where his head would be. ESCALA holds yet another object by Franco in which he applied found objects, the installation *Radiografia Brasileira* (Brazilian Radiography, 1996; figure 6.6). This work consists of x-ray images placed on empty clothes which symbolise the lives and deaths of members of the Movimento Sem Terra (Landless Movement) in Brazil. Like *Memória*, *Radiografia Brasileira* was created as an immediate response to an

event – in this case, the murder of members of the Movimento Sem Terra in 1996[51] – demonstrating, once again, the artist's interest in approaching themes related to socio-political issues.

6.6 – Radiografia brasileira *(1996), Siron Franco, found objects, variable dimensions. ©ESCALA*

6.7 – Tapete voador *(2004), Alex Flemming, Persian carpet and wood, 150x270x3 cm. ©ESCALA*

[51] The *Movimento Sem Terra* (MST) is a Marxist-inspired land reform movement founded in 1984 in Brazil, which aims to claim land for the poor workers. Many violent conflicts have taken place when members of the MST occupied private unproductive land.

A few years after Franco and Cosac gifted Flemming's work *Soberba*, Flemming himself acted as a donor and gifted a work of his own authorship, *Tapete Voador* (*Flying Carpet,* 2004) (figure 6.7). This piece, made of a Persian carpet attached to a wood panel in the shape of an aeroplane, is the artist's response to the 9/11 attacks in the USA in 2001. His intention was to reflect on the tense relationship between East and West by focusing on current political issues (Magalhães, 2017), and this attention to socio-political concerns connects Flemming's practice with those of Franco and Nassar.

These examples demonstrate that building a collection via networks can result in a nucleus of objects that complement one other, even in the absence of a specific collecting strategy. Although creating this type of dialogue is a common practice that museums follow in their acquisition policies, ESCALA did not operate with an acquisition budget that allowed for selecting the objects they wished to collect. "We knew that if we were buying, if we were Tate, we would be doing this very differently, we would have a plan, and we would have a strategy, and we were trying to be somewhat comprehensive, although that's an unachievable aim. … it was just whatever we can, and whoever wants to help us" (Pérez-Barreiro, 2020). It was precisely the dynamic of these networks that resulted in this collection having a degree of coherence, even when there was little control on the choices of works being put forward as donations.

In this chain of connections, one of ESCALA's founders, Cosac, introduced Franco to the institution, and Franco then became a donor himself. Franco expanded these networks by donating pieces by Nassar and Flemming. The latter also became an artist-donor, presenting ESCALA with another example of his work. Through these chains of events, of artists either knowing each other, or working in the same local-level artistic milieu, ESCALA'S collection produced coherent clusters of objects. Identifying parallels amongst the practice of these artists highlights a common feature of ESCALA's collection: relying on networks resulted in a collection that has generational coherence, one that includes artists who are contemporaries.

Between donations and long-term loans, ESCALA has a total of six artworks by Franco. One of these is *Casulo* (2000) (see figure 6.8), an artwork that Franco gifted to Ades (not ESCALA) when she visited his studio in Brazil. The work is accompanied by a 24-minute-long video entitled *Carta* (letter) that the artist addressed to Ades, where he explains his creative process in making *Casulo*. Both work and video were featured at the exhibition *Siron Franco: Suspicious Story* that took place at the gallery *firstsite,* in Colchester in 2012. The show's title comes from Franco's work of the same name (in Portuguese,

História mal contada; 1991; figure 6.9), a painting that has been on loan from Simone and Michael Naify – Cosac's sister and brother-in-law – to the collection since 1995 (ESCALA archive, artist's file). *Casulo* is also currently in the collection as a long-term loan from Ades. As seen in this case, Cosac's networks extended to family members, with the Naifys becoming involved with ESCALA's project from its outset.

In 1996, they loaned three paintings to the collection: *The End of Everything*, by Chilean artist Roberto Matta; *Idea de una pasión* by Argentinean artist Guillermo Kuitca, and the aforementioned *História mal contada* by Franco (UECLAA, 1996). The University's Vice-Chancellor informed the donors that these works contributed to "rais[ing] the profile of the Collection in this country and abroad" (ESCALA archive, artist file, letter from Crewer to Naify, 5 January 1996)[52].

6.8 – Casulo *(2000), Siron Franco, mixed media, 150x40 cm. ©ESCALA*

[52] Matta and Kuitca's works are no longer with Essex, but Franco's piece remains on loan.

6.9 – História mal contada *(1991), Siron Franco, oil on canvas, 160x199 cm. ©ESCALA*

The Naifys' were also involved in a story of a missed opportunity. They had offered to donate to ESCALA a sculpture by Lygia Pape (1927-2004), an artist who was a key figure of the Neoconcretismo movement. The work the Naifys aimed to gift was in San Francisco (USA) at the time. Although the correspondence in ESCALA's archive shows that the Brazilian Consulate in San Francisco had agreed to pay for the costs of transportation, the artwork never arrived in Colchester (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 1 December 1994). UECLAA was so certain that the sculpture was going to enter the collection that a Record of Donation for Pape's sculpture *Amazonino* was created at that time, including its value and donor's information (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 16 December 1999). However, as Cosac reported to UECLAA's committee, the donors withdrew this offer due to the institution's "inability to find the funds to bring the sculpture from San Francisco" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 14 June 1994; UECLAA Meeting 9 July 2003). This missed opportunity for ESCALA to have an object in their holdings by a historically renowned Brazilian artist also highlights the implications of its budgetary restrictions. Whereas the artwork was offered as gift, saving ESCALA from the high prices Pape's works can command in the art market, the loss of this gift was due to the lack of any supporting budget[53].

[53] For example, Phillips' auction house sold Pape's *Twelve Elements from The Night and Day Book (Book of Light)* for $461,000 in May 2014. More details at: https://www.phillips.com/artist/568/lygia-pape, accessed 3 May 2022.

Alex Gama

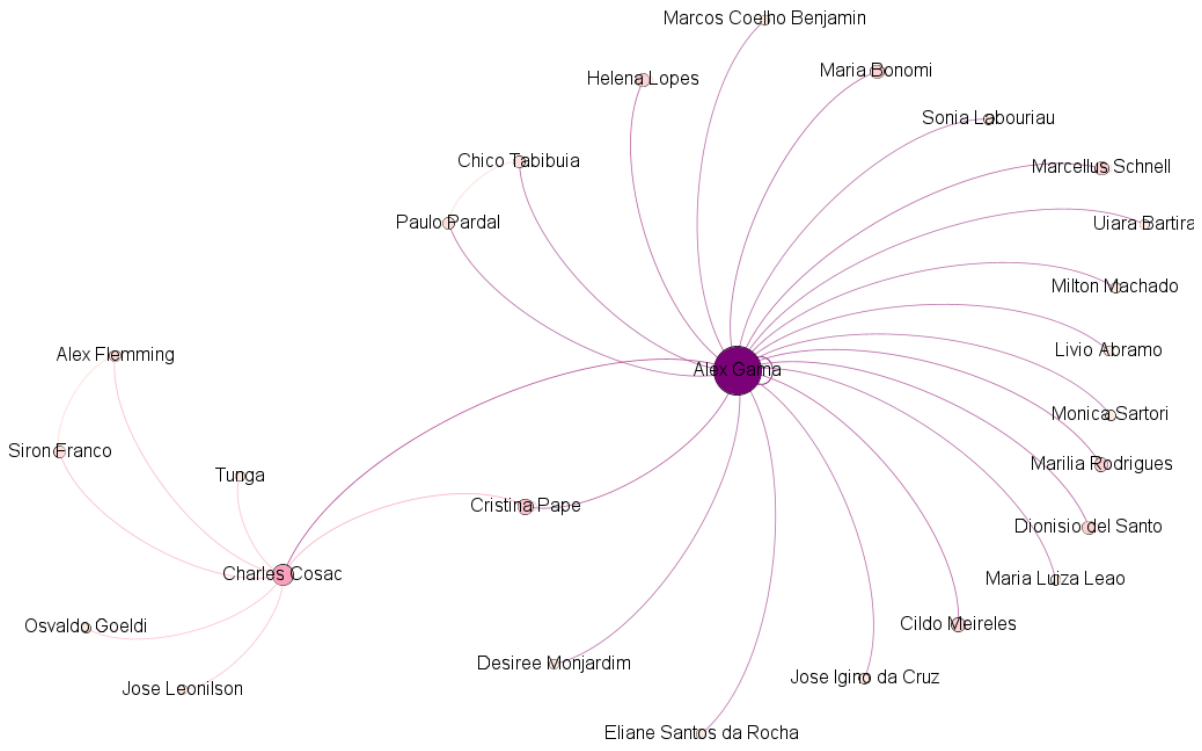
Artist Alex Gama was involved in the story of the lost Pape acquisition. He had worked as her assistant for many years (Perez-Barreiro, 2020; Gama, 2021), and again evidencing the impact of personal connections in building the collection, ESCALA was aware of this close relationship with Pape. Gama was due to visit the UK for an exhibition in 2002, and correspondence in ESCALA's archive clearly indicates that they saw this an opportunity to reconnect with Pape. If they were to meet with Gama, ESCALA's curators and director thought that they could then write to Pape to share their "regret at being unable to take up the offer from the Naify family some years ago of a donation of a piece by her because UECLAA could not cover the transportation costs" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 9 May 2002). This was also seen as an opportunity to propose an exhibition in Colchester to Pape in exchange for a donation of her work. Neither donation nor exhibition took place, but the plan envisaged is another example of the ways in which ESCALA's intertwined networks navigated from a local to a trans-local level.

Gama, introduced to ESCALA by Cosac, became another important facilitator of its networks, enabling many donations from other artists in Brazil. His relationship with Cosac dates back from the 1980s, when the collector studied with Gama at Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM) in Rio de Janeiro, where the artist taught woodcut printing (Gama, 2021). After ESCALA was inaugurated, the artist recalls that Cosac contacted him asking if he could help with a new collection that was starting in the UK. The unfolding of this encounter leads to Gama becoming the Brazilian artist in ESCALA's collection with the highest number of artworks: a total of thirty-three, all donated between 1994 and 2004. During our interview, he shared the fact that many of these objects were studies and projects he was producing while developing an exclusive screen print for ESCALA (Gama, 2021). In the hidden stories that emerged from analysing these networks, Gama (2021) told me that he sent all these projects for the collection's approval, and that they were subsequently all kept in its holdings. In addition to donating his own artworks, he directly gifted five prints by Lívio Abramo from the series *White Nights* (1955) based on Dostoyevsky's homonymous short story. As noted by Salgado (2002, no page), Gama was instrumental to the collection, "not only for his generosity as a donor, but also as a fundamental link to the art of printmaking in Brazil".

Gama contributed to the donation of many other objects by becoming a point of contact in Rio de Janeiro, gathering works that other artists were willing to gift and then shipping them to England (Gama, 2021).

Here lies an interesting aspect of Gama's involvement in the ESCALA project. Most of his own works in the collection are wood engraving on paper, a field that he has explored as an artist, curator, and conservator since the 1970s (Gama, 2021; Salgado, 2002), as most of the artists he asked for gifts are printmakers, his involvement in this field extended to his networks. As he explained (2021, 2015), "I have always had greater traffic among engravers, because I worked at the National Museum of Fine Arts as coordinator of the engraving office [from 1987-1991]". Gama put together a collection of Brazilian works on paper through a network illustrated in the diagram that follows (figure 6.11) (Salgado, 2002; ESCALA archive, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 1 December 1994). Many of these printmaking artists either worked or studied in the engraving studio at Museu de Arte Moderna-Rio de Janeiro, where Gama acted as a teacher. Created in 1959, the engraving studio at MAM-RJ became a reference for this artistic practice in Brazil. Key artists responsible for modern Brazilian printmaking passed through its doors , and those within ESCALA's collection who studied or taught at this studio are Osvaldo Goeldi, Iberê Camargo, Rossini Perez, Anna Letycia, Marília Rodrigues, Farnese de Andrade, and Maria Bonomi (Luz, 2013).

6.10 – Trama XXXIII *(1997), Alex Gama, wood engraving, 47x47cm. ©ESCALA*



6.11 – Networks of Alex Gama's donations to ESCALA. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

The relationship between ESCALA and Gama was also valuable for the artist. Having his works in the UK resulted in a solo exhibition at the Brazilian Embassy's art gallery, Gallery 32, in 2002. The Embassy offered the space for the show and provided financial support to cover the transportation and framing of the artworks, in addition to the production and publication of a catalogue (ESCALA archives, artist file). The show at Gallery 32 was considered a success at the time, and the sales of five of his prints ended up covering the costs of the artist's travel from Brazil to London (ESCALA archive, artist file). Additionally, during his visit to the UK he donated another print from the series *Tramas*, *Trama XXXIII* (1997) to ESCALA (see figure 6.10) (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 21 January 2002; 9 May 2002). Gama also acted as a member of UECLAA's management team (ESCALA archives, Artist file, Letter from Gama to Pérez-Barreiro, 26 June 1995).

Chico Tabibuía

6.12 – Exú bissexual *(2004), Chico Tabibuia, wood, 135x30x35 cm. ©ESCALA*

Gama's contributions to the collection extended to donations beyond his own works, and those made by artists who shared his print-making practice. Records found in ESCALA's archive, together with my interview with Gama, evidence the important role he played in mediating the gift of three wooden sculptures by Chico Tabibuia (1936-2007). These works – namely *Exú bisexual* (*Bisexual Eshu*); *Exú (Eshu)*; and *Casal de Saci Pererê com duas cobras* (*Saci Pererê Couple with Two Snakes*) (see figures 6.12, 6.13 and 6.14) – were donated by Paulo Pardal, via the mayor of the city of Casimiro de Abreu – a municipality near Rio de Janeiro (ESCALA archives, artist file).

A professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Pardal was an expert on Brazilian popular art and responsible for introducing Tabibuia's work to the artistic milieu in Brazil. In addition to publishing the book *A escultura mágico-erótica de Chico Tabibuia* (*Chico Tabibuia's magical-erotic sculpture*), in 1989, Pardal organised exhibitions about the artist and was an enthusiastic collector of his work (ESCALA archive, artist file).

Tabibuia's sculptures are as fascinating as his story, and these donations are an example of the openness - based the trust placed in its networks - with which ESCALA accepted donations. Tabibuia is the type of artist who beats the odds; he did not go to art school and received no formal education. He is an afro-descendant who grew up poor and illiterate in a small town near Rio de Janeiro, and drew upon his own life as a school. His works were inspired by his beliefs, his culture, and - according to the artist - his

dreams (Pascal, 1989). The wooden carved *Exús* found in ESCALA's collection are a constant theme in Tabibuia's practice. *Exú* is an Orisha of the Yoruba religion, which in Brazil in is part of the Afro-Brazilian religions of Candomblé and Umbanda. *Exú* is "the African god of markets, theft and sexuality, associated with the Catholic Devil" (Sansi-Roca, 2010, pp. 32-33). Tabibuia's *Exús* clearly evoke the characteristic sexuality of this Orisha through the oversized phallic forms in his sculptures, which, as Pardal (1996) points out, is an archetype in his artistic practice[54]. Tabibuia sculpted his pieces from individual tree trunks, almost without additions (Morais, 1996)[55]. The themes in his practice are a reflection on the culture that surrounded him – such as the elements of Afro-Brazilian religions that he practised for many years[56]. Pardal (1996) observed that he had to undertake thorough research and read different books to understand Tabibuia's work, who, in his turn, responded to the Professor that "you study in books; I study in my dreams".

6.13 – Exú (date unknown)*, Chico Tabibuia, wood, 100x32 cm. ©ESCALA*

[54] The phallic nature of these works rendered Gama an anecdotal story when shipping the work from Brazil to England. According to Gama (2021), the courier company, at first, refused to ship the sculpture as they found them "pornographic". After some negotiation, the company agreed to ship the works, but not without removing the phallic component of Exú which had to be restored to the sculpture once it arrived in Essex.
[55] Tabibuia is the name of a tree (Trumpet trees), which the artist used to cut down when working as a lumberjack.
[56] Although he converted to the Pentecostal Assembly of God church later, he continued portraying *Exús* in his sculptures (Pardal, 1996).

6.14 – Casal de Saci Pererê com duas cobras *(date unknown), Chico Tabibuia, wood, 140x30x30 cm. ©ESCALA*

It was only after Pardal encountered his work in the early 1980s, and convinced the artist to exhibit it, that Tabibuia started receiving attention from art historians, art dealers, curators and museums in Brazil (Pardal, 1989; 1996). He then became featured in exhibitions in that country and abroad, including the show *Brésil-Arts Populaires* (Brazil-Popular Art) at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1987. Tabibuia's work fluctuates between classifications that art historians have called 'art brut', 'naïve art' or 'primitive art'. Tabibuia's critics, such as Pardal (1989, 1996), Morais (1996), and Nise da Silveira (1989), however, read his sculptures through scholarly and erudite lenses: the religious themes, phallic shapes, the figures' bisexuality, and popular culture references are compared to mythological figures (Priapus, Dionysus, Hermes, Pan), classic texts (*Symposium* by Plato) and European artists (Picasso, Brancusi, Magritte) (Morais, 1996; Silveira, 1989). The art historical discourse built around his work is revealing of the ways in which art history operates in a constant search for a connection with references that are more digestible for those writing it, that is, the Western culture where the discipline of art history was created from. These references make an interesting reading of his work, by emphasising the creation of his archetypes as analogous to artistic production found in different time periods and geographical locations (e.g., Ancient Greek). However, as Tabibuia (1996) explained himself, his work is done through *adivinhação*, which can be translated from Portuguese to either guessing or divination, revealing the importance of religious rituals in a creative process that began –as mentioned above, in his dreams. Exú is the god of sexuality but also the one that stands between humans and the divine. Tabibuia is

capturing the forest's spirits into the tree trunks, drawing on traditions found in ancient Africa and indigenous peoples from the Americas (Salgado, 2005).

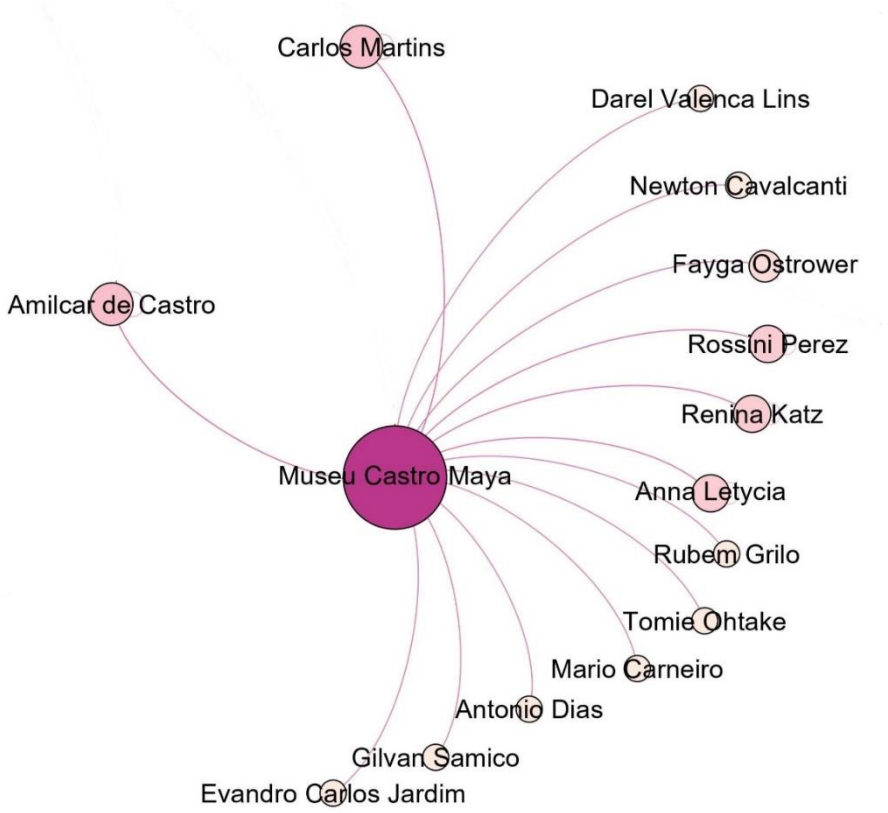
Finding three Tabibuia works in a collection in the UK specialised in art from Latin America is the result of these networks. Firstly, academics, curators and art specialists in Brazil saw the value in his work, putting Tabibuia's sculptures on the local map of Brazilian art. In this regard, when his work was proposed by Alex Gama to ESCALA's Acquisition Committee in early 2000s, Tabibuia already held some prestige in Brazil's art milieu and had been featured in exhibitions in different institutions, in Brazil and abroad. This can lead to the questions of whether his works would have been considered for ESCALA's collection had his reputation not yet been initiated by Pardal. ESCALA does not collect popular art – although it does hold exceptions to this rule, including eighteenth century processional sculptures and ceramic figurines – but it does consider works of art influenced by popular traditions. In this regard, Tabibuia is not described in their catalogue entries as a *primitive* artist. Rather, and in line with ESCALA's aim of not creating hierarchies in the type of work they collect, the collection focuses on the subjects sculpted by him, and his technique prevails in the catalogue's descriptions, which pay attention to his artistic process of divination. Finally, it was once again the different networks established by Cosac, alongside Gama's belief in the project, that allowed for these three sculptures to be in Essex today[57].

Other networks

In addition to Gama, another network originating from Cosac to prioritise printmaking was that mediated by Carlos Martins and the Museu Castro Maya. As then Director (1991-1995) of this museum, Martins facilitated the donation of works by the artists who featured in the network diagram 6.15. In a letter addressed to Ades, Martins refers to a set of prints by Brazilian artists that will be gifted through the 'Friends of the Museu' (ESCALA archives, Artist file). Martins added that he had already "been in touch with Charles Cosac in order to give him the museum prints, as well as some of mine, as I have promised to you" (ESCALA archives, Artist file). The prints donated by Museu Castro Maya were part of a

[57] A final contribution to ESCALA from Gama was the donation of two works by Cildo Meireles, Zero Centavo (1978) and Zero Cent (1990). These works were part of a 1970s' project of putting in circulation as fake notes, in Brazil, worthless coins and banknotes – a conceptual work created by Meireles to raise awareness of Brazil's military dictatorship without being censored. ESCALA has two other works by Meireles related to this series: Zero Dollar (1984), which was donated in 1995 by Simon Lee; and Zero Cruzeiro (1978), donated in 2000 by Salgado – who was, ESCALA's Curator at the time.

programme entitled *Amigos da Gravura*, which began in 1992 with the aims of "introducing new work by contemporary Brazilian artists into the Museum's exhibition and education programme" (ESCALA, 2008). In this project, artists were invited to produce a new print to be permanently held in the museum.



6.15 – Carlos Martins and Museu Castro Maya's network that contributed to acquisition to ESCALA's collection ©Eloisa Rodrigues

The prints were donated by Martins while acting as the museum's director, and he also donated a total of twenty-five prints of his own authorship. It is interesting to note that Martins' connection with the UK goes back to when he undertook a postgraduate course in urban and environmental design at Edinburgh University (1973-75). After this degree, he moved to London to take engraving classes, followed by a specialised course in printmaking at Slade (1975-77) (Whitelegg, no date2). It was in London that he had his first solo exhibition in 1977, which featured several of the works gifted to ESCALA in 1998. This example of Martins' donation demonstrates that connections with the UK also played an important role in the building of ESCALA's collection.

Another network that ESCALA relied on for donations was that of Latin American artists based in Britain. In addition to Franco, two other Brazilian artists donated their artworks for the inauguration of the collection in 1993, namely Ana Maria Pacheco and Rita Bonfim. Both Pacheco and Bonfim lived in the UK at the time and were approached by the University of Essex with the suggestion to donate works due to their prior connections with Essex (Pérez-Barreiro, 1994).

Pacheco responded to the call by donating two prints, *Rehearsal 7* and *Rehearsal 10* (1990). Born in Brazil in 1943, she has lived in the UK since 1973. As detailed in Chapter 3, her career has mostly taken place in Britain. She was awarded a British Council Scholarship to study at the Slade School of Fine Art, and – nearer to Essex - she has also held the position of Head of Fine Art, Norwich School of Art (1985-1989)[58].

Bonfim's donation was *The Internal Journey - Cross 1* (1992), an object featured at the exhibition 'Searching for self-identity' at the University of Essex Gallery in February 1993 (ESCALA, 2008a), prior to the creation of the collection. Bonfim moved to England in the 1980s and had worked previously in São Paulo as a poet. She trained as a visual artist in London where she completed a post-graduate course in printmaking at the Slade School of Fine Art (1992-1994). Her career as a writer is clearly manifested in the piece gifted to ESCALA, in which different techniques are applied to make an already physical object, such as a book, becoming even more embodied into a sculptural form. ESCALA's catalogue entry for *The Internal Journey - Cross 1* underlines that Bonfim's works "are filled with printed pages that are also sculptural objects and these pages are written with marks that want to be words but are not-words", which ended up transforming and confronting language, making it a place in "which we must nevertheless entrust the preservation of thought and memory" (ESCALA, 2008a).

[58] ESCALA used to have another work by Pacheco, a sculptured called *Requiem*, which entered the collection in 1998, as a loan through Susan Pratt (owner of the gallery Pratt Contemporary Art who represents Pacheco). *Requiem* was an outdoor sculpture, and for that reason was placed by the lake on the university campus. It became known as the 'man by the lake' (ESCALA archive, Minutes UECLAA Committee Meeting, 21 October 2009). However, *Requiem* was recurrently being damaged. The sculpture, which was "well loved by many, often appearing in promotional material across the institution", wrote ESCALA's director at the time to the University's estate, "has also been damaged repeatedly over the years as the result of 'high jinks', deliberate vandalism (graffiti) and carelessness (pressure hosing by cleaning contractors)" (ESCALA archive, artist's file). A particular episode of students who caused more serious damages by climbing the sculpture addressed a letter to ESCALA apologising for their behaviour. One of them also took the opportunity to suggest that a plaque or label to be placed near the artwork "with some information about the sculpture so that other do not get themselves into the same situation that I presently find myself in…" (ESCALA archive, Artist's file). This resulted in Pacheco and Pratt to request Requiem to be returned (ESCALA archive, Minutes UECLAA Committee Meeting, 21 July 2010; Artist's file).

The inauguration of the collection also expanded connections with local art collectors, who contributed to donations. Franco's work *Ontem* (*Yesterday,* 1990-93), for example, was given to the University in 1994 by Martin Green, a London-based art collector. According to Pérez-Barreiro (2020), when ESCALA was being established, they randomly came across private collectors of Latin American art in the UK. This particular figure had few other Brazilian works, and when ESCALA's staff visited his collection, Green gifted *Ontem* and other two works: *Untitled,* by Julio César, and *Pretádole un oido al pasado,* by Colombian artist Ofélia Rodríguez.

Although Cosac's networks were the most extensive, which related to the fact that he was an art collector and a businessperson with financial means and knowledge of the local art milieu, there were other groups of people interested in promoting art from Brazil in ESCALA. Paula Terra Cabo, who was undertaking a PhD at the University of Essex at the time, was another key agent in bringing donations from Brazil (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Sub-Committee Meeting, 25 July 1995). As the primary donor, she gifted three prints by Rubens Gerchman in 1994; a painting by Carlos Zílio in 1995; and a sculpture by Carla Guagliardi donated jointly with the artist in 1995. Indirectly, she was involved in four other donations: a sculpture by Cristina Salgado in 1995; a sculpture by Martha Niklaus in 1995; another sculpture by Nelson Augusto in 1998; and an assemblage by Maria Moreira in 2002.

The most striking feature in these networks is the transnational circulation of the artworks that emerged from these relationships: they started in Essex, England; travelled to Brazil; circulated between different local artistic milieus to then return to the UK. Many Brazilian artists are featured in ESCALA's collection today due to the work of these agents acting at the local level in these many degrees of separation. Take, for instance, the networks established by Cosac. If this collector is associated directly to eight donations, the list of indirect gifts that connects him to objects' stories is considerably larger. The examples detailed in this chapter – Siron Franco, Alex Gama, Chico Tabibuia – are only a sample of these connections. As mentioned before, I linked Cosac to at least 132 acquisitions (out of the 219 Brazilian artworks in ESCALA) by no more than two, three or four degrees of separation between himself and the actual donor. Many of these donations occurred in the initial years of the collection's formation. Cosac played a key role among the donors he liaised with, and consequently to what is found today in the collection.

