THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ALLUSION IN THE WORKS OF THE BRAZILIAN ARTIST ANTONIO MANUEL¹

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ABSTRACT
Antonio Manuel began to use allusion in his artworks during the dictatorship in Brazil. After the end of military rule, he continued to use concealed references in a unique and personal manner. These covert references have been employed not just to comment on the political situation, but also to address a diverse range of subjects. In choosing an indirect method of making references, he produced open-ended works which allowed for multifarious interpretations. Whether creating geometrically abstract works, manifestations, or installations, Antonio Manuel developed a sense for using allusion in a manner that became an integral part of his repertoire.

Key words: Antonio Manuel, Brazilian art, allusion, Latin America

RESUMEN
Antonio Manuel comenzó a valerse de la alusión en sus obras durante la dictadura en Brasil. Cuando el gobierno militar llegó a su fin, Manuel continuó usando referencias ocultas de manera única y personal. Este tipo de encubrimiento se ha venido empleando no solamente para comentar sobre la situación política, sino también para abordar una amplia gama de temas. Al escoger este método indirecto para referirse a algo, Manuel produjo trabajos abiertos que permitieron múltiples interpretaciones. Bien sea creando obras geométricas abstractas, manifestaciones o instalaciones, Antonio Manuel desarrolló un sentido especial para utilizar la alusión en una manera que se convirtió en parte integral de su repertorio.

Palabras clave: Antonio Manuel, arte brasileño, alusión, Latinoamérica

1. INTRODUCTION

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The use of covert references was a common method of avoiding censorship during the dictatorship in Brazil. Nevertheless, even after the end of military rule in 1985, Antonio Manuel continued to develop methods for making indirect associations in his artworks. While allusions have been employed in his early work to comment on the political situation, the social climate, or economic change, this artist has expanded on their use in later pieces to elicit viewer reactions to a range of subjects from aesthetic trends to abstract concepts. As warranted by the situation, these allusions can be lyrical, ludic, or confrontational in form. In progressing to the present, the concealed references have grown more multifaceted allowing the artworks to evoke a wider range of meaning. Through veiled references, viewers are inspired to interpret the creations of Antonio Manuel within the given context, ultimately, integrating the intent of the artist, the design of the artwork, and the knowledge and experience of the spectator. Whether creating constructivist-inspired forms or interactive manifestations and installations, I argue that allusion has become a fundamental part of his visual language.

2. A NEWSPAPER LAYOUT AND A CONSTRUCTIVIST AESTHETIC: THE FLANS

Antonio Manuel—an artist known for his provocative and poetic works which push the established boundaries of art—began experimented with new forms, materials, and methods through the transformation of flans (thick paper molds used in printing) salvaged from newspaper offices after the morning edition was run. The earliest flans were created between 1967 and 1969, during the heavily repressive years of the military regime in Brazil. Since the artist was capturing images of the student revolts and

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3 Born in Portugal, 1947, Antonio Manuel da Silva Oliveira moved to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with his parents at age five. Despite his Portuguese origins, Brazilian art critics such as Francisco Bittencourt have called him a typical Brazilian. Appearing in the Rio de Janeiro art scene in the 1960s, the artist decided to shorten his name to Antonio Manuel. Over the years, the artist has created artworks that range from tangible two- and three-dimensional compositions to gestures or interventions. His production, embracing nonrepresentational and figurative forms, crosses the lines of conceptual and constructivist art.


5 Flan is a French word for the stereotyping matrix used to layout the newspaper page. Normally, this part of the printing process would have been discarded.

6 With the Ato Institucional N. 5 or AI-5 (Institutional Act No. 5) issued on 13 December 1968, the military government established restrictions including forbidding freedom to vote, shutting down National
dissonant military acts of the period, these works relate, to some extent, to the repressive climate. However, they were not simply political works protesting the military actions since their formal design was equally as important as their fundamental meaning or communication. Due to the underlying geometric form, these initial flans contain the basic elements of a constructivist structural design that becomes fully realized in later works.

On these found objects, the artist blackened-out areas of the existing image and text with ink, remaking the design to fit with his new conception. With this act, the artist canceled out or censored the written word and portions of the embedded press photographs in order to highlight the actions and accentuate the power of the student protests. In concealing the text under black ink, he may have been commenting on the right to free speech during the intense years of the dictatorship or implying that the power to suppress the news was, in this case, in the hand of the artist.

Between 1973 and 1975, Antonio Manuel gained access to design his own flans at the newspaper, O Dia; only then was he able to control the entire process. In both layout and message, the flans from this period parody the provocative front-page headline of the original sensationalist O Dia newspaper. With these works, he began introducing a variety of concealed references with the aim of suggesting more than just a political statement and ended up evoking a multiplicity of meaning through allusion.

Distinctly illustrating this type of work is Bala mata fome (Bullet Kills Hunger) (1975, Fig. 1). For this flan, Antonio Manuel created a headline in which the letters forming each word are in reverse order, ALAB ATAM EMFO. In designing this newspaper page, the artist was purposefully goading the viewer by not presenting a straightforward headline; instead, he presents a playful, enticing, and nearly illegible group of letters that may initially seem nonsensical. In fact, bala mata fome was one of the prominent slogans

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9 In this way, the flans follow from his earliest drawings with black ink on newspaper pages.

10 Antonio Manuel was able to create unique works at O Dia thanks to his friend, Ivan Chagas Freitas, who was the son of the owner (Shtromberg, Art Systems: Brazil and the 1970s, 72).

11 The newspaper, O Dia, had a high circulation at this time and catered to the general working class public. On the exaggerated headlines of the O Dia, see Marialva Barbosa, História cultural da imprensa Brasil, 1900-2000 (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad Editora Ltda, 2007), 212-219; and Júlio César Montenegro, Opinião, 26 December 1975, 21.

