

bienal de são paulo
since 1951



Assembly of Bruno
Giorgi Special Room,
1st Bienal, 1951.



Paulo Miyada, ed.

2022

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BETWEEN INCOMPREHENSION AND FORGETFULNESS:

THE 4TH BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO

4th Bienal, 1957. Special
Room dedicated to the artist
Victor Brecheret.

The 4th Bienal de São Paulo is today remembered as the edition that occupied, for the first time, the Palácio das Indústrias at the Ibirapuera Park. Since then, that has been its permanent location, now called Ciccillo Matarazzo Pavilion, in homage to the industrialist and patron of the arts. Such a historic mark, however, only gained its significance with hindsight. Admittedly, the Bienal had already taken place at the Ibirapuera Park when it occupied in 1953 and 1955 both the Palácio dos Estados and the Palácio das Nações. Moreover, the controversies around the creation of the park itself and São Paulo's 4th Centenary Industry Fair, the original purpose for the palaces and pavilions, had by 1957 run their course. Much of the attention around the 4th edition of the exhibition was focused instead on the protestations by local artists furious at the Bienal's jury for totally or partially excluding their submissions to the event.

Curatorial authorship, in which the selection of artists is made under a particular theme, is a phenomenon that only began, tentatively at first, to take hold of the art world over the course of

the 1960s. Emulating the Venice model, the early editions of the Bienal de São Paulo were open submission events; in the case of its 4th edition, it covered the fields of art, architecture and theatre. Amongst those lucky enough to be selected, awards would be attributed to both international and national artists respectively, within categories such as painting, sculpture, printmaking and so forth. Other distinguished artists, sometimes posthumously and thus *hors concours*, would be presented with their own exhibitions that would run alongside displays brought to São Paulo by the invited nations (today another discarded feature of the event). In 1957, Brazil presented two retrospective exhibitions, one by modernist sculptor Victor Brecheret and another by expressionist painter Lasar Segall. Germany held an exhibition celebrating the work of artists who taught or studied at the Bauhaus, including a large display of the work of Oskar Schlemmer in the theater section. Belgium organized an exhibition featuring the work of surrealists, amongst them René Magritte and Paul Delvaux. France presented the work of Marc Chagall. Italy brought works by Giorgio Morandi. The United States held an exhibition of Jackson Pollock, the first major posthumous international display of the artist's work. The United Kingdom presented Ben Nicholson's paintings and the "geometry of fear" sculptors, Robert Adams, Kenneth Armitage, Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick and Eduardo Paolozzi. More than the simple display of what was most current in art from around the world, the 4th Bienal thus saw itself as having a didactic role, presenting, alongside contemporary works, significant aspects of the evolution of modern art. This aspect of the international exhibition would encourage different nations to assert their own roles within such a historical perspective while, in the case of the 4th Bienal in particular, it also directed the selection jury for the Brazilian entries to seek correspondences with the overall scope of the exhibition.

For local artists the stakes in being selected were therefore high, not only for the prestige of participating in an event alongside pioneers of modern art and established international contemporary artists – on that occasion from 43 different countries –, but also for the possibility of being awarded a prize. The expectation amongst artists was that their local reputation would automatically afford them a place at the event if not an award itself. That year's seemingly harsh selection process, much to the delight of journalists, thus brought outrage and considerable political lobbying on the part of the *Paulista* professional artistic

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milieu. Looking back at that edition, it is clear, however, that much more was at stake than just individual reputations.

Other than the desire to educate the public at large in the appreciation of modern aesthetics, the Bienal, with its original motto "in live contact," sought from its inception to enable a dialogue between local artists and their international peers. By 1957, while that wish proved prophetic, it did not always live up to initial expectations. It is true that the Bienal offered unprecedented contact between the national and international artistic scenes, yet this often took place under conditions of suspicion, disappointment and sometimes incomprehension.

From its first edition in 1951 a small but vocal group of artists and architects had expressed their concern about the nature of the event and the intentions of its host, the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM-SP). Their suspicion was that the museum was complicit with an imported, predominantly North American, notion of modern art, one that saw abstraction as its natural, most advanced outcome. In light of Cold War politics, abstraction had become branded in this way as the very embodiment of culture within "free (capitalist) democracies." Its antagonism with figuration appeared of course most forcefully in its contrast to socialist realism. For many artists and architects, particularly those with connections in the Communist Party, the Brazilian brand of modernism, although distinct from the socialist realist model, relied on figuration in its representations of political themes, from the conditions of the poor and oppressed to the assertion of national culture and identity. However, whilst the "abstraction versus figuration" debate appeared to dominate much of that decade, it is now clear that it constituted a rather crude simplification of the heterogeneous modernist manifestations. Nevertheless, institutionally, there seemed to be some grounding for the local artists' suspicions.

In creating MAM-SP, its president Ciccillo Matarazzo had received substantial advice and support from Nelson Rockefeller, the US government coordinator of inter-American affairs, who was not only the chairman of the board of trustees of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, but the son of its founding benefactor, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller. As a political emissary and in a business capacity Nelson Rockefeller made several visits to Brazil from the early 1940s. During such visits, he also acted as cultural advisor to Matarazzo and other patrons of the arts, such as Assis Chateaubriand, regarding the creation of museums of

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IV BIENAL SAO PAULO

Oteiza, Premio Internacional en la Mostra de Sao Paulo, junto al hierro colado el Museo de Arte Contemporáneo: Rotación espacial con la unidad Molesta abierta. (Homenaje a Malevich.)



Sr. Director de la REVISTA NACIONAL DE ARQUITECTURA: Me pide usted una noticia resumen de la IV Bienal de Arte de San Paulo. Voy a proporcionarle algunos datos. Podrían interesar a quienes, entre nosotros, aún pueden, por la responsabilidad oficial de sus cargos, intentar una revisión de nuestra política artística interna e internacional. Gracias y un fuerte abrazo de su afmo. amigo,

JORGE DE OTEIZA.

España en la IV Bienal de Brasil.—El conjunto español estaba constituido así: Expresionismo abstracto: Millares (10 pinturas), Rivera (10 pinturas). Informalismo: Tapiés (10 pinturas), Feito (10 pinturas). Neoconcretismo: Oteiza (10 esculturas en 28 variantes). Expresionismo figurativo: Planes (10 esculturas), Guinovart (10 pinturas), Capuleto (10 pinturas). Abstractismo figurativo: Vento (10 pinturas).

Reproducciones en el Catálogo general: una pintura de Tapiés.

El Catálogo de la representación española no se hizo.

Catálogos particulares: Tapiés y Oteiza.

Jefe de Exposiciones: Julio Sousa.

Enviado español y miembro en el Jurado internacional: Luis González Robles.

Resultado español.—En esta competición de arte contemporáneo, a la que han concurrido 43 países, y con un Jurado internacional compuesto por 16 críticos de arte, el conjunto español ha sido calificado como la revelación del certamen, y ha ganado el Premio Internacional de Escultura.

Impresión general.—En el inmenso recinto de la Exposición—unas 5.000 obras, más de nueve kilómetros de paredes con pintura—, los artistas de 43 países aparecían como un solo país, como una sola familia, como un solo grupo humano y espiritual en busca de una nueva expresión para nuestro tiempo y en servicio del mismo hombre, de la misma sociedad común a todos nosotros. Situación política de algunos países, intereses comerciales de Galerías, intentaron en vano descomponer esa realidad popular y la objetividad en las decisiones del Jurado. Incluso los dos campos experimentales, el racionalismo y el irracionalismo de la posición creadora—formalismo e informalismo espaciales—, en los que se pueden resumir mundialmente las diversas tendencias de los artistas actuales, no se mostraron como posiciones contradictorias por su finalidad experimental.

Las dos soluciones espirituales.—Frente a la solución decorativa de la mayoría de las obras expuestas, la revelación de la muestra española se explicaba por una preocupación de trascendencia metafísica. Ocurría como si reapareciese en nuestra obra ese realismo metafísico del arte español que, desde Raimundo Lulio, ha gravitado en la conciencia creadora de los grandes pintores españoles, hasta Unamuno,



modern art in the country. By the late 1940s, Rockefeller's mission appeared to have borne fruit. São Paulo's MAM inaugurated with the 1949 exhibition *Do figurativismo ao abstracionismo* [From Figurativism to Abstractionism], which included European pioneers of abstraction as well as works by Brazilians such as Waldemar Cordeiro and Samson Flexor, at that stage still in the process of shifting towards abstraction.

