UNIVERSIDADE
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30 Years of Culture, Art, and Metamorphoses
The Modern art Centre of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Reshaping of Lisbon's Culturalscape

Tese apresentada à Universidade Católica Portuguesa para obtenção do grau de Doutor em Estudos de Cultura

Por

Ana Fabíola Ferreiro Nobre Maurício

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas

Março de 2016

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Sob orientação de
Prof.ª Doutora Luísa Leal de Faria
e Prof. Doutor Ansgar Nünning

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyses the role of the Modern Art Centre (CAM) of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) in reshaping Lisbon's culturalscape from the early 1980s to the early 2010s by establishing a dialogue between the CAM's activities and the Lisboan socio-political, educational, and cultural-artistic contexts.

The research, accounting for the transitional aspect of those contexts throughout the years, delineates a trajectory of Lisbon's (and Portugal's) development in the fields of artistic and cultural accessibility and democratisation as well as consumption and fruition. This delineation, which includes a review of the respective European and North-American developments as contextualisation, starts by encompassing the period of the *Estado Novo* dictatorial regime – highlighting the FCG's role in devising new cultural policies and in initiating a modernisation process –, and the period of the 1974 Revolution in Portugal – underlining the relevance of counter-cultures in the redefinition of artistic and academic practices –, so as to depict the Portuguese and international cultural realities which preceded (and greatly influenced) the CAM's constru(ct)ing processes.

The analysis seeks to explain how the CAM, as a reflection of and a response to those realities, would become a paradigm-shifting element within Lisbon's artistic and cultural landscapes, as well as a key feature of the required short-circuiting between modernity's objectives and postmodernity's symbolical values (v. Santos, 2013[1994]). The research then focuses on exploring the CAM's role in establishing an exhibitionary complex (v. Bennett, 1999) conducive to supporting a cultural transition between late modernity and postmodernity in the 1980s, and helpful in mediating globalisation's processes from the late 1990s onwards.

The dissertation aims, thus, at understanding and demonstrating how the CAM's agency within the cultural-artistic field indelibly reshaped Lisbon's culturalscape, i.e., how the CAM embodied social-political, urban-museological transformations and, thus, contributed to reshaping the citizens' artistic-cultural behaviours – and therefore their cultural identities – at pivotal moments of urban and national redefinitions.

Resumo

Esta dissertação analisa o papel do Centro de Arte Moderna (CAM) da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (FCG) na remodelação da paisagem cultural de Lisboa desde o início da década de 1980 até ao início da década de 2010, estabelecendo um diálogo entre as actividades do CAM e os contextos socio-políticos, educacionais e artistíco-culturais lisboetas.

A pesquisa, levando em consideração o aspecto transitório desses contextos ao longo do tempo, delineia uma trajectória do desenvolvimento de Lisboa (e de Portugal) nos campos da acessibilidade, democratização, consumo e fruição artísticas e culturais. Esta delineação, que inclui uma revisão dos respectivos desenvolvimentos Europeus e Norte-Americanos como forma de contextualização, começa por abranger o período do regime dictatorial do Estado Novo – realçando o papel da FCG na concepção de novas políticas culturais e no iniciar de um processo de modernização – e o período da Revolução de 1974 em Portugal – sublinhando a relevância das contra-culturas na redefinição das práticas artísticas e académicas –, de forma a retratar as realidades culturais portuguesas e internacionais que precederam (e em grande medida influenciaram) os processos de construção mental, social e material do CAM.

A análise procura explicar como o CAM, enquanto reflexo dessas realidades e resposta às mesmas, se tornaria um elemento de mudança de paradigma dentro das paisagens artísticas e culturais lisboetas, bem como uma característica chave do necessário curto-circuito entre os objectivos da modernidade e os valores simbólicos da pós-modernidade (v. Santos, 2013[1994]). A pesquisa centra-se, então, em explorar o papel do CAM no estabelecimento de um complexo exibicionário (v. Bennett, 1999) conducente ao apoio de uma transição cultural entre a modernidade tardia e a pós-modernidade na década de 1980 e útil na mediação dos processos de globalização a partir do fim da década de 1990.

Esta dissertação tem, assim, como objectivo perceber e demonstrar a forma como a acção do CAM no campo artístico-cultural remodelou indelevelmente a paisagem cultural de Lisboa, i.e., a forma como o CAM encarnou transformações socio-políticas e urbano-museológicas e, assim, contribuíu para remodelar os comportamentos artístico-culturais dos cidadãos – e consequentemente as suas identidades culturais – em momentos cruciais de redefinições urbanas e nacionais.

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List of Abbreviations

ACARTE - Department of Artistic Creation and Cultural Education through Art (Serviço de Animação, Criação Artística e Educação pela Arte).

AICA - International Association of Art Critics.

AR.CO - Visual Communication and Art Centre (Centro de Arte e Comunicação Visual).

CAI - Children's Artistic Centre (Centro Artístico Infantil).

CAM - Modern Art Centre (Centro de Arte Moderna).

CAMJAP - Modern Art Centre José de Azeredo Perdigão (Centro de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo Perdigão).

CAPC - Circle of Visual Arts of Coimbra (Círculo de Artes Plásticas de Coimbra).

CCB - Cultural Centre of Belém (Centro Cultural de Belém).

CCCS - Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Birmingham School).

CEIP - Centre for Public Information and Clarification (Centro de Esclarecimento e Informação Pública).

CIAM - International Congresses of Modern Architecture.

CITEN - Centro de Imagem e Técnicas Narrativas (Image and Narration Techniques Centre).

E.E.C. - European Economic Community.

ED - Education Department.

FCG - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

FCG-HQ&M - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Headquarters and Museum (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian Edifício Sede e Museu).

FNAT - National Foundation for Joy in the Workplace (Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho).

EAP - Visual Arts Exhibition (Exposição de Artes Plásticas).

ICOM - International Council of Museums.

IPPC - Portuguese Institute of Cultural Heritage (Instituto Português do Património Cultural).

LGBTI - Lesbian, Gay, Bissexual, Transgender and Intersex.

MDAP - Democratic Movement of Visual Artists (Movimento Democrático Artistas Plásticos).

MFA - Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas).

MNAA - National Ancient Art Museum (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga).

MNAC - National Contemporary Art Museum (Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea).

MoMA - Museum of Modern Art (N.Y., U.S.A.).

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

OEEC - Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

PREC - Ongoing Revolutionary Period (Período Revolucionário em Curso).

SEAA - Education and Artistic Animation Department (Sector de Educação e Animação Artística).

SNBA - National Fine-Arts Society (Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes).

SPN - Secretariat of National Propaganda (Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional).

SNI - National Information, Popular Culture, and Tourism Secretariat (Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo).

U.N. - United Nations Organisation.

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.

Author's notes:

a) **All non-English texts and/or texts from non-British or non-North-American publishing houses have been translated by the author of the thesis.**
b) **In the cases where a work of art, exhibition, or event do not have an English title (provided by the author, curator, organiser, etc.), the translation of those titles is a literal translation by the author of the thesis.**

Unknown title (Entrada) **[*Entrance*], Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1917**

Piece by the artist who came to define the CAM's aesthetics from the moment of its very inception

1. ENTRADA [ENTRANCE]

One sometimes feels – especially in the area of culture and cultural histories and critiques – that an infinite number of narrative interpretations of history are possible, limited only by the ingenuity of the practitioners whose claim to originality depends on the novelty of the new theory of history they bring to market. It is more reassuring, then, to find the regularities hypothetically proposed for one field of activity (e.g., the cognitive, or the aesthetic, or the revolutionary) dramatically and surprisingly "confirmed" by the reappearance of just such regularities in a widely different and seemingly unrelated field […].

(Jameson, 1984: 179).

1.1. CULTURALLY, ARTISTICALLY, MUSEOLOGICALLY: METAMORPHOSING THE URBAN CULTURALSCAPE

Museums are wonderful, frustrating, stimulating, irritating, hideous things, patronizing, serendipitous, dull as ditch water and curiously exciting, tunnel-visioned yet potentially visionary.
(Boniface and Fowler, 1993: 118).

What a museum is attempting to achieve has become more important than what it is.
(Hudson, 1999: 371)

[T]he accumulated cultural glamour and visibility of the city's symbolic economy, with museums at the center, play an important role in the construction of place and the "cut-up space of distinctive signs" known as the postmodern city (Baudrillard, 1993: 77).
(Prior, 2013: 513)

This dissertation aims at understanding the role of the Modern Art Centre (CAM) of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape from the early 1980s to the early 2010s. The dissertation will look to develop a discussion sustained by cultural theories, deep-rooted in the field of Culture Studies, seeking thus, to comprehend multi-levelled and multi-sourced information and topour it into a narrative of critical analysis of the objects and realities at hand. In this dissertation, the discussion of Culture, Art, and Representation theories, informed by theories in the fields of Sociology, Philosophy, Anthropology, and History, will be constantly entwined with the analysis of the object(s) and respective contextual realities. Therefore, every chapter will simultaneously be a theoretical and an analytical chapter, as this dissertation aims at directly incorporating the study of the proposed objects and realities into the discussion fostered by the relevant and appropriate theoretical issues. The theory will, thus, frame the analysis while at the same time the analysis will allow for a revision and discussion of the theory.

Understanding the intricate connection between art museums, the (trans)formation of cultures, and the urban experience – such as each topic has been debated in varied theoretical fields, from modernity to postmodernity, by philosophers, scholars, and theorists, namely Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin, Mieke Bal, David Harvey, Fredric Jameson, Eilean

Hooper-Greenhill, and Tony Bennett[1] – requires thorough reviews, analyses, and debates of the different contexts of each topic so that a multi-perspectival, polymeric framework emerges into view. The delineation of that framework will take into consideration the significant metamorphoses underwent at socio-economic, historic-political, and educational-cultural levels in Western development for the last 70 years, focusing specifically on how those changes impacted the museological field and vice-versa. As Museum Studies scholar Kylie Message points out,

> [t]hese shifts are practical (caused by changes within professional museum practice and cultural policy), theoretical (a result of the increasing appropriation of museums by scholars of cultural studies) and symbolic (connected to the changing relationship between the museum, the state and other authoritative organisations). They are represented by a clear articulation of the relationship between the museum as discursive model and the various discourses that have appropriated it as a signifier of something else. Maintaining this distinction between museum and metaphor is important because it offers yet another framing device to provoke and structure analysis of the inter-implication evident between these terms. This may contribute to understanding the role played by rhetoric in the construction of social and cultural meaning beyond the space of the exhibition.
> (Message, 2006: 8-9).

The main arguments that will be developed throughout the dissertation derive from the analysis of the aforementioned shifts and will revolve around the central question regarding the pivotal role that art museums play in the mediation between the operative notions of cultures, arts, the State, cosmopolitanism, urban environments, and (cultural) citizenship and identity.

Within the framework of the FCG's creation in the 1950s, the CAM (its construction, its collecting and exhibiting practices, its (co-)productions and publications, as well as its other activities) will serve as the central case study for the analysis of those practical, theoretical, and symbolical shifts within the Portuguese museological realities since the mid-1970s. As such, the main goals of the dissertation are the following:

a) To understand, through the specific case of the FCG and of the CAM, how artistic and cultural institutions relate to and (re)shape the urban socio-cultural environment; as the first of their kind in Lisbon – the FCG was Lisbon's first cultural centre and the CAM was the first modern art museum and art centre (in Lisbon, in Portugal,

[1] V. Foucault, 1967; 1969;1970; 1984; 1988; 1991[1977]; 1998; 1999; 2008[1967]; Benjamin, 1999; 1999-2004; 1999a; Bal, 1992; 1996 1999; 2002; Harvey, 1994; Jameson, 1983; 1984; 1984a; 1993; Hooper-Greenhill, 1989; 1992; 1994; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 1999d; 1999e; 1999f; 2000; 2004; Bennett, 1992; 1998[1995]; 1999; 2013.

and in the Iberian Peninsula) – the FCG and the CAM are ideal case studies to explore the different levels at which the two-way metamorphosis effect takes place between an art space and the city;

b) To establish multi-layered connections between socio-economic-political events/realities and the artistic-cultural transformations which cause and/or ensue from them – be it situations where the introduction of new cultural policies/politics brings about change in the socio-economic structure, or situations where new political and/or socio-economic frameworks lead to a change in the artistic-cultural infrastructural scene – and, thus, to explore the links between the formation of cultural citizenship, artistic-cultural production, and cultural policies;

c) To conduct an analysis on how the CAM, as heterotopia (v. Foucault, 2008[1967]), did not limit itself to offering a modern-type experience of art contemplation and consumption, but rather became Lisbon's first museological space which elicited a "phenomenology of mingled reactions" (Jameson, 1998: 118);

d) To investigate, through its collection(s), exhibitions, publications, and other activities, the CAM's discourses on national and international modern and contemporary art, in order to infer and situate its role in the meaning-making process of the Portuguese artistic and cultural panorama of the last three and a half decades;

e) To examine the CAM's history and evaluate to what extent it demonstrates the accomplishment of a 'short-circuiting' (v. Santos, 2013[1994]) of modern objectives and postmodern symbolical values in the Portuguese contexts from the late 1970s to the early 2010s;

f) To contribute to a further acknowledgment of the defining role that artistic and cultural institutions play in the (re)shaping of urban culturalscapes and, consequently, the role they play in the continuous transformation(s) of: cultural identities; form(at)s of artistic production; methods of academic research; mechanisms of transnational and multicultural interactions; and ways and opportunities for intellectual output.

In order to fully grasp the CAM's role of mediator and motivator of the (trans)formations of culture(s) and urban experiences in the city of Lisbon, it will first be necessary to locate and ground some of the key concepts – art, culture, city, culturalscape – that will be used throughout the dissertation as essential elements within the main theoretical discussions.

Given the broad – multi and interdisciplinary – scope that each concept can be imbedded in and/or observed from (v. subchapter 1.2.), and since the dissertation will encompass socio-cultural realities spanning over eight decades, each chapter, subchapter, and section will focus on presenting and analysing the specificities of the respective concepts and topics of discussion within their determinate historical timeframe (v. subchapter 1.3.). Nevertheless, and in spite of the defining relevance of the metamorphic effect of contexts, the concepts of art(s), culture(s), city/cities (and citizenship(s)), and culturalscape(s) are connected at fundamental levels which allow for an epistemological arch to be formed as a result of the interdependent analyses of their interaction and consequent transformations.

The concepts of art and culture have always had a strong connection, partly because the designations of both intertwine and influence each other. Culture is a broad concept that can range from subjective values, behaviour models, and forms of thinking, to definitions encompassing notions regarding the repository of knowledge and techniques, history, and social heritage. The general meaning and sense of the word culture, which in many respects is used as the definition of the concept in its most pragmatic applications, states that culture can be seen as any action which human beings perform over humanity and its environment with the intent to improve its qualities and promote the development of the spirit (namely languages, arts, and sciences). Thus, both everyday as well as occasional social practices weigh strongly upon the (trans)formation of culture. The ways of proceeding are altered according to specific social situations, which, in their turn, have a strong impact upon the ways of living and experiencing cultural outcomes. By observing the division contended by Raymond Williams between ideal culture (pertaining to the spirit and nestled upon the ideal of perfection), document culture (the gathering of memories, records, and documents of humanity), and social culture (everyday life practices) (cf. Williams, 1996), one can understand the comprehensive character of culture in the sense that it encompasses all of human practice, swaying between a totalising and a residual framework, between an anthropological-social-ethnographic sphere and an ethic-aesthetic sphere (cf. Morin, 1975). Museum studies scholar Eilean Hooper-Greenhill highlights the fact that

> Raymond Williams's definition of culture as a 'realised signifying system' seeks to focus specifically on those aspects of social life that work to construct meaning. If we understand culture in this way, as a materialised system for constructing meaning, then communication is an integral element. Culture is understood as constructed through processes of communication […] [which in turn are] describe[d] […] as a series of processes and symbols whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed.

> ‘Reality’ has no finite identity, but is brought into existence, is produced, through communication. As beliefs and values are represented through cultural symbols (words, maps, models), so ‘reality’ is constructed. Symbolic systems (art, journalism, common sense, mythology, science, museums) shape, express and convey our attitudes and interpretations of our experience.
>
> (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004: 565).

As such, culture – in the terms it will be discussed throughout this dissertation – can also be what Zygmunt Bauman calls the result of “a reflection on practices which are themselves self-reflective” (Bauman, 2010[1978]: 160). As one of the most acute and pressing examples of those practices, art is an integral part, and quite a significant one, of the different concepts of culture mentioned so far. It is considered to be the process and product of the development of something that appeals to the senses and emotions and, thus, stands out in between all other forms of cultural expression. Artistic expression, from visual arts, to performance art, cinema and literature, is a central and crucial element of humanity’s cultural development. The relationship established between art and culture is a rather relevant one, as art and culture are central elements of human activity, both depending on codes and technologies, both with an enormous ability to promote a sense of individuality and a sense of communal share – and thus, a sense of identity –, subject to processes of learning inherent to habits, customs, innovations, and ruptures. Therefore, any changes that take place in one of the fields inevitably lead to a chain reaction in the other filed. The complex and dependent inter-relation that exists between art and culture creates mutual interferences, transformations, and adaptations by both spheres alone and with(in) each other.

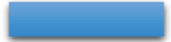
The presentation of art – a crucial cultural phenomenon of contemporary societies – is quite often dependent on the institutional organisation of events. As art curator and critic Hou Hanru has highlighted, “if the artwork is to be effectively presented, it needs to be part of an art event. […] [;] [t]o hold an event, the institution is an indispensable physical condition […] because [it] is the central element in the power system […] that defines the notion and boundary of art itself” (Hanru, 2003: 36). The role of the museum as an artistic and cultural institution in the creation and designing of art events has underwent different transformations, placing it within its contemporary role as “an integral part of engaging audiences in the production of culture and social change” (Rectanus, 2013: 384). Museum Studies scholar Flora Kaplan emphasises the fact that museums are social institutions, the products and agents of political and social change, and that, as a result of culturally constructed pro-

cesses, the identities and meanings created by museums create in their turn a system of cultural representation (cf. Kaplan, 1994; 2013). As "complex institutions with long and specific histories that engender in them often contradictory forces – […] distinction and populism, public duties and private influences, speeding up and slowing down" (Prior, 2013: 521) – museums simultaneously reflect and shape different levels of artistic-cultural development as well as its socio-political contexts. The interconnection and interaction between culture, art, and the urban museological spaces where these are constru(ct)ed, (trans)formed, claimed, and debated, strengthens the relevance and importance of "confront[ing] some of the more complex and refractory issues affecting urban and museological life" (*ibid.*), justifying the research goals of this dissertation. Moreover, the fact that post-industrial cities and contemporary museums "continue to elicit features and contain behaviours central to the modernist writings of Benjamin and Simmel, shows how complex the coexistence of historical trends and cultural processes is" (*ibid.*). These complexities are at the foundation of the definition of one of the dissertation's key-concepts, that of culturalscape.

The concept 'culturalscape' will be used throughout the dissertation to describe the overall configurations and transformations of cultural phenomena – of artistic, social, urban, and museological natures – in the city of Lisbon. The theoretical framework supporting the utilisation of the term culturalscape originates from Arjun Appadurai's definition of the suffix –scape and its applicability to other terms:

> [t]he suffix *-scape* allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize […]. [The usage of] the common suffix *–scape* also indicate[s] that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors […].
> (Appadurai, 1996: 33).

The term culturalscape aims, thus, at summarising the varied levels of differences, similarities, and contrasts, which make up the ongoing complex transformation of an urban space *vis-à-vis* its artistic, socio-cultural, and museological realities throughout history. The use of the concept in this research focuses particularly on the ways in which a given museological entity can contribute to the formation of an urban cultural landscape, i.e., a landscape of artistic-cultural behaviours that are continuously taken on, sustained, and developed by the people inhabiting the city; a landscape which, albeit fluid, characterises and, in many ways, shapes cultural citizenship(s) and identity(ies). The use of culturalscape as an explicative

concept focuses also on the aforementioned complexities regarding the autopoietic nature of the symbiotic relationship between city and art museum as each one faced the transition from modern models to postmodern models of designing and functioning at material and immaterial levels.

The key concepts here briefly addressed will be the basis of the work developed throughout the dissertation, as the research aims to understand the role of the CAM in culturally, artistically, and museologically metamorphosing Lisbon's culturalscape. Since artistic-cultural urban transformations tend to go hand-in-hand with socio-political and educational-academic changes, two main fields of studies will be put forward in order to comprehend the varied theoretical and conceptual scopes required for the proposed analysis and investigation: Culture Studies and Museum Studies.

1.2. CULTURE STUDIES AND MUSEUM STUDIES: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS IN MULTI(AND INTER)DISCIPLINARY DIALOGUES

The key question to ask of any literary work, Walter Benjamin once argued, is not how it stands vis-à-vis *the productive relations of its time – does it underwrite them or aspire to their revolutionary overthrow? – but how it stands* within *them. […] [T]he key questions to pose of any cultural politics are: how does it stand within a particular cultural technology? what difference will its pursuit make to the functioning of that cultural technology? in what new directions will it point it? And to say that is also to begin to think the possibility of a politics which might take the form of an administrative program, and so to think also of a type of cultural studies that will aim to produce knowledges that can assist in the development of such programs rather than endlessly contrive to organize subjects which exist only as the phantom effects of its own rhetorics..*

(Bennett, 1992: 28-29).

In academia, scholars found that curating and/or reviewing and writing about exhibitions and museums offered new opportunities to engage with key questions of power and identity politics in contemporary society. […] [M]useums and the identities they created were recognised in the literature, despite criticism, as important nexuses of politics and culture in the study of contemporary society and its discontents.

(Kaplan, 2013: 166).

The thesis which is put forward in this dissertation will be discussed following a holistic approach combining different theoretical frameworks and methods of cultural analysis. The overall discursive basis upon which the thesis will be developed and explored is that of Culture Studies as a meta-disciplinary approach to the analysis of how the cultural grid is constructed, as a deciphering programme (cf. Gil, 2008) that intends to foster the mutual understanding of the different disciplines it uses while seeking the attainment of a multi-perspective knowledge regarding the object(s) of study. Throughout the dissertation, concepts and methodologies stemming from the broad field of cultural theory will be utilised as means for the establishment of a reciprocal dialogue between Culture Studies and Museum Studies, as both study fields seek to understand cultural representations as signifying practices (cf. Hall, 1997). As museum and heritage studies lecturer, Rhiannon Mason, pointed out:

> Influenced by the politics of difference and postmodern relativism, contemporary cultural theory tends to approach culture from a pluralist perspective. This means that cultural theorists talk of culture*s* rather than *C*ulture and cultural analyses often focus on cultural differences. It should come as little surprise, then, that the museum – an institution that actively seeks to display multiple cultures and to mark out cultural differences – should have become a site of prime interest for those interested in cultural theory. […] [M]useums are public spaces in which definitions of cultures and their values may be actively contested and debated. Museums materialize values and throw the processes of meaning-making into sharp relief, and it is for this reason that they are of such interest to cultural theoreticians and museum studies researchers alike.
>
> (Mason, 2013: 18).

Aside from shared researching purposes and objectives, Museum Studies and Culture Studies also use shared theories, (travelling) concepts (v. Bal, 1996; Neumann and Nünning, 2012), and methodologies, and have mutually influenced the other field's practices.

New museology (cf. Vergo, 1989), as it is addressed nowadays[2], can be regarded as a theoretical movement which encapsulates the close connection and interaction that exists between both fields. According to Mason, new museology "can be understood as a name for the branch of Museum Studies concerned with those ideas central to cultural theory" (Mason, 2013: 23). Put forward because "the 'old' museology [...] [was] too much about museum methods, and too little about the purposes of museums" (Vergo, 1989: 3), and used as a means "for the radical reassessment of the roles of museums in society[3]" (Davis, 1999: 55), new museology came to reflect the increasing awareness that museums play a vital role in the devising and implementation of cultural policies and politics. These renewed perspectives on the political functions of the museum as a space of representation would come to be explored through the lenses of notions and methodologies conceptualised by contemporary cultural, literary, and social theorists such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. As Derrida's work sustains (v. Derrida, 1976; 1978; 1987; Kamuf, 1991), the poststructuralist stance of much of the cultural theories supporting/supported by Cultural and Culture Studies

[2] "As with all such theoretical movements, "new museology" has itself been interpreted differently. Dutch scholar Peter Van Mensch argues that there have been three different applications of the term: in the US (1950s), the UK (1980s), and France (1980) (cited in Davis 1999: 54). Peter Davis also points to the links between "new museology", ecomuseology, and community museology, and stresses the international aspect of the movement developed within the International Council of Museums (ICOM) during the late 1970s and early 1980s (1999: 56)" (Mason, 2013: 23).

[3] "The "new museology" (Vergo 1989), which addresses the history and purpose of museums through a reflexive and critical practice, has set a research agenda which is receptive to the social sciences. It has developed an epistemological dimension to museum writing which is sociologically informed about the nature of knowing. The work of contemporary social theorists such as Baudrillard, Foucault, Giddens, and Lyotard informs the shift in emphasis from the isolated curatorial object toward the cultural and social contexts within which the meanings of objects are generated […]" (Fyfe, 2013: 43).

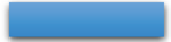
came to accentuate the levels in/to which cultural construction – and by consequence, meaning-making – is not a direct result of the establishment of binary differences and oppositions (as defended by structuralism), but rather dependent on the context. As Mason highlights:

> For poststructuralist-inspired museologists to argue that the meanings of objects are inseparable from the context of their display and interpretation is not the same as saying that they are meaningless. Nor does this theoretical direction necessarily lead to a rejection of history. On the contrary, it emphasizes the importance of historical context while drawing attention to the constructed and plural nature of "histories".
>
> (Mason, 2013: 22).

It is exactly to this plurality and to the act of constru(ct)ing histories that Foucault's work draws attention to. In its opposition to a 'total history' and in its proposition of a 'general history' instead (v. Foucault, 1969), Foucault's method for the establishment of a genealogy of the present (v. *ibid.*, 1984) – which relies on an archaeological investigation of institutions – aims at "rethinking […] the relationship between power and knowledge, the status of truth, the politics of […] subjectivity, and the way that histories are written" (Mason, 2013: 23). Poststructuralist Foucauldian concepts such as 'discursive formation', 'document', 'monument' (v. Foucault, 1969), and 'heterotopia' (v. *ibid.*, 1967; 1998; 2008) will be used to discuss the epistemological qualities of the objects of the case study and to allow for an analysis of their (re)shaping role within specific historical contexts and cultural frameworks. Foucault's notions of the interconnectedness between knowledge, power, and governmentality are at the foundation of other theoretical and methodological frameworks which will be employed as analytical tools throughout the dissertation, namely Tony Bennett's development of the idea of the exhibitionary complex[4] (v. Bennett, 1998[1995]), and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's research on the role of museums in the shaping of knowledge and in the formation/interpretation of visual culture (v. Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; 2000).

These Foucauldian and Foucault-inspired conceptual models, which have been determinant in the furtherance of cultural, representational, artistic, and social research both in the field of Culture Studies and in the field of Museum Studies, will be combined with a textual

[4] According to art critic Terry Smith, "the idea of "the exhibitionary complex" – as described by Bennett [v. Bennett, 1998[1995]; 1999], historicized by Lorente [v. Lorente, 1998], and theorized by Duncan and Wallach [v. Duncan and Wallach, 2004], among many others – undergirded the growth of modern art, linked it to the modernizing city, provoked the avantgarde into existence, and subsequently sustained modernism for many decades" (Smith, 2012: 65).



analysis approach[5] (v. Mason, 2013) to the objects and realities addressed throughout the dissertation. In Mason's words, a textual approach

> involves reading the object of analysis like a text for its narrative structures and strategies. […] The advantage of understanding museums in terms of texts and narratives is that it moves away from privileging or compartmentalizing a particular aspect of the museum; for example, its building, collections, individual staff, or organizational status. All these components remain crucial, but a textual approach argues that they must be viewed in concert to understand the possible meanings of the museum.
> (Mason, 2013: 26-27).

This holistic approach (in)forms the research contents and structures the research methodology, as it seeks to attain an understanding "of the social and historical context[s] within which museums are embedded" (Mason, 2013: 28), and, in so doing, to understand the museum as a 'contact zone' (v. Clifford, 1997; 1999). James Clifford's application of Mary Louise Pratt's concept of 'contact zones' (v. Pratt, 1992) to the museum (cf. Mason, 2013; Schorch, 2013), came to argue precisely for the museum's role as a (re)shaping element of communal, societal, urban, and institutional relationships. As a contact zone, as a place of ongoing (trans)formations of art and culture, the museum adopts different "culture-collecting strategies as responses to particular histories of dominance, hierarchy, resistance, and mobilization" (Clifford, 1997: 213), thus reflecting the museum's heterotopic characteristics along with its agency in the establishment of a space for the encounter of multiple discourses. Given that a textual analysis approach requires the analysis of the museum's narrative structures and strategies as well as (and often in light of) the analysis of the social and historical contexts surrounding/ emerging from the museum, it will be necessary to adopt a hermeneutical practice (v. Dilthey, 1979; Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1962[1927]; 1993[1935]), where the museum – much like Mieke Bal defends regarding art (v. Bal, 1992; 1999) – is simultaneously addressed as shaper and reflector of its artistic, social, cultural, and historical contexts.

The hermeneutical circle nature of Culture Studies, where "the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew […] [purporting] cultural difference as an *enunciative* category" (Bhabha, 1994: 37, 60), brings with it postmodernist readings of cultural meaning-making. As such, the theories on postmodernism by authors such as Jean-

[5] Much like poststructuralism, the textual approach stems from a reinterpretation of semiotics: "[t]he term "semiotic" is often used more loosely and has been applied to a whole range of museum critics (for example Haraway, 1989; Bal, 1992; Duncan, 1995), who take a less tightly structured approach to their exploration of how museums function as systems of signification and can be read as texts" (Mason, 2013: 19).

François Lyotard (v. Lyotard, 1984) and Fredric Jameson (v. Jameson, 1983; 1984; 1984a; 1993) will be applied and guide the analysis of the topics at hand. Consequently, the globalisation, postcolonial, and multicultural theories of scholars such as Boaventura de Sousa Santos (v. Santos, 2001; 2013[1994]), Homi K. Bhabha (v. Bhabha, 1994), and Arjun Appadurai (v. Appadurai, 1996) will also inform the research and shape its analytical methods. Sousa Santos's proposition for a short-circuit approach to the transition between modernity and postmodernity in Portugal will be combined with Bhabha's vision for a transnational articulation of cultural differences which brings forward 'in-between' spaces of dialogue where identities are (trans)formed. Appadurai's notion of the "tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization" (Appadurai, 1996: 32) and of the "disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures" (*ibid.*: 43) will also be applied to the analysis of the role of the CAM within the development of Lisbon's culturalscape. The aforementioned theorists' understandings of contemporary society, its constitutive elements, and how these came to be (and are continuously) dialectically and synchronically constru(ct)ed, will support the analysis and discussion throughout the latter parts of the dissertation.

The research – supported by the theoretical framework afore described – is based on the analysis of textual, visual, and multimedia materials, as well as on semi-structured interviews to the FCG's and the CAM's personnel, and utilises interpretational and hermeneutical methodological tools. As such, the dissertation is built on the basis of narrative hermeneutics, aiming at highlighting the two-way interconnectedness between the interpretation of the socio-historical contexts and the interpretation of the discourses created by the FCG's and the CAM's activities, exhibitions, and/or publications. The multi-, inter-, and meta-disciplinary theoretical framework will (in)form the empirical-deductive interpretative analysis conducted on the basis of the research materials, thus translating the theoretical into a methodological framework. In fact, the methodological tools used throughout the dissertation are sustained by the research methods used by the authors whose theories and concepts the different chapters and subchapters are built on.

1.3. THE ART MUSEUM'S ROLE IN THE CITY: A STRUCTURAL REVIEW AND THE STRUCTURE OF A THESIS

For over a century the museum has been the most prestigious and authoritative place for seeing original works of art. Today, for most people in Western society, the very notion of art itself is inconceivable without the museum. No other institution claims greater importance as a treasure house of material and spiritual wealth.

(Duncan and Wallach, 2004: 51)

[T]heorists have recognized the museum's ontological significance and its distinctive role in the making of Western modes of culture and identity. [...] The technologies of the museum, in enhancing "the mobility, stability and combinability of collected items" made collections into centers of calculation and permitted people to see new things (Latour 1987: 225).
It is, therefore, the agency of collection and display that warrants attention (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). The museum is studied as a modality of showing, of telling, and of mediating that is critically interwoven with divisions of modernity, with generation, class, ethnicity, and gender, and with the formation of global patterns of interdependence and consciousness. Prösler's (1996) argument that the world order is, as it were, realized by means of the ordering of things is an illustration of the museum's discursive weight".

(Fyfe, 2013: 45)

Contemporary museums are marked by their variety as well as their increasing reflexivity, their residual appeal to connoisseurship as well as their homage to consumer culture, their role in reproducing social inequalities as well as their increasing democratization. This is the contradictory terrain on which museums have adapted for two and half centuries and which continues to make them such interesting objects of study.

(Prior, 2013: 522)

This subchapter aims at briefly delineating the state of the art of the dissertation's topics, seeking to explain how the current state of the research developed in the fields comes to justify the choices made regarding the dissertation's structure (whose logics and relevance will be presented in the latter part of this subchapter). The review of the work that has been conducted regarding the role of art museums in urban culture – and that is deemed pertinent

to the specific goals of this research – will be put forward and analysed throughout the dissertation. As such, this brief overview of the state of the art is intended as contextualising.

In recent years there has been a discursive explosion around the concepts of identity, memory, and the politics of belonging. Issues regarding the notions of culture, community, and nationality have been widely discussed as complementary concepts in the study of history, heritage, representation, and cultural identity. In the case of the latter two concepts, museums have been frequently used as a research field of analysis, not only due to their institutional power of validation but also due to their ancient role as places of civilisation where the fundamental truths of morals and societal organisation could be found (cf. Alonso Férnandez, 2001). While this has contributed to establishing museums as important educational institutions, the contemporary multicultural, cosmopolitan, and global contexts have created an environment of greater and deeper meaning regarding the roles museums play (cf. Coombes, 2004) in the construction and analysis of cultural identity discourses. As it has been preliminarily argued so far, in constru(ct)ing given cultural identity discourses, art museums put forward idea(l)s of cultural belonging and of urban identity, and, consequently, of citizenship. Thus, the role of the art museum in the (re)shaping of a city's culturalscape becomes – if not evident in its formats and methods – quite apparent in its effects, as the art museum institutionalises its symbolical power, becoming a synonym of the city's art and culture.

Since the early 1980s, several studies have been presented theorising the place, role, and obligations of museums in space and time, establishing patterns and counter-patterns regarding issues of artistic classifications and museological practices, as well as of cultural differences and identities[6]. Several researches have also been conducted on how and why art and art museums can (and some studies state 'should' and/or 'must') function as pedagogic instruments, while other investigations broach issues pertaining to the function of exhibitions as tools in the construction of discourses and in the communication of messages to the audiences[7]. A number of researches in the fields of culture and museums, and representation and

[6] V., e.g., Baudrillard, 1982; Crimp, 1983; Beeren, 1985; Davis, 1990; Hernandez Hernandez, 1994; Duncan, 1991; 1999; Gob and Drouget, 2004; Duncan and Wallach, 2004; Bennett, 1992; 1998[1995]; 1999; Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Kaplan, 1994; 2013; Lorente, 1998; Hall, 1997; Hall and Evans, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999f; 2000; 2004; Alonso Fernández, 2001; Luke, 2002; Belting, 2003; Coombes, 2004; Anderson, 2004; Carrier, 2006; Marstine, 2006; Bennett, et al., 2010; Giebelhausen, 2013.

[7] V., e.g., Alper, 1991; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; 1994; 1999a, b, c, d, e; Dierking, 1996; Clifford, 1999; Dodd, 1999; Bennett, 1999a; 2013; Falk and Dierking, 1995; 2000; Gunther, 1999; Moffat and Woolard, 1999;

identity have been developed, paving the way for a study carefully analysing the Portuguese (and more specifically the Lisboan) case and situation, in order to better understand the CAM's role in the development of Lisbon's culturalscape, as well as its role in the construction and formation of a specific cosmopolitanism which directly fed the reshaping of the artistic and cultural scapes of the city of Lisbon for the past thirty years.

Some researches have been undertaken in the field of Museum Studies and Cultural Studies regarding the roles of museums in modern and contemporary Portuguese society[8], however, most of them deal with issues pertaining to the educational relevance of ethnographic, history, and art museums, or provide general overviews of museums' education departments, or of frameworks of works of art selected and displayed. None of these studies have, however, dedicated their attention to simultaneously tackling the dynamics of the museum as a place of construction of cultural identity and culturalscapes, as a place of formation of identities, as a place where a city's historical, socio-cultural, educational, and artistic backgrounds can be analysed under the specific scope of how an art museum as an entity – as a whole – construes, constructs, and mediates its discourses and how the symbolical narratives therein work as developmental mechanisms which continuously (re)shape the city's culturalscape.

The evolution of the museological space must be briefly addressed here. The creation of public museums as symbols of the emerging nation-states in the late 18th and early 19th centuries – the Modernist museum (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000) and the Universal Survey museum (cf. Duncan and Wallach, 2004) – left an almost indelible mark on the organisational structure of art museums well into the mid-20th century. In their acts of collecting, curating, and exhibiting, art museums used to establish certain ideological constructions regarding not only art and culture, but also society and history. In doing so, art museums became institutions that constru(ct)ed conceptual and metaphoric frames around the works of art as well as around the public (by controlling the viewing and interpretation processes), and thus creating (and promoting) an apparently seamless diachronic narrative of progress without conflict or contradiction (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Duncan and Wallach, 2004; Preziosi, 2004). Art museums intended to turn visitors into citizens through the presentation of an evolutionary

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Hein, 2000; 2013; Serota, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, et al., 2001; McClellan, 2003; Ravelli, 2005; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Falk, 2009; Greenber, et al., 2010; O'Neill and Wilson, 2010; Bal, 2013; Fyfe, 2013.

[8] V., e.g., Santos, 1996; Lopes, 2000; Fortuna and Silva, 2001; Silva, 2002; Tostões, 2006; Silva, 2006; 2006a; 2007; 2008; Grande, 2006; 2009; Barriga and Silva, 2007; Barriga et al., 2008; Semedo, 2010; Oliveira, 2010; 2011; Nogueira, 2013.

narrative deeply rooted in the then-contemporary processes of colonisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation. As examples of a political/educational system which purported and supported a particularly conditioned and conditioning exhibitionary complex structure, those museum models aimed at telling a universal story to a general(ist) public who was only on the receiving end of the narrative and had little to no capacity of transforming or even interacting with said pre-established discourse(s) (cf. *ibid.*).

As Museum Studies scholar Donald Preziosi pointed out:

> [t]wo hundred years ago, in a world undergoing massive social and political upheavals, the public institution we now commonly call "the museum" came to be an important component of the social, political, and pedagogical transformations of various European nation-states. The public or civic museum was literally invented at this time in a manner not unlike the ways in which its sibling Enlightenment institutions such as hospitals, prisons, and schools achieved their modern formations, by reformatting a variety of recent and received practices taken from many aspects of social life, and by synthesizing these in concert with, and in order to engender, revised and redirected social missions. Each of these social institutions came to replace earlier versions of themselves in powerful new ways as instruments of the Enlightenment enterprise of *commensurability* – the rendering of all aspects of social life […] visible, legible, rationally ordered, charted, staged and, above all, intertranslatable.
>
> (Preziosi, 2004: 72-73).

Public museums came to be in the last years of the 18th century and early years of the 19th century when private collections, cabinets, curiosity closets, treasure houses, etc., were disassembled and re-structured following a highly chronological tendency – chronology being considered then as demonstrative and as a synonym of genealogy and evolutionary progress (cf. *ibid.*). Objects and works of art were selected for their documentary value in staging a historical narrative or story that would lead to its inevitable culmination in the present:

> [t]his *dis*memberment of the traces of the past was thereby *re*-membered, rewoven into artifactual narratives that had orientation and episodic sense. The museum presented documentary evidence of a state-sanctioned evolutionary history outlining in a bold and materially palpable (and aesthetically sensible) manner just how we, as citizens of a brave new world, were what the past was aiming at all along […].
>
> *(ibid.:* 76).

The museum was, then, systematically integrated in and put to explicitly political uses in order to (re)educate a newly democratised society (cf. Alonso Fernández, 2001). At that time, the museum was transformed into an optical instrument for the refracting of society and its history into biography and narrative, into the prologue of the present (cf. Preziosi, 2004). The way objects were ordered in a museum became a model of emplotment. Objects

were staged in relation to other objects in a plotting system that transformed juxtaposition and succession into an evolutionary narrative of influence and descent, into a configured story culminating in the present of the exhibition (cf. Férnandez, 2001). The art museum was, thus, a space of discourses and representations. It was in the art museum's texts, in its collections and exhibitions, in its relationship with its audiences, as well as in its architecture, that one could find the implicit arguments underlining the aforementioned museological discourses and representations.

According to authors such as Bennett, Hooper-Greenhill, Preziosi, and Prior, the past three decades have made it increasingly clear to what level and extent western cultures and world-views have been developed on the basis of a profoundly museological world organisation: a world that is simultaneously both a product and an effect of the past two centuries of museological mediations. The museum has been, for the last two hundred years, a crucial site at/within which modernity has been created, (en)gendered, and sustained (cf. Bennett, 1998[1995]; 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1989; 1992; 2000; Preziosi, 2004; Prior, 2002). As will be discussed in further detail, throughout the last decades of the 20th century, the art museum's "vital role as an instrument and icon of local cultural politics and urban culture" (Rectanus, 2013: 383) became increasingly apparent. Such an awareness led to the art museum's role in the development of culture and cultural habits within the urban environment being considered a key element in the study of the effects and products of cultural politics on the formation and development of citizenship, but in a contrasting way to how such a role had been established within the museological realm of influence from the late-1780s to the mid-1940s. By the end of the 20th century, the art museum's role in the city was conceptualised as gathering different work fronts and aiming at several goals:

> [b]eginning with the Centre Pompidou's function as one of the first mixed-use cultural centers containing a major museum, Ian Ritchie identifies a shift in the relationship among three factors: image (the museum's location and function within urban space as a privileged site), container (the "internal spatial experience" visitors share with one another), and contents (the interaction between visitors and the objects of the museum's collection (Ritchie 1994: 12). The museum's role as a mixed-use facility within larger urban office and entertainment complexes reflects its multiple functions as a site of urban marketing and tourism, global branding, and of visual consumption (Urry 1995: 150, 169).
>
> (Rectanus, 2013: 383).

The structure of the dissertation will, thus, reflect the development of the art museum's role in the city, focusing mainly on the second half of the 20th century and on the first decade

and a half of the 21st century. To that end, the dissertation is organised chronologically, with each chapter corresponding to a specific time-frame, encompassing alternating analyses of the museological contexts – and also of the socio-historical and cultural-political contexts – of Lisbon, Portugal, Europe, and the United States of America. Throughout the dissertation, some keynote aspects of the cultural policies and politics, of the museological developments, and of the urban structuring in the U.S.A. and in different countries in Europe are presented and debated, and used either as examples of realities which profoundly and directly influenced the development and evolution of the FCG and of the CAM, or as examples of aspects which permeated the western and global discourses pertaining to art, culture, and the museum in an urban environment. Moreover, the logics of the structure aims at providing for a diachronic outline of the main cultural, social, political, and historical events of the second post-war period and of the following 20th century decades, namely in Portugal, the U.K., France, and the U.S.A., which in one way or another came to shape the development of the museological context in Lisbon.

The diachronic organisation of the structure is paired with – and necessarily complemented by – synchronic analyses of the realities at hand, informed by a contemporary perspective and based on multidisciplinary – as well as synchronic interdisciplinary – readings within the fields of Culture studies and Museum Studies. Aside from focusing on a given timeframe (and, consequently, on a given socio-cultural and historical-political dynamics and context), each chapter, subchapter, and section also tackles specific themes and theoretical debates looking to contribute to the dissertation-long main arguments (v. subchapter 1.1.); i.e., the theories on which the main arguments of the thesis are built on are put forward throughout the dissertation and are discussed based on socio-historical and cultural-political facts which demonstrate and support those same arguments. The dissertation presents, thus, a hybrid structure, in which the diachronic analysis of the creation and development of the CAM as a leading urban cultural institution in the city of Lisbon is accompanied by synchronic analyses of the CAM's different constitutive elements (namely its building, its structural activities, its collecting and exhibiting practices, and its publications) at given moments in time throughout its thirty-year history. The structure of the dissertation will ensure the fluid development of the presentation of the operative concepts in each chapter, subchapter, and section, picking up on the current discussions of the topics at hand, and reflecting also

the theoretical and methodological frameworks utilised. In each chapter, thus, the discussions presented engage critically with the relevant theoretical framework which best suits the analyses of the socio-historical contexts which, in turn, (in)formed the respective museological frameworks.

Chapter 2., "Lisbon and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation", explores the political environment and cultural context – at national and international levels – of the 1940s and 50s, focusing on two main topics: the construing and implementation of cultural policies and politics in Portugal and the development of Lisbon's cultural topography. The first of the two topics is discussed throughout subchapter 2.1. and its respective sections, which briefly discusses Portugal's social, political, educational, cultural, and artistic realities from the early 1930s to the mid-50s – before the implementation of the FCG – and presents some of the early most significant moments of the FCG's crucial action in the socio-eduactional and cultural-artistic fields. Foucault's concepts of governmentalisation and governmentality are introduced as the basis for a further discussion on the notions of culture, cultural action, and cultural policies, while Bourdieu's concept of 'pure gaze' (cf. Bourdieu, 1987) is addressed as an element of the mediation tool used by the FCG in the cultural and artistic formation of the Portuguese public. The second of the two main topics of chapter 2. – the development of Lisbon's cultural topography in the 1950s and 60s – is discussed throughout subchapter 2.2. and its respective sections which are informed by Michel de Certeau's and Henri Lefebvre's theories on urban spaces and their correlation to culture and citizenship (v. de Certeau, 1990 and Lefebvre, 1991), by Benjamin's concepts and theories of memory (v. Benjamin, 1999; 1999a; 1999-2004), as well as by Foucault's concepts of discursive formation (v. Foucault, 1969) and of heterotopia (v. *idem.*, 1967, 1998, 2008[1967]. Stemming from those concepts and theories, this subchapter aims at understanding the impact of the FCG's programme and spaces in the city's (and country's) artistic and cultural panorama based a specific multi-perspectival analysis: by discussing the notion of the FCG's artistic, cultural, civic, and political programmes as expressions of a *Zeitgeist* that was simultaneously experienced and desired; and by establishing a comparative analysis of the production of discourses *vis-à-vis* the production of cultural capital.

Chapter 3., "Constru(ct)ing the Modern Art Centre", focuses on the socio-cultural transformations of the 1960s and 70s in Europe and in the U.S.A., looking to understand how those decades shaped new artistic-cultural tendencies and habits, and what consequences

those novelties had in the urban and museological landscape. Subchapter 3.1. presents an overview of the social and cultural contexts in Europe and in the U.S.A. in the 1960s and 70s, counterpointing it with an analysis of the political situations in Portugal before and after the 1974 revolution, initiating a review and discussion of Portugal's transition between late modernity and postmodernity *vis-à-vis* its fellow European countries. Based on the concepts of post-industrial city and heterotopia (v. Foucault, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1999) as well as on Jean Baudrillard's concepts of simulacra and hyper-reality (v. Baudrillard, 1982, 1983), the varied set of political, social, cultural, artistic, academic, educational, and (para)museological factors which led to a paradigm-shift in the art-culture/ art museum relationship will be put forward and discussed. Subchapter 3.2. explores the FCG's idea for the creation of a modern art centre in Lisbon, expanding its own notion of cultural and artistic centre, by conducting an analysis of the foundational programme for the CAM. Based on Stuart Hall's concepts of identity, belonging, and representation, this subchapter further develops the argument of the culturalscape's hermeneutic circle nature, highlighting the construction of the CAM as a response to the cultural context delineated throughout the previous subchapter. It explores the different types of museography and museology (spaces and strategies) required to fulfil the CAM's objectives, applying Foucault's concepts of 'heterotopia' and 'document' to the CAM and its role as the first permanent space for the exhibition of modern and contemporary art in Lisbon, and, consequently, as an element of paradigm-shifting influence in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

Chapter 4., "Art Museum and Cultural Centre: the paradigm-shifting dialogue", explores one of the key paradigm-shifting aspects of the CAM's implementation in Lisbon – its symbiotic dual facet of art museum and art centre – exploring also the dialogue established between both valences and the consequent generation of a postmodern exhibitionary complex in 1980s Lisbon. Subchapter 4.1. conducts an analysis of the initial mission statement, objectives, and goals of the CAM, and discusses the significance of having an art museum in Lisbon display Portuguese modern art on a permanent basis. It briefly presents and reviews the discourses created in the first exhibitions as well as their relevance as the first stepping stones for the development of a narrative regarding Portuguese modern art history, and discussing the influence of such a narrative in the subsequent presentations of Portuguese and European contemporary art. Moreover, it seeks to situate the CAM before the European 1980s debates on art and cultural identity, on the role of art and artists, on the new role of

museums in a postmodern cultural horizon. Subchapter 4.2. aims at describing and defining the ACARTE's unconventional and singular approaches to the presentation and communication of modern and contemporary art. It looks at the initial mission statements, objectives, and goals of the ACARTE as a singular institution of its kind in the city of Lisbon, and discusses the impact that the 'novelty' aspect had in the artistic and cultural dynamics of the city of Lisbon and analyses the paradigm-shifting role of the ACARTE regarding the contact of the public with art events and art institutions. It presents the ACARTE's internationalist and innovative cultural policy and discusses its significance in the cultural panorama of the city of Lisbon, while analysing the impact of such a cultural policy on the eve of having Portugal become a member of the former European Economic Community.

Chapter 5., "Reading history, writing art, making culture: the CAM's rhetoric of (dis)continuity", outlines the contextual changes in the FCG's and the CAM's institutional frameworks as well as contextual changes in society, in the educational and artistic panoramas, and in the cultural topography of the city of Lisbon. Subchapter 5.1. defines the notion of cultural cartography, highlighting the relevance for Culture Studies in researching and understanding the maps of culture that are drawn and conveyed to the public by art museums. Moreover, it addresses the concept of postmodernism and the debate regarding postmodern cultural processes (postmodernism of reaction vs. postmodernism of resistance) (v. Foster, 1983; Jameson, 1983, 1984a, 1993; Lyotard, 1984) in order to illustrate one of the key issues of the debate on the Portuguese condition(s) for the development of a postmodern society: the need to short-circuit modernity's objectives and postmodernity's symbolical values (v. Santos, 2013[1994]). It examines some of the most significant exhibitionary practices and actions of the CAM in reflecting/performing said debates. Subchapter 5.2. focuses on discussing the effects that postmodern thought and globalisation had on identity-formation and cultural-meaning-making at the turn of the millennium, and how those effects where mediated by the art museum as a technology of authority in cultural-meaning-making. It looks at the CAM's Education Department as an essentially vital element in the art museum's response to the new global and postmodern framework(s); it investigates the (re-)presentation of the CAM's collection in publication format, discussing the 'ways of seeing' conveyed as well as the relevance of such a guide in the ongoing definition of the CAM's identity and

image; it analyses the exhibition *Avant-garde Dialogues* as a moment of cultural-cartography-making in single exhibitionary format, and discusses the concept of (re-thinking) modernism and modernisation as an aesthetic marker of postmodernism.

Chapter 6., "Reframing art and culture through the CAM's collection and beyond", is divided into three subchapters, each tackling defining stances and moments of the CAM's role in Lisbon's culturalscape between the years of 2010 and 2013. Subchapter 6.1. looks at the art and culture critique the CAM was subjected to by the end of the 2000s decade and discusses the change in Directors as a cornerstone moment for a re-definition of the CAM's image. Subchapter 6.2. analyses and discusses some of the key temporary exhibitions of the collection (from 2010 to 2012) – often in dialogue with temporary exhibitions of artworks not belonging to the collection –, exploring the themes, concepts, and media being presented and discussing their importance in creating new ways of reading the collection. Subchapter 6.3. presents, analyses, and discusses the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo – a Century of Art*, which commemorated the CAM's thirty years of existence, drawing a map of this exhibition and explaining its role in the constru(ct)ing of a history of the CAM's collection and, therefore, its importance in displaying the cultural and artistic identities put forward and debated by the CAM throughout its thirty years of existence. Moreover, it also discusses the relevance of the performances and conferences cycles in celebrating the CAM's 30th anniversary.

*

The reality presented by the CAM's discourses and representations is a story – it is the result of a particular way of building reality – and stories always either have a prior real (effective) referent, or they can be read as bearing meaning and helping with the analysis and interpretation of reality – be it the reality of art, of the museum, or of the city. Museums, hence, do not just reproduce reality: art museums (re)define that same reality within the context of their own ideology and, for that same reason, must be understood as performers, as creators of meaning, as signifying practices.

2. LISBON AND THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION

2.1. BRINGING NEW CULTURAL POLICIES INTO THE STATE'S POLITICAL CULTURE

If art is to nourish the roots of our culture, society must set the artist free to follow his vision wherever it takes him. We must never forget that art is not a form of propaganda; it is a form of truth.

John F. Kennedy, 1963

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation's (FCG) responsibility in and for the educational, cultural, artistic, scientific, and social development of Lisbon – and of the country – in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s can be explained by the socio-political situation of Portugal at that time. In order to grasp the significance of an institution's existence and its actions upon an urban society, it is necessary to know the context within which such interaction took place. To this end, it is important to simultaneously comprehend the political culture and the cultural policies of the city and of the institution. To understand the pre-existent context of the city of Lisbon upon the creation of the FCG in 1956, one must look as far back as 1926, the year when the *Estado Novo* dictatorial regime was implemented in Portugal. The consolidation of specific patterns of thought – ideology – and schemes of values – culture – was one of the main aims of the political regime, with the country's development and modernisation following rhythms and dimensions dictated by the State's sense of appropriateness.

According to António Barreto[9], throughout the enforcement of the dictatorial regime there was always a severely tight grip on all aspects of development. Not because the government rejected the notions of modernisation or development altogether, but mainly because it "[f]eared […] all the collateral effects of growth, be it at the level of class struggle, social and syndicalist demands, be it on the domain of […] the consequences of competition." (Barreto, 2007: 18). For these reasons, as well as for others that will be discussed at a later point, "development was to depend on the State" *(ibid.).* It was with that intent that the

[9] António Barreto (1942-) is a leading Portuguese sociologist, having taught and conducted research at several universities. A greater part of his research has been devoted to the analysis of social indicators and other issues pertaining to the understanding of the Portuguese society's development. He was responsible for the coordination of the FCG's 50th anniversary publication, documenting the FCG's evolution as an institution, as well as its work, namely in the fields of art, charity, education and science. V. Barreto, 2007.

Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN)[10] was created in 1933. Headed by António Ferro[11], the SPN was a state organisation entrusted with divulging and promoting the nationalist ideas of the State as well as with establishing the patterns of thinking and system of values (ideology and culture) to be upheld in the cultural and artistic fields[12]. Ferro sought to implement what he described as a politics and policy of the spirit[13] – he had a clear notion of how artistic and cultural activities could be turned into powerful tools to be used by the State. His politics and policy of the spirit aimed at building a cultural rhetoric founded on notions and ideas of grandiose national purposes and plans[14].

The relatively cosmopolitan vision of António Ferro enabled the SPN's active and (again, relatively) diverse cultural policy: from 1933 until 1950 the SPN/SNI[15] held contests,

[10] The *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* was originally instituted in 1933 with the intent of: „regulating the relationship between the press and the State; editing publications that illustrated the State's and the Portuguese nation's activities; centralising all information regarding the work of the different public services; preparing national demonstrations and public festivities with propaganda or educational purposes; fighting all 'ideas that aim to disturb or dissolve national unity and interest'; contributing to the solution of problems pertaining to the 'policy and politics of the spirit', through the collaboration with Portuguese artists and writers as well as through the awarding of prizes that encouraged national art and literature; using the radio, cinema and theatre as indispensable means to the pursuit of its mission. […] At an international level the SPN sought to: collaborate with all Portuguese propaganda organisms which existed abroad; supervise all official media services which operated outside the country; organise conferences and encourage the interchange with journalists and writers; enlighten the international public opinion on the actions conducted in the Portuguese colonies; support and sponsor displays of national art and literature in major urban centres" (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 2014: website).

[11] António Ferro (1895-1956) was a Portuguese writer, journalist, and politician. In 1932 he suggested to Salazar the establishment of a State organism responsible for national cultural and artistic propaganda (in Portugal and abroad) within the framework of the politics conducted by the regime. From 1933 until 1949 António Ferro was the director of the SPN/SNI (v. note 15). For further information on António Ferro, v. Guedes, 1997 and Henriques, 1990.

[12] The cultural and educational policies of the dictatorial regime were also developed and implemented by other State organisms such as the Education Ministry, the Internal Administration Ministry, the National Foundation for Joy in the Workplace (FNAT) and the National Commissionership for Work.

[13] António Ferro's *Política do Espírito* (the word *política* in Portuguese can mean both politics and policy) was the foundational structure of the cultural policies to be implemented by the SPN – cultural policies which were a direct echo of the regime's political culture. It can be described as a pre-conditioned guidance of all aesthetic and intellectual pursuits towards a (self-)reflection on the grandeur of what it meant to be Portuguese. Like in other European nations in the early 1930s, the arts (namely painting, illustration, cinema, photography, and theatre) and literature were seen as elements to be used in the construction of a cultural rhetoric which highlighted the grand national purposes (see the following footnote) and therefore evened out internal social conflicts.

[14] The Portuguese Empire was represented as the epitome of the evangelisation and civilisational works of the Western world. Portuguese history and legacy were depicted as evidence of the greater purpose of Portugal, of Portuguese endeavours, and of Portuguese people in the world.

[15] In 1944 the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN) was reorganised and renamed as the National Information, Popular Culture, and Tourism Secretariat (SNI). From then on and until 1950 it would include the Tourism Services, the Press Services, the Performing Arts and Shows Inspection Services (responsible for the censorship processes and revisions), the National Exhibitions Services, and the Radio Services.

awarded grants and prizes, and organised or supported the organisation of a series of thematic exhibitions. In the scope of these activities, the SPN promoted both popular and scholarly art (the latter in a more limited fashion), simultaneously divulging national political propaganda as well as presenting and endorsing independent artists' works. However, in its endorsement of culture, and namely in the fields of visual and performance arts, the SPN privileged the awarding of prizes, the commissioning and/or buying of artworks, and the production of events in detriment of supporting the establishment of structures and infrastructures for artistic creation and cultural production. The imposition of regionalist and historicist themes in art production, in 1938, would contribute to further disconnect the art that was (officially) being created in Portugal from the major international art movements. Ferro's politics and policy of the spirit – the *Estado Novo*'s cultural policies – aimed at developing and perpetuating a single and unified Portuguese aesthetics, philosophy, and culture. In the end, the SPN's work would ultimately leave a legacy of very few structuralising impacts on the modernisation of Portuguese society.

By the end of the 1940s the SPN/SNI's image of being a so-called 'cosmopolitan patron' had morphed to that of an enemy of artistic creation, with young artists and creators turning it into the target of their objections and protests against the political regime. The defeat of dictatorial regimes around the world by 1945 was the beginning of the end to Ferro's politics and policy of the spirit. In 1949, Portugal joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Portugal was, at that stage, the only country in the Organisation which had not taken part in the war effort and it was also the only country in the alliance that did not have a democratic system of government. In 1949-50[16] Portugal joined the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). The geo-strategic position of Portugal and its significance in both aforementioned international organisations would foster the country's new attitude towards foreign policies. This newly found internationally secured position – even if Portugal was criticised by members of both NATO and the OEEC for its non-democratic colonialist politics – would lead to an accentuated decrease in the already scarce investment of the State in cultural policies and artistic creation. In 1950, with the dismissal of António Ferro from his position, the only attempt at structuring a cultural policy – even if a severely flawed one – in what would turn out to be a forty-eight-year dictatorship came to an end.

[16] Portugal only joined the second wave of the Marshall Plan mainly due to Salazar's distrust of the U.S.A.'s policies and modernisation goals.

In the early 1950s, and despite belonging to international organisations that aimed at continuous social, economic, and political development, Portugal was a fundamentally backward country: it had the youngest population in Europe, but also the lowest life expectancy rate in the West; forty per cent of the population was illiterate, with the State's investment in education being around one per cent of the GDP; the attendance of theatre plays and of movie theatres was very limited and the rate of book and newspaper readership was by far the lowest in Europe (cf. Barreto, 2007).

The museological panorama of the country – and of its capital city – followed suit. The network of cultural infrastructures with which the regime implemented its politics and policy of the spirit was to face up to the changes in the artistic processes as well as to the shift in museological paradigms that was taking place throughout western culture[17]. In the early 1950s the three largest Lisbon museums were upgraded to the newly founded level of national museums[18]: the National Ancient Art Museum (MNAA), the National Contemporary Art Museum (MNAC) (both created in 1911)[19], and the National Coach Museum (founded in 1905). The Ancient Art and Contemporary Art museums were directed in the 1930s and 40s by men who had earned Salazar and Ferro's trust and who, according to Portuguese art historian Raquel Henriques da Silva, established "support networks and diffuse complicities with the [political] power, which generally respected their independence" (Silva, 2001: 83). These cultural spaces which mirrored the socio-political context were intended to reinforce the State's discourse regarding Portuguese culture. The MNAA was to serve as a place for the consolidation of a collection representative of the nation's historic(al) legacy, while the MNAC was supposed to adequately present the most recent artistic production within such a framework as to turn it into a vehicle for the official propaganda of the regime (cf. Silva, 2001).

Until the end of the 1950s, the country would witness the creation (or re-formulation) of three other relatively significant state-owned museological infrastructures: the transfer of an Oporto museum – formerly known as New Museum of Oporto and then renamed Soares dos

[17] The following section (2.1.1.) will demonstrate how such programmes as the ones conducted in the U.K. and in France influenced the FCG work.

[18] The denomination of national museum was established as a form of centralising reformulation and classificatory reorganisation.

[19] Both museums were created as a result of the dissolution of the National Fine-Arts and Archaeology Museum.

Reis Museum[20] – to new facilities; the creation of the Popular Art Museum in Lisbon – which was established in a building designed to temporarily house the Popular Art Exhibition[21]; and the construction of a new building in Caldas da Rainha to house the José Malhoa Museum[22]. The fact that the largest investments in museums outside of Lisbon pertained to evocative programmes regarding two Portuguese artists of the second half of the 19th century – Soares dos Reis and José Malhoa – is quite significant. It is true that the cultural relevance of these two artists is undeniably important for Portuguese art history. However, these being the main two museums opening up to the public outside the capital between the early 1930s and the late 50s is yet another aspect that revealed the *Estado Novo*'s cultural conservatism and its difficulty in dealing with the national (and foreign) artistic production of the 20th century[23]. The Popular Art Museum, established in 1948 in one of the buildings of the Portuguese World Exhibition, served the purpose of perpetuating the exaltation of a so-called 'Portugueseness' hailed by the State (v. footnote 14). According to Henriques da Silva, this museum – "the end result of a very shallow ethnographical work methodology" (Silva, 2001: 85) – was created to accommodate and further foster António Ferro's populist programme of "gathering, preserving, and artistically grouping all of the ethnographical elements indispensable for a characterisation of the work, the art forms, and the life of the rural populations of each region of the country" (António Ferro in Silva, 2001: 84). This was the Portuguese cultural panorama: one of conservatism and populism.

The rupture between State and contemporary artistic creation and experimentation – much caused by political decisions that interfered with museological organisation and orientation[24] – intensified by the late 1950s. Despite the dictatorial grip, the artistic movements

[20] António Soares dos Reis (1847-1889) was a prominent Portuguese sculptor. Most of the artist's work belongs to the Soares dos Reis Museum collection.

[21] The Popular Art Exhibition was part of the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (The Portuguese World Exhibition) which took place in Lisbon between June and December 1940, celebrating the 800th anniversary of the Portuguese nation, the 300th anniversary of the regaining of independence from the rule of the Spanish crown, as well as celebrating the affirmation of the *Estado Novo* (which, by then, had been in govern for fourteen years). The exhibition's main goal was to put on a display of nationalist unity and sovereignty, highlighting Portugal's history, the legacy left throughout the world, as well as Portuguese economic activities. Each Portuguese region and overseas territory was represented, unified under a framework discourse about Portuguese identity and culture. Brazil was the only foreign and independent country present at the exhibition. For further information on this exhibition v. Castro, 1940.

[22] José Malhoa (1855-1933) was a Portuguese painter, one of the first naturalist Portuguese painters.

[23] Any contemporary artistic style deviating from the nationalist-modernist aesthetics condoned by António Ferro's SPN would not be well tolerated.

[24] One of the best examples of these interferences was the nomination of Eduardo Malta (1900-1967), a Portuguese portraits painter who strongly opposed the modern art movements, as director of the National Museum

that opposed the regime gained strength and notoriety, generating a split in the Portuguese cultural institutions sector. The National Fine-Arts Society (SNBA) became a refuge for artists who were against the regime and who actively developed work intended to run counter to the official culture of the *Estado Novo*. There was yet another element in the artistic field which constituted an alternative to that official culture: commercial art gallery spaces started thriving in Lisbon. According to Portuguese art historian Rui Mário Gonçalves, "the contribution of artists and critics to the spread of modernity through the multiplication of galleries was prolific […]. They [the art galleries] sought to educate the public." (Gonçalves, 2004: 78). The actions of their owners (from art dealers to publishers and bookshop owners) allowed for a diversification of the cultural options available to the public in the city.

This overview of Lisbon's social, political, educational, cultural, and artistic realities by the mid-to-late-1950s demonstrates the absence of a structured and development-oriented strategy for the cultural sector nation-wide. The municipal council of Lisbon had envisioned, for decades then, the construction of a so-called *City Palace* – a thoroughly researched programme that even reached the drawing phase[25] – but given that this plan never went forward the city of Lisbon lacked a modern cultural institution. This state of affairs explains the crucial importance of the creation of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon.

Lisbon's culturalscape of the second half of the 20th century was very much shaped by the creation of the FCG: a unique cultural space at the time in Portugal, it would set the trend for social, educational, and artistic developments. Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955)[26] – an "Armenian, born Ottoman, naturalised British, living in Paris" (Tchamkerten, 2010: 64) – came to Lisbon in 1942. Having accumulated a vast fortune, mainly seeded in oil trading, this 'business architect', as he liked to call himself, was living in Paris when, in April of 1942, the city was invaded during the war. He moved to Lisbon that same month. Portugal was not involved in the war and it provided easy access to the U.S.A. should he decide to

of Contemporary Art, in 1959. His nomination resulted from a direct intervention of the President of the Board of Ministers, António Salazar.

[25] To that end, a few Portuguese architects embarked on field trips to conduct studies for the possible construction of the *City Palace*. Cottinelli Telmo (1897-1948), architect and film director (as well as poet, journalist, musician, and painter), took a trip to Holland in 1935 to visit some of that nation's most notorious cultural infrastructures. Keil do Amaral (1910-1975), architect, travelled to some of the major cities of the U.S.A. in 1945. The *City Palace* sketches and technical drawings made by Keil do Amaral were much informed by that visit of his to thirteen cities of the U.S. northwest coast, comprising twenty-four museums and seventeen concert halls (cf. Amaral, 1946).

[26] For more detailed information on Calouste Gulbenkian, v. Hewins, 1957; Perdigão, 1969; and Tchamkerten, 2010.

leave Europe[27]. According to Tchamkerten, it is clear in the correspondence exchanged between Calouste Gulbenkian and his British lawyer, Lord Radcliffe, that "Gulbenkian wanted to create an international foundation that would benefit the entire human race " (*ibid.*: 65). London and Washington[28] had previously been considered by Gulbenkian as possibilities for housing his collection and hosting the headquarters of the future foundation. The thirteen years Gulbenkain ended up spending in Lisbon[29] allowed him to get to know the Portuguese reality better and to realise that the construction of his foundation in Lisbon would most likely have a greater and more meaningful impact on Portuguese society than it would have had on the British or American societies. Those years also allowed for a strong relationship of trust to develop between Gulbenkian and his Portuguese lawyer, José de Azeredo Perdigão[30]. He would be responsible for ensuring that Gulbenkian's will and testament were fulfilled[31] and for the implementation of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon in 1956, one year after Gulbenkian's death.

For a country where the economic, political, and cultural developments of post-war Europe had not been known thus far, the impact of the Foundation on the Portuguese socio-cultural framework was of crucial importance. Featuring educational, artistic, scientific, and charitable purposes, the Foundation was to inherit the remainder of Gulbenkian's fortune[32]

[27] Gulbenkian had pondered the option of entrusting his collection to the U.K. An example of the near-conclusion of such a decision can be found on the 1940 projects of William A. Delano (1874-1960), an American architect, assigned with designing a building, which would be annexed to the National Gallery in London, to house the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum (cf. Grande, 2006). Due to residing in France – an occupied country – Gulbenkian (a British citizen) was deemed by the U.K. government as an 'enemy under the act'. This action from the British government along with an invitation from Washington (v. footnote 20) made him decide to have many of his artworks shipped there (from London). He, then, planned to join them later in the U.S.A.

[28] John Walker, director of the National Gallery in Washington, invited Gulbenkian to display his art collection there in 1950, which required that many of the pieces be moved to Washington for the exhibition. Like with the National Gallery in London, there was also some discussion regarding the possibility of having a Gulbenkian museum and/or institute built there to house the entirety of Gulbenkian's collection.

[29] For more information on Calouste Gulbenkian's stay in Lisbon, v. Tostões, 2006 and Ribeiro, 2007.

[30] José de Azeredo Perdigão (1896-1993) was the FCG's first employee and its first President. In the second half of the 1910s and early 1920s, Azeredo Perdigão was involved in projects of literary and artistic groups. He earned *Doctor honoris causa* degrees from different universities around the world in the fields of Law, Arts, Human Sciences, Humanities, and Architecture.

[31] Calouste Gulbenkian had a will drafted by Lord Radcliffe in 1950 and another one drafted by Azeredo Perdigão in 1953. Even though the latter was meant to overrule and supersede the former, both Lord Radcliffe and Gulbenkian's son, Nubar Gulbenkian, contested the will which determined the establishment of the FCG in Portugal. For further information on Gulbenkian's will and on the FCG's resulting statutes, v. Ferreira, 2007.

[32] In 1955, the annual income of Gulbenkian's oil interests was "of four million pounds sterling, […] subsequently [rising] to ten million (ten million pounds in 1955 would be equivalent to 200 million Euros today)" (Tchamkerten, 2010: 68).

along with his highly valuable art collection – 6440 artworks[33] (from painting and sculpture to decorative arts and tapestries) ranging three thousand years of History from the Far East to the Islamic Orient, from Egypt to Europe (European artworks from the 16th to the 20th centuries). As will be demonstrated next, the FCG would start designing its structural programmes as well as its plans to build the Foundation's headquarters and museum in 1956[34]. The analysis and discussion of those plans will focus on the creation and establishment of the FCG's artistic and educational programmes and on how these two programmes were interconnected, serving as a basis for the formulation of the cultural policies that would work as guidelines for the FCG's future actions.

The Portuguese government's decree of July 18th 1956 instituted the creation of the FCG. As first President of the Foundation, Azeredo Perdigão was responsible for drawing up the statutes as well as for deciding – along with the rest of the Board of Administration members – on the FCG's first activity plan (v. Ferreira, 2007: 107-108). By contemplating the four main areas of engagement of the FCG (in accordance to its patron's wishes) – arts, education, science, and charity – the activity plan demonstrated the FCG's commitment to the creation and enhancement of educational and artistic infrastructures allowing for the development of both sectors. As stated by Azeredo Perdigão, the point was "to do more, to do better, and to do it differently" (Azeredo Perdigão in Tostões: 2006: 38)[35].

In all of the aforementioned areas – and even beyond – the Portuguese society needed more, better, and different things from what was being provided (or not provided) by the State. When compared to the rest of Europe, Portugal was simply lacking. While post-war European governments were looking to "address questions of full employment, decent housing, social provision, welfare, and a broad-based opportunity to construct a better future" (Harvey, 1994: 68), the Portuguese regime desperately "wanted to avoid what were considered to be the costs of progress […] [;] the authorities wanted to have control over each and

[33] Gulbenkian's collection (developed over more than seven decades) was by then spread between Paris, London, and Washington. One of Azeredo Perdigão's first and most important tasks was to assemble all of the pieces in Lisbon after Gulbenkian's death.

[34] In order to be able to start conducting the FCG's activities as soon as possible, some provisional facilities and infrastructures were built at the recently acquired Santa Gertrudes Park (later to become the Calouste Gulbenkian Park) in the centre of Lisbon. Considering the amount of pieces which belonged to Gulbenkian's collection and taking into account their preservation and conservational needs, another space was acquired – the Palácio Marquês de Pombal in Oeiras (on the periphery of Lisbon) – in order to accommodate the collection, as well as to serve as a space for temporary displays and exhibitions.

[35] Partial sentence belonging to the correspondence exchanged between José de Azeredo Perdigão and Pedro Theotónio Pereira, Lisbon, July 22nd, 1958.

every advancement, each and every initiative at the political and social levels" (Barreto, 2007: 25). One of the foundational bases of the new European political culture that emerged in the post-war period with the Marshall Plan was to grant people wide range access to education and culture[36]. The cultural policies implemented in the U.S.A. since the early 1930s[37], which aimed to develop a system of cultural and intellectual interexchange between the State and some of the most important American philanthropic institutions[38] (cf. Yúdice and Miller, 2004), established an ideology regarding the relevance of modern art and culture[39] that post-war Europe would seek to follow.

In the U.K., the restructuring of the *Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts* (CEMA) was led by the economist John Maynard Keynes[40]. Taking the lead on the cultural policies of the U.K. in 1942, and with the intent of promoting cultural democratisation, Maynard Keynes introduced the motto "the best for the most", highlighting the relevance of an active presence of the arts in the process of institutional development and modernisation (cf. Grande, 2009). In 1946, under the new name of *Arts Council of Great Britain*, this State agency started acquiring works of art with the goal of building a public collection – the *Arts Council Collection* – and, with it, diversifying the exhibitions of public art museums and other cultural institutions (cf. *ibid.*).

[36] Articles 22nd and 27th of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (approved and signed in 1948 by the United Nations Organisation [U.N.]) establish the active participation of all people in artistic and cultural events and manifestations as fundamental to human integrity and dignity. Art and culture (in their broadest sense) were, then, 'universally' stated as crucial for an individual's integration in society as well as for an individual's full realisation of her/his citizenship.

[37] In 1935, the U.S.A.'s Federal Arts Project and its Works Progress Administration "sought to endorse and support the arts and artists' involvement in the cultural enrichment of the territory's infrastructural development programme" (Grande, 2009: 31). From very early on, the U.S. government embraced the artistic vanguards, proclaiming and defending the individual freedom of the author, in contrast to how modern art movements had been rejected by European fascist regimes at the time (cf. Grande, 2009). For more information on how these processes unveiled during WWII, v. Guilbaut, 1983.

[38] Namely, the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations (early 1930s onwards), joined by the Fulbright Programme in 1946.

[39] "From 1945 onwards […], there is a reinforcement of the general perception that modern art, an internationalist and cosmopolitan movement by nature, should establish itself as a landmark for the freedom and democracy conquered over the totalitarianisms and political divisions in the West. Therefore, the U.S. post-war cultural policies will tend to support a new generation of artists […] gathered around a pictorial movement which resulted from the meeting between individual freedom and modern abstraction: *Abstract Expressionism*" (Grande, 2009: 32). The development of a well-educated middle class and its influence in political decision-making, as well as its role of social standardisation, resulted in the increase of the number of people interested in visiting cultural institutions displaying European and American artistic vanguards (cf. Grande, 2009).

[40] British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was directly involved in developing a system for the post-First World War socio-economic reconstruction of Europe.

In France, the inauguration of the *Musée National d'Art Moderne* in 1947 marked the return to an era of major cultural projects, based on the example of pre-war government *Front Populaire*[41], with the launch of such programmes as the *Associations d'Éducation Populaire* (aiming to promote reading, filmography, and dramaturgy, amongst other artistic expressions). Under the Ministry of Education and more directly ran by the *Direction générale des Arts et des Lettres*, these regional associations established what the French government designated as programmes of cultural didactics, based on the teaching of artistic practices (cf. *ibid.*). In this mingling and intertwining of educational and artistic policies, it becomes evident that the two were considered crucial to grant citizens the possibility to fully and actively engage with/in cultural activities.

This turn of post-war European governments towards a stronger political action in the cultural and artistic fields can be explained to a great extent by looking at Michel Foucault's definition of the process of governmentalisation of social life which developed in the early modern period and that he referred to by using the concept of *police*[42]. According to Foucault, the aim of a policy and of politics (*police*) "is the permanently increasing production of something new, which is supposed to foster the citizen's life and the state's strength" (Foucault, 1988: 159). In his analysis of this dynamics proposed by Foucault, Tony Bennett argues that – following on the legacy of the Enlightenment philosophy – the early modern period was witness to the

> emergence of new fields of social management in which culture is figured as both the *object* and the *instrument* of government: its object or target insofar as the term [culture] refers to the morals, manners, and ways of life of subordinate social strata; its instrument insofar as it is culture in its more restricted sense – the domain of artistic and intellectual activities – that is to supply the means of a governmental intervention in and regulation of culture as the domain of morals, manners, codes of conduct, etc.
>
> (Bennett, 1992: 26).

Even though, as Bennett mentions, the usage of artistic and intellectual activities as a means of organising the relationship amongst elites as well as between ruling and ruled classes

[41] The *Front Populaire* governed France between 1936 and 1938, and it became "an example of the rereading of the French republican imaginary which based itself on the popularisation of artistic learning" (Grande, 2009: 34).

[42] The French word *police* has several meanings, but in archaic French it stood for government and/or organisation. For further information on the specific usage of this term by Michel Foucault, v. Bennet, 1992: 26-27 and Foucault, 1988: 156-159.

dates back to pre-modern periods, it is only in the early 19th century, that "artistic and intellectual practices come to be inscribed into the processes of government" (*ibid*: 27). Aesthetic and intellectual culture is thenceforward a key aspect of "programs of citizen formation" (*ibid*: 28), where specific cultural technologies – like the public art museum – take up a civilising function. "Art […] becomes increasingly construed as an organizing concept in the service of a particular construction of the modern subject and its agency" (Preziosi 2004: 78), with the visitor being addressed "in the role of an ideal citizen – a member of an idealized 'public' and heir to an ideal, civilized past […] [-] a citizen and therefore a shareholder in the state" (Duncan and Wallach, 1980: 451-52, 457).

It was this socio-cultural project of the Enlightenment and early modern periods that André Malraux[43], French Minister for Cultural Affairs from 1959 to 1969, wished to pick up on and develop in order to ideologically modernise French society. By seeking to provide each and every citizen with a direct contact to their cultural and historic heritage, Malraux made a political use of aesthetic and intellectual culture hoping to thus contribute to the development of a particular notion of citizenship in the French public. His most famous policy, the Cultural Action (*Action Culturelle*), led to the establishment of a national network of Houses of Culture (*Maisons de la Culture*) – cultural infrastructures referred to by Malraux as "modern cathedrals" – where the citizen could come into direct contact with the "glory of the spirit of Humanity" (Malraux, 1959 in Urfalino, 2004: 53): cultural creation. While promoting a universal[44] access to artistic and aesthetic cultural practices and activities, Malraux's ministry always held fast to a sacralising vision of the fine arts, which would propel serious criticism all throughout the 1960s from the younger sector of French society, with Malraux being accused of leading a patronising political form of cultural democratisation. However, his Ministry of Culture – the first of its kind in Europe – ended up serving as a role model for the implementation of cultural policies (establishing political measures seeking to render artistic and intellectual culture accessible to wider ranges of societies and investing in cultural infrastructures) in a number of European countries.

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[43] André Malraux (1901-1976) was a French art theorist, novelist, and statesman. For further information on his work as an art theorist, v. Malraux, 1947.

[44] Malraux explained his ideas to the French National Assembly in 1959 in the following terms: "Il faut que, par ces Maisons de la Culture qui, dans chaque département français diffuseront ce que nous essayons de faire a Paris, n'importe quel enfant de seize ans, si pauvre soit-il, puisse avoir un véritable contact avec son patrimoine national et avec la gloire de l'esprit de l'humanité" (Urfalino, 2004: 53).

In the post-war period, cultural affairs were crucial objects and instruments in the reconstruction and refashioning of the western modern imagery: “[f]rom then on, the political debate regarding the role of culture will reflect the contemplation over the social mission of governments and institutions” (Grande, 2009: 37). This period was prolific in the launching of new forms of cultural policies as well as new socio-cultural programmes. Highly influenced by this sort of renewal of modernity generated by a new-found post-war western political culture, the FCG would present itself as the cultural policy maker of Portuguese society from the late 1950s onwards. The FCG would be responsible for introducing the Portuguese public to “more, better, and different” cultural policies, having to sometimes face the State’s political culture head on.