12 The fact that the letters are not just mirrored or flipped (as indicated by the position of the letters L, B, E, and F) suggests pre-planning (rather than accidental placement).
on the protest march signs in 1968. This phrase would have been seen alongside other statements on protest signs in the street, such as olho por olho (an eye for an eye) and luta, luto (struggle, mourning).

A specific incidence that took place on March 28, 1968, brought about the expression *bala mata fome*. Students in Rio de Janeiro organized a demonstration to put an end to the poor quality of food in the government-funded student restaurant. The military police began to advance when, suddenly, their leader (a lieutenant) shot and killed an unarmed young

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13 See, for example, the *flan* by Antonio Manuel titled *Correio da manhã*, 1968, in which banners sport the slogans discussed as well as the discussion by Décio Pignatari, “Entrevistas: Décio Pignatari,” In Fernando Cocchiarale and Anna Bella Geiger (eds), *Abstractionismo, geométrico e informal: A vanguarda brasileira nos anos cinquenta* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1987), 80.

14 The words *luta, luto* (or sometimes reversed *luto, luta*) relate to a prominent slogan—“in mourning, the struggle begins” (*neste luto começa a luta*)—used in a sense of rebellion against the military who were responsible for the death of an innocent student (see Victoria Langlard, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* [Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2013], 107-165, especially 118).
man, Edson Luís de Lima Souto, at point-blank range. The students responded by throwing sticks and stones, and the clash escalated. Initially, the phrase was posed as a question—bala mata fome? (bullet kills hunger?)—casting doubt on the ethics of this military act.\textsuperscript{15} As news of this conflict spread, 100,000 people took to the streets in protest.\textsuperscript{16} As the first major march against the military regime, this action provoked a nationwide student movement. Unfortunately, this event also led to even stronger repression by the government.\textsuperscript{17}

The embossed words above the photo-engraving on Antonio Manuel’s flan are pão nosso de cada dia (our daily bread). On one hand, this familiar line from the Lord’s Prayer, “give us this day our daily bread,” could have been used here to comment ironically on the military crackdown on student demands for better food.\textsuperscript{18} The use of this phrase may have been designed to bring to mind a repressed state that was not intended in the original Lord’s Prayer and, consequently, could have been a veiled attempt to address the current political situation.\textsuperscript{19} On the other hand, we must consider that, as noted by the renowned Brazilian critic Ronaldo Brito, the flans transcend their socio-political themes through their method of communication:

The affective identification of Antonio Manuel’s lyricism with the mass media clearly says much about his communicative inclination. For many years the newspaper was his real muse, in the original sense of the term...what inspired and triggered his poetic verve was the fact that the world appeared to him as a linguistic montage, open to a virtually infinite number of combinations...nothing could be more eloquent, in terms of eagerness to commune with the public, than

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item The Passeata dos Cem Mil (March of the 100,000) took place 26 June 1968. For the background on this march, see Langlard, Speaking of Flowers, 144-145; and Maria Ribeiro do Valle, “As representações da violência nos episódios estudantis de 1968,” Mediações 13.1-2 (2008): 34-53, here 40.
\item “Institutional Act No. 5, the strictest instance of government repression and the culmination of a series of decrees mandating surveillance, censorship, and centralized authority during the military regime, was issued in December 1968. While not directly the result of student protests, the act came in response to a general sense of upheaval put into motion by the march in Rio de Janeiro and other demonstrations.” James N. Green, et al., “The Rise of Student Movements”: https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-7/student-movement/, accessed 16 June 2019.
\item See relevant lines from the Lord’s Prayer: O pão nosso de cada dia nos dai hoje (Give us this day our daily bread); Assim como nós perdoamos os nossos devedores; (As we forgive those who trespass against us); E não nos deixes cair em tentação (And lead us not into temptation); Mas livrai-nos do mal (But deliver us from evil).
\end{thebibliography}
this precocious elective affinity with the primary raw material of modernity, the newspaper.\textsuperscript{20}

Brito stressed that Antonio Manuel’s flans are significant for their ability to poetically communicate through a modern method of mass communication. That is, in using the newspaper layout, the artist was interested in extending the works beyond the socio-political message to put emphasis on the reorganization of the constructed page. Using the newspaper as a base, Antonio Manuel employs a montage of words and visuals in a poetic manner that allows for more open-ended interpretations of the work. This underlying compositional framework of the newspaper layout becomes stronger and more compelling as his works progress.

While the design of the flan entitled Bala mata fome alludes directly to the newspaper by emulating both its style and form (through appropriating the newspaper headline and columns), other references in the work are not explicitly revealed. That is, the artist may depict representational images but he does not clearly indicate the significance of the objects to each other or to the work overall.\textsuperscript{21} As Stacy Magedanz observed, “The author may supply the allusion, but only the reader can activate it.”\textsuperscript{22} In other words, the reader/viewer must make an effort to decipher the meaning.

On examining the work in more detail, it may occur to us that the sense of the phrase “bullets kill hunger” is dark and evocative, implying that being shot to death frees one from any future need for food or worries about starvation. Over and above this bleak conclusion, the word bala in the title can mean either “bullet” or “(hard) candy;” hence, the headline could also read: “Candy Kills Hunger.” The central image on the flan is a photo-engraving of wrapped balls of hard-candies lying next to shiny new bullets. In drawing our attention to the distinction between candy and bullets, a sense of black humor becomes apparent in the juxtaposition of the tasty and pleasant sweets with the metal projectiles responsible for the frightful shootings in the street.\textsuperscript{23} The work seems to intensify the apprehension in the viewer through the unexpected and dark association.