It is particularly fascinating to observe how the process of selecting objects from Brazil to enter the collection goes through a local filter first before reaching the UK. Whereas ESCALA could have focused on

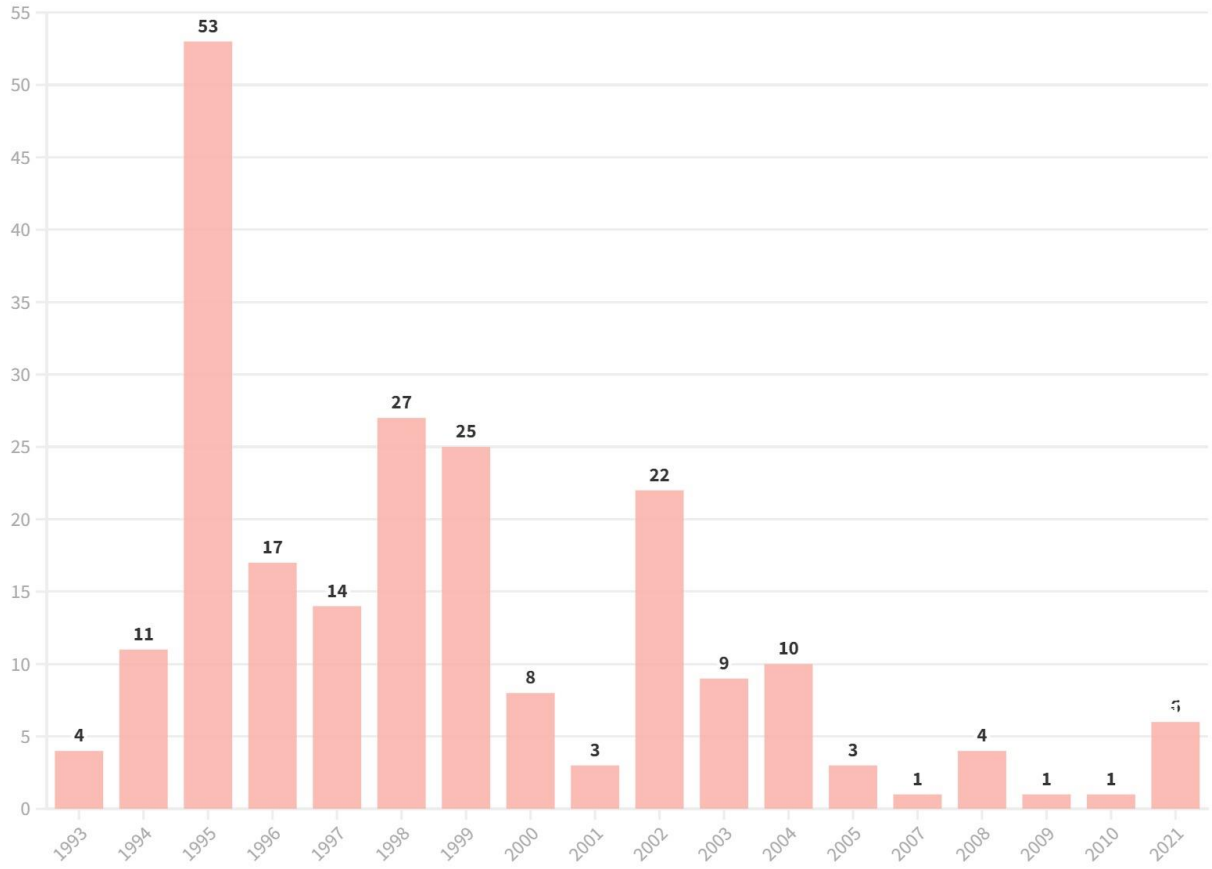
the networks already in the UK, this pattern occurs because the works were in Brazil. The selection process occurs in Brazil first because the agents working in the artistic milieu were in charge of choosing what and who would be put forward for consideration for the collection based on their personal knowledge, experiences and relationships. Ultimately, the final decision on what would or not be accessioned depended on the organisations' acquisition committee – although, as seen, most donations were being accepted. Nonetheless, these agents acting at a local geographical level were in a position to select and promote local artists who - given the lack of a broader market for Latin American Art at the time - could not possibly have reached an international collection otherwise. Names that had an already established international reputation, such as Cildo Meireles, Tunga, Ana Maria Maiolino, and Sebastião Salgado, were exceptions. The majority made their way into a UK-based collection due to the efforts of networks formed by local agents seeking to raise the profile of certain artists.

Shifts in the acquisition process

In the final section of this chapter, I refer to the periods in which ESCALA's acquisition process changed and how this reflects on their collecting activity.

There have been at least two periods of dramatic change in ESCALA's acquisition practices and policies, which has resulted in a decrease in the number of artworks accessioned into ESCALA – especially from the year 2000 onwards[59]. During the first seven years (1993 to 2000), 159 (72%) artworks from Brazil entered their collection; from 2001 to today, 63 objects were accessioned, which correspond to 28% of the total (see figure 6.16). The first period of change occurred around 2007 and was the result of the University Department Plan 2006-2009, which required the collection to be self-funded by 2009. Even though the objects entered as gifts, this had implications for their collecting practices. After all, as Harwood explained in a meeting addressing these issues (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Acquisitions Committee Meeting, 18 April 2007), "each donation incurs 'on-costs' which have to be met by ESCALA's budget" – such as costs related to storage, conservation, and collections management.

[59] Except for 2002 when 22 objects entered the collection (half of which correspond to long-term loans from Ruby Reid Thompson, a local art collector).



6.16 – Graph showing the number of acquisitions of Brazilian art at ESCALA per year. ©The author

Moreover, as a discussion registered in the minutes of a meeting in 2007 evidence (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Acquisitions Committee Meeting, 18 April 2007), ESCALA was aware that a growing international interest in art from Latin America meant that artists were no longer as willing to donate artworks. This debate led to their understanding of the unique position that ESCALA held for the artists featured in the collection (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Acquisitions Committee Meeting, 18 April 2007). This self-analysis did not change the fact that donations would still be sought as an acquisition method. Being aware that over a decade since its foundation art from Latin America had achieved a different position did not affect ESCALA's collecting practices. Instead, this scenario was used by the Acquisition Committee to reflect on the importance and relevance of the collection to the artists themselves, as it offers them exposure to new audiences. And more: "UECLAA's avoidance of

stereotypes and ability to place artists in the context of wider art historical developments can be appealing to artists" (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Acquisitions Committee Meeting, 18 April 2007).

In summary, they refocused the acquisition policy to establish more specific criteria and consequently limit the number of acquisitions during the 2006-2009 period, introducing a case-by-case assessment and considering how the artwork would make a significant and meaningful contribution to the collection as a whole. Furthermore, a decision was reached that ESCALA would approach funding bodies, such as Art Fund International, to purchase artworks. An alternative was to become an academic partner of PINTA, an art fair established in 2007 in New York, specialised in Latin America. PINTA held a programme to support museums to purchase works from that region by providing them with acquisition funds. When hosting its first edition in the UK in 2010, PINTA approached ESCALA with this funding programme, in which the art fair organisers would provide the institution with a ten-thousand-dollar acquisition grant that would need to be matched by ESCALA (ESCALA archives, Minutes UECLAA Committee Meeting, 10 June 2009) and this partnership resulted on several purchases to ESCALA's collection[60].

The second period of change occurred in 2014, when ESCALA implemented purchase as the main acquisition method, accepting donations only exceptionally. This change reflected a shift that would return to one of their original aims, that is to link acquisitions to interdisciplinary teaching and research. As stated in the Collections Policies that still apply to date, "Potential acquisitions that relate to research and teaching priorities are identified by ESCALA staff and by students who have the opportunity to propose an acquisition through a taught master's module: Collecting Art from Latin America" (ESCALA, no date). This module, according to Demelo (2020), aims to introduce students to how museums, collections and acquisitions operate. The students are given a budget – which in 2020 was £3000 – and the task to put together an acquisition proposal. This proposal is presented to a committee that analyses and votes on the bids, which are then pursued (Demelo, 2020). Moreover, whereas the main selection criteria were previously based on networks, ESCALA has now established specific areas of research interest for the students to focus their acquisition proposal on, such as the environment and indigeneity.

[60] Between 2010 and 2013, ESCALA granted works by well-established artists from Latin America with the support of PINTA's fund, namely: Cecilia Vicuna, Ana Sacerdote, Milagros de la Torre, Graciela Iturbide, Demián Flores Cortés, Gastón Olalde, and Michael Linares.

According to Demelo, “it was a way to collect more in line with current research interests at the university, but also using it for teaching” (2020).

Another reason for implementing a change in acquisition methods was for ESCALA to have a more focused strategy on what to collect. Demelo (2020) explained that this does not mean that donations are no longer accepted, but that by introducing purchases they had “more control over what [they] were acquiring”. The most recent donation of Brazilian artworks took place in 2021, when ESCALA received five works by Hudinilson Júnior (1957-2013). These objects were gifted to the collection by the artist’s family, but the mediation was undertaken by Lisa Blackmore, a lecturer at the university – continuing with the tradition of having members of staff contributing, directly or indirectly, to donations (ESCALA, 2022a). Hudinilson Jr is an exponent of the photocopy or ‘xerox’ art that emerged in Brazil in the 1970s. The recently acquired works were displayed in an exhibition at Art Exchange at the University campus in Colchester between February and March 2022. This was an opportunity for ESCALA to exhibit the new acquisitions with other works from the collection that form a dialogue with Hudinilson’s practice, and the show featured the newly acquired works alongside others by León Ferrari, thus presenting “two of Xerography’s most influential artists, to explore their appropriation of commercial printing techniques as a means for institutional critique and political emancipation” (ESCALA, 2022a).

Changing acquisition methods were also an opportunity for ESCALA to undergo the process of learning about their holdings and identifying gaps in the collection. One of the conclusions from this self-discovery process was that ESCALA is heavily represented by works from the 1980s and 1990s. This is justified by the fact that the collection was founded in 1993 and, consequently, the donations made were usually of contemporary artworks. To illustrate, sixty percent of their Brazilian art holdings are from the 1980s and 1990s,[61] reinforcing my previous claim of the generational coherence of the collection, and this tendency is also observed in the results of the survey analysed in Chapter 3.

From the outset, ESCALA took in all gifts without following a particular criterion, apart from its own networks. In this sense, Demelo (2020) has openly stated that “there are pieces in ESCALA that have never been on display” and she “can't really use them in teaching and research either”. While this is an issue that is not only specific to ESCALA but affects museums in general, Demelo’s view is that not using the artwork – whether on a display or for teaching – is also a discredit to the artist. I argue that this

[61] As per the data received from the Survey of Brazilian art. The remaining works are from the 18th century (1%), 1940s (1%), 1950s (3%), 1960s (6%), 1970s (6%), 2000s (12%), and 10% is unknown.

discredit is even more accentuated when the works entered the collection as a gift. If the artist donated an object to gain exposure, not using it – whether for an exhibition, teaching, or research – defeats the purpose of the collection. Implementing an acquisition policy through purchases within the MA modules was aimed at tackling these issues.

The assessment of the collection during the process of changing acquisition methods also brought to light some geographical bias. “We realised then that we really did not have many works by artists from Central America”, explained Demelo (2020) – and observed in figure 5.2. Artworks produced in the mid-twentieth century were also less represented. Being a small collection with a restricted budget also resulted in gaps in the collection. In this regard, ESCALA’s current criteria are to focus on themes of research interest at the university, so “then we can do more object-based learning” (Demelo, 2020). The intention is for this object-based learning not to be limited to the discipline of art history – returning to the history of the university and the interdisciplinary approach of area studies (as seen in Chapter 4). According to Demelo (2020), this acquisition method based within the MA module has worked well so far. Not only the proposals received have been “fantastic”, but the artworks that are then purchased are the most relevant and most widely used for research and teaching (Demelo, 2020).

In 2021, the work *Notas de rodapé para uma cartografia triangular* (2019, Footnotes to a Triangular Cartography) by Brazilian artist Ana Hupe (b. 1983) was acquired by ESCALA through the ‘Collecting Art from Latin America’ MA module. The artwork was proposed by then MA student Cecília Vilela (ESCALA, 2022). This piece is formed by three main panels that resemble to schoolbooks and ethnographic museums, addressing issues related to the Atlantic slave trade and the African diaspora. Each panel is associated with a place (Brazil, Cuba and Nigeria) and an Orisha (Yemanjá, Sango and Osun, deities of the Yoruba culture). As noted by Vilela in the acquisition proposal, Hupe’s “use of a system of correspondence in the panels alludes to the Western framework of philosophical thought and systems of knowledge while also expands from such notion by presenting historical references in an analytical style” (2021, no page). By implementing this change in the acquisition methods, ESCALA partially returned to its roots in involving students to take part in the process of collecting.

Conclusion

Brazilian artworks collected by ESCALA have been acquired as they form part of their overall aim in becoming the specialist collection of art from Latin America in the UK and Europe. From its outset, these works have been accessioned with the objective of being used for teaching and research purposes. While relying mostly on donations as the acquisition method to increase a collection might not be the ideal method of fulfilling these objectives, it did result in a collection that is diverse in terms of the art and artists it holds. Although the decision for acceptance or rejection is an institutional one, the process of acquiring Brazilian artworks within ESCALA occurred via a cycle initiated within the University – with Cosac as one of the founders – but continued largely within a very specific artistic milieu in Brazil – as seen through the work developed by Franco and Gama as liaisons. The suggestion of what would be donated, then, came from a local Brazilian level, resulting in a collection that is more representative of the artistic practice of that country. It did not rely on the validation – or influence – of the global art system and the art market.

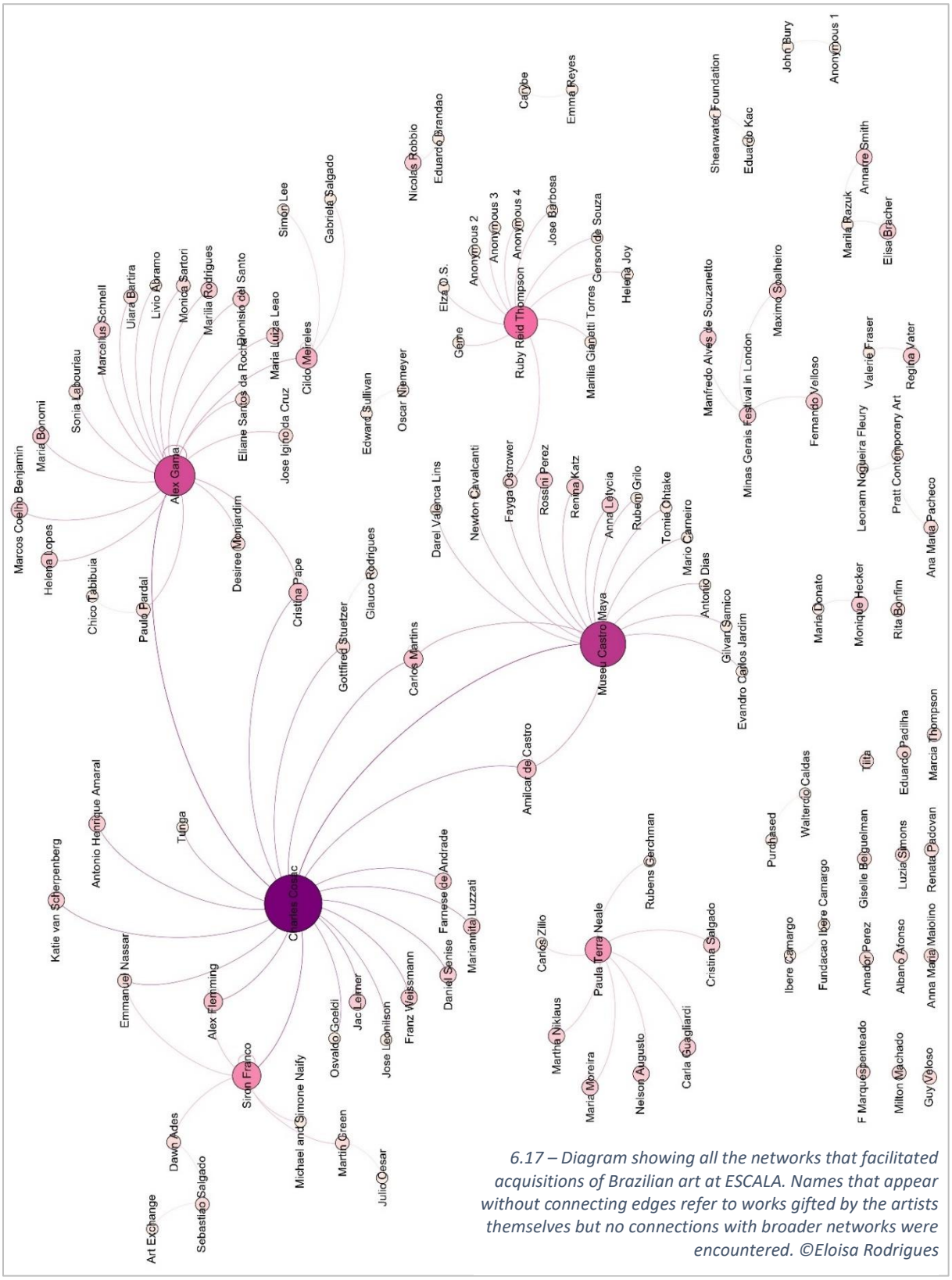
Analysing the networks that allowed for the acquisitions of Brazilian art in ESCALA to take place has revealed notable findings. Firstly, the objects in its holdings represent a very particular aspect of the history of Brazilian art: that told through connections formed by local agents within networks that facilitated donations. It is a history shaped by informed actors who were part of the artistic milieu in Brazil, with knowledge and financial means that facilitated these connections. Second, these networks took place at global and local levels. Third, these networks have allowed for the expansion of the artistic canon and of artists being represented internationally, thus diversifying the types of artworks by Brazilian artists being collected outside the country, instead of reinforcing the Neoconcrete-related canon explored in Chapter 2. Nonetheless, relying only on donations can have a negative impact: although different networks allow for this diversification, they are also restricted to that specific art milieu in which the donations took place.

Although emphasis is given to use the collection for teaching and research, this chapter has revealed that this collecting activity has taken place mostly outside the University, rather than following the idea that the works collected would contribute to current research projects (at least not until purchases became part of the MA curriculum in 2014). Even if the emphasis on using the collection for teaching and research purposes is seen across the varying aims and objectives maintained by ESCALA throughout the years, the objects would be gifted according to the connections enabled by those networks. New

donations were not sought according to student needs and research interests, while networks were not built considering the themes of research at Essex. Instead, Cosac contacted artists he collected and other donors he already had a relationship with. The meetings' minutes analysed in this chapter, together with interviews I held with key-actors involved in this project, clearly reveal that the acquisitions occurred in a cyclical process of being presented by agents involved with ESCALA and accepted – or rejected – by a specific committee. With few exceptions, in which ESCALA (as an institution, and not through individuals) approached artists or their estates seeking donations[62], the great majority of the objects accessioned came from the growing network of agents that started in Essex but was then developed in Brazil.

Donations, however, do not take away the coherence of ESCALA's holdings. The growth of networks at a local level in Brazil has shown some degree of harmony and honesty between the objects found in the collection and the practice found in Brazil. Finally, relying on donations as the main acquisition method stemming from specific networks and being a specialist collection focused on art from Latin America allows ESCALA to hold objects that other institutions actively collecting Brazilian art would not consider – with Chico Tabibuía as a specific example. In other words, they represent a more diverse range of artists and artworks as a consequence of the networks that started with their founders. I finish this chapter presenting a diagram (see figure 6.17) that shows all the networks involved in acquisitions of Brazilian art at ESCALA as a visual aid – before moving on to the next case study that focuses on Tate, for which such diagrams achieve another level of complexity.

[62] Iberê Camargo's print *Figura IV* (1973) is an example of this. It was donated by Iberê Camargo Foundation in 2009 after UECLAA contacted them introducing the collection and suggesting a donation (ESCALA Archive, Iberê Camargo artist's files).



6.17 – Diagram showing all the networks that facilitated acquisitions of Brazilian art at ESCALA. Names that appear without connecting edges refer to works gifted by the artists themselves but no connections with broader networks were encountered. ©Eloisa Rodrigues

Case study 2: Tate

In Chapter 4, I outlined the events and factors that led to Tate establishing collecting policies for acquiring Latin American art. The assessment of the collection conducted in light of the opening of Tate Modern stressed that their existing holdings had a geographic bias, favouring British and European art. The already-existing presence of a group of actors working with Latin American art at the University of Essex, and the parallel collecting activity taking place at ESCALA, contributed to Tate's development of policies to extend the representation of art from that geographical region.

Tate is a UK national art collection with an international reputation, and an institution that undoubtedly contributes to canon formation. The next two chapters analyse Tate's acquisitions of art from Brazil, paying attention to the networks involved in this collecting practice. The analysis of these acquisitions is made through an exploration of this institution's internal structure and its networks. Its aim is to identify the actors involved in, and the motivations behind, decisions to collect certain objects. My purpose is to open Tate's black box(es) to trace the ways in which this institution produces knowledge.

Tate is therefore being considered as a macro-actor: an organisation whose growth through associations with other actors has allowed it to play a pivotal role in the global museum and art gallery sector. The influence exerted by Tate takes place through several strains of activity, including collections, exhibitions, programmes, archives, research, marketing, and merchandise. These activities contribute to defining art canons and setting trends reflected in art historical narratives. Tate's 2002-2004 Annual Report claims that "[m]useums are centres of knowledge to be developed and shared" (p. 8), and as such this is a role that they consciously perform.

Tate's collecting activity occurs through purchases, donations, bequests, and allocations by the Government in lieu of tax and via the Cultural Gift Scheme. As a UK public institution, their main source of funding comes from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), but their income is not limited to this grant. Financial support – for acquisitions or other projects – is received from individuals, funding groups, and through applications made to charitable organisations (Tate, no date11). Ultimately, the acquisitions procedure at Tate requires the final approval of their Board of Trustees (Tate, no date11).

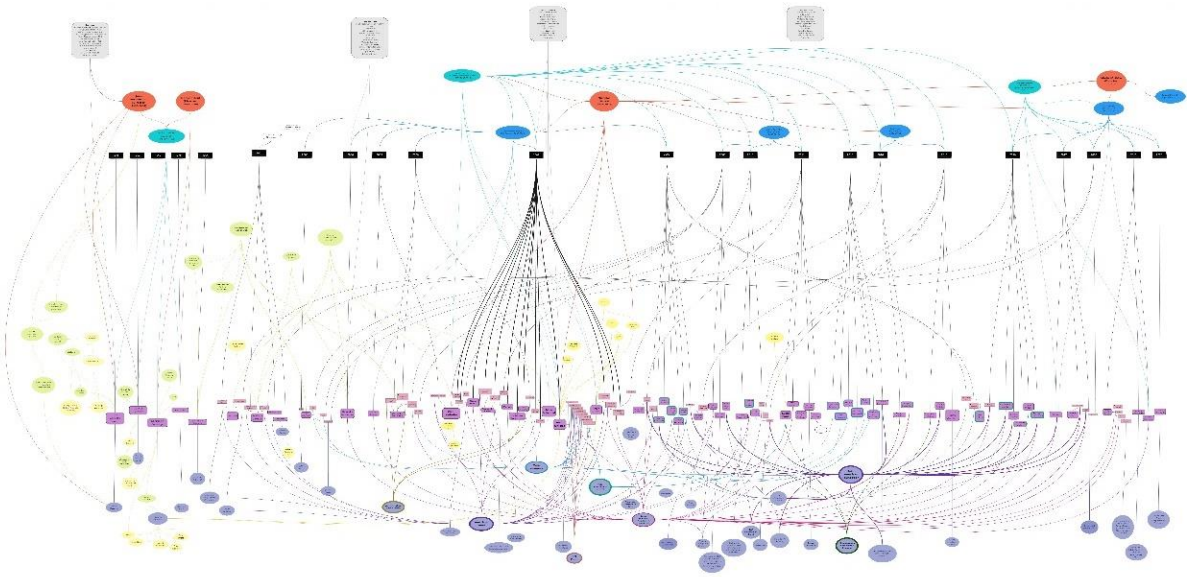
Tate's growth into a macro-actor was accompanied by an increase of its official purchase grant together with the physical expansion which now extends to four branches – Tate Britain, Tate St Ives, Tate Liverpool and Tate Modern. Their first official purchase grant was allocated in 1946 with a value of £2,000. In 1953-4, the same grant increased to £6,250 and then to £2.2 million by mid–1980s, increasing to £2 million in 1992-3, "the last year of the official purchase grant" (Tate, no date11). In other words, in the space of forty-seven years, Tate's acquisition grant increased by 99900% (without considering historical inflation). Today around one million pounds from its general funds is allocated to acquisitions, and this sum is enlarged by funding from other sources – such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, The Art Fund, Tate Members, Tate Americas Foundation and Acquisition Committees. Their funding black box is well structured to ensure that grants are received through different channels, thus enhancing and strengthening power relations.

Unpacking Tate's black boxes to analyse its acquisitions of Brazilian Art by drawing from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) allows for tracing networks and structures of power engaged in this collecting activity. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the process of investigating any institution's black boxes takes place in fieldwork and through data collection. Collecting archive data at Tate was challenging due to both restrictions caused by the COVID-19 Pandemic, and regulations that limit access to information to those who are not integrated within their structure. I was denied access to many acquisition files requested, and others were heavily redacted. Not providing full access to information demonstrates how an organisation strives to ensure that we pay attention only to their inputs and outputs – and not the inner workings of their black boxes. Data has also been collected through interviews with key-actors that have contributed to Tate's practice of collecting Latin American art, including former and current in-house curators (Tanya Barson and Michael Wellen), Adjunct Curators (Cuauhtémoc Medina, and Inti Guerrero), Tate Americas Foundation (Daniel Shaeffer) and artists (Cildo Meireles and César Oiticica).

Limitations aside, recent events have created cracks in Tate's black boxes, threatening their status as a macro-actor. These included a staff strike in August 2020 to protest against massive redundancies and issues related to racism[63]. These publicly known events opened fissures in Tate's black boxes, reinforced

[63] The redundancies that led to the strikes occurred during the Covid-19 Pandemic, also highlighting the abyssal discrepancies of pay among senior and management team and other members of staff (Rea, 2020). The controversies related to racism issues involved Tate Britain's Rex Whistler Restaurant's wall painting that feature enslaved people and that used to be described by the own organisation as 'amusing', without addressing the artwork's issues (Murray, 2020; The White Pube, 2020); also, to Tate's now-former benefactor Anthony d'Offay, who allegedly sexually and racially harassed artist Jade Montserrat. This episode also demonstrated Tate's slow

by debates about decolonising the museum that challenges the Eurocentric approach of such organisations.



6.18 – Network diagram showing acquisitions of art from Brazil at Tate ©Eloisa Rodrigues

The analysis of Tate's acquisitions of art from Brazil is divided in two chapters, reflecting two moments in Tate's history: that before and after Tate Modern. The first period is marked by *ad hoc* purchases followed by the implementation of a collecting strategy. The diagram above (figure 6.18) visually highlights these moments. I constructed this network graph for the analysis proposed in this chapter based on the data collected of Tate's Brazilian art holdings, interviews, archives, and secondary sources. The unreadable small scale of this image is purposefully placed here so this image acts as a visual aid[64]. It serves to illustrate my thought-process and to organise complex sets of data.

response to the issue that also resulted in 'banning' Montserrat from partaking in projects at that institution (Jayanetti , 2021). Moreover, Tate's long-term relationship with BP that sponsored the gallery for 26 years, were subject to several protests performed by climate activists due to its ethical considerations (Mathiesen, 2015).

[64] A higher resolution version of this diagram is available at https://miro.com/app/board/uXjVOXwx8q4=/?share_link_id=471718415096 [password: abacaxi2023]. This diagram is, however, a constant work-in-progress due to the dynamic and ongoing nature of acquisitions.

Chapter 7 – Before Tate Modern

Tate holds approximately 170 artworks from Brazil, which corresponds to 0.24% of their whole collection[65]. Prior to the opening of Tate Modern, there were sixteen artworks from Brazil by five different artists. After the year 2000, an additional 154 works of art by fifty-three different artists entered Tate's collection, increasing total to 170 by sixty-six different artists. In this Chapter , I dwell on the stories of the Brazilian artworks that were acquired prior to the opening of Tate Modern. These were *ad hoc* acquisitions managed through Tate's networks.

That South American quality

Elas se Divertem (*They Amuse Themselves*, c. 1935*;* see figure 7.1), by José Cardoso Júnior, is the first artwork by a Brazilian artist to be acquired by Tate. This landscape depicts a group of half-naked women enjoying their time on the beach. Under the dim light of the sun setting in the horizon, many of them stare at us, the viewers – as if someone is portraying them from a distance. Notice the woman in the sea, who takes a moment to turn her gaze to the spectator. She plays with her long strawberry-blonde hair ensuring that our eyes are drawn to her. Others, however, prefer to continue their activities unbothered, such as the two who seem to be examining seashells next to a rock. There is an attitude in their poses, in how they lift their arms or by how delicately one is leaning on the boat, looking over her shoulder. They seem to be, indeed, amusing themselves[66].

