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The Global/Local Power of the Inhotim Institute: Contemporary Art, the Environment and Private Museums in Brazil

Abstract: At the end of the 1940s, three important private museums emerged in Brazil's two biggest metropolises, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, establishing a circuit that would prove essential to the consolidation and internationalization of modern and contemporary Brazilian art. During this period, entrepreneurs and collectors created the Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro (MAM-RJ, in 1948), the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP, in 1948) and the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM-SP, in 1947). As an heir to this tradition, but adopting a radically new proposal, the Inhotim Institute emerged approximatley sixty years later, in 2004. Located in the state of Minas Gerais, Inhotim harbors a museum complex with a series of pavilions and galleries with works of art and sculptures displayed in the open air, in a rural ambience that also contains a vast botanical collection of rare species. Like the private museums founded in Brazil in the 1940s, Inhotim's creation was directly linked to the trajectory of entrepreneurs and collectors. The institution was created by businessman Bernardo Paz to hold the collection started by himself in the 1980s and that now runs to more than 450 works by Brazilian and international artists, making it one of the world's most important collections of contemporary art. This paper discusses the tradition of private museums in Brazil and Inhotim's impact on the contemporary art scene in the country and globally.

Keywords: contemporary art; private museums; environment

Introduction

Created by the Brazilian business magnate Bernardo Paz in 2004, and opened to the public in 2006, the Inhotim Institute, located in Minas Gerais state in the Brazilian southeast, became a unique place on the planet, uniting the exuberance of an immense botanical gardens with one of the world's largest collections of contemporary art. The museological complex brings together more than 450 works by Brazilian and international artists, like Adriana Varejão, Cildo Meireles, Tunga, Vik Muniz, Hélio Oiticica, Ernesto Neto, Matthew Barney, Doug Aitken and Chris Burden, among many others, totalling approximately 100 artists representing 30 nationalities. The 92 hectare space contains 23 galleries created specifically for some artists, as well as diverse works displayed in the open air. In 2010 the Inhotim Institute also received official recognition as botanical gardens from the National Commission of Botanical Gardens (CNJB) and since then has formed part of the Brazilian Network of Botanical Gardens (RNJB). The botanical collection is also huge and important, and home, for example, to one of the world's largest collections of palm trees, with more than 1,400 species.

Within a decade, the Inhotim Institute had become established both locally and globally, receiving 400,000 visitors per year, around 20 percent from outside Brazil. Its importance at the local level is evident and it is recognized for its collection of leading international contemporary art. In the global setting, the institution has also achieved considerable prominence. One example of this success has been the museum's first international exhibition, which was open until October 2017, at the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) in Washington, USA. The show featured the artists Olafur Eliasson, Iran do Espirito Santo, Luiz Zerbini and Vik Muniz, whose work promotes connections with environmental and sustainability issues. Remarking on this event, the current director of the Inhotim Institute, Antônio Grassi, declared to the press back in Brazil: "It is incredible that a Brazilian institution is at the centre of discussion at a show being held just one block from the White House, and which today contains a figure hostile to environmental issues."

Hence the Inhotim Institute highlights the local and global power of private museums in the postmodern age, where causes like climate change acquire a sense of urgency in contemporary art. In this sense, the museum opens up this discussion to broad sectors of society, at the same time as it offers the general public access to two collections of excellence, botanical and artistic, coexisting in the same space and enhancing each other, acquiring the same level of importance.

The main point of this article is to demonstrate how the Instituto Inhotim is linked to the tradition of private museums in Brazil that became fundamental to modern art in the country. At the same time, the museum presents a radical change, focused on contemporary art and proposing to transfer art works from the urban environment to the rural, disconnecting them from a setting traditionally embedded in the large Brazilian metropolises, principally Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Consequently, in addition to the trajectory of the magnate Bernardo Paz,² it is crucial

¹ Nelson Gobbi, "Antônio Grassi: Inhotim precisa caminhar com as próprias pernas," *O Globo*, https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/artes-visuais/antonio-grassi-inhotim-precisa-caminhar-com-as-proprias-pernas-21693263, acc. December 31, 2017.

