

THE ART OF
DIPLOMACY
BRAZILIAN
MODERNISM
PAINTED
FOR WAR

EXHIBITION OF
MODERN BRAZILIAN
PAINTINGS
ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS
1944

CATALOGUE



THE ART OF
DIPLOMACY
BRAZILIAN
MODERNISM
PAINTED
FOR WAR

EMBASSY OF BRAZIL IN LONDON

APRIL - JUNE 2018



Translation.

"O Jornal" of the
14th December, 1943.

"The presence of our pictures in London represents the contribution which we are making to the English war effort.

As artists this was the best way we could find to express to the English our admiration and solidarity, and we hope that our gesture will be appreciated by its moral and symbolical significance rather than by its material value.

It is for us a source of pride to know that we are at England's side in the struggle against the Nazi-Fascist barbarism.

We are convinced that the English people are defending above all the dignity of man, the heritage of the spirit and the conquests of democracy.

We shall never forget the touching message of your children who, in the most tragic days of their existence, sent us their works of painting which made us understand that the artistic gifts of the British people represent a reserve of sensibility and of poetry, which the Nazi squadrons have tried but have not been able to destroy in England's own skies.

Conscious of the necessity of victory, Brazil's plastic artists salute in thought and deed the English people and reaffirm their ardent confidence in victory."

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The images of historical documents reproduced here were obtained from the Image Library of The National Archives of the UK, with the support of its Collection Care department. The artists' biographies were largely based on information obtained from the *Enciclopédia Itaú Cultural*, alongside research carried out by this editorial team.



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THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

BRAZILIAN MODERNISM PAINTED FOR WAR



FOREWORD

EDUARDO DOS SANTOS
VIJAY RANGARAJAN
TIM MARLOW
DAVID MURRAY
CIARÁN DEVANE
JEFF JAMES



H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF KENT VISITS THE EXHIBITION OF
PAINTINGS BY BRAZILIAN ARTISTS AT BURLINGTON HOUSE,

MR. SOUSA LEO, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE BRAZILIAN
WITH THE DUCHESS OF KENT.

Eduardo dos Santos

Ambassador of Brazil to the UK



The

Embassy of Brazil in London is privileged to be hosting the exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War*. It was under my predecessor, Ambassador Roberto Jaguaribe, that the seeds of the Exhibition were planted. It was he who heard from the art dealer Afonso Costa about an exhibition of important works donated by Brazilian Modernist painters such as Candido Portinari, Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, Tarsila do Amaral, Lasar Segall, Alfredo Volpi, Cícero Dias and Roberto Burle Marx, which took place in the UK in 1944, during WWII, at almost the same time as the Brazilian Expeditionary Force was fighting in Italy alongside the Allied forces. The initiative was indeed a creative and effective action of public diplomacy, aimed at bringing the Brazilian and British societies closer together during those dark days of global conflict.

The head of the Cultural Section at the Embassy, Hayle Gadelha, embarked upon the intricate task of researching the 1944 exhibition, which had presented the technique, vitality and expressiveness of modern Brazilian art to the British public for the first time. The idea of staging a commemorative exhibition came about. It would not only evoke the memory of those artworks but also the diplomatic and artistic legacy of the original show. Held in the autumn of 1944, that exhibition was a pioneering initiative, which received vital support from the Brazilian Foreign Minister at the time, Oswaldo Aranha, and took place under the stewardship of Ambassador Moniz de Aragão and Minister-Counsellor Sousa Leão. In a gesture of solidarity with the British war effort, a total of one hundred and sixty-eight Brazilian artworks from the Exhibition were offered to be sold in aid of the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund.

The prestigious Royal Academy of Arts staged the Exhibition, which then moved on to seven other venues accross the UK. Around one hundred thousand people turned up to view the paintings, and for the vast majority it would have been their first contact with Brazilian art. The visitors included Queen Elizabeth, later to become the Queen Mother.

When I took office as Ambassador in London in September 2015, I found the idea of celebrating the 1944 Exhibition immediately fascinating. I did not hesitate to continue the work towards that goal. The commemorative exhibition would be an opportunity to relive various aspects of the shared trajectory of Brazil and the UK – from our military participation in the war effort to the vibrant cultural and artistic cooperation between our peoples.

I can clearly remember the celebrations in London on 8 May 1995 to mark the 50th anniversary of VE Day. The President of Brazil participated in the event, at the invitation of the British government. Once again, it was highlighted that Brazil had been the only South American country to form part of the Allied Forces during WWII. However, at the time I did not realise the extent of the parallel initiatives, which had occurred in the cultural sphere, also aimed at strengthening Brazilian-British ties. Now, from a personal perspective, the whole picture of that history is much clearer.

Together with my team here at the Embassy of Brazil in London, I have had the pleasure of participating in the preparations for the commemorative exhibition, which have included publicity work and forging partnerships. I am indebted to those sponsors and collaborators who have contributed to making this idea a reality. The magnificent result and the artistic value of the exhibited works give us cause for great pride.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its support in making this project of significant historic, cultural and diplomatic importance happen. I offer my thanks particularly to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aloysio Nunes Ferreira Filho, the Secretary-General, Ambassador Marcos Bezerra Abbott Galvão, the Under-Secretary-General for

International Cooperation, Trade Promotion and Cultural Affairs, Ambassador Santiago Irazabal Mourão, and the Director of the Cultural Department, Minister Paula Alves de Souza. ■





The Brazilian Chancellor, Mr. Oswaldo Aranha, in the exhibition of the Contemporary Brazilian Printing, in the Foreign Office Palace "Itamaraty", Rio de Janeiro.

Copy by airbag.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
RIO DE JANEIRO.
20th December, 1943.

No. 244.

AS 700/698/6

AS 700
27 JAN 1944

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 614 of the 20th November, I have the honour to inform you that the pictures which are being presented by a group of Brazilian artists to His Majesty's Government were officially handed over to me at the Itamarati on the 13th December. A translation of the speech made by the painter, Augusto Rodrigues who acted as spokesman of the group at the ceremony is enclosed herein.

2. Since that date the pictures have been on exhibition at the Itamarati and they will now be stored pending transport to England. I should be grateful if you would cause the necessary instructions to be sent to the British Lines Committee here with regard to the grant of a priority for their shipment and as to what freight should be charged, if any. I should explain that the pictures number nearly a hundred and fifty and that frames have been provided by the Brazilians here in order that we should be spared the difficulties which they feared might arise in connection with framing pictures in England in war time. I should also be grateful if you would authorise me to charge to the "Extraordinaries" whatever costs may be involved in respect of packing (which is, I understand, unlikely to exceed £25), transport and insurance. Alternatively, if it is considered preferable that the cost should be borne by British Council funds, I trust that the necessary authorisation may be sent to the British Council representative here as soon as possible. I should explain that all arrangements were made by the artists and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs without my /being

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

being informed. I was referring the matter to of giving serious offence to this country, animated by a desire to arrange for exemption from the special circumstances of the special circumstances.

3. I hope that with the maximum propaganda value of this country, animated by a desire to arrange for exemption from the special circumstances of the special circumstances.

4. I understand that some ten pictures, of English art critics, nucleus of a Brazilian collection from time to time and how Anglo-Brazilian Society considered suitable. As it is intended that they should give the maximum value but also political, to the most effective. It was with this idea in mind that the money should be however, the interested it would be more appropriate to some cultural institutions, I feel sure that the Brazilian artists could question of making the most

Sir Noel Charles, incumbent ambassador, delivers speech at the ceremony Itamaraty Palace, Rio de Janeiro,



Vijay Rangarajan

Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Brazil

thus given no opportunity of
you without running the risk
ce. The cost of packing should
and I trust it will be possible
of English Customs duties in
circumstances.

When the pictures arrive in England
value will be derived from this
gesture by the leading artists in
by a desire to give concrete evi-
ces for Great Britain and for the
ing in the war. The pictures
nk, all the Brazilian artists who
of here including Portinari and
at they will be found by those who
Brazilian painting, to represent a
c achievement.

That the artists' own desire is
which could be selected by a jury
should be set aside to form the
collection which would be added to
used at the headquarters of the
or wherever else might be consi-
gards the remaining pictures, it
ould be sold in whatever manner
significance, not only artistic
he Brazilian gift and would consti-
contribution to the war effort.
mind that the artists suggested
given to the R.A.F. Should,
authorities in London decide that
iate to give the proceeds of the
stitution of concern to both
hat this would be acceptable to
ncerned, provided always that the
aximum political capital out of

/their

3.

their gesture is not over-looked.

5. The Brazilian artists are preparing an
English catalogue of the pictures and I will forward
this when ready. Meanwhile, I enclose some illus-
trated material which will give some indication of the
paintings in question.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,
Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Norman Charles

assador,
held in the
1944.

It is hard to picture the impact one hundred and sixty-eight wonderful Brazilian paintings, from an artistic culture in full flower, must have had in the hard times of November 1944 in London.

The perseverance and vision of those who put on the exhibition, the generosity and talent of the artists, and the powerful social signal it sent, were rewarded with a record crowd of over a hundred thousand visitors, including famously the Queen Mother.

The Exhibition toured widely around the UK, spreading its message. And then dispersed, as intended. But it is only through the vision and work of Eduardo dos Santos and Hayle Gadelha that many have been found, and reunited for the first time, to allow us to enjoy some remarkable art - and appreciate another fascinating human link between the UK and Brazil. Links, which continue and strengthen to this day. ■

<h1 style="margin: 0;">AS</h1> <p style="margin: 0;">BRAZIL</p>		<p style="margin: 0;">AS 5149</p> <p style="margin: 0;">2 OCT 1944</p>
<p>Registry Number AS149/698/6</p> <p>FROM Miss Somerville, (British Council) to Miss McQuillan.</p> <p>Dated 29th September Received 1944 in Registry 2nd October 1944</p> <p>AS: Brazil.</p>	<p><u>Facilities for Brazilian pictures to be exhibited in London.</u></p> <p>It is thought likely that Sir Walter Lamb will offer the use of the Lecture Room and No.8. Gallery of the Royal Academy in the middle of November for the Brazilian Exhibition. Points out the merits of these galleries, and covers a draft letter from the Secretary of State to Sir Walter Lamb, urging the Council to allow the exhibition to be held there.</p>	
<p>Last Paper. AS 4816</p> <p>References.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">(Minutes.)</p> <p>I submit a revised version of the draft to the Royal Academy.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">J.McQuillen. 2110</p> <p>It is amusing to read that the R.A. turned us down on the grounds that they didn't like the pictures! Neither do we: but that was not the point as our letter on AS 946 makes clear, but each cobbler no doubt has his eye on his own several last.</p> <p>I think if S of S is to sign he must write to the <u>President</u>. I have recast the opt.</p> <p>Separate minute. JS 2/X</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p> <p>(How disposed of.)</p> <p>Off. Sec. A. J. Mumming (Royal Academy) open in Eden. Oct-6.</p> <p>3) see Mrs Somerville (British Council) Oct. 7. P.T.O.</p>	<p>(Action completed.)</p> <p>(Index.)</p> <p>Next Paper. AS5527</p>	

Come and see them
about 12.30.
We sh^d make sure the
publicity arrangements
that we get a hint
to perform the opening
There is also the que
Catalogue and its p
the arrangements for
exhibitions.

S/t Major

Tim Marlow

Artistic Director
Royal Academy of Arts London

I will remind him
 to paper
 and make
 the personage
 ceremony -
 the of the
 space : and
 the province
 Longden.
 16/10

Action (Contd).
 to Maj. Longden
 (P.C.)
 from Mr. Browne
 Oct 16.
 to President RA.
 (from the Sec)
 Oct 17.
 Copy (with Adm A)
 to Mrs. Smyth
 (P.C.) Oct 18

2018

marks the 250th birthday of the Royal Academy of Arts, a year of celebration and reflection. Like many institutions, it has had a colourful and chequered history, much of which I was aware of, but there are parts that have remained shrouded in mystery. So when Hayle Gadelha, the energetic, highly motivated and well informed head of the Cultural Section of the Brazilian Embassy, approached me with the idea of revisiting the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* staged at the RA in 1944, I was very curious. It turns out that the generosity of spirit back in 1944 was rather one-sided and that the Academy's role was reluctant, to say the least, but we are nothing if not self-critical these days and the essay written in this publication by my colleague Adrian Locke pulls no punches. It stands in marked contrast to the patronizing tone and cultural arrogance of Sacheverell Sitwell in the original catalogue, but then Adrian is a man of a different era, one of the most distinguished curators of his generation in Britain, and half Brazilian too, which is a measure of how the art world has changed, not just at the RA but in Britain in general.

The Exhibition itself was a success. Forty-seven paintings sold in the first week, including two bought by the Peruvian *Chargé d'Affaires* who 'blatantly gate-crashed the Private View and was seen proceeding round the exhibition with a scowl of envy on his face', according to a Foreign Office report. In total around eighty works were sold after a national tour to Norwich, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Bath, Bristol, Reading and London again, at the Whitechapel. The remaining paintings then went to Paris where they formed part of UNESCO's first International Art Exhibition. Over a thousand pounds was raised for the RAF Benevolent Fund - a significant sum - but I think the most significant legacy of the exhibition was the beginning of an interest in Brazilian art and architecture in Britain, which has begun to flourish seriously only in recent years.

I am delighted that the Brazilian Embassy is re-exploring the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* in 2018. It is an event that deserves to be highlighted, both to mark an admirably collaborative venture during a global conflict and to give new audiences the chance to look again and with fresh eyes at some remarkable art. ■



EXHIBITION OF BRAZILIAN ARTISTS AT BURLINGTON HOUSE
PICCADILLY, LONDON.

L. TO R. AT TABLE LORD SHERWOOD SPEAKING., SIR MALCOLM
ROBERTSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL AND DE SOUSA
LEDO, (COUNCILLOR TO THE BRAZILIAN EMBASSY, DURING THE
OPENING CEREMONY.
S. & G. 41606.

David Murray

Air Vice-Marshal, CVO, OBE

Controller

Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund



The

Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund, the leading welfare charity for the Royal Air Force, is delighted and honoured to be a supporter of the exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War*. The original exhibition in 1944 not only represented an important milestone in bilateral relations and in cultural diplomacy more broadly but, crucially, raised considerable monies for the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund.

Today, as during the very difficult circumstances that prevailed in 1944, the Fund works tirelessly to ensure that the welfare needs of the Royal Air Force family, both serving and retired, can continue to be met. None of the vital work that the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund undertakes across the spectrum of care can be achieved without the generosity and energy of its advocates and supporters. This is as true today as it was in 1944, when the original project was envisaged and stewarded by the Brazilian government, and when the modernist painters from Brazil very kindly donated the proceeds from the sales of their artworks to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund.

The commemorative exhibition in 2018 comes at a very significant moment, not only for the Royal Air Force itself in its centenary year but, importantly, as a prelude to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund's own centenary in 2019. It is therefore with considerable pride and pleasure that the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund is associated with this fascinating initiative – the keen sense of partnership and mutual support evident in the making of preparations for the 2018 commemorative exhibition are highly resonant of the sentiments that surrounded the original project in 1944. It is precisely this type of generosity of spirit, which is very much appreciated, that continues to allow the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund to undertake its important welfare work, right at the heart of the Royal Air Force family. ■



EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY BRAZILIAN ARTISTS AT BURLINGTON
HOUSE, LONDON

SIR MALCOLM ROBERTSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL,
SPEAKING AT THE OPENING CEREMONY

Sir Ciarán Devane

Chief Executive
British Council



It is an extraordinary testament to the power of cultural diplomacy, and the deep connections between our two countries, that this almost forgotten commitment to universal peace took place in 1944, and seventy-five years later is being revisited by the Embassy of Brazil.

In the latter days of WWII, when no end was in sight, a group of seventy prominent modernist artists in Brazil dedicated their works to a sale and exhibition to support the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund in a country thousands of miles away, as a symbolic act of assistance to the Allied War effort.

On 22 November 1944, while twenty-five thousand Brazilian troops were sent to fight in WWII, the Royal Academy of Arts opened the first collective show of Brazilian art in the UK organised with the British Council. Works of art donated in the initiative – including some by the most revered Brazilian artists of the 20th century, such as Candido Portinari, Alberto da Veiga Guignard, Emiliano Di Cavalcanti and Tarsila do Amaral – were seen by one hundred thousand people at the Royal Academy in London and in regional museums across the UK, giving audiences a first appreciation of the modernist art from Brazil at that time. Proceeds from the sale of the works of art went to the RAF Benevolent Fund, while some of the paintings formed part of a UNESCO exhibition in Paris at the end of the War.

Today, I wish to congratulate the Embassy of Brazil, which has worked tirelessly to retell this valiant story by curating this exhibition. Many of those one hundred and sixty-eight original art works assembled from public collections from around the UK introduce this period of Brazilian art to new audiences, and remind us of the value of cultural diplomacy and what can be achieved when we join together to contribute to efforts of peace making. ■

INDEXED The "Observer" Sunday 3/11/44

Other cutting send to Rio

Margin.

5 DEC 1944

Cutting dated.....194

BRAZILIAN ART HELPS R.A.F.

70 PAINTERS EXHIBIT

By T. W. EARP

The pattern and colour of Brazil, conveyed by 70 of its own artists, brings an exotic richness to the walls of Burlington House, where the Government, through the British Council, has arranged an exhibition of modern Brazilian paintings. They are to be sold for the benefit of the R.A.F. Benevolent Fund.

The paintings give an impression of intense artistic vitality, ranging from the clearly defined "Landscape" of Q. Da Silva to the tranced fantasy of "Painting" by C. Diaz.

The Russian-born L. Segall, who was the pioneer of this renaissance, is well represented in the graceful "Lucy with Flower," whose simple but characteristic style is shared by C. Prado's "Figure" and J. Pancetti's "Self-Portrait."

Grandly dramatic are A. Da V. Guignard's "Ouro Preto" and C. Portinari's "Group." They have the same elemental quality as H. Szene's "War," bold in tint and driving straight to the emotional core of the subject.

A

YORKSHIRE POST.

16 NOV 1944

Cutting dated.....194

Brazilian Tribute

SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, Secretary for Air, is to open next Wednesday at Burlington House the first collective exhibition of Brazilian art to be sent to Europe. The exhibition, organised by the British Council, consists of 168 paintings presented to the British Government by a number of Brazilian artists.

This gift has been made as a mark of friendship for Britain and as a token of Brazil's admiration for Britain's war effort. The artists have expressed a wish that the pictures should be used in a way that could make an effective contribution to this country's war effort. It has, therefore, been decided that all proceeds from sales of the pictures should be given to the R.A.F. Benevolent Fund. The pictures have only recently arrived in London after a public exhibition in Rio de Janeiro.

Photographs of modern and colonial Brazilian architecture, entitled "Brazil Builds," will also be shown in the exhibition. Collected by the New York Museum of Modern Art, the photographs have been lent by the Anglo-Brazilian Society in London. Later the exhibition will

Nothing

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EVENING NEWS

Glasgow

Cutting dated.....29



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Jeff James

CEO and Keeper
The National Archives



I am delighted that The National Archives is involved in this important exhibition which restages artworks displayed at the first *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* held in the UK in 1944.

This exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War* coincides with the Royal Academy of Arts' two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary and the Royal Air Force's centenary. It features a selection of documents and photographs held at The National Archives in Kew. They provide a unique insight into the build-up to the launch of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy in London in 1944 as well as a photographic record of the exhibits and layout of the Exhibition.

We all know the value of archives and their role as our collective memory, bringing people, places and events from the past alive. The National Archives' strategic plan *Archives Inspire* sets out our ambitions for archives, including finding new ways for people to experience archival collections, and collaborating with others to open up our collections and our understanding of them. This exhibition is testament to those ambitions. It reminds us how integral archives are to our cultural heritage and how they continue to inspire the imagination and stimulate the curious mind. ■



THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

BRAZILIAN MODERNISM PAINTED FOR WAR



PREFACE

HAYLE GADELHA

TELEGRAMS: DUCHESS, LONDON.
TELEPHONE: GROSVENOR 3155.
(4 LINES)

ST JAMES' CLUB
PICCADILL
27 Oct: 1948

Dear Victor, I should be delighted
to write as you suggest at
the Brazilian printer.

I go back this
to the country, so if I
suggest it, I imagine
best plan would be for
whoever is the abroad
person to get into touch
with me down there
that I know exactly
they want. I can,
cause, come up
the printings at
time. My add

A modernist palimpsest

Hayle Gadelha
Cultural Attaché
Embassy of Brazil in London

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Having

been posted to the Embassy of Brazil as Cultural Attaché, I was still settling in London when the catalogue of the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* came to my attention. After reading it for the first time, I was struck by the Exhibition's profound cultural and historical significance. A whole odyssey was about to unfold, or rather two odysseys, as that small faded pale blue book was both the key to unlocking a forgotten treasure trove and the starting point of my own journey to revisit a most fascinating yet little known episode of Brazilian art and diplomacy.

The diminutive size of the catalogue, due to the scarcity of paper in war time, did not reduce its graphic and printing qualities or the richness of content: it spoke volumes about the British view of Brazil as well as Brazil's self-appraisal in the 1940s. The narratives that the catalogue contained about this first show of Brazilian art in the UK – the result of a donation to the British war effort, which constituted the largest and most substantial exhibition ever sent abroad from Brazil up to that date – were set by two critics with irreconcilable opinions about the artworks on display, the Brazilian Ruben Navarra (1917-1955) and the English Sacheverell Sitwell (1897-1988).

Sachie, as he was known, was the youngest of the Sitwells, three aristocratic, intellectual and eccentric siblings. His brother Osbert (1892-1969), who used to say that he was educated during the holidays from Eton,¹ was the first to be invited to contribute a preface to the catalogue, by his former peer at that traditional school, Victor Perowne (1897-1951), who was at the time Director of the South American Department at the Foreign Office.

Not having had contact with Brazilian art before, Osbert suggested that his brother Sacheverell, an expert in Baroque architecture, should produce the text instead. A few months earlier, Sacheverell had written an article called 'Brazilian Style' for the prestigious *The Architectural Review*, in which he defined Brazil's as 'the best architecture, there can be no question, in the modern world'.² The other vestige of his interest in Brazil had come twenty years earlier, in the lines of his poem *Rio Grande*. 'At the open church doors loud with light within/ At the bell's huge tolling/ By the river music, gurgling, thin/ Through the soft Brazilian air'³ are the last verses of the idyllic lyrics turned into a popular song by his friend Constant Lambert (1905-1951).

The immediate acceptance of the enterprise by a 'delighted' Sacheverell Sitwell was communicated in a letter that he left at the St James's Club, attended by both Perowne and himself at 106 Pall Mall.⁴ The building is only a few steps from the current premises of the Embassy of Brazil in London, whose flag billows from the office where I have been bringing those bygone days to life for a few years now. This was the same club where Ian Fleming (1908-1964), the creator of James Bond, resided during those years of world conflict. Occasionally, I have even had the vivid feeling that I saw them crossing the street from my window.

In fact, Sachie was not particularly familiar with Brazilian arts either – nor perhaps was any other British critic in the early 1940s. Apart from the Arcadian impressions narrated in the poem, Sachie had exchanged impressions with his 'commissioner' Perowne, for whom the Brazilian modernist paintings were 'all likely to be horrible, to judge by the reproductions I have seen recently of modern Brazilian painters',⁵ and had read a fifteen-page text by Navarra, which, before being reduced to a précis, was meant to represent the Brazilian perspective within the catalogue.⁶ Therefore, very limited knowledge informed Sitwell's foreword, which became, however, tremendously influential among the public. As *The Scotsman* alerted, the visitors of the show who read the catalogue in advance 'will take a different perspective, [after all] in dealing with an art so far removed from our own

conventions, it is perhaps wise to give the eye every assistance'.⁷

Nevertheless, and perhaps that explains why the catalogue remains indeed so informative, the two critics were talking at cross-purposes. Whereas Sitwell asserted that 'what Brazil needs is not more exiles from Central Europe but the presence of a true *chef d'école* from Paris, or even London',⁸ Navarra spoke of 'our particular intimacy with French artistic tradition'.^{ibid.8} In a long and furious article about the catalogue for the *Correio da Manhã*, Navarra accused the English critic of anti-Semitism and racism.⁹ In the catalogue, Sitwell had written that Segall, along with Marc Chagall (1887-1985), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), and Mark Gertler (1891-1939), comprised a race of undoubtedly talented minor painters and that the foreign blood which migrated to Brazil was not of first rate. Navarra assertively concluded that 'the illustrious critic [had] lost a little of his balance'.^{ibid.8}

All the same, arguments set by the authoritative words of Sitwell resonated widely through the press, and helped to form a general opinion regarding the Exhibition. His view that 'the one country with a first-rate modern architecture has perhaps too many diverse echoes in her painting' was borrowed by critics across the country,^{ibid.8} who received automatically and enthusiastically the show *Brazil Builds*, which featured architectural photographs and was supposed to second the Exhibition of paintings. In addition to the one hundred and sixty-eight artworks by seventy artists, the Embassy in London added one hundred and sixty-two architectural pictures from the show *Brazil Builds* to the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. They had been exhibited at the MoMA in New York a year earlier and, acclaimed by critics and public, arrived in London with the North American imprimatur, which may have influenced Sitwell and the British audience in general.

However, his most resounding assumption was about the excessive European influence over Brazilian art, a discussion which permeated virtually all the subsequent reviews by the newspapers – for the English critic and most of the later commentators, the artworks were 'national in theme but not in their handling,



which was informed by French and Central European schools'.^{ibid.8} The expected stereotypes of paintings in warm palettes with primitive subjects did not always correspond to the pictures on display. 'The Exhibition contains hardly anything that is stylistically unfamiliar to European eyes',^{ibid.10} noted *The Sunday Times*. Nonetheless, the printed press coverage was rather favourable and regarded the collection of paintings as an 'extremely interesting Exhibition',¹¹ in spite of the lack of knowledge about Brazilian artistic production.

'The least we can do is to take their painting seriously and try, in return, to help them with our criticism' were Sitwell's opening words in the catalogue,^{ibid.8} expressing gratitude for the offer by the Brazilian artists, whom he assumed to be destitute and struggling. He also suggested that a 'gift of a canvas represents a big sacrifice on the part of a young painter'.^{ibid.8} The Brazilians who sent their paintings as a contribution to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund were, in fact, neither young nor poor on average. The typical artist was a 39 year-old upper-class white man who was born and lived in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and who had studied art at one of those cities' main universities or abroad. What they shared was a desire for their offer to 'be appreciated for its moral and symbolical significance rather than for its material value',^{ibid.11} as stated in a joint open letter. They considered it 'part of our effort to compel the Brazilian government to side with the Allies',¹² in the words of Alcides da Rocha Miranda (1909-2001), one of the masterminds of the initiative.

His son, the contemporary painter Luiz Aquila (b.1943), has told me that political idealism of that sort was indeed the driving force behind the artists' gesture, rather than any self-promotional consideration. They had been organising anti-Axis showings in Brazil to raise funds to support the war effort. This is a belief shared by João Candido Portinari (b.1939), son of the Brazilian master painter, who brought the historical episode to the attention of the Embassy in 2004. Ten years later, Afonso Costa, an art dealer, presented his exciting plans of re-staging the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* to incumbent Ambassador Roberto Jaguaribe, who offered him the support of the Embassy. This

suggestion encouraged the fascinating research which has led me to the little blue catalogue and to so many archives, documents, paintings and stories which have silently preserved this almost-forgotten gracious gesture in wartime.

The 2018 Exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War* does not have the ambition of reassembling the original show, a most beautiful idea which will hopefully come to fruition at some other time. It aims rather to pay tribute to those artists and to Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha (1894-1960) and the diplomats who undertook an incredibly innovative and audacious initiative of cultural diplomacy *avant la lettre*. Thanks to their dream and to their extraordinary efforts to arrange the Exhibition, Brazilian paintings made their way into British collections and minds. By showing this artistic legacy and the diplomatic history behind it, Ambassador Eduardo dos Santos wishes to celebrate the reputation which Brazilian art has built up since that remarkable enterprise. Our culture has doubtlessly become increasingly admired by the British following that dark period when we fought side-by-side, both with arms and with brushes.

In direct contrast to 1944, today many experts in the UK are well equipped to discuss Brazilian art in depth. Some of the most knowledgeable of them – Dawn Ades, Michael Asbury, Vinicius de Carvalho and Adrian Locke – are passionately engaged with the current attempt to shed light on that fantastic diplomatic and artistic episode and to provide an up-to-date perspective on the paths travelled by Brazilian painting thenceforth. This new catalogue is therefore a kind of palimpsest, in which different historical times are juxtaposed and accumulate. It is indeed a necessary continuation of a noble gesture, of an effective example of the art of diplomacy.

Writing these lines from the courtyard of Burlington House, home of the Royal Academy of Arts, this time preparing myself to leave London, I close my eyes and see two Brazilian flags fluttering on either side of the Union Jacks and green-and-yellow posters everywhere. There is quite a flow of public visiting the Exhibition, in spite of the recent bombings. I shake the hands of colleagues from the Embassy team and



FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

27th October 1944.