With the early flans, the artist set up a formal system that he continues to develop. The design of the flans, in imitating a public mass-produced and distributed medium as


\textsuperscript{21} On artworks that use suggestive images, see Irwin, “The Aesthetics of Allusion,” 524.


\textsuperscript{23} Works using dark or black humor present taboo or distressing topics with humor often intending to evoke concern or angst in the viewer. On Antonio Manuel’s incorporation of black humor, see Francisco Bittencourt, “A aventura de Antonio Manuel,” Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio de Janeiro, 17 November 1975. “Dark humor can be an excellent response to a crisis, because through it we are able to understand the true meaning of a problem and use humor as an adaptive response.” (Helena José [et al], “A Factor-Analytic Study of the Multidimensional Sense of Humor Scale with a Portuguese Sample,” North American Journal of Psychology [2007]: 595-610, here 597-98).
a base (i.e., the newspaper layout), is a non-traditional format. The works are, thus, created outside of established contemporary art forms. In subsequent works, the newspaper layout becomes a way for the artist to dialogue with developments of geometric abstraction through emphasizing the modular arrangement of the page. While Antonio Manuel aimed to challenge the traditional system with his works, the design was equally as important to his developing aesthetic trajectory.

Similar to *Bala mata fome*, the *flan* with the headline *Poema classificado* (Classified Poem) (1975) (Fig. 2) emulates the arrangement of the newspaper page. With a thickness like handmade paper and a color of softened butter, this flan has a physical beauty that is unexpected in a newspaper image. In works like this one, the artist was able to leave the surface un-manipulated; that is, the page is entirely embossed and un-inked—not even the headline is printed in black. In highlighting aesthetic design, this work references the art world over the political content apparent in other *flans*.

![POEMA CLASSIFICADO](image)

*Figure 2.* Antonio Manuel (Brazilian, (1948-). Poema Classificado, 1975, flan, 55 x 37.5 cm (21.7 x 14.8 in.). Photographer Lula Rodrigues. Courtesy Antonio Manuel.

Below the headline, a word or phrase is repeated in each of the columns. Antonio Manuel has emphasized the importance of the placement and interrelation of these subheadings.\(^2^4\) *Corpo* (body) refers to the body of the text, while *grafico* (graphic) and *espaço cheio* (filled space) address the design. *8 colunas* (columns) describes the typical

\(^{24}\) Antonio Manuel, email communication with the author, 13 July 2016.
modern layout of the news page. By placing ponto (point) next to final, the artist suggests ponto final which in Portuguese could simply refer to the final punctuation mark at the end of a sentence; or, may indicate the “ultimate stop” which may imply the limits of tolerance in a poetic, rather than purely political, sense.

By introducing the word massificadas, the artist refers to specific aspects of the newspaper (such as massification or standardization). Moreover, the location of corpo alongside grafico highlights the “graphic body” or the visual graphic design overall. In employing redundante (redundant), the artist could be addressing the unnecessary or unused aspects of the newspaper; however, “redundant” also suggests useless, superfluous, or inessential properties and could hint at the difficulties related to concurrent social hardships during the military rule (e.g., unemployed or unwanted masses). We should, however, be careful in focusing on political aspects since, as will be discussed, this work alludes to a range of aesthetic subjects. Through the interdependence of layout, images, and text, the artwork activates our system for visual recognition of words and objects; however, the ability to infer meaning would be limited by the knowledge or disposition of the reader/viewer.

The title, Poema classificado/Classified Poem, brings together two seemingly incongruous words. Since the word or phrase in each column relates to some aspect of the newspaper setup or printing process, the first word in the title, “classified,” seems to allude to the classified section—namely, the “classified ads” or “want ads.” Even so, looking at the repeated columns emptied of content, a less apparent meaning of the title arises. Across the entire newspaper page, the information that should be in the columns has been omitted; thus, it is not available to the viewer. In other words, the news articles have been classified; that is to say, the text is censored, confidential, or off the record and not for publication.

This censoring of information could be an oblique reference to the current official practice under the restrictions on artistic creativity and freedom of the press during the dictatorship. Be that as it may, the work suggests aspects other than simply the concurrent political circumstances. As I will show in the following paragraphs, a more comprehensive reading would take into account the visual connections or clues, the geometrically abstract design and layout, and the lyrical and ludic aspects of the work.

The use of the second word in the title, “poem,” alludes to the fact that Poema classificado/Classified Poem was created in the context of constructivist developments in Brazil. As noted by the São Paulo Concrete poets in the Pilot-Plan for Concrete Poetry, the
formation of a Concrete poem creates an “ideogram” (a graphic symbol or image that represents an idea or concept). 29 Key qualities cited for a Concrete poem include “similitude” (similarity or visual repetition), “proximity,” “brevity,” 30 and “rhythm” as well as “isomorphism” (the correspondence or similarity between form/structure and content). 31 All of these characteristics are reflected in Antonio Manuel’s Poema classificado. A specific example would be the division of the page of the flan into eight columns which constructs a poem that reflects its subject matter through the form. Consequently, in relating the visual arrangement to the message, this work synthesizes the parodical design of the newspaper page with another type of space: the visual setup and language of a Concrete poem. 32

The modular layout underlying this flan can be further illuminated by contrasting it with the structural reorganization of the pages of the largest public newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, the Jornal do Brasil in 1956. Two Neoconcrete artists were largely responsible for the changes: 33 Reynaldo Jardim renovated the Suplemento Dominical (Sunday

Swiss artist/architect, Max Bill, introduced a new concept of Concrete Art based on geometric elements and mathematics that was brought to Brazil. Consequently, the Brazilian Concrete art movements that developed in the early 1950s, in both São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, espoused non-figurative geometric abstraction.