² In September 2017, as this text was being concluded, Bernardo Paz was sentenced by Brazil's Federal Courts to nine years and three months imprisonment for money laundering, with the right to be freed while appealing this court decision. Two months later, in November, at his own initiative, Paz resigned the presidency of the Inhotim Institute Council, his place taken by Ricardo Gazel, who had been executive director of the institution between 2012 and 2013. It is not my intention in this article to discuss the legal issue involving Paz. Of interest here is his trajectory as the businessman responsible for creating the Inhotim Institute, influenced by Burle Marx, Cildo Meireles and, above all, Tunga. Likewise I consider it premature to include in the present analysis any reflection on the impact of this court sentence on the Inhotim Institute. It is worth emphasizing, though, that a group of important Brazilian artists and critics, led by Adriana Varejão, has already formed in defence of Inhotim.

to emphasize the importance of the landscape architect Burle Marx and the artists Tunga, Cildo Meireles and Miguel do Rio Branco for the creation of the Inhotim Institute. In addition to the global importance of the institute, I explore its local impact on the communities from the small neighbouring town of Brumadinho. I believe that Inhotin acts to promote new and specific forms of belonging to the *local* and creating, simultaneously, unprecedented articulations with the *global* flow of information.³

Among the many questions that Inhotim raises, most of which I am unable to explore in this article, I select the constitution of Inhotim, between the global and the local, as the main guideline to my reflections. Likewise, among the many theoretical approaches potentially contemplated by studies of "Latin America's largest open air art museum", I adopt an interdisciplinary perspective that transits between the history, anthropology and sociology of art, including the focus on sociomuseology⁴ and concern with the strategies focused on the communities that surround museum institutions. I recognize, however, that the scope of this text does not allow for a broader exploration of the questions suggested by such an interdisciplinary approach, among which we could begin by listing: 1) the critique of the representations of the other and of the action of the 'artist as ethnographer'⁵ in site-specific installations, which "constitute the basic structure of Inhotim";⁶ 2) the possibilities of Inhotim breaking with the aspects of distinction⁷ constitutive of institutionalized art spaces, given that, as Bernardo Paz states: "Among Inhotim's proposals, perhaps the most important is to promote public access to our artistic and botanical collections";⁸ 3) the insertion of Inhotim in contemporary art history and the history of the country's private museums, "half a century after the boom of modern museums in modern buildings in Brazil's main cities."⁹ Though unable to develop these questions, on this path I hope to contemplate a conceptual dimension at the heart of the Inhotim collection, "an interdisciplinary structure that stems from the initial influence of Burle Marx".¹⁰

The arguments of Inhotim's curators, collected in the volume *Através: Inhotim*, have consistently dwelt on the dissolution of the dichotomous notions of local/global and centre/periphery and hierarchical patterns in the museum's collection, putting Brazilian and international artistic production on an equal footing. According to Allan Schawrtzman, "Inhotim has been planned as a place for multicultural and intergenerational coexistence, without any differentiation between local and international,

³ Cf. Moacir dos Anjos, Local/Global: arte em trânsito, (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed., 2005), 11.

⁴ Judith Primo, Paula Assunção dos Santos, ed., *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia – Sociomuseology* III, No. 37, 2010.

⁵ Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," in *The Traffic in Culture. Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, ed. George E. Marcus, and Fred R. Myers (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 302–9.

⁶ Allan Schwartzman, "Um lugar a se conhecer," in *Através: Inhotim*, ed. Adriano Pedrosa, Rodrigo Moura (Brumadinho, MG: Instituto Inhotim, 2015), 20.

⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement (Paris, Minuit, 1979).

⁸ Bernardo Paz, "Prefácio," in Através: Inhotim, 8.

⁹ Rodrigo Moura, "O museu no sertão," in Através: Inhotim, 24.

