

Dressing for Success *Lisbon as European Cultural Capital*

Lisbon 94, the yearlong celebration of Portugal's tenure as Cultural Capital of Europe, represented a unique opportunity for reorienting Portugal's national identity away from the semiperiphery and toward the European center. In preparation for this national festival, Lisbon 94 organizers outfitted Lisbon in a variety of new costumes through the rhetoric of promotional discourse and the transformation of Lisbon's urban space. "Costume," in this sense, stands for the signifying practices that together endeavored to revamp Portugal's national identity, cultural image, and geopolitical position as a member state of the European Community.

ADDRESSING AN international audience of distinguished scholars and politicians in May 1987, Portuguese President Mário Soares trumpeted his country's rapid transformation: after 48 years under the repressive policies of Europe's longest authoritarian regime, Portugal had secured a promising future as an official member state of the European Economic Community (EEC). "Portugal was a country gagged, isolated and suspended in time . . . [but] Portugal now knows what it wants, where it is going and what it has to do to get there. It is a country that has rediscovered its course" (Soares 1990:2, 5). It is my contention that this change of course necessitated a change in image—a costume change, and in 1994, following the wide-scale transformation of public space, Lisbon donned her *traje de gala* (ceremonial gown) to perform center stage as the Cultural Capital of Europe.

According to the World Systems theory, Portugal currently occupies a "semiperipheral" position relative to the Northern European core, due to its intermediate level of economic development and its role as intermediary link between First World and Third (Arrighi 1985; Wallerstein 1974). Since its inception in the 12th century, however, the Portuguese nation-state has continuously attempted to "become part of the center" (Gaspar 1990). Soares articulated this centripetal ambition in his speech by employing the rhetoric of Portugal's 16th-century navigational triumphs to describe his country's "rediscovered course" toward Europe. The rhetorical juncture of glorious past with semiperipheral present illustrates a part of the Portuguese social imaginary that sociologist

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Boaventura de Sousa Santos terms *imaginação do centro* (imagining the center) (Santos 1993a:20).¹

In 1987, the same year Soares delivered his speech, the collective imagining of European centrality gave rise to plans for the transformation of Lisbon's urban costume and the performative expression of Portugal's new status as an EEC member state. Riding the wave of widespread enthusiasm over Portugal's 1986 European integration, Portuguese delegates to the EEC secured Lisbon's title as European Cultural Capital for 1994.² Eager to participate in the newly inaugurated European Cities of Culture Programme, Portuguese delegates lobbied for 1994 so that Lisbon's honorary title would dovetail with the 20th anniversary of Portugal's 1974 revolution.

Lisbon 94 (L94) marked an important coming together of national and international agendas. It commemorated the Portuguese revolution while marking Portugal's cultural debut within the EEC. Hence, L94 celebrated both the 1974 reduction of Portugal's borders following colonial liberation and the 1986 expansion of Portugal's sociospatial boundaries following EEC membership. This negotiation between the conflicting forces of reduction and expansion, and between national liberty and European integration, was compellingly reflected in L94 publicity and urban renewal.

In the wake of an unprecedented proliferation of large-scale anniversaries, memorials, and commemorations around the globe, many cultural theorists have turned their attention toward the analysis of national festivals (see Bennett et al. 1992; Davis 1986; Falassi 1987; Gillis 1994; Handelman 1990; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Ley and Olds 1988; Myerscough 1994; Ozouf 1988; Turner 1982; Wallis 1994). In an era when new communication technology and the globalization of capital, along with burgeoning localisms, have threatened the importance and sovereignty of the nation-state, the national cultural festival represents a new "very particular repackaging" of national imagery (Wallis 1994:267).

Scholarship concerning the ideology of national festivals often focuses on material artifact and performative event. Here, however, I respond to the recent call of critical theorists for politicized, interdisciplinary readings of space (de Certeau 1984; Harvey 1989; Lefebvre 1991; Rodman 1992; Soja 1989) by examining the transformation of Lisbon's urban space throughout 1994. In an attempt to unmask the "relations of power . . . inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life" (Soja 1989:6), I will analyze the spatial rhetoric of L94's outdoor advertising campaigns and urban restoration and examine the performative production and utilization of these spaces.³

This article is framed by my own experience as a four-year resident of Lisbon, a Luso-American ethnographer of Portuguese folklore performance, an L94 audience member, and, as Roland Barthes deploys the term in all of its etymological resonance, an "amateur of cities, one who loves the city" (1988:191). Using press releases, playbills, exhibition catalogs, promotional documents, foreign and Portuguese newspaper articles, and interviews with L94 artists and administrators, I will examine the official discourse produced by the organizers of Lisbon 94 to answer the following questions: How have Lisbon 94 organizers "dressed up" the

city's built environs in order to revamp Portugal's cultural image? How are the coarticulated themes of national liberty and European integration spatially produced? I am also concerned with the ways in which this hegemonic spatial production is "talked back to." Throughout 1994, socioeconomic conditions within the city and preexisting characteristics of Lisbon's built environment provided a dialogic counterpoint contesting L94's spatial rhetoric. When considered in concert, this amalgam of spatial production creates a richly nuanced depiction of Portugal's late-20th-century identity, one that lays bare the ambiguities and contingencies of existence in the semiperiphery.

I have conceptualized L94's "dressing up" of urban space using costume as a central metaphor not only because the rhetoric of clothing is repeatedly invoked in L94 newspaper reviews and press releases, but also because the act of costuming is a transformative and signifying practice. In Western dramatic tradition, costume is that which is deliberately added to or subtracted from the actor's body in order to alter his or her image or persona. This is precisely the way L94 organizers conceived of and personified Lisbon's infrastructural metamorphosis. On the eve of February 26, Lisbon took "off her braces and glasses" (Provan 1994:30) proudly displaying her elegant traje de gala (Antunes 1994a; Guardiola 1994), and with an eastern rotation of her *cara lavada* (clean face) (Ruela 1993b) invited the rest of Europe to witness her spectacular urban makeover.

Lisbon's Designation as European City of Culture

The European City of Culture (ECC) Programme originated in November 1983, during the first meeting of the EEC's culture ministers. The original objective of the program, which would designate a different European municipality as the "City of Culture" each year, was "to help bring the peoples of the Member States closer together" (*Official Journal of the European Communities* 1985). Conceived as a vehicle for emphasizing common European elements across national cultures, the ECC also endeavored to celebrate the "richness born out of diversity" (*Official Journal of the European Communities* 1985).

Because Lisbon had initially been slotted as the 1996 City of Culture, Portuguese delegates endeavoring to combine the 20-year anniversary of the 1974 revolution with the ECC title orchestrated a last-minute exchange with Copenhagen.⁴ Portuguese authorities thus faced a shortened preparation time further exacerbated by a flawed organizational strategy. In 1990, the Portuguese government and the local authorities of Lisbon (Camara Municipal de Lisboa [CML]) each established separate study teams to prepare for Lisbon 94. Political rivalry, however, compromised the productivity of this bifurcated team. In an attempt to unify the fractured groups, state and local authorities combined forces to form the Sociedade de Lisboa 94 (SL94) in 1992, where each governing body appointed half the board members.⁵ SL94, headed by Vítor Constâncio, then separated into smaller subdivisions by cultural area: Animation, Cinema and Video, Classical Music and Opera, Exhibitions, Literature and Thought, Popular Music, Publishing, Theater and Dance, and Urban Intervention. Many leaders of these subgroups,

drawn from the cultural, political, and academic elite, also held other high-profile cultural posts. The funding for L94 was provided by the national government (43 percent), the municipal government (43 percent), private investors (12 percent), and the EEC (two percent) (Myerscough 1994:46).