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Certain apparently contradictory relationships, however, disrupt the theory of the straightforward importation of the North American model of modern art into São Paulo. Architect Vilanova Artigas, one of the most forceful voices against the presence of abstraction in Brazil, was both connected to the Communist Party and a good friend of Ciccillo, while Degand, who organized that first exhibition, left the museum's directorship due to disagreements with the industrialist. Similar contradictions existed between Niemeyer and his government commissions, of course, while Cordeiro, despite his leftwing credentials, was despised by older modernists connected to the Communist Party. These incipient political allegiances and the contradictions they often raised within the field of arts were exacerbated when, under Matarazzo's leadership, MAM held the first edition of its Bienal a mere three years after the museum's foundation in 1948.

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Perhaps more than any edition during that first decade, the 4th Bienal de São Paulo revealed both the inconsistencies amongst the local artists and the heterogeneous nature of the "imported" modernist model itself. Artists in Brazil had become highly mobilised throughout that decade, most strikingly with the 1954 III Salão Nacional de Arte Moderna [3th National Salon of Modern Art] in Rio de Janeiro, when only black and white works were submitted in protest against the high taxation on imported paint. Such an audacious act must have caused some concern, perhaps even embarrassment, on the part of Matarazzo, who as one of the organizers of São Paulo's 4th centenary festivities that same year had sought to celebrate the rising might of Brazilian industry. Not surprisingly therefore, when again faced with the fury of the artistic class in 1957, Matarazzo would conclude his introductory note to the 4th Bienal's catalogue with a plea for his readers to look to the future rather than the past:

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Despite the difficulties of the moment and the incomprehension of some, one more Bienal is inaugurated in this year of 1957. A tradition has been created, one that demands the

attention of the whole world, and where Brazilian art has reached a place of distinction. And now it is a question of looking to the future with optimism.

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For those willing to believe, the Ibirapuera complex itself, with its Niemeyer designed pavilions elegantly integrated into that green oasis within São Paulo's urban sprawl, stood as a prototype for the future envisioned for Brazil as a whole. A certain play on scales can be noted in this respect: the Ibirapuera Park, the Palácio das Indústrias, and – prominently located within the Bienal – an exhibition of Lucio Costa's early maquettes and plans for the nation's new capital Brasília zoomed, so to speak, into the expected modern destiny of the nation.

How could one not see that splendid future when it had been so carefully framed in such beautiful modern surroundings? Matarazzo's bafflement at the incomprehension towards the event is almost palpable. Yet, who exactly is accused of that regrettable flaw? The Bienal's general public? The troublesome protesting artists? Surely not the international art world dignitaries? In different measures, at the occasion of the 4th Bienal de São Paulo all of these had expressed some form of incomprehension.

Cartoons, as they still do to this day, circulated in the press mocking the Bienal's modernist aesthetics as newspapers sided with their public's scepticism. One comic strip, in response to the previous edition, for example, showed a character claiming that he had visited the Bienal and had not understood a single thing, while his friend reassured him by claiming: "Very well, that is exactly what they meant."

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Despite the magnitude of his position, Matarazzo had demonstrated considerable will at appeasing the artistic community whose protestations against the selection jury were clearly detracting attention away from the event itself. According to the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Matarazzo personally attended a meeting accompanied by the Bienal's technical director Wolfgang Pfeiffer and Mário Pedrosa, in which the artists were able to express their dissatisfaction with that year's jury. The fact that Pedrosa, then already a respected art critic and notorious militant Trotskyist, sided with the industrialist and the jury rather than with the artists is telling. Indeed, at that meeting, artists showed themselves to be fractured and motivated by personal ambitions rather than solidarity with the class. Flávio de Carvalho, an important modernist innovator both in art and architecture as

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well as in his previous institutional roles, such as in organizing the III Salão de Maio [3th Salon of May] in 1939, for example, was naturally disgruntled at being left out altogether. He denounced the jury as having a bias towards concretism, forgetting perhaps that Waldemar Cordeiro, the most vocal campaigner against that year's selection, was also the vociferant spokesman for the concrete art group Ruptura. Presumably, Cordeiro had been offended by his modest presence at the 4th Bienal, particularly in the aftermath of the 1ª Exposição Nacional de Arte Concreta [1st National Exhibition of Concrete Art], which closed earlier that year. Given the failure to win the argument based on aesthetic criteria, the artists appealed to technicalities accusing the jury of failing to abide to the Bienal's own regulations. Also in vain, they then sought to appeal to the mayor, requesting the withdrawal of the remaining public funds allocated to the event. Finally, and as somewhat of a last resort, an exhibition of works rejected by the jury was mounted: the irony of the anachronism – the emulation of a 19th-century Parisian *Salon des refusés* – was apparently lost amidst the outrage at their unrecognised contemporaneity.

The international cohort may also have been accused of incomprehension, particularly with regard to what art historian Ana Avelar more recently described as Alfred Barr Jr.'s gaffe. A close friend of Nelson Rockefeller, Barr was a figure of immense international reputation, having been MoMA's founding director. By 1957, although no longer in that position, he still held considerable influence in determining the New York museum's acquisition policies, including those from Latin America. Barr found himself in São Paulo accompanying the Jackson Pollock exhibition, and as an important dignitary was invited to join the awarding jury. In fact, at the occasion Barr committed a double gaffe. Firstly, presumably in light of the awards clearly not corresponding to his own preferences, Barr famously dismissed works by Brazilian and other Latin American abstract geometrical artists as being nothing more than Bauhaus exercises. The derogatory comment betrays his frustration with how the trend had taken hold of the continent. Additionally, the attention that the Bauhaus display received in the press that year, other than overshadowing Pollock, consolidated the important precedent of Max Bill's impact in the country since the first Bienal edition. The Bauhaus was undoubtedly the star international attraction in 1957, a fact evident in Matarazzo's attention to it in his introductory remarks in the catalogue. Secondly, Barr committed the faux pas of acquiring works

by Flávio de Carvalho at the *Salon des refusés* exhibition. Barr's acquisition was inevitably interpreted as his taking side with the protesting artists, a fact that he vehemently denied, claiming ignorance about the whole affair.

For Barr the constructivist presence amongst contemporary Latin American artists must have suggested that the region was entirely bypassing the North American avant-garde thrust, in a clear disregard to his carefully diagrammed modernist/abstractionist teleology. His torpedo analogy suggested a relation between MoMA and the advancement of art through time, while his graphic demonstration of the evolution of modern art movements presupposed, one would imagine, that the Latin Americans would follow rather than assume a position of parity within that timeframe.

Pedrosa's review of the 4th Bienal therefore rightly equated Barr's attitude with a North American prejudice towards its "less civilized" neighbours, one in which "primitivism, romanticism, or savagery – that is, ultimately, exoticism –" was not only expected but actively sought after. Holding geometric abstraction as a viable and politically progressive option to that held by "Kremlin parrots," Pedrosa's contempt for the aesthetic preferences of the prestigious North-American guest was unambiguous: "An art of romantic or, better yet, anti-cultural tendency now predominates in these centers in the sense of preferring so-called instinctive or subjective values to purer formal values." Indeed, Barr's gaffe in 1957 no doubt fuelled Pedrosa's subsequent harsh critique of Pollock when, reviewing the 1959 Bienal, he described the painter as the "true symbol of the defenseless artist's entanglement in the implacable web of an inhuman civilization. In the West, the danger of this art lies in its hermetic individualism." Hinting at a possible reason for the prevalence of informal abstraction at the following edition in 1959, Ana Magalhães argued that despite the local repercussions of Pollock's exhibition at the 4th Bienal, that event in itself did not reflect the directions to be taken by MAM-SP. Magalhães was referring to the disjunction between dominant art fads of the time, such as abstract expressionism, and the Bienal's acquisition prizes, through which the museum intended to build its collection. Indeed, in 1957, undoubtedly due to the committee's divergent interests, several unexpected artists were awarded, as the outcome of compromises rather than conviction.

