

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CANONS OF LATIN AMERICAN ART AMIDST PRIVATE COLLECTIONS AND ITS PUBLIC DIMENSIONS, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of Latin American art collections that have been developed, especially since 1970, by collectors inside and outside Latin America, contributing to the consolidation of this artistic production in transnational circuits in the global artistic context. A cartographic approach was adopted to map Latin American art collection projects, based on a bibliographical survey, public data from secondary sources on the contexts and dynamics of the constitution and recognition of collections, prioritizing collectors of Latin American origin and linked to the development of business elites in the region. Based on this identification and contextualization of private collecting in its public dimension, the effects of its hegemonic actions in the system were analyzed, problematizing its organizing and legitimizing principles of certain symbolic goods, in a way of appropriation, construction of value in institutional instances and the art market and inscriptions in the narratives of Latin American art history.

Keywords: Art collecting; Latin American art; Latin American Elites; Global art market; Private museums.

Introduction

This article is based on an excerpt from the master's thesis carried out between 2020 and 2022, entitled "Latin American art collecting in Latin America: a study of the Cisneros and Costantini collections in a transregional scope" (Marques, 2022). The research began with an analysis of the dynamics of the consolidation of the Latin American art system in transregional circuits, with an emphasis on collecting and collections as "privileged sites for thinking about the relationship between works of art and different strata of society" (Malta et al., 2016, p. 7). The content presented here is the result of the construction phase of a cartography of collectors in public and private, individual, and institutional projects (Afonso & Fernandes, 2019, p. 393) within and outside Latin America. In particular, it sought to understand the development of projects by collectors with origins in the region that constitute the "connected histories" (Prado, 2005) of Latin American art.

A cartography of collections and collectors is thus established from the perspective of a specific type of Latin American art consumption. This is an important dimension because, as the French

sociologist Pierre Bourdieu points out, "the consumer contributes to the production of the product he consumes through a work of identification and decoding which, in the case of a work of art, [...] requires time and certain dispositions acquired over time" (Bourdieu et al., 2008, p. 95). This "artistic consumption" can also be seen as a witness to the contradictions of social history in the approach of the contemporary Argentinean anthropologist Néstor García Canclini, allowing us to understand the effects of its "hegemonic actions" on the system and to problematize "the principles that organize this hegemony, which enshrine the legitimacy of a type of symbolic good and a way of appropriating it" (Canclini, 2013, p. 157).

According to Bourdieu (2007, p. 99), the development of the art market is a condition for the relative autonomy of the artistic field, in which an economic sanction can reaffirm cultural consecration. At the same time, however, it is necessary to consider the delocalization of the market, as the art historian Isabelle Graw has argued, in which external constraints prevail, albeit relatively, establishing a "relative heteronomy" of the artistic field. In this sense, the study of collections and private collecting practices, transformed into a public dimension, also points to the existence of an "inverse capacity", "of prices to generate symbolic meaning" (Graw, 2009, p. 34), which plays an active role in the construction of art histories.

These aspects can be observed in Latin American art collecting in a growing movement of collectors from different continents, especially the Americas and Europe, and, since 1970, strongly driven by initiatives from Latin American countries, which is the focus of this article. In the movement from the private to the public dimension, through a process of collector-collection recognition, "small historical events" (Moureau, 2017, p. 441) are created that give symbolic and economic value to artists and works. By consolidating this artistic production as a category of collecting project, on the art market and in institutional collections, they end up serving as credentials for their respective inscriptions in the history of Latin American art.