In spite of the somewhat conservator spirit and classicist taste of the philanthropist[45], the first Chair of the Board of Administration of the FCG, Azeredo Perdigão, would input to the overall project and programme a cosmopolitan and progressive vision. He was aware of the new social, educational, cultural, and scientific developments in the European and North American spaces, and so Azeredo Perdigão went against the mainstream of political and cultural conservator thought and sought to endow the FCG with a sense of contemporaneity. The FCG was, then, to take on the challenge of embracing and working with new paradigms of space (at architectural and landscaping levels), education (scholarships for scientific and artistic training), and culture (transformations in the artistic and societal realms).

Azeredo Perdigão outlined the mission of the newly founded institution having in mind a concept of culture vested in the notion of a “public service” policy. In a country ruled by an exclusionist regime, the FCG aimed at becoming an inclusive space for different cultural expressions and sought to reach heterogeneous and geographically remote publics. During the construction of the Gulbenkian Headquarters and Museum (GHQM), the FCG developed and presented several cultural and artistic activities to the Portuguese public. The FCG was responsible for the creation and establishment of standards regarding artistic and intellectual cultural activity: from organising exhibitions, concerts, and conferences, to developing fixed and mobile public libraries, and attributing scholarships and awards. These activities – some

[45] Gulbenkian had a predilection for ancient and classical art, but he also collected pieces from artists such as Monet, Manet, and Van Gogh.

of them starting even before the FCG had completely established its legal institutional identity[46] – were the beginning of what was to become "by far the most consistent and continuous artistic 'season' of the country" (Barreto, 2007: 41).

The FCG's activities were significant enough – considering their number, the financial investment made, and their early impacts and results – to have António Salazar, the head of the regime, acknowledge that "[t]he foundation directed by him [Azeredo Perdigão] constitutes an admirable Ministry of Culture" (Trabulo, 2008 in Tchamkerten, 2010: 75). It asserted itself as a structure-building entity, "generating new expectations or confronting existing ones at every turn […] [,] granting resources for the development of literacy and citizenship" (Conde, 2006: 72) and thus helping to create and develop a systemically organised public sphere. The FCG took on the State's (unfulfilled) role of cultural policy maker, taking charge of creating the much needed circumstances and opportunities for a contact with modernity. Covering many different sectors of society[47], the FCG's main intention behind its cultural policies was to allow for the flourishing of "a different kind of modernity, […] [a] cultural and artistic modernity, […] a modernity of literacy, development, and cosmopolitanism" *(ibid.*: 78).

The notion of culture, specifically artistic and intellectual culture, as a particular field of government of society, was understood quite dissimilarly by the FCG and the State. While the State regarded it and used it as a mechanism of imposition and control, the Foundation saw it both as an end in itself as well as a means of modifying and enhancing the varied kinds of relationships and interactions between people (readers, visitors, spectators, students, artists) and the cultural form(at)s and technologies responsible for the evolution of a determinate artistic or intellectual culture (books, exhibitions, theatre plays, films, music, museums). The FCG understood the importance of this hermeneutical circle dynamics for the development of cultural habits. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the FCG sought to equip and empower society at a cultural level. In the generalist field of the arts and letters, the policies and plans of action delineated from the mid-1950s to the mid-70s by the FCG aimed at creating greater possibilities: for the contact of the general public with the visual and performance arts; for the fostering of reading habits; for granting scholarships for studies

[46] For example, the first high school scholarships were granted in November 1955 (cf. Barreto, 2007).

[47] The FCG was responsible for purchasing what is believed to have been the first computer in Portugal, making its use available for researchers and other institutions (cf. Conde, 2006).

(project developments, artistic residencies, etc.) in Portugal and abroad. These, amongst others, were strategic forms of initiating and supporting a cultural system that would then perpetuate itself: the cultural empowerment gained from greater contact with artistic and intellectual culture would in its turn generate a more acute and structured sense of citizenship, with citizens seeking to engage in/with the production of cultural expressions. The in-depth analysis and discussion of the FCG cultural policies (which will follow) – engaging in a critical examination of the intentions, strategies, and results of those policies – is part of the process of (re)constructing the thread that leads to conclusions regarding the role of artistic and cultural institutions in the making of culture.

2.1.1. Supporting creators, creating supporters: networks of knowledges and effects

The FCG was responsible for the inception and sustainability of a cycle of artistic and intellectual culture production and consumption. This new economics was made possible by specific policies that were adopted and put into action by the FCG. Given the country's socio-economic situation, and in face of the lack of investment in crucial sectors, the FCG sought to respond to immediate, specific needs, while simultaneously developing a medium- to long-term plan of action regarding its areas of intervention. In order to ensure the progress of a self-sustained cycle, it was necessary to implement a two-sided functioning network: supporting creators and creating supporters. The FCG found it crucial – and fundamentally logical – to endorse/support artists, students, and institutions contributing to the production of artistic and intellectual culture, as well as to create the appropriate logistical, financial, social, educational, and cultural circumstances to engage the population with the works-in-progress and the results of the FCG's investments. This somewhat pragmatic and empirical strategy intended to generate a vibrant cultural dynamic. Ten out of the thirteen points of action of the FCG's first Plan of Activities contemplated the fields of education, art, and culture. Some of those points of action were responsible for significant immediate and short-term shifts in the artistic and educational culture of the country. In light of that, the granting of different types of scholarships, the creation of an itinerant libraries' service and of a publishing service, as well as the attribution of awards to artists will now be defined and analysed as key actions contributing to firmly establish the FCG's undoubted role as a culture-making institution in Portugal.

The broad field of Education was one of the main focus points of the FCG, and one where the underlying principles of accessibility and social justice were quite clear:

> ideally, no one should be deprived, due to lack of funds, of the right to educate himself/herself so as to hold a position in society that corresponds to their true ability and desire. It is a foremost mandate of our consciences as human beings that, in our community, the right to education be considered a fundamental human right.
>
> (Perdigão, undated a): 144).

These were the philosophical reasons behind the implementation of the scholarships' programme. Scholarships for high school and undergraduate studies were awarded on the basis of socio-economic and merit criteria. The awarding of scholarships for postgraduate studies followed scientific and cultural criteria. According to Barreto, several generations

owe the possibility of their scientific and cultural education to the FCG, with students and scholars from the Humanities, Social Sciences, and the Arts – the fields most neglected by the regime – benefitting greatly from the opportunities granted by the FCG. Idalina Conde, Portuguese Sociology Professor, highlights the political dimension of the granting of scholarships by stating that many international postgraduate scholarships were awarded to the "*intelligentsia* that was critical of the regime [;] [t]he Foundation's scholarships were a way out, a chance for exile and artistic migration for all kinds of creative people" (Conde, 2006: 80). The international scholarships propelled a structural transformation: the artists, researchers, and students returned to Portugal with the capacity to put forward and implement new knowledges, new work methods, and new organisational frameworks into the teaching systems, the research centres, and the artistic communities they belonged to (cf. Barreto, 2007: 47). The FCG was also responsible for inviting artists, creators, critics, and specialists from several different fields of expertise to exhibit their work, give lectures, and participate in conferences in Portugal. It thus created a "platform of flux so characteristic of an institution pushing modernity" (Conde, 2006: 80).

The sustainability of that "platform of flux" (*ibid.*) depended not only on supporting the educational development of those holding teaching, creative, and research jobs, but also on contributing for the general educational enhancement of all citizens, since a greater cultural awareness would generate a greater interest in artistic and cultural expressions. With this goal in mind, the FCG established several directives to promote and cultivate reading habits. Two of the most significant examples of outreach activities in that scope were the creation of a publishing service and the establishment of fixed and itinerant libraries. The publishing service was responsible for a huge increase in the availability of books – both in number and genres – allowing for a greater chance of getting the public in contact with "scientific, technical, and academic books, [as well as books of] the great spiritual heritage of humanity" (Barreto, 2007: 42). This service was also responsible for the publishing of many authors whose work, conduct, and/or political views were not approved of by the State. As Barreto highlights, the list of works published is an example of pluralism, comprising authors from all spectra of world-views and ideologies. Along with the publishing service, which also published hundreds of exhibition catalogues and many issues of one of the most relevant

journals for Portuguese artistic and intellectual culture[48], the FCG sought to promote reading habits through the establishment of fixed and itinerant libraries. The scope of the thusly named travelling libraries (v. figs. 2.1. to 2.3.), created in May 1958, expanded beyond the Lisbon territory, reaching many of the most remote and isolated villages in the rural countryside of Portugal. Such an activity aimed at fostering the possibilities for a closer relationship of the general public – "of all cultural levels – popular, average, and well-educated" (Perdigão cited in Conde, 2006: 77) – with the habit and culture of reading. The functioning of this service was fully supported by the FCG, as it had a policy of free access and free loaning. These libraries included all types of books spanning a multitude of themes, from children's books, to national and international novels and poetry, as well as a significant volume of informative and formative literature including university and study manuals[49]. In creating this network of libraries the FCG once again took on the State's role. In a country "where the rate of illiteracy in 1960 was of 33.1% and where only 0.8% of the population had attended middle school, high school, or university" (Conde, 2006: 79), the creation and maintenance of 168 libraries and sixty itinerant libraries in a decade (cf. Barreto, 2007) is exemplary of the FCG's commitment to help develop Portuguese society. Considering the social and educational climate, Conde calls these activities "a subtle form of subversion" (Conde, 2006: 79), as the FCG was aiming to help move society towards something much dreaded by the regime: progress. In taking the State's place, the FCG further enhanced and rooted its institutional role in Lisbon's (and the country's) cultural topography.

That role was also expressed by the FCG through another one of the points established in the first Plan of Activities: the Calouste Gulbenkian Award. This money prize was meant to reward several artists (eight in its first edition) in the fields of visual arts, literature, and music. Despite the changes in scope it underwent throughout the years, the mere existence of this award – and its listing as one of the first actions to be carried out by the FCG – demonstrated the FCG's stand point regarding the intrinsic value of artistic expressions and the need to uphold them as crucial contributors to the making (and transformation) of culture

[48] In January 1959 the first issue of the journal *Colóquio – Revista Portuguesa de Artes e Letras* [Colloquium – Portuguese Journal of Arts and Letters] was published. A journal dedicated to art, literature, education, science, and society. Sixty-one issues were published until 1970 when the journal was restructured and divided into two publications: *Colóquio/Artes* (111 issues until its end in December 1996) and *Colóquio/Letras* (currently still being published – 191 issues until Jan.-Apr. 2016); v. section 2.1.3.

[49] The FCG's travelling libraries (and the fixed libraries supported by the FCG) served around 50 million readers who checked out 150 million books (cf. Barreto, 2007). "This must have been the greatest effort ever made to encourage reading in Portugal" (Barreto, 2007: 44).

and heritage. The creation of this prize along with other actions designed to aid and support artists in their work – of which the aforementioned scholarships are just one illustration – is yet another example of the type of systems the FCG sought to help generate: it was important to support the developmental process as well as to reward that same process when it came to completion, producing thought-provoking and culture-making works of art. The artistic and intellectual culture would benefit greatly from the constant renovation produced by "powerful stimuli within a backward and repressed artistic universe" (Barreto, 2007: 47) such as the one prevalent in Portugal from the 1930s to the 50s, as depicted in chapter two.

The work of the FCG in the educational, cultural, and artistic fields from the mid-1950s to the mid-70s was decisive. The opportunities made possible by the FCG's vision and financial support served as a starting point for innovation without which the timely (many times already overdue) access to new ways of thinking and seeing the world would have been missed or even lost. These dynamics of networks of knowledges set in motion and the consequent (self-sustaining hermeneutic circle of) effects it generated is one of the fundamental legacies the FCG has left in Portuguese society. By intersecting socio-economic, political, educational, artistic, and cultural components, the FCG's first activities led to the production of a (soon to be) shared dialogical space, able to respond to the needs of the local context by making possible the opportunities for an engagement of the closed off and repressed locality (Portugal) with the cultural discourses of a modernised Europe and United States of America. The supporting of creators and the creation of supporters in this network of knowledges and effects left an indelible mark on the country's history, one to be mandatorily traced in order to fully grasp the impact of the FCG on Portuguese society throughout the years. As Barreto puts it: "the invisible, diffuse influence which is indirectly exerted onto society and which, from a certain moment onwards, loses its origin designation, is quite likely the most important of all" (Barreto, 2007: 44).

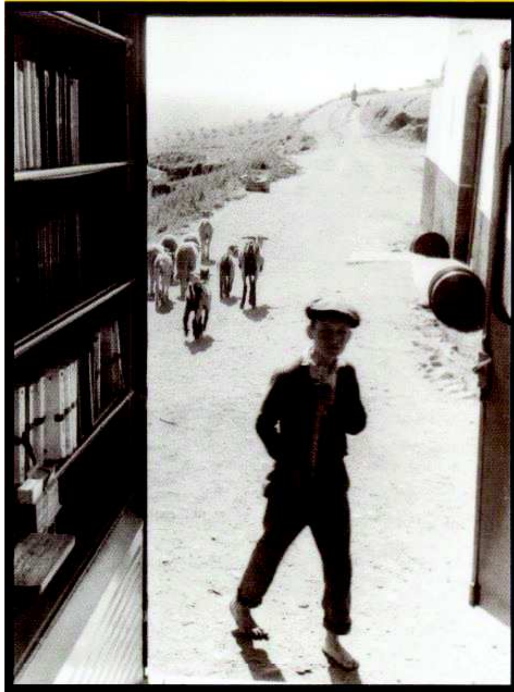

Figure 2.1. – FCG's Travelling Libraries

Figure 2.2. – FCG's Travelling Libraries

Figure 2.3. – FCG's Travelling Libraries

2.1.2. Exhibiting and collecting modern and contemporary art: language and politics

In the artistic panorama, the FCG's cultural policies were accentuated by the organisation of several visual art exhibitions. Those displays make up the first public evidence of the FCG's – and namely Azeredo Perdigão's – commitment to establish and put into action a medium- to long-term programme for the development of the visual arts in Portugal. Much like the network of knowledges and effects described previously, the organisation of these shows also had the double objective of supporting artists – actively and symbolically – and of contributing to the artistic formation and education of the public. Azeredo Perdigão's analysis of the artistic-cultural situation[50] of the country led him to the conclusion that it would be first of all necessary to work contiguously on three complementary fields: the conservation and exhibition of Portuguese artistic heritage; the support and display of contemporary (older and younger) artists of varied art movements and schools; and the education and formation of the public by exposing people to consecrated art history as well as to the contemporary history of art in the making.

The FCG initiated its activities of art display in 1957 with its *I Visual Arts Exhibition* (I EAP) – taking place in the SNBA's facilities – which was the first major public act of the FCG and with which it would set the tone for its institutional role in the Portuguese artistic scene. Organised by the FCG's Museum and Fine-Arts Service, this exhibition was designed to showcase the results of a contest (v. figs. 2.4. to 2.6.). 551 artists presented 2353 works of art, competing for prize-money and scholarships[51]. For the exhibition, 148 artists (255 pieces) were selected and fifteen prizes and scholarships were awarded. The selection obeyed a clear aim, that of providing "a comprehensive perspective of the current state of the visual arts in Portugal" (Perdigão, 1957). Even though the organisation ascertained the FCG's commitment to contributing to the development of the arts in Portugal with no special regard and/or patronage for any particular school or movement (cf. Perdigão, 1957), the final

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[50] Azeredo Perdigão conducted a thoroughly continuous analysis and review of the artistic and cultural panoramas in Portugal (focusing on production, distribution, and reception methods and outcomes), v. Perdigão, 1961. As Ribeiro puts it, "in a country where the absence of artistic topicality was nearly absolute" (Ribeiro, 2007: 328), Azeredo Perdigão and the FCG would have to work first of all on gaining an acute, accurate, and comprehensive vision of the current state of affairs of the Portuguese artistic scene. This was one of the main goals of the *I Visual Arts Exhibition*, with Azeredo Perdigão explicitly designating the organisation of that display as a "real examination meant to clarify certain problems" (Perdigão, 1957: 2).

[51] For further information on the technical specificities of the contest organisation, v. Villas-Boas, 1957 and Oliveira, 2010.

outcome of the whole process revealed quite polemic, with another exhibition being organised featuring the artists and works that had been rejected from the FCG's I EAP[52]. Regardless of the many criticisms and bad reviews it was subjected to[53], the exhibition succeeded in introducing a considerable degree of novelty and change at multiple levels: the exhibition plan and format, the gathering of different generations of artists, the type of publicity and the type of public engagement conducted, as well as the stimuli it provided for the national art market. At the level of plan and format the exhibition was initially envisioned as the first edition of a periodical series of shows[54].

This first edition distanced itself (and broke away) from the typical salons[55], following instead the model of the Venice Biennale, showcasing different generations of artists in the same space, contributing, thus, to a more complete overview of the artistic panorama. The Portuguese public needed more opportunities to further engage with their own recent art history – given that much of the modern art of the early 20th century was not well-accepted by the political regime and therefore did not have many chances to be displayed – as well as opportunities to get to know the art created by their contemporary artists. The FCG was aware of this reality and believed it was necessary to create spaces for the public to be simultaneously exposed to consecrated and contemporary art because, as Azeredo Perdigão put it: "[t]he artistic culture cannot, however, be constructed solely on the basis of works from the past, no matter how beautiful they may be; it is also necessary to give young [artists] the chance to be known and understood" (Perdigão, 1961: 87). Much to this end of educating the public, the exhibition was accompanied by a set of lectures about modern art by a panel of experts[56] on that topic. The public was invited not only to see the exhibition as a spectator looking at an assemblage of works that have been laid out for him/her, but also as an active observer, empowered by the availability of information and discussions regarding the gen-

[52] The artists whose artworks were excluded from the I EAP (some of them were household names of Portuguese arts academies) organised their own exhibition in January 1958. This exhibition was supported and endorsed by the FCG.

[53] Due to the many articles both defending and criticising the criteria used by the jury to select the works, the FCG's I EAP can be considered responsible for the first public debate directly regarding modernism vs. naturalism as well as academicism vs. innovation/creativity in the artistic field in Portugal.

[54] A second exhibition, following the same guidelines and format, was held in 1961 at the Lisbon's Industries Fair facilities.

[55] A format still in vogue and adopted by the SNI as well as the SNBA.

[56] Namely, Bernard Dorival (1914-2003), art historian and at the time curator of the *Musée National d'Art Moderne* in Paris, and Roland Penrose (1900-1984), artist, poet, and art historian, who at the time he was president of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London.

eral subject of the exhibition. This fact, coupled with the unprecedented expenses on publicity and catalogues for the exhibition, ensured a type of media attention and public curiosity that had not been known in Portugal in the fields of art and culture. The I EAP was, first of all and particularly, an example of Azeredo Perdigão's cultural policy: a thoughtful and interested relationship with the artistic production of his time, regarding such production as crucial for the organisation of a collection of Portuguese contemporary art that could be toured around the country so as to form/educate a public for art. The acquisition of a number of works displayed at the exhibition was very important for the initiation of an art world in Portugal. It was also the beginning of what would later on become the most important collection of Portuguese art of the 20th century. This early dynamics between the FCG and Portuguese artists also worked as an incentive for wealthier classes to buy works of art, contributing to a greater degree of sustainability of the art market in Portugal.

This first visual arts exhibition organised by the FCG – before the construction of the headquarters and museum – helped to reshape the country's artistic cultural discourse by framing and using language in exemplary ways. The FCG's wish and aim to set 'more, better, and different' standards was put into practice through the devising of a language that would set the FCG apart, and clearly set the tone for its artistic cultural practices. The renovation of the exhibition location (SNBA), the designing of the space and of the exhibition's museography – the definition of characteristics such as the ordering and format of the display of artworks and of the informative materials that accompany them (like texts), the lighting, the labelling, etc. – were all conducted in order to shape and create a specific language. Those elements would reflect the FCG's own language, its way of working and of viewing (and communicating to the public) art and its role in society. The generational and thematic disparity along with the confrontation of artistic movements and trends reflected – and made visible as well as textually intelligible – the artistic realities of the time, while simultaneously being a result of the political context[57]. The FCG's I EAP was demonstrative of the work of language and politics in art exhibitions, given that "in all these shows […] diplomacy, politics, and commerce converge in a powerful movement, the purpose of which seems to be the appropriation and instrumentalization of the symbolic value of art" (Basualdo, 2010: 129).

[57] The FCG wanted to develop its own institutional identity without, however, entering into direct conflict with the State or its organisations. The relationship between the FCG and the regime was tenuous, ambivalent, and ambiguous at points, but nevertheless necessary – and both the FCG and the State recognised it as such.

Such was the case with this exhibition that ended up highlighting and promoting the institutionalisation of the more recent artistic trends (regardless of the FCG's statements of impartiality in relation to the dichotomies of modern art/academy and figuration/abstraction). The controversy such unspoken endorsement generated would be responsible for the reinvigoration of the artistic scene in Portugal which would translate into new opportunities for the development of the visual arts. The field could now count on the support of an interested and committed patron that upheld the concepts of artistic freedom[58], creativity, and renovation, as well as the values of improving the public's cultural and artistic knowledge and appreciation[59]. This initial step, meant to establish the FCG's institutional role before the artists and the public, represented a point of rupture in the history of art exhibitions in Portugal. In the eight years following this 'institutional presentation' exhibition the FCG would organise another five very important exhibitions.

In 1958 the FCG held the *A Rainha D. Leonor* exhibition (v. figs. 2.7. to 2.9.). This art and history exhibition celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Portuguese Queen Eleanor of Viseu[60] – a patron herself and founder of the *Misericórdias*[61] in Portugal – was an opportunity for the further implementation and strengthening of the FCG's institutional language. The great investment again in museography[62] would fulfil the ultimate goal of subtly establishing a connection between the charitable and cultural work of one of Portugal's most important historical figures and the projects and programmes the FCG sought to implement and develop in the country and beyond. The FCG thus further established its language and its view on cultural policies before the public with "[t]he appropriation of a historical figure and the re-enactment of an iconographic universe […] through works of art

[58] In his first official report as President of the FCG, Azeredo Perdigão wrote: "where ever there is a true artist, i.e., an honest and capable artist, loyal to a superior aesthetic ideal, the Foundation will be with him/her, ready to help him/her fulfil his/her work, regardless of the artistic tendencies, school, or movements his/her work belongs to" (Perdigão, 1961: 87).

[59] As Antóno Pinto Ribeiro highlights, Azeredo Perdigão was aware of the task at hand, having stated in his first report that the FCG would "first of all, and by all means, work toward the moral improvement of mankind and toward the betterment of the cultural level of the people" (Perdigão, 1961: 87).

[60] It was fitting that this should be one of the FCG's first exhibitions, as Queen Eleanor of Viseu (1458-1525, Portuguese queen consort between 1481 and 1495) spent much of her personal wealth on charity work; she supported the implementation and equipment of All Saints Royal Hospital in Lisbon (which was considered the best hospital in Europe at the time); and she also endorsed the construction of the *Madre de Deus* convent, an architectural masterpiece of great relevance to the city then.

[61] The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was Queen Eleanor's most renowned legacy. Still in existence today, the *Misericórdias* were founded as confraternities with humanitarian and charitable purposes, supporting and taking care of poor and sick people, as well as fostering abandoned children.

[62] The *Madre de Deus* convent was fully restored by the FCG for this commemorative exhibition.

and documentation, pointing towards the power of exhibitions in putting forward new interpretations and discourses about artistic objects" (Oliveira, 2011: 7). According to António Pinto Ribeiro, Portuguese curator and art essayist, the organisation of this exhibition (the architectural and designing intervention in the space, the research conducted for the catalogue, etc.) can be directly linked to the implementation of a museum in that space[63] seven years later (cf. Ribeiro, 2007).

Internationalisation was a key aspect in the FCG's plan for constru(ct)ing a shared space for the creation, fruition of, and interrogation about the arts. In 1961, the FCG held an exhibition in Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra titled *British Art in the Twentieth Century* (v. figs. 2.10. to 2.12.). This painting and sculpture exhibition by British authors was organised by the British Council[64] for the FCG. This was the FCG's first activity geared towards enriching the Portuguese public's knowledge of international art and it granted that public with the chance to get better acquainted with British painting and sculpture of the past sixty years. The next step in allowing for opportunities for a contact with art from a foreign country was the organisation of the exhibition *A Century of French Painting – 1850-1950*[65], in 1965. This exhibition was accompanied by the organisation of a conference where Portuguese and French specialists held eight lectures on the topic. It was one of the most attended exhibitions during the FCG's early years, with around 100 000 visitors (cf. Ribeiro, 2007). In the previous year, over 90 000 people attended the exhibition *54/64 – Painting & Sculpture of a Decade*, the first major international exhibition co-organised by the FCG. Assembled by the British Arts Advisory Committee, it was held at the Tate Gallery in London and was "one of the largest surveys of post-1945 painting and sculpture undertaken to that date" (Stephenson, 2012: 422). Featuring 170 contemporary artists and over 350 artworks this exhibition highlighted the interaction between different artistic practices and cultural sensibilities emerging at the time. Despite its North American/European-centric approach[66], the issues

[63] The restored convent would become the house of the National Museum of Portuguese Tile, in 1965.

[64] The FCG and the British Council had been developing an official relationship since 1959. This was much due to Calouste Gulbenkian's history with the British government. The rapport with the British Council was crucial for the development of the FCG's collection of British art, which took shape through the advice and counselling of some of the most important British art critics at the time, such as Herbert Read (founder of the Institute for Contemporary Art). For further information on the relationship between the FCG and the British Council, as well as on the FCG's British art collection, see: Vasconcelos, 1997.

[65] This exhibition was a moment of consolidation of the relationship between the FCG and Malraux's Ministry of Culture, confirming the policies and ideologies which brought Malraux and Azeredo Perdigão closer and that were mentioned in the previous chapter.

[66] "Of the 170 artists featured, forty resided in France, forty-six in the U.S. and forty-nine were from the U.K., leaving only limited representation from elsewhere. […] With only a few women artists, no artists of colour

brought forward by this exhibition contributed to a re-adjustment of cultural policies and to a re-thinking of modern exhibition practices and of art audiences' engagement.

The five art exhibitions discussed above are representative of the FCG's ideas for the development of an institutional language – and the message that language sought to convey through a continued artistic programme – as well as demonstrative of the type of cultural policies the FCG's sought to implement. The I and II EAP of the FCG attained the goals of consecrating some of the great names[67] of Portuguese first modernism[68] while showcasing the more recent artistic tendencies of younger authors and engaging the public with unprecedented museography and thematic lectures. These exhibitions were the departure point for a closer relationship to develop between Portuguese audiences and modern art. The aforementioned 1958 exhibition, a celebratory moment of (Portuguese) art history, although more conservator in content, continued the goal of establishing the FCG's language through exhibition design. The presentation of British and French early modern and contemporary art was a key element in the FCG's construction and fostering of artistic and cultural awareness, sensibility, appreciation, and knowledge in the Portuguese public[69]. The support and co-organisation of a major international exhibition which questioned pre-established notions of art and raised issues for its debate and re-thinking was one of the most important stepping stones for the FCG's internationalisation on the artistic and cultural fields.

The FCG introduced new discourses and representational strategies into the artistic and cultural fields through language and unprecedented politics – a language that can be considered to have developed as a direct reference to and as a representation of the FCG's scheme of values, aiming towards the production of knowledge. This was also the point of the institutional politics developed: to enlarge the scope of governance in the artistic and cultural fields and to aid in their ingress into civic production of knowledge. The FCG's actions broadened the range of possibilities in the artistic and cultural horizon and sought to prepare

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and an emphatic focus on painting and sculpture, as the conventional means for artistic expression, the Tate show seems, at first glance, to offer a rather narrow and biased approach; what one critic termed 'a white-collared attitude to art'." (Stephenson, 2012: 430).

[67] Such as Almada Negreiros, for example, who was awarded a 'career award' *hors concours*.

[68] Portuguese Modernism, and more specifically the artistic and literary modernist movements and currents, is often broken down into the First Modernism and the Second Modernism. For further information on the reasons for and meanings of these designations, v. Dix and Pizarro, 2011.

[69] As Azeredo Perdigão clearly stated in his first report as President of the FCG: "At first we will organise exhibitions that will present the public with fundamental notions of Art History in general and Portuguese Art History in particular, by displaying […] some of the most famous works of art of [human] artistic heritage. At the same time we will organise visual arts exhibitions of national contemporary artists in our university cities and other towns […]" (Perdigão, 1961: 104).

the Portuguese public for the FCG's future activities in those fields. As will be discussed next, its role of educational, cultural, and artistic powerhouse is one that the FCG will uphold throughout the years and throughout the development – and increase in range and scope – of its artistic and cultural activities.

Figure 2.4. - FCG's I Visual Arts Exhibition at SNBA in 1957

Figure 2.5. - FCG's I Visual Arts Exhibition at SNBA in 1957

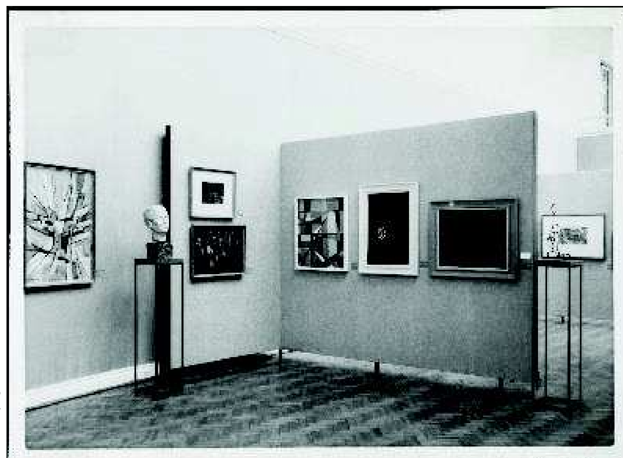


Figure 2.6. - FCG's I Visual Arts Exhibition at SNBA in 1957

Figure 2.7. - Exhibition *A Rainha D. Leonor*

Figure 2.8. - Exhibition *A Rainha D. Leonor*

Figure 2.9. - Exhibition *A Rainha D. Leonor*

Figure 2.10. - Exhibition British Art of the Twentieth Century, Coimbra, 1962

Figure 2.11. - Exhibition British Art of the Twentieth Century, Oporto, 1962

Figure 2.12. - Exhibition British Art of the Twentieth Century, Oporto, 1962

2.1.3. The FCG's cultural programme: building towards a transformative practice

The plan of action set forward by the FCG – and the means taken to reach its goals and objectives – were based on such grounding notions as creation, renovation, improvement: to do "more, better, and different". With that frameset in mind, the FCG's cultural programme was very much seeded on "[a] modernity and [a] cosmopolitanism derived from this habit of listening, meeting, and engaging with the thought and experience of those most acknowledged in the world" (Barreto, 2007: 44). The introduction of modernity and cosmopolitanism – via the establishment of modern and cosmopolitan habits in artistic and cultural practices – was one of the indelible marks left by the FCG on Portuguese society. The early (and quick) structuring of the FCG's cultural programme is demonstrative of that need and wish for a cultural transformation.

The political culture of the FCG (much determined by its President), and therefore its cultural policies, were highly influenced by the theoretical and practical work of André Malraux. The principles underlying the *Action Culturelle* of the French Minister for Cultural Affairs (v. subchapter 2.1.) steered Azeredo Perdigão's ideals for the development of cultural policies aiming to support the arts, to create spaces for their democratic fruition, as well as to foster the public's knowledge and appreciation of artistic expressions:

> It is not enough to open schools, improve the teaching level, grant scholarships for artists to perfect their work here and abroad; all of that is required, but also more is needed, it is indispensable to educate the people, to awaken an interest for works of art, to have people consider them essential things, understand their message, and not be able to go without them.
>
> (Perdigão, 1961: 83).

Despite the patronising (and standardising) tone and approach, this notion of cultural action was fundamental for a country like Portugal, where the State investment in arts and culture was limited and restrictive. The FCG started the job of structuring cultural policies in the mid- to late-1950s, taking on the State's role and acting like a Ministry of Culture, opening up the country to external artistic and cultural influences and allowing for modernity and cosmopolitanism to seep in. Another important aspect that reveals a parallelism between the FCG's cultural policies and Malraux's Cultural Action is the broad scope approach of the FCG towards the endorsement and promotion of different artistic expressions. As stated by Azeredo Perdigão in his first four-year report as President, the greatest benefits to art and

artists would come by "fostering the development of the public's taste for all artistic manifestations and expressions" (Perdigão, 1961: 83).

The FCG's initial cultural programme addressed many of the lacks and insufficiencies that had been identified in the Portuguese artistic and cultural contexts. That programme's first actions fostered literary education, most visibly through the Itinerant Libraries project; it granted scholarships to art and humanities students as well as to artists; it acted as a publishing house, aiding in or fully supporting the publication costs of a number of priceless works; and it initiated a sequence of varied temporary exhibitions to get the public in touch with national and international art history as well as with the contemporary artistic movements. But the FCG's cultural programme went far beyond that. In 1957, the FCG organised the 1st edition of the Gulbenkian Music Festival; in 1959 it created the Musical Education, Musical Didactics, and Music Initiation for Children courses; in 1962 the Gulbenkian Orchestra was formed, followed by the Gulbenkian Choir in 1964 and the Gulbenkian Ballet Group in 1965. Music and the related performance arts were a strong bet of the FCG's programme, allowing for the interaction between and co-work of Portuguese and foreign maestros, musicians, and performers. Much like in the visual arts field, the FCG's Music Service – comprising the orchestra, the choir, and the ballet as well as the courses – became a "trendsetter and gatekeeper"[70] (Conde, 2006: 74). The programme was also responsible for research projects which allowed for the development of artistic inventories pertaining to traditional Portuguese artistic crafts such as woodwork and glazed-tile. In 1959, the first edition of the cultural journal *Colóquio – Revista Portuguesa de Artes e Letras* (Colloquium – Portuguese Journal of Arts and Letters) was published. It gradually turned into a great success, becoming "an intellectual and artistic reference of the national cultural panorama" (Ribeiro, 2007: 324), so much so that it would later on (1971) unfold into two distinct and more field-specific journals to cater to specific audiences: *Colóquio Artes* (arts driven and oriented) and *Colóquio Letras* (humanities driven and oriented)[71] (v. figs. 2.13. to 2.15.). The conferences and lectures held alongside some art exhibitions also became a symbol of the FCG's cultural action, with many thematic conferences being held within the context of cinema, theatre, and dance cycles.

[70] For further information on the FCG's Music Service, v. Ribeiro, 2007.
[71] V. footnote 48 and Ribeiro, 2007.

The variety of the activities developed, the fact that in many of them different and often contrasting artistic and intellectual approaches could be found, and the high level of communication and engagement with the public, reveal the type of goals the FCG's cultural programme was aiming at. It is possible to discern two main objectives that were interdependent: one was the great care and preoccupation with providing as many opportunities as possible for the cultural, literary, and artistic education/fruition of students, artists, and the public in general; the other was the (re)definition of the national cultural discourse. This (re)definition aimed at creating a "true 'democratising' public space, [becoming] a 'window' – basically the only one – of connection between Salazar's Portugal and international culture" (Grande, 2009: 109). Education towards a renewed cultural discourse, a more intellectually encompassing and artistically comprehensive one, was, thus, the initial step of a cultural programme seeking to establish the grounds for its continuation and sustainability. The FCG made significant efforts to ensure some level of heterogeneity and difference in its cultural programming, especially if one considers the socio-political context of the country at the time. However, and regardless of those efforts, the phenomenon of educating a public on the basis of a set of cultural policies which have the same origin as the cultural policies that will offer that public with much of the artistic expressions it will come in contact with, presents its problems.

The FCG's responsibility in the cultural and artistic formation of the Portuguese public can be considered to have been indivisible from the establishment of a given 'taste in art', which could arguably condition future responses of that same public. The 'pure gaze', as defined by Pierre Bourdieu in *The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic*, implies/supposes the formation of an aesthetic structure of vision in which the work of art is attended to in and for itself. Imbedded in the historical processes through which the 'pure gaze' was constru(ct)ed is the role of the spaces and institutions accountable for the categorisation, assemblage, arrangement, nomination, and classification of things as works of art. Alongside the creation and development of institutions responsible for rendering works visible as 'art', lays the formation and development of circumstances and methods that produced spectators capable of recognising and appreciating those works as such (cf. Bennett, 1998).

> The experience of the work of art as being immediately endowed with meaning and value is a result of the accord between the two mutually founded aspects of the same historical institution: the cultured habitus and the artistic field. Given that the work of art exists as such (namely as a symbolic object endowed with meaning and value) only

> if it is apprehended by spectators possessing the disposition and the aesthetic competence which are tacitly required, one could then say that it is the aesthete's eye which constitutes the work of art as a work of art. But, one must also remember immediately that this is possible only to the extent that the aesthete himself is the product of a long exposure to artworks.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1987: 202)

Here Bourdieu argues that the interaction between the artworks and their beholders follows a hermeneutical circle of exchange, where pieces can only truly become works of art when contemplated by knowing/knowledgeable beholders, while at the same time these spectators can only be considered knowledgeable as a consequence of their exposure to and contemplation of works of art. Moreover, it can be considered that this interaction between the production and promotion of art and of an artistic taste and, therefore, the creation of a public for art falls into the logics of the dialectic through which, as Marx argued, the processes of producing an object for consumption and the processes of producing a consuming subject continuously interrelate in the ways necessary for the circle of exchange between them to be completed (cf. Marx, 1973).

Despite Bourdieu's (now dated, and perhaps always relatively questionable) views on the implications of class in the relation of the individual with culture and artistic expression – always polarising aesthetic dispositions either as popular or bourgeois – there is an underpinning issue pertaining to the relation between art production and art consumption (appreciation, fruition): the issue of theory. As Bennett puts it, theory – here specifically "a distinctive language of art" (Bennett, 1998: 164) – is what mediates the relations between the work of art and the public. The reason why the knowledgeable beholder can look at pieces and experience/construe them as works of art is because he has a knowledge of the theory (language) necessary not only to admire, but also to read and interpret the pieces as 'art'[72]. The knowledge of that language, or lack thereof, plays a significant part in the possibility of enjoyment and fruition of a work of art by the public. In the classic audience study *L'amour de l'art: les musées d'art européens et leur public* (1969), Bourdieu and Darbel bring forward research results demonstrating that working-class visitors responded quite positively to the existence of labels, auxiliary text guidebooks, catalogues, and other kinds of contextualising and explanatory materials in art museums. At a time when artistic education was

[72] What one considers to be art is very much dependent on the capacity to read a work as such. A common language (not at all necessarily an academic one, though) must be shared between the viewer and the gazed upon work. Issues of aesthetic sensitivity/sensibility (taste) also come into play. Recognising something as art does not imply one has to necessarily like it.

not at the reach of the general public, the existence of such 'didactic' materials was shown to have improved the relation of the general public with art museums. The study showed that it was possible for art museums to better their image before the general public by providing the means and the appropriate training so that their visitors could come to share the knowledge of the aforementioned 'language', because, as Bourdieu and Darbel put it: "the perception of the work of art is necessarily informed and therefore learnt" (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991: 56).

The relations of power described above were very much present and in effect during this phase/process of affirmation of the FCG in the Portuguese cultural panorama. As stated above, the FCG's initial cultural programme had indeed been designed to provide people with the tools – knowledges and a language – that would allow for a greater and broader understanding of artistic expressions, therefore seeking to open up artistic and cultural horizons. As was also seen above, this type of patronising approach to the presentation of artistic and intellectual culture was gradually contested and disapproved of in European countries, such as France, throughout the 1960s. In Portugal, however, this was not the case. Given that the sort of arts and culture approved of and/or supported directly by the Portuguese regime was so limitative, any and all initiatives led by the FCG were always regarded, at the very least, as a breath of fresh air in an otherwise stuffy artistic and cultural environment. The FCG was, therefore, not only responsible for introducing a new type of cultural programme, but also, and above all, it was responsible for introducing to the public whole new sets of ways of interacting and relating to artistic expressions. An art exhibition was not just to be viewed and its formal aspects commented. When accompanied by conferences discussing the role of modern art in society, for example, an art exhibition becomes a narrative, a way of representing a given reality and, consequently, a way of (re)shaping that same reality. Criticism was, then, a key instrument as well as a result of the cultural policies implemented by the FCG. It served as a politically transformative practice, allowing for a modification of the relationship between citizens and artistic expressions. These were the first steps in the formation of a true public, an engaging one, something that goes far beyond mere audiences, as will be discussed in chapter three.

Figure 2.13. - Colóquio - Revista de Artes e Letras, Cover of Issue #1, January 1959

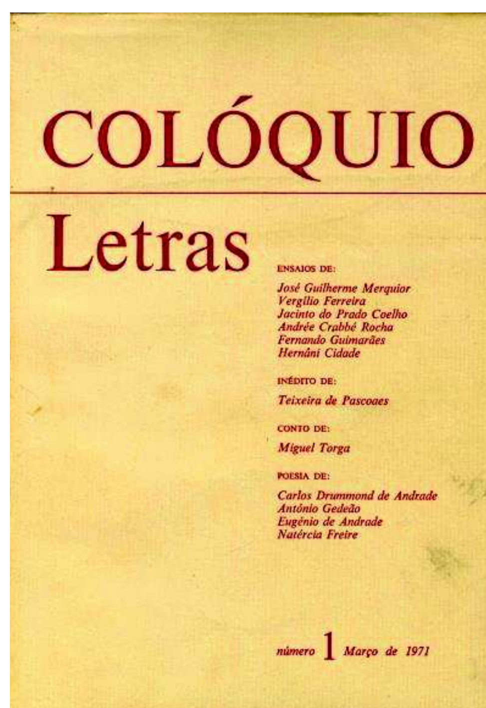


Figure 2.14. - Colóquio Letras, Cover of Issue #1, March 1971

Figure 2.15. - Colóquio Artes, Cover of Issue #1, March 1971

2.2. A NEW MONUMENTALITY IN THE CITY'S CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY

Cities are places distinguished by some kind of monumental definition […]. This means a set of public buildings that give the city scale, and the citizenry landmarks of a common identity.
Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped*

Monuments are human landmarks which [mankind has] created as symbols for their ideals, for their aims, and for their actions. […] Monuments are the expression of [mankind's] highest cultural needs. They have to satisfy the eternal demand of the people for translation of their collective force into symbols.
Josep-Louis Sert, Fernand Léger, Siegfried Giedion, *Nine Points on Monumentality*

The element that was to definitely and permanently bind the FCG and the city of Lisbon was the implementation of the FCG's headquarters and museum buildings in one of the city's largest parks[73]. The construction of a place to house the FCG in the Portuguese capital was, *ipso facto*, the opening up of a gateway to late modernity[74]. As the Portuguese architect and professor Ana Tostões puts it: "Everything in the realm of culture undertaken by the Foundation up to that point […] had been steeped in a discourse of modernity that was unknown to the Portuguese up until then" (Tostões, 2006: 21). That modern sense of artistic and intellectual culture would, by 1969, have a physical expression. The institutional language that the FCG had been creating and developing would be translated into a material image which would, in turn, become "a discreet affirmation of a new power and a new 'space/time' modernity in […] Lisbon" (Conde, 2006: 73). When discussing the relationship between Lisbon and the FCG it is essential to analyse the aspects of material culture which both reflected and came to shape the FCG's cultural policies. Symbols of the modernity accomplished by the FCG's early activities, the new park, buildings, and facilities would contribute significantly to the definitive establishment of the FCG as a household name in Portugal.

[73] The FCG was implemented in the former Santa Gertrudes Park, which had previously housed the Lisbon zoo as well as the Lisbon carnival fair. For further information on the process of choice of location for the FCG as well as further information on the selected park, v. Tostões, 2006 and Tostões, Carapinha, Corte-Real, 2009.

[74] As was discussed in subchapter 2.1, modernity, along with literary and artistic modernism movements, suffered a deceleration (and even a complete halt at some points) during the dictatorial regime of the *Estado Novo* (1926-1974) in Portugal.

Much like in the realm of cultural policies, the construction of the FCG's buildings was influenced by the changes taking place in post-war Europe and U.S.A. in the field of architecture. The need to rebuild many European cities, along with the transforming mentalities of the post-war, led to a re-thinking of the urban scape, specifically targeting the formats and purposes of cultural infrastructures. This architectural theory renewal[75] brought about a different take on those infrastructures' importance and significance as civic centres for the communities[76] (cf. Sert, Rogers, Tyrwhitt, 1955), with the notion of new monumentality[77] (cf. Giedion, 1944) underlying the search for an optimal merge of the architectural object with the overall urban design and the city's cultural tissue. Keeping on with this mind frame, cultural infrastructures – buildings and outdoor spaces – became the focal point around which urban culture should revolve. The significance of cultural and artistic expressions as structuring and defining elements in and of a society[78] took centre stage as museums and cultural centres were integrated into the redesigning and rebuilding of European capitals and major cities[79]. These buildings – these places for art and culture – would become as much an integral part of the urban topography as other educationally, socially, and politically regulative infrastructures. The political and social value of these cultural manifestations would make them part of the row of democratic institutions which made up the urban topography of the post-war modern city.

As Portuguese architect and scholar Nuno Grande pointed out, "[t]hroughout the 1950s and 60s these infrastructures would shape the spaces for a multidisciplinary, democratic culture, becoming [….] the new urban 'cathedrals' through which the ecumenical message of modern creation would spread" (Grande, 2009: 42). This was the reality in many European countries, but not in Portugal. In a country where democracy and freedom of expression were not consecrated rights, and where the cosmopolitan nature of modern and contemporary art was regarded with distrust, there were no infrastructures specifically designed, built, and

[75] For further information on the 1940s and 50s architectural debate between organicism and rationalism and the conclusions/new theories which sprung from the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) during those decades, v. Tostões, 2006 and Grande, 2009.
[76] For further information, v. Sert, Rogers, Tyrwhitt, 1955.
[77] For further information, v. Giedion, 1944.
[78] V. footnote 39.
[79] Some examples of post-war projects for cultural infrastructures: the South Bank Arts Centre (1951), London, U.K.; the Lincoln Centre for the Performing Arts (1955-1969), New York, U.S.A.; the Whitney Museum (1959-1966), New York, U.S.A.; the Kulturforum (1957-1963), West Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany; the Kulturhuset (1965), Stockholm, Sweden; the Kulttuuritalo (1955-1958) and the Finlandiatalo (1967-1971), Helsinki, Finland (cf. Tostões, 2006).

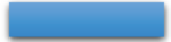
dedicated to the exhibition and performance of 20th century artistic expressions. As mentioned in subchapter 2.1, by the end of the 1950s, the three most recent State museum openings had been two art museums pertaining to 19th century art and a popular art museum gathering a national ethnological art display which left much to be desired. The role of 'Ministry of Culture' taken over by the FCG from the very start of its activities would strengthen throughout the 1960s, consolidating into material form in 1969 with the inauguration of the FCG's headquarters and museum buildings and park. The FCG would provide the Portuguese society, and the Lisbon citizenry in particular, with a 'Palace of Culture'[80], a Portuguese rendering of the European and North-American 'modern cathedrals'.

Highly influenced by the constructs behind Malraux's *Maisons de la Culture* and their multidisciplinary approach, the FCG's house would very clearly reflect the work that had been conducted since its beginning. Designed in the late 1950s and built throughout the 60s, the buildings and their surroundings were a physical manifestation and material translation of the FCG's cultural programme. The institutional language that had been developed was structured into an image of artistic and intellectual culture that "revolutionised the panorama and the meaning of a cultural space in Portugal, […] representing a new and contemporary monumentality" (Tostões, 2006: 204). The spaces were designed and constructed to further allow and enable the variety of artistic and cultural functions the FCG sought to accomplish. As will be further discussed in section 2.2.2, the FCG created a cultural centre in Lisbon, a civic centre capable of generating a public space for the collective experiencing of artistic and intellectual culture. In being and doing so, the FCG inscribed itself into the city as "an urban and cultural landscape […] functioning as a whole much like a topographic sculpture capable of bringing together modernity and monumentality" (Tostões, 2006a: 22). The activities contemplating artistic, literary, and musical education and fruition would all have their own space to develop within that cultural centre featuring an art museum and a temporary exhibitions' gallery, a concert hall and an outdoor amphitheatre, an art library and conference rooms. The ways in which the congregation of all these activities under one roof constitutes the creation of a cultural centre and how a space with those characteristics can singlehandedly transform and shape the urban culturalscape will be discussed throughout the next three sections.

[80] The deed of purchase of the Santa Gertrudes Park states that exact expression to designate what was to be built in that space (cf. Tostões, 2006).

In translating its cultural programme into a language and later on into a material image, the new monumentality brought by the FCG dramatically altered the physical and mental spaces of the city's cultural topography. The new discourse formed by that language and image "was understood to be an engine of progress in the arts and sciences, which amounted to advancing social progress in general" (*ibid.*). As a *topos* of representation and of symbolic value, the FCG's buildings and park were constru(ct)ed to perfectly convey its "civic, cultural, political, and ethical agenda" (*ibid.*). The space, and the cultural programme it represented, became an urban reference of development and contemporaneity. In its service to community and culture, the FCG was able to impart and express a certain *Zeitgeist* which, despite not being the one effectively experienced by Portugal, was the one many of its citizens hoped for and aspired to. The implementation of the FCG spaces in Lisbon propelled a change in the way people envisioned their living space: if something of the scale, quality, impact, and monumentality of the FCG was able to exist in Lisbon, then that spelled out other possibilities. The whole ensemble of cultural policies, cultural activities, and the creation of cultural spaces to house and develop them would generate a specific effect in society, as will be discussed in section 2.2.3. The effect the FCG had in Lisbon society will be analysed and discussed by establishing a connection between the changes that took place in the urban topography – physical space – and in the cultural topography – mental space – and their effects on the development of urban cultural identity as a main feature of citizenship.

The following section, 2.2.1, will start by briefly putting forward and discussing notions of urban topography (its meaning and uses in Culture Studies) as a way of speaking of the designing and mapping, the observations and analysis of urban spaces and equipment, focusing in particular on certain kinds of fixed points of the urban dynamic and dialectic experience. Based on that, and inasmuch as it is relevant for the purposes of this dissertation, the concept of cultural memory will be brought forward and integrated into the discussion of cultural topography as a form of reading the sites where art and culture can be produced, where they can be experienced, discussed, and interpreted: physical spaces in the city where the construction of urban culture takes place. Cultural topography allows us to look at these places "that incorporate and preserve a 'mysterious' sense of collective memory […] [and] to understand the meaning […] and the implications of the founding of cities and of the transmission of ideas in an urban context" (Harvey, 1994: 85). This already hints at the second assessment that will be discussed regarding the concept of cultural topographies: the



role played by the buildings that function as culture's power houses (cultural institutions and art museums) will be discussed, seeking to explain why it is exactly that they are cultural topoi *par excellence*, how do they function, and what their role in the city is. The cultural topography of the city thus becomes a constantly and permanently ongoing process of construction, to which the actions of representation and transformation performed by artistic and cultural institutions, as crucial elements of cultural and artistic mediation, contribute.

2.2.1. Urban topography, cultural memory, and art places

In this analysis of the usages, purposes, and consequences of thinking the concepts of urban topography, cultural memory, and art place together, the connections that will be withdrawn from their interactions will serve to shed light on two particular aspects. The first one will be the possible derivations one can take from the act of looking at a cityscape (here considered to be the physical – and literal – topography of a city in all its plenitude) through the lenses of one particular aspect of how to perceive the construction of a city, that of cultural memory. The second one will be to understand two of the levels of interplay between all concepts: how do art places (art museums in their broadest sense) define the urban topography and what role do they play as spaces of cultural memory in the city.

Urban topography – meaning the graphic configuration of spaces and places in the city that can express spatial metaphors and different orders of places – can be analysed under the scope of meaning-making. Social, political, economic, and educational constructs are always projected onto spaces, places in the city, cityscapes. Considering that reflection process – which immediately becomes a sign of their function and power – these spaces and places become (or are turned into) texts[81]; texts that must be looked at and analysed, read and interpreted, texts from which the city's inhabitants are to withdraw meaning. The particular significance of each of those places is informed by a number of factors, both physical and ethereal, that condition their reading. Therefore, spaces and places in themselves, according to Michel de Certeau in his *L'Invention du quotidian. Les arts de faire* (de Certeau, 1990), are no longer what propels events and their consequent narration; they *are* texts that hold within the discourses entrusted to them and created by/through their existence. If we consider Henri Lefebvre's definition of the three spatial concepts[82], where he states that physical space can be approached as a consequence of the mental and social spaces (Lefebvre, 1991), and think of everyday life practices, or everyday modes of action functioning as a form of rhetoric which leaves behind both material, visible traces, and immaterial, invisible ones (de

[81] V. Geertz, 1993(1973). On the issue of the localised society v., also, Augé, 1995(1992).

[82] For Lefbvre, mental, social, and physical spaces are indissociable and irretrievably linked: mental space works on the basis of social relations and events, and physical perceptions of our surroundings; our mental space is, thus, filled with history, with culture, with a set of previous knowledges and beliefs brought by past experiences as a consequence of the transformations society undergoes. Physical space reflects and arises from the constructions imprinted on our mental space and is shaped by the political and economic characteristics of our social space (v. Lefbvre, 1991[1974]).

Certeau, 1990), then we might consider that process to have a *poietic* dimension in the everyday cultural practices of the citizens. Space – in its varied and broad range senses – produces culture in a way that reconciles thought with matter and time, and such (city) culture has a direct impact on the intellectual and artistic practices of citizens, sustaining it, and, moreover, providing for the elements to its own continuation (*autopoietic* functioning). This means that social sustainability as well as community engagement to the city and its culture is better served by having spaces and places telling stories; stories which will let people know about those places' history, intentions, functions, present, and future. Space creates culture and is simultaneously shaped by it. The city is both source of inspiration for creation and object of analysis regarding the creation that develops within it. The cultural memory debate has sought to shed some light on these multi-layered co-(trans)formations.

Topographies, spaces, and places of/in the city are some of the core concepts for the theories of memory developed by Walter Benjamin[83]. In his work on memory and its interconnections with the city, Benjamin claims that real, physical spaces and places can be considered as vessels or storages for our collective memory. Spaces of collective memory are spaces where the past has been materialised, which can be thought of as culture having been materialised into space, a space that thence works as a place holding within it the collective memory of a city. It is, thus, clear that in this web of interconnections, two apparently distinct levels of cultural memory must be addressed. On the one hand, cultural memory can be perceived as a form of public discourse and as an identity formation tool: such a perception arises from the deconstruction of the uses of political representations of space which thrust collective projections onto sites. On the other hand, cultural memory can also be perceived as something that is already found within the materiality of the topographic markers when contemplated by the citizens. While the *flâneur*[84] might experience the latter perception of cultural memory[85] – i.e., it is the site, the place in itself, through its tangible and visual significations, which primarily produces the formation of cultural memory (engaged by the perceptive gaze of the *flâneur*, though) – the workings of both referred levels are still perceptible, be it in Benjamin's work, be it in the experience of the city at the dawn of the 21st

[83] V. Benjamin, 1999; Benjamin, 1999a; Benjamin, 1999-2004.

[84] A literary type from 19th century French literature and poetry which Benjamin saw as an emblematic and symbolic figure of the modern urban experience, turning it into an object of study in his *The Arcades Project* (Benjamin, 1999a).

[85] "At the approach of his footsteps, the place has roused: speechlessly, mindlessly, its mere intimate nearness gives [the *flâneur*] hints and instructions" (Benjamin, 1999a: 416).

century. This bilateral link between citizen/city-dweller and the city itself can also be understood in light of the connection that exists between text and reader:

> According to reader-response theory, meaning *happens* through reading – it does not exist as a pre-given of the text. […] [T]he reader has to make connections, fill in gaps, draw inferences, and make hypotheses as she proceeds through the text. Without the active participation of the reader there would not be any text. […] The reader brings 'pre-understandings', a set of contexts and beliefs and expectations, to the work.
> (D'Alleva, 2012: 110).

Likewise, it can be considered that, in the city, meaning *happens* through the experiencing of spaces and places based on the citizen/city-dweller's pre-given contexts and expectations. These pre-understandings presuppose, however, as Heidegger[86] put it, that the reader emerges from and exists in the world and can only know things as being-in-the-world: understanding is rooted in time and rooted in history (cf. D'Alleva, 2012). There is, thus, a dynamic hermeneutical relationship between the notions of cultural memory as something silently inscribed onto urban topography and brought to life by its sheer materiality and cultural memory as active discourse constru(ct)ed by the public and articulated through the material presence of space, places, and sites. Cultural memory might then be considered as a process of translation which occurs amongst and amidst these two notions, being in itself a process of hermeneutic decoding of the textualised significations of the city, as Benjamin theorises throughout his *Project*. This means that the city (and its culture) and the city's inhabitants (and their cultural practices) simultaneously preserve and transform, communicate and omit information about the city. These dynamics are set in motion and kept going by the self-signifying practices of urban spaces as well as by the constru(ct)ed categories of meanings that are assigned to them.

The close connection underlying the concepts of urban topography and cultural memory demonstrates how the city is organised in such a way as to not only allow for the citizens to perceive it, but actually insist upon (political and cultural) communication with its inhabitants. As previously mentioned, the city conveys messages, notions, concepts which simultaneously inform and are informed by people's everyday life practices. The topographic marker discussed in this dissertation, the art museum, functions as one of the city's most prominently hermeneutical conveyers by presenting itself simultaneously as a power institution for the gathering and preservation of collective cultural memory and as a community-

[86] V. Heidegger, 1962(1927) and Heidegger, 1971.

driven institution with a pivotal role in the construction of the collective cultural memory in-the-making. Before analysing the role art places play in the city, it is important to understand them as meaning-making institutions, places that control a language and use it to represent their visions of the world:

> Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation — thus avoiding words that are already overladen with conditions and consequences, and in any case inadequate to the task of designating such a dispersion, such as 'science', 'ideology', 'theory', or 'domain of objectivity'. The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected to we shall call the rules of formation. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division.
>
> (Foucault, 1969: 30).

Discourses gather in clusters, spanning across fields or strands of knowledge; they are powerful because they are used to represent what the institutions and respective systems that control language (museums, courts, hospitals, prisons, etc.) perceive as truth, and therefore, these discursive frameworks are what determines reality (cf. *ibid.*).

The organisation of the modern city is marked, even sometimes scarred, by the physical and aural impression of its power institutions. Political, judicial, economic, and religious power houses and institutions, along with their different respective modalities of characteristic, authoritative looks, are all typically sites of power: power to regulate, power to rule, control, and monitor. With the modern arrangement of the city, however, and its desire and intent of openness to the public eye, granting the city's inhabitants with a sense of security through the seemingly familiar acquaintance and knowledge of the city's inside meanders – via apparent transparency in its inner workings, ways of organisation and forms of acting –, these power houses and institutions are transformed into spectacles (using that newfound ground to perform their role as conveyers of discursive formations and frameworks). This same process occurred with museums in the early 19th century in the urban environment:

> Museums may have enclosed objects within walls, but the nineteenth century saw their doors open to the general public – witnesses whose presence was just as essential to a display of power as had been that of the people before the spectacle of punishment in the eighteenth century. Institutions, then, not of confinement but of exhibition, forming a complex of disciplinary and power relations whose development might more fruitfully be juxtaposed to, rather than aligned with, the formation of Foucault's 'carceral archipelago'.

(Bennett, 1999: 345).

Tony Bennett's seminal discussion regarding the establishment of the *exhibitionary complex*[87] (Bennett, 1999), where that which was previously the object of private gaze is presented before the public eye as a way of deploying power and knowledge discourses through the design of spaces for the controlled and ordered layout of objects, speaks of the organisation of cities as places of construction of performance. They are places where the established structures of visibility and visuality are embedded in and sustained by the organisation of urban space and its consequent metropolitan experience. The opposition between the openness of public space and the enclosure of private space set in motion by the architectural arrangement of the city around structures of power finds in the *exhibitionary complex* a form of institutionalisation of modern city life. The power to gaze is, thus, artificially dislocated and granted to those who were usually its target. The once (and still) monitored gain the (allowed) power to gaze and monitor these power institutions themselves (here the hermeneutical dynamics take on new forms as will be discussed throughout chapters 3. and 4.).

Museums are a key contributor for the formation of discursive frameworks in the macro structure of the city. The exhibition of artworks is a medium of and a setting – a forum – for the representation of other experiences through the display of objects and through the telling of stories. According to Svetlana Alpers, the 'museum effect' is what potentiates audiences to experience art and have an aesthetic response, which is always based on experiences and skills that are brought into and simultaneously shaped inside the particular field of discursive frameworks and formations constru(ct)ed by the museum (cf. Alpers, 1991). That framework is built, not solely by, but relying strongly upon the help of, the mode of installation, the design, the arrangement and assemblage of an exhibition, as well as on the subtle messages communicated by and conveyed through those different elements, influencing our understanding and appreciation of the political, visual, social, and cultural interest and meanings of the artworks and the stories exhibited in museums. The 'museum effect' is thus an appa-

[87] With his essay on the *exhibitionary complex,* Bennett takes on Foucault's analysis of institutions such as mental hospitals and prisons and turns it inside out, quite literally. The model of the panopticon penitentiaries presented by Foucault is used by Bennett to establish the difference between both models of power and knowledge relations: while the model of the panopticon penitentiaries follows the logics of removing the body of the sentenced from the public sphere and builds a system of surveillance by granting the power to see to those in charge and by denying it entirely to those who are seen, the model of the *exhibitionary complex* brings forward and displays before the public eye what had been previously and so far the object of private gaze alone (v. Bennett, 1998; Bennett, 1999; Foucault, 1999; Foucault, 1991[1977]).

ratus of power (cf. Alpers, 1991), which partly explains the reason why museums have historically been such important instruments of power, experience, and education, contributing to the articulation of identity/identities (cf. Duncan, 1990). As privileged arenas for the presentation of images of self, museums can tell us who we are; they can represent identity, either directly, through assertion, or indirectly, by implication. The degree to which the reception of the 'story' takes place depends on the level to which knowledge and perceptual skills are shared between the artists, the art place, and the public.

> The subject of the production of the artwork – of its value but also of its meaning – is not the producer who actually creates the object in its materiality, but rather the entire set of agents engaged in the field. Among these are the producers of works, classified as artists […], critics […], collectors, middlemen, curators, etc.; in short, all those who have ties with art, who live for art and, to varying degrees, from it, and who confront each other in struggles where the imposition of not only a world view but also a vision of the art world is at stake, and who, through these struggles, participate in the production of value of the artist and of art.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1993: 261).

Visual culture focuses not only on objects but also on subjects, i.e. it focuses on "the ways in which works of art (broadly defined) catch up their creators and viewers in interconnecting webs of cultural meanings and relations of power" (D'Alleva, 2012: 82). In fact, there are practical and discursive relations of mutual construction, although maybe not straightforward ones, between artistic practice, art history, and art museums. Cultural institutions are crucial elements in the context of the 'economy of symbolic goods' (v. Bourdieu, 1993), thus becoming key agents in generating the significance that the artistic and creative economy of cities has within the framework of cultural identity formation and development. Cultural institutions are also crucial sites of enquiry of those same identity discourses and narratives created, hence acting as producers, mediators, and analysers of the ways in which the idea(s) of the city is (are) performed. Functioning as symbolic cultural capital (cf. Jameson, 1993; Harvey, 1994), the arts are key elements in the construction of the cultural distinctiveness of cities. Consequently, art places (*topoi* of art and culture) can be regarded as privileged sites of construction, enquiry, and redefinition of discourses of and about the city. As spaces and places of mediation between the artworks, the artists, and the public, museums are at the same time agents in the development of the cultural context and informed by it. Thus, the city's cultural and artistic *topoi* produce unavoidable discourses and narratives about the same city that shapes them. In their display of artworks and through the different activities offered to the public to learn, engage, and dialogue with such artworks, cultural

institutions allow for the experience of diverse world visions, artistic perspectives, as well as political and social stands (for a more in-depth discussion on this issue, v. chapters 3. and 4.). As a crucial element to the vitality of cities, cultural and artistic productivity is key for the development of communities with a strong sense of cultural identity and a greater understanding of the challenges posed by the urban phenomena.

2.2.2. A cultural centre in Lisbon: shaping the culturalscape

The construction of the FCG buildings and park is a clear example of the correlation between cultural policies and the creation of cultural spaces, as well as of how that relationship translates into a dynamics which shapes the culturalscape of a city. The FCG inscribed its commitment to the cultural and artistic fields in the planning and designing of its infrastructures in one of the main spatial points of expansion/centrality of 1960s' Lisbon. The spaces constructed were able to accommodate all aspects of artistic and intellectual culture: the headquarters building was equipped with one large auditorium – suited for music, dance, and theatre performances –, along with two smaller auditoriums, three conference rooms as well as rehearsal spaces, and a large gallery for temporary exhibitions (v. figs. 2.16. to 2.18). The museum building, besides housing and displaying the Gulbenkian collection, also includes an art library (v. fig. 2.19. to 2.22.). The park (with an English-style garden) holds a Greco-Roman-style amphitheatre overlooking the park's largest lake (v. fig. 2.23.). In gathering the conditions for the fruition of multiple types of artistic expressions and in ensuring the possibility to (within that same space) offer the public information on those artistic manifestations, the FCG created a central focus point for art and culture in Lisbon. The FCG's buildings and park[88] mirrored (and made possible the expansion of) the work that had been conducted since its inception, and potentiated the objectives which that work sought to achieve. The main objective of raising people's awareness about art and culture, and getting the public in closer touch with those areas of human expression, was much facilitated by the creation of what can be considered to have been Lisbon's (and the country's) first cultural centre.

In building its cultural centre, the FCG wished to relay multiple notions simultaneously. This new place in the urban landscape was supposed to: convey Calouste Gulbenkian's legacy; be a space of representation of the FCG's spirit; enrich the city's cultural identity at material and immaterial levels. The founder's legacy would thus be "translated […] into a modern version of an epic cultural landscape [;] [w]ithin this landscape, […] the diffusion of culture […] [would be] understood by the public as a voluntary 'offering', reversing the age-old tradition of imposed, doctrina[ry] cultural values" (Wang, 2006: 88-89). Wilfried Wang, former director of the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum*, points here to a crucial aspect:

[88] For further information on the FCG's buildings and park – planning, designing, construction, and history of public use – v. Tostões, 2006; Tostões, 2006b; Barreto, 2007a; Grande, 2009; Tostões et al., 2009.

the FCG, with its cultural endeavours, aimed at offering – making available to the public – a variety of artistic expressions and cultural activities, which many times were even to be discussed and debated in open forums, as part of a cultural meaning-making process it sought to conduct. In Wang's essay, in which he takes the FCG as an example of the making of a cultural landscape, he also highlights how the conjunction of the cultural activities' quality, the architectural identity, and the physical scale of an institution is fundamental for the creation of an epic cultural landscape (cf. *ibid.*). This ties in with Conde's assessment of the FCG as purporting "a double architecture; physical in its creation of aesthetics, functionality and context, but also political in the sense of creating a *polis* […] [i.e.,] a far greater immaterial space, a relational, symbolic one: a space of knowledge and culture, a public, civic space" (Conde, 2006: 72). The aesthetics and functionality of the buildings and outdoor spaces operated together to represent and enact the FCG's character and attitude before the public, generating a place for the development of an emerging new urbanity which the FCG itself represented. The FCG can, thus, be thought of as what Foucault described as a heterotopia:

> There are […] real places, effective places, places that are written into the institution of society itself, and that are a sort of counter-emplacements, a sort of effectively realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted; a kind of places that are outside all places, even though they are actually localizable. Since these places are absolutely other than all the emplacements they reflect, and of which they speak, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. […] The heterotopia has the power to juxtapose in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible.
>
> (Foucault, 2008[1967]: 17-19).

The FCG's infrastructures presented themselves as a place that brought together multiple spaces which in turn comprised a multitude of emplacements: the physical place of the buildings and park housed (both literally and figuratively speaking) different spaces – material spaces and structures as well as conceptual spaces and notions – for the flourishing of artistic and cultural enterprises, which, via their policy dynamics, established the emplacements of its constitutive elements. The relationship between the immaterial devising of cultural policies and the material creation of cultural spaces comes full circle when the new places created for (and as a cause of) art and culture stand for innovative ways of thinking about and experiencing that same art and culture. The very notion of artistic and intellectual culture is transformed as a consequence of this specific kind of organisation of space. With

each of those transformations the culturalscape of a city gets (re)shaped and such a dynamics reveals a very clear and important connection between the concept of heterotopia and the notion of culturalscape: a culturalscape is comprised of several heterotopias; several real places that hold the key to "enhancing links between place and the social sense of personal and communal identity" (Harvey, 1994: 273) and thus are responsible for the simultaneously gradual and fleeting establishment of a cultural identity. Foucault's concept of heterotopias (1967), how it ties in with Stanley Fish's concept of interpretive communities (1976), and what those concepts mean for the constru(ct)ing of cultural identities and culturalscapes in an urban environment will be discussed in more detail in sections 3.1.3. and 4.2.1.. However, at this point of the discussion it is important to keep in mind the following notion: as constitutive and fundamental elements of a city's culturalscape "[h]eterotopias, like museums, cultural centres, libraries and media centres, have been the ultimate levers for urban renewal" (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008: 13), and the FCG functioned as a lever for artistic and cultural urban renewal at a scale and with an impact which had not been previously known in Portugal.

The architectural organisation of spaces within the surrounding urban landscape[89] reflected the FCG's internal organisation as well as the image it sought to convey to the public. The two main differentiating aspects of the FCG's cultural policies – its politics of access and of communication – were deliberately and blatantly present in the spatial organisation of the FCG's buildings and park. The physical spaces of the FCG complemented and further developed the ideal space that it had been trying to forge since the start, i.e. the buildings emulated the cultural programme that had been devised and put in motion since 1956. The space for each artistic pursuit and cultural manifestation was part of a system which fostered the inter-communication of spaces while allowing for a strong sense of independence between them (cf. Wang, 2006). Visual arts, music, dance, theatre, cinema, library, and scholarship services and activities all worked quite independently, but with the same goal and with the knowledge that each activity was part of a cultural programme that aimed at transforming people's relationship to artistic and intellectual culture. The FCG's buildings and park were also very much responsible for that transformation. The impactful, yet not ostentatious, spaces, with their "democratically open topography" *(ibid.*: 95), communicated an image of openness and accessibility, inviting people to approach and relate to the cultural

[89] For further information on the urban landscape of 1950s and 1960s Lisbon, v. Tostões, 2006; Grande, 2009.

centre more easily[90]. The FCG had already introduced new cultural policies and was then introducing a new monumentality, actions which foretold a space for the emerging of democracy (cf. Conde, 2006; Tostões, 2006a).

As a true cultural centre – a democratic archipelago for the debate of narrative(s) –, the FCG made possible and actively encouraged the existence of a key aspect of intellectual and artistic culture: interpretation. By making apparent (and available for understanding) the diversity of relations between artistic expressions and conceptual structures attributed to them (i.e. interpretations), the FCG simultaneously represented, contested, and reversed (cf. Foucault, 2008[1967]) the cultural framework it emerged from. It did so by being what Foucault refers to as a "space of representation" (Foucault, 1970: 130), a space which houses and brings to the foreground another space, that which exists between the objects/ manifestations/ materialities and the ways of conceptualising, and consequently interpreting, them. As a space of representation, the FCG's cultural centre served the community by providing interpretations for the intellectual and artistic expressions and manifestations it exhibited and displayed: by making clear(er) the ways in which those paintings, concerts, ballet performances, etc. were (could be) conceptually understood. These (re)presentations of interpretation options and possibilities can lead the individual to question the order and adequacy of artistic and intellectual conceptual structures, as well as the justification and fairness of the conceptual schemes pertaining to social, political, economic, and educational realms. The cultural centre can, thus, be considered a space where representation, interpretation, reflection, and contestation are the driving forces of meaning-making. The manifold existence of space(s) within the cultural centre – the fact that it was a culture-making heterotopia – reinforced its strength and power in (re)shaping the city's culturalscape.

[90] Comparatively to the previously known cultural spaces of the city – like the opera and the classical theatre, for example – and especially comparatively to the national museums: the Gulbenkian museum and the large temporary exhibitions gallery at the FCG presented themselves with an innovative, more inviting museography; and the FCG's free-access public park also contributed to an inviting atmosphere surrounding the FCG's image.

Figure 2.16. - FCG's Headquarters Building - Grand Auditorium

Figure 2.17. - FCG's Headquarters Building - Temporary Exhibitions Gallery

Figure 2.18. - FCG's Headquarters Building - Temporary Exhibitions Gallery

Figure 2.19. - FCG's Museum and Art Library Building - Main Entrance

Figure 2.20. - Calouste Gulbenkian Museum

Figure 2.21. - Calouste Gulbenkian Museum

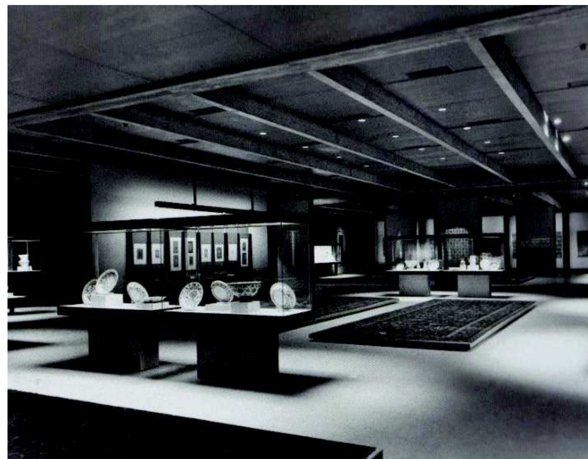


Figure 2.22. - Calouste Gulbenkian Museum

Figure 2.23. - FCG's Outdoor Amphitheatre

2.2.3. The *Gulbenkian effect*: sites of newness and the politics of citizenship

The *Gulbenkian effect* is a matter of fact inasmuch as there are multiple direct and indirect effects in the fields of art and culture in Portugal that can be clearly identified as having the FCG at their source. Some of those effects (such as the increase in literary, artistic, and musical education via the spread of travelling libraries, the awarding of scholarships, the organisation of exhibitions and conferences, and the creation of courses) have already been discussed above. But there are many other aspects of the development of Portuguese culture that are undoubtedly associated with the work and existence of the FCG. The inauguration of the FCG's buildings and park in October 1969 "reintroduce[d] a symbolic condition into social and cultural buildings, […] [giving] Lisbon […] a new *urbanity* that is a reference and a refuge for the peaceful encounter of its citizens with the 'Fine Arts'" (Grande, 2006: 65). By purposefully and actively doing what Conde describes as "build[ing] more bridges between place and discourse" (Conde, 2006: 83), the FCG presented the city with a physical space that sought to materialise a conceptual programme of aesthetic and intellectual culture, offering Lisbon a new urbanity and a new monumentality. Being, thus, a site of newness, the FCG would act, until the mid-1970s, as the sole location for the aspired democracy and modernisation of Portugal.

In a country ruled by a dictatorial regime with very little interest in modern progress or in emulating the cultural development of other nations, the FCG managed to stand alone as a beacon of independence and pluralism (cf. Barreto, 2007). It had been providing the country (for over a decade then) with new cultural policies, manoeuvring its way through the political culture of the regime[91], and allowing for the existence of archipelagos of cultural modernity (cf. Conde, 2006). The initial reason for why an institution which "dedicate[d] itself to such delicate and controversial fields as culture, science, social welfare, and the arts" (Barreto, 2007: 57) was able to succeed in an authoritative political environment was that the political leaders of the mid-1950s (when the FCG was founded) were able to see that the implementation of the FCG in Portugal was unquestionably in the country's best interest[92].

[91] As stated before, the relationship between the State and the FCG fluctuated but always remained cordial. Even though the FCG counted with former members of Government in its Board of Administration and in other branches of its organisational structure, it also hired other personalities that were not necessarily well-liked by the State. The FCG always followed a logics of individual merit and institutional adequacy when inviting/choosing someone for a post. For further information on this, v. Barreto, 2007a.

[92] V. Barreto 2007: 56-57.

Alongside that reason, the FCG's great capacity for diplomacy made its existence – and its unequivocal contribution for modernisation and development at multiple levels – not only possible but thriving. From a sociological point of view, and referring to the activities mentioned above, Barreto considers that the direct and indirect consequences of the FCG's actions were responsible for "a quick and formidable process of change [which] transformed [Portuguese] society" (*ibid*: 31). From a cultural perspective, and picking up on Conde's notion of building bridges between place and discourse, it was the construction of the FCG's buildings and park that definitively marked the tone for the establishment of a new cultural rapport between institution and community (cf. Grande, 2009), and thus between a site of (cultural) newness and the politics of citizenship of a society.

That newness – already known through the introduction of the cultural policies and programme that had been contributing towards many forms of social progress since 1956 – was then concentrated into one site. A heterotopia which could hold and foster all of the activities necessary for the further development of the connection between aesthetic and intellectual culture and the community. It was also a site of newness in the sense it transposed the FCG's language into an image of "a monumentality that comprises the sense of representation and the value of symbol, an image capable of expressing a cultural and civic programme, at the same time political and ethic" (Tostões, 2006: 193) which revolutionised the meaning of what a cultural space could, and should, be in Portugal. The Lisbon population in particular had the opportunity to experience that spatial newness – the park, the main auditorium, the museum, the art library – as "spaces of catharsis amidst the remaining socio-political everyday atmosphere, […] capable of providing an environment of greater individual freedom and of democratic access[93] to the cultural experience" (Grande, 2009: 127). Such ideals were expressed in the ways in which the different artistic expressions were presented and made available, as well as in the ways through which they were explained, interpreted, and their conceptual structurings made known. The museum, for example, was deemed by Azeredo Perdigão to be more than just the home for Gulbenkian's collection, it was to be also "an initiation school, a research centre, and a place for artistic irradiation" (Azeredo Perdigão,

[93] The democratic access Grande is referring to was not necessarily one free of charge, meaning that the access could (and would most frequently) be restricted to a small percentage of the Portuguese population due to ticket prices for the museum, concerts, ballet, etc. The FCG was, however, known to hold a number of activities free of charge or at reduced prices. The democratic access mentioned here pertains to the realm of a political and ideological freedom, since all of the State-sanctioned cultural activities, regardless of being free of charge, were restricted to what was deemed appropriate and desirable, banning all else.

1969: 17). With that in mind, in 1970 (a few months after it opened to the public) the Gulbenkian Museum would inaugurate its Education Department, dedicating much of its attention towards developing and improving the relationship between the public and the museum through a multidisciplinary approach[94]. The pedagogical and interdisciplinary pursuits of the museum and the modern typology of its 'new museology'[95] were all factors that worked collaboratively in providing a novelty aspect that lasted due to the inherently sustainable quality of the project.

The existence of an Education Department is yet another example of how the FCG's cultural policies and the activities developed to implement them had a considerable and significant effect in transforming the way citizenship was experienced by the Portuguese, and especially the Lisbon, population. According to Grande, the FCG managed to establish a "balanced relationship between politics and spaces [which] gave, within this cultural centre, an inestimable contribution to the increase of cultural audiences in Portugal, acquainting them with a new aesthetic appreciation" (Grande, 2006: 66). Still, and despite the FCG's efforts to ensure a comprehensive service, there were large sectors of society which benefitted very little from this cultural centre. This was due to economic and educational inequalities (which the FCG sought to bridge over through some of the activities mentioned previously) that, nevertheless, remained as a marker of distinction. According to Barreto, in the fields of art and culture it was mainly the middle and upper social classes (as well as the intellectual and artistic elites) which benefited from the FCG's activities of artistic exhibition, display, and education (cf. Barreto, 2007). However, during the first two decades of its existence, the FCG's concern focused on making available, as fast and with as much quality as possible, a myriad of activities that were to give the public the encouragement and the necessary tools for an engagement with several and different manifestations of intellectual and artistic culture. The FCG, in its affirmation as a space of political and cultural power, sought to bring incentives for those less versed in the interpretation of the arts while simultaneously providing those with an already higher level of education with cycles and seasons of exhibitions and performances which fostered a continued development of intellectual and

[94] The central activity of the Museum (the display of Gulbenkian's collection) was complemented with conferences, scientific meetings, Art History initiation courses, and even concerts in the museum space (cf. Grande, 2009), to name a few.
[95] For further information on the initial concept(s) of 'new museology', v. Rivière, 1970.

artistic culture in Portuguese society, and in Lisbon in particular. The correlation which exists between a site of newness – such as a progressive cultural centre in a country led by a backward dictatorial political regime – and the development of a different notion of citizenship is founded on the connection between identity formation and material environment. In his *Concept of Criticism*, Benjamin discusses the dialectic of materiality and subjectivity and how the first generates a sense of identification in the individual which affects his/her contru(ct)ing of his/her own identity. It can be considered that the FCG's materiality – and the concepts and programmes it reflected – greatly supported the constru(ct)ing of a sense of cultural identity unseen previously in Portugal.