SL94 agreed on a four-part objective: Lisbon 94 should (1) extend and improve cultural venues, (2) fully utilize existing capacity of cultural venues, (3) raise visibility for the cultural sector, and (4) stimulate the cultural market by creating new publics (Myerscough 1994:189). In a comparative analysis of all European Cities of Culture from Athens in 1985 to Lisbon in 1994, John Myerscough catalogs the differing foci of each city using three taxonomies: infrastructure, festival programs, and artistic concepts. Myerscough identifies Lisbon as being primarily concerned with infrastructure, "seeking to upgrade venues and run a full season of activity in order to raise the status of the sector and stimulate markets" (1994:9).

SL94's objectives cannot, however, be analyzed in isolation. L94 was situated along a continuum of international events showcasing Portugal throughout the 1990s. In 1991, Portugal took center stage in Brussels for the Europália festival. In 1992, Portugal held the presidency of the European Union (EU), hosting European politicians and diplomats. In 1993, the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. installed a major exhibit of Portuguese Baroque art and objects. And in 1998, Lisbon will host EXPO 98. The relentless seriality of Portugal's commitment to international cultural events has necessitated the intermingling of ongoing infrastructural restoration with cultural festivity. This seriality has also produced a dynamic of interperformativity akin to intertextuality, where each event builds upon and borrows from others in the continuum. Lisbon's overhaul throughout the 1990s is continually in process, the unveiling of restored edifices piecemeal, and the spectacle of new architecture cumulative. Portugal's cultural identity, like Lisbon's infrastructure, remains an improvisatory work in progress.

Shrouded in Shadow: L94's Failed Promotional Campaign

Publicis/Ciesa (PC), a French advertising firm, won L94's initial publicity competition and launched its 1993 pre-festival ad campaign with a series of evocative photographic images. Single chairs of all shapes and sizes loomed large in the foreground of photographs shot in a variety of Lisbon's picturesque locales. As the "basic visual element," the chair was to suggest PC's key conception of "Lisbon as an immense stage" (*Semánario Económico* 1993:39). The chairs occupied plateaus of space devoid of people, one near the river's edge, one at the bottom of cobbled steps, one beside ornate columns, one inside a theater. The text on the images read *Estar em toda a parte* (to be everywhere), *Estar á altura* (to measure up), *Estar em maré alta* (literally, to be at high tide, but this idiomatically connotes popularity or plenitude), *Estar por dentro* (to have an inside track, to be an insider), or *Estar muito ocupada* (to be very busy).

The Lisbon public responded to PC's ads with indifference and bewilderment. An L94 employee quoted in the Portuguese press stated, "We were inundated with telephone calls asking what those chairs meant, and why they had their backs

to the river" (*O Independente* 1994:11). In contradiction to the campaign's textual rhetoric, which invoked a variety of heightened corporeal states, the photographic image, featuring a singular chair at times shrouded in white fabric, suggested stasis, solitude, even desolation. Dramatic, high-contrast lighting cast deep shadows on and around the chairs haunting the photographed space. The PC campaign drew upon visual cues invoking the mythic melancholy of Portugal, a nostalgia for the past viewed from the shade of a semiperipheral present. Portugal, however, had spent years of forced isolation on the continent's edge, and an empty chair placed in the middle of a shadowy void was not the type of image makeover SL94 organizers had hoped for.

Philosopher Gaston Bachelard describes the physical qualities of the shadow: "[The shadow] has lost its 'being there' . . . one that has so declined as to fall from *the being of its shade* and mingle with the rumors of being, in the form of meaningless noise, of a confused hum that *cannot be located*. It once was" (1994:217, emphasis in original). When applied to the iconography of the PC image, Bachelard's synesthetic description of shadow as an *unlocatable* "confused hum" contradicts L94's objective of centering Lisbon as an audible presence on the "cultural map of Europe" (*Jornal de Notícias* 1994:10).

By employing the representative imagery of the shadow, PC inadvertently obstructed Portugal's symbolic emergence from the shade of the periphery. The stark contrast between Portugal's 16th-century "glory days" and its current global status of relatively little economic or political consequence acted as a *espinho no pé* (thorn in the foot) of those trying to invent a fresh image for the country. Portugal is haunted by the heroic figures of its past.⁶ As a young Portuguese historian describes, historical memory plagues the Portuguese social imaginary:

Our specialty is in the invocation of shadows . . . the same old film playing *The Lost Empire*. . . . We have never recovered and are unable to forget it. . . . If you switch off the light in a room, you see . . . its afterimage on the retina. That is our situation with the lost colonial empire. [Enzensberger 1989:159–160]⁷

In addition to the burden of historical memory, Santos diagnoses Portugal's fixation with the past as due to a literary "mythic excess" produced by a closed coterie of cultural elites who, divorced from critical reason and separated from the decision-making machinery of the political strata, generated, reproduced, and amassed throughout generations vast quantities of interpretive myths concerning Portugal and the Portuguese. According to Santos, the cultural elite were never forced to compare, apply, or verify their ideas, or to bring them to bear on reality. Santos draws an analogy between the blindness of the cultural elite and the subsequent invisibility of the country (1993b:30–31).

It is precisely this mythic excess SL94 sought to combat by firing PC and replacing them with another French advertising firm, EuroRSCG (ER). PC's ethereal, melancholy photos were replaced by pictorial representations of action and verve. ER strategized a straightforward, "readable" image for Portugal, one that was not fixated on the past but oriented toward the future, one that simultaneously

represented and invented Portugal's "new course" of international visibility as a member of the EU.

"Lisbon Never Stops!": L94's Replacement Ad Strategy

Bold red letters punctuating black billboards promised pedestrians that "Lisbon Never Stops!" PC's realistic photos, featuring moody lighting and three-dimensional space, were replaced by clean, two-dimensional images where bright colors, crisp lines, and broad, energetic symbols emphasized themes of activity and cosmopolitanism. Strategically placed at various entry points into the city, the billboards welcomed L94 tourists arriving by boat, train, plane, and car. ER's Lisbon Never Stops! campaign was meant to "surround . . . those whose passive attitude ha[d] to be altered, giving a festive air to the city" (EuroRSCG n.d.).

At Praça de Espanha, Lisbon's western gateway, an impressive network of motorized wheels which literally "never stopped" decorated a large billboard set upon two stately black columns. Seven spoked wheels turned round and round, mirroring Praça de Espanha's vehicular rotary, which guides multiple lanes of traffic in and out of the city. However, the smooth, seductive motion of interdependent cogs circulating ad infinitum waxed ironic in this particular spot in the city, as cars frequently congeal in the bottleneck at Praça de Espanha, part of the mounting traffic problem created by the very modernization Lisbon 94 celebrates. Traffic problems were noted in several L94 reviews as impeding public access to cultural events or at least as making their experience less enjoyable (*Publico* 1994:28). In a 1994 interview with Portuguese author and Nobel Prize candidate José Saramago entitled "My Lisbon No Longer Exists," noise, pollution, and "hellish traffic" are cited as new, contemptible elements in a changing Lisbon he neither likes nor recognizes (Arias 1994:2).