The (Grand) São Paulo Prize was awarded to Giorgio Morandi, when it had been generally assumed that it would go

to Marc Chagall. A painter of subtle still lives, of modest themes expertly executed through a soft colored painterly pallet, Morandi would hold an extraordinary influence upon Brazilian art, yet at that moment he must have stood out as an affront to both the Brazilian figurative modernists and the gestural abstract preferences of Barr. Presumably such dissatisfaction was only exacerbated by Ben Nicholson being awarded the international painting prize for another abstracted still life. Barr would be consoled perhaps only by Frans Krajcberg's national award for painting. — 34

Reviewing that edition, Lourival Gomes Machado regretted the weak presence of drawing while identifying its strength in the field of sculpture. Such an insistence on the strict categories established by the Bienal awarding structure already showed signs of its outdatedness, most markedly in the Japanese section, where an ambivalence between painting and drawing was most evident. Although impossible to predict at that moment, the seeds for a radical questioning of such categories had already been cast, yet not from the expected quarters, in the grand prize or the painting awards, nor from the much eulogized British sculptors. — 35

Amidst all the very public disputes between the different artistic factions, the journalistic fanfare, the undiplomatic opinions of foreign dignitaries and the retorts by Brazilian art critics, two relatively unknown sculptors quietly formed ties of friendship, identifying in each other's work a common ground and purpose. Franz Weissmann, with his admiration of Moore and Pevsner, was awarded the national prize for sculpture, while Jorge Oteiza, paying homage in his work to Malevitch and Mondrian, outshined better known names and won the international sculpture award. — 36

Weissmann would later state that he was shocked at how much Oteiza's work approached his own. Around that time Weissmann introduced in his work the figure of a circle within a square. The conjunction of both these basic geometric forms was articulated in space through the device of the fold. Such a seemingly simple formal manoeuvre had huge implications. It would require a new, more intuitive approach towards creation, one which ultimately took Weissmann beyond premises of concrete art and into what is now recognized as his neoconcrete phase. Oteiza, like the artists he paid homage to, was still loosely geometric yet with no direct or recognizable relation to strict mathematically devised structures. Upon his triumphant return to Spain he described his own work as neoconcrete. Although the conversations between — 37

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the two sculptors are now virtually impossible to retrieve, some general conclusions may be drawn. As Pedrosa had predicted in his response to Barr's deprecating comments, amongst the concrete and abstract geometrical artists, evidence of a budding local and autonomous art movement could already be perceived. — 41

The notion of neoconcrete art would have to wait another two years for its own manifesto and theoretical premises, by which time Weissmann had already left the country as well as distanced himself, albeit only temporarily, from intuitive geometric forms. His friend Oteiza, on the other hand, would be left aside from the extolments on the new movement that congratulated itself not only as a national but a *carioca* achievement against the excessive rigidity of concrete art and the "hermetic individualism" of tachism: the tenets for the controversies around the next Bienal had been cast.

15_ In her column “Poeira da Vida”[Dust of Life], from 27 October, 1968, Maria Martins recalls the time that her husband – who she refers to in the text simply as the “ambassador” – interrupts her in her studio to complain about a problem with a “C.T.” he had received. When she enquired as to the meaning of “C.T.,” her husband was outraged. “He was affronted by what he deemed to be my indifference, my disdain (how unjust!), my disdain for the chancellery’s ‘daily kitchen’. In truth, I mostly ignored matters of lesser importance, but was it entirely my fault? The employees were solely responsible for the knowledge of that work. I had always heard that, and there was a reason for it. They didn’t like strangers entering the sanctum sanctorum, and especially the chief’s family, so as not to set precedents.” And she adds: “He told me that I was only captivated by contact with the high intelligentsia, that only art absorbed me, and I condescended, with boredom, to diplomatic social life.” (“Poeira da Vida,” *Correio da Manhã*, 27 Oct. 1968, reproduced in Veronica Stigger, op. cit., p. 226). In the interview she concedes to Clarice Lispector, Maria reaffirms that she sought refuge in art. Clarice asks: “How is it that you’ve held on to such spontaneity, even after a long career as a diplomat’s wife, which is so rare?.” To which Maria replies: “I respond just as you do: because I took refuge in art” (“Maria Martins,” in Claire Williams (org.), *Clarice Lispector: entrevistas*. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2007, p. 188).

16_ “Maria Martins,” in Claire Williams, op. cit., p. 187.

17_ In the texts Maria Martins published in newspapers there are various passages in which she speaks of the achievement of the Brazilian embassy – principally the country’s representation in Washington – using the “we” pronoun, such as when she comments: “In Germany, we managed to release one of Thomas Mann’s sons from a concentration camp with a United States visa” (“Poeira da vida,” *Correio da Manhã*, 19 Oct. 1968, reproduced in Veronica Stigger, op. cit., p. 219). In others she highlights some of her own achievements, such as the chronicle in which she remembers the Jews who appealed to the Brazilian embassy in Brussels in an attempt to attain a visa to flee from Europe: “Of all those poor souls I was only able to save two young women. One whose family had been entirely destroyed who I took home as a German teacher. The other I was able to put in the embassy of Japan, where the ambassador was our good friend Krurusú, married to an American Jew and who had two young daughters, true little beauties” (Id., *ibid.*).

18_ “Maria Martins,” in Claire Williams, op. cit., p. 187.

19_ Maria Martins, “Poeira da vida – Volta Redonda III,” *Flan*, 19 to 25 Jul. 1953, n. 15, p. 3.

20_ Id., *ibid.*

21_ Maria Martins, “A Bienal e o Itamaraty,” op. cit., pp. 206-207.

22_ See, for example, in addition to the previously referenced “A Bienal e o Itamaraty,” Maria Martins, “A arte e paz,” *Última Hora*, 20 Oct. 1951; Id., “Mensagem,” *Maria*, Rio de Janeiro: MAM, 1956; Id., “Arte e artista,” *Flan*, Rio de Janeiro, 21-27 Jun. 1953, a. 1, n. 11, p. 5.

23_ Maria Martins, “A Bienal e o Itamaraty,” op. cit., p. 207.

24_ Maria Martins, “Message,” *Les Statues Magiques*. Paris: René Drouin, 1948; Maria Martins, “Mensagem,” op. cit.

25_ It is worth noting here that Maria Martins refers to a notion that was fundamental for Marcel Duchamp, of art that has an underlying idea (Cf. Marcel Duchamp, “The Great Trouble with Art in this Country,” in Michel Sanouillet e Elmer Petersen (org.), *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*. Nova York: Da Capo Press, 1989, p. 125).

26_ “Invite Canadian Artists To Brazilian Exhibition,” op. cit.

27_ Vera, “Maria,” *Última Hora*, 2º Caderno, 12 Aug. 1955, p. 4.

28_ Michel Tapié, “Magia Maria Mensagem,” Maria Martins. São Paulo: Fundação Maria Luísa e Oscar Americano, 1997, p. 17.

29_ Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, “A floresta de cristal: notas sobre a ontologia dos espíritos amazônicos,” *Cadernos de Campo*, São Paulo, n. 14/15, 2006, p. 320. See also Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, “Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, n. 4, 1998, pp. 469-488.

30_ Maria Martins, “A Bienal e o Itamaraty,” op. cit., p. 208.

31_ Id., *ibid.*, p. 209. In more than one text in which she speaks of diplomatic life, Maria Martins reprehends those who don’t act diplomatically, such as Thomas Mann when he criticizes the United States that welcomed him (“Despite being very well received in the United States, where they facilitated everything for him, Mann detested and despised America, which he deemed uncivilized without a modicum of culture. It was perhaps this voluntary incomprehension, this ingratitude, that drove me away from him and prevented our friendship from continuing.” – “Poeira da vida,” *Última Hora*, 2ª Seção, 21 Aug. 1955, p. 1), or the American ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Adolph Berle, who disdains the country where he is posted (“Those who live overseas, above all on official duty, maintain a much sharper and stronger sensibility – the feeling of nationality, even a green-yellow nationalism: any contempt for one’s country, even with no greater intention, is like a painful wound. As such, Berle’s attitude in Rio, for us, beyond the indignation at the disrespect to national sovereignty, transformed into a personal insult, because it resulted in ‘abuse of trust’” – “Berle paid with insult the favor he did not deserve,” *Flan*, a. 1, 4-10 Oct. 1953, n. 26, p. 13).

32_ Worth noting that the immigrant, the exiled and the refugee were decisive figures in 20th century art. See Veronica Stigger, *Lasar Segall*. São Paulo: Folha de S.Paulo/ Instituto Itaú Cultural, 2013; Id., “O esvaziamento: Mira Schendel e a poesia da destruição,” *Marcelina*, n. 2, 2009, pp. 7-16.

33_ See Veronica Stigger, “Maria Martins: metamorfoses,” in *Maria Martins: metamorfoses*, op. cit.

34_ Author quoted by Maria Martins in *Ásia Maior – Brama, Gandhi, Nehru*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1961.

35_ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Sister Nivedita, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*. Mineola: Dover, 2012, p. 389.