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This chapter accounted for the social and historical context within which the FCG came to be and within which it was embedded for the first two decades of its existence. The first part of the following chapter will seek to follow the same logics of "ethnographic approach" (Silverstone, 1989) by schematically delineating the European and North-American social and cultural contexts in counterpoint to the realities experienced in Portugal (and particularly Lisbon) during the same historical period. The second part of the following chapter will then begin to apply the concept of narrative to the analysis of the museological space: the CAM's building and collection will be analysed as textual (and spatial) narratives which must be examined conjointly in order to understand the meanings and the meaning-making processes created by the existence of the CAM.

3. CONSTRU(CT)ING THE MODERN ART CENTRE

3.1. THE (COUNTER)CULTURES OF (POST-)REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES

It is important to contextualize the new museum against a historical framework in order to highlight the discursive correlation between the strategies of representation used by contemporary museums and museumlike spaces and the ideological pressures and political frameworks that have contributed to the production of culture and history […].

(Message, 2006: 12).

The politically, socially, and culturally transformative events which took place in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s in the U.S.A., Europe, and Portugal had a decisive influence in the establishment of a modern art centre in Lisbon in 1983. The discussions regarding the city and (its) artistic and intellectual culture took a turn away from the modernist urban cultural policies of the post-war and away from the so-called mass culture stream. A counter-culture movement, whose strength both emerged from and pushed forward the theories and concepts researched and established by Cultural Studies, took the foreground precisely by pouring its culture(s) into the city streets.

The global incidents and repercussions of May 1968[96] signalled "the end of a western model of development which started in the second post-war and that was a victim of the critical effects of the 'mass society' it had itself created" (Grande, 2009: 165) as well as "the beginning of a new relationship between the institutional-political power and that same mass society, within which new mechanisms of mutual regulation would come to exist" (*ibid.*). The effects of this change in dynamics were varied and covered multiple fields, but some of the most significant developments and consequences that followed were related to issues of urban culture, ways of building and experiencing the city, and forms of practising citizenship. The concepts of city and citizenship as presented by the Marxist critical theory of that time would come to highlight the notion of 'the right to the city' (v. Lefebvre, 1968) as central for the development of urban (cultural) policies (as will be discussed ahead). The academic work of the social sciences – responsible for engaging in research which sustained

[96] "Antagonistic to the oppressive qualities of scientifically grounded technical-bureaucratic rationality as purveyed through monolithic corporate, state and other forms of institutionalized power (including that of bureaucratized political parties and trade unions), the counter-cultures explored the realms of individualized self-realization through a distinctive "new-left" politics, through the embrace of anti-authoritarian gestures, iconoclastic habits (in music, dress, language and life-style), and the critique of everyday life. Centred in the universities, art institutes, and on cultural fringes of big-city life, the movement spilled over into the streets to culminate in a vast wave of rebelliousness that crested Chicago, Paris, Prague, Mexico City, Madrid, Tokyo, and Berlin in the global turbulence of 1968" (Harvey, 1994: 38).

and justified many of the more ideologically-driven demonstrations[97] – underwent a massive transformation, as British Cultural Studies[98] began to theorise on the reasons, the processes, and the consequences of the existence of sub-cultures and counter-cultures within a cultural mass (western-globalised) society. This new(ly fashioned)[99] academic field highlighted the importance of investing in diversified cultural production and distribution mechanisms that should match the socio-economic diversity of the public they aimed to reach, as a crucial element in the creation and/or strengthening of democratic systems. An active participation and a critical involvement of all spectra of society in meaning-making systems and structures[100], British Cultural Studies' scholars found, was a key aspect for constru(ct)ing a notion of cultural citizenship. As a result of their findings, the researchers[101] of the Birmingham School's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) were the first to call for a turn of focus from the democratisation of access to intellectual and artistic culture (one of the foundational cores of U.S., French, and British post-war urban cultural policies) to the democratisation of cultural consumption.

The difference between democratisation of access and democratisation of consumption was clearly demonstrated in Bourdieu and Darbel's 1969 *L'Amour de l'Art, les musées d'art et leur public* where the authors state that without investment in the education and formation of a public which is able to fully engage with the artistic expressions that are made available, all other cultural policies of dissemination and access are made redundant. The study also establishes a close connection between levels of cultural consumption and levels of education, making it clear that educational policies must go hand in hand with cultural policies (cf. Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991). The conclusions drawn from this study made concrete and apparent the socio-cultural disparities of the French public, as discussed in the academic

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[97] The events of *Mai'68* in Paris, from student demonstrations to workers' strikes, were very much linked to new theories put forward by social sciences regarding societal structures, urban policies, and their consequences at a cultural level. V. Harvey, 1994; Jameson, 1993.

[98] On the evolution of the Birmingham School's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and the development of British Cultural Studies, v. Turner, 1990; Crane, 1992; Schulman, 1993 (online).

[99] The Birmingham School's analysis of popular culture (cf. Williams, 1982; Hall, 1980) can be considered to derive from the Frankfurt School's analysis of the culture industry (cf. Adorno and Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]). However, while the Frankfurt School described culture as a result of the mass production of culture objects which directly influence society and subjugate it to a capitalist system, the Birmingham School contradicted this notion of determinism by offering a more complex examination of the relationship between producers and consumers of culture, one that is drawn into linguistic structures, and as such offers a mechanism for change through the polysemy of codes that empower the decoder to operate from a position of negotiated resistance or opposition (cf. Hall 1984).

[100] From artistic expressions and intellectual output to social and political activism, for example.

[101] Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart, Paul Gilroy, and Angela McRobbie, to name a few.

analyses conducted by Marxist critical theory scholars at the time. The impartment of artistic and intellectual culture upon the citizenry was regarded as a patronising method of cultural formatting, which would cease to function as a cultural-citizenship-making process, since more and more minority cultures were finding their own voices as well as their own means and forms of cultural expression. The countercultures, and more specifically the existence of diversity and alternatives to the norm, were increasingly asserting themselves in such a way that made them stand out (but not necessarily apart) from the fabric of mainstream culture. Countercultures rapidly gained a recognised status in the field of mass culture production. This kind of rupture with the previously experienced cultural hegemony[102] led to new ways of thinking and building cultural policies, which, in turn, had a major impact on the conceptualisation and cultural programming of new artistic and cultural spaces throughout the 1970s.

The conceptual clashes evidenced in academic discussions, as well as by city demonstrations and revolutions taking place on the streets of Europe, North, and South America had an impact on institutions whose job was to represent culture and its expressions. The clash between late modernism and postmodernism was reflected in the urban cultural politics and policies as well as in the art movements. This tension deriving from a moment of coexistence of two opposing ways of thinking propelled paradigm-shifting approaches to the how, why, and where of artistic and cultural exhibitions and demonstrations. The focus of many of those new spaces was centred around a relatively novel concept in the field – edutainment (a combination of education and entertainment) – which was considered to be the way to attract and engage with the non-public (that public who had access to cultural spaces, namely art museums, but lacked the specific set of knowledges and languages to access and decode the messages conveyed by 'erudite' artistic expressions presented in 'formal' settings) (cf. Grande, 2009). Cultural institutions had to transform themselves: they were to definitively shed the weight of their 19th century formatting, as well as their aura of cultural cathedrals, and embrace a new paradigm. Instead of defining and imposing upon the public notions of art history and culture, presenting them as the optimal ones, conducive to educating the public to follow pre-established formats of behaviour (towards art and culture and in

[102] The 1960s and 70s had higher levels of cultural production diversity when compared to the 'uniformity' of western culture throughout the 1950s.

society), the new (or renewed) cultural institutions, particularly art museums, were to represent the diverse and often contrasting collective imaginary (cf. *ibid.*).

The culturalscapes of Western cities were, thus, undergoing a significant change. Cities and cultural institutions were being perceived under a new light regarding the type of experiences they could provide to the public, and were, therefore, being thought of in different ways. The notion of process was key for the social activism of the 1960s and 70s, and such a notion would be a focal point in that rethinking. The citizens' active participation in/fruition of the process of construction of the city and its cultural institutions fuelled an interdisciplinary debate in academia and political circuits. In distancing itself from the functionalist approach of post-war urban planning and architecture, the new vision(s) for city development and architectural design focused on allowing the community to critically engage with the city and its buildings and spaces. Jane Jacobs's 1961 book-manifesto *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* provides a compelling critical point of view regarding the role of culture in the development (or decline) of cities, explaining also the importance of social activism in the process of constru(ct)ing urban spaces. This conceptual and practical correlation between culture and city also permeated the artistic production of the time, which not only reflected the debates about the transformative spatial semantics (cf. Grande, 2009) taking place in urban spaces, but also carried on and moved forward the ideological and conceptual claims and demands of counterculture movements.

The following three sections of this sub-chapter will present some of the most important contextual aspects which can contribute to an understanding of the emergence of the CAM in early-1980s Lisbon. The political situations experienced throughout the 1970s decade in Portugal produced very significant social and cultural changes. A brief overview of the social and political circumstances pre and post the 1974 revolution will allow for an analysis of the Portuguese cultural realities as well as for a better understanding of the course of development which unfolded in the field of artistic and cultural practices and policies. The transformations in the academic field at an international level, paired with the developments taking place at a local level in Portugal, spelled a significant change in the artistic field as well as in museological approaches and policies, leading to a shift of paradigm regarding the roles and purposes of art museums and art institutions in Portugal. The formats and contents of art exhibitions and their significance in the (re)definition of a sense of cultural identity and citizenship underwent many conceptual and ideological transformations in the period of the

(post-)revolutionary process. As will be discussed later, all of those different stages of (post-)revolutionary evolution contributed to the model of economics of art which was to be adopted by the CAM in its inception. At that moment of the discussion, it will be relevant to analyse the ways in which the construction of cultural mega-structures in European cities, such as Paris for example, influenced the political, social, cultural, artistic, and educational transformation of such cities, while also fostering changes in their citizens' appreciation and approach to artistic displays and cultural activities. The example of the neighbourhood of *Beaubourg* in Paris and the construction of the *Centre Pompidou* will serve as a basis for the further discussion of the previously introduced concept of heterotopia. The Foucauldian approach to the concept will be debated under the scope of Baudrillard's *Beaubourg effect* as an analysis of the impact those heterotopic structures have as constitutive elements of a city's culturalscape.

3.1.1. 1970s Lisbon: between late modernity and postmodernity

The 1970s were a decade of profound transformations in Portugal. On April 25th, 1974, a military coup in Lisbon, embraced by the population who turned it into a demonstration/ revolution[103], overthrew the dictatorial political regime. The opening quote of this sub-chapter highlights the degree to which ideology and political frameworks exert influence over the representation of culture and history inside the museum space[104]. It is, therefore, important to briefly overview some of the key aspects of the 1970s political events and their impacts on the reorganisation of social and cultural structures which deeply influenced the constru(ct)ing of the FCG's Modern Art Centre. Lisbon witnessed the beginning of the construction of a space for the permanent exhibition of modern art as well as for the display of contemporary art only in 1979[105]. It was only at the end of that decade that some stability was achieved after the tumultuous (post-)revolutionary process(es) of attempting to go through, deal with, and somewhat conciliate contradictory political-ideological movements. Still immersed in a rural type of modernity, in 1974 Portugal suddenly found itself having to make its own way through the possibilities provided by a metropolitan late modernity[106] and by a cosmopolitan postmodernity[107]. Portugal was caught in between the

> '[g]enerally perceived as positivistic, technocentric, and rationalistic, universal modernism [which] has been identified with the belief in linear progress, absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders, and the standardization of knowledge and production', [and a] [p]ostmodernism [which], by way of contrast, privileges 'heterogene-

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[103] The military coup to overthrow the government was quickly turned into a civilian revolution, as thousands of people took to the streets to demand freedom. The overthrow of the regime did not correspond to a complete overthrow of the State organisation. Its fascist dictatorial structures – the single party, the political and military police, the incarceration and torture of political prisoners, and the mechanisms of censorship – were abolished, but the remaining State structures were reorganised, with new parties taking part of the implementation of provisional governments (cf. Santos, 1990). The programme 'Democratise, Decolonise, Develop' was, thus, a joint effort of the military group responsible for the coup – the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) – and the political parties and movements which sustained the revolution. As will be briefly discussed later on, the relationship between the MFA, the different political parties, and several civilian associations, was not always a peaceful one during the years of the *Período Revolucionário em Curso* (Ongoing Revolutionary Period) (PREC). V. Santos, 1990; Rosas, 2001; Rosas, 2004.

[104] That same point has been argued throughout chapter 2., evidencing the ways in which the dictatorial political regime conditioned and constricted the type of art displayed as well as the ways in which the exhibitions' rhetoric were constru(ct)ed.

[105] The aforementioned National Museum for Contemporary Art was, since the late 1960s, in a state of disrepair and closed for restauration. No other space existed in Portugal dedicated to the permanent exhibition of 20th century art. V. França, 1991.

[106] Experienced by most of Europe in the two decades after World War II.

[107] The events of the 1960s and 70s throughout the world propelled new narratives and asserted the development of the post-industrial city and the postmodern cosmopolitan society in the western world.

> ity and difference as liberative forces in the redefinition of cultural discourse'. Fragmentation, indeterminacy, and intense distrust of all universal or 'totalizing' discourses […] are the hallmark of postmodernist thought.
>
> (Harvey, 1994: 9; *PRECIS* 6, 1987: 7-24 cited in Harvey, 1994: 9).

This differentiation between late modernity and postmodernity can be considered to have been at the centre of the formation and transformations of Portuguese democracy in the second half of the 1970s. The 1974 revolution took place in a country which had, to many extents, been closed-off to international innovation and evolution since the late 1920s[108]. While in 1968 France the revolutionary movements held demonstrations demanding further civic rights and cultural freedoms (only demandable in an already democratic State), in 1974 Portugal there were no real democratic infrastructures to back up the rights and freedoms which suddenly became available. It was necessary to build those structures and, even more importantly perhaps, it was necessary to get entire populations and communities into direct contact with those infrastructures. However, as the material and pragmatic aspects of the creation and implementation of a democratic State gradually started to take shape, different conceptual approaches to democracy started to emerge and clash. Unlike many European countries, Portugal had never developed democracy-based welfare State policies; policies which had been regarded as fundamental for the thriving of an egalitarian, democratic society and which were largely implemented in Europe and the U.S.A. between the mid-1940s and the late 60s. On the one hand, considering the stage of evolution of the practically inexistent Portuguese social welfare and the importance of such infrastructures for the thriving of a democratic republic, the adapting of such policies to the Portuguese reality seemed urgently necessary. On the other hand, by 1974 many of those policies had already been considered limited, restrictive, conditioning, and patronising by counterculture groups which proposed alternative policies – with those claims permeating the civic movements' discourses – which led many European governments to incorporate such demands and disregard and/or reformulate some of the most contested policies. Portugal started organising itself and functioning as a democracy at a moment in time when the functioning and organisation of democratic states was being questioned. It was necessary to implement the type of welfare policies which many western countries had adopted thirty years before, but to stay at that, many claimed at the time, would be to betray the true purposes of the revolution. These

[108] V. subchapter 2.1..

somewhat divergent needs and objectives gained visibility when different political groups started presenting their programmes and agendas[109].

Culture was, once again, used for political purposes. There is a tenuous point of contact between what happened in the second half of the 1970s and what has been described in chapter 2. as António Ferro's politics and policy of the spirit[110]. If in the 1930s and 40s artistic and cultural expressions were carefully monitored and censored to ensure that only the ideas and aesthetics condoned by the State would be displayed, in the (post-)revolutionary years the utilisation of art and culture by politics became a matter of "polymorphous correlations in place of simple or complex causality" (Foucault cited in Harvey, 1994: 9). The ways in which artistic and cultural expressions were used to convey notions about the different ideological and political movements were diverse and often even quite intricate. However, two main focus points emerged: which type of art should be considered in higher regard, and which type of communication method should prevail when presenting art to the public (and to the non-publics)[111]. The military movement (Armed Forces Movement - MFA), responsible for the early establishment of a temporary and transitional government, developed specific campaigns for the cultural field which aimed at getting the population into direct contact with artistic and intellectual expressions (from film to painting, from philosophical debates to theatre, from music to circus arts), conveying the MFA's ideological-political messages (v. figs. 3.1., 3.2.). The MFA defended the concept of cultural animation which could be found in the counterculture demonstrations of the *Mai'68* and which were incorporated into the State's cultural policies, as will be discussed in the following section. The point was for those cultural expressions to reach as many people as possible, especially those with less access to education. The problem, which many Portuguese artists and intellectuals called attention to at the time – and actively fought against –, was that not all artistic and intellectual expressions were welcomed or accepted (much like what happened during

[109] During the PREC years, the two main political forces were the Socialist Party (PS) and the Communist Party (PCP). PS (which counted with some of the more moderate members of the MFA) aimed at structuring a reformist socialist welfare State. PCP (the political affiliation of many members of the MFA) sought to nationalise all private property and production and establish a communist State. There were still other relevant left-wing parties which, together with civic organisations or popular committees attempted to create formats for a self-regulated and directly participated popular democracy. V. Santos, 1990; Santos, 1990a; Santos, 1990b.

[110] V. subchapter 2.1.

[111] As the 1969 study by Bourdieu and Darbel demonstrates, the acknowledgement of the existence of a non-public already points to the type of communication method more likely to be adopted. V. Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991; Bennett, 1998.

the dictatorial regime). Only what was deemed conducing to the implementation of the ideology and culture promoted by the MFA was considered to be in the best interest of the population. At the same time, the provisional government of 1975 (which included members of the MFA) sought to initiate a process of cultural decentralisation through the creation of municipal cultural centres to be administrated by the local structures of government (cf. Grande, 2009) which would not necessarily comply with the MFA's mainstream of ideology.

Several different movements and groups[112] – including representatives from the FCG – came together to foster and promote the implementation of cultural policies that would be free from direct and intentional political-ideological manipulation and utilisation. These organisations sought to establish a logics of participatory engagement of artistic groups and associations, as well as of non-governmental cultural institutions, by devising and implementing cultural policies. On the educational front, those groups sought to create a structured artistic education at a public and national level. On the museological front, the range of activities/demonstrations/protests can be considered to have been quite experimental for the time in Portugal, comprehending diverse activities from exhibitions of painting being performed live in front of an audience in Lisbon[113], to the symbolical burial of a 19th-century-style museum[114] in Oporto which was very much linked to the art-museum policies of the former regime. These actions were meant to actively foster the notion of democratisation of cultural consumption, as was discussed in subchapter 3.1., by "promoting the interactive encounter of artists with the public, which can transform [the public] from passive receptors to critic participants in the cultural creation of their time" (*ibid.*: 214). As Grande points out, such a transformation required a change of approach to the way art was to be presented and experienced. In order for the public to be actively engaged, different physical and mental spaces would have to be structured, allowing for a greater proximity of understanding between the traditional and/or contemporary cultural experiences of the public and the artistic

[112] The Democratic Movement of Visual Artists (MDAP) created in 1974 – which included fifty members of the SNBA – would come together with members from the Lisbon and Oporto Fine Arts Schools, the Circle of Visual Arts of Coimbra (CAPC), the *Cooperativa Árvore* (artists association), the International Association of Art Critics (AICA), and the FCG to form the first National Consulting Committee for Visual Arts created by the Social Communication Ministry (cf. Gonçalves, 2004).

[113] The MDAP gathered forty-eight artists to paint a mural during the festivities in celebration of June 10th, 1974 (national holiday celebrating Portugal, the Portuguese Communities around the World and the Portuguese poet Camões) (cf. Couceiro, 2004).

[114] In celebration of June 10th, the *Cooperativa Árvore* conducted the symbolic and highly performative "Burial of the National Museum Soares dos Reis" – a demonstration against the 'boredom' of the museological policies of the former regime (*ibid.*).

representations of those same cultural realities. The public (and the artists) required a space of debate, places where the formation of a new state of things (alongside the formation of a new democratic State) could be discussed in open forums, so as to build and strengthen a participatory democratic social tissue.

With the winding down of the (post-)revolutionary period the interaction between the successive temporary governments, the first constitutional governments, the artistic associations, and the non-governmental cultural institutions became scarcer and scarcer. However, the international artistic, cultural, and academic debates which had been spreading throughout Europe and the U.S.A. since the late 1960s had permeated the Portuguese cultural discourse. The kind of welcome received by many of the new artistic and cultural initiatives demonstrated the public's will to take part in those debates. Given the previously demonstrated particular evolution of the Portuguese society from the late 1920s to the mid-70s, the desire to participate stemmed simultaneously from the mere existence of the possibility to do so (most often denied under the previous regime) and the consequent need to build and affirm one's citizenship and cultural identity in different ways from those prior[115]. The FCG, via the CAM, would play a very important role in the affirmation of a reshaped cultural identity through the visual arts as it owned the most important collection of Portuguese modern art. That collection – of which some artworks were exhibited during the late 1950s and throughout the 60s[116] – would be one of (if not 'the') pivotal reasons for building a new addition to the FCG's cultural space in the city: a modern art museum and an arts centre. Thought of as a contemporary and dynamic cultural centre from the very beginning, this new infrastructure would assert itself as a solution to the long-felt need for a museological space dedicated to modern art and contemporary creation. As will be discussed throughout subchapter 4.1., the kind of art collection the future CAM would hold and the type of artistic and cultural institution it set itself to be would allow for the existence of a space in the country's capital which housed Portuguese modern art history, fostered contemporary artistic production, and invited the public(s) to debate their relevance as cultural meaning-making processes.

The *sui generis* political (and consequently social, educational, cultural, and economic) situation of Portugal, when compared to other European countries, explains the panorama

[115] V. subchapter 2.1. for the accounts regarding SNI's aestheticisation (meaning-making narratives) of popular art as to build a specific idea of one single national cultural identity.
[116] V. section 2.1.2..

which has been described. The Portuguese society had to experience and process contradictory conceptual approaches to citizenship and culture simultaneously, caught between the need for the solid structuring process provided by late modernism and the fast-pacing innovation processes granted by postmodernism. Such a complex reality gave rise to forms of artistic expression, fruition, and interpretation reflective of the intricacy of those (post-)revolutionary years. During that time (before the construction of the CAM) some rather significant events took place in Lisbon and other cities in Portugal paving the way for the possibility of the CAM's existence. Very much influenced by the academic and cultural debates which permeated Europe since the 1960s, and almost as a direct consequence of the ideological-political utilisation of art and culture in Portugal at the time, groups of artists and programmers would renounce the classic model of art museums, and propose alternative models, not just of art presentation and fruition, but alternative models for the whole functioning of the economics of art.

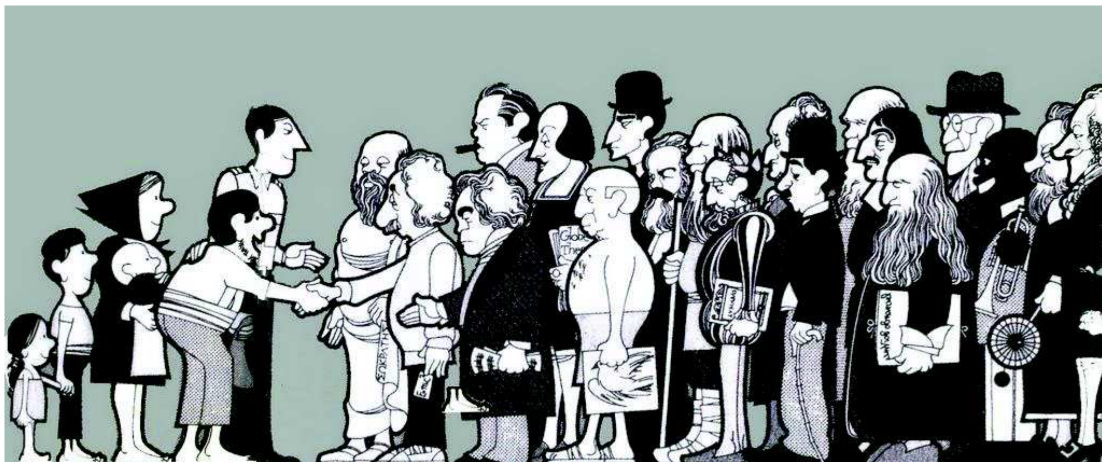

Figure 3.1. - *Muito prazer em conhecer vocelências* [*Pleased to make your acquaintance, Your Graces*], MFA's cultural promotion campaign, 1974, João Abel Manta

Figure 3.2. - The People's Sentry, João Abel Manta

3.1.2. Art museums and art alternatives: changing models in the economics of art

The effect of the countercultures' political-ideological legacies and the dynamics of (post-)revolutionary processes are an engine for the production of new and different types of material, social, and mental organisation. Those changes in organisation are then reflected upon several representational activities and spaces. Regarding the specific space here discussed – the art museum – there are particular and determinant influences which function either as mechanisms for gradual and subtle metamorphoses or as instruments for quick and radical transformations. Several events and debates which took place in Europe, the U.S.A., and in Portugal in the 1960s and 70s were demonstrative of the impact of those influences: the discourse around the art museum underwent a paradigm-shifting moment, with new art movements responding to that shift and further enhancing it, as will be discussed later on in this section. As has been argued so far, by the mid-1970s Portugal found itself thrown into a postmodern Western world without having been through almost any of the stages that would supposedly have been necessary to reach that conceptual world-view stage. The ways in which the country's artists, curators, and public reacted to that situation were crucial for the future establishment of the CAM as it presented itself to Portuguese society in 1983: the models of artistic and cultural production, distribution, and consumption which came into effect in Portugal during the late-1970s and early-80s can be traced back and directly linked to a set of circumstances deriving from the aforementioned processes of change in mental, material, and social organisations.

The discourse regarding the (modern) art museum format, more specifically its (lack of) connection to the everyday life of the citizens, was being contested throughout Europe and the U.S.A.. The growing availability of cultural products resulting from the expansion of the cultural industries since the 1950s re-sparked the critical debate on the issue of the cultural standardisation of late modern societies. Even though that same issue had been amply discussed in the 1930s and 40s by renowned cultural critics and theorists from the Frankfurt School[117], like Adorno, Benjamin, Horkheimer, and Marcuse, to name a few, the 1960s British Cultural Studies[118] counter-perspective broadened the scope of criticism. The role of the work of art and of the author were still debated, but the sociological approach to the analysis

[117] V. footnote 99.
[118] *Ibid.*

of art and culture brought into focus the role of the public. Greater awareness of the existence and significance of minority cultures and counterculture movements made it clear that the participation of the public in the creation of their own artistic and cultural environment was a way for the population to directly intervene in the development of representational spaces and activities: a way to provide input and engage with the meaning-making structures of society. In many European countries and in the U.S.A., the acritical presentation and dissemination of modern art – much equated with abstract expressionism as this movement was considered to be the artistic standard of the patronising mass-culture of the post-war[119] – was being targeted as part of the problem. The bet on democratisation of access to culture via the exhibition of fine-arts in either 19th-century or white-cube style museums[120] did not establish any connections between the process of artistic fruition and the everyday life experiences of the majority of people. At a moment when the active participation and engagement of the public with artistic and cultural expressions was seen as essential, the old museological models seemed no longer to make sense. The modern art museum was regarded as a space for the confinement of art, at a time when contemporary art attempted to bridge the gap between art and everyday life and connect artists and audiences in a constructive loop of creation and interpretation[121]. After the Pop Art and Minimal Art experiments with objects and non-canonical processes of making/producing works of art in the late 1950s and early 60s, a new art movement arose which would definitively alter the parameters of museological art exhibition: conceptual art. This new art movement concerned itself above all with the creative

[119] V. subchapter 2.1., footnote 39.

[120] The 19th-century style museum models (Universal Survey Museum, Modern Museum) were "characterized by very large collections – drawings, paintings, sculptures, architecture and decorative, ritual and religious objects representative of a number of different cultures and societies – as well as by the fact that these collections were housed in palaces. These institutions of power began dictating and regulating the purpose and role of the art held within them, determining how this art should be understood within the societal context in which it was exhibited" (Maurício, 2014: 147-148). V. Duncan, 1991; Duncan, 1999; Duncan and Wallach, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Preziosi, 2004. The white-cube style museums (1950s onwards), on the other hand, were considered the ideal modernist art museological spaces because they were purposefully designed and created so as to "turn things into art" (O'Doherty, 1999: 14) by projecting powerful ideas about art, its telos and meaning onto them and by isolating them from the social, cultural, and all other spheres so that the artwork could "take on its own life" (*ibid.*: 21). V. O'Doherty, 1999; Serota, 2000; Whitehead, 2012.

[121] Even though the history of art museum education departments can be traced as far back as the second half of the 19th century (the South Kensington Museum in London, under the direction of Henry Cole, is considered to have been the first museum with an education department), it is only in the 1960s that museums' education departments start offering the public different reading and interpretation approaches to works of art based on different analytical methods (like formalism, iconography, iconology, and semiotics), and varied historic perspectives (like Marxism, Feminism, etc.). V. Hein, 2000.

process: the concept, the idea behind the creation of the work – and not the actual final product – was the real work of art.

Conceptual art was one of the key movements which pressed for a change in the relationship between art, the city, artists, and the public, and it did so by using an established (but not amply studied) form of expression – performance[122] – and (re)introducing a somewhat new guise: the happening[123]. This form of artistic expression, which aimed at demonstrating – *performing* – the ideas on which the conceptual work was based, relied on the notion of live performance where the interaction between artist, space, and public was essential. Those interactions, and especially the active participation of the viewers, was what made each happening unique and a work of art in action. Its ephemeral, fleeting, and immaterial format did not conform to the model of art exhibition still held by most art museums. The objection to being confined in the art museum space did not reside solely on the expression format of the happening, but mainly on its conceptual core: "[t]he line between the Happening and daily life should be kept as fluid, and perhaps indistinct, as possible" (Kaprow, 1966: 62). Art museums did not allow for such an experience. Inside the (19th-century style[124]) art museum there had always been a clear dividing line between the work of art and the viewer, between the artist and the public. Inside the (white-cube style[125]) art museum, the work of art tended to be displayed in a decontextualised and compartmentalised way, with very feeble (if any) connections to the meaning-making debates and processes that went on outside of the museological institution. The art museum models in existence were rapidly losing their grip on artistic production since there was no institutional room for new and emerging art movements, such as conceptual art in its varied formats. One of its main formats, the happening, had two chief purposes: one was to deconstruct the conventional perception of what art is or can be, while the other one was to engage the active participation

[122] Performance was only recognised as an independent artistic expression format in the 1970s, but its origins date back to the publishing of the first futurist manifesto in Paris, in 1909. For further information on the history of performance, v. Goldberg, 2001 [1979].
[123] One of the main differentiating aspects between performance and happening is that in the latter the public is necessarily more involved; the observers become agents in the performing/unrolling of the piece (cf. Kaprow, 1966). V. Goldberg, 2001 [1979].
[124] V. footnote 120.
[125] *Ibid.*

of the viewers in each work/event and with that attempt at bringing art into the sphere of everyday life[126]. As Grande puts it,

> [t]hat hybrid relationship between creator and receptor also had a significant influence on the formality of the institutional space: if the work materials of the artist were now the concepts and the body, and if the public had become co-author and co-agent of the creation […], then the cultural space should necessarily reflect that hibridisation. This perception generated what was, throughout the [1960s] decade, designated as *"institutional critique",* i.e., a shared awareness by many artists, critics, and curators, that the political discourse and the ascetic space of Modernism's cultural institutions – and particularly the discourses and spaces of the Modern Art Museums – had drained themselves within their own exclusive and closed-off circuit, incapable of absorbing other forms of connection between cultural production and cultural reception.
> (Grande, 2009: 183).

Throughout Europe and the U.S.A., modern art museums were being criticised for their incapacity to open up their boundaries to new artistic tendencies, as well as for sticking to their top-down didactic approaches. According to the critics at the time, those museums seemed solely concerned either with putting together collections which would serve as examples of clearly pre-established historical categorisations, or with assembling some of the most notorious works of the modernist avant-gardes as to render them commercially viable. Modern art, and the modern art museum, were thus regarded as having "a chronological statute which was museologically already completely defined and closed" (*ibid.*: 222). The result which came out of this hermeneutic process of artistic-museological mutual influence was the emerging of a transitional period when the aforementioned institutional critique went from upholding a definitive 'no' to the modern museum to fostering the establishment of 'non-museological' spaces for the creation and exhibition of art.

Following on the objective set by conceptual art movements, artists sought to incorporate their work and events as much as possible into the urban everyday life. Art was to be experienced outside of the museum space, and outside of the realm of influence of the museological discourse. As an integral part of the everyday, art should be available in informal spaces and it should be given the appropriate context – as opposed to the sterile context of the museum. One very clear example of institutional critique, and of how the points of view previously described were put into action was the *documenta 5*[127] in Kassel, Germany (v.

[126] The *Fluxus* festivals are an example: "by using different means and materials of expression, as well as unusual spaces of the everyday life of the city, the *Fluxus* festivals definitively embedded the role of the happening in the mediation process between artist and public" (*ibid.*: 183).

[127] The *documenta* festival was originally founded by the German architect, artist, professor, and curator, Arnold Bode (1900-1977). Bode organised the first *documenta* in his hometown of Kassel in 1955 as part of

figs. 3.3. to 3.6.). For this event, the artistic director, Harald Szeemann[128] (with the special collaboration of Joseph Beuys[129]), decided to convert a conventional museological space, the Fridericianum[130] – which was designed and built in the 18th century "in the spirit of the Enlightenment" (Fridericianum, 2014) – into a space that was to subvert the canonical logics of the modern museum. For a little over three months the museum held exhibitions of painting, sculpture, and other traditional art forms, alongside displays of films, happenings, and other new media art formats. Many debates and conferences were also organised, in which the public was invited to discuss the theme of the event as well as its purposes, role, and practical objectives. Another example of how institutional critique functioned can be seen in the work of theoretical critic and artist Patrick Ireland (a.k.a. Brian O'Doherty) in the U.S.A.. Best known for his collection of essays *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, where O'Doherty criticises the economics of art fostered and sustained by modern museology (cf. O'Doherty, [1976]1999), he was also the mentor and director of the programme *Spaces for Artists*. As the name of the programme suggests, it aimed at "supporting initiatives by individual artists or by collectives to open 'alternative' spaces in unoccupied or obsolete urban areas, and to create environments which would combine life, work, exhibitions, and the exchange of experiences between creators and visitors" (Grande, 2009: 186). As will be discussed in section 3.2.2., the alternative status of a number of those spaces

the *Bundesgartenschau* (National Horticultural Show) of that year. The exhibition was organised with the intention of documenting – and showcasing to the German public – several different movements of modern art that had been banned by the Third Reich which had qualified modern art as *Entartete Kunst* (degenerate art). This first exhibition can be considered to have been a kind of retrospective and anthology of the European modernist art movements of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. The festival has been held ever since every five years as an event focusing on contemporary art production. Each *documenta* lasts one hundred days and is held in different venues in Kassel (the Fridericianum – v. footnote 130 – has been the only fixed venue since 1955). *documenta 11* (2002) initiated a process of internationalisation, with some of the works belonging to the festival being unveiled around the world, from India to Nigeria, from Canada to Afghanistan, etc. (v. documenta12, 2014; Biennial Foundation, 2014).

[128] Harald Szeemann (1933-2005) was a Swiss art historian and curator responsible for the organisation of over 200 exhibitions (v. Müller, 2006; Bezzola and Kurzmeyer, 2007; Derieux, 2008).

[129] Joseph Beuys (1921-1986) was a German artist, art pedagogue, and art theorist, known for his performance art, his work within the *Fluxus* movement and festivals, his sculpture and installation artwork, and for his concept of social sculpture as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (complete and all-embracing work of art) (v. Ray, 2001; Rosenthal, 2005; Valentin, 2014). During the *documenta 5* Beuys was responsible, amongst other events, for the organisation of the debates with the public, opening up a new space for the interaction of the public with art and artists, as well as a new social sphere for the thinking and discussion of the role of artworks and art-related events in the construction of citizenship and of cultural identity (v. Foster, et al., 2004).

[130] The *Fridericianum* is a space for the display and discussion of contemporary art in Kassel, Germany. With a history dating back to 1779, it was originally built as a museum and library to house the princely collections of Friedrich II, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, having been converted to a parliamentary house during the French expansion. Since 1955 it has been the one fixed venue of the *documenta* festival (v. Fridericianum, 2014).

quickly evolved to a more permanent and institutional one, giving origin to some of the most significant art institutes and art galleries of the time, with a few remaining to this day[131].

Despite the political environment of Portugal in the late 1960s and early 70s, there were a few artistic organisations, associations, and spaces which managed to develop interesting and noteworthy activities[132]. Some of those projects were even the result of collaborations between Portuguese artists with foreign artists and international art movements[133]. However, very few of those initiatives turned into permanent artistic and cultural endeavours, and, at the time, they did not manage to solidify a structured new approach to the art-artist-public interaction issue. The general social unrest of the 1970s and the consequent searches for political/government alternatives went hand in hand with the search for an alternative configuration to the traditional spaces of cultural representation. During the (post-)revolutionary period, the urban space – the street, public buildings, State buildings – was overtaken by a political utilisation of culture, as was discussed in the previous section. The question of what to do with the national museums and State-owned art galleries elicited different responses which all shared one common point of view: the need for a reshaping of the art spaces' discourses. Unlike the French, British, or North-American realities, the Portuguese debate regarding spaces of cultural representation, and more specifically art museums, was not based on a counterculture reaction to the Modern Art Museum model[134], since there was no such model in Portugal. The Portuguese (post-)revolutionary debate strongly opposed the 19th-century museum model (very much equated with the former regime's cultural policies), and it acknowledged the fact that the modern art museum model had already, at an international level, been conceptually overwritten by new ways of socially and culturally perceiving the role of art in the urban space. This simultaneous amalgamation of perceptions, and the realisation that Portugal was at a crossroads between late modernity and postmodernity, led

[131] Some examples of art galleries, centres, and institutes that opened thanks to the support provided by the programme *Spaces for Artists* and that still exist today: Los Angeles Institute of Contemporary Art (1972-) in L.A.; Institute for Art and Urban Resources (1972-), The Kitchen Centre (1973-), Clocktower (1976-) in Manhattan, N.Y.; and P.S.1 (1976-) in Queens, N.Y..

[132] A few examples: the creation of the *Cooperativa Árvore* (artists association) in Oporto in 1963 and the opening of their own gallery space in 1971; the organisation of experimental exhibition-events in Lisbon (1972) by the AICA, and in Coimbra (1973, 1974) by the Coimbra Circle of Visual Arts (CAPC); the foundation of the independent arts school AR.CO, in 1973 (v. Cunha e Silva, 2002).

[133] Ernesto de Sousa's (v. footnote 135) connection with the *Fluxus* movement and his participation in the *documenta 5* are examples of such interactions.

[134] V. white-cube description in footnote 120.

one Portuguese art critic and curator to devise what can be considered the most relevant art event in Portugal in the (post-)revolutionary period.

The appropriately named *Alternativa Zero* exhibition/happening (v. figs. 3.7. to 3.11.), which took place in February and March 1977 in Lisbon, was organised by Ernesto de Sousa[135] who liked to call himself an 'aesthetical operator'. His interaction with the *Fluxus* festivals[136] and his visit to the *documenta 5* – where he had contact with Szeemann and where he interviewed Beuys – had a major influence in the organisation of the *Alternativa*. Much like the *documenta 5*, this exhibition/happening sought to break away from the traditional exhibitionary form(at)s and to bring artists and public into a closer connection, doing so in a less conventional space than the *Fridericianum* but still a space of art display: the Modern Art Gallery in Belém[137] (Lisbon). The full title of this event *Alternativa Zero: tendências polémicas na arte portuguesa contemporânea* [*Alternative Zero: controversial trends in contemporary Portuguese art*] holds within it several layers of purposes. According to the catalogue text, written by Ernesto de Sousa, this exhibition/happening was intended as a means of signalling a breaking point, a "rupture […] regarding the conceptualisation of space and the environment […] [;] [s]pace in this case is the environment created by our [artists and public] actions and thoughts towards the objects that open themselves up to us…" (Sousa, [1977] 1997: 63). The event, thus, presented itself as an alternative by proposing different ways of displaying art and bringing the public – who was seen as a crucial agent in the life of the exhibition/happening – into closer contact with it. The conferences, the debates, the happenings, the experimental music concerts, and the other activities taking place across Lisbon, all depended on the active participation of the public.

With that approach, the *Alternativa* sought also to connect art and the city: "in these spaces we will all be agents, ready to live life as aesthetical situation; and authors, i.e., absolutely responsible. […] Within this context the work of art will not bear meaning and "materiality" as such: everything shall be eminently aesthetic. And everything shall be eminently ethic." (Sousa, [1977] 1997: 66). There seemed to be a certain reiteration of the importance of art for the life of all urban spaces as places of cultural representation, and as

[135] Ernesto de Sousa (1921-1988) was a Portuguese art researcher and essayist, curator, and art critic (v. Wandschneider, 1998).

[136] It was due to his interaction with the movement that Ernesto de Sousa first made contact with renowned international artists such as Robert Filliou, Ben Vautier, and Wolf Vostell.

[137] The building which held the Popular Art Museum since 1948 (v. subchapter 2.1., footnote 21).

places of cultural experimentation and identity formation. As the first major conceptual exhibition in Portugal, *Alternativa Zero* showcased the contemporary Portuguese art which existed as a result of the specificity of the Portuguese context at that moment in time: both rooted in decades of censorship and dictatorship, and reaching out to the bulk of theories, debates, and movements which suddenly became an integral and operative part of the Portuguese reality. It was not only contemporary Portuguese art, but perhaps above all, the contemporary Portuguese discourse about art and culture and their roles in society which was at that 'zero' point of a present reality which seemed to have no other alternative but to foster constantly new and different alternatives.

The cycle of art production, distribution, and consumption went through a significant change process across Europe and the U.S.A. during the 1960s and 70s. In Portugal such a process would reveal itself as a crucial step towards the construction of the CAM. The change in the model of the economics of art, with the merging of the production, distribution, and consumption stages which operated in the ways described above, led to a transformation of the museological paradigm. Many modern art museums around Europe were transformed into art and cultural centres harbouring studies and experimentations of contemporary art, with research and documentation facilities, to support an improved and closer connection with the public. The didactic model – like the one implemented by André Malraux and his *Maisons de la Culture*[138] – was no longer sufficiently appropriate to ensure the development of that relationship. Moreover, contemporary art, as an artistic meaning-making and cultural identity-making trope, became a cornerstone for the engagement of the public with the art museum. Portugal, however, did not even have a Modern Art Museum which meant that there was a representational gap in the Portuguese (and international) art history on display in the country. In this field, like in many others, the solution would have to somehow bridge the late modernity/postmodernity schism – and that was accomplished by the CAM's early structuring and programming. Another very much influential aspect to the constru(ct)ing of the long awaited Modern Art Centre in Lisbon was the way in which the post-*Mai'68* European cultural policies were established – almost as a direct reaction to the institutional critique phenomenon – and how the organisation of the urban spaces was impacted by those new policies. The following section will discuss a paradigmatic example of such interactions

[138] V. subchapter 2.1., page 37.

and analyse the ways in which the new format of heterotopia transformed cities' culturals-capes.

Figure 3.3. - Façade of the Museum Fridericianum (Kassel) during the *documenta 5* in 1972, *Art is superfluous*, Ben Vautier, 1972

Figure 3.4. - Installation during the *documenta 5*, *Oase Nr. 7 / Air-Unit*, Haus-Rucker-Co, 1972.

Figure 3.5. - Installation during the documenta 5, *ARK, PYRAMID*, Paul Thek, 1971

Figure 3.6. - Performance during *documenta 5*, *Boxkampf für Direkte Demokratie* [*Boxing match for direct democracy*], Joseph Beuys, 1972

Figure 3.7. - Exhibition/Event Poster

Figure 3.8. - Exhibition *Alternativa Zero*

Figure 3.9. - Exhibition *Alternativa Zero*

Figure 3.10. - *Alternativa Zero* Performance

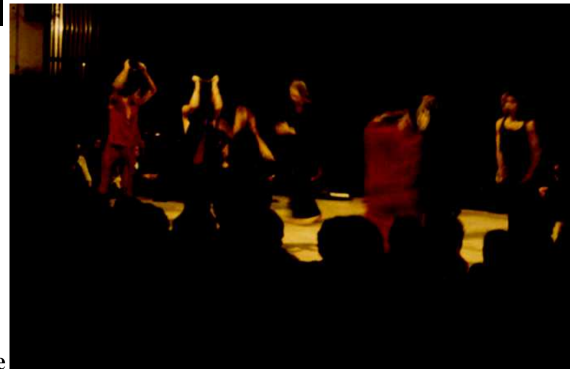

Figure 3.11. - *Alternativa Zero* Performance

3.1.3. The *Beaubourg effect* in the art museum and in the city

The debates and changes emerging from the (counter)culture(s) of the (post-)revolutionary processes that have been described so far resulted in significant transformations in institutional and public cultural policies. One of the main concerns of the new policies – which was directly inherited from the aforementioned processes – was to reshape the traditional museological structures, as to promote a more engaging and adjustable communicational space between artworks, public, and artists. The environment of the art museum would have to undergo spatial and strategic changes in order to better respond to the contemporary form(at)s of cultural and artistic creation and reception. This concern regarding the interaction between the public and the (trans)formation of cultural identities – and of spaces for cultural representation – would have a major impact upon urban policies as well, since the role of the city's public space had changed substantially throughout the 1960s and early-70s. The need to develop art places that would establish an increased dialectic and dialogical interaction with their specific urban contexts and surroundings was the driving force of some of the most important European public cultural policies of the 1970s. Such changes in the political approach to culture would both be the result of and accentuate the transition between late modernity and postmodernity.

The rise of postmodernity was also the rise of the post-industrial city with its characteristic heterotopias of illusion[139] (cf. Foucault, 1967). Foucault's account of the history of space[140] identifies three different stages of urban spatial systems and organisations[141] which can be directly linked to the three types of heterotopias[142] Foucault put forward. The second

[139] "Foucault gave as examples of the 'heterotopia of illusion': gardens, theatres, cinemas, world's fairs, stock exchanges, bordellos, casinos and museums, where space and time could be collaged at will and codes of behaviour and fashion could change very rapidly" (Shane, 2005: 262).

[140] V. Foucault, 1967; 1969; 1970; 1977; 1998; 1999.

[141] Foucault distinguishes between: the medieval space of localisation – or space of relations – characteristic of the pre-industrial city; the modern space of extension characteristic of the industrial city; and the postmodern space of emplacement characteristic of the post-industrial city (v. Foucault, 1969; Lynch, 1981; IsoCaRP, 2001; Shane, 2005; 2008).

[142] The space of localisation (or space of relations) conceals change and keeps it behind closed doors within the city, creating heterotopias of crisis, "that is to say […] privileged, or sacred, or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc." (Foucault, 2008[1967]: 18). The space of extension is characterised by the establishment of a network between the city and the heterotopias of deviance (insane asylums, prisons, etc.) which are built on the outskirts of the city. In the space of emplacement, the heterotopias of illusion "display shifting, mobile relationships within the network" (Shane, 2008: 259). "Foucault pointed to fairgrounds, markets, arcades, department stores and world's fairs, the showplaces of capitalism and global production, as 'heterotopias of illusion'. Walter Benjamin saw these

post-war period and its consequences at an urban level turned the city into a concerted network of spaces of emplacement (cf. *ibid.*) where the heterotopias of illusion regulated the exchanges, relationships, and transformations within that network (cf. Shane, 2005). Regulated as a space of emplacement, the post-industrial city redesigns the urban network at structural and infrastructural levels so as to guarantee the creation and development of the necessary communicative and conceptual models on which the city is to be operated (cf. *ibid.*). As an urban and informational system, the post-industrial city mirrors the third of Jean Baudrillard's *Orders of Simulation*[143] – that of simulacra and hyper-reality (cf. Baudrillard, 1983) – inasmuch as it functions as a conglomerate of heterotopias of illusion, as a space for the emplacement and presentation of re-representations. These theoretical schematisations of orders and functions of space are crucial for an understanding of the mechanisms that led to a conciliation of urban and cultural policies resulting in the creation of a new kind of urban cultural and artistic space. Similarly to the heterotopias of illusion delineated by Foucault and to the third order of simulation construed by Baudrillard, these new types of places of art would reveal themselves to be "complex, ambiguous and multicellular structures, capable of containing exceptional activities and new urban [realities] because of their flexible codes and their unusual, multiple compartments" (Shane, 2008: 260).

The new format of art museum came as a result of the new informational, technological, and entertainment-driven urban network, and it sought to follow the guidelines provided by the institutional critique previously described. It was, thus, not only a paradigm-shifting way of constru(ct)ing a cultural-artistic space, but also, and perhaps more importantly, a paradigm-shifting way of creating, presenting, and experiencing art and culture. Amidst these progressive and continued transformations in urban and cultural policies, the role of communication gained increasing relevance. British sociologist Raymond Williams had already presented the case for the importance of communication in his 1962 work *Britain in the Sixties: Communications*. In it, Williams stated his opposition to the political determinacy of cultural and artistic institutions by the welfare state and underlined the importance of

places as supporting the urban dream world of the bourgeoisie, his 'Phantasmagoria', fed by advertising and marketing promotions, creating a frenzy of consumption and commercial fetishism about objects of desire" (*ibid.*: 263).

[143] The first order is one of manual representation of concepts and ideas into books, objects, works of art, etc. (hand-crafted originals); the second order is one of mechanical reproduction; and the third order is one of simulacra and hyper-reality (cf. Baudrillard, 1983). In that third order there is "no original and no copy" (Luke, 1994: 216).

ensuring an educated and participated democracy which is dependent on the existence of free and spontaneous communication (cf. Lobsinger, 2000). The creation of Communication Centres[144] was one of the ideas presented by Williams in 1962. They were to work as spaces for spontaneous communication, where the public could interact with each other and with the events taking place there in completely non pre-determined or pre-formatted ways. This reflects not only the importance attributed to uniqueness, originality, and innovation[145] in the types and forms of artistic and cultural events made available to the public, but it mirrors as well the significance attributed to the possibility of multi-layered and multi-contextual interpretations. As was advocated by the institutional critique, more than a mere structural reformation, the new art museums needed to embrace an institutional transformation in accepting other voices and perspectives, other discourses and narratives than just their own.

The planning, construction, and fruition processes of the *Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou* are clear examples of how the institutional critique debate reflected on a grand project involving urban and cultural public policies. Wrapped in controversy since the beginning of the project in 1971, and inaugurated in 1977, the *Centre Pompidou* became a symbol for the ongoing academic, social, and political debates regarding the role of cultural and artistic spaces in the city. The former urban policies of the 1960s had initiated a "functional restructuring, hygienisation, and gentrification" (Grande, 2009: 200) process of the whole district which was to house the *Centre*, beginning with the demolition of the *quartier* Beaubourg and ending with the disassembling of the *Marché Les Halles* one year before the *Centre Pompidou* project took off (v. figs. 3.12., 3.13.). In an attempt to thwart those tendencies, to bring back the creative thrust to the neighbourhood-dynamics[146], and to appease the protests of large sectors of French society, a "modern factory [was to be] inserted into central Paris to contain art collections in a giant, flexible, loft-like art palace […] st[anding] in deliberate and stark contrast to the historic district [as] a 'social condensor' […], a new social facility" (Shane, 2008: 265). Built in a rundown area (the *quartier* Beaubourg) of Paris's historic district of *Le Marais*, the *Centre* was then-President Pompidou's response to the institutional critique as well as to the academic sociological analysis of the time. Pompidou sought to actualise the political role of culture by betting on the construction

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[144] The *Fun Palace*, a project by British architect Cedric Price, attempted to answer Williams's challenge (v. Banham, 1999; 2001; Lobsinger, 2000).

[145] The rapid spread of the happenings' success attests to it.

[146] *Plateau Beaubourg*, and in fact the whole of the *Le Marais* neighbourhood, had a very important and active role in the artistic and cultural life of the city of Paris (v. Picon, 1987; Silver, 1994).

of an artistic and cultural creation centre meant to progressively increase the democratisation of cultural consumption by leading the way to an arts-based development of the district. Many politicians and intellectuals saw the *Centre* as a possibility for "more than to monumentalise cultural power, […] to resuscitate the active, communicative, and multifunctional life which seemed to slowly disappear from that city tissue, as well as to serve as an urban catalyst at a metropolitan level" (Grande, 2009: 200).

Having hosted five million visitors in its first year[147], it soon transpired that the intentions behind the idea of/for that cultural space and its perceived effects on the city, the public, and on art creation/distribution/consumption had become two very distinct realities. The *Centre Pompidou* was meant to put into action a synthesis of the aforementioned sociological analysis of French and British academics (Bourdieu and Darbel, Williams, Hall, etc.) vis-à-vis the role of cultural institutions in the city. As British Architecture Professor, David Shane puts it, the *Centre Pompidou* "appeared to be a miniature fragment from an advanced, hypermodern, network city […] [which] promised to plug the impoverished inner-city neighbourhood into the universal, global city network" (Shane, 2008: 266) of Baudrillard's hyperreality (cf. Baudrillard, 1983) and of Foucault's heterotopias of illusion (cf. Foucault, 1967). With its new museology and museography[148] – glass façade allowing for transparent looks inside and out, a hangar-like art museum space allowing for different exhibition and performance formats, an art library with advanced technological means, a cinema, a videotheque, a bookshop, cafes, and restaurants (cf. Giebelhausen, 2013) – the *Centre* (v. figs. 3.14., 3.15.) seemed to embody all of the most recent theories about art and culture presentation, communication, and fruition. Its existence seemed also to support the future development of more informal and open cultural institutions fostering a logics of free and mass cultural consumption at an institutional level.

However, the creators of *Centre Pompidou* designed it as a mass-media platform which was to function as an edutainment instrument[149], or as one of the architects put it: "a crossing

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[147] In 1977 the *Centre Pompidou* surpassed the Louvre Museum as the Paris number one touristic attraction. During its first decade the *Centre* had an average of twenty-five thousand visitors a day (eight million visitors per year), having been the first contemporary art centre to have those many visitors in Europe (cf. Silver, 1994).

[148] V. Picon, 1987; Hernandez Hernandez, 1994; Silver, 1994; Alonso Fernández, 2001; Gob and Drouget, 2004; Grande, 2009; Giebelhausen, 2013; Lampugnani, 2013.

[149] The French Minister for Culture at that time, Jacques Duhamel, picked up the concept of cultural action – based on a didactic approach – inherited by Malraux's policies and sought to develop it and turn it into a socio-cultural and socio-educational action, aiming to reach a wider scope of publics, and to further merge

between Times Square and the British Museum" (Picon, 1987: n/p); and in this laid the problem for many academics and theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord, Roland Barthes, and Jean Baudrillard. Four years after the *Centre* was inaugurated, Baudrillard published his analytical and ironic essay *L'Effet Beaubourg*. In it the author explains why the *Centre Pompidou* would not live up to the expectations of becoming a cultural beacon, but rather turn out to be "a carcass of signs and flux, of networks and circuits […]. A monument to mass simulation effects, the Centre functions like an incinerator, absorbing and devouring all cultural energy […]" (Baudrillard, 1982: 3). The author saw the new art museum as a monument to disconnection and to the implosion of culture, generating a mechanical flow which froze the city's artistic creativity by enclosing the legitimation of art production and circulation to within its walls (cf. *ibid.*). Baudrillard's analysis made evident the contradictions between the initial intentions and objectives of the idea behind the construction of the *Centre Pompidou* and the real effects of the anachronistic cultural policies which ruled its inaugural years. Born out of the *Mai'68* movement, and as a direct response to the institutional critique, the *Centre* was thought of as a centre for live information and as an experimental space for contemporary creation. However, within four years of its opening, the French National Modern Art collection was moved[150] and put on display on the *Centre*'s fifth floor as a permanent exhibition, forcing a drastic change in its museography, and turning parts of the *Centre* into the museological model it sought to go against in the first place: white-cube style galleries[151]. Even though it was conceived of as a definitive alternative to Malraux's modern cultural cathedrals, the *Centre* would become the most renowned and spectacular symbol of post-*Mai'68* Paris (cf. Grande, 2009), betraying its anti-monument nature. And, perhaps the most deterrent[152] of phenomena, the *Centre* failed to solidify its proposed new museology: it peremptorily distanced itself from the elitist notion of catering solely to well-educated audiences, but it seemed unable to offer a structured and targeted cultural programming that

the concepts of education and entertainment (edutainment) (v. Dodd, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999a, b, c, d; Falk, Dierking and Adams, 2013; Hein, 2013).

[150] The collection had been on display at the *Palais des Musées d'art moderne* (known nowadays as *Palais de Tokyo*) since 1937. French President Giscard d'Estaing decided to move it to the *Centre* in 1981.

[151] In 1981 the flexibility of the hangar-like exhibition halls was eliminated and replaced by a linear succession of white-cube style galleries which pre-determined and conditioned the museologic and museographic path of the visitor. This change was conducted in order for the *Centre* to be able to house the French Modern Art collection, as well as for it to be able to cope with the number of visitors it received every day.

[152] In his essay, entitled *The Beaubourg Effect: Implosion and Deterrence*, Baudrillard stated that "Beaubourg is 'a monument of cultural deterrence'" (Baudrillard: 1982: 6).

would foster the creation and building of well-informed and participatory publics, as it found itself functioning mainly as a tourist attraction (cf. Silver, 1994; Lampugnani, 2013).

> In fighting against a separation between "high" and "low" culture, promoting a single standard-levelling grounded on the myths of "didacticism" and of cultural "animation" – swiftly used by the communication and entertainment industries – counterculture had, in the end, induced the replacement of an "elite culture" by an uncritically participated cultural consumption; i.e., by a "mass culture" whose perversities it knew how to analyse, but rarely how to redirect.
>
> (Grande, 2009: 204).

The intended effect of the construction of the *Centre Pompidou* was to have it serve as a beacon for the integration of artistic and intellectual countercultures resulting from revolutionary processes of social, educational, and political change. The Beaubourg effect, however, demonstrated that the institutionalisation of the institutional critique would not work in its own advantage and that the relationship between city, art, and public would not be easily resolved in the museological field. The *Centre Pompidou* can be regarded as the epitome of the early establishment of a post-industrial and postmodern city experience. The notion of urban culture becomes tied to the notions of spectacle, mass-media image, and knowledge production, all pinpointed to spaces which acquire a monumental and referential character in the city (cf. Harvey, 1994). According to Harvey, this type of cultural composition leads simultaneously to an explosion of the symbolic in urban culture and to a semantic reduction of the urban space. Such was the paradoxical reality of the *Centre*:

> Only a few years after the disturbances of May 1968, the conservative President Pompidou was attempting to capture the fundamental cultural change that the student revolt had initiated and express it in a museum structure that would fulfil its old task in a new way: to create identity and consensus. The anti-institutional element was to be captured and placated here in a (demagogically) open institution.
>
> (Lampugnani, 2013: 250).

Nonetheless, and in spite of the validity of this affirmation, the *Centre* helped to redefine the traditional role of the art museum (cf. Davis, 1990), promoting the function of a cultural centre as a space for the democratisation of culture (through a myriad of different activities encompassing high culture and popular culture), and fostering the notion of culture as participatory process (cf. Giebelhausen, 2013). In doing so, the *Centre Pompidou* moved the art museum paradigm forward, "integrat[ing] it in a portfolio of cultural practices and activities" (*ibid.*: 233) which would increment and solidify its role in the transformation of cosmopolitan cultural identities and in the reshaping of urban culturalscapes.

The construction of a new cultural space in the city will always necessarily transform the urban culturalscape, and therefore it will always mandatorily change the pre-established cultural identity which gave way to that construction in the first place. This hermeneutical circle relationship between the city, art/culture, and citizens determines a constantly evolving panorama. The reasons justifying an intervention in the urban culturalscape may themselves be completely overturned by the result of that intervention. “There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases” (Lynch, 1960: 2). As the post-industrial, postmodern society loosens its ontological certainties, and loses its metanarratives, the city becomes increasingly fluid and plasticised, full of heterotopias (cf. Lopes, 2000) where Benjamin’s *flâneur* or Certau’s cultural practitioner look for symbolic interactions and (re)interpretations of an urban cultural identity. The culturalscape of a city is one of the central aspects capable of producing a clear image (and consequently a clear notion of the cultural identity) of that city. As will be discussed next, the social and political events of the 1960s and 70s and their consequential theoretical debates, academic researches, and practical experiments described above, largely contributed to the definition of the CAM’s project as well as to the specific terms of its institutional presentation. The CAM would be influenced by the spectacular box-office success of the *Centre Pompidou*, but the FCG was aware of the Beaubourg effect’s less positive consequences, and bore in mind the specificities of the Lisbon urban context and of Portugal’s lacks in specific aspects of public art history.

Figure 3.12. - Plateau Beaubourg as a parking lot in the 1960s

Figure 3.13. - Plateau Beaubourg in 1970

Figure 3.14. - Centre Pompidou in 1977

Figure 3.15. - Inaugural exhibition at the Centre Pompidou, February-May 1977

3.2. SITES OF EMPLACEMENT(S), REPRESENTATION, AND DIFFERENCE

> *Museum discourses are inextricable from cultural, but also economic and social politics. Art institutions do not form some kind of an aesthetic space outside the relationship between polity and people. Recognition of the fallacy of the neutrality of the museum space is a common place now: the gallery is not, and has never been, a value-free location like a transparent architectural frame for the transcendent objects, and to go there is not to leap into some alternative pre-political reality of aesthetic contemplation and reverie, some place of refuge from the world [...]. Art institutions are involved in the regulation of social and intellectual life, in the construction of culture and the iterative, continuous development of values, ideals and identities.*
> (Whitehead, 2012: xvii).

As it has been argued so far, artistic and cultural institutions have faced the consequences of economic, social, political, and academic[153] transformations. As activities of mediation, the curating and organisation of exhibitions take into consideration not only the processes of production, but also the forms of reception of artworks. Which artists and artworks are selected to be shown (always in detriment of others), when the exhibitions take place, and how they are displayed: these are all elements that come into play and influence the publics' experience and process of interpretation. In their role as mediators, artistic and cultural institutions are also influenced by the transformations mentioned throughout subchapter 3.1., which means that they too – as places which mindfully engage with the political, the economic, the social, and the academic realms – are agents in the construction and production of world views (informed by a thorough knowledge of the art world and its cultural meaning and significance).

As a result of the awareness that power relations are fundamentally established through a rhetorical dynamic of visibility and invisibility, cultural institutions' architectural mechanisms of exhibition and models of display have been continuously revised from the early 20th century onwards[154]. The development of new artistic languages and new media (cf. Greenberg et al., 2010), the emergence of new artists, curators, and publics, accompanied by

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[153] V. Assmann, 2012 and Gil, 2008 for a brief analysis of the development of the academic production from the British Cultural Studies of the 1960s, to the German *Kulturwissenschaften*, and to the field of Culture Studies, and of the impact this academic revision has had, and continues to have, on processes of culture reading, analysis, and interpretation, particularly at the level of visual culture, art history, and issues pertaining to the field of Museum Studies.

[154] V. Crimp, 1993; Huyssen, 1995; Anderson, 2004.

the advancement of new cultural and artistic interests, led to an ever changing (re)placement and understanding of the role of art museums, not only within the cultural economy of the city, but within the logics of the city's cultural topographies as well. Art places operate as a technology for surveying, delineating, grouping, naming, including, and excluding (cf. Whitehead, 2012). Art institutions function interpretively, i.e. they identify art and types of art, narrate stories about art, and evaluate art in different ways, ranging through institutional practices from accession to display. Heidegger considered that the work of art was "a being in the Open [that] opens up a world" (Heidegger, 1971: 44), given that the Open is a cultural space resulting from a specific understanding of what it is to be a being – a person, an institution, a thing. Artworks are cultural paradigms and as such they express this shared cultural understanding of the meaning of being, for they give "to things their look and to [people] their outlook on themselves" (Heidegger, 1971: 43). As a result, it can be said that art 'thinks' culture and actively shapes its social and historical context, rather than merely reflect it. Art, its production, display, and interpretation, is an epistemological practice with an unavoidable bearing on social organisation, on the production of value, as well as on questions of identity, equality, and belonging.

Belonging to a culture provides one with access to shared frameworks of knowledge, or maps of meaning, which one uses to place and understand things, to make sense of the world, to formulate ideas, and to communicate or exchange those ideas and their meanings (cf. Hall, 1997). One of the key institutions for the creation of such shared maps is the art museum. Both map and art museum are involved, as Museum Studies scholar Eilean Hooper-Greenhill observes, in selecting from the totality of the world those aspects that can serve to depict it through ordering, classifying, and constru(ct)ing pictures of reality, and both are technologies of authority (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The art museum space itself can be understood as a map, albeit one with different expressive potentials from those of the conventional map on a plane surface, notably an augmented scope for narrativisation (cf. Whitehead, 2012), which will be discussed in subchapter 5.1.. The art museum operates as a vast, three-dimensional map of knowledge relations, where objects are mapped in epistemological space. It has the capacity of constru(ct)ing multiple narratives by creating sequential orders of encounter and demanding a transitory, mobile, and perambulatory gaze over fragmented relations and connections (cf. *ibid.*). It does so even when some of those connections are

incidental or the consequence of 'folds' in the museum's history in such a way that the museum becomes a crumpled geography (cf. Hetherington, 1997). Museums are places where intertwining ideologies behind the notions and concepts of culture (along with its subsequent issues such as identity, gender, and race, for example) are articulated for the general public (cf. Coombes, 2004) through art in the multiple ways it may be exhibited, displayed, conveyed, and put together to form a discourse and a narrative about culture:

> [t]he world is discursively construed (or represented) in many and various ways, but which construals come to have socially constructive effects depends upon a range of conditions which include for instance power relations but also properties of whatever parts of the world are being construed.
>
> (Fairclough, 2010: 4-5).

Art museums produce interpretations on/of the culture they occupy, creating discourses about such culture. However, art museums, and the discourses they produce, are not structures, but processes of structuration[155] that relate to other artistic and cultural events and places in the city – a process that emphasises the diverse contexts which shape those dynamics. The events and dynamics delineated throughout the different sections of subchapter 3.1. demonstrate that, as art contributes to the production of certain kinds of spaces for art, so such spaces contribute to the production of art. The cultures of display embodied by those spaces soon become inextricably embedded in cultures of production and consumption of contemporary art – which ultimately might put into question the artworks' legitimacy to participate in the construction of reality. But, as Victoria Newhouse has shown using the example of a touring exhibition, the same object can be shown in relation to different disciplinary regimes, namely those of art, leading to entirely different epistemologies of display and entirely different ways of knowing something (cf. Newhouse, 2005). The theorising potential of museum actions, like collecting and displaying, can be regarded as a means to advance hypotheses about history. This means that the discursive power, though moulded by the discourses of the displayed objects, still lies with the art museum and its practices.

Art museums are considered to be places where social hierarchies are played out and reinforced. The museum, therefore, becomes a space of ritual where the visitors enact the

[155] Julia Kristeva says that a text is not a "structure" but a process of "structuration" where a horizontal axis connects the author and the reader of a text while a vertical axis connects the text to other texts (v. Kristeva, 1980).

ritual: “the museums’ sequenced spaces and arrangement of objects, its lighting and architectural details provide both the stage set and the script” (Duncan, 1991: 91). Understanding a particular cultural practice or object requires a familiarity with both its social and cultural context and also with fundamental institutional processes. These notions, although relatively intrinsic to the general conception of a traditional museum space, are also responsible for the somewhat generalised idea of a museum as a restricted space that not everyone knows about or feels comfortable entering:

> it is only by making the museum an inclusionary space and an inclusionary concept – by providing tools for the familiarity of the public with institutional codes – that visiting patterns will change […]. Art museums […] should provide the intellectual and meta-cognitive means for wider audiences to understand such codes or, to put it another way, to read the cultural map delineated in and through gallery space.
> (Whitehead, 2012: xvii-xviii).

By the late 1970s this was one of the challenges facing all kinds of museums (not just art museums) all around the world: the challenge of connecting to audiences and building a public. Museums – and in this particular case art museums – facing the changing times regarding the development of knowledge and socialisation could no longer claim to be places of collective cultural memory just because they acted as reservoirs of artistically and culturally significant objects. The importance of a museum no longer lied solely in its function of collecting and selecting art objects for display. Museums had to start placing those objects in a setting and context where the public could learn their stories, think about them, and draw knowledge that was to go beyond that of the texts accompanying most museum exhibits. And more than creating and developing cultural offers that were narrative-driven and accessible, museums had to engage in the creation and development of democratic, unpretentious spaces for the debate and discussion of ideas about art and its role in post-industrial cities, in a postmodern globalised society.

Cultural and artistic institutions developed in accordance with the sprawl of the urban context around them, while simultaneously being one of the crucial elements in the (re)definition of that same context. That was due to the properties of the discourses (statements issued, concepts adopted and displayed, and thematic choices) performed by said institutions. Those discourses, having multiple sources – the artists, the artworks, the curators, the institution (its public image, its mission statement, its vision of art and culture) – demonstrated how the construction of a city’s culturalscape was based on the representations and

transformations that came to be and surfaced out of the power relations established. It was in the intersection of multiple discourses – those of the institution, the curators, the artists, and the artworks themselves – that a notion of the city and of the city's cultural and artistic identity began to be articulated and performed. It was from the city that those tacit agreements of a given world vision came and it was towards, in, and into the city that those notions of cultural memory, identity, and interaction were projected. The city – its social, political, and cultural contexts – was *the* referent of those constructed discourses where one could find the implicit intention of both performing and constru(ct)ing a representational perspective of the city, actively building and affirming the city's culturalscape as a process of constant and continuous transformation and representation of a city's cultural and artistic expressions.

3.2.1. (Infra)structuring a new programme for art and culture in Lisbon

The construing, programming, and construction of the FCG's Modern Art Centre were very much influenced by the (post-)revolutionary processes previously described. The transformations and tensions experienced in the artistic, cultural, social, political, and museological fields so far discussed informed the on-going planning of the CAM to a foundational extent. Even though the FCG's idea to build a modern art museum can be traced back to 1967[156], it was only in 1979 that an official decision was made. On August 22nd, 1979, the Board of Administration unanimously decided that the FCG would "build, equip, and maintain a Centre for the research and promotion of modern art, mainly with pedagogical and cultural animation purposes" (FCG, 1983: 419). This decision came twenty-three years after the foundation of the FCG, more than a decade after the *Mai'68* events, four years after the 25th of April Revolution, and a couple of years after the *Alternativa Zero* exhibitions/performances, as well as two years after the inauguration of the *Centre Pompidou*. All of these separate events can be tied together, though, as they reveal the cultural and social progression characteristic of the 1960s and 70s in Europe and the U.S.A.. The CAM's cultural programme, its mission statement and objectives, the project and the type of museology it put forward are all aspects which will be analysed in a twofold manner: in relation to the historical events which guided their formation and of which they became exemplary of; and as elements of discontinuity inasmuch as they introduced and fostered notions of innovation and experimentation previously unknown to the Portuguese everyday reality.

Several reasons strongly contributed to the FCG's decision to build the CAM, of which the following deserve closer attention: a) the existence of a vast collection of modern and contemporary art, namely, at the time, of Portuguese, British, and Armenian artists, belonging to the FCG (cf. FCG, 1983a); b) the consequent desire of the FCG to extend its artistic and cultural offer by creating a modern art museum and a contemporary art centre which had for a long time been lacking in the Portuguese culturalscape (cf. Tostões, 2006); c) the need to respond to the institutional critique, to put forward a more progressive and cosmopolitan program, and in doing so "adapt the Foundation, for educational and also aesthetic reasons, to the contemporary art forms of the younger generations" (Ribeiro, 2007: 349); d) the fact

[156] In 1967, during the construction of the FCG's headquarters and museum buildings, the Board of Administration asked the architects in charge of the work for a preliminary study regarding a building, or buildings, to house a Modern Art Museum (cf. Tostões, 2006).

that art and culture had recently been used in Portugal by different groups with the purpose of establishing certain ideologies, along with the fact that the FCG's President strongly believed that artistic or cultural expressions "should not be conducted or developed with the intent of promoting any specific religious, social, or political doctrine" (FCG, 1975: 50).

Following on the strategy delineated early on regarding its actions in the artistic and educational fields, the FCG had come to gather a very significant modern and contemporary art collection. As a result of its arts scholarships' policies – and starting at the time of the previously discussed I and II Visual Arts Exhibitions – the FCG had been exhibiting, and many times acquiring, the works of Portuguese artists who, thanks to the Foundation, had had the possibility to receive education, do research, and develop their work in a number of European countries during the 1960s and 70s. Alongside acquiring contemporary artworks by Portuguese artists, the FCG had also been establishing what was to become the greatest collection of Portuguese modern art, through the acquisition of private collections and through donations of artists or artists' families. That segment of the collection evolved hand in hand with the collecting of works by foreign artists who either resided in Portugal for a given period of time or whose work was deemed directly influential to that of Portuguese artists[157]. The relevance of such a collection to the history of art in Portugal, and its importance to the establishment of the CAM, will be discussed in subchapter 4.1.. The FCG also acquired modern and contemporary artworks from artists born in countries which influenced Calouste Gulbenkian's life, namely the founder's home country, Armenia, as well as one of the countries which very much benefited from his entrepreneurially skilled 'business architecture' abilities, the U.K. (cf. FCG, 1983). Due to the existence of an administration branch of the FCG in the U.K., it was possible to establish a partnership with the Fine Arts Department of the British Council[158] for the acquisition of contemporary British art (cf. Vasconcelos, 1997) to add to the FCG's collections.

As was previously discussed, at a time when throughout Europe and the U.S.A. modern art had already been diachronically delineated and attributed a specific place in the history

[157] One example is found in the correlations which can be established between the works of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (Portuguese), Eduardo Viana (Portuguese), Sonia Delaunay (b. Stern, Ukrainian-French), and Robert Delaunay (French): they all became friends in Paris, and the Delaunay couple moved to Portugal during World War I where they continued to follow and influence each others' work.

[158] In 1959 the FCG's Board of Administration granted the British Council with a first subsidy of ten thousand sterling pounds for the acquisition of contemporary British art, asking for particular attention to be given to the younger generations of artists (cf. Vasconcelos, 1997).

of art (and in the history of museology), Portugal still lacked a museum of modern art. The aforementioned MNAC – and therefore, the State – was never able to take on the task of building and presenting a collection representative of the Portuguese modernisms in the visual arts (cf. Gonçalves, 2004). Given the vast collection of 20th century art the FCG came to gather, and in line with the institution's artistic, cultural, and educational missions, it was crucial for the FCG to make such an artistic estate and cultural heritage available to the public. According to Portuguese art critic Rui-Mário Gonçalves, who considered the inexistence of a modern art museum in Portugal as evidence of the immobility of Portuguese society, the construction of the future CAM was fundamental, not only for an "aesthetic information and formation of the public, but also for [allowing the public to] acquire an attitude fostering the transformative conscious interventionism of human societies" (*ibid.*: 15). The creation of a modern art museum was, thus, an essential step in the FCG's programme for artistic and cultural education, one that would make available to the Portuguese public the "critical instruments needed for an understanding of museology in its varied historical and spatial dimensions" (Grande, 2009: 238). The display of the artistic creation of the 20th century (from Portugal and abroad) was fundamental for the on-going cultural project initiated by the Foundation in the 1950s. Even though the modern art collection – its presentation, interpretation, and discussion – was one of the key aspects of the future CAM (as will be discussed later on), the (late) construction of a modern art museum in the early 1980s would almost mandatorily require a bold and up close approach to contemporaneity (cf. Tostões, 2006).

The FCG's President at the time was very much aware of the institutional critique as well as of the cultural, artistic, museological, and programmatic discussions, changes, and debates that had been going on in Europe and the U.S.A. for the past two decades. Such an awareness meant the FCG understood that, despite the need for an informational and didactical presentation of modern art, the configuration of such a display could not follow the canonical (and by then dated) 'modern art museum' formats[159]. On the contrary, this new space for modern and contemporary art would have to be a dynamic "cultural centre set on a more informal concept of artistic intervention and fruition, capable of gathering differentiated publics, […] and with a multidisciplinary approach to its cultural action, reinforcing

[159] V. footnote 120.

its internationality and cosmopolitism" (Tostões, 2006: 221-222). Based on national experiments, such as the *Alternativa Zero* event, and on international cultural policies and programmes, such as the ones which gave rise to the *Centre Pompidou* in Paris, the CAM would follow the 'cultural animation centre' model (already advocated by Azeredo Perdigão in his President's Report of 1975). The future CAM would, therefore, bet on the conjugation of the acts of collecting, displaying, and studying the FCG's modern art collection, along with the fostering of new and experimental contemporary art forms, such as installations, happenings, and performances[160]. Such a programmatic configuration was unique in the country's culturalscape. It answered not only to the lack of a modern art museum and of a space for contemporary art production[161], but also – and with particular aptitude – to the lack of contact between the public and modern and contemporary art. As will be discussed in further detail throughout chapter 4., the CAM would invest thoroughly in the continuous formation of the public regarding the modern art movements, while simultaneously providing an environment for contemporary art creation, promoting an interactive dialogue between public and artists.

"The dissemination of culture must be essentially informational and propaedeutic, stimulant of creative power and of a critical spirit, and non-sectarian. Only by following this line of conduct will the freedom of culture be ensured" (FCG, 1975: 50). This was one of the sentences used in the text written by Azeredo Perdigão to make completely clear the FCG's stand on the issue of the political-ideological utilisation of art and culture. During the PREC years, the FCG was "accused of cultural elitism and of culturally supporting the former dictatorial regime" (Grande, 2009: 233). This was partly due to the fact that the FCG was a member of the first National Consulting Committee for Visual Arts[162], a committee which worked as a "counter point to the MFA's 5th Division's[163] dirigisme as well as to the populist actions of other organisations […], maintaining an open dispute with them in defending cultural policies free from political utilisation and exploitation" (Couceiro, 2004: 34). The

[160] These types of artistic expression can be considered as innovative and experimental still throughout the 1980s since, as was discussed in section 3.1.2., they had been introduced in Portugal relatively late, only gaining wider public attention thanks to the *Alternativa Zero* in 1977.
[161] There were, however, a few spaces for contemporary art production and exhibition: v. footnote 132.
[162] V. footnote 112.
[163] The famous 5th Division of the MFA incorporated several structures, such as the *Codice* (Central Committee) – responsible for the organisation of cultural demonstrations – and the *CEIP* (Centre for Public Information and Clarification) – responsible for the MFA's propaganda. The 5th Division sought to conduct a cultural revolution which aimed at 'preparing' the people to vote according to the MFA's ideological-political stance.

FCG firmly affirmed its unavailability to organise or participate in any actions of cultural or artistic dissemination of any sectarian political-ideological vein. Instead, Azeredo Perdigão pointed to the FCG's actions in the 1950s and 60s (discussed throughout chapter 2.) as well as to the numerous more recent initiatives and events at a national and international level[164], as a way of demonstrating the true nature and purpose of the cultural policies the FCG deemed necessary and fruitful. As a result of those actions pointed to by the President, the FCG's 1979 report demonstrated very good numbers regarding visitor attendance to the various artistic and cultural events promoted by the FCG[165], as well as a very healthy financial situation[166].

The confluence of political and social circumstances, along with the FCG's actions – considering of and responding to those circumstances – determined the structuring of new cultural policies within the FCG which would finally give way to the construction of the future CAM. The 1967 idea of a "Modern Art Museum, which later on evolved in conceptualisation and denomination to Modern Art Gallery and, eventually, to Modern Art Centre (CAM)" (Tostões, 2006: 215), was finally put to paper at the very end of one of the most politically, socially, culturally, and artistically relevant decades of the Portuguese 20th century. In light of that period of significant transformations, the FCG's President considered it "necessary to reveal to the younger generations the art which best embodies nowadays' philosophy by creating a modern art museum and a place where artists can more easily conduct studies, research, and experiments in search of paths to trail in the future" (Azeredo Perdigão,

[164] The FCG was responsible for ensuring the Portuguese participation/representation in international events, such as: the International Surrealism Exhibition (Chicago, U.S.A., 1975); the São Paulo Biennials of 1975, 1977 and 1979 (Brazil); the Venice Biennials of 1976 and 1978 (Italy); International Art Fairs in Italy, Switzerland and Germany (1977-1979); exhibitions at the Modern Art Museum of Paris (1976) and at the Royal Academy of Arts (London, U.K., 1978); and cultural exchanges with the *Centre Pompidou* (1977-onwards), as well as with cultural institutions of countries such as Hungary, Romania, and Poland (cf. FCG, 1979; FCG, 1983). At a national level the FCG was responsible, amongst many other activities, for the organisation and/or support to events such as: the II and III International Art Meetings (1975-1976); the first meeting in Portugal of the AICA (1976); the II Art Biennial of Vila Nova de Cerveira (1980); numerous film cycles covering the work of American, Brazilian, French, Japanese, Portuguese, and Swedish directors (1975-1980); and the "Contemporary Music Meetings" (1977-onwards) which presented the work of composers from the 1950s to contemporaneity (cf. FCG, 1983).