In addition to representing physical motility, the billboard at Praça da Espanha also alluded to industry and progress. Gold wheels of varying dimension staggered horizontally across a black surface, however, suggested the toil and grime of 19th-century labor, not late-20th-century computer-age technology.⁸ This symbolism is particularly resonant when viewed in concert with Portugal's economic development vis-à-vis the rest of Europe. Portuguese industrialization did not occur until the mid-1950s, almost a century behind most of northern Europe and 50 years behind other countries on the periphery of Europe such as Sweden and Russia (Neves 1994:48–49).⁹

Portugal's industrial growth, therefore, has occurred over a foreshortened period of time and certain phases of development have sped up. Further, Portugal's industrial modernization is characterized in socioeconomic terms by unevenness and fragmentation. Portuguese sociologist Augusto Santos Silva underscores the regional inconsistency of Portugal's socioeconomic development. According to him, Portugal's development over the last few decades has not followed a pattern of linear progress, but has been characterized by "complex dynamics of coexistences, adaptations, dissolutions, reemergences, restructuring, and intersections" (1994:149). If we consider these dynamics of "coexistence" in analyzing L94

publicity, then the billboard at Praça de Espanha no longer appears anachronistic. Visual symbols conjuring 19th-century industry coexisted with other L94 outdoor advertising space featuring, for example, digital messages. In this sense, the Lisbon Never Stops! campaign represents a variety of coordinates on the map of Portuguese industrial development and modernization, coordinates that exist simultaneously in the present, while remaining oriented toward the European future.

Looming large outside the Alcântara Mar train station, an L94 billboard ran a nonstop digital message across its façade. The message read, “In Lisbon liberty is much more than an avenue. It is the entire city. We are in the middle of a stage measuring 807,937 hectares. Lisbon is in rehearsal. Lisbon is in exhibition. . . . Listen and look . . . but don’t stop. In Lisbon there are no intermissions.” This scarlet digital pronouncement beamed across the sleek black billboard and stood out in the midst of Alcântara Mar, one of Lisbon’s older riverside neighborhoods, where clotheslines of drying laundry decorate traditionally tiled houses. The billboard’s message, packed with tropes describing Lisbon’s continuing metamorphosis, provided a dizzying array of conceptual metaphors with which to process the city’s new identity. The city as stage, the city as avenue, the city as liberty, the city in rehearsal, the city on exhibition. This digital message laid bare the promotional strategist’s brainstorming, where metalabels are tried on, discarded, and tried on again.¹⁰ The Alcântara Mar billboard displayed the fruits of L94’s promotional think tank, where the processual, unfinished, and open-to-revision nature of Lisbon’s late-20th-century makeover remained open for public scrutiny. As if ER could not decide which gown Lisbon should wear on opening night, they opted for a layered effect, piling dress upon dress upon dress until the urban mannequin became heavy with representational overload.

Urged by the billboard to “Listen and look, but don’t stop,” for “In Lisbon there are no intermissions,” the viewing public had no time for dialogue or comment. The billboard’s message seemed both a precise summary of the frenetic pace with which Lisbon has been transformed and a foreshadowing of things to come. Indeed, there have been very few intermissions in the last decade as the EEC pooled funds with the Portuguese government and private investors to construct the first superhighway connecting Portugal’s two largest cities, Lisbon and Porto; to renovate Lisbon’s subways; and to build cultural megacenters, *Hipermercados* (wholesale supermarkets), and posh apartment high-rises-cum-shopping malls. During this process Lisbon has indeed been “in rehearsal” for a position of global consequence within the EU. Santos reports, however, that the Portuguese have been given little opportunity to “listen” or “look,” much less “stop” and ponder the radical transformation of their country since EEC integration. According to Santos, the state negotiated Portugal’s EEC membership “without consulting . . . any of the different social interest groups. Various investigations . . . revealed [the public’s] almost complete ignorance of the economic, political and social consequences of joining the EEC” (1993a:50). Santos warns of a future where short-term excitement over Portugal’s infrastructural overhaul leads to long-term disappointment, where Europe becomes more competitive within the global marketplace at the expense of its own (Portuguese) periphery (1993a:53).

In proclaiming that “liberty is much more than an avenue,” the Alcântara Mar billboard invoked one of Lisbon’s most powerful national symbols. In an unpublished 1919 manuscript, renowned Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa described the Avenida da Liberdade (Liberty Avenue), constructed in 1882, as “the finest artery in Lisbon”:

It is 90 meters wide and 1500 meters long, full of trees from beginning to end, and includes small gardens, ponds, fountains, cascades and statues. . . . The garden plots . . . are closed by four marble statues representing Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. In the Avenida da Liberdade there are two theaters, four cinemas, and several caf  s and confectioners; it contains also some palatial residences. During the summer months, some of the caf  s spread their service up into the central garden-plots which are profusely lit; this open air service, with the music added to it, enlivens the whole Avenida on summer evenings. [1992:48]

Pessoa’s description of the Avenida, an idealized portrayal, formed part of his patriotic project to fight against what he termed Portugal’s “demotion” from European and civilized status (Lopes 1992:18).

Decades after Pessoa’s description, the Avenida became the object of a different patriotic plan. According to cultural historian and journalist Eduarda Dion  sio, the Avenida served as “Lisbon’s urban theme” (1993:38) shortly after the 1974 revolution, as architect Vieira de Almeida constructed an ambitious plan for its conservation. The Avenida, a potent symbol of Portugal’s hard-won liberty in 1974 and an artery that should therefore serve “a collective purpose,” was at grave risk of falling into decay or being monopolized by socially irresponsible developers (V. Almeida 1974).

Almeida’s plan never came to fruition, and the development of the Avenida continued piecemeal, arriving at its current state where sleek modern office space abuts decaying abandoned buildings. In preparation for Lisbon 94 and EXPO 98, however, city planners and politicians revisited the theme of the Avenida, generating ideas for a new conservation plan. The on-again, off-again “Avenida Plan,” according to Dion  sio, is like “a dialogic allegory, the stones on the sidewalk in conversation with urban buildings, while real estate deals continue to be made” (1993:38). This inability to agree upon a “collective purpose” has allowed Lisbon’s “finest artery” to become a schizophrenic potpourri of modern high-rises, ornate historic properties smartly preserved, degraded older buildings spray-painted with “Earth Party” graffiti, and gaping holes exposing the foundations of buildings recently demolished.¹¹

Referred to by name in the L94 advertising campaign, the Avenida and its current physical state begs the following questions: How does this powerful urban symbol articulate the ideals of liberty? And how in turn does this reflect upon L94’s commemoration of 20 years of liberation? Dion  sio compares the Avenida’s commingling of disparate architectural styles and uneven states of disrepair or preservation to current Portuguese television programs where folk singers, opera divas, and rock bands perform back-to-back within the same hour-long slot (1993:38). This mixing of the old with the new, the traditional with the modern,

the Baroque with the minimalist, whether viewed as a product of poor, tasteless, or innovative planning, is precisely what L94 organizers opted for. SL94 aimed to strike a “just balance in a programme that [was], by deliberate choice, neither elitist, nor self consciously populist” (Myerscough 1994:196). Vítor Constâncio further defined L94 as a “vast exercise in the democratization of Culture” (Antunes 1994b).¹² Although the Avenida da Liberdade was not “dressed up” for L94 as were other urban spaces, and though it exists for many as a sad testimony to failed revolutionary impulse, the Avenida stands as an ironic reflection of L94 ideology.

