

Why Now?:

The Euro-U.S. Canon Adopts Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil Almost 90 Years Later

By

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## **Abstract**

Tarsila do Amaral (Brazil) and Amrita Sher-Gil (India) both actively participated in their respective country's struggles to develop an anti-colonial national aesthetic in a global modern context. Both used their paintings as tools to challenge Euro-U.S.-centric and patriarchal hegemonies, and for nearly ninety years, both have been criticized, marginalized, and silenced by the Euro-U.S. art world. Since the 1990s, scholars have made conscious efforts to produce a critical art history that disavows Western artistic supremacy and integrates Amaral and Sher-Gil into the Euro-U.S. art historical canonical discourse. But only in the last few years have major museums, auction houses, and social media accounts in Europe and the United States deemed them worthy of inclusion in the canon. Hitherto unexplored, this integration suggests an ostensible institutional volte-face; however, an examination of the conditions that launched Amaral and Sher-Gil into Euro-U.S. consciousness suggests otherwise. My research explores how shifts in the art market and museum culture have shaped Tarsila do Amaral's and Amrita Sher-Gil's relationships to the canon, and how those relationships have changed over time. By examining and questioning the shifts in institutional trends, my analysis exposes the enduring legacy of colonial ideology that pervades the Euro-U.S. art world and holds a mirror to the intrinsic hypocrisy of the canon, even an expanded one.

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**Why Now?:  
The Euro-U.S. Canon Adopts Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil  
Almost 90 Years Later**

In the past several years, modern artists Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973) and Amrita Sher-Gil (1913-1941) have gained international notoriety. The blockbuster traveling exhibition “Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil,” held at the Art Institute of Chicago and MoMA New York, in 2017 and 2018, respectively, presented more than seventy of Amaral’s paintings to a North American audience for the first time.<sup>1</sup> For many viewers and readers, this exhibition functioned as their introduction to Amaral’s oeuvre. Likewise, in late November 2018, Sher-Gil’s painting *The Little Girl in Blue* (fig. 1; 1934), sold at Sotheby’s “Boundless: India,” for \$2.67 million (USD), thereby launching her into the Euro-U.S. art world consciousness.<sup>2</sup> Since then, two anthologies that include entries on Amaral and Sher-Gil, entitled *Great Women Artists*, and *Women in Art: 50 Fearless Creatives Who Inspired the World*, have been published.<sup>3</sup> Both anthologies were targeted for a public audience and are available for purchase on Amazon.<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, *Hyperallergic*, *CNN*, and *Artsy*, among others, have each recently published articles featuring Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil. However, their popularity in the Euro-U.S. art world is recent and seems to represent a dramatic shift in institutional

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<sup>1</sup> Information regarding exhibition attendance was not available. According to MoMA’s website, “Museum policy dictates that Exhibition Records are closed for 15 years after a show ends, and then must be vetted and processed before being opened for research.” “Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil,” MoMA, accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3871>; “Archives FAQ,” MoMA, accessed November 27, 2021, <https://www.moma.org/research-and-learning/archives/archives-faq>.

<sup>2</sup> “Auction Results: Boundless: India,” Sotheby’s, accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/2018/boundless-india-in1801.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Rachel Ignatofsky, *Women in Art: 50 Fearless Creatives Who Inspired the World* (California: Ten Speed Press, 2019); Rebecca Morrill, Karen Wright, and Louisa Elderton, eds., *Great Women Artists* (London: Phaidon, 2019).

<sup>4</sup> *Great Women Artists* was featured in *Hyperallergic*, *O, The Oprah Magazine*, *The New York Times*, and *British Vogue online*. While *Women in Art*, written by *New York Times* best-selling author Rachel Ignatofsky, has sold 80,358 copies since it was published on September 10, 2019, and ranks numbers two and fifteen on Amazon’s “Teen and Young Adult Women Biographies” and “Women in History” bestseller lists. Rachel Ignatofsky, in discussion with the author, November 24, 2021; “Women in Art: Product Details,” Amazon, accessed November 27, 2021, [https://www.amazon.com/Women-Art-Fearless-Creatives-Inspired/dp/0399580433#detailBullets\\_feature\\_div](https://www.amazon.com/Women-Art-Fearless-Creatives-Inspired/dp/0399580433#detailBullets_feature_div).

preferences and practices. Both Amaral and Sher-Gil have been rebranded from alleged subaltern to canonical.<sup>5</sup> Each now have a popular culture presence. But, why now?

Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil were key figures in their respective country's struggles to develop an anti-colonial national aesthetic in a global modern context. Both used their paintings as tools to challenge Euro-U.S.-centric and patriarchal hegemonies, and for nearly ninety years, both have been criticized, marginalized, and silenced by the Euro-U.S. art world. Since the 1990s, scholars have made conscious efforts to produce a critical art history that disavows Euro-U.S. artistic supremacy and integrates Amaral and Sher-Gil into the Euro-U.S. art historical canonical discourse. But only in the last few years have major museums, auction houses, and social media accounts in Europe and the United States deemed them worthy of inclusion in the canon. Hitherto unexplored, this integration suggests an ostensible institutional volte-face; however, an examination of the conditions that launched Amaral and Sher-Gil into Euro-U.S. consciousness suggests otherwise.<sup>6</sup> "Why Now?" scrutinizes how shifts in the art

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<sup>5</sup> The body of scholarship on subaltern theory is immense and nuanced. Its use is widespread, and scholars' approaches vary. The term was coined by Antonio Gramsci in the 1930s and has lived through many iterations since its inception. Gramsci's idea of subalternity is rooted in Marxism. He was concerned with the workers and peasants who were oppressed by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime. While his ideas are foundational, they did not account for the intersections of marginality; he did not consider the relationships of race or gender within his analysis of power differentials. Later scholars, such as Walter D. Mignolo and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, took up that mantle. It is important to note that interpretations of subaltern theory regularly differ, particularly regarding how people exercised agency in very different colonial contexts and time periods. For additional reading on subaltern theory, see: Antonio Gramsci, "Notebook 25 (1934): On the Margins of History (The History of Subaltern Social Groups)," in *Subaltern Social Groups: A Critical Edition of Prison Notebook 25*, eds. Joseph A. Buttigieg and Marcus E. Green (New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2021), 114, <https://doi.org/10.7312/gram19038-005>; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988), 24-28; Nivedita Majumdar, "Silencing the Subaltern: Resistance and Gender in Postcolonial Theory," *Catalyst* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2017), <https://catalyst-journal.com/vol1/no1/silencing-the-subaltern>; Ramón Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality," *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 1 (2011), <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/T411000004>; Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Essays on the Coloniality of Power, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> When I discuss Euro-U.S. consciousness, I am referring to a collective knowledge bank where many people can draw on a familiar set of references. I contend that Amaral and Sher-Gil have reached a level of exposure in Euro-U.S. contexts, that has made them part of that familiar set of references—part of the zeitgeist.

market and museum culture have shaped Tarsila do Amaral's and Amrita Sher-Gil's relationships to the canon, and how those relationships have changed over time. It is important to note that, before their recent adoption by the Euro-U.S. art canon, both artists were relegated to the category of the subaltern, a space neither artist occupied in Brazil or India.

Despite their clear and continuous presence in the Euro-U.S. art world, prior to the 1990s, both Amaral and Sher-Gil were largely ignored in the discourse of modernism. They were absent from the conversation until art historians began to collectively and conscientiously prioritize postcolonial, geopolitical, and intersectional feminist theories and methodologies.<sup>7</sup> Through these avenues, art historians evaluate how Amaral and Sher-Gil negotiated the various aspects of their identities in their work and explore the structural conditions for modernism in Brazil and

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<sup>7</sup> For further reading, consult: Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Boundary 2* 12/13 (1984): 333–58, <https://doi.org/10.2307/302821>; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003); Gerardo Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America* (London: InIVA, 1995); Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches," in *Islamic Art and the Museum*, eds. Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber and Gerhard Wolf (London: Saqi Books, 2012), 12-16; Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188-219; James D. Herbert, "Passing between Art History and Postcolonial Theory," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*, eds. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 213-228; Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, "Our (Museum) World Turned Upside Town: Re-presenting Native American Arts," *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (1995): 6-10; Jean-Loup Amselle, Noal Mellott, and Julie Van Dam, "Primitivism and Postcolonialism in the Arts," *MLN* 118, no. 4 (2003): 974-88, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3251996>; Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1, no. 8 (1989): 139-168; Linda Hutcheon, "The Post Always Rings Twice: The Postmodern and the Postcolonial," *Textual Practice* 8, no. 2 (1994): 205-238, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502369408582193>; Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *ARTnews* 69, no. 9 (January 1971): 22-39, 67-71; Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Mari Carmen Ramirez, "Beyond the Fantastic," *Art Journal* 51, no. 4 (1992): 60-68. DOI: 10.1080/00043249.1992.10791599; Partha Mitter, "Art and Nationalism in India," *History Today* 32, no. 7 (1982): 28-34, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1299024590?accountid=14505>; Robert S. Nelson, "The Map of Art History," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (March 1997): 28-40; Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 24-28; Susan Stanford Friedman, *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* (Princeton University Press, 1998). ProQuest Ebook Central; Zeynep Çelik, "Rethinking the Canon: Colonialism, Orientalism, and the Canon," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (June 1996): 202-205, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3046172>.

India through an analysis of the relationships between art, nationalism, and the legacy of colonialism.<sup>8</sup>

While art historians categorize Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil as either feminist (or not), primitivist (or not), derivative (or not), or modern (or not), none deviate from the dominant canon-centric narrative. Through a case study of Amaral's and Sher-Gil's recent and nearly simultaneous Euro-U.S. canonical integration, my institutional critique builds upon, questions, and disrupts this predominant narrative. By examining and questioning the relationship between the impact of the dominant discourse and shifts in institutional trends, my analysis exposes the enduring legacy of colonial ideology that pervades the Euro-U.S. art world, and holds a mirror to the intrinsic hypocrisy of the canon, even an expanded one.

### **Why Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil?**

I would like to preface this section by stating that I approach my analysis with a clear understanding that Tarsila do Amaral's and Amrita Sher-Gil's lived experiences are particular to their personal, historical, political, economic, and cultural situations. It is not my intention to minimize their unique experiences or downplay how their experiences informed and impacted their work. That would be irresponsible and unethical scholarship. Proceeding with this clarification, it is productive to approach the relationship between their careers and Euro-U.S. reception with a comparative lens because it helps reveal overarching similarities. This, in turn, allows us to better understand why and when they were canonized by the Euro-U.S. art world.

I chose to focus my inquiry on Amaral and Sher-Gil for four primary reasons: parallels in career trajectory and artistic aims, and similarities in scholarship and reception. In 2018, I

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<sup>8</sup> Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations: Artistic Practice, National Identity, and Modernism in India, 1930-1900* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 55.

noticed that both Amaral and Sher-Gil began appearing on my social media feed, and I found it curious that their increasing social media presence was nearly simultaneous. Upon further research, I found a striking number of parallels in their careers, in the discourse, and in their Euro-U.S. reception that piqued my interest. For example,

- 1) They worked around the same time,
- 2) their career trajectories were similar—both trained in Paris, and then moved back to their country of origin to develop an anti-colonial national aesthetic,
- 3) both set out to re-envision their national artistic language in a global modern context,
- 4) both are women of color whose artistic contributions were marginalized by the Euro-U.S. art world for ninety years because of their decolonial agendas and subaltern status,<sup>9</sup>
- 5) scholars did not begin to seriously analyze their work, identities, and careers until the 1990s,
- 6) in the scholarship both are discussed as “A” Artists rather than craftspeople, which is rare; BIPOC women are typically excluded, and
- 7) although their work was on view for Euro-U.S. audiences, there was a marked delay in their recognition in Euro-U.S. contexts.

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<sup>9</sup> If we conceive of the Euro-U.S. canon, its institutions, and agents as the elite ruling class, then we can begin to recognize the myriad ways that Amaral and Sher-Gil exemplified the conditions of subalternity within the context of the Euro-U.S. art world. For example, they fell under the hegemony of the Euro-U.S. canon, which systematically silenced them and actively denied them the agency to participate in the making of an art history that included their significant contributions to the art world. For decades, art historians constructed a vision of modernism that actively subjugated and maintained the subalternity of “non-western” artists. Amaral and Sher-Gil were silenced on multiple fronts because they occupied the intersections of marginality and challenged the conditions for their marginality. This practice of erasure was the norm until the 1990s. At that time, art historians began to create a new body of scholarship in order to vindicate those silenced artists. They achieved this through an active questioning, rewriting, and dismantling of the traditional exclusionary Euro-U.S.-centric canon. As art historians and museum curators embraced anti-colonial theory, they allowed the silenced artists to speak through them, and gave their artwork agency. These acts helped shift the artists’ work and legacies from the subaltern to the canonical in the Euro-U.S. art world. Art historians and curators exercised their agency in an effort to establish retro-active autonomy from the hegemony of Euro-U.S.-centric epistemology.

On a different, but related note, the question of whether Amaral and Sher-Gil considered themselves subaltern is complicated. All the scholarship about Amaral and Sher-Gil thoroughly addresses this issue at length and in detail. Entire books have been written about exactly how they explored and articulated all aspects of their identities, in their daily life and in their artwork. While this is an important topic, for the reasons outlined above, I chose not to address it here.

I also investigate Amaral and Sher-Gil because there is still comparatively little research about Modern BIPOC female artists. Amaral and Sher-Gil are among the few who have large bodies of scholarship to analyze. Thanks to the internet, it is easy to find lists of female artists working between 1920s and 1940s; however, the lists can be exclusionary and most of the artists featured are white women from the U.S. and Europe.<sup>10</sup> This circumstance is directly related to how artists in the Euro-U.S. art world are categorized as Artist (or not) by the type of art they make. Which is to say, unless artists engage with Euro-U.S. artistic conventions in some capacity, they are viewed as craftspeople who make art objects or cultural artifacts rather than Artists who create “A” Art; this type of valuation often leads to exclusion. For this reason, I am confident there are many artists of the global majority that I simply have not learned about.

On the spectrum of Euro-U.S. canonization, Frida Kahlo occupies the status of pop culture icon and has for years; others such as Pan Yuliang, María Izquierdo, and Anita Malfatti are less recognized in Euro-U.S. contexts. While these artists, whose experiences echo those of Amaral and Sher-Gil, would have fit well into this type of study, they flank Amaral and Sher-Gil on the canonical spectrum—they either have been for many years or have yet to be canonized. As such, Amaral and Sher-Gil were the ideal candidates for my analysis. Overall, the phenomenon of delayed canonization of Modern BIPOC female artists is ripe for further study.

### **Tarsila do Amaral: “Inventor of Brazilian Modernism”**

In Brazil, the period of the 1920s to the 1930s was characterized by a series of post-colonial cultural and political events, movements, and groups that prioritized the reconceptualization of Brazilian identity. These included *Semana de Arte Moderna*, the *Pau-*

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<sup>10</sup> “Early-Mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century Women Artists,” ArtCyclopedia, accessed November 23, 2021, <http://www.artcyclopedia.com/artists/women-artists-20th.html>; “List of 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Women Artists,” Wikipedia, last edited November 22, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_20th-century\\_women\\_artists](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_20th-century_women_artists).

*Brasil* Movement, the *Antropofagia* Movement, and the *Grupo dos Cinco*. Tarsila do Amaral was intimately and actively involved in all but the *Semana de Arte Moderna*, which still tremendously impacted her artistic practice. These events, movements, and groups all explored themes of national identity and national artistic styles within a framework that centered Brazil rather than the West.<sup>11</sup>

As an adult and working artist, Tarsila do Amaral divided her time between Brazil and Paris from 1916 until 1938, when she settled permanently in São Paulo. She is most celebrated for developing a global modern visual language that engaged with the tenets of Euro-U.S. Modernism, while at the same time centered and utilized *Antropofagia* and *Brasilidade* as rhetorical strategies for constructing an emphatically Brazilian narrative that negates, or cannibalizes Eurocentric and colonial hegemonies.<sup>12</sup> In three of Amaral's most famous works *A*

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<sup>11</sup> For further reading, consult: Andrea Giunta, "Strategies of Modernity in Latin America," in *Beyond the Fantastic*, ed. Gerardo Mosquera (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 55-61; Camila Maroja, "From São Paulo to Paris and Back Again: Tarsila do Amaral," *Stedelijk Studies* 9 (Fall 2019): 1-16, <https://stedelijkstudies.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Stedelijk-Studies-9-From-Sao-Paulo-to-Paris-and-Back-Again-Maroja.pdf>; Carol Damian, "Tarsila do Amaral: Art and Environmental Concerns of a Brazilian Modernist," *Woman's Art Journal* 20, no. 1 (1999): 3-7, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1358838>; Fernando J. Rosenberg, "Looking Back, Looking through: Colonial Visions in Modernism," *Chasqui* 34, no. 1 (2005): 65-77, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29742030>; Ferreira Gullar, "An Overview of Brazilian Art," *Diogenes* 48, no. 191 (2000): 109-14, <https://doi.org/10.1177/039219210004819109>; Gillian Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do Amaral: Gender, 'Brasilidade' and the Modernist Landscape," *Woman's Art Journal* 34, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2013): 30-39, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24395332>; Marcelo Guimaraes da Silva Lima, "From Pau Brasil to Antropofagia: The Paintings of Tarsila do Amaral" (Phd. diss., University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1988), 3-4, 17-170; Rafael Cardoso, "The Brazilianness of Brazilian Art: Discourses on Art and National Identity, c. 1850-1930," *Third Text* 26, no. 1 (2012): 17-28, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2012.647643>; Richard M. Morse, "Brazilian Modernism," *Hudson Review* 3, no. 3 (Autumn, 1950): 447-452, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3847468>; Rita Shannon Koeser, "Brazil: Body and Soul," *Americas* (English Edition) 62, no. 2 (2010): 54-57, <https://www.ritashannonkoeser.com/2010/12/23/brazil-body-and-soul/>; Styliane Philippou, "Modernism and National Identity in Brazil, or How to Brew a Brazilian Stew," *National Identities* 7, no. 3 (2005): 245-264, DOI: 10.1080/14608940500201771; Styliane Philippou, "The Primitive as an Instrument of Subversion in Twentieth-century Brazilian Cultural Practice," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 8, no. 3-4 (2004): 285-98, doi:10.1017/S1359135504000302.

<sup>12</sup> Cardoso, "The Brazilianness of Brazilian Art," 24-28; Damian, "Tarsila Do Amaral," 5-7; Gerardo Mosquera, "Alien-Own/Own-Alien: Globalization and Cultural Difference," *Boundary 2* 29, no. 3 (2002): 172-173. [muse.jhu.edu/article/3413](http://muse.jhu.edu/article/3413); Gerardo Mosquera, *Beyond Anthropophagy: Art, Internationalization and Cultural Dynamics*, Global Art Symposium, Salzburg International Summer Academy 2011, 5-10, <http://archive.summeracademy.at/media/pdf/pdf776.pdf>; Henryk Siewierski, "Utopia and Anthropophagy," *Third Text* 21, no. 5 (2007): 499-508, DOI: 10.1080/09528820701597705; Giunta, "Strategies of Modernity," 55-57; Maria de Fátima Morethy Couto, "Brazilian Art and the Dilemma of Globalization: Strategies of Internationalization and Cultural Affirmation in Two 1990s Biennials," *Arts* 8, 136 (October 2019): 5-8, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8040136>; María

*Negra* (fig. 2; 1923), *Morro da Favela* (fig. 3; 1924), and *Abaporu* (fig. 4; 1928), she appropriates, reclaims, reverses, and renames primitivism (that ubiquitous trope of Euro-U.S Modernists), and avant-garde conventions by featuring iconography, themes, colors, and subject matter she believed defined an essential or authentic Brazilianness or *Brasilidade*.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, she did so with the express intent to challenge hegemonic Euro-U.S.-centric power structures.

The quest for *Brasilidade* was informed by the anti-colonial nationalist movement that took hold in Brazil in 1922, the centennial year of Brazilian independence from colonial rule.<sup>14</sup> It was motivated by a desire to define and construct a modern national Brazilian identity that was both politically and culturally independent from colonial influences. *Brasilidade* proposes that centering popular/vernacular/local subjects, themes, narratives, colors, and iconography that are particular to a mythologized vision of an uncorrupted Brazil, allowed the cognoscenti to create an authentic nationalist Brazilian identity and narrative void of Euro-U.S. hegemony.<sup>15</sup> The

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Elena Lucero, "Stories of Brazilian Modernity: Tarsila do Amaral and the Anthropophagic Opening as Aesthetic Decolonization," *History and Memory*, no. 10 (January-June, 2015), 75-96, [https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia\\_memoria/article/view/3201/5516](https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia_memoria/article/view/3201/5516); Maroja, "From São Paulo to Paris," 1-16; Michael Korfmann and Marcelo Nogueira, "Avant-Garde in Brazil," *Dialectical Anthropology* 28, no. 2 (2004), 130-134, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29790706>; Oswald de Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto," in *Readings in Latin American Modern Art*, ed. Patrick Frank (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 24-27; Philippou, "Modernism and National Identity," 245-264; Philippou, "The Primitive as an Instrument," 285-98; Rosenberg, "Looking Back, Looking through," 65-77; Sergio Miceli, "Tarsila do Amaral: The Substitution of Aesthetic Imports," in *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism*, eds. Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 145 – 160; Silva Lima, "From Pau Brasil to Antropofagia," 24-170; Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do Amaral," 30-39; Stephanie D'Alessandro, "A Negra, Abaporu, and Tarsila's Anthropophagy," in *Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil*, eds. Stephanie D'Alessandro and Luis Pérez Oramas (Chicago, Illinois: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2017), 38-53.

<sup>13</sup> Reference footnotes 11 and 12.

<sup>14</sup> Philippou, "Modernism and National Identity," 248-49.

<sup>15</sup> Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva, eds, *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism* (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 34-37; Cardoso, "The Brazilianness of Brazilian Art," 24-28; Maria Castro, "Both Paulista and Parisian: Racial Thinking in *A Negra*," in *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism*, eds. Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 54-67; Marshall C. Eakin, "Communicating and Understanding Mestiçagem: Radio, Samba, and Carnaval," in *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil: New Approaches to the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 79–106, doi:10.1017/9781316800058.004; Mosquera, "Alien-Own/Own-Alien," 163-173; Philippou, "Modernism and National Identity," 245-264; Philippou, "The Primitive as an Instrument," 285-98; Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do Amaral," 30-39.

intelligentsia, who led the quest, affirmed that the locus of Brazilian authenticity was rooted in *mestiçagem*, indigenous and Black Brazilian identity, the rural natural landscape, the rural and urban-poor, and Brazilian cultural traditions such as Carnival, among other qualities.<sup>16</sup> Amaral was a key member of the intelligentsia, and used *Brasilidade* in her artistic practice in order to construct the nationalist anti-colonial narrative and challenge Euro-U.S. hegemony.

