PRINTS OF FLUXUS ART: 
REVISITING THE LEGACY 
OF EXPANDED ARTS IN PORTUGAL (1970-1980)

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ABSTRACT
This article is a result of the research carried out in PhD on the correspondences of an art of canon Fluxus (1961) in Portugal, from the perspective of the concept of “intermedia” by the international flux artist Dick Higgins, and of a communication presented at the Symposium of Portuguese Art, held at the Berardo Museum (CCB Lisbon), on July 20, 2016. From the notion of “Intermedia”, which refers to the convergence between media that merge with each other and create a new medium, it was explored the influence of Fluxus International in a series of events that took place in Portugal between 1960 and 1980, based on study cases, the Fluxus semantic and critical texts of the time. This was a period of great creative effervescence that resulted in the intense participation of many protagonists in collective events, so, unfortunately, it will not be possible to cover all here. It was highlighted the action of Ernesto de Sousa, the “Esthetic Operator” by Ernesto Melo e Castro, the neo-concretist poet, and of Antonio Barros, the visual poet. With this analysis, it was intended to highlight the expanded arts in Portugal in this period, in order to give visibility to the heritage of an ‘art-communication’ that remains opaque and surely will be useful to the understanding of contemporary communication phenomena.

KEYWORDS
FLUXUS; INTERMEDIALITY; CORRESPONDENCES; EXPANDED-ARTS; ART-COMMUNICATION

RESUMO
Este artigo resulta da investigação desenvolvida em sede de doutoramento sobre as correspondências de uma arte de cânon Fluxus (1961) em Portugal, na perspectiva do conceito de “intermedia” do artista e investigador do Fluxus internacional Dick Higgins, e de uma comunicação apresentada por ocasião do Simpósio de Arte Portuguesa, no Museu Berardo (CCB Lisboa), a 20 de julho de 2016. A partir da noção de “Intermedia”, que se refere à convergência entre meios que se fundem entre si e criam um novo meio, abordou-se a influência do Fluxus internacional numa série de eventos acontecidos em Portugal entre 1960 e 1980, com base em casos de estudo, no referencial semântico Fluxus e textos críticos da época. Foi este um período de grande efervescência criativa que se traduziu na participação intensa de inúmeros/as protagonistas em eventos colectivos, pelo que, infelizmente, não será possível abarcar todos/as aqui. Tendo sido destacada a acção de Ernesto de Sousa, o “operador Estético” por Ernesto Melo e Castro, o poeta neo-concretista, e de António Barros, o poeta visual. Com esta análise, pretendeu-se evidenciar as artes expandidas em Portugal neste período, para assim visibilizar a herança de uma ‘arte-comunicação’ que perdura opaca e que, certamente, será profícia à compreensão de fenómenos de comunicação visual contemporâneos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE
FLUXUS; INTERMEDIALIDADE; CORRESPONDÊNCIAS; ARTE-EXPANDIDAS; ARTE-COMUNICAÇÃO
Preamble

Prior to the mid-70s, Portugal was an isolated country as a result of the political regime that had been in power for over 40 years, thus delaying cultural development. Many artists had to leave the country to fulfil their need for freedom of expression and freedman of creation. The Revolution of April of 1974 finally opened the long-desired window. Nevertheless, there was a great way to go. For many “new” artists back then, as the artist and art commissaire Ernesto de Sousa writes, Portugal was still dominated by a hegemonic elite. De Sousa goes so far as to call it a salon (a French concept imported to the Portuguese lexicon), so to ridicule the assumption that art was a privilege for a small group of people but not accessible to all:

“The salon. The permanence of French terms ably denounces the presence of a certain European strain (...) of Portuguese culture; the vernissages and other events that have had different yet reliable fortunes to this very day — perhaps because they could be covered by a small number of people who exclusively constituted the milieu: a more or less self-sufficient social micro-class, with conservative means of support and internal vanguards.” ¹ (Sousa, 1977)

Afterwards, the context of post-revolution brought out new artists and new ideas based on freedom, dialogue, transgression, and political and social intervention. Art became “life” and “action”. Moreover, the categorization of “fine arts” was dismissed from this new, transgressive, critical attitude to art.

A new trend in arts emerged, characterized by the idea of multiplicity: all media must be mixed, the events must be collective and pedagogic, art must be a critical attitude, art is to be lived, art must have a poetic dimension, art must be experimental and experienced, art is performance, art is “direct democracy” (as proposed by Joseph Beuys, the German Fluxus artist); and, fundamentally, art must be revolution against all norms, a regression to “zero” stadium, to a conceptual form.

1. “Memory is a silence that waits for?” ²

The research undertaken showed that it is not possible to establish a linear chronological timeline between Fluxus events and this new art attitude in Portugal, in the focused period. But, it is undeniable that there is a straight correspondence between both art movements. To get there, the focus must be syncretic and based on the notion of “expanded arts” formalized by the Lithuanian George Maciunas (1973), which is “architect” of the International Fluxus.

In this regard, Ken Friedman, the Fluxus artist from the group based in California (USA) and international co-supervisor of this research, told me, in an informal remote conversation held in 2012, that the correspondence between international Fluxus and the experimental art in Portugal must be framed in a non-chronological way. This is in part due to the fact that Fluxus doctrines are timeless, according to its seminal definition of something in ‘flux’; and, because there was a delay in the emergence of the “expanded arts” in Portugal, something that can be explained by the fact that the country lived through one of the longest-lasting totalitarian regimes in Europe, which consequently isolated Portuguese culture from the rest of the world.