ER also placed an L94 billboard featuring rows of colorful clocks on the river-side docks near Praça do Comércio (Commerce Square). The clocks, each set to a different time zone, represented a cosmopolitan Lisbon where international visitors enter the city by sea, their first sight the majestic Praça do Comércio. This famous square, one of the largest in Europe, “is where Lisbon originates, maritime city par excellence, inviting the visitor to ascend the shallow steps from the river to dry land and enter its domains” (Coimbra 1990:76). The rose-colored government buildings which line Praça do Comércio have been called “the pink embrace,” greeting “all men of good will.” The eroticized descriptions of Praça do Comércio position Lisbon as seductress. Barthes theorizes an erotics of the city where the urban center, a sexually charged meeting ground, is “the site of our encounter with the other” (1988:199). During L94, then, Lisbon, as “grand dame, the Tejo at her feet,” summons “all her powers of seduction” (Kaplan 1991:282) and poised on the banks of the Praça do Comércio, newly coiffed and costumed, awaits the opportunity to “give a very agreeable impression to the most exacting of tourists” (Pessoa 1992:40).

Indeed, luxury tourist liners often hover about the docks near Praça do Comércio, tourists disembarking there and stepping into Lisbon’s “pink embrace.” Portugal’s tourist industry, up six percent in 1994, has been courting the international traveler with renewed vigor as tourist-related business becomes an increasingly important component of Portugal’s economy. Some theorists suggest that Europe’s southern perimeter will become a strictly leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe. Henri Lefebvre envisions countries such as Portugal as a kind of “‘non-work’ space . . . set aside not just for vacations but also for convalescence, rest, retirement, and so on . . .” (1991:58).

Although this may be Portugal’s fast-approaching future, particularly along the coastal regions, Lisbon is busy negotiating new urban dilemmas focused on accommodating the movements of vast flows of people, both resident workers and seasonal vacationers. Praça do Comércio emblemizes such a dilemma. Over the last decade, this historic gateway into the city, designed to enrapture tourists with its “pink embrace,” has been obscured by hundreds upon hundreds of parked cars and a colorful assortment of “heroin parkers.”¹³ Although the city government has recently been discussing legislation designed to clear the square of cars and restore it to its former dignity, Lisbon’s acute shortage of parking facilities and exploding rates of car ownership complicate such matters of aesthetic pride.

The “exacting tourists” Pessoa describes must now cope not only with a sea of parked cars but with the thousands of daily commuters who are ferried in and out

of Lisbon at Praça do Comércio from their homes across the Tagus River.¹⁴ Although they are not the travelers targeted by ER's L94 advertising campaign, many of these commuters of varied ethnicity are among Lisbon's newly arrived and represent the changing face of Portugal's workforce. Lisbon's African population has grown steadily since the end of the colonial wars in 1974. Lisbon is one of the European cities with the greatest number of African residents, over 100,000 (Rivas 1994a). Portugal's drastic transformation from being "the only uni-ethnic nation-state in Europe" (Santos 1993b:22) to a miniature melting pot of African and Asian immigrants is reflected in Lisbon's "nonofficial" cultural life, though largely ignored by the international megaevents of the 1990s.¹⁵

L94's official title, "Lisbon: a Meeting Point of Cultures," was obscured by more immediate concerns, such as the Europeanization of Portugal's image. Vitor Constâncio articulates L94's primary goal as follows: "Portugal has always been a part of European culture . . . [and] we seek now to restate our presence and to claim greater recognition . . ." (Constâncio n.d.:3). He also asserts that Lisbon 94's "mission will be accomplished if . . . the city is projected into the European context" (Antunes 1994b:10). SL94 minimized Portugal's relationship to Africa throughout L94 promotion and programming (only a few major program events featured cultural production from the ex-colonies).¹⁶ The "meeting point of cultures" theme, intended to evoke Portugal's postcolonial ties to Lusophone Africa and Asia, and Lisbon's own identity as "a major African city" (Rivas 1994a), rang resoundingly hollow; Portugal set its sights on European integration by emphasizing a distinctly Western commonality.

In much the same way that Anderson posits the newspaper as the materiality out of which emerges *national* consciousness (1991), the clock billboard at Praça do Comércio provided an object for the public contemplation of *international* belonging, a belonging, however, privileging European cohesion over other global associations. The L94 billboard, where clocks from varied time zones shared the same 10-foot space, not only invoked a false semiotics of a hierarchal globalism (where all the world's time zones existed on the same two-dimensional plane and were given equal visual weight), it also subverted itself: none of the clocks really kept time! A promotional campaign centered around incessant cultural activity where "Lisbon never stops" presents a strange hermeneutic conundrum by erecting clocks whose hands are literally tied.

Is the viewer to assume an image of Portugal where time is stopped—Lefebvre's backwater vacationland? An anthropological treasure to be left undisturbed in its timeless present? Does the billboard forecast Portugal's role as intermediary between First and Third Worlds, where time is halted and history's wounds are negotiated and healed? Or perhaps most immediately, does the billboard represent a municipal community that has stopped time to prepare for a decade of megaevents that supersede and to some degree preclude the spontaneous cultural production of every day? Eduarda Dionísio describes Portuguese culture today as occupying a stagnant liminal space between official closings and openings, with "no space [or time] for the present" (1993:112). Portuguese culture in the 1990s has instead

become harnessed to the all-consuming project of costuming municipal space in the name of national-image production.

Dressed for Success: Lisbon's New Cultural Venues

Measured in tourist dollars, budget allotments, and percentage points, Portuguese culture functions in the 1990s as a specialized branch of the economy where the viability of cultural venues is constantly in flux and “the criteria of profitability is present in the disappearance of traditional cultural spaces and the utilization of others for similar ends” (Dionísio 1993:93–94). L94 objectives focused not only on filling cultural venues to capacity through the stimulation of new markets, but also on the creation and restoration of cultural spaces designed to rival those of other Western capitals.¹⁷

Although L94 commissioned and paid for the renovation of several buildings, among them the Coliseu dos Recreios, the Museu de Arte Antiga, the Tivoli, and the Museu de Chiado, several other new constructions, most notably the colossal Centro Cultural de Belém (CCB) and the Caixa Geral dos Depósitos (CGD), were showcased for the first time in 1994 and considered part of Lisbon 94's grand unveiling.¹⁸ The CCB and the CGD are both enormous modernist structures financed primarily by the state at a combined cost of roughly 80 million *contos* (approximately U.S. \$520 million). Both structures serve a bewildering array of functions: providing cutting-edge banking facilities, large-scale conference rooms, upscale restaurants, inexpensive coffee stands, gift shops, museums, and concert halls, promulgating, in Dionísio's view, “confusion between state and private initiative . . . between money and culture . . . with the primary objective of propaganda and ostentation” (1993:104).

Both the CCB and the CGD are described by several Portuguese journalists as “monuments to the nineties” (Dionísio 1993:105; Pomar 1994:24), due not only to their enormous physical presence within the city but also to their existence as ideological synecdoches for the political government that created them. Claiming responsibility for the creation of such awe-inspiring monuments was particularly important for the Partido Social Democrático (PSD) government in 1994.