[165] 115000 visitors to the Gulbenkian Museum; 390000 visitors to the temporary exhibitions; 134000 people attending music concerts and ballet performances; 39000 participants in film cycles and seminars; and 29000 readers at the Art Library (cf. FCG, 1980).

[166] A liquid financial situation of around 18.5 billion Escudos (90 million Euros at the time, equivalent approx. to 288 million Euros today) and active assets of around 22 billion Escudos (110 million Euros at the time, equivalent to approx. 353 million Euros today) (cf. FCG, 1980; Grande, 2009).

1983: n/p). This passage, taken from Azeredo Perdigão's speech during the CAM's inauguration, holds within it a synthesis of what this new centre was to be and represent: a place for the display of modern art history, as well as for the exhibition of contemporary experimentations[167]; and a space for the creation of new ways of relating to and thinking about modern art, as well as for the development of new social spheres based on/supportive of a contemporary cosmopolitan artistic culture[168].

In order to fulfil these goals the future CAM would have to develop complementary programmes which would require the gathering of several spaces in one place: a museum space with multi-purpose galleries, and a documentation and artistic creation centre space comprised of a documentation and research centre, experimental workshop rooms, a temporary exhibitions room, and a multi-purpose auditorium, as well as a space for artistic education (cf. FCG, 1983a) (v. figs. 3.16. to 3.20.). The CAM would, thus, house a museum dedicated to Portuguese modern art, along with art by foreign artists who influenced Portuguese modern artists, and art representative of international art movements allowing for a counterpoise of the works developed by national artists. Given the late arrival of a modern art museum on the Portuguese culturalscape, the CAM would initially have to focus on organising quite a number of events conducing of the discovery of Portuguese modern art by the general public. Nonetheless, the CAM would simultaneously concentrate a lot of its efforts in structuring and solidifying the actions of its documentation and artistic creation centre. As the truly unique and innovative element of the CAM, this centre was meant to foster a greater connection between art, artists, and public through the organisation of "meetings with the artists, debates, audio-visual shows, performances" (FCG, 1983: 420), as well as through gathering and making available to the public documentation on national and international artworks, art forms, artistic expressions, and art movements of the 20th century[169].

The following section of this subchapter will discuss the different types of museography and museology (spaces and strategies) required to fulfil the CAM's objectives as a space

[167] Both instances will be analysed in more depth throughout the three sections of subchapter 4.1..
[168] *Ibidem* 4.2..
[169] "The Documentation and Research Centre will gather all Portuguese documentation concerning the period between 1911 to nowadays, as well as documentation regarding foreign art. [It shall incorporate] an information system which illustrates, documents and preserves the main artistic manifestations post-1980 and that allows for the documentation of ephemeral types of art such as performances, installations and happenings. Foreign Centres and Museums will be asked to provide documentation regarding international modern art from 1900 onwards." (FCG, 1983: 421). The Documentation Centre was organised as intended and existed for seventeen years as an integral part of the CAM before becoming part of the FCG's Art Library (cf. Ribeiro, 2007).

which, in spite of having been primarily created to "foster the understanding, appreciation, and promotion of Modern Art [,] [wa]s not intended solely as a Museum or a simple Gallery […] [but as] a living Centre" (FCG, 1981: 14). The final section of this subchapter will focus on analysing and applying Foucault's concepts of 'heterotopia' and 'document' to the CAM and on discussing its role as the first permanent space for the exhibition of modern and contemporary art in Lisbon.

Figure 3.16. - The CAM's entrance hallway, with the cafeteria on the left, 1983

Figure 3.17. - The CAM's main entrance and hallway, 1983

Figure 3.18. - The CAM's entrance hallway, with the future bookshop on the right, 1983

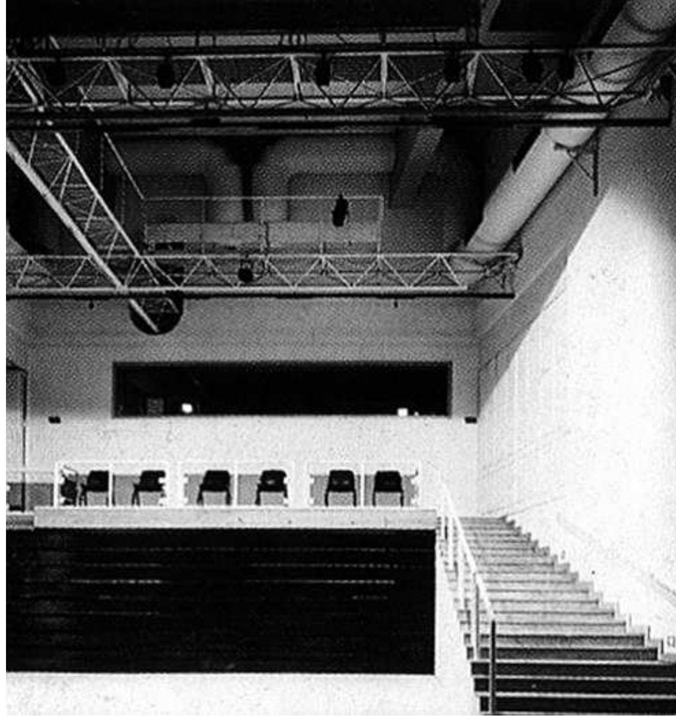

Figure 3.19. - The CAM's multi-purpose room, 1983

Figure 3.20. - The CAM's main gallery, 1983

3.2.2. Art museums and art centres: spaces and strategies

The issue of the specificity of the CAM's museology is of central importance to the development of this dissertation, as it will define one of the key aspects of the CAM's difference and singularity regarding all other art exhibition spaces in Lisbon and Portugal at the moment of its creation in 1983. A difference and singularity not only present in the type of art exhibited, but also expressed by how that art was displayed and presented to the public. With the intent of further understanding the functioning and operational form(at)s of the art museum and of the cultural centre comprising the CAM, the structural similarities and disparities, the ways of exhibiting and displaying art, the ways of reaching the public and communicating with the visitors will be put forward and analysed.

Most Museum Studies scholars, and museology researchers in particular[170], establish the difference between an art museum and an art centre in a considerably straight forward way: museums are institutions that are subjected to conventional and stable coordinates regarding the presentation of consecrated art as well as bound to very rigorous normative and standard museology, while art centres are regarded as spaces that usually develop much more open programs, having established solutions for the presentation and installation of art deriving from some of the social-artistic movements, schools, and behaviours arising from the 1960s onwards (cf. Alonso Fernández, 2001). More firmly established[171] from the 1980s onwards, art centres developed a much more flexible and experimental usage of the exhibition space, sometimes supported by advanced technological tools allowing them greater freedom both in style and didactics at the moment of curating (designing and assembling) each exhibition. For this same reason, art centres usually required a different type of building or infrastructure (when compared to conventional museums), although there are some exceptions when dealing with art centres that have a dual function and/or are closely affiliated to a cultural/artistic institution (such as in the CAM's case).

In their genesis and at the basis of their development, art centres have had as an immediate reference the German *Kunsthalles*[172] (a common designation used internationally to

[170] V. Hernandez Hernandez, 1994; Alonso Fernández, 2001; Gob and Drouget, 2004.
[171] V. pages 92 to 95.
[172] *Kunsthalle*, which literally translates to 'Art Hall', is commonly translated as 'Art Gallery'. When *Kunsthalles* first appeared they were usually operated by a non-profit *Kunstverein* ('Art Association') and they also did not own a permanent collection, with their purpose being the organisation of temporary exhibitions. As will be discussed, the CAM, while being an art centre, best fits an alternative definition – that of

define a specific concept of cultural and art exhibiting space). The art centre was originally developed as a space of convenience and necessity to serve the local community – a place for the general public to learn about art (through courses, thematic guided tours, and other activities). It was a place where local artists could display their work and where other types of art forms that were of interest to the community could also take place (such as performing arts), but these were places that usually did not hold a permanent collection. According to Spanish Museum Studies scholar Luis Alonso Fernández:

> an art centre is not a museum, although it can be considered a type of museological institution according to some definitions of the ICOM[173]. For some, an art centre can be, although not necessarily, a permanent, non-lucrative institution with educational purposes that owns and curates a collection, just like a museum. Most specialists though, consider as art centres the exhibition spaces that just borrow and exhibit artworks that do not belong to them. Art centres do not collect or preserve works of art, they are not museums. […] The main distinction between a museum and an art centre lies in the fact that the second is created by and for the community around it and exists bearing the purpose of "entertainment". The museum, on the other hand, is a permanent institution created to fulfil an educational, communicational, and aesthetic function; preserving, researching, and exhibiting its own collection.
>
> (Alonso Fernández, 2001: 119).

The definitions of art museum and art centre are not universal (not among specialists and not even when following the ICOM's definitions), which demonstrates the ambiguity that might take place when discussing such designations. This ambiguity and difficulty in establishing concrete definitions derives from the fact that institutions which are formally known, acknowledged, and recognised as museums have taken up some characteristics usually associated with art centres and vice-versa because, as Alonso Fernández points out:

> the interconnection between the evolution of art and the effort of the museum in adapting to its demands and to its socio-cultural role has been, and still is, what has led the transformation of the museum and given way to the creation and development of specific (and specialised) spaces like the "art centre" and other alternative and heterodox spaces.
>
> (*ibid.*).

Nevertheless, there are some main topics and points about which most scholars are in agreement. One has to do with the type of artistic and cultural programming of art centres when compared to museums, as art centres are considered to be spaces with much more open

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Kunsthaus. The term *Kunsthaus* ("Art House") is more suitable as it usually refers to a gallery or museum with associated artists, symposia, studios, and workshops.

[173] ICOM – International Council of Museums (http://icom.museum/).

and differentiated programmes. The other is related to a distinction that can be established between two major types of art centres: the ones that are more devoted to the exhibition of artworks and the ones that are more dedicated to artistic creation (cf. *ibid.*). Both can be considered to have had an important role in the development and/or support of some of the new artistic behaviours which emerged from the 1980s onwards (under the influence of the German *Kunsthalles*' experiments), as well as a very significant impact in the field of museography. Art centres contributed with new space configurations and new ways of designing and curating avant-garde exhibitions, possibly as a direct consequence of the characteristics of the alternative locations that they initially occupied – old abandoned factories, warehouses, or even schools. As a result, it can be said that the creation and development of art centres had changed art museum spaces in a permanent way, and those changes could be observed in cities all over the world (with a particular prominence in Europe and the U.S.A.). It is, then, possible to distinguish between three new kinds of museum spaces that came to be in the 1970s and 80s: the ones that were either built or renewed in accordance to modern and contemporary notions of museology and museography, and that hold conventional collections; those that featured the installation and exhibition of artworks or special collections in old 'containers', ranging from the aforementioned abandoned factories, warehouses, and schools, to any other type of architectonic or movable urban equipment which could hold an exhibit; and finally the spaces that mix the roles of art museum and of art centre to the fullest – by collecting, preserving, curating, exhibiting, researching, and studying their own collection, while simultaneously promoting temporary exhibitions which fully comprehended artworks that did not belong to the museum/art centre, and also by allowing for a space of dialogue with local artists as well as for courses, symposia, and workshops for the public. These spaces often belonged to or were part of foundations or institutes that had as their mission the promotion of and the education through art and culture.

The CAM fits into the last category of spaces presented as it belongs to a foundation and at the moment of its creation there was already quite an extensive collection for the CAM to harbour. Its designation as art centre derives – not only but mainly – from three facts: the existence of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, established since 1969 as the FCG's Museum; the fact that the CAM's very first mission statements and objectives covered most of the activities mentioned above and that up until then were not abridged by the conventional museums' collecting, preserving, and researching purposes; and finally the fact that the

CAM intended, from the very beginning, to establish itself as more than a space for the exhibition of visual arts[174], and therefore needed a way of communicating that same intention to the public in a straightforward manner, setting it apart as an art space and distinguishing it quite clearly from the notion of museum.

As a response to the artistic, cultural, and socio-political contexts delineated throughout all sections of subchapter 3.1., the construction of the CAM aimed at providing the city of Lisbon with a space which would expand on the notions of art museum and cultural centre to present itself as an urban and contemporary modern art centre. Within the specific Portuguese reality of that time (and within a framework of an increasingly greater awareness of international realities and contexts) , the *kunsthaus* art centre model would reveal itself to be the necessary (and almost mandatory) format to be adopted so as to best guarantee the accomplishment of the tasks the FCG set itself to. The CAM's foundational programmatic strategies, as presented and discussed in the previous section, were, thus, paired with a strategic definition and utilisation of space: space as a means of cultural-meaning-making, space as a tool for artistic production, space as a defining factor of artistic experience, communication, and fruition. The CAM's building featured the following elements in its internal spatial organisation:

> the vestibule (entrance), the integrating linear path (link), the animation centre which included the auditorium, a temporary exhibitions room, and a cafeteria/restaurant (animation), the administrative area over the entrance (administration), and, finally, the great exhibitions' hall (gallery). In this last one the [architectural] diagram was divided, still, between the Portuguese collection gallery (exhibitions) and two half-floor galleries: a bottom one for the displaying of drawings (drawings) and a top one to harbour the international art collection (link gallery). All of these valences composed a set […] of different 'adaptive' volumes, […] allowing, in theory, for a retraction or extension of the [spatial] programme, or for its internal inversion, depending on the future needs [of the CAM].
>
> (Grande, 2009: 243).

[174] There were two very prominent projects which were born alongside the CAM and that, at the time, demonstrated quite well the CAM's mission and objectives: the ACARTE (Serviço de Animação, Criação Artística e Educação pela Arte) [Department of Artistic Creation and Cultural Education through Art] and the CAI (Centro Artístico Infantil) [Children's Artistic Centre] were very important tools in connecting the public with the arts. The ACARTE was created a year after the CAM's inauguration, designed to be a centre in the service of contemporary culture and avant-garde artistic activities; its purpose being to promote multidisciplinary projects in the fields of theatre, dance, poetry, cinema, and video, favouring innovation, experimentation, research, and the development of creativity. The CAI was created as a department of the ACARTE with the objective of developing a programme of educational and awareness activities for aesthetical education and pedagogy and artistic expression, both for children and adults (v. subchapter 4.2. for further information on the ACARTE's programme).

The CAM's formulation needed such an architecture of (re)adaptable spaces, for, as an art centre with a modern art museum, the CAM's programmes would span a multitude of ranges of visual and performative artistic expressions as well as encompass a number of varied public outreach activities, all requiring different spatial organisations and uses.

Places of art, namely art museums and art galleries, have had the role, for over two centuries, of serving as vessels within which art was housed. The type of art place that will be presented in detail throughout the dissertation has had, from the beginning, quite a different, broader role. As an art centre, this type of art place presented itself not only as a place where art was housed, but also as a place where art happens. Art centres take unto themselves the duty of being creative engines for the rethinking of art and of the role of artists in society, along with the duty of communicating to the public that art and visual culture can alter and enrich personal consciousness as well as improve a community's sense of cultural identity (v. Esche, 2004). Art centres experience an autonomously engaged relationship with politics and society at large because they are simultaneously necessarily located within the hegemony of cultural policies and creative economy, while also being a forefront for political opposition and movements of social change expressed through art[175]. As such, art centres have found themselves in a position where they can become tools for thinking about and relating to art but also tools for thinking about and relating to all other culturally informed phenomena and movements. Art centres were the first art places to think about their social actors – artists, curators, and publics – in new ways, promoting novel forms of exchange between them and allowing for the emergence of ideas to be discussed among all contributors, as well as being the first art places where issues were raised, thought of, and worked on over a longer period of time than that of a single exhibition event. Having a clearly defined agenda and encouraging local artists to work on local issues, giving those artists the opportunity to dialogue with the public, as well as accepting artistic proposals of merit that are presented to them, are yet another set of examples of how art centres plan their work around the notions of community and sharing. Art took on new meanings and became an adequate word to describe a space in society for experimentation, questioning, and discovery. Given that art has become an active space rather than one of passive observation, art centres have developed to be a mixture of community centre, laboratory, academy, and showroom, leading to

[175] Hence the previous discussions regarding art museums and art alternatives in section 3.1.2..

the increase of creative thinking and intelligence(s) in society. Art centres are generally connected and intertwined with the city where they exist in a myriad of intimate, small-scale ways and, over time, grow more and more attached, developing in relation to the city itself.

3.2.3. The CAM as heterotopia and document

Foucault's concepts of heterotopia and document[176] are crucial for the definition of the CAM as an element of paradigm-shifting influence in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape. The first – heterotopia – because it makes possible a review and consequent discussion of the CAM not solely based on the objects of its collection, but also and primarily on the narratives built by its exhibitions, communication strategies, spatial experiments, and events. Applying the concept of heterotopia to the CAM will, furthermore, help to explore and determine the ways in which the different emplacements, and the heterochronisms[177] (cf. Foucault, 2008 [1967]) therein present, have been made to interact throughout the CAM's first three decades of existence. Reviewing that interaction, i.e., examining the different readings – and (re)en-actments – of history, art, and culture proposed by the CAM throughout the years, will allow for an understanding of its complex, adaptable, and often contradictory programme(s). The second concept – document – is directly linked to the first one inasmuch as it depends on the analysis of the CAM as a heterotopia to draw conclusions over its role as a constitutive element of a general and (dis)continuing history of Lisbon's cosmopolitan cultural identity. Similarly to what is proposed by Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969)[178], the point is to perform an archaeology of the CAM (as document) by examining its practices and deriving from that analysis its role(s) as a genealogical-critical institution itself. The

[176] For further information on the concept of heterotopia v. Foucault, 1967; 1998; 2008. For further information on the concept of document v. Foucault, 1969.

[177] Foucault delineated a set of principles to describe the characteristic of heterotopias. Heterochronism is one of those principles. "Heterotopias are most often linked to slices of time – which is to say that they open onto what might be called, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronisms. […]Generally speaking, in a society like ours heterotopia and heterochronism are organized and arranged in a relatively complex fashion. First of all, there are heterotopias of time that accumulates indefinitely, for example the museums, the libraries; museums and libraries are heterotopias in which time never ceases to pile up, heaping up on top of its own summit, whereas in the seventeenth century, even until the end of the seventeenth century, museums and libraries were the expression of an individual choice. By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, the idea of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time, and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in a place that will not move – well, all this belongs to our modernity. The museum and the library are heterotopias that are characteristic of Western culture in the nineteenth century". (Foucault, 2008 [1967]: 20).

[178] In this 1969 work, the author proposes a method of genealogy which relies on performing an archaeology of institutions (prisons, hospitals, asylums, etc.) in which one moves from the 'document' – the institution and the institutional practices – to the 'monument' – the historical periods. This method constructs a 'general history', as opposed to a 'total history' which moves from a supposed 'monument' to a 'document' as exem-plary of it. According to Foucault, 'total history' perceives the 'documents' within the logics of a pre-estab-lished coherent, ordered, and continuous historical period (cf. Foucault, 1969).

CAM will, therefore, not be understood solely as an instance or result of the historical periods it is embedded in; the CAM will, more notably, be understood "as a contingent 'document' that may be constituent of multiple, discontinuous historical series" (Lord, 2006: 2). The purpose is to understand and delineate how the CAM has continuously evolved as an agent in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

In bringing together and creating an environment for the interaction of different spaces, different times, and different dimensions of art history, art production, and art appreciation – as will be demonstrated and discussed throughout the next three chapters – the CAM becomes one of those places "that are a sort of counter-emplacement, a sort of effectively realized utopia in which the real emplacements […] that can be found within culture are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted" (Foucault, 2008 [1967]: 17). Foucault's lecture, radio talk, and texts[179] regarding the concept of heterotopia make it clear that a heterotopia is "a space of difference, a space that is absolutely central to a culture but in which the relations between elements of a culture are suspended, neutralized, or reversed" (Lord, 2006: 1). Museums, moreover, are regarded as places "in which ordinary relations within the culture are made and allowed to be other" (*ibid.*) through the discursive articulations established inside the museum space. The art museum is a heterotopia – a space of difference – because it is a "space of representation"[180] (Foucault, 1970: 131), i.e., a space in which the relation between things (artworks) and the conceptual structures that are attributed to them is made apparent. The relation that is put forward is that of interpretation, and as the art museum presents the difference between things and concepts it becomes a space for the representation of interpretation. Consequently, and as a Foucauldian space of difference and space of representation, what the art museum puts on display is not so much a collection of artworks, but rather the ways in which those artworks are conceptually construed, perceived,

[179] Foucault gave a radio talk on *France Culture* on December 7th, 1966 entitled *Les Hétérotopies* (part of a series on literature and utopia). After that radio talk, Ionel Schein (one of the directors of the *Cercle d'études architecturales* at the time) invited Foucault to give a lecture there. On March 14th, 1967 Foucault gave a lecture entitled *Des espaces autres* (cf. De Cauter and Dehaene, 2008). That lecture was "noted down by a stenographer and the typed record distributed to the members of the circle. The rumour of heterotopia spread through these transcripts. The text however was not published for almost twenty years, although excerpts were printed in the Italian journal *l'Architettura* in 1968. […]Although not reviewed for publication by the author, the manuscript was released into the public domain with the consent of Foucault shortly before his death for the Internationale Bau-Austellung Berlin. […]The text was finally published by the French journal *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* in October 1984 as 'Des espaces autres. Une conférence inédite de Michel Foucault'" (De Cauter and Dehaene, 2008: 13).

[180] Foucault's "space of representation" (Foucault, 1970: 131) as described in his *The Order of Things* is the space – the difference – that exists between objects and the conceptual structures attributed to them; the space of representation is, essentially, the only possible bridge between *les mots et les choses*.

and understood; it puts on display systems of representation and interpretation, while leaving those same systems open to disputation (cf. Lord, 2006). The CAM's discursive formations – the systems of representation and interpretation it puts on display – will be analysed throughout the next three chapters by looking at key events of the CAM's constitution and development so as to draw conclusions on how its actions were subjects of and agents in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

As heterotopia, the CAM is also a document in the Foucauldian sense, and, therefore, can be subjected to a simultaneous double reading: as an artistic and cultural institution it can be thought of as a 'document' (cf. Foucault, 1969) exemplary of the 'monument' (cf. *ibid.*) it was imbedded in at the time of its construction, and inauguration (in this case the transition between late modernity and postmodernity in Portugal); nevertheless and due exactly to the fact that it is exemplary or representative of a transitional period, it also becomes an element of discontinuity. In its inception, thus, the CAM presented itself as an answer to two major flaws in the Portuguese cultural and artistic panorama by providing a space for the permanent exhibition of modern and contemporary art in Lisbon. The format of such a solution was very much a result of the historical background that has been examined and discussed so far. But, again, due exactly to the fact of accurately mirroring the historical transitional period in which it came to be, the CAM was in itself a transformative element of the artistic and cultural panorama of Portugal. It was designed and built at the very end of highly troubled times, after more than half a decade of condensed revolutions[181], at a moment in time when openness to new and different things was still novel, and at a point in Portuguese history where artistic-cultural and socio-educational progress seemed to be inseparable notions. The CAM definitively tipped the scale on the late modernity vs. postmodernity transition, setting with its inauguration a new period of revision of emplacements[182], heterogeneity of representations[183], and privileging of difference[184], as indicators of a postmodern

[181] As was mentioned previously, after the 1974 revolution, Portugal experienced a period of rapid and successive transformations at social, political, economic, and educational levels. Having been closed-off for several decades, many of the progresses experienced by most of Europe between the mid-1920s and the mid-1970s, took on a condensed format in the second half of the 1970s in Portugal (v. subchapter 3.1. and sections 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. regarding the Portuguese process of transition between late modernity and postmodernity).
[182] V. examples of that in the analyses conducted in chapters 4., 5., and 6..
[183] *Ibidem*.
[184] *Ibidem*.

era[185]. As a result of those sustained postmodern practices (which will be explored throughout the next three chapters) the CAM can be considered to have "function[ed] according to an *ethos* of permanent critique of its own history" (Lord, 2006: 3), thus permitting a multi-perspectival[186] review of its self-genealogical work, while simultaneously allowing for a comparative analysis of that same work *vis-à-vis* the development of notions of urban cultural identity, cultural citizenship, and cosmopolitanism in Lisbon.

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This chapter presented and discussed the socio-political as well as artistic-cultural Portuguese and European contexts which immediately preceded – and therefore greatly influenced – the CAM's constru(ct)ing processes. The first part of the following chapter will delineate the cultural impact of the CAM's first years of existence within the Lisboan, Portuguese, and European artistic panoramas by reviewing, analysing, and evaluating its performance both as an art museum and as an art centre in the early- to mid-1980s. The second part of the following chapter will focus on one of the key features – and main defining element – of the CAM's agency as an art centre: the ACARTE. The ACARTE's creation, activities, and aftermath will be presented and discussed so as to determine its role – in conjunction with the CAM – in the formation of a postmodern exhibitionary complex in late-20th century Lisbon.

[185] In that new era, the CAM would also prove to serve as an element in the revitalisation of the FCG as a centre for the collective artistic and cultural life of the community.
[186] From the perspective of the institution – based on publications, catalogues, etc. – and from the perspective of the Culture Studies researcher – analysing the institutional self-perspective in light of multi-fold progresses at academic, historical, socio-political, educational, and cultural levels.

4. Art Museum and Cultural Centre: The Paradigm-shifting Dialogue

4.1. THE CAM – THE DISPLAY OF MODERN ART HISTORY AND OF ART'S FUTURE

The event that will take place tomorrow, Wednesday, the 20th [of July, 1983], can be considered a great one in Portuguese cultural and artistic life: the inauguration of the Modern Art Centre of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Gonçalves, 1983: 10.

The CAM became the first place in Portugal where one could study, enjoy, and understand Portuguese visual [modernity and] contemporaneity in a dialogue – activated by important temporary, national, and international exhibitions – with the dynamics of present time.

Silva, 2002: 99.

The CAM appeared in Lisbon's culturalscape as an artistic infrastructure seeking to safeguard a highly significant collection of modern art and, at the same time, looking to foster an environment allowing for the permanent and continuous support of contemporary artistic creation and cultural creativity. The year of the CAM's inauguration – 1983 – was also the year of an exhibition/event titled *Depois do Modernismo* [After Modernism][187] which initiated a structured public debate regarding postmodernism in Portugal (cf. Ribeiro, 2007), to be discussed in further detail in section 5.1.1.. Such a debate was vital for the understanding of the seemingly contradictory and anachronistic roles the CAM embodied before the Portuguese public: to be the country's first modern art museum and to be a "cultural centre in a postmodern cultural horizon" (*ibid.*: 355). As will be presented and discussed throughout this subchapter, the CAM would have to face the challenge of serving simultaneously as a place for the abridging of enormous gaps in the exhibition of Portuguese (and international) modern art history, and as a space for the display of more contemporary works of art by younger generations of Portuguese artists. As José Sommer Ribeiro[188] – the CAM's first Director – put it:

[187] *Depois do Modernismo* was an event which took place in several spaces in Lisbon from January, 7th to the 30th, 1983, featuring: exhibitions on architecture, visual arts, and fashion; colloquia; and music and theatre-dance performances. It aimed at putting forward proposals for the discussion and furtherance of the different artistic fields in Portugal. "The amazing impact it had in the artistic community, but also in the public whose reaction was extremely positive, confirmed a definitive turn of the page in the ways of seeing, making, and thinking culture in Portugal" (Marchand, 2009) (v. section 5.1.1.).

[188] José Sommer Ribeiro (1924-2006) was a Portuguese architect. He started working with the FCG in 1956 as one of the leading architects of its Projects and Constructions Department. He was the Director of the Exhibitions and Museography Department of the FCG between 1969 and 1981, and the Director of the CAM between 1981 and 1994.

> The CAM was born 50 years behindhand and, therefore, we had to start at the beginning. But after having exhibited [the works of] Amadeo and Almada[189], that does not mean we will display [the works of] Viana and then Botelho[190]. Doing so would be rendering a bad service to a generation [of artists] that deserves to be seen already, as is the case of [the works of] Lanhas, Pomar, Sá Nogueira[191], people who the present generation must see. The things that will be done might, hence, seem muddled, but it is necessary to trace a convergent path in order not to wait for years [for all of the Portuguese modern art history to be exhibited in detail].
>
> (Sommer Ribeiro in Pomar, 1984: 37).

Sommer Ribeiro recognised the importance of the CAM's duality and, even if not always successfully[192], the CAM's exhibitions' programme reflected his awareness by attempting to establish a discursive coherence in the long term. Such a coherence was delineated through what can be considered an archaeological and genealogical work of the CAM regarding national and international modern and contemporary art. By exhibiting artworks from the first Portuguese modernism[193] alongside national and international pieces from the 1960s and 70s, the CAM did much more than establish a synthesis of the chronological history of art for mere purposes of evolutionary review; it created discursive clusters, formations, and parameters for comparative analyses, allowing for and encouraging a 'general

[189] Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1887-1918) was one of the first Portuguese modernist painters; the CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition (from July 20th to December of 1983) was dedicated to his work: "Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso – Portugal's First Discovery in 20th century Europe" (v. section 4.1.1.). José de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970) was a Portuguese visual artist (painting, drawing, etc.) and writer (novels, poetry, theatre plays, and essays); in 1984 the CAM presented two exhibitions of the artist's work: "Almada Negreiros – Retrospective Exhibition", from July 20th to October 14th (exhibition of paintings, drawings, and books), and "Almada and the Performing Arts", from August 22nd to October 14th (exhibition of stage set drawings and costume designs).

[190] Eduardo Viana (1881-1967) was a Portuguese painter of the first Portuguese Modernism. Carlos Botelho (1899-1982) was a Portuguese painter, illustrator, and caricaturist.

[191] Fernando Lanhas (1923-2012) was a Portuguese architect and one of the country's first abstractionist painters. Júlio Pomar (1926-) is one of the most respected Portuguese living painters, belonging to the country's third generation of modernist painters, particularly known for his neorealist and abstract expressionist works. Rolando Sá Nogueira (1921-2002) was a Portuguese painter and professor, also belonging to the country's third generation of modernist painters.

[192] One example of the lingering connection to less contemporary approaches to museography and art display was the III Visual Arts Exhibition (v. section 2.1.2. for information on the FCG's I and II Visual Arts Exhibitions). This exhibition was organised in 1986, 25 years after the last FCG Visual Arts Exhibition, to commemorate the FCG's 30th anniversary, and – even after all of the national and international museological debates and consequent changes which occurred in those 25 years – it still followed the same organisational and curatorial logics of the first two editions (exhibiting the award-wining artworks of those 1957 and 1961 editions) (cf. Ribeiro, 2007; Grande, 2009). According to art historian Raquel Henriques da Silva, "it was a composite exhibition, always referring back to history, in which the younger artists' [works] had a role of symbolical continuity; […] it was the last exhibition in Portugal to recollect the scenographic and ideological values of the 19th century *salon*" (Silva, 2007: 45).

[193] Portuguese Modernism is usually divided into two stages and three generations: the first Portuguese Modernism which introduced Portugal to modernist art and literature and developed throughout the 1910s; and the second Portuguese Modernism which was divided into the late-1920s and 30s abstract expressionism, and the 1940s surrealism and neo-realism.

history' (cf. Foucault, 1969) understanding of 20th century art, in detriment of a 'total history' (cf. *ibid.*) view of canonical art history. That discursive practice was also established through the implementation of new models of museographical displays resulting from the aforementioned institutional critique[194], which strongly discouraged an "excessively chronologic or stylistic compartmentalisation as well as the artworks' decontextualisation and isolation into white-cube type environments" (Grande, 2009: 251) typical of the post-war modern art museum model[195]. This institutional approach regarding visual arts exhibitions, which will be illustrated throughout the next three sections, alongside the ACARTE programming, which will be discussed in subchapter 4.2., would bring to the Portuguese public the type of contemporary and innovative artistic practices which had been largely missing from Lisbon's culturalscape.

The CAM's initial mission statement was very simple and to the point: "to foster the development of visual arts in Portugal as well as contribute to the gathering and conservation of data […] to serve as informational sources for the writing of Portuguese Modern Art History" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1984: 1). Those two general objectives would be accomplished through eight main areas: 1) the permanent exhibition; 2) the writing of documentation pertaining to the permanent exhibition; 3) the guided tours; 4) the organisation of colloquia, conferences, debates, etc.; 5) the publishing of art-related texts and materials; 6) the display of films and other audio-visual materials; 7) the guided tours to the museum's depots; 8) the temporary exhibitions (cf. *ibid.*). As the first element most of the public would come into contact with, the permanent exhibition was envisioned as the space through which the public would establish a connection with Portuguese (and international) modern art. As Sommer Ribeiro explains in the CAM's first plan of activities for the museum and for the documentation and research departments, the museum was meant to be "constantly updated and in permanent mutation in order for the public to come into contact with the largest and most representative number of works of art by each artist, as important documents of each individual artistic movement" (*ibid.*: 4). The documentation regarding the permanent exhibition, as well as the publishing of art-related texts and materials, was thought up as a means to provide the public with information not only about the pieces on display, but also about the artists (key life events, artistic influences, etc.), and about the origins, development, as well

[194] V. section 3.1.2..
[195] V. section 3.1.2., footnote 120.

as chief aspects, characteristics, and representative artworks of the artistic movements/schools exhibited and/or belonging to the CAM's collection. Sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.3. will present and analyse different formats of utilisation of written materials about permanent and temporary exhibitions.

The guided tours also became one of the most prominent aspects of the CAM's cultural offer. At a time when guided tours to museums were still not a completely widespread practice in Portuguese museums[196], the CAM would provide specifically targeted guided tours to specialised publics, to the public at large, and to students, with the collaboration of art critics, Professors from Fine-Arts Schools and from Universities, as well as Modern Art History specialists (cf. *ibid.*). The guided tours to the museum's depots were conceived as an element to assist specialists and students in the development of research regarding a determinate modern art history period or focusing on the work of a specific artist. The conferences and debates – following a line of work initiated by the FCG decades earlier[197] – were meant, along with the exhibition of films and other audio-visual materials, as complementary sessions to the exhibitions, where further knowledge could be acquired and the themes, contents, and formats of the exhibitions could be discussed. The initial temporary exhibitions were designed to act as a counterpart and accompaniment to the permanent exhibition either through the display of modern art which complemented or completed the CAM's own collection[198], or through the exhibition of contemporary art as a result of and/or reaction to earlier modern art movements.

Devising these areas – allowing for the public to come into contact with art, and allowing for its study and research – established a structured "organisation of vision"[199] (Bennett,

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[196] In 1983 only three museums had structured Education Departments: in 1953 the MNAA created an Education Department ran by João Couto and Madalena Cabral, focusing mainly in the development of training courses for tour guides and teachers (cf. Martinho, 2007); the Gulbenkian Museum opened in 1969 and in 1970 its Education Department initiated its activities in close connection with schools nation-wide as well as with the surrounding neighbourhood community, offering a selection of thematic guided tours and a few visual arts' workshops for children; in the mid-70s the National Museum of Costume created the Cultural Extension Department which provided guided tours of the museum's permanent exhibition to the general public and was also responsible for the organisation of activities such as conferences and seminars (cf. *ibid.*).

[197] For information on the cultural policies developed and implemented by the FCG in Portugal, v. sections 2.1.1., 2.1.2., and 2.1.3..

[198] For an analysis and discussion of the presentation of the CAM's collection in its first two permanent displays, v. sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.3..

[199] According to Bennett, "the functioning of museums as civic institutions has operated through specific regimes of vision which, informing both the manner in which things are arranged to be seen and the broader visual environment conditioning practices of looking, give rise to particular forms of civic seeing" (Bennett, 2013: 263). In the CAM's particular case, this organisation of vision was devised so as to allow the visitor to come into contact with several parts of Portuguese and international art history which had not previously

2013: 263), as well as an organisation of access to and consumption of art and culture which would grant the CAM the status of "a utilitarian instrument for democratic education" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989: 63). As the first space in Lisbon for the permanent exhibition of modern and contemporary art, the CAM sought to establish certain epistemological systems founded on the basis of a range of "visual grammars" (Bennett, 2013: 263) which were to provide the visitor with the necessary information for the constru(ct)ing of knowledge regarding national and international modernist and contemporary artistic movements. Such was the role of the exhibition-related documentation (the art-related texts and other materials that were available to the visitors), of the interactive guided tours, of the conferences, and of the debates. All of these elements strongly contributed to a pluralisation of the viewpoints inside the museum space (cf. *ibid.*), "freeing the visitors from the tutelary grip of earlier, more directive forms of curatorial authority[200], leav[ing] them more scope for constructing their own forms of engagement with the museum environment" (*ibid.*: 276). By fostering a more interactive environment between art, the public, and the museum, the CAM contributed to the development of a more active and participatory engagement of the public in the art museum's meaning-making processes conducing to cultural citizenship formation. Thus, the CAM can be considered to have signalled the definitive transition of the role of 'public' authorities in Portugal "from one of directing the citizen to one of establishing the conditions in which citizens can become more active in, and more responsible for, their own government" (Barry, 2001: 135).

As can be understood by its initial mission statement, as well as by its first plan of activities, the CAM strived for a structured and sustained multiplicity of possibilities regarding the approach to, interaction with, and interpretation of its permanent and temporary exhibitions. This form of museum-experience organisation was rooted in a pedagogical approach[201] to the constru(ct)ing of exhibitionary formats combining two different models: expository didactics and constructivism. In the didactic expository model, the museum – the

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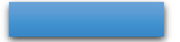
been accessible. The CAM had, therefore, to organise a set of regimes of vision (and of perception) regarding artists and artistic movements informed by their respective national and international contexts, as will be discussed in sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.3.. In its role as the first modern art museum in Portugal, the CAM would be amply responsible for the constru(ct)ing of regimes of vision and practices of looking, and hence responsible for the (re)shaping of the public image of Portuguese and international modern art.

[200] Here Bennett is referring to the curatorial practices of the 19th-century museum and the modern art museum models (v. Duncan, 1991; Bourdieu, 1993; Bennett, 1995; Duncan, 1999; O'Doherty, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Serota, 2000; Preziosi, 2004; Duncan and Wallach, 2004).

[201] Still based on the legacy of Malraux's influence and its effect on Azeredo Perdigão's overall structuring of the FCG's cultural policies (v. chapter 2.).

exhibition curator – retains a voice of greater authority, i.e. the curator predefines the entire narrative of the exhibition, establishing, as well, the means through which the exhibition is to be interpreted and what conclusions are supposed to be drawn from it. The analysis and critique are performed by the curator who is solely responsible for choosing which artistic, cultural, social, political, and historical perspectives are to be used in the designing of the exhibition and ultimately conveyed to the public. This model presupposes a unidirectional communicational process (cf. Witcomb, 2013). The constructivist model, on the other hand, is a dialogical one and the exhibitions which use this model "tend to make an effort to connect with the visitor, by representing aspects of the visitors' own cultural backgrounds, and use open-ended narratives" (*ibid.*: 359). When used as a way of designing an exhibition, constructivism – which is based on epistemological idealism – "allows the visitor to make his or her own connections with the material and encourages diverse ways to learn" (Hein, 1994: 77). By generating a higher level of interactivity and a dialogical dynamics, the constructivist exhibition places a stronger emphasis on the importance of the connection between public, art, and museum. The combining of these two distinct models of exhibitionary formats seemed to be the appropriate response for an art centre which needed to cater to publics that were quite diversified, and which aimed at presenting a broad range artistic and cultural programming.

As will be discussed throughout the next three sections, in its early years the CAM designed a programme which sought to provide the Portuguese public with information about modern art movements and history, and at the same time get it into contact with contemporary art production. The CAM aimed, also, at making sure that both the more knowledgeable public and the public in search of knowledge were guaranteed the art centre experience – and the modern art museum experience – the city had for so many decades been longing for. The following three sections will illustrate exactly how the CAM presented itself as a space for the display of modern art history and of art's future, focusing on three different exhibitions and determining – through the analysis of the texts and documentation produced for and about those exhibitions – their roles in the construction of the CAM's discursive formations regarding modern and contemporary art. The analysis and discussion of those exhibitions will allow for conclusions to be drawn regarding the CAM's role in Portuguese society in the mid-1980s and, consequently, its influence as a meaning-making element in the

formation of a cosmopolitan cultural identity as well as in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

4.1.1. The importance of being Amadeo: theorising modernism(s)

The CAM was inaugurated on July 20th, 1983[202] and on July 26th it opened to the public with two exhibitions: the inaugural temporary exhibition dedicated to the work of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, entitled *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso: A Primeira Descoberta de Portugal na Europa do Século XX* [Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso: Portugal's First Discovery in 20th-century Europe] (v. figs. 4.1. to 4.4.); and the first hanging and presentation of works belonging to the CAM's collection (v. figs.4.5. to 4.9.). These two exhibitions would be the CAM's calling-card, its practical statement of cultural-policy intentions, and, even more importantly, its way of demonstrating to the public what type of artistic-cultural narrative(s) – discourse formations – would be made possible inside this new space in Lisbon's culturalscape. The analysis of these two first exhibitions is crucial for an understanding of the kind of discourse(s) the CAM built about Portuguese art, which, consequently, determined what type of narratives were being demonstrated/ established regarding urban (and national) cultural identity.

When entering the CAM from July to December 1983, the visitor would find the Amadeo exhibit in the temporary exhibitions room. The title of the exhibition was a direct quote taken from the leaflet/manifest published by Almada Negreiros to advertise the first solo exhibition of Amadeo's work[203] in Lisbon in December 1916. Almada believed that "Portugal [was then] born to the century where the rest of the Earth live[d]" (Almada Negreiros, 1916: 1) with what was "the first[204] and most important manifestation of modern art at the time" (Ferreira, 1983: 1). Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso is considered to have been the first Portuguese modernist painter[205] and one of the first Portuguese artists – along with

[202] On the day of the 28th anniversary of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian's death there was an inaugural ceremony, featuring a great number of high representatives of several international museums as invited guests, attended by thousands of people.

[203] The exhibition was composed of 80 oil and wax paintings, 20 watercolours, and 10 drawings, many of which had been specially made for the exhibition between 1915 and 1916 (cf. Ferreira, 1983).

[204] The same exhibition had been held at Oporto from November 1st to the 12th, 1916, and it is to that exhibition that Paulo Ferreira (Portuguese painter and art critic, curator of the CAM's exhibit of Amadeo's work in 1983) is referring to. It is worth mentioning that the 1911 exhibition *Arte Livre* [Free Art] which took place in Lisbon, despite the future merit and recognition of some of its participants (Eduardo Viana, for example), did not display works that could be considered truly modernist, i.e., not following any of the official academic schools or movements (cf. França, 1980).

[205] Amadeo was born in November 1887, in Manhufe (a small village in the north of Portugal, near Amarante, and approx. 50 km away from Oporto), and started studying architecture in Lisbon in 1905. In 1906 he set off to Paris to continue his studies on that subject, but instead started attending painting, drawing, and colouring classes at Viti Academy. From 1908 onwards, Amadeo distances himself from the regular contact he

Almada Negreiros – to have truly broken away from the aesthetics, morals, and culture of academicism. Having previously displayed his work in Paris[206], New York, Chicago, and Boston (1913 Armory Show[207]), as well as in Berlin[208], London, and Moscow (cf. França, 1986; Freitas, 2008b), Amadeo's exhibitions in Portugal (Oporto and Lisbon) in 1916 were not as welcomed and successful as his work-displays abroad, having caused a lot of outrage as well as a number of incidents[209]. In a letter to Walter Pach[210] (sent after the Oporto exhibition took place and before the opening of the exhibition in Lisbon), Amadeo would describe the impact of the Oporto exhibition as a "'resounding, sensational, unexpected' suc-

had up until then maintained with other Portuguese painters living in Paris at the time, distancing himself, thus, from the academicism-bound work developed by them. It was also in 1908 that Amadeo met Amedeo Modigliani – the two became close friends – and moved within Paris for the first time to a studio located in an adjoining room to Gertrude Stein's apartment. By 1910, Amadeo is fully immersed in his research and study of the international modernism movement that was developing in Paris. It was in that city, before WWI, that the painter initiated some of the contacts and relationships that would most influence his art as well as his international notoriety: Amadeo meets, amongst many others, Walter Pach (responsible for the organisation of the Armory Show in 1913 in the U.S.A.), Max Jacobs, Constantin Brâncuși, Diego Rivera, Guillaume Apollinaire, Francis Picabia, Paul Klee, Marc Chagall, and Robert and Sonia Delaunay (who would move to Portugal during WWI and regularly contact and visit not only Amadeo, but Eduardo Viana and Almada Negreiros as well) (cf. França, 1980[1972], 1986, 2005; Freitas, 2004; Alfaro, 2007; Freitas, 2008a; Cunha Leal, 2010).

[206] Amadeo displayed his work in Paris in 1911 at the *Salon des Indépendants*. In March of that same year, Amadeo and Modigliani displayed their work together at Amadeo's studio close to the Quai d'Orsay. Amadeo participated in the 1912 and 1914 *Salon des Indépendants* and *Salon d'Automne* (cf. Cunha Leal, 2010).

[207] The Armory Show was the 1913 International Exhibition of Modern Art which was organised by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, touring New York (69th Regiment Armory), Chicago (Art Institute of Chicago), and Boston (The Copley Society of Art). Amadeo's work was represented by eight paintings and drawings in the show.

[208] Amadeo displayed his work in Berlin for the first time in November 1912 at the art gallery *Der Sturm*. In September 1913 he once again displayed his work in that German city at the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* organised by Herwarth Walden from *Der Sturm*. Amadeo's work was also exhibited in Hamburg, c. 1913-1914 at the *Hamburger Kunstgewerbeschule*.

[209] Much of the national press, as well as most of the art critics, found the artworks outrageous and unfit for display. According to França, one newspaper stated: ""The Futurist illness has crossed the borders of our beautiful Portugal…", while another requested the intervention of the police to close down the exhibition and to commit the painter and his sole favorable critic to a mental asylum, and yet another newspaper said of the exhibition: "It is the materialisation of madness and the mystification of mockery […], a monstrous ignominy, an obscene exhibition"" (França, 1986: 117). The same opinion was shared by many of the people who attended the exhibitions and who left insulting paper notes attached to the frames of the artworks; it is even said that some people wished to report the exhibitions to the police and have the artist arrested; and there are also reports of brawls between young avant-gardists and the defenders of academicism (cf. Ferreira, 1983). The unrest generated by the exhibitions even led to Amadeo being physically assaulted in the street: a man asked Amadeo if he was the author of those 'things' which had been put on display (in Oporto), and as the artist confirmed to be the author the man punched him repeatedly merely out of – in França's words – "pure aesthetic indignation", sending Amadeo to the hospital. (cf. Ferreira, 1983; França, 1980[1972]; 1991[1974]; 1991a[1979]; 1986).

[210] Walter Pach (1883-1958) was an American artist, critic, lecturer, and art historian, as well as one of the chief organisers of the Armory Show.

cess, which, 'without exaggeration, agitated a whole population'" (Amadeo quoted in Ferreira, 1983). The artist died of pneumonic influenza less than two years later, in October 1918, and his work would only be displayed in Lisbon again in 1959[211]. The choice to display Amadeo's work as part of the inaugural exhibitions of the CAM was not at random: Amadeo had been "the great precursor of modern art in Portugal" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1983), and the CAM, in turn, was surging up into Lisbon's culturalscape as the nation's first modern art museum. As an institution, the CAM sought to work not as "a traditional Museum, but as a Centre which functions as a work instrument allowing for the study of new forms of artistic expression" (FCG, 1981: 6); as an artist, Amadeo considered himself as "an impressionist, cubist, futurist, abstractionist, a little bit of everything, […] not following any one particular movement, but always just searching for originality" (Souza-Cardoso, 1916).

The CAM would be responsible for finally making that originality more comprehensively accessible to the general public in Lisbon. The history of the reception and critique of Amadeo's work in Portugal – carefully traced by Portuguese art historian and curator Helena de Freitas – explains the different stages of (mis)understanding the artist's life and work were subjected to. From the impactful force of his work in the 1910s, to its almost complete invisibility in the 20s, 30s, and 40s (cf. Freitas, 2008b), "[b]etween 1918 and 1956 it is generally known that Amadeo's oeuvre exists, one hears about his genius, but the real dimension and scope of his work remained nonetheless unknown" (*ibid.*: 47). Amadeo's work became the stuff of legend, captured briefly, summarily, and superficially in the 1930s by the *Estado Novo* and its nationalistic purposes in mythical, heroic, or cryptic discourses. With França's publication of the first monograph about Amadeo in 1956, and after the 1959 retrospective exhibitions at the Foz Palace[212] in Lisbon and at the Soares dos Reis National Museum in Oporto, Amadeo's work began to be rediscovered. But it was only with the CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition in 1983 that the artist's work gained the long-deserved national spotlight, finally filling in an "evolutionary gap in Portuguese painting" (*ibid.*: 47).

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[211] In 1925 a few works by Amadeo were included in Lisbon's I Autumn Salon (organised by Eduardo Viana, friend of the artist); in 1952 one painting by Amadeo was exhibited in a Lisbon show, and in 1956 a collection of his works was displayed at an art gallery in Oporto. According to França and Freitas, these three displays, along with a little publicised tribute in the 1956 "Salon of Today's Artists" in Lisbon, were the sole presentations of Amadeo's work in Portugal up until 1959. Abroad, however, his works were present in two exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago, in 1922 and 1931; at the International Brussels Fair's exhibition "50 Years of Modern Art", in 1958; at the House of Portugal, in Paris, in 1958; and at the V Biennial in São Paulo, in 1959 (cf. França, 1986; Freitas, 2008b).

[212] Headquarters of the SNI (v. subchapter 2.1.).

According to Sommer Ribeiro, the inaugural temporary exhibition "did not intend to be a new retrospective, but a way of highlighting the important periods of the [artist's] work" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1983). This sentence implicitly states the significance of the exhibition as a means of showcasing the pivotal aspects in the work of the first Portuguese modernist painter and, consequently, in bringing to the foreground discussions about the modernisation of Portuguese art, culture, and mentalities. The process of analysis and discussion of Portugal's first discovery in 20th-century Europe, as Almada put it, had been interrupted before it even had the chance to begin, and it was only in the early 80s – and less than two years before joining the E.E.C. as an active member – that such an analytical and debate process was given another chance in Portugal. More than contributing to the filling of an evolutionary gap in an artistic field, the CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition was a turning point in the public reception of Amadeo's work, leading the way to the artist's full integration into national culture (cf. França, 1986) discourses, as a symbol of novelty and innovation. The (re)presentation of this early-20th-century artist's work played a decisive role in affirming the CAM as a space for the constru(ct)ing of (a) narrative(s) about Portuguese modern art and of "its great value as a medium enabling some of our contemporaries to put certain aspects of their existence into an authentic arrangement […], [as] it constitutes a comment on life and existence, whether individual or collective" (Beeren, 1985: 30).

The CAM's collection, as it was in 1983, had been the result of the FCG's long, continuous, and dedicated work, either through "the practice of a permanent intervention in the Portuguese artistic context" (FCG, 2008: 140) – as was the case with the acquisition of works by Portuguese artists who had benefited from the FCG's grants and/or who displayed their work in the I and II Visual Arts Exhibitions organised by the FCG – or by "safeguarding Portuguese artistic heritage" (*ibid.*) – as was the case, for example, of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso's work. The collection grew in relevance and scope much due to the donations of artists and of the artists' families[213], through acquisitions and donations from the Jorge de

[213] Some examples of artists' donations: Helena Vieira da Silva and her husband Árpád Szenes; some examples of artists' families donations: Lucie de Souza-Cardoso (Amadeo's widow), who throughout the years donated a number of Amadeo's artworks, as well as a considerable amount of the artists' correspondence and personal belongings; António Areal's parents donated a large collection of the painter's work (cf. Ribeiro, 2007; FCG, 2008).

Brito collection[214], and, since 1979, due to the establishment of a committee[215] in charge of acquiring artworks to complement and reinforce the collection's scope. As was described by the FCG in 1983, the leading guideline for the assembling of the CAM's collection was to document the evolution of Portuguese art from the first decade of the 20th century to nowadays (cf. FCG, 1983). The CAM aimed at highlighting "the periods considered to be essential" (*ibid.*: 424-425) for an understanding of Portuguese modern art, at drawing parallelisms between national and international art from those same periods, as well as at establishing connections between modern and more contemporary Portuguese art. With that in mind, the display of the collection was thought of in four main clusters content-wise:

> - a cluster dedicated to the Portuguese painters who truly broke away from Portuguese academicism: Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and his colleagues Eduardo Viana and José de Almada Negreiros, who would come to play a vital role in Portuguese artistic life from the early 20th century until 1970. Some works by Sonia and Robert Delaunay, from that early period, were also acquired, as they allow to assess the influence they both had on their Portuguese colleagues' works;
> - a cluster of artworks by Maria Helena Vieira da Silva as well as by artists who mentored or influenced her, such as Léger, Heyter, Bissière, and Torres Garcia, and also by her colleagues from the so-called 2nd School of Paris, namely her husband Árpád Szenes, Bazaine, Estève, Hartung, Tal Coat, Ubac, Manessier, de Stäel, Poliakof, Germaine Richier, Hajdu, Etienne-Martin, etc.;
> - a cluster dedicated to Portuguese artists of younger generations, many of whom benefited from the FCG's grants in France, England, and Germany, and whom it shall be easy to find affinities with when compared to the works of British painting and sculpture acquired by the FCG in Great-Britain between 1960 and 1965 with the collaboration of the British Council;
> - a cluster of painting from North and South American artists, as well as artworks by artists of Armenian origin.
>
> (*ibid.*: 425).

In 1983, Sommer Ribeiro would describe the collection as being able to "portray with truthfulness what went on over the past 70 years in the field of [visual] arts, namely in Portugal"

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[214] The Jorge de Brito collection can be considered to have been the most comprehensive and significant collection of 20th-century Portuguese art, at the time. The acquisition of 516 works from that collection, months away from the CAM's inauguration, "enabled the completion of the collection's deliberately historicist approach with the addition of the most important Portuguese painters since 1910" (Silva, 2014: 163).

[215] The Acquisitions Committee, created by the FCG's President in 1980 and headed by him, was composed of José Sommer Ribeiro (Director of the FCG's Exhibitions and Museography Department and future Director of the CAM), Artur Nobre de Gusmão (Director of the FCG's Fine Arts Department), Fernando Azevedo (Assistant to the Director of the Exhibitions and Museography Department); José Augusto França (Director of the FCG's *Colóquio-Artes* journal), and Maria Helena Soares da Costa (Director of Conservation at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum) (cf. FCG, 1981). Raquel Henriques da Silva highlights that "[t]he most active members of this commission were Sommer Ribeiro, clearly the most prevalent, and Fernando Azevedo, who had a deep understanding of the arts scene in Portugal, especially in Lisbon" (Silva, 2014: 161).

(FCG, 1983a), considering it also "a precious element for the study of [contemporary] Portuguese art and of the influences it sustained" (*ibid.*).

As the visitor walked into the Modern Art Museum space, the first encounter – in the grand hallway which led to the galleries – was with two large-scale-tapestry triptychs[216] (v. figs. 4.5., 4.8.) and three oil paintings[217] (v. figs. 4.5., 4.6., 4.8.) by José de Almada Negreiros[218]. In exhibiting pieces by one of the most important Portuguese artists of the 20th century, this hallway display worked as a form of introduction to the main and upmost purpose of the CAM's museum space: to present and foster Portuguese art of the 20th century. After moving through the hallway, the visitor would go into the main hangar-like gallery where the collection of modern Portuguese painting, sculpture, and other objects would be on display (v. figs. 4.7., 4.9.). On the top half-floor gallery, the public would find the CAM's collection of international painting and sculpture – mainly by British, American, and Armenian artists[219]. The bottom half-floor gallery held the CAM's collection of drawings and engravings, as well as small-stature sculptures, with two separate spaces devoted to the display of audio-visual material on modern art and design (cf. Grande, 2009). As was discussed in subchapter 3.2., the CAM's museography was of a multi-purposeful nature and, therefore, quite adequate for the display of artworks in such a fashion so as to allow and facilitate their comparative analysis. The hangar-like open amplitude of the main gallery as well as the visual interactions available between all the galleries and, at points, between the galleries and the hallway, made for a versatile and informal environment for art display. That informal and versatile environment could also be attested for in the ways in which the artworks were exhibited: paintings, drawings, and engravings could be hanging on walls but also on specially designed articulated panels (v. figs. 4.7., 4.9.); sculptures and other objects did not necessarily require being displayed on top of plinths.

The fluidity of the gaze and movement of the public was important for the intended final result of the exhibition. The CAM aimed at presenting a different museological discourse,

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[216] *Partida de Emigrantes* [Emmigrants' Departure], 1979, composed of three wool weaving panels, with 405 cm height and 200 cm width, each (v. figs. 4.10. to 4.12.). *Domingo Lisboeta* [Lisboan Sunday], 1979, composed of three wool weaving panels, with 410 cm height and 205 cm width, each (v. figs. 4.13. to 4.15.).

[217] *Auto-Retrato num grupo* [Self-Portrait in a group], 1925 (v. fig. 4.16.) was commissioned by the *Café A Brasileira*, a coffee house in Chiado, which functioned also as the sole modernist gallery in 1920s Lisbon; *Duplo Retrato* [Double Portrait], 1934, is a painting of the couple Almada and painter Sarah Affonso (v. fig. 4.17.); *Retrato de Fernando Pessoa* [Portrait of Fernando Pessoa], 1964 (v. fig. 4.18.)

[218] V. footnote 189.

[219] V. section 3.2.1.

based on a new exhibitionary format which was not dictated by strict chronological or stylistic orders or forms, and where the point was to contextualise the artworks in diachronic, but also synchronic, ways. In its first hanging of the collection, the CAM highlighted the importance of chronology – as "an objective reality, built into the fabric of the work and into the consciousness of the artist at the moment of material production" (Whitehead, 2012: 81) – but a non-linear and omnidirectional one. The point was to provide an overview of the national and international art history of the first seven decades of the 20th century by making apparent that points of contact can be established – and dialogues formed – between artworks and artistic movements throughout time. Through the showcase of pivotal moments of Portuguese (and international) 20th century art history, the public could come into contact with the work of artists who paved the way for paradigm-shifts in artistic creation, signalling the moments in time when "the perspectives of the past form[ed] antecedents to the present" (*ibid.*). That first hanging of the collection was accompanied by a publication entitled *Roteiro do Museu – Centro de Arte Moderna* [Guide to the Museum – Modern Art Centre][220] (v. fig. 4.19.) which included a chronology of art-related events, information about relevant artists and artworks, meant (amongst other purposes) to provide the public at large with a schematic conventional periodisation of art historiography. By providing a more sustained knowledge of the chronology of artistic, cultural, and social events and transformations, the Guide could enable the visitors to engage in a comparative analysis reading of the exhibited works. The audio-visual display on modern art and design in the bottom half-floor gallery also added to the "multiplication of approaches to and perspectives on the artwork[s]" (*ibid.*: 84).

However, and according to Henriques da Silva, the CAM's initial vision of Portuguese art, as presented by the first display of its collection, "pre-supposed a kind of evolutionary line […]; [i]ts aim was to create a representative collection in which modernity would be recognised by way of successive contemporaneities[221]" (Silva, 2014: 160). This historicist approach to the presentation of the CAM's collection – which will be accentuated in the

[220] That first guide to the CAM's museum and collection was composed of a brief and general introductory text (less than a page long), followed by a list of the Portuguese and international artworks in the collection (identified by the name of the artist, the title of the piece, and the year, and separated into sections: painting, sculpture, engraving, drawing and watercolours, and tapestry). The third, and final, part of the guide was composed of a chronological framework on events and artworks from 1911 to 1983, based on França, 1991[1974]; 1991a[1979]; and Gonçalves, 1980.

[221] The succession of contemporaneities to which Henriques da Silva is referring to – diverse variations of naturalist, realist, and abstractionist movements – delineated the (non-linear) progression from figurative to abstract art, and, thus, exemplified "the bind between chronology and the self-referential, historicising, and intertextual nature of much artistic practice in the 20th century" (Whitehead, 2012: 82).

museum's second hanging of the permanent exhibition[222] – was a reflection of some key aspects of the CAM's (collection) formation which are entwined with the evolution of Portuguese art from the late-1950s onwards. One of those key aspects was the aforementioned acquisition of a great number of Amadeo's works, of the Jorge de Brito collection, and of a considerable number of Vieira da Silva' works. These three clusters allowed for: the establishment of a strong and solid genealogy of Portuguese modern art (via Amadeo's work); the display of examples of the different paths taken by Portuguese artists in the naturalist, realist, and abstract expressionist movements (via the Jorge de Brito collection); and the display of an internationally acknowledged Portuguese success case in the field of abstractionism (via Vieira da Silva's work) (cf. *ibid.*). Another key aspect had to do with the FCG's role in the furtherance of art and culture in Portugal, as was analysed and discussed throughout subchapter 2.1.: the supporting of young artists sowed the seeds for the evolution of Portuguese contemporary art, while the acquisition of consecrated modern artists' works[223] initiated the delineation of the Portuguese art historiography of the second half of the 20th century. One final key aspect worth mentioning was art historian and art critic José Augusto França's role in establishing the historiography and the chronology of Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century: Sommer Ribeiro would come to follow França's Portuguese art historiography when assembling the collection, and especially when presenting the second hanging of the permanent exhibition, as verified by Henriques da Silva when stating that "it is true that the first exhibitions at the CAM, which always featured the best works, were illustrative of the França model, as if it were the unquestionable truth about the art produced in Portugal" (Silva, 2014: 163).

All of these fundamental and foundational aspects in the formation of the CAM, of the CAM's collection, and of the way in which such a collection was relayed to the public, are consistent with one of the CAM's main aims and purposes: to house Portugal's first modern and contemporary art museum. And if, on the one hand, the CAM (and the FCG previously) fully understood the pivotal importance of supporting contemporary art, it also fully recognised, on the other hand, that the lack of a modern and contemporary art museum in Portugal had led to a significant gap in Portuguese art historiography and display. It was with these two notions in mind that the CAM first presented itself to the public with its two inaugural

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[222] V. section 4.1.3..

[223] As a result of the two first FCG Visual Arts Exhibitions in 1957 and 1961.

exhibitions. According to Museum Studies scholar, Christopher Whitehead, “the theorising potential of museum acts like collecting and display [are] a means to advance hypotheses about history” (Whitehead, 2012: 32). The highlight of Amadeo’s work in the inaugural temporary exhibition, as the root of the genealogy to be delineated, followed by a comprehensive presentation of Portuguese art from 1911 to the early 60s, allowed for an art and aesthetic-based theorisation of Portuguese modernisms. Such a theorisation would allow for a richer and fuller understanding of the contemporary artworks (mid-60s to early 80s) belonging to the collection, setting also the cornerstones for a more significant discussion of contemporary Portuguese art and its role in society. By defining a genealogy of Portuguese modernisms and by presenting a set of ideas and notions about their moments of inception and development throughout the 20th century, the CAM performed a type of Foucauldian critique as it presented “a historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying” (Foucault, 1984: 46).

By filling a major gap in Portuguese art history display, the CAM’s first exhibitions’ narratives can be considered to have been crucial elements in the theorisation of Portuguese modern art history and, thus, to have been essential for the delineation of a progression movement from modernist to postmodernist artistic and cultural thought. As was discussed throughout the previous two chapters, from the late 1920s to the mid-70s Portugal experienced a social, educational, and cultural development which fell short when compared to most of Europe and the U.S.A.. In the second half of the 70s, Portugal was confronted with the notion of having to compact five decades of progress and evolution in a myriad of sectors into a few number of years. In 1983, halfway through one of the most important processes for the redefinition and integration of Portugal’s role in Europe[224], these two exhibitions would serve as meaning-making discourses regarding the development of Portuguese identity throughout the 20th century, creating a more solid and consistent background from which the contemporary artistic and cultural (cosmopolitan) urban identities could spring.

[224] Portugal initiated the process of joining the E.E.C. with its official candidacy on March 28th, 1977, less than three years after the end of the dictatorial regime, and still amidst its post-revolutionary years of political unrest. On December 3rd, 1980, Portugal signs the pre-adherence accord and on January 1st, 1986 Portugal becomes an official member of the E.E.C..

Figure 4.1. - The CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition, July-December 1983

Figure 4.2. - The CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition, July-December 1983

Figure 4.3. - The CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition, July-December 1983

Figure 4.4. - The CAM's inaugural temporary exhibition, July-December 1983

Figure 4.5. - The CAM's inaugural permanent exhibition, view of the hallway/1st room, 1983

Figure 4.6. - The CAM's inaugural permanent exhibition, view of the hallway/1st room, 1983

Figure 4.7. - The CAM's inaugural permanent exhibition, view of the main gallery and of the top half-floor gallery, 1983

Figure 4.8. - The CAM's inaugural permanent exhibition, view of the hallway and entrance to the main gallery, 1983

Figure 4.9. - The CAM's inaugural permanent exhibition, 1983

Figure 4.10. - ***Partida de Emigrantes* [*Emmigrants' Departure*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.11. - ***Partida de Emigrantes* [*Emmigrants' Departure*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.12. - ***Partida de Emigrantes* [*Emmigrants' Departure*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.13. - ***Domingo Lisboeta* [*Lisboan Sunday*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.14. - ***Domingo Lisboeta* [*Lisboan Sunday*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.15. - ***Domingo Lisboeta* [*Lisboan Sunday*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1979**

Figure 4.16. - *Auto-Retrato num grupo* [*Self-Portrait in a group*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1925

Figure 4.17. - *Duplo Retrato* [*Double Portrait*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1934

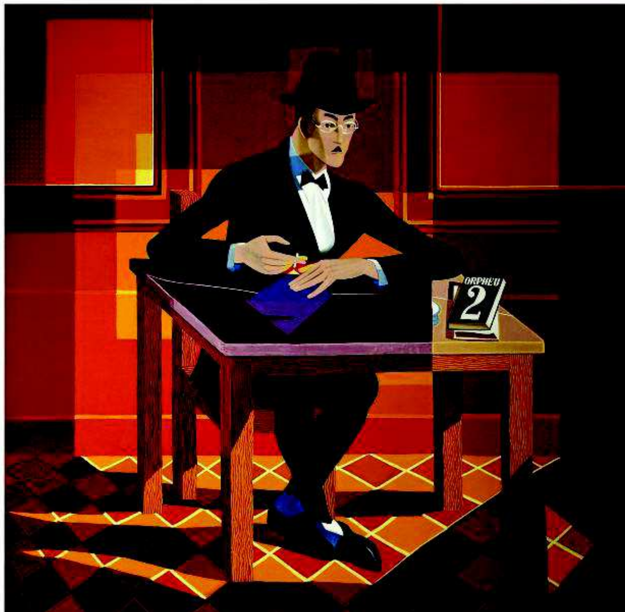

Figure 4.18. - *Retrato de Fernando Pessoa* [*Portrait of Fernando Pessoa*], José de Almada Negreiros, 1964

Figure 4.19. - Roteiro do Museu – Centro de Arte Moderna [Guide to the Museum – Modern Art Centre], 1983

4.1.2. Exhibiting and dialoguing with contemporary Europe: contested cultural identities

The *Primeira Exposição-Diálogo sobre a Arte Contemporânea na Europa* [First Exhibition-Dialogue on Contemporary Art in Europe] event, held in 1985, was a key moment for the understanding of the CAM's heterotopic and documental relevance as a space involved in "the complex network within which the image of our cultural identity takes shape" (Berger, 1985: 21). The idea for the event was initially developed in the late 1970s by René Berger[225] with the purpose of disentangling that complex network, which, he believed, provided a lop-sided image of contemporary art to the public – be it through art fairs that were too bound to the art market demands, be it through the major art festivals (biennials and triennials) which were too connected to the specific interests of the people running them (cf. *ibid.*). Berger considered, thus, that the modern art museum[226] – less subjected to given pressures – would be the more balanced and unbiased environment to analyse the political, social, and cultural role of the work of art in mid-1980s' Europe. The best way to achieve this goal would be by engaging several European modern art museums and have them establish a dialogue allowing for the comparative analysis of their individual collecting, exhibiting, and communicating practices (cf. Berger, 1985). The event would take the form of a joint exhibition produced by the participating museums, accompanied as well by a performing arts' programme presented alongside the main exhibition. Each of the museums would be responsible for selecting, amongst their collections, the works to be displayed at the event. The event was designed as an itinerant exhibition, to be organised every few years in a different European country and with the participation of different museums and artists (cf. *ibid.*).

The organisation of this Exhibition-Dialogue – dubbed by the at-the-time President of the Council of Europe as "a model of European co-operation" (von Bieberstein, 1985: 13) – came at a time when Portugal was going through several processes of preparation to join the

[225] René Berger (1915-2009) was a Swiss art historian, writer, and philosopher. He was Honorary President of the AICA and consulting expert to UNESCO and the Council of Europe. It was in this latter role that Berger initially devised the Exhibition-Dialogue project.

[226] Here the denomination is more specifically related to the type of art collected and exhibited than to the museological formats of each of the participating museums. In his introductory text to the Exhibition-Dialogue catalogue-dossier, Berger seems to use the terms modern and contemporary with little differentiation, and that is because those terms were practically synonyms in art history language throughout most of the 20th century (v. Berger, 1985; Beeren, 1985; Gombrich, 1989[1950]; Gardner, et al., 2001[1956]. Janson, 2005[1979]).

E.E.C.[227], holding, thus, a highly symbolical political weight. The event brought together over 200 works of art by 86 artists belonging to the collections of eight modern art museums from eight European countries[228]: the Modern Art Centre, Lisbon, Portugal; the Museum Moderner Kunst, Vienna, Austria; the Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent, Belgium; the Nationalgalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany; the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, Italy; the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotherdam, Netherlands; the Sonja Henie-Niels Onstad Foundations, Hovikodden, Oslo, Norway; and the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Sweden. Amongst many others, the event exhibited artworks by Andy Warhol, Joseph Beuys, Marcel Broodthaers, Lourdes Castro, Jasper Johns, Anselm Kiefer, Yves Klein, Sol LeWitt, Júlio Pomar, and Paula Rego.

The Exhibition-Dialogue was divided into three different clusters displayed at the CAM – occupying all of its spaces – and at the FCG's headquarters – occupying all of the gallery spaces as well as the small auditorium's foyer. The first cluster – *Self-portraits* – was comprised of textual and audio-visual documentation about the programmes and activities of each of the participating museums, designed to provide the public with detailed information about their objectives, processes, means, and methods of work (cf. Marchand, 2008). The second one – which occupied most of the CAM – consisted mainly of the display of medium to large three-dimensional pieces throughout the space[229], and ended up functioning as an ensemble review of some of the key aspects and moments of 1960s' and 70s' art (v. figs. 4.20. to 4.25.). The third one was composed exclusively of painting – the exhibition of close

[227] The signature of the Treaty on the accession of Portugal to the E.E.C. was signed in June 1985.

[228] "The Tate Gallery in London, United Kingdom, the Georges Pompidou Centre in Paris, France, the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Humlebaek, Denmark, and the Kunstmuseum in Basel, Switzerland, were also invited to take part but declined" (Silveira, 2014: 186).

[229] "At the CAM, the exhibition started in the hallway to the cafeteria where a recent artwork by Mario Merz (*Les Maisons tournent autour de nous ou nous tournons autour des maisons*, 1979) had been installed […], which was the only work to take advantage of the CAM's generous height, inviting the public in to explore its interior and allowing for glimpses of Jean Tinguely's 1978 *Méta-Harmonie*, a grand work placed in the hallway to the main gallery. Inspired by that complementarity, the visitor would find that the CAM's main gallery hosted the presentation of tri-dimensional/ sculptural pieces – a purpose to which the CAM was structurally inclined to, but which was only then fulfilling for the first time in its two year existence. Inside the main gallery, the spatial attributes and virtues of pieces by Sol LeWitt, Walter de Maria, Bruce Nauman, Richard Serra, Royden Rabinowitch, or Ulrich Ruckriem were articulated with the pictorial exercises of Hanne Darboven and Jannis Kounellis, or with the Pop experimentations of Lourdes Castro and Andy Warhol. This dynamics was prolonged in the half-floor side galleries, where, on the upper floor one could find the works of Carl Andre, Richard Long, Robert Rauschenberg, Pino Pascali, Ellsworth Kelly, Jasper Johns, Frank Stella, or Gilbert & George; and on the lower floor (perhaps the most demanding and challenging of the show) one could find pieces by Nam June Paik, Bernd Lohaus, Giulio Paolini, Wolf Vostell, Marcel Broodthaers, Nikolaus Lang, or Anne Poirier" (Marchand, 2008).

to 100 artworks were a mark of the so-called 'return to painting' – which outlined the developments in western painting[230] from the mid-1950s to the mid-80s (cf. *ibid.*) (v. figs. 4.26., 4.27.). The event was not restricted to a visual arts exhibitionary format, and the performance arts' programme[231] running parallel to the exhibition would prove to be one of the most significant and impactful parts of the event. The set of concerts, happenings, performances, and theatre shows brought to Lisbon (amongst other artists, and many for the first time) Marina Abramović and Ulay, Ulrike Rosenbach, Stuart Brisley, Mauricio Kagel, and Wolf Vostell, the latter with a selection of *Fluxus* concerts (cf. *ibid.*). This new format of European art exhibition was promoted by the Council of Europe[232] with the general goal of "examin[ing] the role played by museums in presenting contemporary art to the public in order to better grasp its contribution both to the renewal of our 'heritage' and, consequently, to the shaping of our 'identity'" (von Bieberstein, 1985: 12).

This event served, amongst other things, as a method of analysis for the understanding of the dynamics between art (its production, distribution, and consumption) and the formation of cultural identity. One of the premises of the exhibition – the focus on contemporary art – brought the publics' attention to the role that it played in the development of cultural heritage. Contemporary art presents itself as a result of the socio-cultural context within which it occurs, quickly becoming a reference to that same context, i.e., contemporary art does not exclude notions of heritage, it incorporates them – even if through opposition – into a dialogical result. According to Berger – member of the event's organising committee – "artists […] have always, short of determining the identity of a civilisation, done most to shape its image […] [leading to] the inevitable conclusion [that] art plays an essential part in determining our cultural identity" (Berger, 1985: 17). Both when artworks were, for the most part, commissioned by royalty, the clergy, or otherwise highly influential persons, with the purpose of affirming their power, identity, or belief systems, determining, thus, the cultural framework of a people; and also later on, when art left the confinements of churches and palaces, it still kept on mimicking and/or pushing against the cultural, political, and

[230] "From paintings of the 1950s by Jean Dubuffet (*Route Nationale*, 1956), to much more recent ones by David Salle (*The Greenish-brown Uniform*, 1984), and a myriad other works by Cy Twombly, Gerhard Richter, Anselm Kiefer, Georg Baselitz, Sandro Chia, or Alberto Burri" (*ibid.*)

[231] This programme is discussed in further detail in section 4.2.2.

[232] The Council of Europe had been previously "organising over the past thirty years in different member countries a series of Exhibitions to enhance knowledge of Europe's cultural history and sharpen appreciation of its art: Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance, Neoclassicism, the Twenties, and so on" (von Bieberstein, 1985: 11).

material aspects of society. The difference between that historical art and the contemporary one resided in a specific aspect which was also tackled by the 1985 event at the CAM: "the workings of the 'world of art' in Europe" (von Bieberstein, 1985: 12).

The functioning of the modern and contemporary art system depended (and depends still) on the correlations between chief agents such as: the artists, commercial galleries and art dealers, collectors, museums, critics, art fairs, biennial/triennial international gatherings, auctions, etc. (cf. Berger, 1985). Within this interconnected system of individuals, institutions, and events with acting-power upon the world of art, the art museum seemed to be on a different level as it combined the roles of patron, purchaser, collector, and communicator, which in turn both propitiated and justified its actions of supporting and selecting (critiquing) given works by given artists, as well as its activities of preservation, documentation, study, and research. This combination of roles attributed to museums ever since the first configuration of the modern art museum model[233] determines and explains the art museums' responsibility in "establish[ing] the continuity of historical and modern art, [while] offer[ing] the public the image(s) of a cultural identity being forged amid the diversity of a constantly changing world" (*ibid.*: 20). The art museum is, thus, largely responsible for the level and type of information that circulates regarding art, and that information is a key element in shaping and conveying an image of art to the public. This leads to the conclusion – as was established in much of the textual information of the event – that the role of museums in society is very much linked to the way(s) in which museums present art.

Another goal of the Exhibition-Dialogue event was exactly to create an environment suitable for the comparative analysis of the activities of art museums – collecting criteria, exhibitionary form(at)s, communication methods – as that comparison could prove to be the "most effective way of making known the artistic activity of our time as it reflects our cultural identity" (*ibid.*: 21). Making known to the public how different museological spaces develop and perform their tasks was giving the public a more direct access to the processes of policy-making in the field of contemporary art production, distribution, and consumption. This scrutiny was made possible during the event in a two-fold way: via the *Self-portraits* cluster, mentioned above; and via the catalogue-dossier which, besides providing the traditional information on artists and works exhibited, also provided a text by René Berger with

[233] V. subchapter 3.1.2., footnote 120.

information on "the investigation of the actual functioning of the museums [and on] the critical discussion aris[ing] from comparisons between the participating museums" (*ibid.*: 23), and another one by W. A. L. Beeren which discussed mid-20th-century art, art museums, and their (mis)connections. This in-depth look at the functioning of museums would, hopefully, inform the public of the actions and decision-making processes behind one of the art museums' main purposes – the presentation of art to the public – potentiating the development of a greater space for dialogical interaction between museums and publics. By inviting this dialogue, the art museums assume a responsibility before and to the community and, from that moment on, when purchasing, commissioning, or exhibiting a work of art, the museums will be establishing a link – creating the perpetuation of a further dialogical space – between the artworks and the public (cf. Beeren, 1985).

Even though the Exhibition-Dialogue can be considered to have been the most significant contemporary art display held at the CAM in the 1980s, the format was not successful, and the project was discontinued. The event failed in its international touring ambitions, and, according to the national press, it failed on achieving the totality of its goals. Most of the art critics considered that the chosen format and range were not the appropriate ones for a process of definition of a European cultural and artistic identity: the presence of British, French, and Spanish museums, for example, was highly missed (cf. Marchand, 2008). Another aspect that was pointed out by the critics was the restrictiveness of the selection of national artworks: the CAM's was the smallest collection presented and consisted mainly of painting (cf. *ibid.*). Two other very prominent criticisms fell on two of the key aspects of the event: the great number of artworks by U.S. artists made it difficult to think about the exhibition on European terms; and the (high or total) lack of photography or video-based artworks made it difficult to think about the exhibition on true contemporary terms. The critical reception in Portugal varied[234], but the one unanimous opinion resided on the importance of the event

[234] "Lisbon welcomed the most immense and intense concentration of current art, ever gathered in this seashore metaphor. But let us take stock of how the acknowledgment of these other works is foreign to our modes of consumption, distribution, production – which makes evident, perhaps, the false euphoric reception of this manifestation" (Pinharanda, 1985 cited in Ribeiro, 2007: 354-355); "Looking at the choices that were made, more than the actual stories being told, we are able to know more about what each of the eight museums is, wants to be, and can be. Seven of them establish a dialogue throughout Europe, and one of them engages in a monologue, in Lisbon. This monologue was considered by the Modern Art Centre – in response to an observation – as 'more convenient to the present moment'" (França, 1985: 3, cf. Marchand: 2008); "[The] CAM's display is in accordance to the international limitations of its collection, almost forcing it to an exclusively Portuguese participation, which, from a local point of view, can be interesting due to the comparisons it will allow and that are rare among us" (Porfírio, 1985: 37, cf. Marchand, 2008); "There were remarkable moments of musical dance-theatre: one of which, Fabre's [*The Power of Theatrical Madness*]

at three levels: 1) in being a unique opportunity for the direct contact of the Portuguese public and of a Portuguese new generation of artists with a very significant part of the contemporary artistic production (particularly regarding the performance arts' programme) at a time when such a contact was still scarce in Lisbon (cf. Porfírio, 1985 in Marchand, 2008); 2) in fostering the organisation of similar events in Portugal[235] and in allowing for the development – based on the information of the *Self-portraits* cluster of the event – of structured debates regarding the cultural policies and management methods of Portuguese cultural institutions; and 3) in the fact that many commercial galleries in Lisbon joined the event and exhibited artworks and artists related to the Exhibition-Dialogue which was a stimulus to the sector.

The Exhibition-Dialogue had the unintended effect of highlighting a very specific and downplayed[236] dialogical relationship: that of the CAM and medium-to-large scale contemporary artworks. As was already mentioned, the CAM's spaces were completely occupied with this exhibition (the CAM's collection had to be temporarily removed) and the CAM's galleries held different types of sculptures, installations, and other three-dimensional artworks. This gave the public the opportunity to see and experience the full openness of the hangar-like main gallery. Without the articulated panels – for the hanging of paintings, engravings, or drawings – acting as visual and physical barriers, the space of the gallery could be experienced in an even more flexible and informal way. The conceptualist and experimental aspects of the Exhibition-Dialogue event brought forward the CAM's appetency for the presentation of contemporary artistic expressions in conceptually alternative ways. As will be discussed in the next section, this spatial experience of museological breakthrough[237] would have a curious effect. The removal of the collection and its consequent re-hanging

was actually […] the most prodigious scenic performance […]seen in Lisbon in recent years. […] [A] laboratory of the post-modern" (Seabra, 1985: 28-29, cf. Marchand, 2008); "It is certain that this exhibition […] was far, quite far, from being a good art exhibition. […] It was merely a display of the various instituted interests which exist in this – often filthy – art world, where each personal criteria aims solely at feathering one's own nest" (Oliveira, 1985, cf. Marchand, 2008).