¹⁰ Jochen Volz, "Desdobrando uma instituição: descobrindo Inhotim," in Através: Inhotim, 14.

where the arts of the cultures of Europe, Asia and the Americas can live side-by-side [...].¹¹ This argument is reinforced by Rodrigo Moura, who also emphasizes the importance of Burle Marx. According to the curator:

It is a vision of landscape as art [...] the main conceptual legacy of Burle Marx for the museological project constructed at Inhotim. Several of the foundational principles of his art are manifested as influences. The combination of local and outside elements, a recurrent feature of his gardens, oriented the Inhotim art collection. It is the only collection of Brazilian contemporary art open to the public where Brazilian art can be seen in dialogue next to international production, without one being given more prominence than the other.¹²

At the same time as it points to the dissolution of boundaries and hierarchies between "local and outside elements" the museum's curatorial narrative also underlines the importance of the local context for the construction of Inhotim's institutional identity. According to Jochen Volz:

The name Inhotim was taken from the locality where the institution is based, a district in the municipality of Brumadinho, 60 kilometres south of Belo Horizonte. Inhotim was a small settlement with a few houses, whose population made a living from agriculture or by working in the region's companies... The choice of the institution's name reflects a concern and consideration for the local area and its history.¹³

Despite the contradictions surrounding the curatorial narratives on the local and global at Inhotim, one important aspect worth emphasizing is that the museum destabilizes the crystallized notions attributed to determined geographic spaces. The sertão, for example, "[...] identifies the north of Minas Gerais, but also any region far from the major urban centres." According to Rodrigo Moura: "The sertão – a nature-culture synthesis – is at the origin of Inhotim."¹⁴ A sertão to which the museum gives fresh meaning, dislocating it from its condition as a local context and internationalizing it, at the same time as it deconstructs its identity as a traditional and archaic space, influencing the construction of a contemporary meaning to the rural environment, which rejects the process of cultural homogenization of the world, which was expected to act on local contexts as a consequence of globalization.¹⁵ Put otherwise, Inhotim enunciates its own discourse on the tensions between the local

¹¹ Schwartzman, "Um lugar a se conhecer," 20.

¹² Moura, "O museu no sertão," 23.

¹³ Volz, "Desdobrando uma instituição," 12.

¹⁴ Moura, "O museu no sertão," 22.

¹⁵ dos Anjos, *Local/Global: arte em trânsito*.

and the global in the field of art.

Finally, a look at some collections and the relationship between the museum's collection and the art market concludes this work.

The tradition of private museums in Brazil: Transitions between modern and contemporary art

At the beginning of the 1940s in Brazil, the market for Brazilian art was still incipient. During this period Rio de Janeiro began to see the appearance of galleries displaying artistic objects for commercial ends, like the Askanazy Gallery, focused on modern art. It was the first to open in the city, in 1945. According to Gláucia Kruse Villas Bôas:

These galleries promoted exhibitions, granting some space to modern artists, but they also functioned simultaneously as antique shops, furniture stores and design stores. The visual arts had still to win autonomy on a market on which they were mostly sold as decorative objects. They only became autonomous and professional at the end of the 1950s.¹⁶

Three private museums created at the end of the 1940s were fundamental to the consolidation of the autonomy and professionalism of the art market in Brazil. The first to be inaugurated was the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP) in 1947, founded by the newspaper and radio magnate, owner of Diários Associados, Assis Chateaubriand, "who joined forces with the Italian gallery owner, collector and art critic Pietro Maria Bardi, married to the architect Lina Bo Bardi."¹⁷ The Bo Bardi were extremely active in the Brazilian art scene. Pietro Bardi arrived in Brazil in the 1940s, with vast experience in the art field, which he gained as the director of the gallery and journal *Belvedere* in Milan between 1927 and 1930. This experience enabled him to rise to the challenge of carrying out the studies that would eventually give rise to MASP, where he would act as board member and director. Lina Bo Bardi, for her part, was the author of the MASP architectural project, among other initiatives important for art in Brazil.

The following year, in 1948, the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art (MAM–SP) was founded by the businessman Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, "owner of Metalúrgica Matarazzo/Metalma and married to Yolanda Penteado, who came from the São Paulo coffee grower elite, the two of them working together to realize art projects."¹⁸ Here it is worth recalling that São Paulo is the largest city in Brazil and the fifth largest globally. Known as the country's economic engine, the capital of Sâo Paulo state grew

¹⁶ Gáucia Kruse Villas Bôas, "Concretismo," in Sobre a arte brasileira da pré-história aos anos 1960, ed. Fabiana Werneck Barcinsky (São Paulo: Editora VWF Martins Fontes/ Edições Sesc São Paulo, 2014), 270–1.

¹⁷ Ibid, 273.