*A Negra* (fig. 2; 1923), is one of Amaral's most provocative paintings. In *A Negra*, Amaral presents a nude Black Brazilian woman with a small head and exaggerated facial features, sitting cross-legged with a large breast resting over her arm. Art historians contextualize Amaral's subject-matter in relation to *Brasilidade*, the historical, economic, political, cultural, and artistic legacies of colonialism, slavery, and the slave trade in Brazil, and a rephrasing of Euro-U.S. primitivism. Irene V. Small contends that Amaral's woman, whose breast is elongated, invokes the Black wet nurse figure or *ama de leite*, and explains that such women were central to the "Brazilian historical imaginary."<sup>17</sup> Maria Castro attests that *mães pretas* (Black mothers) "became a symbol of the new ideology of mestiço nationalism, which emphasized racial harmony and miscegenation as essential characteristics of modern Brazilian identity."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva, eds, *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism* (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 34-37; Cardoso, "The Brazilianness of Brazilian Art," 24-28; Maria Castro, "Both Paulista and Parisian: Racial Thinking in A Negra," in *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism*, eds. Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 54-67; Marshall C. Eakin, "Communicating and Understanding Mestiçagem: Radio, Samba, and Carnival," in *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil: New Approaches to the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 79-106, doi:10.1017/9781316800058.004; Mosquera, "Alien-Own/Own-Alien," 163-173; Philippou, "Modernism and National Identity," 245-264; Philippou, "The Primitive as an Instrument," 285-98; Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do Amaral," 30-39.

<sup>17</sup> Irene V. Small, "Plasticity and Reproduction: Tarsila do Amaral's A Negra," in *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism*, eds. Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 42.

<sup>18</sup> Castro, "Both Paulista and Parisian," 62.

This racialized quality of *Brasilidade* is particularly complex. In Amaral's attempt to recontextualize the Black Brazilian woman as a hallmark of uncorrupted Brazilian identity, she romanticizes primitivism and unintentionally reifies colonial ideology. Slavery has a clear relationship to colonialism, and, in Brazil, whiteness was a marker of elite social strata. Although Brazil realized independence in 1822, slavery was not abolished until 1888, two years after Amaral's birth.<sup>19</sup> It is necessary to state that it was the intelligentsia, white Brazilians who derived privilege and power from their whiteness, not indigenous and/or Black Brazilians who were defining *Brasilidade* and constructing the modern national image of Brazil. For example, Amaral was born into a wealthy elite family, who owned a coffee plantation and slaves. In a written account, Amaral recalls a childhood memory,

One of the most successful paintings I exhibited in Europe is called *A Negra*. Because I have recurring memories of having seen one of those old female slaves when I was a five- or six-year-old, you know? A female slave lived on our fazenda, and she had drooping lips and enormous breasts...<sup>20</sup>

This biographical evidence supports the assertion that Amaral's choice of subject for *A Negra* was indisputably a reflection of her perceptions of slavery, which she saw through a lens that she developed from a privileged social location. I am not proposing that Amaral's exercise of privilege from her position of whiteness is equivalent to the violence of colonialism. I only argue that the discourse surrounding Amaral's work must account for the complexity of her reality, and that scholars are obligated to interrogate and disturb insidious practices and ideas in all degrees.

Amaral's access to wealth ensured that she was able to travel abroad and train in Paris. She spent her time there engaging with and absorbing the tenets of European Modernism. Stephanie D'Alessandro traces Amaral's Parisian experiences via her acquaintances with

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<sup>19</sup> Small, "Plasticity and Reproduction," 42.

<sup>20</sup> Tarsila do Amaral, in "*A Negra, Abaporu, and Tarsila's Anthropophagy*," by D'Alessandro, 49, 54 note 58.

prominent figures within the European art community. She explains that Amaral studied with and/or was exposed to primitivist work by Constantin Brancusi, Fernand Légers, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and Paul Gauguin, among others.<sup>21</sup> D’Alessandro stresses the importance of Amaral’s encounters with Brancusi’s *White Negress*, and the ballet *La Création du monde* by Légers et al.<sup>22</sup> Although Amaral recontextualized primitivism in *A Negra*, she could not completely redress the paradigm because of her social location.

In 1924, Amaral travelled Brazil on her quest to discover the defining characteristics of *Brasilidade*.<sup>23</sup> She found inspiration in Minas Gerais. Following her trip, Amaral painted *Morro da Favela* (fig. 3; 1924), where she presents a colorful Brazilian tropical urban utopia, populated by Black Brazilians. Amaral’s vision of *Morro da Favela* is romanticized. Michele Greet explains that favelas were a modern invention of necessity following the abolishment of slavery. In search of employment, Black Brazilians left rural areas for urban ones. With little access to resources, they used found materials to construct “provisional residences...on the hills of Rio de Janeiro.”<sup>24</sup> These make-shift towns were called favelas, and were characterized by poverty, overcrowding, crime, and pollution.<sup>25</sup> This is not the scene Amaral has presented. Instead, she reimagines, sanitizes, and romanticizes reality in order to prioritize *Brasilidade* and present an ideal version of an authentic Brazilian cultural narrative. The favelas developed based on the condition that slavery was abolished. By Amaral’s estimation, favelas were divorced from the vestiges of colonial hegemony. Her choice of subject matter for *Morro da Favela*, reflected her desire to develop and center an anti-colonial nationalist Brazilian identity.

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<sup>21</sup> D’Alessandro, “*A Negra*, *Abaporu*, and Tarsila’s Anthropophagy,” 40-43.

<sup>22</sup> D’Alessandro, “*A Negra*, *Abaporu*, and Tarsila’s Anthropophagy,” 42.

<sup>23</sup> Damian, “Tarsila Do Amaral,” 5-7; Michele Greet, “For French Eyes: Tarsila do Amaral’s Brazilian Landscapes,” in *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism*, eds. Adriano Pedrosa and Fernando Oliva (São Paulo: MASP, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2019), 120.

<sup>24</sup> Greet, “For French Eyes,” 120-121.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

*Abaporu* (fig. 4; 1928) is one of Amaral's most well-known paintings. It served as inspiration for Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*, which proposes a Brazilian devouring of the colonizer. Andrade identified the figure in Amaral's painting as a member of the indigenous Brazilian Tupi culture, who practiced cannibalism.<sup>26</sup> The ideological premise of *Antropofagia* is that to create something authentically Brazilian, foreign influences needed to be cannibalized—needed to be devoured, digested, and converted by Brazilians into something new and uniquely Brazilian.<sup>27</sup> Scholars argue that *Abaporu* and *Antropofagia* more generally, were integral to Brazilian Modernism. As noted, members of the Brazilian intelligentsia were determined to divorce Brazil's national identity, culturally and ideologically, from a past (and present) characterized by the legacy of colonialism and Eurocentric norms. However, they did not conceptualize that divorce as an erasure of Western conventions, rather, as a reimagining, re-centering, and recontextualizing of those conventions to fit the new Brazilian centered cultural paradigm. This process involved rediscovering and redefining qualities that were authentically Brazilian such as the Tupi peoples and *Antropofagic* practices. In *Abaporu*, Amaral employed *Antropofagia* as a tool to create a modern Brazilian visual language that featured a decolonized aesthetic that refuted Eurocentric hegemony.

Tarsila do Amaral's choice to challenge and dismantle the legacy of colonial ideologies in Brazilian visual culture earned her a prestigious and permanent place within the Brazilian

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<sup>26</sup> Lucero, "Stories of Brazilian Modernity," [https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia\\_memoria/article/view/3201/5516](https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia_memoria/article/view/3201/5516).

<sup>27</sup> Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto," 24-27; Couto, "Brazilian Art," 5-8; D'Alessandro, "*A Negra, Abaporu*, and Tarsila's Anthropophagy," 50-51; Damian, "Tarsila Do Amaral," 5-7; Giunta, "Strategies of Modernity," 55-57; Korfmann and Nogueira, "Avant-Garde in Brazil," 130-134; Lucero, "Stories of Brazilian Modernity," [https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia\\_memoria/article/view/3201/5516](https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/historia_memoria/article/view/3201/5516); Maroja, "From São Paulo to Paris," 1-16; Mosquera, "Alien-Own/Own-Alien," 163-173; Mosquera, *Beyond Anthropophagy*, 1-11; Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic*, 10-15; Rosenberg, "Looking Back, Looking through," 65-77; Siewierski, "Utopia and Anthropophagy," 499-508; Silva Lima, "From Pau Brasil to Antropofagia," 24-170; Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do Amaral," 34.

cultural consciousness she is frequently referred to as the inventor of Brazilian Modernism, the “Picasso of Brazil.”<sup>28</sup> In fact, in 2019, Do Amaral’s Retrospective “Tarsila Popular” held at São Paulo Art Museum (MASP) drew more visitors than a Monet exhibition held there in 1997, which had previously held the record as the museum’s most highly-attended exhibition.<sup>29</sup> Her auction records and exhibition history are a further testament to her seminal artistic achievements.

### **Tarsila do Amaral on the Market and in the Museum**

Based on data gathered from respected art auction databases, there are twelve public auction records for oil paintings by Amaral between the years 1989 and 2020.<sup>30</sup> As seen in Graph 1, nine of the twelve paintings sold, three by Euro-U.S. auction houses and six by Brazilian auction houses. This means that three of the twelve were not sold. Two of the three unsold paintings were auctioned by a Euro-U.S. auction house.

While this data may suggest that Amaral is not particularly popular on the Euro-U.S. art market, when *Abaporu* went up for sale at Christie’s, New York in 1995, it surpassed the million-dollar mark, and, until 2019, was the record price holder for one of Amaral’s paintings. It was 1000% more expensive than the next highest earning sale (graph 2). Furthermore, in 2019, MoMA acquired their first Tarsila do Amaral painting *The Moon (A Lua)* (fig. 5; 1928), for an estimated twenty million dollars, in a private sale.<sup>31</sup> *A Lua* is the first and only Amaral painting

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<sup>28</sup> Sara Kugel, “Tarsila, the ‘Picasso of Brazil’,” *CBS News*, March 11, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-picasso-of-brazil-tarsila-do-amaral/>.

<sup>29</sup> Gabriella Angeletti, “Tarsila Dethrones Monet as São Paulo Museum’s Most Popular Exhibition,” *The Art Newspaper*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2019/08/26/tarsila-dethrones-monet-as-sao-paulo-museums-most-popular-exhibition>.

<sup>30</sup> See Graph 2.

<sup>31</sup> Tarsila Site Official, “MoMA Buys Tarsila do Amaral’s ‘A Lua’ Canvas for US \$20 million,” February 27, 2019, <http://tarsiladoamaral.com.br/moma-compra-tela-lua-de-tarsila-do-amaral-por-us-20-milhoes/>.

owned by a North American museum.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps these two auction records stand-out because *Abaporu* is arguably her most famous work, or perhaps because *A Lua* is rendered in what has become identified as her distinctive style. Nevertheless, the years between 1995 and 2019 witnessed an enormous increase in the value of Amaral's work.<sup>33</sup> This suggests that the tides have turned in the Euro-U.S. world regarding the monetary and cultural value of Amaral's work; this observation is supported by Amaral's extensive exhibition history.

Amaral's exhibition history (graph 3), reveals that between 1922 and 2019, her work has been featured in 423 museum and gallery exhibitions. This history indicates that 1992 was a bench-mark year for the display of her work. In the sixty-nine years between 1922 and 1991, her work was displayed in 173 exhibitions. For only eleven years within that span, did museums hold five or more exhibitions featuring her art, and the average was fewer than three per year. In 1992, something changed. The number of exhibitions held in one year nearly tripled, from five in 1991, to thirteen in 1992. Overall, between 1992 and 2019, her work was displayed in 250 exhibitions, with an average of almost nine per year. That works out to seventy-seven more exhibitions in forty-two fewer years. Most of these exhibitions were held in Brazil (graph 4). However, a total of forty-three Euro-U.S. exhibitions, spread-out over a nearly ninety-year time span, indicates that her work was on view for a primarily Euro-U.S. audience approximately every other year.

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<sup>32</sup> Alex Greenberger, "15 Surprising Works at the New MoMA, from Early Net Art to a Full-Scale Kitchen," *ARTnews*, April 16, 2020, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/new-moma-surprising-works-13377/>; Leah Dickerman and Ann Tempkin, "New to MoMA: Tarsila do Amaral's *A Lua (The Moon)*: A Conversation about Do Amaral's Landmark Work, Newly Added to the Museum's Collection," *MoMA Magazine*, April 16, 2020, <https://www.moma.org/magazine/articles/42>.

<sup>33</sup> In December 2020, this trend continued with the sale of *A Caipirinha*, 1923 (fig. 6), which sold for 11.2 million dollars, among the highest grossing paintings by a Brazilian artist sold in a public auction; Angelica Villa, "Tarsila do Amaral Work at Center of Legal Dispute Sells for Record Price in Brazil," *ARTnews*, December 21, 2020, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/market/tarsila-do-amaral-auction-record-legal-dispute-1234580023/>.

The evidence from auction sales and museum exhibitions affirms that Amaral's work was regularly on view in Brazil, in Europe, and in the United States, and was at least intermittently available for purchase on the Brazilian and Euro-U.S. art markets. Despite her fame in Brazil, and her constant presence in the Euro-U.S. art milieu, Tarsila do Amaral retained the status of subaltern artist in Euro-U.S. contexts until 2018, with the opening of "Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil" at MoMA, New York. Her presence on the market and in the museum suggests that lack of exposure was not the reason it took nearly ninety years for Euro-U.S. art world to take notice, something else was. That something else, was a preference for art that did not challenge established power structures.

The Euro-U.S. art world's inveterate disregard of supposed "subaltern" artists, as observed regarding Tarsila do Amaral, also pertains to Amrita Sher-Gil. Although I will now move from Tarsila do Amaral to Amrita Sher-Gil, from Brazil to India, from a country that had experienced a century of freedom from colonial rule to a country plagued colonial rule, I think that there are some striking similarities in how Euro-U.S. art institutions have responded to these two artists.

### **Amrita Sher-Gil: A Cultural Icon**

The 1920s to the 1940s marked a period of artistic revitalization in India that was informed by anti-colonial nationalist movements inspired by Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>34</sup> This future-oriented and ideologically pregnant "artistic awakening" rejected Euro-U.S. academic artistic conventions, and the respective Euro-U.S.-centric and nativist aesthetic limitations proposed by the contemporaneous Bombay and Bengal School artistic modes.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 41, 43, 60-61.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

Amrita Sher-Gil was deeply engaged in this artistic revitalization movement, of which she was an equally avid proponent and fierce critic. She believed that the new artistic enterprise demanded a transcultural approach, wherein artists must engage critically with both Euro-U.S. and Indian artistic traditions.<sup>36</sup> Within this context, she cultivated an artistic practice characterized by a quest for authenticity and a fervent condemnation of her contemporaries' and predecessors' obsolescence. Most significantly, she used her paintings as tools to express her dissatisfaction with colonial and patriarchal hegemony.

In the paintings, *Self-Portrait as Tahitian*, 1934 (fig. 7), *South Indian Villagers Going to Market*, 1937 (fig. 8), and *Woman on a Charpoy*, 1940 (fig. 9), Sher-Gil wove nationalist ideology into solemn and static scenes that feature iconography, themes, colors, and subject matter that responded to Gandhi's notion of *Swaraj* (self-rule), and Nehru's concept of "Indianization," both of which envisioned a post-colonial nation freed from Western cultural and political hegemony.<sup>37</sup> Her primary objective was to create a reimagined and timely expression of

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<sup>36</sup> For further reading, consult: Akansha Rastogi, Saumya Bhatt, and Debashree Banerjee, *The Self in Making: Amrita Sher-Gil, 1913-1941* (New Delhi: Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, 2014); Dinah Holtzman, "India Belongs to Me Only!": Amrita Sher Gil's Modernist/Nationalist Artistic Project" (master's thesis, Purchase College, State University of New York, 2004); Geeti Sen, *Feminine Fables: Imagining the Indian Woman in Painting, Photography and Cinema* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002); Latika Gupta, "Amrita Sher-Gil: 'Two Girls', 1939," *Marg, A Magazine of the Arts* 62, no. 4 (2011): 78-83; Nalini Bhushan and Jay L Garfield, eds., "An Indian in Paris: Cosmopolitan Aesthetics in Colonial India," in *Indian Philosophy in English: From Renaissance to Independence* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2011), 231-242; Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's artists and the avant-garde, 1922-1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007); Pradeep A. Dhillon, "Thinking through Pictures: A Kantian Reading of Amrita Sher-Gil's Self-Portrait as Tahitian," in *Woman's Eye, Woman's Hand: Making Art and Architecture in Modern India*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (New Delhi: Zubaan, 2014), 163-183; Saloni Mathur, "A Retake of Sher-Gil's Self-Portrait as Tahitian," *Critical Inquiry* 37, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 514-544; Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations: Artistic Practice, National Identity, and Modernism in India, 1930-1900* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); Vivan Sundaram, *Re-take of Amrita: Digital Photomontages Based on Photographs of Umrao Singh Sher-Gil and Photographs from the Sher-Gil Family Archive, 1870-1954* (New Delhi: Tulika, 2001); Yashodhara Dalmia, *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Life* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2006).

<sup>37</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, centenary edition (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 49-68, 137, 143-145; Sonal Khullar, "Artistic Labor, Sexual Form, and Modernism in India, c. 1930-1980," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 66, 73, 79; Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 25; Sonal Khullar, "Parallel Tracks: Pan Yuliang and Amrita Sher-Gil in Paris," in *Eurasian Encounters: Museums, Missions, Modernities*, eds. Stolte Carolien and Kikuchi Yoshiyuki (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 92, ProQuest Ebook Central; Mitter, "Art and Nationalism in India," 29.

Indian art. Consequently, her interpretation of relevant art hinged on her conviction that art must actively negotiate the tensions between Indian and Euro-U.S. artistic conventions, colonialism and independence, modernism and nationalism, and past and future.

Scholars have interpreted *Self-Portrait as Tahitian* (fig. 7; 1934), as a pointed criticism of colonial power differentials and how they manifest in Euro-U.S. artistic conventions. In *Self-Portrait as Tahitian*, Sher-Gil rephrases Gauguin's painting *Ea Haere Ia Oe*, and engages with the Euro-U.S. traditions of self-portraiture, primitivism, and representations of the "othered" female nude. In her famous self-portrait, she assumes a fictitious Tahitian identity and presents herself devoid of the overt "natural" eroticism of Gauguin's idealized and primitivized Polynesian female nudes.<sup>38</sup> This composition has also been read as a rebellion against the patriarchal agenda, wherein women exist, and are depicted, as spectacles of masculine desire. Sher-Gil's Tahitian-self refuses to acknowledge the presence of the male figure (presumably Gauguin) in her vicinity. Pradeep A. Dhillon asserts that Sher-Gil's refusal to interact with the male viewer renders him invisible and irrelevant which conveys a critical approach to gendered spectatorship.<sup>39</sup> According to John Berger's theory, in *Self-Portrait as Tahitian*, Sher-Gil thwarts both the "surveyed/surveyor" and "spectator/owner" paradigms.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, *Self-Portrait as Tahitian* functions as Sher-Gil's public refusal to accept or engage in an artistic tradition that objectifies women and marginalizes people of the global majority. Shortly after Sher-Gil completed this painting, she returned to India where she began to infuse her work with traditional Indian iconography and widely recognized anti-colonial nationalist language.

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<sup>38</sup> Mathur, "A Retake," 515-16.

<sup>39</sup> Dhillon, "Thinking through Pictures," 174.

<sup>40</sup> John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1990): 46, 56, <http://waysofseeingwaysofseeing.com/ways-of-seeing-john-berger-5.7.pdf>.

*South Indian Villagers Going to Market* (fig. 8; 1937), is part of Sher-Gil's *South India Trilogy*, that she painted immediately after a visit to the caves at Ajanta. When Sher-Gil returned to India from Paris in 1934, she traveled the country seeking an essential Indian spirit. In a letter to her friend, art critic Karl Kandalavala, Sher-Gil references Moghul portraitists, the caves at Ajanta, and Basholi miniatures and describes herself as a "convert" particularly in the use of bold color and simplified arrangements.<sup>41</sup> In *South Indian Villagers*, she maintained the unified compact arrangement of forms present at Ajanta. It features six figures walking together in a tightly knit group. The child on the far left is particularly intriguing because he makes direct eye contact with the viewers while the other figures appear consumed by the task at hand. The child's direct, honest, almost pleading gaze challenges the viewer to contemplate the future of India.

Sher-Gil's focus on children and the rural poor in *South Indian Villagers* is directly informed by her anti-colonial sympathies. She selected subjects that directly relate to Gandhi's and Nehru's anti-colonial nationalist ideology. Sonal Khullar expertly situates Sher-Gil in the context of the Indian Independence Movement championed by Gandhi and Nehru. She explains that proponents of the anti-colonial nationalist movement interpreted the frescos at Ajanta as pre-colonial examples of Indian achievement. Khullar states, "the crowded composition and interconnected narratives at Ajanta allegorized the multitudes that would make up the post-colonial nation-state, a prototype of the Nehruvian concept of unity in diversity."<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, Nehru seized on the idea of Ajanta as an appropriate model for an independent and modern Indian future.<sup>43</sup> In an essay titled "Modern Indian Art: Imitating the Forms of the Past,"

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<sup>41</sup> Amrita Sher-Gil to Karl Kandalavala, July 1, 1940, in *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Self-Portrait in Letters and Writings*, trans. Vivan Sundaram, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010): 645-649.

<sup>42</sup> Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 57-66.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

published in *The Hindu* on November 1, 1936, Sher-Gil emphatically articulates her beliefs regarding the purpose of Art,

Art cannot [solely] imitate the forms of the past ... it must draw its inspiration from the present to create the forms of the future. I am an individualist evolving a new technique that, though not necessarily Indian in the traditional sense of the word, will yet be fundamentally Indian in spirit. With the eternal significance of form and colour I interpret India.<sup>44</sup>

In the *South India Trilogy*, Sher-Gil assimilates the aesthetics of Ajanta—compact composition packed with bodies, a sense of unity of the masses or “sameness-in-difference,” an earthy color palette, and simplified form—with scenes of daily life for the rural poor. *South Indian Villagers* reflects Sher-Gil’s interest in challenging Euro-U.S.-centric colonial ideologies and developing a complex expression of Indian Modernism.

Lastly, in *Woman on a Charpoy* (fig. 9; 1940), Sher-Gil combines Indian iconography from the miniature tradition with the Euro-U.S. reclining female trope. Geeti Sen and Khullar identify precedent for this theme in Indian artistic traditions dating to the sixteenth century. Sen explains that the color red connoted “semiotics of desire” in traditional Indian art, and specifically refers to miniature paintings as likely points of reference.<sup>45</sup> Yashodhara Dalmia considers “resonances” of Titian’s *Venus of Urbino*, Édouard Manet’s *Olympia* (fig. 7), and Paul Gauguin’s *Manao Tupapu* (fig. 8), in *Woman on a Charpoy*.<sup>46</sup> Ultimately, Dalmia concludes that Sher-Gil’s reclining woman challenges these European representations because her depiction of the theme addresses unfulfilled eroticism. In *Woman on a Charpoy*, Sher-Gil portrayed a woman on edge as a result of sexual frustration, yearning, and disappointment.<sup>47</sup> She revolutionizes the

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<sup>44</sup> Amrita Sher-Gil, “Modern Indian Art: Imitating the Forms of the Past,” in *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Self-Portrait in Letters and Writings*, trans. Vivan Sundaram, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010): 249-255.