36_ Maria Martins, *Ásia Maior – Brama, Gandhi, Nehru*, op. cit., p. 67.

37_ Id., *ibid.*, p. 68.

38_ Id., *ibid.*, p. 47.

39_ O implacável, from 1947, does not appear in the photograph that shows the five sculptures exhibited by Maria Martins at the 3rd Bienal de São Paulo. In its place, we see what seems to be another version of Canto do mar.

40_ Maria Martins, “Message,” *Les Statues Magiques*, op. cit.

BETWEEN INCOMPREHENSION AND FORGETFULNESS: THE 4TH BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO

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NOTES

1_ The pavilion was officially named Palácio das Indústrias [Palace of Industries] from 1952 to 1955; Pavilhão Armando de Arruda Pereira [Armando de Arruda Pereira Pavilion] from 1955 to 1988 and Pavilhão Ciccillo Matarazzo [Ciccillo Matarazzo Pavilion] from 1988 onwards.

2_ Francisco Antônio Paulo Matarazzo Sobrinho, better known as Ciccillo, was an industrialist who founded the Museum of Modern Art in São Paulo, in 1948, established the Bienal de São Paulo, in 1951 (initially as part of the museum’s programme), while also being in charge of the creation of the Ibirapuera Park as the venue for the festivities around the IV Centenary of the city in 1954.

3_ Originally a distinction existed between the nomenclature Palace and Pavilion. The former referred to buildings in the Ibirapuera Park constructed for the IV Centenary exhibition with the intention of remaining following that event. The latter were temporary buildings constructed only for the duration of that event. With time, however, the term Pavilion became adopted more generally.

4_ The jury was formed by: Lourival Gomes Machado, Flavio d’Aquino and Armando Ferrari (nominated by the museum); José Geraldo Vieira and Lívio Abramo (nominated by the artists).

5_ Composing the awarding jury were: Alfred Barr (USA), Flexa Ribeiro (Brazil), J. C. Heyligers (Holland), Jacques Lassaigue (France), Jiri Kotalik (Czechoslovakia), Lívio Abramo (Brazil), Lourival Gomes Machado (Brazil), Ludwig Grote (Germany), Luis Gonzales Robles (Spain), Marcel Janco (Israel), Marco Valsecchi (Italy), Maria Martins (Brazil), Philip Hendy (Great Britain), Shinken Kurihara (Japan), J. Van Lerberghe (Belgium), Wolfgang Pfeiffer (Brazil).

6_ Herbert Read had described such work as the “geometry of fear” at the occasion of the Venice Biennale of 1952, in reference to the angst expressed as a post-war nuclear-era condition.

7_ In a contemporaneous newspaper article the selection jury is quoted stating for instance that: “We decided therefore on the necessity of placing above all other considerations the primary objective of constituting a gathering of works, heterogeneous due to their

tendencies yet unified by the same highest artistic level that would assure Brazil the position that truly fits it when faced with its international peers.” See “IV Bienal: Cerca de 84% de obras recusadas,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 23 May 1957, p. 8. (All translations are the author’s unless otherwise stated.)

8_ Lourival Gomes Machado, “Apresentação,” in *I Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1951, p. 15 (exhibition catalogue). Available at: <https://issuu.com/bienal/docs/namec311d4>. Accessed on: 12 Nov. 2021.

9_ Nelson Rockefeller was elected chairman of the board earlier in 1957 as stated in the museum’s press release dated 28 Jan. 1957. Available at: www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/2143/releases/MOMA_1957_0001.pdf. Accessed on: 30 July 2021.

10_ Organised by MAM’s first director, Léon Degand, the exhibition sought to trace the development of modern art through the advent of abstraction. Degand, the former art critic for the communist oriented journal *Les Lettres Françaises*, aware of the politically motivated suspicion towards abstraction, repeated the opinion that ultimately had estranged him from his former job, that figuration had become associated with totalitarian regimes. See: Serge Guilbault, “Ménage à Trois: Paris, New York, São Paulo and the Love of Modern Art,” in Barbara Groseclose and Jochen Wierich (eds.), *Internationalizing the History of American Art*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009, pp. 167-171.

11_ In a report on the Nelson Rockefeller’s art patronage in Brazil, Zueler R. M. A. Lima suggests that some concern arose about the association of left-leaning figures, such as architect Vilanova Artigas, with MAM in São Paulo. See: Lima, “Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil after World War II: Assis Chateaubriand, the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP) and the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM),” *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports Online*, 2010. Available at: www.issuelab.org/resources/27914/27914.pdf. Accessed on: 1 Aug. 2021.

12_ See: Aracy Amaral, “O panorama dos anos 50, entrevista com Vilanova Artigas,” in *Textos do Trópico de Capricórnio, vol. 1: Artigos e ensaios (1980-2005)*. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2006, p. 181.

13_ See: Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, “A Bienal de São Paulo, o debate artístico dos anos 1950 e a constituição do primeiro museu de arte moderna do Brasil,” *Museologia & Interdisciplinaridade*, v. IV, n. 7, Oct./Nov. 2015, pp. 112-129.

14_ Funarte – Fundação Nacional de Artes [National Foundation of Arts] published a catalogue which accompanied an exhibition remembering the event. See: *A arte e seus materiais: Salão Preto e Branco: III Salão Nacional de Arte Moderna-1954*. Rio de Janeiro: Funarte INAP, 1985.

15_ Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, “Introdução,” in *4ª Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna, 1957, p. 17.

16_ *A Gazeta*, 6 July 1955.

17_ “Confundem-se os artistas na crítica ao júri da IV Bienal,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 25 May 1957.

18_ Carvalho may have had a point. Posters announcing the

previous Bienal editions seemed to reflect Matarazzo's own vision for the integration of abstraction within design (a point of contention with Léon Degand) as a particular quality of concrete art, as Antonio Maluf's design for the first edition and Alexandre Wollner's design for the third and fourth seem to confirm. By 1957 Wollner himself was no longer in Brazil, after having won a scholarship to study at the School of Design at Ulm, which, through the figure of Max Bill, was generally considered as the continuation of the interrupted Bauhaus experiment.

19_ The exhibition was held between 4-18 December 1956 at MAM-SP and between January to February 1957 in Ministério da Educação e Saúde, in Rio de Janeiro. Controversies emerged at that occasion between Cordeiro, the Campos brothers and poet Ferreira Gullar, which would lead to the breakaway neoconcrete group, publishing its manifesto in March 1959. Although it is uncertain whether the term itself was referred to between 1957 and 1959 by Gullar, Weissmann, whether retrospectively or not, would title several works of his during that period as neoconcrete.

20_ "Periga a realização do 'Salão dos Recusados' da IV Bienal," *Folha da Noite*, 11 Jun. 1957.

21_ "Os artistas pediram ao prefeito corte da verba destinada à Bienal," Unidentified newspaper article: FMS_0153-05 [Fundo Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho].

22_ See: Ana Candida de Avelar, "Controversies of a Juror: Alfred Barr Jr. at the 4th São Paulo Bienal," in *Third Text* 26, n. 1, Jan. 2012, pp. 29-39.

23_ For an analysis of Barr and the Bauhaus influence in Brazil see: Adele Nelson, "The Bauhaus in Brazil: Pedagogy and Practice," in Sergio Bessa (ed.), *Form and Feeling: The Making of Concretism in Brazil*. New York: Bronx Museum and Fordham University Press, 2021, pp. 59-76.

24_ Mário Pedrosa, "Pintura brasileira e gosto internacional," *Jornal do Brasil*, 19 Nov. 1957. Reprinted and translated (by Steve Berg) as "Brazilian Painting and International Taste," in Gloria Ferreira and Paulo Herkenhoff (eds.), *Mário Pedrosa: Primary Documents*. New York: MoMA, 2015, p. 192.

25_ The special attention to the Bauhaus exhibit was demonstrated in press in articles such as: "Os 'Bauhaus' na IV Bienal," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 10 Oct. 1957.

26_ Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, "Introdução," op. cit.

27_ See Ana Candida de Avelar, op. cit.

28_ Bauhaus aesthetics had been influential in the formation of MoMA's own ideal of modern art. Its visible influence in São Paulo, particularly in a context of the seemingly unlimited political openness towards the modern, exemplified by the Brasília project, in conjunction with the substantial presence of abstract geometrical art amongst local and neighbouring countries, would suggest that rather than following the North American example the Latin Americans were going back to those same sources in order to construct their own versions of contemporary modern art.