29 From the Pilot Plan: “Ideogram: appeal to nonverbal communication.” An online translation is available: http://www.ubu.com/papers/noigandres01.html


32 The artist’s intent to produce a poetic work is not only implied by his use of “poem” in the title but also clarified in his words, “In the 1973 to 75 flans, I actually created the flan, inventing the headlines, diagramming the photos and texts as visual poems.” (Beverly Adams, “Interview: Antonio Manuel,” In Antonio Manuel: I Want to Act, Not Represent! [New York: Americas Society and São Paulo: Associação para o Patronato Contemporâneo, 2011], 102-117, here 111).

33 The Neoconcretismo group was formed as the Rio Concrete artists became dissatisfied with the rationalist direction taken by Concrete works in São Paulo. While continuing to work with geometric abstraction, these artists supported the development of more emotional (leaning toward the human element) and phenomenological artworks which encouraged spectator creativity and involvement. Hélio Oiticica, Lygia Clark, and Lygia Pape are three of the well-known artists from the Neoconcrete.
Supplement), and Amílcar de Castro modernized the main sections. Specifically, the newspaper page was reconfigured to create a dynamic geometric design using a constructivist grid of aesthetically arranged blocks of images and text divided by white space (in contrast to the former text-packed layout of repeated vertical columns separated by vertical lines). The changes in typography and the overall plan for this newspaper were in line with the general optimism of the late 1950s. Constructivist ideas were being regenerated in Brazil, and geometric abstraction (non-representational art) was seen as a sign of modernization and progress.

With the flans, Antonio Manuel was working with forms similar to those of Jardim and Castro but during a later period of disenchantment with the positive connotations of the progressive ideology reflected in the reform of the *Jornal do Brasil*. It is not surprising that he incorporates a certain amount of disdain for the purity and idealism of the original Neoconcrete tenets. As a result, he conveys a more confrontational attitude in the works by visually and conceptually manipulating the images, headlines, and text within the page.


36 For an example of this innovative newspaper design, see the “Neoconcrete Manifesto” (*Manifesto Neoconcreto*) published in *Jornal do Brasil* created by Amilcar de Castro, Reynaldo Jardim, and Ferreira Gullar (Suplemento Dominical, March 21-22, 1959, [https://icaa.mfah.org/s/en/item/1110328?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1673%2C0%2C5895%2C3299](https://icaa.mfah.org/s/en/item/1110328?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1673%2C0%2C5895%2C3299)).


38 Antonio Manuel was influenced by his early encounter, developing friendship, and direct interaction with the three Neoconcrete artists—Oiticica, Pape, and Clark—whose work had grown out of the constructivist tradition (toward the incorporation of emotion and the organic). Although Antonio Manuel’s work tends to retain constructivist elements, the late date of his encounter with these artists seems to have allowed him to keep a certain critical distance from the Neoconcrete postulates and, for this reason, his production has remained unique.
Similar to other artists during the dictatorship, Antonio Manuel developed methods of allusion in order to avoid detection of politically relevant subject matter. It must be noted, however, that covert references were not required for other non-political references including aesthetic allusion. Rather, I suggest that Antonio Manuel developed a sense for using allusion (even beyond repressive situations) in a poetic manner that became an essential aspect of his later work.

3. CONFRONTING CONSERVATIVISM IN THE MUSEUM

O corpo é a obra (The Body Is the Work) took place in 1970 (Fig. 3). Antonio Manuel had proposed his body as a work of art using his own measurements as the dimensions of the piece but had been rejected by the jurors of the XIX Salão Nacional de Arte Moderna. Arriving at the Museu de Arte Moderna (Museum of Modern Art), Rio de Janeiro (MAM-Rio), on the day of the exhibition opening and perceiving that his proposed work would have surpassed in conception those on the floors and walls, he disrobed and began to strike sculpturesque poses in the museum space.

This artistic intervention should not be considered as simply an artistic rebellion related to the dictatorship. Antonio Manuel’s work relates to a wider context during this period in Brazil. Especially, we must consider contemporary contestations of museum restrictions. In spite of the military takeover in 1964, artists had already attempted to open up the tightly closed world of the Brazilian museum. In 1965, Hélio Oiticica had presented a manifestation of parangolés (in this case, capes) worn by samba dancers at the MAM-Rio. The director of the museum, wanting to keep order and conformity in the


institution, forced the work outside the museum walls. In spite of earlier attempts at change including the above-mentioned event by Oiticica, the system was still quite rigid when Antonio Manuel presented his work in 1970. In regard to *O corpo é a obra*, the artist has clarified:

> I was concerned with confronting the art system and institutions such as museums and art galleries, which promoted repression or cultural censorship, banning the pieces they judged not to have aesthetic value...the idea was to create a parallel language free from the corruption of the institutions, which neither met our needs nor gave space to our works.\(^{43}\)

While alluding to the censorship of, or restrictions on, artistic production during the contemporary political situation, this work also distinctly emphasizes the need to change the current conservative attitudes in art institutions. In other words, Antonio Manuel challenged the limited access given to non-traditional works in official Brazilian exhibitions during the period.

*O corpo é a obra* took place after the military government had established the Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5) in 1968 that restricted artistic expression. Due to the tense climate that followed, Oiticica and other outspoken artists would have been exiled from the country by 1970.\(^{44}\) Of a younger generation, Antonio Manuel was one of several artists remaining in the country who were aggressive and radical. These artists, although not a group, were sometimes labeled by journalists as the *AI-5 Geração* (*AI-5 Generation*) or *Marginais* (*Marginals*).\(^{45}\) Antonio Manuel did not leave Brazil during the dictatorship since he was not actively persecuted by the police. Instead, he was inspired to find alternative methods of construction and exposure for his works that could sidestep detection or censorship.