[235] Such as the "Portuguese-American Meetings on Contemporary Art", dealing with different themes such as sculpture and architecture, and which took place in Portugal (Lisbon and Oporto), in 1989; and the "Days of Contemporary Art" which took place in Oporto in the 90s (cf. Marchand, 2008).

[236] As was previously mentioned, in the first two years of its existence the CAM had not yet explored the full potential of its exhibition spaces, which can be explained by the CAM's early focus on the display of its Portuguese modern art collection (focusing mainly on painting and small- to medium-size sculpture), as discussed in sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.3..

[237] Sir Leslie Martin's project was more geared towards this type of exhibition than towards the needs and requirements for displaying the CAM's own collection as it was at the time of the building's construction (v. Tostões, 2006; 2006a; Grande, 2009).

would lead to a re-equation of the gallery spaces, a re-equation which would prove dialogical in itself.

In the end, the project for an Exhibition-Dialogue about contemporary art amongst European modern art museums barely manage to achieve any of the goals and objectives it set out for. Although the programme stated to focus on contemporary art (a contemporaneity embracing circa 30 years, though), according to Bruno Marchand "the programme was clearly characterised by a profound apprehension against the art promotion strategies and the audience draw-in policies which had been developing since the mid-1970s" (Marchand, 2008). Nevertheless, and regardless of attaining any definitive conclusions, the Exhibition-Dialogue exercise in Lisbon raised the public's awareness regarding the role of art museums as regulatory spaces for the interchange between the artists' intellectual and creative positions, the consequent production of contemporary art, and the reflection of those dynamics in the formation and establishment of cultural identities.

The CAM's participation in an event which sought to underline the place of art museums as spaces which "often initiate and stimulate the dialogue between established ideas and the human activity of regeneration and creation" (Bereen, 1985: 32) contributed to affirming the CAM's role as a heterotopic space of mediation. The Exhibition-Dialogue was a summary moment of post-structuralist reflection on the (re)structuring processes that had been going on since the 1960s[238] in the fields of (and in the newly transformed connections between) sociology, anthropology, art history, and museology (cf. Silveira, 2014). The CAM served as mediator between the intra-museums dialogue and the Lisboan community; a community which was at the time developing and strengthening its ties with Europe and with the notion of being European. Within that context, and bearing in mind section 3.2.3.'s argument that, as heterotopias, "museums are spaces for representing the space of representation as such" (Lord, 2006: 6), the Exhibition-Dialogue event at the CAM allowed for a closer and more in-depth look at the discourses – i.e., the discursive formations, the systems of rules (cf. Foucault, 1969) – that were establishing the connections between European modern and contemporary art, European modern and contemporary art museums, and (contemporary and ever-changing) European cultural identities. The inauguration of the CAM had changed Lisbon's culturalscape by providing the city with a space for a discursive analysis of Portuguese modern art and its genealogy; the Exhibition-Dialogue made evident another of the CAM's

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[238] V. chapter 3.

most important roles in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape: the discursive analysis of national and international artistic contemporaneities and futures.

Figure 4.20. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's main gallery

Figure 4.21. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's main gallery

Figure 4.22. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's bottom half-floor gallery

Figure 4.23. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's bottom half-floor gallery

Figure 4.24. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's bottom half-floor gallery

Figure 4.25. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the CAM's bottom half-floor gallery

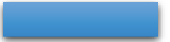

Figure 4.26. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the FCG's temporary exhibitions gallery

Figure 4.27. - Exhibition-Dialogue: the FCG's temporary exhibitions gallery

4.1.3. Diachronic approaches to modernism and the writing of (a) history

The re-hanging of the CAM's collection in July 1985, following the Exhibition-Dialogue on Contemporary Art in Europe, would bring changes to the use of space, as well as differences in the way art was (re)presented and communicated to the public. According to Sommer Ribeiro, the new presentation of the museum sought a reorganisation of the galleries' spaces that would be more suited to a diachronically didactic presentation of what was defined as the collection's "historical period (1910-1960)" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 10), allowing also for a more fluid and less visually constricted experience of the contemporary art on display (1960-1985). After two years of exhibiting the collection, organising and displaying temporary exhibitions of national and international modern and contemporary art[239], listening to the public on their experiences of the space and the art in it[240], the CAM's director decided that

> [t]he Modern Art Centre's Museum must have a more didactic approach than the one it has presented so far. The space dedicated to [exhibiting] the early Modern Art in Portugal (a period which is practically unknown to the general public […]), in particular, requires being explained in a more didactical[241] manner and it needs to be presented in such a way as to allow the less knowledgeable visitor, who is not accompanied by a tour guide, to take some cultural benefit from his/her visit.
>
> (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 7).

A new *Roteiro do Centro de Arte Moderna* [Guide to the Modern Art Centre] (v. fig.4.28.) was published in 1985, reflecting the spatial reorganisation of the CAM and of the collection display (v. fig. 4.29.), and containing an introductory text which justified and explained the changes that had been conducted. The Guide's introductory text also outlined some of the key moments in – and mentioned some of the most relevant artists who contributed to – the development of Portuguese art from 1910 to 1960, and included a brief explication of the place and role of contemporary art (1960-1985) in the CAM's collection (which

[239] Between July 1983 and November 1985 the CAM presented 23 temporary exhibitions of national and international modern and contemporary art. Two other exhibitions were organised by the CAM to be displayed abroad: one in Madrid (1984) and one in São Paulo (1985) (cf. FCG, 2008).

[240] "Throughout the past two years […], thanks to the organisation and display of the temporary exhibitions […], we have been able to observe and take stock of the different possibilities of usage of the spaces, as well as sound out the public's opinions […] by listening to many hundreds of visitors' points of view" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 7).

[241] This investment in a didactic approach with reminiscences of Malraux's cultural policies from the 1960s could be regarded as problematic or unfit for a space which advocated its vocation as a cultural centre in a postmodern cultural horizon.

will be discussed later on in this section). The final sentence of that introductory text clearly stated Sommer Ribeiro's view of the Guide's purpose exactly as "a guiding tool for the visitor who walks through the different areas of the Museum, a tool to provide information on the several schools and movements [integrated by], as well as the vicissitudes of the lives of, the artists who sought to bring something new to this country" (*ibid.*: 10).

The collection of Portuguese Modern Art was displayed in the hallway to the galleries (where the visitor would find works by Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and Eduardo Viana), in the bottom half-floor gallery (where artworks from 1910 to 1960 were chronologically and thematically distributed), and in the main floor gallery (artworks pertaining to the period 1960-1985). The collections of British, American, and Armenian art were on display in the top half-floor gallery. The Portuguese Modern Art collection display was composed of works by Portuguese artists, as well as by foreign artists who either lived in Portugal, played a pivotal role in the development of Portuguese artistic movements, or who, in one way or another, directly influenced Portuguese artists. The collection exhibited[242] comprehended nearly eight decades of 20th-century art: the modernist expression of the Portuguese First Modernism of the 1910s; the humourist art of the 20s; the Portuguese Second Modernism of the 30s and 40s; the neo-realism, the lyric, figurative, and geometric abstractionisms, and the surrealism of the 40s and 50s; and the manifold different(iated) artistic movements and ruptures of the 60s, 70s and early-80s. The CAM's collection spanned over various moments in time, covering and reflecting key periods in art history where artists transcended the previously established conventions, and explored different languages and ever-newer forms of depicting the realities of their times.

The museum shaped its permanent exhibition seeking to give the audience an interpretation of Portuguese modern art history in a diachronic fashion, with the main corpus of the collection on display pertaining to Portuguese painters from the 1910-1960 historical period time-frame. Due to the relevance of Amadeo's work in the definition of a Portuguese cultural-artistic genealogy/identity (as was discussed in section 4.1.1.), the hallway that gave access to the galleries was composed mainly of his artworks (v. figs. 4.30. to 4.34.). The basis for the organisation and placement of the artworks in the bottom half-floor gallery (also known as 01 gallery) was established upon the notion of presenting the collection within a

[242] This permanent exhibition was on display with the same base structure (but with a few changes in the individual pieces displayed) from 1985 to 1989.

prescribed order corresponding to the trajectory of Portuguese modern art in its reflection of, and in its correlation with, key developments in Portuguese artistic, cultural, educational, social, and political history throughout those decades. This was what Whitehead later came to call a chronological-connective metaframe (cf. Whitehead, 2012), as it established close relations and terms of comparative analysis between individual works and/or individual artists "in relation to aspects such as the technique employed and the biography of artists, [and] in particular their relations with specific artistic movements, cultures or circles[243], and questions of artistic intention" (*ibid.*: 86).

Following that historiographical logics, the pieces selected to represent each art movement (and, by extension, to represent the artistic, cultural, educational, social, and political realities of the different times) were displayed in the newly created immovable dividing sectors[244] of the 01 gallery. Each sector was devoted to one or two art movements, to one or two styles or to pieces of an individual artist – with possible sub-divisions within each sector corresponding to subtle differentiations within the same movement or style. The sequence, and possible connections between these sectors, expressed how the various art movements had emerged and evolved. However, due to the physical barriers, the visitor was not able to visually trace these characteristic developments all throughout the gallery by following the expressed relationships between the subsequent art movements and styles through visual connections. Another debatable choice was the fact that the representation of the development and continuation of the art movements within a genealogical trajectory of those five decades (1910-1960) did not contemplate artworks that could have represented oppositions and reactions to, derivations within, and other complexities that sprung from each movement[245]. The organisation of the display followed a linear format, with a relatively direct(ed)

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[243] The relevance of the artists' biographies, as well as of the artistic and cultural circles they frequented, is evidenced by Sommer Ribeiro in the Guide's introductory text (pages 8 and 9). As an example v. section 3.2.1., footnote 157 on the connection between Amadeo, Eduardo Viana, and the Delaunays.

[244] Similarly to the process underwent by the *Centre Georges Pompidou*, in Paris (v. section 3.1.3.), the CAM was also subjected to interior construction work which would re-dimension its galleries and create a white-cube-like system of smaller spaces within each gallery (cf. Grande, 2009). The decision to reshape the CAM's galleries (and therefore reshape its visual reading possibilities) can be considered to have been mainly due to the CAM's increasing focus and investment on displaying its Portuguese modern art collection. The compartmentalisation of the CAM's galleries, even though betraying the original architectonical purpose and intention, was deemed as necessary at the time as a way of ensuring what was considered to be the best format for the exhibition of the collection.

[245] As was referred to previously, the CAM's early permanent exhibitions followed a model of art historiography established by Portuguese art historian José Augusto França. As an example of the potential flaws of França's model and criteria of art historiography – provided by Portuguese art historian Raquel Henriques da Silva – one can mention some "works by António Carneiro (Jorge de Brito Collection) [which] allowed

sequence, guiding the visitor through an arranged landscape of Portuguese art history of the first half of the 20th century. The objective can be considered to have been, thus, not to engage the public's critical response, but rather to affirm the CAM's role in contributing to the establishment of a public history of visual culture based on the exhibition of key artists and moments of Portuguese modern art, which would, in turn, contribute to the formation of a general public able and willing to have a critical presence inside the art museum.

As was depicted in the exhibition map of the Guide, the bottom half-floor gallery was restructured into a heavily segmented and compartmentalised space which pre-determined and conditioned the path of the exhibition (v. fig. 4.35.). The exhibition map's guiding-arrows suggested that the visitor should go through the exhibition layout section by section, going from one artistic movement to the next in a sequentially diachronic way. The visitor's encounters with the artworks were, therefore, historically focused, and the progression of the visitor throughout the 01 gallery followed what can be regarded as an almost mandatorily prescribed tour from the second decade to the end of the fifth decade of the 20th century. The spatial organisation of this 1985 display of the collection presented a rather straightforward chronological reading of Portuguese art history. The visitor was guided through in a linear progression intended to illustrate and demonstrate the stylistic evolutions deriving from one artistic movement to the next. Sommer Ribeiro's vision seems to have been, as Whitehead puts it, that

> [c]hronology is critical: […] through chronology we map the relations between ourselves, our preoccupations, politics and ways of seeing with those of cultures past (or […] never completely past). Identifying continuities is a way of settling the violence between notions of past, present and future, and bears more significance than a simple rethinking of art historical narratives.
>
> (Whitehead, 2012: 84).

Whitehead's affirmation, albeit controversial, could explain why the CAM decided to take this approach regarding the historical period of its art collection at that particular moment in time. By 1985, Portugal had been a democratic country for ten years – after nearly fifty years of a censoring dictatorial regime – and was about to join the E.E.C.. As the first modern art museum in Portugal, the CAM was responsible for retracing a Portuguese (and

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for the questioning of modernity's sudden start with *Exposição Livre* in 1911 […]. Instead, Carneiro's work showed the complexity of modernity's project, rooted in the diversity of artistic practices in Paris in 1900" (Silva, 2014: 163-164).

international) art historiography (both didactically and critically) that the Portuguese government and its public institutions (like the MNAC, for instance) had not been able or willing to do. In being and doing so, the CAM was also implicitly attributed the task of constru(ct)ing a connection between this newfound modern art genealogy and the continuous development and formation of a Portuguese cultural identity – (in)formed by that new historical perspective – within a mid-1980s early-postmodern framework[246]. Therefore, one can consider that this chronological-connective metaframe (cf. *ibid.*) was designed so as to foreground a new culture of art display and consumption and, consequently, enable new public discourses about modern art to be formed. The approach to the exhibition of the collection's contemporary artworks (1960-1985) would be quite different, as it aimed at showing how the younger generation of (living) artists had been "accompanying the main tendencies in nowadays' art" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 10).

When reaching the 1960s on the ground floor, the prescribed tour lost its imperativeness (v. fig. 4.35.). The compartmentalised sections of the first five decades represented gave way to a slightly more open floor featuring further possibilities for visual comparisons. In the main gallery the exhibition changed format and content. Focusing on tendencies of Portuguese art from the 1960s to the mid-80s, this section of the exhibition – in a gallery almost double the size but holding almost half the number of artworks – was displayed in a less confined and segmented fashion[247], allowing for some visual juxtapositions to reveal possible dialogues between/among the different art genres exhibited (v. fig. 4.36.). By providing the opportunity for these different art genres to be visually compared by the visitor – in other sequences or from multiple places and perspectives – the CAM sought to emphasise their coalescence. The possibility for different routes (besides the prescribed one) and the multiplicity of directions within that less enclosed gallery space allowed for a near-synoptic overview of the contemporary artworks, providing, at the same time, space for the presentation of multiple narratives, giving the visitors the chance to tailor their explorations to their individual interests (cf. Serota, 1997).

The gallery open-space morphology created the possibility of changing directions in the viewing sequence, which can be read as having the museum space lend itself to represent the unsteady and multi-directional developments of art movements and art (counter)cultures

[246] Within the Portuguese reality (v. sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.2.).

[247] But still relying on the new immovable wall-structures which compartmentalised the galleries into an almost white-cube-like format, not allowing for a complete and full visual traceability of the spaces.

of the 60s and 70s. The artworks from the 1960s onwards – considering the increasingly complex way in which the art movements developed – represented consequent and ongoing ruptures. The gallery's spatial arrangement lent itself to express the complex, dynamic, non-linear, and multi-directional developments which produced those new artistic styles. Aside from a direct connection between the display layout and the exhibition content, it is also possible to infer on the likely effects that the visibility distribution had on the exhibition narrative. The crosscurrents of the 60s and 70s, along with the styles emerging out of those crosscurrents, were displayed in a loose cluster of artworks in a few sectors of the gallery floor, emphasising the relationships between the different styles and movements, and the ruptures that gave rise to them. This exhibition format demonstrated how the intricate and diverse post-1960s movements were significant for an understanding of the artistic and cultural identity of the country, at a time when a number of Portuguese artists were benefitting from the FCG's grants to get a further artistic education, as well as conduct research and work in the U.K., France, Germany, etc..

During its first decade of existence, the CAM – even if not always successfully – attempted to balance several requirements: the need to exhibit the collection in a format that would act as a continuation of the artistic, cultural, and educational line of work of the FCG; the need to acquire – and (conceptually) make room for – "other artworks from the current generation, allowing those artists the possibility of marking their presence in future collection re-hangings" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 10); the need to develop its art centre work of organising and housing national and international contemporary art exhibitions; and the need to be an innovative space, bringing new artistic and cultural experimentations to the city of Lisbon. In spite of the museum's significant (and continued) work, the two latter points would come to be more thoroughly developed (and in its first years to quite an exponential degree) by a department created for/by the CAM less than a year after its inauguration: the ACARTE. As will be discussed throughout the next sub-chapter, the ACARTE would strongly contribute to the CAM's success as an innovative space and as a cosmopolitan landmark in Lisbon's culturalscape.

Figure 4.28. - Roteiro do Centro de Arte Moderna [Guide to the Modern Art Centre] (cover), 1985

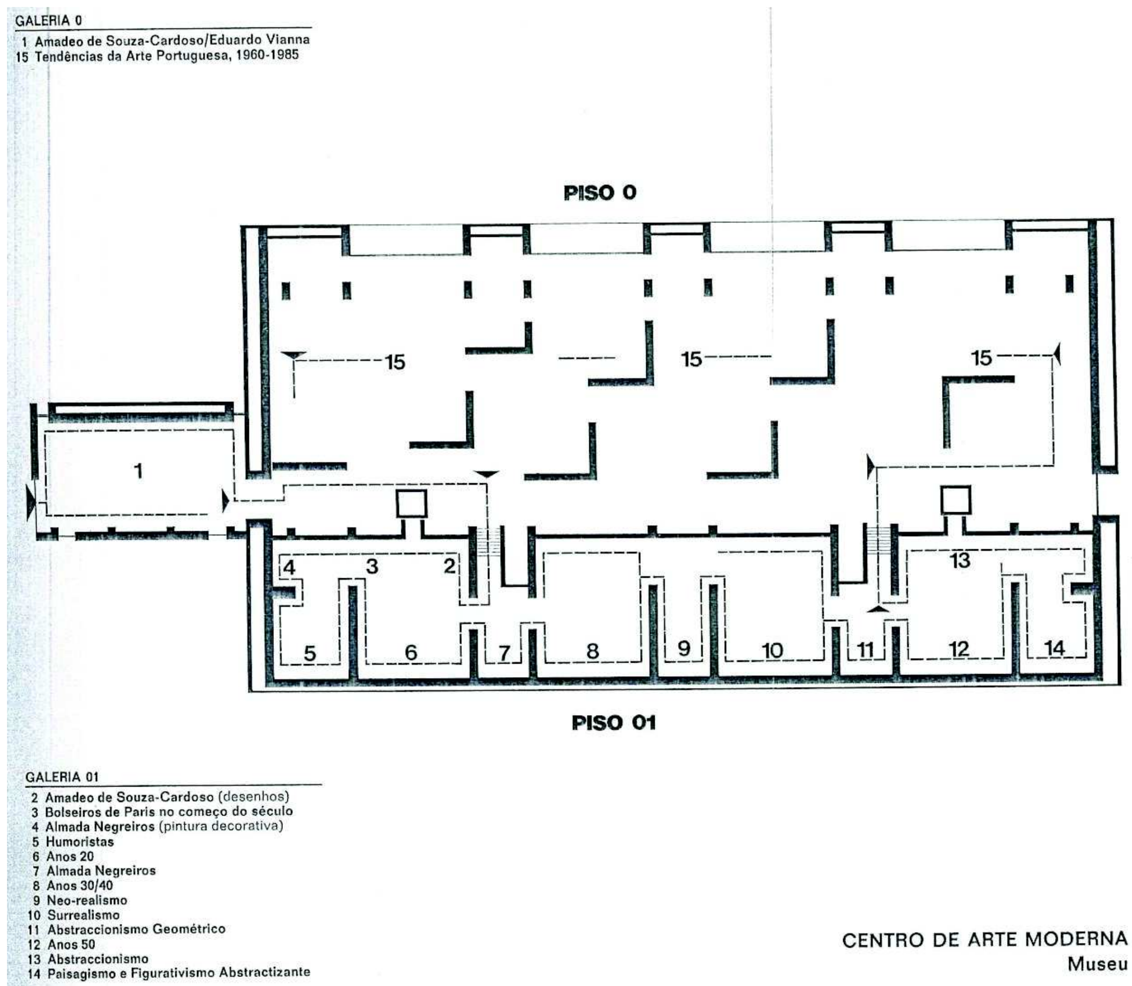


Figure 4.29. - Roteiro do Centro de Arte Moderna [Guide to the Modern Art Centre], 1985
Spatial organisation of the gallery floors following a chronological ordering

Figure 4.30. - *Lévriers / Os Galgos*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1911
On display in the hallway during the second rehanging of the collection (1985-1989)

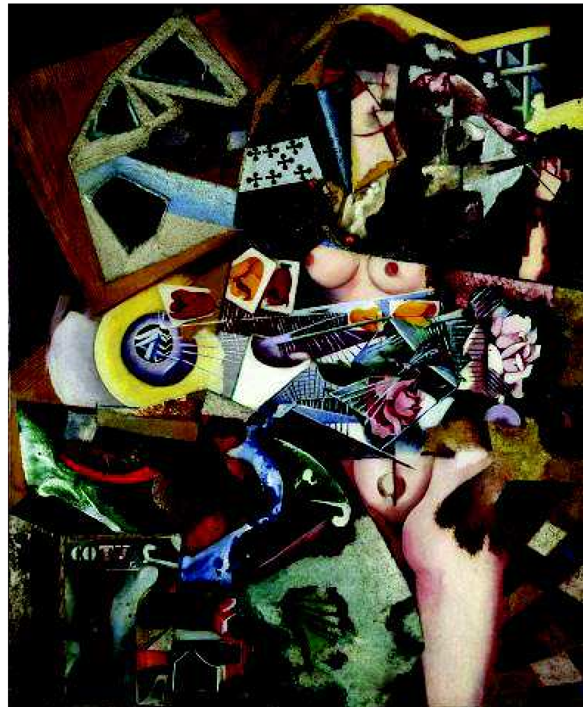


Figure 4.31. - *Unknown title (Coty)*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1917
On display in the hallway during the second rehanging of the collection (1985-1989)

Figure 4.32. - *Trou de la serrure PARTO DA VIOLA Bon ménage Fraise avant garde*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1916
On display in the hallway during the second rehanging of the collection (1985-1989)

Figure 4.33. - *Canção popular - a Russa e o Figaro*
[*Folk song - the Russian woman and the Figaro*], Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1916
On display in the hallway during the second rehanging of the collection (1985-1989)

Figure 4.34. - *Unknown title (Entrada)* [*Entrance*], Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1917
On display in the hallway during the second rehanging of the collection (1985-1989)

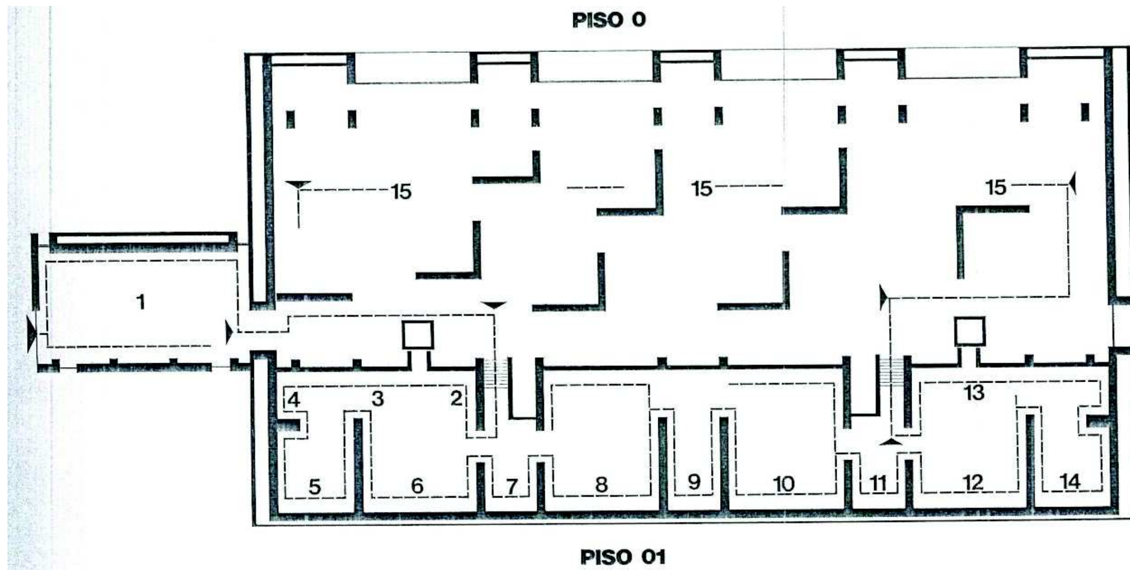


Figure 4.35. - Roteiro do Centro de Arte Moderna [Guide to the Modern Art Centre], 1985
Spatial organisation of the main gallery and of the bottom half-floor gallery floors

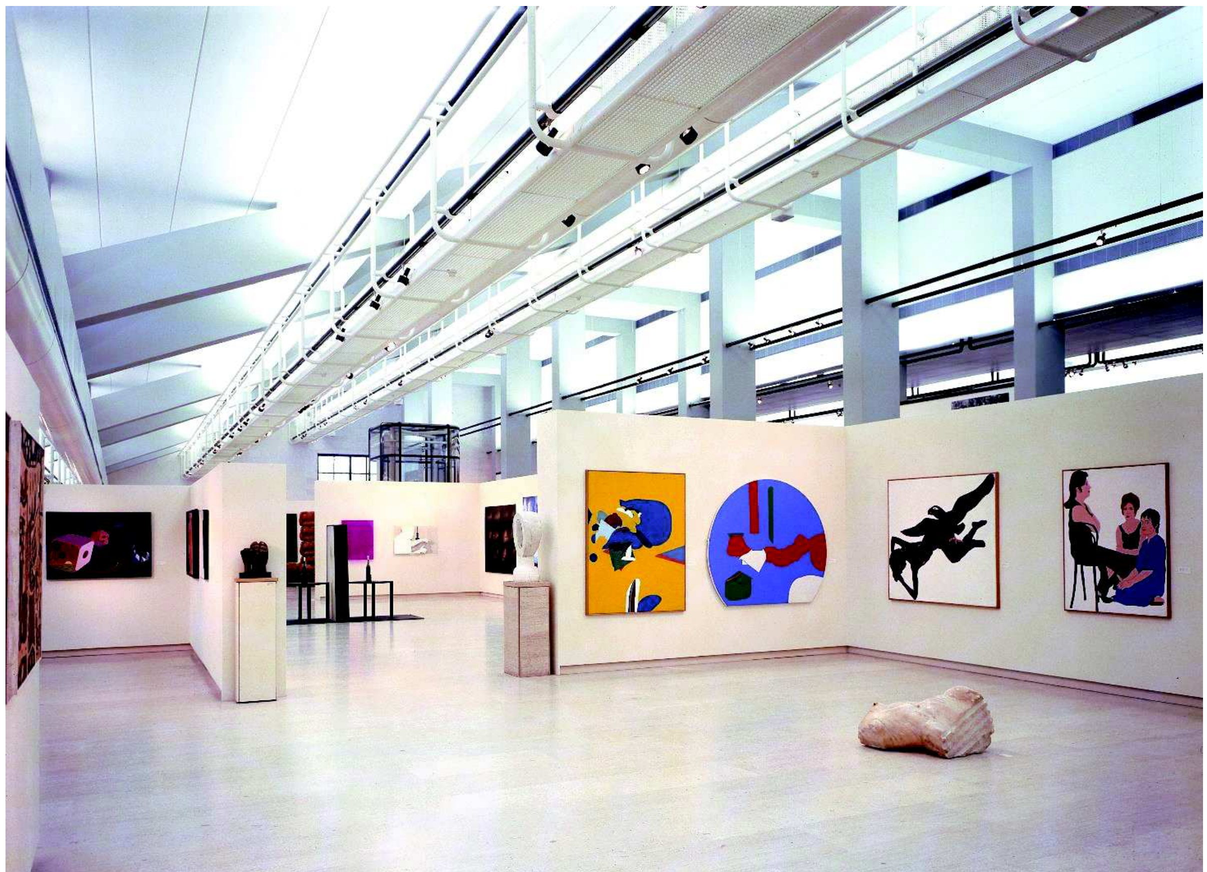


Figure 4.36. - Second permanent exhibition: view of the main gallery layout, 1985-1989

4.2. THE ACARTE – THE MEANING OF BEING DIFFERENT

It is surely only against a certain conception of what is historically dominant or hegemonic that the full value of the exceptional – what Raymond Williams calls the "residual" or "emergent" – can be assessed.

(Jameson, 1984: 178).

The Department of Animation, Artistic Creation, and Education through Art (ACARTE) was the other half of the paradigm-shifting dialogue initiated in Lisbon's culturalscape in the mid-1980s. The ACARTE was an absolutely – if not 'the' – fundamental element in the development of a postmodern artistic experience in the city, as well as in the constru[ct]ing of a cosmopolitan cultural identity. The ACARTE, which was "designed to promote education and participation in all the diverse fields of creative activity" (Perdigão, 1985: 129), would come to materialise[248] the CAM's objective of being more than a museum – of being an artistic and cultural centre. Created less than a year after the CAM's inauguration[249], the ACARTE initiated its activities on May 7th, 1984 under the direction of Madalena Perdigão[250]. The ACARTE aimed at generating and designing – (con)sequential(ly) – thematic multidisciplinary projects to be developed in the field of visual, literary, and performance

[248] Even though the ACARTE's programme, administration, and finances were completely independent from those of the CAM's museum, the ACARTE's human resources and infrastructural support were incorporated into the CAM's building. The ACARTE's administrative structure would come to occupy the production rooms which were to have become workshops for artists. The CAM's multi-purpose amphitheatre as well as the outdoor amphitheatre would become two of the main spaces where the ACARTE presented its work and developed its activities (cf. Tostões, 2006; Ribeiro, 2007). In spite of this independence, the ACARTE and the CAM would come to develop a – even if not always easy – symbiotic relationship (the relationship between José Sommer Ribeiro and Madalena Azeredo Perdigão was known to be difficult due to substantially different stands regarding the roles of art and culture and how artistic and cultural expressions should be presented and communicated to the public). The CAM and the ACARTE could, perhaps, be considered as the two sides of the same coin, particularly during the ACARTE's first five to six years, when its activities would prove fundamental for the construction of the CAM's image.

[249] The ACARTE was created by decision of the FCG's Board of Administration on April 17th, 1984.

[250] Madalena Azeredo Perdigão (1923-1989) held degrees in Mathematics and Piano. Perdigão developed her musical career both as performer and as director and coordinator of music departments. In 1958, Perdigão was invited to become the first Director of the FCG's Music Department, having worked at the FCG until 1974 (cf. Música Gulbenkian, 2014). From 1978 to 1984, Perdigão worked for the Portuguese Government as a direct assistant to the Education and Culture Minister (cf. Ribeiro, 2007). In 1984, Perdigão was called once again to the FCG, but this time to create and direct an innovative arts programme: the ACARTE. According to Portuguese arts programmer and curator António Pinto Ribeiro, who worked closely with Perdigão at the ACARTE in the mid-80s, Perdigão had a "creative energy and the ambition to produce works and contribute to the country's artistic and cultural transformation […]. Having an infinite and permanent curiosity, and being unusually informed, [Perdigão was] aware of the omnipresent role of the body in dance, theatre, and in performance, in all of Europe's arts circuits (Ribeiro, 2007: 369).

arts (theatre, music, dance, poetry, cinema, visual and plastic arts, literature, and architecture) and to have those same thematic projects be discussed in colloquia, conferences, and debates open to the public (cf. FCG, 2008).

The ACARTE's projects – which will be discussed in further detail throughout the next three sections – were meant to "contribute to the communication between artworks and the public […] and to create new publics, and more knowledgeable ones, [to visit] the CAM's galleries and its collection" (*ibid.*: 257). Generating an amazingly fresh cultural and artistic thrust, by the end of 1984, the ACARTE would have been responsible for 161 – almost always sold out – events[251], and it would have spawned a cultural transformation. The delineation of the ACARTE's background is essential for an understanding of the ACARTE as an artistic, cultural, and social space of difference, which acted differently, and which came to establish a differentiation in Lisbon's culturalscape: before the ACARTE and after the ACARTE. Following the FCG as the first cultural centre in Lisbon, and the CAM's museum as the first modern art museum in the city (and the country), the ACARTE would continue on this line of exceptionality as the first space in Lisbon with a truly internationalist, cosmopolitan, and avant-garde artistic and cultural programme, but one which fully embraced diversity in all its forms, as will be analysed further ahead.

At a moment in time when the (post)revolutionary processes of the previous decade had all but died down, and when the process for the official integration of Portugal into the E.E.C. was about to be complete, notions of national identity and of that national identity's place within Europe were still not settled. As was discussed in subchapter 3.1., the transition between modernity and postmodernity had been too swift and sudden. It had demanded, as Ana Bigotte Vieira observed, "a generalised effort of amnesia: amnesia regarding a territory [previously] understood as an overseas empire, regarding the colonial war, regarding both the recent past of the April revolution and the [not so distant] past of 48 years of dictatorship" (Vieira, 2014). During the second half of the 1970s the country had experienced a kind of compact synchrony of different social, political, cultural, and economic developments (which had had a more diachronic progression in other European countries). In his 1984

[251] "From May to December 1984, the [ACARTE] held a total of 161 presentations in the following categories: cinema (35), circus (5), colloquia (25), concerts (10), conferences (4), modern dance (4), puppet shows (5), multimedia presentations (2), poetry readings (3), and theatre (68). These manifestations enjoyed great public acclaim, particularly among young people, and received widespread support from the media. Creative artists, too, have generously and enthusiastically responded to our invitations to collaborate, frequently even spontaneously proposing innovative projects of their own" (Perdigão, 1985: 130).

article “Periodizing the 60s”, Frederic Jameson – who, by delineating “brief sketches of […] the history of philosophy, revolutionary political theory and practice, cultural production, and economic cycles” (Jameson, 1984: 179) of that period of time, placed the concept of the ‘sixties’ between the late-1950s and the mid-70s – concluded that “in the 60s, for a time, everything was possible: […] this period, in other words, was a moment of universal liberation, a global unbinding of energies” (*ibid.*: 207). In Portugal, that moment of full possibilities was only experienced, at a socio-cultural and political level, after the 1974 revolution. The making and experiencing of artistic and cultural expressions and demonstrations in the second half of the 70s were acts of political and social experimentation – a process of trying out things that would not have been possible or allowed before.

By the beginning of the 1980s, however, things had started to change and the in-between-ness of the ‘past’ April revolution – with all the freedoms, liberties, and rights which came with it – and the very near future integration into the E.E.C. – with all the new opportunities, forms of security, and guarantees which it promised to bring – started to bear their weight. Portugal had materially changed: the 1980s brought about the first mega-structure shopping mall, the first hypermarkets, and the sprawl of the suburban areas. And Portugal had changed at mental and social levels as well: the musical, writing, and fashion scenes[252] were going through rapid and significant changes, and paid vacation-time became accessible to more and more sectors of society. The Portuguese socio-cultural environment went through these massive changes under less than a decade, but for some time there would be a lack of institutional response to those societal and cultural transformations. The CAM and the ACARTE can, therefore, be thought of as spaces for the settling of the transitional period of late modernity and postmodernity synchronic clash which had imposed itself on Portuguese society, with each element of that paradigm-shifting dialogue playing its part.

The ACARTE would identify and characterise itself (amongst other things) as a space for taking risks, as a space where the process of trying out new things could unfold, as a space for contemporaneity to materialise and to be corporeally, socially, and existentially

[252] A few examples: in the music scene in Portugal, the renewal of the Portuguese Rock genre had an exponential boom in the 1980s, with bands/artists such as António Variações, Heróis do Mar, Xutos&Pontapés, Rádio Macau, etc. (v. Duarte, 2006); the Portuguese literary scene of the 1980s witnessed the blooming of cultural and artistic critique writing, as well as the development of a new genre – historical realism – in the works of writers such as José Saramago, Lídia Jorge, etc.; the national fashion scene developed quite quickly throughout the 80s, justifying the creation of a bi-annual event called *ModaLisboa* [Lisbon Fashion Week] which had its first official edition in 1991.

experienced (cf. Perdigão, 1984). By providing a direct access to national and international artistic and cultural contemporaneity, and through its affirmation of the significance of contemporary artistic production and fruition, the ACARTE fully complemented the CAM's approach (discussed throughout subchapter 4.1.). Together, they formed what, in hindsight, can be described as a sort of late 20th-century "exhibitionary complex" (cf. Bennett, 1995) for the 1980s Lisboan citizen. They were institutional spaces seeking to contribute to the citizens' artistic, cultural, and social self-formation, not through regulation – "forming a complex of disciplinary and power relations" (*ibid.*: 59) like one finds in Foucault's analyses of 18th- and 19th-century prisons, hospitals, and asylums – but through the granting of opportunities for new forms of seeing to develop (in the CAM's temporary and permanent exhibitions), and by making novelty accessible to the community (in the ACARTE's multiple events). The ACARTE would reveal itself to be a laboratorial/ community centre space where European (and world-wide) contemporary artistic and cultural production would be made available and put into direct contact with the city of Lisbon and its citizens. The ACARTE's programme would provide the long hoped-for cosmopolitan cultural environment, and the CAM would become Lisbon's artistic and socio-cultural meeting-point – which would come to signal yet another turning-moment in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

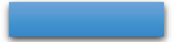
This moment of reshaping of the city's culturalscape did not occur as the direct result of a new material construction in Lisbon, but rather came from a new mental construction which, in turn, gave rise to a new construction and development of socio-cultural behaviours and routines: ways of conducting, positioning, and thinking oneself as an active participant in the construction of a new urban cultural identity. This is what the ACARTE excelled at: drawing people in, not just to come visit an exhibition or watch a show, but to take part in debating the urbanity, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, locality, etc. of the presentations and performances held there, and to participate in discussing the role and adequacy of such concepts in constru(ct)ing a new Portuguese-European cultural identity. Participation, debate, and discussion – to several extents such impossible things until the mid-70s in Portugal – would become a common (and almost mandatory) practice within the ACARTE's spaces. The first years of the ACARTE – as will be reviewed and analysed in the following three sections – can be considered a moment of cultural revolution as Jameson understands it: "as a strategy for breaking the immemorial habits of subalternity and obedience which have

become internalized as a kind of second nature" (Jameson, 1984: 188). The ACARTE's strategy was to develop an interplay between the notions of tradition and experimentation, past and contemporaneity, rurality and urbanity, modernity and postmodernity, locality and cosmopolitanism, mainstream and avant-garde, in such a format that would, more than promote the development of a new – better adjusted – Portuguese cultural identity which would find its place within contemporary Europe, foster a process of constant and continuous (re)thinking and (re)shaping of a dialogical cosmopolitan cultural identity.

The ACARTE transformed Lisbon's culturalscape, much like the FCG and the CAM's modern art museum had done before. The difference was that, while the FCG and the CAM's museum had developed and sustained cultural policies which sought – sometimes first of all – to supress a need or compensate for a long-lasting lack, the ACARTE aimed at building something new by providing direct access to a European and international artistic and cultural contemporaneity. The ACARTE – or better put, its Director, Madalena Perdigão – would be responsible for an unprecedented process of innovation in the field of presentation of performance arts in Lisbon (and in the country). And not only was the format in itself cutting-edge at the time, but it also promoted originality: "[s]ome of the companies and groups [which were presented at the time] at the CAM and at the ACARTE were still very little known, but would turn out to be some of the biggest names in the world of the [performance arts] scene in the following two decades[253]" (Ribeiro, 2007: 373). Another mention-worthy aspect was the type of connection which the ACARTE developed with the media. Perdigão was aware of the growing role the media played in raising the public's awareness regarding artistic and cultural events. Perdigão would, therefore, structure the ACARTE's connection with the media to an extent that was "unusual for the time, for the FCG itself, and for the country" (*ibid.*).

The following three sections will look into and discuss the ACARTE's objectives, mission statement, and programmes, paying particular attention to: the ways in which the ACARTE fostered the development of artistic and cultural appreciation and critique amongst the public; the specific ways in which it contributed to an informed (self-)construction and (self-)formation of a cosmopolitan cultural identity; and the ways in which it would come to almost anticipate the format of future E.U. artistic and cultural networks as spaces for the

[253] Artists such as Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker, Susanne Linke, Urs Dietrich Dore Hoyer, etc. (cf. Ribeiro, 2007).



devising of partnerships aiming towards notions of shared dialogues and practices. Less than a year after the ACARTE started developing and implementing its activities, Perdigão would write:

> Though it is still too early to make predictions, it would not be exaggerat[ed] to say that the ACARTE is destined to play a very special role in Portuguese cultural life, mainly through its contribution to the development of creativity, to education through art, and to the furtherance of artistic productivity in Portugal.
>
> (Perdigão, 1985: 130).

As will be discussed, Madalena Perdigão's predictions would be more than accurate.

4.2.1. “What we will be”: cultural programming within a European horizon

The ACARTE’s initial programme, presented by Madalena Perdigão in May 1984, established much more than a plan of activities. With an unusually concise format, and with short, to-the-point sentences using very clear language, the programme/ mission statement enumerated what the ACARTE would be, what it believed in, what it would not be or do, and what it aimed to do in the different artistic fields[254] (cf. Perdigão, 1984). The first page of the programme “What we will be” (*ibid.*: 1) outlined the ACARTE’s main objectives:

> “We will take chances, we will make mistakes. We will allow for others to take chances and make mistakes.
> We will be an open forum for the discussion of the issue of culture.
> We will be a place of confluence for artists.
> We will be open to innovation and experimentation.
> We will be rigorous regarding artistic quality and work discipline.
> We will seek to establish a close contact with the public, whom we will to be critical and not just a mere consumer.
> We will promote the collaboration amongst composers, musical interpreters, theatre directors, actors, choreographers, dancers, and visual and graphic artists, towards the development of multidisciplinary works.
> We will be a living space where you can go from an exhibition to a dance or a theatre performance, where you can attend a concert and stay for the screening of a film or the reading of a poem, where you can take part in a show where all this happens and in which anything can happen.”
>
> (*ibid.*).

The ACARTE’s three facets are reflected on this manifest: as a space for artistic and cultural Animation and as a space for Education through Art, the ACARTE would seek to develop the artistic and cultural literacy of the public (via colloquia, conferences, and debates, and also via courses and workshops); as a space for Artistic Creation the ACARTE would seek to foster the establishment of networks and partnerships with national and international artists and groups, directly and indirectly support artists’ works, and promote the creation of

[254] Artistic fields in which the ACARTE developed its activities: dance; theatre; marionettes; mimic; music; opera; cinema; animated pictures; performance art; video art; visual arts; photography; architecture; literature; poetry; fashion. The organisation of colloquia, conferences, and workshops was also part of the ACARTE’s programme, as was the publication of art and culture-related materials and texts; the ACARTE also devised a sustained and continuous children’s programme for the CAM’s CAI – *Centro Artístico Infantil* [Children’s Artistic Centre] (v. section 3.2.2., footnote 174). Another Centre worthy of mention is the CITEN – *Centro de Imagem e Técnicas Narrativas* [Image and Narration Techniques Centre], created in 1987 by Madalena Perdigão and directed by José Pedro Cavalheiro, which organised and ministered “medium- to long-term courses as well as workshops on: 2D Animation Cinema (on paper), Volumes Animation Cinema, Illustration, Comics, Image, Movement and Sound, and Script Writing (writing for Illustration, Comics, and 2D and Volumes Animation Cinema” (FCG, 2008: 287-288); the CITEN also “promoted international meetings, publications and exchanges, along with its continued pedagogical research” (*ibid.*: 288).

new groups for the research and development of new disciplinary approaches to artistic expressions, such as dance and theatre[255].

As the first Portuguese cultural programmer of the 1980s (cf. Ribeiro, 2007), Madalena Perdigão was aware of the transitional moment the Portuguese people were experiencing at that time in Portugal. And as an Europeanist (cf. *ibid.*), Perdigão believed it was important “to contribute to the definition of the European Ideal and to the unity of Europe, through several artistic and cultural actions seeking to develop the formation of a European citizen” (Perdigão, 1989 cited in *ibid.*). The ACARTE was, thus, created also to become an active element of/for that formation: its multidisciplinary approach and its openness towards the confluence of several cultures was simultaneously reflective of and conducive to the further construction of the European project. In this respect, the ACARTE’s work was twofold: it established structures of communication and networks of cooperation with various artistic and cultural entities featuring artistic creation and creativity development purposes, while showcasing, discussing, and teaching those same processes of creation and their results to the general public in Lisbon. These strategies can be considered to have been socio-cultural and anthropological in nature, since they functioned on the basis of bringing together different European artistic groups with the objective of creating a work founded upon the process of exchange of socio-cultural heritages and experiences between them, generating a final result capable of expressing an identity (or at least the attempt to formulate one) – as the discussion of the ACARTE Meetings in section 4.2.3. will attest to.

The ACARTE traced a path of exceptionality, following in the footsteps of the FCG and the CAM’s museum, as was previously mentioned, but the ACARTE – as was mandatory for exceptionality to be achieved – would do it differently. Within an almost fully postmodern and European horizon, the ACARTE would find its role to be one of renovation. In the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, the FCG had introduced cultural policies which the country had been needing for decades – that transformative practice had to start at the beginning and bring into late-50s, early-60s Portugal much of the artistic and cultural policies’ work which had taken place in the immediate post-war years throughout much of Europe and in the U.S.A.. The CAM too, would have to adapt its exhibition policies to the needs of the early 80s Portuguese public – as the nation’s first modern art museum, the CAM had to trace back all of the art history which had been left out by the former regime, for example. The ACARTE – with a

[255] V. section 4.2.3.

radically different institutional role when compared to the FCG or even the CAM – came to be in the mid-80s, with the dictatorship years and even the (post)revolutionary years already at a distance and the European framework approaching at a fast pace. Instead of attempting to (re)trace the lines of what Portugal had missed at several artistic levels, the ACARTE brought to the artistic and cultural fields the formats which Portugal had lacked – open forums for debates and discussions, the organisation and coordination of the infrastructures required for artistic creation, an artistic education based on some of the most notable lines of thought from the 60s and 70s, etc. – but those formats would be sustained by fully contemporary works, or based on contemporary readings and/or remakes of less recent works[256].

The understanding of contemporaneity – its societal, political, cultural, and educational challenges – was processed through artistic creation, its interpretation by the public, and the artistic creation's consequential influence on that same contemporaneity. It was within this hermeneutic circle – Perdigão believed – that the public's subjectivity was produced (cf. Bal, 1999) at the time: "the major artistic genres […] f[ound] themselves in a process of continuous evolution in order to be able to respond to society's demands – with society in a process of evolution itself – and in order to meet the genres' own intrinsic needs for development and progress" (Perdigão, 1979: 234). The transformation of society allowed for new forms of artistic intervention (cf. *ibid.*) which in turn provided for new perspectives on society's ongoing changes. Artists and authors would, then, be responsible for devising mediation mechanisms enabling the reflective/conducive process of interplay between the arts and society in constru(ct)ing a sense of contemporaneity and its meanings. In its search to establish a close contact with the public – which it "will[ed] to be critical and not just a mere consumer" (*idem*, 1984: 1) – the ACARTE understood the importance of providing the public with the opportunities and the adequate tools to participate in that meaning-making process.

At a time when in Portugal art museum visitors formed a rather homogeneous, highly educated group rooted in the upper classes and when visiting a museum was still very much connected to notions of 'highbrow' culture (cf. Tostões, 2006, 2009), the ACARTE sought to reach both the public and the non-public – which were not characterised by a uniform engagement with artistic and cultural events. It can, therefore, be considered that the

[256] As was the case with the ACARTE's first production, the *Almada Negreiros Cycle*, in 1984 (v. section 4.2.2.).

ACARTE had a strong and consistent public-oriented approach. Not in the sense that it exchanged "the canonical, auratic art and educative-formative pretensions for an emphasis upon the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and the immediately accessible" (Featherstone, 1991: 96-97), but in the sense that it sought to reach out to the public and propose activities that would endow people with interpretative tools and frames of reference for engaging with artworks. The ACARTE aimed at contributing to a different relation to and a different perception of the role of art and culture in society.

Through its multiple and innovative approaches to art communication (the thematic multidisciplinary approach, the artistic formation, and the education through art), the ACARTE laid out the grounds for the formation of what Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has called "interpretive communities" (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Hooper-Greenhill has applied the notion – developed by Fish (1980) for an analysis of the readers' appreciation of texts in the museum space – to the idea that groups of people could share the same ways of understanding, evaluating, and representing specific artworks and ideas (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Hopper-Greenhil, Moussouri, Hawthorne, and Riley, 2001). The existence of these interpretive communities is evidenced not by socio-economic factors, nor by class, age, or gender, but through their usage of common repertoires and strategies employed in the interpretation of artistic and cultural expressions. Interpretive communities tend to discursively engage with art and culture in the same way, sharing principles of classification, legitimation, and justification (cf. Whitehead, 2012) when applying interpretative strategies to cultural and artistic goods – formed and developed in the communicational interactions, in this case, with the ACARTE. The formation and development of interpretive communities entails not only the creation of shared modes of viewing and shared frames of interpretation of artworks, but also a shared idea (developed over time) of how art, culture, but also art museums and cultural centres contribute to society and to society's notions and appreciation of art and culture inside those spaces.

The ACARTE wanted to develop a new concept of art fruition, one where the process of creation and reception would be dialogical, and where different sets of tools and frames of reference would be made available to enrich the responses from each side. The ACARTE created a different theory for what the culture of an art centre should be by developing new practices and by focusing on a public-oriented approach of information and interpretation. With the clear intention of generating a critical response from the public's participation in

the discussion of several (often contradictory) viewpoints, the ACARTE opposed the uncritical celebration of artworks. It was the ACARTE's standpoint that visitors should be encouraged to contribute to the cultural debates which surrounded contemporary art – as well as the institutions and entities promoting it – rather than just be the recipients of transmitted culture by the pre-digested authoritative voices of the art centre or museum. The role of the art centre was to provide plural responses to a given artwork, but also to include the public in its interpretations, so that other voices apart from those of the CAM or the ACARTE could contribute to the collective understanding of works of art. The public's role was then shifted from one of mere consumer to one of active participatory and contributing stakeholder in the meaning-making process.

4.2.2. Artistic territories of contemporaneity and a new space of non-conformity

The ACARTE understood the importance of providing the public with the opportunities and the adequate tools to participate in the meaning-making process, but it also understood the pivotal necessity of contributing to the production and creation end of that same process. Supporting artists in their training and in their work was another one of the ACARTE's central roles in Lisbon's artistic and cultural panorama. The ACARTE coordinated and produced many of its presentations, which often included the presence of experts and well-regarded professionals from different artistic and academic fields – "university professors, sociologists, poets, artists, and art critics" (Perdigão, 1985: 130) – in the organisation of workshops and seminars to further contribute to the education of young artists. According to Pinto Ribeiro, "[t]he continuity of the contemporary artistic heritage depends on the [cultural institutions'] programming, which, in turn, undoubtedly depends on [their acts of] commissioning and producing [artworks]" (Ribeiro, 2007: 375). Perdigão was well aware of these facts, and that may be the reason why a big part of the ACARTE's work focused on the production and coproduction of music, dance, and theatre performances at national and international levels (cf. *ibid.*), as well as on the commissioning of specific multidisciplinary works for thematic exhibitions/presentations.

Such was the case with the ACARTE's first production series which was organised in coordination with the CAM's "Retrospective Exhibition of Almada Negreiros" in 1984. Two Portuguese artists were invited to (re)think and work on new presentations of some of Almada's theatre play writings, while another two were invited to present the results of either new or ongoing projects based on Almada's life and work. Composed of two theatre performances, one multidisciplinary presentation (including theatre, music, dance, and documentary cinema), one multimedia show (footage, photography, and sound recording), an exhibition, and a colloquium (cf. FCG, 2008), the *Almada Negreiros Cycle* (v. figs. 4.37. to 4.41.) would be the first opportunity for the ACARTE to present its programming principles and guidelines to the public. It was a considerably comprehensive, multi- and cross-disciplinary reflection on the life work of one of the foundational artists of Portuguese Modernism, which

showcased the ACARTE's innovative and experimental approach to art presentation – even when based on modernist works[257]. Madalena Perdigão would justify her choice thusly:

> Because he was a great Portuguese artist. And because he was a man of multifaceted talents which allow for the creation of multidisciplinary cultural expressions. Because his work is of a special significance to the CAM, being on display in the entrance hallway to the galleries. Because he was always a man of the future, a risk taker, and a non-conformist. […] Because Almada's [work] is ripe with newness and carries within it the stamp of modernity.
>
> (Perdigão, 1984a: 2).

The characteristics which Perdigão attributed to Almada's work mirrored the ones she associated with the ACARTE and the ACARTE's purposes. The *Almada Negreiros Cycle* not only demonstrated the kind of relationship the ACARTE would develop and sustain with the artists (commissioning new work and supporting ongoing projects) and showcased the type of multidisciplinary approach it would present to the public (under various thematic formats and subjects), but it also illustrated quite well the CAM's objectives as an art centre. It was important to review some of the foundational Portuguese artists' works so as to get to know and understand the pathways which led to the current state of the arts, but such a review needed to be put within a contemporary framework, i.e., it had to be conducted for the sake of understanding the past, but with the purpose of promoting the furtherance of art "as source of individual and social progress" (*idem*, 1984: 2), mirroring, thus the type of genealogical work characteristic of Foucault's critique.

The ACARTE intended to provide the Portuguese public with the "most innovative [creations] happening in the world in the 1980s" (Ribeiro, 2007: 372). As was discussed in 4.2., the ACARTE would become one of the key elements in the transformation of Lisbon's culturalscape. By creating – along with the CAM's museum – a new exhibitionary complex, the ACARTE shaped the ways of experiencing, the meanings, and the modes of reception, of a new reality in Lisbon: artistic and cultural cosmopolitanism. This was done by raising the national standards to a European level and by presenting the Portuguese public with national, E.E.C., Eastern Europe, U.S.A., and world-wide representations of contemporaneity via a multitude of artistic expressions, many times put together as cultural festivals. Some of the most noteworthy events which presented contemporaneity and avant-gardism in their

[257] "Pier Paolo Pasolini (1985), Arshile Gorky (1984), Fernando Pessoa (1985), Cesário Verde (1986), Federico García Lorca, Shakespeare, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1987), Joseph Beuys, Loïe Fuller, Marta Graham, Isadora Duncan (1991) and Picasso (1993) are some of the reference authors whose work was discussed and divulged" (FCG, 2008: 258).

multiple facets during the ACARTE's first decade were the following: the *Jazz em Agosto*[258] [Jazz in August] (since 1984) (v. figs. 4.42., 4.43.); the Exhibition-Dialogue on Contemporary Art in Europe (1985); the Portuguese-speaking African Countries' Arts and Letters Days[259] (1985); the 80s' Video-clips[260] (1986); the ACARTE Meetings[261] (1987-2001); the Good Practices of Cultural Policies' Festivals[262] (1992-1994); the Nordic Festival – Theatre-Dance-Music-Cinema-Video[263] (1992); the North-Rhine Westphalia Festival – Culture in a German Region[264] (1993); the French Festival – The Culture of Decentralisation[265] (1994); as well as the events regarding New Dance[266] and new technologies[267] (cf. FCG, 2008) (v. figs. 4.44. to 4.47.). Both the public and the media revealed quite enthusiastic responses, with people very often queuing outside the CAM to get tickets to the shows – which would almost always be sold out – and with the younger generations of journalists and critics being

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[258] "The *Jazz em Agosto* festivals included as complementary activities: conferences, round-tables, cinema sessions, master-classes, and workshops" (FCG, 2008: 265).

[259] "These 'Days' were the first big initiative of its kind organised after the independence of the Portuguese former colonies, signaling the ACARTE's interest in paying attention to extra-European cultures" (*ibid.*: 260).

[260] "The Fine-Arts Department invited the ACARTE to organise the presentation of a series of video-clips to integrate the cinema cycle *The Musical* […] [;] [which included a] selection of videos directed by Andy Warhol, Anton Corbijn, [etc.]" (*ibid.*).

[261] V. section 4.2.3..

[262] "At a moment when the cultural policies to be developed in Portugal were being discussed, the ACARTE found it useful to organise a comparison with cultural policies from other countries" (*ibid.*: 270).

[263] "The Nordic Festival, dedicated to the culture of Scandinavian countries, was held in collaboration with the Nordic Council of Ministers, along with the Embassies of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, and its opening session was a round-table entitled *The Cultural Policies in Nordic Countries*" (*ibid.*).

[264] "This programme included exhibitions, conferences, cinema – animation, documentary, and fiction – video cycles, music and dance workshops, dance and theatre performances, and a jazz concert" (*ibid.*).

[265] "The programme included: the colloquium *The Policies of Cultural Decentralisation*, presented and debated by actors and agents of French cultural policy; the seminar *Management of Theatre Activities in France*, directed by Denis Arié; along with exhibitions, theatre and dance performances, a concert, and a theatre workshop" (*ibid.*: 271).

[266] "After the presentation of a small company directed by American choreographer Molissa Fenley in 1984, [...] Perdigão asked several companies/theatres in France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany for suggestions of small dance groups or companies to present in January 1986. The replies were swift and the proposals so interesting that three moments of presentation were organised: one in January where the starking choreographies and solos by Susanne Linke and Elsa Wolliaston, and Claude Brumachon's company were presented; another one in November entitled Contemporary Dutch Dance Showcase; and another in January 1987 entitled Contemporary European Dance showcasing Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker's Rosas Company (v. fig. 4.44.), the Karine Saporta Company, as well as the Images Dance Company. [...] [D]ance workshops and demonstration-conferences, directed by choreographers or by members of the hired companies, were a constant element of the ACARTE's programming. [...] [Featuring workshops directed by choreographers/companies such as] Wim Vandekeybus (1990) and Malou Airado from the Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch (1992), the conditions for the development of the Portuguese New Dance were created" (*ibid.*: 261).

[267] "*L'Écran Humain* (1985) (v. fig. 4.47.) was the first show presented by the ACARTE which used the new technologies in an advanced way, underlying a concept of multimedia integration of the performer's body (mime, dancer, actor, musician) and of the scenographic set of images projected onto multiple screens, onto screen-objects, screen-figurines, screen-bodies. In order to familiarise Portuguese artists with these concepts, the creators of the show, Paul St. Jean and Carlo Bengio, held the Molecul'Art workshop" (*ibid.*).

very much supportive of the novelty factor and of the intellectual stimulation provided by the ACARTE's programming[268] (cf. Ribeiro, 2007).

The Exhibition-Dialogue on Contemporary Art – previously reviewed as one of the constitutive elements of the CAM's early institutional identity – was also the corner stone of the ACARTE's programming in the mid-80s. The ACARTE's participation in this event, through "the coproduction of a set of shows and interventions in the Performance field" (*ibid.*: 373) (v. fig. 4.48.), allowed for, not certainly the first[269], but a much more structured and comprehensive contact of the Portuguese public with the work of some of the foundational artists of the international performance, body, and multimedia art fields (Wolf Vostel, Marina Abramović, Ulrike Rosenbach, etc.). It was also a great opportunity for the Portuguese public to get to know some of the most innovative work which was being developed in those fields and conducted by European artists (Jack Helen Brut, Jan Fabre, etc.). An example of that contact with novel and contemporary works was "the show *The Power of Theatrical Madness*[270] (v. fig. 4.49) by Jan Fabre, which had premiered at the 1983 Venice Biennial, [and] was the Portuguese public's first contact with the new European theatre-dance which was emerging mainly in Belgium, Holland, and France" (FCG, 2008: 260). This first example of the ACARTE's internationalist character illustrates the ways in which the ACARTE was one of the main contributors to the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape. The city had left behind decades of overseas colonial imperialism, dictatorship, and general underdevelopment, and was looking to reposition itself within the new postmodern European horizon. To witness the corporeal displays of urban, cosmopolite, European bodies, acting, moving, and performing the symbolical construing and metaphorical formation of a renewed

[268] Madalena Perdigão would, however, express some concerns regarding the impact – or lack thereof – of the ACARTE's programming in the renewal of the Portuguese artists' practices: "It worries me that we make this effort to bring modernity to the Portuguese public, and the public responds satisfyingly, but the artists, who should be the most interested ones, do not come to see the shows and do not reach for that information opportunity. I do not know how we are going to solve this because I feel there is clearly a gap between what the Portuguese artists know and what is being done abroad. It is necessary that the Portuguese artists also know… The public already knows." (Listopad, 1988).

[269] V. section 3.1.2., namely the analysis of the *Alternativa Zero* event.

[270] Portuguese critic José Ribeiro da Fonte summarised the Portuguese public's reactions to that show in the following review: "It has been now a while since I have left – mesmerised! – from a show called *The Power of Theatrical Madness* and find myself still and always coming back to it: intrigued, fascinated, dumbfounded before the preparation and the technical performance of those twenty people! […] The Lisboan public, unaccustomed to such minimalisms, yawned and left the room in boredom. The ones who stayed rose in standing ovation! Because they saw in Lisbon a show of such rigour and quality which is rarely seen anywhere in the world" (Fonte, 1985: 29).

artistic and cultural identity was a highly significant moment in the societal and cultural life of the city and of its citizens (cf. Vieira, 2014). As Ribeiro puts it:

> The impact of these presentations was disconcerting. But the public proved to be curious and responded increasingly well to the programming as it unrolled, reflecting the existing confrontation with an iconoclastic offer of shows which went beyond the histories of Portuguese modernism and even beyond [what had been presented at] the *Alternativa Zero* […]. The Exhibition-Dialogue was, for performance arts and for the ACARTE's programming, a clear legitimation of its avant-garde, experimentalist, and creative character, which would turn the ACARTE into an undisputed place of reference.
> (Ribeiro, 2007: 374).

Some of the ACARTE's main objectives in its development of an artistic(ally) and cultural(ly) (informed) programming were, thus, to challenge preconceptions and to enable plurality to take place in the art centre; to create and promote different ways of experiencing art as well as encourage their coexistence, and to allow the public the opportunity to think them over and process them; to bring into the art centre space the debates which were being held outside the art centre sphere and, based on those, to take the opportunity to unveil other forms of thinking about art and culture. The ACARTE was able to uphold and present what can be regarded as equally important, though opposite, reference points such as tradition and experimentation, past and contemporaneity, rurality and urbanity, modernity and postmodernity, locality and cosmopolitanism, mainstream and avant-garde. All of these – apparently conflicting – standpoints were allowed to coexist and the different stands were constantly open to examination and debate in a continuous work of reinvention and definition. As one of the essential elements of Lisbon's very first art centre, the ACARTE sought to reinvent the artistic-cultural space in Portugal by adopting a more self-reflective position regarding its role in society and its responsibilities before art, culture, the artists, and the public. The ACARTE's stance when it initially started developing its activities in Lisbon mirrored what Janet Marstine described over 20 years later as being characteristic of a new museum theory and practice: "frames are challenged, fragmented, and made transparent as the [art centre] declares itself an active player in the making of meaning [;] [w]hat is typically marginalized or beyond the frame is brought inside of it to dissolve the frame itself" (Marstine, 2006: 5). The ACARTE was, therefore, never a one-way mirror of the development of the artistic and cultural fields, it was, on the contrary, actively shaping them, acting as a mediator between artistic and cultural expressions and the new emerging publics.

The ACARTE also aimed at tackling the issue of having people be and feel alienated by contemporary multidisciplinary visual, performance, and multimedia art. The strategies set in motion to try to overcome this issue were underpinned by an artistic education programme which proposed an integrative engagement with the different art fields and subject matters – be it through talks, lectures, or conferences by theoretical and academic experts on the overall themes of exhibitions and shows[271], be it through seminars and workshops given by professional artists during festivals[272], be it also through encouraging a continuous and systemic, yet completely informal, relationship to artistic expressions[273] (cf. Ribeiro, 2007). By developing a wide-range artistic and cultural programming, the ACARTE sought to reiterate the notion that artworks can be thought of in many different ways, as well as approached through various points of access to reach their meaning(s). The ACARTE focused on the roles played by cultural animation and education through art as mechanisms which allowed the public to relate the artworks with/to many forms of knowledge, and, thus, help them learn to develop a sense of critical thinking regarding the possibility of multiple readings. Cultural and artistic communication practices were, therefore, a central issue in the formation and development of that sense of possibility for multiple readings and interpretations – as it was for the notion of interpretive communities, previously discussed. Being productive and constitutive forces which engage all the entities that have entered into it, the communication practices promoted by the ACARTE were not a unilateral nor just a one-way process of communication, which ensured that the potential outcomes would be much more fruitful. Art and culture were not merely presented and reflected; because of the ongoing process of communication established between the ACARTE and its different publics, art and culture were debated, created, thought about, questioned, and shared.

This way, the ACARTE became a space for the discussion of ideas, a space where the links between certain schools of art and certain schools of philosophical, academic, social, economic, and political thought and their repercussions in the various urban fields, could be explained, debated, and redesigned. At that point in time, not only did the ACARTE offer a sense of novelty and the chance for experimentation (to the public at large and not just to an

[271] A few examples were the events: "'1984: Is the Future Today already?' (December 1984); 'Science Fiction in Cinema and Literature' (1985); 'The Portuguese-speaking African Countries' Arts and Letters Days' (1985); 'The Relationships between Theatre and the Audiovisual in Europe' (1987); 'Perspectives in Dance in the late 20th Century' (1988); 'The Sacred and Cultures' (1989); etc. (Ribeiro, 2007: 375).
[272] Such as during the *Jazz em Agosto* festivals, the ACARTE Meetings, etc.
[273] One example was the *Concertos à Hora de Almoço* [Concerts at Lunchtime].

already culturally knowledgeable public), but its activities were also underpinned by the notion of endowing that same public with the capability of acting on symbolic boundaries to create their own reflexive project (cf. Giddens, 1991). That reflexivity was to be taken by the public as a gained resource, as a source of cultural capital that would allow them to construe their own notions of art and culture in relation to the concepts of urbanity, citizenship, identity, and cosmopolitanism.

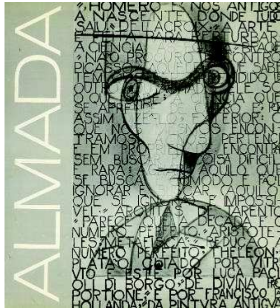

Figure 4.37. - Catalogue of the CAM's exhibition *Almada* in 1984

Figure 4.38. - *Os desenhos de Almada n'O Sempre Fixe*, published by the CAM in 1984.

Figure 4.39. - *Deseja-se Mulher*, a play by Almada Negreiros, produced by the ACARTE in 1984

Figure 4.40. - *Deseja-se Mulher*: attending audience at the CAM's multi-purpose room

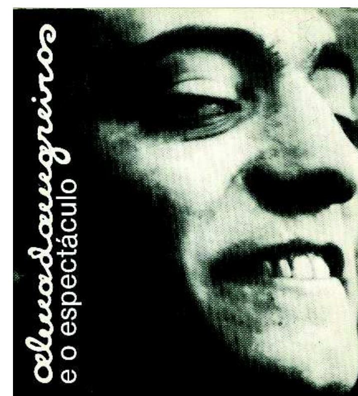

Figure 4. 41. - Catalogue *Almada Negreiros e o espectáculo* [*Almada Negreiros and the theatre*], 1984

Figure 4.42. - *Jazz em Agosto*, Sun Ra Arkestra concert, 1985

Figure 4.43. - Audience attending the Sun Ra Arkestra concert

Figure 4.44. - Contemporary European Dance: *Rosas Danst Rosas* by Compagnie Rosas, choreography by Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker, the CAM's multi-purpose room, 1987

Figure 4.45. - *Aspects of Contemporary Dance Walk-in*, by Stephen Petronio, 1987

Figure 4.46. - Complementary activity to the Art and Technology Colloquium, *O Lagarto do Âmbar* [*The Amber Lizard*], produced by the ACARTE, 1987

Figure 4.47. - Multimedia fortnight, *L'Écrain Humain*, by Paul St. Jean and Carlo Bengio, 1985

Figure 4.48. - Exhibition-Dialogue: *Performance Interior Maldito* [*Damned Interior Peformance*], by Carlos Gordilho, 1985

Figure 4.49. - Exhibition-Dialogue: *The Power of Theatrical Madness*, by Jan Fabre, 1985

4.2.3. ACARTE Meetings: symbolic situations and the formation of a public

The *Encontros ACARTE* [ACARTE Meetings] were one of the most important and significant moments of the ACARTE's programming. These yearly festivals (1987-2001) – particularly the first four editions – were the embodiment of virtually all of the objectives listed in the ACARTE's mission statement, which would be summarised by Perdigão in 1985:

> Our policy is an internationalist one, as suits a country that wishes to open itself to the world and a Foundation that is devoted to the furtherance of world art. The ACARTE neither subscribes to a narrow, national view, nor does it have prejudices against particular artistic genres or forms of expression that some may consider less sublime. Rather than favouring certain schools or movements in art, we attempt to promote continual innovation and experimentation.
>
> (Perdigão, 1985: 129).

The ACARTE Meetings would become a point of reference of Portugal's initial coproduction and co-organisation of cultural projects within the E.E.C., greatly contributing to the aforementioned rethinking of a Portuguese national identity within a process of formation of a sense of European citizenship and cultural identity. In the presentation text of the 1987 ACARTE Meetings, Perdigão would highlight the importance of dialoguing with the world, getting to know the other countries' enriching qualities, as well as the value of wanting to give back by sharing some of our own distinctive qualities and artistic and cultural riches (cf. *idem*, 1987).

In 1986 Portugal officially joined the E.E.C. and it was in that same year that the ACARTE Meetings' preparation would take place. Together with George Brugmans – artistic director of the Springdance festival in Utrecht, Netherlands – and Roberto Cimetta – artistic director of the Inteatro festival in Polverigi, Italy – Madalena Perdigão would develop the most impactful and influential avant-garde artistic and cultural programme to take place in the city of Lisbon in the late 80s. In September 1987, the FCG and the CAM's spaces[274] held the first ACARTE Meetings – The New Theatre/Dance of Europe (1987-1990). The designation of the festival underlined two of the event's main purposes: to be a favourable space for festival and company directors, groups, and artists to meet (cf. FCG, 2008) and exchange ideas; and "to raise European levels [of artistic practice] through the comparison

[274] The ACARTE Meetings theatre and dance performances were almost always held at the FCG's Grand Auditorium as well as at the CAM's multi-purpose room and outdoor amphitheatre. Throughout the duration of the festival the FCG's gardens would also be used for ACARTE Meetings' activities.

of, and dialogue between, the several theatre and dance companies of the E.E.C. and Eastern Europe countries" (Perdigão, 1991: 50).

Based on the idea of a European artistic dialogue and interchange (much like the Exhibition-Dialogue event analysed in section 4.1.2.) as the way for a hermeneutic (trans)formation and understanding of European cultural identity/identities and citizenship(s), the ACARTE Meetings – The New Theatre/Dance of Europe were composed of a number of shows, conferences, debates, and interactions with the public (cf. Ribeiro, 2007) (v. figs. 4.50. to 4.57.). The ACARTE Meetings brought to Lisbon – for the first time – some of the most respected names in the performing arts world, such as Reinhild Hoffmann[275] in 1988, and Tadeusz Kantor[276] and Pina Bausch[277] in 1989 (cf. FCG, 2008). However, the ACARTE did not intend to "limit itself to presenting works of the conventional circuit […], but s[ought] to promote companies that [we]re not so well-known in Portugal, as well as companies which [we]re still at an experimental phase" (Perdigão, 1991: 50). Like in much of the ACARTE's work, innovation and novelty were key features of the ACARTE Meetings, thus providing the Portuguese public with the opportunity to come into contact with some of Europe's promising (then) newcomers, such as Wim Vandekeybus[278] in 1987, and Josef Nadj[279] and Jean-Claude Gallota[280] in 1988.

The public's, as well as the critics', responses to the ACARTE Meetings were very positive. The format of the festivals allowed for the public in general to gain access to, as well as attain a more structured knowledge of, what was going on in the world of European performing arts, either via the shows themselves, or through the participation in the parallel conferences and debates with renowned experts, and also in the dialogue-meetings with the artists (cf. FCG, 2008) which enabled the public to achieve a greater understanding of the current state of affairs in artistic and cultural production. In Perdigão's words, "[t]he first

[275] Reinhild Hoffmann (1943-) is a German choreographer and dancer who studied at the Volkwang School in Essen (along with Susanne Linke and Pina Bausch), and pioneered the dance theatre (Tanztheater) genre.

[276] Tadeusz Kantor (1915-1990) was a Polish artist and theatre director, renowned for his revolutionary theatrical productions; he was Director of the Teater-Cricot Company. "The 1989 ACARTE Meetings were inaugurated with the [author's] historical piece *Je ne reviendrai jamais*" (Ribeiro, 2007: 378).

[277] Pina Bausch (1940-2009) was a German choreographer, ballet director, and modern dance performer and teacher who pioneered the Tanztheater movement in the 1970s. The 1989 ACARTE Meetings came to a close with the premier of Pina Bausch in Portugal, who presented the Tanztheater Wuppertal Company performing the piece *Auf dem Gebirge hat man ein Geschrei gehört*.

[278] Wim Vandekeybus directed and presented the Ultima Vez Company performing *What the Body does not Remember* in the 1987 ACARTE Meetings.

[279] The Josef Nadj Company performed the piece *Canard Pékinois* in the 1988 ACARTE Meetings.

[280] Jean-Claude Gallota directed the Groupe Émile Dubois performing *Les Louves & Pandora* in the 1988 ACARTE Meetings.

ACARTE Meetings were a sort of a shock [;] [t]he impact was enormous amongst the Portuguese public and it attracted the attention of the European Commission to our country. […] In 1988 the interest of the public was confirmed and we searched for new paths to take" (Perdigão, 1989a). The third edition was quite impactful and it brought the debut of German choreographer and dancer Pina Bausch in Portugal, which gave origin to a sort of pilgrimage, with "excursions being organised by people coming from Oporto specifically to see the show" (Ribeiro, 2007: 378). The immediate reading of that phenomenon leads to an explanation based on Bausch's fame as well as on the quality of her company's repertoire and performances. However, a more in-depth reading must take into consideration the ACARTE's important role in the existence of the phenomenon described just above: it was the ACARTE – with its continued work – that created the symbolic situations which generated that type of public (and respective artistic-cultural identity) formation.

The ACARTE developed more than an artistic-cultural programme, it (re)structured "the context where the [public's] reception takes place" (Esquenazi, 2006: 92), establishing the opportunities and possibilities for new relationships to develop between artistic-cultural manifestations and the publics. The ACARTE provided the Portuguese public with a space for the arranging and ordering of the different steps required for the constru(ct)ing of a cultural citizenship. By fostering an "internationalist cultural policy, which based its fundamental source on European diversity" (Ribeiro, 2007: 379), Madalena Perdigão's ACARTE was a space where the Lisboan (and Portuguese) citizen could finally come into effective contact with a European contemporary and postmodern horizon. The work developed between 1984 and 1990/1991[281] featured some of the most relevant cultural and artistic policies for that time in Portugal. Perdigão's programming was able to provide the Portuguese public with a sense of European cultural citizenship and identity/identities at a moment when, in Portugal, the transition between late modernity and postmodernity was latent and not yet resolved. In being an internationalist artistic-cultural "real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours [of transition and in-between-ness was] disorderly, ill construed and sketchy" (Foucault, 2008[1967]: 21), the ACARTE became an example of what Foucault designated as heterotopias of compensation, which hold a specific function in relation to the rest of the space (cf. *ibid.*).

[281] Madalena Perdigão passed away in 1989, but had left the following years' programming prepared in advance.

That space of compensation served its purpose in the transitioning phase that Portugal – and particularly Lisbon's cultural and artistic panorama – were facing. The renovation and further development of that space, which created symbolical situations allowing for the processing of cultural realities and, therefore, for the development of structured cultural identities, would, however, not happen. Immediately after the end of Perdigão's programming, i.e. in the early 1990s, the ACARTE's role in Lisbon's culturalscape rapidly started to lose its edge, and its innovative character (cf. Ribeiro, 2007). At an international level, the ACARTE soon lost its relevance, as well. And while in the beginning the CAM had benefited from the ACARTE's notoriety, by 1999 the ACARTE no longer had the symbolical cultural capital required to stand on its own and was renamed CAM/ACARTE.

As will be addressed in the following chapter, throughout the 90s Portugal underwent an unprecedented artistic and cultural development, with a number of cultural institutions surging up in Lisbon's culturalscape (the Culturgest and the CCB were two of the most relevant examples). There was also an increase in the number of art galleries and in the number of private performance arts' production companies (cf. *ibid.*). The habit of contacting with international artistic-cultural expressions as well as the habit of producing and coordinating new and original work instituted by the ACARTE can be considered – at least – partly responsible for the 1990s boom in artistic-cultural productions. In 2003, after deciding that the purpose of the initial cultural policy and programme – put in motion by the ACARTE regarding performance-related artistic practices – had been achieved, that "those policies had changed the national panorama of those artistic practices, and that [the ACARTE] was a model which had been adopted and developed by other institutions throughout the country" (FCG, 2003: 61), the FCG's Board of Administration ended the ACARTE programme.

*

This chapter explored the CAM's and the ACARTE's mission statements, objectives, and guidelines, as well as their consequential activities, describing and discussing their exhibitionary complex effect in mid-1980s Lisbon. The first part of the following chapter will seek to delineate the late modernism/high modernism and postmodernism (national and international) debate, along with postmodernism's role as mediator between heritage and contemporaneity: all constitutive and moulding elements of the CAM's cultural cartography at

the turn of the millennium. The second part of the following chapter will then examine the varied levels at which (in service, publication, and exhibition formats) the CAM organised itself and its activities so as to reflect/perform an ongoing multicultural, pluri-vocal, trans-national postmodernity.

Figure 4.50. - ACARTE Meetings 1989: Wuppertaler Tanztheater,
***On the Mountain a Cry was Heard*, by Pina Bausch**

Figure 4.51. - ACARTE Meetings 1987: *Il Ladro di Anime*, by Giorgio Barberio Corsetti

Figure 4.52. - *Containers, a film in a movable monument*, installation by Johan Opstaele and J. Vaneessen, 1991

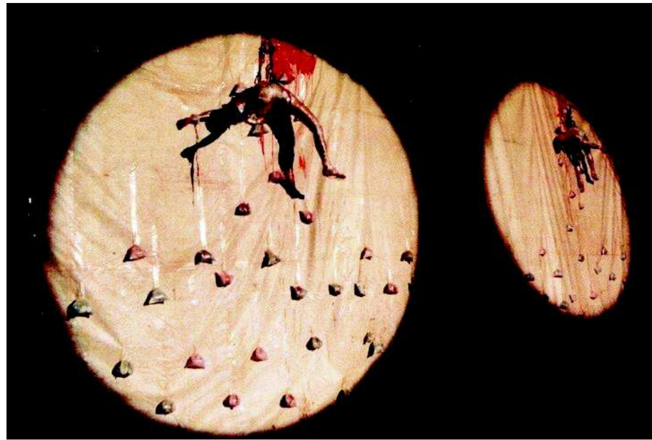

Figure 4.53. - ACARTE Meetings 1987: *Accions*, by La Fura dels Baus

Figure 4.54. - ACARTE Meetings, 1991: *Macbeth*, by Johann Kresnik

Figure 4.55. - ACARTE Meetings 1991: *The People of the Acid Rains*, by Duarte Barrilaro Ruas, produced by the ACARTE

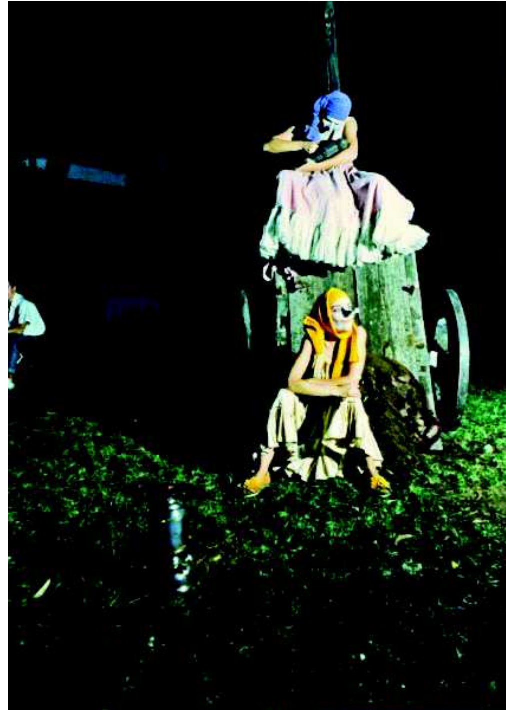

Figure 4.56. - ACARTE Meetings 1987: *Montedemo*, play by Hélia Correia, performed by Teatro O Bando

Figure 4.57. - ACARTE Meetings 1994: *Café Müller*, by Pina Bausch

5. READING HISTORY, WRITING ART, MAKING CULTURE: THE CAM'S RHETORIC OF (DIS)CONTINUITY

5.1. THE CULTURAL CARTOGRAPHY OF THE CAM AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM

> *You're standing in the middle of a small room. The wall ahead of you is all mirror. That behind you is also mirrored. Where you are standing is where the object in a museum is located; where your reflections are is where you, as a subject, as a museum user, are. Once outside the museum, all this is reversed.*
>
> (Preziosi, 2004: 71).