The period 1992–93 was the “darkest year of the PSD government's rule. . . .” Rising unemployment, bankruptcies, unpaid wages, accusations of high level corruption, deep controversies over education, health and agricultural policies all reduced the credibility of the PSD government. [Nataf 1995:192]

The completion of the CCB and CGD, massive, high-tech structures, cultural centers for the high-brow expenditure of leisure time, reflected well on the Portuguese government. As performance historian Marvin Carlson asserts, the monumental theater, a distinctly Northern European phenomenon originating with the advent of “regularized,” “rational,” or “Cartesian” city planning, provided “an example of good government in action that would induce and inspire good behavior in people” (1989:73). In addition to these spaces lending government

credibility, ruling powers also began to recognize the potential of public theaters to produce a city of confident and dutiful subjects (1989:73).

Drawing on Carlson's correlation between the theater-as-monument and the desire of the ruling class to control its urban subjects, the symbolism of the monument resides not only in the defining physical characteristics of the edifice but also in the amalgam of activities housed within it. In the case of the CCB and CGD, each ATM cash withdrawal, each opera ticket sale, each gift shop purchase, and each coffee imbibed contributes to the symbolic memorializing of official Portuguese culture in the 1990s. The ostentation and propaganda suggested by Dionísio as the external qualities of the theater-as-monument are also performed interiorly by the cultural consumers who inhabit these spaces. In this sense, L94 organizers sought not only to raise Portugal's substandard cultural venues to a Northern European level, but also to train Portuguese citizens to become dutiful cultural consumers.

Such training was echoed in the promotional mantras published by ER on L94 "D Day" to celebrate the February 26 festival opening. The following text, entitled "New Year's Resolutions," was widely published throughout the print media and aired on television:

Starting today I will see theater and dance, I will be diligent about going to the cinema, and I'll never miss an art exhibit. Starting today I will go to the opera, I will discover jazz, I will attend concerts and mega concerts. Starting today I will explore the city day and night, I will record the past and interrogate the future. Starting today I will go to Lisbon 94. [EuroRSCG]

The conflation of self-improvement with cultural consumption took the form of a New Year's resolution in which L94 promotional rhetoric exhorted the targeted market of Portuguese citizens to internalize its advertising copy through recitation (it is phrased in the first person), and then do as the advertisement instructs. The CCB and CGD not only provided elegant grounds for consumer training, but they were also living monuments to such a process—monuments that house and produce new cultural citizens of the Euro-center.

From Rags to Miniskirts: The Coliseu's Restoration

Among L94's restorations of preexisting cultural venues, the Coliseu dos Recreios, a space perceived as "an authentic emblem of the city" (J. M. Silva 1993:38) was deemed the "ex-libris of Lisbon 94" (Pomar and Portas 1994:46).¹⁹ The Coliseu, first built in 1890, stands majestically over the cobbled streets of Portas de Santo Antão, one block from the Avenida da Liberdade. Portugal's largest covered concert hall, the Coliseu maintains a mythic identity. Boasting more than a century of eclectic cultural fare, from opera to circuses, from boxing matches to Ice Capades, from political rallies to ballet, from Portuguese fado concerts to fashion shows, the Coliseu "holds within its walls some of the most important moments of Lisbon's cultural life" (J. M. Silva 1993:38).

In the last several decades, however, the Coliseu's physical environs, programming, and clientele plummeted to an all-time low. Its lobby was used for local bingo games and the bar on the upper floors began offering peep shows, striptease, and exotic dancing. The seating and interior of the building deteriorated to a general state of shabbiness. As one journalist wrote, "The specter of decadence hovered [over the Coliseu] forecasting a shady future" (J. M. Silva 1993:32). The Coliseu was hence ripe for inclusion in L94's ambitious plans for upgrading significant cultural spaces representative of Lisbon's rich architectural patrimony. In his article "Identity, Heritage and History," David Lowenthal explains the importance of maintaining historical buildings:

Architectural and other material manifestations of heritage augment identity and community self-esteem. . . . A rich and representative patrimony is held to promote citizenship, to catalyze creativity, to attract foreign sympathy and to enhance all aspects of national life. [1994:45]

L94 launched an architectural competition to save Lisbon's mythic cultural space from the clutches of degradation. Winning architect Maurício de Vasconcellos's primary goal was to "improve the qualities of the space, providing greater comfort for the public" (Ruela 1994:83). Vasconcellos also wanted "to avoid taking away any of the memories, but instead to actualize them. I wanted to design a new Coliseu without destroying the old one" (Ruela 1994:83).

The Coliseu closed its doors for over a year to complete Vasconcellos's renovations, at a cost of more than one million contos. Although Vasconcellos's stated intention was to build on the Coliseu's existing foundation of memories, many critics emphasized the theater's radical transformation. The stage was rebuilt, the audio and lighting systems modernized, the seating structure reorganized, the main entrance and lobby redesigned, the peep show bar destroyed, and the dressing rooms augmented and improved, with the general additions of more bathrooms; emergency exits; a new fire detection system; an upscale music, video, and bookstore; a large conference hall; a VIP room, and a press lounge. Journalist Rosa Ruela described the Coliseu's metamorphosis in terms of costume: "The Coliseu used to be a very old lady with rags for clothes. . . . Suddenly she becomes a woman in a mini-skirt. She is another" (1994:83). The woman clad in a mini-skirt exudes the sleek, sexy modernity targeted by SL94 for Lisbon's image makeover. The eroticism of Praça do Comércio's "pink embrace" spills over into the gendered space of the Coliseu. The peep show harlot becomes a fashionable modern woman, similar in appearance and costume to the new market of cultural patrons L94 sought to "stimulate."

Vasconcellos himself acknowledged that the Coliseu's visual impact was "completely changed" (Ruela 1994:83). Dominated by silver, charcoal gray, black, and white, Vasconcellos's new cooler palette existed in stark contrast to the old Coliseu, which was decorated in warm shades of wine red and chocolate brown. "Crisp, clean and with a vague likeness to the Centro Cultural de Belém . . . the Coliseu is colder. Functional and comfortable, the concert hall disappoints by not being cozy" (Ruela 1994:83). A warm, quaint coziness, however, was clearly neither

the architect's nor SL94's desired visual effect. Like CCB and CGD, the Coliseu's cutting-edge design scheme reflected the sharp, impersonal space of technology and the workplace, not the softer intimacy of the home.

Physical intimacy among patrons was also precluded by the new seating arrangements. Formerly, the Coliseu's *geral* (general seating section) was marked by long rows of shallow wooden benches crowded together over a raked platform. The placement of the benches made for an extremely claustrophobic audience experience. The *geral*, often oversold and cramping bodies side by side, also featured rows so condensed that giving and receiving "legendary kicks in the back" (M. J. Martins 1994a:16) proved unavoidable. Vasconcellos ameliorated these conditions by separating the *geral* seating so that each audience member occupied his or her own numbered discreet chair, measuring 50 centimeters in width.

Although some journalists characterize the *geral* seating change as Vasconcellos's "most agreeable surprise" (J. M. Silva 1993:36), others feel *geral* audience members will find the new individuated seats "peculiar" (Ruela 1994:83). Certainly, as a regular *geral* audience member both before and after the advent of Coliseu's discreet seats, I can attest to the added physical comfort due to increased lateral space and leg room, and cushioned chairs. The old cramped *geral* seating, however, was often populated by younger, less affluent ticket purchasers and became known as the domain of transgressive behavior and vocalized cultural critique. Due to close physical proximity and the common endurance of less than ideal viewing conditions, members of the *geral* often shared an experience of what anthropologist Victor Turner defines as "*communitas*" (1969:97). In the Coliseu's former *geral*, cigarettes were often shared, flasks of alcohol passed, coats borrowed and lent, and dialogue exchanged. If during the course of the evening, a performer became unfavorably regarded, *geral* audience members often intoned their dissatisfaction by booing and heckling, or most frequently by stomping their feet, an action amplified by the former *geral*'s wooden floor boards.