The text “Fluxus” by Ernesto de Sousa, published in the magazine Opção in 1978, was taken as the starting point for the reflection:

“— And in Portugal? Of course, in Portugal there was and is a Fluxus spirit, even under the most disparate names: Abjectionism, Surrealism, Experimentalism, and even Dadaism, and no-name movements that are even more interesting. This is proven, for example, by Alternative Zero. But I assure you that there remains a lot to be done before we are through — let’s not be complacent.” ³ (Sousa, 1978) ⁴
1.1. Origins of Fluxus: defying classification

“Fluxus has been able to grow because it’s had room for dialogue and transformation. It’s been able to be born and reborn several times in different ways. The fluid understanding of its own history and meaning, the central insistence on dialogue and social creativity rather than on objects and artefacts have enabled Fluxus to remain alive on the several occasions that Fluxus has been declared dead.” (Friedman, 1998: FLUXUS IDEA ½, pp. 237-253)

The event “Fluxus Internationale. Festspiele Neuester Musik” in 1962 (Wiesbaden, Germany), marked the beginning of a series of collective Fluxus art events. The “Festspiele Neuester Musik” comprised fourteen flux-concerts, including musical compositions and choreographies in a new performative scheme. Several artists took part, among them Joseph Beuys (Germany, 1921-1989), George Brecht (USA, 1926-2008), John Cage (USA, 1912-1992), Alison Knowles (USA, 1933-), Nam June Paik (South Korea, 1932-2006), Wolf Vostell (Germany, 1932-1998), Robert Watts (USA, 1923-1988), La Monte Young (USA, 1935-), and many others.

In 1962 and 1963-64, these concerts expanded to other European cities such as Düsseldorf, Wuppertal, Paris, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Nice, Stockholm and Oslo. They were initially directed by George Maciunas and La Monte Young, who, along with Henry Flynt (USA, 1940) and Robert Morris (USA, 1931), mutually influenced action by Yoko Ono’s studio (Japan, 1933) and the proto-group YAM (initiated by Robert Watts and George Brecht, which is considered the prototype of Fluxus).

Although Fluxus is formally considered to have been created by George Maciunas in 1961, its genesis came long before, it is in the first and second avant garde movements and in John Cage’s concrete music movement. According to Fischer-Lichte (1998, pp. 143-169), the “Untitled event” (1952) was very important because it initiated the first turning point in art history. From that point onwards, the proceedings of art changed radically. “Untitled event” is considered the proto-performance. The event featured the musician John Cage, the pianist David Tudor, the composer Jay Watts, the painter Robert Rauschenberg, the dancer Merce Cunningham and the poets Mary Caroline Richards and Chalets Olsen. During the happening the performers’ guidelines (scores) were distributed, consisting of “parentheses of time” indicating moments of action, inaction and silence that each individual should fill. In this way, the score came to be used as instructive element of the performance. For Fischer-Lichte (1998, pp. 143-169), this action radicalized the performance as an everyday practice and as a musical event. The “Untitled event” outlined a new artistic field that was ruled by collective and interdisciplinary events, which incorporated performance and happening and the use of supporting documents, as manifestos, posters and music scores, in the same way that a concert or an orchestra does.

This prolixity of artists, their different geographical origins, disciplines, mediums used in the events and their resistance to becoming “history” made complicated to classify Fluxus as an art movement. As such, the artists felt the need to create their own story by materializing the memory of the events through using special artifacts, thereby ensuring their status as outcasts, free from all classificatory precepts. They began to incorporate manuscripts, manifests and diagrams with the view to ‘fabricating’ their own ‘memory’. The main preoccupation was to create their own ways to communicate.

Dick Higgins, the English Fluxus artist, called Fluxus “intermedia”, precisely defining it as flux or connection between ideas, doctrines, mediums and different art disciplines. With the aim of circumscribing the doctrinal field of Fluxus in a non-fixed form, he wrote the “Statement of Intermedia” (1996), where he declares intermedia to be the future of art:

“Art is one of the ways that people communicate. It is difficult for me to imagine a serious person attacking any means of communication per se. Our real enemies are the
ones who send us to die in pointless wars or to live lives which are reduced to drudgery, not the people who use other means of communication from those which we find most appropriate to the present situation. When these are attacked, a diversion has been established which only serves the interests of our real enemies.”

Later, he conceived the “Intermedia chart” or the “Flux chart” (1995), a graphical representation of Fluxus in its innumerable links with other artistic and non-artistic disciplines and with the “science art”, as he called it. It was his conviction that it was not possible to submit Fluxus art to a chronology, because it was only representable in a cognitive inter-dynamic way, in flux between “life” and “art”, like a mini-web. This argument lends support to the notion that it is not possible to make a ‘history’ of Fluxus, because Fluxus is not classifiable as ‘history’ or even capable of being put in ‘museums’, as it is a “living art”, not a “dead art”.

He recovered the concept of “Horizontverschmelzung” (the method of the “fusion of horizons”) from the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (1960), and the concept of “intermedia” from the English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1812), giving it an actual significance to define the language that lies conceptually between literature and experimental electronic music (Koltelanetz, 1980). The term expresses such interaction by delimiting a new aesthetic field generated from the border zones and presents a specific design that shows the interaction of ideas/concepts.