> *Museums, metaphorically and literally speaking, are not 'mirrors' and their representations are not mere 'reflections'. To produce a display in an art museum is not to hold a mirror to society, to reflect the state of contemporary art or whatever else. Likewise, the museum is no simple container in which to represent truth.*
>
> (Whitehead, 2012: 23).

The CAM's second decade of existence would reflect the changes in Lisbon's (and the nation's) culturalscape, as it would help to (re)shape certain categories in art history as well as some approaches to epistemology in the artistic, cultural, and educational fields. As the first modern art museum in Portugal the CAM "greatly contributed to the first historical revision of names from our modernity" (Ribeiro, 2007: 364), and as a museological space dedicated to modern and contemporary art the CAM was responsible for communicating and mediating Portuguese art of the 20th century to the public. As was discussed in the previous two chapters, the specific terms and particular contexts of such work during the period of the CAM's inauguration are the basis upon which the CAM's rhetoric of (dis)continuity – as a cultural meaning-making process – will be introduced. As will be addressed throughout the following three sections, the last two decades of the 20th century were characterised by the intensification of discourse regarding the end of the master-narratives and the increasing fulfilment of a postmodern era. The analysis of those socio-cultural realities and their interconnection in Portugal will help delineate what type of cultural cartography the CAM upheld at the turn of the millennium. As such, it will be argued that an art museum's cultural cartography both shapes and reflects societal changes at large.

Cultural cartography is a strategic concept in the analysis of how meaning is created and constru(ct)ed within the realm of the art museum (cf. Whitehead, 2012). This concept will allow for an analysis of the CAM's artworks as a system of signs that relate to each other in order to create meaning, helping to shed light on the subconscious map which members of a

culture use to read and understand art, its history, and its social and cultural implications (cf. *ibid.*). A museum is, therefore, not a mirror, but a space where media and discourses structure specific kinds of articulations between objects and between knowledges (cf. *ibid.*) to produce meanings and ways of seeing. The cultural cartography of a museum is a way of mapping out those objects and knowledges, delineating the articulations between them as cultural meaning-making processes. The sociologically and anthropologically based researches conducted in the field of Culture and Cultural Studies (namely in the works of authors such as Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, and James Clifford) have demonstrated that belonging to a culture enables people to share frameworks or maps of meaning that are used to order things, to understand the world, as well as to create, communicate, and exchange ideas and meanings. The museum can be regarded as one of the most important institutions playing a role in the creation of those shared frameworks or maps. Many Museum Studies scholars have demonstrated how museums work at a cartographic level. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has observed that the museum can be understood as a map since it works in selecting "from the totality of the world those aspects that can serve to depict it through ordering, classifying and constructing pictures of 'reality'" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: 16). A museum can, hence, be understood as a map, albeit one with a different potential for expression than the conventional plane surface map, namely as the museum enables and conveys a broader scope of narrativisation (cf. Whitehead, 2012).

> Maps are official, legitimating documents. They, like museums, have the authority of the official, the authenticated. They, like museums, are not neutral, may be inaccurate, may bear little relationship to territory – the concrete that they supposedly accurately reflect. Maps and museums both bring the world into an apparent single, rational framework, with unified, ordered, and assigned relationships between nature, the arts and cultures. Museums, like maps, construct relationships, propose hierarchies, define territories, and present a view. Through those things that are made visible and those things that are left invisible, views and values are created. These values relate to spaces, objects and identities.
>
> (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: 18).

It is the correlation created between these spaces, objects, and identities that creates knowledge in/of the cultural cartography of a museum. The language of an art museum's museography presents itself as one of the key elements in the analysis of what type of discourses are being presented to the public and, consequently, mediating the public's constructions (views and values) of art and of the culture it springs from, inhabits, and represents.

An art museum establishes practical and discursive relations of mutual construction, even if not completely straightforward ones, with art history and artistic practice (cf. Whitehead, 2012). Authors like Donald Preziosi, Christopher Whitehead, and Hans Belting have developed studies on this topic, with Belting, for example, characterising the construction of modernist art within the art museum space as:

> best described as avant-garde art reflecting the idea of linear progress, conquest, and novelty, thus testifying against its own culture as a dead and unwelcome past. Avant-garde, which as we should note, was originally a military term, made it possible to measure progress and innovation within the art context. Therefore, art history became necessary, which, in turn, needed art museums to display art history's materials and results.
>
> (Belting, 2003: 21).

This point of view is significant to understand not only the primary role of an art museum, but also to be able to see what are the issues at stake when analysing what an art museum means: what it means in itself and, perhaps more importantly, what it means by/through its statements regarding art, artistic practice and appreciation, the narratives and (art) histories it presents, and the view of the (art) world it offers its public. In order to obtain a wider scope of those varied, multiple-level meanings, it is essential to understand an art museum's particular cultural cartographies as they mutate and evolve over time and not just as they are presented at the moment of the museum's inauguration. An art museum's spatial nature and the discursive techniques which it adopts as it develops structure specific kinds of articulations between objects and between knowledges, and these articulations function by means of establishing elements of differentiation and clusters of narration (cf. Whitehead, 2011; 2012).

The action of differentiation, as described by Whitehead, "is implicit in the ways in which classificatory structures are developed and embodied" (Whitehead, 2012: 24). It subsumes the identification of categories and multiple levels of sub-categories and sub-divisions. The CAM is an art centre and an art museum which collects, fosters, and displays modern and contemporary art, hence, modern art and contemporary art are the main categories, and within each category it is possible to identify further sub-categories of art forms such as painting, sculpture, photography, video, installation, etc.. These are then subjected to sub-divisions of art movements – like Cubism, Expressionism, Dadaism, Surrealism, Pop Art, etc.. – which can appear, disappear, and transform throughout time depending on the cultural-artistic discourses constru(ct)ed regarding the socio-historical frameworks of both

past and present times. According to Whitehead, these sub-categories and sub-divisions "form disciplinary regimes of apprehension (including sensory apprehension), interpretation and understanding of the objects used to embody them" (Whitehead, 2012: 25). Within each context, political-epistemological choices are made which arise from the need for definition, while simultaneously subjecting the formation of the sub-categories and sub-divisions to problems of definition. What can be included and excluded from these becomes naturalised over time but only until the established definitions are forced into crisis by problematic boundary work[282].

What defines boundary work can derive from "the development of arguments, practices and strategies to justify particular divisions of knowledge and the strategies used to construct, maintain and push boundaries" (Whitehead, 2011: 53) or from the "set of differentiating activities that attribute selected characteristics to particular branches of knowledge on the basis of differing methods, values, stocks of knowledge and styles of organization" (Thompson Klein, 1993: 185). According to Professor of Humanities Julie Thompson Klein, boundary work becomes evident when it emerges from within (but at the same time in face of and/or as a response to) established and upheld canons[283] since these "create order by giving authority to certain texts, figures, ideas, problems, discursive strategies and historical narratives." (*ibid.*). However, Whitehead highlights the fact that Hooper-Greenhill presents the counter point of this argument by stating that even the conservation and reproduction of canon is divisive in its role of boundary maintenance because while "some are enabled to speak and are empowered […], others are silenced and marginalised" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: 21), which recalls Foucault's aphorism that "knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting" (Foucault, 1984: 88).

To paraphrase Whitehead, the issue of under which (disciplinary) kind of sub-category and sub-division a given work of art is placed and how it is positioned regarding other works of art inside the museum space is constitutive of difference and representative of the political-epistemological choices taken in making knowledge and creating meaning through embodied representations of the world (cf. Whitehead, 2012). "With disciplinary positioning comes entry into an epistemological regime – a prescribed way of knowing which informs

[282] The issue of the beginning of Portuguese modernism is an example (v. chapter 3. and section 5.2.3.).
[283] The denominated Bad Painting and New Painting movements are considered to be examples of postmodernist boundary work which redefined the canons of Western Painting.

display practices and forms of consumption – which is in dynamic relation with the development of discourses about categories of culture like art" (*ibid.*: 25). Here, Whitehead highlights the significance of disciplinary boundaries and the consequential election and adoption of specific epistemological regimes. As was mentioned throughout different sections of the previous chapter, the delineation of art historical time periods – i.e., the establishing of a rigid connection between given chronological, contextual, and conceptual frames and specific art movements/schools – and their pairing with exemplificative works of art from those periods/movements had been subjected to several processes of revision since the 1960s, especially with the advent of the new reading approaches brought about by the British Cultural Studies. The following three sections will address and discuss – from multiple perspectives – the issue of disciplinary and epistemological boundaries as cultural meaning-making processes inside the CAM's space.

The representation of the relationship established between objects is what constitutes narration in the art museum exhibition context (cf. *ibid.*). When in display in an exhibition, artworks and sets of artworks are placed in a certain order or sequence. Their positioning may be explicitly chronological with the purpose of telling "a literal story which unfolds in historical time" (*ibid.*: 26) (like a given artist's or a given art movement's development and evolution over time), or it may be set to represent a figurative and/or intellectual sequence, which will "nevertheless involve a here-and-now chronology of perception and cognition" (*ibid.*) (which dynamically engages the curator's ability to properly express her/his overall idea and concept for the exhibition and the visitor's ability to properly decode the message(s) of the exhibition). Hence,

> a narrative can emerge from the moments of a topic, where a story is cumulatively constructed through the opening of new dimensions and the gradual layering of strata of interpretation. This is done through the physical and thematic grouping of objects and, very often, the written interpretation which explains such groupings. Groupings of and relations between objects work to construct objects of higher order, for example the period room is both assemblage of objects and object in itself, both in its physicality and as an object of knowledge concerning domesticity and material culture.
>
> (*ibid.*: 26).

The type of sequential order (chronological, thematic, anthological, etc.) of the works of art in a given exhibition, the spatial layout of artworks within the museum space, and the degrees of (in)visibility which those aspects allow for are determinant factors in the acknowledgment of a given exhibition as purporting this or those idea(s) or message(s). Ultimately they are

also crucial factors in/for the establishment of frameworks of analysis and points of view regarding art and culture as constitutive elements of societal, anthropological, and philosophical developments (and vice-versa). Exhibitions can, thus, be thought of as means of communicating and mediating narratives, ways of perceiving knowledge and constru(ct)ing meaning.

As was previously mentioned, for Foucault discourse is what constructs the topic, it is what defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. Foucault's concept of discourse as representation practice – and his particular interest in the rules, the norms, and the practices that produce meaningful statements and regulate discourse – will be a key element in the analysis of the CAM's cultural cartography. According to Foucault, it is essential to look at the semantic field in which any given ideological sequence expresses meaning(s) (cf. Foucault, 1991). It is exactly the specificity of the semantic field that defines the way in which the topic can be studied and thought of in a signifying way. Discourses are considered to be a form of 'reference to' or a form of 'constructing knowledge about' a particular practice: a set of ideas, images, habits, that allow for the strategies necessary to talk about specific forms of knowledge and of conduct associated to a particular topic, social activity, or institutional place in a given society. These discursive formations define what is and what is not appropriate in the development of our practices in relation to a topic or activity. Moreover and more importantly to the subject at hand, they also define which knowledge is considered useful, relevant, and true within that context. The term 'discursive' has been employed as a general term to refer to an analytical approach in which meaning, representation, and culture are considered to be constitutive. It is the analysis and understanding of the discursive formations (cf. Foucault, 1991) of the CAM that will allow for a reading of its cultural cartography.

As will be addressed in the next section (and then exemplified and discussed in further detail in sections 5.1.2. and 5.1.3.), in the 1990s and early 2000s the CAM would redefine some of its key criteria for the organisation of permanent and temporary exhibitions, demonstrating a greater concern not only with making Portuguese contemporary art more accessible and intelligible to the public, but also with establishing clearer, albeit multiple, narratives on the chronological, material, conceptual, and thematic development of Portuguese art from the 20th century. Such a redefinition would be reflected in "the systematic organisation of anthological and retrospective exhibitions of already acclaimed Portuguese artists; in the

presentation of artists who were beginning their careers; in the display of foreign artists' work" (FCG, 2008: 142). The consistency of these exhibition formats would become one of the CAM's trademark signatures, and the resonance of the exhibitions by established and up-and-coming Portuguese artists would be quite significant in the construction of a history of Portuguese art in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The CAM's commitment to the permanent exhibition of Portuguese modern and contemporary art was a "very important [element] in Portugal's cultural and educational space" (*ibid.*); and its commitment to "developing a national collection with an international leaning [allowed the CAM to continue playing] a unique role in Portuguese culture in the 1990s" (Silva, 2014: 164).

The CAM's role in the development of Portuguese artistic culture and its place in the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape at the turn of the millennium can be read both as a continuation and a discontinuation of the work conducted in its early years. On the one hand, and despite the emergence of new cultural and artistic spaces in the city and the country[284], the CAM retained its place and its importance as the holder of the largest and most significant collection of 20th century Portuguese art (cf. Ribeiro, 2007; FCG, 2008; Silva, 2014). On the other hand, however, the ways in which that collection, as well as the CAM's British and international art collections, were displayed and conveyed to the public would come to change considerably. The CAM had initially concentrated a lot of effort in exhibiting artworks from the Portuguese early Modernism by following the French art historiography tradition as conducted by José-Augusto França[285], who had had a great influence on Sommer Ribeiro (cf. Silva, 2014). But as the CAM completed its first decade, the change in Directors would become apparent, not only through the redefinition of criteria for the organisation of exhibitions (what kind of exhibitions – v. previous paragraph), but also due to the type of art history and cultural approaches chosen when exhibiting the CAM's collection. As Whitehead observed,

> [t]his is an important issue in relation to the cartography of the art museum, […] the extent to which it admits contrary mappings, overcoming the ideological supremacy of accuracy and veracity as ultimate ideals towards which museums have generally tended to strive. One of the inherent problems of recognizing the multiplicity of meanings and possible interpretive processes and conclusions within an institutional context is that such multiplicity must be managed, represented and delimited so as to package it for public consumption.

[284] The cases of the CCB, the Culturgest Foundation, and the Serralves Foundation will be addressed ahead as examples.

[285] V. section 4.1.1..

(Whitehead, 2012: 90).

The contextual framework which led to those new approaches – generating new mappings and a multiplicity of meanings – and a few examples on how they came to fruition will be discussed in further detail throughout the next three sections.

5.1.1. Between the *After Modernism* and the postmodernisms of the 1980s

Postmodernism and the debate regarding postmodern cultural processes would come to define much of the national and international academic, artistic, and institutional panoramas. In Portugal, the transition between modernism and postmodernism was highly debated and its feasibility (at many levels) denied, put into question, or acclaimed as completely and urgently needed by scholars, artists, and intellectuals. The general question seems to have revolved around a divergent vision of how progress and development functioned, with some advocating that it was impossible to progress past something that had not been fully realised and fulfilled, and others proposing that development could only come from moving past what already is (even if it is not complete or well-rounded). As will be discussed in the following section, the change in Directors in 1994 would bring some transformations to the CAM's collecting and exhibiting strategies. In order to better understand the roots of and motivations for those transformations, it is necessary to go back to the early 1980s and briefly examine one of its most important international cultural debates as well as one of Lisbon's most relevant artistic manifestations of the decade.

In 1983 – the year the CAM was inaugurated – an influential anthology was published under the title *The Anti-Aesthetic – Essays on Postmodern Culture*, containing essays by Jürgen Habermas[286], Rosalind Krauss[287], Douglas Crimp[288],

[286] Jürgen Habermas (1929-) is a German sociologist and philosopher in the tradition of critical theory and pragmatism. His contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "Modernity – An Incomplete Project", v. Habermas, 1983. Foster summarised Habermas's argument: "Jiirgen Habermas poses the basic issues of a culture heir to the Enlightenment – of modernism and the avant-garde, of a progressive modernity and a reactionary postmodernity. He affirms the modern refusal of the "normative" but warns against "false negations"; at the same time, he denounces (neoconservative) antimodernism as reactionary. Opposed to both revolt and reaction, he calls for a critical reappropriation of the modern project" (Foster, 1983: xii).

[287] Rosalind Krauss (1941-) is an American art critic, art theorist, and a professor. Her contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "Sculpture in the Expanded Field", v. Krauss, 1983. Foster summarised Krauss's argument: "Rosalind Krauss details how the logic of modern sculpture led in the '60s to its own deconstruction – and to the deconstruction of the modern order of the arts based on the Enlightenment order of distinct and autonomous disciplines. Today, she argues, "sculpture" exists as but one term in an "expanded field" of forms, all derived structurally. This, for Krauss, constitutes the postmodernist break: art conceived in terms of structure, not medium, oriented to "cultural terms"" (Foster, 1983: xiii).

[288] Douglas Crimp (1944-) is an American professor in art history. His contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "On the Museum's Ruins", v. Crimp, 1983. Foster summarised Crimp's argument: "Douglas Crimp also posits the existence of a break with modernism, specifically with its definition of the plane of representation. In the work of Robert Rauschenberg and others, the "natural", uniform surface of modernist painting is displaced, via photographic procedures, by the thoroughly cultural, textual site of the postmodernist picture. This aesthetic break, Crimp suggests, may signal an epistemological break with the very "table" or "archive" of modern knowledge. This he then explores vis-à-vis the modern institution of the museum, the authority of which rests on a representational conceit – a "science" of origins that does not hold

Fredric Jameson[289], Jean Baudrillard[290], Edward Saïd[291], amongst others. This collection of essays took on the task of discussing postmodernism as a way of challenging (deconstructing) the modernist ways of thinking about the world. By highlighting the fact that the postmodern debate was already unfolding in the conceptual fields of aesthetics, interpretation and criticism, and space and time, postmodern culture was asserted and postmodernism was thought of in that publication "not just as an artistic style but as a condition of life in a media-saturated global village, in the context of the shifting class and culture formations of post-industrial societies" (D'Alleva, 2012: 144). In his introduction to this collection of essays, Hal Foster, art critic and editor of the *Postmodern Culture*, distinguishes between two types of postmodernism: a postmodernism of resistance and a postmodernism of reaction (cf. Foster, 1983). According to Foster,

> [t]he postmodernism of reaction is far better known: though not monolithic, it is singular in its repudiation of modernism. […] Modernism is reduced to a style (e.g. "formalism" or the International Style) and condemned, or excised entirely as a cultural mistake; pre- and postmodern elements are then elided, and the humanist tradition is preserved. […] A postmodernism of resistance, then, arises as a counter-practice not only to the official

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up to scrutiny. Thus, he asserts, is the homogeneous series of works in the museum threatened, in postmodernism, by the heterogeneity of texts". (Foster, 1983: xiii).

[289] Fredric Jameson (1934-) is an American literary critic and Marxist political theorist. His contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "Postmodernism and Consumer Society", v. Jameson, 1983. Foster summarised Jameson's argument: "Fredric Jameson […] notes, for example, that pastiche has become our ubiquitous mode (in film, especially), which suggests not only that we are awash in a sea of private languages but also that we wish to be recalled to times less problematic than our own. This in turn points to a refusal to engage the present or to think historically – a refusal that Jameson regards as characteristic of the "schizophrenia" of consumer society". (Foster, 1983: xiv).

[290] Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007) was a French sociologist, philosopher, and cultural theorist. His contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "The Ecstasy of Communication", v. Baudrillard, 1983. Foster summarised Baudrillard's argument: "Jean Baudrillard also reflects upon our contemporary dissolution of public space and time. In a world of simulation, he writes, causality is lost: the object no longer serves as a mirror of the subject, and there is no longer a "scene", private or public – only "ob-scene" information. In effect, the self becomes a "schizo", a "pure screen ... for all the networks of influence". (Foster, 1983: xiv).

[291] Edward Saïd (1935-2003) was a Palestinian-American literary theorist, cultural critic, and critical-theorist on post-colonialism. His contribution to the *Postmodern Culture* volume was titled "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies and Community", v. Saïd, 1983. Foster summarised Saïd's argument: "To Said, the postmodern crossing of lines is mostly apparent: the cult of "the expert", the authority of "the field" still hold. Indeed, a "doctrine of noninterference" is tacitly assumed whereby "the humanities" and "politics" are held aloof from each other. But this only acts to rarefy the one and free the other, and to conceal the affiliations of both. As a result, the humanities come to serve in two ways: to disguise the unhumanistic operation of information and "to represent humane marginality". Here, then, we have come full circle: the Enlightenment, the disciplinary project of modernity, now mystifies; it makes for "religious constituencies", not "secular communities", and this abets state power. For Said (as for the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci) such power resides as much in civil institutions as in political and military ones. Thus, like Jameson, Said urges an awareness of the "hegemonic" aspects of cultural texts and proposes a counter-practice of interference. Here (in solidarity with Frampton, Owens, Ulmer ...), he cites these strategies: a critique of official representations, alternative uses of informational modes (like photography), and a recovery of (the history of) others". (Foster, 1983: xiv-xv).

> culture of modernism but also to the "false normativity" of a reactionary postmodernism. In opposition (but not *only* in opposition), a resistant postmodernism is concerned with a critical deconstruction of tradition, not an instrumental pastiche of pop- or pseudo-historical forms, with a critique of origins, not a return to them. In short, it seeks to question rather than exploit cultural codes, to explore rather than conceal social and political affiliations.
>
> (*ibid.*: x)

Jean-François Lyotard's[292] 1979 seminal work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, where the French philosopher defines "*postmodern* as incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard, 1984: xxiv), has been considered as an example of postmodernism of reaction (e.g., v. Grande, 2009: 307-308, 351). However, it can be argued that the type of rejection to master-narratives proposed by Lyotard fell into the category of postmodernism of resistance insofar as he urged for culture to be analysed as a process rather than as a fixed entity, emphasising the importance of examining (deconstructing) the social contexts which shaped that process (cf. D'Alleva, 2012). Fredric Jameson also highlighted the in-betweenness of Lyotard's whole argument on what are the signature characteristics and the main objectives of postmodernism *vis-à-vis* high modernism regarding the construction of knowledge. Lyotard's argument ultimately called for a need of identification of the master-narratives, not with the purpose of abolishing them entirely (or rendering them elements of the unconscious, as Jameson suggested[293]), but rather with the purpose of deconstructing them and analysing their constitutive elements. Lyotard's text is indicative of the deep problems and contradictions with which both types of postmodernism previously mentioned were confronted. In his foreword text to the English version of Lyotard's work, Jameson stated that

> although he has polemically endorsed the slogan of a "postmodernism" and has been involved in the defence of some of its more controversial productions, Lyotard is in reality quite unwilling to posit a postmodernist stage radically different from the period of high modernism and involving a fundamental historical and cultural break with this last. Rather, seeing postmodernism as a discontent with a disintegration of this or that high modernist style – a moment in the perpetual "revolution" and innovation of high modernism, to be succeeded by a fresh burst of formal invention – in a striking formula

[292] Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998) was a French philosopher, sociologist, and literary theorist.

[293] In the foreword to the English translation of Lyotard's text, Jameson states that the author "seems unwilling to take a further step in the present text, namely to posit, not the disappearance of the great master-narratives, but their passage underground as it were, their continuing but now *unconscious* effectivity as a way of "thinking about" and acting in our current situation. This persistence of buried master-narratives in what I have elsewhere called our "political unconscious", I will try shortly to demonstrate on the occasion of the present text as well" (Jameson, 1984: xxi).

> he has characterized postmodernism, not as that which follows modernism and its particular legitimation crisis, but rather as a cyclical moment that returns before the emergence of ever *new* modernisms in the stricter sense.
>
> (Jameson, 1984: xvi)

In this short paragraph, Jameson makes the argument that Lyotard's postmodernism might in fact be a postmodernism of resistance: one that – even though breaking away from the concept of functioning overarching-narratives which aim to single-handedly locate, inform, and explain everything – seeks to allow for new narratives (new politics of class, ethnicity, gender, etc.) to enter into a postmodernist interdisciplinary debate on knowledge and its consequent power relations.

This very brief introduction to one of the aspects of the international debate on postmodernism in the 1980s illustrates one of the key issues of the debate on the Portuguese condition(s) for the development of a postmodern society. In Portugal – due to the political, social, and cultural contexts and environments which have been analysed so far – the debate on postmodernism reflected a crucial aspect: the Portuguese 20th century had hindered the development and fulfilment of modernity in Portugal, which had (to some extent) to be condensed between the 1974 Revolution and the mid-80s, so as to keep up with the E.E.C.'s progress standards (v. subchapter 3.1. and chapter 4.). Ever since the late 80s, Portuguese Sociology Professor Boaventura de Sousa Santos has developed his analysis of this phenomenon of a condensed experiencing of Portugal's first modernity. The author pinpoints the 25th of April Revolution, the end of the colonial empire, and joining the E.E.C. (all taking place between 1974 and 1986) as key moments in, and fundamental tools for, the balancing out of Portugal's first modernity, as well as for the simultaneous fulfilment of its second modernity and its transition to a postmodernity (cf. Sousa Santos, 2013[1994]). Boaventura de Sousa Santos advocated that, as a result of those circumstances, Portugal would have to fulfil some of modernity's promises in short-circuit (the author's expression) with the emerging promises of postmodernity (cf. *ibid.*). According to the author's vision, in order to (re)build its identity and find its place of independence within the European Community context, Portugal would have required a postmodernism of resistance and of reaction[294]

[294] Boaventura de Sousa Santos spoke of a "double demand: in the formulation of some of the objectives of development [the Portuguese society] should carry on as if the project of modernity was not yet fulfilled or as if it had not even been put into question; in the fulfilling of those [same] objectives [the Portuguese society] should assume that (to Portugal in a certain way more vitally than to central [European] societies) the project of modernity was historically fulfilled and that [Portuguese society] should not expect from it what only a new paradigm [- postmodernism -] could bring about" (Sousa Santos, 2013[1994]: 84).

which could have been accomplished through a process of (re)reading and (re)interpreting modernity's development goals and fulfilling them, not through processes of a canonical modernisation of society[295], but via the proposed short-circuiting of modern objectives and postmodern symbolical values.

In Portugal, one event stood out in the artistic field as the flagship of the debate on postmodernism, embodying some of the key questions of the postmodernism of reaction, of the postmodernism of resistance, as well as of the positioning of Portuguese artistic and cultural expression in a European context. *Depois do Modernismo* [*After Modernism*] (v. figs. 5.1., 5.2.) was a collective exhibition/event[296] which took place in Lisbon, in January 1983 (again, the same year the CAM opened to the public), and presented visual arts, fashion, and architecture exhibitions, theatre, dance, and music performances, as well as debates and colloquia, gathering both emerging and already established names in all of those fields, with a total of 90 participants. The event was organised, amongst others, by Luís Serpa[297], Leonel Moura[298], and António Cerveira Pinto[299]. According to the curators of After Modernism, the main point of the event was to have a new generation of artists, curators, and critics tackle some of the umbrella questions/issues regarding the period of time they were living in, which they considered to be of a transitional nature. Their aim was

> to find out if "modernity" has depleted, or not, its own overwhelming energy and to wonder if today [1983] it is nothing but a concept void of content, ready to be utilised to mean everything and nothing; to find out if there are formats of artistic expression in Portugal which may hold the amplitude and ambivalence of a concept such as post-modernity; to find out if it is possible to establish an understanding between variegated fields – which are often left quite apart from each other – through several social mech-

[295] Which cannot pose or support any other and/or further developments while modernity's issues are not fully addressed and resolved.

[296] *After Modernism*'s cultural programme: Exhibitions: Architecture – *Depois do Moderno* [After the Modern]; Visual Arts – *Catástofres Elementares* [Elementary Catastrophes]; Fashion – *Proposta de fato de trabalho para artista pintor* [Work-suit proposal for painter-artist], Location: SNBA, Dates: January 7th to 30th, 1983. Colloquia: 22.01.1983: *O Movimento Moderno morreu?* [Has the Modern Movement died?]; 23.01.1983: *Arquitectura agora!* [Architecture now!]; 23.01.1983: *Arquitectura e o resto!* [Architecture and the rest!]; 24.01.1983: *Depois do Modernismo I* [After Modernism I]; 25.01.1983: *A má pintura e a ideia de Arte* [Bad painting and the idea of Art]; 26.01.1983: *Depois do Modernismo II* [After Modernism II], Location: ESBAL. Musical performance: *Por cima o silêncio...* [The silence above…], Location: Espaço Intermédia, Dates: January 7th, 8th, 14th, 15th and 21st, 1983. Dance-Theatre performance: *Tanza – Variedades* [Tanza – Variety Show], Location: Teatro da Graça, Dates: January 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th, 1983 (cf. Marchand, 2009).

[297] Luís Serpa (1948-2015) was a Portuguese art curator, gallerist, and cultural agent, responsible for a paradigm-shift in the field of visual arts in Portugal.

[298] Leonel Moura (1948-) is a Portuguese artist.

[299] António Cerveira Pinto (1952-) is a Portuguese artist, art critic, essayist, and producer.

> anisms, bearing in mind that neither academic alignment nor blind innovation are acceptable parameters of development for any of the art forms on display; to find out if the gathered fragments from therein may help delineate, not a general tendency, but a specific *Zeitgeist*; in short, to find out where we might be when everything seems to indicate we are no longer anywhere.
>
> (Serpa, 1983: 10)

The set of questions/propositions presented seem to embody, for the artistic and cultural fields, what Sousa Santos's short-circuit approach suggested be done in the political, economic, educational, and social fields. The event presented itself as anti-institutional[300], and as an act of defiance against the dominant modernism of the 1940s and 50s (cf. Grande, 2009; Marchand, 2009; Nogueira, 2013) as well as against the hegemony of the modern critique discourse which followed the modern model of art criticism introduced by José-Augusto França in the 50s (cf. Grande, 2009), which will be discussed in section 5.1.3.. However, in addressing modernity and its energy and content levels, the curators were in fact proposing an analysis, a deconstruction, and an examination of modernity to find out its (post)conditions at that moment in time. The point was to try to conceive of (and perceive already) a modernity after and against the modern (which was the constitutive fabric of the institutional circuits and backgrounds), thus "taking on a more historicist and re-interpretative vocation rather than a futurist/avant-gardist one" (Nogueira, 2013: 238). And even though the main purpose of the curators was to present an aesthetic manifest on how post-modernism could be approached and discussed, the issue of the lack of fulfilment of modernity in Portugal was also addressed by some of the participants[301].

In the visual arts field, the *After Modernism* exhibition would serve as a stage for the display of how Portuguese artists were adopting and adapting the post-conceptualist turn of

[300] It did, however, receive some funds and support from the State Secretariat for Culture and from the FCG.

[301] "The architects from Oporto who were invited to take part in this exhibit answered the call, not with a selection of projects, but rather with a text that attempted to demonstrate that it did not make sense to speak of "after modernism" in Portugal, because modernity had not been fulfilled in our country. It was a manifesto of sorts – a profound reflection on the history of national architecture in the 20th century, going through the examples which represented attempts at establishing modernity in Portugal, but coming to the conclusion that that modernity had not been reached. As such they refused to take part in the exhibit. This refusal, despite stirring up the spirits of many, did not mean that these architects would not take part in the event. Somewhere between the folding screens that housed the architectural projects was a telegram signed by Adalberto Dias, Alcino Soutinho, Alves Costa, Álvaro Siza, Domingos Tavares, Eduardo Souto Moura e Sérgio Fernandez, displaying a text that was explicit, but only enough, for it to be understood that the theoretical schism which drove them away from the exhibition spaces did not preclude the presence of their reflections and of their arguments in the catalogue. Out of the group of unfavourable responses to the event this might have been the most fruitful" (Marchand, 2009).

the international artistic scene[302], and, perhaps more importantly, it would serve as a stage for the deconstruction of the modern paradigm of art display and art critique. The plurality of art forms and movements and the interdisciplinary nature of the event allowed for a different way of presenting/experiencing art, one that renounced the constriction and rigidity of previous institutional formal events, embracing a looser concept of what a cultural event could be and look like. The (unprecedented) level of publicity and cultural marketing around an event of that nature contributed to its success with the public, who attended the exhibitions, performances, debates, and colloquia in great (and unexpected) numbers (cf. Marchand, 2009). The critics' reactions – albeit negative (or perhaps exactly because they were negative) – were some of the more evident signs of the paradigm shifting capacity of the event. The critiques were, indeed, prominently negative, especially those coming from critics affiliated with the Portuguese section of the AICA and other institutional establishments, i.e., critics belonging to the generation (and defenders) of the dominant modernism which the event sought to go against. Even though the lack – and especially the disparity – of quality of the artworks presented was one of the main targets of the critics (cf. Nogueira, 2013), the overall negative criticism focused, not in the content of the works displayed or performed, but rather on the format of the organisation of the event and its aims regarding the deconstruction of modern paradigms of art criticism itself. Rui-Mário Gonçalves, an art critic from that dominant modernism generation, in his text from the 1983 *Colóquio Artes* (v. section 2.1.3.), "Carta de Lisboa: Bad Painting, Bad Criticism" accused the curators and organisers of having taken on the role that should be ascribed to the critics (cf. Gonçalves, 1983a); while José Luís Porfírio (belonging to a transitional generation between that of Gonçalves and the one which would later on claim its place as the new critique of the 80s (cf. Nogueira, 2013)) would state that those artists, curators, and organisers belonged to a generation that, via the *After Modernism* event, was demonstrating to be aware of itself without requiring the critics' backing or official support (cf. Porfírio, 1983).

This discussion aimed at introducing the two paradigm changes that the *After Modernism* exhibition came to reveal or make apparent, and which would later on have a significant impact on the CAM's cultural cartography: the increasing distancing between artistic mani-

[302] Art movements such as bad painting (U.S.A.), trans-avant-garde (Italy), and neo-expressionism (Germany) are a few examples of that post-conceptualist turn.

festations/products and the established critical thinking (cf. Nogueira, 2013), and the "deconstruction of the Portuguese modernist [art history] paradigm, such as it had been imagined, theorised, and conceptualised by José-Augusto França" (Almeida, 2006: 103). Despite not having had immediate measurable effects on a large scale, the *After Modernism* event put a generation of artists, curators, gallerists, and other art and culture-related agents in motion, agents who "gave a continuation to the social and cultural experiment tested at the *After Modernism* event" (Marchand, 2009). The ACARTE's investment in producing and/or presenting international, diversified, interdisciplinary, and cosmopolitan artistic manifestations and cultural expressions (discussed throughout sub-chapter 4.2.) can be considered as the most important 'continuation' of that (required) short-circuit between a postmodernism of resistance and one of reaction. If by the late 80s the ACARTE had already clearly left a mark in the transition of Lisbon's culturalscape towards the immersion of art and culture performances into a postmodern era, the same could not be said of the CAM's collecting and exhibiting strategies and programme. Up until the early 90s, the CAM continued to focus its acquisition and display politics on its aforementioned responsibilities as the first modern art museum in Portugal and as the holder of the most important collection of Portuguese art from the first half of the 20th century. However, by 1994, the change in Directors "allowed for interesting adjustments and openings, both in terms of acquisitions and the reassembling of exhibitions from the permanent collection […], thus showing the first signs of a challenge to França's "evolutionary" interpretation of art history" (Silva, 2014: 164).

Having had extensively presented Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century to the publics, and having had established itself as the house of modern art in Lisbon, the CAM would have to further develop its realm of mediation between art and the publics, widening the scope of artists and artistic periods deemed important for a (re)presentation of the meaning-making and identity-forming mechanisms in Portuguese contemporary culture. The slowing down and the losing of impact/relevance of the ACARTE's activities by the early 1990s, paired with the emergence of new artistic and cultural institutions nation-wide, would call for a restructuration and redefinition of the CAM's role in the ongoing reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape. As will be discussed later on, the second half of the 1990s and the early years of the 2000s were transformative years for the CAM and its role. However, before an analysis of that period can be carried out, it is first necessary to understand the general

socio-political and cultural-institutional panoramas that preceded those years. The interaction and the associations and dissociations that occurred between the socio-political and the cultural-institutional spheres will be the premise for an analysis of the transition between the 1980s and the 1990s in Portugal. How the elements of that transition were simultaneously incorporated/reflected and exported/shaped by the CAM will be discussed in further detail in sections 5.1.2. and 5.1.3..

Figure 5.1. - Main entrance of the SNBA in Lisbon during the *After Modernism* exhibition/events

Figure 5.2. - View of the exhibition at the SNBA in January 1983

5.1.2. Mapping the resonance of heritage and contemporaneity in art and culture

The years spanning from the mid-1980s to the mid-90s brought significant changes to the CAM, to the city of Lisbon, and to the national panorama in the political, economic, and social fields with direct repercussions in the artistic and cultural arenas. Not only were there contextual changes in the socio-economic-political situation (with the continued and further integration of Portugal in the E.E.C. and the election of a new national government in 1985), and transformations in the culturalscape in Lisbon (with the emergence of the CCB[303] in 1992 and of the Culturgest[304] in 1993) and in Oporto (with Casa de Serralves[305] opening to the public in 1987), but there were also very important contextual changes in the FCG's institutional framework (with the passing away of the FCG's President, José de Azeredo Perdigão, in 1993, and the change in Directors at the CAM in 1994[306]). The confluence and consequences of these factors, along with an increasing intensification of both national and international debates regarding the conditions (and practices) of postmodernity would determine a symbolical relocation of the CAM within Lisbon's culturalscape. The CAM's collecting and exhibiting politics and poetics[307] underwent a transformation which both derived

[303] The Centro Cultural de Belém [Belém Cultural Centre] opened to the public on August 10th, 1993. Construction of the building was initiated in September 1988 and finished in September 1992. The CCB was originally built to accommodate the people involved in and the activities carried out during the Portuguese Presidency of the European Union in 1992. However, the CCB's purpose as a space for the development of artistic and cultural activities was part of the original project for the building's role in the city (cf. CCB, 2015).

[304] The Culturgest Foundation was created in 1993 by the Caixa Geral de Depósitos (Portuguese State-owned bank and financial institution) to endorse and support the arts, focusing on the organisation, production, and presentation of artistic and cultural activities such as exhibitions, theatre and opera performances, dance and music shows, cinema festivals, conferences, etc. (cf. Culturgest, 2015).

[305] The Casa de Serralves [Serralves Villa] was acquired by the Portuguese government in 1987 and "opened to the public that same year as a site for temporary exhibitions of modern and contemporary art prior to the opening in 1999 of a new museum of contemporary art designed by the architect Álvaro Siza Vieira [within the Serralves Foundation's grounds and gardens]. In 2004, Siza supervised the restoration of the Villa and its interiors. Offering spaces for exhibitions and artists' projects as part of the programme of the Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art, the Serralves Villa is, for its architecture and design, a museum in and of itself" (Serralves, 2015: website).

[306] In 1994, Sommer Ribeiro retired and Jorge Molder, who had been working as the CAM's deputy director since 1990, took over the directorship, as will be discussed further ahead.

[307] Museum Studies scholar Fiona McLean picks up on the works of cultural theorist and philosopher Roland Barthes (1989) and museum curator Henrietta Lidchi (1997) to present a schematic definition of the concepts such as they are discussed in this section: "[b]y poetics is meant the consideration of the construction and reproduction of meanings through a semiotic analysis of the diversity of ways in which exhibitions create representations of cultures. Politics, on the other hand, interrogates the historical nature of museums and collecting. The point of departure for the discussion of the poetics of museums is that all cultural producers, whether museum curators, designers, advertisers, and so on, are involved in the creation of myths. In the

from and would come to shape the debate on postmodernism at the turn of the millennium, in Lisbon.

The early 1980s were a period of transformation of the city of Lisbon and of Portugal in general. As has been previously discussed, by the beginning of the 80s, the political instability of the second half of the 70s had subsided, and the revolution's socio-cultural objectives (v. subchapter 3.1., and section 3.1.1. in particular) had been replaced by the goal of material influx and sprawl (v. subchapter 4.2.) as a means to achieve economic growth and social stability. In joining the E.E.C., Portugal not only sought to bridge the decades-long socio-economic gap *vis-à-vis* most of the other European nations[308], but it also aimed at re-inventing and asserting a new national cultural discourse within a European horizon. During the two back-to-back governments of Cavaco Silva[309] (between 1985 and 1995), international, European, and national contexts and endeavours contributed to a previously unseen period of economic growth and financial stability in Portugal's young democracy. Just as it happened in other European countries in the 80s[310], the pairing of economic neoliberalism and political conservatism – within the aforementioned context – would result in the resurgence of a nationalist spirit which would permeate the cultural policies and practices[311] of

museum context, the elements of the exhibitions – objects, texts, contexts of display, and visual representations – combine to articulate meanings, and represent culture. The politics of museums refers to the role of museums in the production of social knowledge" (McLean, 1998: 247-248).

[308] Between the years of 1986 and 1995 there was a steady GNP growth, an increase in investment and exports, average wage rise and a rise in domestic consumption, unemployment and inflation decreased, as well as an exponential rise in public investment: economic and financial achievements which were made possible also due to the European structural funds; in 1993 those funds were on average of seven and a half million Euros a day (cf. Grande, 2009, v. Franco, 1994).

[309] Aníbal Cavaco Silva (1939-) is an economist, professor, and politician. He was the President of the Portuguese Republic between 2006 and 2016, and was Prime Minister of the Portuguese Governments in office between the years of 1985 and 1995.

[310] Thatcherism was a clear example of the resurgence of a nationalist spirit which would permeate the cultural policies and practices of a government: "during the 1980s the British state sought to mobilise national identity using heritage to effect social and economic change. Consequently, 'the icons and symbols of a perceived "common heritage" were important levers of political and social legitimation'" (McLean, 1998: 250); (v. Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987; McCrone *et al.*, 1995).

[311] Grande presents some examples, here paraphrased: ""National heritage", both tangible and intangible, became the main topic of a political "consensus", as it was occurring then in other European countries. It motivated some measures and symbolic actions by the Secretaries of State for Culture (which were then under the aegis of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers) – Vasco Pulido Valente (1980), and António Braz Teixeira (1981). Standing out amongst those actions was the creation, in 1980, of the first public organism devoted to that subject within the national democratic framework – the Portuguese Institute of Cultural Heritage (IPPC) – which was entrusted with "planning and promoting research and assuring the inventorying, protection, and safeguarding of movable, immovable, and intangible assets of the country's cultural heritage"" (Santos, 1996: 236, cited in Grande, 2009: 345). Grande gives other examples: "within this newfound cult of "Portugueseness", there was an emphasis on reaffirming the investment in the promotion of national history and symbols through the organisation of grand events, both at home and abroad: the consecutive initiatives for the commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries throughout the decade; the creation of the

the government as well as of other official institutions. These circumstances would give rise to the development of a new sense of national identity, one which would be rooted and thrive on the fostering of and investment in cultural heritage and contemporary artistic production.

The reviewing and reassertion of the nation's heritage and the affirmation of its contemporary production in the artistic and cultural fields was fundamental to the rebuilding of Portugal's identity within what was to become the European Union. Such a reformulation required novel infrastructures that were to function simultaneously as mediators of national symbols and history, and as promotors of this renewed international (European) turn. New, or renewed, museological spaces would, thus, emerge in Lisbon's (and Portugal's) culturalscape, as a result of the State's commitment to translate its political innovation, economic growth, and financial stability into culturally palpable representations of its aims and accomplishments, i.e., art museums and cultural centres. Two observations by Museum Studies scholar Fiona McLean situate and explain the government's take on the development of artistic and cultural infrastructures: the first one highlights the fact that "periods of significant growth in museums can be related to upsurges of nationalism and to a [redefinition of the] sense of national identity" (McLean, 1998: 245), and the second one states that "[i]n postmodern accounts, cultural consumption is seen as being the very material out of which we construct our identities; we become what we consume" (*ibid.*: 249). The State's investment in spaces whose purpose was to mediate national heritage and contemporaneity via art was one of the most important mechanisms for the generation and development of the intended discourse on Portuguese identity: a nation with a strong cultural heritage and history, and with the assets to ascertain the projection of a vibrant contemporary production. At a moment in time when Portugal was entering Europe's postmodern paradigm, this was the nation's cultural framework, and, despite not including a Ministry of Culture in their formation, Cavaco Silva's two governments knew how to take advantage of museums and cultural centres as "social institutions, [as] the products and agents of political and social change" (McLean, 1998: 245).

Camões Institute in 1991, aiming at the international affirmation of Portuguese as a spoken language; the establishment of Portugal as the theme of *Europália'91*, a cultural festival organised in Belgium; the institution of Lisbon as European Capital of Culture in 1994; the national participation in the Universal Exhibition of 1992, in Seville; and the application to organise a similar event in the Portuguese capital, foreseen for the year of 1998 [which came to fruition as the Universal Exhibition *Expo'98*]" (Grande, 2009: 349).

Three very distinct examples of the State's involvement in the construction and rehabilitation of artistic and cultural spaces are worthy of brief mention. The first one was the acquisition of the Quinta de Serralves, in Oporto, in 1986, and the creation of the Serralves Foundation in 1989. The efforts developed by then-Secretary of State for Culture, Teresa Patrício Gouveia[312], aimed at guaranteeing the establishment of a contemporary art cultural institution, and specifically a contemporary art museum, in the nation's second largest city, via a government/private investors partnership – a process which would only be finalised in 1999. The second example was the restructuring of the National Contemporary Art Museum, in Lisbon, which held the State's collection of Portuguese art of the 1850-1950 period. The new spatial, material, and conceptual organisation presented, after the long-overdue re-opening of the MNAC in 1994 (which had been closed since 1987), still did not provide an answer to the need for the State to collect and exhibit more contemporary works by Portuguese artists[313]. The third, and the most celebrated and spectacular, example of the kind of articulation that the governments presided by Cavaco Silva wished to establish between politics and culture was the construction of a new grand cultural centre for the city of Lisbon. The Centro Cultural de Belém (CCB), which was completed in 1992 and opened to the public in 1993, was the great cultural entrepreneurship of Cavaco Silva's governments (v. fig. 5.3.). Built in the highly touristic area of Belém, best characterised for its harbouring of a number of monuments either pertaining to or celebratory of the Discoveries period, the CCB presented itself as a large space which held multi-purpose auditoriums (for opera, dance, music, and theatre performances, but also for large congresses), a multitude of conference rooms ready to accommodate cultural, but also business oriented, national and international meetings, several spaces for restaurants and shops, as well as an exhibition centre which would be at the focus of controversy for over a decade[314].

[312] Teresa Patrício Gouveia (1946-) is a Portuguese cultural manager and politician. She was Secretary of State for Culture (1985-90), President of the Serralves Foundation, Oporto (2000-03), and member of its Executive Board since 1997). She has been Trustee/Executive Director of the FCG since November 2004.

[313] Even though there was a significant increase of public investment in the general area of culture at the level of building or rehabilitating cultural spaces/institutions, the State's investment in supporting visual artists and/or acquiring works of art remained relatively low.

[314] V. previous footnote; no public collection of art was attributed to the CCB's exhibition spaces, which instead housed temporary exhibitions for many years. The main exhibition gallery housed a design museum which closed in 2006, and since 2007 the CCB's exhibition galleries have housed the *Fundação de Arte Moderna e Contemporânea – Museu Coleção Berardo* [Modern and Contemporary Art Foundation – Berardo Collection Museum], a privately owned collection.

The sprawl of artistic and cultural infrastructures was made possible by the aforementioned economic situation, and – from a conceptual point of view – by the material and symbolical aftermath of events such as the *After Modernism* exhibitions, by the creation of the CAM (and the role it played as discussed in subchapters 3.2. and 4.1.), as well as by the ACARTE's cosmopolitan take on artistic-cultural production and presentation. Aside from the Stately investments described in the previous paragraph, the early 1990s also witnessed the blossoming of several other artistic and cultural infrastructures in Lisbon, such as the MauMaus[315] arts school (1992), the art gallery ZDB[316] (1994), and the cosmopolitan cultural centre Culturgest[317] (1993) (v. figs. 5.4. to 5.7.). This infrastructural progress was crucial for the furtherance of the production, consumption, and criticism sectors, allowing for the establishment of a Portuguese artistic scene in wide-ranging, continuous contact with different international practices (cf. Caeiro, 2014). These cultural novelties and developments of the 1980s and early 90s can be considered to have been the material demonstrations of the (possibly unfulfilled) modern/postmodern short-circuit reflecting the transformations of a post-dictatorial, postcolonial, post-revolutionary society coming to terms with a new cosmopolitan reality where both heritage and contemporary production play a crucial role in the representation of a cultural identity. It was within this political-cultural framework and artistic-institutional context that the CAM's change in Directors took place.

[315] MauMaus (formally *Associação MauMaus – Centro de Contaminação Visual* [MauMaus Association – Visual Contamination Centre]) "was founded in 1992 as an institution focusing on the teaching and promotion of contemporary art. The teaching component began as a School of Photography in the most classic sense, which soon developed into an internationally recognised Visual Arts School, where students gained experience in all possible techniques used in artistic expressions. Today the core activity of the Maumaus School features an Independent Study Programme that offers artists an intellectually dense and practically demanding "Think Tank" atmosphere after their studies and first experiences in the art field. It is a non-profit cultural association that promotes the debate, knowledge, and dissemination of contemporary art-related subjects" (MauMaus, 2015: website).

[316] ZDB (formally *Galeria Zé dos Bois* [Zé dos Bois Gallery]) was founded in 1994, and is a non-profit cultural association. "A creation, production, and promotion structure for contemporary art, ZDB instigates the research and investigation of artists involved with visual and performing arts, as well as film and music. The centre produces and presents exhibitions, and hosts more than 150 arts events per year, including residencies, educational programmes, theatre, dance performances, lectures, and music concerts. […] Driven by the desire to intensify and exchange knowledge with artists through creative and productive practices, ZDB promotes international and local residencies, and establishes long-term working relationships with those aiming to produce unique projects" (ZDB, 2015: website).

[317] V. footnote 304.

In 1994 José Sommer Ribeiro retired[318] as the CAM's Director, a role which would be taken on by Jorge Molder[319] who had been working as the CAM's deputy director since April 1990[320]. In a text *a propos* the commemoration of the CAM's 30 years of existence, Jorge Molder would sum up three of the main guidelines which oriented his directorship of the CAM:

> Even before the existence of the Modern Art Centre, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, working through its Museography and Exhibitions Service, initiated a series of retrospective and survey exhibitions that would give the Centre's programming a defining direction. This task has always seemed to me to be of prime importance for an artistic present that has such a sparse, vague, and rudimentary knowledge of its past, and it must be highlighted that, alongside the permanent presentation of a part of its vast collection, this initiative [of retrospective and anthological exhibitions by Portuguese artists] has always been one of the most worthwhile among those the CAM has undertaken. […] From the moment I took up the directorship, besides maintaining and consolidating these guidelines, I sought to provide more of a leading role to the work of younger artists and to foster the presence of foreign artists, insofar as it was possible.
> (Molder, 2014: 193).

Molder, thus, carried on the series of anthological and retrospective exhibitions, as well as the permanent exhibition of the CAM's collection, but turned the focus towards younger generations of Portuguese and foreign artists. Three of the very first examples of this new approach to an already existing methodology were the 1994 temporary exhibitions of works by Pedro Proença[321], José Pedro Croft[322] (v. fig. 5.8.), and Pedro Cabrita Reis[323] (v. fig. 5.9.). The number of Portuguese artists' solo temporary exhibitions grew considerably under Molder's directorship when compared to the previous decade: between 1983 and 1993 there

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[318] Sommer Rribeiro retired from the directorship of the CAM to go work as Director of the Árpád Szenes-Vieira da Silva Foundation, at the request of the Portuguese artist (and his friend) Maria Helena Vieira da Silva.

[319] Jorge Molder (1947-) is a Portuguese artist (photographer and writer). He worked as deputy director of the CAM, alongside Sommer Ribeiro between 1990 and 1994, and was the CAM's Director between June 1994 and January 2009.

[320] As deputy director, Molder "assisted in the preparation of exhibitions and intervened in some aspects of [the CAM's artistic] programming (Molder, 2014: 192).

[321] Pedro Proença (1962-) is a Portuguese-Angolan visual artist and writer. In 1982 he founded the *Movimento Homeostético*, alongside other Portuguese artists such as Fernando Brito, Ivo, Pedro Portugal, Manuel João Vieira, and Xana. In 1994 the CAM organised the exhibition *Pedro Proença, "Antologia" 1989/1993* gathering many of the artist's drawings.

[322] José Pedro Croft (1957-) is a Portuguese artist working in the connecting spaces between drawing, sculpture, and architecture. In 1994 the CAM organised the exhibition *José Pedro Croft* displaying drawing and installation works.

[323] Pedro Cabrita Reis (1956-) is a Portuguese artist, one of the most renowned artists of his generation, having participated in the *Documenta IX* in 1992, in the XXII São Paulo Biennale in 1994, and in the Venice Biennale in 2003. In 1994 the CAM organised the exhibition *Pedro Cabrita Reis: Contra a Claridade* where the interaction of materials used by the artist and the sheer dimensions of his large-scale sculptures and installations configured a new sensorial and habitable dimension to the use of the CAM's upper half-floor gallery.

were around 30 exhibitions fitting this category, while between 1994 and 2004 there were close to 50.

As Pinto Ribeiro observed, the same logics was applied to the composition of the permanent exhibitions of the CAM's collection of Portuguese art that followed "a rotational scheme which allow[ed] for the visibility of a greater number of works, and introduc[ed] exhibition strategies that ensur[ed] the display of works […] by younger artists" (Ribeiro, 2007: 356). Another example of the investment in younger artists was the project *7/10 - 7 Artistas ao 10.º Mês* [7/10 - 7 Artists on the 10th Month] which began in 1996 and where the artworks of "a considerable part of the currently most relevant [Portuguese] artists (both at national and international levels) were displayed, some for the very first time" (Molder, 2014: 195). This focus on artworks by younger generations of artists clearly demonstrated the CAM's purpose of fostering and supporting contemporary production and mediating new art to the Portuguese public. But even though Molder would certainly not neglect the CAM's role as a place for the (re)presentation of Portuguese (and British) art of the first seven decades of the 20th century, he would, however, come to change the configuration and purpose of that role.

When it first opened in 1983 the CAM's purpose was to make up for a lack – that of a national museum of modern art – as well as to fully embody and represent a transformation which had already taken place in the artistic-cultural scene of many other European countries (and in other sectors of Portuguese society (v. chapters 3 and 4)). However, the changes and developments described in this and the previous section would dictate a transformation of objectives and roles. By the mid-1990s the CAM's purpose was to bring the Portuguese public and Portuguese artists up to speed on what was being done nationally and internationally as well as actively engage (with) the contemporary transformations happening both at production and criticism levels. The acquisition of works from younger generations, the display of a greater number of artworks by younger artists in the collection exhibits, and the increasing number of temporary exhibitions by contemporary (and often multi-modal[324]) artists demonstrated the CAM's commitment to fostering and supporting contemporary production, as a means of communicating new ideas, different disciplinary and research formats, and, consequently, new narratives about the present, to the public.

[324] The CAM's collecting politics and practices opened up to other art forms besides painting, drawing, and sculpture; the *oeuvres* of artists such as Fernando Calhau, Alexandre Estrela, Ana Hatherly, Lourdes Castro, Fernando Lemos, etc., attest to that.

Nevertheless, it was not solely through the exhibition of younger artists' works that the CAM engaged with contemporaneity. The way in which the collection was displayed at the turn of the millennium (which will be discussed in the following section), as well as some of the exhibitions which elicited greater public discussion and media attention also revealed the ongoing recursive change of the CAM's exhibiting politics and poetics at that time. Two examples of such exhibitions were the 1997 display *Treasure Island: a view of British Art* and the 1999 exhibition of works by Paula Rego[325], with the series *O Crime do Padre Amaro* [The Sins of Father Amaro][326] and the series *Untitled*.

Occupying many of the CAM's display spaces (the temporary exhibitions room, along with galleries 1 and 01) from February 7th to May 4th 1997, the *Treasure Island* exhibition (v. fig. 5.13.) showcased painting, sculpture, photography, installation, video, and drawing works of the second half of the 20th century by nearly 90 British artists, namely Francis Bacon, Patrick Caulfield (v. fig. 5.10.), David Hockney (v. fig. 5.11.), Antony Gormley (v. fig. 5.12.), and Damien Hirst (cf. Molder et al., 1997; FCG, 2008; CAM, 2015). João Pinharanda, Portuguese art critic and curator, said about the CAM's exhibition that it was "an adventure of discovery of a historical and current reality little known amongst us, as we still suffer from the lack of contact with the circuit of major international exhibitions and are still under the shadow of the French models [of art historiography]" (Pinharanda, 1997: 25).

The 1999 exhibition of the two aforementioned series by Paula Rego – The Sins of Father Amaro (v. figs. 5.14. to 5.16.) is a painting series from 1997-1998 and *Untitled* (v. figs. 5.17. to 5.19.) is a gravure series from 1999 – was showcased at the CAM's gallery 1 between May 18th and August 29th. While the first series was the pictorial interpretation of the artist's reading of the Eça de Queiroz novel and its themes, the second series – which can be seen as complementary to the social commentary patent in the Sins of Father Amaro series

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[325] Paula Rego (1935-) is an internationally renowned Portuguese visual artist, particularly well known for her paintings and prints based on storybooks and novels. She has British citizenship, having studied at the Slade School of Fine Art in the U.K. In 2004 she was awarded the *Grã-Cruz da Ordem de Sant'Iago da Espada* by the President of the Portuguese Republic, and in 2010 she was made a Dame of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II. In 2009 a museum dedicated to the artist's work opened to the public in Cascais, Portugal.

[326] *O Crime do Padre Amaro* (literal translation: The Crime of Father [priest] Amaro), originally published in 1875, is the title of the first and one of the most important novels by Portuguese 19th century writer Eça de Queirós. Considered to be the first literary expression of Portuguese realism, the novel tells the story of a sexual relationship between a priest and a village woman who eventually becomes pregnant, ending in the baby's death (the priest knowingly hands over the baby to a wet nurse known for 'disposing' of new born babies) as well as in the woman's death, under suspicious circumstances, after the baby's birth. Despite the abundance of rumours in the village regarding the involvement of the priest in the situation, he is re-assigned to Lisbon and is never officially implicated in any of the events.

– was an overtly explicit way of protesting "against the high percentage of voter abstinence[327] registered in Portugal during the first referendum on abortion law in 1998" (Neves, 2010: website). The *Untitled* series, which was acquired by the CAM, reflected not only the artist's personal views on the issue, but also (re)presented the socio-historical, political, religious, cultural, and engendered conditionings of a reality experienced by many women in Portugal. The presentation (and acquisition) of contemporary work dealing with Portuguese contemporary socio-political, cultural, educational, and religious issues by a fully established and acknowledged artist (one of the greatest living Portuguese painters and one of the most internationally renowned[328]) made apparent how the CAM's culture of collecting and exhibiting functioned as an element of/for social research agency (cf. Fyfe, 2013).

These few and brief examples of the kinds of exhibitions which characterised and defined the CAM's programming in the second half of the 1990s demonstrate the CAM's role as a historical, social, and political event (cf. Foucault, 1998) insofar as the discourses articulated via those exhibitions are telling of the historical, social, and political transformations described previously. The exhibitions themselves embodied and reflected those changes inasmuch as they represented new ways of engaging both national and international artistic and cultural heritage and contemporaneity. In presenting anthological exhibitions by a generation of younger Portuguese artists, retrospective exhibitions of international art of the second half of the 20th century, and contemporary work exhibitions by acknowledged and renowned Portuguese artists of an older generation, the CAM established new paradigms regarding the possibilities for (re)presentations of the past and formations of the present within the museological space in Portugal. These new conceptual and methodological approaches to the acquisition and exhibition of art can be regarded as an example of the short-circuit requirement advocated by Sousa Santos as it allowed for a multiplicity of forms of connection between (and understanding of) the recent past and the present.

At that point in time the CAM can be considered to have functioned as a heterotopic mirror, one which "exerts on the place [it reflects] a sort of return effect" (Foucault, 2008[1967]: 17). As it has been argued throughout the previous chapters, art museums and art centres are key features in the constitution of an urban culturalscape, as they are "spatial arguments about the world that they denote" (Fyfe, 2013: 35) and, therefore, they participate

[327] 68.1% of registered voters did not cast a ballot.
[328] The TATE Foundation, for example, holds 46 of the artist's works.

in the constru(ct)ing of narratives about the world, narratives and viewpoints which are then taken by subjects as means through which to engage with the world itself (cf. *ibid.*). And while in the second half of the 1980s the CAM and the ACARTE constituted an exhibitionary complex in and for the formation of new artistic and cultural tastes, habits, and panoramas, in the second half of the 1990s the CAM became a space where the necessary communication between national heritage and contemporary production could take place. As a modern art museum with the most relevant collection of Portuguese art and as an art centre for the display of national and international contemporary works, the CAM became the pivot point through which the short-circuiting of modern and postmodern art and culture could be perceived and understood. The following section will illustrate in further detail the influence that the contexts described above had in the cultural cartography put forward by the CAM at the turn of the millennium via the analysis of the seventh re-hanging of the collection in 2001.

Figure 5.3. - The CCB, Lisbon, circa 1993

Figure 5.4. - The Culturgest building façade

Figure 5.5. - The Culturgest main entrance

Figure 5.6. - The Culturgest (gallery view)

Figure 5.7. - The Culturgest (main auditorium)

Figure 5.8. - View of the exhibition *José Pedro Croft* at the CAM's Temporary Exhibitions Room, 1994

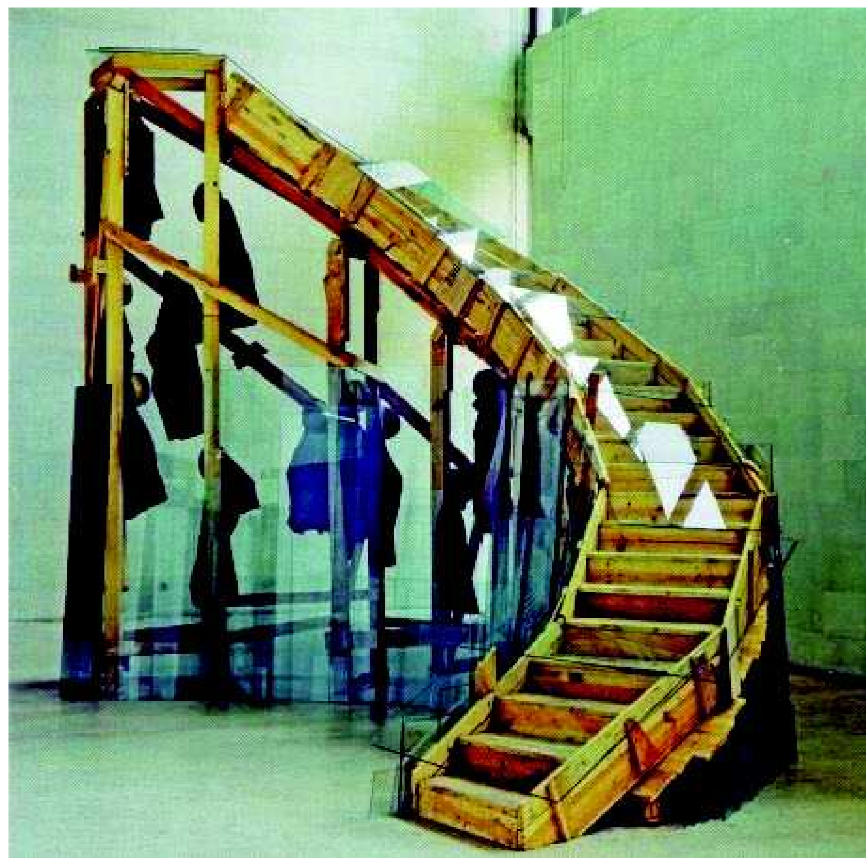

Figure 5.9. - View of the exhibition *Pedro Cabrita Reis: Contra a Claridade*, 1994

Figure 5.10. - *View of the Bay*, Patrick Caulfield, 1964
On display at the exhibition *Treasure Island* in 1997

Figure 5.11. - *Renaissance Head*, David Hockney, 1963
On display at the exhibition *Treasure Island* in 1997

Figure 5.12. - *Close II*, Antony Gormley, 1993
On display at the exhibition *Treasure Island* in 1997

Figure 5.13. - View of the exhibition (main gallery) *Treasure Island*, CAM, 1997

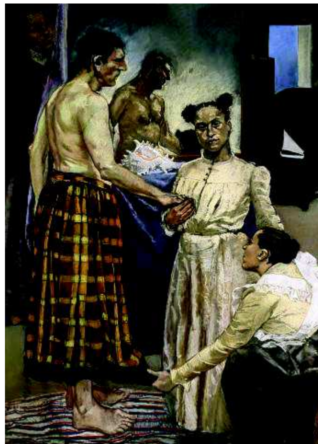

Figure 5.14. - *Mãe (Mother)*, Paula Rego, 1997

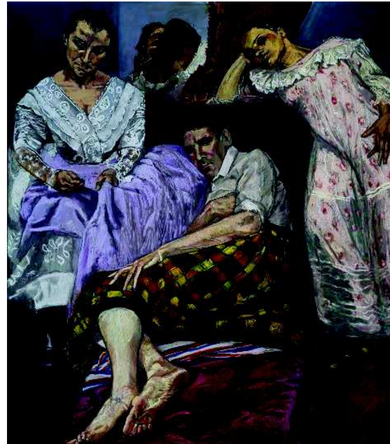

Figure 5.15. - *Entre Mulheres* [*Amongst Women*], Paula Rego, 1997

Figure 5.16. - *Anjo (Angel)*, Paula Rego, 1998

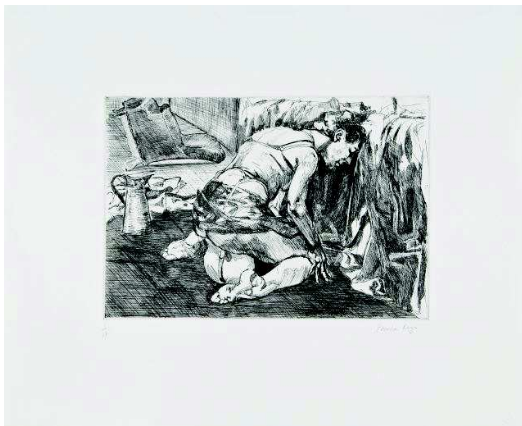

Figure 5.17. - *Untitled #2*, Paula Rego, 1999

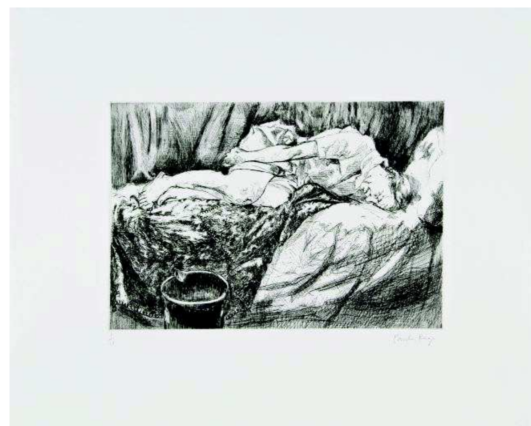

Figure 5.18. - *Untitled #3*, Paula Rego, 1999

Figure 5.19. - *Untitled #7*, Paula Rego, 1999

5.1.3. Synchronic approaches to modern and contemporary art

The seventh re-hanging[329] of the collection in 2001 (v. figs. 5.20. to 5.24.) was a clear demonstration of the CAM's cultural cartography at the turn of the millennium, i.e., it was a clear mapping of the kind of articulations the CAM established between artworks and meaning(s) through representation. As Museum Studies' scholar McLean and museum curator Lidchi put it,

> museums generate representations and attribute value and meaning in line with certain perspectives or classificatory schemas which are historically specific. Thus museums classify and constitute cultural difference systematically and coherently, 'in accordance with a particular view of the world that emerges in a specific place, at a distinct historical moment and within a specific body of knowledge'.
>
> (McLean, 1998: 247; Lidchi, 1997: 162 quoted in McLean, 1998: 247).

That new organisation of the collection display sought to (re)present modern and contemporary Portuguese and British art under the scope of the socio-political and artistic-cultural transformations that had been experienced since the early1980s. The 2001 exhibition of the CAM's collection can be considered to have reflected the changes that had taken place in multiple fields during the previous two decades, thus capturing the Portuguese *Zeitgeist* of the time. Simultaneously, and precisely because it displayed a collection exhibition which reflected the aforementioned and discussed transformations (v. sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.2.), the CAM put forward a new symbolic system of art analysis and interpretation which deconstructed that of José-Augusto França's model of art history (v. subchapter 4.1.). While being aware of the CAM's role (also) as a didactic museum – and therefore realising the importance of and need for a chronological guideline – the CAM's Director and chief curators at the time established a collection exhibition with moments of synchronicity in place of a purely diachronic display. Within that synchronic approach one could find new ways of considering and constru(ct)ing Portuguese 20th century art history; a new cultural cartography emerged, rooted in notions of dialogue and intertextuality, and of a kind of short-circuiting between modernisms and postmodernisms.

[329] First permanent exhibition of the collection: July 1983 – March 1985; second permanent exhibition of the collection: April 1985 – September 1989; third permanent exhibition of the collection: October 1989 – December 1990: fourth permanent exhibition of the collection: January 1991 – April 1994; fifth permanent exhibition of the collection: May 1994 – May 1997; sixth permanent exhibition of the collection: June 1997 – February 2001; seventh permanent exhibition of the collection: April 2001 – June 2006.

The concepts of dialogue and intertextuality – understood in a postmodernist context – can be said to have functioned as one of the cornerstones of the exhibition which sought to acknowledge the existence of a historical narrative (diachronic analysis) and at the same time propose a synchronic interpretation of Portuguese 20th century art history by presenting a narrative of concurrent relationships between some of the artworks. The diachronic ordering of the exhibition was perceivable in its spatial organisation: this new presentation of the collection was exhibited in the main floor gallery, which focused on Portuguese and British art from the second half of the 20th century, and in the bottom half-floor gallery, where the floor was taken by Portuguese art[330] from the first half of the 20th century. The exhibition had its beginning (and end) at the entrance (which was also the way out of the exhibition) of the main floor gallery (v. fig. 5.20) where the early 20th century and its second half engaged in a meaningful and relevant dialogue prompted by works of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and António Areal (v. figs. 5.25. to 5.36.). As Leonor Nazaré – one of the CAM's chief curators, and responsible, in this exhibition, for the presentation of the collection pertaining to the second half of the 20th century – explains in the exhibition's inaugural leaflet:

> To punctuate the start of the [artistic] ruptures of the second half of the [20th] century with six later works by Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1910s) is to intentionally suggest a way of reading [the exhibition]: having been rediscovered in Portugal in the 60s, Amadeo was considered, still then, a leading figure. And even if many of the visual options will necessarily be different, the deconstruction of objects and of space, characteristic of Amadeo's cubism, or its relationship with language as well as with a desacralised world of referents […] are clues which would be followed [by artists of the second half of the century] in accordance with the *Zeitgeist*. […] The big panel by António Areal "*O Fantasma de Avignon*" ["The Ghost of Avignon"] (1967), also composed of six elements, turns the explicit appropriation of the cubist icon into an opportunity to comment on the notion of chronological sequence, with references to […] the representation of perspective or lack thereof. It is this amalgam of spaces/times and of dimensions present on the flat surface of paintings which best inaugurates the display of other fictional singularities in the exhibition […].
>
> (Nazaré, 2001: leaflet)

In this way, the opening framework and viewpoint of the exhibition serve the dual function of presenting modernism (Amadeo's later works are defining of Portuguese First Modernism, v. section 4.1.1.) as a key and central element in/for the artistic developments

[330] With the exception of pieces by Delaunay (French), Portinari (Brazilian), and Gorky (Armenian) whose works were, in some way or another, deemed relevant for an understanding of Portuguese art from the first half of the 20th century, as well as for an understanding of the presentation of the collection as a whole.

and ruptures which took place throughout the 1960s and 70s, and of allowing for the possibility of intertextual interpretation between artworks of different historical and contemporary periods throughout the exhibition floors. That opening moment at the entrance can, therefore, be considered to have functioned as the establishing shot of the exhibition:

> [i]n film terminology, an establishing shot defines the opening sequence of a scene. Setting the mood, tone, place, and time for the events to unfold, the establishing shot is inextricably linked to the narrative that follows. […] Ultimately, it derives its potential from the friction between its formal qualities – a single, presumably directly intelligible shot – and its function within the narrative sequence.
> (Text from the main text panel of 'Establishing Shot', a group exhibition curated by Christian Rattemeyer at the Artists Space Gallery in New York in 2003; quoted in Whitehead, 2012: 94).

The exhibition's establishing shot – the encounter between works by Amadeo and Areal – delineating the ways in which the display was to be received, can be considered a spatial and material expression of a new conceptual take, that of a synchronic analysis deriving from the contemporary "precision of thinking 'these things' within discontinued times and affinities" (Molder, 2001: leaflet). The postmodernism debate and its ramifications (discussed in the previous two sections) allowed for "a substantially different way of equating problems and finding answers" (*ibid.*) which translated into the CAM's collection exhibition of 2001.

Even though the seventh re-hanging of the CAM's collection followed a spatial organisation that was "predominantly chronological, due to somewhat didactical reasons" (*ibid.*), the initial establishing shot demonstrated the conceptual narrative which framed the entire exhibition on both galleries, and which enabled and validated "more diversified reading possibilities" (Freitas, 2001: leaflet). The establishing shot's power was that of making clear the different analysis and interpretation opportunities: the works of art and the overall collection could be read "in relation to the artworld conditions (which are social, technological, economic, intellectual and philosophical) in which [they were] first produced and consumed" (Whitehead, 2012: 88) – a process-based[331] type analysis; they could be read "in relation to

[331] "Process-based approaches ask different questions, literally about the processes in which art is embedded: why was this object made; for whom; how was it paid for and by whom; what contract existed; what contingent historical circumstances existed; how was it displayed and viewed; how does all of this relate to what it represents; how does it relate to societal concerns? […] Process-based interpretation might function, in other words, to "ground" art, removing it from the transcendental sphere, which arguably works to exclude those visitors who have not internalized the kind of map of objective, stylistic, technical and educational relations that has structured most art historical study in the modern period and today. Bourdieu and Darbel noted that in museums "the world of art opposes itself to the world of everyday life" (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1990: 112); I suggest that process-based interpretation might overcome this obstacle to access" (Whitehead, 2011: 59-60).

[their] 'later lives' or subsequent 'critical reception'" (*ibid.*) – a product-based[332] type analysis; and, finally, the artworks could also be read as "fram[ing] and interpret[ing] one another within an organisation based on non-linear chronologies and on the identification of conceptual affinities between works" (*ibid.*: 91) – a concept-based type analysis[333]. Even more importantly, perhaps, the establishing shot made it clear that none of the different methods of analysis and interpretation were mutually exclusive, suggesting that product-based, process-based, and concept-based interpretations can actually complement each other and benefit the public's understanding[334] of art. The conceptual narrative which framed the presentation of the collection can be considered, thus, to have strong traces of a postmodernism of resistance, inasmuch as it was concerned with a critical deconstruction of what could be deemed a simplistically put evolutionary interpretation of art history.

In both the 1985 and the 2001 collection exhibitions, the bottom half-floor gallery was selected as the space to display artworks from the first half of the 20th century; however, in 2001 that gallery's shape and arrangement would be starkly different and it would be intended to serve a distinct purpose from the one it did in 1985[335]. To that end, and as was depicted in the exhibition map of the leaflet (v. fig. 5.20.), the bottom half-floor gallery (01 gallery) was reconfigured, and a lot of its formerly added architectural structures (v. section

[332] "Product-based approaches focus on objects as outcomes of the creative act – as products. The sorts of questions and issues that are incorporated into this approach are: who is the artist; what are the visible characteristics of the work in terms of technique and style; how are they different from those of the works of predecessors and other artists generally, or indeed from those manifest in other parts of the same artist's "*oeuvre*"; how important is this object; how important is the artist? These are all ways of mapping works within context. […]But it is my contention that product-based interpretation has predominated in museums, which is both understandable and regrettable. It is understandable because museums are in possession of products in the form of artworks, and it is easiest to interpret them in relation to cultural aspects that, in the tradition of the universal survey museum, can be objectively and visually identified in *situ*, rather than in relation to abstract connections with apparently absent cultures such as patronage or worship. It is regrettable not because product-based interpretation is inherently evil (it is not), but because it can help to remove art from some of the social realities from which it emerges, and which might form (for some) readier means of comprehension than the nuances of technical and stylistic distinction and the subjectivities of value and worth" (Whitehead, 2011: 59-60).

[333] "In short, art objects can be mapped in relation to different cultural concerns in museum interpretation, and indeed the […] axes of product-based, process-based, [and concept-based] interpretation can intersect most suggestively" (Whitehead, 2011: 60).

[334] V. section 5.2.1..

[335] When comparing the exhibition floor maps of figs. 4.35. and 5.20., the organisation contrast becomes apparent; the 1985 exhibition had introduced fixed wall-like structures to gallery 01, heavily compartmentalising an already relatively small exhibition space and making it much more immutable and rigid; the 2001 exhibition was designed so as to conciliate greater exhibition dynamics (change things more often) with a greater exhibition capacity (display more artworks at once) (cf. Molder, 2001), and to that end the structures in gallery 01 were eradicated; other structures were built in the main gallery so as to provide the aforementioned greater exhibition capacity (however, the main gallery has more than double the floor area of the 01gallery).

4.1.3. and fig. 4.35.) removed so that a “radical simplification of the space” (Molder, 2001: leaflet) could be attained. In the 01 gallery, the new organisation of the collection display presented what can be considered a critical deconstruction of José-Augusto França’s Portuguese art historiography through a review of the Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century. According to Helena Freitas – one of the CAM’s curators at the time, and responsible, in this exhibition, for the presentation of the collection pertaining to the first half of the 20th century:

> [t]he temptation of opening up a wide space and of being able to create a seductive big-picture view, was coupled with a clear methodological intention. In response to the first modernist formulation, an immense line of continuity develops within Portuguese art, almost uninterruptedly. In face of the total absence of artificial walls, dividers, or compartments where the artistic movements could be easily sorted out and gathered, the Portuguese art of the 20s, 30s, and 40s is presented throughout the open space and at length. On a huge wall, work groups, which are thematically and aesthetically articulated and connected, are drawn out in a sensitive chronologic progression, where the breakthroughs and the setbacks, the rhythms of continuity or the signs of deflection, but above all, more diversified reading possibilities, can be observed.
> (Freitas, 2001: leaflet).

The spatial and conceptual organisation of the display in the 01 gallery worked as a counterpoint to the 1985 exhibition of Portuguese art from the first half of the 20th century (v. section 4.1.3.). In the 2001 exhibition, modernism is no longer thought of in a compartmentalised, sectorial fashion which neatly distinguishes and separates one movement or one artist from the other. Rather, in 2001, the Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century is thought of as a whole which could be gathered and presented under the aforementioned chronological-connective metaframe[336] (cf. Whitehead, 2012), but also under the interpretative frame enabled by the establishing shot. The opening up of the 01 gallery space allowed for an overall view of the dissimilar and complex cubist, futurist, expressionist, neo-realist, surrealist, and abstractionist traces of the landscape of Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century, creating the possibility – expressed by the establishing shot as well as by Freitas’s quote – to visually trace and connect works via a multitude of distinct readings.

[336] According to Whitehead, this type of interpretive frame establishes close relations and terms of comparative analysis between individual works and/or individual artists “in relation to aspects such as the technique employed and the biography of artists, [and] in particular their relations with specific artistic movements, cultures or circles, and questions of artistic intention” (Whitehead, 2012: 86).

By presenting these new material (spatial) and mental (conceptual) organisations of the collection, the CAM put forward a new narrative which aimed at highlighting the existence of (dis)continuities, fluidities and interruptions, derivations and oppositions within the same art movements throughout the same periods. The critical deconstruction of the metanarrative which was the linearly evolutionary art historiography of Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century was a clear example of the influence of postmodernist thought in art museum exhibitions. The CAM's rethinking, reinterpretations, and new (re)presentations of Portuguese modernism(s) in the 01 gallery depicted a modernity bursting with colour, a modernity of inventive visuality and plasticity, of unprecedented cosmopolitanism and internationality, as well as a modernity that was only "assimilated as averagely urban, stylised and elegant, but visually and plastically contained" (Freitas, 2001: leaflet). In doing so, the 01 gallery display represented all the varied aspects of Portuguese modernisms, depicting the cosmopolitan breakthroughs which were never continued and fulfilled as well as the accomplished developments possible at the time (and place). The CAM, thus, offered an exhibition of Portuguese art of the first half of the 20th century which – in what can be considered a postmodern stance – was simultaneously "luminous and disturbing to all art history discourses one wishes to create" (*ibid.*), and (in)formative of the possibility of multiple readings of the exhibition of Portuguese and British art of the second half of the 20th century displayed on the main floor.