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\(^{44}\) Among the Brazilian artists who were living outside of the country (whether forcibly exiled or self-exiled) were Antonio Dias, Rubens Gerchman, Lygia Clark, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Torquato Neto, Glauber Rocha, and José Celso. A number of artists who remained in Brazil were arrested and imprisoned including Carlos Zilio.

Antonio Manuel’s rebellious action in *O corpo é a obra* makes sense in the context of new developments by artists working beyond the limitations of Neoconcrete art. By 1969, Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica expanded on participation in attempting to motivate the creativity of the participant and elevate the value of the spectator’s interaction. Their goal was to eliminate the division between the art object, the viewer, and the surrounding environment, ultimately leaning toward a renewed connection between art and life. Antonio Manuel’s action takes the propositions of Clark and Oiticica one step further in dispensing with the art object entirely: the action is the work. “It is life itself,” Mário Pedrosa maintained, “One cannot discuss a work made anymore, but a creative action...that which Antonio is doing is the experimental exercise of liberty.”

Visually, the poses of Antonio Manuel in the museum bring to mind famous sculptural works of the past, thus, he would be referencing the subject of art and aesthetics. Moreover, the live presentation of his nude body in motion contrasts with the static stone statues presented in traditional museum exhibitions. Considered both

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46 Mário Pedrosa, excerpts from his comments on *O corpo é a obra* In *Antonio Manuel*, exh. cat., trans. Paulo Henrique Britto (Rio de Janeiro: Centro de Arte Hélio Oiticica, 1997), 73; and “Objetos, flans, jornais, e filmes,” *A Gazeta*, 15 January 1976. “The experimental exercise of liberty” was a classic phrase coined by the influential writer Pedrosa in regard to works of the 1960s and 70s—including those of Oiticica and Clark. Clark was also pushing works beyond traditions and, in the 1970s at the Sorbonne, Paris, her works became more interactive with student participants and eventually lacked a final art object.

47 His poses referenced traditional artworks that would have been recognizable to Brazilian audiences.
internationally and individually, his act alludes to the proliferation of contemporary aspects of body art and performance in the United States and Europe while including a personal interpretation in exhibiting his own nude body as a work of art.\footnote{Antonio Manuel was familiar with the developments of body art (a subcategory or offshoot of performance art) during the period. In a sense, his use of the body could be considered similar to those artists who attempt to erase the line between the body and the artwork (rather than the artists who used the body as a canvas on which or with which to create a performance). On the history of body art and performance, see for example, Tracey Warr (ed.), \textit{The Artist's Body: Themes and Movements}, London: Phaidon Press, 2000.}

\textit{O corpo é a obra} was a multifaceted intervention that exceeds a simple political reading. Alluding to abstract concepts including openness or freedom of expression, the work calls attention to contemporary problems with exhibition display in Brazil by suggesting the need to allow access to more progressive developments in the conservative official museum exhibits. In this way, the work challenges the rigid position apparent in sanctioned Brazilian exhibitions that eschewed progressive trends during a period when international artistic performances or happenings would have been prevalent in the contemporary art world.\footnote{Generally, the approach of Brazilian museums during this period was conservative in regard to the types of artworks that were chosen to be included in exhibitions.}

\section*{4. SPECTATOR PARTICIPATION IN A SETTING OUTSIDE THE MUSEUM}

The \textit{ambiental} piece, \textit{Frutos do espaço} (Fruits of the Space, Fig. 4), originally took place outdoors in Catacumba Park, Rio de Janeiro, in 1980.\footnote{While \textit{arte ambiental} is literally translated as “environmental art,” the term in fact refers to artworks centered on integrating art, artist, spectator, and environment (i.e., an interactive work). A number of Brazilian artists preferred to use the terms \textit{arte ambiental} and \textit{manifestação} (manifestation) in the 1960s and 70s in order to distinguish their work from contemporary European and American installations, performances, and happenings. Antonio Manuel has stated that these Brazilian artists were hoping to separate their work from the direction that they saw the happenings moving (toward spectacle) as well as from the constrictions of the terms themselves (Antonio Manuel, email communication with the author, 21 April 1998). While Antonio Manuel no longer demands their use, the terms are employed here to allow a distinction to be made. This work, \textit{Frutos do espaço}, by Antonio Manuel was part of a series directed by one of the influential critics of the period, Paulo Sergio Duarte, including installations by José Resende, Tunga, Sergio Camargo, and Wáltercio Caldas. The figurative sense of “frutos” would be similar to the use of the “fruit” (as a product) in “fruits of our labors” in English.} Iron framework structures painted yellow, red, black, or grey were positioned throughout the park.\footnote{Antonio Manuel, email communication with the author, 13 July 2012.} When erected vertically in the park, the two-dimensional underlying geometric works took on a three-dimensional form. As participants navigated between the works, their view to the landscape was framed by the window-like grid of the iron structures.
Catacumba Park had once been the site of a large *favela* on a steep hillside that was highly visible to the central city of Rio below.\(^5^2\) Unfortunately for this community, it was situated in a fashionable area surrounding a lagoon. Janice Perlman, urban studies scholar, maintains that “the convenient location, stirring views, and high land value put Catacumba high on the list for favela removal.”\(^5^3\) In 1970, the government had this *favela* demolished, relocated the occupants, and turned the land into a park.

\[\text{Figure 4. Antonio Manuel (Brazilian, (1948-). Frutos do espaço, 1980/2007, nine forged iron sculptures coated in automobile paint, 220 x 120 cm (86.6 x 47.2 in.) each. Photographer Rômulo Fialdini. Courtesy Antonio Manuel.}\]

“Catacumba” –which means the same as its English cognate “catacomb”– is an underground cemetery, and, ironically, around the park the “skeletal remains of people’s houses” (i.e., the ruins of the foundations) are still visible.\(^5^4\) In regard to the demolished *favela*, Brazilian critic Frederico Morais had poetically referred to *Frutos do espaço* as “a cemetery of sculptures” (*um cemitério de esculturas*).\(^5^5\) In the installation, the vertical

\(^5^2\) Even though *favelas* often contain low-income housing with limited access to public services, we should avoid pejorative definitions such as “shantytown” or “slum.” Not only are these communities culturally diverse, but some of most acclaimed cultural contributions, such as samba, came from the *favelas* (“Catalytic Communities [CatComm] is an empowerment, communications, think tank, and advocacy NGO working since 2000 in support of Rio’s favelas at the intersection of sustainable community development, human rights, local-global networks, communications, and urban planning,” from “Why We Should Call them Favelas,” [accessed 7 June 2019]). The *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro are often located on hills.