<sup>45</sup> Sen, *Feminine Fables*, 74.

<sup>46</sup> Dalmia, *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Life*, 146-152.

<sup>47</sup> Dalmia, *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Life*, 150; Sen, *Feminine Fables*, 78.

reclining woman trope when she depicts a woman who “herself desires,” with no proposed outlet for her gratification.<sup>48</sup> Man has no physical presence in the painting. Instead, Sher-Gil has constructed a tableau that quite literally physically excludes men and the despotic male gaze. Here again, Sher-Gil reiterates her censure of patriarchy and Euro-U.S. hegemony. Her reclining woman is not faithful to either European or Indian artistic conventions. Her rephrased interpretation of the theme indicates that she conceived of modernism as a truly transcultural enterprise.

Although Sher-Gil was critical of Euro-U.S. hegemony and colonial power differentials, she did fall into some of the ideological traps that she sought to subvert. She capably employed Euro-U.S. artistic conventions to challenge normative patriarchal and colonial hegemonies, and ethnocentric frameworks for viewing the Other in Art. She also lived a privileged lifestyle. She was born into, and circulated with, the erudite and economically advantaged members of Indian, Hungarian, and Parisian society. These sub-sets of society were, in different ways, invested in reproducing colonial and hegemonic biases. For example, Sher-Gil was sent to Paris for her artistic education because Indian art schools were not considered on-par with European schools. As a result of her elite social standing and privileged worldview, she was sometimes incognizant of the how her artistic practices reified the systems that she challenged. In her work, she often romanticized pre-colonial Indian society and the conditions of the rural poor, which by her estimation were linked. Moreover, in her writings and artwork, she neglected to consider the caste system. In so doing, she erased her position of power relative to her paintings’ subjects. She practiced primitivism—a hallmark of Euro-U.S. modernisms. With this discussion, I do not mean to suggest that Sher-Gil’s exercise of power is equivalent to Euro-U.S. colonialism; or that

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<sup>48</sup> Sen, *Feminine Fables*, 78.

her practices somehow absolve the Euro-U.S. of wrong-doing. I only intend to suggest that readings of Sher-Gil's work should account for the complexity of her reality, and that disruption of hegemonies must occur at different scales and on many fronts. Sher-Gil's oeuvre is an excellent example of the inherently complex and borderless character of global modernisms.

Sher-Gil's determination to confront the legacy of colonial ideologies and her ability to critique and synthesize both Indian and Euro-U.S. artistic conventions ensured her celebrity status within the Indian cultural consciousness. Her presence in popular culture, legal status as a national treasure, auction records, and exhibition history confirm her prestige. She is frequently referred to as an icon of Indian Modern art, as "India's Frida Kahlo."<sup>49</sup> Her life story has been told and retold in films, documentaries, television shows, plays, novels, and children's books in India. And her work has been displayed and sold in both Indian and Euro-U.S. institutions. Most recently in July 2021.<sup>50</sup>

### **Amrita Sher-Gil on the Market and in the Museum**

Because the National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA) owns the majority of her paintings, with the rest residing in the private collections of relatives and friends, not many of her paintings have been available for sale. I located thirteen public auction records for her paintings between the years 2000 and 2021. According to data gathered, all but one sold, and eight were auctioned by Euro-U.S. auction houses (graph 5).

Her highest grossing painting, *In the Ladies' Enclosure*, (fig. 10; 1938), sold in July 2021 for \$5.14 million (USD). This is almost double the price of *Untitled Self Portrait*, (fig. 11; 1933)

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<sup>49</sup> Sarah Cascone, "Amrita Sher-Gil, Known as 'India's Frida Kahlo,' is a Standout at Sotheby's Inaugural Auction in Mumbai," *Artnet*, November 29, 2018, <https://news.artnet.com/market/sothebys-india-results-1405789>.

<sup>50</sup> Her painting *In the Ladies' Enclosure*, 1938, sold for \$5.14 million (USD) on July 13, 2021, at the Saffronart Mumbai Summer Art Live auction.

her next highest grossing painting which sold in 2015 for \$2.92 million (USD), two years after the UNESCO launch of her birth centenary celebration. Between the sale of her highest grossing works, in 2018, Sher-Gil's painting *Little Girl in Blue* sold to great fanfare. What is most intriguing about this particular sale, is that *Little Girl in Blue* sold in for almost a quarter of a million dollars less than *Untitled Self-Portrait* sold for three years prior. This is intriguing, especially considering that *Little Girl in Blue* made headline news in *Forbes*, *The New York Times*, *Hyperallergic*, and *Artsy*. Yet, neither the sale of *Untitled Self-Portrait* nor the UNESCO celebration did.

The fluctuation in price can be partially attributed to the relationships between the locale of the auction house, chronology of the sale, the overall enthusiasm for Sher-Gil's paintings, and the paintings' subject matter. I say partially because until 2021, her highest grossing paintings were both sold by a Euro-U.S. institution. *Untitled Self-Portrait*, and *Little Girl in Blue* were sold by Sotheby's, while *In the Ladies' Enclosure* was sold by Saffronart Mumbai. Although *Little Girl in Blue* sold in 2018 with new-found celebrity, the figures depicted are unknown to the audience. In contrast, *Untitled Self-Portrait* sold in 2015, depicts the artist. It is necessary to note that Sher-Gil is renowned for her figurative paintings, which tend to sell for a markedly higher price than her non-figurative paintings (see graphs 5 and 6). Under the umbrella of figurative work, her self-portraits are among the most frequently analyzed, and constitute a large percentage of her body of work. Moreover, before the sale of *In the Ladies' Enclosure* earlier this year, Sher-Gil's self-portraits were the highest grossing. Understood in this light, it makes sense that the subject matter of *Untitled Self-Portrait* and *Little Girl in Blue* dictated price more than chronology or enthusiasm. Conversely, the price of *In the Ladies' Enclosure* was dictated more by locale, chronology, and enthusiasm than subject matter. This painting was sold in 2021,

by an Indian auction house, in Mumbai. The figures depicted in the painting are unknown, however, the environment of the scene, the actions, the wardrobe, etc. are familiar to a largely Indian audience. Moreover, in India, Sher-Gil's work has been highly valued by the general population for decades. Considered together, I believe the auction data suggests that Sher-Gil's entrée into Euro-U.S. popular consciousness (2018)—the overall Euro-U.S. enthusiasm—was not fueled by international prestige or perceived monetary value.

So, what is the relationship between locale and overall enthusiasm? In India, Sher-Gil has been hailed as a cultural icon for nearly a century. While in Euro-U.S. contexts, until her auction records began taking the news by storm in 2018, she was known to a relative few outside her home country. This relationship between locale and enthusiasm in the Euro-U.S. art world has often been attributed her status as a National Art Treasure in India. According to the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act, 1972 (appendix), the term “‘art treasure’ means any human work of art, not being an antiquity, declared by the Central Government by notification in the Official Gazette, to be an art treasure for the purposes of this Act having regard to its artistic or aesthetic value.”<sup>51</sup> This designation applies to any work located in India from 1972 into perpetuity. In accordance with the law, her work cannot leave the subcontinent without express permission of the government, unless they were already located outside of India before the law went into effect. This seems as though it would impact both sales and exhibitions of her work, particularly in Euro-U.S. contexts.

For example, of her 172 known paintings, over 100 are currently owned by NGMA, New Delhi.<sup>52</sup> Vivan Sundaram, Indian art expert and Sher-Gil's nephew, confidently asserts that many

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<sup>51</sup> The Antiquities and Art Treasures Act, 1972, Definitions: Article 2b

<sup>52</sup> “Virtual Galleries – Amrita Sher-Gil,” National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA), accessed February 1, 2020, <http://ngmaindia.gov.in/sh-amrita.asp>.

of Sher-Gil's paintings will never leave the country, owing to her status as a National Art Treasure. That notwithstanding, her work has been displayed in forty exhibitions since her museum debut in 1930, two years after her death (graph 7). Of the forty, eleven were held between 1930-1940, four between 1941-1989, and twenty-five were held after 1990, one the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, Japan, twelve by Indian institutions, and twelve by Euro-U.S. institutions. This means that since the 1990s, Sher-Gil's work has been displayed as frequently in India as it has in Euro-U.S. contexts, signifying the 1972 Antiquities and Art Treasures Act is not exceedingly prohibitive.<sup>53</sup> The data also prove that her work was relatively accessible to Euro-U.S. audiences after 1990.

The data gleaned from Sher-Gil's and Amaral's auction and exhibition records begs the questions, "why were the 1990s such a pivotal time?" and "what is the relationship between institutional shifts and the canon?"

### Shifts in the Discourse

As seen in Amaral's and Sher-Gil's auction and exhibition records, both artists were present in the Euro-U.S. art world prior to the 1990s. However, both were largely ignored in the scholarship of modernisms until the 1990s when scholars began to prioritize, postcolonial, geopolitical, and intersectional feminist methodologies.<sup>54</sup> Scholars like Said, Mohanty, and

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<sup>53</sup> However, I do acknowledge that art history is, in many contexts, still invested in a nineteenth century nation-state narrative. The consequence of protecting "national" art in the 1972 Art and Antiquities Act, is that the circulation of Sher-Gil's work is limited. This limitation likely made her work less visible to the broader world, and, thus, could have contributed to her exclusion from the Euro-U.S. canon.

<sup>54</sup> For further reading, consult: Amselle, Mellott, and Van Dam, "Primitivism and Postcolonialism," 974-88; Berlo and Phillips, "Our (Museum) World," 6-10; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*; Çelik, "Rethinking the Canon," 202-205; Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," 188-219; Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race," 139-168; Friedman, *Mappings*; Herbert, "Passing between Art History," 213-228; Hutcheon, "The Post Always Rings Twice," 205-238; Majumdar, "Silencing the Subaltern," <https://catalyst-journal.com/2017/11/silencing-the-subaltern>; Mitter, "Art and Nationalism in India," 28-34; Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333-58; Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic*; Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art," 12-16; Nelson, "The Map of Art History," 28-40; Nochlin, "No Great Women Artists?" 22-39, 67-71; Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power*; Ramirez, "Beyond the Fantastic," 60-68; Said, *Orientalism*; Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 24-28.

Nochlin had started this movement at least a decade prior.<sup>55</sup> Problematizing historically imbalanced power structures, such as oppositional binary of East and West, male and female, colonizer and colonized, as superior and inferior respectively, had been circulating for a decade. By the 1990s, these epistemologies had become mainstream. This type of thinking was widespread and complicating the discourse was the *modus operandi*.

Art historians then used these new theories and methodologies to explore the structural conditions for global modernisms through an analysis of the relationships between art, identity, and the legacy of colonialism.<sup>56</sup> By the early 2000s, the discourse of modernism had been confidently redefined as a global visual culture phenomenon, characterized by several factors<sup>57</sup> (not listed in a particular order),

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<sup>55</sup> For further reading, consult: Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333–58; Nochlin, "No Great Women Artists?" 22-39, 67-71; Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power*; Said, *Orientalism*.

<sup>56</sup> Reference footnotes 11, 36, 37 and 54. All the scholarship in these notes is part of the legacy described.

<sup>57</sup> These themes, listed 1-6 above, are discussed in the following sources: Amselle, Mellott, and Van Dam, "Primitivism and Postcolonialism," 974-88; Amy Lonetree, "Museums as Sites of Decolonization: Truth Telling in National and Tribal Museums," in *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, ed. Susan Sleeper-Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 322-337; Andrea Giunta & George F. Flaherty, "Latin American Art History: An Historiographic Turn," *Art in Translation* sup 1, no. 9 (April 2017), 121-142. DOI: 10.1080/17561310.2016.1246293; Anna Carastathis, "The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory," *Philosophy Compass* 9, no. 5 (2014): 304–314, DOI: 10.1111/phc3.12129; Arlene Dávila, "Nationalism and the Currency of Categories," in *Latinx Art: Artists, Markets, and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 79–103. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv14t48z5.8>; Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," 188-219; Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race," 139-168; Daniel R. Quiles, "Exhibition as Network, Network as Curator: Canonizing Art from 'Latin America'," *Artl@s Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 62-78, <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1036&context=artlas>; Elaine O'Brien ed., *Modern Art in Africa, Asia, and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); Finbarr B. Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism?" in *Making Art History*, ed. Elizabeth C. Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2007), 44-47; Gerardo Mosquera, "Good-Bye Identity, Welcome Difference," *Third Text* 15, no. 56 (2001): 25-32. DOI: 10.1080/09528820108576926; Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/T411000004>; Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The Multicultural Paradigm: An Open Letter to the National Arts Community," in *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*, ed. Gerardo Mosquera (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 183-193; Judith Brown, "Geographies of Gender and Modernism," *Journal of Modern Literature* 33, no. 3 (2010): 142-49, doi:10.2979/jml.2010.33.3.142; Laura Demori, "Corporeal Identities, Maternal Artivism: A New Decolonial Approach to the Study of Latin American Women Artists," *Arts* 8, no. 137 (October 2019): 1-20, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8040137>; Lauren A. Benton and John Muth, "On Cultural Hybridity: Interpreting Colonial Authority and Performance," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 1, no. 1 (2000): 1-19, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/7342>; Linda Hutcheon, "The Post Always Rings Twice," 205-238; Majumdar, "Silencing the Subaltern," <https://catalyst-journal.com/2017/11/silencing-the-subaltern>; Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*; Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333–58; Mosquera, "Alien-Own/Own-Alien," 163-173; Mosquera, *Beyond Anthropophagy*, 1-11; Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic*, 10-15; Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art," 12-16; Nelly Richard, "Postmodern Decentrednesses and Cultural

1. An interrogation and decentering of Euro-U.S.-centrism in all ways of conceiving and seeing, and in all environments,
2. a focus on exploring and revealing what had been excluded from the Euro-U.S. canon,
3. the dismantling of traditional boundaries in favor of intersectionality,
4. a distancing from essentialism in favor of nuance,
5. the dismantling of bordered ideology more generally—geopolitics reframed from a North-South perspective to a horizontal one,
6. and a re-framed colonial legacy from the viewpoint of the historically marginalized or alleged subaltern.

This new understanding, developed through a decades long process of re-definition and re-prioritization, naturally led to exponential growth in scholarship that included artists who fit within the new parameters—Amaral and Sher-Gil fit. Consequently, art historians wrote and published new books and articles about Amaral’s and Sher-Gil’s work, their identity, and their place within an expanded canon of modernisms. For instance, I found six scholarly sources published prior to 1990 that prominently feature Amaral; whereas I found thirty-seven sources published after 1990. This pattern is also clear in scholarship about Sher-Gil. Before 1990, I have recorded seven scholarly sources, and after 1990, forty-eight.

This enormous increase in scholarship meant that more art historians were exposed to Amaral and Sher-Gil. Subsequently, when these art historians taught classes, they introduced students to Amaral, Sher-Gil, and other artists like them by including them in their syllabi.<sup>58</sup>

Their students eventually began careers as professors, art advisors, or museum curators, and the

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Periphery: The Disalignments and Realignments of Cultural Power,” in *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*, ed. Gerardo Mosquera (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 260-269; Ramirez, “Beyond “the Fantastic,” 60-68. A variety of the themes are also present in all the scholarship about Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil – reference footnotes 11, 36, 37.

<sup>58</sup> My thesis is a product of this legacy.

trajectory was set. Eventually, the increased exposure in academic environs led to a corresponding interest in the Euro-U.S. art market and museum world, which trickled to the public consciousness. This demonstrates that the shifting discourse was the cornerstone of Euro-U.S. interest in both Amaral and Sher-Gil. In short, there is no canonical adoption without such profound and integral shifts.

### **Shifts in the Euro-U.S. Art Market**

The art market is a paradox; it is both inherently complex and exceedingly straightforward. Simply put, the market exists only to sell, and sales are all that matter.<sup>59</sup> What is complex is the mutable “it-factor” that makes things most profitable at a given time. Below, I present a synopsis of art market trends from the 1930s to the 1990s in order to contextualize trends in the art market now.<sup>60</sup> In the 1930s, the art market was impacted by the Great Depression, an impact according to market expert Peter Watson, that lasted through WWII and well into the 1950s. The wealthy few who could afford to buy art collected works by the Great European Masters, and the Euro-U.S. Modern vanguard, at rock-bottom prices. By the 1940’s, the market was sluggish at best. During WWII the art center moved from Europe to New York. Collectors were investing in Euro-U.S. Modern art and work by U.S. Artists. The art market recovered in the 1950s, following the lull in activity in the 40s. Towards the end of the 40s and into the 50s, Contemporary art came into vogue, where it stayed for decades. The last three years of 50s were watershed years for the Impressionists. In 1963 Sotheby’s opened in New York, one year after the Paris art market collapse. Pop art catapulted into fame, and art of the Victorian age

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<sup>59</sup> Talinn Grigor, *Contemporary Iranian Art: From the Street to the Studio* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 200, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>60</sup> All the data presented in this synopsis is from: Peter Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan* (New York: Random House, 1992), 235-422, 456-59, 473-475.

also caught on. The 1970s proved volatile for the market. In 1971, over one hundred new Contemporary art galleries opened in New York. The next year, the Nixon scandal led to a market collapse, and panic buying flooded market. By 1977 Christie's had opened their New York branch. Euro-U.S. Modern and Contemporary art and French Impressionist art were the decade's hot ticket. The 1980s were characterized by the Wall Street boom and "auction house bonanza." By 1987 there were 400 galleries in SoHo alone. The market saw record breaking prices in almost every category, but Contemporary art generated the most attention. In the 1990s, the bubble of the 80s burst. In May, only one of twenty-six paintings sold at Christie's Contemporary art auction, and it sold for \$10 million (USD) less than the reserve. At a Sotheby's auction two days later, almost half of the eighty-seven lots failed to sell for their reserve, marking a loss of nearly \$31 million (USD). By the end of 1990 Sotheby's was reporting a sales decrease 50 percent (USD); Christie's reported a 39 percent decrease. Watson points out that this phenomenon coincides with a dearth of Old Master works available on the market. Both seem to correspond with the newborn market interest in "non-western" art.

In summary, before the 1990s white male artists dominated the art world. Very few collectors or institutions were buying art made by women of the global majority, especially those whose subject matter vehemently challenged the capitalist patriarchy of Euro-U.S. powers.<sup>61</sup> Instead, collectors were investing in the "traditional" Euro-U.S. canon. This analysis is supported by Tarsila do Amaral's and Amrita Sher-Gil's auction records, or lack thereof, before 1989 and 2000, respectively.

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<sup>61</sup> With one notable exception – Patricia Phelps de Cisneros. See: Edward J. Sullivan, *The Americas Revealed: Collecting Colonial and Modern Latin American Art in the United States* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 12, 145.

In the 1990s, as scholars began to question and challenge the Euro-U.S. art historical canon, market trends began to reflect the changing discourse, which impacted the sales of Amaral's and Sher-Gil's work.<sup>62</sup> As art historians began to reconsider Modern Latin American (beginning in 1979) and Indian (beginning in the 1990s) art and artists as distinctive entities worthy of analysis, various categories of Modern "non-western" art were concurrently legitimized by the market as separate, and now institutionalized, categories.<sup>63</sup>

"Latin American" art has been a distinct market category in Euro-U.S. contexts since 1979. However, the efficacy and use of the term or category "Latin America" have a long and complex history that scholars have grappled with for years.<sup>64</sup> The primary critiques name colonial ties and erasure of complexity among the myriad reasons that "Latin America" cannot function as well-founded and cogent category.<sup>65</sup> While Christie's still holds stand-alone Latin American art auctions, Sotheby's does not.<sup>66</sup> In 2018, Sotheby's dissolved their Latin American

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<sup>62</sup> Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan*, 475.

<sup>63</sup> Mukti Khaire and R. Daniel Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes: The Construction of Meaning and Value in a New Market Category—Modern Indian Art," *The Academy of Management Journal* 53, no. 6 (2010): 1281-1304, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29780260>; Sotheby's began holding Latin American stand-alone auctions in 1979 and Christie's followed suit in 1981, "Latin American Art," Christie's, January 4, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/departments/Latin-American-Art-35-1.aspx>.

<sup>64</sup> The scholarship regarding the use of the term and/or categorization of "Latin America" is immense; conducting a complete historiography lies outside the scope of my research. As such, I limited myself to the sources I found most useful, which are listed below in footnote 65.

<sup>65</sup> For further reading, consult: Claudia Mattos Avolese, "Historiography and the Retracing of Latin American Art History," review of *The Academy of San Carlos and Mexican Art History: Politics, History, and Art in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, by Ray Hernández-Durán, *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 17 (December 2017), <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/mattos-rev.pdf>; Dávila, "Nationalism and the Currency," 79–103; Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro, *The Geometry of Hope: Latin American Art from the Patricia Phelps de Cisneros Collection*, exh. cat. (New York: DAP, 2007); Giunta and Flaherty, "Latin American Art History," 121-142; Mosquera, "Good-Bye Identity," 25-32; Mónica Amor, "Cartographies: Exploring the Limitations of a Curatorial Paradigm," in *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*, ed. Gerardo Mosquera (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 247-257; Ramirez, "Beyond the Fantastic," 60-68; Quiles, "Exhibition as Network," 62-78. Although Gülru Necipoğlu interrogates the concept of Islamic art, the same argument about a-historical categories and the negative effects of imposing unity on diversity, applies to the use of "Latin America" as a category—Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art," 4.

<sup>66</sup> Sotheby's began holding Latin American stand-alone auctions in 1979 and Christie's followed suit in 1981. "Latin American Art," Christie's, January 4, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/departments/Latin-American-Art-35-1.aspx>.

art department in a two-fold response to this critique and the increasing market success of Latinx art.<sup>67</sup>

Legitimized nearly twenty years later, the first Modern Indian art auction was held by Sotheby's in 1995.<sup>68</sup> In 2000, Saffronart was founded as an online auction house that specialized in Modern Indian art.<sup>69</sup> Christie's began to host standalone Modern Indian art auctions in 2003.<sup>70</sup> In 2015, Sotheby's officially opened in Mumbai.<sup>71</sup> It was their inaugural auction in 2018, "Boundless: India," that Sher-Gil's *Little Girl in Blue* sold and launched her onto the Euro-U.S. art world stage.

These changes in market categories, informed by scholarship, were further affected by a new generation of collectors whose interests included social justice and the dismantling of a discriminatory canon, or collectors who wished to appear as though they were attentive to such endeavors.<sup>72</sup> It is important to remember that art is a form of economic and cultural capital, and in a community that values woke culture, investing in the artwork of artists like Amaral or Sher-Gil earns the investor cultural clout.<sup>73</sup> This dynamic can contribute to the appearance of structural change and cosmopolitanism, when, in fact, it can be a vehicle that preserves existing (often colonial, capitalist, and/or patriarchal) modes of power and privilege.

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<sup>67</sup> Marina Dias Teixeira, "The Evolution of Categories Within Auction Houses: Latin American Art," *SP—Arte* 365, May 1, 2020, <https://www.sp-arte.com/en/editorial/the-evolution-of-categories-within-auction-houses-latin-american-art/>.