Fluxus artists produced innumerable figurations precisely to delimit the territory of Fluxus. It become a sort of obsession that lead, namely Maciunas, in a long term projects: “The Charts”. This recalled the ideograms of Poetic Concretism (and Neo-Concretism),7 which created a visual representation of the poetic text, exploring its triple dimension: visual, morph-semantic and phonetic; as well as drawing upon the diagrams of philosophy of science, used by philosophers and astronomers to explain the links between ideas, such as the those conceived by Galileo or Copernicus, driven by factors such as the invention of Gutenberg press (1491).

In 1966, George Maciunas, now resident in Germany, created the “Expanded Arts Diagram” with the precise aim of representing the connections of Fluxus in art history, displaying the “history” of the “expanded arts” in a visual ontology and hypertextual analogical structure. This diagram was published in *Film Culture No. 43* (New York, 1966) and was printed in *Fluxfest Sale* (1966). These diagrams were linguistic-mathematical procedures that were introduced by Fluxus artists in the field of “new-media arts”.

In 1973, Maciunas also initiated what would be the largest map of the expanded arts, the “Diagram of Historical Development of Fluxus and Other 4 Dimensional, Aural, Optic, Olfactory, Epithelial and Tactile Art Forms” or simply “The Chart” (1973). This figuration was to have been even more ambitious, representing Fluxus and all the links within art history, across all time. He dedicated himself to it obsessively but would never finish it, as he died in 1978, before its completion. As David Doris states:

“George Maciunas staked out the historical parameters of these territorial researches with a zeal bordering on the maniacal. Trained in architecture, graphic design and art history, Maciunas had a considerable attraction to structure and order; he has been described as an obsessive/compulsive personality that accumulated, hoarded, classified, and dissected. Maciunas’s art historical essays took the form of charts: painstakingly drawn evolutionary diagrams of the newest occurrences in the arts (those new occurrences, that is, that were of interest to Maciunas). Perhaps the largest of these charts is his *Diagram of Historical Development of Fluxus and Other 4 Dimensional, Aural, Optic, Olfactory, Epithelial and Tactile Art Forms* (Incomplete), in which kudos are paid to Futurist Theater, Marcel Duchamp, Surrealism, Dada, Walt Disney Spectacles, Byzantine Iconoclasm, the Japanese Gutai Group, Vaudeville, Joseph Cornell,
and many more in short, a fairly broad spectrum of historical traditions and isolated phenomena which have in common a re-evaluation of accepted notions of structure, both aesthetic and ontological.”
(Doris, 1998, pp. 91-135)

Today, this diagram is still considered visionary. It anticipates a pre-web of arts, like a pre-digital design: a precursor to the ‘democratic’ web. Maciunas conceived these rhizomatic architectures so as to connect all points in flux: artists, geographies, concepts, philosophies or disciplines. The Brazilian research project “Nomads” made an attempt to transpose this chart effectively to the web. The goal was to create a virtual architecture to “navigate inside” art history.

In this diagram, John Cage was the starting point for everything. As Larry Miller writes (1992, p. 163), “Maciunas says, indeed, that the chart starts with what influenced Cage. Cage is definitely the central figure in the chart.” In fact, he continues, “you could call the whole chart the ‘Travels of John Cage’, just as you could say ‘the Travels of St. Paul,’ you know? Wherever John Cage went he left a little John Cage group; some admit his influence, some do not. But the fact is there, that those groups formed after his visits. It shows up very clearly on the chart.” (p. 163)

1.1.1. Memory as flux

The Fluxus artists believed that their legacy could not be mediated only by history, because history was hegemonic and only narrates mainstream facts. This was why they developed so many concepts around participation, flux, interaction and communication. In addition to the diagrams, they built up a large corpus with the notion of “aesthetic utopia”, in which artistic practices (they believe) would lead to a bigger project: the utopia of communication.

In fact, Robert Filliou, the French Fluxus artist, made the biggest contribution for this conceptualization when he wrote the “multi-book” entitled Teaching and Learning as Performing Arts (1967), with the collaboration of several other artists such as Joseph Beuys, John Cage and George Brecht. In his book he presents some of the central ideas of Fluxus, calling them “participation mediums”, including “happenings, actions, environments, visual poetry, mixed-media, live-art, concrete music, games,” etc. The overall concept was the “Eternal Network”, the ultimate communicational utopia, which comes with Filliou’s art project entitled La Fête Permanent (1963). The conceptual goal was to create a global network of artists in flux and in “permanent celebration”, defying geographical frontiers and all rules.

Moreover, with the aim of recollecting the events and making them commonly known, Fluxus created a lot of new artistic formats and objects that materialized the effervescent commitment to the architectural idea of models, suitcases, boxes and typographical design. As previously mentioned, the techniques were reminiscent of Concretism and Neo-Concretism, but also drew upon the Dadaism and New-Dadaism movements, being based on the ready-made and les boîtes en valise of Marcel Duchamp. Les boîtes en valise functioned as portable museums: miniatures of the exhibitions were assembled and maintained in little boxes or suitcases.

In Fluxus, these suitcases acquired the denomination of “flux-boxes” or “flux-kits”. They configured small ‘concrete’ galleries like the small fillers once used in botany, chemistry and medicine to classify materials. In this case, artists assembled the items (micro-art, scores, notations, sketches or “mail-art”, with each artist’s name tagged) from their events.