\(^5^4\) Ibid, 89.

monuments marked the landscape like tombstones. Hence, through reference to their location and form, the works could allude to abstract ideas such as a sense of impermanence and loss.\footnote{A new location would change the implications and references for future installations of the work.}

Each piece was a mere outline, a bare skeleton of the earlier newspaper pages apparent in the \textit{flans}; albeit, in this situation, the pages are blank and only the outline remains.\footnote{See also Ronaldo Brito, “Jornais do Espaço: Escultura de Antonio Manuel,” \textit{Módulo}, 62 (1981): 48.} As will be elaborated on below, this framework connects the works to constructivism through the modular form.\footnote{The nonobjective modern art movement, Constructivism, originated in Russia with the initial aim to construct abstract artworks suitable for an industrialized society using modern technology and materials. An international constructivist ideology developed that emphasized nonfigurative representation often with use of modular or geometric design. The use of “constructivism” in Brazil follows from these ideas using nonrepresentational geometric abstraction.} In the same manner as the \textit{flans}, one could interpret this interactive work simply as the result of the repressive regime since the frameworks of empty newspaper pages seem to refer not only to the news censored by the government but also to the park where the \textit{favela} once stood. However, these works elude a fixed meaning.

Beyond their relation to the news or the torn down \textit{favela}, these works reference modernist concerns. In the vein of the \textit{flans}, the \textit{Frutos do espaço} incorporate the modular layout of non-figurative geometric abstraction apparent in the constructivist layout of a Neoconcrete painting; at the same time, however, they are realized with a twist—in discarding the canvas and constructing the works from the remaining thin rectangular frame.\footnote{Frederico Morais, “O vazio ocupado pelos frutos do espaço,” \textit{O Globo}, 28 March 1983.} By re-envisioning constructivist ideas, Antonio Manuel stripped the painting bare and integrated it into the landscape, allowing nature to fill the four corners of the “canvas.”

In another sense, the \textit{Frutos do espaço} confound traditional concepts of the art object in space, since it is no longer possible to distinguish the inside from the outside or the foreground from the background. This interweaving of the work with the space around it was a constructivist concern.\footnote{See for example the three-dimensional works of Neoconcrete artists such as Franz Weissman.} In the catalogue for the exhibition in 1980, Antonio Manuel included a poetic text with this line, “Fixed. Loose. (\textit{Fincadas. Soltas.}) Visible. Invisible. (\textit{Visíveis. Invisíveis.}) Inside. Out. (\textit{Dentro. Fora.})” that links the work to the pairs of binary opposites which become interconnected or even indistinguishable in the \textit{Frutos do espaço}.\footnote{Antonio Manuel, \textit{Frutos do Espaço}, In Antonio Manuel: Eis o Saldo: textos, depoimentos e entrevistas, Rio: FUNARTE, Ministerio da Cultura, 2010, 73; and email communication with the artist, 9 September 2019.}

This work could only have happened after artists in Brazil had contested the conventional presentation of works in museum exhibitions and introduced sensory perception and participation. While questioning traditional forms and concepts of art, Antonio Manuel’s colleagues—Oiticica, Lygia Clark, and Lygia Pape—increasingly...
turned to corporeal experience and spectator interaction.\textsuperscript{62} Frutos do espaço follows from their works in encouraging viewer participation through involvement of the body and senses.

Finally, Antonio Manuel’s interactive work references the Neoconcrete \textit{não-objeto} (non-object) as described in the text, “Theory of the Non-Object” (\textit{Teoria do não-objeto}, 1959, by Ferreira Gullar.\textsuperscript{63} The term \textit{não-objeto} was employed to describe a special type of object “for which the denominations of painting and sculpture no longer have much propriety” (\textit{para os quais as denominações de pintura e escultura já talvez não tenham muita propriedade}); in other words, by eliminating the distinguishing characteristics of the sculpture (such as the base) and the painting (such as the frame), the non-object becomes an object that no longer fits into traditional categories of art.\textsuperscript{64} As a non-object (neither a traditional two- or three-dimensional artwork), \textit{Frutos do espaço} allows for a phenomenological or sensorial experience (accomplished through spectator action and interaction).\textsuperscript{65}

Antonio Manuel alludes to a range of aspects within the design constraints of the \textit{Frutos do espaço}. While the grid-like form directly references the layout of the daily newspaper, the placement and arrangement of the original work complements and emphasizes the location—in this case, the destroyed \textit{favela}. On one hand, through allusion, the empty newspaper image could refer to the political situation. On the other hand, the works reference specific Neoconcrete principles through aspects of participation and the non-object as well as modernist ideas through the employment of geometric abstraction. Moreover, by setting these works outdoors—especially outside the sanctioned space of the museum—he realizes the desires of contemporary artists who were searching for alternative sites for performances and happenings. Nevertheless, in his reinterpretation of existing forms and ideas, he creates something fresh, experimental, and quite individual.