This artwork entered Tate's collection in 1945, and it was acquired from the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* held at the Royal Academy of Arts (RA) in 1944 – an event that took place after a group of artists from Brazil donated over 160 artworks to the UK Government to show their appreciation for Britain's effort during the Second World War. This gestured occurred after Brazil joined the Allies in the war, sending over 25 thousand troops to Europe in 1942. The donated works were to be exhibited and sold in London and the money raised from the sales was to be offered to the Royal Air Force (RAF) Benevolent Fund, as the RAF was quite popular in Brazil at that time (Gadelha, 2018). It was also the artists' desire that "some ten pictures (…) should be *set aside to form the nucleus of a Brazilian collection*

[65] Tate holds, in total, approximately 70 thousand artworks.
[66] Despite this impression that José Cardoso Júnior is producing this painting in-situ, it is believed, however, that he painted based on photographs and cut-outs from magazines.

which would be added to from time to time", as explained the British Ambassador to Rio de Janeiro, Sir Noel Charles, in an official letter to Anthony Eden, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The work by Cardoso was purchased by Lord Alfred Charles Bossom (1881-1965) who donated it to Tate. The idea of the gift came from the donor himself, who approached Sir John Rothenstein, Tate Gallery's director at that time, with the proposal of presenting that museum with an artwork that was displayed at the RA exhibition.

7.1 – Elas se Divertem (c. 1935)*, José Cardoso Júnior, oil on board, 54 × 69 cm. ©Tate*

Lord Bossom was a British architect who made his career in the USA, to where he moved to in 1904. Upon his return to England in 1926, he started a new career in the public service as an elected member of the Parliament. His interest in and knowledge of Latin American art and culture can be related to his job as an architect, as he is "associated with the Mayan Revival Style of architecture" (Locke, 2018, p.70)[67]. Lord Bossom first proposed to purchase an artwork to Tate Gallery in a letter addressed to Rothenstein, in November 1944. He wrote that "there is to be opened on Wednesday an exhibition of

[67] Lord Bossom has written a few books on architecture, including one on Mexico entitled "An Architectural Pilgrimage in Old Mexico", published in 1924.

modern Brazilian paintings, some of which are rather unusual, and I feel it might be a nice gesture, if one of these really appealed to you, to arrange for its purchase and give it to Tate" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/161/1-1). Tate's director welcomed this offer and, after visiting the show, wrote to Lord Blossom explaining that "the acceptance of gifts lies in the hands of our Trustees, and the picture which it seems to me would be the most likely to commend itself to them is No. 10, 'They Amuse Themselves', by Jose Cardoso Junior" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/161/1-3). This painting, however, had already been purchased by the British Council, Rothenstein told Blossom. Although, "and as a result of informal conversations", the British Council would be willing to "either stand down in your [Bossom's] favour, or to be persuaded to offer the picture to Tate Gallery themselves" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/161/1-3).

What followed next was the British Council's agreement to allow Bossom to purchase Cardoso's painting for Tate, as its Trustees had accepted the donation (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/161/1-4). Rothenstein then wrote to Lord Bossom to say that the Board of Trustees "considered the picture to be a most desirable addition to the collection, and felt that among the pictures in the Exhibition, this was one which has *particular South American quality*" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/161/1-6, my emphasis).

Rothenstein's observation about the painting's quality raises many questions. Tate had neither any other artworks from Latin America in their holdings nor experts on the subject among their staff at that time. By 1959, Tate's collection had over three thousand objects by British artists, and about 380 foreign artworks, of which 60% were French (Chamot, Rothenstein; 1951; Alley, 1959). Ronald Alley (1926-1999), Tate's Keeper of Modern Collection between 1965 and 1986, published *Tate Gallery Catalogues: The Foreign Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* in 1959. In this extensive inventory of foreign artworks in Tate's holdings, Latin American ones are limited to a handful of examples. They held precisely four artworks from that geographical region by the date the catalogue was published: Cardoso's painting (acquired in 1945); the painting *Ibaye* by Wilfredo Lam (Cuba, 1902-192), purchased from the artist via the ICA in 1952; and two works by Diego Rivera (Mexico, 1886-1957), one named *Mrs Helen Wills Moody*, presented by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1958, who purchased it from the artist, and the other *Nature morte*, bought in 1959 from the Obelisk Gallery (Alley, 1959; Tate, no date8,9,10). Cardoso's painting is, therefore, the first Brazilian and Latin American artwork to enter Tate's collection – which makes the *South American quality* comment even more remarkable. What was the South American quality that Tate Gallery saw in José Cardoso's painting? Was it the nationality of the artist or the theme depicted, and, thus, the beach landscape? Or was it given that the landscape is populated with a group of half-naked women? What did Rothenstein and Tate Trustees know about Brazil, South America, and

Brazilian art back in the 1940s? In fact, back then knowledge about Brazil and its artistic production was rather limited.

Researcher and former Cultural Attaché at the Brazilian Embassy in London, Hayle Gadelha (2018, p. 48) has argued that "knowledge about Brazil and its culture in the UK was virtually non-existent at that time". Gadelha's comment, reinforced by historian Caroline Cantanhede Lopes (2021), is also confirmed by an account written in 1936 by playwright and diplomat Paschoal Carlos Magno (1906-1980). This report is an analysis about the image of Brazil among the British[68]. According to Magno, Brazil was seen in the UK as a country "populated by savages and ferocious animals, shaken by internecine wars and commanded by caudillos" (Magno, 1936, no page). Newspapers would also portray the country as "a new motif, an exploration through words for those travellers who discover, periodically, the Amazon, our gold mines, our forests and other sensational things" (Magno, 1936, no page). The exception to this rule existed, but those narrating "Brazil's virtue", Magno lamented, could not "destroy the croak of the others, which are more frequent and more prolific." (Magno, 1936, no page). Among the few positive reports, Magno referred to the art magazine *The Studio* (February 1936 issue) which had published a reproduction of an artwork by Candido Portinari – a Brazilian artist who had received the second honourable prize at the Carnegie International, in Pittsburgh, in 1935, with the painting *Café* (see figure 7.2). Magno states that this magazine article reported "with justice, [the artwork] to be one of the most beautiful contributions of South American painting to the modern pictorial movement" (Magno, 1936, no page).

[68] Magno acted as a diplomat in the UK from 1933 to 1946, holding positions in Manchester, Liverpool, and London between 1941-1946 (Lopes, 2021).

7.2 – Café *(1935), Candido Portinari, oil on canvas, 30 x 195,4 cm. ©Museu Nacional de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro.*

Who was José Cardoso Júnior and why did Tate become interested in his work? The truth is that little was known about this artist in Brazil, a fact which is also emphasised in files at Tate's archives. A series of correspondence dating from 1953 to 1970 shows Ronald Alley contacting different institutions attempting to gather more information about Cardoso[69].

Etelvina Chamis, Secretary at the Museu de Arte Moderna, wrote to Alley in 1953 stating that *Elas se Divertem* was "one of a series of his paintings about the same subject [that] was exhibited in the Society of Brazilian Artists in Rio de Janeiro around 1940." (Tate Archives, A20343). M. Knoedler & Co, an art dealer based in New York that had hosted an exhibition on Cardoso in 1950, wrote back to Alley saying that Cardoso "was fortunate in having his paintings admired by the famous artist, Candido Portinari, who had just returned from Europe. Portinari bought one of his paintings" (Tate Archives, A20343). The art dealer also pointed out that MoMA owned one of his works (see figure 7.3). Indeed, this correspondence demonstrates the difficulties in finding out more about this artist: "it has been quite

[69] The list of institutions and people contacted is vast: the artist himself in 1952 (although he died in 1947); MASP and MAM-SP in 1953; MoMA in 1954; Museu Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio, in 1954 and 1958; Sociedade de Artistas Brasileiros, in 1957; Cultural Attaché at the Brazilian Embassy in London and Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro in 1969; and Rubem Braga (Revista Manchete), in 1970. (Tate Archives, A20343).

impossible to trace catalogue", vented Alley in a letter to Hannan B. Muller, MoMA's Assistant Librarian, in August 1954.

7.3 – Still Life with View of the Bay of Guanabara *(1937), José Cardoso Junior, oil and pencil on paper, 54.0 x 74.9 cm. ©The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY*

Perhaps Rothenstein and Tate's Trustees were readers of *The Studio* magazine mentioned by Magno, becoming acquainted with Portinari's work. Portinari enjoyed international fame at that time and was one of the most well-known Brazilian artists of that period. Portinari's admiration for Cardoso's works is found in the support given to his artistic training. This information was included in the RA's exhibition catalogue, which also stated that: 1) Cardoso became interested in art later in life[70]; 2) one of his paintings had been acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York; 3) his practice is described as "poetical and ingenuous" (Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Painting, 1944 [2018], p. 14). Did Rothenstein associate the artistic production of South America with ingenuousness? The speculative nature of this question is met with the fact that *Elas se Divertem* used to be classified as *naïve* by Tate (see figure 7.4).

CATALOGUE ENTRY

José B. Cardoso Junior 1861-1947

N05580 **They amuse Themselves** c.1935-40

Inscribed 'J.B. Cardoso Jer l pinxit' br.
Oil on canvas-grain paper, 21 1/4 x 27 1/8 (54 x 69)
Presented by Lord Bossom 1945
Prov: Presented by the artist to the British Government to be sold in aid of the RAF Benevolent Fund; Lord Bossom, London
Exh: José B. Cardoso Junior, Society of Brazilian Artists, Rio de Janeiro, 1940 (no catalogue); *Modern Brazilian Paintings*, RA, London, November-December 1944 and British Council tour of British galleries, December-September 1945 (10)
Repr: Windmill, No.3, 1946, p.62

Another similar painting of naked or half-naked women bathing in the sea entitled 'Hours of Idleness' is reproduced in Jorge Romero Brest, *La Pintura Brasileña Contemporanéa* (Buenos Aires 1945), pl.20. Cardoso is said to have worked mainly from photographs and prints cut out of old magazines and scrapbooks.

Published in:
Ronald Alley, *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by British Artists*, Tate Gallery and Sotheby Parke-Bernet, London 1981, pp.95-6, reproduced p.95

NOT ON DISPLAY

ARTIST	José Cardoso Junior 1861–1947
ORIGINAL TITLE	Elas se divertem
MEDIUM	Oil paint on board
DIMENSIONS	Support: 540 x 689 mm frame: 618 x 768 x 52 mm
COLLECTION	Tate
ACQUISITION	Presented by Lord Bossom 1945
REFERENCE	N05580

[70] Cardoso on of the Museu de Arte Conte larch 1970. (Artist's catal

Conjectures aside, it is known that Rothenstein – the person who suggested the purchase of *Elas se Divertem* to Tate's Board of Trustee – was well versed in history of art. Not only had he graduated in this subject from the University of Oxford, but he was brought up surrounded by art. He was the son of William Rothenstein (1872-1945), a successful artist who was Tate's Trustee between 1927 and 1933. Therefore, Rothenstein grew up in a privileged environment where artists and intellectuals constantly visited his home (Clark, 2018). His career path included working as a lecturer of Art History in the USA between the years 1927 and 1929, first at the University of Kentucky and later at the University of Pittsburgh (Clark, 2018). It is also known that Rothenstein has had contact with Alfred Barr (1902-1981), founder director of MoMA, whose interest in and promotion of modern art is widely known (Clark, 2018). Would Rothenstein have seen Cardoso's painting at MoMA's collection?

Upon his return to the UK, Rothenstein held the position as director of Leeds City Art Gallery (1932–34) and the Graves Gallery in Sheffield (1934–38). He was appointed Tate's director in 1938 and occupied the role until 1964. He began his tenure as Tate's director with the difficult mission of increasing the collection of British and modern international art with an almost inexistent budget, in addition to supervising the moving of the collection to safer storages in the countryside due to the war. As London was being constantly bombed, the risk of destruction was significantly high (Clark, 2018; Gadelha, 2018).

In an article on Tate's acquisitions of American Art during Rothenstein's directorship, art historian Alex Taylor (2019) analysed how this collecting activity reflected Rothenstein's taste, understanding and

knowledge of American art. These observations shed light on the reasons why he might have chosen Cardoso's painting. Rothenstein had developed a preference for a modest vein of modern painting, in opposition to, for instance, post-war abstract art. "These were perspectives that he had developed over several decades of engagement with American art through a uniquely British prism, viewpoints far more complex and expansive than the apparent 'triumph' of New York School abstract painting" (Taylor, 2019, no page). In effect, Rothenstein was the first director at Tate with a taste and knowledge of modern art, whether or not this taste was more or less moderate (Taylor, 2019; Clark, 2018).

There are no other details in this painting's acquisition file at Tate Archives that could allow for further speculation on the reasons why the *South American quality* comment was made. Singling out the actors and factors involved in its purchase, however, allowed for a better understanding of the motivations behind its circumstantial acquisition and the type of art that Tate was interested in collecting. This narrative reveals, equally, certain aspects of Tate's acquisition procedure that still prevail today: the need for approval by the Board of Trustees; networks comprised of close acquaintances and contacts who have either a personal or professional interest in art, museums and collections; a justification for acquiring an object that both complements its permanent collection, and is representative of a particular style or nation. In the following sections I examine other artworks from Brazil acquired by Tate prior to the year 2000.

Felícia Leirner

The second Brazilian artwork to enter Tate's collection is *Composição* by Felícia Leirner (1904-1996): a bronze sculpture of moderate dimensions enhanced by the solidness of the thick and dark pieces of bronze that compose the artwork (see figure 7.5). The dynamic placement of the bronze bars, welded together so that gaps and spaces are created between these structural elements, add lightness to the sculpture. This work was created in a moment of pain and grief: when the artist was mourning the early death of her husband, the art collector Isai Leirner (1903-1962). Regarding this work, the artist herself has said that it was "a very difficult time for me, and there was definitely either a conscious or unconscious symbolism, it is difficult to say, of the feelings of loss, and also of reflections upon life and death, and the sublimation of everything through art" (Tate, no date2; letter of 10 February 1976). *Composição* is also representative of Leirner's first abstract works (Tate, no date1).

This work was also donated to Tate. The offer arrived in a letter from Pietro Maria Bardi addressed to Rothenstein, in June 1962. Bardi had already spoken to Tate's Keeper Ronald Alley and stated that he was "happy to donate a bronze sculpture by Brazilian artist Felicia Leirner to Tate Gallery" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/615/1)[71]. He also explained that Leirner was an artist originally from Poland that had been living and working in São Paulo for over thirty years. The correspondence highlighted the artist's achievements to date, including being awarded a prize at the São Paulo Biennial and having her works represented at the Museé d'Art Moderne de Paris and at the Galleria d'Arte Moderna de Rome, among other museums. Together with the letter, Bardi attached

7.5 – Composição *(1962), Felícia Leirner, bronze, 106.4 × 68.6 × 58.4 cm ©Tate*

[71] Original in French: "*heureux de donner à la Tate Gallery une statue en bronze de la scupltrice brésilienne Felicia Leirner".*

photographs of three of her sculptures for the Gallery's appraisal, informing Rothenstein that the gift would arrive in London free of charge (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/615/1).

The relationship between Tate and Pietro Maria Bardi had begun a few years back, when Bardi was director of the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP)[72]. In 1954, Tate Gallery hosted the exhibition "Masterpieces from the São Paulo Museum of Art" – a touring exhibition that aimed to promote MASP's art collection, which had already travelled to other European cities– such as Paris, Brussels, Utrecht and Berne - before arriving in London. The *masterpieces* touring with the show were all artworks by European artists – from Bellini, Raphael, to Renoir, Cezanne and Picasso. No Brazilian art from the MASP collection was included in the show. Baldi wrote in the introduction of the exhibition's catalogue that "Londoners will thus have an opportunity of seeing what the youngest museum in the world has been able to do in the space of seven years" (Baldi, 1954, p.5). This shows a conservative view that Brazil was home to a museum that was not inferior to its European counterparts for exactly holding those European *masterpieces* – a symptom of a desire of that time to become disassociated from a colonial past, that could be achieved only by following the ideas of progress and civilisation for which Europe served as a model.

The invitation to host the exhibition *Masterpieces from the São Paulo Museum of Art* in London originated, however, from the Arts Council of Great Britain. In the soft-power politics of the post-war, art and exhibitions played a crucial rule in strengthening diplomatic relations. Britain had already played its part a year earlier; in 1953 a collection from the UK travelled to Brazil (and other countries in Latin America) sponsored by the Arts Council – which also counted on the involvement of Rothenstein (Clark, 2018; Taylor, 2019). The British Council and the Arts Council played an important role in developing strategies for strengthening relationships – and propaganda – in Latin America (Garlake, 1991).

Moreover, Bardi had already assisted Tate with another acquisition, by the Italian artist Giorgio Morandi, as is noted by Rothenstein in a letter to Bardi accepting Leirner's donation: "We are, in any case, already indebted to you for the acquisition by Tate, some years ago, of the *Natura Morta*, by Morandi", in addition to his thanks to the donor for his "continuing generous interest in the [Tate] Gallery, which is greatly appreciated by everyone connected with it". (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/615/1).

[72] P M Bardi was MASP's director from 1947 to 1996. He also worked close together with Assis Chateaubriand in the creation and conceptualisation of this museum. Architect Lino Bo Bardi, to whom Pietro was married to, was responsible for the architectural project of the museum.

Sérgio de Camargo

Whereas the first two acquisitions stemmed from networks that emerged first in Brazil, the third Brazilian artwork to enter Tate's collection is associated to London's art milieu. Sérgio de Camargo's *Large Split Relief No.34/4/74* was acquired from the artist via the gallery Signals London in 1965 (see figure 7.6). This object was purchased, and not donated. The purchase occurred under the directorship of Sir Norman Reid (1915-2007), a position he held from 1964 to 1979. Serota (no date) observed that Tate as an "internationally acclaimed museum recognised as one of the top six museums of modern art in the world" occurred during Reid's tenure. Reid's interest in growing the collection was stressed during the interview held for the job as Tate's director. Reid (2000-2005) recalled emphasising that what mattered was the additions made to the collection, because exhibitions, for instance, were temporary achievements. "What stays in the permanent collection that counts," he explained (Reid, Cathy, 2000-2005). Serota also pointed out that Reid had the "talent for getting on with artists and for building a team of colleagues whose work transformed the Gallery. He re-organised the collections into 'British' and 'Modern' and appointed a new generation of internationally minded curators" (no date, no page), including names such as Ronald Alley, Richard Morphet and Anne Seymour to work in the field of Modern and Contemporary art.

Camargo's object entered Tate's collection against this backdrop. The artwork has its original name in French, *Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74*, likely related to the fact that Camargo lived and worked in Paris between 1961 and 1974. Despite sometimes described as sculpture, *Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74* is one of those artworks that is difficult to categorise: monochromatic cylindrical wooden pieces of varied sizes, cut diagonally, are placed on a plywood support. It is if the flat surface of the plywood gained life through the awakening of its own materiality assuming the shape of half-cylinders. Being monochromatic does not make this object motionless. On the contrary, it contributes to its dynamism: the similar shapes of different sizes are distributed almost randomly, yet carefully organised, on the surface creating a particular rhythm to the artwork. This rhythm is never static, changing according to the light and where you stand when next to it. It is both organic and carefully crafted by Camargo. It is neither a painting nor a sculpture – perhaps something in between. In the words of Ferreira Gullar, who wrote 'Theory of non-object' (as seen in Chapter 2) and contributed to the conceptualisation of the Neoconcretismo movement, artworks like *Large Split Relief* "become special objects – non-objects – for

which the denominations *painting* and *sculpture* perhaps no longer apply" (Gullar, Asbury, [1959] 2005, p. 173, original emphasis).

It was exactly the organicity and the non-object characteristic of Camargo's practice that attracted the interest of those working at Signals London gallery. As seen in Chapter 4, this gallery was a key actor in the promotion of Latin American art in the UK in the 1960s, even if short lived. The impact left by Signals in the 1960s is still present in the art milieu in Britain. Artists they exhibited and supported have become central to the art historical narrative and canon formation. This is due, partially, to actors who contributed to that gallery, such as Guy Brett, a crucial figure in the promotion of art from Latin America in the UK.

Signals London used their platform to promote Camargo's practice in different fronts. They hosted the exhibition *Camargo First One-Man Show in Europe*, from December 1964 to January 1965 in their showroom at 39 Wigmore Street W1. Moreover, this show served as an opportunity to publish an entire edition of Signals Newsbulletin (vol 1, no.5 Dec 1694-Jan 1965) dedicated to his work. What becomes noticeable in the articles published in this issue is precisely the interest of Signals in Camargo's use of white cylinders on a flat surface.

7.6 – Grand relief fendu no. 34/4/74 *(1964-5), Sérgio de Camargo, polyvinyl acetate paint on limewood on plywood support, 215.3 × 92.1 × 27.3 cm. ©Tate*

Brett, under his pseudonym Gerald Turner, authored a two-full-page essay praising Camargo's wooden-relief works – similar to the one acquired by Tate. Brett/Turner regarded these objects as his "most important, recent and numerous works" (Turner, 1964, p. 4). Following a formal analysis of Camargo's practice, Brett/Turner emphasised the materiality of his oeuvre and the role played by light that reveals the complexities of his creations. Camargo's *South Americanness* identity is seen as a confrontation to what Brett/Turner observed in his work: on one hand, South America is a large continent formed by different countries and cultures, but on the other, the work Camargo and other artists from that region – namely Alejandro Otero, Carlos Cruz-Diez, and Rafael Soto – were developing is "evidently in the process of leaving their mark on Western art" (Turner, 1964, p. 4). The Turner/Brett remark is not intended to imply that artists from South America were not capable of producing outstanding artworks

as those created in the West. Instead, he is emphasising the development of an artistic tradition focusing on revitalising "the surface, the 'wall-work', by acting with extraordinary precision and refinement in the gap between painting and sculpture" (Turner, 1964, p. 5). A tradition that seen to be inherent to artists from South America, that had also been theorised by writers such as Gullar.

Moreover, Camargo's wooden reliefs were also placed within the context of what, at that time, was the greatest achievement in the arts in Brazil: the recent inauguration of Brasília as the new Federal Capital with its monochromatic concrete architecture:

> *"(…) the white reliefs* (*or many of them) have passages of flat white wood to control, like rides in a forest, the massed activity of the cylinders. In this connection one thinks immediately of Brasilia, very much a symbolic city, its white architecture more delicate than anything in Europe and the forces which had to be subdued to allow its existence, ten times as ferocious"* (*Turner/Brett, 1964, pp. 4-5)*

In the same Signals Bulletin issue, art critic Denys Chevalier's article 'Camargo's art of lyrical light' draws on the artist's biography and trajectory to "place him correctly in the panorama of contemporary art" (Chevalier, 1964, p. 11) [73]. He praises Camargo's wooden reliefs for freeing these forms and being "in complete possession – by the almost complete assimilation of the object – of his own pliable language and vocabulary" (Chevalier, p. 11). A third article published in this issue of Signals Bulletin was signed by Karl K Ringstrom, who outlined the positive impact Camargo's wood reliefs had in the audience of the Paris Biennale – where the artist won the International Sculpture prize in 1963. Ringstrom (1964, p. 12) observed that his practice is "[a] hardly definable design, but with perfect composition; a paradox which points to the undeniable quality of this young artist". However, Ringstrom pointed out Camargo's presence in Paris to justify how he managed to arrive at the wooded reliefs. According to Ringstrom (1964), it was after moving to Paris that a change from "volumes and voids" to the introduction of "atmosphere and light" was observed in his sculpture, almost as if his presence abroad was the only reason why Camargo achieved such an *undeniable quality* in his practice.

It was from this exhilarant background provided by Signals Gallery that Tate came across Camargo's work, resulting in the acquisition of *Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74*. It is unclear from Camargo's acquisition file at Tate Archives where the initiative for the purchase came from. An invoice issued by

[73] This article was first published in AUJOURD'HUI, special issue on Brazil, in 1964. The original text was translated from French by Laila Nour and Anthony de Kerdrel.

Signals to Tate shows that the same acquisition proposal featuring Camargo's work also included two additional pieces by Venezuelans Jesus Rafael Soto (1923-2005) and Carlos Cruz-Diez (1923-2019) (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/158/1)[74]. Both artists had also been exhibited at that same gallery.

Tate Gallery wrote in October 1965 to Paul Keeler, Signals' director, that "(…) the Trustees were extremely taken with Soto's work and agreed on the spot to buy his work with the rods" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/158/1). The correspondence continued by saying that Tate was also interested in purchasing a second Soto to complement the other, which was still to be decided. However, "the works by Cruz-Diez were somewhat overshadowed by the Sotos and were not bought [at that time]" (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/158/1). Sérgio de Camargo caused an equally great impression, with the Trustees expressing interest and ready to make an offer of £750 for his work. The original price was £1000 – but the discounted price was accepted (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/158/1). Compared to the elevated prices that Camargo's work can reach in the art market today, Tate paid an exceptionally low price for this acquisition[75].

Conclusion

The *ad hoc* acquisitions analysed above are related to a collecting practice that relied mostly on informal and specific connections instead of a collecting strategy. These were circumstantial and incidental acquisitions, instead of planned ones. These works entered Tate's collection due the action of particular actors, combined with relationality and causality. Cardoso's acquisition emerged from an exhibition that was put together by a group of artists who then donated several artworks in solidarity to a nation at the centre of the Second World War. This generous action involved diplomatic efforts and open-mindedness that resulted in the first exhibition of Modern Brazilian art to take place in the UK. A direct consequence of this act was the accessioning of works of art from Brazil into public (and private) collections in the UK.

Leirner's acquisition, on the other hand, emerged from previously established relationships between the director of MASP and Tate. Bardi offered the work of an artist he admired, seeing the opportunity of his

[74] The list from Signals included the following works: Soto's *Relations Elements Opposse* and *Cardenal*; Camargo's *White wood relief* (special price for Tate Gallery); Cruz-Diez' *Physichromie n. 194* and *Physichromie n. 188*. (Tate Archives, TG 4/2/158/1).
[75] Sotheby's sold one of his works *Untitled (Relief No. 21/52),* dated 1964, for 2,165,000 USD in 2013 (Sotheby's, 2013).

connections in an act that seemed to ensure that the existing relationship was prolonged. Camargo's work, in its turn, stemmed from the ground-breaking approach of a private gallery showcasing the art of its time, embracing the present and believing in the artists they exhibited. This is manifested in ensuring that these same artists would be represented in perpetuity in an important national collection. Despite being short-lived, the excitement introduced by Signals London for artists such as Camargo left long-lasting marks in the UK's artistic milieu – although it would take a few decades for an interest in the art of Camargo and his contemporaries to be reignited in the UK – themes that will be explored in the next chapter.

The informal and *ad hoc* nature of these first acquisitions did not contribute to the establishment of a Brazilian art canon at the time, which leads me to conclude that the process of creating an historical narrative is inherently related to a strategic collecting practice. This is also seen, for instance, in the display history of these works. Tate shared with me the display history of Cardoso and Camargo's works – although they only have information from the early 1990s.

Cardoso's painting has been mostly kept in storage. The painting left the stores more recently, in 2018, for an exhibition at the Embassy of Brazil in London. Camargo's object, on the other hand, has been on display more often in recent years, as table 7.A below shows.

Location	From	To
Tate Liverpool	30 Mar 1992	02 Aug 1995
Tate Modern, Century City exhibition	01 Feb 2001	02 May 2001
Tate Modern, Level 4 Centre, Gallery 4	18 May 2007	22 Oct 2007
Tate Liverpool, Level 2, Dockside	25 Sep 2008	14 Apr 2009
Tate Modern, Level 2 Centre, Gallery 1	09 Apr 2010	09 Apr 2010
Tate Modern, Level 2 Centre, Gallery 3	09 Apr 2010	05 May 2011
Tate Britain gallery 007	21 Oct 2011	18 Apr 2012
Tate Modern, Level 4 West, Gallery 11	05 May 2012	25 Nov 2015
Tate Modern, Level 2 West, Gallery 15	01 Mar 2017	

7.A – Display history of Camargo's Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74. Information shared by Tate.

Chapter 8 – After Tate Modern

The informal model of acquisitions observed previously changed dramatically with the opening of Tate Modern in 2000. Prior to implementing collecting policies to increase the representation of art from Latin America, however, Tate was already adding to their holdings on an *ad hoc* basis – as seen in Chapter 4. Tanya Barson (2022) explained that when she became involved with Latin American art, her role supported initial acquisitions that occurred in the late 1990s. She added that "in a way, there was no strategy for the acquisition of Latin American art or Brazilian art, per se then. But certain things were acquired like Adriana Varejão, or an Ernesto Neto, and objects from that generation of internationally known artists." A proper strategy was implemented when Medina joined the team as Associate Curator of Latin American art. As seen in Chapter 4, the first attempt at drafting a strategy involved assessing these previous purchases, which included then "a few acquisitions made historically in the 60s (…) and then this beginning of acquisitions of few figures who had emerged on the international scene in the 90s" (Barson, 2022). The consequent challenge was to create a strategy that was "almost ground zero, but not quite" while using available resources. As Barson explained (2022), the strategy then "focused to begin with on the post-war, because we thought that pre-war was going to present us with very few opportunities with the resources we had to be able to acquire (…). It was sort of thinking about how we begin to make a history in dialogue with this collection".