One of the most famous samples is the Fluxkit (1965) assembled by Maciunas, a vinyl-covered suitcase containing objects in various media, graphical scores for events, interactive boxes and games, journals and films. The two central characteristics of these artifacts were their portability and organization.
“Mail-art” likewise appears to be an important feature of Fluxus, for precisely the same reason — to reduce all distances and put things ‘in common’. For example, in Ernesto de Sousa’s archive there was vast mail-art correspondence with the American and French Fluxus movement, namely with George Brecht (1982) and Robert Filliou (1984) respectively.

2. Fluxus in Portugal?

Any reflection on Fluxus in Portugal means paying particular attention to the artistic, curatorial, critical and pedagogical action of Ernesto de Sousa (1921-1988), who initiated direct interlocution with “foreign artists” (his expression) such as Robert Filliou, Ben Vautier, Joseph Beuys, Claes Oldenburg, Merce Cunningham, John Cage and Wolf Vostell; and, indirectly (at distance), with Dick Higgins, Ken Friedman or Daniel Spoerri. These were artists once associated with Fluxus. Ernesto de Sousa had an unquestionable role here, in the conceptualization of a “communicational” and “multidisciplinary” art form, characterized by a certain sort of performative and mixed-art events.

Ernesto de Sousa established a direct link to international Fluxus artists. These aspect, of the connections established with international Fluxus artists and Fluxus events, will be the focus of this discussion. He wrote about Fluxus and participated, as curator and as artist, in events directly connected with Fluxus. He, also, interviewed Joseph Beuys and co-organized a sort of events with the German Fluxus artist, Wolf Vostell.

As a curator, teacher, artist and activist, he played a fundamental role in the organization and dissemination of Fluxus ideas. He called himself the “aesthetic operator”. He also advocated a Fluxus-based semantics, which he describes very accurately in his text:

“Let us say at once that Fluxus, despite this organizational vagueness, is a very precise movement historically, and whose general sense also leaves no room for doubt: to bring art and life closer together; aesthetic activity and other conscious or unconscious actions of man. To make today’s life aesthetic, and to ensure that the arts of action (“performing arts”) are at the root of all training and learning.”9 (Sousa, 1978)

He also received the Fluxfest Sale publication (1966), which was the first to reproduce Maciunas’ diagram. It is not clear who sent it to him; we presume that it was Ken Friedman. In an interview with the artist Leonel Moura, he mentioned its importance:

“In 1964 I received from California my first Fluxus document, a map by George Maciunas and some leaflets. I was very curious. Later I became acquainted with the main players in Fluxus — Filliou, Beuys, Ben and Vostell, and in general with the whole anti-art movement, the ‘artiteros’ or ‘anartists’, as someone called them. They appeared to be followers of Dada. It was necessary to militate against art as an elitist form. Fluxus was a movement without partners, without rules, without popes like surrealism; each was Fluxus unto himself. It is defined more as a general attitude, as nothing in particular.”10 (Moura, 2009)

Nowadays, this diagram forms part of the “Ernesto de Sousa Posters” collection at the Berardo Museum (Portugal), from which a selection curated by Isabel Alves was recently exhibited: “your body is my body — o teu corpo é o meu corpo” (2015).

2.1. Documenta 5: “Itinerary without impositions”

In 1972 Ernesto de Sousa went to Darmstadt, Düsseldorf, for the 100-day Documenta 5 (Kassel, Germany). There he contacted with several figures who came to define his journey, namely Ben Vautier, Joseph Beuys and Robert Filliou. This experience
gave him the sense of a new aesthetic pedagogy, based on the manifest principles of Maciunas:

“1 — Do not make a profession of your art. 2 — Show that everything is art and that everyone can make artworks. 3 — Concern yourself with insignificant things too, things without institutional value. 4 — Art must be unlimited in quantity, accessible to all and, if possible, manufactured by all.” 11 (Sousa, 1973)

While there, he also met Harald Szeemann, the acclaimed curator, who organized, besides Documenta 5, other very important curatorial exhibitions, namely “When Attitudes Become Form: Live in Your Head” (1969), where he inaugurated an interdisciplinary curatorial action, based on installation, performance and happening, and brought to the epicentre of the European arts world Joseph Beuys (with whom he later collaborated intensively), Bruce Nauman, Joan Jonas and Vito Acconci.

“(…) it was in 1969 that Harald Szeemann organised the famous exhibition “When Attitudes Become Form” at the Kunsthalle in Bern. Both the date and the title coined for this exhibition are symptomatic, for it was then and there that conceptual art was acknowledged for the first time by a major art institution (MoMA was to follow before long with the first Information Show, in 1970), providing a new model for advanced art soon to be emulated and disseminated by most art schools. (Duve, 2009, p. 27)

While there, Ernesto de Sousa conducted his famous interview with Joseph Beuys — “the Master”, as he called him. This was documented as “O Estado Zero. Entrevista a Joseph Beuys” (28 December 1972).12

Joseph Beuys would become the “father figure” (Sousa, 1974) of German Fluxus. He acted as a guide to the philosophical ideas behind Fluxus, namely the notion of “anthroposophy”, a philosophical and mystical doctrine formulated by the Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), meaning the “path in search of truth”. Ernesto de Sousa quotes Beuys’ precepts several times, such as “art must be revolution”, “pedagogic”, “intervention/action” and “creativity is the real capital (not money)”. Documenta 5 had a remarkable influence on Ernesto de Sousa’s ideas in Portugal. He called it an “itinerário sem imposições”13 (1973) and “geografia privilegiada”14 (1973) and reaffirmed the innovative character of Fluxus ideas:

“The importance of the ideas of the Fluxus group in the organization of Documenta 5 is evident and confessed. Szemann himself, the director of Documenta 5, stated that one of the ‘north’ of the exhibition was Filliou’s idea: “to teach to learn as art”. This accentuates the innovative pedagogical character of the vanguard and the very manifestation of Kassel.”15 (Sousa, 1973)

The experience of Documenta 5 galvanized pedagogical, curatorial and critical action, which in turn spurred on the hosts of “multidisciplinary” and “alternative” art procedures in Portugal.

