

**Giulia
Lamoni**

Universidad
Nova de Lisboa
Lisboa, Portugal

**DIARIO DE VIDA
CECILIA VICUÑA'S ARTISTIC
PRACTICE IN LONDON (1972-1975)¹
(A LETTER TO CARLA
MACCHIAVELLO)**

I thought that all this was perhaps nothing more than a way of
remembering
To remember (*recordar*) in the sense of playing the strings
(*cuerdas*) of emotion
Re-member, *re-cordar*, from *cor*, *corazón*, heart.²

Cecilia Vicuña, from *Entering*, 1983-1991

¹ The expression "Diario de Vida" is used by Cecilia Vicuña in: Vicuña, Cecilia (2011). *Acerca de los objetos*. In: *Saborami*. Oakland and Philadelphia: Chainlinks, 213. Originally published by Beau Geste Press, in Devon, U.K., in 1973.

² Vicuña, Cecilia (1983-1991). *Entering*. In: *QUIPOem* (1997). In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 131.

Lisbon, 17 of January
2018

Dear Carla,

I would like to begin this letter with a sequence of images from a TV program. In March 1974, as you know, a documentary on Chilean artist Cecilia Vicuña was broadcast by the BBC.³ Cecilia had travelled to London in 1972 to study at the Slade School of Art thanks to a scholarship by the British Council. After the 1973 coup, she remained in the United Kingdom as an exile, then, in 1975, moved to Colombia.⁴ I do not need to remind you all this, of course, as you have been researching Cecilia's work and itinerary as much as, or—to be fair—even more than I have. Nevertheless, let me be as rigorous as I can in constructing this narrative and articulating some questions that I would like to share with you. In this documentary, two scenes struck me as particularly meaningful for reflecting on the work that Cecilia created during those years in London. I am not referring to what she said in the film, but rather to what she did. In the first scene, her hands were filmed while she manipulated a series of objects on a table: a fragile construction

³ In this documentary, Cecilia adopted the pseudonym "Maria Santiago". Titled *The First Freedom*, the film aired on BBC2 on the 14th of March 1974, in the context of the program *2nd House*. See:

<<http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/56ef65adfbcf4edea268b81b78aeb2dc>> [Accessed 2018, January 16th].

⁴ My knowledge of Cecilia Vicuña's biography is based on a number of publications quoted in this text. Among them: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña* (2014). Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes. Exhibition catalogue. (Exhibition curated by Paulina Varas); *Cecilia Vicuña* (2013). London: England & Co gallery. Exhibition catalogue. On Cecilia's work in Colombia see: Macchiavello, Carla (2017). Resistir/existir: el ensamblaje como estrategia de resistencia en las palabrarmas de Cecilia Vicuña. *Meridional. Revista Chilena de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 9, 55-89.

Retrieved from:

<<https://meridional.uchile.cl/index.php/MRD/article/view/47398/49443>> [Accessed 2018, February 2nd].

made with incense sticks and feathers, a little doll made of cloth or paper, two uneven pieces of what looks like concrete and wood, a black and white image of *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* with small twigs attached to it. In the second scene, she was filmed from afar, while walking alone, as a solitary *flâneuse* in the deserted streets of London.

You are probably thinking, what about these images? Why do you consider them such a challenging starting point?

Arriving

In the “explanations” of one of her paintings displayed at her first solo exhibition in London— “Pain things and explanations”, held in the foyer of ICA in May 1973—, Cecilia wrote: “When I didn’t know what to paint I was going from one side of London to the other looking for a subject.”⁵ I understand that the process of wandering through the city was initially associated, in Cecilia’s migratory experience, to the pain of uprootedness and its dramatic impact on her artistic practice. “When I knew that I was coming to London”, she wrote, “I was so excited that I began writing down ideas for paintings in a notebook thinking that as soon as I had a studio organized I would begin painting as if I had a fever. But once in London not one of the ideas interested me. I used to sit on the sidewalk like a dead animal and cry. Sometimes I sang. I bled almost everyday. As nothing made sense I had nothing to do.”⁶ Back in Chile, Cecilia used to be a walker, a mountain hiker.⁷ In London, materials collected during her meandering through the city were used

⁵ Vicuña, Cecilia (1973). Pain things and explanations. ICA, May 1973, 8. ICA archive, Tate Library.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Skype interview with the artist. November 11th, 2015.

in fabricating the small pieces—some of them filmed in the BBC documentary—integrating her installation *A Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* (a work comprehending a set of precarious objects and *12 Books for the Chilean Resistance*).⁸ Initiated in 1973, before the military coup⁹, these objects were exhibited at the artist run space Art Meeting Place in Covent Garden in July 1974.¹⁰ (Fig.1)

Recently described by Cecilia as “... four hundred precarious objects created from debris from London streets”¹¹, these pieces actually combined ordinary things found in London’s urban space with little *basuritas*¹² brought from Chile and printed materials – magazines and teletypes – collected at the Chilean Embassy.¹³ By *suturing* the here and there, they created a space where geographical and cultural difference could be negotiated to produce new languages. As acutely observed by Cecilia during our conversation, “... there was never an object that looked like Chile or an object that looked like London.”¹⁴ Don’t you think that the word *suturing* is very evocative here? Not only because weaving together, materially as well as symbolically, is so important in Cecilia’s work since the 1960s, but also because, in medical terms, to

⁸ This work was acquired by Tate Modern in London in 2014.

⁹ Vicuña, Cecilia. About the objects. [op. cit.], 12.

¹⁰ The exhibition also included works by David Medalla, John Dugger and June Terra. See *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*, n.p. Exhibition curated by Paulina Varas. Retrieved from:

<<https://ww3.museodelamemoria.cl/publicaciones/artists-for-democracy-cecilia-vicuna/>> [Accessed 2018, January 10th]. For a better contextualization of this exhibition, see Walker, John A. (2002). 1974. In *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 111- 136. See also Applin, Jo, Spencer, Catherine and Tobin, Amy (eds.) (2018). *London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks, 1960–1980* [Kindle version]. University Park: Penn State University Press.