¹⁸ Ibid.

hugely with the coffee growing cycle, which entered into decline in the 1920s. Until this period, the rural oligarchies of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, a state famous for cattle breeding, were alternately in power, a structure that became known as the "politics of coffee with milk", which ended with what was known as the 1930 Revolution.

In 1951, MAM held the São Paulo Biennial, which is still one of the most important art events in Brazil today, responsible for promoting numerous exchanges between national and international artists.

In 1948, the same year that MAM was inaugurated in São Paulo, the Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro was created. Founded initially by nineteen partners, collectors, diplomats, bankers, critics, poets and state ministers, the first president of the Rio MAM was the magnate and collector Raymundo Ottoni de Castro Maya. The museum initially opened its doors to the public at a temporary site, located on the top floor of Edifício Boa Vista, a building designed by Oscar Niemeyer in the centre of Rio de Janeiro.

From 1952, MAM's directorship was held by Niomar Sodré, wife of Raul Bittencourt, the owner of Correio da Manhã, an important Rio newspaper widely read at the time. It was during her management that the current site of the museum was built, in 1958, in Flamengo Park, a project designed by the renowned architect Affonso Eduardo Reidy. In fact, as Villas Bôas recalled:

> The emergence of the exhibition spaces was closely related to the architectural and urban projects that took over the two cities. Think back to the construction of Ibirapuera Park, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, where the Museum of Modern Art is located today, the Oca, the São Paulo Biennial, and also the construction of Flamengo Park, landscaped by Burle Marx, which contains the Museum of Modern Art at one end, close to the city centre. This scenario of designed spaces and imposing buildings was the haunt for adepts of the concretist avant-garde.¹⁹

As indicated above, the creation of MASP and MAM in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro during the same period reflects a common alignment of exhibition spaces with urban and architectural projects. Furthermore, it was largely due to the initiatives by business owners and collectors that, linked to art critics and architects, created the museums that established the foundations for art in Brazil.

In this sense, the Inhotim Institute displays a number of similarities and divergences with the private museums created in the 1940s. The creation of Inhotim was also owed to a business magnate and collector, Bernardo Paz, but, rather than focusing on urban and architectural projects, he sought to connect art with the rural landscape and environment. The landscape architect Burle Marx was present during both moments, as creator of the landscape project for Flamengo Park and as Bernardo Paz's main interlocutor in the creation of Inhotim's gardens. One of the most important

¹⁹ Ibid, 274.

names in landscape design in Brazil, Marx established definitive connections between art and botany and was responsible for the guidelines for the museum's landscape project, developed by various landscapists over the ten years of Inhotim's creation. Between 1987 and 1989, Marx would frequently visit Inhotim, then a property holding Paz's collection of modern art. On these occasions, "he presented the collector with many new plant species and influenced the landscaping project for the garden surrounding the house, initially the responsibility of Pedro Nehring Cesar."²⁰

In addition to Marx, Paz was also strongly influenced by the artists Cildo Meireles and, in particular, Tunga. According to the testimony of Antônio Grassi, director of the Inhotim Institute:

> Tunga was fundamental to Inhotim's existence. Bernardo was a collector, an entrepreneur who collected art works and had a great friendship with Burle Marx, because Inhotim began as a garden, the art came later. And how did the art come? Tunga played a fundamental role. He convinced Bernardo. And Cildo Meireles too. Tunga and Cildo at that moment, especially Tunga, told Bernardo that he should forget about being a collector and buying art works for his collection: he should think instead about creating a space where artists could be present creating things to be open to the public. Tunga had this brainwave and even the idea of creating specific sites where the artists could come and create projects specifically for that space. And that's how everything began, the first work at Inhotim situated in the garden [...] it's a delightful work, the first gallery at Inhotim is Tunga's gallery, the Rouge, which he made for that space. Next came Cildo Meireles, but this was an important movement, it was a starting point for Inhotim. Without this contact and intervention by Tunga and Cildo, Inhotim might well not exist in the format that it has today. Maybe it would be something else.²¹

Since the end of the 1960s, Cildo Meireles has stood out as the author of pioneering work in the field of art installations, using diverse media, techniques and materials, marked by a strong social and political critique. One of his most emblematic works, part of the museum's collection, is *Desvio para o Vermelho* (Deviation to Red). Imagined in 1967, it has been exhibited on several occasions since 1984. Since 2006, it has been on permanent display in the Cildo Meireles Gallery, in Inhotim. *Desvio para o Vermelho* is composed of three interconnected environments: Impregnation, Surroundings and Deviation. The monochromatic intensity dominates the rooms, furniture, objects and art works.