2.2. SACOM 2 — a tribute to George Maciunas

As a result of these developments and following the death of George Maciunas (1978), a set of events took place in Portugal. Most of them were performed in the presence of the German Fluxus artist Wolf Vostell, the author of the celebrated ‘concreting’ artworks involving huge automobiles, and one of the main proponents of the “happening” and the Fluxus movement in Europe (Sousa, 1978), when he came to Portugal to look into the possibility of organizing a major exhibition.

Along with Ernesto de Sousa, he advised on SACOM 2 (1979) a tribute to George Maciunas that took place in Malpartida de Cáceres, Spain. The event was entirely devoted to Fluxus, with both a retrospective and forward-looking spirit. The exhibits,
which included material provided by prolific collectors of Fluxus, such as the Milanese Gino Di Maggio, comprised architectural studies (or figurations) and Fluxus poetry, anthropological environments, experimental cuisine and lost culinary rites, flux-concerts, films, videos, discs, audio-visual magazines, discussions, and so on.

SACOM 2 established a dialogue between Portuguese supporters and the Fluxus collection of Gino Di Maggio, which included works by George Brecht, Ben Vautier, Robert Filliou, Dick Higgins, Allan Kaprow, Alison Knowles, La Monte Young, George Maciunas, Nam June Paik, Bill Patterson, Spoerri, Wolf Vostell, Watts, Emmett Williams, Yoko Ono and ZAJ, held at the Vostell Museum in Malpartida. The Portuguese figures involved were Helena Almeida, José Barrias, Antônio Barros, Irene Buarque, Fernando Calhau, Alberto Carneiro, José Carvalho, José Conduto, Monteiro Gil, Julião Sarmento, Ernesto de Sousa, Cerveira Pinto, Túlia Saldanha, João Vieira, Mario Varela and Joana Rosa.

At this time, efforts were launched to transform “El Lavadero” (the ruined Los Barruecos factory) into the experimental Museo Vostell in Malpartida.

On this occasion, Ernesto de Sousa proclaimed Vostell

“...One of the initiators, perhaps the main one, of the practice of happenings in Europe; Fluxus group, which can be considered the centre of transformations, reflective arts-of-action (Filliou, J. Beuys, George Brecht, Ben Vautier, and others have been because of our meetings and studies). Ben: (I envy Beuys and Vostell

“(…) Wolf Vostell was one of the initiators of Fluxus as the centre of the reflective transformation of arts-of-action and one of the main initiators of the practice happening in Europe” (Sousa, 1976)

2.3. Filliou’s “1,000,011th Anniversary of Art” in Coimbra

Ernesto de Sousa became a close friend and faithful disciple of Robert Filliou. Based on one of Filliou’s ideas (first presented by Filliou at Aix-la Chappelle, France, in 1973), on 17 January 1974 Ernesto de Sousa organized with the CAPC — Circle of Fine Arts of Coimbra, the “1.000.011º Aniversário da Arte”. In the 1970s and up until 1987, Túlia Saldanha was the driving force behind the CAPC (presiding over it or serving as part of the Board) and she acted as a sounding board, together with Alberto Carneiro, for Ernesto de Sousa’s innumerable initiatives. Those who collaborated on this event include João Dixo, Armando Azevedo, Albuquerque Mendes, Miranda and Teresa Loff (photographically documented).

2.4. “Alternativa Zero — Tendências Polémicas da Arte Portuguesa”

Ernesto de Sousa’s initiatives finally came to a climax in 1977, with “Alternativa Zero — Tendências Polémicas da Arte Portuguesa”, which took place at the National Gallery of Modern Art, Lisbon. João Fernandes (1997, p. 24) states that the “zero” of the title is referring to Daniel Buren, specifically a text entitled “Ground Zero”, the imposition of formula?

The Alternativa Zero event was accompanied by three events that are worthy of mention here: a documentary exhibition on the “Pioneers of Modernism in Portugal” about the pioneering of the modernism in Portugal, Almada Negreiros, Eduardo Viana e Santa-Rita Pintor; an exhibition of posters with the theme “The Vanguard and the Media” allusive to various international avant garde events, namely to Fluxus; and, “The Florest” that presented a set of artwork from Albuquerque Mendes, Armando Azevedo e Túlia Saldanha.

2.5. Pre-Fluxus

2.5.1. Ernesto Melo e Castro: “Art high tech”

To Glusberg (2009, p.136), Fluxus was a kind of Dada of the sixties, because it has incorporated several influences from the early vanguards, the Neo-Concretism, Dada, Surrealism, Futurism, and various disciplines: new music, dance, happening, performance, poetry, aesthetic criticism and theory, video, plastic arts, theater, the first graphic proposals (namely, a set of new publications), etc. Effectively, Fluxus results from a very indebted of the first vanguards and the emerging theories of communication. The pioneering notions of Marchall McLuhan, such as “sensory impact”, “the medium is the message” and “global village” imbued everyday language, becoming also a language close to the arts.