Through the physical partitioning off of bodies, individual seating hindered the spatial "*immediacy*" characteristic of *communitas*. Material enclosure in the form of high seat backs and arm rests encouraged private interchange between companions, not widespread public dialogue among strangers. The rowdy uncontrollable behavior of the *Geral* became contained through seating design and spatial suggestion. This architectural alteration clearly implies behavioral modification, where Lisbon's audience members are once again subject to cultural training. As Ruela so colorfully describes, "One thing is certain. Gone are the days of foot stomping reverberating through the Coliseu. Reconstructed in concrete, the 'ex-geral' is now a very well behaved young lady" (1994:84).

Ruela employs the female body to personify spatial change and to characterize through metaphor the "personality" of the new general seating section. The female figure invoked above is not one who smokes, drinks, shouts, and stomps her feet, but one who is "very well behaved." The renovation of the female body was also at play in the decision to demolish "Bar 25." In demolishing this stripper bar, Vasconcellos and SL94 cleaned up the Coliseu's image by evicting the naked female body. The replacement of exotic dancers with smartly packaged videos,

books, and CDs occurred in concert with a dramatic reconception of the Coliseu's programming throughout 1994. SL94 orchestrated the substitution of circuses, wrestling contests, acrobatics, boxing matches, magic shows, and other *variedades* (variety shows) for "more erudite" events (Ruela 1994:84). In 1994 the Coliseu hosted sold-out performances by many of the world's greatest orchestras and offered operas such as *La Traviata*, *Elektra*, and *Carmen*.

Combining new "erudite" programming with architectural renovation and the "cleaning up" of the Coliseu's corollary businesses, SL94 profoundly changed Lisbon's "emblematic" cultural space. Such changes did not "actualize" the Coliseu's long history of memory as Vasconcellos had hoped, but instead reconditioned memory. This reconditioning of collective memory, part and parcel of a move toward the Euro-center, also necessitated "concerted forgettings" (Gillis 1994:7). The Coliseu's patrons were asked during 1994 to forget a history of eclectic and often non-"erudite" programming; they were asked to forget the naked female bodies employed by Bar 25, and the old woman in rags who haunted the space. The gerald patrons were asked to forget the history of vocalizing spontaneous public opinion during performances by sitting in dignified, individuated seats and "behaving." The renovated Coliseu buried mnemonic layers under coats of paint, primed for a fresh European start.

The War on Pastels: Lisbon's Urban Intervention

Lisbon 94 organizers actively promoted the public experience of Lisbon's city streets. SL94 allotted over 200,000 contos (U.S. \$1.3 million) and a team of energized employees led by Elísio Summavielle to the Urban Interventionist project coined *Sétima Colina*, or the Seventh Hill. The Seventh Hill project, staged within Lisbon's old historic district along the corridor from Cais do Sodré to Largo do Rato, innovatively combined widespread architectural restoration with increased indoor and outdoor cultural offerings, 24-hour public transportation, and area merchant discounts in an attempt to motivate Lisbon residents to leave the comfort of their homes and reexperience "Romantic Lisbon." Although the Seventh Hill project published extensive maps and offered guided tours of the area, the stated purpose of its widely distributed *Roteiro* (guidebook) was not to "indicate a particular route" but to liberate the pedestrian so that he or she could "trace a unique path, or series of sightseings . . . suited to his or her own personal taste" (Perdigão 1994:1).

The Seventh Hill project, deemed the "face of Lisbon," provoked more public commentary than any other L94 event (Coutinho 1994:29). Summavielle and his team repainted the façades of 70 buildings along the Seventh Hill's main corridor, designed to "return the color to [Portugal's] capital." Summavielle, believing that Lisbon had "abused the use of gray and pink" for "far too long," instituted a "war on pastels" and replaced them with bold colors: "ochre, bright blue, and blood red" (Ruela 1993:10).

So as not to impose an aesthetic mandate on a residential area plagued in years past by "conspiracy . . . secret police . . . and censors," Summavielle and his team

wrote letters to the owners of 70 buildings in the area asking for permission to repaint their property (M. J. Martins 1994b). According to Summavielle, neighborhood response was initially tepid, but once several municipal buildings had been painted, the individual owners agreed to collaborate. Summavielle viewed the entire repainting process as “essentially pedagogical. . . . The owners . . . are much more conscious of the architectural value of their buildings and are already asking money from [the city government] to restore their interiors” (M. J. Martins 1994:8–9).

These 70 brightly colored buildings rapidly became objects of public curiosity, animated dialogue, and sometimes harsh critique. Summavielle believed that 50 years of gray façades, symbolizing the oppression and urban degradation that occurred during fascism (M. J. Martins 1994b), could be eradicated by returning Lisbon to its colorful 19th-century form (Ruela 1993a). Architects, journalists, and others debated the ethics and efficacy of Summavielle’s Seventh Hill color scheme. Many felt that each building should be restored by a different architect to combine a variety of individual aesthetics. Still others, such as journalist Pedro Vieira de Almeida, questioned the project altogether, stating that “the city was and always will be a collective artifact, with its own autonomy. There can be no single owner, no one to execute an isolated intervention, not even with respect to color” (1994:9).

Certainly, employing an oligarchy to interpret the signification of color and repaint an entire swathe of the city seems dangerously similar to the dictatorial practices L94 condemned through its commemoration of postrevolutionary liberty. However, Summavielle worked in conjunction with a residential public known for its socioeconomic diversity (Ruela 1993b), striving toward spatial collaboration and community awareness. These initiatives also extended well beyond L94, as neighborhood leaders from various Seventh Hill *freguesias* (parishes) joined municipal leaders in a coalition to continue offering cultural events throughout 1995 (Bertrand 1994). Additionally, the Seventh Hill project aimed to elevate community pride through the restoration of exterior (and later, through the owners’ individual initiative, interior) space. In the months since Summavielle’s project began, a contagion of colorful buildings sprouted up both within and beyond the confines of the Seventh Hill (Ribeiro 1994). The Seventh Hill project also endeavored to create new publics, not just for large, state-owned cultural venues but also for the “Mom and Pop” establishments, restaurants, craft shops, fashion boutiques, fado clubs, bars, and discotheques that populate Bairro Alto and Cais do Sodré. Summavielle and his team enlisted the collaboration of local merchants, who offered L94 patrons discounts at their restaurants, clubs, and stores, and in return received publicity from L94 brochures and tour guides.

The Seventh Hill project motivated both Lisbon residents and foreign visitors to reexperience public space by charting their own “unique course” through the city streets. Such freedom of movement defies the spatial management that often occurs during official events. Formulating a “dramaturgy of the street,” performance theorist Richard Schechner contrasts official versus unofficial spatial production: “Official displays consist of neat rectangles, countable cohorts, marching

past and under the fixed gaze of the reviewing stand, while unofficial mass gatherings are vortexted, whirling, . . . multifocused events generating tension between large scale actions and many local dramas . . . ” (1993:46). Ironically, the Seventh Hill project reflects Schechner’s conception of unofficial gatherings, due not only to the “vortexted” multiplicity of pedestrian movements through space but also to Summavielle’s “large-scale action” that spawned “many local dramas.” Local dramas occurred in the form of public debate, where for many months “the color controversy” monopolized newspaper editorials, television news spots, and street corner conversation.