5. RECENT MANIFESTATIONS OR INTERACTIVE INSTALLATIONS

\textsuperscript{62} For additional information on the interaction of these and other artists during the period, see Vanessa Rosa Machado, “Lygia Pape: espaços de rupture” (MA thesis, Universidade de São Carlos, São Carlos, 2008); and Marco Antonio Pasqualini de Andrade, "Uma poética ambiental—Cildo Meireles (1963-1970)” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2007).


Antonio Manuel’s recent manifestations or installations combine a well-thought-out visual design with a heightened or charged response to a past or present situation.\(^6^6\) Two divergent examples will be described. The first is an *ambiental* piece, *Fantasma* (phantom), that was initially installed in 1993 in Brasília (later expanded and exhibited in 1994 at the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos [IBEU], Rio de Janeiro), using nearly one thousand lumps of natural charcoal suspended and filling the gallery space (Fig. 5).\(^6^7\) The work follows a geometric division using an overhead grid to systematically divide the space from which the irregular dark objects dangle by an imperceptible filament.

In spite of the apparent underlying rigid framework, the assorted sizes and shapes of the natural burnt wood pieces, hung at varying levels, make the work appear less geometric and more organic.\(^6^8\) The black forms appear as floating fragments that sway slowly, creating overlapping shadows intermittently blocking and revealing light. This visually stunning design gives the work a tranquil yet playful general appearance.

![Figure 5. Antonio Manuel (Brazilian, (1948-). *Fantasma*, 1994. Installation. Burnt wood, wire, photo, and flashlights. Photographer Rômulo Fialdini. Courtesy Antonio Manuel.](image)

On closer inspection, a small photo can be seen on the other side of the precarious impediment of swinging obstacles. Suspended on the far wall, flashlights erratically illuminate the image. Bidden to traverse the striking maze, the visitor enters the pendulant barrier, trying to avoid soiling their clothing with the blackened sooty fragments. Approaching the photo, the image comes into focus (Fig. 6).

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\(^6^6\) While some variety has already been discussed in his work overall, it is essential to clarify that Antonio Manuel has worked in more traditional mediums, such as drawing and easel painting (particularly, geometric abstraction) at the same time as he constructed his most powerful *ambiental* pieces, manifestations, and films.

\(^6^7\) Michael Asbury and Garo Keheyan (eds), *Antonio Manuel* (Cyprus: Pharos Publishers, 2006), 139.

\(^6^8\) These lumps of charcoal do not resemble the machine-made charcoal briquettes available in the United States; instead they are natural in shape.
According to Antonio Manuel:

_Torches_ [flashlights] set at the back of the room attract the viewer to the photo of the Phantom, a hooded person, surrounded on all sides by microphones and tape recorders. The work was ready when I saw, in the _Jornal do Brasil_ newspaper, this photo of a witness of a slaughter who had lost his identity and could no longer appear in public.\(^{69}\)

The title, _Fantasma_, seems to refer to the ghost-like image in the photo: a survivor of the massacre in the streets of the _favela_ Vigário Geral carried out by the _esquadrões da morte_ (“death squads” or groups of vigilante off-duty policemen) in 1993. This person or phantom in the photo, surrounded by news-press microphones with his face concealed under a white cloth, was present at the bloody encounter and disappeared for his own protection.

In another sense, _Fantasma_ could be interpreted as the spirit of the dead or the phantom of the slaughter. The massacre of innocent residents took place by a band of policemen who were retaliating against an earlier incident. As noted by Amnesty International in 1997:

> In August 1993, 21 people were killed when a group of hooded and heavily armed men attacked the _favela_ of Vigário Geral, Rio de Janeiro. For two hours they shot indiscriminately at local residents. The attack was reportedly carried out in

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revenge for the killing, two days earlier, of four military police officers who were allegedly murdered by drug traffickers based in the favela.70

The dismay brought about by perceiving that the esquadrões da morte were still active in Brazil at the end of the twentieth century impelled Antonio Manuel to create Fantasma. This concern is also apparent in Amnesty International’s later report:

In June 2003, Amnesty International was alarmed to discover that, although no individual massacres by police on the scale of Candelária or Vigário Geral are believed to have taken place since then, increasing numbers of unarmed civilians die at the hands of the city’s police forces each year.71

Fantasma, appearing a short time after the slaughter, was a bold statement. In his use of pendent charred wood, a faint reflection of darkness ripples through an otherwise enchanting work, creating an effective response to a horrific event.72

Even though alluding to a specific event, the physical arrangement of the work inspires us to consider possible meaning in a larger sense. In this regard, Guy Brett has suggested that the work “is simultaneously a cosmos and a society, a space through which you weave your way, seeking freedom, and face a dramatic emblem of the disquieted self.”73 The effect, according to Esther Emilio Carlos, is like the dispersion of a meteor shower or “an explosion” where “particles are formed or deformed by the violent speed of the burst.”74

Be that as it may, the elegant form and the use of a simple natural materials gives the installation a graceful beauty. Yet, the difficulty in traversing the space (without running into the charcoal pieces) sets obstacles in one’s path. Taken together, the outward elegance and implied inner darkness seems to warn us to be wary that appearances can be deceiving. That is to say, this interactive work hints at a hidden threat that may lurk behind an outward attractiveness.

The second work with a finely tuned response to a past situation is the installation Ocupações/Descobrimentos (Occupations/Discoveries), 1998, initially produced for the 500th anniversary of the “discovery” of Brazil by the Portuguese explorer, Pedro Álvares Cabral. In this work, a number of brick walls were constructed in the Museu de Arte Contemporânea, Niterói (MAC-Niterói), designed by the Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer (Fig. 7). The walls created barriers which curved in wavelike structures inside a museum that is shaped by organic form; as a result, creating, as Antonio Manuel notes, a “dialogue and integration with the architecture.”