<sup>68</sup> "Indian and South Asian Modern & Contemporary Art," Sotheby's, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/departments/indian-south-asian-modern-contemporary-art>; Khaire and Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes," 1284.

<sup>69</sup> "About Us," Saffronart, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://www.saffronart.com/sitepages/aboutus.aspx>; Khaire and Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes," 1284.

<sup>70</sup> Khaire and Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes," 1284.

<sup>71</sup> "Indian and South Asian Modern & Contemporary Art: Excellent Results for Sotheby's Inaugural Mumbai Auction," Sotheby's, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/slideshows/excellent-results-for-boundless-india-sothebys-inaugural-mumbai-auction>; Khaire and Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes," 1284.

<sup>72</sup> Khaire and Wadhvani, "Changing Landscapes," 1281-1304.

<sup>73</sup> Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," 218-219.

## Shifts in Euro-U.S. Museums

According to the meta-narrative of museums, they function as liminal, ritualistic, storied spaces where curators construct grand narratives to expose fundamental objective “T”ruths about the experiences of unique and clearly defined historical time periods, cultures, nations, societies, ethnicities, genders, or any other expression of humanness or identity that can be categorized.<sup>74</sup> These assumptions are problematic. The practices of museology and museography are modern European enterprises formulated in and informed by the pernicious hegemonic Eurocentrism that permeated Enlightenment ventures and ideologies.<sup>75</sup> Museums, conceived and perpetuated as didactic, unbiased, encyclopedic repositories of “A”rt and art objects (understood as the Other of Art), naturalized and legitimized a hierarchy of art superimposed with colonialism.<sup>76</sup> In short, museums are not, and have never been, neutral spaces.<sup>77</sup>

As cultural repositories, museums serve an essential public service, and have the potential to function as sites that actively address and promote social justice for diverse audiences. They represent the largest group of art collectors and are visible market participants. As such, institutional trends tend to influence the behavior of collectors, of the market, and of the public at

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<sup>74</sup> Donald Preziosi, “Epilogue: The Art of Art History,” in *The Art of Art History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 488-500; Donald Preziosi, “Collecting/Museums,” in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson, and Richard Shiff, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 408-417; Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago, “Introduction: Creating Historical Effects,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004), 13-21.

<sup>75</sup> Donald Preziosi, “The Museum of What You Shall Have Been,” in *Making Cairo Medieval*, ed. Nezar Alsayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005): 126-27; Donna Haraway, “Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936,” *Social Text*, no.1 (Winter 1984-1985): 20-64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/466593>; Preziosi, “Epilogue,” 488-500; Preziosi, “Collecting/Museums,” 407-417; Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, eds. Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004), 442-461.

<sup>76</sup> Berlo and Phillips, “Our (Museum) World Turned,” 6-10; Carol Duncan, “Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Stephen D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 88-103; Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” 188-219; Haraway, “Teddy Bear Patriarchy,” 20-64; Hutcheon, “The Post Always Rings Twice,” 205-238; Lonetree, “Museums as Sites of Decolonization,” 322-337; Preziosi and Farago, “Creating Historical Effects,” 13-21; Preziosi, “Collecting/Museums,” 406-417; Preziosi, “Epilogue,” 488-500.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

large. Therefore, when museum curators began to respond to the scholarship in the 1990s, and demonstrate an interest in exhibiting works by alleged subaltern artists, the value of those works increased, and public perception gradually began to change. However, perfectly stated by Drs. Jasbir Puar and Andrew Ross,

Museums are no longer perceived as exceptional cultural institutions devoid of capitalist exploitation, neutral entities servicing only the public good, nor are they exempt from scrutiny of their histories of colonial extraction and complicity with corporate profiteering.<sup>78</sup>

This statement reflects how scholars, activists, and public citizens, collectively recognize that museums are influential bodies that have a responsibility to keep-up with society's updated ethical tenets. Essentially, the museum and the public are partners in a high stakes dialectical relationship characterized by the conflict between ethics and capitalism.

This relationship has been particularly evident since the mid 2000s, when the social media revolution changed the game, and, in response, the museum paradigm shifted. Direct public engagement now informs museum practices more than ever. Social media has provided the public with a platform through which large groups can collectively demand that institutions alter their display practices, buying practices, sources of funding, and mission purposes. In other words, the public has as much defacto agency as any institution has de jure agency.

Public demand for institutions to make concrete restitutions for traditionally marginalized groups and artists has increased as scholars and the public have become more attuned to systemic and intersectional social injustices, the notion of white privilege, the harmful legacy of colonialism, and the utter devastation that normalized Euro-U.S.-centrism and patriarchal hegemonies have left in their wake. Thus far, such restitution comes in the form of institutional

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<sup>78</sup> These sentiments are prevalent in art history and museum studies discourse. Jasbir Puar and Andrew Ross, "Decolonising the Museum," *Aljazeera*, July 21, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/7/21/decolonising-the>.

promises to collect and exhibit works by those marginalized groups, and to return artwork acquired illegally through repatriation efforts.

This is a significant shift considering that many Euro-U.S. art museum collections are built on dubiously acquired collections, and actively maintain a gaping parity chasm re. representation. For example, a 2018 data analysis posted on the National Museum of Women in the Arts Instagram page found that eighteen of the major U.S. art museums feature collections that are 87% male, and 85% white.<sup>79</sup> The same survey also reveals that over 99% of representation in collections of major U.S. art museums is comprised of white men, white women, Asian men, and Latinx men – meaning that women of the global majority are represented in less than 1% of the collections.<sup>80</sup>

Over the past several years, the public has censured many preeminent institutions for unethical practices. In April 2021, the International Imagination of Anti-National Anti-Imperialist Feelings (IIAAF) protested for weeks outside MoMA New York, demanding significant institutional changes. In a letter sent to MoMA’s director, activists wrote,

The MoMA regime is a system of power and wealth that harms people, that uses art as an instrument of accumulation, and that makes empty appeals to what you call “the public good” while covering for billionaires like Leon Black, Larry Fink, and Jerry Speyer, whose names have become synonymous with patriarchal violence, the carceral state, climate destruction, neo-feudal landlordism, and direct support for the NYPD Foundation. Disassemble, dismantle, abolish. All these verbs apply when we are talking about destroying an apparatus of violence so that something else can emerge, something controlled by workers, communities, and artists rather than oligarchs.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> National Museum of Women in the Arts (@womeninthearts), “Happy #WomensEqualityDay!” Instagram photo, August 26, 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B1oFyxpl1GP/>; Chad M. Topaz et al, “Diversity of Artists in Major U.S. Museums,” *PLoS ONE* 14, no.3 (March 2019): 1-15, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0212852>.

<sup>80</sup> National Museum of Women in the Arts (@womeninthearts), “Representation in Collections,” Instagram photo, May 6, 2020, [https://www.instagram.com/p/B\\_2Hsxc1b8T/](https://www.instagram.com/p/B_2Hsxc1b8T/); Chad M. Topaz et al, “Diversity of Artists in Major U.S. Museums,” *PLoS ONE* 14, no.3 (March 2019): 1-15, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0212852>.

<sup>81</sup> Hakim Bishara “In a Letter to MoMA’s Director, Activists Declare Plan to Protest Inside Museum,” *Hyperallergic*, April 21, 2021, [https://hyperallergic.com/640625/in-a-letter-to-momas-director-activists-declare-plan-to-protest-insidemuseum/?utm\\_content=buffer7bbb1&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=facebook&utm\\_campaign=buffer&fbclid=IwAR0JZsg9Cea5eZYUv9duU4qTC240vLrRXIISJaefVehgQCCu4PptZWkDp4s](https://hyperallergic.com/640625/in-a-letter-to-momas-director-activists-declare-plan-to-protest-insidemuseum/?utm_content=buffer7bbb1&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook&utm_campaign=buffer&fbclid=IwAR0JZsg9Cea5eZYUv9duU4qTC240vLrRXIISJaefVehgQCCu4PptZWkDp4s).

In such a climate, it behooves museums to placate an often, and reasonably, irate public.

Public outcry has motivated many institutions to update their commitment to diversity, inclusion, and equitable exhibition and collection practices.<sup>82</sup> For example, MoMA has been criticized for years in regard to the overwhelming homogeneity of their collection, which clearly prioritizes the work white male artists to the tune of over 96% as of 2004.<sup>83</sup> To combat this, MoMA initiated several extensive expansion projects.<sup>84</sup> In 2005, it launched their Women's Project which is supported by the Modern Women's Fund.<sup>85</sup> According scholar Dr. Maura Reilly, the project is part of a series of ongoing initiatives, which includes hosting major solo exhibitions dedicated to women artists.<sup>86</sup> "Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil," held at MoMA in 2018, fell under the aegis of this program. In 2019, MoMA completed its most recent expansion, which coincided with a dramatic increase in the number of women, non-white, and non-Euro-U.S. artists on view.<sup>87</sup> Dr. Reilly, indicates that even now, only 23% of the works on display are by women.<sup>88</sup> Notably, MoMA is just one institution among many that has changed practices in response to public demand.

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<sup>82</sup> The Guerilla Girls have dedicated themselves to challenging institutions for decades. All of their work addresses this subject directly. See: Guerilla Girls (@guerillagirls), "As part of @strikeMoMA, the Guerrilla Girls present some of our projects exposing bad behavior at MoMA, 1985-2021," Instagram photo, April 9, 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CNcybBELLHt/>.

<sup>83</sup> Maura Reilly, "MoMA's Revisionism Is Piecemeal and Problem-Filled: Feminist Art Historian Maura Reilly on the Museum's Rehang," *ARTnews*, October 31, 2019, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/reviews/moma-rehang-art-historian-maura-reilly-13484/>.

<sup>84</sup> Reilly, "MoMA's Revisionism," <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/reviews/moma-rehang-art-historian-maura-reilly-13484/>.

<sup>85</sup> Maura Reilly, "Taking the Measure of Sexism: Facts, Figures, and Fixes," *ARTnews*, May 26, 2015, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/taking-the-measure-of-sexism-facts-figures-and-fixes-4111/>.

<sup>86</sup> Reilly, "Taking the Measure," <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/taking-the-measure-of-sexism-facts-figures-and-fixes-4111/>.

<sup>87</sup> Reilly, "MoMA's Revisionism," <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/reviews/moma-rehang-art-historian-maura-reilly-13484/>.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

Tarsila do Amaral's and Amrita Sher-Gil's recent integration in the Euro-U.S. canon is certainly attributable to these long-overdue institutional shifts. In fact, in February 2019, the MoMA purchase of *The Moon (A Lua)* was motivated by the 2018 exhibition, making it the only painting by the artist owned by a North American museum.<sup>89</sup> Ninety years later, both Amaral and Sher-Gil have been adopted by Euro-U.S. art world for the same reasons they were once excluded: 1) because their integration of Euro-U.S. artistic conventions, explicitly or implicitly, signals Euro-U.S.-centrism as the norm, as a value determinant, and thus as an incentive to maintain established hierarchies, and 2) because their critical narratives that were silenced for decades by Euro-U.S. institutions, now resonate with the audience.

### **Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil Adopted: The Role of Social Media**

Amaral's and Sher-Gil's adoption into the canon is reflected in the art market and in the museum, yet it is most visible in social media. Their increasing social media presence inspired how I approached this thesis. Although both artists were already on my radar, in 2018, I noticed that their paintings were popping up all over my social media accounts. Having graduated CSUS in 2017, Facebook and Instagram became my primary means of exposure to art related content. I was no longer in the classroom, but I was still "in the know." Art news sources, institutions, and art history accounts regularly featured information about both artists. It made me curious. It made me wonder why I saw them on my screen yet was only exposed to their work through my own research for one class in my undergraduate career. How was that possible? Why right now were they suddenly making headlines? It was exciting.

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<sup>89</sup> Alex Greenberger, "15 Surprising Works at the New MoMA, from Early Net Art to a Full-Scale Kitchen," *ARTnews*, October 11, 2019, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/new-moma-surprising-works-13377/>.

Between Facebook and Instagram (posts and stories), Tarsila do Amaral has been featured (at minimum) on the following accounts, @a\_painting\_a\_day, @all.the.lady.artists (3), @artgirlrising, @arthistorywomen (5), @artnet (4), @artnews (2), @artpreciatetheday, @artsy (10), @daily\_paintings (9), @dailyartmagazine (5), @diversityinarthistory, @hyperallergic (12), @judithbenhamouhet (14), @small.lisa (4), @tarsiladoamaraloficial (80), @thegreatwomenartists (5), @themuseumofmodernart (26).<sup>90</sup> On Instagram, these seventeen accounts range in reach from 4,576 followers to 5.5 million followers.<sup>91</sup> Fourteen of the seventeen reach over twenty thousand followers, eight reach more than 234 thousand followers, and three reach over one million followers. What is more, these are not the only accounts that have posted about Tarsila do Amaral. The seventeen accounts represent only 183 posts out of nearly sixty thousand.<sup>92</sup> As of November 10, 2021, the tag #tarsiladoamaral has been used in 58,989 posts. When I checked this number in May 2020, the total number of posts was 44,946. In the last eighteen months alone, Instagram members have used #tarsiladoamaral 14,020 times. Already considerably large, these numbers do not reveal the total number of Amaral related posts because not every Instagram member uses the tag when they make a post or story. This is not the only pool of data either.<sup>93</sup> Although, online news apps are not by definition social media, they do have a similar accessibility and large reach. As such, I consider evidence from the free apple news app equally applicable. The app has featured articles about Amaral from *CBS*, *The New York Times*, and the *New Yorker*, all giants in the news industry. Social media alone has helped make Tarsila do Amaral a recognizable name.

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<sup>90</sup> Data last updated November 10, 2021.

<sup>91</sup> Data last updated November 10, 2021.

<sup>92</sup> Nearly 60 thousand posts represent the total number of #tarsiladoamaral tags used since Instagram began, not since 2018.

<sup>93</sup> I have not researched Twitter.

Much the same can be said for Amrita Sher-Gil. On Instagram, there are 6,452 posts that use #amritashergil. Data gathered from twenty-four Facebook and Instagram accounts reveals that there have been 120 posts and stories that use the tag #amritashergil between 2018 and 2021: @artnet (3), @artpreciatetheday (4), @artprojectdxb (7), @browngirlcurator (2), @christiesinc, @daily\_artofficial (8), @daily\_paintings (13), @dailyartmagazine (7), @dailyartuk (3), @diversityinarthistory (2), @investinherart (2), @jennifer\_higge (2), @mara\_ernst19 (4), @margmagazine, @mutualart (3), @ngma\_delhi (26), @nytimes, @queermodernisms (2), @radicalwomenshistory, @saffronartindia (15), @sartle.arthistory (2), @sothebys (3), @thamesandhudson, @thegreatwomenartists (8). These accounts range in reach from 4,576 followers to 13.8 million followers.<sup>94</sup> Seventeen reach over twenty thousand followers, six reach more than 234 thousand, three reach over one million, and @nytimes reaches nearly fourteen million followers. Sher-Gil has also appeared in articles on the apple news app from *CNN* and *The New York Times*. *The New York Times* article published June 20, 2018, is entitled “Overlooked No More: Amrita Sher-Gil, a Pioneer of Indian Art.” “Overlooked” is a subsection of the *New York Times* obituaries and is a form of reparation. The article begins with this statement, “Since 1851, obituaries in The New York Times have been dominated by white men. With Overlooked, we’re adding the stories of remarkable people.” Five months later *Little Girl in Blue* sold at a Sotheby’s auction for \$2.67 million (USD) and *Artnet* dubbed her “India’s Frida Kahlo.”

It has been three years since this trend began and I still get a thrill when I see their work featured on a story or feed. I get a thrill because each time they appear on my screen I know that thousands, potentially millions, of people are seeing their work. Social media makes their work

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<sup>94</sup> Data last updated November 10, 2021.

accessible. For a few seconds, it puts them on view, in peoples' hands, from anywhere in the world. It is significant that the folx who run these accounts are aware of Amaral and Sher-Gil and have decided that their work is worthy of sharing and discussing. Most importantly, social media allows for the diversification of knowledge production, and its use represents a conscious divestment from Euro-U.S.-centric hierarchical and colonial praxis, a divorce from the canon.<sup>95</sup>

### **Disrupting the Narrative**

This all seems very encouraging! But there is a particular stone that has yet to be unturned. For the past thirty years, scholars, curators, collectors, and the public have been understandably busy advocating for and celebrating the legitimization of marginalized artists, and dismantling the Euro-U.S. art historical canon in favor of an expanded global canon. It is a natural and seductive impulse to accept this fixation on an expanded canon as evidence that the art world has stripped off all vestiges of Euro-U.S.-centric epistemology and the enduring legacy of colonial ideology. This impulse is a dangerous one that evokes the classic wolf in sheep's clothing metaphor.

I cannot help but notice that many of the newly canonized artists have been canonized because they engage with Euro-U.S. artistic practices. Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil were initially recognized in Euro-U.S. scholarship, by Euro-U.S. institutions, precisely because they had ties to the Euro-U.S. art world. Both Amaral and Sher-Gil were trained in Paris, and both were celebrated for their synthesis of Euro-U.S. and Brazilian or Indian artistic conventions. In other words, even their inclusion in an allegedly expanded canon is dependent upon the fact that they developed an aesthetic language that engaged with Euro-U.S. conventions and was accessible to the artistic sensibilities of a Euro-U.S. audience.

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<sup>95</sup> Social media also then functions a new contact-zone – a reimagined museum space.

Moreover, artists like Amaral and Sher-Gil were never considered subaltern in Brazil or India, respectively. It is within the Euro-U.S. art world that these artists have been relative unknowns. Therefore, the types of institutional shifts investigated here are not really shifts as much as they are a re-branding exercise. What do I mean by that? When auction houses promise to sell work and museums promise to hold a special exhibition, or display, or acquire work by these once subaltern artists, they can refute the purpose of the expanded canon by re-centering Euro-U.S. priorities in the narrative.

This was absolutely the case in “Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil.” It is telling that catalog opens with the following statement

The Art Institute of Chicago and the Museum of Modern Art, New York, are proud to present the work of Tarsila do Amaral, which has been included in only a handful of group exhibitions on Latin American and Brazilian art and has never been the sole subject of an exhibition in North America.<sup>96</sup>

The text goes on to say, “although this artist’s work is of foundational importance to contemporary Brazil, it’s almost complete invisibility to North Americans has made organizing this project a serious challenge.”<sup>97</sup> This narrative unequivocally represents Amaral as subaltern artist who has, due to the heroic efforts of the institution, been brought into the canonical fold. The immense cultural value of her work is not the subject of these statements. Instead, the narrative situates the Euro-U.S. institution back at the center of the canon, as the preeminent arbiter of taste and cultural heritage. Arguably, this was not the curator’s goal, far from it. However, language has meaning; epistemology has meaning; the exhibiting and publishing institution itself has meaning. In this instance, the inherent Euro-U.S.-centrism that factors into

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<sup>96</sup> Stephanie D’Alessandro and Luis Pérez Oramas, *Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil* (Chicago, Illinois: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2017), 11.

<sup>97</sup> D’Alessandro and Pérez Oramas, *Tarsila do Amaral*, 13.

the normative language, epistemology, and institutional praxis coalesced into an unfortunate circumstance wherein the authors present the institution as an embodiment of white saviorism.

What is more, in October 2017, the *Chicago Sun Times* released an article headlined “Discovering a Unique Brazilian Modernist at Art Institute Exhibit.”<sup>98</sup> The author does not make it clear whether they refer to the institution or its visitors as the primary actor in that statement. Either way, ninety years later this headline smacks of the colonial legacy Amaral fought so hard to dismantle. Someone could easily pass this off as a poorly phrased title, or as a single writer’s error in judgement. But this colonial attitude is so deeply ingrained that many people do not recognize it when it inevitably rears its head. This is in part because from a Euro-U.S. perspective, it is tempting to imagine that the legacy of colonialism was erased once these artists were allowed to join the canonical club. But what we have to remember is that one of the reasons that Tarsila do Amaral’s work, and Amrita Sher-Gil’s work is available to celebrate as “a new discovery” in the Euro-U.S. art world, is because of the colonial ideology and practices that have been perpetuated by these institutions for so long. If it were not for the enduring legacy of colonial ideology and Euro-U.S. hegemony, their works would already be in preeminent Euro-U.S. institutions, and their names would have been recognizable for generations.

It is perhaps necessary to reiterate that colonialization has not ended. We do not live in a post-colonial society. The U.S. specifically operates in an ongoing colonial present, which in and of itself means that colonial thinking cannot be “gone.” Moreover, the canon is an intellectual tool of colonization. Over time it has mutated into a neocolonial system that neoliberal institutions have normalized and perpetuated in all facets of society. This is why there is a

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<sup>98</sup> Hedy Weiss, “Discovering a Unique Brazilian Modernist at Art Institute Exhibit,” *Chicago Sun Times*, October 25, 2017, NewsBank database.

collective demand to decolonize scholarship, the museum, and the art market in the first place. This is why female artists, especially Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil as female artists of the global majority (both of whom were born in countries that bear colonial legacies) are only now being canonized. Yet their canonical adoption hinges on the fact that they are perceived as “anomalous”, and that they are palatable to a Euro-U.S. audience. Even this designation as anomalous and the value placed on that characteristic has deep roots in Euro-U.S.-centric art historical thinking that traces back to the formation of the discipline.

Furthermore, the Euro-U.S. art historical canon (expanded, or not)—the art world itself—is not broken, it was built this way.<sup>99</sup> To extend the construction metaphor, the expanded canon is merely a new addition to a condemned structure with a rotten foundation. The addition only makes the condemned structure larger, not safer. The structure remains defective. What Dr. Arlene Dávila writes about Latinx art, applies to the entire effort to expand the Euro-U.S. canon, “the globalization of Latin American art markets has neither transformed dominant epistemologies in the field of art, nor accepted Indigenous artists or racial minorities as equals, nor led to a more open and democratic art world.”<sup>100</sup> In fact, the recent canonical adoption of artists like Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil, highlights the active colonial legacy of the Euro-U.S. canon.

As noted, for decades scholars have proclaimed the necessity of decolonization. They recognize the violence and name the inherent limitations of the decolonial proposal. Finbarr Barry Flood states,

Instead of occluding the entangled histories of colonialism, capitalism, and the canon, it is essential to explore the ways in which these imbrications are manifest in the practices

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<sup>99</sup> Nelson, “The Map of Art History,” 37.

<sup>100</sup> Dávila, *Latinx Art*, 11.

of collecting and representation through which the field was constituted, and the contentions that currently shape it.<sup>101</sup>

James D. Herbert suggests that we “abandon the fantasy of escape,” and asks,

What if rather than collapsing hopelessly back into colonialism at the end of our argument, we concede from the start that scholarly discourse necessarily and productively operates from a base within the colonial? The ironic turn of postcolonialism then occurs inside the ideological space of the colonial. It thereby opens up the complexities and ambiguities of that ideology; it recognizes a multivocality that allows for the possibility of resistance and disruption from within—both in the past and in the present.<sup>102</sup>

I have employed these approaches and argue that they must be used when considering why and when “new” artists are adopted by the Euro-U.S. canon. By exposing, acknowledging, and grappling with the limitations of the discipline, we can see how complex and ambiguous the process of canonical adoption is.