In artistic and cultural exchanges, in the circulation of concepts and contact zones, collecting contributes to the construction of a map of artistic geography, allowing its collaborators to establish new parameters and categories for the circulation and reception of works. In this *Kunstgeographie*, geography of art (Porchini, 2019), two periods of analysis are highlighted in the case of Latin American art collections: the 1970s, when collectors are identified with their first acquisitions and the emergence of interests that lead them towards the works of Latin American artists; and the 1990s and 2000s, moments of consolidation of these projects in terms of a clear guideline for this "category" and with the adoption of measures towards the recognition of the collection and its institutionalization. Periods that coincide with the formalization of a Latin American art market, locally and internationally, strengthened by globalization, financialization and neoliberal policies (Chung, 2019, p. online), in which an emerging Latin American elite participates, strongly linked to large business groups that have emerged in the region with transnational operations. Furthermore, they are linked to a change in the broader context of the art world, from the dealer-critic dynamic (Moulin, 1986, p. 389) to the prevalence of the dealer-collector system (Graw, 2009).

Methodology of study in relation to the archives of Latin American art history

A cartographic approach was sought for the composition of the Latin American art collection projects, identified in a space that is "open, connectable in all its dimensions, dismountable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification" (Deleuze, 2000, p. 21). Carried out between 2020 and 2022, it is in fact a dynamic mapping in which new references continue to emerge as the studies grow, it includes collections of modern and contemporary works of art from a high-end and top-end market. This categorization is based on that of art historian Anne-Sophie Radermecker: the top-end market includes prices above ten million dollars, the high-end market includes transactions starting at one million dollars, and the low-end market includes works valued at up to 50 thousand dollars (Radermecker, 2021).

The information on collecting, which is to some extent consolidated in the master's research mentioned, is scattered, or focused on individual cases, which makes a more systematic and comprehensive view a challenge. Given the limited consultation sources available and the limitations of the information inherent in the practice of private collecting, this mapping includes public data from secondary sources on the contexts and relevance of the established collections.

For this interdisciplinary research, which combines knowledge of the history, criticism, sociology and economics of art, the ICAA, International Center for the Arts of the Americas, organizes an important documentation base on the visual arts in Latin America. Of the approximately ten thousand documents indexed, only a few deals directly with art collecting and the formation of collections, apart from the 2002 special edition entitled *Collecting Latin American Art for the 21st Century* (not freely available), which emphasizes the importance of collecting practice in challenging dominant cultural prejudices and stereotypes (Ramírez & Papanikolas, 2002).

The Center for the History of Collecting, established by the Frick Art Reference Library in 2007, is another relevant base that contains some online information about collectors of Latin American art in the United States (USA) (THE FRICK COLLECTION, 2007, on -line). There is also the Latin American Dealer Archives, managed by the Getty Research Institute, which collects information on the Latin American art market, but it is not open to the public and could not be used for this project.

To facilitate the organization of the mapping, its visualization, analysis and sharing, the identified collections were also located on the world map in digital format¹ using the Flourish tool available online. This exercise also opens the possibility of imagining future insights into the subject and improvements to constitute it effectively as a research base, putting into practice recent theorizations of the archive also as a narrative process (Giunta & Flaherty, 2017, p. 132).

Latin American business elites and the art of Latin America

In recent times, the emergence of collectors specializing in Latin American art, both within and outside the region, has generated an increase in demand for this art, which in turn has contributed to the expansion of the global art market and, in the upper price ranges, over a million dollars.

¹ An online cartography of Latin American art collections is available on:
<https://www.ecocircuitodearte.com/arte-latino-americana>

However, in terms of artistic "regional categories", the inclusion of new buyers from the Middle East, Latin America, Russia, and India has played an even more important role in this increase in demand, which has led to a reconfiguration of the collector segments in the 21st century, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with more heterogeneous characteristics from a national and cultural point of view. In this reconfiguration, the behavior of "preference for artists of the same nationality" and "local markets" is maintained, despite globalization tendencies and many cross-cultural acquisitions. Even though they are connected through this global structure of the art market, they preserve the "internal and different systems of values, commercial dynamics and logics, and sets of actors" (Codignola, 2015).