Grounded by the establishing shot, which in itself embodied the new (re)presentations of Portuguese modernism(s) found throughout the 01 gallery, the display on the main floor gallery (0 gallery) – despite being characterised by a clearly different architectural frame (v. fig. 5.20) – followed on the same postmodernist conceptual line. The exhibition in the main floor sought to accomplish several goals: "to highlight some of the most important moments [of the second half of the Portuguese 20th century] and to find relatable examples within the British art collection" (Molder, 2001: leaflet); to present "an 'architecture' which allowed to display the selected works in the most appropriate fashion and which would facilitate the replacement of works and the changing of the spaces" (*ibid.*); and also to display "a great number of young artists" (*ibid.*). By achieving those goals, the CAM presented an international dialogue which was telling of the CAM's and the FCG's history[337] and which broadened the scope of comparative analysis of Portuguese and British artworks of the 1950s and

[337] V. section 3.2.1. on the creation of the CAM's British art collection.

60s; it ensured a greater exhibition capacity[338]; and it allowed for the initial proposition of that exhibition floor – the establishing shot – to span its interpretative weight and consequent multiple reading possibilities across all five decades of the second half of the century[339].

The concept of dialogical, intertextual, and short-circuited interpretation was, therefore, carried out across both galleries as a means of proposing theoretical approaches and putting forward arguments regarding Portuguese art of the 20th century. According to Whitehead, those "propositions and arguments make relationships between works and orchestrate a set of encounters between visitors and artworks, working cumulatively to invite and produce a pre-imagined response and aesthetic experience" (Whitehead, 2012: 92). Even though the previously referred to leaflet was available to all visitors, the 2001 exhibition was characterised by the existence of very little textual information[340], a practice which can be deemed exclusionary of those lacking the cultural capital required to decode the narratives (re)presented by a "syntactical organisation of works in space" (*ibid.*). However, and as will be discussed throughout the next sub-chapter, the CAM would come to reiterate its commitment to establishing a close connection with its public and to designing and making available inclusionary activities and instruments promoting the acquisition of greater and more diversified cultural capital by the public. In an ever increasingly globalised world, the engagement with artistic and cultural practices and meanings would reveal paramount for an understanding of the constantly changing notions and politics of cultural identity, urbanity, and cosmopolitanism.

[338] In January 2001, when the CAM was closed for rehabilitation work there were 160 works of art from its collection on display; when it re-opened in April 2001 there were 346 works of art from the CAM collection on display (cf. Rato, 2001).

[339] Another example of those multiple readings was the fact that the aforementioned establishing shot (1910s-1960s) had a "mirror" image across the gallery floor which established a comparison between "a canvas by António Carneiro (1921) and another one of similar dimension, referents, and execution, by João Queiroz (1999) questioning the appearance of a parallelism or a reply" (Nazaré, 2001: leaflet).

[340] The lack or little existence of textual information in the art museum is characteristic of what Whitehead has coined as the white-cube-style art museum as an interpretive frame in itself and of its own: "[a]s a cultural artefact this frame is also a confused product and remnant of certain modernist aesthetics, which themselves have bound within them romantic notions of fruition, in which the direct, perceptual and affective experience of the artwork is paramount. This led, in the past, to the impossible desire to efface the surroundings – as if this could be done by painting the walls white – and to remove or limit the disruption caused by labels and other written texts in order to minimise both intellectual and visual interference" (Whitehead, 2012: 92).

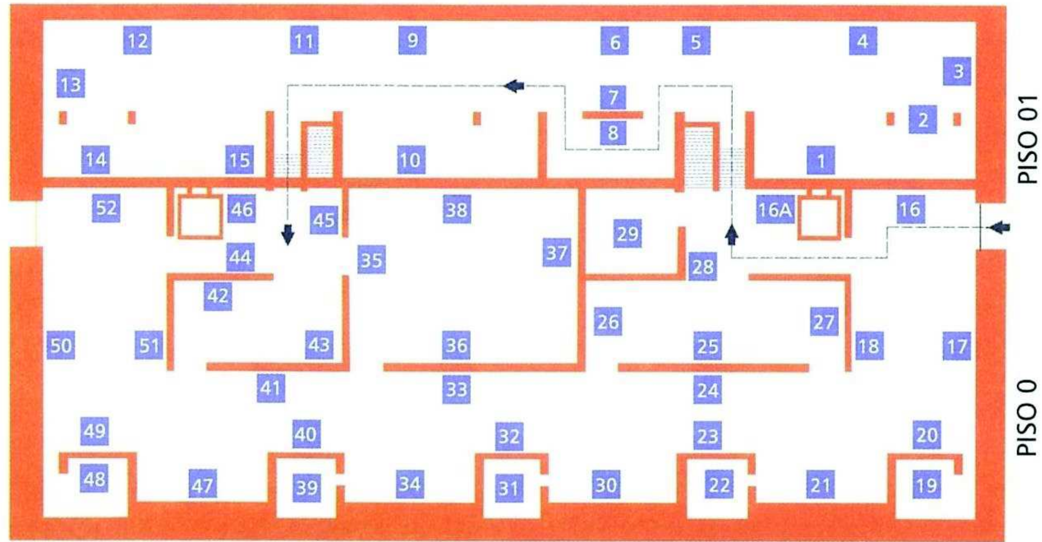

Figure 5.20. - New display of the CAM collection, 2001
Spatial organisation of the main gallery and of the bottom half-floor gallery floors

Figure 5.21. - Seventh re-hanging of the collection: view of the main gallery layout, 2001-2006

Figure 5.22. - Seventh re-hanging of the collection: view of the main gallery layout, 2001

Figure 5.23. - Seventh re-hanging of the collection: view of the bottom half-floor gallery layout, 2001

Figure 5.24. - Seventh re-hanging of the collection: view of the main gallery layout, 2001

Figure 5.25. - *Unknown title (BRUT 300 TSF)*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso,1917

Figure 5.26. - *TÊTE*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1915

Figure 5. 27. - *Unknown title (Máquina registadora)*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1917

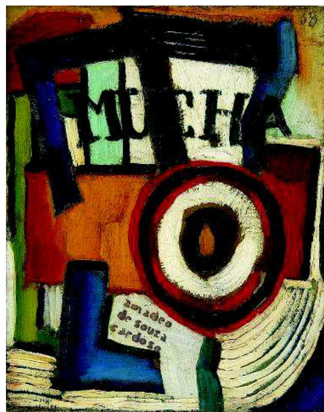

Figure 5.28. - *MUCHA*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1915

Figure 5.29. - *Vida dos Instrumentos*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1916

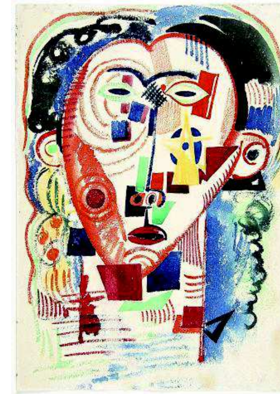

Figure 5.30. - *LITORAL cabeça*, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, 1915

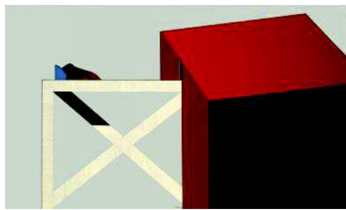

Figure 5.31. - *O Fantasma de Avignon 1*, António Areal, 1967

Figure 5.32. - *O Fantasma de Avignon 2*, António Areal, 1967

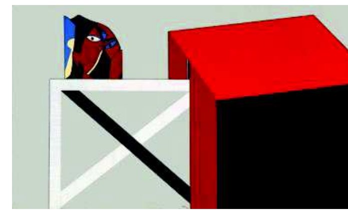

Figure 5.33. - *O Fantasma de Avignon3*, António Areal, 1967

Figure 5.34. - *O Fantasma de Avignon 4*, António Areal, 1967

Figure 5.35. - *O Fantasma de Avignon 5*, António Areal, 1967

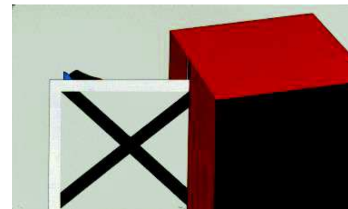

Figure 5.36. - *O Fantasma de Avignon6*, António Areal, 1967

5.2. TRACING THE LINES OF CULTURE THROUGH NEW THEORIES, APPROACHES, AND NARRATIVES

It is a mistake to believe that globalisation only concerns the big systems, such as the world financial order. Globalisation is not merely one other thing that is 'hanging around', remote and detached from the individual. It is also an 'internal' phenomenon, which influences intimate and personal aspects of our lives. […] Thus, one must admit that globalisation is not a simple process, it is a complex network of processes.

(Giddens, 2000: 23-24).

Museums possess a tremendous potential for the development and encouragement of the goals of multicultural education. By their nature and function, museums confront the multiple dimensions of human cultures across time and space. […] Through their objects museums can provide the knowledge and stimulate the thinking skills, social and academic skills, and values and attitudes that can help achieve society's goals for multicultural living.

(Suina, 2004: 105-106).

Globalisation, like the museum itself, represents a contested terrain. This is reflected in competing discourses which attempt to map the most visible forces of globalisation in politics, the media, and culture – as well as those that investigate how globalisation plays out in our everyday lives.

(Rectanus, 2013: 381).

The contemporary museum operates in a mediated world of digital networking, of rapid flows of images and artifacts, of marketization of culture, and of mass tourism where meanings patently escape the horizons of curatorial control. These developments are linked to wider changes in the relationship between professional power, culture, and audiences.

(Fyfe, 2013: 40).

The postmodern debate which identified the shortcomings of modernity's metanarratives, as well as their inapplicability to post-industrial societies and that called either for their abolition or for their (format and content) restructuring (v. section 5.1.1.), developed hand-in-

hand with the information technology revolution, and alongside the increasing surge of feminist[341], LGBTI and queer[342], postcolonial[343], inter and multicultural[344], and transnational[345] theories, politics, and narratives. Crucial aspects of identity-formation and of cultural-meaning-making were, therefore, going through rapid transformations as a result of their re-analysis under a new light – that of postmodern thought – and within a new scope – that of globalisation. At the turn of the millennium, the western world entered what Manuel Castells coined as the 'Information Age' (cf. Castells, 2003[1996]), an age which was heavily sustained, again in Castells' words, by the rise of the network society (cf. *ibid.*, 2003a[1996]) as well as by the power of identity (cf. *ibid.*, 2003b[1997]). The concept of network, along with its underlying notions of interdependence and interconnectedness, and the postmodern take which acknowledges different ideas of identity and identity-formation, would bring forward the relevant role played by a range of social institutions – namely the art museum – in the attempt to decipher, navigate, and understand identities and cultures within a globalised world, or within what Boaventura de Sousa Santos described as "a world system in transition" (Sousa Santos, 2001: 58).

The complexity of systems which form and shape globalisation have created "a logics of permanent discursive hybridisation which goes against the establishment and maintenance of 'grand narratives' in our time[346]" (Grande, 2009: 444). As Sousa Santos argued, globalisation is an ongoing cultural, political, economic, technological, societal, and educational intricate process which embodies the postmodern struggle[347] between local and global production and consumption in their broadest sense (cf. Sousa Santos, 2001). This struggle,

[341] A few examples of feminist theories, politics, and narratives in the fields of art, art history, and art museums: v. Cixous, 1994; Hooks, 1989; Jones, 2003; Nochlin, 1988; Pollock, 1999.

[342] A few examples of LGBTI and queer theories, politics, and narratives in the fields of art, art history, and art museums: v. Bright, 1998; Butler, 1999; Davies, 1994; Foucault, 1990; Hammond, 2000.

[343] A few examples of postcolonial theories, politics, and narratives in the fields of art, art history, and art museums: v. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 1995; Bhabha, 1994; Saïd, 1979.

[344] A few examples of cultural theories, politics, and narratives in the fields of art, art history, and art museums: v. Hall, 1980; Hall and Evans, 1999; Williams, 1963.

[345] A few examples of transnational and globalisation theories, politics, and narratives in the fields of art, art history, and art museums: v. Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Canclini, 2003; Elkins, Valiavicharska, and Kim, 2010; Lee, 2003.

[346] Despite its 'anti-metanarratives' banner, it could be argued that, by attempting to provide an overly comprehensive notion of how all aspects of contemporary life are grounded in/by the local-global dynamics, globalisation theory can be read as a metanarrative in itself.

[347] V. also chapter 2 "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", in Appadurai, 1996.

however, does not necessarily imply a canonical logics of hierarchy, of dichotomist supremacy/subservience, of one versus the other[348]; it rather implies a logics of variegated levels of interaction, interdependence, and interconnectedness without which the global systems could not be sustained. The thriving key aspect of these complex systems that form a whole, which can be – and constantly is – (trans)formed and (re)shaped in different ways, lies in its own inner plasticity. It is that plastic capability that gives way to a myriad of heterogenisation processes that spring from within the homogenising forces and tendencies of many systems at a global level. According to Appadurai,

> The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. […] The critical point is that both sides of the coin of global process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures.
>
> (Appadurai, 1996: 32, 43).

As a set of different systems and mechanisms, globalisation brought new voices to the discursive floor, allowing for an ever increasing number of points of view which denounced western modern narratives at large as biased and limited due to their restricted normative – western, male, hierarchic – point of view (v. footnotes 341 to 345). As was already discussed throughout the previous sub-chapter, western postmodernism had already broken away from the notion of metanarratives, but it can be argued that globalisation – and the multiple voices it enabled – amplified the political battleground regarding narratives (of all sorts) and their role in cultural-meaning-making. As Homi K. Bhabha and other globalisation theorists and scholars have argued, the multitude of subjectivities that sprung out from – and that were made apparent by – post-colonialist criticism (v. Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Canclini, 2003; Saïd, 1978), along with the subjectivities put forward by new politics of race, class, sexual orientation, and gender, amongst others, generated a new way of perceiving narratives of (cultural) identity and (cultural) identity-formation. Within this train of thought, Bhabha argued that

> [i]t is the trope of our times to locate the question of culture in the realm of *beyond*. […] The 'beyond' is neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of the past… […] What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives

[348] For information on the dynamics established between post-colonialism, inter- and multiculturalism, transnationalism, and globalisation from a power-relations standpoint v. Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Canclini, 2003; Ssaïd, 1978, as deeply intertextual works.

> of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself. […] Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively.
>
> (Bhabha, 1994: 1-2)

The articulation of cultural differences, as Bhabha puts it, can be regarded as an in-between space, a space of mediation which aims not merely at being a space of translation and/or communication between subjectivities of different cultures, but mainly at being a space from within which new (cultural) identity-formation elements and new (cultural) identities emerge as a result of the performativity of such articulations.

In the early 21st century, the art museum is one of the foregrounds where the tensions of a world system in transition are played out and (re)presented, where the confrontations between different narratives, subjectivities, identities, and cultures take centre stage, and where the dichotomy between local and global is more frequently addressed in a dialogical way: "[t]he material exchange of artefacts or collections, for example, is key to maintaining exhibition programs. Although it is conducted globally, it unfolds and is recontextualised locally[349]" (Rectanus, 2013: 382). The epistemological stances taken on by globalisation theories and by post-colonialist criticism are very much applicable to the art museum field as "the museum assumed an increasingly visible role in these processes of contestation and exchange which reflected a blurring of cultural and social hierarchies identified with postmodernity […] and with its reconceptualization as 'mass medium'" (*ibid.*: 383). As a heterotopia – capable of agglomerating and representing multiple cultural spaces and times – and as a place of negotiation, dialogue, and intertextuality, in the 21st century the art museum became a material expression of Bhabha's 'in-between' spaces. As such, the art museum sought to further establish and increase the (analytical and bounding) links between the multiple local, national, regional, and international cultural realities. The understanding of specific cultural realities became possible only within the logics of a global cultural reality and

[349] Regarding local-global art museum interactions and exchanges, as the CAM's former director Jorge Molder has observed: "at an early stage, I became aware of the asymmetry governing the international circulation of art, which is always supplied by the strongest to the weakest in a historiographical, political, and economic sense. I sought to break free of this almost inexorable law and on several occasions I achieved this, although I think that the asymmetry tends to remain. But this did not prevent me from carrying out successful collaborations with the Hara Museum, the Pompidou Centre, Tate Britain, Tate St Ives, and the Ludwig Forum, amongst others. In any case, the movement of artists is almost always much more fluid than the movement of institutions" (Molder, 2014: 194).

vice-versa, pushing the art museum's role of local and cosmopolitan mediator into new agency grounds.

Thus, the functioning of the art museum, as a technology of authority in cultural-meaning-making via the processes of selecting, ordering, and classifying works, and constru(ct)ing narratives of cultural realities based on their arrangement(s) (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2000), underwent a transformation. The elaborate framework of globalisation and its cultural dimensions and logics would become the operating background for the creation, designing, and curating of all artistic and cultural activities developed by art museums in the 21st century. Not simply because of globalisation's all-permeating reach into the individuals' everyday lives, but more importantly, perhaps, because of its influence on the re-evaluation of the past, present, and future[350] of people, nations, and cultures, which, in itself, came to restructure theories, narratives, and histories. Tracing the lines of culture would, therefore, become an ever increasingly multi-modal and multi-mediated process. The following sections will help to illustrate in which ways that was the case for the CAM throughout the first decade of the 21st century.

[350] Appadurai defines these moments and aspects of re-evaluation as characteristic of a postmodern globalised society when saying that "[t]he past is now not a land to return to in a simple politics of memory. It has become a synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios, a kind of temporal central casting, to which recourse can be taken as appropriate, depending on the movie to be made, the scene to be enacted, the hostages to be rescued. All this is par for the course, if you follow Jean Baudrillard or Jean-François Lyotard into a world of signs wholly unmoored from their social signifiers (all the world's a Disneyland). But I would like to suggest that the apparent increasing substitutability of whole periods and postures for one another, in the cultural styles of advanced capitalism, is tied to larger global forces, which have done much to show Americans that the past is usually another country. If your present is their future (as in much modernization theory and in many self-satisfied tourist fantasies), and their future is your past (as in the case of the Filipino virtuosos of American popular music), then your own past can be made to appear as simply a normalized modality of your present. Thus, although some anthropologists may continue to relegate their Others to temporal spaces that they do not themselves occupy […], post-industrial cultural productions have entered a post-nostalgic phase" (Appadurai, 1996: 30-31).

5.2.1. The CAM's Education Department as artistic and cultural mediator

Globalisation in the 21st century came to significantly change the ways in which art museums conduct their collecting and displaying practices[351], but above all, it changed the ways in which the art museum (re)presented itself before – and communicated with – the different publics. The aforementioned fast-paced development of a network society (v. Castells, 2003a[1996]) and its consequent transnational and multicultural configuration (v. Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Canclini, 2003) led to "shifts in the production of culture and social meaning" (Rectanus, 2013: 385), thus altering the "definitions of the museum itself and how and where it [was] situated within the complex map of globalization" (*ibid.*). The art museum's modernist role as transmitter of a grand narrative about art and culture was radically challenged by the multi-narrative approach of postmodern thought which in turn was strengthened by globalisation's development with(in) the logics of validity and significance of a multiple-voices and multiple-interpretations (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2004) approach in the making of art and of its cultural meaning. Within that context, the art museum had to "respond to increasingly diverse publics and communities who seem[ed] to redefine the museum's 'use-value' in terms of a differentiated spectrum of functions and museum experiences, which […] involve[d] aesthetic engagement, entertainment, [and] criticism […]" (Rectanus, 2013: 385). An essentially vital element in the art museum's response to the new global and postmodern framework(s) was the Education Department (ED).

Amongst other relevant categorisations, in the 21st century the EDs of art museums can be regarded as artistic and cultural mediators insofar as they function as intermediaries between art, the art museum, the collection, the exhibitions, the artists, the artworks, and the public. The origins and development of what is currently designated as the Education Departments or the Learning Departments of museums can be traced back to the 19th century[352], but it was in the late 20th and early 21st centuries that the EDs of museums – and in particular

[351] As will be discussed in section 5.2.3. and in chapter 6.

[352] The first museum to be considered to have an 'Education Department' as such was a 19th century museum in London then-called South Kensington Museum – an entire quarter composed of several buildings which later gave rise to the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Science Museum, and the Natural History Museum – directed by Henry Cole who, at the time was already developing several ambitious projects and experiments in the field of art education for the publics (cf. Hein, 2000), v. also Gob and Drouget, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; 1994; 2000; Maurício, 2014.

of art museums – gained the status and significance they hold today[353]. As has been discussed throughout the previous chapters, the role of cultural institutions at large, and that of art museums in particular, underwent structural changes in the second half of the 20th century. In a process which Hooper-Greenhill has summarised as the postmodern world challenge to modernist authority (cf. Hooper-Greenhill, 2004), art museums have morphed into increasingly dialogical spaces, becoming also increasingly aware of the fact that "[i]ssues of narrative and voice lead to questions of the construction of knowledge, and the relationship between knowledge construction and power" (*ibid.*: 564). With the development and consolidation of postmodern thought and of globalisation dynamics and paradigms, the art museum realised the importance of acknowledging and giving a voice to the development of new narratives as well as the importance of responding to differentiated audiences (cf. *ibid.*) within an expanding cosmopolitan context. The CAI and the ACARTE had been the organisms responsible for establishing – even if many times indirectly – the relationship between the CAM as a whole (art museum and art centre) and the publics (v. section 4.2.). As they both came to an end, the CAM created its own Sector de Educação e Animação Artística (SEAA) [Education and Artistic Animation Department] in 2002 (cf. Ribeiro, 2007; FCG, 2008).

For the CAM's Director at the time, "[t]he creation of an educational department which would assure a set of activities regarding the collection and the temporary exhibitions, as well as devise specific programmes for the young and for the special needs audiences, was a primary directive" (Molder, 2014: 193). The SEAA sprung from a restructuration of the FCG and of the CAM[354], which led to a full reorganisation of the CAI – as it had been the

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[353] V. Barriga and Silva, 2007; Bennett, 1999; Dierking, 1996;Falk and Dierking, 1995; 2000; Gunther, 1999; Hein, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 1999d; 1999e; 1999f; MacDonald, 1999; Martinho, 2007; Moffat and Woolard, 1999; Padró, 2005; Silva, 2006; 2006a; 2007; 2008; Taylor, 1988.

[354] "In 2001, the Modern Art Centre José de Azeredo Perdigão (CAMJAP) underwent an organic restructuring that brought with it the end of some services and the creation of others. Thusly, the CAI, a structure created in the 1980s following the spirit of the 'Education through Art' movement in Portugal, was fully reformulated and integrated in the new Educational Sector of the CAMJAP. In a certain way, this restructuring allowed for the creation of an educational space that bears a direct relation with the museum and that is founded upon contemporary museum education premises. The CAI functioned autonomously, in a separate building, and was never established as a space geared towards the interpretation and exploration of the CAMJAP's collection. The creation of the CAMJAP's Education Sector took on, from the very start, the task of acting as a space for working directly with the collection as well as with the temporary exhibitions" (Silva, 2006: 114). "The issues associated to the education and development of new publics have, for a very long time, been a priority for the CAMJAP. Increasing the number of visitors, diversifying their provenances, and seeing their average age brought down, can all be considered as some of the main goals of a large majority of museums. The CAM has not sidestepped this model. To that effect, it has developed a very ample set of initiatives in the field of art education and art promotion. These actions have been developing in recent years, generating

nucleus of museum education activities for/at the CAM – and to its full integration into the CAM structure; and which led as well to the reshaping of a guided tours programme[355] implemented in the second half of the 90s which focused on the CAM's permanent and temporary exhibitions (cf. FCG, 2008). The purpose of introducing a structured ED belonging fully to the CAM was to establish a greater connection between the CAM's activities and its publics, generating greater awareness of/about the first and building/engaging a greater variety of the latter. According to the SEAA's coordinator[356], Susana Gomes da Silva[357], the newly fashioned ED's aim was, from the very beginning, to "create spaces for the permanent and continuous negotiation of meanings"[358]. The SEAA was designed to take part of the "ampler movement of renovation and re-invention of the education departments' role as spaces for the constructing and sharing of knowledges which has been taking place in the international museological panorama since the last decades of the 20th century" (*ibid.*: 249). The activities developed by the SEAA would, thus, be oriented by the following guidelines, goals, and objectives:

- To promote and interpret Modern and Contemporary Art (based on the [CAM's] collection and exhibitions), from a plural-voices and intercultural perspective, integrating it into the [the discussions regarding the] challenges and issues of Visual Culture and its role in contemporary society;
- To develop a diversified and transversal programme, based on a *critic constructivist* educational perspective capable of promoting the intersection of approaches and readings as well as capable of contributing to the widening of accessibilities;

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a progressive level of solidity and arising a growing adherence. (…) [The] Board of Administration took a series of decisions leaning towards not only formalising but also reinforcing these guidelines. Given the aforementioned framework, the Education Department that has now been created is already an unavoidable reference in the Portuguese museum context" (FCG, 2002: 57; Martinho, 2007: 30). "The creation of the CAMJAP's Education Department took place in the same year as some other changes in the institution, resulting in a reshaping of the Foundation's organic structure. […] In 2002 the ACARTE (created in 1984), the Design Department, and the CAI were extinguished. Some of the human resources who belonged to the CAI structure – a space for innovative intervention within the scope of artistic pedagogy, cultural education, and social integration – were, then, integrated into the CAMJAP's new Education Department" (Martinho, 2007: 30).

[355] That guided tours programme was devised and coordinated by Rui Sanches (sculptor and Deputy Director of the CAM between 1994 and 1998) and by Ana Vasconcelos (curator and collection manager at the CAM) and one of its main goals was to provide thematic and guided visits to the permanent and temporary exhibitions to the adult public in general as well as to high school teachers; the tours were, for the most part, conducted by M.A. students of the Art History Department of the New University of Lisbon (cf. FCG, 2008).

[356] The CAM's ED was founded in July 2002 under the joint coordination of Leonor Nazaré and Susana Gomes da Silva, who became the sole coordinator from July 2005 onwards (cf. FCG, 2008).

[357] Susana Gomes da Silva (1970-) holds a M.A. in Museum Studies and has worked as coordinator of the SEAA since its foundation in 2002. She works in the field of museum education as a conference keynote speaker, as an author of several educational projects, as well as an educational/professional trainer, and as guest professor in several universities and other educational institutions.

[358] Information retrieved from informal interviews conducted in March 2009 and February 2014.

> - To construct spaces of reflection, dialogue, and debate springing from Modern and Contemporary Art and its associated fields of study;
> - To construct a space for the reflection, fostering, and debate of Museum Education and its contribution to the current educational practices within the museum context.
>
> (Silva, 2006a: 166).

The SEAA's main purpose was, therefore, to be "a powerful ally in the construction of spaces of negotiation as well as in the construction of meanings, allowing for the [CAM] to gain greater relevance within its societal context" (v. footnote 358). As was discussed throughout chapter 4., in the mid-1980s the CAM and the ACARTE had constru(ct)ed and had constituted an exhibitionary complex of unparalleled relevance and significance in Lisbon, as they continuously made available (re)new(ed) knowledges regarding modernity and Portuguese modernisms, while simultaneously introducing the public to national and international postmodern cosmopolitan art and culture. The CAI had introduced the Portuguese general public to concepts of artistic education and artistic fruition which were not very widespread or even usual in Lisbon, and which were not part of the cultural habits of the majority of Portuguese people. The SEAA, however, came at a moment in time when the cultural habits (and expectations) of Portuguese people were already quite different, and at a period when the artistic and cultural offer in the city had expanded exponentially (v. section 5.1.2.). The SEAA was, thus, clearly not meant to recreate the work carried out by the ACARTE or the CAI, but rather to pick it up where it had been left off, i.e., to develop and extend on the CAI's work regarding art museum education (based on the works from the CAM's collection and exhibitions), as well as to take on the ACARTE's role as a space for the creation of symbolic situations and for the (continuous) formation of diversified publics in different ways. The SEAA's work would, thus, focus on reiterating the CAM's place in Lisbon's culturalscape as a space for the understanding of cultural identity formation and of cultural meaning-making within a postmodern, globalised, multicultural context. According to Susana Gomes da Silva, the SEAA

> conceives of Art as a cultural concept which integrates both the set of 'artistic' productions and manifestations which characterise it and the system that classifies them. As such, [the SEAA] reinforces the "importance of perceiving 'art' as a representation of meanings" (Hernández, 2000: 129) within a specific cultural, historical, social, economic, political, and symbolic context, seeking to promote an informed and situated perspective allowing for a reading of artistic (and museological!) objects in their multiple dimensions and discursive and symbolic spheres.
>
> (Silva, 2006a: 166).

Furthermore, the SEAA's coordinator considers that the work that art museums' EDs develop based on works of art is fundamental for "reflecting on and debating the key [conceptual and symbolical] issues of nowadays' world, namely its visual and material cultures as constructors of identity discourses and practices based on which individuals build and shape their reference universes" (*ibid.*).

Composed by a multidisciplinary team[359], the SEAA has developed a varied educational programme with an array of different(ly targeted) activities, from thematic, didactic, and pedagogic guided tours tailored to all types of publics[360], to courses, workshops, publications, and other kinds of events such as performing arts shows, conferences, and debates with renowned specialists, and talks with the artists, as well as national and international partnership projects with cultural and teaching institutions (v. Silva, 2006; Ribeiro, 2007; FCG, 2008; and FCG annual reports 2008-2013). In doing so, the SEAA intervened in the field of museum education in multifaceted ways: through the artistic education of the general public; through the training of teachers and other educational agents as well as through the offering of activities aiming at the professional development of museum workers; and through the editing and publishing of didactic and pedagogical material (cf. Martinho, 2007; Silva, 2006a). By creating spaces and opportunities for all different kinds of publics to engage with and interpret the CAM's collection and exhibitions, and by offering the possibility to "all who participate in its activities to develop critical thinking processes and a critical conscience regarding the societies which generate the creative potential that museums then make available" (Ribeiro, 2007: 364), the SEAA presented itself as a "vital space of/for communication, construction, creativity, and engagement" (FCG, 2008: 250).

Even though the SEAA had a major role in restructuring, increasing, and solidifying the relationship between the CAM and the publics in the 21st century, having turned into a key element in/for the cultural communication of the CAM's collection and exhibitions, the SEAA's overall role was not circumscribed to its actions regarding the CAM's art. Carrying on the FCG's commitment to artistic, cultural, and educational development, and following

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[359] The SEAA's team is composed of permanent staff as well as interns and freelance workers that bring to the SEAA's projects an array of perspectives and experiences in different fields, from art history, fine-arts, history, and museum education, to sociology, anthropology, biology, social work, tourism, etc..

[360] Currently the different overarching categories of public (as defined by the Descobrir – Gulbenkian Programme for Education for Culture and Science) are: children and youths (segmented into different age groups from 0 to 18 years old), adults, families, schools and other groups, professors, and students and/or professionals of culture-, art-, and tourism-related fields.

the steps that the CAM, the CAI, and the ACARTE had taken towards the fulfilment of that commitment, the SEAA made it its mission to "affirm itself and the CAM as a 'national landmark' in promoting museum education as a specialised training and educational-development field essential to the life of museums and other cultural institutions" (Martinho, 2007: 31-32). The implementation of this mission was attested by the publication of several research articles on the topic by members of the SEAA team[361], as well as by the many certified workshops, courses, and programmes[362] created specifically for the training and/or professional development of museum EDs' professionals and/or students of museum studies, cultural management, cultural communication, and other field-related topics. In doing so, the SEAA contributed to the further establishment of the CAM as a crucial element in the ongoing reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape. By fostering the enhancement of educational programmes within artistic and cultural institutions, the SEAA contributed to the

> vitality and transforming potential of societies [which] is measured (amongst other things) by their creative capacity […], not only patent in the expressions and products of artistic creativity, but also in the diversity of platforms and spaces which foster the creative and critical thinking that those same societies are capable of generating and maintaining.
>
> (Silva, 2008: 15).

The SEAA brought forth a structured notion of how cultural institutions are responsible for generating and portraying the creative vitality of the communities surrounding them, and of how they have a highly significant role in constru(ct)ing the representations and cultural identities of those same communities (cf. *ibid.*). According to Gomes da Silva, cultural institutions have those responsibilities and play those roles because they "have the ability to generate, foster, and reflect the ongoing diversity, creative potential, dynamism, and transformation which are characteristic of the development and evolution of societies" (*ibid.*: 15).

[361] V. Barriga, 2007; Barriga & Silva, 2007; Barriga *et al.*, 2008; Canavarro, 2007; Silva, n.d.; 2006; 2006a; 2007; 2008.

[362] A few examples of courses dedicated to museum education issues: in 2002 – Training course in Artistic Education; 2003 – Education and Visual Culture: the Challenges of Contemporaneity; 2004 – Designing and Organising Exhibitions and Catalogues; 2005 – Museology and Museum Education: Education Departments as Meeting Grounds; 2006 – Education Departments within the Culture; 2007 – Education Department: Building Meeting Grounds and Communicational Spaces; 2009 - Gulbenkian Programme *Education for Culture* Workshops - Education and Museums: Designing Creative Spaces for Dialogue and Learning – Part 1: from Theory to Practice, Part 2: from Practice to Theory; 2011 – Museum Education Beyond the Publics! – Creative Strategies to Motivate Teams and Exponentiate Competences.

Silva also highlights the significance of the transition that has been occurring from a framework of Information and Network Society to one of Knowledge, Learning, and Creativity Society (v. Silva, 2008) where "the increasing association between creativity and knowledge reinforces the importance and the transversal nature of creative thinking in the integral development of individuals" (Silva, 2008: 15). In a somewhat similar process to the one analysed in Bourdieu and Darbel's 1969 *L'Amour de l'Art, les musées d'art et leur public* regarding the difference between the democratisation of access to culture and the democratisation of cultural consumption[363], the changing frameworks of societal structuration are leading to a paradigm shift in the individuals' (expected) development; the Network and Information Society model, which is based on granting the individuals broad range and broad band access to information, is slowly giving way to the Knowledge, Learning, and Creativity Society model which is based on "a reinforcement of the individual and collective responsibility in the use of that information, fostering an active, critic, and wide participatory attitude of the individuals and the communities within the existing spaces and manifestations of cultural identity representation" (*ibid.*: 15-16). Thus, and as Gomes da Silva states, the processes of construction and participation become the focus of societal dynamics, and given that EDs "inhabit [precisely] those intermediary connection spaces […] between institutions and individuals, between the ideas of the creators/producers and the ideas of the enjoyers/consumers" (*ibid.*: 16), they turn into artistic-cultural-creative intermediaries (some steps beyond Bourdieu's concept[364]), responsible for what Bhabha designates as the articulation of cultural differences (cf. Bhabha, 1994). As spaces that contribute to the individuals', the

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[363] V. subchapter 3.1.

[364] As David Hesmondhalgh has observed: "'Cultural intermediaries' is one of the most confusing terms in the cultural industries lexicon. It has been widely used in recent debates about changing relations between culture and society (for example, Featherstone, 1991), but also in studies of cultural industry organizations (such as Negus, 1992, 2002; Nixon, 1997) and cultural policy (O'Connor, 2004). Its use derives from the discussion of the new petite bourgeoisie and the new bourgeoisie in Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984). For Bourdieu, at the core of the new petite bourgeoisie – a new social class with distinctive tastes and cultural practices – are 'all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth) and […] all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services (1984: 359). This is important in understanding the development of the cultural industries – not only because the expansion of the cultural industries feeds the expansion of this social class, which has its own distinctive cultural practices, but also because this class constitutes a major new audience for certain cultural texts. Bourdieu seems to have intended the term "new cultural intermediaries" to refer to a particular type of new petite bourgeoisie profession associated with cultural commentary in the mass media: 'the most typical of whom are the producers of cultural programmes on TV and radio or the critics of "quality" newspapers and magazines and all the writer-journalists and journalist-writers' (1984: 325). Presumably, the 'old' cultural intermediaries were those who acted as critics and experts on serious, legitimate culture in the pre-mass media age. Both new and old cultural intermediaries, I assume, are thus named because they 'mediate' between producers and consumers" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 66).

communities', and society's participation in the debate over cultural identity formation, and as entities which foster progressive and creative form(at)s of inter- and multicultural articulations, EDs "play [and fulfil] a crucial social and educational role in contemporary society" (Silva, 2008: 15).

With the SEAA's creation, the CAM devised a structured way of addressing the need to establish a greater and more engaging relationship with increasingly diversified publics by fostering artistic education as well as the creation of ever more inclusive spaces for the debate and discussion of cultural meaning-making and cultural identity-formation elements. Through its pluri-vocal (exploring and critically analysing art via different perspectives, contexts, and narratives) and multi-modal (symbolic, iconic, and enactive[365]) approach, the SEAA came to expand the significance of artistic and cultural education in the understanding of postmodernist cosmopolitan thinking:

> [t]he role of education departments is not that of mere translation and explanation of messages, concepts, or experiences already present in the cultural programming of museums, but rather that of building shared networks of meanings, areas where the individuals, the objects, and the ideas meet, and where meanings about the world around us are shaped and negotiated.
>
> (Silva, 2008: 17).

As such, the SEAA can be considered as an expression of the CAM's reflection on/ performance of a postmodernist stance inasmuch as it presents itself as a space of dialogue and debate, a space for the constru(ct)ing of meanings and of the individual's learning possibilities. The following section will address another expression of the CAM's postmodernist turn by analysing the first guide to the collection published in the 21st century.

[365] Joseph Suina describes the different modes in the following way: "in learning experiences […] the symbolic mode almost always takes the written form […]; the iconic mode involves 'imagery' or the use of representations of the actual through physical models, films and other means […]; the enactive mode is learning through the use of authentic items, events, ideas and people […]; museums are incredibly rich with iconic and enactive learning opportunities" (Suina, 2004: 106).

5.2.2. Writing art, artists, and artworks: a guide to the collection in the 21st century

In 2004 the CAM published its new Guide to the Collection of the Modern Art Centre José de Azeredo Perdigão, the first Guide of the CAM's collection in the 21st century (v. fig. 5.37.). Guides to museums' halls, exhibitions, or art collections are, in Mieke Bal's words, an "official self-reflective product, the condensation of [a museum's] efforts at self-representation" (Bal, 1992: 589). The CAM's 2004 Guide to the Collection can be described as a self-reflective product which – as it illustrates the CAM's politics and poetics of collecting, studying, and researching Portuguese 20th century art – (re)presents one of the CAM's main identity markers. Published the year after the CAM commemorated its 20th anniversary, the Guide presents an organisation which is simultaneously postmodern in its self-awareness as a key element "within the museum's overall narrative machinery" (Bennett, 1998[1995]: 180), and "backtelling[366]" (*ibid.*: 181) in a didactic and pedagogical way. As a publication on a section of an art collection, the 2004 Guide, in its selecting and discussing of specific artists and artworks, traced the lines of Portuguese 20th century artistic culture in one of the ways it was perceived by the CAM at the beginning of the 21st century.

As a guide to the collection – and not a guide to the permanent exhibition[367] – the 2004 Guide's purpose and format were different from those of the previous guides[368]. While the 1983 Guide to the Museum of the CAM sought to provide the public at large with a schematic conventional periodisation of Portuguese modern art historiography (v. section 4.1.1. and footnote 220), and the 1985 Guide to the CAM aimed at serving as "a guiding tool for the visitor who walks through the different areas of the Museum" (Sommer Ribeiro, 1985b: 10) (v. section 4.1.3.), the 2004 Guide to the Collection "emerged from the need of presenting the CAMJAP collection to the public more completely and widely[369]" (Nazaré, 2004: 7). With a collection ranging close to six thousand works of art (in 2004), fulfilling that need would require selecting the artists and artworks which best helped describe and delineate the collection, as well as the CAM's collecting and research guidelines and politics. To that end,

[366] Bennett retrieves Thomas Huxley's description of one of Voltaire's characters – Zadig – to "propose the neologism […] "backteller" – as the best way of describing the procedures of 'the retrospective prophet' [Zadig]" (Bennett, 1998[1995]: 178.

[367] The aforementioned and discussed 2001 leaflet fulfilled that role (v. section 5.1.3.).

[368] V. subchapter 4.1., and sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.3.

[369] Especially when compared to a short booklet titled *Pequeno Roteiro da Colecção de Arte do Centro de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo Perdigão* [Small Guide to the Art Collection of the Modern Art Centre José de Azeredo Perdigão] that was published by the CAM in 1996.

"139 artists, considered representative of the collection, [were] incorporated into this book" (Nazaré, 2004: 7), which included the reproduction[370] of 165 pieces, and was divided into five sections: "During Modernism", "Artists of the 40s and 50s", "From the ruptures of the 60s onwards", "The most recent years", and "Encounters". Each artist entry[371] is accompanied by a text which "establish[es] the artist's biographical journey and represent[s] an interpretative, and at times critical, understanding of the [artist's] work" (*ibid.*), as well as by an image of one (very occasionally two) artwork(s) by the artist, and by a "selective bibliography and a note regarding the number of works [which represent the artist] in the collection" (*ibid.*). Aside from the foreword, the organisation of this Guide includes a text which very briefly "trace[s] the history of how the collection was formed" (*ibid.*) and at the end of the Guide one finds "a compared chronology of important events within and beyond the artistic world of the 20th century […] provid[ing] a better historical understanding of the artists featured in the guidebook" (*ibid.*).

The 2004 Guide illustrates the CAM's wish of presenting its collection of modern and contemporary Portuguese art within a postmodern framework which re-evaluates the past and the present and consequently restructures theories and narratives that are vital for an understanding of contemporary inter- and multicultural systems and dynamics. Even though the 2004 Guide follows a postmodern epistemological stance and, therefore, introduces a composition that contains less sections – a less fragmented art history with a greater acknowledgement of the fluidity of art movements throughout the 20th century – than the 1985 Guide, it, nevertheless, divides and agglomerates artists and respective works into four chronological and historical categories. As such, it "bestows a socially coded visibility on the various pasts it organizes […] [as] linked chains of events […] which press ever-forward to the present point […] from where these connected sequences are made retrospectively intelligible" (Bennett 1998[1995]: 180). By establishing a predominantly diachronic order for the presentation of the collection in book format and through the action of selecting specific artists and artworks to represent it, the CAM "focused on a particular sequence within the museum's overall narrative machinery" (*ibid.*), i.e., it structured an overall 'backtelling'

[370] Reproductions vary depending on the works of art; there are integral and partial reproductions either of the entirety of the pieces or of details/still-frames.
[371] Within each section artists are ordered alphabetically by their last name/artistic name.

organisation of its art collection, a narrative itinerary where each of those four chapters belongs "within a longer story, pressing towards an end point which is simultaneously the point at which the next chapter commences" (*ibid.*: 181).

The first chapter, "During Modernism", brings together 18 artists and 21 artworks[372] representative of the First and Second Portuguese Modernisms (v. figs. 5.38 to 5.43.). A brief introduction to the chapter highlights Amadeo and Almada as the leading figures of the First Modernism, making particular reference to Amadeo's protagonist and iconic role within the collection due to "his modernism, cosmopolitanism, and experimental daring" (Nazaré, 2004: 10). The text mentions the humourist art of the 1920s by António Soares, Jorge Barradas, and Stuart de Carvalhais, referring in particular to the social criticism and socially interventionist character of several covers of humourist magazines which contributed "to the abundance and popularity of an artistic production that would not have been economically viable on other media" (*ibid.*). The Second Modernism (1930s and 40s) is very shortly described as being "considered less daring and innovative, in relative terms [to the First Modernism] despite the [ongoing] influence of the turn of the century ruptures" (*ibid.*), and Mário Eloy and Eduardo Viana are put forward as the representative names. In order to situate certain names such as Abel Manta or Canto da Maia within the Modernisms group, the introductory text makes a reference to the fact that during the same period of time as the modernist expression was taking root and expanding in Portugal, "artistic practices closely related to the naturalist tradition, and [distanced] from the avant-garde, maintained [considerably large] public acceptance" (*ibid.*) (v. section 4.1.1.).

The second chapter, "Artists of the 40s and 50s", presents 19 artists and 20 works of art[373] and "circumscribes a precise temporal definition from the emerging of Neo-Realism to Surrealism, and Abstractionism" (*ibid.*: 7) where names such as Júlio Pomar, Fernando Lanhas, Mário Cesariny António Dacosta, Fernando Lemos, and Nadir Afonso stand out (v. figs. 5.44. to 5.49.). The surrealist movement in Portugal was prolific in drawings, paintings, and sculptures, as is evidenced by the CAM's collection. Given that artists showed a growing tendency, during this period, to conduct "[s]cientific research, at times esoteric, on geometry and on the effects [regarding] optical perception" (*ibid.*: 52), geometrical and lyrical abstractionisms, as well as photography, developed considerably.

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[372] Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and José de Almada Negreiros are each represented by two of their works.
[373] Mário Cesariny is represented by two pieces.

The third chapter, "From the ruptures of the 60s onwards", is the largest chapter, with 63 artist entries and 66 artworks[374], "establish[ing] the multidirectional panorama of artists whose languages refreshed and definitively renovated the national artistic context in the 60s, 70s, and 80s" (*ibid.*: 7) (v. figs. 5.50. to 5.59.). This chapter gathers artists whose "careers spanned three or four decades of the Portuguese artistic panorama and many who continue working to date" (*ibid.*: 94), including some household names who were recipients of FCG grants to study, do research, and work abroad in the 60s and 70s (v. section 2.1.1.). As a result of those artists' incursions throughout Europe and the U.S.A., as well as of the (post)revolutionary (counter)cultures which were characteristic of the 1970s in Lisbon, the CAM collection nowadays includes examples of the visual and "plastic arts [that] began to reflect the liberty, diversity, and individual research that had become possible" (*ibid.*). Names like Lourdes Castro, Helena Almeida, Álvaro Lapa, Ângelo de Sousa, Fernando Calhau, or Julião Sarmento "launched the foundations for the uncompromised diversity that would follow" (*ibid.*) in the renewal of painting, sculpture, photography, and video.

The fourth, and last chronological chapter, "The most recent years", includes 29[375] "artists who emerged during the 90s and who are part of the collection" (*ibid.*: 228), with names such as Gil Heitor Cortesão, Alexandre Estrela, Catarina Leitão, João Onofre, João Pedro Vale, or Susanne Themlitz (v. figs. 5.60. to 5.66.). This selection of artists whose work started to surface and be noticed during the last decade of the 20th century is characterised by a "questioning of the collective devices closely linked to political, cultural, and media awareness, or […] by a critical relationship with those spheres" (*ibid.*). However, and as evidence of the legacy left by artists and themes from the 60s, 70s, and 80s, "[t]here are […] latent archetypes that are maintained and poetic intentions that find new breathing space in photography, video, drawing, and painting [and where] [t]he artistic world and the conditions of reception once again become issues pertaining to works of art" (*ibid.*).

The fifth, and final, chapter, "Encounters", is the only thematic section, bringing together 10 foreign[376] artists and 11 works of art[377]. It focuses on international artists whose influence on Portuguese artists was quite known and visible "during the first half of the 20th

[374] António Areal, Alberto Carneiro, and Julião Sarmento are each represented by two pieces.
[375] And the same number of artworks.
[376] Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, who was born in Portugal and who had Portuguese nationality and French citizenship, is included in this group.
[377] Robert Delaunay is represented by two pieces.

century: the Delaunays with Almada and Amadeo[378], Léger and Bissière as Vieira da Silva's teachers, George Grosz as a recognisable reference to Mário Eloy, and Cândido Portinari's influence on Júlio Pomar" (*ibid.*: 288). Even though this last thematic group has a relatively small numerical representation when compared to other clusters of international art in the CAM's collection[379], its significance as a portrayal of the fluidity of co-relations and connections between the Portuguese modernisms and its international counterparts is highly relevant for an understanding of Portuguese art from the first half of the 20th century.

Despite the individual presentation of the selected artists and artworks, the 2004 Guide content ordering and organisation in chapters, which mainly followed historical-chronologic categories, presents the reader with the possibility of following a "continuous evolutionary narrative […] judged to be essential to the museum's pedagogic mission" (Bennett, 1998[1995]: 184). Each of the five chapters consists of a somewhat heterogeneous range of artists and artworks which were deemed evocative and depictive of the different four timeframes and the final thematic-frame, as well as deemed the most suited in the composing of an overall image of the CAM's collection of 20th century Portuguese art. It is not the case with all of the artworks selected[380] that compose this guidebook, but many of them "belong to the period to which they refer and are portrayed as active [artistic] forces within that period, [thus] serv[ing] both as a part of [art] history and as its representations" (*ibid.*). As such, the chapters are devised to be exemplificative of the periods they refer to, with the artists and respective bodies of work chosen functioning as the key elements for a relatively elaborate account of those periods regarding the development of Portuguese art and of the Portuguese (visual and plastic) artistic panorama. The comparative chronology at the end of the guidebook summarises the main events of the century[381], providing further elements for the understanding of the relationships established between bodies of work and/or artists of the

[378] V. footnote 157 in section 3.2.1., and v. section 4.1.1..

[379] Such as the cluster of British art in the collection; a specific publication encompassing the different clusters of international art in the CAM's collection was planned at the time.

[380] For example, some works of art chosen to represent a few artists which were included in the "From the ruptures of the 60s onward" chapter (focusing mainly in the 60, 70s, and 80s) are actually pieces made in the 21st century like *#D.B. Self Portrait* (2002) by Daniel Blaufuks, *During Sleep* (2002) by Rui Chafes, or *Untitled* (2001) by Rui Sanches.

[381] The 2004 Guide comprehended many of the most significant and relevant events of the 20th century (from 1901 to 2003), grouping them in decades (1901-1920 are presented together), and dividing the events into the following categories: Politics/Economy, Society, Science/Technology, Theoretical Thought, International Art, Portuguese Art, and In the CAMJAP collection (represented by one or two works of art from the respective decade belonging to the collection).

same period as well as for the understanding of the (evolutionary) connections that exist between the different periods.

As two different formats of displaying and narrating the CAM's collection, the 2004 Guide and the 2001 permanent exhibition leaflet (v. section 5.1.3.) are both central elements of what Bennett describes as the art museum's narrative machinery, which means they can directly or indirectly be complementary to an understanding of the collection and, therefore, to an understanding of the CAM's role. The 2001 permanent exhibition (and respective leaflet) proposed a reading of the collection in a dynamics of intertextuality and dialogue between artworks from the first and the second half of the 20th century, and between artworks from the Portuguese, British, French, and Armenian clusters of the collection. The 2004 Guide, on the other hand, focused on gathering information about the Portuguese artists and their bodies of work so as to present a quasi-evolutionary art historiography of 20th century Portuguese art. One aspect both the 2001 exhibition and the 2004 Guide have in common, however, is the preponderance of artists and works belonging to the 1960s onwards – with the chapters "From the ruptures of the 60s onwards" and "The most recent years" making up for almost three quarters of the total entries of the 2004 Guide – which "highlight[s] the permanent care taken to constantly renew the collection" (Nazaré, 2004: 7). This aspect also reveals a background work of permanent re-evaluation of the collection as a cultural meaning-making element and as a mechanism which allows for (re)tracings of cultural theories and narratives within an art history framework as well as within a continuously transforming societal framework.

The (re-)presentation of the CAM's collection in the 2004 Guide to the Collection followed criteria for the artists and artworks selection as well as criteria for their categorisation into groups which was demonstrative of the CAM's postmodernist turn insofar as it conveyed much more multi-directional and pluri-vocal ways of seeing the collection. One last example of the CAM's reflection on/ performance of a postmodern stance will be the analysis of one of the commemorative moments of the FCG's 50th anniversary: an exhibition organised by the CAM featuring the attempt of a repositioning of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso's avant-garde modernist work within a contemporary postmodern art historiography.

Figure 5.37. - Guide to the Collection, CAMJAP (2004) (cover)

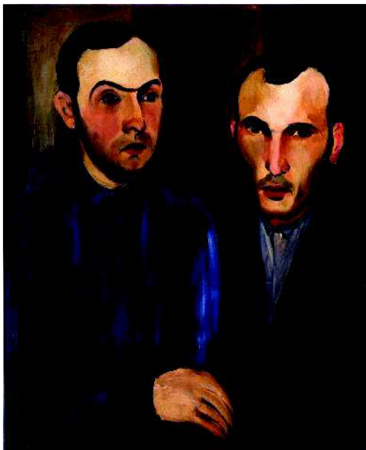

Figure 5.38. - *Portrait of Tagarro and Waldemar da Costa*, Sarah Affonso, 1929

Figure 5.39. - *Untitled (Feminine Figure)*, Jorge Barradas, 1923

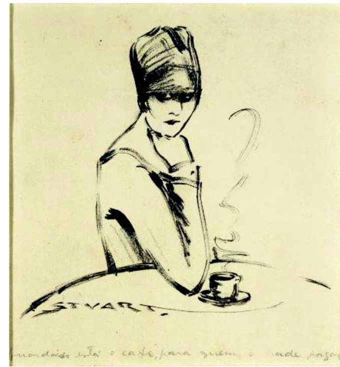

Figure 5.40. - *Stored is the coffee for anyone willing to pay*, Stuart de Carvalhais, 1927

Figure 5.41. - *Untitled (Ladies at the Café Table)*, Christiano Cruz, 1919

Figure 5.42. - *Self-Portrait*, Ofélia Marques, 1936

Figure 5.43. - *Natacha*, António Soares, c. 1928

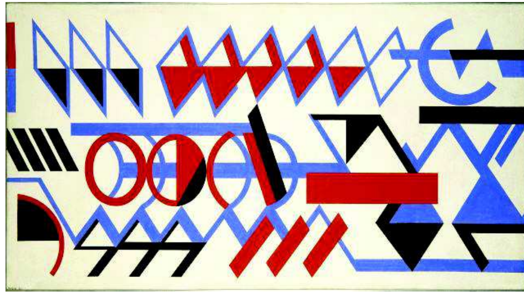

Figure 5.44. - *Espacillimité*, Nadir Afonso, 1958

Figure 5.45. - *Untitled* (Portrait of Costa Martins included in the series Lisbon Sad and Happy City), Victor Palla, 1959

Figure 5.46. - *Abduction in a populated land-scape,* António Pedro, 1947

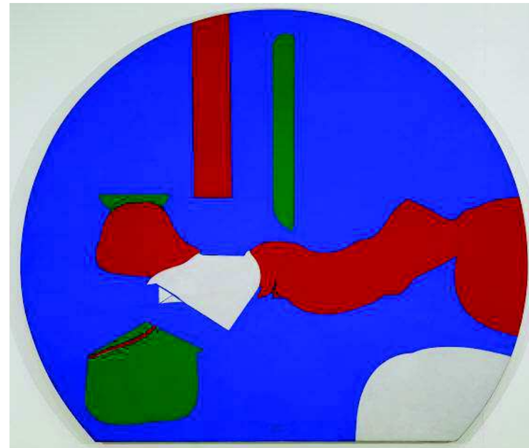

Figure 5.47. - *Odalisque à l'Esclave*, Júlio Pomar, 1969

Figure 5.48. - *Party Afternoon*, Júlio, 1925

Figure 5.49. - *Hand in 1960*, Cruzeiro Seixas, 1960

Figure 5.50. - *To Seduce*, Helena Almeida, 2002

Figure 5.51. - *#D.B. Self Portrait*, Daniel Blaufuks, 2002

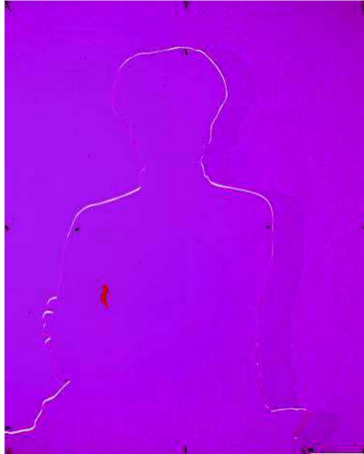

Figure 5.52. - *Projected Shadow of Christa Maar*, Lourdes Castro, 1968

Figure 5.53. - *During Sleep*, Rui Chafes, 2002

Figure 5.54. - *The Lisbon Streets*, Ana Hatherly, 1977

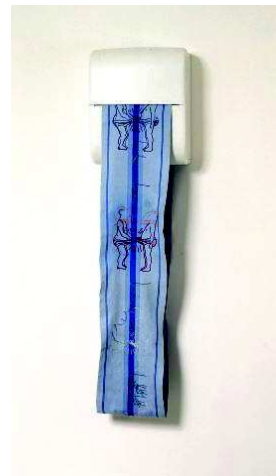

Figure 5.55. - *Roger*, Ana Jotta, 1995

Figure 5.56. - *Dressing Table*, Ana Vieira, 1973

Figure 5.57. - *Untitled*, Sérgio Pombo, 1973

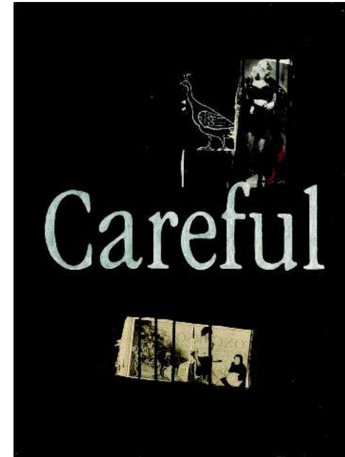

Figure 5.58. - *Tales on Dirty Realism (Careful)*, Julião Sarmento, 1987

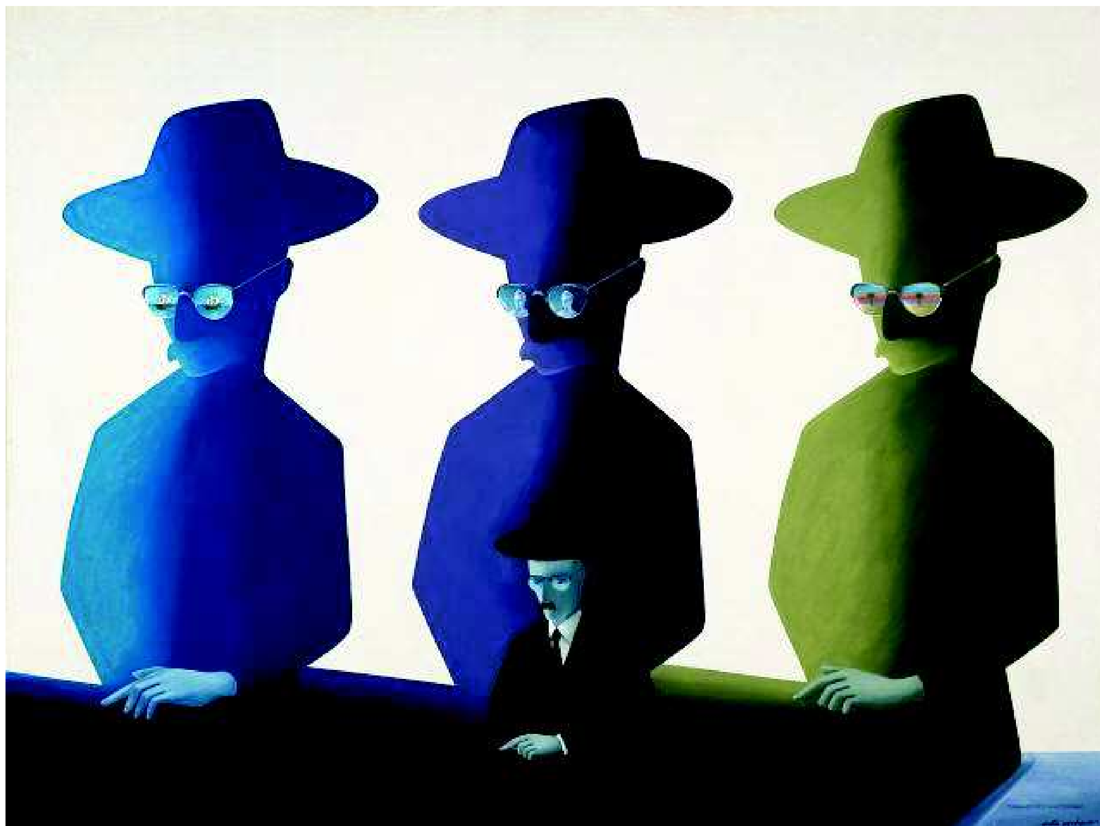

Figure 5.59. - *Fernando Pessoa - Heteronym*, Costa Pinheiro, 1978

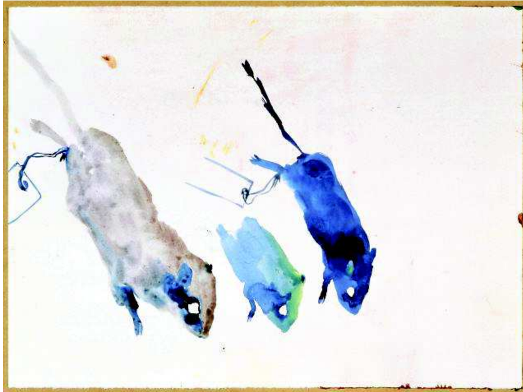

Figure 5.60. - ***Untitled*****,**
Bárbara Assis Pacheco, 2001

Figure 5.61. - ***Smog #17***
(from the Corridors series), Nuno Cera, 2000

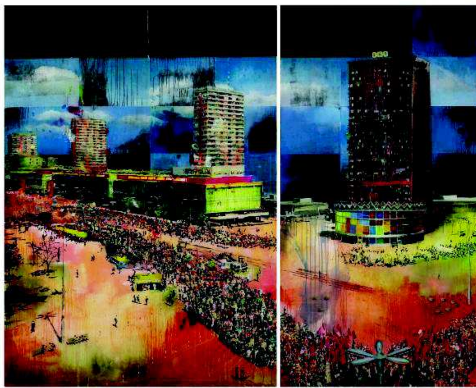

Figure 5.62. - ***Untitled (Demonstration)*****,**
Gil Heitor Cortesão, 2004

Figure 5.63. - ***The Rest is Silence II*****,**
Noé Sendas, 2003

Figure 5.64. - ***Untitled*** **(drawing from the Harm-less and Loners series), Susanne Themlitz, 2000**

Figure 5.65. - ***Are You Safe When You Are Dreaming*****, João Pedro Vale, 2001**

5.2.3. *Avant-garde dialogues*: old tales and new tellings in international art history

Postmodern cultural thought and the (tugging) forces of globalisation have demonstrated that the narration of history – and, in this case, the telling of art history in particular – can be constantly and continuously subjected to alterations via the introduction of new theories, new research results, as well as via differently (in)formed perspectives brought by new information and/or new epistemological stances. The exhibition *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso – Diálogo de Vanguardas* [*Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso – Avant-garde Dialogues*], which was organised by the CAM as part of the commemorations of the FCG's 50th anniversary – would come to be an example of that. This exhibition was a moment of cultural-cartography-making in single exhibition format[382] which reconfigured certain narratives as it "aimed at establishing a reencounter between the *oeuvre* of Amadeo and the *oeuvres* of contemporary foreign artists, both within and outside of his circle of friendships, through works of art which are revealing of the experimental signs and complicities of that time" (FCG, 2006: 6). Functioning as a way of reframing and restating Amadeo's work within the realm of international modernisms and avant-garde movements, the exhibition attempted to change the (im)mutable configuration of international art history by demonstrating that "Amadeo was a protagonist of that first moment of 'artistic globalisation'" (Freitas, 2006:8).

The exhibition was held at the temporary display galleries of the FCG HQ building between November 15th 2006 and January 15th 2007, gathering 260 works of art – 190 paintings and drawings by Amadeo and 70 other pieces (paintings, drawings, and sculptures) by 39 international artists[383] – and displaying "artists and movements of rupture which definitively altered the representation canons in western art" (*ibid.*: 6). The exhibition's *vernissage* took place on November 14th, precisely 119 years after Amadeo's birth; 2006 was also the 100th anniversary of Amadeo's relocation to Paris and the 50 years anniversary of França's redis-

[382] An exhibition which was, nevertheless, accompanied by an exhibition catalogue (v. FCG, 2006b), as well as by two *raisonné* catalogues published after the exhibition (v. FCG, 2007; FCG, 2008a).

[383] Albert Gleizes, Alexander Archipenko, Alexandra Exter, Alexej Jawlensky, Amedeo Modigliani, André Derain, August Macke, Constantin Brancusi, Fernand Léger, Franz Marc, Gabriele Münter, Gino Severini, Hermen Anglada, Camarasa, Ivan Klioune, Ivan Puni, Jean Metzinger, Juan Gris, Kasimir Malévitch, Liubov Popova, Lyonel Feininger, Manuel Ortíz de Zárate, Marcel Duchamp, Marianne Werefkin, Nadja Oudaltsova, Natalia Gontcharova, Olga Rozanova, Oskar Kokoschka, Ossip Zadkine, Otto Freundlich, Pablo Picasso, Robert Delaunay, Sonia Delaunay, Takanobu, Tsunenobu Kakemono, Umberto Boccioni, Vera Pestel, Vladimir Tatlin, William Wauer, as well as two other Portuguese artists: Almada Negreiros and Eduardo Viana.

covery and historiographic presentation of Amadeo's *oeuvre* in Portugal (cf. *ibid.*) (v. section 4.1.1., footnote 211). The exhibition was divided between two differently shaped and positioned galleries which granted the curators an opportunity to carry out distinct displaying methodologies:

> [t]he amplitude of the main gallery allowed for an exploration of the mobility and circular direction found in Amadeo's work. In that open and unrestrained space we have displayed the series which best trigger a visual logics of continuity and which, at the same time, allow for an overall impression of the tracing of multiple, crossing, diagonal, or simply straightforward lines of sight as elastic as possible. […] In the lower floor gallery the more autonomous nuclei are displayed, some of them being of a more experimental character or of less sequential expression.
>
> (*ibid.*: 7).

Even though Amadeo's work is the main focus of the exhibition, this was not a retrospective or anthological displaying of the CAM's collection of Amadeo's *oeuvre*. The question of how Amadeo's work was displayed, and within what exhibition context, is a critical one, as "the political significance of the representational frameworks museums employ" (Bennett, 1998[1995]: 126) bears great consequential meaning to the works' interpretations.

The main point of the exhibition was made apparent by its name, *Avant-garde Dialogues*, conveying notions of intertextuality and of plastic and visual co-relations between the set of works on display (v. fig. 5.67.). The idea for the organisation of the *Avant-garde Dialogues* exhibition came from a need to communicate the – long researched and studied – further understanding of "Amadeo's relationship with the international artistic milieu" (FCG, 2006: 7) of his time, seeking to "rethink [his] *oeuvre* within the context of its closest artistic 'families'" (*ibid.*). As was discussed throughout section 4.1.1., Amadeo's life in Paris put him into direct contact with artists who would turn out to be some of the most relevant names of European 20th century art, some of whom would become very close friends of Amadeo[384]. The exhibition would highlight the points of contact between the *oeuvres* of Amadeo and those of his French, Italian, German, Ukrainian, and Russian friends, demonstrating Amadeo's personal take on the impressionist, cubist, and futurist movements, as well as his work of reinterpretation of German expressionism and Russian cubist-futurism (v. Cardoso, 2006; Marcadé, 2006; von Waldegg, 2006). It is worth mentioning again that it was also during his stay in Paris that he established working and personal relationships with

[384] For example: Robert and Sonia Delaunay, Amedeo Modigliani, Constantin Brâncuși, Alexander Archipenko, and Otto Freundlich (v. Alfaro, 2007; FCG, 2006; Freitas, 2007; 2008; 2008a; 2008b).

a few very influential international art gallery owners and promoters[385], helping Amadeo to create a network of spaces in France, England, Germany, Russia, and the U.S.A. where his work was exhibited. The exhibition sought, thus, to "reposition Amadeo in the Paris-Berlin-Moscow artistic axis" (Freitas, 2006: 8), as well as to affirm his position in the narrative of the 1910s international art history through the confirmation of Amadeo's international exhibition path. As such, "the exhibition situates Amadeo at the centre of the international artistic dynamics, [and] fully immersed within an avant-garde context" (FCG, 2006: 8).

The exercise developed by the exhibition – aiming at showcasing Amadeo's work not within the Portuguese First Modernism context[386] but within the context of the international modernisms of his time – makes clear how the art museum's work of contextualisation and (re)framing is crucial in perceiving and figuring out the mechanisms used to constru(ct)e art history narratives. Bennett's useful comparison analysis sheds some light on the process at hand:

> [a]ll of the developed theories of language available to us are in agreement that, apart from a few special classes, individual signifiers have no intrinsic or inherent meaning. Rather, they derive their meaning from their relations to the other signifiers with which they are combined, in particular circumstances, to form an utterance. This has the obvious consequence that the same signifiers may give rise to different meanings depending on the modes of their combination and the contexts of their use.
> That this is true of museum artefacts is amply confirmed by those circumstances in which changes in the systems of classification governing museum displays have led to a radical transformation in the signifying function of identical artefacts.
> (Bennett, 1995[1998]: 147).

Such was the case of the exhibition discussed throughout this section. By "proposing a plastic dialogue with other [international] artists of his period who also lived in Paris at a time when the artistic borders were very permeable" (FCG, 2006: 8), the CAM sought to transform the signifying function of Amadeo's *oeuvre* within the general(ising) international art history discourse. As a means to attempt a re-telling of international art history – in a post-modern context – the *Avant-garde Dialogues* exhibition sought also to demonstrate that the "existing [art] historical discourses and their associated social and ideological affiliations – their past-present alignments" (Wright, 1984: 512) are never permanently and immutably

[385] Such as Herwarth Walden, owner of the art gallery *Der Sturm* in Berlin; Wilhelm Niemeyer, director of the *Hamburger Kunstgewerbeschule* in Hamburg (cf. FCG, 2006); and Walter Pach, one of the chief organisers of the Armory Show in New York, Boston, and Chicago (v. section 4.1.1., footnotes 207 and 208).
[386] As was the case in the permanent exhibitions of the collection held at the CAM between 1983 and 1997.

established and can undergo structural and/or epistemological changes[387]. Thus, even though "cultural artefacts and works of art are multiply-coded and open to diverse and contested interpretations […], the works and their reception are structured and channelled through the context(s) of display or mediation" (Rectanus, 2013: 383). In the case at hand, it can be said that the works and their reception were reorganised and repositioned into their original format of interconnection and contact[388] – as the exhibition reformulates that specific European 1910s artistic milieu – in order to reframe a local *oeuvre* into and within its initial/ original multicultural and globalised framework.

The *Avant-garde Dialogues* exhibition also figuratively (and literally) addressed the issue of the artistic and cultural global-local interactions and dialogues and its consequent reframings and re-contextualisations of national and international art history. This exhibition was a cultural event[389] which featured the collaboration of several museums around the world, as well as several private collectors (cf. FCG, 2006), to ensure the gathering of the required works of art for display. That factor, supported by the knowledge of the thematic(s) of the exhibition, demonstrates that the interaction between globalisation and the art museum is perhaps best enacted, realised, and understood by/in the organisation of international(ly informed) exhibitions as they

> reveal an interplay and recontextualisation of the global within the local […]; [their] contents and the aesthetics of their presentation relate to the *symbolic exchanges* of culture which globalise. […] How curators and museums 'translate' culture into the local context [and vice-versa] is a pivotal dimension and *process* in mediating exhibitions. These tensions, in turn, relate to the broader *disjunctures* of global flow among ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes which characterise globalisation (Appadurai 1996) and are played out through the museum's own implication in each of these 'scapes'.
>
> (Rectanus, 2013: 383).

[387] However, and regarding the specific case at hand, the chief curator Helena de Freitas said she "considered it to be very difficult to change the constructed and consecrated international art history puzzle and try to replace Amadeo within it: he is a piece of the puzzle that does not find its place, because he is Portuguese, because he dies young, because up until the 1950s no one talks about him, and when he reappears there are resistances as if there was no space to place him at" (Freitas, 2006: 8).

[388] Besides the organic influences coming from the aforementioned friendships and artistic collaborations which left a mark on the artist's *oeuvre*, the points of interconnection and contact come also from the fact that many of Amadeo's international exhibitions, namely the ones in Paris, Berlin, Moscow, New York, Boston, and Chicago, displayed artworks by many of the artists represented at the *Avant-garde Dialogues* exhibition.

[389] The exhibition welcomed a record total of 100117 visitors, and the last day of the exhibition lasted throughout the dawn as thousands of people attended the FCG galleries on that day.

As an institution which does not "arrange [its] displays so as to simulate the organisation of the world […] outside the museum walls" (Bennett, 1998[1995]: 126), but rather so as to question it, the CAM takes part of the ongoing redefinition of those tensions, disjunctures, and boundaries. As Whitehead pinpoints, in art museums

> [t]he mapping process is constitutive of the history of art in elaborating object and knowledge relations, establishing (and sometimes challenging, moving and policing) boundaries and mobilising chronologies to create different regimes of interpretation. […] [C]ardinal stories of art [are] told by the art museum […] – stories of artworks [and] artworlds, stories of products [and] processes. […] Art museums, as discussed, engage in the cartographical activity of arranging material in physical, interpretive and epistemological space. This brings with it the elective responsibility to produce a map […] which provides users with opportunities to develop metacognitively in order to make sense of the map, appreciate its emphases and recognise its silences, to grasp its internal structures and rules, and ultimately to be personally empowered to encompass and traverse new geographies of knowledge"
>
> (Whitehead, 2012: 48-49).

The concept of (re-thinking) modernism as an aesthetic marker of postmodernism – as was also done by the *Avant-garde Dialogues* exhibition – can be considered such a geography of knowledge as it encompasses the debate regarding the issues pertaining to a postmodernism of resistance and to a postmodernism of reaction. The exhibition aimed at reformulating the narrative of international art history by (re)incorporating a puzzle-piece which, albeit constitutive – and rather demonstrative – of the development of international art movements at the time, had never made it to the final grand puzzle composition precisely due to the lack of manoeuvrability and of course-correction within the strictly delineated modern art historiography. In a postmodern context, one of multicultural and transnational understandings and comprehensions, to attempt an exercise of self-reflexivity within the art historiographical (and ergo museological) milieu, so as to take part in the rewriting of national and international modernisms, was mandatory.

*

This chapter addressed the international debate regarding the (kinds of) transitions existent between modernity and postmodernity and examined different moments of the CAM's reaction to/ performance of those transitions to and embodiments of postmodernity. The following chapter will focus on the final period (2010-2013) of the analysis of the CAM's ac-

tivities, reviewing the third Director's work on re-engaging the art museum/art centre dialogue by rereading the collection in publication format, by establishing varied links between the temporary exhibitions and the collection, and finally by the ways chosen in celebrating the CAM's 30th anniversary.

Figure 5. 66. - View of the exhibition *Avant-garde Dialogues*:
FCG's Temporary Exhibitions Gallery, 2006

6. Reframing art and culture through the CAM's collection and beyond

6.1. RE-SHIFTING THE PARADIGM OF THE ART MUSEUM/ART CENTRE DIALOGUE

In orthodox managerial terms of reference, it is up to directors, boards, and managers at all levels to decide on the balance between these forces [institutionalization, deinstitutionalization, and reinstitutionalization], one that ensures the growth (or at least survival) of the institution by enabling a comforting degree of continuity, while inviting in calibrated doses of disruption, which is then incorporated into a narrative of reinvigoration, adaptation, and regrowth. All of this would be easy to manage if the social locus of the museum and the pattern of change in society at large were relatively constant. But they are not; they are becoming less so, everywhere.
(Smith, 2012: 86).

The very first years of the second decade of the 21st century would bring with them yet another moment of significant (re)shaping and (trans)formation of the CAM's image and identity. In the final period of time that will be addressed and analysed (2010-2013) regarding the CAM's ongoing history and development, a new directorship took office seeking to restructure and solidify the CAM's place within the national artistic infrastructure as well as its role within Lisbon's culturalscape. But in order to further understand the relevance of and the meanings behind the (re)new(ed) strategies and activities set in motion by the new Director's exhibitions' programme and curatorship, it is necessary to briefly look at how the CAM was perceived by art critics and curators by the mid-to-late-2000s, as well as briefly readdress some of the postmodern transformations of societal organisation at large and their consequences in/for the location of the art museum within those rapidly changing patterns (cf. *ibid.*).

In 2007, António Pinto Ribeiro presented a somewhat dire – yet not inaccurate – diagnosis of the CAM's then-current situation by stating that it had been "removing itself from the international circuit of contemporary art and that its actions in the field of international coproduction – the most effective way of integrating the group of museums which determine the revision of art history – was practically null" (Ribeiro, 2007: 365). This fact, alongside the lack of innovation in the format of the annual exhibitions' programme, the lack of financial resources available for the acquisition of new works of art for the collection, and the lack of defining guidelines in the collecting politics, led to the CAM's "symbolical devalu-

ation" (*ibid.*) within Lisbon's culturalscape. Pinto Ribeiro highlighted the two main criticisms which had been directed at the CAM throughout its existence, and which, without proper historical contextualisation, might seem contradictory:

> The first criticism has to do with the lack of attention paid to contemporary national and international creation, and which has been put in the following manner: "A private Museum was inaugurated […], [d]esignated as CAM, its politics, in the first ten years[390], have almost always been of mistrust and suspicion regarding contemporaneity" [Pinharanda, 2004: 268]. The second one concerns the difficulty of fulfilling a cultural programme: "Meanwhile, as the CAM is redirected[391] into the strict terrain of contemporary art (or into one of the segments of nowadays' art), a hiatus was created which separates us from modernity and its revisions, and which restricts the [CAM's] relationship with wider segments of the public" [Pomar, 2005: online].
>
> (Ribeiro, 2007: 365).

These criticisms of too much or not enough focus on contemporaneity and on contemporary art derived (amongst other reasons) from, as Pinto Ribeiro observed, the CAM's lack of sufficient funds and human resources, which could have allowed for both Directors to have "established more ambitious programmes at cultural and critical levels" (*ibid.*). However, these criticisms can also be read as an encapsulated and epitomised way of expressing the outcomes of the CAM's mission(s) and goals, of its historical contexts, and of its circumstantial frameworks, as they have been described so far.

The multiplicity of roles the CAM had to/ proposed to play within Lisbon's culturalspace since 1983 were not at all times easily compatible or even fully feasible. As has been analysed throughout the previous chapters, the CAM was designed to house a collection of modern art and to work as an art centre fostering contemporary creation and experimentation. Due to the historical contexts described in chapters 2., 3., and 4., the CAM had to present a mission statement and a set of goals which condensed the roles of a modern art museum – displaying the most representative (and for a long time the sole) collection of 20th century Portuguese art accessible to the public – and of an art centre – responsible for bringing the Portuguese public up to speed on international postmodern cosmopolitan artistic productions. As was discussed previously, the CAM had to fulfil both roles in a short-circuited fashion – to recapture Sousa Santos's expression – as it needed to make untold Portuguese modernisms known, while simultaneously contributing to the formation of (European and

[390] Corresponding to the period of time when the CAM was directed by José Sommer Ribeiro.
[391] The directorship of Jorge Molder is here implied.

globalised) Portuguese postmodernisms. The different circumstantial frameworks as described in chapters 3., 4., and 5., led to a fluctuating oscillation between those roles of art museum and art centre – models of cultural infrastructures which in the late 20th and early 21st centuries were considered by many artists, art critics, and curators as antagonistic and incompatible[392]. As such, the CAM's major contributions to the transformation and development of Lisbon's culturalscape – bringing about the existence of the country's first modern art museum and its first art centre – and their short-circuited (un)fulfilment at different stages of the CAM's, the city's, and the country's development, very easily elicited the aforementioned (simultaneously opposite and complementary) criticisms.

The CAM was criticised for not paying enough attention to contemporary production during its first decade of existence – at a time when the ACARTE was at the pinnacle of its creation, production, and displaying activities[393] – and after 20 years of existence it was criticised for paying too much attention to contemporaneity and not presenting sustained connections to modernity and modernisms. Put plainly, the CAM was criticised for not functioning fully as an art centre and it was criticised for not functioning fully as an art museum. However, it can be argued that the CAM's point from the start was always to function as both and never fully as just one or just the other. And the degree of success of this kind of endeavour from an institution such as the CAM will always be the target of varying opinions. Nevertheless, in his 2007 text on the CAM, Pinto Ribeiro presented the following closing remarks:

> the main [cultural] programming purpose of [the CAM's] creation – which was to establish the existence of a cultural centre that would surpass the field and scope of a museum – was continuously compromised ever since the passing away of Madalena Perdigão; first due to the full integration of the ACARTE as a department of the CAM-JAP[394], and, later on, as a result of its extinction[395]. That which was the great asset of the Modern Art Centre, which allowed for and generated the permeation of cultural

392 Pinto Ribeiro observed that "the model of a cultural centre is nowadays being put into question within the contemporary cultural infrastructures' panorama" (Ribeiro, 2007: 366). Nevertheless, there are examples of 21st century museological infrastructures which have (more or less successfully) combined the white-cube ascetic aura of the post-WWII modern museum with the informality and multi-purposefulness of the 60s and 70s-model art centre; two examples are the Tate Modern in London (2000) and the MoMA in New York after its latest re-opening (2004), v. Grande, 2009; Smith, 2012.