I was delighted to get your letter at the Club today, and am most grateful to you for saying that you will be kind enough to contribute the preface to the catalogue of our exhibition of Brazilian paintings. This will be a very great help to us. I can assure you, and will be much appreciated by all those concerned.

The person in charge of the arrangements is Major Longden, of the British Council, 3, Hanover Street, W.1. I have asked him to get into touch with you at your house in the country.

Once again my most grateful thanks, and looking forward to seeing you soon.

(Sgd.) J.V. PEROVNE

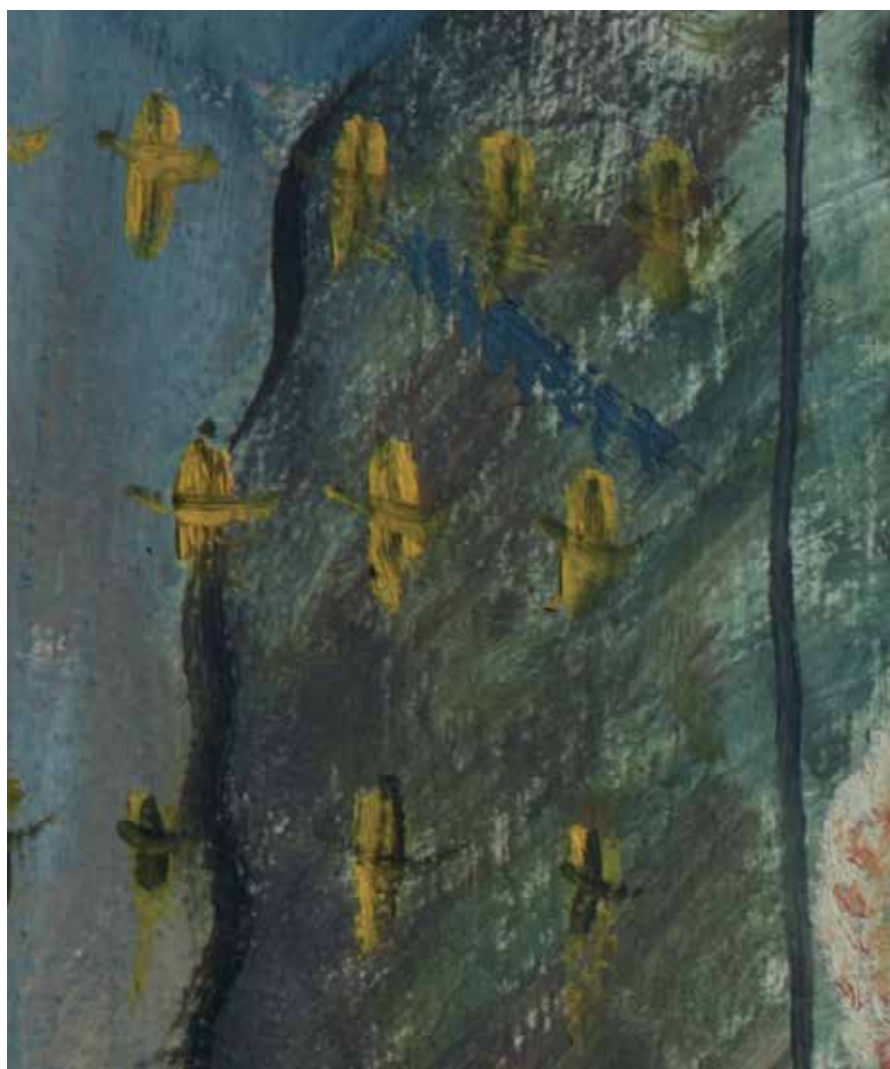
Sacheverell Sitwell, Esq.,
Weston Hall,
Towcester,
Northants.

celebrate with them the arrival of the Brazilian troops on the Italian front and the success of this unprecedented feat of cultural diplomacy. We are proud of Brazil's soldiers and artists who are playing their role in the fight against fascism and, like others, are hoping for the imminent victory of freedom over oppression. Look at the gate: Her Majesty The Queen and Princess Margaret are coming in to see the show! ■

3. SITWELL, Sacheverell (1924.). *The Thirteenth Caesar, and other Poems*. London : Grant Richards.
4. National Archives Records TNA/FO. Sacheverell Sitwell-Perowne. 27 October 1944.
5. National Archives Records TNA/FOAnnotations by Perowne. 9 December 1943.
6. NAVARRA, Ruben (1945). 'O catálogo da exposição brasileira'. *Correio da Manhã*. 18 February 1945.
7. 'Brazilian art.' In *The Scotsman*. 9 February 1945.
8. _____(1944) Royal Academy of Art Catalogue of the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. London : The British Council.
9. NAVARRA, Ruben (1945) Sobre a exposição de pintura brasileira em Londres. April, 1945.
10. NEWTON, Eric. 'A gesture from Brazil.' *The Sunday Times*. 26 November 1944, p. 2.
11. _____ *O Jornal*. 14 December 1943.
12. _____ 'Os artistas modernos brasileiros e o apoio ao esforço de guerra das Nações Unidas'. *Diário Carioca*. 12 November 1943, p. 3.



1. *Who Was Who*. [Online] [Cited: 4 9, 2016.] <http://www.U241734>, accessed 9 April 2016.
2. SITWELL, Sacheverell (1944.) 'The Brazilian style' in *Architectural Review*. pp. 1-6.



THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

BRAZILIAN MODERNISM PAINTED FOR WAR



ESSAYS

MICHAEL ASBURY
HAYLE GADELHA
VINICIUS MARIANO DE CARVALHO
DAWN ADES
ADRIAN LOCKE

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

(AS 6227/698/6)

29th November, 1944.

You will be glad to know that the Private View of the Exhibition of Brazilian Paintings on the 22nd November, went off very well. The British Council undertook all arrangements for the Exhibition and received advice and help from us. In the courtyard of Burlington House two Brazilian flags were flying on either side of the Union Jacks, and posters inside the building which advertised the Exhibition were framed in Brazilian colours. The three galleries devoted to the Exhibition were decorated with chrysanthemums and the whole show presented a pleasing and impressive appearance. Over 320 people turned up; among those who accepted invitations to be present were: Brendan Bracken, Sacheverell Sitwell, Clifford Bax, Lilian Braithwaite, Viscount Cecil, Sir Hugh Gurney, Professor Entwistle (Professor of Spanish Studies at Oxford) Sir Charles and Lady Belligman, Sir S. Tallents, Cavalcanti and Norman Zimmern of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Professor Charles Reilly and Sir Augustus Daniel (wellknown architects), Sir Otto Niemeyer, Lady Portal, Oliver Bonham Carter, Air Vice-Marshal Cordingley, Air Vice-Marshal Sir Hamilton Nichols, Air Marshal Sir Bertine E. Sutton and Viscount Trenchard.

Unfortunately Sir Archibald Sinclair, who was to have opened the Exhibition was unable to come at the last moment, as a Cabinet Meeting which had gone on all the morning had to be continued in the afternoon. His place was taken by his Under-Secretary, Lord Sherwood, who made a pleasant and tactful speech referring to the gifts of money to the Royal Air Force from the Fellowship of the Bellows, to the Brazilian Forces in action in Italy, and the Brazilian Air Force patrolling the home coast. He also mentioned, and this was noticed in the press, that during the last ten days a Fighter Squadron of the Brazilian Air Force had been in action in Italy. He emphasised that Brazil was not only a fair weather friend, but had stood by us in our darkest days in 1941.

Sir Malcolm Robertson, Chairman of the British Council, who introduced the main speaker, had been entreated to keep his opening speech down to a few words, but he spoke at some length about his experiences in Brazil as Chargé d'Affaires during the last war and referred to her fine record before 1916 as a benevolent Neutral, which made us all feel rather uncomfortable. He mentioned how generous the Brazilian Government had been in lending galleries in Brazil to the British Council. Sousa Leao made a pleasant speech of thanks for the compliments paid to his country and commented on the style and influences of the pictures.

Forty-seven pictures have already been sold; the buyers include Sousa Leao (who bought five pictures personally and two of the Guignard for the Embassy), Boavista, Hugo Gouthier, Lord Sherwood, Peter Watson (editor of "Horizon"), Lady Bird (of Bird's Custard), Noel Charles, Philip Broadhead.

/One

Sir Donald Gainer, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Rio de Janeiro.

One of the Portinari was bought by the Brazilian Embassy.

The Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires blatantly gazed at the Private View and was seen proceeding round the Exhibition with a scowl of envy on his face; however, he justified his presence by buying two pictures, one of them by a Peruvian artist, which he said was the best picture in the show (Landscape) by Campofiorito, and "Figures" by Percy de Guignard. The British Council bought "They amuse themselves" by Jo and we hope to arrange for a Guignard or the other picture to be bought for some National Gallery.

Yesterday the Duchess of Kent, who is President of the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund, visited the Exhibition accompanied by Lady Herbert. She was received by Sir Malcolm Robertson, Sousa Leao, Major Longdon, Mr. Church and Somerville of the British Council, Sir Walter Lamb, Secretary of the Royal Academy, Group Captain A.S.W. Dore, representative of the Air Ministry, and myself. Several photographs were taken on this occasion and we will be sending you copies of them. There is quite a steady flow of public (on a small scale) to the Exhibition.

Julio Rosen of the British Broadcasting Corporation gave a broadcast talk to Latin America about the Exhibition on the day it was opened. The enclosed press notices are quite good I think, considering the extreme shortage of news in our one-page newspapers and other excitements such as the war, which is being very fully reported just now. The notices are sent to you for use in whatever way you think fit. I will note the introduction by Sacheverell Sitwell one of our most accomplished writers - Carlos Magno would be interested. The British Council are keeping Francis Toye fully informed. The Ministry of Information are sending Stone out some information about the Duchess's visit. I understand that the British Council do not send material out direct to their other representatives in Brazil, but that it is for Francis Toye to distribute what he gets as he thinks best.

(J.V. Perowne)

P.S. I have just heard that The Queen visited the Exhibition today.



British and Brazilian art in the 1940s: two nations at the crossroads of modernism

Michael Asbury

Reader in theory and history of art
Chelsea College of Arts

With the benefit of

hindsight, it is tempting to remark on how the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* which took place at the Royal Academy in London 1944, later travelling to several other locations in the UK, represented a lost opportunity for British institutions. Despite the fact that the associated sale in aid of the RAF, the *raison d'être* behind the entire enterprise, had been relatively successful, few of the exhibited works made their way into British museums.

Today such works would be considered very desirable indeed. Early Brazilian modernist painters such as Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973), currently the subject of a major retrospective at MoMA in New York, Lasar Segall (1891-1957), a central link between early European and Brazilian modernism, Candido Portinari (1903-1962), considered the 'official' modernist painter in Brazil during the 1930s who, together with Roberto Burle Marx (1886-1973), was very much associated with the rise of the Brazilian style in modern architecture, as so many others in that exhibition, would today be welcome additions to collections of any international museum with global pretensions.

October 16.
I spent this morning at
gallery & went through the collection
of pictures from Brazil.
on the whole the standard is not
bad though no picture is outstanding.

I have had another conversation
with Sir Walter Lamb & I find that
we could open on Nov. 22. & remain
open for 3 weeks which should be
long enough. Should you greatly

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Mr. Me
happy

Of course, this would have been impossible to envisage at the time, a fact that is attested by the initial difficulty in securing an exhibition location in London. The Royal Academy had only agreed to host it after receiving considerable pressure from the Foreign Office in conjunction with the British Council.¹

The remark may thus be tempting yet we must acknowledge that the institutional context of the time was entirely other than today's. That enough works were acquired, enough in any case to enable the current Exhibition to take place, revisiting and remembering that now largely forgotten event, is in itself a remarkable fact. The very idea of exhibiting modernist works from outside the main economic and cultural centres would have been considered by most institutions, even as late as the 1980s, an exercise in showcasing derivative modern art.² Of course, exceptions did exist, but their impact was primarily acknowledged only retrospectively while in their own time they were invariably accompanied by highly derisory reviews within the British press. It is worth remembering that it was only in 1989 that the institutional tide began to change with the Hayward Gallery's *Art in Latin America*, a major survey of historic production curated by Dawn Ades. That exhibition was followed by *Transcontinental: Nine Contemporary Latin American Artists*, curated by Guy Brett (b.1942) at the Ikon Gallery and Corner House, respectively in Birmingham and Manchester in 1990.

The current acceptance and indeed recognition of the significance of such work by major British cultural institutions stems to a large extent from the slow and gradual recognition of the institutions' own failings and prejudices with regard to both exhibiting and collecting. In fact, such a condition has only been partially addressed. This has taken place after decades of struggle, protests and criticism, by artists, art critics and academics not only with regard to the acceptance of art and culture from the so-called peripheries but equally of work produced by Britain's own minorities: those artists whose presence in this country may be largely attributed to the legacies of Britain's imperial and colonialist past. Here one must acknowledge the role played, in highlighting

such prejudices, by the journal *Third Text*, the Institute of International Visual Arts (InIVA), and the art history department at the University of Essex and its Collection of Latin American Art.

Therefore, when Tate Modern was inaugurated at the dawn of the new millennium, it was no longer such a radical gesture to include Lagos, Mumbai and Rio de Janeiro, side by side with London, Paris, Moscow, New York, Tokyo, and Vienna, when it presented *Century City*, its first temporary exhibition in 2001.

Rather than pointing to the institutional *faux pas*, it would seem more reasonable therefore to speculate on what would have been the reception given to the Brazilian painters' donation to the war effort in 1944, had the choice of the British art critic to respond to such work within the Exhibition catalogue been different. Thus, while Sacheverell Sitwell's (1897-1988) preface concluded by stating that the British public would be touched by the Exhibition's objective and the circumstances that led to that 'spontaneous gift from the artists from a friendly and an Allied land', today's public would most probably be shocked by his arrogant and patronising tone towards the subject.³ Even within the British context, the Sitwells (there were two brothers and a sister) had constructed a rather snobbish reputation for themselves amongst the British cultural elite, so much so that D. J. Taylor (b.1960), reviewing Sarah Bradford's (b.1938) book on Sacheverell Sitwell's poetry had no qualm in stating from the outset that: 'It would be impossible ever to take the late Sacherell Sitwell quite as seriously as he took himself.'⁴

Sitwell seems indeed an odd figure to have been commissioned such a task. The assumption is that his interest in Baroque architecture and the *Exhibition of Modern French Art* he had organised with his brother Osbert at the Mansard Gallery in Heals Department Store in 1919, would have constituted sufficient expertise.⁵ The *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* was after all accompanied by another exhibition on Brazilian modern architecture, that drew upon several photographs that had been included in the ground breaking *Brazil Builds* display held at the Museum of Modern

Art in New York the previous year. It is thus not surprising that Sitwell's preface refers glowingly to both the French modern masters and to Brazilian modern architecture while deriding the Germanic expressionistic influences within Brazilian painterly production. Lasar Segall is thus associated with Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Marc Chagall (1887-1985) and Mark Gertler (1891-1939) in a comment that our contemporary sensibilities could only describe as anti-Semitic.

Indeed, the conclusion, hardly hidden between the lines of Sitwell's preface, is that the painters had a lot of catching up to do in relation to Western (particularly French) European art and Brazilian architecture. Had his knowledge of the subject been a little more developed, he would have observed that the origins of both modern architecture and painting in Brazil had much in common.

The significant influence that Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (also known as Le Corbusier, 1887-1965) held, particularly following the project for the Ministry of Education and Health building (also known as the Gustavo Capanema Palace, after Brazil's first Minister of Education), has been well documented.⁶ We must not forget, however, that it was with the premises of Purism that painter Tarsila do Amaral and her partner Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) would become familiarised while in Paris in the early 1920s.⁷ Purism was a concept developed by Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1966) and Le Corbusier in *Après le Cubisme*, published in 1918. Although today it is not as widely known, its premises became broadly adopted in Paris during the 1920s in the aftermath of WWI. It presented itself as a 'call to order': a project for ridding away from cubism the vestiges of expressionistic, and thus Germanic, influences. As the very name implied, it brought with it a return to figuration with a penchant for Arcadian scenes in an attempt to purify what it saw as the 'rightful' classical inheritance of French culture. Oswald de Andrade translated such a nationalist stance firstly in his *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil* (*Pau-Brasil Poetry Manifesto*) of 1924 while Tarsila's paintings portrayed Brazilian landscapes and popular scenes. Later in 1928, more radically, the European Arcadian themes would become transformed by Tarsila into mythological scenes of a pre-Cabralian

Brazil, following or in conjunction with Oswald's publication of the *Manifesto Antropofágico* (*Anthropophagic Manifesto*) in 1928.⁸ Tarsila's paintings *Abaporu* ('the one who eats human flesh', in the Brazilian indigenous language Tupi) and *Antropofagia* (from the Greek word for cannibalism, *anthrōpophagia/anthrōpophagos*) both date from that year.

The Sitwells' exhibition at the Mansard Gallery having taken place the year after the publication of *Après le Cubisme* would have certainly included works of a Purist nature. Indeed, André Lhote (1885-1962), who would later be one of Tarsila's tutors in Paris, was amongst the participating artists. Like the Sitwells, Tarsila too had been an early promoter of French modernist painting, having acquired many works and later having participated in the exhibition of French modern paintings organised by Vicente do Rego Monteiro (1899-1970) in Recife and then São Paulo in 1930, which included Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Georges Braque (1882-1963), Joan Miró (1893-1983), Fernand Léger (1881-1955) amongst others (including Monteiro's own work, of course).

The old British colonial arrogance that seeps through Sitwell's preface, overshadows the fact that, at least as far as modern art was concerned, there were many similarities between Britain and Brazil. Both countries still held France, or more specifically Paris, as the source for modern aesthetic advances, neither country had by then developed significant institutional structures for the promotion and exhibition of contemporary art, nor any visible national school in comparison with what became known as the School of Paris. Exceptional events had of course taken place: in Brazil, Lucio Costa's *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* in 1931 and the third *Salão de Maio* organised in 1939 by Flávio de Carvalho (another important participant in the 1944 Exhibition) stand out, while in England exhibitions such as those of Unit One and Objective Abstraction in commercial galleries in London during the 1930s are worth noting. Despite these occasional events, art institutions in both countries, although undeniably distinct in their histories and means, tended to be conservative and rather academic in nature.⁹ Margaret Garlake (b.1939) in her detailed survey

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Minutes.

INDEXED

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On October 23rd I inspected, at the Tate Gallery, the collection of Brazilian pictures which have been presented to H.M.G. by the Brazilian artists concerned as a contribution towards the British war effort. Also present were Senhor Sousa-Leão (Brazilian Embassy), Sir P. Ogilvie, Major Longden and Mr. Church (British Council) and Mrs. Ward of the Tate Gallery.

The pictures make a surprisingly reassuring show, though one can understand that they might not, all of them, appeal to the Council of the Royal Academy. We all agreed that the Exhibition should be an interesting one, and that provincial directors would be anxious to get hold of it as soon as the show at Burlington House is over.

As regards the preface of the catalogue, it was agreed that I should approach Sir Osbert Sitwell in the matter. Draft herewith.

It was also agreed that it would be desirable that one, or more, of the pictures should be acquired by or on behalf of H.M.G. for inclusion in one of the national collections. This could either be done through the Fine Arts Commission (if I understood Major Longden correctly), who would recommend the purchase from one of the various funds at the disposal of the national collections; or alternatively, the National Art Collections Fund could be persuaded to buy something suitable and present it to some specific public collection.

Mr. Mallet has since suggested that it would be a happy gesture if H.M.G. were to acquire one, or more, of these pictures for the decoration of the Embassy at Rio. This seems a very good idea, and one that we should consider how we can best take up with Major Longden and the Ministry of Works. *dit herewith.*

As regards suitable publicity, the British Council have the matter in hand, but I suggested to Mr. Church that he should get into touch with the News Department, in order that they might also do their stuff with the political correspondents. For, after all, our interest in this matter is a political, not an artistic, one, and News Department should therefore see all these papers.

The date now fixed for the opening of the Exhibition is November 22nd, and, at Senhor Sousa-Leão's suggestion, the photographs of the Exhibition "Brazilian Builds" now being held at Simpson's are to be included in it.

There remains the question of the opening ceremony, and I undertook to arrange for a suitable personage to do this. The obvious person/

of British art in the post-war era is quite explicit about the feeble institutional context for modern art at the time:

In 1945 the exhibiting system was reduced to a skeleton that would not be fully fletched out until the 1960s. Since the Tate was unable to promote contemporary art adequately, this function was parcelled out between exhibiting groups and commercial galleries in a makeshift accommodation which failed to acknowledge the distinction between the artist-led societies, headed by the Royal Academy, and profit-making dealer galleries. [...] By 1945 the Royal Academy was surviving on its reputation and its ability to supply what Andrew Brighton has called consensus art to conservative, middle class patrons.¹⁰

Abstraction remained an isolated and sporadic investigation explored by a small number of individuals. Interestingly, it was often those artists and intellectuals who held the notion of the universal who were also able to bridge in their appreciation the products of the trained and the untrained, the modern and the so-called primitive, the cultured and the raw expressiveness of children.¹¹

The Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), the first institution to be established in the UK exclusively dedicated to modern or contemporary art was only founded in 1946. It was initially situated in the foyer of a cinema until moving to Dover Street in 1950 and to its current premises on The Mall in 1968. Its somewhat precarious beginning was not dissimilar to the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro (MAM-RJ) for example, founded in 1948 and held in the arguably more appropriate, albeit equally provisional, modernist architecture of the Capanema Palace. In São Paulo both the Museum of Modern Art (MAM-SP) and the Museum of Art of São Paulo (MASP) were founded in 1947. Only four years later, the first São Paulo Biennial would take place, which similarly to the Festival of Britain, also in 1951, sought to reconfigure the national sense of identity through modern aesthetics.

In both contexts, admittedly for distinct reasons, the 1940s can be understood as a pivotal decade within the respective national modern art trajectories. If in the UK the ICA would provide a platform for the first wave of artists to emerge from modest social backgrounds, such as those

associated with the Independent Group, in Brazil, artists such as Portinari and later Alfredo Volpi (1896-1988), demonstrated that it was possible, even if still rare, for working class artists to rise to the cultural elite. The *Modernismo* of the 1920s, had by then become known as somewhat 'aristocratic' in nature, inextricably associated with the coffee oligarchies, as Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), one of the central protagonists of the 1922 Week of Modern Art, had claimed in his 1942 address on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the movement. Likewise, the old aristocratic nature of British early modernism, with its Bloomsbury Group, the Sitwells and all, was giving way to a new generation, one that bridged the art school and high culture, art and science, erudition and mass communication.

How more interesting therefore would it have been to have a figure such as Herbert Read (1893-1968) write that 1944 preface. Read, the ICA's founding director, had himself suffered discrimination from those in positions of power within the British establishment.¹² It was also Read who identified, only a few years later, a painting by Volpi at the 1953 São Paulo Biennial as the most deserving of that edition's national painting award.¹³ Previously, he had included an illustration of a work by Alfred Wallis (1855-1942) in the first edition of his seminal book *Art Now*, in 1935. Like Cardoso Júnior (1861-1947), the author of the painting donated to the Tate Gallery following the sale of the Brazilian paintings, Wallis was a self-taught artist whose themes centred on coastal and maritime landscapes. Discovered by Ben Nicholson (1894-1982), during a visit to the Cornish village of St. Yves, Wallis stands as proof that there were in Britain artists and critics capable of bridging their appreciation of sophisticated advances in modernist abstraction with the spontaneous and intuitive art of the untrained enthusiast, without the paternalism and arrogance of a Sitwell or a Kenneth Clark (1903-1983), the latter who, as Director of the National Gallery, declined hosting the 1944 *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*.

It would have been impossible to predict at the time, but Brazil was on the verge of a cultural revolution that would culminate in the inauguration of the federal capital Brasília, *Bossa Nova* music, *Cinema Novo* and concrete and neoconcrete art and poetry, amongst other manifestations.¹⁴ Britain would have to wait until

the 1960s until London began to swing once again. Today, like in the 1940s, both countries for separate but possibly related reasons, brace themselves faced with their own respective and uncertain futures.

Writing only a few years after the War, Read would poetically describe the piecemeal support for modern art in the UK, in such a way as to be fitting the very project and ambition behind that 1944 *Exhibition of Brazilian Modern Paintings*. The advice seems indeed pertinent to this very day:

So we must begin with small things, in diverse ways, helping one another, discovering one's own peace of mind, waiting for the understanding that flashes from one peaceful mind to another. In that way the separate cells will take shape, will be joined to one another, will manifest new forms of social organisation and new types of art.¹⁵ ■



1. The diplomatic effort in operation behind the event is explored by Hayle Gadelha in this publication.
2. Amongst the exceptions was the pioneering exhibitions organised by David Medalla (b.1942) at Signals Gallery in the 1960s and Hélio Oiticica's (1937-1980) Whitechapel exhibition in 1969, which had been proposed by Guy Brett (b.1942). A large exhibition of art from six Latin American countries was also organised by the Midland Group in Nottingham in various venues in 1968. It is also widely known, for example, that Sir Nicholas Serota (b.1946) admitted to having considered Latin American art derivative, but during the course of the 1990s changed his opinion becoming a powerful advocate

for it.

3. A facsimile of that catalogue is included in this publication.
4. D. J. Taylor's review of Sarah Bradford's book 'Sacheverell Sitwell: Splendours and Miseries', *The Independent*, 18th June 1993.
5. As stated in the *Dictionary of Art Historians*.
6. See for example Tate Modern's catalogue for the exhibition *Century City*, (p.182) and Andreoli and Forty (eds) *Brazil's Modern Architecture*, Phaidon: London, New York, 2004, pp. 113-117.
7. Both Tarsila and Oswald de Andrade's son, Oswald de Andrade Filho (1890-1954), were amongst the painters included in the 1944 Exhibition.
8. Pre-Cabralian here refers to Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467/1468 – 1520), who is said to have 'discovered' Brazil.
9. Britain had in fact a hand in the establishment of the first art institution in Brazil. Having escorted the Portuguese royal family and court to Brazil, in order to escape the Napoleonic advances into the Iberian Peninsula, the prince regent, Dom João VI, later founded the *Escola Real de Artes e Ofícios* (the 'Royal School of Arts and Crafts', subsequently *Academia Imperial de Belas Artes*, the 'Imperial Academy of Fine Arts') in Rio de Janeiro in 1816.
10. GARLAKE, M. *New Art New World: British Art in Postwar society*, Yale, New Haven and London, 1998 p.22-23.
11. There is an interesting parallel here between the development of Mário Pedrosa's (1900-1981) thinking with that of Herbert Read (1893-1968) along the course of the following decade.
12. Amongst these was Kenneth Clark, who Garlake described as, 'For all his generosity, Clark found human relationships difficult and was handicapped by a patrician disdain for those whom he considered to be his social and intellectual inferiors.' Garlake, op. cit. p.11.
13. Alfredo Volpi (1896-1988), an artist included in the 1944 Exhibition, would become an important reference to the São Paulo Concrete Art group in the 1950s, and for a brief period became affiliated to concrete art himself. See: Asbury, M. *Alfredo Volpi: at the crossroads of Brazilian modern art*, exhibition catalogue, Cecilia Brunson Projects, London 2016.
14. This subject is explored by Adrian Locke in this publication.
15. READ, H. *Culture and Education in a World Order*, 1948. Republished in *Education for Peace*, Routledge, London, 1950, p.58 Quoted in: Thistlewood, D. *Herbert Read: Form and Formlessness*, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 1984, p. 116.

F-0653
CO-1995

54, Mount Street, Londres, W.1.

24 de Novembro de 1944.

Meu caro Portinari,

A exposição dos quadros brasileiros na "Royal Academy of Arts" tem sido um real sucesso.

Tive o prazer de comprar o seu lindo quadro inserto na página I do catalogo.

Fiz a aquisição por achar o quadro admirável e também para evitar que uma qualquer pessoa o comprasse, deixando-o segregado num quarto de apartamento. Vai o seu quadro ficar por uns tempos, emprestado, com o "British Council" que o enviará a várias exposições regionais do país o que constituirá uma admirável propaganda para você.

O "British Council" ficou encantado com a idéia e você é o único pintor brasileiro que desfrutará desse inestimável auspício do Governo britânico.

Lembranças a Maria e para você um afetuoso abraço

Hugo Gouthier

*54, Mount Street, Londres, W.1.

24th November 1944.

My dear Portinari,

The exhibition of Brazilian pictures at the 'Royal Academy of Arts' has proved to be a real success.

I had the pleasure of buying your beautiful painting which appears on page 1 of the catalogue. I acquired it because I admire the work, and also to avoid it being bought by a random person who might leave it segregated in a room in some apartment. Your painting will remain for some time on loan to the 'British Council', who will send it to a number of regional exhibitions across the country, which will redound to a considerable boost in publicity for you.