¹¹ Vicuña, Cecilia (2013). Chronology. In: *Cecilia Vicuña*, exhibition catalogue. [op. cit.], 27.

¹² Little rubbish. Term used by the artist, for example, in the text Vicuña Cecilia (1968). *Las Basuritas de Con-cón*. In: *QUIPOem*. [op. cit.], 21.

¹³ Skype interview with the artist. [op. cit.].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

suture means to close a wound, etymologically to *sew* a wound. Words suggest that this is perhaps where the wounds of uprootedness, first, then the wounds opened by the military coup's unheard violence could possibly be mended. Be mended or be made sense of? You may argue that "wound" is too strong of a word to refer to the migrant's experience. Yet consider this phrase that Cecilia wrote in 1973: "The effect of London is that I died."¹⁵



[Fig. 1] Portrait of the artist at Arts Meeting Place, London, 1974. Courtesy the artist and Lehmann Maupin, New York and Hong Kong. Photo: Jane England.

Let me dwell a little longer on *suturing* as a material as well as an aesthetic process. In film theory, the Lacanian term "suture" refers, as reminded by Slavoj Žižek, to a mechanism in which "... external difference is mapped onto the inside."¹⁶ Initially the spectator is "absorbed"¹⁷ by a shot, then realizes that something is missing, cut out

¹⁵ Vicuña, Pain things and explanations. [*op. cit.*], 8.

¹⁶ Žižek, Slavoj (2001). *The Fright of Real Tears: Krzysztof Kieslowski between Theory and Post-Theory*. London: British Film Institute, 32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

of the frame: "... the show is run by the Absent One (or, rather, Other) who manipulates images behind my back."¹⁸ In a subsequent shot, the place from which the absent one is looking is attributed to a fictional character in the film. "In Lacanian terms," observes Žižek, "the second shot represents (within the diegetic space of representation) the absent subject for/of the first shot. When the second shot replaces the first one, the 'absent one' is transferred from the level of enunciation to the level of diegetic fiction."¹⁹ Without entering into discussions on this concept's specific use and limits in the cinematic context, I would like to suggest that the aesthetic strategies deployed by Cecilia in her work *A Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* may somehow resonate with this process of inscription or translation of the outside into the inside.

On one level, the appropriation of everyday materials, often residues—the term of *basuritas*, little rubbish, is particularly eloquent here—, sutures non-art into the artistic object, the street, or public space more in general, into the work. The opposite had already happened in Chile. Do you remember how Cecilia created ephemeral installations on the beach in Con-cón since the mid-sixties? Erasable by the tides²⁰, they did not last long. A photograph of an arm and open hand covered with different coloured threads records *The Glove*, an action that took place on a bus, in Santiago, in 1966. Once more, ephemerality was a key coordinate of creation. If the work of art is sutured into everyday life, it is submitted to the same rules as any other common object or action: it may disappear, be forgotten or remembered, be noticed or go

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ I am paraphrasing Cecilia's affirmation: "The tide erased the work as night completes the day". Vicuña, Cecilia (1997). *QUIPOem*. [op. cit.], 14.

completely unnoticed, blending itself into life. "... in Santiago," wrote Cecilia, "I did unannounced performances in the streets and buses. I imagined the city as an organism embracing my performative acts or 'arte precario' into its collective memory."²¹

In a decade in which contemporary art vigorously attempted, using very diverse strategies, to negotiate a different, closer, relation to everyday life—often seeking to blur, or even to dissolve, the barriers between the two—, Cecilia's *suturing* actions resonate with other works produced in different cultural and geographical locations.²² Nevertheless, they were pioneering in the Chilean context.²³ And although I found no record of ephemeral actions by Cecilia in London, the objects created in the city also seem to operate a double *suture*, inscribing into the artwork materials coming from both the London streets and everyday life in Chile. Consider for instance the little cardboard box full of Chilean soil on which a small Chilean flag is planted.²⁴ (Fig.2)

²¹ Vicuña, Chronology. [*op. cit.*], 18.

²² Among others, the work of Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica comes to mind, but also Mira Schendel's *Droguinhas* from the mid-1960s. A relation that certainly deserves further exploration is the one between Cecilia's *A Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* and Colombian artist Alicia Barney's series of *Diario-objeto* created in the late 1970s.

²³ The specific focus of this text does not allow me to further elaborate on the Chilean artistic context of the mid-sixties and early seventies. On this subject see, among others: Macchiavello, Carla (2010). *Marking the Territory: Performance, video, and conceptual graphics in Chilean art, 1975-1985*. New York: Stony Brooks University. PhD Dissertation. Unpublished; *Chile 100 Años. 1950-1973: Entre Modernidad y Utopía* (2000). Santiago: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. Exhibition catalogue.

²⁴ I have seen *The Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* in 2013 in London, when it was exhibited at the gallery England & Co. (24 May – 29 June 2013). In 2014, Tate acquired it. At the moment, for several reasons, I have not yet been able to have access to the work in Tate's storage. In this sense, I could not decipher the inscription traced by the artist on the small box.



[Fig. 2] Cecilia Vicuña. *Cajita e' tierra*, from *Journal of Objects from the Chilean Resistance*. London, June 24-1973-August 1974. Mixed media, cardboard, soil, wire, paint. Courtesy the artist and Lehmann Maupin, New York and Hong Kong.

“Another of the objects,” wrote Cecilia, “is Chilean soil that I took to London: a drawn flag tied to a wire. I put it in the ground. All in a little box with a text.”²⁵ In this case, it seems to me that the “threatening intrusion”²⁶ of absence, painful separation and displacement—signified here by the desire, affection and visceral belonging condensed in that little portion of Chilean earth—is somehow brought into expression by its suturing into the artwork.