Historically, we find evidence that this consumption of "luxurious artistic goods" was directly linked to elites, who eventually established certain "conventions and evaluation criteria", determining "taste" and "authenticity of objects" (Afonso & Fernandes, 2019, pp. 386-387). However, these elites change depending on the historical moment and the respective socio-economic and political contexts.

There are several studies on the bourgeoisie, the Latin American elites of the 1960s and 1970s, in which these social strata are invariably linked to a particular group: corporations and business groups. This was because business began to play a fundamental, multidimensional role, either with its specific class interests at its core, or as a protagonist of broader movements, particularly in the context of the last decades of the 20th century, marked by globalization, the internationalization of financial circuits and the privatization of strategic public sectors. In this context, the state in Latin America has in turn been "responsible for providing selective incentives to businessmen and inducing the organization of business interests" (Cimini et al., 2018, p. 24). This business elite has risen amid repressive dictatorial contexts, redemocratization processes, economic crises, and internationalist tendencies, excelling in different economic sectors and in the promotion of culture, amid deepening inequalities in the region. This is not a uniform or homogeneous group, but a diverse set of owners and controllers of companies who, in the open veins of Latin America, sought "incorporation into the universal gear of capitalism" (Galeano, 1980, p. 18).

Between 1950 and 1960, a new system of artistic circulation and appreciation had already been formulated in spaces promoted by businessmen, such as the Instituto di Tella in Argentina and the Matarazzo Foundation in Brazil. In the decades that followed, communication conglomerates such as Televisa in Mexico, Globo in Brazil, Cisneros in Venezuela, and Clarín in Argentina entered the field alongside traditional sectors. The result was a concentration of a few companies in the field of exhibition halls, advertising and critical spaces on television and radio channels, in magazines and other institutions that appropriated cultural programming for the elite and the mass market. This reality also reinforced a scenario of subordination in the interaction of agents in the artistic field to business desires and a partial neutralization of the autonomous development of the field (Canclini, 2013, p. 93).

This elite acted in the propagation of both the "utopias of modernity" of the "disclosure and democratization of great cultural creations" and their respective valorization "as the property of humanity" (Canclini, 2013, p. 61) and museumization, structurally transforming the symbolic

market locally and internationally. In an interview with Néstor García Canclini in 1989, the art curator Mari-Carmen Ramírez spoke about the situation of Latin American art and highlighted the contribution of these patrons in overcoming a series of challenges: a bourgeois culture that was not very fond of donations, the resistance of museums to expand their collections to include traditional works and new trends from Latin America, and budget restrictions that prevented institutions in the region from updating their collections with this artistic production or exhibiting it to the local public.

The organization of the first auctions dedicated to Latin American art in New York at the end of the 1970s, in which new Latin American collectors participated, also contributed to the structuring of a market around the "Latin American label". In a text written in 1999 by Mary-Anne Martin - one of the organizers of the first Sotheby's auction devoted to Latin American art, held in 1979, and one of the most important mediators of this artistic production among American buyers - it is described how collectors were grouped by their respective countries, with Mexicans dominating, accounting for about 40% of the source bids (Martin, 1999, p. 3). Among Venezuelans, the gallerist comments, a more "pan-Latin" bias was already perceived, as they showed interest in works by Mexican artists such as Diego Rivera or Rufino Tamayo, but hardly any Armando Reverón, a Venezuelan artist, received bids from a Mexican collector, a behavior that was reproduced among representatives of other countries.

A few years passed before a certain list of Latin American masters was consolidated and geographical barriers were overcome, movements that were also driven by panoramic exhibitions that became more and more recurrent, with the reinforcement of names such as Diego Rivera, Rufino Tamayo, Frida Kahlo, Roberto Matta, Wilfredo Lam, Fernando Botero, Joaquín Torres-García, Cândido Portinari, Pedro Figari and Xul Solar. In the 1990s, a single edition dedicated to Latin American art in New York auction houses began to record total sales of around ten million dollars, and in the first event of this type in the 1970s, bids totaled one million dollars. In a particular auction edition in 1998, in addition to the high prices paid, most buyers were of Latin American origin, led by Mexico and Argentina, followed by collectors from the United States (Cavestany, 1998).