So, why have Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil been adopted into the Euro-U.S. canon now? Over the last few years, public interest in social justice issues has particularly captivated global audiences. In a widespread attempt to advocate for social change, the global public actively insists that the intersections of marginalization and social justice in visual culture are kept at the fore of social, political, and academic discourse. Among the most vociferous in this group are art historians and scholars who have taken great pains to harness the power of the art community to inspire shifts in institutional practices. As such, the work of alleged subaltern artists, Tarsila do Amaral and Amrita Sher-Gil among them, increasingly captivated both institutional and public attention precisely because their narratives resolutely situate within that intersectional space. Analysis of how shifts in Euro-U.S. institutions have shaped Amrita Sher-Gil’s and Tarsila do Amaral’s relationships to the Euro-U.S. canon, has revealed that today, both

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<sup>101</sup> Finbarr B. Flood, “From the Prophet to Postmodernism?” in *Making Art History*, ed. Elizabeth C. Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2007), 45.

<sup>102</sup> Herbert, “Passing between Art History,” 219; Flood, “From the Prophet to Postmodernism?” 46.

are recognized as a canonical-artists for precisely the same reasons they were excluded for 90 years: their censorious agendas and their cosmopolitan artistic practices. Moreover, their shifting relationships within the Euro-U.S. art world reflects the intrinsic hypocrisy of the canon, even an expanded one.

## Figures



Figure 1. Amrita Sher-Gil, *The Little Girl in Blue*, 1934, oil on canvas



Figure 2. Tarsila do Amaral, *A Negra*, 1923, oil on canvas  
Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo



Figure 3. Tarsila do Amaral, *Morro da Favela*, 1924, oil on canvas  
Hecilda and Sérgio Fadel Collection, Rio de Janeiro



Figure 4. Tarsila do Amaral, *Abaporu*, 1928, oil on canvas  
Colección MALBA, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires



Figure 5. Tarsila do Amaral, *The Moon (A Lua)*, 1928, oil on canvas  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York



Figure 6. Tarsila do Amaral, *A Caipirinha*, 1923, oil on canvas

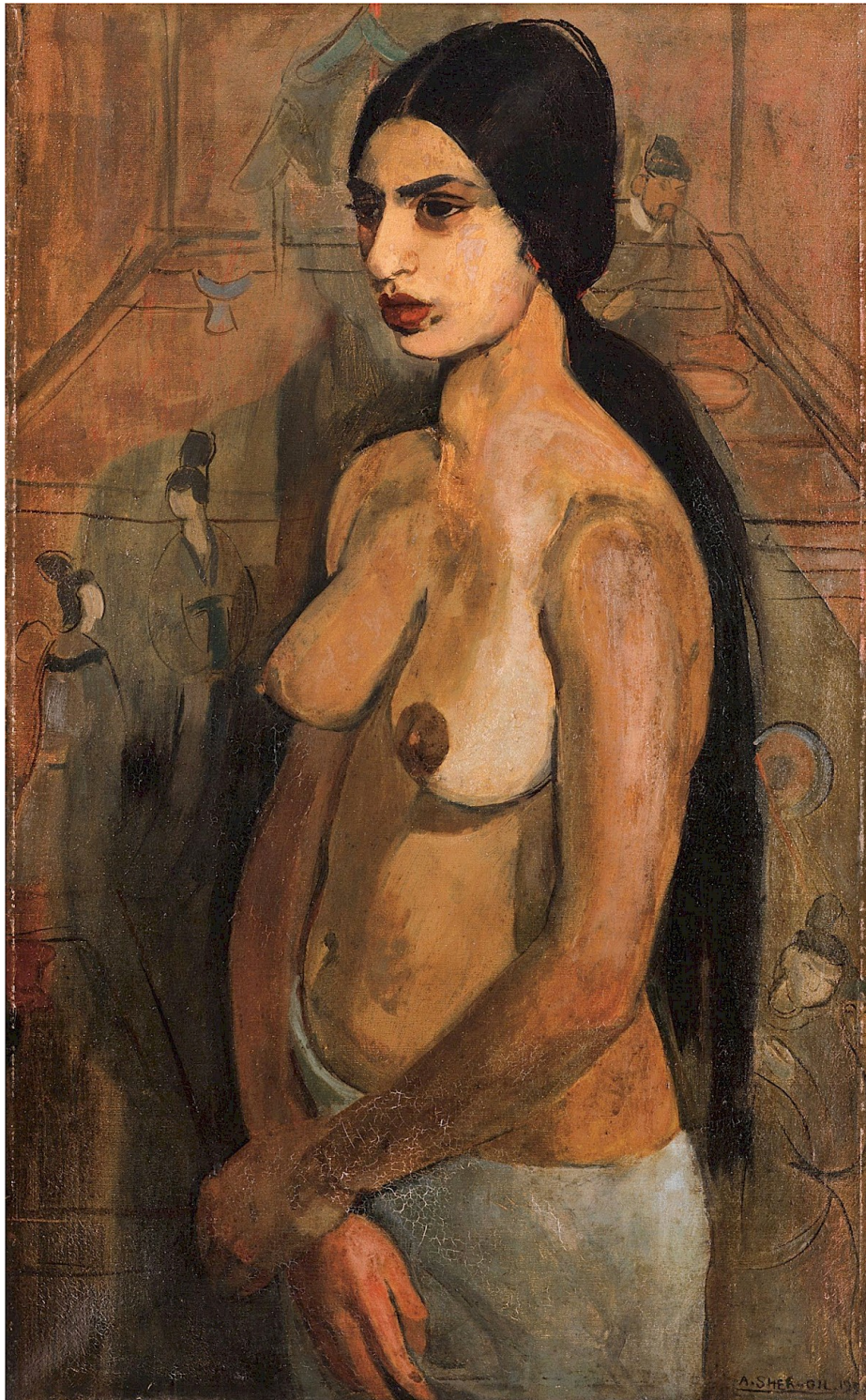


Figure 7. Amrita Sher-Gil, *Self-Portrait as Tahitian*, 1934, oil on canvas  
Collection of Navina and Vivan Sundaram

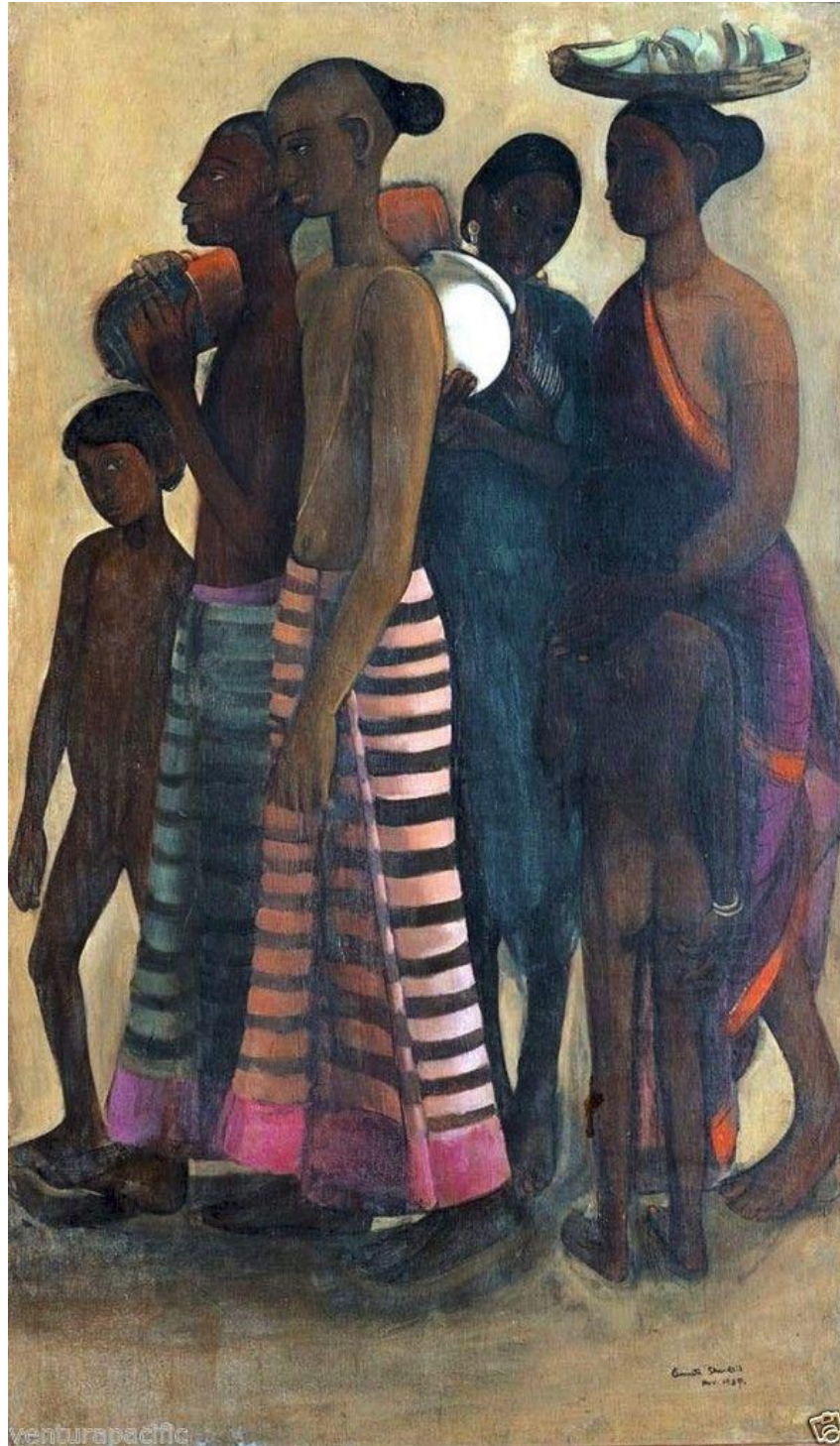


Figure 8. Amrita Sher-Gil, *South Indian Villagers Going to Market*, 1937, oil on canvas  
Collection of Navina and Vivan Sundaram.



Figure 9. Amrita Sher-Gil, *Woman on a Charpoy*, 1940, oil on canvas  
NGMA, New Delhi, India

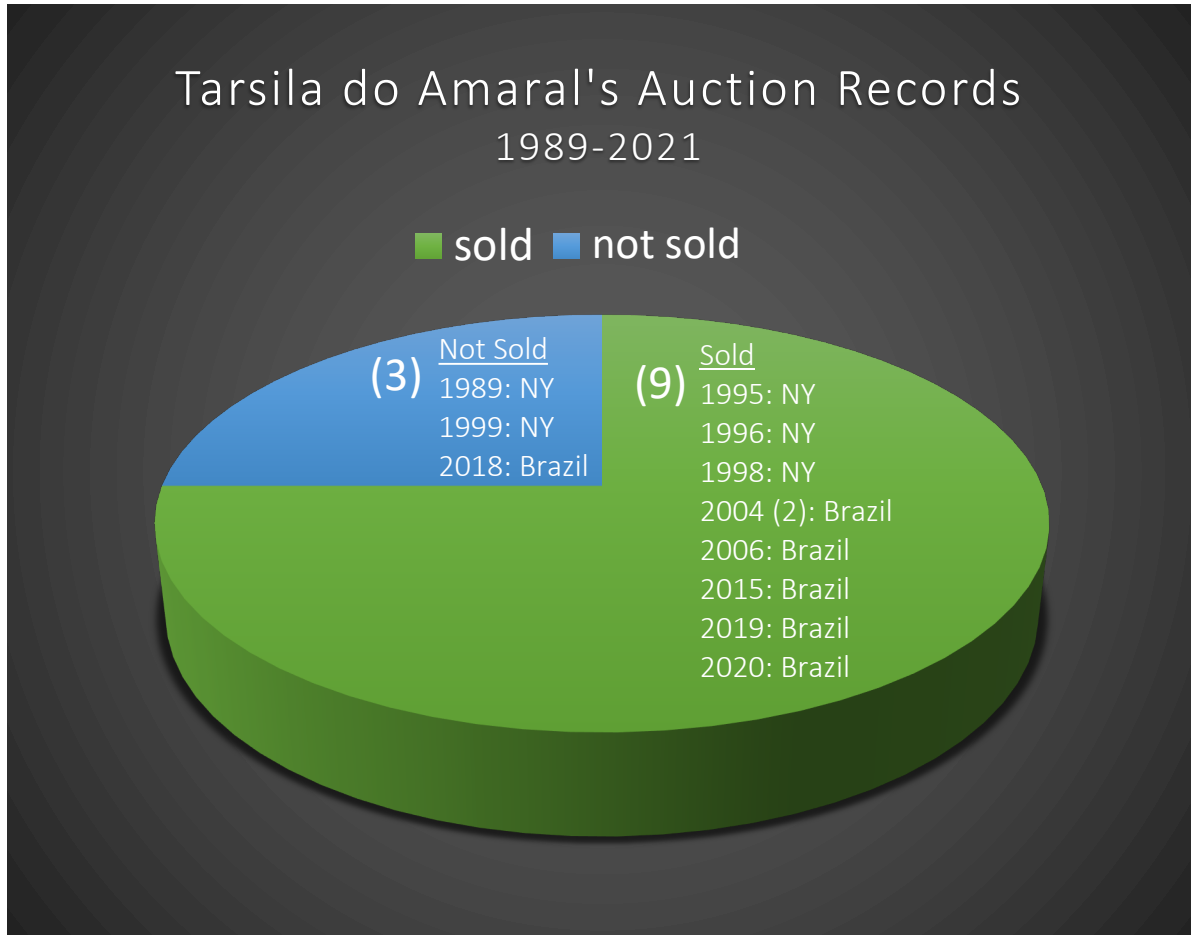


Figure 10. Amrita Sher-Gil, *In the Ladies' Enclosure*, 1938, oil on canvas

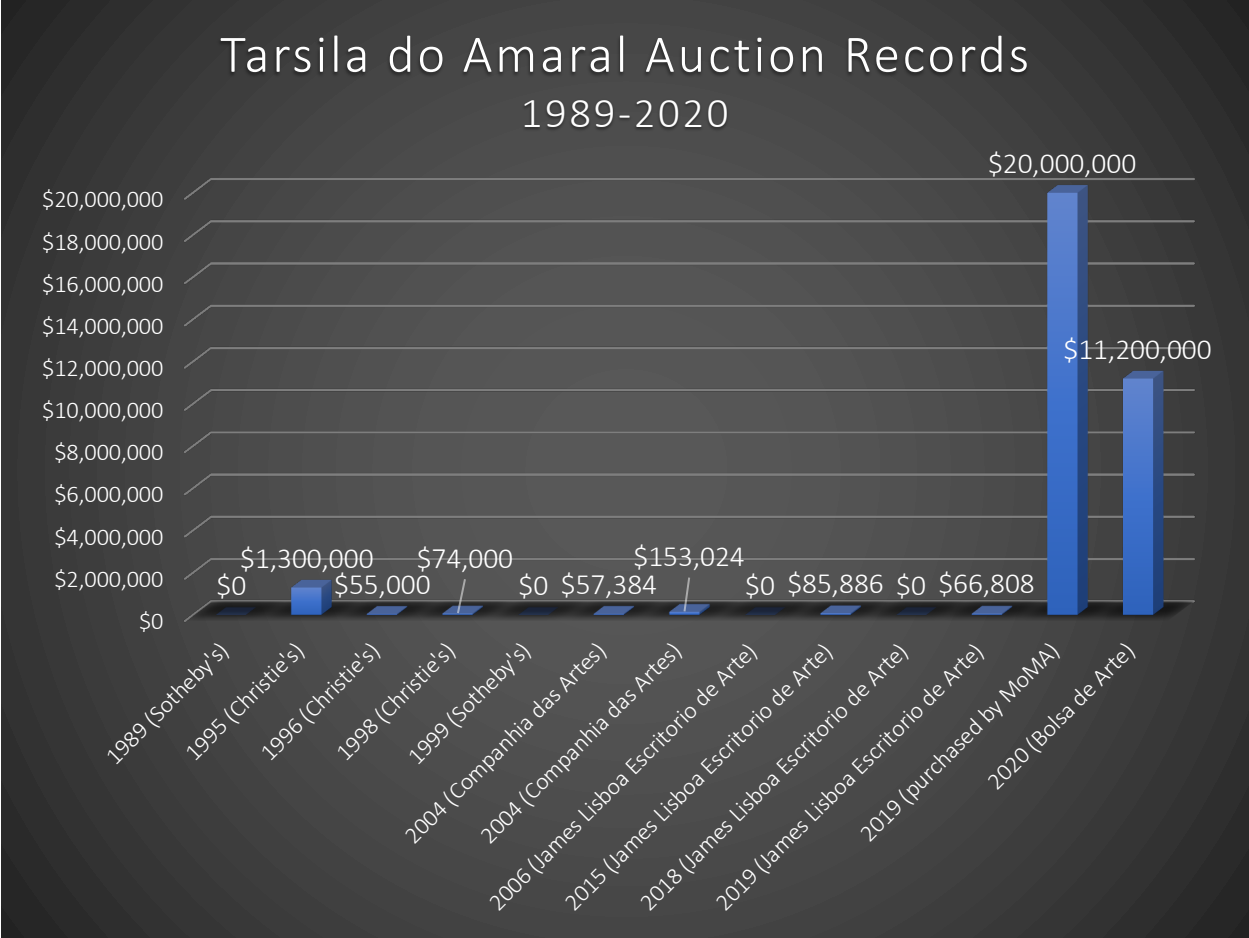


Figure 11. Amrita Sher-Gil, *Untitled Self-Portrait*, 1933, oil on canvas

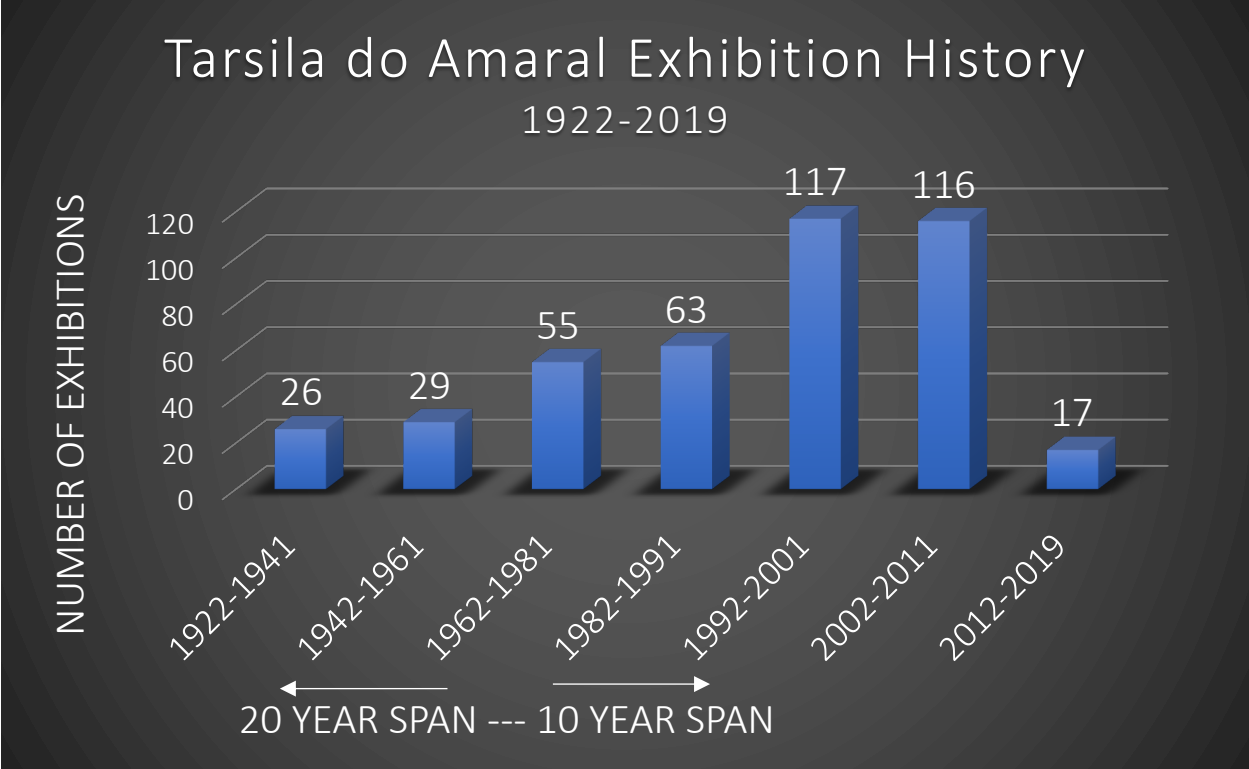
## Graphs and Records



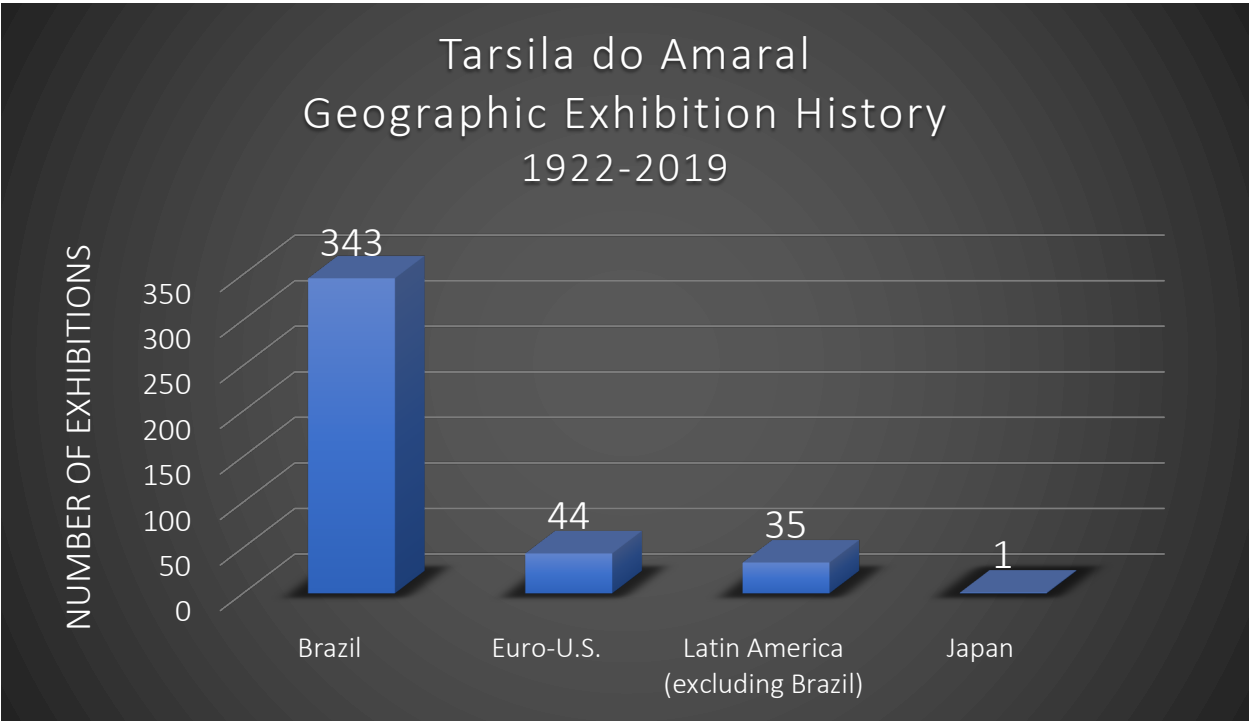
Graph 1. Tarsila do Amaral, Auction Records: Number of Works Sold, and Where, 1989-2020. This graph features data, compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson, from MutualArt and Artprice.com online auction databases.