The 'British Council' was delighted with the idea and you will be the only Brazilian painter who will be so highly honoured by the British government.

Please give my fond regards to Maria, and receive a warm embrace from

Hugo Gouthier

The art of diplomacy

Hayle Gadelha

How could one

hundred and sixty-eight Brazilian artworks possibly have succeeded in crossing an Atlantic Ocean swarming with Nazi submarines and disembarked in a London under attack from V2 rockets, to be displayed at the Royal Academy, in the midst of WWII? This is the first question that hits anyone who learns about the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, which was the first show of Brazilian art to reach the UK. It is a thoroughly fascinating episode in the history of Brazil's visual arts and of its bilateral relations with the UK.

There were certainly many brokers involved in such a felicitous confluence. The protagonists, the artists, were moved by genuine idealism, perhaps only conceivable within a context of war, when they donated their pictures to be sold in support of the Royal Air Force, an institution widely admired by the Brazilians, who regarded it as the embodiment of the democratic values at stake at the time. A notably efficient corps of civil servants at the Foreign Office and the British Council organised a superlative show in eight galleries across the UK in an incredibly short period of time, motivated by diplomatic reasons. As stated in one of the many revealing handwritten notes by those officers, 'our interest in this matter is a political, not an artistic one'.¹

Even in the understandably sceptical bureaucratic environment of wartime, the British Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Sir Noel Charles (1891-1975), perceived the gift as a 'very respectable artistic achievement'² and urged a splash to be made around it, so as to avoid insulting the Brazilians. He would himself acquire one of the artworks, *Group*, by Bellá Paes Leme (1910-?).

Indeed, that fantastic feat was only possible due to a unique convergence of factors, but the locomotive of the enterprise was the Brazilian Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha (1894-1960), mastermind of the Brazilian participation in WWII. A skilful operator of the media, he shrewdly announced the art initiative through the press, making it rather delicate for those British bureaucrats who saw the enterprise as a burden to drop the Brazilian offer of artworks. As Ambassador Charles wrote to the Foreign Secretary, and later Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden (1897-1977),

all arrangements were made by the artists and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs without my being informed... I was thus given no opportunity of referring the matter to you without running the risk of giving serious offence'.²

That was how Aranha launched, in 1943, one of the earliest, cleverest and arguably most successful institution-led initiatives of public diplomacy.

A central figure in the cabinet of President Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954), Aranha took on the Foreign Ministry adopting a policy of 'pragmatic equilibrium', through which Brazil sought to extract maximum gains by bargaining with both the US and Germany.³ Brazil's strategic position in the War – geopolitical, due to its proximity to Africa, the Atlantic Route and its continental influence, as well as economic, as a main supplier of primary goods – was well understood by the Vargas government, which took advantage of it. After the US entered the War and, especially, in the wake of the sinking of several Brazilian merchant ships by Nazi submarines which killed hundreds of civilians and definitively turned public opinion against the Axis powers, there was no more room for ambiguity. The liberals led by Aranha finally gained the upper hand within Vargas' hitherto divided cabinet and Brazil prepared itself for war.

In January 1942, Aranha wrote a document to brief Vargas during the secret visit that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945) paid to his Brazilian counterpart, on his return from the Casablanca Conference, listing the eleven priority goals of Brazil's foreign policy. The first of them was to improve the Brazilian position on the international stage. Aranha's assumption that Brazil would 'inevitably (become) one of the great economic and political powers of the world'⁴ motivated the deployment of twenty-five thousand troops to fight on the Italian front, making Brazil the only South American nation to combat in the European theatre, and the dispatch of one hundred and sixty-eight paintings to be displayed in British galleries.

After having been exhibited at the Itamaraty Palace in Rio de Janeiro, headquarters of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, the artworks were put into seven crates weighing six hundred and twenty-three kilograms and insured for a value of £2,000.⁵ A British officer wrote, in regard to the logistical (dis)arrangements, that

just as [the pictures] were ready to be packed we fortunately discovered that the responsible Brazilian had omitted to catalogue and number them; and then when the cases arrived they were found to be suitable for organs but not for pictures.⁶

The trip was a protracted one and those in charge of it started to worry about the art cargo, as the paintings took around three months to reach their destination, a voyage fifty per cent longer than the one which transferred the Portuguese court to Brazil one hundred and thirty-four years earlier. The risks were real, and precisely during that period the Brazilian ship *Vital de Oliveira* was sunk off Rio de Janeiro's coast, killing ninety-nine people. Having arrived in a London also under aerial strike – the Brazilian Consulate had been bombed a month earlier –, the pictures were stored at the British Council and then at the Tate, until a venue was found to host the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. British officials insured the paintings for the period of their stay in the UK, to 'be saved from a very awkward situation if anything were to happen to them through enemy action – a much more likely occurrence nowadays'.⁷

The most important galleries in London – the

National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, Tate, Victoria & Albert Museum, Wallace Collection – were approached by the government but declined to host the Brazilian show, on the basis that they were too damaged by bombings or just reopening their own collections after a long retreat. The Royal Academy itself had rejected the exhibition when first contacted. A baffled British diplomat noted that

much time and ingenuity have been spent...in trying to find a suitable venue for the exhibition of these pictures, but without success up to date. The pictures have now reached this country, and it is urgent to do something about getting them accepted if we are not to disappoint our friends in Brazil.⁸

The same diplomat commented that it was ‘amusing to hear that the Royal Academy turned us down on the ground that they didn’t like the pictures! Neither do we! But that was not the point’.⁹

Soon after, the Foreign Secretary personally appealed, with success, to the reluctant president of the Academy, Sir Alfred Munnings (1878-1959), a horse-painter averse to any modernism who eventually agreed to assist the British government, even though the Royal Academy council was not ‘favourably impressed by the specimens of these paintings’.¹⁰ The contrast was indeed stark, between the conservative academicism of the Royal Academy’s hyper-realistic ‘picture of the year’ of 1944, *Pauline in the Yellow Dress* by Herbert James Gunn (1893-1964), described by *The Daily Mail* as ‘the Mona Lisa of 1944’,¹¹ and the modern *Lucy with flower*, by Lasar Segall (1891-1957), the Brazilian artwork which would attract the most attention from among those which were to be hung in its room.



The Exhibition was thus hosted at the least likely venue, the traditionalist Royal Academy, under the leadership of a particularly conservative president. The reassuring reception of the show by the British public and the subsequent recognition of the Brazilian modernist painters provided evidence that the Academy’s pessimism was, to a large extent, a product of the British artistic establishment’s prejudicial and uninformed views about modern art and

about Brazil. The curator of the show, the first Director of Fine Arts at the British Council, Major Alfred Longden (1875-1954), was slightly more impressed. He considered that ‘on the whole the standard is not bad though no picture is outstanding’¹² when he first saw the artworks, just one month before the opening.

Only forty-two days prior to its launch, the Exhibition was formally accepted by Munnings, under the condition that the posters and the catalogue clearly stated the provenance of the collection, ‘so that no responsibility for its quality would rest on the Royal Academy or the Foreign Office’.¹³ In November 1944, when the Brazilian paintings were being hung, London was undergoing a critical moment in the War. Meanwhile, Brazil was experiencing a most severe economic and political crisis, marked by shortages of supplies and an acute inflationary process. Oswaldo Aranha, a vocal advocate of prompt free elections, had resigned from the Foreign Ministry before the arrival of the Brazilian artworks in London and the troops in Naples, both initiatives mainly ensuing from his personal endeavour. The Vargas government was facing growing opposition from those who increasingly perceived a contradiction in his government as an authoritarian regime fighting for democracy abroad.

On 22nd November 1944, when Brazilian troops were stationed at the base of Monte Castello, preparing to fight their bloodiest and most important battle in the War, high-profile personalities from Britain’s artistic and political circles attended Burlington House, the courtyard of which was decorated with two Brazilian flags. Chrysanthemums and green-and-yellow posters adorned the Lecture Room, where eighty oil paintings were exhibited; the Gem Room, filled with eighty-eight drawings and compositions in diverse techniques; and the Gallery VIII, which hosted the one hundred and sixty-two architectural photographs of the show *Brazil Builds*, formerly displayed in New York.¹³

The 830-strong guest list included personalities such as T. S. Eliott (1888-1965), H. G. Wells (1886-1946), John Nash (1893-1977), Paul Nash (1889-1946), Samuel Courtauld (1876-1947), J. M. Keynes (1883-1946) and the

Minutes.

At the end of last year, fifty Brazilian artists united to present, through the Brazilian Government, 150 of their paintings to H.M.G. as a token of good-will and admiration, with the request that they should be sold and the proceeds regarded as a contribution towards the British war effort. Much time and ingenuity have been spent since then in trying to find a suitable venue for the exhibition of these pictures, but without success up to date. The pictures have now reached this country, and it is urgent to do something about getting them accepted if we are not to disappoint our friends in Brazil.

In March, on the instructions of the Secretary of State, we approached the Royal Academy, who were then unable to make the desired arrangements for exhibition. Now we are given to understand that they will be able to make some of the galleries of Burlington House available for some weeks in November, after which, the paintings could go on tour to provincial centres. It has been suggested that the Royal Academy would agree to make space available for the exhibition at Burlington House, if approached by the Secretary of State.

I accordingly submit a draft to the P.R.A. for the Secretary of State's signature. It will be noticed that I have ventured to state in the draft that Mr. Eden, or one of his Cabinet colleagues, will be performing the opening ceremony.

J.V. Perowne

34d October 1944.

pld. Jey

S.G.B.

I think you should see this draft.

AR Oct 5

P.D.
5/10.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

I cannot
promise
this is
otherwise
I agree.
AR

Nobel prize-winning diplomat First Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (1864-1958). A British officer annotated that the list may be 'useful to His Majesty's Government's entertainment'.¹⁴ Over three hundred and twenty influential people with virtually no previous knowledge about Brazilian art attended the opening, a rare opportunity to see foreign art in those dark days of War. The main speech, delivered by the Under-Secretary of State for Air, Lord Sherwood (1898-1970), was warm, focussing on the role which Brazil was playing in the War and gratefully mentioning the Fellowship of the Bellows of Brazil, a civil organisation which had raised substantial resources to buy several airplanes for the Royal Air Force.¹³ Lord Sherwood would himself acquire a pen and ink drawing of a square by Burle Marx entitled *Lapa*, 'where the architecture is observed with wit and a sound topographical sense',¹⁵ as reported by *The Observer*.

The Exhibition garnered praise at the seven other galleries to which it toured afterwards: the Castle Museum in Norwich, the National Gallery of Edinburgh, the Kelvingrove Gallery in Glasgow, the Victoria Gallery in Bath, the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, the Whitechapel Gallery in London again and, finally, the Reading Museum and Art Gallery. Although still sympathetic, the response of the public and press in other cities was less enthusiastic than that observed in London. An officer of the British Council commented, in this regard, that in the provinces 'most of the visitors [have] pre-conceived ideas of art being purely representational'.¹⁶ After the Exhibition and the Axis were dismantled, part of those paintings made two last appearances in Amsterdam and in Paris, where they comprised UNESCO's inaugural exhibition in 1946, the *Exposition Internationale d'Art Moderne*.¹⁷

In the meantime, King George VI (1895-1952) wrote a noteworthy letter to President Getúlio Vargas on VE Day itself stating that, 'Brazil may claim a worthy share in the victory of the united nations'.¹⁸ The Exhibition was a significant yet little known part of this Brazilian contribution and the apex of a popular anti-Axis mobilisation undertaken by liberal sectors of Brazilian society grouped into different organisations, for instance, the League of National Defence, a civic-cultural association founded in 1916.¹⁹

Among its members were the painters who had been organising shows in Brazil to raise funds for the war effort. Most of the Brazilian cultural milieu had been supportive of Vargas' government in preceding years, attracted by its modernising policies and its patronage of the arts. It was indeed a symbiotic relationship, as his *Estado Novo* ('New State') regime and the artists mutually benefited from large-scale commissioning programmes and expositions abroad aimed at projecting the image of a country in the ascendance.²⁰ Emblematic examples of this mutual endorsement, both backed by the federal government, were the modernist Brazilian pavilion designed by Lucio Costa (1902-1998) and Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012) and filled with paintings by Candido Portinari (1903-1960) for the 1939 New York World's Fair and the show *Brazil Builds*, which revealed the yet unknown Brazilian modernist architecture to the world at the MoMA in New York and which would later be included in the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* in the UK.

In point of fact, the US of Roosevelt's 'good neighbour' doctrine proved to be a rather powerful stimulus for the internationalisation of Brazilian culture. From that period onwards, North American aesthetic values began to replace long-established European artistic influences in Brazil, by means of an intense programme of inter-cultural exchanges which featured honorary ambassadors as symbols of the increasing rapprochement, from Carmen Miranda (1909-1955) to Orson Welles (1915-1985) and Walt Disney (1901-1966) – the latter travelled to Rio de Janeiro to create the character Joe Carioca.²¹

The once hegemonic relationship with the UK faced tense moments of distrust and distancing at the beginning of WWII. All of the communications of the Embassy of Brazil in London were intercepted, and a Brazilian ship with armaments acquired from Germany before the outbreak of the War was apprehended by the British Navy in 1940, leading these traditional allies to the verge of a diplomatic rupture in the midst of the international conflict. A couple of years later, Prime Minister Churchill (1874-1965) opposed the formation of a Brazilian expeditionary force, which would eventually be championed by the US. The North American

power, in these and other episodes, assumed a role of hemispheric power and mediated the divergences, acting as a sort of guarantor of Brazilian interests. With the entry of Brazil in the War, British-Brazilian relations resumed normality, and both countries started to revalue the importance of one another in the new emerging order. Brazil was a significant market for the British, who, in turn, were seen as a necessary counterweight to what was already being perceived as an excessive influence of the US over Brazilian economy, politics and culture.²²

It was in that diplomatic context that Aranha declared that

it is fair that the artists join, with their works of beauty, the effort of all good men against evil, in this War in which everything is at stake, including the freedom of artistic creation²³

and deployed the Exhibition as an original and effective tool of public diplomacy *avant la lettre*. Knowledge about Brazil and its culture in the UK was virtually non-existent at that time. The journalist and author Antonio Callado (1917-1997), then working at the BBC World Service, wrote in a rare publication about Brazilian art, a special issue of *The Studio* in 1943, that ‘many Englishmen, even those who know Brazil well, if they think abstractly about it will say: Brazil – butterflies’.²⁴ That opinion was shared by Paschoal Carlos Magno (1906-1980), the cultural attaché at the Brazilian Embassy in London at the time, also a playwright, who prepared, in 1936, a detailed and unprecedented report on the image of Brazilian culture among the British. Brazil was, according to him, depicted 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’.²⁵

Evidently, the cultural flows were incipient and practically unilateral. In the field of visual arts, three British shows – of modern paintings, children’s drawings, and prints – had toured Brazil in the early 1940s, but Brazilian painters were totally off the UK arts radar. The Exhibition was therefore a timely opportunity for the Vargas government to introduce Brazil to the British public, by conveying the desired image

of an industrialising nation, in order to replace the prevailing stereotypes of rurality and savagery. Mismatched expectations, nevertheless, generated a divergence of perceptions, as most of the Brazilian paintings which were shown at the Royal Academy did not correspond to the then current idea of an exotic, exuberant and colourful country. One could speculate that this is why works by some of the most recognised Brazilian artists to date did not achieve high prices or could not even find a buyer, as was the case for Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976) and Cícero Dias (1907-2003). A painting by the latter met a particularly uncomprehending response for its boldness. *The Glasgow Herald* described it as showing ‘an interior with half a dozen figures – conventional if you like – but raised towards the raftered ceiling is the figure of a woman in short skirt in a recumbent position’.²⁶

In contrast, the relatively unknown Cardoso Júnior (1861-1947) had his painting *They Amuse Themselves*, a naïve picture depicting a group of nude women at the beach, sold for £42. It would later become the first Brazilian artwork to enter the Tate’s collection, arguably due to its stereotyped representation of Brazil.²⁷ The picture which reached the top price, £180, was *Mulher e Crianças (Group)*, by Portinari, the most acclaimed Brazilian artist at the time, who had had several solo exhibitions in the US, where he was already considered the quintessential Brazilian painter. At any rate, it was acquired by the young Brazilian diplomat Hugo Gouthier (1903-1962), who, in a letter to the painter, explained that he had secured the picture ‘not only for finding it admirable but also to avoid it being bought by a random person who might have it segregated in some apartment room’.²⁸

About half of the one hundred and sixty-eight paintings were sold for approximately £1,200, which were donated to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund, in accordance with the artists’ wish, constituting the most obvious and initially desired legacy of the Exhibition.²⁹ However, as stated in a joint open letter, the Brazilian artists wanted their gesture to be appreciated for its ‘symbolical significance rather than for its material value’.³⁰ Although it is quite difficult to quantify, there are good indications that, also in boosting Brazil’s national image, their venture could be

regarded as immensely successful.

Undoubtedly, almost all of the estimated one hundred thousand visitors in the seven different cities where the Exhibition toured had their first contact with Brazilian art through it. Some of the visitors were quite prominent personalities from Britain's political, intellectual and journalistic circles. It is noteworthy that Queen Elizabeth (1900-2002), Princess Margaret (1930-2002) and Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent (1906-1968), visited the Exhibition.^{ibid.13} However intangible, the affectionate ties propitiated by this kind of cultural exchange forge long-standing relations of mutual understanding and trust, which may be especially beneficial when key individuals and influencers are involved.

From a broader perspective, at least forty-three pieces of news about the show were published by the printed press across the UK, at a time when paper was scarce and the Brazilian Exhibition was competing with the Nazi bombings for space on the one-page newspapers from those days. The *Daily Telegraph* announced that 'a cursory preview of the exhibition of Brazilian paintings at Burlington House is sufficient to impress one with the modernity of Brazilian artists'.³¹ The overall coverage was equally positive, largely outnumbering all the articles about Brazilian culture published in the preceding years in the UK. It was, indeed, an 'event of great and unprecedented relevance',³² as the Brazilian *Chargé d'Affaires* Sousa Leão (1891-1967) officially reported to Brazil's foreign minister.

Many other people learned about the Exhibition by reading one of the thousands of small pale blue Exhibition catalogues printed to an excellent visual standard.³³ Very few of these survived through the War and to the present day, but now that unique record is reproduced as part of the present catalogue of the exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War*.

By making these hitherto unseen letters, press cuttings and official papers available to the public for the first time, the 2018 show intends to celebrate the riveting story of that artistic gesture of war and its legacy, the most visible patrimony of which is the body of works that

made their way into public collections in Britain, where they remain to date. Apart from the Tate, another sixteen public institutions hold twenty-four Brazilian paintings which formed, in the 1940s, the embryo of a Brazilian collection throughout the UK. In the preparation for *The Art of Diplomacy*, most of these artworks have been restored to their original condition, in order to be displayed again, as a tribute to those artists and diplomats who, steered by Oswaldo Aranha, believed in art as a weapon of peace and dreamed of a cultural rapprochement between Brazil and the UK.

Having unearthed hundreds of pieces of a puzzle almost forgotten by history, it is now possible to tell this fascinating episode of cultural diplomacy. In light of the effort required to assemble the 2018 commemorative show, the question that opens this text resonates loudly: how did those visionaries manage to assemble such an outstanding exhibition during the War? It is hard to say, for the achievement truly seems a miracle. Surely, there remains an additional and enduring legacy from the Exhibition that reaches beyond the historical context. This noble endeavour, mounted in the darkest of times, against innumerable obstacles and in the face of considerable ambivalence from some quarters, inspires and motivates one to reflect on what the art of diplomacy can fulfill. ■



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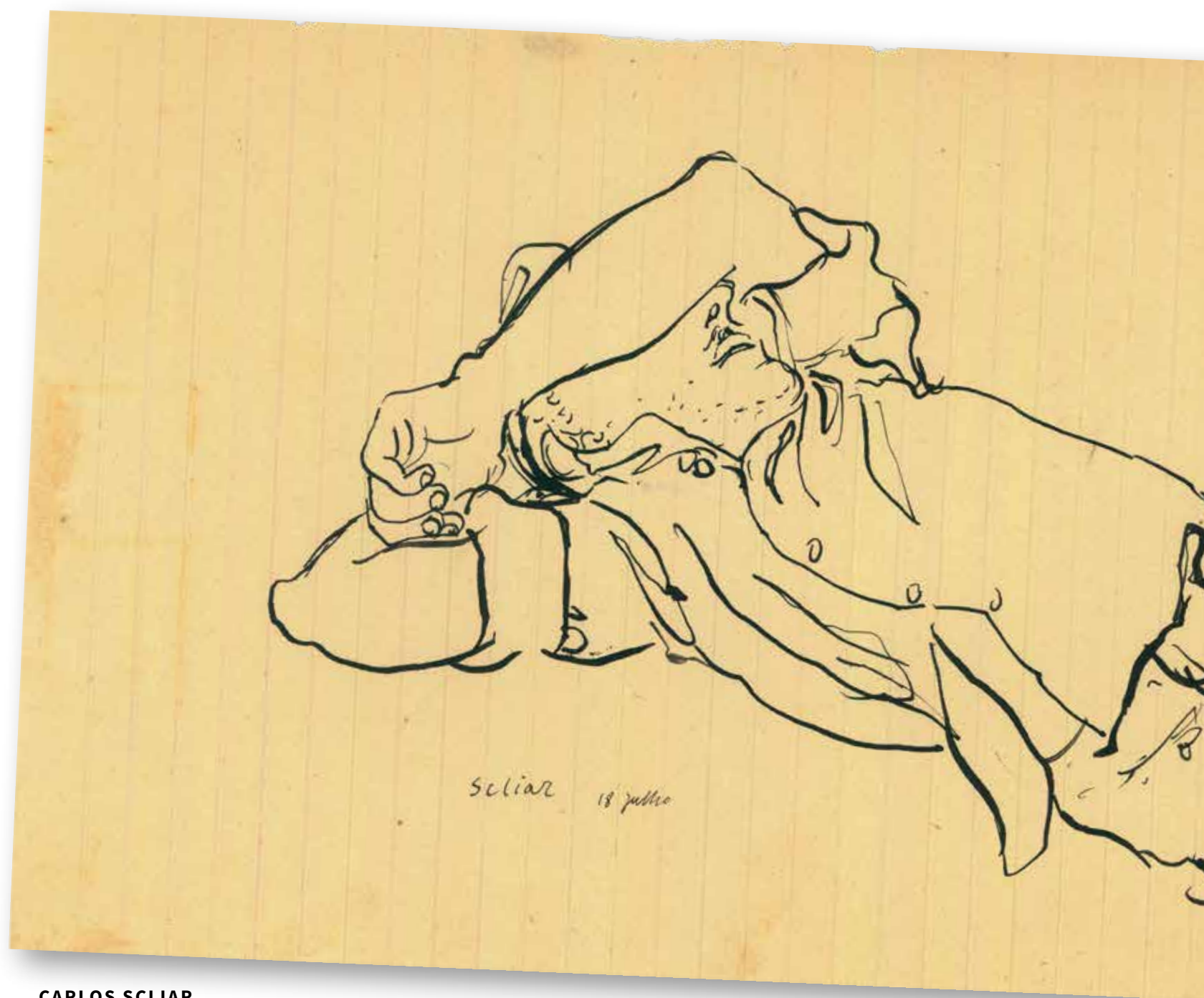
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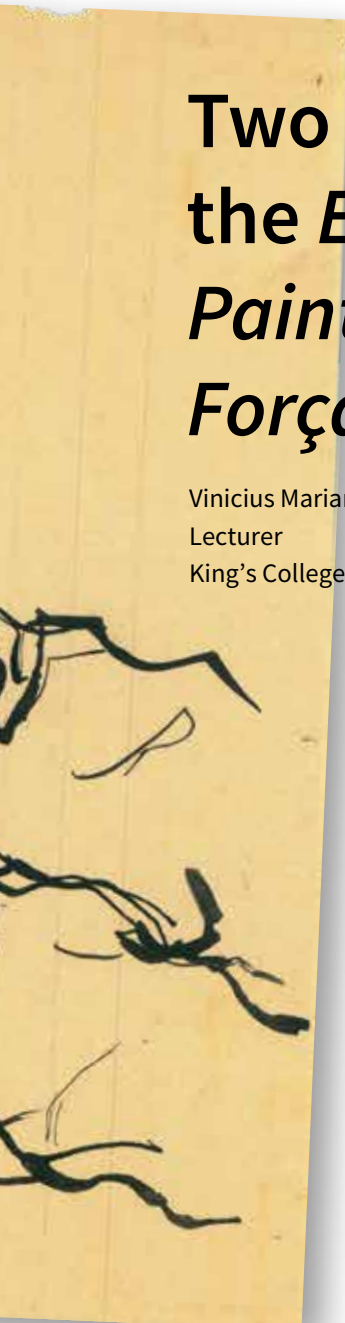


**CARLOS SCLiar**

Drawing from *Caderno de Guerra* ('War Diary'), 1945

Ink on paper

Courtesy of Elio Scliar and Instituto Carlos Scliar



Two fronts of the same war: the *Exhibition of Brazilian Modern Paintings* in London in 1944 and the *Força Expedicionária Brasileira*

Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho
Lecturer
King's College London

Two events took place in the second half of 1944 which, even though they were not directly related to one another, still formed part of a coherent context in the history of international relations. They were both to have significant impact at that time and only afterwards underwent a process whereby their importance was diminished and slipped from memory. Indeed, it is only quite recently that these two events were rediscovered and re-evaluated, namely, the deployment of the *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* (FEB - Brazilian Expeditionary Force) in Italy, from July, and the *Exhibition of Brazilian Modern Paintings* in London, which opened in November.

These two events, so different in their characteristics and dimensions, should, however, both be seen as emerging from a distinct mindset in Brazilian foreign policy. Between them, they share many similarities in terms of planning, preparation, execution and results.

Here I explore how those events can be compared and how much dialogue with one another there is when read in the wider context of Brazil's attempt to project power abroad during WWII. The career of the artist and soldier Carlos Scliar (1920-2001) will serve as a corollary of this correlation.

The Italian Front

Ever since Brazil's declaration of war against the Axis in 1942, the country had expressed an interest in participating actively in the War with the deployment of troops. The FEB was initially conceived of as a contribution of one hundred thousand men. Due to a whole gamut of difficulties around the selection and training of the soldiers, the final contingent consigned to the battlefield was limited to twenty-five thousand troops. Opposition at home and abroad proved to be another important factor. Political factions in Brazil were not favourable to the dispatch of soldiers to a 'war which was not ours'. Meanwhile, abroad, prior to the FEB deployment to the theatre of operations in Italy, Britain explicitly opposed the engagement of Brazilian forces. It was only thanks to a great effort of diplomacy on the part of Brazil and the eventual approval of the US that the FEB was able to join the Fourth Corps of the US 5th Allied Army in Italy, where it fought bravely to break up the Gothic Line between Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna. Despite this initial resistance, the Brazilian *pracinhas* (an affectionate nickname given by Brazilians to their soldiers) left their mark in that theatre of war and performed feats of bravery and humanity which, even to this date, are still remembered by the inhabitants of the cities and villages which they liberated.

As the War came to an end, little by little, the memory of the Brazilian participation waned, almost to the point of oblivion. Now, the few times when it is remembered, its importance is always understated. Political factors did not favour an appreciation of these military exploits and even in the field of foreign policy this fact was not adequately appreciated within the concert of nations after the Armistice.

In short, the importance and memory of the FEB's participation in WWII was consigned to the realm of the merely anecdotal, evidencing a lack of appreciation for the significance of this act

in the realm of foreign policy and as display of national power at that time.

The British Front

In a period characterised by the constraints of wartime, convincing people that Brazil had something more sophisticated than coffee and rubber to offer – as was the case with its impressive, *avant-garde* modern art – was a unique diplomatic achievement. Putting on the Exhibition in a London damaged by German air raids proved to be a more challenging task than first anticipated. Once more, the will of Brazilian people, in this case artists, along with diplomats' endeavours, guaranteed that this Exhibition could take place.

Although the concepts of soft and hard power had not yet been coined at the time, we could arguably contend that these events from the second half of 1944 are examples of Brazil's active presence on both fronts, corroborating its stance as a global player.

If the fate of the memory of the FEB was not very promising, the Exhibition did not have any greater success. Aside from the occasional reference in footnotes, the Exhibition was practically forgotten until Hayle Gadelha began the project which has led to revisiting the original show and undertaking a research project for his doctoral thesis.¹

His research project demonstrates clearly how every diplomatic process involved in trying to convince Britain to host the Exhibition and all of Brazil's efforts to make it a reality permit the comparison which I am making between the show itself and the dispatch of the FEB to Italy.

In few moments of Brazilian history did an initiative of cultural diplomacy act in parallel with robust actions designed to project national power abroad, namely, the actual deployment of troops to fight in the War. The process of historical amnesia which followed both of these events went a long way towards hindering the continuation of the policy and perhaps, one could speculate, reduced the potential benefits which Brazil could have extracted from both.