Red also dominates the seminal work by Tunga, True Rouge. Tunga appeared on the art scene in the mid-1970s and became consolidated as one of the most important

²⁰ Volz, "Desdobrando uma instituição," 10.

²¹ Antônio Grassi, Interview, by Maurício Barros de Castro, October 4, 2017.

names of Brazilian contemporary art, known as a creator of works that construct an exuberant and intense space, using diverse media such as drawing, sculpture, installation, film, video and performance. The variety of materials utilized by the artist is also extensive. In True Rouge, for example, he makes use of nets, wood, blown glass, glass beads, red paint, sea sponges, snooker balls, bottle cleaner brushes, felt and crystal balls.

The True Rouge Gallery was the first at Inhotim, created in 2004, before the museum was opened to the public and became the country's main contemporary art centre. The entrepreneur acquired the Tunga installation in 1994, two years after its creation. After touring on show in New York, Paris and the 1997 Mercosur Biennial, the work became part of Inhotim Park, where it occupies 150 square metres. In 2012, the artist was given another gallery dedicated to his work, the Tunga Psychoactive Gallery – clear proof of his importance to the museum. According to Antônio Grassi: "Tunga has a huge involvement in this, so much so that he is the only artist at Inhotim to have two galleries."²²

Tunga was also important for the change of Paz's perspective as a collector. Before dedicating himself to contemporary art, the magnate collected modern art works. This change of focus also added a new direction to his activities as a collector. As explained by Volz:

> A series of conversations with Tunga at the end of the 1990s led Bernardo Paz to conceive the idea of forming a collection of art produced since the end of the 1960s to the present, an idea that, in turn, resulted in the creation of a new institution. It was the artist's incentive that gave public meaning to what was initially Bernardo Paz's personal and private activity as a collector, a shift of focus that he undertook with extraordinary dedication and speed.²³

Tunga and Cildo, to a certain extent, break with the authority of the collector in the context of the so-called 'art-culture system',²⁴ subverting hierarchies, power and property relations, intervening in Paz's thought, such that the collector surrendered to the proposals of the artists, making room for the production of site-specific works of contemporary art in his splendid garden.

Conclusion: Art, market and local impact

Born in 1949, Bernardo Paz accumulated a fortune as a business magnate in the mining sector. As a result of his intense and exhaustive work routine, he suffered

²² Ibid.

²³ Volz, "Desdobrando uma instituição," 10.

²⁴ James Clifford, "Colecionando Arte e Cultura," *Revista do Patrimônio* 23 (1994): 69–89.

a stroke in Paris at the age of 45. It was then that he began to think about creating an exuberant garden along the lines of one he had seen in a luxury hotel in Acapulco, Mexico.

He began to develop the garden with the help of his friend Burle Marx. The space became the venue to hold his art collection and receive artists, critics, intellectuals and business leaders. It was on these occasions that Tunga and Cildo convinced Bernardo that Inhotim should be a unique place for showing contemporary art. In 2006, what had been a place restricted to those invited by the collector became accessible to a wider public. As he told the Brazilian press, Paz's objective was also to include the promotion of social and educational projects aimed at communities living in the area around Inhotim and the small neighbouring town of Brumadinho:

I am thinking of the future and I think big. Here I'm going to create – if God so wishes, and not that I believe in God – a post-contemporary Disney World, which allows people to grow and reaches out to society as a whole – the destitute, the poor, the middle class, the rich. And that all of them are considered equal here inside, as they are currently. Today I receive around 100,000 people from extremely needy communities, I receive 80,000 children per year, extremely poor. I have 140 teachers, monitors, educators, I have the quilombola communities who I brought to work here [...] We work with these communities.²⁵

One of the biggest impacts of Inhotim for Brumadinho has been the generation of jobs, forms of participation and transformation within the community. One emblematic example is the development of the tourist infrastructure. Before the Inhotim Institute there were no hotel beds available in the town. Today it has more than two thousand beds distributed among guesthouses and hotels, as well as experiencing an exponential growth in the number of restaurants. On the other hand, the museum seeks to provide professional spaces in its infrastructure for residents of the quilombola communities located nearby, at the same time as developing social projects, such as the creation of a string orchestra formed by young quilombola members.