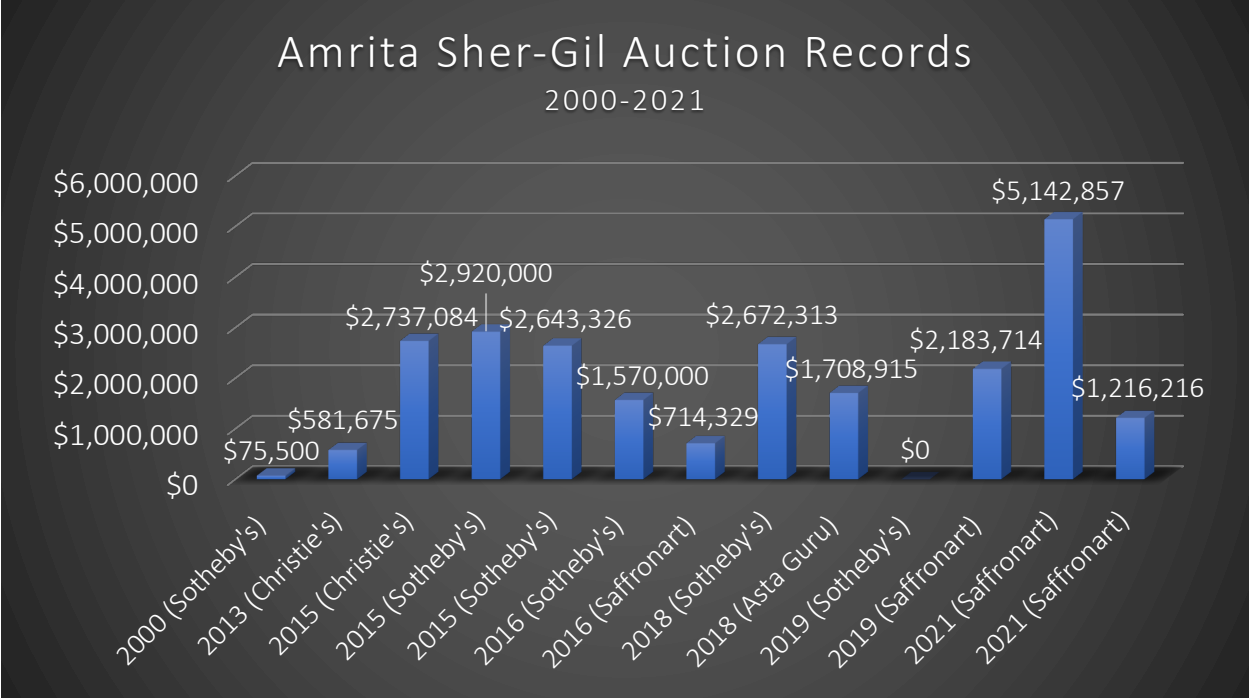
Graph 2. Tarsila do Amaral, Auction Records: Prices, 1989-2020. This graph features data, compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson, from artprice.com, online auction databases, and online news sources.



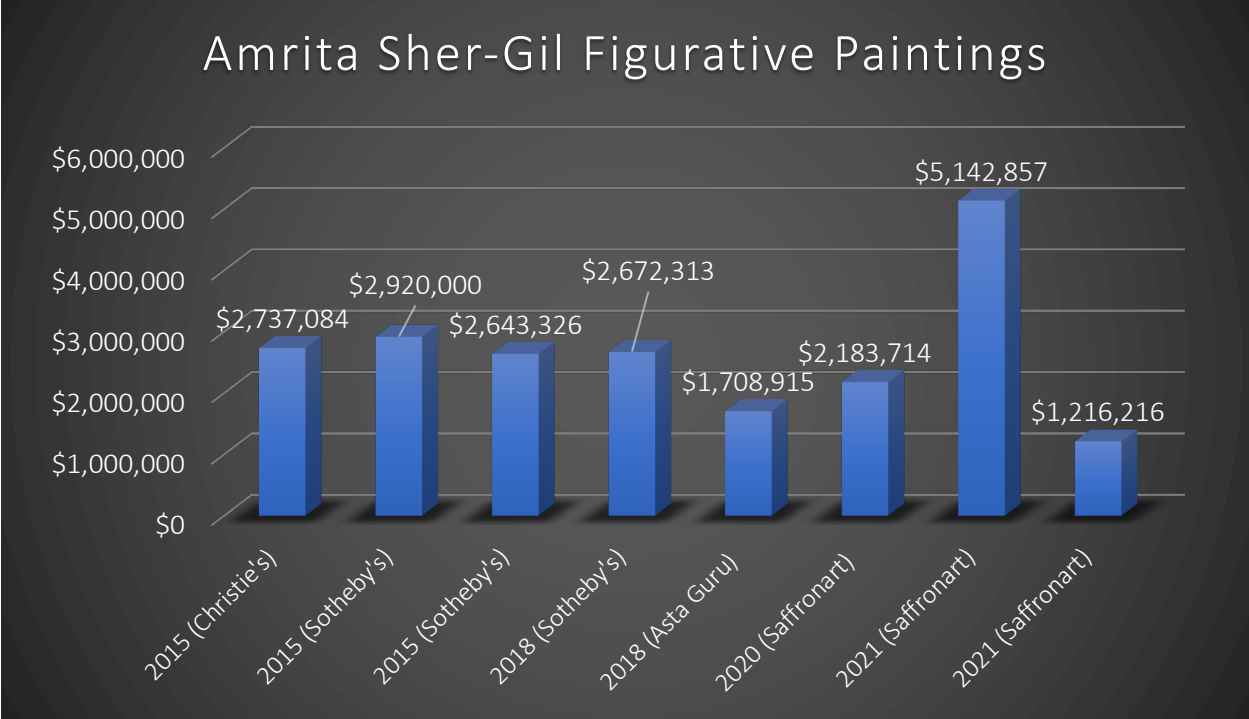
Graph 3. Tarsila do Amaral, Exhibition History: Number of Exhibitions, 1922-2019. This graph features data compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson.



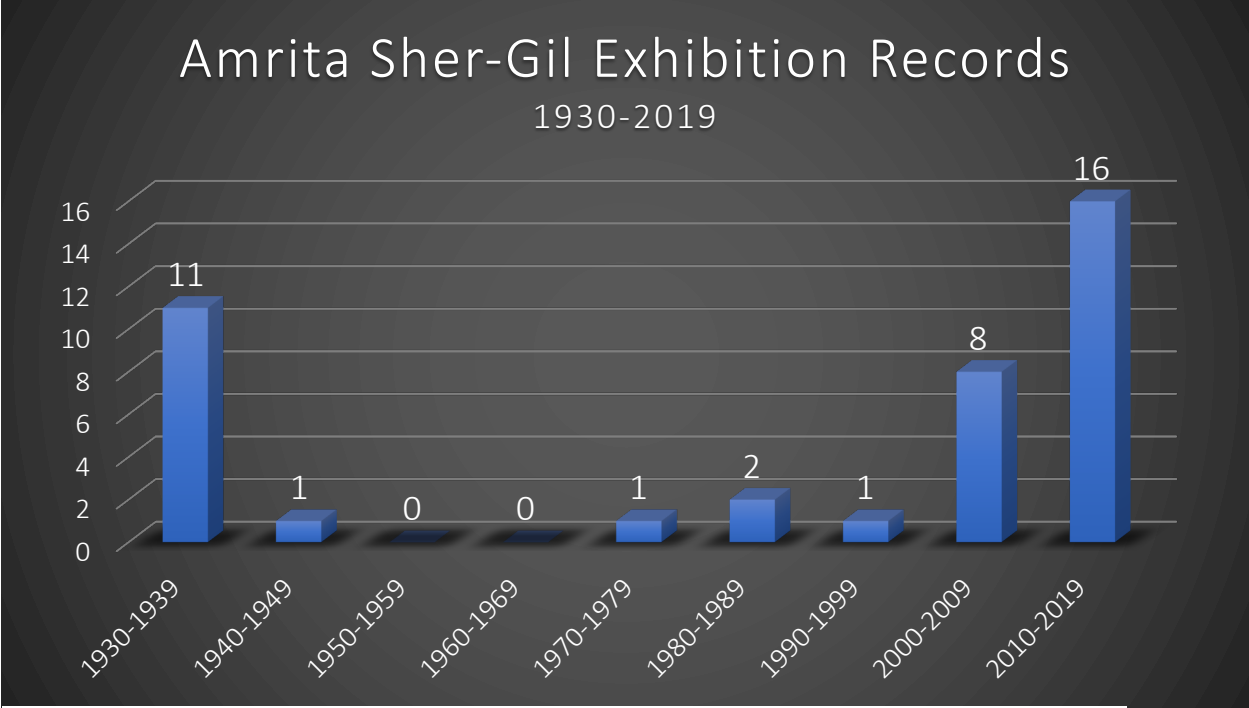
Graph 4. Tarsila do Amaral, Geographic Exhibition History, 1922-2019. This graph features data compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson.



Graph 5. Amrita Sher-Gil, Auction Records: Prices, 2000-2021. This graph features data, compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson, from mutualart.com, artprice.com, online auction databases, and online news sources.



Graph 6. Amrita Sher-Gil, Figurative Paintings Sold at Auction: Prices, 2015-2021. This graph features data compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson.



Graph 7. Amrita Sher-Gil, Exhibition History: Number of Exhibitions, 1930-2019. This graph features data compiled by Amanda Shaw-Johnson.

**Auction Records (selected)**

**Tarsila do Amaral Auction Records, 1989-2020 (selected)**



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Lagoa Santa*, 1925  
Oil on canvas  
19 5/8 x 25 5/8 in

Sotheby's, New York  
*LATIN AMERICAN ART*  
May 16, 1989  
Hammer price: Lot not sold  
Estimate: \$300,000 - \$ 350,000  
Lot number 30

Source: artprice.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Abaporu*, 1928  
Oil on canvas  
33 1/2 x 28 3/4 in

Christie's, New York  
*IMPORTANT LATIN AMERICAN  
PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS AND  
SCULPTURE AND THE CROWN OF  
THE ANDES*  
November 20, 1995  
Hammer price: \$1,300,000  
Estimate: Not listed  
Lot number 40

Source: artprice.com and christies.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Tres desnudos*, 1923  
Oil on canvas  
18 1/8 x 10 1/4 in

Christie's, New York  
*IMPORTANT LATIN AMERICAN  
PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS AND  
SCULPTURE - PRE-COLONIAL AND  
COLONIAL WORKS OF ART*  
November 26, 1996  
Hammer price: \$55,000  
Estimate: \$60,000 - \$ 80,000  
Lot number 3

Source: artprice.com and christies.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Paisagem*, 1971  
Oil on panel  
28 1/6 x 23 in

Christie's, New York  
*THE LATIN AMERICAN SALE:  
IMPORTANT PAINTINGS,  
DRAWINGS AND SCULPTURE*  
November 25, 1998  
Realized Price: \$74,000  
Estimate: \$70,000 - \$ 90,000  
Lot number 120

Source: artprice.com and christies.com



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Tarsila do Amaral  
*Sem Titulo*, 1970  
Mixed media (oil on artist's palette with  
photocollage)  
15 3/8 x 11 3/8 in

Sotheby's, New York  
*LATIN AMERICAN ART*  
June 4, 1999  
Hammer price: Lot not sold  
Estimate: \$40,000 - \$ 50,000  
Lot number 117

Source: artprice.com and christies.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Vista de Paris, Rue du Louvre*, 1920  
Oil on canvas  
10 5/8 x 8 3/4 in

Companhia das Artes, São Paulo  
May 26, 2004  
Hammer price: \$57,384  
Estimate: \$57,384 - \$ 76,512  
Lot number 108

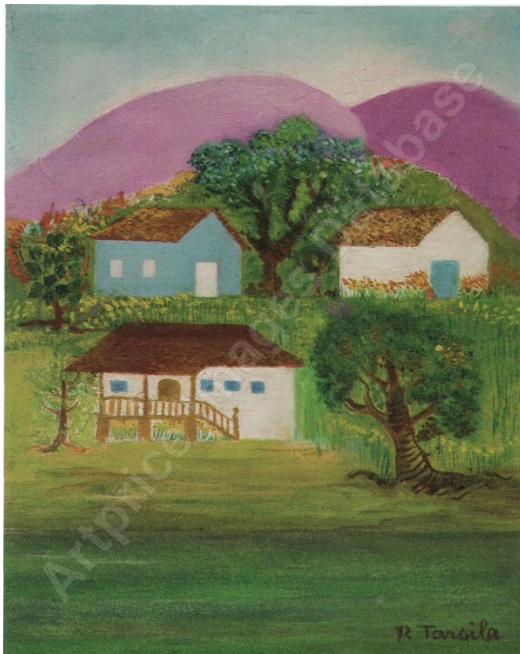
Source: artprice.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Vaso de flores*, 1950  
Oil on canvas  
23 7/8 x 17 7/8 in

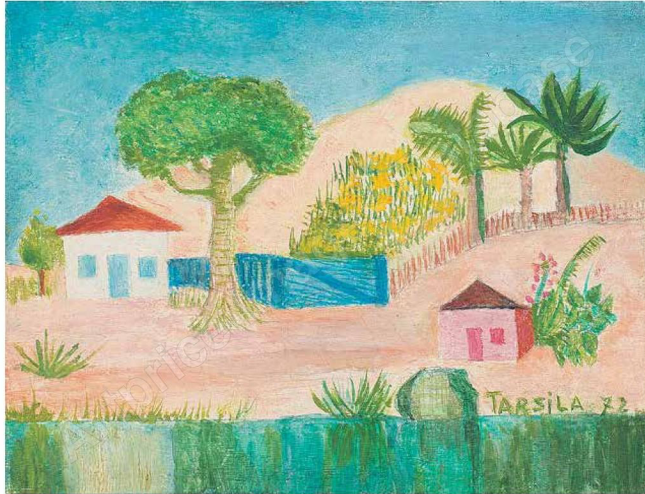
Companhia das Artes, São Paulo  
May 26, 2004  
Hammer price: \$153,024  
Estimate: \$172,152 - \$ 229,536  
Lot number 107

Source: artprice.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Paisagem com 3 casas e montanhas roxas*, 1969-1972  
Oil on wood  
9 7/8 x 7 1/2 in

James Lisboa Escritorio de Arte, São Paulo  
*LEILAO DE ARTE*  
November 21, 2006  
Hammer price: Not listed  
Estimate: Not listed  
Lot number 100



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Paisagem X*  
Oil on canvas  
4 3/4 x 6 1/3 in

Bolsa De Arte, Rio de Janeiro  
*ARTE MODERNA E  
CONTEMPORÂNEA*  
April 14, 2015  
Hammer price: \$85,886  
Estimate: \$64,819 - \$ 81,024  
Lot number 55

Source: artprice.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Natureza Morta, 1918*  
Oil on canvas  
23 1/4 x 19 1/4 in

James Lisboa Escritorio de  
Arte, São Paulo  
*LEILAO DE ARTE*  
June 11, 2018  
Hammer price: Lot not sold  
Estimate: \$108,244  
Lot number 129

Source: artprice.com and  
leilaodearte.com



Tarsila do Amaral  
*Rua de Segóvia (Espanha)*, 1921  
Oil on canvas  
11 3/4 x 10 1/4 in

James Lisboa Escritorio de Arte, São Paulo  
*LEILÃO DE ARTE*  
August 19, 2019  
Hammer price: \$66,808  
Estimate: \$74,231  
Lot number 82

Source: [artprice.com](http://artprice.com) and  
[leilaodearte.com](http://leilaodearte.com)



Tarsila do Amaral  
*A Caipirinha*, 1923  
Oil on canvas  
23 2/3 x 31 5/6 in

Bolsa de Arte, São Paulo  
December 17, 2020  
Hammer price: approx. \$11,  
200,000  
Estimate: approx. \$9,250,000

Source: [bolsedearte.com](http://bolsedearte.com) and  
[ARTnews.com](http://ARTnews.com)

**Amrita Sher-Gil Auction Records, 2000-2021 (selected)**



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Landscape, View from Majitha House*  
Oil on canvas  
8 ¾ by 13 in

Sotheby's, New York  
*INDIAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART*  
September 22, 2000  
Realized Price: \$75,500  
Estimate: \$40,000 - 60,000  
Lot 194

Source: mutualart.com and  
sothebys.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (Hungarian Village Church), 1932*  
Oil on canvas  
31 ⅝ x 22 ⅜ in

Christie's Mumbai  
*SOUTH ASIAN ART*  
December 19, 2013  
Realized Price: \$581,675  
Estimate: \$481,718 – 642,291  
Lot 60

Source: mutualart.com and sothebys.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (Self Portrait)*, 1933  
Oil on canvas  
18 by 13 in

Sotheby's, New York  
*MODERN & CONTEMPORARY SOUTH  
ASIAN ART*  
March 18, 2015  
Realized Price: \$2,920,000 USD  
Estimate: \$1,200,000 - 1,800,000 USD  
Lot 1336

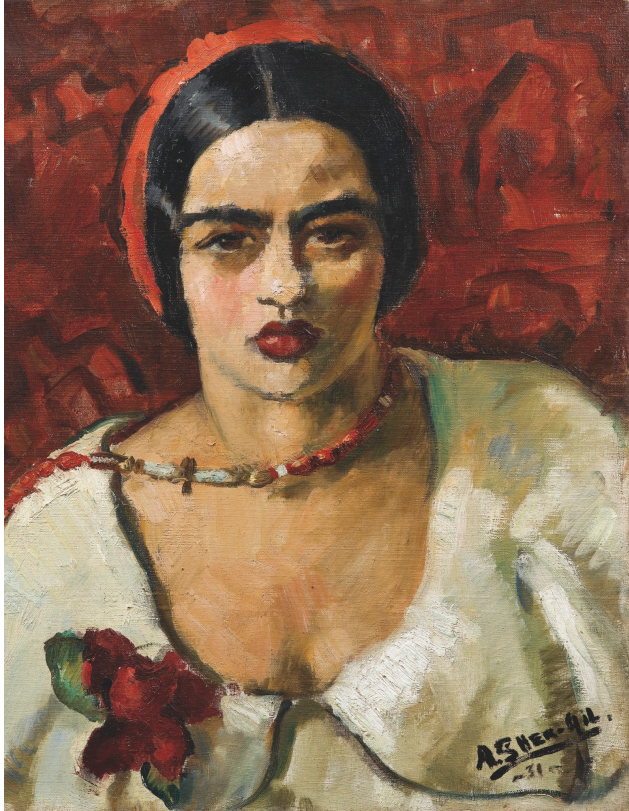
Source: mutualart.com and sothebys.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (Self Portrait)*, 1931  
Oil on canvas  
25  $\frac{5}{8}$  x 21  $\frac{1}{4}$  in

Christie's, London  
*SOUTH ASIAN MODERN +  
CONTEMPORARY ART*  
June 10, 2015  
Realized Price: \$2,737,084  
Estimate: \$1,552,956 – 2,795,320  
Lot 11

Source: mutualart.com and  
christies.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (Self Portrait)*, 1931  
Oil on canvas  
21<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in

Sotheby's, London  
*MODERN & CONTEMPORARY  
SOUTH ASIAN ART*  
October 6, 2015  
Realized Price: \$2,643,326  
Estimate: \$2,283,849 – 3,045,132  
Lot 18

Source: mutualart.com and  
sothebys.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (In the Garden)*, 1938  
Oil on canvas  
29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 23<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in

Sotheby's, New York  
*MODERN & CONTEMPORARY  
SOUTH ASIAN ART*  
March 15, 2016  
Realized Price: \$1,570,000  
Estimate: \$1,800,000 - 3,000,000  
Lot 514

Source: mutualart.com and  
sothebys.com



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Untitled (Zebegeny Landscape)*, 1931  
Oil on board  
24 x 16 in

Saffronart, Mumbai  
*SUMMER ONLINE AUCTION*  
June 8 – June 9, 2016  
Realized Price: \$714,329  
Estimate: \$595,274- 793,699  
Lot 29

Source: [mutualart.com](http://mutualart.com) and [saffronart.com](http://saffronart.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*The Little Girl in Blue*, 1934  
Oil on canvas  
18 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 15 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in

Sotheby's, Mumbai  
*BOUNDLESS INDIA*  
November 29, 2018  
Realized Price: \$2,672,313  
Estimate: \$1,215,500 - 1,787,500  
Lot 12

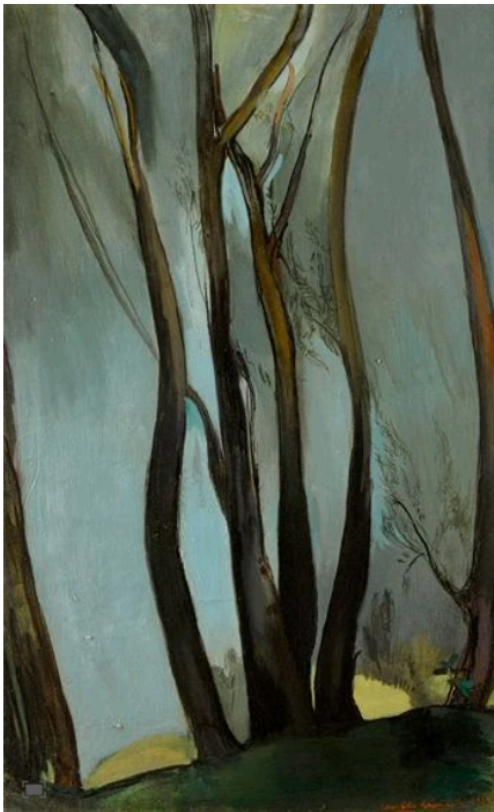
Source: [mutualart.com](http://mutualart.com) and [sothebys.com](http://sothebys.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Self Portrait with Long Hair 2*, 1934  
Oil on canvas  
18 x 14 in

Asta Guru Auction House, Mumbai  
*MODERN INDIAN ART*  
December 21 - 22, 2018  
Realized Price: \$1,708,915  
Estimate: \$1,426,304 – 2,139,456  
Lot 40

Source: [mutualart.com](http://mutualart.com) and [astaguru.com](http://astaguru.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*The Little Girl in Blue*, 1934  
Oil on canvas  
24 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 15 in

Sotheby's, London  
*MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY  
SOUTH ASIAN ART*  
June 10, 2019  
Realized Price: Lot not sold  
Estimate: \$634,438 – 888,213  
Lot 12