Moreover, amid these interests, in moments of greater and lesser commitment, were the ideals of regional integration, which converged, for example, in the proposal for the MERCOSUR² bloc, created in 1991 (Bueno et al., 2014), composed of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, with Bolivia in the process of joining. This vision was also expressed in the artistic field and in the title of the Mercosur Biennial, created in 1997. This space for the circulation of works, artists, critics and curators specialized in the production of contemporary Latin American art was a project that involved private and public initiatives, the artistic field and the economy, and was characterized as an undertaking that was at once local, cosmopolitan and international (Fidelis, 2005).

However, in a text about the 2011 edition of the event, Néstor García Canclini posed the question

² Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR). To find out more: <https://www.mercosur.int/pt-br/quem-somos/em-poucas-palavras/>

"Why should there be a Mercosur Biennial if there is no Mercosur art?", arguing that it is discriminatory to interpret the works of artists such as Guillermo Kuitca or Cildo Meireles less for their aesthetic contributions, as is done with English or German artists, and more for the representation of their national cultures of origin. At the same time, by calling it a "deglobalization biennial," the author points to two possibilities in the act of "deglobalization:" failing to live up to the promises of global integration, leaving out countries or vast populations, but also taking advantage of global movements to create local infrastructures (physical and human) that transcend the local (Canclini, 2011, p. 86).

Another very effective strategy adopted by collectors was to participate in an important space of influence and legitimization: museum patronage. These programs are part of a series of actions to raise funds for these institutions, since the admission of new members is linked to the payment of fees, the acquisition of works for the collection, and/or other financial compensation. Since the 1990s, this approach has been particularly evident in international institutions, such as the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. In the catalog for the 1993 exhibition Latin American Artists of The Twentieth Century, there is a section acknowledging the sponsorship received from Latin American business elites, collectors, and corporations.

This evolution of Latin American art collecting from an "appendix to a collection" to a "category of collecting" in the region is also reflected in some rankings. In 2011, seven Latin American collectors were included in ArtNews' list of the 200 most important collectors in the world, and in 2017, ARTEINFORMADO, a digital vehicle specialized in Ibero-American art, selected the "100 active collectors" from 18 countries of the Latin American continent from a list of 400 collectors (ARTEINFORMADO, 2017). Although not all collectors in the region were exclusively dedicated to Latin American art or had it as a singular concern, to a greater or lesser extent they established a network of relationships between business elites, the artistic field, art collecting and its insertion into international circuits.

A Cartography of Private Collectors and the Public Dimensions of their Latin American Art Collections

These collections that developed among private collectors into public dimensions were projects that mixed with business performances and strategies for projecting and inserting Latin America in the global context of business and art. His choices included works that ranged from those that stood the test of time to others that expressed ideologies of advancement, of the new that challenged an artistic tradition (Altshuler, 2010, p. 68). In other words, works of artistic value that were either based on already established "convergences of historical opinion" or were "projected into the future" and their performance for "an anticipated history" (Altshuler, 2007).

In Argentina, the Argentinean collector Eduardo Costantini, a businessman active in the financial and real estate markets, after making his first acquisitions in the 1970s, became a leading bidder at New York auctions in the 1990s, and was one of the main players in bringing Latin American production to higher levels of negotiated value. In 1995, he purchased the Mexican artist Frida Kahlo's *Autorretrato con Chango y Loro* (1942) and the Brazilian artist Tarsila do Amaral's *Abaporu* (1928) for \$3.2 million and \$1.4 million, respectively; almost twenty years later, in

2021, he purchased another Kahlo work, *Diego y yo* (1949), for \$31 million. Costantini also played an important role in the creation of the *Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires*, MALBA, in 2001, to which he donated his collection at the time, thus joining the global rise of private art museums as a new organizational form in the field of art (Kolbe et al., 2022).