393 Even though the ACARTE was not an integral component or department of the CAM, its collaboration with and contribution to the CAM's overall activities was quite impactful; and, as was also discussed throughout chapter 4., the CAM and the ACARTE together were responsible for the formation of a (once again short-circuited) postmodern exhibitionary complex in the city of Lisbon (v. section 4.1.2. and subchapter 4.2.).

394 Which happened due to an accentuated decline in the levels of production and in the number of attending-public ever since 1994 (v. section 4.2.3.; Ribeiro, 2007; 2014).

395 V. section 5.2.1..

> genres, which was a cultural forum, and which presented itself as a space of experimentation and creativity, is gone. The CAMJAP's initial and fundamental reason to exist is, nowadays, restrained and limited, with the CAMJAP currently being nothing but a collection of 20th and 21st centuries' Portuguese art. […] [I]t is necessary to find a new model that will live up to the expectations of what a cultural infrastructure with the characteristics of this one can offer to Lisbon.
>
> (Ribeiro, 2007: 366).

Pinto Ribeiro, thus, called for a reformulation of the CAM's art centre model. After nearly 25 years of (re)shaping Lisbon's culturalscape throughout several different contexts which, as has been discussed, prompted and/or elicited multiple and varied programming responses, the CAM required a reshaping of its own. As Pinto Ribeiro suggested, the CAM should start by defining a cultural programme "capable of reconciling […] new aspects of contemporary creation, with the CAM's collection and its future dynamics" (*ibid.*). The change in Directors in 2009 would bring about methodological and strategic modifications aiming precisely at renewing the CAM's relationship with contemporaneity and creating a greater interactive dynamics between the CAM's collection and contemporary production.

In April 2009 Isabel Carlos[396] began her role as the CAM's Director[397]. During the first months of her directorship the CAM underwent some spatial restructurings which came to transform several areas of the entrance hallway, of the cafeteria, of one of the external entryways, and even of the exhibition space[398]. These small interventions allowed the visitors to "come into contact with works of art from the moment they walked into the CAM as well as to walk along the space facing less architectural barriers and other interferences […];

[396] Isabel Carlos (1962-) holds a "Degree in Philosophy and a Master's Degree in Media Studies, [and] has been an art critic since 1991. Prominent among the roles she has held are serving as Adviser on Exhibitions for Lisbon 94 – European Capital of Culture, co-founder and sub-director of the Institute of Contemporary Art, Ministry of Culture (1996-2001). Within this latter capacity, among other duties inherent to the post, she organised the Portuguese exhibitions at the Venice Biennial in 2001 and the São Paulo Biennials in 1996 and 1998. Isabel Carlos has also served as member of the Venice Biennial Jury (2003), Artistic Director of the Sydney Biennial (2004), curator of the Pavilion of Portugal at the Venice Biennial (2005) and curator of the 9th Sharjah Biennial, United Arab Emirates (2009)" (FCG, 2015: website).

[397] Isabel Carlos's programming of the CAM's activities dates from January 2010 (cf. Carlos, 2014) to August 2016.

[398] "Between April 2009 and January 2010, the year when the programme that I had organised began, a series of small, almost imperceptible, changes were put in place with the aim of making the CAM's spaces more appealing to the visitor and also more appropriate for a museum of modern and contemporary art. The reception counter was moved from the middle of the foyer to a spot beside the entrance; the glass door of the cafeteria overlooking the foyer and the adjacent stone wall were covered, turning the foyer into an exhibition space; the door that separated the foyer from the first room in the central part of the building was removed; and the neighbouring room, which served as a meeting room, was integrated into the exhibition area. […] A stone bench identical to those in the main exhibition hall was placed between the temporary exhibitions gallery and the multipurpose room as a way of catering especially to those participating in educational activities, while integrating and respecting the surrounding architectural language" (Carlos, 2014: 227-228).

alterations to which the public responded positively" (Carlos, 2014: 228). It is fitting that, in a 2014 text written for a publication celebrating the CAM's 30th anniversary, Carlos decided to highlight these changes in the visitors' experiencing of the space, since a change in the experiencing of the CAM and a change of the CAM as a museological experience is what Carlos would propose and aim at. Even though there were stark differences between the directorships of Sommer Ribeiro and Molder – namely at the level of content but also regarding some methodological approaches (v. chapters 4. and 5.) –, the fact that Molder had acted as deputy director generated a certain sense of fluid continuity. Carlos, however, came from outside of the FCG framework at a time when there was an acute awareness of the importance of developing increasingly sustained and comprehensive local-global cultural and artistic relationships, and, as a result, introduced more apparent and meaningful changes.

As an art centre and as a museum of modern and contemporary art housed in a building with limited space, "the CAM has strived to be a place of balance" (Carlos, 2014: 227) between those two definitions, given that it cannot (and never could) fully and permanently showcase its collection[399] while simultaneously displaying temporary exhibitions of other works and artists (cf. *ibid.*). At a theoretical level, Carlos's directorship did, however, highlight one of the aspects of that duality, as confirmed by the Director's 2014 text where she states that the

> organisation of the programme and the curatorship […] have sought to fulfil the CAM's mission: to be a place where artists showcase their first anthological exhibitions […] and, simultaneously, to be a space which fosters the encounter between the publics and the most relevant contemporary artistic production – without geographic or thematic limitations – thus sparking new dialogues and questions about reality, while striking a balance between [the exhibition of] national and international artists. […] [T]he museum must also work as a laboratory, as a space for experimentation, as a platform where creative workers can carry out their activities. […] [F]urthermore, […] it should raise people's awareness about how we should engage with a set of issues, be they economic, social, political, or merely artistic.
>
> (Carlos, 2014: 227).

Nevertheless, and in spite of the focus on the renewal of the CAM's image as a space for the exhibition of contemporary production, Carlos's directorship would not neglect nor disregard the (re)presentation of the collection – it would, in fact, become the foreground for a new approach, one where the collection was constantly and continuously invited to relate

[399] By 2014 the CAM's collection comprehended over ten thousand works of art.

directly (explicitly or implicitly) with the themes, concepts, media, and/or formats of the temporary exhibitions, as will be discussed in subchapter 6.2..

In order to coherently and effectively balance the art centre and the art museum missions and goals, the CAM's programme would come to contemplate more contemporary art which did not derive directly from the innovations of 20th century western modernisms[400] and it would come to include more non-traditional artistic mediums, displaying increasingly more art using new and digital media (cf. Smith, 2012), doing so without disregarding the CAM's own collection and its history. In fact, and as the CAM's Trustee, Teresa Patrício Gouveia (v. footnote 312) argued, "it is also the CAM's mission to develop and renew its collection, to which end the CAM must establish an attentive and informed closeness with contemporary creation, […] [and] its respective international dialogue requirements […] and interdisciplinary nature" (Gouveia, 2010: 5). In her foreword text, included in a publication which signalled the beginning of the new directorship, the CAM's Trustee added to this notion the importance and relevance that contemporary art museums have nowadays as "meaningful institutions of urban life, […] as meeting places, spaces of gathering and inclusion" (*ibid.*). As such, balancing the double act of art museum and art centre meant providing the publics with more than artistic output, it meant providing a space where national and international, modern and contemporary art using traditional and new media can function as means of "grappling with the challenges of contemporaneity" (Smith, 2012: 72).

Within a postmodern context, one where globalisation dynamics of multiculturalism and transnationalism increasingly require the ability to articulate cultural differences (cf. Bhabha, 1994), Carlos's international experience (v. footnote 396) would be highly significant. According to Portuguese sociologists Carlos Fortuna and Augusto Santos Silva,

> the emergence of a global culture – despite the weight of its homogenising tendency – widens the field of opportunities and of cultural diversity, thus fostering the constitution of a cosmopolitan condition as well as the technical competence of third cultures' professionals[401]. […] Cultural homogenisation would eliminate the *raison d'être* of cosmopolitans and third cultures' professionals whose existence is based on [and serves the

[400] By including more contemporary artists from Southeast Asia and Oceania (Koo Jeong A., 2011; Narelle Jubelin, 2013), South America (Doris Salcedo, Beatriz Milhazes, Rosângela Rennó, 2012), the Middle-East (Lida Abdul, 2013), and North Africa (Nadia Kaabi-Linke, 2014).

[401] In 1963, Useem *et al.* had already used the term 'third culture' to describe "the behaviour, patterns created, shared, and learned by [people] of different societies who are in the process of relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other; [categorising it as being] not merely a mutual accommodation or amalgamation of two separate, parallel cultures, but the birth of something new as far as behaviour, lifestyles, world views, etc., are concerned" (Useem et al., 1963: 169-170). According to Featherstone, there has been an

> purpose of] conserving cultural diversity and singularity. Thus, and inversely, the territorialised condition of local cultures exists only as long as those cultures establish relationships with the global culture and with cosmopolitan intermediation. In other words, a tacit and engaged relationship of mutual survival is established between cosmopolitans and locals, set by the limits of cultural homogenisation and by the risk of diversity extinction.
>
> (Fortuna and Silva, 2001: 437).

Art museums' curators and artistic directors with international careers are some of the most prominent third cultures' professionals to operate on the urban sphere, working as cosmopolitan, transnational, and intercultural agents who "re-design the cultural global system map, specifically that of contemporary art" (Grande, 2009: 469). As such, their interventions in the museological field tend to reflect their views on the cultural postmodernity and artistic globalisation frameworks, delineating programmes "with the intention of designing a new order of historical memories, [and] of proposing new criteria for collecting" (Groys, 2008: 40). Consequently, by the beginning of the 2010s, the artistic, cultural, and social impact of postmodern cosmopolitanism and its paradigms (as described above by Fortuna and Silva), were already a(n apparently sine qua non) condition of the lives of contemporary art museums as places with "the status of an event in the process of happening" (Smith, 2012: 69). Within the CAM's early 2010s context, that process of happening was very much connected with a re-enforcement of the CAM's role of fostering, endorsing, and supporting artistic production, as well as with a relocation of the CAM's exhibition programme within contemporaneity (v. subchapter 6.2.), and a repositioning of the CAM's museological experience *vis-à-vis* its place within Lisbon's culturalscape (v. subchapter 6.3.).

Since 2011, the CAM's actions in the field of promoting artistic production have incorporated several activities that, through different formats, have sought to explore the possibilities of creating new art, establishing new events, and designing new exhibitions based on a logics of multifaceted inter-exchanges. The CAM has been responsible for organising and maintaining four artistic residencies in Berlin, London, New York, and São Paulo, which

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increasingly "greater densification of cultural exchanges and experiences which contribute to the intensification of transnational encounters and meetings. […] The intensification of those flows makes the resolution of intercultural communication-related problems indispensable. In some cases it leads to the development of 'third cultures' which have a mediating function […]. [Within that context, many professionals of the artistic and cultural fields] become familiarised with a certain number of national cultures, contributing to the development of these 'third cultures', and even, in some cases, living in their midst" (Featherstone, 1997: 88-89).

foster the artistic research and production skills – allowing also for a greater level of internationalisation – of Portuguese artists (cf. Carlos, 2014). In 2013 alone, the CAM funded "46 projects, which allowed for Portuguese artists' works to be present in exhibitions at the Bronx Museum of the Arts in New York, at the Kunsthalle in Basel, and at the Biennales of Istanbul, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Congo" (*ibid.*: 230). The organisation of a programme for international curators to come to Portugal, granting them the opportunity to experience the contemporary Portuguese artistic scene (cf. *ibid.*), was another important mechanism developed by the CAM in its role of endorsing and fostering the internationalisation of contemporary Portuguese production. The CAM allowed for that "direct and intensive contact […] [which] included visits to the artists' studios, to the main art galleries, and to artistic institutions" (*ibid.*), as it perceived such a contact to be "a crucial instrument for the creation of a dialogue between international artistic agents and Portuguese artists, as well as a contribution to the dissemination of their works abroad" (*ibid.*). The CAM also supported "structures of artistic programming, production, and promotion within the field of contemporary art in Portugal" (*ibid.*).

The activities and programmes put into action by the CAM during the early 2010s, and the (re)new(ed) programming and curatorial approaches and methodologies implemented by the new directorship came to solidify the CAM's place not only within Lisbon's culturalscape (as will be further discussed in the following two subchapters), but also within the city's and the nation's art infrastructure and exhibitionary complex. This new cycle of the CAM's life would bring to focus the need for a more frequent and in-depth dialogue with cosmopolitan contemporaneity as a way of ensuring a continued and profuse rediscovery of the CAM's collection, and as a way of allowing for a renewed spatial and contingent experience of the CAM by the public. The following subchapter will discuss examples of how the CAM's new programme of temporary exhibitions established an ongoing dialogue between international contemporary creation and the CAM's collection via the communication of multiple curatorial visions and the establishment of several critical narratives.

6.2. REINVENTING WAYS OF SEEING THE COLLECTION: THEMES, CONCEPTS, AND MEDIA

Collections should, hopefully, express a personality of their own, while also allowing renewed readings and multiple curatorial visions.
(Gouveia, 2010: 5).

From 2010 onwards, there would be variegated ways of showing and telling the collection – from the familiar thematic temporary exhibitions[402] and the collection guide (with new takes and morphologies), to the newly introduced accessibility of digital versions of the collection's artworks online on the CAM's website, and the re-introduction of guided tours to the CAM's renovated storage facilities[403]. As has been previously discussed, the kind of framework – chronological, diachronic, synchronic, conceptual, thematic, etc. – used when displaying a collection of artworks, partly determines and conditions the readings that can arise from a given exhibition. In the exhibitions addressed and analysed so far, the interpretive frames provided – both by the display itself and by the textual material made available – usually presented somewhat self-contained narratives, inasmuch as, most often, the exhibitions did not establish direct connections with other exhibitions on display at the same time. The new directorship would bring a different methodology, one where the displays of the collection would establish a direct link with some of the temporary exhibitions. These new exhibition form(at)s, along with the aforementioned new website contents, the new guided tours to the depots, and the new guide to the collection, would come to "propose (im)material interfaces which closely relate[d] [the CAM] with the contemporary […], imply[ing] new discursive tendencies and new visual regimes" (Semedo, 2010: 63).

The emergence of a global culture and of a postmodern cosmopolitan condition (v. Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Canclini, 2003; Sousa, 2001; Fortuna and Silva 2001) steadily contributed to a reconfiguration of theoretical and critical models regarding the representation of plurality and difference, and of multiculturalism and inter-culturalism, which, in turn, led to a transformation of the museological space, from one of static representations of

[402] During Molder's directorship the thematic temporary exhibitions of works from the CAM's collection, although quite less frequent, were already part of the exhibitions' programme. A few examples: *Relative Density* and *Humour and Illustration in the CAMJAP's Collection*, in 2006; *Self-Portraits of the Collection*, in 1999; *British Drawings in the CAMJAP's Collection*, in 1996; *Drawings of the Body in the CAM's Collection*, in 1995-1996.

[403] V. initial mission statement discussed in subchapter 4.1..

memory and of the past to one of ongoing questionings of contemporaneity and of the contemporary perceptions of history and of the present. According to Museum Studies scholar Alice Semedo,

> that represented a shift from an *aesthetic* paradigm to a *representational* paradigm. By performing crucial functions as vital centres within several networks, and by associating different elements, ideas, people, types of interactions, etc., museums adopt also new roles; they re-invent themselves as platform-spaces and frontier-spaces where different systems of representation meet. As such, these become museums of fluid spaces – in constant movement – of cultural practices and meanings.
>
> (Semedo, 2010: 67).

The continuous changes in the systems of representation – their politics and poetics, as well as their semiotics – have transformed the kinds of mediations that art museums perform: the art museum is now a site of exhibition of contemporaneity and cosmopolitanism – of what is "in the process of happening" (Smith, 2012: 69) – instead of a "repository of a collection […], a place that held history in stasis, presenting it as a stilled panorama" (*ibid.*). Such a paradigm shift does not imply overlooking or disregarding history, memory, aesthetics, or form; on the contrary, it requires the creation of an exhibition environment where history, memory, aesthetics, and form can be worked as constitutive elements (of the works of art and of the exhibition as a whole) as well as moulded "on the level of context, framework, background, or of a new theoretical interpretation" (Groys, 2008: 40). This brief (re)introduction to the issue of the role of art museums and the issue of which different representational systems are best suited for a museum of modern and contemporary art that is also an art centre brings the discussion back to how the CAM's new programme would present ways of seeing the collection through postmodern cosmopolitan spectacles.

Engaging the CAM's collection of localised modern and contemporary art with international contemporary production would be one of the main tools used as a means of relocating the CAM within cosmopolitanism and contemporaneity. As Carlos put it: "the tone was set: creation and collection" (Carlos, 2014: 228). In 2010, two temporary exhibitions took place in the CAM's spaces between January and April that were an example of the kind of connections the CAM proposed to establish between (contemporary) creation and the collection: *Jane & Louise Wilson – Tempo Suspenso* [Jane & Louise Wilson – Suspended Time] and *Abstracção e Figura Humana na Colecção de Arte Britânica do CAM* [Abstraction and the Human Figure in the CAM's British Art Collection]. *Suspended Time* was (up until then) the largest anthological exhibition by British artists and twin sisters, Jane and Louise Wilson,

presenting video, film, sculpture, and photography works from 1993 to 2009 (cf. Carlos, 2010). Occupying many of the CAM's spaces (entrance hall, multi-purpose room, first exhibition room, second exhibition room[404], and main gallery), the exhibition included "a series of five sculptures made specifically for the CAM's space, which play[ed] with the architecture of the building; rulers that measure[d] and punctuate[d] the several exhibition spaces, and a suspended sculpture inspired in Rodchenko" (*ibid.*), as well as the work *Unfolding the Aryan Papers* (2009), "which combines stills from Stanley Kubrick's archive[405] with images from the Hornsey Town Hall" (*ibid.*). The exhibition's opening text provided a framework for engaging with and interpreting the display in stating that by

> [w]orking with historical memory, Jane and Louise Wilson's *oeuvre* reclaims empty places, unclaimed evacuated areas, or lost and abandoned spaces, a journey which is one of psychological time as much as one of archaeology of places and experiences, carrying us into a suspended time. A time suspended between eras – from WWII to nowadays –, suspended between narratives – from the cinematographic to the everyday –, suspended between artistic references – from Rodchenko to Kubrick.
> (FCG, 2010a: 6).

In those suspended times, the British artists (re)create, (re)fashion, and (trans)form built spaces, archives, mechanical movement, and the human figure into and out of abstraction (v. figs. 6.1. to 6.10.), thus giving the motto to the aforementioned temporary exhibition of works from the collection, *Abstraction and the Human Figure in the CAM's British Art Collection*: "[i]n the half-floor upper gallery, arranged in an open-plan layout, pieces from the British collection were displayed – one of the identity lines of the CAM's collection – focusing on the themes of abstraction and the human figure present in the works of the Wilson sisters" (Carlos, 2014: 228). This exhibition gathered 80 works of art representative of the "main nuclei of artists and artworks which integrated the [CAM's] collection at the time of its most consolidated acquisition period, between 1959 and 1965" (FCG, 2010a: 7), thus

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[404] After the construction work, the designations of some of the CAM's spaces were changed: the former hall was designated as first room or room A, and a former meeting room which was converted to an exhibition space (mainly for the display of video or film works) was designated as second room or room B.

[405] "Commissioned by the Animate Projects and the British Film Institute in collaboration with the Stanley Kubrick Archives, University of the Arts London, and designed to be a response to the materials in Kubrick's archives […], "Unfolding the Aryan Papers" is as much about the Kubrick film (a film about the Holocaust) that never came to be, as it is a portrait of the actress Johanna ter Steege. The work begins with footage of Johanna made in 1993 by Stanley Kubrick, it keeps the title of Kubrick's film, and features recordings of Johanna made by the artists [Jane and Louise Wilson] fifteen years later, recreating the images of the original shooting" (Santos, 2010: website).

establishing an added parallelism between mid-20th century British art[406] and contemporary British artistic production (v. figs. 6.11. to 6.13.). The tone of the new programme was set by these two temporary exhibitions, where the desired dialogue and intertextuality between works of art was brought to the exhibition level through the interconnection of curatorial visions and the design of new critical narratives. As such, the CAM was (re)shaped into a space where its art centre characteristics – as site of experimentation for artists and of display (and ongoing questionings) of contemporaneity – and its art museum qualities – of collecting, studying, and exhibiting valuable and acknowledged works of art – could engage, communicate, and form complementary and coherent discourses. Consequently, it can be argued that the new exhibitions' programme sought to reclaim the CAM's role as modulator of an exhibitionary complex in/for the city of Lisbon.

Other examples which confirm that "the organic, inter-permeable dialogue between works from the collection and works and artists shown as part of the programme of temporary exhibitions [was] one of the guidelines of the new approach" (Carlos, 2014: 228) were the following exhibitions: *Ana Vieira – Muros de Abrigo* [Ana Vieira – Shelter Walls] and *Casa Comum – Obras da Colecção do CAM* [Common House – Works from the CAM Collection] between January and March 2011, exploring the *topos* of 'house'[407] through the themes of safety, returning home, as well as self- and world-building and perception (v. figs. 6.14. to 6.21.); *Doris Salcedo - Plegaria Muda* [Doris Salcedo – Silent Prayer] and *Paisagem na Colecção do CAM* [Landscape in the CAM's Collection] between November 2011 and

[406] "Seven areas are organised according to different thematic approaches: British constructivism, which developed around the referential figure of Victor Pasmore; the landscape abstractionism of St. Ives, a city in Cornwall where Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, and Naum Gabo moved to in 1939, giving origin to a community of artists who left a lasting mark on British art of the post-war; *Pop* (Popular Art), in the various possibilities of incorporation of mass visual culture and in the proposals for a merging of the abstract language with the figurative one; *Op* (Optical Art), working on the sophisticated perception issues of the relationship between emitter and receiver; the London group Situation, interested in the formulation of an urban abstraction with a strong physical quality, bearing a relation to architecture; and the figuration of artists connected to the School of London, jointly presented with painting by young Scottish artists who, in the 1980s, became known as the "Glasgow Renaissance". Finally, one last nucleus brings together the work of more recent artists, such as Craigie Horsfield or Antony Gormley, with pieces from the 1990s by artists such as Richard Hamilton – a crucial reference from the first generation of British *Pop* –, or by the duo Gilbert & George – whose work left an indelible mark on British art from the 1970s onwards" (Vasconcelos, 2010: website).

[407] "Home is the place where we channel the more unconscious and elementary wishes of protection, warmth, recognition, refuge, and even affective, aesthetic, sensorial, and cognitive incentive. In it we live pursuant to the scale of a small world, according to the varied dimensions in/to which life shelters and questions us; ideally, it allows us the sleep and the intimacy, the fantasy, the private space, and the moulding of the "opening" to the exterior. Home is related to family and food, as to architecture, to construction and landscape, to the interior and to the threshold, to individual and to collective aggregation. Consequently, in it the fundamental archetypes of the constitution of the human self are reunited" (Nazaré, 2011:10).

January 2012, exploring the contrasting concepts and formats of natural and artificial landscapes, of how natural landscapes are represented and consequently (trans)formed, and the myriad symbolic meanings that can lurk behind their artistic (re)presentation and creation[408] (v. figs. 6.22. to 6.25.); *Josef Albers na América – Pintura sobre Papel* [Josef Albers in America – Painting on Paper] and *"Roubar com os Olhos" – A Colecção do CAM em relação com Josef Albers* ["Steal with the Eyes" – The CAM's Collection in relation to Josef Albers], between May and July 2012, exploring Josef Albers's work in the U.S.A. after having studied and taught at the Bauhaus, and works from the CAM's collection "which relate to the formal and chromatic experiments carried out by Josef Albers in the United States" [409] (Vasconcelos, 2012: website), (v. figs. 6.26. to 6.31.); and finally, *Muntadas – Entre/Between* [Muntadas – Entre/Between] and *Entre Espaços – Colecção do CAM 1968-2011* [Between Spaces – The CAM's Collection 1968-2011], exploring the utilisation of new media

[408] Carlos described Salcedo's work in the following manner: "The sculpture as a topography of life can be an excellent synthesis of the work the artist has been developing throughout the last three decades […] and now, in *Silent Prayer* that expression is fully incarnated, it becomes a living body. […] [T]he object as an evidence, a trace of the existence of a body that is no longer there, of an action we did not witness, of acts of exclusion, and of the relentless passage of time. […] In *Silent Prayer* one finds sets of tables stacked on top of each other, as an inverted image of themselves: one table touching and set on the floor and the other one turned upside down, legs turned upwards; they have the dimension of coffins, but are, literally and concretely, containers of life, because in them plants are growing. Weeds that have been planted, that get light and nurture, that are irrigated with water regularly so that they may grow and stay alive; weeds that, with any carelessness or sudden movement can be damaged, or that, if left to oblivion and neglected, will wither and die. […] It raises our awareness to the fact that with our presence, with our body – a shadow stopping the flow of light –, with our breath, sigh, our desire to smell or touch them – to check if they are really real –, we may affect those weeds, make them vulnerable" (Carlos, 2011: 5). "A landscape is always a 'picturalisation' of nature: a representation *sur nature* and its duple, i.e., a double representation. The gaze of the subject who creates the landscape is necessarily a subjective gaze of power, that chooses, focuses, crops what it sees. It is a questioning gaze directed at nature, simultaneously comprehensive and selective, a gaze which generates meanings […]" (FCG, 2011a: 6).

[409] "Albers is one of the mythical figures of the Bauhaus, the school to which he was linked as a student and teacher between 1920 and 1933, the year when it was shut down by the Nazis. Following the closure of the school, Albers and his wife Anni, who was also an artist and teacher at the Bauhaus, went to the United States after being invited to set up the art department at Black Mountain College. The move to the USA liberated the artist, "allowing him to become a real painter", in the words of the exhibition's curator Michael Semff. Albers allowed himself to be inspired by America's unspoilt nature and by the pre-Columbian architecture, sculpture, and textile art of Mexico, which he visited for the first time in 1935 and which led him to use radiant and wilful plays of colour such as had never previously been seen in modern European painting" (CAM, 2012: website). "A group of works from the CAM's collection was selected which relate to the formal and chromatic experiments carried out by Josef Albers in the United States, where he had arrived in 1933, during his famous long-term study Homage to the Square. Albers' visual thought would have a profound effect on various North American artistic tendencies, such as Op Art, hard-edge painting, minimalism and, in general terms, all conceptual art. Though his influence was not direct or acknowledged in the case of the artists exhibited here (with the exception of Artur Rosa and Fernando Calhau), various parallels can be established which include the British abstractionists of the early 1960s, also represented in the collection, who were deeply motivated by the North American abstraction exhibited at the time in London" (Vasconcelos, 2012: website).

in art from the late 1960s onwards[410] and how new media formats altered the relationship between art, artists, and art museums[411] (v. figs. 6.32. to 6.35.). The curatorial exercises conducted under the new temporary exhibitions' programme allowed, thus, for "[w]orks from the collection [to be] exhibited in format or thematic dialogue with these artists and their respective artistic worlds, thus contributing not only to provide a context for their works, but also to spark new interpretations regarding the collection" (Carlos, 2014: 228).

The CAM's new programme re-equated the collection in other ways in the early 2010s, as has been previously referred to: by renovating the storage spaces and creating monthly guided tours[412] to parts of the collection not on display; by making digital versions of the artworks from the collection accessible online[413]; and also by registering an increase in the number of "loans of works [from the collection] to prestigious national and international exhibitions"[414] (Carlos, 2010a: 8), thus reflecting the significance of the CAM's collecting, researching, and exhibiting politics and practices[415]. Despite the importance of these multiple and diverse ways of showing and (re)presenting the collection, there was one other format of reconsidering and re-thinking the CAM's collection that was highly representative of some of the new approaches, and which signalled the change in Directors: the publishing of

[410] "The exhibition *Between Spaces*, presented in the CAM's main gallery, brings together more than twenty works from its collection, all produced between the late 1960s and 2011. Sculptures, photographs, installations, paintings, and videos suggest the presence of an indeterminate or undefined space, a gap – between the lines, planes, margins, bodies, territories –, spaces between that leave open the possibility for actions, happenings, narratives, affirming themselves as spaces for possible or potential encounters, which sometimes can be deceptive, or inconclusive" (CAM, 2012a: website).

[411] "Also noteworthy is the entire occupation of gallery 01 with a rarely shown installation, [Antoni Muntadas's] *Exhibition* (1987), a remarkable work in which the institutional critique, the rigour of means, and the reflection on the very museological mechanisms themselves is taken to an extreme of refinement and of communicational efficacy – some of the characteristics that run through all of the artist's oeuvre" (CAM, 2012b: website).

[412] "In 2013 the storage facilities were expanded, which not only allowed the artworks to be better organised and new pieces added, but also meant that they could be open to the public on monthly guided visits, led by the team of curators. This allowed contact with the "hidden" side of the museum in a more comprehensive yet intimate way, as well as raising awareness of the museum's conservation work and the handling of the various materials that make up the collection" (Carlos, 2014: 230).

[413] "[I]t is worth noting that from May 18th, 2010, the CAM made its collection accessible through its website and search queries, and that visitors have gradually increased; today [2014] it welcomes about 500 daily users" (Carlos, 2014: 229).

[414] "An example of this is the intensive travelling of the works of the Delaunay couple, of Gorky, Vieira da Silva, Paula Rego, Julião Sarmento, Helena Almeida, or Pedro Cabrita Reis" (Carlos, 2010a: 8).

[415] "It is indisputable that we can only love what we know. Wider dissemination and study of the collection due to its almost universal accessibility mean that the conservation and research work of the CAM is transforming it into a real national collection. This allows for the possibility of arranging exhibitions in other institutions, so that [the CAM's] collecting activities go beyond the limits of its physical location and building" (Carlos, 2014: 229).

the book *100 Works from the CAM Collection* (v. fig. 6.36.). This publication, which gathered a selection of one hundred works from the collection demonstrated its primary intention and purpose very clearly: "[t]his book shows that the CAM is involved in continuously rethinking the works and artists of its collection, presenting them from new angles. [;] [a]ccordingly, this book is the result of revisiting the CAM's history" (Carlos, 2010a: 7). The book – published roughly nine months after the new Director took office and in the same year as her exhibitions' programme for the CAM started – was, thus, not only a moment of taking stock of the collection and accounting for its evolution in historical terms, but also a way of putting forward a new multi-perspective presentation of the CAM's collection. As such, this publication served the dual purpose of highlighting the importance that the collection would come to have in the new directorship's programme and curatorial vision, demonstrating, nevertheless, that the collection's status was not one of immutability. The book, thus, allowed for one of the collection's main roles to be brought forward: to potentiate the CAM's ability of "looking inwards in a critical and innovative manner" (Carlos, 2010a: 7).

The choosing process – and the selection criteria – behind putting together this group of artworks, meant to construct and construe yet another (re)presentation of the CAM's collection, is telling of the kind of curatorial perspectives which would come to fruition in the (previously discussed) interaction between temporary exhibitions and the collection:

> The selection of the one hundred artworks was not based on artistic movements or on historical periods but on works of art we consider important, *that are containers of worlds* […]. The choice of one hundred representative pieces of the CAM's collection was quite complex but this does not mean that it should be considered final. On the contrary, it is *intended to open up new possibilities of reading the artworks and the collection*, providing the public with a guide like a short film made up of multiple images and a sequence of works that creates unexpected relationships, multiple dialogues, but also abysses between them.
>
> (Carlos, 2010a: 7; italics highlight added).

The selection is not meant to be seen as final, and neither are any of the multiple readings that have been and are continuously done of any one work, exhibition, or group of works and exhibitions. The point seems, thus, to establish the CAM and its collection as a solid platform-space meant not only to allow, but to potentiate different connections and links to be made, as well as to enable constant further discussions to be had. Since the publication

assembled texts by 25 different authors[416] who, from their individual professional perspectives, elaborated on the works of art selected (and occasionally on their authors' lives), it provides very heterogeneous narratives on the different pieces and artists. It is also worth mentioning that fourteen out of the twenty-five authors were under forty years old at the time of the book's publication – seven of whom were born in the 70s and seven of whom were born in the 80s – which allowed for a "refresh[ing of] the historiographic discourse with different interpretations and approaches" (*ibid.*: 8).

Unlike the previous publication of this sort – the 2004 Guide to the Collection (v. section 5.2.2.) which focused on representative artists (not necessarily on specific works) and in which the artists were grouped into time-periods meant to delineate a sense of the artistic environment of the respective eras –, in this publication the order is chronological not so much with the intent of gathering artworks into coherent/ cohesive groups, but rather to accentuate (possible) differences. According to Carlos, the point of the chronological ordering of the book was to "enable us to see, for example, how in the same year completely different languages and movements, even opposite to each other, may coexist" (*ibid.*: 7) (v. figs. 6.37. to 6.46.). Aside from this (re)new(ed) perspective, the book was also intended to highlight the organic quality of the collection, as a "result of many chances and meetings – and probably even more missed encounters" (*ibid.*:8), and as a reflection of the FCG's and the CAM's paths as common (and for a long time almost sole) denominators of the fields of art and culture in Lisbon. With this legacy as initiators, fosterers, and providers of innovation, creation, and development, in mind, Carlos states the importance of remembering "how the FCG operated during many years as a haven for the creators and their works and for the public as the only place where they could come into contact with contemporary art" (*ibid.*). It is that legacy and the role played by the CAM as game-changer and paradigm-shifter of Lisbon's culturalscape that led the new Director to believe that "the programming of temporary exhibitions, as well as the permanent exhibition with its vast collection, has to be reinvented in a continuing process and permanent challenge" (*ibid.*).

The early 2010s programme aimed at (re)fulfilling the CAM's mission and primary role as a space for the exhibition of different and innovating things, as a place for the interaction between contemporary experimentation and modernisms' histories, as a space for the ongoing dialogue between varied understandings of art and their respective world-views. The

[416] Collaborators of the CAM and of the FCG, curators, art historians, etc.

motto of "one vision, among many other possible visions" (*ibid.*) would once again come to fruition in the exhibition and related events organised to celebrate the CAM's 30th anniversary. In its revisiting of the CAM's history, of its collection, and of its eventfulness, *Sob o Signo de Amadeo – Um Século de Arte* [Under the Sign of Amadeo – A Century of Art] – the exhibition, the opening events, the performance season, and the conference programmes – would explore (the history of) the very role (and responsibilities) of art, artists, art collections, and art museums as creators, makers, and displayers of (in)finite possibilities for the constru(ct)ing of meanings, narratives, and significance.

Figure 6.1. - *Measure Obsolescere 2*, Jane&Louise Wilson, 2010
On display at the CAM's main gallery during the exhibition *Suspended Time* in Jan-Apr 2010

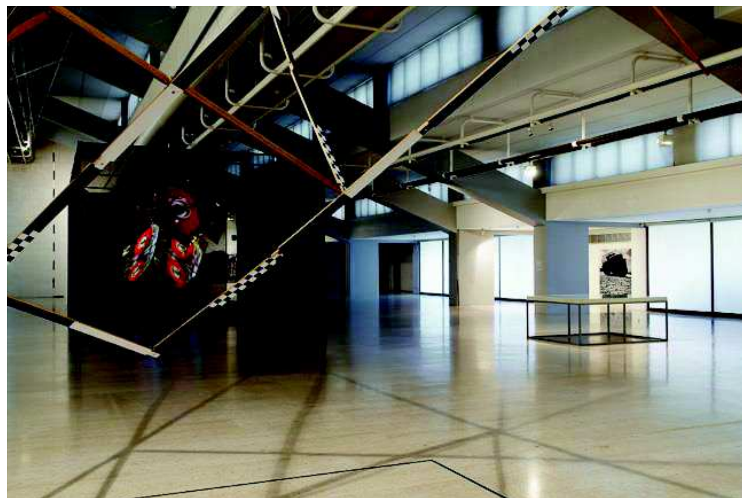

Figure 6.2. - View of the exhibition *Suspended Time* (main gallery)

Figure 6.3. - View of the exhibition *Suspended Time* (hallway)

**Figure 6.4. - *Oddments Room I (Camping amongst Cannibals)*, Jane&Louise Wilson, 2008
On display at the CAM during the exhibition *Suspended Time* in Jan-Apr 2010**

**Figure 6.5. - *Oddments Room VI (My Life in Four Continents)*, Jane&Louise Wilson, 2009
On display at the CAM during the exhibition *Suspended Time* in Jan-Apr 2010**

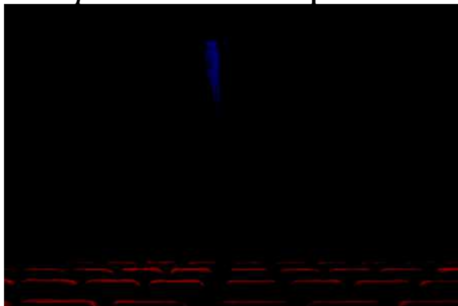

**Figure 6.6. - *Hypnotic Suggestion 505*, Jane&Louise Wilson, 1993 (still frame)
On display at the CAM during the exhibition *Suspended Time* in Jan-Apr 2010**

**Figure 6.7. - *Hypnotic Suggestion 505*, Jane&Louise Wilson, 1993 (still frame)
On display at the CAM during the exhibition *Suspended Time* in Jan-Apr 2010**

Figure 6.8. - View of the exhibition *Suspended Time* (main gallery)

Figure 6.9. - View of the exhibition *Suspended Time* (main gallery)

Figure 6.10. - View of the exhibition *Suspended Time* (main gallery)

Figure 6.11. - View of the exhibition *Abstraction and Human Figure in the CAM's British Art Collection* (top half-floor gallery)

**Figure 6.12. - *Summershot*,
Antony Donaldson, 1963
On display at the CAM during the exhibition
*Abstraction and Human Figure in the CAM's British Art Collection***

**Figure 6.13. - *The Lonely Surfer*,
Richard Smith, 1963
On display at the CAM during the exhibition
*Abstraction and Human Figure in the CAM's British Art Collection***

Figure 6.14. - ***Product Displacement*****, Filipa César, 2002**

Figure 6.15. - ***série Habitar*****, Pedro Gomes, 1996**

Figure 6.16. - ***Vita Brevis*****, Maria Beatriz, 2000-2001**

Figure 6.17. - ***New York*****, TOM, 1950**

Figure 6.18. - ***Pronomes*****, Ana Vieira, 2001**

Figure 6.19. - ***As Chaves*****, Ana Vieira, 2008**

Figure 6.20. - ***Ambiente - Sala de Jantar*****, Ana Vieira, 1971**

Figure 6.21. - ***Sem Título*****, Ana Vieira, 1973**

Figure 6.22. - View of the exhibition *Plegaria Muda*: the CAM's main gallery

Figure 6.23. - *Plegaria Muda*, Doris Salcedo, 2008-2010 (detail)

Figure 6.24. - *Vue sur la Campagne*,
Francis Smith, n.d.
On display at the CAM during the exhibition
Landscape in the CAM's collection

Figure 6.25. - *Un jardin à ma façon*,
Gabriela Albergaria, 2006
On display at the CAM during the exhibition
Landscape in the CAM's collection

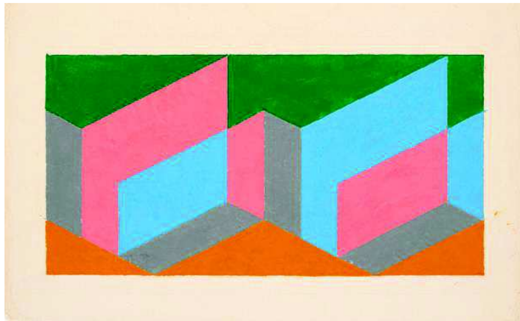

Figure 6.26. - *Study for Tautonym*, Josef Albers, 1944

Figure 6.27. - *Color Study for Homage to the Square*, Josef Albers, n.d.

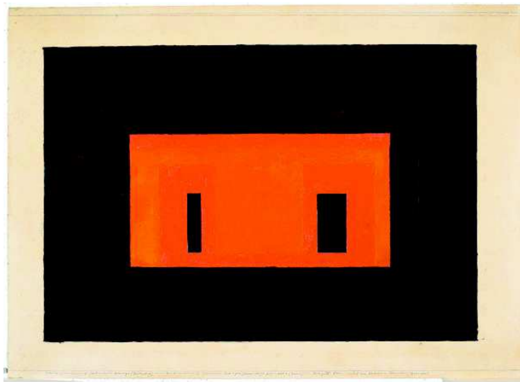

Figure 6.28. - *Variant/Adobe*, Josef Albers, c. 1947

Figure 6.29. - *Homenagem a Josef Albers*, Artur Rosa, 1972

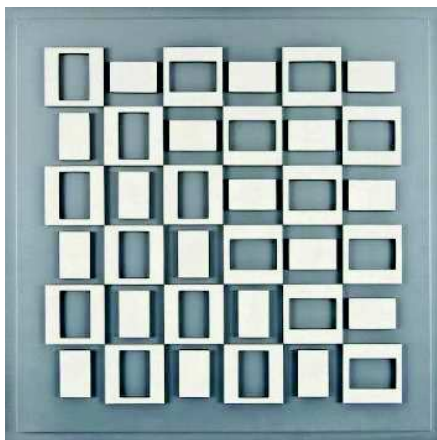

Figure 6.30. - *Song*, Victor Vasarely, 1970

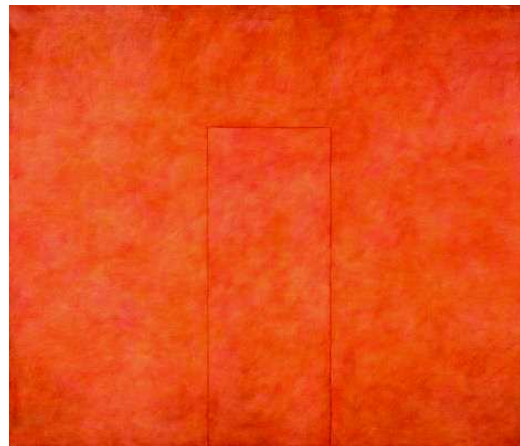

Figure 6.31. - *Pintura*, Ângelo de Sousa, 1974/75

Figure 6.32. - *Arte Vida*, Antoni Muntadas, 1974

Figure 6.33. - *The limousine project*, Antoni Muntadas, 1990

Figure 6.34. - *Théatre des Opérations*, Didier Faustino, 2007

Figure 6.35. - *Sem Título #335*, Fernando Calhau, 2002

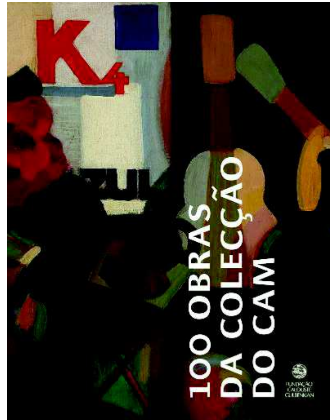

Figure 6. 36. - *100 Works from the CAM Collection*, 2010 (cover)

Figure 6.37. - *Marie-Hélène*, Arpad Szenes, 1948

Figure 6.38. - *Cadavre exquis*, Fernando Azevedo, António Pedro, Marcelino Vespeira, António Domingues, João Moniz Pereira, 1948

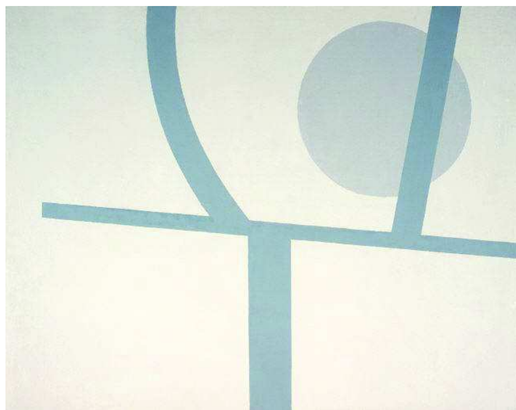

Figure 6.39. - *O32-60*, Fernando Lanhas, 1960

Figure 6.40. - *Love Wall*, Peter Blake, 1961

Figure 6.41. - *In the Café*, Lourdes Castro, 1964

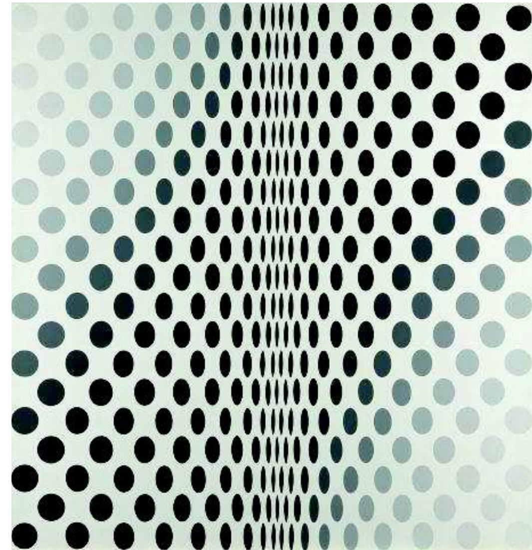

Figure 6.42. - *Metamorphosis*, Bridget Riley, 1964

Figure 6.43. - *O Tempo - Passado e Presente*, Paula Rego, 1990

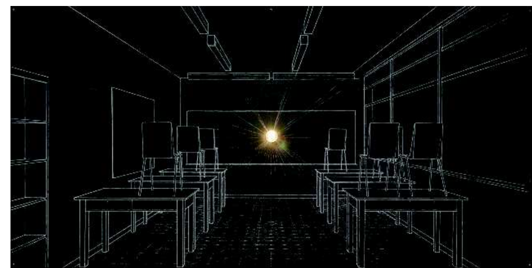

Figure 6.44. - *School - Classroom*, Mark Wallinger, 1990

Figure 6.45. - *Photograph of the series "O Pequeno Mundo"*, Jorge Molder, 2000

Figure 6.46. - *Sem Título*, Rui Sanches, 2000

6.3. REVISITING A CENTURY OF ART AND 30 YEARS OF CULTURE IN THE CAM

The CAM will be signalling its thirty years of existence, a time during which it has provided invaluable services to Portuguese art and culture.

(Duarte, 2013).

In the exhibition, as well as in all of the activities which accompany it, the articulation between body, action, and movement is continuously suggested as a transformative force that emerges from within 20th century culture, spreads throughout its different artistic expressions, and is able to connect and give meaning to the artistic activities of the recent past and of the present, while simultaneously projecting the future. With this set of operations, the CAM transforms those relations into a plural party. It would not make sense any other way.

(Martins, 2013).

The CAM's 30th anniversary would be marked by a six-month long celebration of its existence, its different roles, and its accomplishments in the artistic and cultural fields in the city of Lisbon. The exhibition and all of the related events addressed and analysed the CAM's infrastructure as a site of emplacement, representation, and difference. The commemorations revisited and revised the kind of material, social, and conceptual spaces and strategies the CAM set in motion 30 years before and how it managed them throughout its three decades of existence. The exhibition and other events also underscored the CAM as heterotopia and document of/ for the artistic and cultural developments which took place – at a national level and also abroad – in the past 30 years. The CAM and the ACARTE's paradigm-shifting role in the 1980s was under the spotlight, as were their functions of collector and (back then necessarily didactic) displayer on the one hand, and of producer and experimenter on the other. The CAM's (postmodern) place in the short-circuited cosmopolitan urban tissue of the late-80s and 90s in Portugal was also under scrutiny; as were the ways in which the CAM perceived and understood the roles of the avant-gardes of the early 20th century, and the manners in which it worked and creatively dealt with 21st century globalisation's heterogeneous multicultural intertextualities and dialogues. The CAM's 30th anniversary commemorations were a half-year long opportunity to take stock of the CAM's inner-workings, of how it (re)presented modernity and modernisms, and of how it helped in the constru(ct)ing of contemporaneity, thus designing artistic and cultural historiographies. The analysis and

discussion of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo – A Century of Art* (and its related multiple events) will provide the opportunity to come full circle within the exploration of the CAM's role in the (re)shaping of Lisbon's culturalscape, given that the exhibition and events themselves (implicitly or explicitly) purport that very same narrative.

The exhibition occupied all of the CAM's spaces (cafeteria included) and displayed over 350 works of art belonging to the CAM's collection. Aside from being the first time that the whole building housed an exhibition comprised solely of artworks belonging to the collection, *Under the Sign of Amadeo – A Century of Art* was also the first time that "nearly the entirety of the Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso collection [was] on display – 172 out of a total of 198 artworks from the collection [were] exhibited – with only a few small drawings being left out of the show" (FCG, 2013a: 8). As has been amply discussed, Amadeo "was the Portuguese painter whose work heralded the advent of modernism and formed one of the early cornerstones of the CAM collection" (Carlos, 2013: 8). Throughout the CAM's 30 year history, Amadeo's avant-gardist *oeuvre* has allowed for the constru(ct)ing of an increasingly detailed and interconnected historiography of national and international modern art, enabling also several intertextual readings of modern and contemporary art (v. sections 4.1.1., 4.1.3., 5.1.3. and 5.2.3.). Since the commemorative exhibition aimed at establishing a century-long dialogue between modernity and postmodernity, as well as between heritage and contemporaneity, it was only fitting that the *oeuvre* and (perhaps even mainly) the figure of Amadeo – as the collection's main avant-gardist – set the tone (and the title) of the exhibition.

In this light – and bearing in mind the CAM's historical roles, its initial mission statement and objectives, its multi-layered and multi-direction development, as well as its overall aim of building a space for the interaction between the avant-gardes (in their broadest sense) and the public – the exhibition was designed around a few key ideas: the idea of the human body in action and of performative acts in contemporaneity, and the idea of stage and theatrical performance in modernity (cf. CAM, 2013). The layout of the exhibition was described by the CAM's then-Director as follows:

> *Under the Sign of Amadeo: A Century of Art* occupies the entirety of the space available in the CAM's building but contains only around five per cent of the collection, taking visitors on a voyage through the 20th century. It is a voyage with pre-defined ports: in the main gallery, particular attention is paid to the representation of the body in action and to works classified as performance [v. figs. 6.47. to 6.56.], one of the most disruptive and significant languages to have evolved in the transition between modern art and

> contemporary art[417]; in the first room, the dialogue between British and Portuguese art, one of the characteristic features of this collection, is presented with a focus on pop art [v. figs. 6.57., 6.58.]; in gallery 1, we see the outstanding masterpieces of the collection, which offer a summary of the period between the start of the 20th century and the present day[418] [v. figs. 6.59. to 6.63.]; in the multipurpose room, the film and video collection can be seen; in the temporary exhibitions room, the stage and the theatrical are presented in the context of modernity[419]; and in gallery 01, the visitors can see the work of the great modernist Amadeo [v. figs. 6.64. to 6.71.].
>
> (Carlos, 2013: 8).

As such, the exhibition was organised not only to allow for an overview of the collection – and the underlying guidelines which oriented the CAM's collecting politics –, but also to enable a review of one of the main running threads of the CAM's exhibiting practices, consequently granting the opportunity for a further understanding of the CAM's work as a museum of modern and contemporary art. By electing performance as one of the thematic focus points around which the commemorative display was organised, the CAM paid homage to the different dynamics it embodied – and strived to accomplish – throughout the previous thirty years, i.e., it brought to the foreground the essence of a schism that gave a different life to the artistic and cultural fields, a schism of which the CAM is simultaneously an example and a negation.

As a genre whose genesis is embedded in the avant-garde movements, performance art was one of the most notorious and explicit forms of "attack [to] artistic institution[s as it] question[ed] the traditional concept of the work of art, defending the right of art to be reintegrated into a vital praxis […], into a praxis of life and the everyday" (Carlos, 2013: 10). The CAM chose to commemorate its 30th anniversary by highlighting a form of art that, aside from questioning the traditional concept of the work of art, strongly and acutely put into question the function and purpose of conventional artistic institutions such as the art museum. It is precisely performance's questioning and paradigm-shifting nature along with its formal and conceptual characteristics that mirror the CAM's own critical standing and performative actuation within the artistic and cultural fields:

[417] Comprised of contemporary works of art from the 1960s to 2010.

[418] "In gallery 1, a selection of masterpieces of the CAM's collection provide a synopsis of modern and contemporary art, from the historical avant-gardes of futurism and cubism, through neorealism and surrealism, followed by the neo-avant-gardes, up until the more recent years, covering the varied artistic media of painting, drawing, sculpture, and photography" (CAM, 2013: website).

[419] Comprised of modern works of art, dating up to 1968.

> performance put art in an uncomfortable place […] [and, originally, in] uncomfortable spaces – the streets, rundown spaces, informal sites[420] – where performer and spectator were in an uncomfortable situation: with no stage, scenery, or seats to divide them, they were mutually exposed to each other.
>
> (Carlos, 2013: 10).

This dual exposing and mutual engagement in the relationship between art and public was at the core of what the CAM aimed at fostering when it first opened to the public in 1983: a cultural-meaning-making correlational interactivity between artistic heritage, artistic production, the institution, and the public. By highlighting the role of performance in conceptualising and creating opportunities for that change in the relationship between art and public to be operated, the CAM was, in fact, celebrating its role as a successful performer of that transformation in Lisbon, as has been discussed throughout the previous chapters. As Carlos put it:

> From the point of view of communication, performance establishes a new relationship between the emitter and the receiver that demands the latter's participation […]. [P]erformance makes a degree of involvement necessary: the emitter and the receiver are involved on the same plane. In other words, performance obliges spectators to define themselves as users […].
>
> (Carlos, 2013: 10).

Such were the CAM's initial purposes and goals: to go (and be) beyond the traditional and conventional aura of the modern model of art museum (v. subchapter 2.2. and sections 3.1.2. and 3.1.3.); to engage the public with modern and contemporary art and vice-versa in a levelled communication playing field (v. subchapter 3.2. and chapter 4.); to function as a space for creation, experimentation, and for intercultural, intertextual, and intergenerational dialogue.

The intent of the 30th anniversary celebration serving as a moment for the (re)viewing and the (re)producing of the CAM's crucial functions and foundational activities was confirmed by the formats and contents of the other commemorative events organised in parallel with the exhibition:

> In celebrating the CAM's 30th anniversary, besides showing the collection, we were also driven by a desire to examine the space of the museum, nowadays, as a laboratory, a space of creation and risk, by commissioning Rodrigo Oliveira (Sintra, 1978) and Carlos No (Lisbon, 1967) to produce new works for the façade of the building[421] [v. figs. 6.72.,

[420] V. subchapter 3.2. and particularly section 3.2.2..

[421] "The [CAM's] building façade will be 'dressed to the part' to welcome the visitors, displaying an intervention […] of great colour effect, commissioned specifically for the occasion. Titled *Sem Degraus à Sombra*

> 6.73.] and for the entrance hall[422] [v. figs. 6.74., 6.75.], respectively, and by organising a performance cycle[423] taking place between October and December [2013], opening with a pioneering figure in this genre, Alberto Pimenta (Porto, 1937), and closing with Isabel Carvalho (Porto, 1977), who is currently working in an artistic residency in Berlin with the help of a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
>
> (Carlos, 2013: 8).

The commissioning of new works and the production of a performance season[424] speak of and to the CAM's pioneering work as an art centre which sought to be a "catalyst, not just for new publics, but mainly for new questionings and reflections" (Carlos, 2014: 230). These activities – commissioning works with a specific artistic and cultural purpose and producing a performance cycle that presented the works of artists from different generations and conceptual backgrounds – brought to the foreground the ACARTE's role and responsibility in successfully introducing new artworks – different and innovative artworks – to the Lisbon citizenry. The CAM's role in reshaping Lisbon's culturalscape was also much accomplished due to the ACARTE's activities and initiatives and, thus, a celebration of their transformative influence was mandatory. The parallel, symbiotic, and conjoined existence of the ACARTE and of the CAM potentiated the CAM's role far beyond that of a space which exhibits modern and contemporary art; it furthered it to the realm of a space where art is created, performed, a space where art's meanings and functions in contemporary society are debated and discussed.

It was also with the purpose of celebrating these roles that two different conference programmes were organised involving other research, education, and cultural institutions as well as prominent national and international personalities. The first was an international conference programme spanning the whole month of November regarding Amadeo de Souza-

[No Steps in the Shade], it is made up of several colourful panels which change colours when handled by the public" (FCG, 2013a: 7).

[422] "Inside the [CAM's] building, another work commissioned specifically for the exhibition will be in the spot light. Of a more political content […], and titled *Euroblood*, this work brings to the foreground the existence of the European blood stock market, an unknown market for most people, where different values are attributed to blood depending on the donor's nationality. The stock values are presented in a digital screen just like all other commodity stock market values are usually displayed" (FCG, 2013a: 7).

[423] 17.10.2013 – Alberto Pimenta – *tudo nada* [everything nothing]; 24.10.2013 – Pedro Tudela – *Transparente/Opaco* [Transparent/Opaque]; 31.10.2013 – Ramiro Guerreiro – *Homógrafo* [Homograph]; 7.11.2013 – Joana Bastos – *Óscar* [Oscar]; 14.11.2013 – Musa Paradisíaca (Eduardo Guerra and Miguel Ferrão); 21.11.2013 – Martinha Maia – *Small Matter*; 28.11.2013 – Isabel Carvalho. For further information v. http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/jornal/um-cao-a-passear-entre-os-quadros-de-amadeo-e-uma-performance-27288268.

[424] "[E]nabling a mapping of the language of national performance […]" (Carlos, 2014: 230).

Cardoso's *oeuvre* and related topics, and which gathered the most recent research and investigation works in the historiography of art, "bringing together several world-renowned experts to reflect on art between the two world wars with special focus on peripheral modernisms, namely the Portuguese and Scandinavian examples"[425] (FCG, 2013a: 9). The second – the event which signalled the end of the *Under the Sign of Amadeo – A Century of Art* exhibition as well as the end of the commemorations of the CAM's 30th anniversary – was a national conference titled *O CAM na Cultura Portuguesa dos Anos 80* [The CAM and the 80s Portuguese Culture][426], which gathered curators, researchers, architects, and artists, bringing to the foreground the urban and artistic contexts within which the CAM emerged and which it came to reshape. As the organiser of the event, Nuno Grande, put it, the aim of this conference was to celebrate the CAM's 30th anniversary by "discussing the [CAM's] building, the ACARTE, and other (post)modernnesses which Lisbon already misses" (Grande, 2014: website). In short, the conferences' cycle – much like the commemorative event as a whole, having foregrounded the CAM's histories and contexts – aimed at discussing modernisms and modernities, postmodernisms and postmodernities: elements and issues based on and around which the CAM developed its identity, its work, and its activities; becoming, thus, an icon of the (post)modern reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

*

This chapter reviewed and analysed the ways in which the CAM presented its renewed identity in the early years of the second decade of the 21st century, via a reconfigured approach to the collection and to the purposes of temporary exhibitions, as well as via the format chosen for the commemoration of the CAM's 30th anniversary. The following and

[425] Conference programme: 1st session – Topic: Photography – Speakers: Jorge Ribalta (Museo Reina Sofia, Spain) – *The Strand symptom. A Modernist disease*, and Blake Stimson (University of Illinois, U.S.A.) – *Photographic Communism*; 2nd session – Topic: Modernism and the Avant-gardes – Speakers: Annika Öhrner (Södertörn University, Sweden) – *Nordic artists and some early avant-garde spaces*, and Maria Helena de Freitas (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation) – *The Critique Misfortune of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso*; 3rd session – Topic: War – Speakers: Patricia Leighten (Duke University, U.S.A.) – *Modernism, Antimilitarism and War*, and Joana Cunha Leal (IHA – FCSH/UNL) – *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and the War*; 4th session – Topic: Philosophy – Speakers: Mark Antliff (Duke University, U.S.A.) – *Henri Bergson and the Parisian Avant-Garde: Subjectivity and the Road to Abstraction*, and Maria Filomena Molder (IFL – FCSH/UNL) – *Art and pessimism (in the copying and illustration of La légende de Saint-Julien l'hospitalier of Flaubert by Amadeo)*.

[426] The conference programme included two topics: in the morning *To be postmodern: between the Frágil and the ACARTE* was discussed by curators, gallerists, and researchers; in the afternoon *Leslie Martin's CAM: between the Hangar and the Museum* was discussed by architects, curators, and an artist.

last chapter, the conclusion, aside from briefly overviewing the CAM's role in the city of Lisbon from 1983 to 2013, will address the CAM's final metamorphosis (2016-2017) and propose a few parameters of action.

Figure 6.47. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.48. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.49. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.50. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.51. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.52. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.53. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

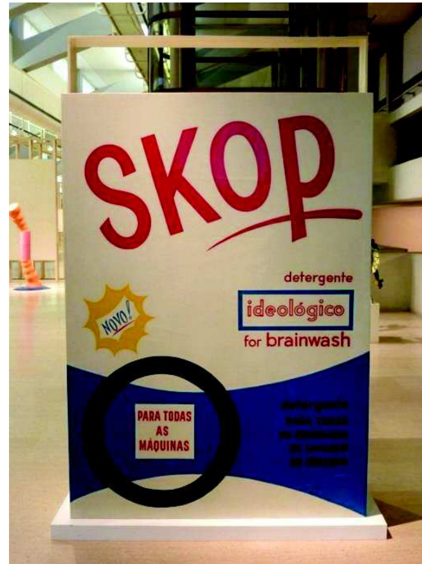

Figure 6.54. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.55. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.56. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (main gallery)

Figure 6.57. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (first gallery)

Figure 6.58. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (first gallery)

Figure 6.59. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (top half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.60. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (top half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.61. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (top half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.62. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (top half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.63. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (top half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.64. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.65. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.66. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.67. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.68. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.69. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.70. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.71. - View of the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art* (bottom half-floor gallery)

Figure 6.72. - The CAM's façade during the 30th anniversary commemorations

Figure 6.73. - The CAM's façade during the 30th anniversary commemorations

Figure 6. 74. - Hallway installation during the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art*

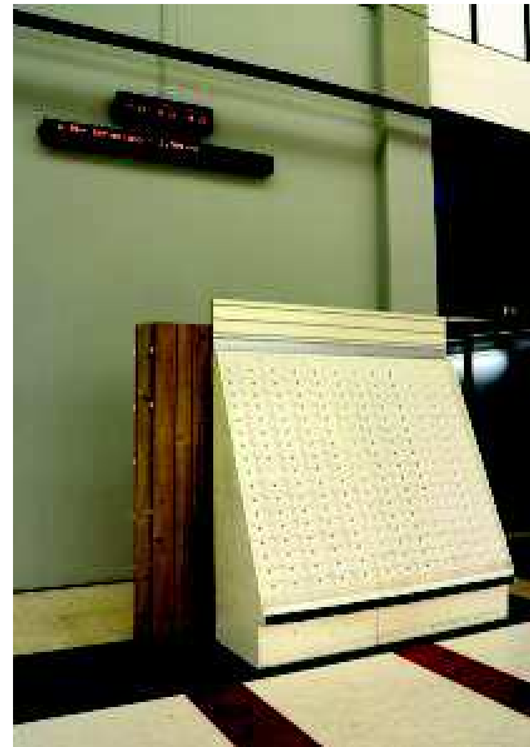

Figure 6.75. - Hallway installation during the exhibition *Under the Sign of Amadeo - A Century of Art*

7. The CAM and Lisbon: (Re)thinking the Past, Present, and Future

It is necessary to distinguish between the gradual setting in place of the various (often unrelated) preconditions for the new structure and the "moment" (not exactly chronological) when they all jell and combine into a functional system. This moment is itself less a matter of chronology than it is of a well-nigh Freudian Nachträglichkeit*, or retroactivity: people become aware of the dynamics of some new system, in which they are themselves seized, only later on and gradually.*

(Jameson, 1993: xix).

7.1. OUT-OF-THE-BOX AND INTO-THE-CITY: THE ART MUSEUM'S DIALOGICAL ROLE

To recognize, examine and comprehend museums as complex, multi-layered and multi-functional sites that maintain vast networks of significance across history, place and politics, mobility, identity and economics, it is necessary to employ a critical comparative methodology. Within this framework, both theoretical and evaluative approaches are necessary for understanding the empirical data offered up by museums and the broader field of museum studies, because the cultural institutions [here discussed] have already adopted strategies from government policy, social theory, postcolonial studies and development studies.

(Message, 2006: 198).

The analysis of the dynamics established between art museums/cultural centres, the city they inhabit, and the citizens they serve is crucial for an understanding of "the relationship they have with dominant cultural trends and systems of governance" (*ibid.*). According to Kylie Message,

> [g]iven that museums have internalized many of these strategies within their architecture, exhibitions and public programmes […] now is the time to reflect academically on how all these aspects have come together to produce new forms of the museum and new strategies for the attraction, entertainment, education and possibly reform of its various publics.
>
> (*ibid.*).

The aim of this dissertation has been exactly that of reflecting on the different components of an art centre and art museum (building, collection, exhibitions, publications, mission statements, and goals, along with its respective socio-cultural, political-economic, and educational contexts) and analysing how the combination of those elements brought about a number of transformations of the artistic-cultural panorama within the urban context. Nonetheless, and as Terry Smith points out,

> [w]e could keep going across the exhibitionary spectrum, noting […] the ways in which each kind of institution and each kind of curator seeks to draw either reactive or enabling energy from one or more of the other actors while at the same time striving to create and maintain a distinctive, yet always transformable, profile. And we could chart the ways these interactions have unfolded through time, at different locations, and plot the connections between them. There would be value in this, as it would highlight the complexities within which curators actually work and bring out distinctive aspects of the different kinds of curating required by each kind of exhibition site, as well as recognize the constant, variable traffic between them.
>
> (Smith, 2012: 98).

The museological scope is far too vast - even when confined to the field of art museums – to be fully and thoroughly surveyed, all its elements analysed, all its components examined. However, and in spite of the many fluctuations, loose ends, and contradictions within the field of art museums, their role as dialogical entities – between city and citizenry and art and culture – is crucial inasmuch as it is responsible for the continuous reshaping of the urban culturalscape and, consequently, of how art and culture are experienced and experimented with in the city.

The evolution of the museological models from the late 18th century up to now has re-configured the museological space from a place of monolithic, mono-cultural authority, into a place that "acts self-consciously as a political agent and [that] plays an advocacy role in the reconstruction of cultural identity and the promotion of crosscultural dialogue" (Message, 2006: 198-199). The effects of that ongoing transformation have been continuously reflected by the art museums' discourses – the advent of new museology and post-new museology models are exemplary – as well as by the academic discourse – the growing emphasis on the significant connections that exist between Museum Studies and Culture Studies, namely in its postmodernist, postcolonial, and multicultural theories, is one of the clearest examples. The relationship between the (trans)formation of urban cultural identities, of cultural citizenships, and the artistic practices and cultural policies purported by art museums is an intricate one, as discussed throughout the dissertation.

In the role of Lisbon's first cultural centre, the FCG brought attention to the fundamental links that exist between artistic appreciation, education, and cultural formation by bringing new cultural policies to the national stage and by constru(ct)ing new artistic monumentalities in the urban cultural topography. The FCG aimed, continuously and consistently, at strengthening the bridges (as well as the awareness of such bridges) between art – in its most varied forms – and cultural edification and (trans)formation. As such, the FCG became an unquestionable source of/for artistic and cultural, urban and rural, cosmopolitan and traditional points of contact, connections, and interactions of varied forms of expression: a true dialogical entity. The CAM came to heighten the dialogical character of visual artistic expressions, it (re)defined a cosmopolitan cultural identity, and it (re)shaped the urban culturalscape. Moreover, the CAM, through its exhibition practices, established understandings and made clearer the connections and dialogues present at times of transformation of the systems of governance and at times of radical changes in artistic production and cultural trends.

7.2. THE CAM EFFECT IN LISBON'S CULTURALSCAPE AND COSMOPOLITAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

[The CAM is] a museum and an art centre, a place where collection and creation, stability and questioning, iron sculpture and moving image, conservation and risk are able to coexist in a natural way.

(Carlos, 2014: 231).

Those who have learned about art at the Modern Art Centre and who love it, will always want more and will always expect the best from the CAM. But in the 30 years that have passed since its inauguration, one aspect is worth noting: the authorial stamp of each of the three directors that have, until now, led it with a freedom that is extremely rare in Portugal's cultural scene.

(Silva, 2014: 127).

As the first "cultural institutions with practices that [were] interdisciplinary, multipurpose, collaborative and crosscultural" (Message, 2006: 199), the FCG, and the CAM in particular, were the perfect subjects for a study of how the exhibitionary apparatuses' transformative practices work insofar as those practices: a) strongly contribute to the development of cultural policies as well as to the development of a politics of citizenship, as was discussed and demonstrated throughout chapter 2.; b) are responsible for the creation of cultural habits and for the experiencing of artistic-cultural phenomena as *praxis*, as was analysed and explored throughout chapters 3. and 4.; c) structure form(at)s of history-telling and of contemporary meaning-making, as was examined and reviewed in chapters 5. and 6..

The CAM was the space where many Portuguese people, namely Lisboans, had their first contact with contemporary art; it was, for many years, the great reference – for an entire decade it was the only reference – regarding contemporary art in Portugal, thus ensuring a very particular and unique place in the history of Portuguese art and Portuguese museology. An idea in-the-making since the 1960s that opened to the public as the first space which permanently exhibited modern and contemporary art in the Iberian Peninsula in 1983, the CAM had to balance out "the unresolved tension existing between discourses of modernity and postmodernity" (*ibid.*) in Portugal. The required short-circuiting of modern objectives and postmodern symbolical values (cf. Santos, 2013[1994]) can be considered to have come to fruition via the CAM's cultural and artistic programming, as both modern and postmodern narratives were (dis)constru(ct)ed and made to correlate in synchronic ways. It was precisely

this embodiment of the transitional that made the CAM's exhibitionary complex (along with the ACARTE) so appealing as a source, not only of newness and freshness, but also of consolidation and systematisation of knowledges regarding art and culture. The CAM and the ACARTE were able to accurately and demonstratively reflect on Lisbon's unique situation at a moment in time when local traditional ways of thinking were being confronted with transnational, multicultural, cosmopolitan new theories and (artistic and cultural) processes of meaning-making. By actively exploring (productions and co-productions) and by thoroughly reviewing (in exhibition, conference, and publication formats) art and culture as processes that emerged from and/or embedded themselves in a myriad of other societal phenomena, the CAM and the ACARTE reshaped Lisbon's culturalscape.

However, and despite the undeniable importance of the new artistic and cultural productions conducted and supported by the ACARTE, as well as the significance of the new exhibition practices put in place by the CAM, the reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape was very much due to a particular aspect: the CAM's ability to create and maintain a productive and proactive relationship with its publics. The CAM's character of uniqueness and newness at the time of its inauguration, granted by the CAM's unparalleled collection(s), by its original programme of exhibitions and other activities, as well as by the semi-informal characteristics of its space distribution, made apparent the CAM's will "to experiment with innovative and varying approaches to exhibition, experience, and meaning production" (Message, 2006: 201). This whole new museological environment provided by the CAM – as an art museum and an art centre – triggered a very positive reaction from the public who saw the CAM as the artistic-cultural contemporary and cosmopolitan point of reference in Lisbon and Portugal. The CAM's early years left an indelible mark in Lisbon's cultural environment, having redefined the formats and roles of exhibitionary apparatuses as cultural-meaning-making elements, and having offered the city its first – and perhaps so far its only – postmodern exhibitionary complex insofar as it generated new dynamic conceptual spaces for the (trans)formation of publics as well as for a consequent reshaping of Lisbon's culturalscape.

The CAM effect in Lisbon's culturalscape and cosmopolitan cultural identity was one of immediacy. By having a clear idea of the shape of the city, the country, and the world at the moment of its inception, the CAM was able to perform a quite reasonably accurate diagnosis regarding what was missing from the artistic and cultural exhibitionary scenes and practices and conducted its work upon those lines. The CAM's institutional identity – backed

up by the institutional weight of the FCG and lightened (therefore made more approachable) by its modern and contemporary contents, allowed for a very successful combination of efforts and objectives: to provide for what had been done – artistically, culturally – elsewhere (sometimes years and decades earlier) and to bring it to the country's capital and beyond; to skilfully perceive moods and moments and understand what was required from a modern and contemporary art centre and museum for the near future. For many years, the CAM's effect was one of consolidation of the little known artistic and cultural foundations and of preview of the newest transnational, multicultural, and cosmopolitan artistic and cultural trends and tendencies.

Nevertheless, and despite the CAM's establishment and development – within the Lisboan culturalscape it helped redefine – as an example of an artistic-cultural institution which understood what was lacking and made it happen, no single one model of operation is permanently and perpetually sustainable. Throughout its existence the CAM has attempted, and managed, considerable and significant transformations, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation. Now, after almost thirty-three years of existence, the CAM is about to face an ultimate transformation, one that will, possibly, once again reshape the foundations of Lisbon's culturascape.

7.3. PLACING THE MUSEOLOGICAL FUTURE OF CULTURE, ART, AND METAMORPHOSES

> *There does, however, continue to be something compelling in [the museums'] ongoing attempts – particularly in their attempt to provide a public space that is inclusive and open to the self-representation of diverse voices and political positions. Each museum's embodiment of irresolution, methodological gaps, loose ends and contradictions conspires to produce another discussion, about whether the discourses of the new museum – of access, democracy, the recognition of cultural diversity – might break with the museum's traditional project of civic reform and succeed in offering an alternative and effective framework of cultural production and engagement (rather than rephrasing the reformist agenda according to a new rhetoric). The focus on multiculturalism and cultural diversity that is increasingly presented as a signifier of newness may thus gain more than a rhetorical impact than the now passé trend for postmodernity, and might contribute to produce further negotiations about the relationship between new museums and culture.*
> (Message, 2006: 202).

> *[A]n even greater challenge is to recognise that the museum is increasingly not simply a place for observation, instruction and experience, but also one for personal development and learning through participation. We seek to reflect on our identity, on our relationships with others and with the world. In this respect, the museum becomes more like a laboratory or a university.*
> (Serota, 2016).

The newest art museums and art galleries in Lisbon and Portugal have been very much focused on the relationship between contemporary art and postmodernity, globalisation, and multiculturalism. The CAM may have lost its role as a referential space regarding contemporary art, especially due to the surge of other cultural institutions dedicated to it, but it had a transformative role unlike any other institution in Lisbon since the 1980s: going to the CAM – attending its many non-exhibitionary activities and frequenting its exhibition halls – was an integral and fundamental part of a postmodern *habitus* and *praxis* in 1980s' Lisbon. In the wake of the work developed by the Culturgest, the Serralves Museum in Oporto, the EDP Foundation's Electricity Museum, the MNAC, the Berardo Museum and the CCB, and especially now with the upcoming inauguration of the EDP Foundation's Museum of Art, Architecture, and Technology (MAAT) which will present itself as a *kunsthalle* focusing strongly on contemporary art, cosmopolitan contemporary culture, and the relationship between city and culture, the CAM's role in the city of Lisbon is once again in need of a metamorphosis.

In February 2016 it was officially announced that the brand 'Modern Art Centre' would cease to exist, as both museological spaces of the FCG (the CAM and the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum) would become known by a single designation – Calouste Gulbenkian Museum – with two main exhibition premises and poles: the Founder's Collection and the Modern Collection. Since January 2016, both the CAM and the Gulbenkian Museum have had the same Director, the British art historian Penelope Curtis[427], who will be managing both poles of what is to become by 2017 a single museological entity – hence the single designation with an emphasis on the varying collections (much like what is done by the TATE Foundation in the U.K.). Curtis will be responsible for the creation, coordination, and implementation of an artistic-cultural programme that will, for the first time, closely and continuously engage and correlate both collections, seeking to grant further national and international relevance and projection to the Modern Collection[428], as well as aiming to display more of that collection at the permanent exhibitions. The new museography which is being planned to accompany this transformation of the CAM into the Calouste Gulbenkain Museum – Modern Collection (v. Coutinho, 2016; Salema, 2016) might turn out to allow for a better rounded-off accomplishment of one of the CAM's objectives: to carry out a short-circuited work on Portuguese art historiography of the 20th century.

The need for the development of a consistent, continued, and permanent work on Portuguese art historiography of the 20th century is something that had been pointed out by all previous three Directors of the CAM. Carlos highlighted the importance of conceiving and designing exhibitions with a historiographic dimension that seek to display the pioneering artists responsible for many of the artistic developments which led to what is being done nowadays, artists and artistic developments often little known by current generations (cf.

[427] Penelope Curtis (1961-) "studied History at Oxford, before going to the Courtauld to study Modern Art, and then undertook research in Paris for her PhD on Monumental Sculpture in France c.1870-1930. […] In 2010 she took up the Directorship of Tate Britain where she oversaw the Millbank Project (arch. Caruso St John 2013) alongside the complete rehang of the building with a new chronological installation, which opened in May 2013. At the Tate she was also Chair of the Turner Prize, and co-curated the Barbara Hepworth exhibition (2015). Penelope Curtis is an established scholar and author with a particular interest in inter-war art and architecture and in contemporary art, and often writes at the invitation of artists. Her publications include Sculpture 1900–1945 in the Oxford History of Art (Oxford 1999) and Patio & Pavilion: the place of sculpture in modern architecture (Ridinghouse/Getty 2007). In 2015 she gave the Mellon Lectures at the National Gallery in London and at Yale University". (FCG, 2016: website).

[428] "The Gulbenkian Museum has had, for a number of years, double (or more) the number of visitors of the CAM, namely in 2015: the museum had 217000 visitors and the CAM had 107000. The Gulbenkian Museum had 57000 national visitors and 160000 foreign visitors, while the CAM had 63000 national visitors and 43000 foreign visitors" (Coutinho, 2016).

Rato, 2009). Sir Nicholas Serota, Director of the TATE art museums and galleries, has underlined the need for artistic-cultural programmes to be developed aiming at "examin[ing] the contribution made by the visual arts to society's wider cultural and economic framework" (Serota, 2016). As an interpretational and explicative element, art historiography of a recent past and of contemporaneity can be considered fundamental for an understanding of cultural citizenship (trans)formations. Curtis (who has worked with Serota at the TATE) seems to share that vision, as she will be one of the curators of the commemorative exhibition of the FCG's 60th anniversary in June 2016 – *More or Less* (working title) – which will "interconnect the two collections [Founder's and Modern] and showcase the surprising ways in which they both reflect the 20th century, [...] it will also be an opportunity to demonstrate how art reflects the history of a country" (Curtis in Coutinho, 2016).

As Teresa Gouveia has mentioned in a recent interview, at the time of its inauguration and during its early years, the CAM was a place of innovation and experimentation, but the significance and importance of the collection (as well as of the stories and experiences) it has by now assembled and gathered, justifies a paradigm shift regarding the CAM's art centre status, supporting, thus, the development of a new format with a stronger museological emphasis (cf. Coutinho, 2016). However, if it is imperative to recognise the changing character of an institution, it is no less important and productive to ascertain and maintain an institution's legacy throughout its transformative processes. If the CAM's museological dimension is to overweigh its experimentation character, then the stories and experiences accumulated during its more experimental phase should become an integral part of the new museum's identity and exhibitionary practices. In doing so, the CAM – metamorphosed into Calouste Gulbenkian Museum – Modern Collection – could have the opportunity to, once again, revolutionise Lisbon's culturalscape by establishing an infrastructural communication network with its publics and, thus, become a pole (the place of reference) for a shared and participated space of learning and debate regarding 20th century art and culture in Portugal. In the wake of the CAM's near thirty-three years of existence, the new museum has the tools to create a great space for cultural meaning-making.

As a space for the reflection on culture, art, and (respective) metamorphoses throughout the 20th century and their levels of contribution to the formation and development of artistic, cultural, and societal behaviours in the 21st century – and, therefore, as a place where the formation of cultural identity and citizenship is rooted – the new museum should configure

itself as a space of "shared ownership and experience […] [as well as a space which] must stimulate, provoke and engage, […] offering a place for contemplation and consolation [;] [i]t must be a place in which we can share in a commonwealth of ideas" (Serota, 2016). Such a configuration implies a close connection with the university, with other cultural institutions with which the museum must develop solid and consistent work and collaborations[429], as well as an active engagement with the publics. This time around, the new museum can offer a new kind of experience, one which aims at helping people make sense of the dynamics of the systems they are embedded in while traversing those same realities and not only in an intricate *a posteriori* way. If the CAM was the necessary short-circuited embodiment of the past and of the future in the present, the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum – Modern Collection has the opportunity – the appropriate time and contexts – to be a museum of the Now.

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If culture is a collection of stories told in the absence of certainty, and stories are essentially a way of creating meaning, it is important not to overlook the CAM's meaning-making performance etching its 30 year-long story in the narrative of Portuguese time.

[429] Networks such as The London Consortium (1993-2012) and The Lisbon Consortium (2011-) are good examples of the partnerships that can be implemented, but the work between university and cultural institutions must be further developed. More than an *autopoietic* relationship, or more than "endlessly contrive[ing] to organize subjects which exist only as the phantom effects of its own rhetorics" (Bennett, 1992: 29), the university and, in this particular case, the art museum must create and engage in a truly developmental symbiotic relationship in which both produce knowledge and critical theory about each other, leading to new courses of action and innovative activities.

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