Literature began to dialogue with the plastic art, poetry, music, performance. The text was set free from the metric. The poetic-visual Concretism combined with the emerging exploratory practices provoked the spatialisation of texts, graphic experimentation, the intersection between word and image, between word and object that gave specificities to the experimental poetry movement. This convergence set the route for Brazilian neo-concretist meetings of the late 1950s and the new trends in art, which in their turn — and in the sense proclaimed by Ernesto Melo e Castro — converged in a “high tech art” (1988).

“In fact, the possible and desirable relations between art and science have developed through successive misunderstandings. In general, artists are wary of science (out of ignorance or prejudice) and scientists tend to call art the sad, aesthetically-sounding babble that some high-tech equipment today produces with ease. But because the question is really serious, it is necessary for scientists being capable of understanding that art is a codification as demanding as science and artists prepared to understand science as a creative process. Both will then see that advanced technology opens up new and hitherto unsuspected possibilities to creativity and art.” (Melo e Castro, E., 1988, pp. 9-10)

The Portuguese artist for a long time living in Brazil, Ernesto de Melo e Castro was precursor and close friend of Haroldo de Campos, the Brazilian concretist poet. He is responsible for leading us the encounter with the first video-narratives. For example, in his play 3 video grams of the first video-poem Roda Lume (1966-86) he fuses the languages of “high art” (or technological) with poetics. It is a monochrome ‘video-poem’ with a duration of 2'43”, which integrates verbal and non-verbal signs in a rhythmic sequence, vocalized by the author.

In his essay publication, Melo e Castro, Livro de releituras e poética contemporânea (2008), explains the direct relation between Concretism and a “poetic semantic” of the digital. In this sense, the ballast delimits a “Portuguese vanguard” in cross with the inheritance of the movements neo-baroques (century XX) and with the theories that submitted the text to the reinvention and transgression. According to Haroldo de Campos (1977, pp. 28-29), an aesthetic of the transgression generated in the literature came together with the “structural aesthetics” provided by Arthur Dow and the didactic unfolding of the phenollosian presuppositions. States Haroldo de Campos (1977, pp. 28-29) that Arthur Dow began a transformation in
taste that developed a broad market for all phases of modern design, from Bauhaus furniture to calligraphic painting, which was the experience of Josef Albers who had lectured at the Bauhaus and later began teaching at Black Mountain College (North Carolina, USA). Black Mountain College was an experimental community of artistic education, to whose body of professors belonged, at the time, the composer John Cage and the poundian line poet Charles Olson. One of Albers’ students were Robert Rauschenberg, a future promoter of Pop Art and the ‘povera’ principles of Fluxus. Haroldo de Campos establishes a relation here, because, as he says: “the synchronous eye sees the rosacea of convergences ...” (Campos, Haroldo de, 1977, p.29). He notes that in Olson’s class in the 1950s, Fenollosa’s essay on ideogram was taught when Cage’s indeterministic pedagogy arose at the same time. It was at this time during the summer course of Black Mountain College in 1952 that the “Untitled” event (above mentioned), conducted by John Cage, was performed along with pianist David Tudor, the composer Jay Watts, the painter Robert Rauschenberg, the dancer Merce Cunningham, and the poets Mary Caroline Richards and Chalés Olsen.

2.6. Fluxus after Fluxus

2.6.1. António Barros: Projectos & Progestos

Later on, frequent alternative and Fluxus-based events were held in the city of Coimbra, Portugal, namely at the instigation of the Portuguese visual conceptualist António Barros, who was deeply influenced by the first generation of Fluxus — Robert Filliou and Serge III Oldenbourg — and then by the German Fluxus — Wolf Vostell and Joseph Beuys.

António Barros recounts the effervescent artistic complicity that was maintained with Wolf Vostell. As a participant of SACOM 2, he presented the installation Revolução (Revolution), that included three text-objects: “Escravos” (Slaves), “Valores” (Values) and the performative intervention “Verdade” (Truth), which represents, in his words: “acto dialogante com o «Concerto Fluxus» sinergizado por Vostell e Juan Hidalgo (fundador do Grupo Zaj), movimento continuador do Indeterminismo de John Cage e David Tudor.”

After SACOM 2, António Barros welcomed Wolf Vostell to the CAPC gallery in Coimbra, where the visual poetry exhibition “Da Angústia e Sarcasmo” was presented, having previously been hosted by the Galeria Difference (Lisbon, 1979). Later, in 1982, he was asked by Vostell to participate in “Vostell 50”, as part of the aesthetic operation “Vostell Fluxus Zug: Das Mobile Museum Vostell: 7 Environments über Liebe, Tod, Arbeit”, held in Leverkusen (Vostell’s birthplace).

In 2012, long after the death of Wolf Vostell in 1998, he went back to the MVM for a meeting with Mercedes Guardado Vostell, Vostell’s wife. There he led the operation-tribute to Vostell, “7 pedras de pensamento para uma revisitação de PreSente_AuSente”, which currently belongs to the collection of the Museum Serralves Foundation.