Showing a real commitment

The collecting activity that took place between 2000 and 2008 helped to consolidate a strategy for acquiring art from Latin America. This period is marked by Medina's tenure as the Associate Curator of Latin American Art. He not only assisted Tate in conceptualising the first strategy, but he also had the opportunity to put his plans into practice by being directly involved in the acquisition of several Latin American artworks[76]. We saw in Chapter 4 that Medina's advice to Tate was to focus on the contemporary art scene, given that more artworks would be available. Moreover, this would show a real

[76] Among Brazilian acquisitions Medina either witnessed or participated are artworks by Lucia Nogueira (1950-1998), Ricardo Basbaum (b. 1961), Cildo Meireles (b. 1948), Valeska Soares (b. 1965), Alexandre da Cunha (b. 1969), Mira Schendel (1919-1988), Cao Guimarães (b. 1965), Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980), Lygia Clark (1920-1988), Marepe (b. 1970), Mauro Restiffe (b. 1970), Rivane Neuenschwander (b. 1967), Rosângela Rennó (b. 1962), André Carneiro (1922-2014), Dalmo Teixeira Filho (1923-1981), Eduardo Salvatore (1914-2006), Fernanda Gomes (b. 1960), José Yalenti (1985-1967), Marcelo Cidade (b. 1979), Osmar Peçanha (b. 1926), and Paulo Pires (1928-2015).

commitment to the aim of increasing the representation of Latin American art in their collections and tackling the geographical bias of their holdings. The period (2008-2016) after Cuauhtémoc Medina stepped down from the role of Associate Curator of Latin American art is more complex to analyse. The networks involved in the acquisition process of Latin American Art at Tate continued as before, but the acquisition black-boxes from 2008 onward seem more tightly closed and trickier to open. If my long conversation with Medina, combined with archival research, allowed me to further prise open the fissure in Tate's acquisition black box between the years 2000 and 2008, what came next remains partially locked-up for two main reasons. Firstly, access to files on recent acquisitions was hampered by data protection policies that can prevent access to files less than twenty years old[77]. Secondly, two of the Adjunct Curators of Latin American art that occupied the position after Medina, namely Julieta González (for the period 2009-2012) and José Roca (between 2012-2015), were unavailable for an interview.

Many of the Brazilian artists whose works were acquired in this period are from the 1990s generation that Medina had advised Tate about: contemporary artists who had already received some attention internationally but were still affordable. This is a generation that had benefitted from the professionalisation of the art milieu in Brazil, which had facilitated the establishment of networks between actors from here and there. To illustrate, a few of the artists acquired by Tate were part of a project in Brazil that aimed to map the young and contemporary artistic production in that country.

In 1996, the Brazilian newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* and the beer company Antarctica created the project *Antarctica Artes com a Folha.* Although not run by an art institution, this project invited five young Brazilian curators to select emerging artists born after 1964 from all over the country. These artists' works were then featured in a 1998 exhibition that aimed to display a "new generation of Brazilian art" (Fioravante, 1998, p. 12)[78]. Cao Guimarães, Marepe, Rivane Neuenschwander and Mauro Restiffe are the names in Tate's collection that were also featured among the sixty-two artists selected for this project. Projects such as *Antarctica Artes com a Folha* have certain limitations, however. Selecting just sixty names to represent a *whole* generation of artists in a country of Brazil's dimensions

[77] There are exceptions to the rules, for example, Oiticica's files for which I was granted access. Most of the material available was pre-selected, digitised and sent via email by Tate Archives due to constringency imposed by the Covid-19 Pandemic.

[78] The year 1964 was chosen as it marks the beginning of the military dictatorship in Brazil that lasted until 1985. This new generation, then, was born during this period and witnessed – and possibly participated – in the movements fighting for the reestablishment of a democratic government.

restricts a broader understanding of national artistic production. Irrespective of their limitations, projects like this are nevertheless powerful art historical tools. By documenting what is considered important at the time, they yield historiographical value.

Ricardo Basbaum

Not included in the project mentioned above, but also considered an emergent contemporary Brazilian artist of the 1990s is Ricardo Basbaum (b. 1961). His work *Cápsulas (NBP x eu-você)* (2000) was purchased by the Latin American Acquisitions Committee and presented to Tate in 2004. In response to a request from Medina, Basbaum wrote to the curator to provide more details about this artwork in May 2003. He described the pieces that compose *Cápsulas (NBP x eu-você)* as four double-bed size capsules made of steel, each with unique features offering different possibilities of body contact in their internal space. The capsules are designed to accommodate two people at the same time. In one of them, two individuals can only touch each other's fingers; in another, there is slightly more space for body contact; a third is presented without any internal division, allowing people to "enjoy the possibility of a full body contact" (Ricardo Basbaum, Tate Archives PC10.1). In the same correspondence, the artist set the price for the pieces, but this information has been redacted by Tate Archives. Two of the capsules, Basbaum stated, had already been displayed in the UK, a couple of years prior to the purchase. In 2002, they were included in the show *Vivências: Brazilian artists from 1960s-2000*, curated by Felicity Lunn at the New Art Gallery, in Walsall[79]. Given this work's interactive nature, which builds on a participatory tradition in Brazilian art that was consolidated with the Neoconcretismo movement in the 60s, the Sculpture conservation pre-acquisition condition report (written by Tate's conservator) advised that, when displayed, the capsules should be carefully invigilated (Basbaum, Tate Archives). This purchase reveals Tate's interest in objects that have both an existing connection to the UK and are created by artists who might be considered as heirs to Neoconcretismo.

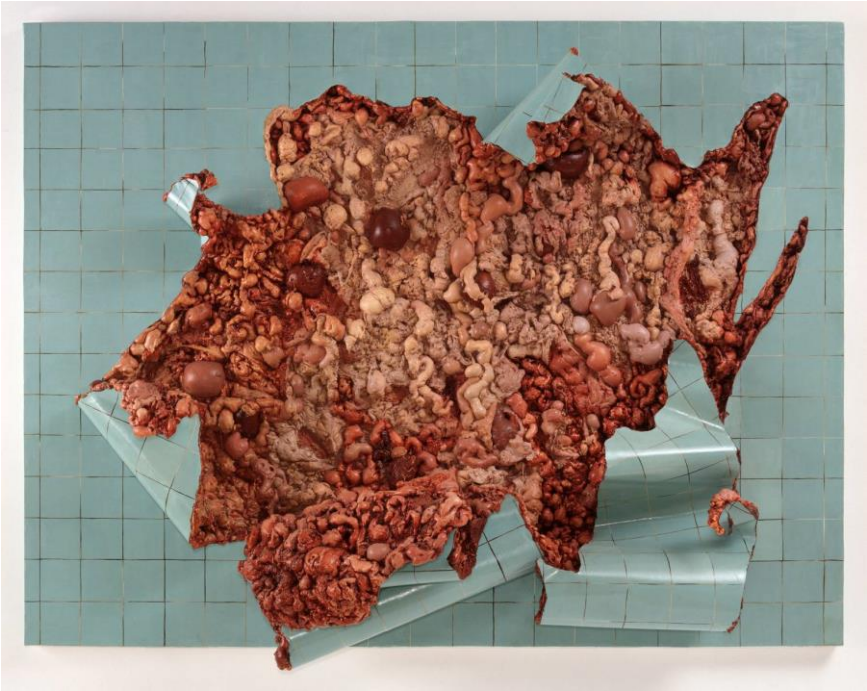
[79] Felicity Lunn had also organised the show *Lines from Brazil: Adriana Varejão, Tatiana Grinberg, Rodrigo Saad* (*Cabelo*), at the Whitechapel Gallery, London, in 1997 – a show that coincided with the visit of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, then Brazil's president, to the UK (Whitechapel Gallery Archives, WAG/EXH/2/471/1 and WAG/EXH/2/471/2).

8.1 – Cápsulas (NBP x eu-você) *(2000), Ricardo Basbaum, steel capsules, fabric, polystyrene foam, vinyl wall texts, booklets and audio, 80 × 181 × 264 cm. ©Ricardo Basbaum/Tate*

Adriana Varejão

Where an artwork or artist have been exhibited in the past plays a significant role in the object's assessment in Tate's acquisition process. This becomes evident in the acquisition files of the work *Green Tilework in Live Flesh* (2000; figure 8.2) by Adriana Varejão (b. 1964) (Tate Archives, PC10.1). Purchased by the American Fund for Tate Gallery in 2001 – and as we saw, still *on loan* to Tate – the files shared by Tate Archives consist of a 'Conservation Pre-acquisition Report' and the 'Catalogue File'.

The conservation report presents a description of the structure that shapes Varejão's work. It is made of a cotton canvas painted with white primer, which has been cut, shaped, and reinforced with thin metal sheets, moulded with resin foam. The conservators classified the work as "new, vulnerable and [of] delicate structure", raising the point that the foam can deteriorate with time, including details for the treatment required prior to the acquisition: assessing the construction and the durability of the foam, reinforcement of the support if needed, and dusting the surface. The expenses for these treatments are redacted, as any other costs related to the purchase.



8.2 – Green Tilework in Live Flesh *(2000), Adriana Varejão, mixed media on canvas, 224.7 × 289.8 × 65.7 cm © Adriana Varejão*

The catalogue file, on the other hand, provides information about the work's provenance: it comes from the artist and her gallery, Victoria Miró. It presents Varejão's short biography and an abridged version of her exhibition history. Among the shows included, it highlighted her participation in *Mapping*, a 1994 exhibition at MoMA, New York; *New Histories* at the Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, in 1996; at the XXIV Bienal de São Paulo, in 1998. Varejão had already been displayed by Tate, more specifically at Tate Liverpool within the context of the first Liverpool Biennial in 1999. She had also partaken in the 2000 Sydney Biennale. The specific work, *Green Tilework in Live Flesh*, had also been previously exhibited in London, in the show *Raw* at Victoria Miró Gallery, in 2000. This list of exhibitions demonstrates that Varejão is an artist with a strong international presence, taking part in exhibitions in well-known museums and biennials worldwide. Her work was acquired via the American Fund for Tate Gallery, which operates in the USA – where she had been exhibited twice, not long before the acquisition had taken place.

In the description of her practice, the catalogue file points out Varejão's use of materials and traditions from the context of Portuguese colonisation in Brazil (and other parts of the world). Including this information in the catalogue becomes relevant for two reasons. It emphasises the ways in which the

artist appropriates and examines a set of ideas, images and forms that were disseminated in Brazil during the colonial period, both by the Portuguese and other European countries. This overview of her practice also underlines the dialogue Varejão's work establishes with the history of art in, from and of Brazil, ranging from the colonial period to the twentieth century. Its references include the baroque architecture of churches built throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the modernist movement of the 1920s and 30s, and the neo-concretism movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The catalogue file also refers to an analysis made by art historian Paulo Herkenhoff on both Brazilian art and Varejão's work: "Paulo Herkenhoff has argued that anthropophagy provides a potent metaphor for Brazilian cultural practice (…)". By including this quotation from Herkenhoff, Tate is justifying acquiring an artwork that builds on a tradition of Brazil's art history, revealing an interest in collecting works that converse with a larger timeframe and, consequently, with other holding in their collection. In other words, Varejão's practice is placed within a genealogy that is considered as *Brazilian*, but not limited to it due to the international relevance achieved by the artist. As seen in Chapter 2, both Antropofagia and Neoconcretismo have come to bear the responsibility of defining a Brazilian art canon.

Rosângela Rennó

Another example of an acquisition focusing on contemporary art was the purchase of Rosângela Rennó's (b. 1962) installation *Experiência de Cinema*[80] (2004-5; figure 8.3). Medina (2020) told me that this work got him and other curators "into real trouble" (2020). A video installation consisting of black and white images projected on a curtain of smoke, *Experiência de Cinema* raises conservation issues due to the steam released by the smoke. This increases humidity levels in the room where it is installed. As David Hodge explains (2015) in Tate's catalogue entry for this artwork, "*Experiencing Cinema* should preferably be shown in its own enclosed space, although it can be exhibited alongside other works as long as there is a gap of at least five metres between them". The trouble in which Medina and Tate's curators found themselves in was due to their not addressing the steam issue with the conservation team prior to the acquisition. For Medina (2020), this "is a piece that is problematic in terms of the effects" but is also "a beautiful piece with a beautiful principle" that justified the trouble.

[80] This work can be experienced at https://player.vimeo.com/video/40170481 (Last access 11 February 2022).

8.3 – Experiência de Cinema *(2004-5), Rosângela Rennó, video, projection, colour and smoke machine ©Rosângela Rennó/Tate*

In *Experiência de Cinema*, the artist explores ideas about memory and forgetfulness. By projecting photographs onto a curtain of smoke that is quickly dispersed in the air, Rennó forces us to confront the inevitable memory loss and obliviousness we face in our lives. Instead of allowing us to remember the events shown in the pictures, they immediately disappear, fading away along with those memories that become ghosts of a past. *Experiência de Cinema* was displayed at Arco Madrid in 2005, from where it was purchased by Gerard Cohen and Nicole Junkermann – both members of the Latin American Acquisition Committee – who presented it to Tate in 2006. Again, the word *experience* is key in the analysis of this acquisition, not only for featuring in the artwork's title – but because it refers to an already-established Brazilian art tradition that Tate seemed to be interested in producing knowledge about: namely installation as an artistic medium and artworks that are not experienced passively. The images projected quickly fade away in the smoke, but it still allows time for it to play with our emotions and senses when feeling and smelling the curtain of steam.

Cildo Meireles

Installations, experiences, and sensorial artworks are three characteristics found in another important set of acquisitions in the period between 2000 and 2008, namely a body of work by Cildo Meireles (b. 1948). In 2005, the American Fund for Tate Gallery acquired the installation *Eureka/Blindhotland* (1970-75) and presented it to Tate in 2007 (see figure 8.4). When the purchase took place, Meireles was in the unusual position of being considered both a historical and a contemporary artist, a perception of which

the gallery representing him, Galeria Luísa Strina, was already aware. The negotiations for the purchase "happened at a time when Cildo and the gallery [Luisa Strina] were in the process of turning some installations into traditions, on the basis of the notion that this was a unique piece" (Medina, 2020, interview). According to Medina, he intervened in the negotiation due to his personal relationship with the artist, by suggesting to Meireles to revert the idea of turning his practice into tradition. "He [Meireles] agreed and also gave the Coca Cola Series and the bills at that time." (Medina 2020, interview). Medina is here referring to the series *Insertions into Ideological Circuits: Coca-Cola Project* (1970) and *Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project* (1970), donated by the artist in 2007. These series were donated by the artist, as Meireles does not sell works belonging to these series (Scovino, 2009).

Meireles' catalogue file at Tate Archives underlines the artist's international reputation: "he is one of the most prominent of a generation of Brazilian conceptual artists that includes Antonio Manuel (b. 1947), Antonio Dias (b. 1944), Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980), and Waltércio Caldas (b. 1946)." (Cildo Meireles, Tate Archives PC10.1). It also foregrounds his artistic practice, which has often questioned "social and political injustice of dictatorship and addressed the country's place in the wider global economy." (Cildo Meireles, Tate Archives PC10.1).

The conservation file's description of *Eureka/Blindhotland* provides a detailed account of the works' composition:

> "Floor to ceiling hanging unit comprising a cube formed by 6 fishing nets enclosing a felt covered floor. Inside the net cube are 196 rubber balls (…) weighing scales mounted on a pole, 2 x wooden blocks and an audio element (speakers, walkmans, tapes, and CDs). The gallery visitor is encouraged to enter and relocate the balls within the space whilst listening to 4x different sound recordings. Photographs are inserted into newspapers external to the gallery for one day only during the display which relate to this artwork." (Cildo Meireles, Tate Archives PC10.1)

8.4 – Eureka/Blindhotland *(1970-75), Cildo Meireles, 1970-75, installation, various materials ©Tate*

The description above reveals the complexity of this installation on levels beyond its interpretation, including the display, conservation and invigilation that it would require for which the conservators required a detailed installation file, with photographs and documents. The purchase went ahead even after the conservation report pointed out that this work had "high resource and cost implications", and that Tate was "remaking a significant proportion of the artwork, (…) with the artist's permission".

By the time Tate acquired this work, Meireles was already a well-established artist with a solid international career – both of which were facts included in the cataloguing file at Tate Archives. It lists his participation in international exhibitions, including *Information*, at MoMA NY in 1970; *Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object 1949-1979,* Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1998; Bienal de São Paulo, 1998; *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin 19850s-80s,* Queens Museum of Art, 1999; *Document 11,* Kassel 2002; *Open Systems: Rethinking Art c1970,* Tate Modern, 2005.

In November 2021 I spoke to Cildo Meireles, who provided me with his version of the acquisition story. He told me that he had never heard Medina's account, and that he was unsure how his gallery became

involved in this sale. According to Meireles, Tate's interest in his practice began around 1999, when he had an exhibition at the New Museum, New York, curated by Dan Cameron and Gerardo Mosquera. A day before the opening, Nicholas Serota and Tanya Barson visited the show accompanied by Mary Sabbatino from the Galerie Lelong. Back then, Tate showed interest in purchasing another of Meireles' work entitled *Desvio para o vermelho* ('Redshift'; 1967-84; figure 8.5). This installation is composed of several objects, small and large, all coloured in red, which "makes reference to the physics phenomenon known as redshift, a particular instance of the relativistic Doppler effect that indicates the red color as the wavelength of light an observer perceives when celestial bodies grow apart." (Inhotim, no date). Due to issues related to security for displaying this artwork, Tate decided against this purchase.

8.5 – Desvio para o vermelho I: Impregnação *(1967-84), Cildo Meireles, various materials. ©Photo: Eduardo Eckenfels, Inhotim*

According to Meireles, the negotiations for purchasing an artwork involved other actors, such as curator Vicente Todolí who had been appointed Director of Tate Modern in 2002. Todolí and Meireles had developed a professional and personal relationship since 1993. It was Todolí and Medina who told Meireles that Tate had shifted their interest to *Eureka/Blindhotland*, as they had been unable to solve the security issues that *Desvio para o Vermelho* had brought up. Meireles explained his lack of trust in the institution-museum, saying that he is from "a generation that developed a certain reactivity towards the museum (…). It was more than a discomfort... it was like 'I don't want to fall there, die and rot.'" (Meireles, 2021). His views of museums as *repository of the old* changed, however. A particular moment during his negotiation with Tate between 2001 and 2005, proven decisive for the artist's agreement with the sale. This was when Tanya Barson "walked into my studio with a folder containing more

information about *Eureka/Blindhotland* than I had. (…). I then saw that they were more prepared than I was [to care for the artwork]" (Meireles, 2021).

Barson's visit to Meireles' studio in Rio de Janeiro was part of her first visit to Latin America as a Tate curator, and thus the beginning of her building of networks with local actors. Serota, Tate's director at the time, had shown an interest in having a major piece by Cildo, and this was reinforced by the fact that Todolí, then Tate Modern's Director, had curated an exhibition of Meireles in Spain, and therefore "knew exactly how important Cildo was" (Barson, 2022). When Serota and other members of staff were discussing *Eureka/Blindhotland* in a meeting, it was pointed out that the work would have to be displayed with barriers around it. Barson told me that she then said, "'actually, this is a participatory work', and Nick [Serota] looked to me and said, 'Why don't you go (…) and interview him [Meireles] about it'. That is why I first went to Latin America. I was sent to talk to Cildo about *Eureka/Blindhotland*." (Barson, 2022). In addition to visiting Meireles in Rio, Barson took the opportunity to consult with local art galleries and visit the 2002 edition of the Bienal de São Paulo. During this trip, she also saw artists who were already in Tate's collection or gaining international profile, such as Ernesto Neto, Adriana Varejão and Beatriz Milhazes.

Barson had a long questionnaire for Meireles, which she believed is what convinced him to sell to Tate. "I gained a lot of knowledge about the work, and I think he was highly amused by this young curator from London asking him a billion questions about his work," told me Barson (2022). Indeed, in my conversation with Meireles he pointed out that having a curator walking in his studio with questions demonstrated a commitment, which he then thought that Tate "would be the best place to deposit it and also make it available to the public" (2021).

In 2008, Tate Modern held a solo exhibition of Cildo Meireles, curated by Guy Brett and Vicente Todolí. This had begun to be planned in 2002, when Todolí had already accepted a position as the director of Tate Modern. At that time, Todolí was working on a project in Italy with Meireles, and invited him for the Tate exhibition, setting the date for 2008. Inti Guerrero (2020), Tate's Adjunct Curator of Latin American art between 2016-2021, contends that this show was one of the two defining moments concerning Brazilian art at Tate. The other moment he refers to was the exhibition *Hélio Oiticica: Body of Colour*, organised a year earlier – which was also a defining moment in Tate's collecting activity, and one to which I will return to later in this chapter. In Guerrero's analysis, Meireles' show reflected Tate's interest in understanding the transformative character of an artist who is fundamental to the history of

installation art. I argue that the show came to consolidate what the artist's gallery did not wish at the time of the purchase: that his works were now part of a *tradition*, that of installation art and conceptual art history.

By collecting this body of work, and then hosting a large exhibition on that same artist, an institution such as Tate plays the role of consolidating a canon. For Guerrero, however, both the acquisition and the show also reflected the weight that art from Brazil has within the broader field of Latin American art. In his words: "That's when you see there is this big difference of exposure between an artist from Brazil and an artist from Latin America; that there is some kind of an international identification that people just see the experimentality of certain forms of art that are coming from artists like Cildo Meireles" (Guerrero, 2020). Such experimentality is built on a tradition that also comes from the 1960s, of which Meireles was both a witness of and a participant in.

In 2011, Tate acquired another major piece by Meireles – *Babel* (2001) (see figure 0.1), which as outlined in the Introduction, triggered my interest in investigating the practice of collecting Brazilian art in the UK. Interestingly, during my conversation with Guerrero, he also pointed out to the importance of having this artwork featuring both on the cover of the guidebook and the advertising banners outside Tate back in 2016. He rightly pointed that "[w]ith historical distance, people will understand why then was so important that this work Babel became the cover of the guidebook (…)", adding also that it became "kind of the poster image of transnationalism. That the transnational conversation is like this cacophony of voices from everywhere [from the work Babel]. That only makes sense if you have exposure to the particularity of the voice". (Guerrero, 2020).

Hélio Oiticica

Focusing on contemporary art did not mean that Tate would refrain from pursuing historical artists. In the foundational years of creating strategies to increase the representation of art from Latin America, Tate secured a body of works by a celebrated triad of Brazilian artists, Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980), Lygia Clark (1920-1988) and Mira Schendel (1919-1988). As seen in Chapter 2, these three artists have been at centre stage in the internationalisation of Brazilian art.

Tate acquired eight artworks by Oiticica in one single purchase (see table 8.A, and figures 2.1, 8.7 to 8.12), using funds from the American Fund for Tate Gallery, Tate Members, the Art Fund, Tate International Council, the Latin American Acquisitions Committee, in addition to funds provided by Mr and Mrs Petitgas – patron members of LAAC.

Title	Object date	Reference
Metaesquema	1958	T12416
Metaesquema	1958	T12418
Metaesquema	1958	T12419
Relevo especial (vermêlho) REL 036	1959	T12763
Bilateral 'Teman' BIL 003	1959	T12762
B11 Bólide caixa 09	1964	T12452
B17 Bólide vidro 05 'Homenagem a Mondrian'	1965	T12415
Tropicália, Penetráveis PN 2 'Pureza é um mito' e PN 3 'Imagético'	1966-67	T12414

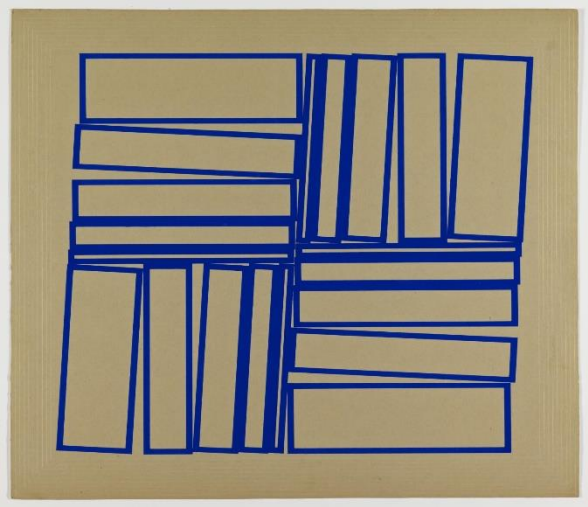
8.A – Hélio Oiticica's artworks acquired by Tate in 2007

The number of actors involved in these acquisitions reveals the effort made by Tate to ensure this body of work was acquired in one single purchase. Information on the final costs of the eight artworks has been redacted from the acquisition files I accessed at Tate Archives[81]. According to Medina (2020), these pieces were negotiated with the idea of involving the American Fund for Tate Gallery and the LAAC team in the process. This operation, Medina emphasised, "was much more complicated than any one before" (2020). Barson also reflected on the funding required for this acquisition, as the "costs were higher than previous purchase. It was a considerable commitment" (2022).

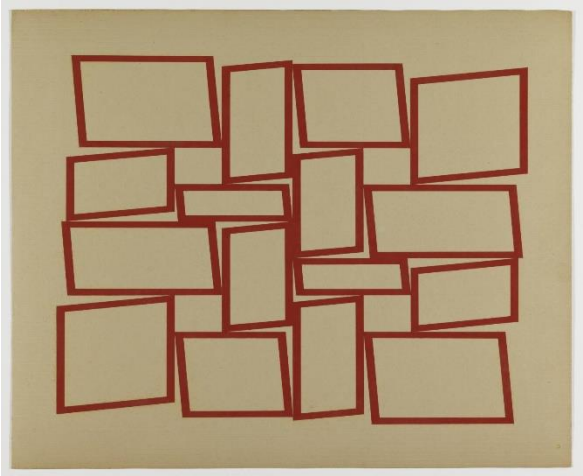
These acquisitions were all effected in 2007. According to Barson (2022), Tate's interest in his work led Serota and Barson to visit Projeto Hélio Oiticica in Rio de Janeiro on several occasions. As seen in Chapter 2, at that time Mari Carmen Ramírez was working on a multi-year project, which MFAH's International Center for the Arts of the Americas undertook in partnership with the Projeto, to conserve, document and exhibit Oiticica's works. Between December 2006 and April 2007, MFAH held the show

[81] Oiticica's work can reach elevated prices in the primary market today. A similar piece found in Tate's collection was priced as $1.6 million in 2019 at Art Basel in Hong Kong (see Binlot, 2019). About the fire, see ArtForum (2009).

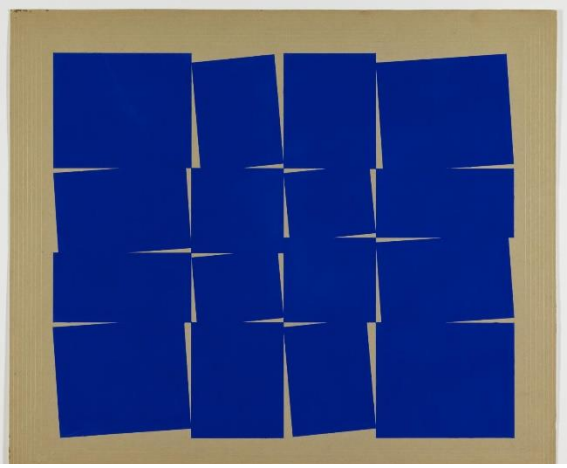
Hélio Oiticica: the body of colour, which then travelled to Tate Modern between June and September 2007.



8.6 – Metaesquema *(1958), Hélio Oiticica, gouache on cardboad, 55 × 63.9 cm ©Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*



8.7 – Metaesquema (*1958), Hélio Oiticica, gouache on cardboard, 52.3 × 64.2 cm. ©Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*



8.8 – Metaesquema *(1958), Hélio Oiticica, gouache on cardboad, 55 × 63.9 cm ©Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*

8.9 – Relevo especial (vermelho) REL 036 *(1959), Hélio Oiticica, polyvinyl acetate resin on plywood, 62.5 × 148 × 15.3 cm,© Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*

8.10 – Bilateral 'Telman' BIL 003 *(1959), Hélio Oiticica, acrylic paint on fibreboard, 120.6 × 134.5 × 1.4 cm. © Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*

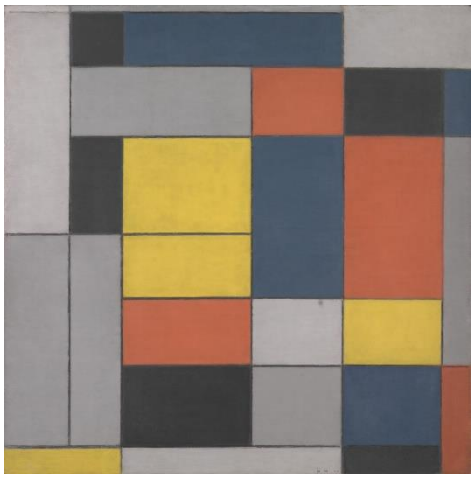
8.11 – B11 Bólide caixa 09 *(1964), Hélio Oiticica, wood, glass and pigment, 49.8 × 50 × 34 cm. © Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*

8.12 – B17 Bólide vidro 05 'Homenagem a Mondrian' (*1965), Hélio Oiticica, Glass, textile, water, pigment and cork, 30 × 47.5 × 60 cm. © Projeto Hélio Oiticica/Tate*

Although the exhibition and acquisition processes occurred in parallel, Tate's decision to purchase these works had emerged a few years earlier. In 2001, Tate Modern held the exhibition *Century City*, "which was the first time when that generation of Brazilian artists was seen in Tate" (Barson, 2022). Oiticica was included in the show, which triggered the idea of acquiring some of his work. According to Barson, it was understood at the time that Tate would need to secure the full spectrum of his practice.