²⁵ “Otro de los objetos es tierra de Chile que me llevé a Londres: una bandera dibujada amarrada a un alambre. La puse en la tierra. Todo en una cajita con un texto.” Vicuña, Cecilia (2014). *Páginas de un libro borrado (Un relato oral): Londres 1972-1975*. In *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Exhibition catalogue. [op. cit.].

²⁶ “What one should bear in mind is the fundamental ideological operation that is involved here: the threatening intrusion of the decentring Other, the Absent Cause, is ‘sutured’.” Zizek, *The Fright of Real Tears: Krzysztof Kieslowski between Theory and Post-Theory*. [op. cit.], 33.

Staying

Do not worry: I have not forgotten the political questions at the core of these artworks. By considering Cecilia's objects created in London first through the lenses of her experience of migration, my aim was to stress how inextricably woven together are the affective, the aesthetic and the political dimensions of Cecilia's practice at this time. In 1973, she was well aware of these intertwinements. On that year, in the press release of her exhibition at the ICA, she wrote, referring to her pictorial work: "My painting is political in a personal way. My canvases are born as representation of a socialist paradise where everything is possible, in fact they are part of my poetry."²⁷ And in the book *Saborami*, also published in 1973 by Beau Geste Press, in a text titled "About the objects", Cecilia affirmed that these pieces "... try to kill three bird with one stone: politically, magically and aesthetically."²⁸ In June 1973, in fact, a few days before a failed attempt to overthrow Allende's government, she started to create an object a day, "in support of the Chilean revolutionary process"²⁹, then, in September of the same year, the coup took place. "In the beginning I wanted to prevent the coup," she wrote, "now the objects intend to support armed struggle against the reactionary government."³⁰ At the same time, they were conceived as a journal, "un Diario de Vida"³¹, in Cecilia's words.

²⁷ Vicuña, Pain things and explanations. [*op. cit.*], 8.

²⁸ Vicuña, About the objects. [*op. cit.*], 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

From the perspective of her political commitment, her travel to London, under the auspices of the British Council's *soft power*³², resulted, at least initially, in a deception—London was very different from the imaginary city shaped, from afar, by cinema and vanguard art³³. The very practice of travelling from the periphery to a supposed cultural “centre” as an artistic milestone—that had marked generations of South American artists before her, especially with regards to Paris³⁴—was strongly questioned at this time. Invited by Roszika Parker to contribute to the British feminist journal *Spare Rib*, Cecilia wrote, in her 1974 article, “I suffered very much because I realized that the decision to come to Europe instead of participating fully in the revolutionary process showed how culturally colonised I was, in spite of being leftist all my life. I think it was a class problem. As I belonged to the upper middle classes it took me a long time to realize that to be leftist was not

³² On the British Council's action and influence in the cultural and political fields, see: Webb, Alban, Smith, Andrew, Macfarlane, Jess and Martin, Nat (2014). The British Council and the Political Economy of Cultural Value in Historical Context [Working Paper]. *Open University Project Cultural Value at the British Council and BBC World Service*. Retrieved from:

<<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/sites/www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/files/BBC%20World%20Service%20Historical%20Report.pdf>> [Accessed 2018, January 17th].

On cultural diplomacy, see also Martin, Gerald (1989). Britain's cultural relations with Latin America. In Buhner-Thomas Victor (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 27-51.

³³ In our conversation, Cecilia referred for instance to the importance of the film *Blow up* (1966) by Michelangelo Antonioni, inspired by Julio Cortázar's short story “Las Babas del Diablo” (1959). Skype interview with the artist. [*op. cit.*].

³⁴ See, among many others, Bayón, Damián (1984). El estado del arte latinoamericano en Europa. *Plástica Latinoamericana*. San Juan, Puerto Rico, vol. 1, no. 12, September 1984, 35-38. Accessed through <<https://icaadocs.mfah.org>>; Plante, Isabel (2013). *Argentinos de París. Arte y viajes culturales durante los años sesenta*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa ; the research project *Meeting Margins: Transnational art in Europe and Latin America 1950-1978* (2009-2011). Retrieved from:

<<http://www.arts.ac.uk/research/current-research/ucl-research-projects/fine-art/meeting-margins/>> [Accessed 2018, January 20th] and its related publication: Asbury, Michael, Fraser, Valerie, Iñigo Clavo, Maria and Whitelegg, Isobel (2011). Meeting Margins Dossier. *Concinnitas*, UERJ, 12(1) (18), 6-65.

enough.”³⁵ In this sense, a position of critical difference—initially provoking a sense of isolation and marginality in London³⁶—had to be strongly assumed. Consider for instance the little typewritten work made of red silk cloth, “A diary of objects for the Chilean Resistance” (1974), on which Cecilia wrote, referring to the precarious pieces created in London: “the objects have to be very small in order to travel with me. They also are very precarious, I put them together with what I find, little nails, glue. Looking at them you must always remember I belong to [an]other culture / I have not chosen to stay in England.”³⁷
(Fig. 3)

As you know, Cecilia actively engaged, during her stay in London, in disseminating information about the role of the arts in Allende’s political program and, after the coup, in actions of resistance such as the co-funding of Artists for Democracy and the participation in the Chile Solidarity Campaign.³⁸ In the scope of her exhibition “Pain things and explanation” at the ICA in May 1973, she did a talk on “Art in the Chilean Revolution” and, on this occasion, met the art critic and curator Guy Brett. In April 1974, in a discussion organized in the frame of Conrad Atkinson’s exhibition “Work, Wages and Prices” at the ICA, she also met artists David Medalla and John Dugger³⁹—co-funders, in 1971,