Staging *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted for War* today is, therefore,



more than simply a commemorative act. It is an exercise in rediscovering Brazil's ability to act internationally, pursuing clear national interests and unequivocally positioning itself as a global player.

An artist who fought or a soldier who painted?

A curious and idiosyncratic example of this twofold Brazilian exploit during WWII – the deployment of troops in Italy and the sending of artworks for an exhibition of modern art to London – is embodied in the person of Carlos Scliar, who acted both as a painter who took up arms and as a soldier who wielded the brush.

Carlos Scliar was born on 21st June 1920 in Santa Maria, in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, and died on 28th April 2001 in Rio de Janeiro. According to the art critic Roberto Pontual (1939-1994) in his book *Scliar – O real em reflexo e transfiguração* ('Scliar – The Real, Reflected and Transfigured'),² the artist was self-taught, except for the few classes, which he had as a teenager, under the tutelage of the Austrian painter and engraver Gustav Epstein (1828-1879), settled in Rio Grande do Sul. From 1931, while he was still in Santa Maria, Scliar contributed to the children's supplements of the newspapers the *Diário de Notícias* and the *Correio do Povo*, with short stories, poems and drawings. Expressionism seems to have been this young artist's greatest source of inspiration. He was also involved from an early age in cinema. In 1938, his artistic engagement with new expressions and movements led him to becoming one of the founders of the *Associação Riograndense de Artes Plásticas Francisco Lisboa* (also known as *Chico Lisboa*), which was to become the vanguard art association in the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

In 1939, Scliar made his first trip to São Paulo, meeting Flávio de Carvalho (1899-1973), Candido Portinari (1903-1963), and Roberto Burle Marx (1909-1994), among other leading artists. From 1940, he joined the *Família Artística Paulista* (FAP - 'São Paulo Arts Family'), an artists' collective formed in 1937. Scliar participated in the third and final exhibition by the group, in 1940. While he was still in São Paulo, from 1940 to 1942, Scliar put on exhibitions of his paintings (both individual and collective), produced engravings and worked as an illustrator. In 1943 he put

down roots in Rio de Janeiro, where he worked as a playwright, a scenographer and a member of the judging panel of the *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* ('Brazilian National Salon of Fine Arts'), and he wrote and directed the documentary *Escadas* ('Stairs') about the painters Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908-1992) and Arpad Szenes (1897-1985), who also participated in the Exhibition.³ In this same year, 1943, he was called up to serve with the FEB. Regarding the mobilisation, Scliar said

My status as someone of Jewish descent already made me, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, identify with those who, in Germany, in fascist countries and the world over, were being persecuted as a result of racial prejudices. (...) The War had erupted and Brazil was undergoing an intense internal struggle with ministers divided in their sympathies between the two warring sides. Despite coercive measures, the popular movement grew the more that people became aware of the atrocities being committed, and moreover these atrocities had been announced and promised, a long time ago, in theoretical books by fascist leaders, which were embraced wholeheartedly by their native emulators. This climate increased our angst and we felt responsible for everything that was happening in the world. By my natural disposition and training, I was always opposed to military life and discipline. However, I experienced the greatest excitement when I was called up by the FEB in 1943.⁴ ^{ibid.2}

On 22nd September 1944, Corporal Scliar embarked on an American forces transport ship called *General Meigs*, in the Second Echelon of the FEB. The ship disembarked in Naples on 6th October of the same year and almost immediately the troops found themselves facing the reality of combat. Corporal Scliar belonged to the Group I of the I Self-loading Howitzer Regiment (I\I ROAuR), in the role of Fire Direction



Centre Controller. Later, he would become an editorial team member of newspaper the *Jornal Cruzeiro do Sul*, a publication by the FEB special services for the *pracinhas* in Italy.

Even as a soldier, Scliar did not neglect his art. During nearly a year which he spent in Italy (Scliar embarked on his return trip on 28th July 1945), the artist made over six hundred drawings, which were later selected for the collection published and exhibited in Brazil called *Caderno de Guerra de Carlos Scliar* ('The War Diary of Carlos Scliar'),⁴ with sixty-four drawings. All works are dated and carry the location of composition. The first one is from 27th November 1944. Five days before that date, the *Exhibition of Brazilian Modern Paintings* was launched in London, as part of Brazil's diplomatic effort during the War. Among the artworks exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, there were four tempera works (all entitled *Composition*) by Carlos Scliar. In this way, the Corporal Scliar is the only Brazilian who participated on the two fronts of WWII, the Italian front as a soldier and the London front as an artist.

The exhibition *The Art of Diplomacy* in 2018 does not include the artworks by Scliar featured at the 1944 Exhibition, the four of which created before he experienced the War, and all of them sold at the occasion. This absence is a good example of how relevant this exhibition remains today and how seminal it ought to be in rethinking initiatives which commemorate Brazil's engagement in WWII. (In light of Scliar's account of how the War modified his worldview, the four artworks should be revisited along with the collection *Caderno de Guerra*.) After his return to Brazil following the end of the War, only three exhibitions were organised with the works from *Caderno de Guerra*.

The Art of Diplomacy teaches us a lot about Brazil, a country which does not only want to be seen as a military power, but also wishes to be recognised for its trailblazing ability, in both art and diplomacy, to speak up in the face of global tyranny. ■

2. PONTUAL, Roberto. (1970) *Scliar O Real em Reflexo e Transfiguração. Uma análise da obra e do universo de um dos nossos maiores artistas plásticos*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

3. TEIXEIRA, Teresinha de Castro. (2013) *O caderno de Guerra na obra de Carlos Scliar – Traços marcantes de uma trajetória*. Porto Alegre: Instituto de Artes UFRGS.

4. BRAGA, Rubem. (1969) *Caderno de Guerra de Carlos Scliar*. Rio de Janeiro: Sabiá.

Other relevant references:

_____ (1996) *Caderno de Guerra de Carlos Scliar*. São Paulo: Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 1996.

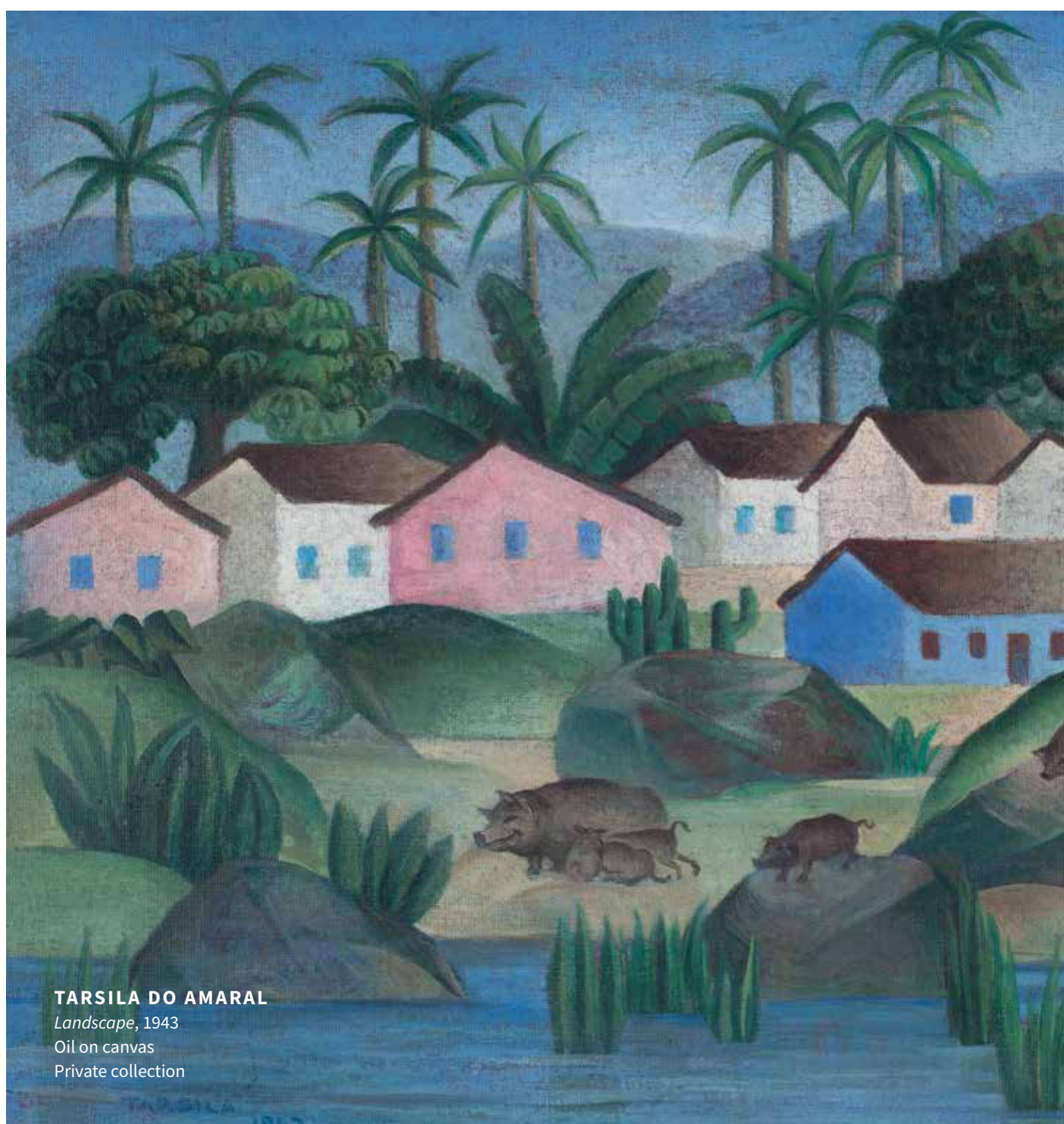
FERNANDES, Fernando Lourenço. (2009) *A Estrada para Forno: a FEB - Força Expedicionária Brasileira, outros exércitos & outras guerras na Itália, 1944-1945*. São Paulo: Editora Nova Fronteira.

MORAES, João Batista Mascarenhas. (1947) *A FEB pelo seu comandante*. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército Editora.

MORAIS, Frederico. (1995) *Cronologia das Artes Plásticas no Rio de Janeiro, 1816-1994*. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks.

MOTTA, Aricildes de Moraes. (2001) *História oral do exército na Segunda Guerra Mundial: Tomo I - Rio de Janeiro e Minas Gerais*. Rio de Janeiro: BibliEx 2001.

1. The title of Hayle Gadelha's doctoral thesis, currently in progress under my supervision at the Brazil Institute of King's College London, being *Unearthing the Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings: the role of visual arts as a tool of public diplomacy during WWII*.



Modern Brazilian painting

Dawn Ades, CBE, FBA
Professor emeritus of art history and theory
University of Essex



Revisiting

the extraordinary but forgotten wartime 1944 London *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* has been a personal odyssey for those involved, and has also raised timely and interesting questions about aesthetic preconceptions, official policies and the inevitable cultural nationalisms which accompanied both the project and its reception in Britain.

The Exhibition included all the major artists active in Brazil in the first decades of the 20th century, with the exception of the woman acknowledged in most histories of modernism in Brazil as the forerunner, Anita Malfatti (1889-1964). And as was to be expected in an exhibition including one hundred and sixty-eight works by seventy artists, the works were varied – there was no attempt to claim one or other tendency as dominant in current Brazilian painting. Absent, though, are any paintings of an academic nature. The Exhibition, in fact, seems at one level neither to conform to the expectations of the Royal Academy itself, which was at the time of a particularly conservative character, nor quite to fit the more modernist bias of the exhibition *Contemporary British Art* that the British Council had sent the previous year to São Paulo in Brazil before travelling to other cities in South America. This was extremely eclectic, featuring *avant-garde* artists such as Paul Nash (1889-1946), William Roberts (1895-1980), Henry Moore (1898-1986) and Duncan Grant (1885-1978) but also Royal Academicians such as the conservative painter Alfred Munnings (1878-1959), who was elected President of the RA in 1944. The cover of the Brazilian version of the catalogue *Exposição de Pintura Britânica Contemporânea* featured an abstract work by Nash, *Composition* (1933).

The respective catalogues of the 1943 British Council exhibition and the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* are very interesting in their different presentations of the national character of the work and its relation to the international trends of the time. The preface to the British Council exhibition, noting that the times are 'not normal', expresses gratitude that so many good works have been made available in such difficult circumstances, not least because of the wartime danger to shipping in the Atlantic, and then invites the South American public to develop an opinion on modern British painting, and to suggest whom they consider the greatest, now that Walter R. Sickert (1860-1942) is dead. The question of style – even of a 'national style' – is the main issue: most of the artists, the preface argues, are descendants of Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), and also of John Constable (1776-1837) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788). In other words, the French modernist influence is evident but there is an essentially English character in the content. The artists have suppressed their romantic (poetic) side in favour of a 'Latin sense of form'. (Latin in this context almost always means French.) Cézanne is identified as making the most profound break with the academic and symbolist art of the 19th century, opening the way to Pablo Picasso's (1881-1973) Cubism and Henri Matisse's (1869-1954) Fauvism, in other words, to a shift away from subject matter to a concentrated interest in the formal possibilities of the picture surface and a complete break – whether through the free use of colour or the breaking down of forms – with naturalist representation.

The drive to identify the distinctive characteristics of a national art is common to both catalogues, though the ways this is perceived as interacting with race on the one hand and with formalist influences on the other differ, given the different contexts. Setting aside the very controversial preface to the catalogue of the 1944 *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, written at great speed by Sacheverell Sitwell (1897-1988), which recommended that Brazilian painting needed direction and leadership from a first-rate European painter, ideally Picasso, the Introduction by Ruben Navarra (1917-1955) sketches a history of modern painting in Brazil, starting with Lasar Segall (1891-1957, described as a 'Central European' by Sitwell) and Anita

Malfatti, and then turning to the deep rivalry between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in the context of the question of regional/folklorist versus international. Navarra recognises the influence of French painting, though in general terms:

Brazilian painters, like the Mexican, have profited by the French influence, its liberty of spirit and plastic enquiry, converting this into a reaction against conventionalism, and going in search of a more sincere vision of native reality.

But rather than proposing, as the British Council preface had, a conjunction of the influence of Paris painters with long-standing local artistic traditions, Navarra sees the former as a liberating force leading to 'the rediscovery of a native Brazil hidden behind a curtain of conventional and fictitious Brazil.' This should, in his view, end by doing away with the 'European mark' altogether. What is understood as the 'regional element' that he sees as having the power to 'dissolve' the European element is broad: 'No one can speak of 'Brazilian painting' if this painting tells nothing of the land with its scenery, its lights, its colours, its customs and traditions.' Navarra finds the São Paulo artists more international and still more marked by Europe, while in Rio de Janeiro, most notably through the work of Candido Portinari (1903-1962), there is a stronger sense of the regional. (Navarra may be one of the first people to use the term 'post-modern', in connection with the work of Alberto da Veiga Guignard [1896-1962], to account for Guignard's process of unlearning the sophisticated and *virtuoso* techniques he had acquired during his long European training in favour of a faintly naïve naturalism uninterested in 'progress'. Guignard was for Navarra the most representative of 'the regional spirit in Brazil'.)

It is very curious that there is no direct mention here or in Sitwell's piece of the most influential, if controversial, movement in modern Brazil – *Antropofagia*. This was one of the longest-lasting and most profound critiques of the complex situation of a post-colonial country wrestling with problems of contemporary cultural and artistic influences. The two manifestoes by the poet Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954), *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil* (*Pau-Brasil Poetry Manifesto*, 1924) and *Manifesto Antropofágico* (*Anthropophagic Manifesto*, 1928) are both



brilliant expressions of a complex identity which works against fixed and mummified rules, and which is by no means subaltern to Europe. 'Without us, Europe would not even have its meagre Declaration of the Rights of Man'. (*Anthropophagic Manifesto*) De Andrade's manifestoes are original in their structure and language. The multiple and often conflicting identities are expressed in the conjunctions of short, *staccato* sentences, often verbless. Country, city, jungle, region, universal and local, ancient traditions and the new machine world jostle side by side. 'Lift shafts, skyscraper cubes, and the compensating laziness of the sun. Devotions. Carnival. Intimate energy. The songbird...The nostalgia of medicine men and military airfields. Pau-Brazil.' (*Pau-Brazil Poetry Manifesto*)

De Andrade was one of the leaders of the modernist group in São Paulo which included the artists Anita Malfatti and his companion Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973), as well as the writer and poet Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) (no relation). Battle lines in the Brazilian art world had already been drawn, notably on the occasion of an exhibition of Anita Malfatti's paintings in 1917; critical hostility was intense, with one article, for example, comparing Malfatti unfavourably with the unchanging values of 'true' modern artists like Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) or Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956), the latter an English artist popular in Latin America for a muscular social realism in contrast to the highly political murals of Diego Rivera (1886-1957). De Andrade defended Malfatti's audacity in challenging the 'photographic naturalism' in fashion at the time. But the critical issues were with the 'modern', rather than the 'Brazilian' or the 'modern Brazilian'. Malfatti's paintings treat colour in a bold and non-naturalist fashion, with a loose drawing style which offended academic and the more conservative modern artists alike.

In 1922 the group organised the Modern Art Week in São Paulo, which ambitiously covered all the arts with exhibitions, concerts and poetry readings. José Pereira da Graça Aranha (1868-1931), in his lecture introducing the Modern Art Week on 15th February 1922, announced a new aesthetic in Brazil, initiated by 'the music of Villa-Lobos, the sculpture of Brecheret, the painting of di Cavalcanti, Anita Malfatti and Vicente do Rego

Monteiro ...'¹ and a young audacious poetry, which would liberate art from academicism and provincialism. In fact, he argued, there was so far not much in the way of art in Brazil. 'What we see today is not the Renaissance of an art that hardly existed. It is, rather, the birth of art in Brazil. Happily, we do not have the treacherous shadow of the past to kill its germination...'

In the early decades of the 20th century numerous movements argued for ways to push forward the notion of art in the modern world, most rejecting the past and subscribing to ideals of originality and authenticity. What this meant for many modernists was authenticity to materials, in other words not subordinating the material – marble, or wood, or pigment – to the representational demands of realism or naturalism, but allowing its physical character to dominate while treating it with formal inventiveness. Modern artists in Europe also turned to the art and artefacts of other cultures, such as Africa and the South Seas, for inspiration. The question of a 'national' identity was foreign to them, though in the aftermath of WWII, which exacerbated the rise of nationalism, it was increasingly applied to art. In countries newly independent from colonial status, which had happened early in Latin America, the question of nation, identity and culture was particularly pressing and vital.

In Brazil, modernists like Graça Aranha held that there was little in the way of a past, except for the Academy, and nothing that expressed 'our fabulous tropical world.' Oswald de Andrade looked positively at the dramatic differences not just between the hugely various geographical areas in Brazil but between the newly modernised cities (Brazil would be able to claim to have the most exciting modernist architecture in the world by the late 1930s), the rural regions and the indigenous cultures. 'We have a dual heritage – the jungle and the school.' (*Pau-Brazil Poetry Manifesto*) In the *Anthropophagic Manifesto* he develops, still in the breathless, audacious language of the *Pau-Brazil Poetry Manifesto*, the idea of a cultural, aesthetic and social cannibalism, an active and ongoing process. Their colonisers 'were not crusaders. They were fugitives from a civilisation that we are devouring.' In some ways the Manifesto troubles the concept of an 'authentic' native Brazil. He refers slightly to the idea that there

is such a thing as the primitive mind, 'the pre-logical mentality for Levy-Bruhl to study.' (Levy-Bruhl [1857-1939] published the notorious *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, translated as *How Natives Think* in 1910, and *La mentalité primitive* in 1922). Such cut-and-dried divisions between 'primitive' and 'civilised' are out of date. 'We already had communism. We already had surrealist language.' These were both native and part of an international history of which Brazil was no less part. Debates about what constituted a modern identity for Brazilian art, what the 'tropical' consisted of and what role the regions, folklore, indigenous beliefs and practices and Afro-Brazilian traditions might have, continued for decades. In a sense, they triumphantly culminated in the work of Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980), who was at the same time nothing if not international.

Although not immediately visually apparent in the paintings at the 1944 exhibition, the question of local versus international, epitomised by the rivalry between Rio and São Paulo, coloured Navarra's Preface; his view was that the

regional and folklore spirit found a refuge in Rio, the city of the negro quarters and the most noisy laboratory of popular music in Brazil...S. Paulo today represents the European element par excellence in our culture, including the arts...

Critical reception of the Exhibition in the UK press was on the whole positive if not extensive; predictably, given that it was presented as 'Brazilian' and that there was virtually no previous familiarity with Brazilian art, architecture and popular culture in the UK, the question of origins and influence, as the only handle on anything familiar, dominated. Several critics admitted that the Exhibition confounded expectations: in place of the brilliant colours to be associated with the tropical, the paintings were quiet in colour and soft in treatment. Osbert Lancaster (1908-1986), famous as a cartoonist but an acute critic too, admitted that 'the general effect is not what one would have expected, so arbitrary are the ideas one forms of national temperaments.' He located the key influence as 'Central European' rather than French, but this was just following Sitwell's emphasis on Segall, a Russian *émigré*, as the 'founder' of modern Brazilian painting.

Otherwise most mentioned France; *The Times* (23 November 1944) noted the inspiration of 'Paris studios', while *The Sunday Times* saw the 'Parisian idiom' digested and used with the ease of a native language. One critic (*Eastern Evening News*, 1st January 1945) wrote that the occupation of Paris had driven Latin American artists back to their native countries where they were actively generating a national expression: Portinari had done for the Brazilian negro what Diego Rivera had done for the Mexican Indian. The critic of *The Journal* (Norfolk, January 1945) challenged the comparison made by Sitwell in his preface between Portinari and Marie Laurencin (1883-1956) – clearly intended as an insult by Sitwell, choosing the most fey of the Parisian modernists to compare to the Brazilian muralist.

Tarsila do Amaral's painting *Landscape* was included in the 1944 Exhibition. She was the artist most closely associated with the Anthropophagy movement; a drawing illustrated the *Anthropophagic Manifesto* in the first issue of the *Revista de Antropofagia* in 1928, which, like the painting *Abaporu*, shows a naked figure with immensely enlarged leg and foot seated before a huge cactus whose flower is like a sun. The title means 'he who eats human flesh' in Tupi. The motif was elaborated in her painting *Anthropophagy* (1929).

Tarsila moved between Paris and Brazil in the early 1920s and was an important conduit for a two-way cultural traffic, through, for instance, hers and Oswald's close friendship with the novelist and poet Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961). A drawing based on the painting *A Negra*, ('the Black Woman', 1923), illustrated the title page of Cendrars' *Feuilles de Route* (1924), which also contained other sketches by Tarsila depicting fragments of scenes and motifs from a trip with Cendrars and De Andrade to Minas Gerais and the country north of Rio. The juxtaposition of town and country, train, skyscraper, cactus, rural church and black worker recall the *Pau-Brazil Poetry Manifesto*. In Paris, Tarsila had studied with André Lhote (1885-1962) and greatly admired Fernand Léger (1881-1955), with whom she later studied and whose clean pictorial divisions, with flat colour planes and black lines, was one of the sources she re-interpreted to create the highly individual landscapes and townscapes of c.

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White, O.B.E.

29 OCT 1944
3 HANOVER STREET
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: MAYfair 8484
Telegrams: "Britcoun, London"

26th October, 1944.

Mr. Perowne,

27/10
In connection with the
coming Exhibition of Brazilian
paintings at the Royal Academy, I
prepared a short notice which we
perhaps issue from here to the
S.

I enclose a copy of the draft
please make any alterations or
suggestions which you think are
required.

Yours sincerely,

John Fisher

John Fisher.
Press Department.

Perowne Esq.,
Foreign Office,

BRAZIL SENDS TRIBUTE TO BRITAIN

About a year ago a number of leading artists of
Brazil, including some of the most distinguished, presented to
H.M. Government a collection of 168 of their works as a demonstration
of their friendship for Great Britain and of their admiration for the
part she is playing in the war. They expressed a wish that these
pictures might be disposed of in whatever manner would represent
the most effective contribution to the British war effort.

The pictures, after public exhibition in Rio de
Janeiro, recently arrived in this country, and are to be shown
at Burlington House for three weeks from November 22nd, after
which it is proposed that they should go to provincial centres. *the arrangements are being made by the*

The proceeds from the sale of the pictures will,
it has been decided, be given to the R.A.F. Benevolent Fund.

The Exhibition will be opened by (name)
at Burlington House on Wednesday, 22nd November, at (time).
You are cordially invited to be present at the opening ceremony,
and to send a representative to the pre-view for the Press, which
will be held on 21st November, at (time).

*This seems OK - we can't say
yet who will perform the opening
ceremony - we are to inform R.A.F. only
27/10*

1924. Drawings and paintings of the early 1920s show how completely she mastered the cubist idiom, and she made abstract compositions, but did not pursue that direction. Cubism, she said, was a necessary stage one unfortunately had to go through. The painting, *Landscape*, shows a village of white houses simply represented with basic perspective, set among palms against a hilly background. In the foreground a herd of pigs trots around a swampy terrain and her delight in a scene, which she must have witnessed, is evident in the humour with which she details their movements.

Several of the UK critics had the impression that the artists were genuinely naïve – ‘sincere’ and self-taught, was the judgement of an Edinburgh writer. This was, in a sense, a natural response to an unfamiliar style and content. De Andrade had written in the *Pau-Brazil Manifesto*: ‘There is no formula for a contemporary expression of the world. Look with unblinkered eyes’. The painting now at the Tate, Cardoso Júnior (Cardosinho)’s (1861-1947) *They Amuse Themselves*, has a direct simplicity in the mobile figures on the wide beach, recalling Graça Aranha’s exclamation of the ‘perpetual mobility’ of ‘our people. They emerge from the forests or the sea...’ Guignard similarly treats the beloved landscapes of Minas Gerais with deceptive ease. The hills, churches and villages are arrayed across the canvas without dogged fidelity to perspective. De Andrade had written: ‘Replace the visual, natural perspective with another kind of perspective: emotional, intellectual, ironic, naïve.’ This seems to be a proposal the Brazilian artists responded to.

Invited to write about the Exhibition in the context of the history of Brazilian modernism, I decided to start not by plotting the lines of that history but by trying to look at the paintings without assumptions about what they stood for, where they came from, or applying to them readymade aesthetic or political criteria. At first this seemed an impossible idea because there were so many artists (seventy) and I could not see the works at first hand. Nor was it an altogether successful attempt because quite quickly the art historian’s tendency to order, assign and categorise reasserted itself. However, in initially attempting to eliminate preconceptions I was struck by several things

in this varied collection of Brazilian paintings from the first half of 20th century: the spirited attitudes to representation, linked to a lightness of touch, an unusual visual wit and most surprisingly a sense of humour. The humour manifested itself sometimes as a kind of carnival spirit, sometimes as the fantastic, sometimes joyous, sometimes black, occasionally in a spirit of mockery, and often ambiguously. Humour is notoriously difficult to explain and is often culturally specific. Not that frequent a quality in modernism, it emerges sometimes here from a particular cultural condition (defined famously in Brazil as ‘anthropophagy’).

In some of the paintings, for instance Cícero Dias’ (1907-2003) *Painting*², the effect is obtained partly through the liberation of space and scale from naturalism, together with a deliberately simplified drawing. In Dias’ painting, an apparently unexceptional group of people have gathered in a gallery to look at an exhibition, perhaps of traditional portraits. Floating up against the ceiling is a female figure, dressed as a modern woman with cropped hair and a short skirt. Among the passive viewers of the exhibition is a woman who alone gazes curiously up at this unaccountable presence. Although there are undoubtedly surrealist references here, they are treated in an unusual way: the floating figure recalls scenes from Luis Buñuel (1900-1983) and Salvador Dalí’s (1904-1989) film *L’Age d’Or* (1930), and a female mannequin can be seen fastened to the ceiling in photographs of the Bureau of Surrealist Research in Paris in 1924. The difference here is that not only does Dias make the mannequin into a modern woman, but shows only one member of the audience in the exhibition taking any notice of her – another woman. Not least of the unusual aspects of the Exhibition, and indeed of the history of modernism in Brazil, is the role of women artists such as Tarsila, who flouted the conventions of the time both socially and artistically. Without in any sense diminishing their achievement, it is the case that modernism, especially outside its European centres, brought an enlightened and egalitarian, anti-authoritarian and anti-patriarchal atmosphere which radically changed the traditional gender roles in many fields, including art.