29_ Mário Pedrosa, "Pintura brasileira e gosto internacional," op. cit.

30_ Id., *ibid*. The expression "Kremlin parrots" was employed by Pedrosa himself in "A Bienal de São Paulo e os comunistas," *Tribuna da Imprensa*, 1951, quoted

in: Leonor Amarante, *As Bienais de São Paulo: 1951 a 1987*. São Paulo: Projeto Editores, 1989, p. 17.

31_ Mário Pedrosa, "Arte signográfica," *Jornal do Brasil*, 5 Aug. 1959. Reprinted in: *Mário Pedrosa: Primary Documents*, op. cit., p. 194.

32_ Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, op. cit., p. 122.

33_ "In this sense, that which the old MAM in São Paulo gathered as its collection of modern art appears to follow the developments of this debate, especially in France and Italy, and in other European territories. This occurred within an international context in which the United States sought to affirm its cultural hegemony, and in which abstract expressionism was presented there as a new form of modern art, whose critique sought to revindicate as authentically North American, omitting its ties with the experiences in the old continent." (Id., *ibid.*, p. 121).

34_ José Geraldo Vieira, "IV Bienal de São Paulo: São Paulo de dois em dois anos, capital das artes plásticas do mundo – Transformado em museu de vanguarda durante um trimestre o Pavilhão Armando de Arruda Pereira," *Folha da Noite*, 16 Oct. 1957.

35_ Lourival Gomes Machado, "A ausência do desenho," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 12 Oct. 1957.

36_ Id., "A presença do Novo," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 5 Oct. 1957.

37_ Jayme Maurício in reviewing Oteiza's award explores the connections of the Basque sculptor with the legacies of the Bauhaus and the contemporaneous associations with Max Bill, suggesting that the genealogical association was quite evident within that particular Bienal edition itself, presumably much to Barr's annoyance. Jayme Maurício, "Oteiza: um Quixote basco – Entrevista do 'melhor escultor estrangeiro' – Lucidez e honestidade num verdadeiro profissional – veio representando 'o povo espanhol' – sobre Franz Weissmann – Max Bill, Bauhaus, Miró, Picasso," *Correio da Manhã*, 3 Oct. 1957.

38_ *Franz Weissmann (1911-2005)*. Rio de Janeiro: Pinakothek, 2011, p. 218 (exhibition catalog).

39_ When Ferreira Gullar came to formulate the premises of the neoconcrete movement in the Manifesto and in his Theory of the Non-Object, Weissmann featured significantly within that discourse. Yet, such examples were necessarily taken in retrospect, since during the course of the movement (1959-61) Weissmann was away from the country for much of that time and found himself also taken by the wave of informalist abstraction. See: Ferreira Gullar et al., "Manifesto Neoconcreto," *Jornal do Brasil*, 21-22 Mar. 1959; and Gullar, "Teoria sobre o Não-Objeto," *Jornal do Brasil*, 19-20 Dec. 1959.

40_ Jorge Oteiza, "IV Bienal São Paulo," *Revista Nacional de Arquitetura*, n. 192, 1957, pp. 37-40.

41_ Mário Pedrosa, "Pintura brasileira e gosto internacional," op. cit., p. 193.

THE 6TH BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO IN THE SPOTLIGHT

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NOTES

1_ Aracy Amaral, "A Bienal se organiza assim," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 16 Dec. 1961.

2_ Mário Pedrosa, "Introdução," in 6ª *Bienal de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1961 (general catalog).

3_ Id., "Arte, necessidade vital" (1947), in *Forma e percepção estética – Textos Escolhidos II*, org. Otilia Arantes. São Paulo: Edusp, 1996, pp. 41-57.

4_ Aracy Amaral, op. cit.

5_ Leonor Amarante, *As Bienais de São Paulo, 1951 a 1987*. São Paulo: Projeto, 1989.

6_ Francisco Dalcol, "Mário Pedrosa e a 6ª Bienal de São Paulo (1961): uma proposição crítica ao relato ocidental da história da arte," in Maria Amélia Bulhões, Bruna Fetter, Nei Vargas de Rosa (orgs.), *Arte além da arte: Anais do I Simpósio Internacional de Relações Sistêmicas da Arte*. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, 2018, pp. 287-296.

7_ Aracy Amaral, op. cit.

8_ Leonor Amarante, op. cit.

9_ Francisco Alambert e Polyana Canhête, *As Bienais de São Paulo: da era do Museu à era dos curadores (1951-2001)*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2004, p. 87.

10_ Francisco Dalcol, op. cit.

11_ Otilia Arantes, "Prefácio: Mário Pedrosa, um capítulo brasileiro da teoria da abstração," in Otilia Arantes (org), *Forma e percepção estética – Textos Escolhidos II*. São Paulo: Edusp, 1996, p. 15.

12_ Mário Pedrosa, "O problema da universalidade da arte moderna," *Jornal do Brasil*, 15 May 1958; Id., "Arte, fenômeno internacional," *Jornal do Brasil*, 13 Jun. 1958; Id., "O Brasil nos temas do Congresso de Varsóvia," *Jornal do Brasil*, 20 Feb. 1960; Id., "Arte Moderna, Fenômeno Internacional," *Jornal do Brasil*, 13 Feb. 1960; Id., "Arte, linguagem internacional," *Jornal do Brasil*, 17 Feb. 1960; Id., "Internacionalismo e uniformidade," *Jornal do Brasil*, 1 Nov. 1960.

13_ A respeito do pensamento e da atuação de Mário Pedrosa no exílio e na volta ao Brasil ver Luiza Mader Paladino, *A opção museológica de Mário Pedrosa: solidariedade e imaginação social em museus da América Latina*. PhD diss. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 2020.

14_ Mário Pedrosa, "Discurso aos tupiniquins ou nambás," in Lorenzo Mammì (org.), *Mário Pedrosa: arte: ensaios*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2015.

15_ Idem, in an interview with Rhada Abramo, Maria Eugênia Franco, Hermelindo Fiaminghi, of Idart, on 14 Jul. 1977. In Franklin Pedroso, *A abstração e a reflexão: Mário Pedrosa, o crítico como revolucionário*. Master's thesis. Rio de Janeiro: Escola de Belas Artes, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1992, pp. 237-261.

16_ Id., *ibid.*, p. 253.

THE SÃO PAULO ART BIENNIAL AND THE TRICK OF THE GAME

Clarissa Diniz is a curator, writer and teacher in the area of art. She has a master's degree in art history from UERJ and is a doctoral candidate in anthropology at UFRJ. She is presently a professor at the Parque Lage Visual Arts School. She was the editor of *Tatuí* magazine and published numerous catalogs and books, such as *Crachá – aspectos da legitimação artística* (2008) and *Gilberto Freyre* (2010; co-authored with Gleyce Heitor). Recent curatorships and co-curatorships include *Dja Guata Porã – Rio de Janeiro Indígena* (MAR, 2017); *Rio do samba: resistência e reinvenção* (MAR, 2018) and *À Nordeste* (Sesc 24 de Maio, São Paulo, 2019).

NOTES

1_ I thank Heitor dos Prazeres Filho for the conversation that inspired this text.

2_ A Igreja do Reino da Arte, or A Noiva, is a church created in the Rocinha neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro, by Maxwell Alexandre, Raoni Azevedo and Eduardo de Barros.

3_ Wellington Virgolino, "Bula para ganhar nos salões," *Jornal do Commercio*, Recife, 1 Jan. 1983.

4_ Id., *ibid*.

5_ José Cláudio, *Memória do Atelier Coletivo (Recife 1952-1957)*. Recife: Artespaço, 1978.

6_ "Pintor pernambucano na Bienal de São Paulo," *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife, 14 Jul. 1963.

7_ Wilton de Souza, *Virgolino, o cangaceiro das flores*. Recife: Grupo Paés, 2009.

8_ Clarival do Prado Valladares, "O negro brasileiro nas artes plásticas," *Cadernos Brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro, n. 47, v. X, May/Jun. 1968.

9_ José Cláudio, op. cit.

10_ Mário Pedrosa, "Por dentro e por fora das bienais" (1970), in *Mundo, homem, arte em crise*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1986.

11_ Johannes Fabian, *O tempo e o outro: como a antropologia estabelece seu objeto*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2013.

12_ Wilton de Souza, op. cit.

13_ Id., *ibid*.

14_ "São Paulo descobre pintor no Recife," *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife, 3 Dec. 1967.

15_ Wellington Virgolino, op. cit.