According to Barson (2022), the complexity of this acquisition mentioned by Medina also had to do with ensuring the works acquired would fit in with the collection, because for Barson, Oiticica's practice is

both “disruptive and in conversation” with Western art canon. In *B17 Bólide vidro 05 'Homenagem a Mondrian'* (1965), Barson saw the opportunity to explore the “confrontation with Western art history” inherent to this work. She reflected that when looking at this object, “you have a work that could not be further from the kind of rigidity of what Mondrian was trying to produce, but that is nevertheless in dialogue and a homage to Mondrian” (Barson, 2022). This demonstrates the importance of considering acquisitions that both expand the art canon, but also dialogue with the establishment. Another important criterion considered was Oiticica’s history with London, which led them to consider, and eventually secure, the acquisition of *Tropicália*.



8.13 – No. VI / Composition No.II *(1920), Piet Mondrian, oil on canvas, 99.7 x 100.3cm ©Tate*

In 1969, The Whitechapel Gallery held the artist’s first international solo show, *Hélio Oiticica: The Whitechapel Experiment*. This exhibition was originally planned to be hosted at Signals London, but due to financial issues the gallery ended its activities in 1966. Oiticica’s works, however, had already been sent to the UK where they were kept at Guy Brett’s house. Oiticica and Brett had a life-long friendship that had begun in 1965 when Brett first visited Brazil to attend the Bienal de São Paulo. In line with the coincidences that are produced by a small global art milieu, the person who introduced them was Sérgio de Camargo– the artist promoted by Signals London in the 1960s whose work Tate had acquired at that time, and who had also introduced Brett to Lygia Clark and Mira Schendel (Brett, 2005).

Keeping Oiticica’s works in his home for a long period allowed Brett to become more closely acquainted with his practice, an effect that the art critic shared with the artist in a letter dated March 1967:

> "I've had the experience of living with your *Bolides* for several weeks – and that's what I'd really like to be writing about. What you have been doing recently has been a revelation to me. I think you have brought us to a new kind of perception away from form – to something far more primitive, a kind of nucleus, an energy-centre of sensation and feelings." (Tate Archives; The Whitechapel Archives).

Despite not being able to host the show at Signals London, Brett continued pursuing the idea and found a new venue to display the Oiticica pieces that were already in his house. The Whitechapel Gallery agreed to host the exhibition, which opened in 1969. Having the show in London served an opportunity for Oiticica to travel to the UK, where he was subsequently awarded a scholarship for foreign artists at the University of Sussex, in Brighton (Brett, 2005).

The work *Tropicália* was first put together in 1967 for an exhibition at the Museu de Arte Moderna of Rio de Janeiro. As seen in Chapter 2, this work is a manifestation of Oiticica's conceptualisation of the importance of feelings, sensation, and participation in art. Sense, participation and experience, are key concepts in Oiticica's practice and *Tropicália* evokes these ideas as expressed through his theory of *New Objectivity* combined with Andrade's Antropofagia. With Tropicália, Oiticica "wanted to establish and define a state of Brazilian avant-garde art, as distinguished from the major movements of world art (op and pop)" (1968, p. 239). Tate acquiring *Tropicália* proved challenging due to conservation issues. The objects shown in London in 1969 had been shipped from Brazil, and returned once the exhibition ended. This meant that parts of this installation no longer existed as "Oiticica must have made some sort of decision of which parts were most important to him" (Barson, 2022). Tate continued pursuing the purchase of original objects that were displayed in London in 1969. When the objects arrived at Tate in 2007, "some parts were archived because they were too brittle to show", and other had to be replaced, and both decisions were discussed with the Projeto Hélio Oiticica (Barson, 2022).

In 2007, Tate announcement of these acquisitions coincided with the opening of *Hélio Oiticica: Body of Colour*, an exhibition that included works Oiticica produced up until the 1960s, and prior to *Tropicália*. However, acquiring that object in particular justified Tate's decision to organise a parallel display, as Barson recalls, "We put Tropicália on display in the presentation exhibition called *Oiticica in London*, which was a really important moment" (2022). As its title suggests, this display focused on Oiticica's past history with London. Curated by Brett and Barson, *Oiticica in London* was an opportunity for Tate to showcase their new acquisitions, and this display also resulted in a publication of a book that supported further research on Oiticica and his relationship with London.

Organising this display also allowed Tate to showcase works they had acquired from Signals London decades earlier – of which Sérgio de Camargo's *Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74* is an example. As Caragol and Whitelegg observed, "these acquisitions moved quietly from storage to display soon after the creation of Tate's Latin American Acquisition committee, and their presence within *Oiticica in London* represented a subtle, temporary, movement from theme to history" (2009, no page). It was a moment for Tate to present the history of art and the art canon they were willing to endorse. In this regard, Caragol and Whitelegg have observed that *Oiticica in London* was a display that exemplifies the art and artists in which Tate is willing to "permanently invest, as represented by its Collection" and "the history that it is willing to acknowledge, as represented by its exhibition of individual artists" (2009, no page).

With *Oiticica in London*, Tate produced knowledge on what was not necessarily Brazilian art, but an artistic practice related to artists – whether Brazilians, Venezuelans, Latin Americans, or Europeans – that had a connection with the UK and objects in their collection. The knowledge Tate produced and the art canon they endorsed was less about writing a history of Latin American art, and more about placing these works in dialogue with the artistic production of London's 1960s art milieu. As observed by Caragol and Whitelegg (2009, no page):

> "If viewed cynically, this small project might be read as a highly successful gesture of appropriation. Literally and symbolically, it made sense of Tate's ownership of the work of Oiticica, while also acknowledging Signals London as a precedent for the British-internationalist perspective to which Tate is committed. The experimental, collaborative, international and multi-disciplinary milieu surrounding Signals London is a potential seedbed for several genealogies for contemporary practice, and therefore the importance of this gesture for stimulating research concerning the history of British art is not in dispute."

As seen in Chapter 2, this work is a large environment-installation created to be sensed, thus for *Oiticica in London, Tropicália* was displayed in its own dedicated room, where visitors had to queue up to experience this tropical-like setting (Menezes, 2007).

A short period of interest in Oiticica's work in the late 1960s seems to have disappeared from the UK over the course of the three decades that followed. Anecdotally, Medina commented that he once bought a copy of the catalogue of Oiticica's Whitechapel Gallery exhibition, which he found "in a box of discarded catalogues in the ICA around 1998, for one pound. Nobody cared about Oiticica in the mid-90s in London." (Medina, 2020, interview). A global interest in Oiticica and the artistic practice of 1960s Brazil began to emerge in the late 90s and early 2000s, as seen in Chapter 2, with Tate being a relevant

example. Together with the show in Houston, Tate's acquisition was a moment of "consolidation of the legitimacy of his work internationally and made him an icon of Brazilian art abroad", as argued by Daniela Labra (2014, p. 127).

Global interest in Oiticica's work was also marked by the 27th São Paulo Biennial in 2006, curated by Lisette Lagnado. As seen previously, Oiticica's environmental programme framed the curatorial project's conceptual paradigm, and the relevance given to the artist's oeuvre and writings in this edition is argued by Labra (2014) to be an emergent part of the process of his work being recognised across the world art system which Tate and Houston helped to consolidate. Guerrero (2020) has argued that Oiticica's consolidation is "more based on exhibition history", for which the MFAH and Tate shows are important examples. The display *Oiticica in London* was nevertheless justified by an acquisition, with both permanent actions (acquisitions) and temporary activities (exhibition) playing an equally crucial role in the consolidation of Oiticica's international recognition.

In a global art system in which the market plays a substantial role, Oiticica's recognition as a historically significant artist implied considering, or reconsidering, the value of his practice in monetary terms: how much would his works be worth? During his lifetime, Oiticica would not sell his creations, meaning that by the time negotiations with Tate started, Projeto HO held about 95% of his work (MFAH, 2006). The close involvement of Serota in this purchase, which is substantiated by files in Tate Archives, demonstrates the importance of this acquisition. In April 2005, César Oiticica wrote to Serota to thank him for Tate's interest in purchasing his brother's work, and to explain that it was a difficult task for them to set prices given that "never before we had to consider selling works of the bulk of our collection" (Tate Archives, Oiticica Acquisition file PC10.1). He continued the letter explaining that Projeto HO aims to place his works in "the most important museums of the world", which included Tate Modern "in first place" (Tate Archives, Oiticica Acquisition file PC10.1). His brother's connection with London is also emphasised in this letter: "The *Whitechapel Experiment,* as Hélio called it, was the first important solo international exhibition of his work and it is very consequent that Tate is going to be the first great museum receiving a group of important works of Hélio Oiticica." (Tate Archives, Oiticica Acquisition file PC10.1). In this reply to Serota, he also listed the works they had agreed to sell "from your possibilities list". Although I did not have access to a copy of the letter Serota addressed to César Oiticica, the reference to a wish list demonstrates Tate's interest in specific works.

Apart from *Tropicália*, the works Tate was in the process of purchasing were heading to Houston for the *Body of Colour* exhibition, before making their way to their new home in the UK. Serota was, however, keen for *Tropicália* to arrive in London, also informing their interest in having "a full set of instructions and conditions, so that we can be sure that we are able to install the work as originally intended by Oiticica" (Tate Archives, Oiticica Acquisition file PC10.1). The intention of having two simultaneous exhibitions on Hélio Oiticica at Tate was already expressed in this letter: "We would like to install *Tropicália* in a separate space for the duration of the exhibition, so that our visitors can be aware of the work and of the Tate acquisition. We would also like to make a small display to accompany this presentation, focusing on the Whitechapel exhibition and Oiticica's stay in London" (Tate Archives, Oiticica Acquisition file PC10.1).

Tate's group of acquisitions contributed to the placing of Oiticica in a historical genealogy of twentieth century art. Permanently investing in Oiticica's body of work was an act of Tate retroactively validating the "artist's historical position", as observed by Caragol and Whitelegg (2009, no page). I would also argue that by choosing to purchase specific works that have a connection with London – in addition to *Tropicália*, *B11 Bólide caixa 09*, *B17 Bólide vidro 05, and Bilateral 'Teman' BIL 003* were also displayed at the Whitechapel show – Tate retrospectively validated London as an important artistic milieu of the 1960s – and consequently, in the present day. Placing Oiticica as a fundamental figure of the twentieth century avant-garde also contributed to reinforcing a historical genealogy for contemporary Brazilian art, through the Neoconcretismo and Tropicalismo movements.

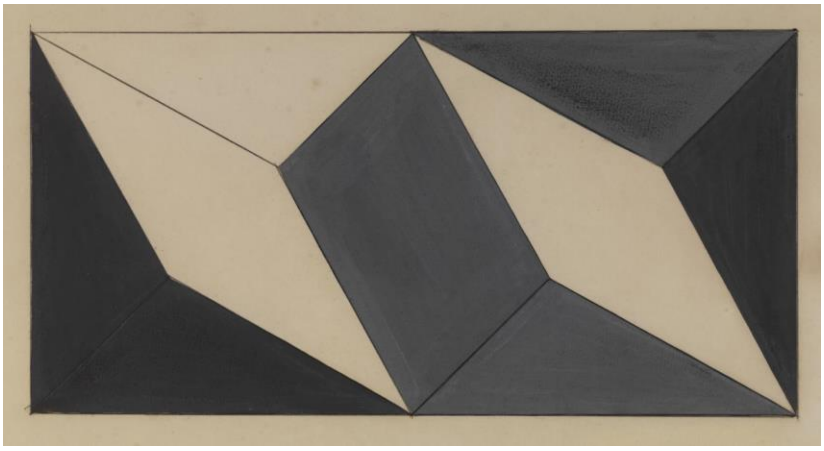
Lygia Clark

If the Oiticica acquisitions justified Tate's decision to display artworks it had acquired from Signals London in the past, this purchase also made sense of subsequent acquisitions of the work of Lygia Clark, who was part of the Neoconcretismo movement, and their contemporary, Mira Schendel, whose practice can in part be linked with São Paulo-based schools of concretist abstraction. On these artists, Guy Brett stated:

> "Since I knew almost nothing of Brazilian history and culture, I saw Clark's, Oiticica's and Schendel's work as exciting innovations in the international evolution of abstract art, a leap beyond the positions reached by Mondrian, Malevich and others. In Oiticica's case it was his use of colour that first

> magnetised me: an intense, sensuous presence of colour in space (the originality of his conceptual thinking and his social vision unfolded itself to me more gradually).” (Brett, 2007, p.11)

An undated and unsigned document in Lygia Clark’s catalogue file at Tate’s archives reveals the reasons that Tate was interested in her work. The document clearly states that Tate should focus on collecting Clark’s works produced “from the classic Neo-Concrete phase in order to create a display along the lines of Clark’s 1965 exhibition at Signals Gallery in London or 1968 Venice Biennale presentation.” (Tate Archives). Clark’s production of this period was more relevant to Tate as it could create a dialogue with other works in the collection, including those by Oiticica: “To represent Lygia Clark sufficiently well, Tate should aim to acquire a substantial sculptural work, preferably an important *Bicho*, along with a group of paintings and reliefs. The group of works assembled should be strong enough to support a display pairing of Clark with Hélio Oiticica” (Tate Archives). The document also lists the most desirable works in order of priority, but this information was redacted. Nonetheless, it is clear that the strategy was to collect a body of work that could connect with the collection, more broadly, and speak to Clark’s historical relationship with London and Oiticica, in particular.



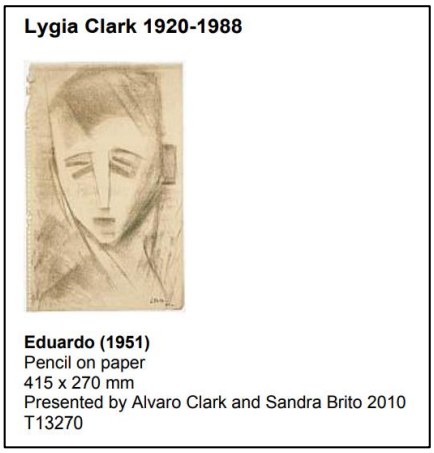
8.14 – Planos em superfície modulada (estudo) (56) *(1957), Lygia Clark, graphite and gouache on paper, 25 x 35cm ©Tate*

8.15 – Bicho-Maquete (320) (1964), Lygia Clark, aluminium, dimension unnknown ©Tate

In 2007, Tate acquired three works by Lygia Clark that reflect the strategy mentioned above: *Planos em superfície modulada* (*estudo)* (*56)* (1957, see figure 8.14), and *Planos em superfície modulada* (*estudo)* (*61)*, both bought by the American Fund for Tate Gallery, as courtesy of the Latin American Acquisitions Committee; and *Bicho-Maquete* (*320)* (1964, see figure 8.15), purchased by the American Fund for Tate Gallery. The aforementioned three works were presented to Tate in 2012, and Tate also holds a fourth work by Lygia Clark entitled *Eduardo* (T13270), which was a donation made by Alvaro Clark and Sandra Brito (who manage the artist's estate) in 2010 (figure 8.16). As donations go through the same rigorous selection and decision process, the justification for accepting this gift was that increasing Clark's representation in the collection was a key collecting strategy, in order "to reflect her status alongside Hélio Oiticica as a decisive figure in the transformation of Brazilian art from the 1950s to the 1970s" (Tate Archives, Barson, 2010).

Eduardo is part of a series of three drawings of the artist's children dated 1951. It does not belong to the timeframe Tate was mostly interested in – that is the abstract, Neoconcretismo phase. Tate's justification for accepting this donation emphasises the style of the drawing, pointing out that "it is executed in a semi-abstract style reminiscent of European avant-garde styles such as cubism and reflects the fact that it was made while the artist was living in Paris and completing her studies with Fernand Léger (1881-1955) and Arpad Szenes (1897-1985)" (Tate Archives, Barson, 2010). Works of her figurative phase are rare, and few of her early drawings depict the human figure. It is more common to find figurative drawings of architectural scenes and notions of space. For this reason, Tate argued that "this drawing testifies the break from the figurative *modernism* of the pre-war era in Brazil, in favour of the

fundamentally abstract Concrete and Neo-Concrete styles that were to become dominant in the later 1950s and 1960s" (Tate Archives, Barson, 2010). Therefore, this donation became an opportunity to collect a work by Clark of a type that rarely becomes available in the market, and one that - despite not belonging to her Neoconcretismo phase – could still speak to the Western art history predominant in Tate's collection.



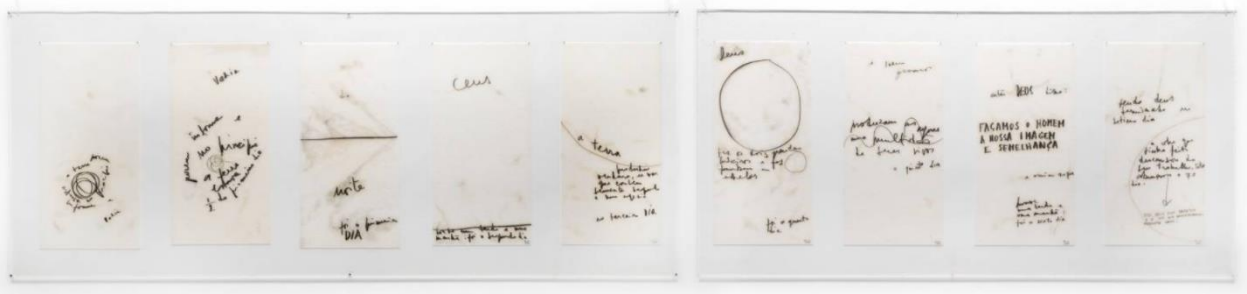
8.16 – Eduardo *(1951), Lygia Clark, Graphite on paper, 41.5 × 27cm @ Tate Annual Report 2010-11*

Mira Schendel

Tate holds three artworks by Mira Schendel, acquired between 2006 and 2007: *Sem título* (1963, see figure 8.17), presented by Tate Members; *Sem título* (*Gênese)* (1965, see figure 8.18), and *Sem título* (*Discos)* (1972, see figure 8.19), both acquired by the American Fund for Tate Gallery. Files from Tate Archives do not provide many details about this acquisition as they focus mostly on the condition of the objects, specifying the treatment required. Barson, however, was involved in the process and provided me with an account of these purchases during our interview. She recalled visiting a gallery in Brazil, who showed her the painting dating from 1963 (figure 8.17). Barson understood that it was an important work and a rare piece, as it was not usual to find historic paintings by Schendel at that time. The three works were acquired as a group, encompassing examples that include painting, drawing and a sculpture (respectively, figures 8.17, 8.19 and 8.18). Barson remembered arguing for more works to be acquired then, but not succeeding at the time. "A few years later, someone said to me, we should get some more like that [the Discos]. [But] they're not available anymore", she told me (2022).

8.19 – Sem título (Discos) (*1972), Mira Schendel, transfer lettering and graphite on paper between acrylic sheets, 4 pins and nylon fishing wire, 27 × 27 cm © Mira Schendel estate*

8.17 – Sem título *(1963), Mira Schendel, oil paint on canvas, 145.9 × 114cm © Mira Schendel estate*



8.18 – Sem título (Genesis) *(1965), Mira Schendel, monotypes on paper, perspex sheets, pins and nylon fishing wire, left panel of 5 monotypes: 61.2 × 153.7 × 0.8 cm; right panel: 61.2 × 123.7 × 0.8 cm. © Mira Schendel estate*

Barson's understanding of the importance of Schendel came from the networks stemming from teaching and research at the University of Essex, which according to her, played a key role in her formation on Latin American art. She pointed out the fact that Isobel Whitelegg had completed the PhD thesis 'Mira Schendel: a radical passivity: towards another history of art, thought & action in the Brazilian sixties',

which for Barson the fact that a “highly intelligent [researcher] had given a lot of work” to studying this artist meant that she “should probably [be] pay[ing] attention to” (Barson, 2022). Moreover, Schendel’s history with Signals London was known to Barson, adding another layer of justification that connects this artist with the UK. A sense of urgency, “because it was already becoming clear that perhaps we were arriving too late”, in collecting artworks from this period contributed to the decision. Barson’s assessment of these acquisitions is that Tate “did brilliantly with Oiticica. Not badly with Mira, but we could have done better with Clark”.

Intersecting many matters

In increasing the remit of its modern and contemporary art collection, Tate’s aims were not limited to addressing the geographical bias of its holdings. Alongside expanding its collecting strategy to Latin America, first, and other regions at a later stage, the institution was concerned with collecting objects in specific media. Photography, film, video, digital media art and performance artworks were also in their priority list. I did not have access to Tate’s detailed collecting strategies document, but I encountered broader views of these strategic aims in Tate Annual Reports – which are published on their website and available for consultation at Tate Library.

In providing carefully selected information that the organisation is willing to make public, these reports become important non-human actors. I contend that this selective sharing of information relates not only to Tate’s obligation as a public-funded institution required to publicly report its activity, but also to an act in which the organisation chooses what wishes to advertise, that is, only their successful inputs and outputs as a macro-actor. Having analysed the reports published since 2000, I observed that these emphasise collecting works of art from outside North America and Europe. Latin American art is particularly predominant until 2007, followed by a shift to focus on other geographical regions to reflect “the world with a more global, less Western view”, as claimed by the 2008-2009 Annual Reports (no page). Between 2009 and 2017, the reports evidence a collecting strategy that focuses on the artistic practice from Africa, Middle East, Asia-Pacific region, Southeast Asia, and Russia and Eastern Europe – which is corroborated by the creation of Acquisitions Committee for each of these geographical regions, following the LAAC model (Tate, 2009 to 2017). Additionally, these reports demonstrate Tate’s interest and commitment to increase their holding of certain media, such as photography. A Photography

Acquisition Committee (PAC) was created in 2010, and acquisitions of photography are underlined in nearly all the Reports for the years 2000 to 2020.

Foto-clubes and digital media

Tate's holdings of Brazilian art also include several photographs that combine their commitments to expanding the representation of both specific geographies and specific media. After securing a substantial body of work representative of both the contemporary art generation emerging from the 1990s and fundamental historical artists from the 1960s, the acquisitions that followed seemed to have provided Tate with more freedom to explore other avenues. An example is the purchase of works by mid-twentieth century Brazilian photographers who were either founders or members of photo clubs. These were photographers interested in experimenting with this medium and many of them started as amateur photographers, joining clubs such as 'Photoclub Bandeirantes' to share their passion among other photography-lovers. Some of these artists (such as Geraldo de Barros), moreover, also belong to concrete art movements based in Sao Paulo in the 1950s, thus creating a dialogue with Tate's previous investment in abstract art and Neoconcretismo.

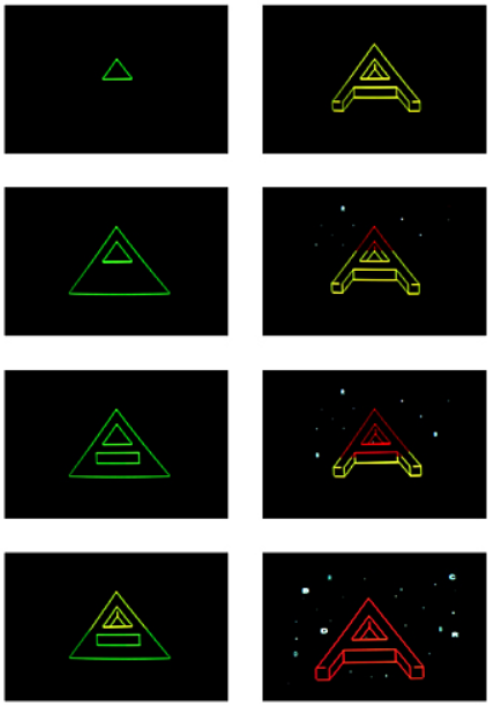
Barson recalled that the initial acquisitions were donations that "came in advance of Tate having a specialist curator of photography". These first photographs were gifted by Ella Fontanals-Cisneros, who is a LAAC member. Others that follow were acquired via either the American Fund for Tate Gallery, the Latin American Acquisition Committee, or Susana and Ricardo Steinbruch, who are also LAAC members. The inclusion of their names in these credit lines means that they contributed with additional funding to ensure the purchase of the works (see table 8.B). Acquiring these works is a manifestation of Tate's own internal network of expertise, comprised of many curators whose knowledge embraces a range of themes and subjects. It also illustrates that acquisitions are mostly a curator-led process – which is observed with the role played by Barson. There is a continuous dialogue among the many departments and curatorial expertise, and "there are times when a director or another curator wants to propose a work from the region. There's so much expertise at Tate, it's not necessarily impulsive. The other curators—like me—travel widely and see lots of art from around the globe. They may be thinking about the collection in a different way than I might be thinking about it", explained Michael Wellen (2022).

Object Title and date	Artist	Acquisition date	Credit Line
Rails, 1950	André Carneiro	2008	Gift of Ella Fontanals-Cisneros
Trabalhando no céu, 1950	Dalmo Teixeira Filho	2008	Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery, courtesy of Ella Fontanals Cisneros
Formas, 1950	Eduardo Salvatore	2008	
Tentáculos de Ferro, 1950	José Yalenti	2008	
Arquitetura no.7, 1957	José Yalenti	2008	
Equilibrio, 1951	Osmar Peçanha	2008	
Estrutura-Catedral, 1954	Paulo Pires	2008	
Abstração (São Paulo), 1949	Geraldo de Barros	2010	Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery, courtesy of the Latin American Acquisitions Committee and Susana and Ricardo Steinbruch
Sem títlo (São Paulo) Composição II, 1949	Geraldo de Barros	2010	
Sem título (Fios telegráficos), c. 1950	Geraldo de Barros	2010	Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery, courtesy of the Latin American Acquisitions Committee
Granada, Spain, 1951	Geraldo de Barros	2010	
Mediunico, 1952	Gaspar Gasparian	2014	Lent by the Tate Americas Foundation, courtesy of the Latin American Acquisitions Committee
Triplice, 1958	Gaspar Gasparian	2014	
Horizontal 2, 1981-3	Claudia Andujar	2015	
Vertical 8, 1981-3	Claudia Andujar	2015	
Calçadão, c. 1977-8	Claudio H. Feliciano	2016	
Ghost City, c. 1960	Ivo Ferreira da Silva	2016	
Parking, c. 1950	José Yalenti	2016	
B5, c. 1965	Roberto Marconato	2016	
Dispute, c. 1966	Roberto Marconato	2016	
Empossamento (series, #1 to #10), 2003	Mauro Restiffe	2007	Purchased using funds provided by the Outset / Frieze Art Fair Fund to benefit the Tate Collection
Mining, Brazil, 1986	Sebastião Salgado	2009	Accepted by HM Government in lieu of inheritance tax from the Estate of Barbara Lloyd and allocated to Tate
The Gold Mine, Brazil, 1986	Sebastião Salgado	2009	

8.B – List of photographs by artists from Brazil in Tate's collection, detailing the year of acquisition and respective credit line.

Eduardo Kac and holography

The acquisition of works by Eduardo Kac (b. 1962, Rio de Janeiro) is also an example of combining expertise at Tate. Kac is a pioneer in the fields of net art and technology, an artist "[m]otivated by new techno-cultural advances and possibilities in modern life, Kac has spent years learning about optics, molecular biology and genetics in relation to creativity, art and poetry" (Lopez-Fernandez, 2011, p. 431). Tate has three works by Kac: *Reabracadabra*, *Tesão* (*Horny)* and *D|eu|S* (*De|I|ty)*. The first two were purchased in 2018 by TAF through LAAC and provided to Tate on a long-term loan, whereas the last was presented by the artist to Tate, also in 2018. The three pieces consist of Minitel animated poems that the artist exhibited, for the first time, in online shows between 1985 and 1986. These online exhibitions were Minitel art galleries organised with the support of Companhia Telefonica de São Paulo – a telephone operator company in Brazil. The Minitel "was a videotex online service accessible through telephone lines and was the world's most successful online service prior to the World Wide Web" (Minitel, 2022), which explains the involvement of a telephone company in these exhibitions.



8.20 – Still of Reabracadabra (*1985), Eduardo Kac, minitel ©Eduardo Kac*

Reabracadabra (see figure 8.20) presents a hypnotic word as a "cosmic monolith following the atomic model (with the vowel representing the nucleus and the consonants serving as orbiting particles)" (Kac, no date); in *Tesão*, Portuguese words designed in fine lines and masses of colour appear and disappear forming what the artist described as "ephemeral digital graffiti"; finally, *D|eu|S* presents a hidden message in the numbers and letters that form a barcode (Kac, no date). These works combine technology, internet, poetry and visual arts, reflecting Brazil's leading roles in net art. For Wellen, these examples were "very important for [Tate] to be considering and figuring out how to grapple with—not only for showing them to the public, but also for what it does internally within the institution and how it could prompt certain conversations that might not have been happening otherwise" (2022). The conversations Wellen refers to include research into 'The Lives of Net Art' as part of Tate's project *Reshaping the Collectible: When Artworks Live in the Museum*. This project reflects on artworks that challenge museum's practice of conservation, collecting, display and collection management due to their complex and ephemeral nature. Kac's Minitel works are an early example of net art, and for Tate it was an important acquisition because, as Wellen (2022) explained, "it places artists from Latin America at the front and centre of thinking about the history of technology and internet-based art".