In Mexico, private collectors stand out for their extensive collecting projects. This is the case of the businessmen Carlos Slim, whose collection includes European and Latin American art and is accessible to the public through the Museo Soumaya, Fundación Carlos Slim; and Eugenio López Alonso, whose collection of national and international contemporary art is institutionalized in the Fundación Jumex and the Museo Jumex. The focus on Latin American art in the Mexican context is particularly evident in a corporate collection. In 1977, FEMSA, the Mexican bottling company of Coca-Cola and Cervecería Cuauhtémoc Moctezuma, began its collection of Latin American art by founding a museum open to the public in the city of Monterrey. The origins of this project were directly linked to a period of crisis in the country that threatened the sustainability of several museums. FEMSA began purchasing works to prevent them from leaving the country and being acquired by foreign investors and collectors, consolidating a collection of some 1,200 modern and contemporary works by artists from 20 countries in the region (Lozano, 2008).

A kind of "cuna de coleccionistas" (cradle of collectors) was also established in Venezuela, following a line of philanthropists that began in the 1950s with Eugenio Mendoza, the richest man in the country at the time. Through his work at the Fundación Mendoza, he dedicated himself to the promotion of the visual arts in the country (ARTEINFORMADO, 2016, online), an initiative that was already linked to an idea of corporate responsibility as a condition for the country's progress. An agenda that evolved and was institutionalized in the 1990s as "Corporate Social Responsibility" (CSR), adopted as a business strategy by various companies throughout Latin America.

In the contemporary composition of this "cuna" of Venezuelan collectors of Latin American art, the list is extensive, divided between local residences and business centers in New York, Miami, or other parts of the world. Personalities associated with business groups who have also structured their legacies through collections and foundations focused on education and the arts. The Fundación MISOL, based in Bogotá, is headed by the prominent Venezuelan collector Solita Cohen de Mishaan, who is married to the Colombian businessman Steven Mishaan (ARTEINFORMADO, 2016); the SaludArte Foundation, founded by the daughter of publishing magnate Don Miguel Angel Capriles, Venezuelan Tanya Capriles Brillembourg, which promotes the development of educational and social integration programs through the visual and performing arts and presents works by emerging artists; and the Miami-based Cisneros Fontanals Art Foundation (CIFO), founded in 2002 by Ella Fontanals Cisneros, a Cuban who grew up in Caracas and began collecting in the 1980s.

Also prominent in this group is the Venezuelan Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, whose collection, known as the Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros (CPPC), is part of the activities of the Cisneros Foundation, which began in the 1970s with a focus on education, complementing the business ventures of her husband, Gustavo Cisneros. Without an exhibition space of its own,

much of the collection is kept in a technical reserve or circulates on loan for exhibitions in other important cultural institutions, becoming also part of the permanent collections of major international museums through donations to the Reina Sofia Museum in Spain and the MoMA in New York, for example. With the latter, she formed a partnership to create the Patricia Phelps de Cisneros Research Institute for Latin American Art (Instituto Cisneros) in 2016.