Dias’ *Painting* can be seen as exemplifying one of

the distinguishing features of modern painting in Brazil, which can easily be misunderstood. That is the question of the ways influences visual references to other works, to other artistic genres, are brought into play. The deeply felt need by the Brazilian artists and writers to turn their attention to their own culture, surroundings and conditions in the 1920s and 1930s involved a return to, or continuation of, figuration, and an attendant lack of interest in wholly embracing modernism in terms of style and pursuing abstraction for its own sake. Many of the paintings in the Exhibition fall into the traditional genres of landscape, portraits and still life. The artists may have looked ‘with unblinkered eyes’, but nonetheless call on the rich resources of previous painting, not in the sense of copying, of slavish dependence, but of recognising and utilising the existing genres, or other chosen modes or forms of expression, with a new and different sensibility or inflection. Brazilian landscapes, for instance, are interpreted differently by, say, Guignard or Tarsila. Often a modernist idiom is given a new lease of life in this new context – Tarsila, for example, draws on abstract form as well as on Léger’s flat planes to create her landscapes, both urban and rural. Roberto Burle Marx (1909-1994) painted ‘still lifes’ which become a sort of aquarium, melding the precise shapes and patterns of recognisable fish with abstract forms. Dias’s *Painting* builds on and plays subtly with his surrealist sources to raise different associations and ideas, to provoke the audience in a different way. The *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* showed how successfully the artists did indeed devour, absorb and transform their sources. ■



1. Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959); Victor Brecheret (1894-1955); Emiliano Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976); Anita Malfatti; Vicente do Rego Monteiro.
2. Dias’s *Painting* is reproduced as plate 23 in the original 1944 catalogue, the facsimile edition of which is attached to this publication.

OUT FILE

Sir J. Munnings,
President of the Royal Academy.

6th October 1944.

We approached the Royal Academy officially last March with regard to the exhibition of a collection of Brazilian paintings presented to His Majesty's Government by the artists as a demonstration of goodwill and admiration for Great Britain and the part she has played in the war, but Sir Walter Lamb informed us that, owing to existing engagements, the Council regretted that they could not arrange for the pictures to be shown at Burlington House during the present autumn or winter. Since then, we have been looking into other possibilities of exhibiting the paintings, without, however, succeeding in finding any gallery in which they might suitably be shown to the public. The Tate Gallery has been too badly damaged by bombs to hold an exhibition there at present, while the Wallace Collection, the National Portrait Gallery, and the National Gallery all expect the progress of the war to enable them to reopen their collections very shortly, and are accordingly not in a position to accept extraneous exhibitions. The Royal Exchange, which had also been considered as a possibility, has been too badly damaged to be suitable.

Meanwhile the pictures have arrived in this country, and it has become a matter of urgency to arrange for their early exhibition, if all the value of the artists' gesture is not to be lost as a consequence of an apparent lack of interest or appreciation on our part. In these circumstances, I am venturing to appeal to the Royal Academy again in the hope that the Council may now see their way to allow the use of the Royal Academy for exhibiting these paintings for three weeks from, say, the middle of November.

If you, or any member of the Council, would prefer to see the pictures first, this could easily be arranged. We are prepared to pay the usual charge for expenses, and the British Council has agreed to be responsible for the exhibition of the pictures. It would be clearly stated on any posters, and in the catalogue, to which we would propose to persuade some distinguished writer to contribute the

preface, that the pictures were presented by the artists through the Brazilian Government, and that the responsibility of selection from your Co

(signed) A. ELEN.

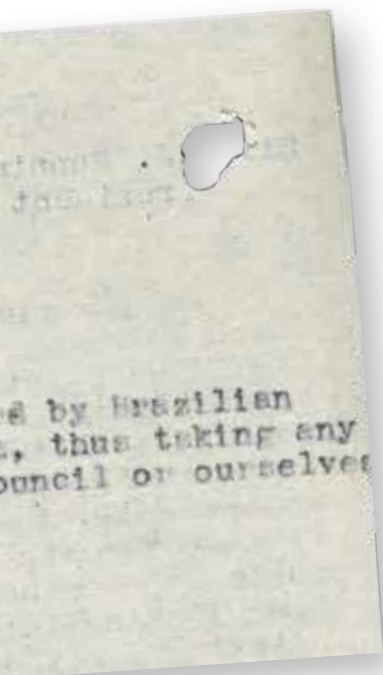
Oranges and bananas or pears and apples? *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* at the Royal Academy of Arts

Adrian Locke
Senior Curator
Royal Academy of Arts

The British aristocrat, art critic and art historian Sacheverell Sitwell (1897-1988) ruminated on the content of the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* held at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1944 in his preface to the catalogue:

It would be tragically disappointing if the art of the South American tropics was in no way different from that of Czechoslovakia or Norway. As much as if the first returning cargoes of oranges and bananas were, in the end, but pears and apples.

This outdated attitude, radiating an air of colonial superiority, captures the anachronistic position of the established art world of London in the 1940s within which the Royal Academy played a central role. Following the death of Sir Edward Luytens (1869-1944) on New Year's Day 1944, the painter Sir Alfred Munnings (1878-1959) was elected president: 'so began a truly disastrous presidency'.¹ Famously Munnings 'saw no place in art for abstractions and 'isms' and had a low opinion of their adherents'.² No surprise then that the RA was coerced into accepting the Exhibition under pressure from the government, through the offices of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, and the British Council. The Royal Academy's governing body 'were not favourably impressed by the specimens of these paintings as they appeared in the photographs' but agreed to host the Exhibition.³ Munnings made clear in the same letter that 'the posters and the catalogue will state clearly the provenance of the collection, so that no responsibility will rest on the Royal Academy or the Government'.



Save American Dept

*To write in a
reply please.*

12/10

ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS,
PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.1.

AS5149 698/6.

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11th October, 1944.

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INDEXED

Dear Mr. Eden,

I have received your letter of the 6th October about the Brazilian paintings, and I find that, as our arrangements have worked out, three of our Galleries will be vacant from the 15th November for the ensuing three weeks, so that it will be possible for us to lend space which should be sufficient for the exhibition of these paintings in the period that you suggest.

Our Council were not favourably impressed by the specimens of these paintings as they appeared in the photographs which were shown to us in March, but I am sure they will be glad to assist the Government in the difficulty that has arisen. I note that the posters and the catalogue will state clearly the provenance of the collection, so that no responsibility for its quality will rest on the Royal Academy or the Government.

I am accordingly asking Sir Walter Lamb to arrange with the British Council immediately for the loan of the necessary Gallery space on our usual terms of compensation.

Yours sincerely,

A. J. Cunningham

President.

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

Their agreement to facilitate the Exhibition despite this disclaimer was not altogether altruistic; they were promised rent for making three galleries available to the British Council. What little correspondence between the three parties involved (the Foreign Office, British Council and Royal Academy) reveals is that no-one was particularly enamoured of the project. One memo, for example, notes 'it is amusing to read that the R.A. turned us down on the grounds that they didn't like the pictures! Neither do we!'

The Royal Academy, however, was not the only conservative art institution in London at the time. The Tate Gallery (as it was then known), home to the national collection of British art and, from 1932, the national collection of modern art, made some questionable decisions on potential acquisitions to its permanent collection suggestive of a disconnect not just with emerging artists but also with pioneers of modern art. As Cork has stated, when Charles Aitken (1869-1936) was director the Tate Gallery showed unbelievable lack of judgement when they refused to acquire the entire estate of Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891-1915) in 1927, deciding instead to purchase only three sculptures and fifteen drawings.⁵ Later, under the stewardship of John Rothenstein, the Tate Gallery turned down Henri Matisse's (1869-1954) masterpiece *The Red Studio* (1911) when it was offered for sale for £400 by the Redfern Gallery in 1941 on behalf of the aristocrat and founder of the Gargoyle Club in Soho, David Tennant (1902-1968).⁶

In terms of the Exhibition, aside from the introduction to the catalogue written by Ruben Navarra (1917-1955), a Brazilian art critic, there was little context given to the emergence of a modern style in Brazilian painting. Sitwell praised the 'modern architects [who] are already masters of their setting. They have found the formula', whilst lamenting that 'such a phase has not yet been reached in Brazilian painting'.⁷ The Exhibition, divided into two parts (one hundred and sixty-eight paintings and works on paper, and one hundred and sixty-two photographs of historic and modern buildings) across three of the Main Galleries (VIII, IX and the Lecture Room) was inevitably disjointed. The photographic section, *Brazil Builds*, came as a package from New York, where it had been exhibited at the Museum of

Modern Art (MoMA) the previous year, complete with an illustrated catalogue.⁸ The narrative of this component was easier to follow and, most likely, more coherent since it was chronological, covering nearly three hundred years of history. The paintings and works on paper were not selected by a curator but rather donations from artists, which implies a wide variety of styles and subject matter making it much less cohesive as a group.

Perhaps unbeknownst to the cultural elite in the UK, Brazil was developing its own artistic identity. As Navarra stated

the history of modern painting in Brazil illustrates the conversion of a European influence into an indigenous artistic experience; for the 'modern movement' in Brazilian art has as its basis the re-discovery of a native Brazil hidden behind a curtain of conventional and fictitious Brazil.⁹

In the UK that curtain remained drawn: what Sitwell meant when he called for the art of the tropics was the exotic whereas Brazilian artists were in pursuit of the radical and the modern. Furthermore, the UK, at the centre of a vast empire, was never going to be receptive to or recognise manifestations of nationalism in whichever form they took.

The spirit of a modern national art in Brazil, to which Navarra refers to, the spirit of a modern national art in Brazil, was first called for by the writer Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) as early as 1915 when he wrote a polemic article as a reaction against artists who studied in Europe and lost their Brazilian identity in the process. Part of his argument was based on the outdated methods of teaching fine art that promoted the traditional canon of art history (typically paintings that were historical allegories, religious images, landscapes or portraits) based on European precedence. Certainly by the 1940s Brazilian artists were consciously part of a broader movement that rejected these values and the established methods of teaching associated with them, through institutions such as the Royal Academy, in order to embrace a new, modern art that encompassed or reflected the 'body and soul of Brazil'.¹⁰ For example,

in 1943 the Palácio Gustavo Capanema more commonly known as the *Ministério de Educação e Saúde* (Ministry of Education and Health), was inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro. Designed by a young team of Brazilian architects, in consultation with Le Corbusier (1887-1965), the building was emblematic of the ambitions of the nation; modern, progressive and forward looking. 'It was the building which alerted the USA to the fact that Brazil had seized the initiative in terms of modern architecture'.¹¹ In light of this it is ironic that the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* should end up being shown in exactly the type of institution that Brazilian artists had rejected in their pursuit of a new national, modern art.

What might not have been evident to those in London is that around this time Brazil made an extraordinary commitment to art and culture. Such a bold and progressive pledge spoke of Brazil's view of the international value of culture both to its economy and to its place in the world. This was a far sighted and long term vision that may have been brought to a premature end by the military *coup d'état* of 1964, but was remarkably prescient at the time when the world was still recovering from the devastating effects of WWII. Between 1947 and 1948, three major museums opened in Brazil: in São Paulo, the industrial and financial centre of the country, came the *Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* (MAM-SP, 'Modern Art Museum') and the *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (MASP, 'São Paulo Art Museum') whilst in Rio de Janeiro, then still the federal capital of Brazil, came the *Museum de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro* (MAM-RJ).¹² Significant monographic exhibitions of established international artists such as Alexander Calder (1898-1976) in 1948 and Max Bill (1908-1994) in 1950 confirmed Brazil's commitment to international art and culture. This was not simply as a passive observer (or exhibitor) of the art of others, but as a creator of equal standing to them. By way of comparison, Tate Modern opened as the new national collection of modern and contemporary international art in the UK in 2000. The original Tate Gallery was founded over a hundred years earlier, in 1897.

Arguably more significantly, Brazil took the bold step of inaugurating the *Bienal de São Paulo* in

1951. Based on the *Biennale di Venezia* (which was founded in 1895), the *Bienal de São Paulo* was only the second biannual exhibition to be held anywhere in the world and the first to challenge the hitherto unrivalled hegemony of Venice. The first two *Bienal de São Paulo* editions included works by Max Bill (1908-1994, winner of the first international award for sculpture), Constantin Brancusi (1876-1957), Henry Moore (1898-1986, who won the International Sculpture Prize in 1953), Giorgio Morandi (1890-1964) and Jackson Pollock (1912-1956). Pablo Picasso's (1881-1973) *Guernica* (1937) was shown as part of the *II Bienal de São Paulo*. I would argue that the 1944 Exhibition in London should be seen as part of this broader commitment to presenting and creating art on the global stage. Another inseparable part of that drive was the inauguration of Brasília, the extraordinary new capital city built in the geographic centre of the country. Brazil, it seems, was preparing itself for a bright and prosperous future as a true global power in which art and culture would play a significant role.

Perhaps in light of this it is not quite so surprising that the only work from the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* that entered the Tate Gallery collection was *They Amuse Themselves*, by the relatively obscure painter and retired schoolteacher Cardoso Júnior (1861-1947, known as Cardosinho, 'Little Cardoso'). The painting was the gift of the celebrated British architect Alfred Charles (Lord) Bossom (1881-1965), who had an interest in Latin America and had practised in the US before returning to the UK in 1926. Not only was he associated with the Mayan Revival style of architecture, he authored an account of his travels in Mexico, illustrated with photographs by his wife Emily, *An Architectural Pilgrimage in Old Mexico* (1924, New York). The Tate Gallery did, however, fail to acquire either of the two works donated by Candido Portinari (1903-1962), the first Brazilian artist to have a monographic exhibition, *Portinari of Brazil*, at the MoMA, New York in 1940. Nor did they acquire either of the two paintings that were given by Tarsila de Amaral (1886-1973), now considered a seminal figure in the history of modernism in Latin America.¹³ The Exhibition, it seems, came too early for the UK to fully appreciate its significance.

As a measure of the importance of the Exhibition of 1944, forty years later, in 1984 the Barbican Art Gallery held an exhibition of Brazilian art drawn from the Gilberto Chateaubriand (b. 1925) collection. Roberto Pontual (1939-1994), co-curator of the exhibition (with Sheena Wagstaff), referred to Chateaubriand's collection as without doubt the most complete modern and contemporary art collection of its kind in Brazil.¹⁴ The collection was later donated to the MAM-RJ. Fifteen of those artists shown in London in 1944 were exhibited again in London in 1984 albeit in a different context. This reveals the importance of the 1944 Exhibition, which presented a significant cross section of Brazilian modern art of the period. 'There are paintings shown that may, or may not appeal to every taste, but, at least, one and all they are contemporary' wrote Sitwell, counselling that 'the least we can do is to take their paintings seriously and try, in return, to help them with our criticisms'.¹⁵ These words now seem patronising and misguided.

WWII had a decisive impact on the interest in Latin America, not in the UK but in the USA. In 1940, the Museum of Modern Art, New York hosted *Forty Centuries of Mexican Art*, an ambitious exhibition that presented a rich array of pre-Columbian, colonial, republican, modern and popular arts. The state-sponsored exhibition was intended for Paris but was sent to New York instead because of the extreme risk of shipping art works across the Atlantic. Young scholars and curators like George Kubler (1912-1996), John McAndrew (1904-1978) and Harold Wethey (1902-1984) were unable to travel to Europe to pursue their research. Instead they looked south and carried out their research in the Americas consequently publishing seminal texts.¹⁶ As a result a new, long-term interest in the study of the art and architectural history of the American continent emerged which has been sustained to this day and is reflected in major art collections across the USA, in Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami and New York, to name a few.

There have been surprisingly few exhibition surveys of Brazilian art in the UK and all of them have focussed on 20th or 21st century art.¹⁷ The Royal Academy may have unwittingly held the first of those, but it took forty years until the next exhibition was held in London. The absence of major holdings of Brazilian art in national

museums may account for this in part. After all, the UK has always been historically and culturally more interested in researching and collecting objects from its (former) colonies or dependencies. Look no further than the collections of the British Museum or the Victoria and Albert Museum. Meanwhile there has been a seismic shift in the approach and the value given to the history of modern and contemporary art which embraces the concept of multiple modernisms emerging across the world at different times. These feed into a much broader and more inclusive international art history. It is not before time that Brazilian artists, many of whom showed in London in 1944, now form part of that history and are rightfully recognised as pioneers in their own right. Despite the blissful ignorance of the value of Brazilian art and the patronising viewpoints of the British art world at that time, not to mention the missed opportunity to acquire important works for the national collections, the true historic and cultural value of the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* is finally being recognised. ■



1. FENTON, James. *School of Genius: A History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, 2006, London, p.263.
2. HUTCHINSON, Sidney C., *The History of the Royal Academy*, 1768-1986, 1986, London, p.168.
3. Letter dated 11 October 1944 from Alfred Munnings to Anthony Eden. AS 5149/698/6. TNA/FO.
4. Signed by Jim McQuillen. AS 5149/698/6. TNA/FO.
5. CORK, Richard. *Wild Thing: Epstein, Gaudier-Brzeska, Gill*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2010, p.159.
6. Matisse's *Red Studio* (1911) was purchased by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York in 1949.
7. SITWELL, Sacheverell. *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1944, p.6-7.

8. GOODWIN, Philip L. *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652-1942*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1943. Photographs by G[eorge] E[verard] Kidder Smith.

9. NAVARRA, Ruben. *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1944, p.9.

10. 'Em prol de uma pintura nacional' ['In Favour of a National Art Style'], was first published in the 'Lanterna mágica' section of the magazine *O Pirralho* (São Paulo, Brazil), on 2 January 1915. Referred to in Roberto Pontual, *Portraits of a Country: Brazilian Modern Art from the Gilberto Chateaubriand Collection*, exh. cat., Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1984, p.21.

11. PONTUAL, Roberto. *Portraits of a Country: Brazilian Modern Art from the Gilberto Chateaubriand Collection*, exhibition catalogue, Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1984, p.67. Pontual's phrase 'the body and soul of Brazil' was used to title the exhibition *Brazil: Body and Soul* at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2001.

12. Valerie Fraser, *Building the New World: Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America, 1930-1960*, London, 2000, p.145.

13. The collection of MAM-SP was transferred to the *Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo* (MAC USP) in 1963.

14. A major exhibition *Tarsila de Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil* will open at MoMA, New York, in 2018.

15. PONTUAL, Roberto. *Portraits of a Country: Brazilian Modern Art from the Gilberto Chateaubriand Collection*, exh. cat., Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1984, p.7.

16. SITWELL, Sacheverell. *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1944, p.3.

17. George Kubler, who taught at Yale University, published *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948) and went on to become one of the most influential Pre-Columbian scholars of his generation. John McAndrew was curator of the Department of Architecture and Industrial Art at the MoMA, New York before spending WWII as coordinator of inter-American affairs in Mexico. He became director of the Wellesley College Art Museum (now the Davis) in 1947. McAndrew published *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico: Atrios, Posas, Open Chapels, and Other Studies* (Cambridge, MA, 1965). Harold E. Wethey, was a visiting professor at Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Argentina, in 1943. He was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship for the 1944-1945 year which he spent researching in Peru. He published *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture*

in Peru (Cambridge MA, 1949) and later taught at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

18. Barbican Art Gallery, *Portraits of a Country: Brazilian Modern Art from the Gilberto Chateaubriand, 1984*. As part of the 500th anniversary of the 'discovery' of Brazil in 1500, the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford held *Experiment/Experiência: Art in Brazil 1985-2000* while the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge hosted *Heroes and Artists Popular Art and the Brazilian Imagination* in 2001. More recently *Gambiarra – New Art from Brazil*, was shown at Gasworks, London in 2003 and then Firstsite, Colchester in 2004.





THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

BRAZILIAN MODERNISM PAINTED FOR WAR

*Urbano de Macedo's *Batrachians, Huns & Bersaglieri*, reproduced in this catalogue, is not featured in the 2018 exhibition due to storage facility renovation at the owning institution.

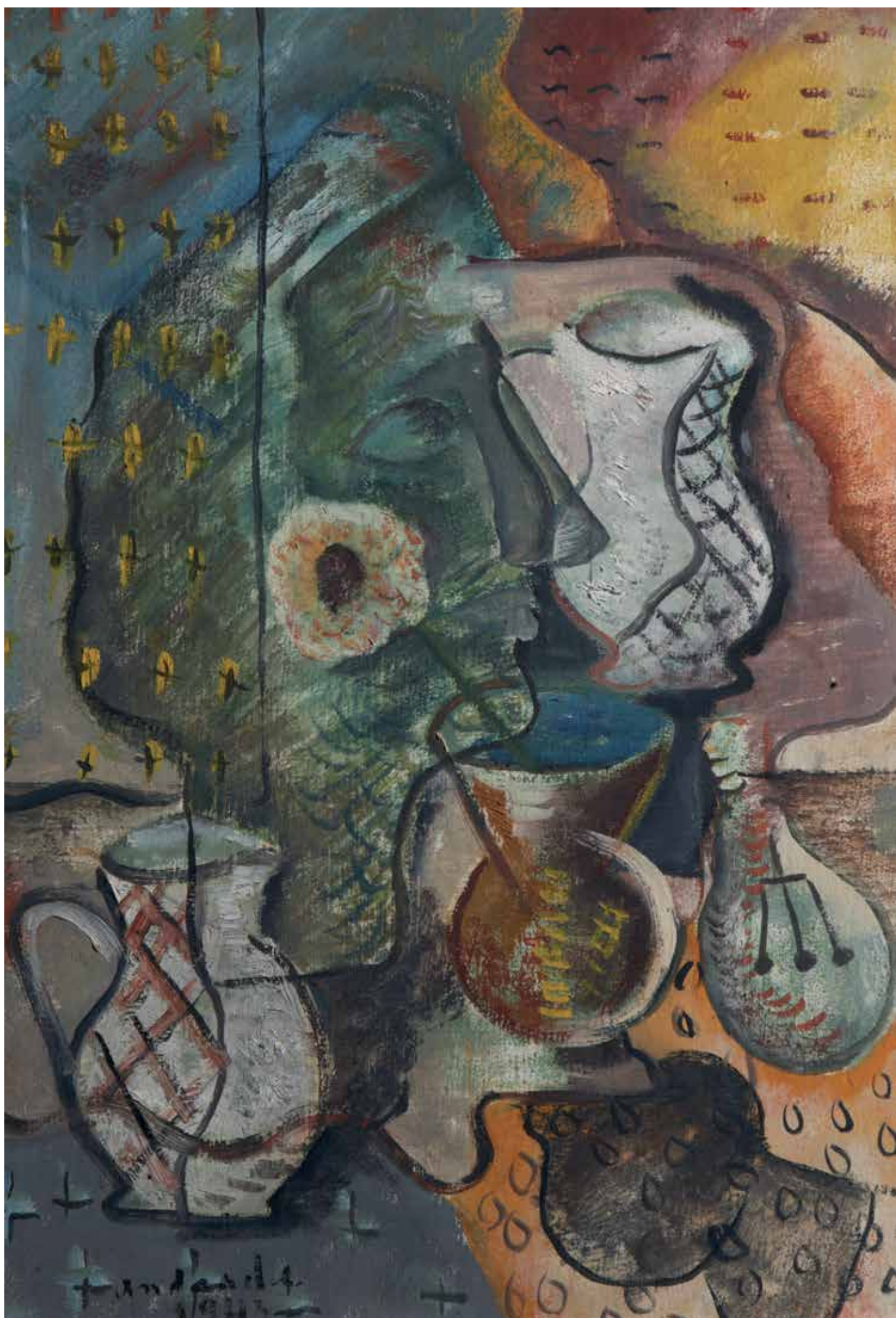
**José Pancetti's *Tenement Houses* (1943, Oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm) is part of the Kirklees Museums and Galleries' collection and was especially restored to be exhibited in *The Art of Diplomacy – Brazilian Modernism Painted For War*. The work is not reproduced in this catalogue because the copyright holder opted to restrict reproduction clearance. The work can be viewed in the online image library of Art UK (artuk.org).



WORKS

OSWALD DE ANDRADE FILHO
 ROBERTO BURLE MARX
 CARDOSO JÚNIOR
 EMILIANO DI CAVALCANTI
 MILTON DACOSTA
 LUCY CITTI FERREIRA
 MARTIM GONÇALVES
 CLÓVIS GRACIANO
 THEA HABERFELD
 *URBANO DE MACEDO
 MANOEL MARTINS
 OSCAR MEIRA
 ALCIDES DA ROCHA MIRANDA
 JOSÉ MORAES
 BELLÁ PAES LEME
 **JOSÉ PANCETTI
 CANDIDO PORTINARI
 LASAR SEGALL
 LUÍS SOARES
 GASTÃO WORMS





OSWALD DE ANDRADE FILHO

Composition, 1943

Oil on canvas, 34 x 50 cm

Plymouth Museums and Galleries

ROBERTO BURLE MARX

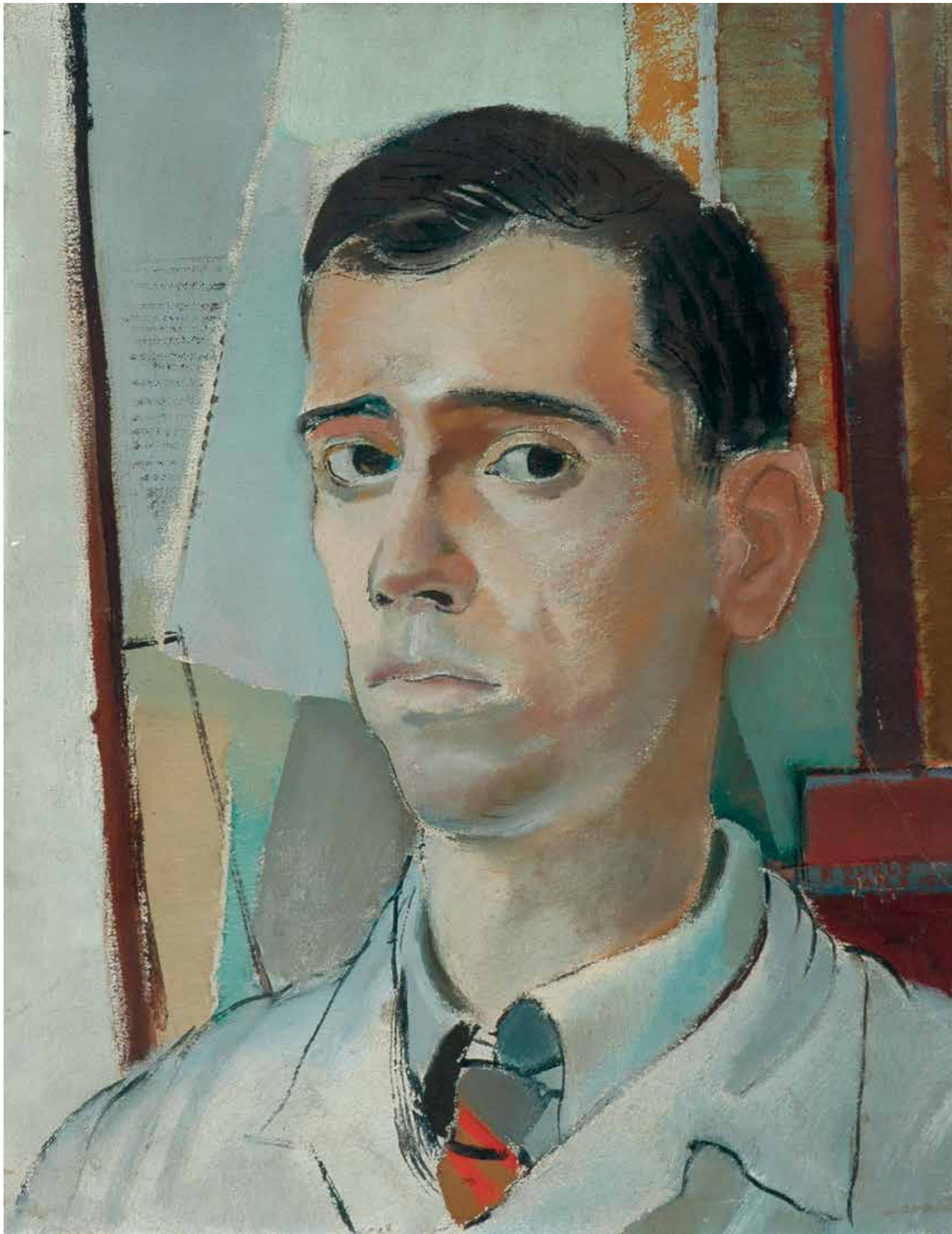
Landscape, 1943

Oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm

Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries

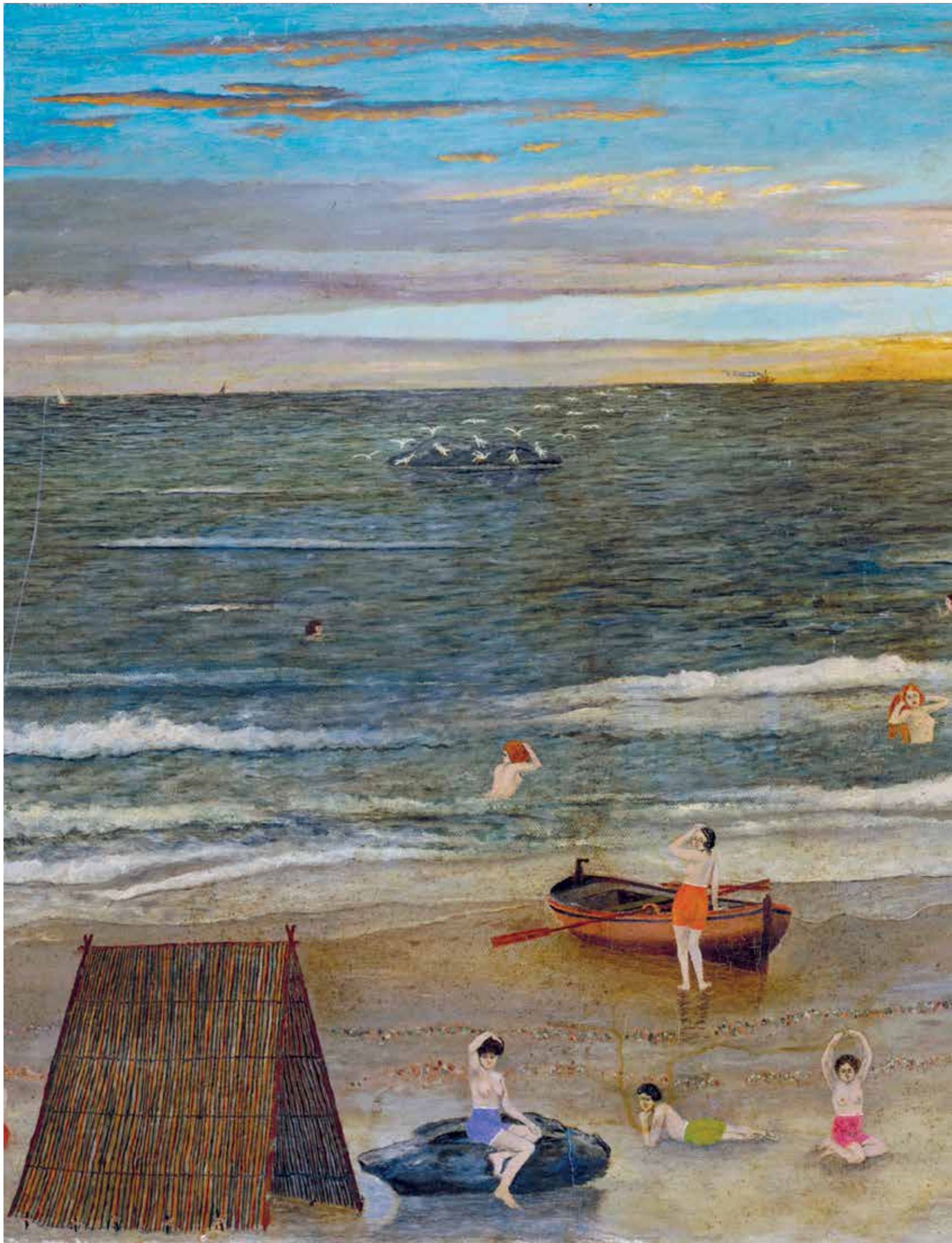








ROBERTO BURLE MARX
Portrait of a young man, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 38 x 46 cm
Kirklees Museums and Galleries





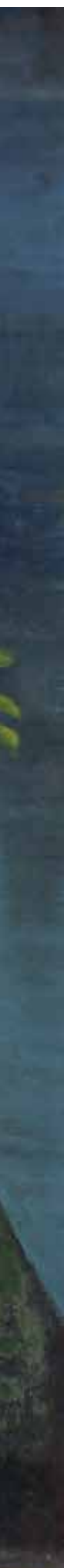
CARDOSO JÚNIOR

They Amuse Themselves, c. 1935-40

Oil on canvas, 69 x 54 cm

Tate





EMILIANO DI CAVALCANTI

Women from Bahia, n.d.