I argue that the poetry of Eduardo Kac's Minitel works also shares similarities with concrete poetry, a tradition of Brazilian written and visual arts that emerged in the 1950s. This avant-garde movement is characterised by the rhythmic visualisation of paronomasia, that is, playing with words with similar sounds. Poets of this movement were interested in the use of space – such as that within the bounds of a piece of paper – to break with traditional poetry. It is a movement that emerged from post-war abstraction, and one that emphasised the visual elements of poetry and their significance alongside or in relation to verbal meaning. Tate holds a significant collection of Brazilian concrete poetry artworks by Augusto de Campos (b. 1931), Décio Pignatari (1927-2012), Edgard Braga (1897-1985), Haroldo de Campos (1929-2003), José Lino Grünewald (1931-2000) and Pedro Xisto (1901-1987), purchased in 2013 by Tate Members and presented to the gallery. These acquisitions are all linked to the geometric abstract production of the post-war period, which in Brazil was also expressed through the concrete and neconcrete movements.

Tunga

In 2018, Tate acquired a piece by Tunga (1952-2016), an artist whose work the institution had been interested in acquiring for a long time prior to this (Guerrero 2020; Wellen 2022). *Trança* (*Braid*, figure 8.21) was purchased by Tate Americas Foundation, with assistance from the Latin American Acquisitions Committee, and is currently on a long-term loan to Tate. Together with the work, Tate also became the keepers of Tunga's performance *Xifópagas Capilares Entre Nós*. Securing the rights to perform this score in the future was an important part of the negotiations, which according to Wellen were still ongoing at the time of our interview. As Wellen commented, "We have the score, we can perform it, and we can lend it and help preserve and share that work. It plays into the strength that Tate has already started to make with a focus on performance and live art "(2022). The long wait for the acquisition of one of his works was related to the dynamics of the art market and increase of prices that occurs when an artist passes away. Tunga died in 2016, and in this context, Guerrero told me that Tate was "trying to be strategic with that. When we got *Trança* (…) we also found a way to include the right to the performance in the acquisition proposal" (Guerrero, 2020).

For Wellen (2022), Tunga's acquisition was also important because he was "one of those figures that had strong international relationships, across the UK, Europe, and Latin America, transmitting ideas and challenging the places where they were. Tunga was so pivotal in that way. Both the contemporary figure who broke from the expectations and the constructivist side of Brazilian art and who started to bring in narrative and the metaphysical." In *Trança*, the artist braided the material of lead into a long sculptural plaited tress. When displayed at Tate between 2018 and 2019, the room's introductory panel highlighted Tunga's interest in the "transformation of materials and the magical properties of hair" (Wellen, Morán, 2018). This work is part of a series of other braided objects made by the artist, and its sculptural quality is challenged by the multiple ways in which *Trança* can be displayed – as a long snake on the floor or climbing up a wall. The work becomes a live object and not a static sculpture. If Camargo's work was something in between painting and sculpture, Tunga's creation lies in between the inherent material qualities of the object and the transformative possibilities of sculpture.

8.21 – Trança *(c. 1983), Tunga, lead, 1200 × 11 × 6 cm ©Tate*

Tunga's fascination with hair emerged from reading scientific journals about Siamese twins who were joined by their hair (Brett, 1989). Tunga turned this fascination into objects and a performance, which can be seen in *Xifópagas Capilares entre Nós*: two girls walking around linked by their braided hair. Tunga brings not only the scientific research on Siamese twins to this work, but also the Nordic mythical story of twin girls connected by the hair that caused "discomfort and conflict in their village" (Tate, room label). As beautifully described by Brett (1989): "All in all, Tunga's installations heighten tensions between order and chaos in a way which rebounds on our habitual ways of designating, delineating and separating portions of reality" (no page).

Tunga's works also heighten attention to the experimental character of Brazilian art of the 1950s and 1960s. Venancio (2015) observed that the artistic production of this period is marked by objects that "forge a new, specific, self-determining, polymorphic and heterogenous identity" (p. 53). As seen in Chapter 2, the turn to the *object* emerged in the post-war artistic practice, which related to the emergence of a consumerist society that turns everything, including art, into commodities. The acquisition of Tunga's works can be justified by assessing their significance within Tate's already existing holdings. Tunga's practice dialogues with both broader, global trends and with a local (i.e., Brazilian) art history. For Wellen (2022), these relations mean that Tate "brought both formal and conceptual approaches that reshaped notions around contemporary sculpture. I wanted the collection to able to show their work in relation to each other." Other Brazilian artists in Tate's collection that share similar

features are Jac Leirner (b. 1961) and Ernesto Neto (b. 1964), who despite being from a different generation is also placed within this genealogy.

Going transnational

Although the model of collecting via Acquisitions Committees dedicated to geographical locations is still in place at Tate, another glance at their most recent Annual Reports reveals a shift towards a *transnational* strategy. In other words, it is a strategy that is no longer concerned with geographical borders or types of media. Efforts to build an international collection are also observed in initiatives such as the creation of the *Hyundai Tate Research Centre: Transnational - New Perspectives on Global Art Histories* in 2019. This Centre was established with the vision "to redefine Tate's existing collection of art and offer new perspectives on global art histories" and to "expand Tate's existing commitment to developing its collections and programmes beyond Western Europe and North America" (Tate, no date7). Although the work of this Centre is not the subject of analysis of this thesis, its vision seems oddly placed in 2019, when efforts for such a commitment had already commenced two decades earlier. A transnational perspective that focuses on the circulation of peoples, ideas, and objects, seems to benefit a collecting practice that still favours a Western art history perspective, instead of challenging it. As seen in the acquisitions analysed thus far, the commitment in expanding the collection to other geographies was accompanied by an interest in artworks that can still be understood within the same Western practice.

Moreover, whereas the 2014-2015 report brings matters of gender to the front by showing that "Tate has been building the representation of female artists in the collection" (p.16), the 2018-2019 report reinforces their aims in broadening the "canons of gender, geography, and media, prioritising perceived gaps in the collection. We will also seek more work from LGBTQ+ artists and Indigenous artists." (p. 19). The most recent report for 2019-2020 points out Tate's priority in increasing their "holdings of work by women, LGBTQIA+ artists, minority artists and artists of colour across the British and international collections" (p. 11). If in 2000 the geographical bias assessment of the collection was addressed by turning attention firstly to Latin American art, Tate's collecting activity throughout the years accompanied debates widely present in contemporary society – as indicated by the references to genre, race and indigenous issues.

One of Tate's most recently acquired Brazilian artworks echoes this context. In 2020, three drawings by Paulo Nazareth (b. 1977, Governador Valadares) were purchased with funds provided by the 2019 Frieze Tate Fund supported by Endeavor to benefit Tate's collection. This series bears the title *Images that are already in the world* (*a funeral procession for one man and one woman black, who were lynched in 1946 by white racists people*, see figure 8.22), and Nazareth named this work in English. The grammar mistakes in the title (whether deliberate or not) do not interfere with the interpretation of these drawings. Nazareth is explicitly addressing the subject of racism and racial conflict, in both his written words and the figurative forms he has drawn, which are based on photographs of real events (Brown, 2019). The artist is not just inviting us to reflect on these themes: he forces us to confront an issue that is *already in the world*. It is nothing new.

8.22 – Images that are already in the world (a funeral procession for one man and one woman black, who were lynched in 1946 by white racists people) *(2019), Paulo Nazareth, watercolour and graphite on paper, masking tape, 16 × 23.6 cm, 16 × 23.5 cm, 167 × 21 cm © Stevenson Gallery*

The first drawing shows a group of people carrying a coffin, leaving a building, and heading towards the street. The scene takes place among green vegetation and a bright blue sky is painted with large strokes of crayon on paper. In the second drawing, a hearse has its back doors open, waiting for the casket to be loaded. They walk in the direction of the large, black vehicle, which is parked in front of a house where other figures are standing by the door watching the scene from a distance. At the bottom of this drawing, Nazareth places the text *Examining the African way to the Burial*, that functions as a subtitle for the event depicted. Finally, the third piece also presents a caption that reads *African Burial Customs*. Here, faceless figures are dressed in white with the exception of one character who is portrayed in a

blue garment. They are all placed around the coffin. These drawings are individually glued with masking tape onto a slightly larger paper. When displayed at Frieze London in 2019, they were not framed but pinned directly onto the wall (see figure 8.22). It is as if the artist is defying institutional museological and conservation practices with the way he cares about the physicality and display of the artwork. Nazareth uses cheap material, such as masking tape and paper pins, to compose this object – which now belongs to the collection of one of the most well-known and respected art galleries in the world.

Tate's interest in acquiring Nazareth's work, according to Wellen, lies in the artist's approach to several areas of interest and research, such as Afro-Brazilian histories and black diaspora. As Wellen (2022) explained, "He is one of those figures that has been so dynamic to talking about the history of black experience and indigenous experience within Brazil and connecting it transatlantically to Africa. Various curators at Tate have been looking at his work for a while". Thus, Nazareth's works have been chosen not because of the artist's nationality *per se,* but because of transnational and transatlantic connections that relate to Nazareth's birthplace, Brazil, but transcend geographical borders. Nazareth is of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous descent, but his practice is as much about his personal story as a black person as it is about any other black person's story. The racial and colonial violence presented in these drawings can create a dialogue with stories taking place globally. For Guerrero (2020), this underlines a non-autonomy characteristic of artworks "in the sense that they do not control the one narrative once they're done". Paulo Nazareth's practice fits in with this idea of works that might address aspects of specific national history but whose scope is transcendental to other narratives – and therefore becomes transnational, or borderless.

This acquisition occurred in parallel to an increased interest in Afro-Brazilian and black diaspora histories on the part of institutions in Brazil. In 2018, MASP (Museu de Arte de São Paulo) organised the exhibition *Afro-Atlantic Histories,* which aimed to create dialogues "around the visual cultures of Afro-Atlantic territories – their experiences, creations, worshiping and philosophy" (MASP, 2018). Artists from the sixteenth to the twenty first century were displayed in this show – including Nazareth. As rightly observed by Guerrero, the interest in these *other* histories is inserted in this current moment "where you see that most of this cultural elite was (…) marginalising another art history that is now being considered. But the thing is that now it is being considered simultaneously with the market" (2020). It is an inclusivity that is still accompanied by the logic embedded in the colonial matrix of power through the validation that occurs first via the art market.

Conclusion

Tate's initial years of addressing the geographical bias of their collection and increasing the representation of art from Latin America resulted, in relation to Brazilian art, in acquisitions of a body of work representative of the 90s contemporary art scene and of historical and well-established artists of the mid-twentieth century. The networks involved in these acquisitions correspond to both the networks of curators taking part in developing a collecting strategy and to actors that were either directly involved with artists or that played a decisive role in placing Latin American art in the map of UK art milieu, such as Brett and Ades. Alongside this more UK-*local* networks, there was also the fundamental role of Latin American-*local* actor, one played by Cuauhtémoc Medina, in conceptualising, shaping, and putting into place Tate's first collecting strategy for Latin American art, together with the founding members of LAAC. The knowledge that emerged from the acquisition choices made by these actors and networks reinforces a particular genealogy of Brazilian art history. The placement of this same genealogy onto a broader art historical narrative in turn validates not the history of art from Brazil *per se*, but the history of the Brazilian art from the 1950s and the 1960s, particularly the neo-concretism movement. Many of the contemporary artists acquired are considered as heirs of this neo-concrete tradition, limiting the knowledge of Brazil's art history to a group of artists representative to this same practice.

If the historical artworks acquired create a chronological link with the strain of post-war modern art that was already present in Tate's collection, the choice of contemporary artists reflect a desire to validate this same art historical chronology but with a focus on the *present*. This is linked to Medina's proposal of showing a real commitment to increasing the representation of Latin American art in Tate's collection by building a narrative that focused on this particular movement – Neoconcretismo – its heirs, and its transnational and global connection to other artistic practices. The latter is manifested through what Wellen referred to as "representation without ownership", that is, exhibitions and in-gallery displays such as the room *A view from São Paulo: Abstraction and society*, where works by Oiticica, Clark, Camargo, and Leirner are shown side by side with works by *international* artists such as Fernand Léger, Max Bill, and Piet Mondrian. This reflects also Tate's *Transnational* approach to displaying and collecting art, as seen previously.

Conclusion

I have argued throughout this thesis that analysing actors, factors, and networks involved in museums' acquisitions allows for understanding the motivations behind those institutions' decisions to collect specific artworks. I have also contended that developing a methodological model that singles out actors and that traces their assembly process, thus highlighting the networks they are part of, contributes to understanding how new art canons are established and/or how old ones are sustained. Particularly, I focused on the actors and networks that participated in acquisitions of art from Brazil by public collections in the UK. Based on the premise that museums hold agency as producers of knowledge and contributors to the process of canon formation, this thesis has also examined the impact of this collecting activity on art historical discourse about Brazilian art. Through two case studies and comprehensive data collection, I investigated whether this collecting practice has contributed to expanding the art historical knowledge of Brazilian art. The urge to investigate these issues, through these premises, lies in the argument that museums are institutions belonging to the colonial matrix of power. For that reason, their activity must be scrutinised in order to challenge the narratives they produce.

The thesis' methodological framework was based on the idea of deconstructing entities, be that an acquisition, a museum or a canon, by drawing from Actor-Network Theory and decolonial theory. These theoretical approaches have allowed me to reflect on how entities are formed, and to challenge knowledge production and the Eurocentric perspective of art history reflected by and in the work of museums. These arguments were substantiated by comprehensive data collection and evidence that demonstrated, from the general to the particular, patterns of collecting activity and museum acquisition practices. Both the theoretical framework and methods of data collection contributed to reflections about the crucial need to consider different worldviews and ways of knowing, not only in this thesis, but also in the work developed by museum professionals. After all, singling out actors operating in acquisitions brings to the fore the obvious, but easily ignored, fact that museums are institutions made of people, and it is these people who set the rules. The apparent disregard of this fact is related to our inability in observing the networks in which actors act, as pointed out by Latour and Law, since we commonly only pay attention to the inputs and outputs of institutions.

To conclude this project, I return to the research questions presented in the Introduction, reflecting on the outcomes of this research as well as its contributions and limitations. I will also outline areas for future research that emerged from this investigation.

Reasons and influences

When I walked through Tate Modern's galleries in Autumn 2016 and observed that more artworks from Brazil were being displayed among their permanent collections, I did not expect that this observation would lead me on journey of discovering and reflecting upon the agency of museums and their collecting practices and worldviews. After noticing these objects, my initial questioning emerged due to professional training in art history and museum studies and personal connections with Brazil. This curiosity resulted in the first two research questions I aimed to address, which asked: *Why do public museums and galleries in the UK collect Brazilian art? And who and what influences the decision-making process to acquire Brazilian art in public collections in the UK?*

Complex questions result in intricate answers. The evidence gathered to address these issues revealed the need to single out actors and networks responsible for collecting practices and to consider broader events and factors that influence the work developed by museum professionals. Having more actors and networks promoting art from Brazil in the UK is a direct response to a questioning of the Eurocentric perspectives of the art historical narrative, influenced by Marxist, feminist, and post-colonial theories since the 1970s. More recently, calls to decolonise museums and collections have brought the role of the museum as a "house of knowledges" (Mignolo, 2013) to the forefront, thus contributing to further rethinking of these institutions' responsibility for producing knowledge.

The first wave of criticism about the Eurocentric perspective of museums contributed to the expansion of collecting practices of artists from outside the Western Europe-North American centres. This research has shown, however, that the Brazilian artists and artworks that public collections became interested in were those able to directly dialogue with modern and contemporary Western practice. This initial expansion of the art historical narrative has opened up space for new geographies of art, but it is also evident now that this act was still limited by the understanding that actors working in Western centres could possibly have of *alternative* artistic practices. Given that both the discipline of art history and the

work developed by museums are the product of the West, these limitations can be understood to be historical.

The artists and artistic movements from Brazil that have gained prominent space in the UK (and other centres), as outlined in Chapter 2, have profound connections with Western centres. Here I refer to movements such as Neoconcretismo and Tropicalismo, and artists including Hélio Oiticica, Lygia Clark, Mira Schendel, and Sérgio de Camargo. These artists' practice and their life paths connect them to Europe, in general, and the UK, in particular. They were introduced to London audiences via Signals in the 1960s. Guy Brett, who contributed to Signals, became a key-actor from that period onwards in promoting, researching and advocating for art from Latin America in the UK. In addition to publications, he was directly involved in many exhibitions that featured artists from Brazil (Hélio Oiticica at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1969; *Art in Latin America* at Hayward Gallery in 1989; *Transcontinental* in 1990). He also contributed, alongside actors from ESCALA, to the work that Tate would develop in this field, as seen in Chapter 4. As such, Signals and Brett have contributed, since the 1960s, to placing certain artists and movements at the core of a genealogy of contemporary art from Brazil.

Moreover, it is also evident that acquisitions of art from Brazil occur because many actors contributing to collecting practices circulate in art milieux influenced by a market consensus. Here I refer not necessarily to the role of commercial art galleries per se, but instead to private collectors who populate the black boxes of museum acquisition processes, as seen in Chapter 4 and in the two case studies. ESCALA was initiated by a donation made by a private collector, Charles Cosac, who presented the University of Essex with an artwork by Siron Franco – an artist of whose work Cosac is an enthusiastic collector. This initial act unfolded through many other donations connected to the networks Cosac had already established locally in Brazil through his private collecting practice. He was then, and continues to be, an active actor in that country's artistic milieu. The involvement of private collectors with Tate reaches different levels, amongst which is a practice central to this thesis, namely their patronage as members of the Latin America Acquisitions Committee. The payment of a membership fee provides them with the right, and power, to vote for acquisitions that are proposed by Tate's curators. Further cases emerging through this research have demonstrated the role played by actors such as collectors or researchers in acquisition practices at other museums. In Chapter 3, for example, I outlined acquisitions effected since the 1950s at the British Museum, which arose from the context of experts collecting objects while in fieldwork in Brazil.

A further look into each case study reveals other reasons for and influences on these acquisitions. ESCALA's decision to acquire artworks from Brazil can be grouped into two reflections. The first connects to practical motivations associated with the teaching and research of art from Latin America at the University of Essex, as seen in Chapters 4 and 5. The lack of Latin American art collections in the UK at that time together with the need and desire for having physical objects to be used in the classroom contributed to the establishment of ESCALA. Nonetheless, the desire was met when Cosac proposed a donation to Dawn Ades, triggering a series of events that resulted in the first public collection of art from Latin America in Europe. Pérez-Barreiro categorically argued that had Cosac not been there, there would be no collection. This conjunction of factors is part of a series of events that are cumulative rather than being linear and isolated: the reputation already established by Essex as a centre of expertise on Latin American art in the UK, consolidated by Ades's organisation of the major exhibition *Art in Latin America,* led Cosac to study at the University of Essex. Secondly, the University of Essex interest in the advancing studies on Latin America was also a response to events of its own time, such as the appeal from the UK Government in the 1960s to expand the knowledge of that geographical region in light of a geopolitical shift that placed then Latin America in the political agenda.

As for Tate, increasing its collecting activity of art from Brazil is a direct consequence of the creation of Tate Modern. The assessment of the collection stressed a strong geographical bias that until late 1990s favoured mostly British Art. The international collection was largely composed of French and American art. As such, it was concluded that Tate's holdings did not match the Tate Modern project. The presence of Latin Americanists in the UK, including the expertise developed at the University of Essex and by ESCALA and Guy Brett, contributed to bringing this geographical region to the forefront of the expansion of Tate's collection. As a macro-actor, Tate was aware of its role in contributing to canon formation and put in place strategies to address these issues. It relied on networks already present in UK but expanded these via the creation of the role of Adjunct Curator, which introduced – on a *pro rata* basis - the figure of Latin American expert art to their staff.

In distinction to the first wave of criticising the Eurocentric perspective of museums, current debates about decolonising museums and collections have begun to open paths that were previously not considered by art museums in the UK: that of collecting artworks and artists who do not conform with the Western paradigm of modernity. In other words, the influence of Decolonial Theory in museums has resulted in the incorporation of other worldviews and artists of indigenous heritage in collections such as Tate. An example analysed in Chapter 8 was the acquisition of works by Paulo Nazareth in 2019.

Nazareth navigates the worlds of being a Brazilian artist of both African and indigenous descent. The presence of his work within the collection of a macro-actor such as Tate exerts an influence on the professional field, as it provides an example of how museums respond to the influence of theories that no longer accept a Eurocentric worldview as the only valid entity or narrative.

However, it would be unfair to present an argument in which the merit of expanding collecting practice to other worldviews lies only to the institution's willingness to shift their own approach to collecting and art history. As I argued in Chapter 5, the increased interest in artistic production by non-Western actors – such as indigenous artists – is also the result of the consistent activism performed by those artists. Terena (2019) observed that the advance of and access to communication tools provided indigenous artists with a platform by which their ideas can be shared, and their voices heard, without the need to rely on colonial structures, such as the museum or the art market. The latter are, evidently, not immune to those actions. As such, an analysis of how these influences reach museums and are responded to by them is both urgent and necessary.

An interest in art from Latin America was the result of revisions made from a Western perspective, and this was accompanied by collecting activity instigated by actors operating in networks benefitting from Eurocentric and Western ways of living, being and knowing. This is exemplified by having private art collectors at the centre of decisions within museums, which at Tate occurs via their Latin American Acquisition Committee, and at ESCALA was part of its initial formation. Abiding to criticisms that challenge the colonial position of museums has not yet dismantled the 'colonial matrix of power' represented by museums' acquisition black boxes, because acquisitions operate in the logic of a system that composes that same matrix. In that sense, responding to the questioning of Eurocentric perspective of art history to expand collections allowed museums to include only a fraction of the art being created in Brazil (and elsewhere). In this regard, the objects collected respond to particular interests – that of expanding art historical narratives – but are also embedded in a narrative that finds common ground with a Western perspective of art history (or that of tradition). As argued before, calls to decolonise museums and collections signal to a shift in this paradigm that may open horizons for future research.

Actors and networks

The third and fourth research questions interrogated *which institutions in the UK are collecting Brazilian art, by which artists and how?,* and *who are the main actors and networks involved in acquisitions of Brazilian art by public museums the UK?* Positing these questions contributed to the analysis of those addressed previously. This interrogation was approached through a quantitative strategy of data collection that produced one of the original contributions of this project, namely The Survey of Brazilian art in the UK. This survey was a nuanced method that provided noteworthy data, used for singling out different actors involved in acquisitions of art from Brazil. This questionnaire also allowed for Brazilian art in the UK to be mapped (see figures 0.3 and 3.2) and for patterns of collecting practices, including timeframe, institutions, artists, methods of acquisitions and types of objects, to be identified. Through comprehensive data collection, I was able to pinpoint the main actors and networks of this collecting activity and verify its limitations, as seen in Chapter 3.

It became clear from the data collected through the survey that an increased interest in art from Brazil relates to the creation of ESCALA in 1993, and continued to expand with the opening of Tate Modern and the establishment of Tate's Latin American Acquisitions Committee, in the early 2000s. If initially the collecting practice at ESCALA was guided by the actors involved in teaching and research at the University of Essex, Tate's subsequent period of collecting contributed to a shift by which acquisitions of art from Brazil came to be influenced by art market consensus.

The institutions who hold art from Brazil which emerged from the survey vary in size and collecting aims, demonstrating that this area of collecting activity can be both informed by strategic policies and also take place for circumstantial and *ad hoc* reasons. Patterns of collecting activity observed in the data revealed the most and least popular numbers of different actors, such as the most collected artists. These numbers, however, need to be carefully analysed and interplayed with other figures. As seen in Chapter 3, Sebastião Salgado, who is the most collected artist by number of artworks in the UK, is mostly found in one collection, Glasgow Museums. This case alludes to the limitations of quantitative methods, and data analysis using mode measurement, that is, a measurement that considers the most and least popular figures in a dataset. Nonetheless, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first time a survey of holdings of Brazilian art in the UK has been undertaken. This not only contributed to the results of this research project, but it has also opened a path for future research. My aim is to make this data available for other researchers to access and potentially add to in the future.

The actors identified from this data collection, together with archive research and interviews, allowed me to construct network diagrams that served as visual aids to the analysis of ESCALA and Tate acquisitions. A lesson learned from considering actors and networks as a method is that this can become an endless task. There is always a new piece of information, a newly identified actor, a new fact revealed either from the archives or interviews with actors involved in the acquisition that can be added to these connections, increasing their entanglement. ESCALA's network helped to identify the key role played by Cosac as liaison to many acquisitions, whether direct or indirect (see figure 6.17). Tate's network diagram, on the other hand, allowed me to observe the non-linearity characteristic of time: despite having organised them chronologically by acquisition date, the crisscrossing of lines demonstrates how the interest in the artistic production from Brazil has shifted in this period (see figure 6.18).

Art canons and knowledge production

The final research question I aimed to answer asked whether *acquisitions of Brazilian art by public museums in the UK contributed to a shift and/or expansion of the art historical narrative and canon of art from Brazil.* This question emerged from a reflection about the agency of museums as key-actors contributing to knowledge and the art historical narrative. This agency is executed through different activities, amongst which, I argue, collecting practices stand out because objects collected and chosen to be preserved for perpetuity become material evidence for the practice of art history (Knell, 2019).

To answer this question, I reviewed the processes by which Brazilian art was internationalised and canonised, by drawing on studies that have identified key actors responsible for the institutionalisation of specific artists and artistic movements – as presented in Chapter 2. The few studies in this area (Labra, 2014, 2017; Fialho, 2006) have confirmed the artistic movements from Brazil, including Modernist Antropofagia, Neoconcretismo, and Tropicalismo, that have entered broader historical narratives. Their canonisation occurred through exhibitions and collecting practices by both private individuals and public institutions. Whereas this process first occurred through actors in the United States, the UK followed suit in institutionalising these same practices, thus evidencing the limitations of networks in an art milieu which constantly relies on the validation of macro-actors.

If the questioning of a Eurocentric perspective of art history through the lenses of Marxist, feminist, postcolonial and decolonial theories has contributed to the expansion of collecting practices, it is equally

important to investigate the outcome of this expansion and analyse whether it indeed resulted in an enlarged art historical narrative. The act of examining collecting practices is necessary in order to verifying to what extent such questioning has actually impacted the work of museums. In this regard, I contend that the activity of collecting Brazilian art in the UK has only contributed to the consolidation of an already established canon that has developed since the late 1980s. This argument is also based on the fact that the data collected through the survey showed that an increasing interest in art from Brazil in the UK peaked from the mid-1990s, albeit through the work of ESCALA, an institution that was not collecting the artworks that came to be canonised then. The process of deconstructing acquisitions at ESCALA and Tate has shown that despite the limitations of networks, they can be heterogenous and will behave differently according to the macro-actor into which they are assembled.

In the case of ESCALA, and although it is well-known that the global art system operates through networks and personal or professional relationships, breaking down these networks and identifying the actors involved in acquisitions allowed me to expose how decisions relied on neither trends nor direct art market influence. On the contrary, my argument revealed that it was precisely due to a reliance on personal networks and donations – operating globally and foremost at local levels – that ESCALA acquired a group of objects that represents a more comprehensive and honest picture of artistic practice in Brazil. These networks resulted in a collection that did challenge an established art canon by considering objects and artists that are not (yet or no longer) sought by the art market. Nonetheless, this is also consequence of relying on donations as the main acquisition method throughout its formative period, which limited choice of acquisition. This has nevertheless played out as an advantage in terms of what ESCALA now offers as art historical knowledge: the type of advantage, I argue, that a smaller and specialised collection has but one that tends to be overlooked in favour of collections with higher budgets that can purchase works by well-known and established artists.

Tate, on the other hand, only began to systematically collect artworks from Brazil following the opening of Tate Modern and an assessment of the geographical bias of its holdings. As a larger institution with more resources and larger networks, their black boxes are more complex than those of ESCALA. Tate was interested in artworks that could speak to the objects already found in their collections. As a consequence, the formation of a Brazilian art canon through their acquisition practice is based on established artists who produce more digestible objects, that is, artworks whose importance and meaning can be more easily comprehended by both those deciding to acquire them and museum audiences. In this sense, the art market is the entity that provides a consensus or rationale for an

acquisition decision that is also based on the work of other macro-actors involved in this process. This argument is reinforced, as mentioned previously, by the fact that its Latin American Acquisitions Committee is formed by members who are private art collectors themselves.

Future research

This research has opened paths for other areas of investigation, including the practice of collecting indigenous art and the decolonial turn in acquisitions; rethinking collection management systems and the narratives that remain absent from collections.