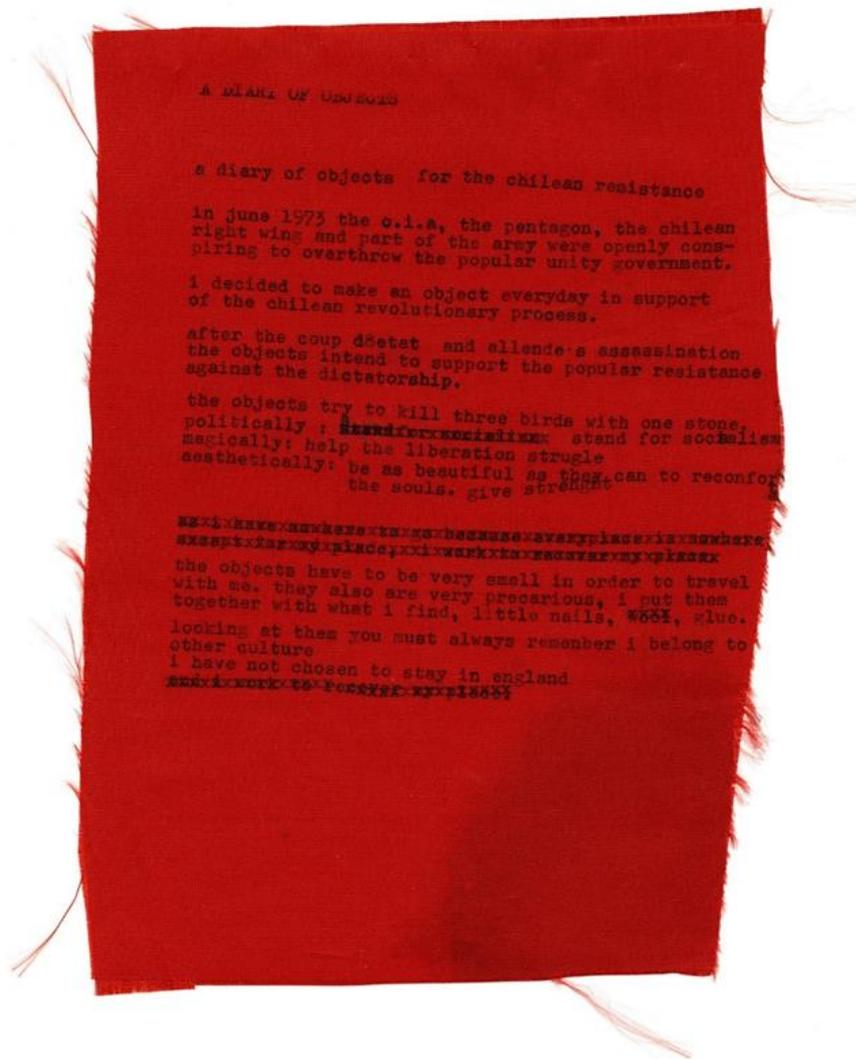
³⁵ Vicuña, Cecilia (1974). The Coup came to kill what I loved. *Spare Rib*. n° 28, 38.

³⁶ Skype interview with the artist. [*op. cit.*].

³⁷ See *Cecilia Vicuña*. Exhibition catalogue. [*op. cit.*], 20.

³⁸ “Cecilia Vicuña, como colaboradora y convocada por el CSC, también fue parte de esas presentaciones que se hacían en sindicatos y otros sitios como por ejemplo escuelas de arte.” Varas, Paulina (2014). La memoria hablada: Cecilia Vicuña y Artists for Democracy. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Exhibition catalogue. [*op. cit.*].

³⁹ Biographical information in: Vicuña, Páginas de un libro borrado (Un relato oral): Londres 1972-1975. [*op. cit.*], n.p.



[Fig. 3] Cecilia Vicuña. Red Silk, from Journal of Objects from the Chilean Resistance. London, June 24-1973-August 1974. Type writing on silk. Collection of Tate Gallery, London. Courtesy the artist and Lehmann Maupin, New York and Hong Kong.

of the group Artists Liberation Front.⁴⁰ As indicated by Su Braden in the magazine *Studio International*⁴¹, the months of April and May 1974 in London were dense with events that questioned the relations between art and politics from different perspectives: an exhibition by the Art Workers Committee of the Artists' Union at the Congress House, the above mentioned exhibition by Conrad Atkinson—"an artist who is also an active member of the Labour Party"⁴²—, the Anglo-Dutch conference "Politics in Art/ Theory and Practice" at the Royal College of Art (Dugger and Medalla of Artists Liberation Front contributed with an intervention in which texts by Mao and Lenin were debated in relation with the artists' own practice), and finally the discussions that took place at 48 Earham Street, in the context of the feminist show "c. 7, 500" curated by Lucy Lippard.

In this multifaceted context, resistance against the Chilean military coup and solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people was articulated through important newly founded organizations like the Chile Solidarity Campaign whose broad front gathered a vast array of affiliates and nurtured a significant relation with the unions.⁴³ In the art field, *Studio International* published, in December 1973, an article on the future of the artworks donated to the Museum of Solidarity created

⁴⁰ See Walker, *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain*. [op. cit.], 86-87. According to Guy Brett, "Artists for Democracy surgió del Artists Liberation Front. AFD estaba abierto a más gente y, por lo tanto, más ideas." See Testimonios: Guy Brett. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. [op. cit.], n.p.