Oil on canvas, 54 x 65 cm

Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries





MILTON DACOSTA

Head of a Girl, 1942

Oil on Canvas, 37 x 45 cm

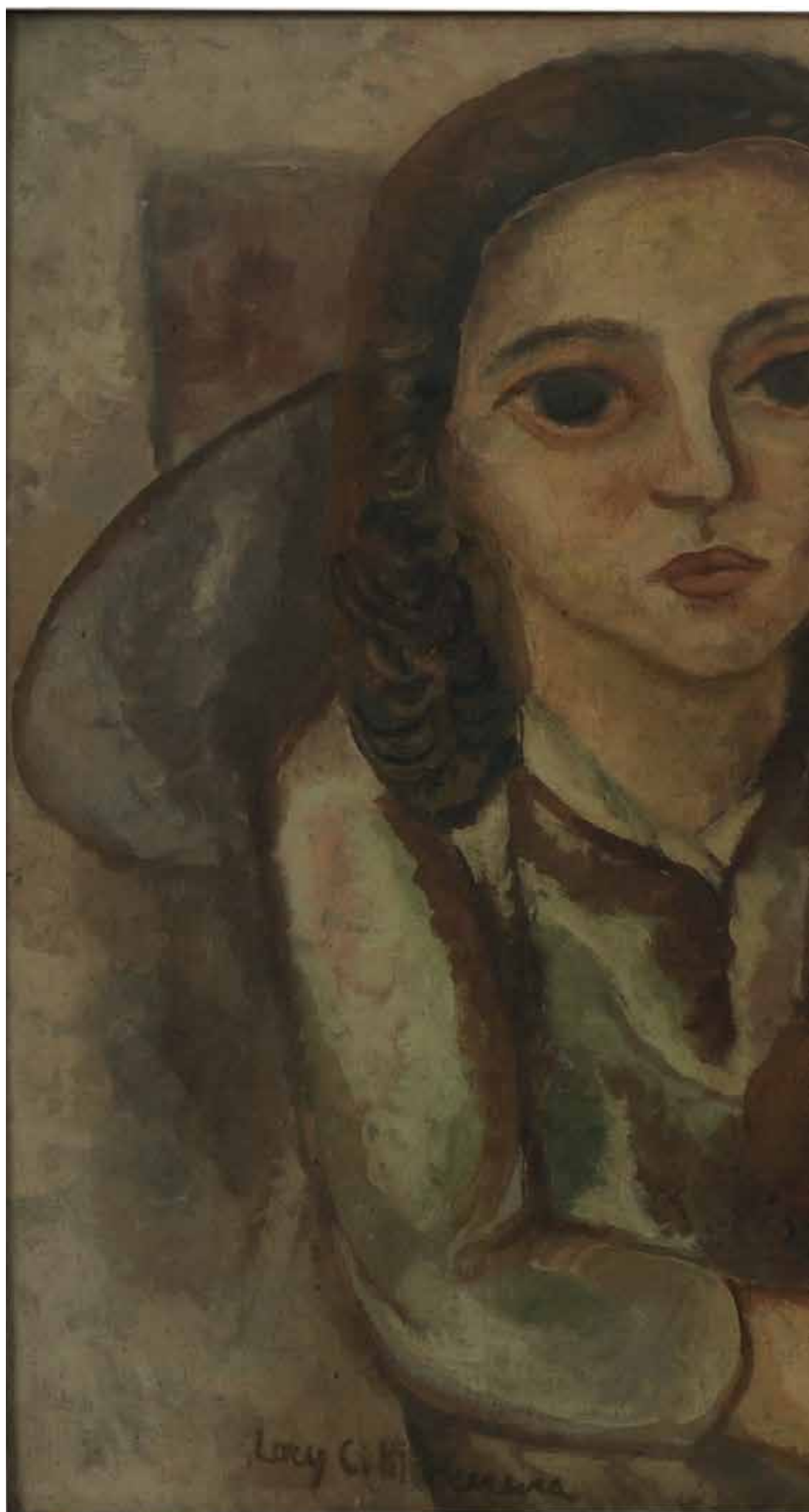
Plymouth Museums and Galleries

LUCY CITTI FERREIRA

Little Girl and Cat, 1943

Oil on canvas, 56 x 48 cm

Tullie House Museum and Art





LUCY CITTI FERREIRA

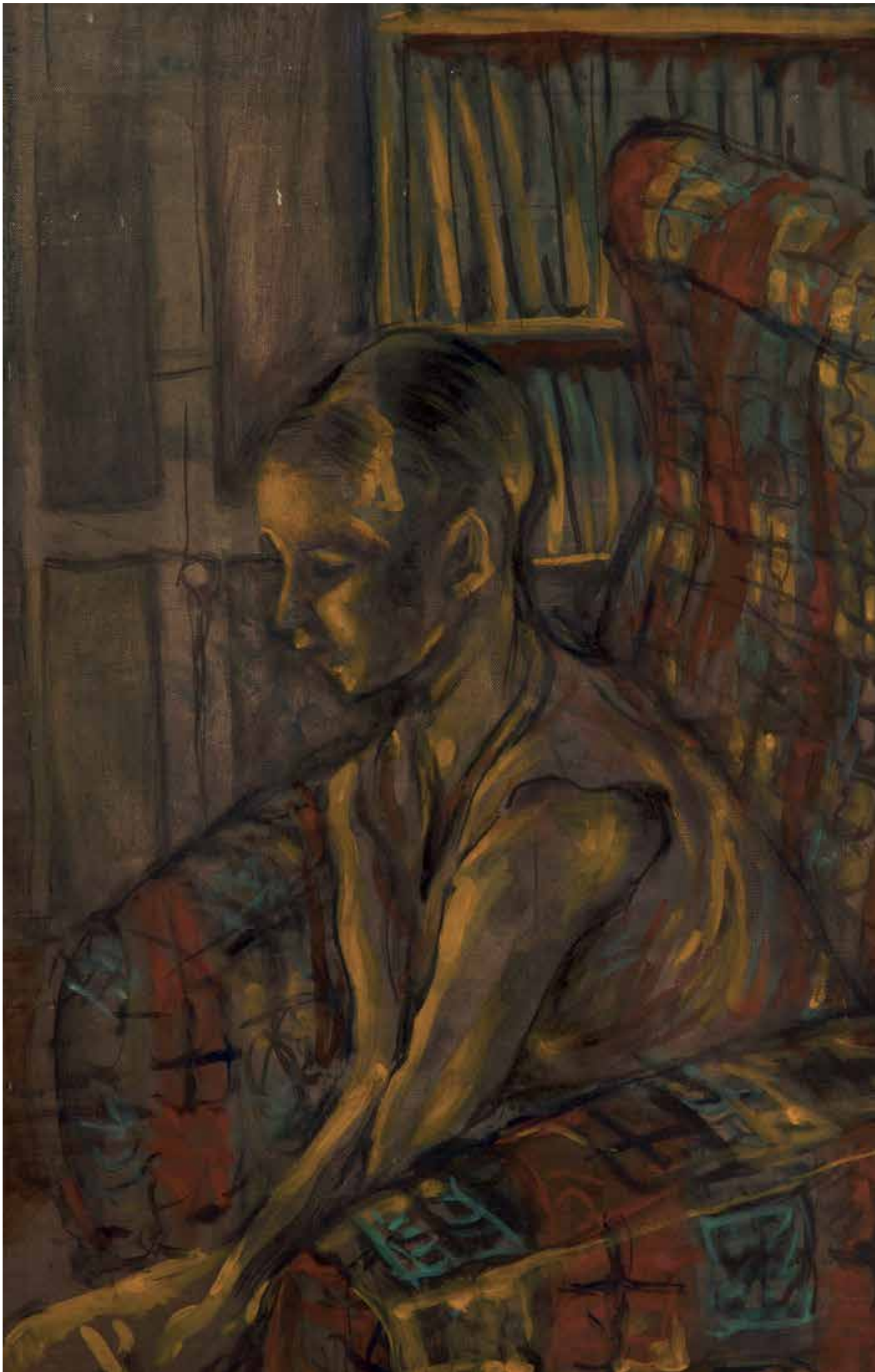
Still Life with a Lamp, n.d.

Oil on canvas, 81 x 64 cm

Manchester Art Gallery







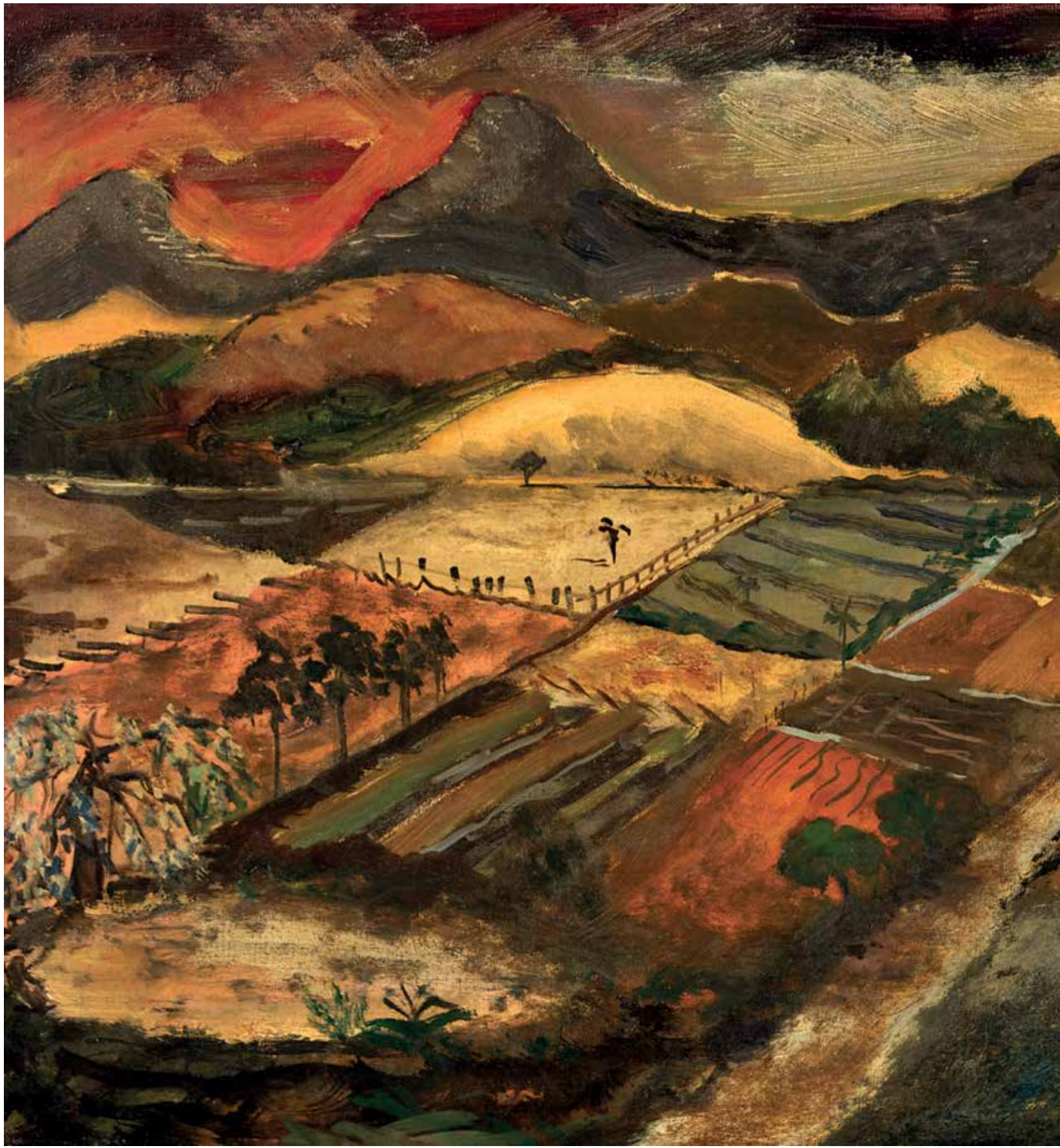


MARTIM GONÇALVES
The Boy in the Library, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 62 x 91 cm
Salford Museum & Art Gallery





CLÓVIS GRACIANO
Ballerina, 1942
Oil on canvas, 65 x 80 cm
The Hepworth Wakefield





THEA HABERFELD

Composition: Brazilian Landscape, 1941

Oil on Canvas, 54 x 34 cm

Bristol Museum & Art Gallery

THEA HABERFELD

Fish, c. 1944

Oil on canvas, 81 x 66 cm

Calderdale Museums



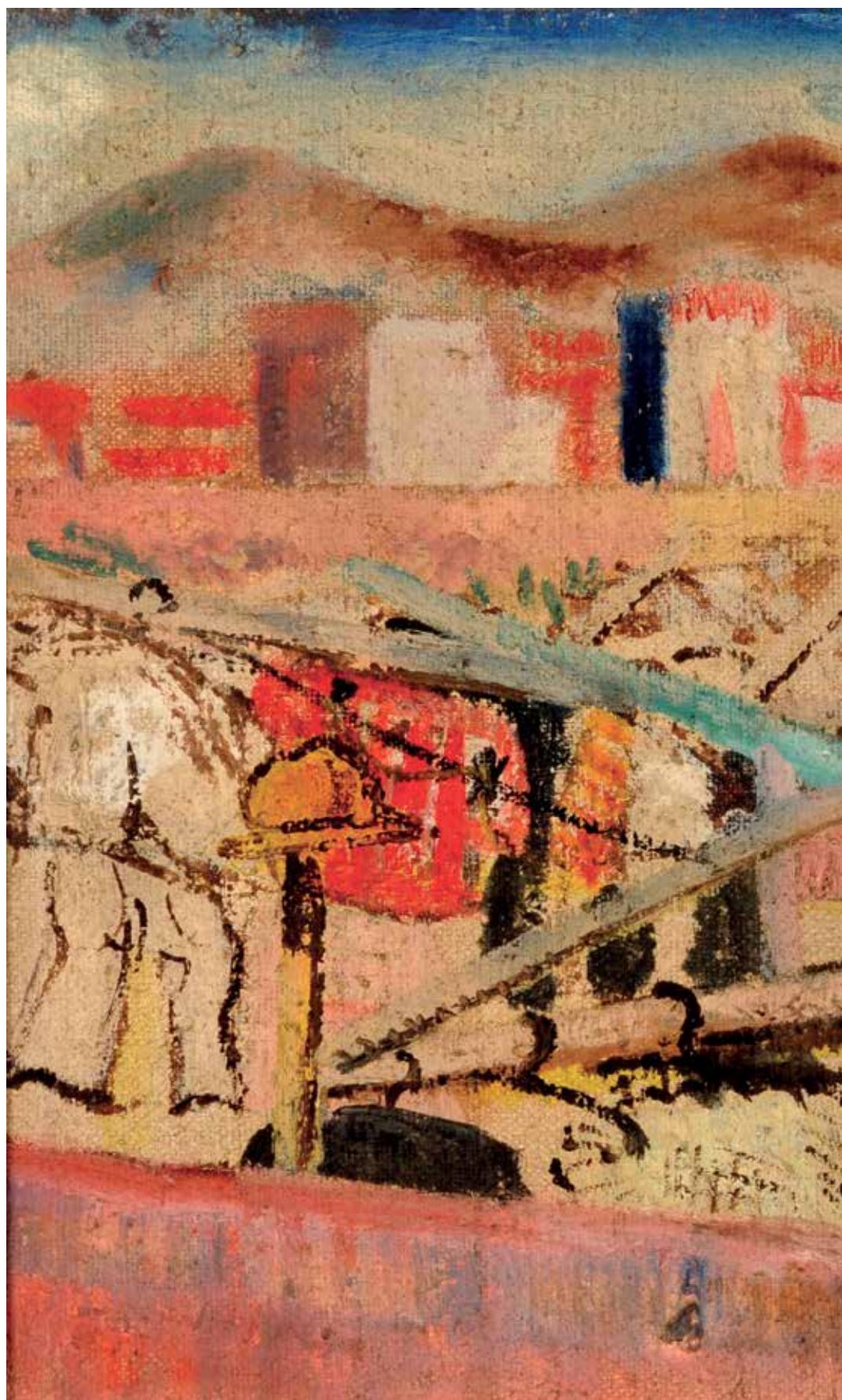


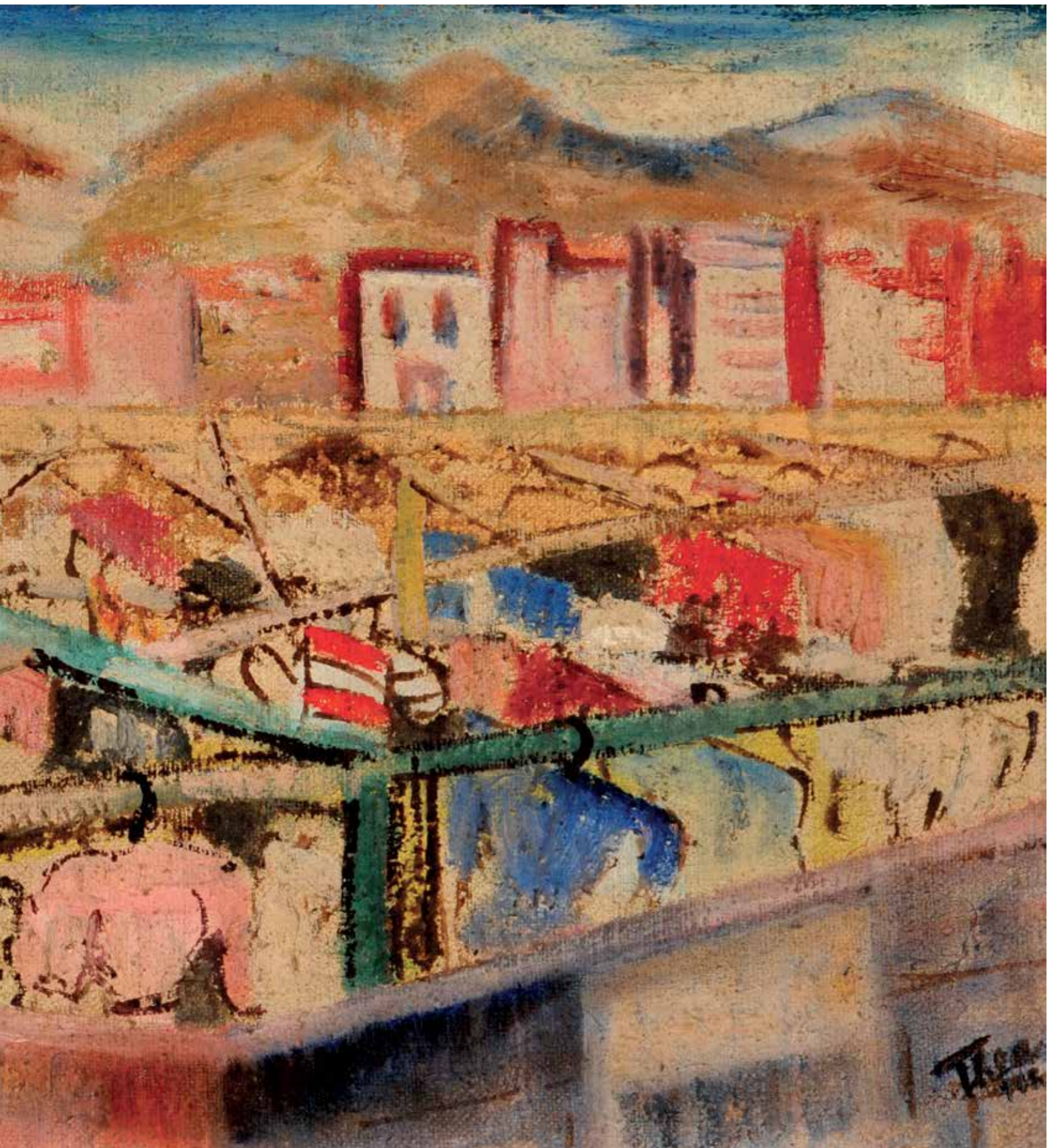
THEA HABERFELD

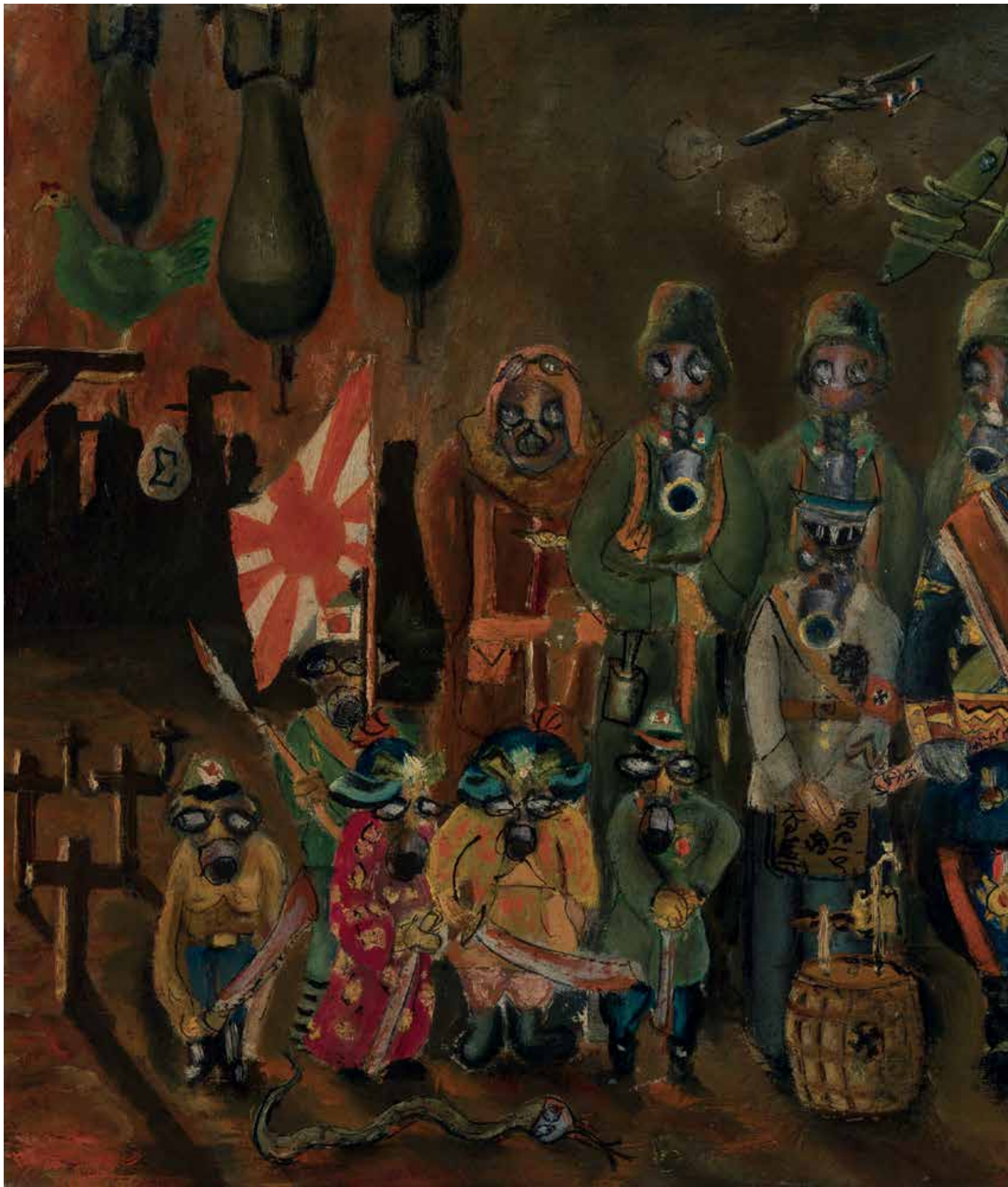
Landscape, 1943

Oil on canvas, 52 x 35 cm

Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery









URBANO DE MACEDO
Batrachians, Huns & Bersaglieri, 1943
Oil on canvas, 55 x 39 cm
CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