![Figure 7. Antonio Manuel (Brazilian, 1948-). Ocupações/Descobrimentos, 1998/2007, bricks, mortar, and industrial paint. Photographer Rômulo Fialdini. Courtesy Antonio Manuel.](image)

One side of each of the seven walls was smoothly plastered and painted bright and shiny red, yellow, dark grey, or white; while the other side was left unpainted and unplastered rough terracotta brick. Once the mortar was set, Antonio Manuel started breaking open passages with a sledgehammer for spectators to peer or travel through. “When one makes the journey in one direction, the work recalls colonial houses, their colors and textures. In the opposite direction, one only sees bricks evident without any plaster; another reality, that is also Brazil,” noted the artist, “In this journey, we have, then, the well-finished, [and] the work in progress” with “walls blocking the way and, at the same time, being broken open.”

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75 Antonio Manuel, email communication with the author, 14 November 2017. Since this is a “site-specific” work, the meanings or allusions shift as the location changes (Michael Asbury, “Antonio Manuel: Occupations/Discoveries,” In Antonio Manuel, Michael Asbury and Garo Keheyen [eds], exh. cat. [Cyprus: Pharos Publishers, 2006], 20-51, here 47).

76 Antonio Manuel, In Antonio Manuel: Entrevista a Lúcia Carneiro e Ileana Pradilla (Rio de Janeiro: Lacerda Editores, 1999), 57. Note that the phrase, “work in progress,” was in English in the original Portuguese text.
the cultured or refined construction in Brazil, whereas the coarse unfinished walls suggest a simpler or even rougher existence.

In the interpretation of Michael Asbury, *Ocupações/Descobrimentos* relates to “South Americans who became culturally divided by the legacy of colonialism.” While Brazil was initially isolated, the country evolved by absorbing multiple influences. “In this sense the perforations in the installation’s walls could be read as a comment on the impossibility of absolute cultural isolation.”77 Brito had earlier suggested that, “It is as if Antonio Manuel is reactivating the initial urge of the discoveries, the uncertainty of their routes, their dramatic emphasis, ultimately, the basic restlessness that drove them on.”78 Alternatively, Guy Brett has proposed that the holes could suggest divergent ideas: in one sense, the force needed to break through the walls can be read as violent and, consequently, seen as a violation; in another sense, one could interpret the breach as opening up the walls, in the sense of a new liberation.79

Following from these ideas, the rupture of the walls could allude to the colonial passage, the past occupation of Brazil by the Portuguese, a violation, a liberation, or the connections between Brazil and other countries. Antonio Manuel’s actions could be therefore interpreted as: poetically rupturing the symbolic walls built up by the colonizer or pushing aside the cultural remains left behind by colonization. The work is able to inspire a range of reactions and interpretations from more negative to positive depending on the interpretation of the spectator.

In any case, the symbolism in physically penetrating the walls opens new passages to surprising views that entice the viewer to traverse or navigate to the other side. As noted by Antonio Manuel, this work relates to the desire “to break down and question barriers.”80 In this sense, he has designed a work that transgresses boundaries. On one hand, the rupturing of walls brings together people and spaces previously separated. On the other hand, since the spectator is free to participate in the expedition, the setup of the work would encourage individuals not only to find a way to dissolve impediments but also to create their own paths.81

Despite the fact that *Ocupações/Descobrimentos* is related to the colonial discovery and occupation, the work is not dark or ominous in appearance. For the participant, bright colors add an appealing visual aspect to the investigation. To some extent, the walls emulate geometric abstractions (in the rectangular forms and pure colors), although

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81 Even though Antonio Manuel’s work was designed for the anniversary of the arrival of Cabral in Brazil, the meaning is not necessarily relegated only to the colonial past. The use of allusion allows the sense of the work to traverse periods.
organic shapes (such as the curved walls or ruptured holes) have also been introduced. The work is multifaceted; the physicality of the work highlights the use of the senses of sight, touch, and hearing while the methods of construction and destruction allude to architecture in Brazil (through the use of terracotta bricks as well as in the contrast of the rough and smooth opposing sides of the walls).

These two recent works, *Fantasma* and *Ocupações/Descobrimentos*, were both initiated in response to specific past situations—whether the actions of twentieth-century death squads or the colonial infiltration—and could be considered political works; yet, as I have pointed out, each work can elicit multiple and interconnected interpretations from the active spectators. These ambiental pieces appear inviting but contain references to a controversial confrontation or conflict (including the control or domination by one group). As interactive installations, they encourage the participant to venture forward, experience the environment, and discover. As noted by Magedanz, “One advantage of the allusive form is its ability to produce a playful conversation involving the artist, the audience, and the materials of culture.” In making their journey and reflecting on the allusions and the experience, the observer essentially collaborates with the artist to create their own unique sense of the artwork.

Informed by a mixture of modernist and contemporary developments, Antonio Manuel’s artworks have varied over time from geometric to organic, from two-dimensional to three-dimensional, and from drawings to manifestations and performances. Whether the content is political, lyrical, ludic, or provocative, these pieces engage the viewer and evoke diverse responses. His creative allusions encourage the viewer to participate in the construction of meaning; thus, his work brings together the artist’s conception and design with the spectator’s experience and interpretation.

Antonio Manuel began to use allusion during the early years of the dictatorship. He continued to expand on methods for using concealed references in a unique and personal manner. Covert references allow the artist to create a work that can have both specific cultural significance (related to particular events and actions) and wide-ranging implications (that can be many-sided and interconnected). In choosing an indirect method of making references, rather than an explicit or didactic approach, he allowed his creations to become multifarious. As I have maintained, Antonio Manuel developed a sense for using allusion in a manner that became an indispensable part of his repertoire.

6. WORKS CITED


82 Magedanz, “Allusion as Form,” 170.


Montenegro, Júlio César. Opinião, 26 December 1975.