Under the directive guidance of Alberto Carneiro, he created the “OIC Office for Creative Interaction” at the CAPC (1979) and then the artistic community “Arte: 01”. He and Rui Órfão subsequently promoted the symposium “Projectos&Progestos” (1980-83, CITAC Studio Theatre, Coimbra). This event was considered pioneering in Portugal in the dissemination of artists such as James Coleman, Nigel Rolfe, Grzegorz Sztabinski, Erna Nijman, Peter Trachsel, Ernst Thomas, Julian Maynard Smith, Frank Na, Plassum Harel, Alistair McLennan, Ken Gill, and the groups The Basement and Opera House Station. “Projectos&Progestos” was enunciated as a “total art” project.

In the programme flyer for the event, it is interesting to note that the names of Fluxus artists were mingled with those of Portuguese artists, such as Salette Tavares, Ana Hatherly and João Vieira. This served as a wishlist for the event, as these artists were not actually present.
In an interview conducted on 21 June 2010, António Barros says that Fluxus certainly existed in Portugal; at least, there was a set of organised events at that time that could be seen as directly ‘contaminated’ by the international Fluxus art movement:

“That there is no history of Contemporary Portuguese Art without José Ernesto de Sousa seems to me to be an awareness today of all those who study history in the temporal arc of the last fifty years, thus expressing the recognition of the artists who, among us, integrated activities organized under Fluxus.”

**Final remarks**

On the crucial question of whether the art produced in Portugal had something of the Fluxus spirit about it, it is possible to conclude that Fluxus did indeed have an impact. In the time period under consideration, which was deeply marked by the Revolution, Fluxus was a revolutionary global art movement. Although, it is clear that this formal ‘contamination’, there was, nevertheless, an understandable fear of classifying alternative Portuguese art as merely an ersatz version of international movements. The idea of Portuguese identity was still on everyone’s minds, and sometimes prevented things from being seen exactly as they were.

However, the thought process reflected in this paper took the line that notions of utopia are based on dialogue, mediation, continuous flux of ideas, and on the idea of celebration. Overall, these artists manifested the desire to transcend all barriers, that’s why Fluxus was essentially expression of liberty.

The desire of dialogue and openness to the world made Fluxus a movement with inscription not only in the arts world, but also in intermediality studies.

The idea of a democratic space of sharing and meeting without barriers materializes in our lives approximately four decades later in the World Wide Web. What it is nowadays easy to achieve: every artist can be plugged into everything that is happening in the art world, just by being online. Back then, it wasn’t anything like that; only the very few could travel to show and share their artwork.

Fluxus was itself a utopia because it was based on ideas of flux, communication, transformation and dialogue. As it was seen as non-art, the goal was to be free from aesthetic norms of the “fine arts” and to create a heterotopic place where all artists could present their artwork outside the usual spaces, as museums or galleries.

The philosophical concepts of Fluxus transcended geographical borders and it is possible to identify traces of it throughout the art world, but not only in the art world. Fluxus only can be defined in an intermedia zone of classification. That’s why has been so marginal through time. Nevertheless, today is still defying the attempt to read Fluxus outside from the art world historical perspective. Most of all, is defying to read Fluxus in Portugal, mainly because of the difficulty to gather the information, which is still fragmented and in the hands of the artists and corporations. And, because there are different strains of Fluxus, since it integrated a panoply of distinct artistic areas and geographies. That is the reason why there are as many definitions almost as there are artists, including groups from the USA and Europe, from France, England, Germany, Sweden, Japan, and so on. Nevertheless, all these definitions were, to a certain extent, connected to the utopian idea that the whole world, in its complexity, may be mediated throughout artistic intervention. Likewise, Portuguese artists embraced this global aesthetic utopia as an act of emancipation and rupture with the past. This paper referred some of them, but is far from explore all the art and artists in the time period focused.

The relevance of Fluxus is not based on its timeliness, but in the impact it had on a new way of thinking in the arts and in the new forms of communication that were emerging in parallel with the late theories of Marchall McLuhan (1911-1980), as the way we conceive it today when we are using our laptop.

According to Glusberg (2009, p. 136), Fluxus’ current relevance is that it represents a decisive moment of avant-garde art and is marked by militancy in all sectors of...
artistic creation. In this sense, says the author, “it does not matter that Fluxus is alive or dead. The important task is to discover the myriad ways Fluxus has influenced contemporary art.”