⁴¹ Braden, Sue (1974). Politics in Art. *Studio International*, 187, n°967, June 1974, 272-274.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴³ For a detailed account of the relations between the Chile Solidarity Campaign, the trade unions and the Labour party, see: Jones, Ann (2014). *No truck with the Chilean junta!: trade union internationalism, Australia and Britain, 1973-1980*. Camberra: ANU Press. See also Livingstone, Grace (2013). Uncovering Britain's secret role in protecting Chile's 1973 coup. *The Guardian*, 11 September 2013. Retrieved from: <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/11/chile-1973-coup-britain-protecting>> [Accessed 2018, February 2nd].

by Allende's government, including a letter addressed by Brazilian art critic Mario Pedrosa—one of the project's initiators and the president of the Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile—to José María Moreno Galvan in Spain.⁴⁴ The following month, an article by U.S. critic Lucy Lippard, asserted the need for American artists to react to the coup and the current oppression in Chile by participating in actions to “engage public attention and press coverage”⁴⁵—“since the US government and industry were instrumental in greasing the ways back to fascism...”⁴⁶ In this sense, she described events organized in New York such as the recreation, in the U.S. city, of a mural work originally painted by Brigada Ramona Parra in Chile. Interestingly, in March 1974, as reported by the magazine *Architectural Design*, Chilean artists, with the collaboration of Camden's Fine Heart Squad, also painted a mural in solidarity with Chile in London, in King Henry's road⁴⁷. Cecilia participated in the creation this collaborative work and, as the short article indicates, “friends of Cecilia Vicuña may recognize her self-portrait on the left.”⁴⁸

You may wonder why I am referring specifically to these two publications. What they have in common is that they were both differently connected to Cecilia's life in London and her political involvement in the Chilean struggle, and beyond. On one hand, *Studio*

⁴⁴ Rothon, Tony (1973). Museum of Solidarity, Chile. *Studio International*, vol. 186, n° 961, December 1973, 242-243.

On this subject, see also: Zaldívar, Claudia (ed.) (2013). *Museo de la Solidaridad Chile: Fraternidad, Arte y Política 1971-1973*. Santiago: Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende. Exhibition catalogue.

⁴⁵ Lippard, Lucy (1974). Five. *Studio International*, vol. 187, n° 962, January 1974, 48.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Not Chile, but London (1974). *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 6 /1974, 386. Cecilia Vicuña dates this mural March 1974 in Páginas de un libro borrado (Un relato oral): Londres 1972-1975. [*op. cit.*], n.p.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 386.

International's director, Peter Townsend, supported the group Artists for Democracy and its activities by granting the use of a working space belonging to the magazine.⁴⁹ On the other, Monica Pidgeon—the editor of *Architectural Design* from 1946 to 1975 and born in Chile herself⁵⁰—was part of a network of friends of Cecilia in the U.K. that included and went beyond the group Artists for Democracy.⁵¹ While Monica Pidgeon authored an article on Chilean murals for *Studio International* in April 1973⁵²—thus highlighting the relevance, for the international art world, of what was happening in Allende's Chile—*Architectural Design* significantly referenced, although always in a very short form, some key artistic initiatives in support of the Chilean resistance against the military regime— among them the “Arts festival for democracy in Chile”, held at the Royal College of Art from October 14 to October 30 1974.⁵³ An initiative of Artists for Democracy, the festival comprised an

⁴⁹ See Guy Brett in Testimonios: Guy Brett. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Exhibition catalogue. [op. cit.], n.p.

⁵⁰ Rowntree, Diana (2009). Monica Pidgeon, Obituary. *The Guardian*, on-line edition, 21 September 2009. Retrieved from: <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/sep/21/monica-pidgeon-obituary>> [Accessed 2018, January 27th].

⁵¹ Among them, other foreign artists staying in the U.K. like Bill Lundberg (from the U.S.), whose photographs of Cecilia's paintings figure in her book *Saborami* (Beau Geste Press, 1973), Mexican artist Felipe Ehrenberg, co-founder of Beau Geste Press with Martha Hellion, and U.S. artist and poet Carlyle Reedy. Skype interview with the artist. [op. cit.]. See also: Gilbert, Zanna. ‘Something Unnameable in Common’: Translocal Collaboration at the Beau Geste Press. *ARTMargins*, Volume 1, Issue 2–3, June–October 2012, 45-72; Aceves Sepúlveda, Gabriela (2018). Artists' networks in the 1960s: The case of El Corno Emplumado/The Plumed Horn (Mexico City, 1962–1969). In: Chaplin, Tamara and Pieper Mooney, Jadwiga E. (eds.), *The Global 1960s: Convention, contest and counterculture* [Kindle version]. London, Oxon and New York: Routledge; Fraser, Valerie, Asbury, Michael, Iñigo Clavo, María, Whitelegg, Isobel, and Harwood, Joan (2010). Interview with Felipe Ehrenberg at the University of Essex on the Eve of ‘Xocoyotzin, the Penultimate’. *arara*, n°8, n.p. Retrieved from: <https://www1.essex.ac.uk/arhistory/research/pdfs/arara_issue_8/ehrenberg.pdf> [Accessed 2018, January 28th].

⁵² Pidgeon, Monica (1973). Political street art in Santiago. *Studio International*, vol. 185, n° 954, April 1973, 160.

⁵³ Chile in London (1974). *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 12/ 1974, 803. See also The World University Service, Academics for Chile (1974). Help Chile [Appeal].

exhibition of artworks donated by British and international artists and a large program of events.⁵⁴ At the end, an auction of the artworks was meant to raise money to help the process of recovering of democracy in Chile.

Building

Much has been written about this event, but I would like to propose you to look at it from the point of view of its spatial imagination. In the scope of the festival, in fact, the hall of the Royal College was changed into a sort of “campamento”. As recalled by Cecilia, “The Festival was held in the central hall of the Royal College of Art, and was thought of as a large camp or laboratory of the arts inspired by the Chilean populations. There they mixed large installations, posters, flags and works of art sent by post.”⁵⁵ By building explicitly ephemeral structures, the exhibition’s environment at the RCA possibly pointed to the provisional and precarious character of the festival itself. It may also be envisioned, though, as a process of symbolic occupation—or “squatting” as suggested by art historian Courtney J. Martin⁵⁶—of a

Architectural Design, vol. XLIV, 1/1974, p. 56; Nicholson, Robin (1974). Black Hole in Chile. *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 12/ 1974, 800.