16_ Clarival do Prado Valladares, op. cit.

17_ In the Afro-Brazilian religions, *ogã* is a person in charge of the protection and management of the houses of worship.

18_ Rubem Braga, *Três primitivos*, from the series Os Cadernos de Cultura nº 63. Rio de Janeiro: Ministry of Education/Documentation Service, 1953.

19_ Rubem Braga, op. cit.

20_ Criminalized in many forms, even legally – the Vagrancy Law (1941), samba musicians, almost all of whom were black, were constantly obliged to form alliances with interpreters or white agents in the record industry so that they could find work, express themselves and simply survive.

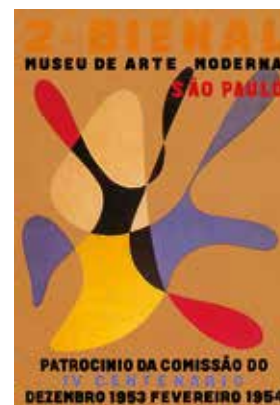
21_ Mário Pedrosa, "A Bienal de cá para lá" (1970), in *Mundo, homem, arte em crise*, op. cit.

1ª BIENAL SÃO PAULO BRASIL

DO
MUSEU DE ARTE MODERNA

OUTUBRO DEZEMBRO 1951

Antonio Maluf



1ST BIENAL 1951

1ª Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo

Venue

Pavilion at the Trianon, in Paulista Avenue

Realization

Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM-SP)

President of MAM-SP

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Artistic Director

Lourival Gomes Machado

Selection Jury (Brazil)

Clovis Graciano, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Luiz Martins, Quirino Campofiorito, Tomás Santa Rosa

Pavilion Project

Luis Saia and Eduardo Kneese de Mello; Planning and interior supervision: Jacob Ruchti

Poster Design

Antônio Maluf

2nd BIENAL 1953–1954

2ª Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo

Venue

Palácio das Nações and Palácio dos Estados at the Ibirapuera Park

Realization

MAM-SP

President of MAM-SP

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Artistic Director

Sérgio Milliet

Selection Jury (Brazil)

Antonio Bento, Flavio de Aquino, Geraldo Ferraz, Sérgio Milliet, Tomás Santa Rosa

Expography/Architecture

Pavilion project: Oscar Niemeyer; Planning and interior supervision: Jacob Ruchti and Giancarlo Fongaro

Poster Design

Antonio Bandeira

3rd BIENAL 1955

III Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo

Venue

Palácio das Nações at the Ibirapuera Park

Realization

MAM-SP

President of MAM-SP

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Artistic Director

Sérgio Milliet

Selection Jury (Brazil)

Antonio Bento, Maria Eugênia Franco, Clovis Graciano, Tomás Santa Rosa, José Geraldo Vieira

Expography/Architecture

Planning and interior supervision: Jacob Ruchti and Bienal Secretariat, composed by Arturo Profili, Irene Eunice Sabatini, Maria Teresa Lara Campos and Wanda Svevo

Poster Design

Alexandre Wollner

4th BIENAL 1957

IV Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo

Venue

Pavilhão Cicillio Matarazzo (also known as Bienal Pavilion, former Palácio das Indústrias or Armando de Arruda Pereira Pavilion) at the Ibirapuera Park

Realization

MAM-SP

President of MAM-SP

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Artistic Director

Sérgio Milliet

Selection Jury (Brazil)

Armando Ferrari, Flávio d'Aquino, José Geraldo Vieira, Lívio Abramo, Lourival Gomes Machado

Expography/Architecture

Pavilion project: Oscar Niemeyer; Installations and art handling: Aldo Calvo and José Rodríguez Pereira

Poster Design

Alexandre Wollner

5th BIENAL 1959

5ª Bienal de São Paulo

Venue

Pavilhão Cicillio Matarazzo

Realization

MAM-SP

President of MAM-SP

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Artistic Director

Lourival Gomes Machado



Selection Jury
Alfredo Volpi, Ernesto J. Wolf,
Fayga Ostrower, Mario Barata,
Paulo Mendes de Almeida
Expography/Architecture
Fernando Lemos
Poster Design
Arnaldo Grostein

6th BIENAL 1961
6ª Bienal de São Paulo
Realization
MAM-SP
President of MAM-SP
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
General Director
Mário Pedrosa
Selection Jury
Bruno Giorgi, Ferreira Gullar, José
Geraldo Vieira, Lourival Gomes
Machado, Mário Pedrosa, Nelson
Coelho, Quirino Campofiorito
Expography/Architecture
Dept. of installing and art
handling: Hedwig Ziegler,
assistants: Danilo Di Prete,
Giuliano Vangi; Dept. of
architecture: Oswaldo Corrêa
Gonçalves
Poster Design
Luis Osvaldo Vanni

7th BIENAL 1963
VII Bienal de São Paulo
Realization
Fundação Bienal de São Paulo
**President of the Fundação
Bienal de São Paulo**
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Advisory
Geraldo Ferraz, Sérgio Milliet,
Walter Zanini (Plastic Arts); Aldo
Calvo, Sábato Magaldi (Theater);
Jannar Murtinho Ribeiro (Graphic
Arts)
Selection Jury
Geraldo Ferraz, José Geraldo
Vieira, Mário Pedrosa, Sérgio
Milliet, Walter Zanini
Expography/Architecture
Advisory: Oswaldo Corrêa
Gonçalves; Installing and art
handling: Hedwig Ziegler,
assistant: Danilo Di Prete
Poster Design
Danilo Di Prete

8th BIENAL 1965
8ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Advisory
Geraldo Ferraz, Sérgio Milliet,
Walter Zanini (Plastic Arts); Aldo
Calvo, Sábato Magaldi (Theater);
Oswaldo Corrêa Gonçalves
(Architecture); Jannar Murtinho
Ribeiro (Graphic Arts)

Selection Jury
Plastic Arts (elected by the
artists): Fernando Lemos,
Geraldo Ferraz, José Geraldo
Vieira, Mário Pedrosa, Mário
Schenberg
Expography/Architecture
Advisory: Oswaldo Corrêa
Gonçalves; Installing and art
handling: D.C.; Brazilian Room
installing: Danilo Di Prete
Poster Design
Dersio Bassani

9th BIENAL 1967
9ª Bienal de S. Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Plastic Arts Advisory
Alfredo Mesquita, Geraldo Ferraz,
Henrique E. Mindlin, Jayme
Maurício, José Geraldo Vieira,
Salvador Candia
Selection Jury
Plastic Arts Selection
Commission: Clarival do Prado
Valladares, Geraldo Ferraz,
Jayme Maurício, José Geraldo
Vieira, Mário Schenberg
Expography/Architecture
Installing: Ludovico Martino, João
Carlos Cauduro; Radha Abramo
Poster Design
Goebbel Weyne

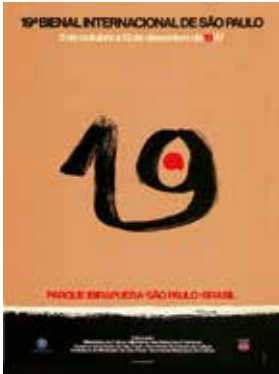
10th BIENAL 1969
X Bienal de São Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Art Technical Commission
Aracy Amaral, Edyla Mangabeira
Unger, Frederico Nasser, Mário
Barata, Waldemar Cordeiro,
Wolfgang Pfeiffer; alternates:
Maria Eugênia Franco, Aldir
Mendes de Souza, Renina
Katz; technical assistant: Mario
Wilches
Plastic Arts Selection Jury
Edyla Mangabeira Unger, Marc
Berkowitz, Mário Schenberg,
Oswald de Andrade Filho,
Walmir Ayala
Expography/Architecture
Art installing: Ubirajara Martins,
Walter Maffei
Poster Design
Maria Argentina Bibas

11th BIENAL 1971
XI Bienal de S. Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Art Technical Commission
Antônio Bento, Geraldo Ferraz,
Sérgio Ferro
Selection Jury
Hugo Auler (Brazil); James
Johnson Sweeney (USA); Jorge
Romero Brest (Argentina); Lisetta
Levi (Brazil); Marc Berkowitz
(Brazil)

Expography/Architecture
Art installing: Ubirajara Ribeiro,
Walter Maffei, Guimar Morelo
Poster Design
Godubin Belmonte, Moacyr Rocha