The transformation of Lisbon’s urban costume within the Seventh Hill area made the familiar strange, sparking new spatial awareness and subsequent public concern over Lisbon’s changing image. In contrast, for example, to the Coliseu’s transformation, which aimed to evict the unruly body and muffle the ill-mannered voice, the Seventh Hill project encouraged what Michel de Certeau termed “walking as enunciating” (1984:98), where physical movement through public space coincides with the vocalization of public opinion. Welcoming the right to free speech and facilitating the unsupervised movement through public space, SL94 orchestrated an urban intervention that commemorated 20 years of liberty by reinforcing democratic ideals.

Conclusion

Tempted by the promise that “Lisbon Never Stops,” over 1.5 million people, primarily domestic tourists, consumed L94’s cultural fare, demonstrating “that the Portuguese are hungry for culture” (Braga 1994:2). Gallery and museum attendance rose dramatically, with a public of 685,000, and 323,000 spectators attended 30 popular music events (Braga 1994:2). The program of great world orchestras consistently sold out. Newly restored cultural venues regularly filled to capacity, and a new influx of pedestrians reanimated the Seventh Hill area. According to an L94 public relations employee, “the public far surpassed what we could have imagined” (Braga 1994:2). L94 also succeeded in meeting each of its four objectives: it created new publics, filled existing cultural venues to capacity, restored cultural venues, and raised the cultural sector’s visibility. SL94 achieved all its goals without exceeding the allotted budget of 8 million contos (Artur 1994).

The bipartisan team of SL94 and the municipal and federal governments cloaked themselves in L94’s public success. A few journalists, however, tempered enthusiasm with queries as to the longevity of Lisbon’s cultural animation. Still others, such as Alexandre Pomar, Miguel Portas, and Eduarda Dionísio viewed the event with greater pessimism. Dionísio states, “It is much more difficult to discern a true enemy these days, one of flesh and bone. . . . You need to think a lot harder to dislike Cavaco, the European Economic Community, and the Centro Cultural de Belém . . . ” (1993:32).²⁰ Dionísio ponders the way in which large-scale national spectacle masks hegemony, where within buildings such as the CCB, power remains elusive and unlocatable, and where the EEC and former

Prime Minister Cavaco Silva dress up and obscure political agenda in the festive garb of culture. Further, Pomar and Portas argue that the spectacle of architectural improvement and the "accumulation of [cultural] events" disguises Portugal's status as a "capital still condemned to a peripheral condition" (Pomar and Portas 1994:45).

Despite SL94's efforts to the contrary, Portugal's "peripheral condition" revealed itself in the urban spaces where Lisbon's party gown had come undone—a zipper broken, a seam split, a hem unraveled. These spaces clearly exposed the cleavage separating projected festival image and late-20th-century reality. Journalists from virtually every major Portuguese paper obsessed over the unfinished or in-process state of Lisbon's overhaul on the eve of its grand unveiling (Antunes 1994a; Cruz 1994; Ferreira and Braga 1994; Lopes and Garcia 1994). As was readily apparent to any pedestrian traversing the streets, Lisbon was a city *em obras*, or under construction. Mammoth cranes and cement trucks scarred the urban skyline. The incessant drumming of jackhammers and industrial drills rose above the quotidian urban din. Renovation, restoration, new construction, and demolition dominated Lisbon's landscape, taking as its object residential homes, office space, subway stations, museums, movie theaters, fountains, government buildings, city squares, palaces, ports, historic monuments, retail centers, parks, and highways. L94 commissioned artists to decorate large placards to cloak and "dignify" (Ruela 1993a) some of the more prominent construction sites. These placards covered Lisbon as she dressed herself, attempting to conceal the physical labor necessary to construct her costume.

The decorative shrouding of public work sites throughout Lisbon is significant for several reasons. In terms of the European pecking order, Portugal remains stalled in the "catching up phase" (Mateus et al. 1995). Construction sites acted as physical reminders of Portugal's underdeveloped status, and like a fig leaf over genitals, decorative panels over hammers and drills signaled unease at occupying the bottom of Europe's socioeconomic barrel.²¹ By concealing the body of the worker as well as the tools he or she wielded, L94 organizers obscured the tremendous physical and financial cost of upgrading Lisbon to Northern European standards.²²

In the throes of dramatic spatial, socioeconomic, and political change brought forth by the 1974 revolution and 1986 EEC membership, Portuguese scholars have debated the extent to which Portugal suffers from a crisis of identity (O. T. Almeida 1991; Barreto 1992; Braga da Cruz 1992; Herr and Polt 1989; Lourenço 1992, 1994; Macedo 1990; Rivas 1994b; Santos 1993a, 1993b; Sapega 1995). Responding implicitly to these debates, SL94 set about manufacturing a new image for Lisbon and by extension for Portugal. The machinery responsible for such image production, including the rough drafts, the discarded ideas, and the finished products, revealed itself in Lisbon's "readable" spaces: PC's failed "chair" campaign, ER's "Lisbon Never Stops!" replacement strategy, new cultural megacenters such as the CGD and CCB, renovated cultural venues such as the Coliseu, and the Seventh Hill's painterly makeover.

By examining SL94's spatial production we begin to understand how the dominant class strategized Portugal's European inclusion. According to L94's ad campaign, Portugal was a country no longer confined to cultural isolation along the continent's edge. Through verve, industriousness, and tenacity that "never stops," Portugal would pull itself up by its bootstraps to join a unified Europe from its center. Cultural venues such as the CGD, the CCB, and the Coliseu exposed a will to refinement and provided dignified environs on par with the rest of Europe for the training of cultural consumers and the rehearsal of mannerly cultural consumption. And the Seventh Hill project encouraged the embodied reexperience of Lisbon's restored historic district to teach property owners the value of their architectural holdings, to bolster civic pride, and to motivate uncensored public dialogue in which the Portuguese can join Northern Europeans in the celebration of liberty and firmly entrenched democratic values.

L94's readable spaces overlapped, abutted, and dissected a palimpsest of social space that "talked back" to Lisbon's festival costuming; the traffic at Praça de Espanha, the green graffiti along the Avenida da Liberdade, the immigrant commuters who board the ferry near Praça do Comércio, the parked cars and drug addicts at Praça do Comércio, the Coliseu's displaced exotic dancers and general audience members, and the decorated construction sites, when viewed against the backdrop of L94 initiatives, revealed "socio-political contradictions . . . spatially realized" (Lefebvre 1991:365). Exposing the costs of modernity, the tenuousness of liberty, and the scars of underdevelopment, these contradictions prohibit a reductive formulation of Portugal's cultural image and political position within a unified Europe.

"Portugal, unlike the other peoples of Europe, must look in two mirrors to see itself, the mirror of Prospero and the mirror of Caliban, knowing that its true face lies somewhere in between" (Santos 1993a:33). Portugal is a quixotic mixture of colonized and colonizer, a nation of immigrants and emigrants, a country that is at once nowhere and everywhere. Although SL94 chose to develop the Prospero component of Portugal's hybrid identity, the unfinished and at times provisional nature of Lisbon's 1994 costume insures that Portugal's voyage of national self-discovery will continue. And with EXPO 98, Portugal's grand finale to the 1990s, close on the horizon, we will not have to wait long for the country's next reincarnation.