⁵⁴ See the festival brochure, available at:

<<http://centrodedocumentaciondelasartes.cl/g2/collect/cedoc/images/pdfs/5437.pdf>> [Accessed 2018, January 30th].

⁵⁵ “El Festival ocupaba el hall central del Royal Collage of Art, fue pensado como un gran campamento o laboratorio de las artes inspirado en las poblaciones chilenas. Ahí se mezclaban grandes instalaciones, afiches, banderas y obras de arte enviadas por correo.” Vicuña, Páginas de un libro borrado (un relato oral), Londres 1972-1975. [*op. cit.*], n. p.

⁵⁶ Courtney J. Martin refers to a sort of “squatting” of the RCA. She also suggests the “stage-like” character of the environment: “The banners, posters, and wood scaffolding created, as the other installations had, a kind of imagined ‘Third World’ stage suggesting that the festival was squatting the RCA.” Martin, Courtney J. (2018). Collectivity, Temporality, and Festival Culture in John Dugger’s Quasi-Architecture, 1970–74. In: Applin, Jo, Spencer, Catherine and Tobin, Amy (eds.), London Art Worlds:

European art institution through fictional dwelling spaces (transformed into exhibition spaces) directly inspired by South American vernacular building practices—here specifically by “poblaciones callampas’ chilenas”⁵⁷ (Chilean shantytowns). This utopian effort to renegotiate power relations—not only the cultural relation between Europe and what was then called the “Third World”, but also between popular and vanguard artistic languages—is also implied by Cecilia’s description of Artists for Democracy’s objectives. “AFD’s revolutionary attempt,” she wrote, “was to dream on the scale of the Americas by reversing the colonial order of the art world, where the metropolis dictates the aesthetic language the colonies must follow. It offered an alternative model of creativity generated from South America and the Third World (a name that has fallen into disuse), where revolutionary politics and experimental art merge with ease.”⁵⁸

In the festival’s “campamento”, Cecilia presented *Ruca abstracta* or *Allende’s Eyes* (1974), a more intimate installation also evoking a dwelling space (**Fig. 4**). Visible at one corner of the stage in Lynn MacRitchie’s film of the festival’s opening ceremony⁵⁹, *Ruca abstracta* was “a shanty houinstallation made of bamboo with oil paintings, objects and plants.”⁶⁰ Among all these elements, the precarious shelter hosted artworks created by Cecilia in the early 1970s, among them

Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks, 1960–1980. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2018, (3362).

⁵⁷ Vicuña, Cecilia (2013). Organizar la ensoñación. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Exhibition catalogue. [op. cit.].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ MacRitchie, Lynn (1974). *Opening Ceremony from the Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile*. Original video recording, editing and voiceover: Lynn MacRitchie. Digital transfer: Stanleys at The TV Set, London, December 2013. Post production: Michael Cheetham, 2014. Retrieved from: <https://vimeo.com/83809414> [Accessed 2018, January 30th]. Cecilia’s work is visible from 14’45”.

⁶⁰ Vicuña, Chronology. [op. cit.], 27.



[Fig. 4] CECILIA VICUÑA. Ruca Abstracta or Allende's Eyes, 1974. Site-specific installation. Installation view, Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile, organized by AFD at the Royal College of Art, London, October 14, 1974. Courtesy the artist and Lehmann Maupin, New York and Hong Kong.

Lenin (1972) and *Los ojos de Allende* (1974). The respective position of these paintings—hang on the inside and outside walls of the *Ruca*—pointed to the very penetrability of the structure. Through the cut-out eyes of the represented figure of Allende, on the outside of the *Ruca*, in fact, the public could see the inside of the shelter, as if Allende's political ideas, metaphorically, were a significant lens through which to look at and to apprehend Cecilia's aesthetic practice. On the other hand, when inside the "house", one could use Allende's imaginary perspective to look at the reality immediately outside.⁶¹

I wonder if this ephemeral and precarious dwelling, conceived by Cecilia as a "Spiritual house for Allende"⁶², could be also envisioned as a sort of metaphorical home for the exile—whose texture is woven through connections between the multiple interlinked struggles in which Cecilia was then engaged—and, at the same time, as a precarious "monument" to a socialist dream that tragically failed. The *ruca* to which the title alludes represents the main unit of dwelling in the Mapuche tradition—a simple structure, generally without internal divisions, made of locally sourced materials of plant origin and collectively built. Because of the natural materials used in its construction, the *ruca* is ephemeral and biodegradable.⁶³ In this sense,

⁶¹ Cecilia explained: "En esta obra Allende no tiene ojos. La idea es que nosotros seamos sus ojos, que nosotros podamos ver el mundo a través de su visión, de su sacrificio..." ["In this work Allende has no eyes. The idea is that we are his eyes, that we can see the world through his vision, through his sacrifice..."] Rodríguez, Ana (2014). Los lamentos de Cecilia Vicuña. *The Clinic online*, 11/02/2014. Interview. Retrieved from:

<http://www.theclinic.cl/2014/02/11/los-lamentos-de-cecilia-vicuna/> [Accessed 2018, February 1st]

⁶² "una casa espiritual para Allende". *Ibid.*

⁶³ "In keeping with the Mapuche concept of temporality all types of *ruka* are ephemeral, made of only natural, biodegradable materials with little elaboration." Whitman, Christopher J., Armijo, Gabriela and Turnbull, Neil Jon (2015). The *Ruka* Mapuche: Clues for a sustainable architecture in southern Chile? In Mileto, Vegas,

it respects a balanced, non-exploitative relation with the environment.⁶⁴ If the reference to Mapuche architecture—although an “abstract” one—is to be framed in Cecilia’s vital interest and participation, as a Chilean “mestiza”, in Mapuche culture and aesthetics, it also assumed a strong critical positioning against the process of invisibilization of indigenous communities in South America, the marginalization of their culture, the colonization of their territories, assimilation, and the progressive erosion of their living environment.⁶⁵

But the struggle for liberation from intertwined structures of domination was also meant to open, in Cecilia’s perspective, an emancipatory space for women. In Lenin’s 1972 portrait, placed inside the *Ruca abstracta*, the communist leader says in fact: “the proletariat will not achieve complete liberation until it achieves the complete liberation of women.⁶⁶” Then, it comes as no surprise that, in her 1974 text in *Spare Rib*, Cecilia explained that, before the coup happened, she was planning to go back to Chile and form a brigade of women painters

García Soriano and Cristini (eds.), *Vernacular Architecture: Towards a Sustainable Future*. London: CRC Press / Balkema, Taylor & Francis Group, 761.