12th BIENAL 1973
XII Bienal de São Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Technical Commission
Antônio Bento, Bethy Giudice,
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho,
Mário Wilches, Vilém Flusser | For
the selection of Brazilian artists six
juries were formed, each one with
three art critics. Each jury gathered
together in different cities and
was responsible for selection a
group of artists: Jacob Klinkowsky,
Gilberto Cavalcanti, Morgan Motta
(Fortaleza); Marc Berkowitz, Esther
Emílio Carlos, Celma Jorge Faria
Alvim (Salvador); Lisetta Levi,
Antonio Alves Coelho, Flávio
Aquino (Belo Horizonte); Geraldo
Ferraz, Wolfgang Pfeiffer, Carlos
Scarinci (Rio de Janeiro); Clarival
Valladares, Edyla Mangabeira
Unger, Walmir Ayala (São Paulo);
José Geraldo Vieira, Jayme
Maurício, Hugo Auler (Curitiba)
Expography/Architecture
Exhibition planning: Geny Yoshiko
Uehara; Mario Wilches
Poster Design
Cláudio Moschella

13th BIENAL 1975
XIII Bienal de São Paulo
President
Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Art and Culture Council
Aldemir Martins, Isabel Moraes
Barros, José Simeão Leal,
Norberto Nicola, Olivio Tavares
de Araújo, Olney Krüse, Wolfgang
Pfeiffer
Plastic Arts Selection Jury
Danilo Di Prete, Flavio Motta,
Harry Laus, Lisetta Levy, Olney
Krüse, Walmir Ayala, Wolfgang
Pfeiffer
Expography/Architecture
Installation project: Laonte Klawia
Poster Design
Rogério Batagliesi, Maria
Elizabeth S. Nogueira



14th BIENAL	1977
<i>XIV Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Oscar Landmann	
Art and Culture Council	
Alberto Beuttenmüller, Clarival do Prado Valadares, Leopoldo Raimo, Lisetta Levi, Marc Berkowitz, Maria Bonomi, Yolanda Mohalyi	
Selection Jury	
Carlos Von Schmidt, Hugo Auler, Olívio Tavares de Araújo, Radha Abramo	
Expography/Architecture	
Flávio Mindlin Guimarães, Marklen Siag Landa (Arquiprom Arquitetura, Promoções e Comércio Ltda.); Art handling supervision: Guimar Morelo	
Poster Design	
Regis Madureira Cardieri	

15th BIENAL	1979
<i>15ª Bienal Internacional de S. Paulo</i>	
President	
Luiz Fernando Rodrigues Alves	
Cultural Advisor	
Carlos von Schmidt	
Art and Culture Council	
Carlos von Schmidt, Casimiro Xavier de Mendonça, Emanuel von Lauenstein Massarani, Esther Emílio Carlos, Geraldo Edson de Andrade, João Cândido Martins Galvão Barros, Pedro Manuel	

Gismondi, Radha Abramo, Wolfgang Pfeiffer

Expography/Architecture

Lucino Alves Filho, Guimar Morelo, Edwino Ferrezin, Paulo de Tarso Guimarães

Poster Design

Carlos Clémen

16th BIENAL	1981
<i>16ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Luiz Diederichsen Villares	
General Curator	
Walter Zanini	
Art and Culture Council	
Casimiro Xavier de Mendonça, Donato Ferrari, Esther Emílio Carlos, Luiz Diederichsen Villares, Paulo Sérgio Duarte, Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes, Walter Zanini	
Curatorships	
Postal Art Exhibition: Julio Plaza, Gabriela Suzana; Unconventional Art Exhibition: Annateresa Fabris, Victor Musgrave; Video Art Exhibition: Cacilda Teixeira da Costa; Films: Petrônio França, Agnaldo Farias, Samuel Eduardo Leon	
International Committee for the organization of the exhibition	
Bruno Mantura, Donald Goodall, Helen Escobedo, Milan Ivelic, Toshiaki Minemura, Walter Zanini	
Expography/Architecture	
Jorge Aristides de Sousa Carvajal	

Poster Design

Cláudio Moschella

17th BIENAL	1983
<i>17ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Luiz Diederichsen Villares	
General Curator	
Walter Zanini	
Art and Culture Council	
Donato Ferrari, Glauco Pinto de Moraes, Luiz Diederichsen Villares, Paulo Sérgio Duarte, Sheila Leirner, Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes, Walter Zanini	
Curatorships	
Art and Videotext Exhibition: Julio Plaza; New Metaphors/ Six Alternatives Exhibition: Berta Sichel; Flávio de Carvalho Exhibition: Rui Moreira Leite, Walter Zanini; Fluxus Exhibition: Gino Di Maggio; Plumage Art from Brazil Exhibition: Norberto Nicola, Sonia Ferraro Dorta (assistant curator), Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes (FBSP Coordination); Films: Agnaldo Farias, Samuel Eduardo Leon	
International Committee for the Organization of Nucleus I	
Pierre Gaudibert, Jürgen M. Harten, Angel Kalenberg, Margit Rowell, Walter Zanini	
Expography/Architecture	
Jorge Aristides de Sousa Carvajal, Fernando Piva Campana (collaborator)	

Poster Design

Dario Chiaverini, Donato Ferrari, Antonio Celso Sparapan

18th BIENAL	1985
<i>18ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Roberto Muylaert	
General Curator	
Sheila Leirner	
Art and Culture Commission	
Casimiro Xavier de Mendonça, Fábio Luiz Pereira de Magalhães, Glauco Pinto de Moraes, João Marino, Luiz Diederichsen Villares, Renina Katz, Sábado Antonio Magaldi, Sheila Leirner, Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes	
Curatorship of the Special Exhibitions	
Antonio Marcos da Silva, Berta Sichel, Instituto Goethe and Foreign Relations of Stuttgart, Ivo Mesquita, Jorge Glusberg, Karel van Stuijvenberg, Maureen Bisilliat, Museu de Arte da Universidade Federal do Ceará, Peter Baum, Robert Atkins, Stella Teixeira de Barros, Ticio Escobar, Zuleide Martins de Menezes	
Curator of the Musical Events	
Anna Maria Kieffer	
Expography/Architecture	
Assembly committee: Sheila Leirner, Roberto Muylaert; Architecture projects and production: Felipe Crescenti,	

Haron Cohen, Luiz Norberto Collazzi Loureiro

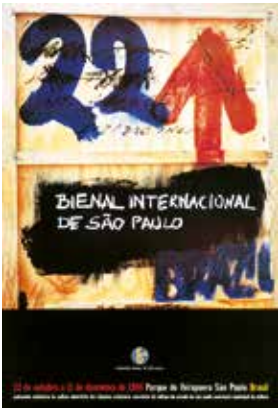
Poster Design

Cláudia Stamacchia

19th BIENAL	1987
<i>19ª Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Jorge Wilhelm	
General Curator	
Sheila Leirner	
Art and Culture Commission	
Aldir Mendes de Souza, Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, Cláudia Matarazzo, Glauco Pinto de Moraes, Luiz Paulo Baravelli, Maria Alice Milliet de Oliveira, Maurício Nogueira Lima, Sheila Leirner, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Menezes	
Curatorship of the Special Exhibitions	
Arte and Design: Joice Joppert Leal, Angela Carvalho; Search for the Essence – Reduction Elements in Brazilian Art: Gabriela Suzana Wilder; Singular Imaginaries: Sônia Salzstein-Goldberg, Ivo Mesquita; Marcel Duchamp: Arturo Schwarz; Video Arte: Rafael França	
Curator of Music	
Anna Maria Kieffer	
Expography/Architecture	
Luiz Norberto C. Loureiro	
Poster Design	
José Maria Lopez Prieto	

20Th BIENAL	1989
<i>20ª Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Alex Periscinoto	
Curators	
Carlos von Schmidt (International), João Cândido Galvão (Special Events), Stella Teixeira de Barros (National)	
Art and Culture Commission	
Carlos von Schmidt, Gilberto Chateaubriand, João Cândido Galvão, José Alberto Nemer, Luiz Paulo Baravelli, Marcelo Grassmann, Marcus de Lontra Costa, Paulo Herkenhoff, Stella Teixeira de Barros	
Expography/Architecture	
Mário Gallo, Stella Villares Guimarães, Silvia Bahia Monteiro	
Poster Design	
Rodolfo Vanni	

21st BIENAL	1991
<i>21ª Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President	
Jorge Eduardo Stockler	
General Curator	
João Candido Galvão	
Technical Commission	
Caciporé Torres, Carmen Velasco Portinho, Emilio Kalil, Evelyn Berg Ioschpe, João Candido Galvão, José Américo Motta Pessanha, Luiz Aquila	