MANOEL MARTINS

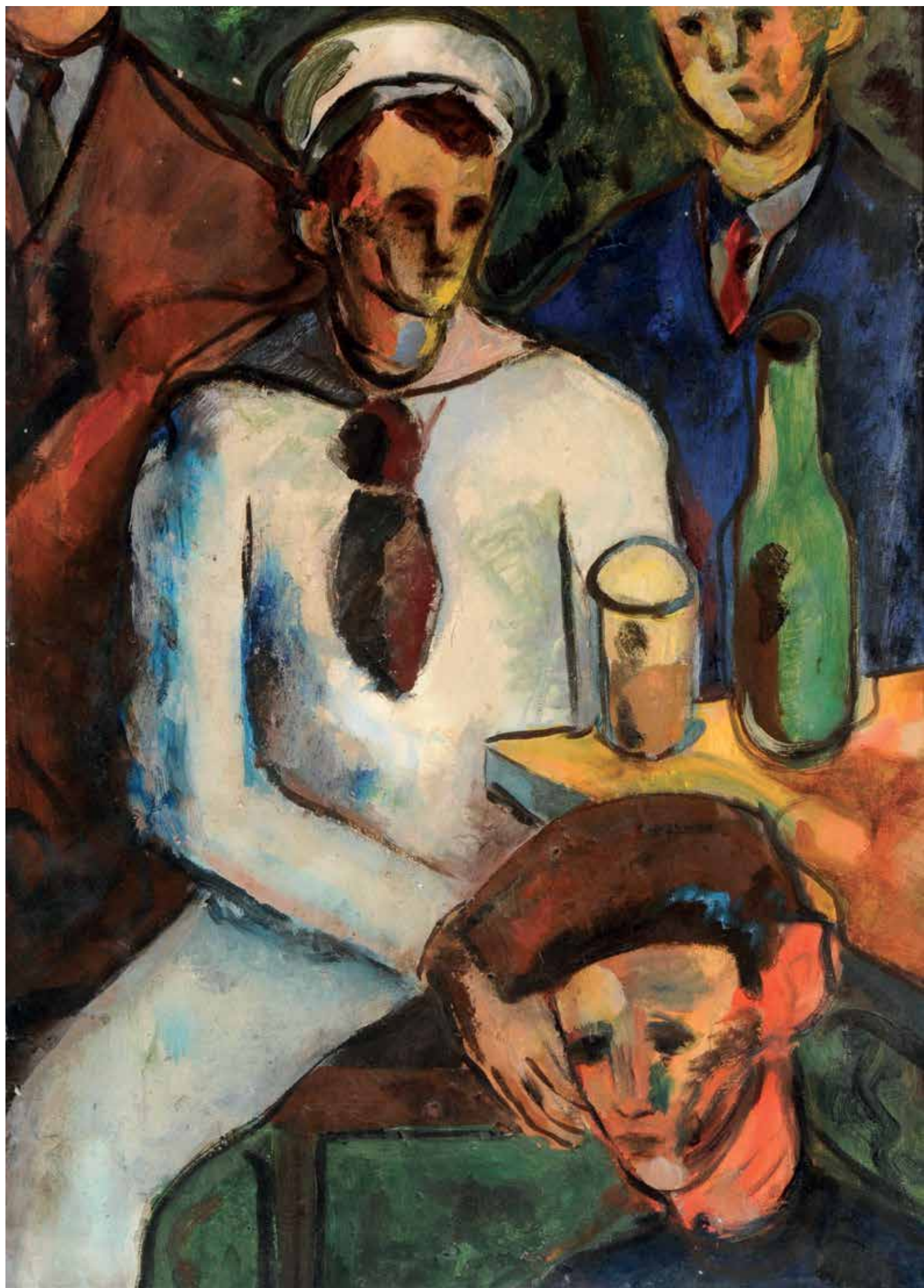
Suburb, 1942

Oil on canvas, 71 x 58 cm

Ferens Art Gallery







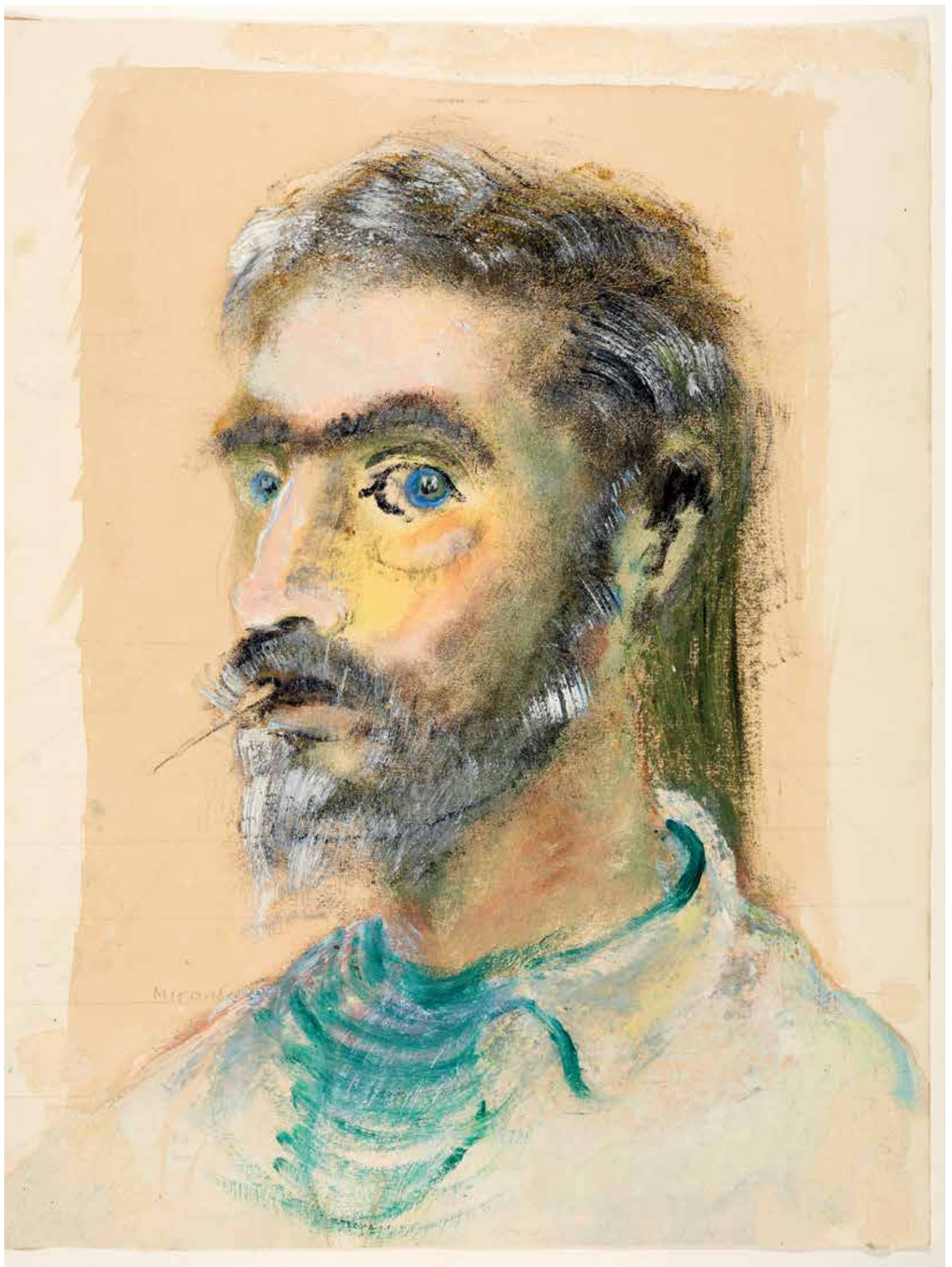
—

OSCAR MEIRA

Sailor, n.d.

Oil on canvas, 48.5 x 68 cm

Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery



—

ALCIDES DA ROCHA MIRANDA

Head, c.1940

Oil on paper, 34.5 x 45 cm
Harris Museum & Art Gallery

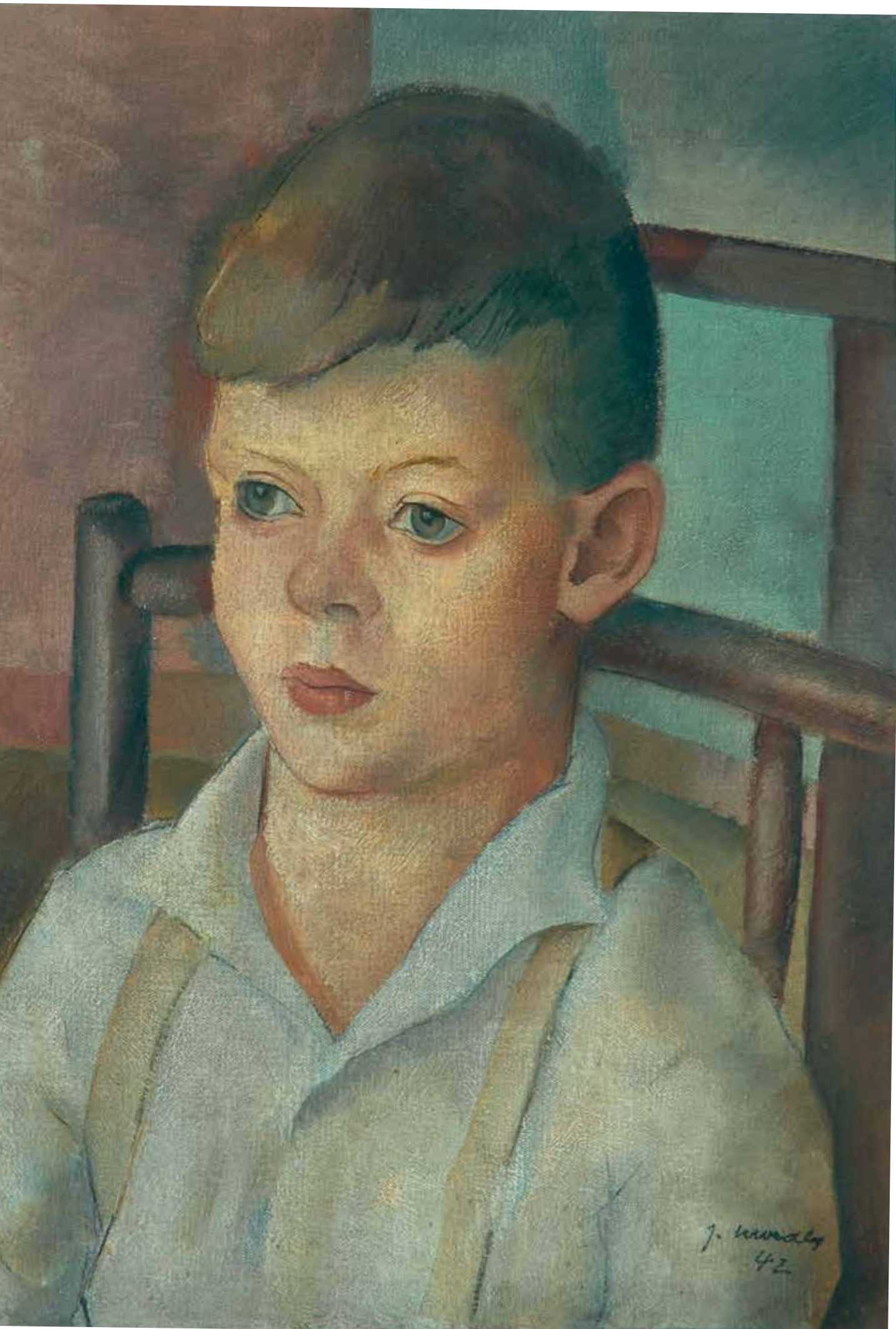
JOSÉ MORAES

Portrait of a Boy, 1942

Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 57.5 cm

The Hepworth Wakefield









JOSÉ MORAES
Head of a Girl, 1943
Oil on wood, 32 x 35.7 cm
The Mercer Art Gallery



—

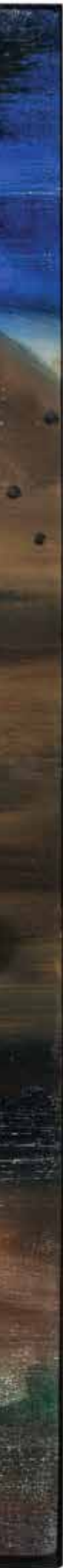
BELLÁ PAES LEME

Family Group, 1942

Oil on panel, 36 x 46 cm

Southampton City Art Gallery





CANDIDO PORTINARI

The Scarecrow (The Half-Wit), 1940

Oil on canvas, 83 x 99 cm

The Mercer Art Gallery

LASAR SEGALL

Lucy with Flower, c. 1939-42

Oil on canvas, 47 x 56 cm

Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art

Photo: Lasar Segall Museum, IBRAM, MinC



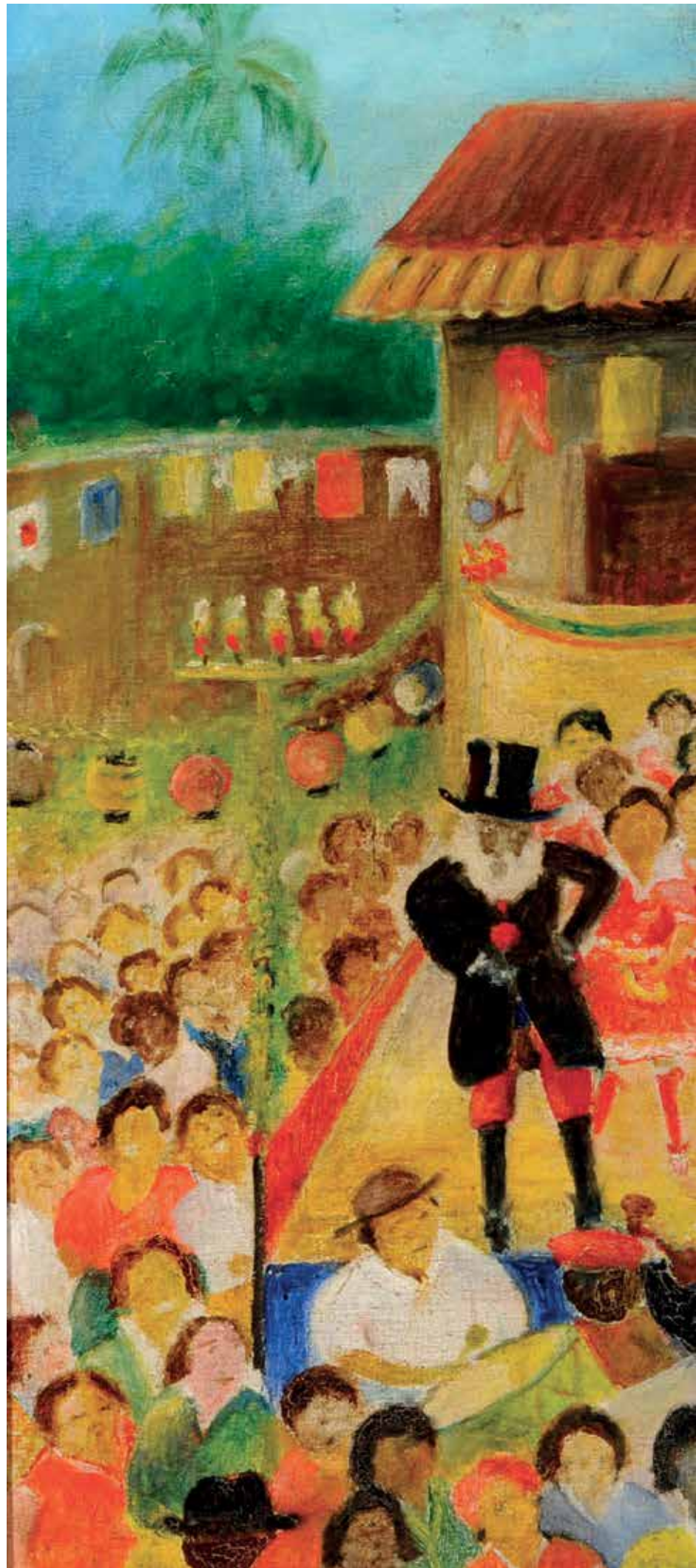


LUÍS SOARES

Pastoral, c. 1944

Oil on canvas, 59 x 49 cm

Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery





GASTÃO WORMS

Still Life, n.d.

Oil on canvas, 34 x 37 cm

The Hepworth Wakefield

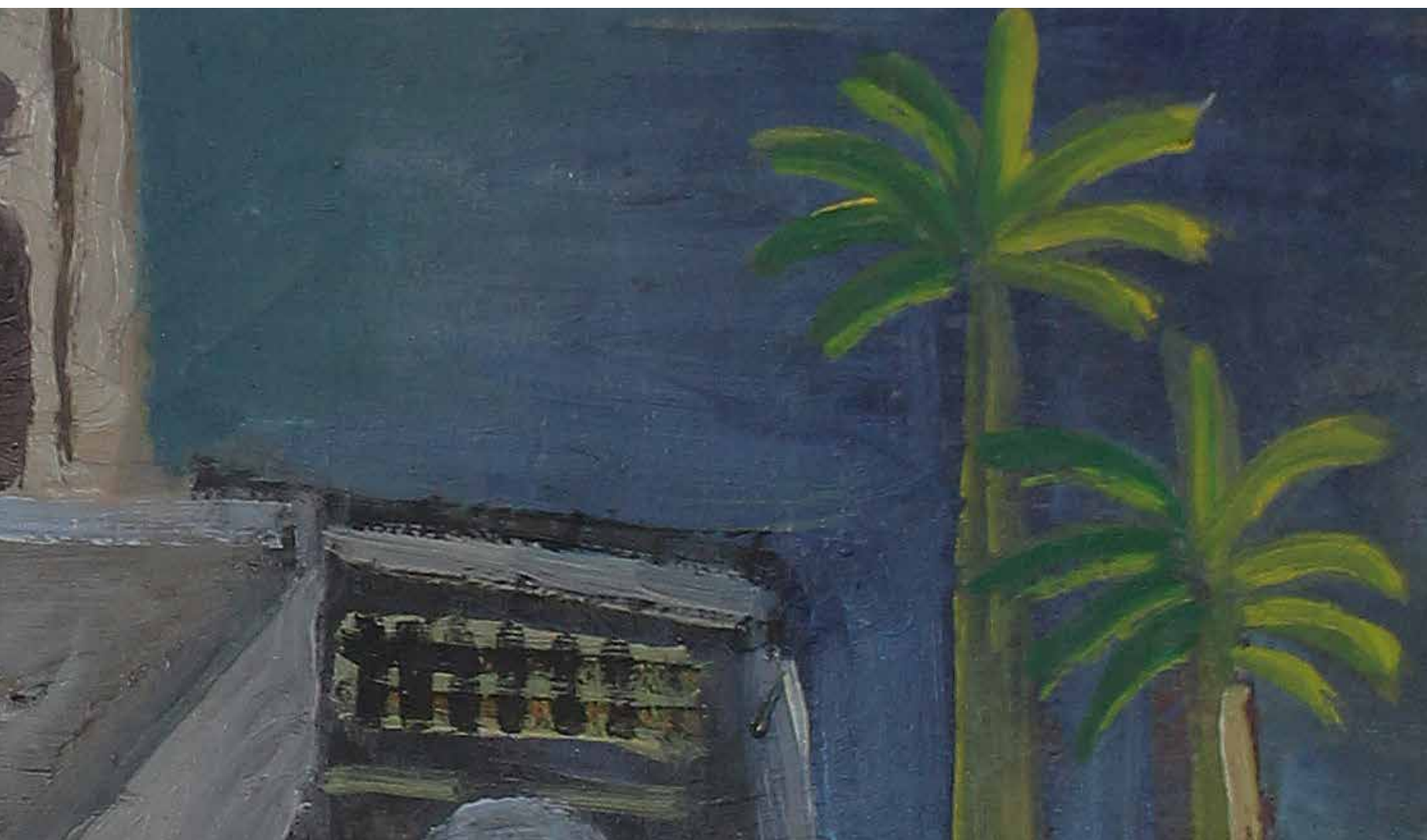






THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

BRAZILIAN MODERNISM PAINTED FOR WAR



ARTISTS' BIOGRAPHIES

OSWALD DE ANDRADE FILHO
ROBERTO BURLE MARX
CARDOSO JÚNIOR
EMILIANO DI CAVALCANTI
MILTON DACOSTA
LUCY CITTI FERREIRA
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JOSÉ PANCETTI
CANDIDO PORTINARI
LASAR SEGALL
LUÍS SOARES
GASTÃO WORMS



OSWALD DE ANDRADE FILHO

JOSÉ OSWALD ANTÔNIO DE ANDRADE (1914 in São Paulo – 1972 in Guarujá, São Paulo) was a painter, designer, scenographer, musician, journalist, writer and lecturer in visual arts, son of the author Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954); he became known as Nonê de Andrade in Brazil. During the 1920s, he went on various study trips to Europe and the Middle East. In 1924, he joined his father and the group of authors and artists, e.g., Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973) and Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961) to a celebrated tour of historic towns and cities of Minas Gerais. After the tour, he went to Switzerland to continue his studies, returning to Brazil in 1929. He then had classes under Candido Portinari (1903-1962), Lasar Segall (1891-1957) and Anita Malfatti (1889-1964). He joined the Modern Artists' Club, the *Teatro de Experiência* ('Experiential Theatre') and the Guanabara Group and also worked as a journalist at the newspaper *A Gazeta*. He headed the *Museu de Artes e Técnicas Populares* ('Popular Arts and Crafts Museum') and the *Theatro Municipal* of the city of São Paulo. His works show confluences with the first Brazilian modernists and some

academics have identified traces of surrealism in them. The biographical entry for the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* catalogue underscores the honourable mention which Andrade Filho received at the *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* in 1940. He contributed three oil paintings for the show – *The Dead Girl* and two pieces under the name *Composition*, one of which was gifted by the British Council to the Plymouth City Council in 1949 and is currently part of its collections.

ROBERTO BURLE MARX

ROBERTO BURLE MARX (1909 in São Paulo – 1994 in Rio de Janeiro) was a notable Brazilian painter, landscape designer, interior and jewel designer, architect, engraver, screen printer, ceramicist, landscape designer and upholsterer. At the age of 19, he travelled to Germany with his family, where he lived for two years benefitting particularly from the cultural life in Berlin and greatly enjoying the botanical gardens and museums in Dahlem. In 1929 he attended classes at the Degner Klemm atelier. On his return to Brazil, he attended the ENBA (1930-34) and studied under Leo Putz (1869-1940), Augusto Bracet (1881-1960) and Celso Antônio (1896-1984). In 1932, he designed his first garden (Schwartz Family) in Rio de Janeiro, at the invitation of Lucio Costa (1902-1998), who did the architectural design with Gregori Warchavchik (1896-1972). From 1934 to 1937, he served as the Director of Gardens and Parks of Recife in the state of Pernambuco.



Frequently, he would travel to Rio de Janeiro to attend classes under Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) and Candido Portinari (1903-1962) at the Art Institute of the University of the Federal District. Portinari invited him to be his assistant in 1937. As a landscape designer, he contributed to the most prominent modern architectural achievements in Brazil (e.g. Pampulha, Ministry of Education and Health, Brasília, Flamengo Park and Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro), working in collaboration with major Brazilian architects, including Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012), Lucio Costa and Affonso Eduardo Reidy (1909-1964). His passion for plants, botany and gardening dated back to his childhood, and in 1949 Roberto Burle Marx was able to build a huge plant collection at his eight-hundred-thousand-square-metre farm in Campo Grande, Rio de Janeiro, and went on various expeditions throughout Brazil with botanists collecting and cataloguing plant samples in order to reproduce the Brazil's plant geography in his landscaped gardens. By the same token, he became fully engaged with the conservation of plants and the environment. Burle Marx sent four works for the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. His pen and ink drawing *Lapa* deserved a mention in Sitwell's preface of the catalogue ('the beautiful large drawing of the tiled roofs of a town') and in *The Observer* ('the architecture is observed with wit and a sound topographical sense'). It was sold to Lord Sherwood, the Under-Secretary of State for Air who opened the exhibition, for £12.12s.0d. In 2011, it was bought for US\$ 12,500 at an auction at Sotheby's New York by a Rio de Janeiro-based art gallery and belongs now to a private collection. One of the three oils, *Fish*, was auctioned by Christie's (also in New York) for US\$ 9,200, in 1992. The other two, *Portrait of a young man* and *Landscape*, belong nowadays to the collections of the Kirklees Museums and Galleries and the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, respectively.

CARDOSO JÚNIOR

JOSÉ BERNARDO CARDOSO JÚNIOR, also known as CARDOSINHO (1861 in Coimbra, Portugal – 1947 in Rio de Janeiro), was a painter and teacher who arrived in Brazil at the age of three and tragically lost his family in a maritime accident. He was educated in Rio de Janeiro and went to study philosophy at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, preparing to be a priest but gave it up. He returned to Brazil and

became a school teacher of Latin and French in the state school system and eventually served as a school inspector. It was only when he retired at the age of 70 that he took on painting as a hobby, being self-taught. As such, he was the oldest painter taking part in the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. The show's catalogue states that Cardoso Júnior worked 'upon the advice and under the influence of Candido Portinari' and refers to the presence of one of his artworks at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. He sent to the two oil paintings. *Jacuicanga River (Paisagem)* was bought by Miss Lawrence for £20 and comprised the first UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* in 1946. *They amuse themselves* was bought by the British Council for £42.0s.0d., and was later to become the first Brazilian painting to enter the Tate collection, where it remains to this day, a gift from Lord Bossom (1881-1965). The painting merited reviews from *The Times*, which considered it to carry a 'pronounced Brazilian quality, and though he is in no sense an amateur, his art bears a poetic relation to that of the French 'Sunday' painters'.



EMILIANO DI CAVALCANTI

EMILIANO AUGUSTO CAVALCANTI DE ALBUQUERQUE E MELO (1897 in Rio de Janeiro – 1976 in Rio de Janeiro) was a Brazilian painter, illustrator, caricaturist, engraver, designer and scenographer, journalist and author; a contemporary of Portinari, who also gained equal international renown, having started his artistic career as a cartoonist in the magazine *Fon-Fon* in 1917. He lived in the city of São Paulo, where he studied for a Law Degree at the Largo de São Francisco and attended classes at the atelier of Georg Elpons (1865-1939). He was part of the artistic and intellectual milieu there meeting various key figures of the 1922 Week of Modern Art, e.g. Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) and Mário de Andrade (1893-1945). He illustrated literary and other works of art, such as *A Balada do Enforcado* ('The Ballad of Reading Gaol') by Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), and published *Fantoches da Meia-Noite*, edited by Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948). Di Cavalcanti conceived of the 1922 *Semana de Arte Moderna* and participated with twelve artworks. In 1923, he travelled to France as a *Correio da Manhã* correspondent, where he also attended the *Académie Ranson*, set up his own atelier and became familiar with the oeuvre of European masters and authors, for instance, Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Georges Braque (1882-1963), Fernand Léger (1881-1955), Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Jean Cocteau (1889-1963) and Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961). On his return to São Paulo in 1926, he worked as a journalist and illustrator for the newspaper *Diário da Noite*. Under the influence of the European vanguards, he developed his own language, adopting a nationalistic outlook focussing on social issue themes and became a member of the communist party in 1928. In 1931, he participated in the *Salão Revolucionário*; and, in the following year, he co-founded the *Clube dos Artistas Modernos* ('Modern Artists' Club') with Flávio de Carvalho (1899-1973), Antonio Gomide (1895-1967) and Carlos Prado (1908-1992), in São Paulo. In 1933, he authored *A Realidade Brasileira*, a satirical take on militarism of the time. He married the artist Noêmia Mourão (1912-1992), also a participant of the Exhibition. Along with Quirino da Silva, he created the allegoric murals for the Theatre João Caetano in Rio de Janeiro.

Sent to jail three times on account of his political views, he went into exile to Paris in 1936, where he worked for the *Radio Diffusion Française*. He later provided the main buildings in Brasília with tapestries and paintings. Appointed Cultural Attaché at the Brazilian Embassy in Paris, he did not take up the post because of the military coup in Brazil. He was awarded an *honoris causa* doctorate by the Federal University of Bahia. The catalogue of the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* underlines the presence of a painting by him at *Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume* and his exhibitions worldwide. His *Women from Bahia* ('Baianas'), printed at *Revista Acadêmica* (1933-1940), was sent to comprise the first UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* in 1946, after touring across the UK. It was eventually donated to the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.



MILTON DACOSTA

MILTON RODRIGUES DA COSTA (1915 in Niterói, Rio de Janeiro – 1988 in Rio de Janeiro) was a painter, designer, engraver and illustrator. He started his artistic education under the German private tutor August Hantv in 1929 and then pursued an extra-mural course with Marques Júnior (1887-1960) at the ENBA in Rio de Janeiro, discontinued by the 1930 Revolution. The following year, jointly with Edson Motta (1910-1981), Bustamante Sá (1907-1988), Ado Malagoli (1906-1994), José Pancetti (1902-1958) along with other artists, he founded the *Núcleo Bernardelli*. He held his first solo exhibition and gained recognition including a Brazilian Salon Prize which enabled him to pursue courses at the Art's Students League of New York before travelling to Lisbon and Paris, where he attended the *Académie de La Grande Chaumière* and the ateliers of Georges Braque (1882-1963) and Georges Rouault (1871-1958) and exhibited works at the *Salon d'Automne*. He returned to Brazil in 1947 and, two years later, married the painter Maria Leontina (1917-1984). Dacosta, inspired by the School of Paris, developed the principles of modern painting in the 1930s, which would be followed by metaphysical experiments in the 1940s, and eventually buttress his Constructivism in 1950s. He subsequently returned to figure painting focussing on the theme of Venus. Milton Dacosta sent two oil paintings to the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. *Cyclists* was bought for £15.0s.0s. by Sir Charles Reilly and was praised by a Glasgow paper for its 'spirit of comedy' and for being 'a clever burlesque' and by *The Times* ('enlongated formalism that is decorative and entertaining'). *Head of a girl* was gifted by the British Council to the Plymouth City Council in 1949, to which collection it belongs.