⁶⁴ “In the Mapuche world vision there exists the intrinsic concept of Az Mapu, or how things must be done to maintain equilibrium between man and the earth. This concept leads to clear rules and guidelines for every aspect of daily life including the location, orientation and design of the ruka.” *Ibidem*. See also: *Guía de Diseño Arquitectónico Mapuche 2016* (2016). Dirección de Arquitectura, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Gobierno de Chile, 40-41. Retrieved from: <http://arquitectura.mop.cl/Documents/Guia_diseno_arquitectonico_MAPUCHE.pdf> [Accessed 2018, January 31st].

⁶⁵ This also relates to Cecilia pioneering concern with the environment. In 1973, she wrote: “When I think on the revolution in South America, I see it not only as the end of exploitation, but also as the end of the unwise and destructive way of being and relating to the planet.” Vicuña, Cecilia (1973). From the explanation of the painting called ‘The response of the warrior’. ICA documentation, n.p. ICA archive, Tate Library. On this subject see Lippard, Lucy (2017). *Floating Between Past and Future: The Indigenisation of Environmental Politics. Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, issue 43, Spring 2017, 94-118. iBook.

⁶⁶ “el proletariado no logrará alcanzar la liberación completa hasta que no logre la completa liberación de la mujer.”

“...to go all round the country painting murals about the history of women and their incorporation into the revolutionary process...”⁶⁷ This utopian vision of the socialist revolution somehow matched Artists for Democracy’s broad engagement with “ ... giving *real* and active support to liberation struggles all over the world, particularly in the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America”⁶⁸, and was reflected in the festival’s multi-focused program that included symposia such as “Progressive Women and the Arts” and “Art and Culture in Africa and the Black Culture of the Caribbean.”⁶⁹

But *Ruca Abstracta* also seem to materialize, retrospectively, a space dedicated to the memory of what Allende’s way to socialism represented, not only to Chile, but to all the so-called “Third World” and, more personally, to Cecilia herself. If, as Andreas Huyssen pointed out, memory sites such as monuments, memorials, public sculptures and parks are powerful instruments to “support public memory narratives”⁷⁰, Cecilia’s *Ruca Abstracta* and her objects from *A Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* embody perhaps a kind of “counter-monument” not only because of their precarious, fragile character and their relation to time—an object a day as a “little prayer”, a form of not forgetting—but also because of the fact that they articulate, although in distinct ways, a fluid relation with space and place. How to build a monument in exile? How to build a monument to support both public

⁶⁷ Vicuña, The Coup came to kill what I loved. [*op. cit.*], 38.

⁶⁸ Handwritten document, foundation of the group Artists for Democracy, London 6 May 1974. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. [*op. cit.*], n. p.

⁶⁹ See MacRitchie, Lynn (1974). *Statements from the Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile*. Original video recording, editing and voiceover: Lynn MacRitchie, 1974. Digital transfer: Stanleys at The TV Set, London, December 2013. Post production: Michael Cheetham, 2014. Retrieved from: <<https://vimeo.com/83348858>> [Accessed 2018, February 2nd].

⁷⁰ Huyssens, Andreas (2003). *PRESENT PASTS: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 94.

and personal memory when all objects will possibly have to travel somewhere else or be left behind?

Moreover, as possible “counter-monuments” *Ruca Abstracta* and the objects from *A Journal of Objects for the Chilean Resistance* privilege interrelations and “confusion” —in the etymological sense of mixing together—rather than clear-cut narratives. In this sense, both artworks are bundles of connections suturing into their material presence the personal and the political, the here and there, the individual and the collective. This con-fusion somehow reflects the way in which the socialist revolution in Chile was experienced and envisioned by Cecilia. In *Saborami*, she wrote: “In the Chile before the coup, the ‘I’ was experienced simultaneously as individual and collective. We felt it when a million people marched together in Santiago (a city of only 3 million people) to Salute Salvador Allende. We felt it as we chanted ‘*ahora somos nosotros*’ ‘now we are us’. Not the American ‘us versus them’ but a collective us, including us all, even those who were against Allende.”⁷¹ Finally, instead of using solid materials, made to last, these works identify strength not in firmness, nor in durability—in what can survive the life cycle of humans, animals and plants—but rather in what discloses and participates in the finitude of this very cycle: precariousness, fragility, instability. Interaction with the world is the

⁷¹ Vicuña, Cecilia (2010). Fragments of Memory: An Afterward. In: Vicuña, *Saborami* [*op. cit.*], 161.

point, not conservation.⁷² “Weft of incense sticks:” Cecilia wrote in 1973, “maximum fragility against maximum power.”⁷³

Leaving

I have been thinking very much about what Cecilia’s work of the early 1970s in London can teach us—me, you and all those who are currently attempting to explore how to develop art historical research and writing adopting a more relational—and transnational—approach. Her work certainly offered me multiple insights for present and future reflections. Let me outline here some provisional considerations. On one hand, I think that Cecilia’s narrative of her first times in London and her shattered expectations about a city that previously held such a special place in her imagination, incites us to question our own expectations about a smooth version of artistic cosmopolitanism in which conflicts, dissonances and failure would be overlooked in favour of positive values such as dialogue and encounter. On the other, like “wefts of incense sticks”, texts are woven heterogeneously, using different elements, and their equilibrium depends on the balance of these elements together. As suggested by Catherine de Zegher, in Cecilia’s precarious work “Each piece is composed in such a way that every material holds another in balance.”⁷⁴ Not only the fragile construction of the precarious objects requires a high degree of

⁷² As emphasized by Jo Applin, Catherine Spencer and Amy Tobin, “Vicuñas presentation of her small collaged items as books, coupled with her overarching identification of this project as a “journal of objects,” indicates that these items are intended to pass from hand to hand, transmitting ideas and information as they go”, in Applin, Jo, Spencer, Catherine and Tobin, Amy (eds.), *London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks, 1960–1980*, 537-539.