Source: [mutualart.com](http://mutualart.com) and [sothebys.com](http://sothebys.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Boys with Lemons*, 1935  
Oil on board  
36 x 22 in

Saffronart, Mumbai  
*SPRING LIVE AUCTION*  
March 5, 2020  
Realized Price: \$2,183,714  
Estimate: \$1,671,209 – 2,506,814  
Lot 9

Source: [mutualart.com](http://mutualart.com) and  
[saffronart.com](http://saffronart.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*In the Ladies' Enclosure*, 1938  
Oil on canvas  
21.5 x 31.5 in

Saffronart, Mumbai  
*SUMMER LIVE AUCTION*  
July 13, 2021  
Realized Price: \$5,142,857  
Estimate: \$4,081,635 – 5,442,180  
Lot 13

Source: [saffronart.com](http://saffronart.com)



Amrita Sher-Gil  
*Portrait of Mother*, ca. 1930s  
Oil on canvas  
25.25 x 18.25 in

Saffronart, Mumbai  
*MODERN INDIAN ART*  
OCTOBER 13, 2021  
Realized Price: \$1,216,216  
Estimate: \$1,351,355 – 2,027,030  
Lot 21

Source: [saffronart.com](http://saffronart.com)

## Exhibition Records (selected)

### Tarsila do Amaral Exhibition Records, 1922-2019 (selected)

- 1922 - *1st Exposição Geral de Belas Artes, Palácio das Indústrias*, São Paulo, Brazil  
1922 - Salon Officiel des Artistes Français, Paris, France
- 1923 - *Exhibition of Brazilian Artists*, Maison de l'Amérique Latine, Paris, France
- 1926 - *Individual*, Galerie Percier, Paris, France  
1926 - Salon des Indépendants, Paris, France
- 1928 - *Individual*, Galerie Percier Paris, France  
1928 - Salon des Indépendants, Paris, France
- 1929 - *Primeira individual no Brasil, Palace Hotel*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1929 - Salon des Surindépendants, Paris, France  
1929 - *Tarsila, São Paulo*, Prédio Glória, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1930 - *Exposição de uma Casa Modernista*, São Paulo, Brazil  
1930 - *Exposition de l'École de Paris*, Venice, Italy; Cambridge, England; Recife, Brazil; São Paulo, Brazil; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1930 - The First Representative Collection of Paintings by Brazilian Artists at Internacional Art Center, Nicholas Roerich Museum, New York, United States
- 1931 - *Exposição na Primeira Casa Modernista do Rio de Janeiro*, Rua Toneleros, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1931 - *Individual*, Museum of Western Art, Moscow, Russia  
1931 - Salon des Surindépendants, Paris, France  
1931 - *Salão Revolucionário*, Enba, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1933 - *1st Exposição de Arte Moderna da SPAM*, Palacete Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil  
1933 - *Tarsila do Amaral: retrospectiva*, Palace Hotel, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1934 - *1st Salão Paulista de Belas Artes*, Rua 11 de Agosto, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1936 - *Individual*, the Palácio das Arcadas, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1937 - *1st Salão de Maio*, Esplanada Hotel, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1938 - *2nd Salão de Maio*, Esplanada Hotel, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1939 - *3rd Salão de Maio*, Itá Gallery, São Paulo, Brazil  
1939 - *Latin American Exhibition of Plastic Arts*, Riverside Museum, New York, United States
- 1941 - *1st Salão de Arte da Feira Nacional de Indústrias*, Parque da Água Branca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1944 - *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, England; Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich, England  
1944 - *Exposição de Arte Moderna*, Mariana, Belo Horizonte, Brazil  
1944 - *Exposição de Pintura Moderna Brasileiro-Norte-Americana*, Galleria Prestes Maia, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1944 - *Pintores Norte-Americanos e Brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1945 - *20 Brazilian Artists*, the Salones Nacionales de Exposición, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, La Plata, Argentina; Comisión Municipal de Cultura, Montevideo, Uruguay; Salones Nacionales de Exposición, the Universidad de Santiago, Santiago, Chile

- 1945 - *Exhibition of Modern Brazilian Paintings*, Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, England; Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery, Bristol, England; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland; Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow, Scotland; Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester, England
- 1945 - *Galeria Domus: Mostra Inaugural*, Galeria Domus, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1946 - *Exposición de Pintura Contemporánea Brasileña*, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile; Universidad de Chile, Valparaíso, Chile
- 1946 - *Pintura contemporânea: quadros do acervo do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, Sociedade Cultural Artística, Santos, Brazil
- 1947 - *1st Exposição circulante de Belas Artes*, Departamento Estadual de Informações, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1947 - *Galeria Domus: mostra inaugural*, Galeria Domus, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1948 - *Exposição de artes plásticas de pintoras e escultoras de São Paulo*, II Congresso Brasileiro de Ginecologia e Obstetrícia, Saguão do Teatro Municipal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1950 - *Exposição inaugural do Museu de Arte Moderna de Resende*, Grupo Olavo Bilac, Resende, Brazil
- 1950 - *Tarsila 1918-1950*, Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM SP), São Paulo, Brazil
- 1951 - *1st Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, Pavilhão do Trianon, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1952 - *Exposição comemorativa da Semana de Arte Moderna de 1922*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1952 - *Exposição de artistas brasileiros*, Museu de Arte Moderna in Rio de Janeiro (MAM RJ), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1952 - *Exposición de Pintura, Dibujos y Grabados Contemporáneos del Brasil*, the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile
- 1953 - *2nd Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, Pavilhão dos Estados, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1954 - *Arte contemporânea: exposição do acervo do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1955 - *4th Salão Paulista de Arte Moderna*, Galeria Prestes Maia, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1955 - *The 1955 Pittsburgh International Exhibition of Contemporary Painting*, Department of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, United States
- 1956 - *50 Anos de paisagem brasileira*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1956 - *Exposição do retrato modern*, Palácio das Indústrias, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1957 - *Arte Moderna en Brasil: Esculturas, Pinturas, Dibujos, Grabados*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Museo de Arte de Lima, Lima, Peru; Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes Juan B. Castagnino, Rosario, Argentina; Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, Santiago, Chile
- 1959 - *30 Anos de arte brasileira*, Galeria Macunaíma, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1960 - *Contribuição da mulher às artes plásticas do país*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1961 - *Pinturas, desenhos e gravuras do MAM SP*, Saguão do Teatro Nacional, Brasília, Brazil
- 1961 - *Tarsila do Amaral*, Casa do Artista Plástico, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1962 - *40th Aniversário da Semana de Arte Moderna*, Petite Galerie, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1962 - *Seleção de obras de arte brasileira da Coleção Ernesto Wolf*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1963 - *7th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo*, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1963 - *Pintura e Escultura Contemporâneas*, Museu Carlos Gomes, Campinas, Brazil
- 1964 - *O Nu na Arte Contemporânea*, Galeria Ibeu Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1964 - *XXXII Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte della Città di Venezia*, Venice, Italy

- 1965 - *2nd Exposição circulante de obras do acervo do MAC USP: meio século de arte nova*, Belo Horizonte City Hall Art Museum, Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Departamento de Cultura do Estado, Curitiba, Brazil; Museu de Arte do Rio Grande do Sul Ado Malagoli (MARGS), Porto Alegre, Brazil; Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo (MAC USP), São Paulo, Brazil
- 1965 - *Figuras da modernidade*, Seta Galeria de Arte, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1966 - *Art of Latin America Since Independence*, at The University of Texas at Austin, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, Austin, United States; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, United States; Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans, United States; La Jolla Museum of Art, San Diego, United States; San Francisco Art Museum, San Francisco, United States
- 1966 - *Auto-retratos*, Galeria de Arte do Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1966 - *Exposição Circulante de Obras do Acervo do MAC/USP*, Museu de Arte da Prefeitura de Belo Horizonte, Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Rio Grande do Sul Museum of Art, Curitiba, Brazil
- 1966 - *Meio Século de Arte Nova*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1967 - *Precursors of Modernism in Latin America*, Inter American Art Center, New York, United States
- 1967 - *Tarsila*, Tema Galeria de Arte, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1968 - *Coleção Tamagni*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1969 - *Tarsila: 50 anos de pintura*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1970 - *8th Resumo de Arte Journal do Brazil*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1970 - *Desenhos de Tarsila (de 1919 aos anos 50)*, Belo Horizonte City Hall Art Museum, Belo Horizonte, Brazil
- 1970 - *Galeria Astréia: Mostra Inagural*, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1971- *11th Bienal de São Paulo*, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1972 - *2nd Exposição Internacional de Gravura do NUGRASP*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1972 - *A semana de 22: antecedentes e conse- quências*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand (MASP), São Paulo, Brazil
- 1972 - *Arte / Brazil / Hoje: 50 Anos Depois*, Collectio Gallery, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1972 - *Mouvement Moderniste au Brésil*, Ambassade du Brésil, Paris, France
- 1973 - *12th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo, Homenagem a Tarsila do Amaral*, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1973 - *A figura feminina como tema*, Galeria de Arte IBEU, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1973 - *Image du Brésil*, Manhattan Center, Brussels, Belgium
- 1973 - *Mouvement Moderniste au Brésil*, Brazil Embassy, Paris, France
- 1974 - *14 Artistas do Brasil moderno. Galeria Angelis do Teatro da Paz, Belém, Brazil; Palácio das Artes, Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília, Brazil; Pinacoteca do Estado do Amazonas, Manaus, Brazil; Sala de Exposições da Biblioteca Pública Câmara Cascudo, Natal, Brazil; Sobrado Grande da Maddena, Recife, Brazil; MAM RJ; Foyer do Teatro Castro Alves, Salvador, Brazil; Museu Histórico e Artístico do Maranhão, São Luís, Brazil*
- 1974 - *Individual*, Galeria Raquel Arnaud Babenco and Mônica Filgueiras de Almeida, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1974 - *Mostra da gravura brasileira*, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1974 - *Tarsila Década fe 20:30 Desenhos de Tarsila do Amaral*, Gabinete de Arte Arnaud Babe de Mônica Filgueiras de Almedia, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1974 - *Tempo dos Modernistas*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1975 - *13th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo*, Fundação Bienal São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1975 - *O Modernismo de 1917 a 1930*, Lasar Segall Museum, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1975 - *O Tema é mulher*, Azulão Gallery, São Paulo, 1975.

- 1975 - *Spam e CAM: Sociedade Paulista de Arte Moderna e Clube dos Artistas Modernos*, Lasar Segall Museum  
São Paulo, Brazil
- 1976 - *Arte brasileira no século XX: caminhos e tendências*, Galeria Arte Global, São Paulo, Brazil  
1976 - *Brasil artistas do século XX*, Artcurial / Center d'Art Plastique Contemporain, Paris, France
- 1976 - *De Anita ao Museu: Homenagem a Paulo Mendes de Almeida*, Galeria Vernissage, São Paulo, Brazil  
1976 - *Os Salões: Da Família Artística Paulista, de Maio e do Dindicato dos Artistas Plásticos de São Paulo*,  
Museu Lasar Segall, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1977 - *Tarsila do Amaral: Desenhos e Estudos*, Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1978 - *2<sup>nd</sup> Salão Nacional de antiguidades e galerias de arte*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1978 - *A Paisagem na Coleção da Pinacoteca: do século XIX aos anos 40*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil  
1978 - *Tarsila do Amaral: Desenhos e Estudos*, Galeria da Escola Guinard, Belo Horizonte, Brazil
- 1979 - *15th Bienal de São Paulo*, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil  
1979 - *Aquarela no Brasil*, Palácio das Artes, Belo Horizonte, Brazil  
1979 - *Desenhos dos anos 40: homenagem a Sérgio Milliet*, Biblioteca Municipal Mário de Andrade, São Paulo,  
Brazil
- 1980 - *20 Pintores Brasileños*, Academia Chilean de Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile  
1980 - *A Paisagem brasileira: 1650-1976*, Paço das Artes, São Paulo, Brazil  
1980 - *Homenagem a Mário Pedrosa*, Galeria Jean Boghici, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1980 - *Tarsila do Amaral*, Galeria Paulo Prado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1981 - *Do moderno ao contemporâneo: Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1981 - *Coleção biblioteca de Arte: desenhos, aquarelas e guaches*, Casa das Retortas, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1982 - *5th Salão de Artes Plásticas da Noroeste*, Fundação Educacional de Penápolis, Faculdade de Filosofia,  
Ciências e Letras de Penápolis, Penápolis, Brazil  
1982 - *Acervo do MAC USP*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1982 - *Brasil 60 Anos de Arte Moderna: Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Center de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo  
Perdigão, Lisbon, Portugal  
1982 - *Do Modernismo à Bienal*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1982 - *Do Moderno ao Contemporâneo: Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Center de Arte Moderna José de  
Azeredo Perdigão, Lisbon, Portugal  
1982 - *Portraits of a Country: Brazilian Modern art from the Gilberto Chateaubriand Collection*, Barbican Art  
Gallery, London, England
- 1983 - *Arte na Associação Paulista de Medicina*, Associação Paulista de Medicina, São Paulo, Brazil  
1983 - *Auto-retratos brasileiros*, Galeria de Arte Banerj, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1983 - *Coleção Tamagni*, Fundação Cultural de Curitiba, Curitiba, Brazil  
1983 - *Do Modernismo aos anos 40*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1983 - *MAC: uma seleção do acervo na Cidade Universitária*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1983 - *Pintura em Brasil del 600 al Modernismo*, Museo de Bellas Artes, Caracas, Venezuela  
1983 - *Retratos de Mário de Andrade*, Funarte, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1984 - *Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand: retrato e auto-retrato da arte brasileira*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1984 - *Grandes obras: acervo de Pietro Maria Bardi*, São Paulo, Studio José Duarte de Aguiar, São Paulo, Brazil  
1984 - *Obras maestras de los museos del mundo*, Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes, Mexico City, Mexico  
1984 - *Salão Nacional de Artes Plásticas - Salão de 31*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
1984 - *Tradição e ruptura: síntese de arte e cultura brasileiras*, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1985 - *100 Obras Itaú*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil  
1985 - *Desenhos de Tarsila do Amaral*, Galeria Acervo de Arte, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- 1985 - *Do Modernismo aos anos 40 - desenhos*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1985 - *Individual*, Municipal Department of Culture, Department of Public Libraries, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1985 - *Retrato do Colecionador na Sua Coleção*, Galeria de Arte Banerj, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1985 - *Rio: vertente surrealista*, Galeria de Arte Banerj, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil; Guido Viaro Museum, Curitiba, Brazil; MARGS, Brazil
- 1985 - *Síntese da arte brasileira no acervo: 1920- 1980*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1985 - *Uma Seleção do acervo: do cubismo ao abstracionismo*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1986 - *A Paisagem no acervo do MAM*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1986 - *Caminhos do desenho brasileiro*, MARGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- 1986 - *O Trabalhador como tema*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1986 - *Pintura panamericana entre 1915 y 1945*, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Caracas, Caracas, Venezuela
- 1986 - *Presencia de Siglos: Arte Latinoamericano*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 1986 - *Projeto arte brasileira: modernismo*, Funarte, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1986 - *Tarsila 1886-1986*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *19th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo. Imaginários singulares*, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Ao Colecionador: homenagem a Gilberto Chateaubriand*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1987 - *Arte brasileira*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Art of The Fantastic Latin-America: 1920-1987*, at the Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, United States; The Queens Museum, New York, United States
- 1987 - *As Bienais no acervo do MAC: 1951 a 1985*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Coleção Tamagni*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Obras para Museu: Coleção Maria Anna e Raul Souza Dantas Forbes*, Galeria de Arte São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *O Ofício da arte: pintura*, Sesc, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Modernidade: art brésilien du 20ème siècle*, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville in Paris, Paris, France
- 1987 - *Tarsila: desenhos de 1922 a 1952*, Studio José Duarte de Aguiar e Ricardo Camargo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1987 - *Tendências da arte do século XX: destaques da coleção*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1988 - *Art of The Fantastic Latin-America: 1920-1987*, Centro Cultural / Arte Contemporáneo, Mexico City, Mexico; Center for the Fine Arts, Miami, United States
- 1988 - *MAC 25 anos: destaques da coleção inicial*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1988 - *Modernidade: arte brasileira do século XX*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1989 - *Arte brasileira no acervo do MAC*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1989 - *Arte en Iberoamérica: 1820-1980*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, Spain
- 1989 - *Art in Latin America*, Hayward Gallery, London, England; The South Bank Centre, London, England
- 1989 - *Olhar do Artista Haroldo de Campos: uma escolha*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1989 - *Seis Décadas de arte moderna brasileira: Coleção Roberto Marinho*, Centro de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo Perdigão, Lisbon, Portugal
- 1989 - *Visão da Borda do Campo*, Marusan Galeria de Arte, São Bernardo do Campo, Brazil
- 1990 - *4 Décadas do acervo*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1990 - *A Coleção de arte do Município de São Paulo*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1990 - *Comemoração dos 60 anos da Associação Paulista de Medicina*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1990 - *Olhar do Artista: Christiane Torloni*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1990 - *Oswald de Andrade: Trajetória de um Olhar*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1991 - *Arte brasileira*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1991 - *Coleção Beatriz e Mário Pimenta Camargo*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Portugal
- 1991 - *Confrontos*, Casa das Rosas, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1991 - *Olhar do Artista: Arcangelo Ianelli*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1991 - *Viva Brasil Viva*, Kulturhuset, Konstavdelningen och Liljevalchs Konsthall, Stockholm, Sweden

- 1992 - *70 Anos da Semana de Arte Moderna: obras e Artistas de 1922*, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da Universidade de São Paulo (IEBU SP), São Paulo, Brazil
- 1992 - *A Caminho de Niterói: Coleção João Sattamini*, Paço Imperial, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1992 - *A Formação do Olhar Modernista*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1992 - *Art d'Amérique Latine: 1911-1968*, Centre George Pompidou, Paris, France
- 1992 - *Arte Moderna Brasileira: Acervo do Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo*, Casa da Cultura de Poços de Caldas, Poços de Caldas, Brazil
- 1992 - *Artistas latinoamericanos del siglo XX*, Estación Plaza de Armas, Seville, Spain
- 1992 - *Bienal Nacional de Santos, Semana de Arte Moderna 1922-1992*, Centro de Cultura Patrícia Galvão, Santos, Brazil
- 1992 - *Bilderwelt Brasilien: Die europäische Erkundung eines "irdischen Paradieses" und die Kunst der brasilianischen Moderne*, Kunsthhaus, Zurich, Switzerland
- 1992 - *Modos da moda: 1890-1990*, Senac/Sesc, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1992 - *Natureza: Quatro Séculos de Arte no Brasil*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1992 - *O Olhar de Sergio Sobre a Arte Brasileira: Desenhos e Pinturas*, Biblioteca Municipal Mário de Andrade, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1992 - *Voces de Ultramar: Arte en América Latina y Canarias, 1910-1960*, Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; Casa de América, Madrid, Spain
- 1993 - *A Arte brasileira no mundo: uma trajetória, 24 artistas brasileiros*, Dan Galeria, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Arte moderna: vanguarda, derivações e refluxos segundo o acervo do MAC*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Brasil, 100 Anos de arte moderna, Coleção Sérgio Fadel*, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1993 - *Coleção Mário de Andrade: o modernismo em 50 obras sobre papel*, Casa da Cultura de Poços de Caldas, Poços de Caldas, Brazil
- 1993 - *Emblemas do corpo: o nu na arte moderna brasileira*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1993 - *Homenagem a Pola Rezende*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Latin American Artists of the Twentieth Century*, Kunsthalle Cologne, Cologne, Germany; MoMA, New York, United States
- 1993 - *Mário faz 100 anos, 100 Obras-primas da Coleção Mário de Andrade, Pintura e escultura*, IEBU SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *O desenho moderno no Brasil: Coleção de Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *O Modernismo no MAB: pintura (Acervo MAB)*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *O Modernismo no Museu de Arte Brasileira: pintura*, Museu de Arte Brasileira Fundação Armando Álvares Penteado (MAB FAAP), São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Obras do acervo MAM SP*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Semper Tarsila*, Rua Guararapes, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Tarsila: azul e rosa e verde para sempre*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1993 - *Ultramodern: The Art of Contemporary Brazil*, The National Museum for Women in the Arts, Washington D.C., United States
- 1994 - *A Aventura modernista: Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand no acervo do MAM/RJ*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo; MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1994 - *Acervo do MAB*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *Arte moderna brasileira: uma seleção da Coleção Roberto Marinho*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *Bienal Brasil século XX*, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *Contraponto à Maria Leontina: Coleção Tamagni*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *Coleção Unibanco: exposição comemorativa dos 70 anos do Unibanco*, Casa de Cultura, Poços de Caldas, Brazil
- 1994 - *Das Vanguardas européias e modernismo brasileiro à visualidade contemporânea: acervo MAC*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *O desenho moderno no Brasil: Coleção de Gilberto Chateaubriand*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1994 - *Retratos de artistas famosos*, Espaço Roberto Camasmie, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1994 - *Trincheiras: arte e política no Brasil*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- 1995 - *A Herança Africana*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1995 - *Coleções de Brasília*, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília, Brazil
- 1995 - *Coleção Unibanco: exposição comemorativa dos 70 anos do Unibanco*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1995 - *Edições culturais Odebrecht*, Teatro Nacional Cláudio Santoro, Brasília, Brazil
- 1995 - *Exposição do Acervo Artístico-Cultural dos Palácios do Governo do Estado de São Paulo no Mube*, Museu Brasileiro da Escultura, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1995 - *Exposição inaugural da Sala Cândido Portinari: acervo*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1995 - *Latin American Women Artists, 1915- 1995*, The Denver Art Museum and Museo de las Americas, Denver, United States; Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, United States; Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, United States; The National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington D.C., United States, 1996.
- 1995 - *Ler para ver: o livro de arte para crianças*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1995 - *Modernismo Paris anos 20: vivências e convivências*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1995 - *Modernistas, modernismo: acervo do Museu de Arte Brasileira da Fundação Armando Álvares Penteado*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palácio Itamaraty, Brasília, Brazil
- 1996 - *Anita Malfatti e o acervo do MAM*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *Arte brasileira: 50 anos de história no acervo MAC/USP: 1920-1970*, at MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *Aspectos da paisagem brasileira na Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, Brazil
- 1996 - *Destaques do século XX no acervo MAC*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *Ex Libris / Home Page*, Paço das Artes, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *Exposição na Casa de Cultura: Luiz Antônio Martinez Correia*, Fundação de Arte e Cultura do Município de Araraquara, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *Figura e paisagem no acervo do MAM: homenagem a Volpi*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1996 - *La Colección Costantini*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 1996 - *Mulheres artistas no acervo do MAC*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *Apropriações antropofágicas*, Instituto Cultural Itaú, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *Coleção Unibanco: exposição comemorativa do centenário de Belo Horizonte*, Instituto Moreira Salles Belo Horizonte, Brazil
- 1997 - *Instantes no mundo: Monet e o modernismo no Brasil*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1997 - *Mário de Andrade e o grupo modernista*, Centro Cultural e de Estudos Aúthos Paganos, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *Modernistas, modernismo: acervo do Museu de Arte Brasileira da FAAP*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *O Desenho modernista no Brasil*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1997 - *O Museu visita a Galeria, Galeria de Arte-UBM*, Centro Universitário de Barra Mansa, Barra Mansa, Brazil
- 1997 - *Saudades da minha terra: homenagem a Blaise Cendrars*, IEBU SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *Tarsila anos 20*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1997 - *Tarsila do Amaral, Frida Kahlo, Amelia Peláez*, Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación “la Caixa,” Madrid, Spain; Centre Cultural de la Fundación “la Caixa,” Barcelona, Spain
- 1998 - *24th International Biennial of São Paulo, special gallery devoted to Tarsila do Amaral, Biennial Theme: Antropofagia e histórias de canibalismos (Anthropophagy and Histories of Cannibalism)*, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *A Coleção Costantini*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *Brasil: anos 20 a 90*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *Brasileiro que nem eu, que nem quem?* Ministry of Foreign Relations, Brasília, Brazil
- 1998 - *Coleção MAM Bahia: pinturas*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *Destaques da Coleção Unibanco*, Instituto Moreira Salles, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *Imagens negociadas: retratos da elite brasileira*, Centro Cultural Bancodo Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 1998 - *O Colecionador*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1998 - *O moderno e o contemporâneo na arte brasileira: Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, MAM RJ, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *2nd Bienal de Artes Visuais do Mercosul*, Fundação Bienal de Artes Visuais do Mercosul, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- 1999 - *80 Anos de arte no Brasil*, MAM SP, São Paulo,