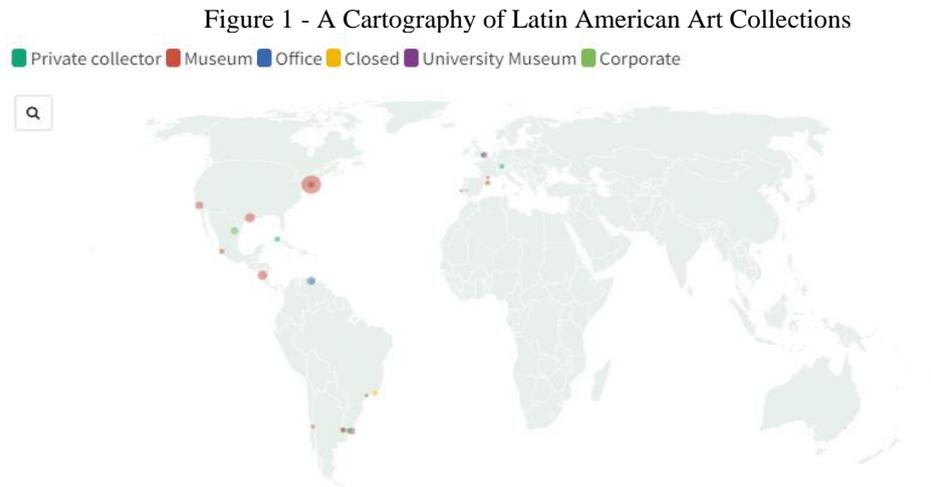
Moving on to other geographies of private collections of Latin American art, the United States became an important meeting place for Latin American collectors and collections. Barbara Doyle Duncan was a collector and art historian whose post-1960s collection of Latin American works was donated to the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery (now the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art) at the University of Texas, Austin (The Frick Collection, undated). Also of note is Robert Gumbiner, a physician and founder and former president of FHP International, a healthcare services company. His collection of Latin American art began in the 1960s during a trip to Ecuador, where he purchased some works directly from Ecuadorian artist Eduardo Kingman Riofrío at a time when his works were relatively cheap, according to an interview with the collector himself (BELLO, 2003). In 1996, his art collection became the Museum of Latin American Art, MOLAA, in California.

The collector Estrellita Brodsky is of great importance and although she appears on the lists of Latin American collectors, she was born in the United States and her parents are of Uruguayan and Venezuelan origin. She has an important art collection and has sponsored curatorial positions for Latin American art in London at the Tate Modern, and in United States at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the MoMA; she also founded Another Space in New York, which is dedicated to Latin American art, presents cultural programs, and operates as a non-profit gallery.

Some other points on the map of Latin American art collections on the other side of the Atlantic are also noteworthy. One of them is on the Greenwich meridian and belongs to Catherine Petitgas. Of French origin, she lived in Mexico for a year and now lives in London, where, after a career in the financial sector, in investment banks, she works as a specialist, collector and promoter of Latin American art, artists, institutions and professionals. She began collecting in the 2000s and was awarded the Order of Rio Branco by the Brazilian government at the Brazilian Embassy in London for her contributions to the cultural sector of the South American country. She is currently part of the acquisitions committee at Tate Latin American and has developed a similar role at the Centre Pompidou in Paris.

One cannot ignore in this cartography (Fig. 1), a country considered "asylum, both political and fiscal, for collectors from all over Europe", namely Switzerland (Fischer, 2009 apud Villalobos, 2012, p. 24). *Daros Latinamerica Collection* has emerged in Zurich, in the 1980s by Alexander Schmidheiny - a member of the family of the wealthy industrialist Stephan Schmidheiny -, as part of a Swiss tradition of cultural patronage and the specific dynamics of the global situation at the end of the 20th century, when the international art scene was increasingly attracted to so-called "peripheral" cultural products (Villalobos, 2012, p. 28). With a focus on contemporary Latin American art, it has the largest institutional collection of the work of Uruguayan artist Luis Camnitzer, which is one of more than 1,000 works in the collection (ArtNexus, 2012). Between 2002 and 2011, the collection was presented in its own museum in Zurich, and between 2013

and 2015 in its headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, Casa Daros. With the closure of both spaces, the collection is currently maintained and lent for exhibitions, as well as offering public access to a specialized library.