Expography/Architecture
Felippe Crescenti
Poster Design
Rico Lins

22nd BIEINAL	1994
<i>22ª Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President Edemar Cid Ferreira	
General Curator Nelson Aguilar	
Symposium Agnaldo Farias	
Expography/Architecture Ronald Cavaliere (architect in chief), Teresa Mas Santa Creu, Inês Lucchesi de Carvalho	
Poster Design Fernando Bakos	

23rd BIEINAL	1996
<i>23ª Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>	
President Edemar Cid Ferreira	
General Curator Nelson Aguilar	
Adjunct Curator Agnaldo Farias	
Curators for the <i>Universalis</i> Exhibition Achille Bonito Oliva (Western Europe), Jean-Hubert Martin (Africa and Oceania), Katalin Néray (Oriental Europe), Mari	

Carmen Ramírez (Latin America), Nelson Aguilar and Agnaldo Farias (Brazil), Paul Schimmel (North America), Tadayasu Sakai (Asia)
Expography/Architecture
Paulo A. Mendes da Rocha (architect in chief), Guilherme Wisnik, Mariana Felipe Viégas, Martín Corullon
Poster Design
Louise Bourgeois (work specially created for the poster)

24th BIEINAL	1998
<i>XXIV Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Julio Landmann	
General Curator Paulo Herkenhoff	
Adjunct Curator Adriano Pedrosa	
Curatorships Brazilian Contemporary Art: One and/among Other/s: Adriano Pedrosa, Paulo Herkenhoff;	

“Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes”: Ami Steinitz, Apinan Poshyananda, Awa Meite, Bart De Baere, Ivo Mesquita, Lorna Ferguson, Louise Neri, Maaretta Jaukkuri, Rina Carvajal, Vasif Kortun; Historical Nucleus: Anthropophagy and Histories of Cannibalism: Adriano Pedrosa, Ana Maria Belluzzo,

Aracy Amaral, Catherine David, Daniela Bousso, Dawn Ades, Didier Ottinger, Jean François Chougnnet, Jean-Louis Prat, Justo Pastor Mellado, Katia Canton, Luis Pérez-Oramas, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Mari Carmen Ramírez, Mary Jane Jacob, Paulo Herkenhoff, Pedro Corrêa do Lago, Per Hovdenakk, Pieter Th. Tjabbes, Régis Michel, Robert Storr, Sônia Salzstein, Valéria Piccoli, Veit Görner, Yannick Bourguignon
Expography/Architecture
Paulo Mendes da Rocha, Martín Corullon, Joana Fernandes Elito
Poster Design
Raul Loureiro, Rodrigo Cerviño Lopez (composed after work by Leonilson)

25th BIEINAL	2002
<i>25ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Carlos Bratke	
General Curator Alfons Hug	
Curatorships Brazilian Nucleus: Agnaldo Farias; “Cities”: Alfons Hug, Elida Salazar, Fulya Erdemci, Marilyn Martin, Richard Riley, Viktor Misiano, Julian Zugazagoitia, Fan Di’an, Agnaldo Farias, Trevor Smith, Fumio Nanjo; Net Art: Christine Mello, Rudolf Frieling	

Expography/Architecture
Mário Biselli & Artur Katchborian
Arquitetos
Poster Design
Benjamin Yung, Guilherme Facci

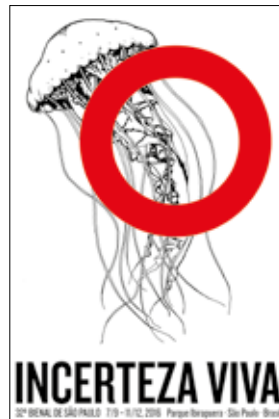
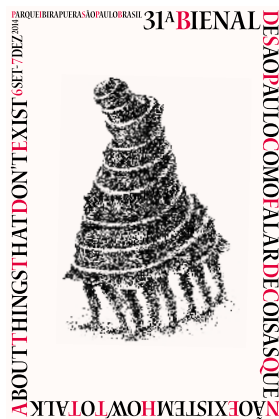
26th BIEINAL	2004
<i>26ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Manoel Francisco Pires da Costa	
Curator Alfons Hug	
Curatorships Nelson Aguilar (Brazilian Representation); Simon Njami (African Photography)	
Expography/Architecture Isay Weinfeld	
Poster Design Ziraldo	

27th BIEINAL	2006
<i>27ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Manoel Francisco Pires da Costa	
Appointment Committee Elizabeth Machado, Evelyn Berg Ioschpe, Eleonora Mendes Caldeira, Maria Ignez Corrêa da Costa Barbosa	
Project Judging Committee Aracy Amaral, João Fernandes, Lynn Zelevansky, Manuel Borja-Villel, Paulo Herkenhoff	
General Curator Lisette Lagnado	

Co-Curators
Adriano Pedrosa, Cristina Freire, José Roca, Rosa Martínez
Guest Curator
Jochen Volz
Expography/Architecture
Marta Bogéa
Poster Design
Rodrigo Cerviño Lopez (composed after work by Jorge Macchi)

28th BIEINAL	2008
<i>28ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Manoel Francisco Pires da Costa	
Chief Curator Ivo Mesquita	
Adjunct Curator Ana Paula Cohen	
Video Lounge Curator Wagner Morales	
Conferences General Coordination Luisa Duarte	
Expography/Architecture Felippe Crescenti, Pedro Mendes da Rocha; Furniture design: Gabriel Sierra	
Poster Design Daniel Trench, Elaine Ramos, Flávia Castanheira (after the 1st Bienal poster)	

29th BIEINAL	2010
<i>29ª Bienal de São Paulo</i>	
President Heitor Martins	
Chief Curators Agnaldo Farias, Moacir dos Anjos	
Guest Curators Chus Martinez, Fernando Alvim, Rina Carvajal, Sarat Maharaj, Yuko Hasegawa	
Curators Fernanda Lopes (Rex Room), Pedro França (Terreiros), Stela Barbieri (Educational Project)	
Expography/Architecture Marta Bogéa	
Poster Design André Stolarski, Aninha de Carvalho Price, Felipe Kaizer	



30th BIENAL 2012
30ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
Heitor Martins
Curator
Luis Pérez-Oramas
Associate Curators
André Severo, Tobi Maier
Expography/Architecture
Metro Arquitetos Associados/
Martin Corullon (architect in chief)
Poster Design
30 versions designed by 30
people during a design workshop
/ Renata Graw (one of the the 30
authors of the posters designed
for the 30th edition of the Bienal)

31st BIENAL 2014
31ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
Luis Terepíns
Curators
Charles Esche, Nuria Enguita
Mayo, Pablo Lafuente, Galit Eilat,
Oren Sagiv
Associate Curators
Benjamin Seroussi, Luiza Proença
Expography/Architecture
Oren Sagiv
Poster Design
Adriano Campos, Aninha de
Carvalho Price, Douglas Higa,
Felipe Kaizer (d'aprèsPrabhakar
Pachpute)

32nd BIENAL 2016
32ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
Luis Terepíns
Curator
Jochen Volz
Co-Curators
Gabi Ngcobo, Júlia Rebouças,
Lars Bang Larsen, Sofia
Olascoaga
Expography/Architecture
Alvaro Razuk Arquitetos
Poster Design
Adriano Campos, Aninha de
Carvalho Price, Roman Iar
Atamanczuk

33rd BIENAL 2018
33ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
João Carlos Figueiredo Ferraz
General Curator
Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro
Artist-Curators
Alejandro Cesarco, Antonio
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Mamma Andersson, Sofia
Borges, Walercio Caldas, Wura-
Natasha Ogunji
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Antonio La Pastina, Jacopo
Crivelli Visconti
Expography/Architecture
Alvaro Razuk Arquitetos
Poster Design
Raul Loureiro (d'après Jean
[Hans] Arp)

34th BIENAL 2020–2021
34ª Bienal de São Paulo
President
José Olympio da Veiga Pereira
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Jacopo Crivelli Visconti
Adjunct Curator
Paulo Miyada
Guest Curators
Carla Zaccagnini, Francesco
Stocchi, Ruth Estévez
Assistant curator
Ana Roman
Expography/Architecture
Andrade Morettin Arquitetos
Poster Design
Vitor Cesar

34ª Bienal de São Paulo

Faz
escuro

mas

*eu
canto*

2020—2021

O título da 34ª Bienal de São Paulo, "Faz escuro mas eu canto", é um verso do poeta Thiago de Mello

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