Collecting indigenous art and the decolonial turn in acquisition practice

Over half of the objects revealed by the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK are made by indigenous peoples, and the majority were acquired by the British Museum. Although these acquisitions were not analysed within the scope of this thesis, this subject deserves more careful consideration, especially in light of increased interest in contemporary artistic production by indigenous artists. As such, my investigation has signalled a need for future research towards revising how previously collected objects from indigenous communities are currently classified, cared for, and interpreted by museums. This observation also stemmed from a four-month Research Placement I undertook at the Santo Domingo Centre of Excellence for Latin American Research (SDCELAR) at the British Museum in 2021; this opportunity allowed me to observe its current collecting practices first-hand, which signalled an expansion of the British Museum's approach to narratives of both art and broader histories.

Analysing shifts in how objects are classified and categorised by museums is not a novel subject (see, for instance, Clifford, 1985, 1988, 1997; Kreps, 2003, 2011), but this is a process that demands constant reflection so that the knowledge produced by museums as colonial institutions can be consistently challenged. Objects taken to Europe or collected as a consequence of European colonialism were first classified as exotic and fetish-objects "to testify to the concrete reality of an earlier stage of human Culture, a common past confirming Europe's triumphant present" (Clifford, 1988, pp. 227-228), and were therefore not primarily collected for their aesthetic qualities. The classification and taxonomy of objects have changed throughout time. In the eighteenth-century, for instance, objects were

understood as either cultural artefacts (scientific) or works of art (aesthetics) – a classification system embedded in the two unconditional quests that the European Enlightenment was based on: the pursuit for scientific knowledge and rationality, and the search for eliminating what was unscientific and irrational (Sousa Santos, 2018). As such, this meant that something could be either a work of art that is praised aesthetically, or a cultural artefact that must be studied scientifically, but never both.

The question of how indigenous objects previously collected by museums are classified, cared for, and interpreted is timely due to the "indigenous [re]turn" in art history. In this, I refer to recently increased interest on the part of the global art system in contemporary indigenous artists, whose work is now being exhibited and collected by museums across the world. The sample collected through the Survey revealed that prior to the 1940s, only objects from indigenous communities were collected by institutions in the UK surveyed in this thesis. The "indigenous [re]turn" is a response, therefore, to the decolonial critique of museums. Museums and the art system more broadly are turning their attention to alternative art canons, and the art of indigenous communities is presently being taken to represent such an alternative.

A focus on and an interest in indigenous peoples' contemporary art practice has been particularly apparent (Esbell 2018, 2020; Berbert 2019), and I argue that this present interest in the contemporary should also be accompanied by a reflection on works that have been collected previously[82]. This is especially relevant considering the idea of kinship (Krenak, 2016) among indigenous communities, which deems relationships as essential and places less importance on individual authorship. Indigenous artist Jaider Esbell (2018, 2020) has argued that contemporary indigenous art can be made by an individual, but it is also a collective action. Thus, a feather headdress found at the British Museum, for instance, might not have the name of an individual person associated to it, only the community it originated from – which following the logic of kinship is what matters. Ailton Krenak (2016), a philosopher and

[82] In January 2022, I attended in São Paulo the conference 'Motion: Migrations' organised by CIHA (International Committee of Art History). Brazilian indigenous artist Denilson Baniwa delivered a key-note speech in which he proposed an 'indigenous art history' that differs from the 'white Western' one. Although it might seem like a contradictory argument because art history is a Western discipline, Baniwa's idea is based on the fact that his community, Baniwa, wishes to having open channels of communication with everyone around them with the aim of understanding the other. He proposes to write this indigenous art history through a 'ReAntropofagia perspective', which is the inverted process of Andrade's Antropofagia. In his proposal, the indigenous people are claiming back the narrative and imaginary constructed by white people about them. "ReAntropofagia is the reclaim of our own image", explained Baniwa (2022).

indigenous movement leader of the Krenak peoples, also explained that among indigenous communities there is no separation between living and making art:

> "Everyone I know dances, sings, paints, draws, sculpts, does everything that the West attributes to a category of people, which are the artists. But in some cases, they are called artisans and their works are called handicrafts, but, again, they are categories that discriminate what is art, what is craft, what is an artist, what is a craftsman. Because art history is the art history of the West. (...) Now, cretins, who want to demarcate borders between worlds, think that indigenous peoples produce artifacts, and that an artist or someone who has earned that title produces art." (Cesarino, Krenak, 2016, p. 182, translated by the author)

The primitive art category that emerged with modernism in the twentieth century may have challenged the ways objects made outside the West were classified and recognised within Western institutions, but it did not dismantle dichotomies - such as art/artefact, scientific/aesthetic, good/bad - imposed by centuries of Western domination. The identification of works such as indigenous feather headdresses among the objects included in the scope of the survey, signals the importance of investigating and rethinking the knowledge previously produced about these objects (even if they were not collected as objects of art in the first instance) with a view towards impacting contemporary collecting practices.

Collection management systems

Undertaking this research also led me to reflect on how museums' collection management systems (CSM) are implemented, used, and updated. The first phase of this research involved collecting details about art from Brazil in public collections while relying on information available on museum websites. This proved challenging because it became clear that the information made available was limited to what an institution is willing to share; decides to catalogue, or is knowledgeable about. Further investigation on how museums currently manage their collections in face of new technologies and the need to have more open channels with their audiences could benefit those working in the sector.

Absent collections

Following the data collected, I analysed both acquisitions of and the narratives about art from Brazil found in collections in the UK in general and within ESCALA and Tate, in particular. I opted to pay attention to the actors, factors and networks that have contributed to acquisitions. Building on this research, an alternative and innovative approach would be to consider the voices, narratives, peoples,

and objects that are absent from these existing narratives. Thus, by identifying what museums have, I have contributed to a first step for future research that could investigate alternative networks and actors.

Limitations of this research

Despite the criticism towards quantitative research methods in the field of art history (Bishop, 2018), the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK has nevertheless permitted an assessment of museum's present collecting activity. Despite the nuanced and thorough process by which this survey was designed it still presented certain limitations. Firstly, not every institution selected to participate replied to the questionnaire. In total, out of the 515 museums contacted, over half (54%) responded to the survey. Due to the lack of an official and systematically updated list of museums in the UK, there is a possibility that public museums who hold Brazilian art were left out of the selected list of participants. Another limitation of gathering quantitative data is the fact that it can rapidly become outdated, such as when new acquisitions are undertaken. Nonetheless, the dataset has the potential to serve as a working document, one which can be updated and one from which future research and further analysis can be drawn.

This research included in-depth analysis of two institutions, and analysing other museums and patterns emerging from the survey could also have benefited this project. The constraints of a single PhD thesis, however, compounded by the restrictions caused by the Covid-19 Pandemic, permitted focused analysis of two cases, and the two chosen were those which emerged as the two main institutions collecting modern and contemporary Brazilian art. The similarity of their holdings' scope and collecting strategies, together with the role they played in defining collecting practices of art from Latin America in the UK, justified this choice. As an art historian, I consider the act of seeing artworks in the flesh, and being aware of an objects' materiality, to contribute to my overall understanding of them. As such, the case studies could also benefit from visiting both collections in question. Although I was able to visit ESCALA's holdings, the same was not possible for Tate, where I was only able to see Brazilian artworks that are currently on public display. Finally, would time and scope allow it, this research could have benefited from further interviews with actors involved in acquisitions, in addition to accessing documentation about acquisitions to which I did not have access. However, tracing networks is a continuous process that does not reach any defined end point for which a certain cut off point needs to be imposed.

Post-Script. Autumn 2022

In May 2021, I organised the event *Art Museums and Contemporary Collecting Practices*[83], inviting researchers and practitioners to reflect on issues relating to museums' collecting activity. Contemporary was understood as both acquiring contemporary artworks or the collecting practices undertaken by museums *now.* One of the event's speakers, Lucy Bayley, emphasised the need to practice slowness to carefully consider the conditions in which art is produced. This is relevant, Bayley argued, to make "visible the gap between labour value, the aesthetic or financial value of the work" (2021). By slowing down, which is part of the requirement of surveys such as the one implemented in this thesis, we gain the opportunity to learn and reflect how and why we make the decisions we do – instead of the continuous autopilot mode that leads to the repetition of the same patterns.

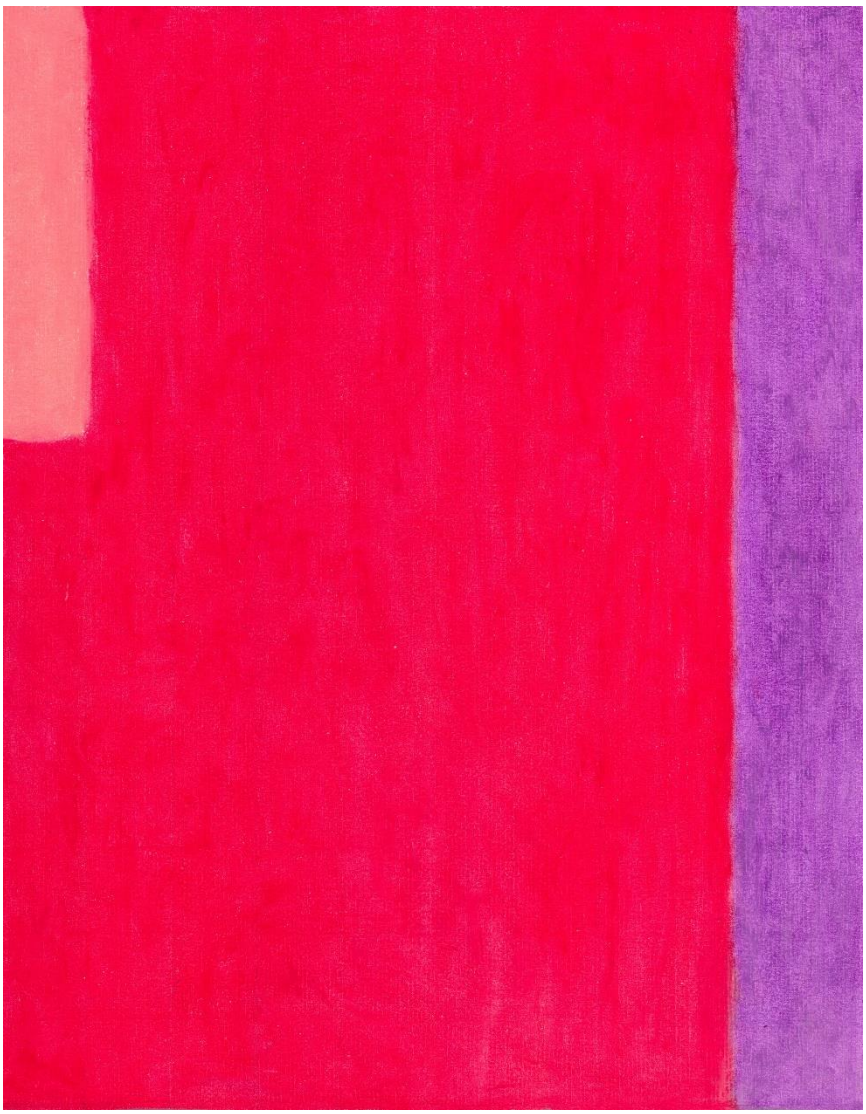
Bayley also reflected on making visible what is invisible in relation to the hierarchy of knowledge within museums, and this observation is one that also concerns with the networks identified in this thesis. Space is given to experts as the holders of the truth; curatorial teams and private collectors, in addition to scholars, are placed on the top of this hierarchy. What if museums considered other stakeholders, including their audiences, when making the decision about what to acquire? Is this a utopian alternative acquisition practice or a feasible one? Slowing down, and comprehensive data collection, together with deepening analysis through qualitative methods allows for reflecting on the limitations of our own networks and can signal towards paths to expand these same networks. The result is the expansion of art historical narrative and the acceptance and welcoming of other worldviews. Museums need to expand their networks if they want to ensure their collections are more diverse and inclusive.

While writing up the conclusion to this thesis, I returned to Tate Modern to revisit their permanent collection displays. Cildo Meireles' *Babel* remains in the same gallery as it was six years ago, although this artwork no longer features on the advertising banners outside the institution. Walking through those galleries now, and with knowledge of the full extent of Brazilian artworks in Tate's collection, led me to consider institutions' wider inability, or and lack of capacity, to display the works they hold. From

[83] The event was funded by AHRC M4C, and co-organised with Stacey Kennedy and Federica Mirra. Hosted online, it included presentations by Eleni Ganiti, curator at the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Athens (EMST) and PhD researcher at the School of Museum Studies (University of Leicester); Dr Lucy Bayley, then post-Doctoral researcher at Tate on the project 'Reshaping the Collectible: when artworks live in the museum'; and Nikita Gill, then curatorial trainee at the Institute of International Visual Arts (INIVA) and Manchester Art Gallery on the 'Future Collect' project. Full recording is available at: https://youtu.be/aaGfBa_SOTs. See Rodrigues (2021) for a summary of the ideas presented by the speakers.

the data gathered by the survey, I attempted to verify how many artworks, out of the total of 1488 in the database, were currently on display. The result is both alarming and entirely as expected. Only about five percent of these objects are exhibited by the institutions that took part in the survey.

The image that follows (see figure 9.1) visualises this invisible reality. The light pink rectangle refers to the five percent that are on display, and much large red one indicates the majority (over eighty percent) that are currently kept in museum stores (or on loan to other institutions). The purple margin refers to the remaining fifteen percent, for which I was unable to verify whether or not they were being exhibited. The situation this depicts, of museums holding more works than they can ever display to the public, raises questions about current collecting models that require as much consideration as those addressed by this thesis.



9.1 – Is it on display? (2022), Eloisa Rodrigues, pastel on paper ©Eloisa Rodrigues.

From the data collected through the survey, I verified whether the artworks from Brazil in the UK are on display. The conclusion is that 5% (in pink) are on display, over 80% in storage (red) and the remaining 15% I was unable to verify (in purple).

Appendix 1 – List of interviewees

Interviewee	Role	Date of interview
Sara Demelo	Curator at ESCALA	16/09/2020
Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro	Former and first Assistant Curator at ESCALA	24/09/2020
Inti Guerrero	Former Tate's Adjunct Curator of Latin American Art (at the time he still occupied the role)	05/10/2020
Cuauhtémoc Medina	Former and first Tate's Associate Curator of Latin American Art	07/10/2020
Daniel Schaeffer	Head of Development at Tate Americas Foundation	26/10/2021
Siron Franco	Artist, acted as donor to ESCALA	11/11/2021
Alex Gama	Artist, acted as donor to ESCALA	11/11/2021
Charles Cosac	Art collector, former student at the University of Essex and one of ESCALA's founders	20/11/2021
Prof Dawn Ades	ESCALA's first director, Professor Emeritus of art history and theory at the University of Essex	23/11/2021
Cildo Meireles	Artist, collected by Tate and ESCALA	26/11/2021
César Oiticica	Director of Projeto Hélio Oiticica	01/12/2021
Michael Wellen	Tate's Senior Curator, International Art	22/02/2022
Tanya Barson	Former Tate's Senior Curator, International Art	14/03/2022

Appendix 2 – List of museums contacted to answer to the Survey of Brazilian art in the UK

England	
Accrington	Haworth Art Gallery
Alnwick	Bailiffgate Museum
Alton	Curtis Museum and Allen Gallery
Ambleside	Armitt Museum and Library
Andover	Andover Museum
Ashburton	Ashburton Museum
Aylesbury	Buckinghamshire County Museum
Ballygate	Beccles and District Museum
Barnard Castle	Bowes Museum
Barnsley	Cooper Gallery
Barnstaple	Museum of Barnstaple & North Devon
Basingstoke	Willis Museum
Bath	Holburne Museum of Art
Bath	Victoria Art Gallery
Batley	Bagshaw Museum
Batley	Batley Art Gallery
Bedford	Cecil Higgins Art Gallery
Bedford	Higgins Art Gallery & Museum
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Berwick Gymnasium Gallery
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Berwick Museum & Art Gallery
Beverley	Beverley Art Gallery
Beverley	Treasure House
Bewdley	Bewdley Museum
Bexhill-on-Sea	Bexhill Museum
Bexhill-on-Sea	De La Warr Pavilion
Bideford	Burton Art Gallery and Museum
Bilston	Bilston Craft Gallery
Birchington-on-Sea	Powell-Cotton Museum
Birmingham	Barber Institute of Fine Arts
Birmingham	Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery
Birmingham	Birmingham Museums Trust / Museum Collections Centre
Birmingham	Research and Cultural Collections, University of Birmingham
Birmingham	Royal Birmingham Society of Artists Permanent Collection (RBSA)
Birmingham	Selly Manor Museum
Birmingham	Soho House Museum
Bishop Auckland	No. 42 Market Place
Bishop’s Stortford	Bishop’s Stortford Museum (Rhodes Arts Complex)

Blackburn	Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery
Blackpool	Grundy Art Gallery
Blickling	Blickling Hall
Bolton	Bolton Museum
Bolton	Bolton Museum and Art Gallery
Bourn	Wysing Arts Centre
Bournemouth	Bournemouth University Atrium Gallery
Bournemouth	Gallery at Arts University Bournemouth
Bournemouth	Museum of Design in Plastics
Bournemouth	Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum
Bowness-on-Windermere	Blackwell Arts and Crafts House
Bradford	Cartwright Hall
Braintree	Braintree Museum
Braintree	Warner Textile Archive
Bridgwater	Blake Museum
Bridport	Bridport Museum
Brighouse	Smith Art Gallery
Brighton	Brighton Museum & Art Gallery
Brighton	Fabrica
Broadway	Broadway Museum & Art Gallery
Burnley	Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museum
Bury	Bury Art Museum
Bushey	Bushey Museum
Buxton	Buxton Museum and Art Gallery
Calne	Calne Heritage Centre
Cambridge	Fitzwilliam Museum
Cambridge	Kettle's Yard
Cambridge	Museum of Cambridge
Cambridge	New Hall Art Collection
Cambridge	People's Portraits Exhibition
Cambridge	University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
Canterbury	Beaney Art Museum and Library and Beaney House of Art and Knowledge
Carlisle	Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery
Chelmsford	Chelmsford Museum
Cheltenham	Cheltenham Art Gallery And Museum: The Wilson
Chertsey	Chertsey Museum
Chester	Grosvenor Museum
Chesterfield	Chesterfield Museum and Art Gallery
Chichester	Otter Gallery, University of Chichester, Otter Gallery
Chichester	Pallant House Gallery

Chipping Campden	Court Barn
Chorley	Astley Hall Museum and Art Gallery
Christchurch	Red House Museum and Garden
Clifton	Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery
Clifton	Royal West of England Academy
Clitheroe	Clitheroe Castle
Colchester	Art Exchange
Colchester	ESCALA
Colchester	Firstsite
Colchester	Minories Art Gallery
Compton Verney	Compton Verney House
Coventry	Herbert Art Gallery and Museum
Coventry	University of Warwick Art Collection
Cranbrook	Cranbrook Museum
Crewkerne	Crewkerne and District Museum
Cromer	Cromer Museum
Dartford	Dartford Borough Museum
Dedham	Munnings Art Museum
Derby	Derby Museum and Art Gallery
Desborough	Desborough Museum
Devizes	Wiltshire Museum
Ditchling	Ditchling Museum of Art + Craft
Doncaster	Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery
Dorchester	Dorset County Museum
Dudley	Black Country Living Museum
Eastbourne	Towner
Egham	Royal Holloway, University of London Picture Gallery and Art Collections
Enfield Town	Enfield Museum Service
Esher	Elmbridge Museum
Exeter	Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery
Falmouth	Falmouth Art Gallery
Frome	Frome Museum
Gateshead	Shipley Art Gallery
Gloucester	Museum of Gloucester
Gloucester	Nature in Art
Goole	Goole Museum
Great Yarmouth	Time & Tide Museum of Great Yarmouth Life
Great Yarmouth	Tolhouse
Guildford	Guildford House
Guildford	Watts Gallery
Halifax	Bankfield Museum
Hanley	Potteries Museum & Art Gallery

Harlow	Gibberd Gallery
Harrogate	Mercer Art Gallery
Harrogate	Royal Pump Room Museum
Hartlebury	Worcestershire County Museum
Hartlepool	Hartlepool Art Gallery
Hastings	Hastings Contemporary
Hastings	Hastings Museum and Art Gallery
Hatfield	Mill Green Mill & Museum
Havant	Spring Arts & Heritage Centre
Hereford	Hereford Museum and Art Gallery
Hereford	Herefordshire Museum Resource Centre
Hertford	Hertford Museum
Hitchin	Hitchin Museum and Art Gallery
Horsforth	Horsforth Museum
Horsham	Horsham Museum
Hove	Hove Museum and Art Gallery
Huddersfield	Huddersfield Art Gallery
Huddersfield	Kirklees Museums and Galleries
Huddersfield	Tolson Memorial Museum
Hull	Art Collection, University of Hull
Hull	Ferens Art Gallery
Hull	Wilberforce House Museum
Ilfracombe	Ilfracombe Museum
Ilkeston	Erewash Museum
Ilkley	Manor House Museum
Ipswich	Christchurch Mansion
Ipswich	Ipswich Art Gallery
Ironbridge	Museum of the Gorge
Isles of Scilly	Isles of Scilly Museum
Kendal	Abbot Hall Art Gallery
Keswick	Keswick Museum and Art Gallery
Kettering	Kettering Museum and Art Gallery
King's Lynn	Lynn Museum
Lancaster	Lancaster City Museum
Lancaster	Peter Scott Gallery
Leamington Spa	Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum
Leeds	Leeds Art Gallery
Leeds	Leeds Museum Discovery Centre
Leeds	Stanley & Audrey Burton Gallery
Leeds	Temple Newsam House
Leeds	Tetley
Leicester	New Walk Museum and Art Gallery
Leyland	South Ribble Museum and Exhibition Centre

Lincoln	The Collection
Linthorpe	Dorman Museum
Littlehampton	Littlehampton Museum
Liverpool	Bluecoat Chambers
Liverpool	Lady Lever Art Gallery
Liverpool	Museum of Liverpool
Liverpool	Victoria Gallery & Museum
Liverpool	Walker Art Gallery
Liverpool	World Museum Liverpool
London	Arts Council Collection
London	Autograph ABP
London	Bankside Gallery
London	Ben Uri Gallery, The London Jewish Museum of Art
London	Borough Road Gallery
London	British Architectural Library
London	British Museum
London	Burgh House & Hampstead Museum
London	Cartoon Museum
London	Centre for Recent Drawing
London	Courtauld Gallery
London	Design Museum
London	Dorich House
London	Dulwich Picture Gallery
London	Fan Museum
London	Fleming Collection
London	Foundling Museum
London	Government Art Collection
London	Guildhall Art Gallery
London	Gunnersbury Park Museum
London	Handel House Museum
London	Hayward Gallery [See Arts Council]
London	Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museum
London	Horniman Museum
London	Imperial College Healthcare Charity Art Collection at St Mary's Hospital
London	Imperial War Museum
London	Kennel Club Dog Art Gallery
London	Kingston Museum
London	Leighton House Museum
London	Morley Gallery
London	Museum of Domestic Design and Architecture
London	National Gallery
London	National Portrait Gallery

London	Old Speech Room Gallery and Museum, Harrow School
London	Orleans House Gallery
London	Photographers' Gallery
London	Queen's Gallery
London	Queen's House
London	Ranger's House (Wernher Collection)
London	Royal Academy of Arts
London	Science Gallery London
London	Sir John Soane's Museum
London	South London Gallery
London	Tate
London	The Society of Antiquaries of London
London	UCL Art Museum
London	Valence House Museum
London	Victoria and Albert Museum
London	Wallace Collection
London	William Morris Gallery
Ludlow	Ludlow Museum Resource Centre
Luton	Wardown Park Museum
Lyme Regis	Lyme Regis Museum
Lymington	St. Barbe Museum & Art Gallery
Macclesfield	Silk Museum and Paradise Mill
Macclesfield	West Park Museum and Art Gallery
Maidstone	Maidstone Museum & Art Gallery
Maldon	Maeldune Centre
Manchester	Castlefield Gallery
Manchester	Manchester Art Gallery
Manchester	Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections
Mansfield	Mansfield Museum
Measham	Measham Museum
Middlesbrough	Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art MIMA
Milford	Staffordshire County Museum
Milton Keynes	MK Gallery
Moss Side	Whitworth Art Gallery
Nantwich	Nantwich Museum
Newark-on-Trent	Newark Town Hall Museum and Art Gallery
Newcastle	Brampton Museum
Newcastle	Discovery Museum
Newcastle	Great North Museum: Hatton Gallery
Newcastle	Hatton Gallery
Newcastle	Laing Art Gallery

Newcastle	Northumbria University Gallery
Newlyn	Newlyn Art Gallery
Newton Abbot	Newton Abbot Town & GWR Museum
Northampton	Northampton Museum and Art Gallery
Northwich	Weaver Hall Museum and Workhouse
Norwich	Norfolk Museums Service
Norwich	Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery
Norwich	Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts
Norwich	Strangers' Hall Museum
Nottingham	Lakeside Arts Centre
Nottingham	Nottingham Castle Museum
Nottingham	University of Nottingham Museum
Nuneaton	Nuneaton Museum and Art Gallery
Oldham	Gallery Oldham
Oxford	Ashmolean Museum
Oxford	Christ Church Picture Gallery
Penzance	Penlee House
Peterborough	Peterborough Museum
Petersfield	Flora Twort Gallery
Plymouth	Plymouth City Council: The Box
Plymouth	Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery
Pocklington	Stewart Museum
Poole	Scaplen's Court Museum
Porlock	Porlock Museum
Portsmouth	Aspex Gallery
Portsmouth	Portsmouth City Museum
Preston	Harris Museum, Art Gallery & Preston Free Public Library
Rawtenstall	Whitaker
Reading	Museum of Reading
Reading	Riverside Museum at Blake's Lock
Retford	Bassetlaw Museum
Rochdale	Touchstones Rochdale
Rochester, Kent	Guildhall Museum, Rochester
Rothwell	Rothwell Arts and Heritage Centre
Royal Tunbridge Wells	Tunbridge Wells Museum & Art Gallery
Royston	Royston & District Museum and Art Gallery
Rugby	Rugby Art Gallery and Museum
Rustington	Rustington Museum
Rye	Rye Art Gallery
Saddleworth	Saddleworth Museum
Saffron Walden	Fry Art Gallery
Saffron Walden	Saffron Walden Museum

Saint Helens	World of Glass
Salford	Ordsall Hall Museum
Salford	Salford Museum and Art Gallery
Salford	University of Salford Art Collection
Salisbury	Edwin Young Collection / John Creasey Museum / Young Gallery
Salisbury	Salisbury Museum
Scarborough	Scarborough Art Gallery
Seaford	Seaford Museum and Heritage Centre
Settle	Museum of North Craven Life
Sevenoaks	Sevenoaks Museum
Sewerby	Sewerby Hall Museum and Art Gallery
Sheffield	Graves Art Gallery
Sheffield	Millennium Gallery
Sheffield	Weston Park Museum
Shrewsbury	Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery
Skipton	Craven Museum & Gallery
South Molton	South Molton and District Museum
South Shields	South Shields Museum & Art Gallery
Southampton	SeaCity Museum
Southampton	Southampton City Art Gallery
Southend-on-Sea	Beecroft Art Gallery
Southend-on-Sea	Prittlewell Priory Museum
Southend-on-Sea	Southchurch Hall Museum; Southend Central Museum
Southport	The Atkinson
St Albans	Museum of St Albans
Stalybridge	Astley Cheetham Art Gallery
Stockport	Stockport Art Gallery
Stockton-on-Tees	Preston Park Museum and Park Grounds
Stoke-on-Trent	Wedgwood Museum
Stroud	Museum in the Park
Sudbury	Gainsborough's House
Sunderland	Northern Gallery for Contemporary Art
Sunderland	Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens
Sutton	Whitehall Historic House
Swindon	Swindon Art Gallery
Teignmouth	Teignmouth & Shaldon Museum
Tenbury Wells	Tenbury and District Museum
Tenterden	Tenterden and District Museum
Tewkesbury	Tewkesbury Museum
Thame	Thame Museum
Thorney	Thorney Heritage Centre