Source: Cartography developed by the author on the Flourish platform. To browse the map and view the collections on it individually, go to the web version available at: <https://www.ecocircuitodearte.com/arte-latino-americana>

General considerations

This panoramic view of regional and global collecting, specifically of Latin American art as a category, confirms the analyses of the importance of the emergence of a "new generation of collectors" of art in the Latin American category for the consolidation of the circuit, as proposed by Mari Carmen Ramírez in *Collecting Latin American Art for the 21st Century*, and the scenario presented in this 2002 publication could also be expanded in the study developed. It was also possible to reaffirm the relevance of agents in international spaces as legitimizers, as pointed out in the study by Maria Lucia Bueno (2020, p. 66), who highlights "the leading role of collectors based in the United States, both in the first phase of modern art and in the most recent transformations in the field of contemporary art", but extends this view to the transregional circulations of these agents and the local infrastructure developed in the promotion of the Latin American label.

In this myriad of collecting trajectories and projects, universalist and regionalist, cosmopolitan and nationalist concepts have been confronted, developed in art historical and critical debates, and reflected in the choice of collecting typologies between pre-Columbian, colonial, modern, and contemporary art. Therefore, the insistent debates on the existence of an identity "recognized by the dialectical figure of the 'other'" (Ramírez et al., 2012, p. 45), whose recognition in the field of art necessarily implies representation, counted on the direct participation of these businessmen, patrons of culture, "transatlantic" and "inter-American" collectors (Bachelet, 2004).

The works of Mexican and Brazilian modernism, for example, were included in the list of "works by great masters," recognized as expressions of a "Latin American-ness" and canons of the region's art history, while abstract, concrete, and kinetic works were included as modernizing,

contemporary ideals that transcended regionalisms in a universalizing stature of art. Both paths functioned as strategies of visibility, legitimation, and insertion, both locally and in global circuits. However, this reinforcement of dualistic positions should be criticized, since recent historiographical visions seek less exclusionary forms, "flattening the art world" (Giunta, 2020, p. 79), in which, for example, popular art had no place.

In a text from the 1990s, the art critic Aracy Amaral warned against situations in which the cultural media themselves, whether local or international, showed this indifference to certain artistic expressions or productions from "marginal areas", as Latin America was still considered. She cited a case of a gallery in Basel (Switzerland) that had purchased a "considerable number of works" by Concretist and Madí artists from Argentina, an event that warned of the risk of these works going abroad, "making it difficult for anthological creations from this key period to be shown in South American museums" (AMARAL, 2006, p. 104).

This issue can also be approached under the effect of a "double marginalization," as observed by art critic Ticio Escobar (2015, pp. 178-179) in relation to Paraguayan conceptualism, which does not appear in publications and exhibitions that purport to survey this artistic production in the region, resulting in its international and continental exclusion. This "overshadowing" occurs either because these works don't fit into the processes that value discourses that are more comprehensible to histories centered on European and American art, or because they don't serve other purposes, such as those of diplomatic relations, which are often involved in promoting a national project at the international level (Magalhães & Nelson, 2021), which is strongly reproduced in collections.

If, on the one hand, Latin America ended the twentieth century and entered the twenty-first, relatively and asymmetrically modernized, and integrated into a globalized market, on the other hand, the cultural and visual arts industry that was established at that time was sustained mainly based on private capital, weak public policies and inequalities in the appropriation of symbolic goods and access to cultural innovation. This is precisely the opposite of what is presupposed by a democratic policy, i.e. one that ensures the existence and reproduction of a diversity of cultural circuits, with their different modes of operation and the participation of agents at different levels, given the historical circumstances and conditions of each society (Bonfil et al., 1987, p. 197).

In this process of the "geo-aesthetic reconfiguration of Latin America", as proposed by the researcher Joaquín Barriandos (2009), collecting has been an important agent for its inclusion on the map and agendas of the art world, under the criticism of the utilitarianism of the Latin American label. Nevertheless, two fundamental movements can be observed in private collecting practices on a public scale: the strengthening of the region's internal structures as a center that radiates production, as a space that attracts and propels Latin American narratives; and the development of focal points for the production of knowledge, circulation and reception of this art in international circuits, creating a network of collaborations with a wider reach.

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