LUCY CITTI FERREIRA

LUCY CITTI FERREIRA (1911 in São Paulo – 2008 in Paris, France) was a painter, designer, engraver and teacher. She spent her childhood and adolescence in France and Italy with her family. In 1930, she began her artistic training under

the supervision of French painter André Chapuy (1885-1941) at the *École supérieure d'art et design Le Havre*. In the following years, she attended the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, when she had works exhibited at *Salon de Tuileries*. When she returned to Brazil, Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) introduced her to Lasar Segall, of whom she became a student and model. She sat for Segall's *Lucy with flower*, the most highly appreciated artwork in the Exhibition. Citti Ferreira was awarded an honorary mention at the 1935 *Salão Paulista de Belas Artes*, took part at the second *Salão de Maio* and had solo exhibitions at the Brazilian Institute of Architects, in São Paulo, and the Brazilian Press Association in Rio de Janeiro, in 1938. In 1947, she moved back to Paris and joined the group of artists represented at the *Galerie Jean Bouchet et Jack*. Lucy Citti Ferreira sent five pictures to the *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*. She presented two wood engravings: *Refugee*, which was subsequently sent to the UNESCO Exhibition of 1946; and *Man and woman*. The the drawing *Homeless*, originally acquired for £3.3d.0s. by Miss Marques. She also sent two oil paintings to the Exhibition. *Little girl and cat* was originally bought by Ms Muriel Currant for £3.3d.0s. and currently belongs to the Tullie House Museum in Cumbria. *Still life with lamp* was donated to the Manchester City Galleries.



MARTIM GONÇALVES

EROS MARTIM GONÇALVES PEREIRA (1919 in Recife Pernambuco – 1973 in Rio de Janeiro) was a painter, designer, illustrator, theatre director, set and costume designer, writer and teacher. He studied medicine in Recife, focussing on psychiatry. When he transferred to Rio de Janeiro, in 1942, he dedicated himself to becoming a self-taught painter. For some time, he illustrated a literary periodical. In 1943, Gonçalves won a silver medal at the National Salon. In 1944, he received a scholarship from the British Council to study in Oxford. Five years later, the French government gave him another scholarship to study cinema. He later became a director of the School of Theatre at the University of Bahia (1956-1961) and he was one of the founding members of the *Teatro O Tablado*, with playwright Maria Clara Machado (1921–2001) and others, in 1951. Martim Gonçalves sent four works for the Exhibition. Two of the drawings he donated, *Landscape* and *Figure* were sold for £2.2s.0d., to Victor Perowne (FO) and Miss Marques, respectively. The third one, *Landscape*, was not sold. The oil painting *The Boy in the Library* was displayed at the UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* in 1946 and, one year later, gifted through the British Council to the Salford Museum & Art Gallery.

CLÓVIS GRACIANO

CLÓVIS GRACIANO (1907 in Araras, São Paulo – 1988 in São Paulo) was a painter, designer, scenographer, engraver and illustrator. From a challenging childhood, he worked as a blacksmith's assistant and a peripatetic painter until he met Candido Portinari (1903-1962) and started his career under his influence, portraying social themes in his paintings at the age of 27. He moved to the capital of the state, São Paulo in 1934, where, from 1935 to 1937, he studied under the artist Waldemar da Costa (1904-1982). In 1937, he joined the Santa Helena Group along with Francisco Rebolo (1902-1980), Mario Zanini (1907-1971) and Bonadei (1906-1974), among others. He attended the drawing course at the *Escola Paulista de Belas Artes* ('São Paulo School of Fine Arts') until 1938. He also became a member

of the *Família Artística Paulista* (FAP), one of the artists' groups there, and was elected as its chair in 1939. Graciano participated in various visual arts salons and had his first solo exhibition in 1941. He was one of the founding members of *Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* (MAM-SP, 'São Paulo Modern Art Museum') in 1948. Having been awarded the 1949 *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* Travel Abroad Prize, he travelled to Europe. He spent two years in Paris studying mural painting and engraving. In the 1950s, he did mural paintings mostly depicting the history of his state and also illustrated literary works such as *Cancioneiro da Bahia* by Dorival Caymmi (1914-2008) in 1947 and the novel *Terras do Sem Fim* by Jorge Amado (1912-2001) in 1987. In 1971, he became the director of the *Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo*. From 1976 to 1978, he served as the cultural attaché at the Embassy of Brazil in Paris. His career in scenography was equally outstanding, having worked for various theatres on important plays by Gil Vicente (1465-1536), Molière (1622-1673) and Shakespeare (1564-1616). He also lectured in performing arts at the *Escola de Arte Dramática* (EAD, School of Performing Arts) in São Paulo and illustrated magazines and periodicals. Clóvis Graciano sent four pictures to the Exhibition: the oil paintings *Figure* and *Bailarina*, the gouache *Landscape* and the drawing *Figure*. *Bailarina* was taken to the UNESCO Exhibition of 1946 and is now in The Hepworth Wakefields, Yorkshire, gifted by the British government jointly with the Brazilian government.



THEA HABERFELD

THEA HABERFELD (1910 in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais – date of death unknown) was a painter and decorative artist who studied botany at the University of Vienna and drawing and painting at the University of the Federal District. In 1940, she was awarded an honourable mention at the *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* in its Decorative Arts Division for a Fabric Panel for Theatre and a Tapestry Project, which featured at the Brazil Pavillion at the *Exposição do Mundo Português* in Lisbon in 1940. The three oil paintings sent by her to the Exhibition are currently in collections in the UK. *Fish* belongs to the Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council; *Composition* is at the Bristol Museum; and *Landscape*, at the Doncaster Museum.



URBANO DE MACEDO

MARINHO URBANO DE MACEDO (1912 in São Paulo – 1943 in São Paulo) was a visual artist, sculptor and painter who studied at the São Paulo State School of Arts. The Exhibition catalogue highlighted his participation at São Paulo and Brazilian National Salon of Arts, where he was awarded a bronze medal. Urbano de Macedo sent two oil paintings to the show: *The artist's family* and *Batrachians, huns and bersaglieri*. The latter comprised the first 1946 UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* and was gifted by the artist, through the British Government, to the Glasgow Museum collection.

MANOEL MARTINS

MANOEL JOAQUIM MARTINS (1911 in São Paulo – 1979 in São Paulo) was a painter, designer, engraver, sculptor, illustrator and goldsmith. He was a son of Portuguese immigrants and grew up in the industrial borough of Brás, in São Paulo. He first developed his arts as a goldsmith from 1924 and worked in commerce and trained in art. He attended courses by the sculptor Vicente Larocca (1892-1964) and some at the *Sociedade Pró-Arte Moderna* (Spam). In 1936, he shared a studio with the painter Mario Zanini (1907–1971) joining the Santa Helena Group along with Alfredo Volpi (1896-1988), Francisco Rebolo (1902-1980) and Fulvio Pennacchi (1905-1992), and the *Família Artística Paulista* ('São Paulo Artists' Family') in the following year. He set up his atelier at Rua Bittencourt Rodrigues in 1942. His work was characterized by the social militancy, and he chose to depict working-class life. During WWII, he painted cities under bomb raids and torpedoed ships. Manoel Martins sent five wood engravings to the Exhibition. *War* was acquired by M. L. Whishaw for £2.2s.0d.; *Portrait of the artist* was sold to Lt G.I Blair; and *Slave ship* to Mrs Keith Innes for £1.12s.6d. *Town* was shown at the UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* in 1946. His fifth wood engraving is entitled *Woman*. In addition, he contributed the oil painting *Suburb* was donated to the Ferens Art Gallery in Hull in 1949, in whose collection it has remained to this day.

OSCAR MEIRA

OSCAR MEIRA (1914 in Rio de Janeiro – date of death unknown) was a visual artist who worked at the ENBA in Rio de Janeiro and won a silver medal at the *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* in 1941. He sent to the Exhibition a drawing entitled *Figure*, which today belongs to the Auckland Art Gallery Toi O Tamaki's, and the oil painting *Sailor*, currently part of the Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery's collection.



ALCIDES DA ROCHA MIRANDA

ALCIDES DA ROCHA MIRANDA (1909 in Rio de Janeiro –2001 in Rio de Janeiro) was an architect, designer, painter and university lecturer. He attended the *Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* (ENBA, 'National School of Fine Arts'), and subsequently graduated in architecture in 1932, pursuing his career from a modernist stance from the outset at the Costa & Warchavchik architectural practice. Concomitantly, he studied painting under Portinari and also under Guignard and André Lhote at the Arts Institute of the University of the Federal District (1935-37). He participated in the second *Salão de Maio de São Paulo* in 1938, the Guignard Group Exhibition in 1943 and the itinerant *20 Artistas Brasileños* show in 1945. In 1949, he joined the Brazilian organising committee for the 1956 International Museums Conference held in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais. Rocha Miranda was inspired by innovations in higher education and put forward the idea of integrating all arts as he was appointed as Professor at the Architecture and Urbanism Faculty of the University of São Paulo, which would later be realised at the University of Brasília (UnB). There, he was a member of its founding council, creating the Central Arts Institute, which he directed later, and of the planning team for the Faculty of Education and the *Dois Candangos* auditorium in 1962. Rocha Miranda joined the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (Iphan; at the time, Sphan – *Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*), serving as the head of arts section of the Studies and Listed Buildings Division in 1940, and retired in 1978. He received various honours and accolades in Brazil. He is the father of the artist Luiz Aquila (b.1943). One of the instigators of the 1944 *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings* in London, Alcides da Rocha Miranda donated two drawings to the show, both entitled *Composition*, one of which sold for £2.0.s.0d to Estlin Graundy. Another oil painting, *Head*, presently belongs to the Harris Museum, in Lancashire.



JOSÉ MORAES

JOSÉ MACHADO DE MORAES (1921 in Rio de Janeiro – 2003 in São Paulo) was an artist, engraver, illustrator, journalist and visual arts lecturer. In 1941, he graduated in painting from the ENBA but during his degree course he also studied painting under Quirino Campofiorito (1902-1993) and, in 1942, became an assistant of Candido Portinari in Brodowski, working on the murals for the São Francisco de Assis Chapel, designed by Oscar Niemeyer (1907 -2012), in Belo Horizonte. In the same year, a solo exhibition of his works was held at the Institute of Architects of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. He was awarded four prizes in the 1940s with a Travel Abroad Prize at the 55th *Salão Nacional de Belas Artes* (1949); he travelled to Italy to study mural painting (1950-1). On his return he produced murals and frescoes and in 1967 became a lecturer at the Armando Álvares Penteado Foundation in São Paulo (FAAP). In 1971, he went to broaden his knowledge of screen printing with the master Michel Caza (b.1935) in Paris and, subsequently, also studied screen printing at the *École de Beaux-Arts* in Paris, and at the *Centre Genevois de Gravure Contemporaine*. His oil paintings *Portrait* and *Head of a girl*, sent for the Exhibition, are currently in the Hepworth Wakefield and in the Mercer Art Gallery in Harrogate, respectively.

BELLÁ PAES LEME

ISABEL BETIM PAES LEME (1910 in São Paulo – date of death unknown) was an innovative theatre, opera/ballet scenographer and costume designer. She graduated from the ENBA in 1927; and then in 1930 studied painting under Pedro Correia de Araújo (1874-1955) in Rio de Janeiro, whom she credited for her arts skills and learning. In 1936, she attended the André Lhote atelier in Mirmand and his lectures elsewhere in France. Bellá Paes Leme started her career as a scenographer in 1940 producing the setting for a Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936) play. Her works span some thirty-five years with various acclaimed sets and costumes, which began to gain national recognition from the late 1950s in Brazil. For instance, her 1961 ballet set for *Descobrimento do Brasil* by Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) as well as other highly artistic sets received various accolades and prizes for theatre and opera/ballet productions. She married Count August Zamoyski (1893-1970), a Polish sculptor. Bellá Paes Lemes sent three oil paintings to the 1944 *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, all of which were acquired. Tosti Russell bought *Group* (for £15.15s.0d) and *Landscape* (for £11.11s.0d.). The former British Ambassador to Brazil, Sir Noel Charles (1891-1975), acquired another *Group* (for £15.15s.0d.), which was gifted to the Southampton Art Gallery in 1948.

JOSÉ PANCETTI

GIUSEPPE GIANINNI PANCETTI (1902 in Campinas, São Paulo - 1958 in Rio de Janeiro) was a sculptor, painter, engraver, wall decorator and naval officer. He was born into a family of Italian immigrants and, at the age of 11, was sent to live in Italy under the care of an uncle and his grandparents due to his parents' financial difficulties. Pancetti joined the Italian merchant navy as a sailor after apprenticing as a carpenter and working as a bicycle mechanic and in an armaments factory until the age of 16. In 1920, on his return to Brazil, he did various odd jobs. In 1921, he started working for the *Oficina Beppe*, specialised in wall decorating services and posters, as a wall decorator and assistant of the painter Adolfo Fonzari (1880 - 1959). In 1922, he

joined the Brazilian Navy, where he served until retirement with the rank of Second Lieutenant. He painted his first works aboard the battleship *Minas Gerais* and joined the *Companhia de Praticantes e Especialistas em Convés* ('Deck Practitioners and Specialist Corps'). During the 1932 constitutionalist revolution, he was able to paint a warplane downed by machine guns from the cruiser *Rio Grande do Sul*. The painting was acquired and published by the weekly magazine *A Noite Ilustrada*, launching his career as an artist. In 1933, he joined the *Núcleo Bernardelli*, benefitting from advice from the artists Manoel Santiago (1897-1987), Edson Motta (1910-1981), João José Rescala (1910-1986) and particularly from the Polish painter Bruno Lechowski (1887-1941), becoming an accomplished painter. Exhibiting at numerous Brazilian art salons, he was awarded a trip to Europe in 1941. He painted landscapes, self-portraits, still life and marine scenes. His marine paintings are best known. According to the Exhibition catalogue, Pancetti 'had the most adventurous life of any Brazilian painter'. He sent four oil paintings to the Exhibition: *Campos do Jordão*, *Flowers*, *Portrait of the artist* and *Tenement house*, the latter being currently part of the Kirklees Museums and Galleries' collection.



CANDIDO PORTINARI

CANDIDO PORTINARI (1903 in Brodowski, São Paulo - 1962 in Rio de Janeiro) was a Brazilian artist, ceramicist, engraver, illustrator and painter, who achieved international acclaim. In the mid-1910s, he began helping with paintings at the Brodowski Parish Church and moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1918. There, he attended the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* (School of Arts and Crafts) and the ENBA, where he studied figure drawing under the artists Lucílio de Albuquerque (1885-1962), Rodolfo Amoedo (1857-1941) and Rodolfo Chambelland (1879-1967). Having been awarded a scholarship abroad, he set out to Europe in 1928 spending two years travelling in France, England, Italy and Spain. In 1935, his painting *Café* was awarded the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh Prize, the first Brazilian modernist painter to win a foreign prize. In the same year, he was invited to lecture on mural and easel painting at the Art Institute of the University of the Federal District. Among his students were Burle Marx (1909-1994) and Edith Behring (1916-1996), who also participated in the Exhibition. His first mural was produced for the Rio-São Paulo Motorway Monument in 1936. The Minister of Education and Health, Gustavo Capanema (1902-1998) invited Portinari to paint some of the murals for the new modernist ministry building (1936-8). In 1940, another successful solo exhibition of his paintings toured the US, and the University of Chicago published a book on his work, *Portinari: his life and art*, with an introduction by the US artist Rockwell Kent (1882-1971). In 1941, he was invited to paint four murals for the vestibule walls of the Hispanic Reading Room of the Library of Congress, in Washington DC on topics of the history of Brazil and Latin America - *Discovery of the Land*, *Entry into the Forest*, *Teaching of the Indians* and *Discovery of Gold*. He failed to be elected a member of the parliament in 1945 and senator in 1947, as member of the Communist Party of Brazil. His murals *War and Peace* at the United Nations Headquarters in New York were awarded the Guggenheim Prize. He illustrated various books including Machado de Assis' (1839-1908) *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* and *O Alienista*. In 1958, he published a book of poetry published by José Olympio (1964) with forewords by Antônio Callado (1917-1997) and Manuel Bandeira (1886-1968). In 1979, his son,

João Candido Portinari, launched the *Projeto Portinari*, a vast archive, hosted at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He contributed two oil paintings to the Exhibition. *Group (Mulher e crianças)* was originally acquired by the Brazilian diplomat Hugo Gouthier for £180. It has been displayed in several museums across the US and is currently part of the Edson Queiroz Foundation's collection. *Scarecrow (The Half-Wit)* was given to the Mercer Art Gallery, in Harrogate.



LASAR SEGALL

LASAR SEGALL (1889 in Vilnius, Lithuania – 1957 in São Paulo), a painter, designer, sculptor, engraver, illustrator, scenographer and costume designer, was one of the eight children of a Torah scribe. He began his artistic education at the Antokolski's Academy of Drawing in Vilnius, his hometown. In 1906, he moved to Germany, to attend the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts of Berlin and later in the year to the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts. Segall travelled to São Paulo for the first time at the end of 1912. In the same year, he held the first *Exhibition of Modern Painting* in Brazil, which was the starting point of the revolution in Brazilian visual arts. Later, he founded, along with Otto Dix (1891-1969), Conrad Felixmüller (1897-1977), Otto Lange (1879-1944) and others, the *Dresdner Sezession-Gruppe* 1919, an expressionist artistic group. In 1923, he settled in São Paulo, being immediately regarded as a representative of European *avant-garde*. In 1924, he created the design for Futurist Ball of the Automobile Club and for the *Pavilhão Modernista* of Olívia Guedes Penteado (1872-1934). He was one of the founders of the *Sociedade Pró-Arte Moderna* (Spam) in 1932, serving as its director until 1935. Between 1928 and 1932, Segall lived in Paris, and, in 1937, he officially represented Brazil at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* ('International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life') there. The Grenoble Modern Art Museum, the *Musée de Jeu de Paume* and several other museums and private collections have Segall's works. During his career, war, social injustice, human misery and Jewish themes were recurrent subjects. His residence in São Paulo would be turned into the Lasar Segall Museum in 1967. Lasar Segall sent *Lucy with flower*, an oil painting depicting the painter Lucy Citti Ferreira (1911-2008), which was doubtlessly the most commented and praised of the Exhibition artworks. It has been at the National Gallery of Scotland since 1945, gifted by the British Council.



LUÍS SOARES

LUÍS PEDRO DE SOUZA SOARES (1875 in Recife, Pernambuco – 1948 in Rio de Janeiro) was a painter and designer, a student of the Brazilian landscape painter Teles Júnior (1851-1914). In his youth, Soares went to Portugal, where he studied at the *Academia do Porto*. According to the Exhibition catalogue, Soares was 'one of the best representatives of regional Brazilian painting and had various pictures in a collection in the US'. He sent *Circus* and *Brazilian dance*, two watercolours, to the Exhibition. Both were part of the UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* in 1946, the first of which having been sold for £5.0s.0d. to R. Carline. Soares also contributed an oil painting entitled *Pastoral* to the Exhibition, which was gifted by the Brazilian Government and the British Council to the Doncaster Museum in 1949.



GASTÃO WORMS

GASTÃO WORMS (1905 in São Paulo – 1967 in Rio de Janeiro) was a painter, sculptor, cartoonist and lecturer. Son of the painter Bertha Worms (1868-1937), he began his early career by doing cartoons and caricatures for magazines *Kosmos* and *Pimpão*. In 1922, his *Pobrezinha* was awarded an honorary mention at the 28th *Exposição Geral de Belas Artes* ('General Fine Arts Exhibition'), launching his career as an artist. He also produced caricatures for *Diário da Noite* in 1924 signing as 'Valverde'. His first solo exhibition was held at the old *Correios* (post office) building in São Paulo featuring forty-three works. In 1927, he travelled to Paris, to study at the *Académie de la Grande Chaumière* and also attended the *Académie Julian*, staying in Paris until 1932 under the auspices of an artistic bursary from the São Paulo government. On his return to São Paulo, Worms offered tuition in drawing and French and participated in numerous art exhibitions. In 1943, he moved to Rio de Janeiro. Gastão Worms contributed an oil painting to the Exhibition, *Still life*, which was sent to the 1946 UNESCO *Exhibition of Modern Art* and is currently part of The Hepworth Wakefield's collection.

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Director of the Cultural Department

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EXHIBITION

Concept and research

Hayle Gadelha

Curators

Adrian Locke

Hayle Gadelha

Visual identity

Ruth Reis

Graphic Design

Georges Moes

Exhibition design

Robin Kiang

Project management

Marcio Junji Sono

Andrzej Stuart-Thompson

Production team

Luiz Carlos Chagas

Mario Mauá Chaves Ferreira

Mario Sérgio Ferreira

Mayara Uliana

Executive production

Adriana Rouanet, Colibri Productions

Documentary production

Michaela Moir

Daniela Pfeiffer, Pfeiffer Cultural

Public relations

Bolton & Quinn

Digital promotion

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EMBASSY OF BRAZIL IN LONDON

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Sidney Leon Romeiro

Cultural Attaché

Hayle Melim Gadelha

CATALOGUE

Editors

Michael Asbury

Marcio Junji Sono

Hayle Gadelha

Texts by

Dawn Ades

Michael Asbury

Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho

Ciarán Devane

Hayle Gadelha

Jeff James

Adrian Locke

Tim Marlow

David Murray

Vijay Rangarajan

Eduardo dos Santos

Design

Georges Moes

Cover design

Ruth Reis

Proofreading

Nadia Kerecuk

Jesus Mazo Macia

Andrzej Stuart-Thompson

CREDITS

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Catherine Petitgas

Priscila and Louis de Charbonnières

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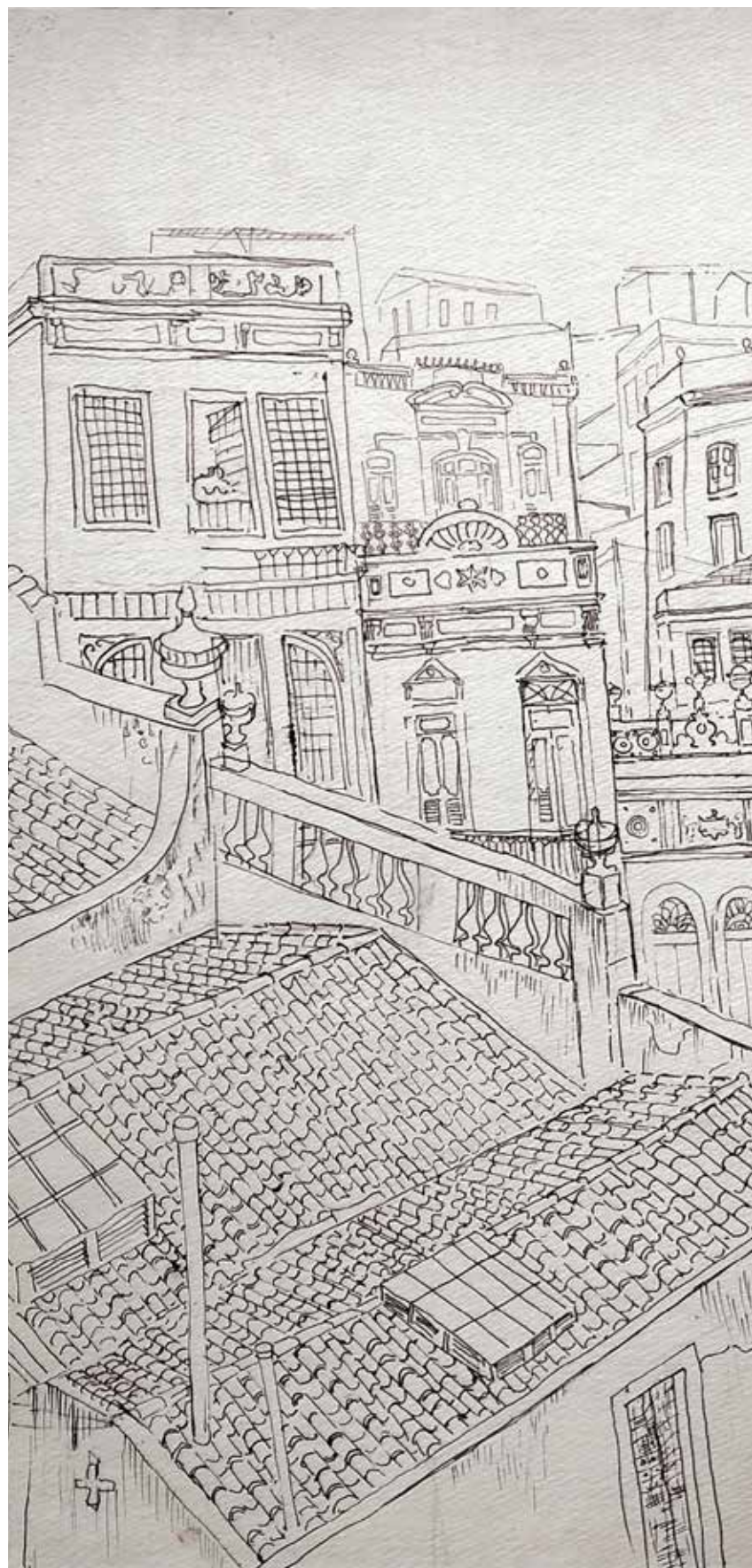


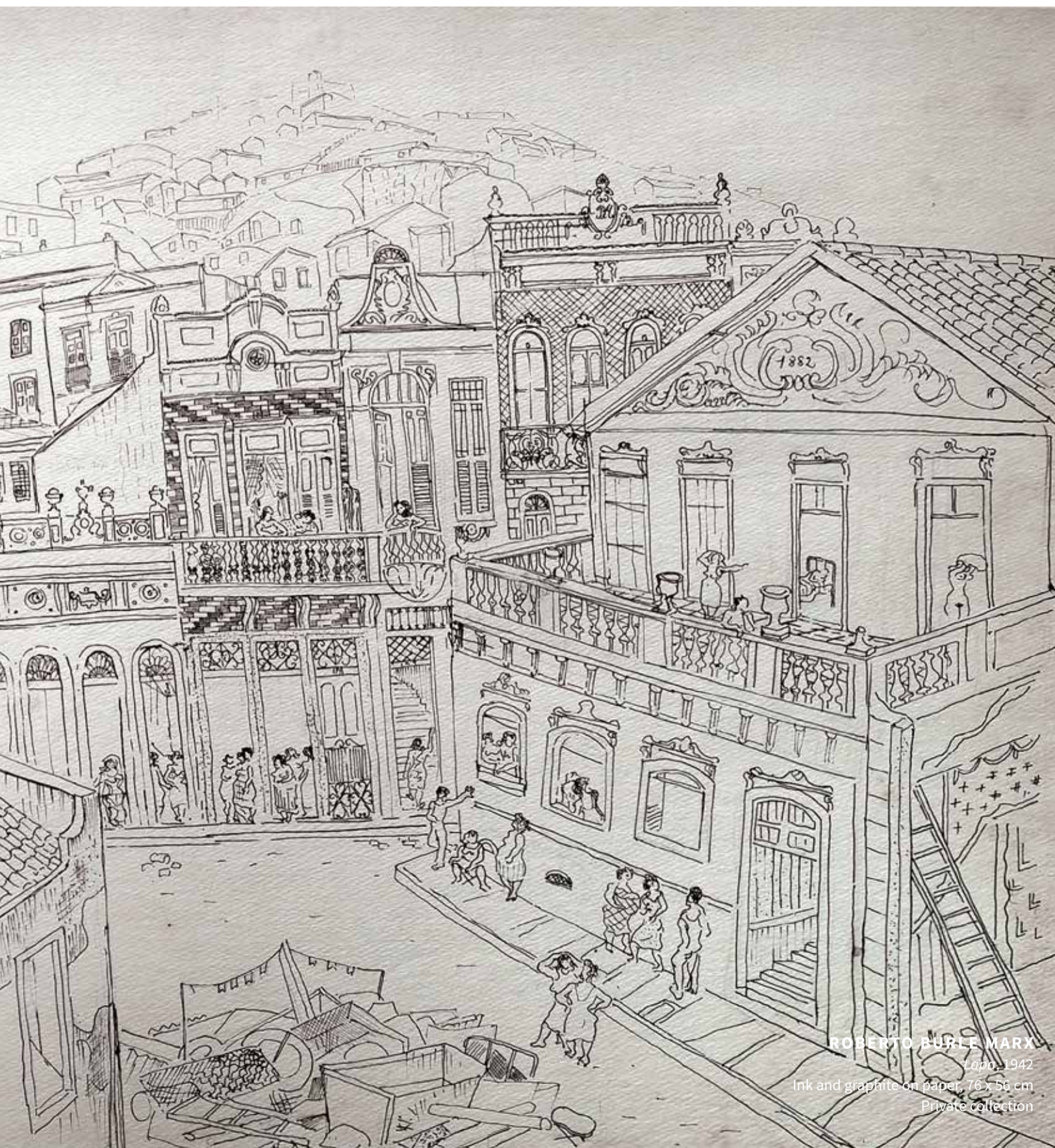
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