NOTES
1 Original quote: “O ‘SALON’. A permanência de termos franceses denuncia bem a presença de um certo modo europeu (...) da cultura portuguesa; as vernissagens e as outras manifestações afins tiveram fortuna diversa mas segura até hoje — talvez porque a sua cobertura pôde ser garantida por um número reduzido de pessoas, que constituíam precisamente o ‘milieu’: microclasse social mais ou menos autosuficiente, com suas reservas conservadoras, suas internas vanguardas.”
3 Original quote: “— E em Portugal? — Claro que em Portugal houve e há um espírito Fluxus, mesmo com os nomes mais dispare, abjicionismo, surrealismo, experimentalismo, e até dadaísmo, e sem-nome o que ainda é mais interessante. Isso provou-se por exemplo com Alternativa 0. Mas — garanto-lhes — há muito que fazer até chegarmos à despesa inútil: não cruzemos os braços.”
4 This text was republished ans compiled by José Miranda Justo and Isabel Alves (1998), Ser Moderno em Portugal... Lisboa: Assírio Alvim, pp. 249-251.
5 “International Fluxus Festival of the Newest Music”
7 "For more information on this topic, view the Master’s thesis by Sônia Pina: Fluxus: do texto à acção. A cartografia de uma a(r)titude — Fluxus em Portugal?, 2011, p. 36-46: http://hdl.handle.net/10362/7018
8 My translation: “1,000,011th Anniversary of Art”
9 My translation: “Itinerary without impositions”
10 Original quote: “— E em Portugal? — Claro que em Portugal houve e há um espírito Fluxus, mesmo com os nomes mais dispare, abjicionismo, surrealismo, experimentalismo, e até dadaísmo, e sem-nome o que ainda é mais interessante. Isso provou-se por exemplo com Alternativa 0. Mas — garanto-lhes — há muito que fazer até chegarmos à despesa inútil: não cruzemos os braços.”
11 Original quote: “O “SALON”. A permanência de termos franceses denuncia bem a presença de um certo modo europeu (...) da cultura portuguesa; as vernissagens e as outras manifestações afins tiveram fortuna diversa mas segura até hoje — talvez porque a sua cobertura pôde ser garantida por um número reduzido de pessoas, que constituíam precisamente o ‘milieu’: microclasse social mais ou menos autosuficiente, com suas reservas conservadoras, suas internas vanguardas.”
12 My translation: “Zero Status. Interview with Joseph Beuys”
13 My translation: “Itinerary without impositions”
14 My translation: “Privileged geography”
15 Original quote: “— E em Portugal? — Claro que em Portugal houve e há um espírito Fluxus, mesmo com os nomes mais dispare, abjicionismo, surrealismo, experimentalismo, e até dadaísmo, e sem-nome o que ainda é mais interessante. Isso provou-se por exemplo com Alternativa 0. Mas — garanto-lhes — há muito que fazer até chegarmos à despesa inútil: não cruzemos os braços.”
16 Original quote: “— E em Portugal? — Claro que em Portugal houve e há um espírito Fluxus, mesmo com os nomes mais dispare, abjicionismo, surrealismo, experimentalismo, e até dadaísmo, e sem-nome o que ainda é mais interessante. Isso provou-se por exemplo com Alternativa 0. Mas — garanto-lhes — há muito que fazer até chegarmos à despesa inútil: não cruzemos os braços.”
17 My translation: “Privileged geography”
18 Original quote: “(...) a importância das ideias do grupo Fluxus na organização da Documenta 5 é evidente e confessa. O próprio Szeemann, director da Documenta 5, declarou que um dos nortes da exposição fora a ideia de Filliou: ‘ensinar a aprender como arte’». Isto acentua o caráter inovadoramente pedagógico da vanguarda e da própria manifestação de Kassel.”
19 Original quote: “Um dos iniciadores, talvez o principal, da prática dos happenings na Europa; Grupo Fluxus, que se pode considerar o centro das transformações, reflexivas das artes-da-accção (Filliou, J. Beuys, George Brecht, Ben Vautier, e outros têm sido razão dos nossos encontros e estudos). Ben: (tenho inveja de Beuys e Vostell). (...) Wolf Vostell foi um dos iniciadores do Fluxus como centro das transformações reflexivas das artes-da-accção e também um dos principais iniciadores da prática do happening na Europa.”
20 My translation: "1,000,011th Anniversary of Art".
21 Original quote: “Os Pioneiros do Modernismo em Portugal”
22 Original quote: “A Vanguarda e os Meios de Comunicação”
23 “Art high tech” is a concept adapted from Ernesto Melo e Castro, from his book: “A Poética dos Meios e Arte High Tech” (1988)
24 Original quote: “De facto as relações possíveis e desejáveis entre arte e ciência têm-se desenvolvido através de sucessivos equívocos. De um modo geral os artistas desconfiam da ciência (por ignorância ou por preconceito) e os cientistas tendem a chamar arte aos tristes balbucios com aparência estética que alguns equipamentos de alta tecnologia hoje produzem com facilidade. Mas, porque a questão é realmente séria, é necessário que surjam cientistas capazes de entender que a arte é uma codificação tão exigente como a ciência e artistas preparados para compreender a ciência como um processo criativo. Ambos então verificam que a tecnologia avançada vai abrindo novas e até agora insuspeitadas possibilidades às criatividade e à arte.”
In Brazil, the Noigandres group was founded by Augusto Campos, Délio Pignatari and Haroldo de Campos, who in 1958 published the “Pilot Plan for Concrete Poetry” in which they propose to explore the graphic space as a structural agent of the poem. In Europe, Eugen Gomringer and Diter Roth, Pierre Garnier, Henri Chopin, Ian Hamilton Finlay, Bob Cobbing, Don Sylvester Houedard in the United States, Emmet Williams (which inscribed also Fluxus), are among the protagonists of this attitude towards writing to the exploration of graphic possibilities and sound of a new type of language.

This video piece was broadcast on Portuguese Radio and Television in early 1969, in a program of literary dissemination and caused such a scandal that was immediately destroyed by RTP. The author rebuilt it in 1986, but with a different soundtrack, also improvised.

Original quote: “Que não há uma história da Arte Contemporânea Portuguesa sem José Ernesto de Sousa parece-me ser hoje uma consciência de todos quantos se debruçam sobre a História no arco temporal que envolve os últimos cinquenta anos, ficando assim expresso o reconhecimento dos artistas que, entre nós, integraram atividades organizadas no âmbito do Fluxus.”

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