Tiverton	Tiverton Museum of Mid Devon Life
Topsham	Topsham Museum
Torquay	Torquay Museum
Torquay	Torre Abbey
Trowbridge	Trowbridge Museum
Truro	Royal Cornwall Museum
Twickenham	Strawberry Hill House
Uffington	Tom Brown's School Museum
Wakefield	Hepworth Wakefield
Wakefield	Wakefield Museum
Walsall	New Art Gallery
Wantage	Vale and Downland Museum
Warrington	Warrington Museum & Art Gallery
Warwick	Market Hall, Warwick
Warwick	Warwickshire Museum
Watchet	Market House Museum
Watford	Watford Museum
Wednesbury	Wednesbury Museum and Art Gallery
Welbeck	Harley Gallery
West Bretton	Yorkshire Sculpture Park
Weston-super-Mare	Weston Museum
Weymouth	Weymouth Museum
Whitby	Pannett Art Gallery
Whitby	Whitby Museum
Whitchurch	Whitchurch Heritage Centre
Whitehaven	The Beacon, Whitehaven
Whitstable	Whitstable Museum and Gallery
Wincanton	Wincanton Museum
Winchcombe	Winchcombe Folk and Police Museum
Winchester	Winchester Discovery Centre
Windsor	Windsor and Royal Borough Museum
Wisbech	Wisbech & Fenland Museum
Witney	Witney and District Museum
Woking	Lightbox
Wolverhampton	Wolverhampton Art Gallery
Woodhall Spa	Woodhall Spa Cottage Museum
Woodstock	Oxfordshire Museum
Worcester	Worcester City Art Gallery & Museum
Workington	Helena Thompson Museum
Worthing	Worthing Museum and Art Gallery
York	York Art Gallery
York	Yorkshire Museum and Gardens

Northern Ireland	
Armagh	Armagh County Museum
Armagh	Market Place - Armagh Theatre and Arts Centre
Ballycastle	Ballycastle Museum
Ballymena	Mid-Antrim Museum
Ballymena	The Braid
Ballymoney	Ballymoney Museum
Bangor	North Down Museum
Belfast	Belfast Exposed
Belfast	Golden Thread Gallery
Belfast	Linen Hall Library
Belfast	Naughton Gallery at Queen's
Belfast	Ulster Museum
Carrickfergus	Carrickfergus Museum
Coleraine	Coleraine Museum
Craigavon	Barn Museum / Craigavon Museum
Derry	Tower Museum
Downpatrick	Down County Museum
Larne	Larne Museum and Arts Centre
Limavady	Green Lane Museum
Limavady	Limavady Museum
Lisburn	Irish Linen Centre and Lisburn Museum
Newry	Newry and Mourne Museum
Scotland	
Aberdeen	Aberdeen Art Gallery
Aberdeen	Robert Gordon University Art & Heritage Collections
Aberdeen	The Tolbooth Museum
Arbroath	Arbroath Art Gallery
Arbroath	Arbroath Signal Tower Museum
Argyll	Ionad Naomh Moluag / Lismore Museum
Ayr	Maclaurin Art Gallery
Ayr	Rozelle House
Banchory	Banchory Museum
Bernera	Bernera Museum
Blackridge	Blackridge Community Museum
Blantyre	David Livingstone Centre
Bo'ness	Kinneil Museum
Brechin	Brechin Town House Museum
Broxburn	Broxburn Community Museum
Castle Douglas	Castle Douglas Art Gallery
Coldstream	Coldstream Museum
Cumnock	Baird Institute Museum
Dumfries	Dumfries Museum and Camera Obscura

Dumfries	Gracefield Arts Centre
Dunblane	Dunblane Museum
Dundee	McManus Galleries
Dundee	The McManus: Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum
Dundee	University of Dundee Museum Services
Dunfermline	Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum
Dunrossness	Shetland Crofthouse Museum
Duns	Duns Exhibition Room
Edinburgh	Centre for Research Collections and Art Collection
Edinburgh	City Art Centre, Edinburgh
Edinburgh	Dean Gallery
Edinburgh	Edinburgh City Art Centre
Edinburgh	Heriot-Watt University Museum and Archives
Edinburgh	Lauriston Castle, Edinburgh City Museums
Edinburgh	Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh City Museums
Edinburgh	National Gallery of Scotland
Edinburgh	National Museum of Scotland
Edinburgh	Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh
Edinburgh	Queensferry Museum, Edinburgh City Museums
Edinburgh	Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture
Edinburgh	Scottish National Gallery; of Modern Art; Portrait Gallery
Edinburgh	Talbot Rice Gallery
Edinburgh	The People's Story
Elgin	Elgin Museum
Falkirk	Callendar House and Park Gallery
Forfar	Meffan Museum and Art Gallery
Forres	Falconer Museum
Galashiels	Old Gala House
Glasgow	Burrell Collection
Glasgow	Gallery of Modern Art
Glasgow	Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)
Glasgow	Glasgow Women's Library
Glasgow	Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery
Glasgow	Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum
Glasgow	The Glasgow School of Art
Grantown-on-Spey	Grantown Museum and Heritage Centre
Greenock	Mclean Museum and Art Gallery
Haddington	John Gray Centre Museum
Hawick	Hawick Museum and The Scott Gallery
Inverness	Inverness Museum and Art Gallery
Isle of Arran	Isle of Arran Heritage Museum
Isle of Benbecula	Museum Nan Eilean, Sgoil Lionacleit

Isle of South Uist	Taigh Tasgaidh Chill Donnain
Kilmarnock	Dick Institute
Kirkcaldy	Kirkcaldy Galleries
Kirkcudbright	Kirkcudbright Galleries
Kirkcudbright	The Kirkcudbright Tolbooth
Kirriemuir	Kirriemuir Gateway to the Glens Museum
Lanark	The Royal Burgh of Lanark Museum
Linlithgow	Annet House Museum
Lochmaddy	Taigh Chearsabhagh Museum
London	The Hunterian
Mauchline	Burns House Museum
Melrose	Trimontium Museum
Milngavie	Lillie Art Gallery
Moffat	Moffat Museum
Montrose	Montrose Museum
Montrose	William Lamb Sculpture Studio
North Ayrshire	Dalgarven Mill
Paisley	Paisley Museum and Art Gallery, Including the Coats Observatory
Peebles	Tweeddale Museum and Gallery
Perth	Perth Museum and Art Gallery
Perth	The Fergusson Gallery
Peterhead	Mintlaw Discovery Centre
Port Charlotte	Museum of Islay Life
Ross-shire	Groam House Museum
Saltcoats	North Ayrshire Heritage Centre
Shotts	Shotts Heritage Centre
St Andrews	Gateway Galleries
St Andrews	Museum of the University of St Andrews
St Andrews	St Andrews Preservation Trust Museum
Stirling	Art Collection, University of Stirling
Stirling	Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum
Stornoway	Museum Nan Eilean, Steòrnabhagh
Stromness	Pier Arts Centre
Stromness	Stromness Museum
Tain	Tain & District Museum
Ullapool	Ullapool Museum
Whitburn	Whitburn Community Museum
Wales	
Abergavenny	Abergavenny Museum
Aberystwyth	Aberystwyth University, School of Art Museum and Galleries
Bethlehem	Scolton Manor Museum

Brecon	Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery
Brynmawr	Brynmawr and District Museum
Buckley	Buckley Library, Museum and Gallery
Cardiff	Cardiff Story Museum
Cardiff	National Museum Cardiff / Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Caerdydd
Cardiff	St Fagans: National History Museum / Sain Ffagan Amgueddfa Werin Cymru
Cwmbran	Llantarnam Grange Arts Centre
Gwynedd	Storiel
Llangefni	Oriel Ynys Môn
Machynlleth	Museum of Modern Art, Machyllneth
Merthyr Tydfil	Cyfarthfa Castle Museum and Art Gallery
Narberth	Narbeth Museum
Newport	Newport Museum and Art Gallery
Pembrokeshire	Tenby Museum and Art Gallery
Pontypool	Pontypool Museum
Pontypridd	Pontypridd Museum
Pontypridd	University of South Wales Art Collection
Pwllheli	Oriel Plas Glyn y Weddw
Rhayader	CARAD (Rhayader Museum and Gallery)
Swansea	Glynn Vivian Art Gallery
Swansea	Swansea Museum
Wrexham	Wrexham County Borough Museum and Archive

Appendix 3 – List of Brazilian artworks in ESCALA's collection

object title/name	artist	acquisition date	object date
Memória	Siron Franco	1993	1992
Rehearsal 10	Ana Maria Pacheco	1993	1990
Rehearsal 7	Ana Maria Pacheco	1993	1990
The Internal Journey - Cross 1	Rita Bonfim	1993	1992
Untitled	Carybé	1994	1944
Trama XIII	Alex Gama	1994	1983
Trama XV	Alex Gama	1994	1984
O Livro (dos cem)	Jac Leirner	1994	1987
Trama XXXI	Alex Gama	1994	1987
Ontem	Siron Franco	1994	1990
Duna (da série Mamae prometo ser feliz)	Katie van Scherpenberg	1994	1992
Jardins de mandragoras	Tunga	1994	1992
Untitled	Rubens Gerchman	1994	unknown
Untitled	Rubens Gerchman	1994	unknown
Untitled	Rubens Gerchman	1994	unknown
Untitled	Mario Carneiro	1995	1953
Untitled from the series White Nights	Livio Abramo	1995	1955
Untitled from the series White Nights	Livio Abramo	1995	1955
Untitled from the series White Nights	Livio Abramo	1995	1955
Untitled from the series White Nights	Livio Abramo	1995	1955
Untitled from the series White Nights	Livio Abramo	1995	1955
Favela	Rossini Perez	1995	1956
Madona	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
O Idolatrado	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
O meu e o seu: impressões de nosso tempo	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
Passatempo século XX	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
Personagem contemporâneo	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
Realidades culpas?	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
Sem saída	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
um + um = dois?	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1995	1967
Torção no quadrado	Rossini Perez	1995	1975
Amarradinho	Rossini Perez	1995	1980
Angolana	Rossini Perez	1995	1980
Edifício-Galaxie (sobre a mobilidade)	Milton Machado	1995	1982
São Paulo Cidade: Vista do Tamanduatei	Evandro Carlos Jardim	1995	1983
Untitled	Jose Igino da Cruz	1995	1983
Construção popular	Martha Niklaus	1995	1984
Zero Dollar	Cildo Meireles	1995	1984

Saint Sebastian in June	Glauco Otavio Castilho Rodrigues	1995	1985
Diptico (Microcosmo)	Uiara Bartira	1995	1987
Untitled	Emmanuel Nassar	1995	1987
Untitled	Julio Cesar	1995	1987
Untitled	Rubem Grilo	1995	1987
Ponta de asa de anjo	Monica Sartori	1995	1989
Untitled	Monica Sartori	1995	1989
Untitled	Carla Guagliardi	1995	1990
História mal contada	Siron Franco	1995	1991
A Queda	Gilvan Samico	1995	1992
Composição mista	Anna Letycia	1995	1992
Meditação	Renina Katz	1995	1992
Ref. 9210	Fayga Ostrower	1995	1992
Anjo	Cristina Salgado	1995	1993
Apoteose	Maria Bonomi	1995	1993
N.Y.2	Alex Gama	1995	1993
Untitled	Amílcar de Castro	1995	1993
Untitled	Renina Katz	1995	1993
794AO/94-10 (da série 794AO)	Carlos Zilio	1995	1994
A hora da fabula	Renina Katz	1995	1994
Tema de 'A Mensagem' de Fernando Pessoa	Newton Cavalcanti	1995	1994
Untitled	Anna Letycia	1995	1994
Untitled	Antônio Dias	1995	1994
Rose for Heraclitus	Sonia Labouriau	1995	1995
Sem título /Untitled	Cristina Pape	1995	1995
Topografias	Darel Valença Lins	1995	1995
Untitled	Eliane Santos da Rocha	1995	1995
Untitled	Tomie Ohtake	1995	1995
Untitled	Desirée Monjardim	1995	unknown
Untitled	Osvaldo Goeldi	1995	unknown
Seis pensamentos	Farnese de Andrade	1996	1972
Untitled	Amílcar de Castro	1996	1980
Cromo e tempo II	Antonio Henrique Amaral	1996	1986
22/91	Manfredo Alves de Souzanetto	1996	1991
Untitled	Marcos Coelho Benjamin	1996	1991
Fita decrescente no espaço	Franz Weissmann	1996	1992
A descida 1a entrada	Leonam Nogueira Fleury	1996	1995
Air du temps	Cristina Pape	1996	1995
Arcanum 17, o jaguar e o julgamento	Leonam Nogueira Fleury	1996	1995
Mare Nostrum' encontro confronto	Leonam Nogueira Fleury	1996	1995
Três caminhos	Daniel Senise	1996	1995

No. 2173	Fernando Velloso	1996	1996
Radiografia brasileira	Siron Franco	1996	1996
Sketch for woodprint	Alex Gama	1996	1996
Two sketches for woodprints	Alex Gama	1996	1996
Untitled	Maximo Soalheiro	1996	1996
Untitled	Fernando Velloso	1996	unknown
Zero centavo	Cildo Meireles	1997	1978
Ilha Triste (Angra)	Maria Luiza Leão	1997	1989
Zero cent	Cildo Meireles	1997	1990
Untitled	Dionisio del Santo	1997	1991
Untitled	Jose Leonilson	1997	1992
5=4+1	Helena Lopes	1997	1994
VI	Annarre Smith	1997	1994
N.Y. VI	Alex Gama	1997	1995
N.Y. VII	Alex Gama	1997	1995
O Livro Velazquez	Waltércio Caldas	1997	1996
Lanterna magica	Marcellus Schnell	1997	1997
Soberba	Alex Flemming	1997	1997
Untitled	Marilia Rodrigues	1997	unknown
Untitled	Marilia Rodrigues	1997	unknown
Top Flat	Carlos Martins	1998	1975
Concha e barroco	Carlos Martins	1998	1977
Natureza morta 1	Carlos Martins	1998	1977
Natureza morta 2	Carlos Martins	1998	1977
Siena	Carlos Martins	1998	1977
Duas arvores sobre a mesa	Carlos Martins	1998	1979
Homenagem a Anaïs Nin	Carlos Martins	1998	1984
Ao luar	Carlos Martins	1998	1985
Granfinale	Carlos Martins	1998	1985
Incêndio no Porão	Carlos Martins	1998	1985
O susto	Carlos Martins	1998	1985
Melancolia	Carlos Martins	1998	1990
Pedra branca	Carlos Martins	1998	1990
Coleção Brasiliana	Nelson Augusto	1998	1994
Ante a esplanada do solar do castelo	Carlos Martins	1998	1995
3 caravelas	Carlos Martins	1998	1996
À caminho da festa de Iemanjá	Tiita	1998	1996
Fachada	Carlos Martins	1998	1996
Floresta	Carlos Martins	1998	1996
Pão de açúcar	Carlos Martins	1998	1996
Untitled	Carlos Martins	1998	1997
À noite em Setil	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown
Canto 10 (Dados)	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown

Canto 2 (Pirâmide)	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown
Canto 4 (Perspectiva)	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown
Cristais	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown
Randufe	Carlos Martins	1998	unknown
Abandono do campo	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1983
Brincando com ossinhos	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1983
Trama XIII	Alex Gama	1999	1983
Trama XXI	Alex Gama	1999	1986
Yanomami	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1986
Sem título	Alex Gama	1999	1987
Sem título (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1989
Trama V	Alex Gama	1999	1989
Sem título	Alex Gama	1999	1990
Sem título (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1991
N.Y. V	Alex Gama	1999	1994
N.Y. (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1995
N.Y. III (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1995
N.Y. VIII (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1995
Febem no Pacaembu	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1996
Instalação na Fazenda Giacometi	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1996
Marcha da ocupação da fazenda Cuiabá	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1996
Sem título (PA)	Alex Gama	1999	1996
Sem-Terra	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1996
Trama XXXIV	Alex Gama	1999	1996
Trama XXXV	Alex Gama	1999	1996
Velório das vítimas de El dorado	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1996
Última Barreira. A ocupação	Sebastiao Salgado	1999	1997
Untitled I & II	Maria Bonomi	1999	1997
Untitled	Eduardo Padilha	1999	1999
Zero cruzeiro	Cildo Meireles	2000	1978
Trama X, XI, XII	Alex Gama	2000	1982
Drawing I based on 'Otho with John Larkin up' by George Stubbs	Amador Perez	2000	1986
Drawing II based on 'Otho with John Larkin up' by George Stubbs	Amador Perez	2000	1986
My Face Close it Up	Eduardo Padilha	2000	1994
Self Portrait	Eduardo Padilha	2000	1995
Livro No. 1 / Book No. 1	Cristina Pape	2000	1999
Carajás-Amazônia; Pão de Açúcar - Maracanã; Futebol - Feijoada; Untitled	Cristina Pape	2000	2000
Untitled	Elisa Bracher	2001	1999
Self portrait	Siron Franco	2001	2001
Untitled	Maria Bonomi	2001	2001

Untitled	Anonymous	2002	1750
Untitled	Anonymous	2002	1750
Untitled 'bichos'	Anonymous	2002	1948
Untitled	Gerson de Souza	2002	1960
Superfície Viva no.17	Marilia Gianetti Torres	2002	1962
Triptych (Untitled)	Geme	2002	1962
Untitled	Elza O.S.	2002	1966
Grande Mae: 'Viva Olinda'	Jose Barbosa	2002	1967
Untitled	Fayga Ostrower	2002	1967
Untitled	Helena Joy	2002	1974
Trama XXXIII	Alex Gama	2002	1997
Casal de Saci Pererê com duas cobras	Chico Tabibuia	2002	1998
Desenho I	Alex Gama	2002	1998
Maya Casas	Alex Gama	2002	1998
O Casal - PLPS/SS	Alex Gama	2002	1998
Untitled	Maria Moreira	2002	1998
Casulo	Siron Franco	2002	2000
Sant Feliú de Guixols	Monique Hecker	2002	2000
Untitled	Elisa Bracher	2002	2002
Untitled (box)	Alex Gama	2002	2002
Ex-voto	Anonymous	2002	unknown
Untitled	Geme	2002	unknown
Holo/Olho	Eduardo Kac	2003	1983
booty check	F Marquespenteado	2003	2001
flip flop	F Marquespenteado	2003	2001
nick	F Marquespenteado	2003	2001
butched in	F Marquespenteado	2003	2002
Laic III	Renata Padovan	2003	2002
Penitentes	Guy Veloso	2003	2002
Untitled	F Marquespenteado	2003	2002
Sem título	Marcia Thompson	2003	2003
In-Out Antropofagia	Anna Maria Maiolino	2004	1973
Por um fio / By a Thread	Anna Maria Maiolino	2004	1976
Air du temps (II)	Cristina Pape	2004	1996
Passion	Alex Gama	2004	1998
Sem título	Alex Gama	2004	2002
O Impostor após La Tour	Albano Afonso	2004	2003
Sem título	Alex Gama	2004	2003
Sem título	Alex Gama	2004	2003
Sem título	Alex Gama	2004	2004
Exú	Chico Tabibuia	2004	unknown
Transit	Luzia Simons	2005	2000
Exú bissexual	Chico Tabibuia	2005	2004

Tapete voador	Alex Flemming	2005	2004
Manon	Mariannita Luzzati	2007	1994
dxdxdxd=ladies	Giselle Beiguelman	2008	unknown
Untitled	Oscar Niemeyer	2008	unknown
Untitled	Oscar Niemeyer	2008	unknown
z2x3=ballet	Giselle Beiguelman	2008	unknown
Figura IV	Iberê Camargo	2009	1973
Seek in the unseen and beauty will appear	Regina Vater	2010	1996
Notas de rodapé para uma cartografia triangular	Ana Hupe	2021	2019
Sem título (da série Zona de tensão)	Hudinilson Jr	2021	1980
Sem título	Hudinilson Jr	2021	1986
Caderno de referência no 58	Hudinilson Jr	2021	2001
Sem título	Hudinilson Jr	2021	1980 [2009]
Sem título (da série Espelha-me)	Hudinilson Jr	2021	1980s

Appendix 4 – List of artworks from Brazil in Tate's collection

object title	artist	acquisition date	object date
Elas se divertem / They Amuse Themselves	José Cardoso Junior	1945	c.1935–40
Composition/Composição	Felicia Leirner	1962	1962
Grand relief fendu No. 34/4/74 / Large Split Relief No.34/4/74	Sergio de Camargo	1965	1964-1965
Four images	Eleanor Koch	1978	1977
As Proezas de Macunaíma 1	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 10	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 11	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 12	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 2	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 3	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 4	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 5	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 6	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 7	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 8	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
As Proezas de Macunaíma 9	Ana Maria Pacheco	1996	1995
Green Tilework in Live Flesh	Adriana Varejão	2001	2000
Nós Pescando o Tempo (densidades e buracos de minhoca) / We Fishing the Time (densities and wormholes)	Ernesto Neto	2001	1999
O Penelope / The Penelope	Leonilson [José Leonilson] Bezerra Dias	2001	1993
After Richard Serra, Prop, 1968	Vik Muniz	2001	2000
Smoke	Lucia Nogueira	2003	1996
Cápsulas (NBP x eu-você) / Capsules (NBP x me-you)	Ricardo Basbaum	2004	2000
Eureka/Blindhotland	Cildo Meireles	2005	1970-1975
Fainting Couch (Prototype)	Valeska Soares	2005	2002
Erik Ellington (fan)	Alexandre da Cunha	2006	2004
Skateboarderistismatronics (fan)	Alexandre da Cunha	2006	2004
Sem titulo / Untitled	Mira Schendel	2006	1963
Experiência de Cinema / Experiencing Cinema	Rosângela Rennó	2006	2004-2005
Inserções em Circuitos Ideológicos: Projeto Coca-Cola / Insertions into Ideological Circuits: Coca-Cola Project	Cildo Meireles	2007	1970
Metaesquema	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1958
Metaesquema	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1958
Metaesquema	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1958

B11 Bólide caixa 09 / B11 Box Bólide 09	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1964
B17 Bólide vidro 05 'Homenagem a Mondrian' / B17 Glass Bólide 05 'Homage to Mondrian'	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1965
Tropicália, Penetráveis PN 2 'Pureza é um mito' e PN 3 'Imagético' / Tropicália, Penetrables PN 2 'Purity is a myth' and PN 3 'Imagetical'	Hélio Oiticica	2007	1966-1967
Planos em superfície modulada (estudo) (56) / Planes on Modulated Surface (Study) (56)	Lygia Clark	2007	1957
Planos em superfície modulada (estudo) (61) / Planes on Modulated Surface (Study) (61)	Lygia Clark	2007	1957
Bicho-Maquete (320) / Creature-Maquette (320)	Lygia Clark	2007	1964
Deposit your lice here / Deixe aqui seu piolho	Marepe [Marcos] [Reis Peixoto]	2007	1999
Empossamento #1	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #10	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #1c	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #2	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #3	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #4	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #5	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #6	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #7	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #8	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Empossamento #9	Mauro Restiffe	2007	2003
Sem titulo (Gênese) / Untitled (Genesis)	Mira Schendel	2007	1965
Sem título (Discos) / Untitled (Disks)	Mira Schendel	2007	1972
Quarta-Feira de Cinzas / Epilogue	Cao Guimarães	2007	2006
Quarta-Feira de Cinzas / Epilogue	Rivane Neuenschwander	2007	2006
Lugar Comum / Commonplace	Rivane Neuenschwander	2007	1999
Milan, Agfa Isolette, do projeto A última foto / Milan, Agfa Isolette, from the project The Last Photo	Rosângela Rennó	2007	2006
Pedro Vasquez, Fed 2 Tipo C, do projeto A Última Foto / Pedro Vasquez, Fed 2, from the project The Last Photo	Rosângela Rennó	2007	2006
Rails / Trilhos	André Carneiro	2008	1950
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970

Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970

Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Inserções em circuitos ideológicos 2: Projeto Cédula / Insertions into Ideological Circuits 2: Banknote Project	Cildo Meireles	2008	1970
Trabalhando no céu / Working in the Sky	Dalmo Teixeira Filho	2008	1950
Formas / Forms	Eduardo Salvatore	2008	1950
Untitled	Fernanda Gomes	2008	2004
Untitled	Fernanda Gomes	2008	2004
Relevo espacial (vermêlho) REL 036 / Spatial Relief (red) REL 036	Hélio Oiticica	2008	1959
Bilateral 'Teman' BIL 003	Hélio Oiticica	2008	1959
Tentáculos de Ferro / Iron Tentacles	José Yalenti	2008	1950
Arquitetura no.7 / Architecture no. 7	José Yalenti	2008	1957
Immobile / Imóvel	Marcelo Cidade	2008	2004
Equilibrio / Equilibrium	Osmar Pecanha	2008	1951
Estrutura-Catedral / Structure - Cathedral	Paulo Pires	2008	1954
Untitled	Arthur Luiz Piza	2009	c. 1970
Untitled	Lucia Nogueira	2009	1990
Untitled	Lucia Nogueira	2009	c.1991–2

Untitled	Lucia Nogueira	2009	1993
Vai e vem	Lucia Nogueira	2009	1993
Untitled	Lucia Nogueira	2009	1994
Untitled	Lucia Nogueira	2009	1994
Untitled (Ladder with Elephant)	Lucia Nogueira	2009	c.1995–7
Homenagem a Fontana II / Homage to Fontana II	Nelson Leirner	2009	1967
Mining, Brazil	Sebastião Salgado	2009	1986
The Gold Mine, Brazil	Sebastião Salgado	2009	1986
BRAVO-RADIO-ATLAS-VIRUS-OPERA	Carla Zaccagnini	2010	2009-2010
Abstração (São Paulo) / Abstraction (São Paulo)	Geraldo de Barros	2010	1949
Sem títlo (São Paulo) Composição II / Untitled (São Paulo) Composition II	Geraldo de Barros	2010	1949
Sem títlo (Fios telegráficos) / Untitled (Telegraph Wires)	Geraldo de Barros	2010	c. 1950
Granada, Spain	Geraldo de Barros	2010	1951
Blue Phase	Jac Leirner	2010	1991
Eduardo	Lygia Clark	2010	1951
Untitled (Living Room) / Sin Titulo (Sala de Estar)	André Komatsu	2011	2005
Silencio/ Barulho / Silence/Noise	Antonio Manuel	2011	1975
Wanted Rose Selavy	Antonio Manuel	2011	1975
Babel	Cildo Meireles	2011	2001
Tropical Hangover / Ressaca Tropical	Jonathas de Andrade	2011	2009
Tecelar / Weaving	Lygia Pape	2011	1957
Untitled (from the series Visual Poems)	Paulo Bruscky	2011	1973
Untitled (from the series Visual Poems)	Paulo Bruscky	2011	1993
Untitled (from the series Visual Poems)	Paulo Bruscky	2011	1993
Untitled (from the series Visual Poems)	Paulo Bruscky	2011	1993
Untitled (from the series Visual Poems)	Paulo Bruscky	2011	1996
Leitmotif	Cinthia Marcelle	2012	2011
Untitled	Fernanda Gomes	2013	2013
No title	Augusto de Campos	2013	1964
beba coca cola	Décio Pignatari	2013	1957-1964
No title	Edgard Braga	2013	1964
No title	Haroldo de Campos	2013	1964
single shadow	José Lino Grünewald	2013	1957-1965
aboio (the cry of the brazilian cowboy) - (PART OF 13 visuelle texte)	Pedro Xisto	2013	1964
A man called love	Tamar Guimaraes	2013	2008

Full Catastrophe (Drum VIII)	Alexandre da Cunha	2014	2012
Mediunico / Mediunic	Gaspar Gasparian	2014	1952
Triplice / Triple	Gaspar Gasparian	2014	1958
Procissão 1	Tonico Lemos Auad	2014	2013
Procissão 2	Tonico Lemos Auad	2014	2013
Brasil Nativo/Brasil Alienigena / Native Brazil/Alien Brazil	Anna Bella Geiger	2015	1977
O Pão Nosso de cada dia / Our Daily Bread	Anna Bella Geiger	2015	1978
Y	Anna Maria Maiolino	2015	1974
Horizontal 2	Claudia Andujar	2015	1981-3
Vertical 8	Claudia Andujar	2015	1981-3
8 levels	Jac Leirner	2015	2012
Skin (Randy King Size Wired)	Jac Leirner	2015	2013
Le bunker rouge 1	Marcelo Cidade	2015	2005
Le bunker rouge 2	Marcelo Cidade	2015	2005
Calçadão	Claudio H. Feliciano	2016	c. 1977-8
Ghost City	Ivo Ferreira da Silva	2016	c. 1960
Parking	José Yalenti	2016	c. 1950
Preparação I	Leticia Parente	2016	1975
Preparação II	Leticia Parente	2016	1976
B5	Roberto Marconato	2016	c. 1965
Dispute	Roberto Marconato	2016	c. 1966
Untitled (from the series Blind Paintings) / Sem titulo (da serie Pinturas cegas)	Tomie Ohtake	2016	1962
Achrome, after Piero Manzoni	Vik Muniz	2016	2007
Trança / Braid	Tunga	2017	1983
Tea and tiles I	Adriana Varejão	2018	1996
Kentucky (Biombo)	Alexandre da Cunha	2018	2017
Horny / Tesão	Eduardo Kac	2018	1985
Reabracadabra	Eduardo Kac	2018	1985
De/i/ty / D/eu/s	Eduardo Kac	2018	1985-6
Banho de Rio / River bath	Beatriz Milhazes	2019	2017
Brasília Tile / Brasília Azueljo	Erika Verzutti	2019	2011
Tarsila with orange	Erika Verzutti	2019	2011
Lápis	Erika Verzutti	2019	2014
Brazil	Erika Verzutti	2019	2018
Images that are already in the world (a funeral procession for one man and one woman black, who were lynched in 1946 by white racists people)	Paulo Nazareth	2020	2019

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