At the same time that it seeks to dialogue with local reality, Inhotim also functions as a major showcase of global contemporary art. One example cited by Paz is Adriana Varejão, former wife of the collector and an internationally recognized artist. The gallery's artists show works like *Linda do Rosário* (2004), one of the most important of the *Charques* series. In this work, the glazed tiles, one of the materials recurrently found in Varejão's artworks, reappears inspired by the collapse of the Linda do Rosário Hotel in the centre of Rio de Janeiro in 2002, whose tiled walls fell on top of a couple in one of the building's rooms. On the relation between Varejão's works and Inhotim, Paz told the Brazilian press that:

²⁵ Cristina Ramalho, Bernardo Paz, *Revista Trip*, August 13, 2013, https://revistatrip.uol.com.br/trip/bernardo -paz, acc. December 31, 2017.

Adriana's work, coincidentally or not, leapt in value after her pavilion, which is the most beautiful here at Inhotim. I bought all the works for the pavilion for US \$180,000 – and there are 70 works there altogether. Today they cost US \$1 million each. But this did not happen overnight. She has an enormous value as a researcher, she delves deep in her research. And some time back, wealthy Brazilians started to recognize our artists and buy [their works] at absurd prices.²⁶

The international recognition of Inhotim as a leading contemporary art space also had a major impact on the career of the artists with works on display at the museum and the prices fetched by their works. According to the institution's director:

> A work seen inside Inhotim has a different relation [with its surroundings] compared to the same work displayed in a conventional museum or gallery. And the presence of these artists has an impact on the work at international level, sometimes commercially. Today, for example, we have many international artists who have donated or wish to donate their works to Inhotim in order to have a presence there. Inhotim in a way boosts an artist's career, their presence there increases their value on the international market. Our curatorship faces a certain dilemma over which of the donated and recognized art works we can accept, because accepting a donation very often means constructing a pavilion, which is not cheap and affects our maintenance [budget]. It's a problem. We have artists who want to donate to Inhotim, but whose work we have not been able to accept yet. Not only because of the quality of the artist, because sometimes they are incredible, but there's a timing involved in terms of being able to construct this work. And several of them are, so to speak, in a waiting queue precisely because of Inhotim's success in becoming an important showcase, including for the galleries.²⁷

Bernardo Paz's pop utopia of transforming Inhotim into a post-contemporary Disney World, which allows people to grow and reaches out to society as a whole – the destitute, the poor, the middle class, the rich – is another point that distances it from the private museum tradition in Brazil. Although their curatorship focuses on highly contemporary issues, including polemical shows on questions of gender and sexuality, Inhotim presents the possibility of living a dream, a fantasy, which unites an exuberant botanical gardens and an incredible collection of contemporary art in the open air, in a South American country called Brazil.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Grassi, Interview.

Barros de Castro, M., The Global/Local Power, AM Journal, No. 15, 2018, 161-172.



Image 1: Adriana Varejão Pavilion, 2008, Inhotim, photo Maurício Barros de Castro



Image 2 and 3: Cildo Meireles, *Desvio para o Vermelho*, 1967–84, artist, Inhotim, photo: Maurício Barros de Castro

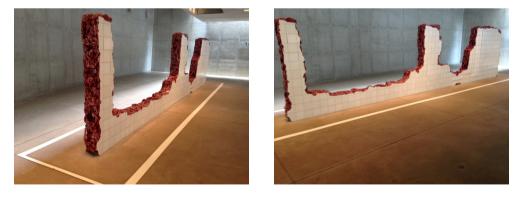


Image 4 and 5: Adriana Varejão, Linda do Rosario, 2004, Inhotim, photo Maurício Barros de Castro





Image 6 and 7: Tunga, True Rouge Pavilion, 1997, Inhotim, photo Maurício Barros de Castro

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