Notes

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¹Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

²By the time Portugal's application to the EEC was accepted, the majority of Portuguese were in favor of European integration. A very vocal communist minority, however, felt the "objective of EEC integration [was] . . . an instrument for the destruction of the conquests of the Revolution" (Nataf 1995:159). Further, although the EU Ministers of Culture officially termed their project the "European Cities of Culture Programme," Portuguese organizers coined Lisbon the "European Capital of Culture." Both terms are used interchangeably throughout the article.

³In his book *The Production of Space* (1991), Henri Lefebvre outlines the general limitations of semiology as an analytical tool applied to space. Semiology, he argues, reduces space to symbolic "markings" and "traces," not taking into account that space simultaneously produces and is produced, replete with "jumbled," "multifarious," "self-contradictory," and "overlapping" instructions. He argues, however, that certain spaces are created to be "deliberately readable" and are therefore decoded as signs (1991:140–147). I contend that SL94 produced spaces—outdoor ads, urban interventions, and the construction and restoration of cultural venues—which were "deliberately readable" for the purposes of presenting an easily discernible cultural image for Portugal. My analysis, however, also heeds Lefebvre's warning. Employing the performance paradigm, I position L94's "readable space" against the backdrop of an animated urban environment, and foreground the embodied processes of using and producing space—processes informed by the "instructions" of architectural form as well as the movement of other bodies through space.

⁴Although the process of designating Cities of Culture changed in 1996, adding a competitive component to the application process, initially the cities were appointed according to who volunteered, and were intended to follow one another in alphabetical order (Official Journal of the European Communities 1985). The alphabetically ordered designation process was soon abandoned, however, as member states lobbied to combine their ECC designation with national commemorations and other international events.

⁵Although forming SL94 ameliorated some of the problems between local and national officials, the process of organizing and executing L94 was fraught with partisan strife. A major bone of contention was the firing of the original French advertising firm, Publicis/Ciesla (a firm with connections to rightist politics in France) and the hiring of the firm EuroRSCG (a French firm with connections to the left). This move, to be further discussed in this article, coincides with the loss of power in the PSD (a rightist party) within SL94.

⁶Teresa Rita Lopes, for example, describes Lisbon as a "haunted city" where "Pessoa doesn't fit, not by a long shot, into the Pantheon where he is visited and glorified. We are continually greeted in the happenstance of the streets, by his welcoming shadow" (1992:29).

⁷Ironically, even Portugal's dictator, Antonio Salazar, who held tightly to possession of his colonies long after such a practice was vehemently denounced by the UN, states,

Our country's past is full of glory, full of heroism; but what we've needed, and especially in the last hundred years has been less brilliance and more staying power, something less showy but with more perspective . . . [memories of] our pages of glorious past [make us] burn ourselves up in the flames, and then just relapse into the melancholy fatalism. . . . That's the cause for our being a sad people; we're removed from the realities of life because we're given to living in a sham heroism. [Ferro 1939:248]

⁸I thank Tracy Davis for this observation.

⁹Economist João César das Neves states that Portuguese economic performance, though not stagnant, was much less dynamic than that of the rest of Europe in the late 19th century, partially explaining the country's late industrial development. According to Neves, Portugal could not industrialize during the early 20th century due to the world wars that ravaged Europe. Neves draws on the theories of Jaime Reis, who cites Portugal's lack of "openness," international interdependence, and exportable natural resources during the last half of the 19th century as primary components hindering Portugal's industrial development (1994:49).

¹⁰I thank Catherine Cole for this observation.

¹¹Portugal's Earth Party has marked many decaying older buildings along the Avenida with green graffiti stating, *Isto é um crime* (This is a crime). According to several vendors I spoke with who operate in front of the graffiti, these messages have decorated the Avenida for many years. Many of the vendors sympathized with the Earth Party's anger at the degraded state of the Avenida, wondering why these historic buildings were left to crumble.

¹²SL94 attempted not only to democratize Lisbon's urban space and cultural offerings. According to EuroRSCG's *Estratégia de Comunicação* (Communication Strategy) handbook, the principal commercial and pre-commercial objective for L94 publicity was to "democratize distribution" (EuroRSCG n.d.).

¹³"Heroin parkers" was the term used by my teenage neighbors in the Alfama to describe the scores of drug addicts who work amid Lisbon's impromptu parking areas. Because petty crime is on the rise in Lisbon, many new car owners fear for the safety of their automobiles. They fall prey, therefore, to a type of vehicular blackmail perpetrated by Lisbon's burgeoning class of *toxico-dependentes* (drug addicts), who forcefully volunteer to help you maneuver into a parking space for a small fee (usually 50 to 100 *escudos*—roughly 60–75 cents). Payment of this fee also "guarantees" that your car will remain safe until you return. Implicit in this deal is that if you do not pay, you risk incurring the anger of the parkers and subsequent damage to your car.

¹⁴Due to the rising expense of renting an apartment within Lisbon proper, large pockets of African immigrant communities reside outside Lisbon, either across the river or in the northern suburbs in and around Amadora.

¹⁵As described in Manuel Rivas's essay "África, Capital Lisboa" (1994a), Angolan and Mozambiquan authors, particularly Mia Ocuto, Pepetela, Manuel Lima, and Germano de Almeida, are widely read throughout Lisbon. Lisbon publishers edit several periodicals solely dedicated to African culture. Lisbon also boasts over 20 African discotheques and a thriving African music industry. The authors of *Lisboa Africana* describe Lisbon as the destination of countless African "immigrants, students [and] political exiles . . . who follow that Atlantic path the other way, the path which for centuries brought the Portuguese to Africa" (Rocha et al. 1993:7).

¹⁶The two most widely publicized events pertaining to Africa were the Museu de Etnologia's exhibition, entitled *Escultura Angolana* (Angolan Sculpture) and Paulo Ribeiro and Clara Andermatt's collaborative dance piece, *Dançar Cabo Verde*.

¹⁷This explicit comparison of Lisbon to other Western cities was sharply reflected in an ER publicity campaign, which ran the following double-page ads throughout Portugal's print media: "London is the place for watching the changing of the guards. For good theater, change your place to Lisbon." Or, "In Paris you will find the great names in fashion, in Lisbon the great names of concerts." Or, "To get to know actors, there is no place like Los Angeles. But to get to know cinema, Lisbon is better" (EuroRSCG n.d.).

¹⁸The construction of both these buildings ran over budget and consistently behind schedule. The buildings were initially planned to open in 1992, but instead opened in small phases starting in mid-1993. L94 was consequently the forum for their complete unveiling as fully functioning cultural megacenters.

¹⁹The Museu de Chiado, French architect Jean-Michele Wilmotte's restoration of the old Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea, also received a lot of press and very favorable reviews.

²⁰Aníbal Cavaco Silva, of the moderate rightist party, the PSD, served as Portugal's prime minister during the conception, organization, and execution of L94.

²¹In two essays entitled "O Vergonha" and "Para Nossa Vergonha," Rogério Martins (1993) catalogs a variety of economic and social indicators to underscore Portugal's "shameful" underdevelopment vis-à-vis the rest of Europe.

²²The erasure of workers' bodies is even more ironic in light of Portugal's high incidence of work-related deaths, one per every business day in 1995 according to official statistics (*Luso-Americano* 1995). Several construction workers literally sacrificed their lives for Lisbon's renovation.

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