- 1999 - *A Figura feminina no acervo do MAB*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Brasileiro que nem eu, que nem quem?*, FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Claves del arte latinoamericano: Colección Costantini*, Centre Cultural de la Fundació “la Caixa”, Barcelona, Spain; Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundació “la Caixa”, Madrid, Spain
- 1999 - *Ciranda de formas: bichos, jogos, brinquedos e brincadeiras*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Cotidiano/arte, o consumo*, Instituto Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Jovem curador*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Kunst-Welten im Dialog: von Gauguin zur globalen Gegenwart*, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany
- 1999 - *Mostra Rio Gravura: Acervo Banerj*, Museu do Ingá, Niterói, Brazil
- 1999 - *O Brasil no século da arte*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo, Brazil; MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Obras sobre papel: do modernismo à abstração*, Dan Galeria, São Paulo, Brazil
- 1999 - *Panorama del arte del Brasil en el siglo XX: Colección Gilberto Chateaubriand*, MAM RJ, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 1999 - *Picasso, cubismo e América Latina*, MARGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- 1999 - *Sobre papel, grafite e nanquim*, Banco Cidade, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *A Figura humana na Coleção Itaú*, Instituto Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Brasil 1920-1950: de la antropofagia a Brasilia*, Centro Julio González, Instituto Valenciano de Arte Moderno, Valencia, Spain
- 2000 - *Brazil + 500 Mostra do Redescobrimento*, Arte Moderna, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Brasil-brasis: cousas notáveis e espantosas, olhares modernistas*, Museu do Chiado, Lisbon, Portugal
- 2000 - *Brasil Europa: encontros no século XX*, Conjunto Cultural da Caixa, Brasilia, Brazil
- 2000 - *Brasil: psicanálise e modernism*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Brasil Sobre Papel: matizes e vivências*, Unid Arts Space, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Freud: conflito e cultura*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *F[r]icciones. Versiones del Sur*, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid,
- 2000 - *Gabinete de papel: século XX — primeiras décadas*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *O Modernismo na pintura brasileira: acervo Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro*, MARGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- 2000 - *Quando o Brasil era moderno: artes plásticas no Rio de Janeiro de 1905 a 1960*, Paço Imperial, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2000 - *São Paulo: de vila à metrópole*, Galeria Prestes Maia, São Paulo, Brazil; MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Século 20: arte do Brasil*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Centro de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo Perdigão, Lisbon, Portugal
- 2000 - *Um Certo ponto de vista: Pietro Maria Bardi 100 anos*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2000 - *Território comum, miradas diversas: artistas latinoamericanos en el siglo XX*, Espacios Unión, Caracas, Venezuela
- 2001 - *30 mestres da pintura no Brasil*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2001 - *Arte en América Latina*, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 2001 - *Brazil: Body and Soul*, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, United States
- 2001 - *Coleções do moderno: Hecilda e Sergio Fadel na Chácara do Céu*, Museu da Chácara do Céu, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2001 - *Exposição permanente: a coleção*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2001 - *Heroes and Artists: Popular Art and the Brazilian Imagination*, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England
- 2001 - *Mostra do redescobrimento, Maranhão*, Convento das Mêrces, São Luís, Brazil
- 2001 - *Museu de Arte Brasileira: 40 anos*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2001 - *Surrealismo*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2001 - *Trajectoria da luz na arte brasileira*, Instituto Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *22 e a Idéia do moderno*, MAC SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Arte brasileira na Coleção Fadel: da inquietação do moderno à autonomia da linguagem*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro; Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, São Paulo, Brazil; Centro Cultural Banco de Brasil, Brasilia, Brazil, 2003

- 2002 - *Arquipélagos: o universo plural do MAM*, MAM / RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2002 - *Blaise Cendrars, Fernand Léger, Tarsila do Amaral*, Musée national Fernand Léger, Biot, France
- 2002 - *Brasil 1920-1950: da Antropofagia a Brasília*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Brazilian Art on Paper: 19th and 20th centuries*, Solar do Jambuí, Niterói, Brazil
- 2002 - *El final del eclipse: el arte de América Latina en la transición al siglo XXI*, Museo de Arte Moderno de la Ciudad de México, Mexico City, Mexico
- 2002 - *Espelho selvagem: arte moderna no Brasil da primeira metade do século XX: Coleção Nemirovsky*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Identities: the Brazilian portrait in the Gilberto Chateaubriand Collection*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2002 - *Imagem e identidade: um olhar sobre a história na coleção do Museu de Belas Artes*, Instituto Cultural Banco Santos, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Modernismo: da Semana de 22 à seção de arte de Sérgio Milliet*, CCSP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *No Tempo dos Modernistas: D. Olivia Penteado, a senhora das artes*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Tarsila do Amaral e Di Cavalcanti: mito e realidade no modernismo brasileiro*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2002 - *Tesouros da Caxia: mostera do acervo artístico da Caxia*, Conjunto Cultural da Caxia, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Anos 20, A Modernidade emergente*, Espaço Cultural CPFL, Campinas, Brazil; Museu de Arte de Ribeirão Preto, Ribeirão Preto, Brazil
- 2003 - *Arte e Sociedade: uma relação polêmica*, Instituto Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Arte latinoamericano del siglo XX*, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 2003 - *Arteconhecimento: USP 70 anos*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Autonomia do Desenho*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2003 - *Exposição permanente: a coleção*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Freud e o modernism, Freud para todos*, Santander Cultural, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- 2003 - *Janelas de cores*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *MAC USP 40 anos: Interfaces contemporâneas*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Novecento sudamericano: relações artísticas entre Itália, Argentina, Brasil e Uruguai*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *O Modernismo como inspiração e diálogo, 22o Salão Arte Pará*, Museu do Estado do Pará, Belém, Brazil
- 2003 - *Retratos*, at MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2003 - *Tomie Ohtake na Trama Espiritual da Arte Brasileira*, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *A Face Icônica da Arte Brasileira*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2004 - *ARCO'04: Feria Internacional de Arte Contemporânea*, IFEMA – Feria de Madrid, Madrid, Spain
- 2004 - *As Bienais: um olhar sobre a produção brasileira 1951/2002*, Galeria Bergamin, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Brasileiro, brasileiros*, Museu Afro Brasil, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Brazil: Body Nostalgia*, National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, Japan; The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, Japan
- 2004 - *Gabinete de Papel*, Centro Cultural São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *La dona, metamorfosi de la modernitat*, Fundació Joan Miró, Barcelona, Spain
- 2004 - *Mestres do Modernismo*, Estação Pinacoteca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Modernismo Brasileiro*, Brasilianische Botschaft (Brazilian Embassy), Berlin, Germany
- 2004 - *Mulheres Pintoras*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Novas Aquisições: 1995 - 2003*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Núcleo histórico*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *O Olhar Modernista de JK*, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília, Brazil
- 2004 - *O Preço da Sedução: do espartilho ao silicone*, Instituto Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *O Século de um Brasileiro: Coleção Roberto Marinho*, Paço Imperial, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2004 - *Plataforma São Paulo 450 Anos*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Prêmios Bienais no acervo do MAC USP*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Tesouros da Caixa*, Museu de Arte de Londrina, Londrina, Brazil
- 2004 - *Tomie Ohtake na Trama Espiritual da Arte Brasileira*, Museu Oscar Niemeyer, Curitiba, Brazil; Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2004 - *Trajatória: uma coleção imaginária*, Paulo Kuczynski Escritório de Arte, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2004 - *Universos sensíveis*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil

- 2005 - *100 Anos da Pinacoteca: a formação de um acervo*, Galeria de Arte do Sesi, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *A Arte brasileira pelo olhar de Mário de Andrade*, IEB USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *Arte brasileira, Coleção MAB FAAP*, Centro de Convenções Ulysses Guimarães, Brasília, Brazil
- 2005 - *Arte Brasileira: nas coleções públicas e privadas do Ceará*, Espaço Cultural Unifor, Fortaleza, Brazil
- 2005 - *Befreit und Selbstbewusst: Brasiliens "Modernismo" im frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg, Thilenius Gallery, Hamburg, Germany
- 2005 - *Coleção Nemirovsky — obras selecionadas*, Estação Pinacoteca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *Faces de Mário*, IEB USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *O Século de um Brasileiro: Coleção Roberto Marinho*, MAM USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *O'Brasil — da terra encantada à aldeia global*, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília, Brazil
- 2005 - *Obras restauradas da Coleção de Artes Visuais*, IEB USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2005 - *Tarsila do Amaral: peintre brésilienne à Paris, 1923-1929*, Maison de l'Amérique Latine, Paris, France
- 2005 - *Tesouros da Caixa*, Museu de História e Arte Hélenon Borba Côrtes, Teatro Calil Haddad, Maringá, Brazil; Teresina Clube dos Diários, Teresina, Brazil; Toledo
- 2005 - *Traços do acervo Caxia*, Museu de Arte de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, Brazil
- 2005 - *Transeuntes*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Acervo da Fundação Nemirovsky: o olhar do colecionador*, Estação Pinacoteca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Ao Mesmo Tempo o Nosso Tempo*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Ciccillo — Acervo MAC USP*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Die Idee des Modernismo Brasileiro*, Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, Germany; Stadt-galerie Bamberg-Villa Dessauer, Bamberg, Germany
- 2006 - *MAM na Oca*, Oca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Manobras Radicais*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *O Olhar Modernista de JK*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Salão de 31: diferenças em processo*, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2006 - *Sérgio Milliet e as Bienais*, Centro Cultural São Paulo, Divisão de Artes Plásticas, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Tarsila do Amaral na BM&F: percurso afetivo - 120 anos de nascimento*, Espaço Cultural BM&F, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Tesouros da Caixa*, Instituto Cultural Usiminas, Ipatinga, Brazil
- 2006 - *Traços e Transições da Arte Contemporânea Brasileira*, Espaço Cultural Casa das Onze Janelas, Belém, Brazil
- 2006 - *Um Presente para Ciccillo na BM&F*, Espaço Cultural BM&F, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2006 - *Um Século de Arte Brasileira - Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil; MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2006 - *Vasos comunicantes, Vanguardias latinoamericanas y Europa: 1900-1950*, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo Esteban Vicente, Segovia, Spain
- 2006 - *Viva Cultura Viva do Povo Brasileiro*, Museu Afro Brasil, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2007 - *A Arte moderna pelo olhar de Mário de Andrade*, IEB USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2007 - *Arte-Antropologia*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2007 - *Mirada: latino-americanos do MAC USP no Memorial*, Galeria Marta Traba, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2007 - *Um Século de Arte Brasileira - Coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand*, Museu de Arte Moderna da Bahia, Salvador, Brazil; Museu Oscar Niemeyer, Curitiba, Brazil
- 2008 - *Brasil Brasileiro*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2008 - *Laços do Olhar*, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2008 - *MAM 60*, Oca, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2008 - *Percuso afetivo Tarsila*, Museu Oscar Niemeyer, Curitiba, Brazil
- 2008 - *Tarsila Viajante*, na Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2008 - *Tarsila Viajera*, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 2009 - *Arte na França 1860-1960: o Realismo*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Brasil Brasileiro*, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- 2009 - *Fernand Léger: relações e amizades brasileiras*, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Memorial Revisitado: 20 anos*, Galeria Marta Traba, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Nus*, Galeria Fortes Vilaça, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Olhar da Crítica: Arte Premiada da ABCA e o Acervo Artístico dos Palácios*, Palácio dos Bandeirantes, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Papéis em Destaque: mestres do século XX*, Dan Galeria, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Sob Um Céu Tropical*, James Lisboa Escritório de Arte, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Tarsila da Amaral*, at Fundación Juan March, Madrid, Spain
- 2009 - *Tesouros da Coleção Roberto Marinho*, Espaço Cultural BM&FBOVESPA, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2009 - *Trabalhos em Papel*, Mercedes Viegas Escritório de Arte, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2010 - *6th Sp-arte*, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2010 - *Animal*, Galeria de Arte Marcelo Guarnieri, Ribeirão Preto, Brazil
- 2010 - *Brasilidade e Modernismo*, Dan Galeria, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2010 - *Genealogias do Contemporâneo*, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2010 - *Memórias Reveladas*, MAB SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2010 - *Puras Misturas*, Pavilhão das Culturas Brasileiras, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2010 - *Tarsila sobre Papel*, Museu de Arte do Espírito Santo, Vitória, Brazil
- 2010 - *Versões do Modernismo*, Instituto de Arte Contemporânea, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2011 - *7th Sp-arte*, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2011 - *1911-2011 - Arte Brasileira e Depois — Coleção Itaú*, Fundação Clóvis Salgado, Palácio das Artes, Belo Horizonte, Brazil
- 2011 - *Arte e Cultura no Vale do Paraíba*, Palácio Boa Vista, Campos do Jordão, Brazil
- 2011 - *Modernismos no Brasil*, MAC USP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2011 - *Mulheres: Artistas e Brasileiras*, Palácio do Planalto, Brasília, Brazil
- 2011 - *Papéis Brasileiros: a arte da gravura - Coleção MASP*, MASP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2011 - *Recortes de Coleções*, Galeria Ricardo Camargo, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2011 - *Tarsila e o Brasil dos modernistas*, Casa Fiat de Cultura, Nova Lima, Brazil
- 2011 - *Vanguarda modernista na Coleção Banco Central*, Banco Central, Brasília, Brazil
- 2012 - *Da Seção de Arte ao Prêmio Aquisição: a gênese do Gabinete do Desenho*, Gabinete do Desenho, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2012 - *Modernismos 90 anos 1922*, Caxia Cultural, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2012 - *O Retorno da Coleção Tamagni: até as estrelas por caminhos difíceis*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2012 - *Percurso Afetivo*, CCBB, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2013 - *100 anos de Arte Paulista no Acervo da Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo*, CPFL Cultura, Campinas, Brazil
- 2013 - *Experiência e transformação*, MAB FAAP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2013 - *Vontade constructiva na coleção Fadel*, Museu de Arte do Rio (MAR), Brazil
- 2014 - *Nordeste?*, Museu de Arte Moderna, Salvador, Brazil
- 2014 - *Vontade constructiva na coleção Fadel*, MAM SP, Brazil, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bienal da Bahia É tudo
- 2015 - *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Canada; Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, United States
- 2015 - *Tarsila e mulheres modernas no Rio*, Museu de Arte do Rio (MAR), Brazil
- 2016 - *Antropofagia y modernidad, arte brasileño en la colección Fadel 1908-1979*, Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, Mexico
- 2017 - *Invenções da mulher moderna: para além de Anita e Tarsila*, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2017 - *Mercado de arte Moderna em Sao Paulo: 1947-1951*, MAM SP, São Paulo, Brazil
- 2017 - *Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil*, Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois, United States

2018 - *Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil*, MoMA NY, New York, United States

2019 - *Tarsila do Amaral: Cannibalizing Modernism [Tarsila Popular]*, MASP, Brazil

### **Amrita Sher-Gil Exhibition Records, 1930-2019 (selected)**

1930 - Theatre Pigalle, Paris, France

1932 - Grand Salon, Paris, France

1933 - Grand Salon, Paris, France

1933 - Salon De Tuilleries, Paris, France

1935 - Allahabad, India

1935 - New Delhi, India

1936 - Hyderabad, India

1936 - Taj Mahal Hotel, Mumbai, India

1937 - Allahabad University, Allahabad, India

1937 - Faletti's Hotel, Lahore, India

1937 - Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, India

1941 - The Punjab Literary League Hall, Lahore, India

1970 - *Amrita Sher-Gil*, Rabindra Bhavan Galleries, New Delhi, India; National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA), New Delhi, India

1982 - *Six Indian Painters*, Tate Britain, London, England

1985 - *Artistes Indiens en France*, Ministère de la Culture, Centre National des Arts Plastiques, Paris, France

1998 - *Raja Ravi Varma, Amrita Sher-Gil Restored*, Indian National Trust and Cultural Heritage, New Delhi, India; NGMA, New Delhi, India

2001 - *Amrita Sher-Gil: The Indian painter and Her French and Hungarian Connections*, Ernst Museum, Budapest, Hungary

2002 - *Amrita Sher-Gil*, Institut Hongrois, Paris, France

2004 - *Amrita Sher-Gil: Icon – Works & Memorabilia from Her Last Years*, Chatterjee & Lal, Mumbai, India

2004 - *Rabindranath Tagore, Amrita Sher-Gil, Jamini Roy*, Vadehra Art Gallery, New Delhi, India

2006 - *Amrita Sher-Gil: An Indian Artist Family in the 20th Century*, Haus der Kunst, Munich, Germany; in collaboration with National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi, India; Ministry of Culture, Government of India, New Delhi, India; Goethe-Institut, New Delhi, India

2007 - *Amrita Sher-Gil*, Tate Modern, London, England

2008-2009 - *Modern India*, Institut Valencià d'Art Modern (IVAM), Valencia, Spain; Casa Asia, Barcelona, Spain; in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture at Valencia, Spain

2009 - *Kalpana: Figurative Art in India*, Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) at Aicon Gallery, London

2010-2011 - *A Collection*, Sakshi Gallery, Mumbai, India

- 2011 - *Ethos V: Indian Art Through the Lens of History (1900 to 1980)*, Indigo Blue Art, Singapore
- 2013 - *Exhibition of Amrita Sher-Gil and Hungary*, Vaszary Villa, Balatonfured, Hungary
- 2013 - *Companionable Silences*, Palais de Tokyo, Paris, France
- 2013 - *The Self in Making*, Kiran Nadar Museum of Art (KNMA), New Delhi, India
- 2013 - *Birth Centenary Year of Amrita Sher-Gil*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris, France
- 2013- *Amrita Sher-Gil: Birth Centenary Celebration*, NGMA, New Delhi, India
- 2014 - *Amrita Sher-Gil: The Passionate Quest*, NGMA, New Delhi, India
- 2014 - *Amrita Sher-Gil and Lionel Wendt*, Jhaveri Contemporary, Mumbai, India
- 2016 - *Womanhood: Through the Eyes of Indian Modern and Contemporary Art*, Tao Art Gallery, Mumbai, India
- 2016 - *Groupe Mobile*, Bétonsalon, Paris, France
- 2017 - *Divine Intervention*, Akara Art, Colaba, Mumbai, India
- 2018 - *Conserving Treasures: Jamini Roy and Modern Indian Art*, Samuel P. Harn Museum of Art, University of Florida, Gainesville, United States
- 2019 - *Amrita Sher-Gil: Perhaps It Will Fly Away If I Get Up?*, Akara Art, Colaba, Mumbai, India
- 2019 - *Drishyakala*, DAG Modern, New Delhi, India
- 2019 - *Microhistories of an Ex-centric Modernism*, K20, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf, Germany

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## Appendix

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### THE ANTIQUITIES AND ART TREASURES ACT, 1972

(No. 52 of 1972) 1

[9th September, 1972]

**1. Published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Pt. II, Sec. 1, dated the 9th September, 1972.**

An Act to regulate the export trade in antiquities and art treasures, to provide for the prevention of smuggling of, and fraudulent dealings in, antiquities, to provide for the compulsory acquisition of antiquities and art treasures for preservation in public places and to provide for certain other matters connected therewith or incidental or ancillary thereto

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Twenty-third Year of the Republic of India as follows:

**1. Short title, extent and commencement. –**

- (1) This Act may be called the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act, 1972.
- (2) It extends to the whole of India.
- (3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act and for different States and any reference in any such provision to the commencement of this Act shall be construed as a reference to the coming into force of that provision.

**2. Definitions. –**

- (1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, -
  - (a) "Antiquity" includes-
    - (I) (i) Any coin, sculpture, painting, epigraph or other work of art or craftsmanship,
    - (ii) (ii) Any article, object or thing detached from a building or cave;
    - (iii) Any article, object or thing illustrative of science, art, crafts, literature, religion, customs, morals or politics in bygone ages;
    - (iv) Any article, object or thing of historical interest;

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- (v) Any article, object or thing declared by the Central Government, by notification in the Official Gazette, to be an antiquity for the purposes of this Act,
- Which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years; and
- (II) Any manuscript, record or other document which is of scientific, historical, literary or aesthetic value and which has been in existence for not less than seventy-five years;
- (b) "Art treasure" means any human work of art, not being an antiquity, declared by the Central Government by notification in the Official Gazette, to be an art treasure for the purposes of this Act having regard to its artistic or aesthetic value:
- Provided that no declaration under this clause shall be made in respect of any such work of art so long as the author thereof is alive.
- (c) "Export" means taking out of India to a place outside India;
- (d) "Licensing officer" means an officer appointed as such under Sec. 6;
- (e) "Registering officer" means an officer appointed as such under Sec. 15,
- (f) "Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act.
- (2) Any reference in this Act to any law which is not in force in any area shall, in relation to that area, be construed as a reference to the corresponding law, if any, in force in that area.
- 3. Regulation of export trade in antiquities and art treasures. -**
- (1) On and from the commencement of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person, other than the Central Government or any authority or agency authorized by the Central Government in this behalf, to export any antiquity or art treasure.
- (2) Whenever the Central Government or any authority or agency referred to in sub-section (1) intends to export any antiquity or art treasure such export shall be made only under and in accordance with the terms and conditions of a permit issued for the purpose by such authority as may be prescribed.
- 4. Application of Act 52 of 1962. -**The Customs Act, 1962, shall have effect in relation to all antiquities and art treasures, the export of which by any person (other than the Central Government or any authority or agency authorized by the Central Government) is prohibited under Sec. 3 save in so far as that Act is inconsistent with the provisions of this Act and except that (notwithstanding any thing contained in Sec. 125 of this Act) any confiscation authorized under that Act shall be made unless the Central Government on an application made to it in this behalf, otherwise directs.
- 5. Antiquities to be sold only under a licence. -1**[As from the date of expiry of a period of six months from the commencement of this Act] no person shall, himself

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