⁷³ Cecilia Vicuña, 1973. In: *QUIPOem*. [op. cit.], 41.

⁷⁴ Zegher, Catherine (1997). *Ouvrage: knot a not, notes as knots*. In de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. [op. cit.], 21.

attention and care but the objects themselves are articulated through the creation of connections and points of balance and tension between various materials.

We could perhaps envision our art historical narratives as fragile constructions in which our perspective is generously given substance and equilibrium by other voices with which it connects in many different ways. While Cecilia considered that “... an object is not an object, it is the witness of a relationship”⁷⁵, I ask myself to which point our art historical texts are also “witnesses of relationships”. It is difficult for these questions not have an impact in the way we choose to write. This is the reason why I thought that perhaps this text should not only be a discussion on Cecilia’s work in London but also a letter to you. Can one do the two at the same time? I hope you will not be unpleasantly surprised by this choice. My friend and colleague Margarida asked me if I knew Daniel Arasse’s letter “Cara Giulia” in his book *On n’y voit rien* (2000), and wondered which would be the right way to reference this connection. I read Arasse’s letter for the first time while I began writing this text, rapidly and with great pleasure as if it was part of a novel. I thought that considered that my name is also Giulia, I had a good excuse to draw of on the same epistolary impulse as a kind of *homage* to this art historian.

Finally, one more thread has to be pulled. In a recent conference that we organized in Lisbon, you proposed to reflect on artistic networks not only because of their capacity to connect but also because of what they fail to connect, what they let slip between their gaps: their

⁷⁵ Vicuña, Cecilia (1996). *Arte Precario*. In: *QUIPOem*. [op. cit.], 136.

unmapped spaces.⁷⁶ In 1974, in an article suggestively titled “Sharing Art”, dedicated to artist-run galleries in London and to John Dugger’s “Ergonic Workshop” at the Art Meeting Place in London, Guy Brett wrote that “The one-man show, the retrospective, the mixed show, have become stereotypes of communication; they pull the emphasis on the artist as a professional, rather than on the forces of artistic creation in which everyone shares.”⁷⁷ But whereas Dugger’s itinerary had been marked by his participation in the London collective Exploding Galaxy (1967-1968) and by the encounter with Lygia Clark in Paris in 1970⁷⁸, what about Cecilia? In her case a process of “sharing in the forces of creation” seems to relate to an altogether different network of cultural references and artistic dialogues.

On one hand, for Cecilia, the socialist government in Chile opened new horizons for participatory processes in the arts and beyond, somehow redefining what art could be at a collective level. “If before AFD, other Latin American artists like Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica had inspired Europe by creating participatory art forms centered on the interaction of bodies,” she wrote, “the Chilean experience offered a different possibility: to think of a social movement that changes the order of the world as a ‘work’ or a large-scale participatory art form.”⁷⁹ On the

⁷⁶ Macchiavello, Carla (2017). Caught in a Mesh: Weaving Forms of Resistance and Collaboration. Unpublished. Keynote paper presented at the conference *Through, From, To Latin America: Networks, circulations and artistic transits from the 1960s to the present*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 27-28 November 2017.

⁷⁷ Brett, Guy (1974). Sharing Art. *The Times*, London, 16 July 1974, 7.

⁷⁸ “Clark introduced Dugger to the Brazilian avant-garde movement, Neoconcretismo, of which she was one of the leading proponents. Through Clark, he also honed his interest in the interactivity of artists and audiences that he experienced in Galaxy performances.” Martin, Courtney J. *Collectivity, Temporality, and Festival Culture in John Dugger’s Quasi-Architecture, 1970–74*. [op. cit.], 3029-3031.

⁷⁹ “Si antes de AFD, otros artistas latinoamericanos como Lygia Clark y Hélio Oiticica habían inspirado a Europa creando formas de arte participatorio centradas en la interacción de los cuerpos,” she wrote, “la experiencia chilena ofrecía una posibilidad

other, while Cecilia got familiar with the work of Lygia Clark in London, through Guy Brett⁸⁰, her earlier ephemeral sculptures and actions in Chile associated relationality with both human and non-human forms of participation and interconnection—with both experimental art and indigenous culture. In this sense, the heterogeneous networks in which her practice participated—some of them well known such as those connected to the magazine *El Corno emplumado* in Mexico and the publisher Beau Geste Press in the U.K. —stimulates a questioning on the very notion of artistic network and on how we explore those fertile liminal zones in which the “artistic” and “non-artistic” connect, suddenly unsettling our precarious disciplinary boundaries.

I look forward to hearing back from you,

A presto,

Giulia

I would like to thank Cecilia Vicuña and Carla Macchiavello for their generous collaboration. A special thanks to Giselle Giron for sharing documentation with me and to my friend, art historian Margarida Brito Alves, for her unwavering support. My research for this text has been funded by FCT Portugal.

diferente: pensar un movimiento social que cambia el orden del mundo como una ‘obra’ o una forma de arte participatorio en gran escala.” Vicuña, *Organizar la ensoñación*. [op. cit.], n. p.

⁸⁰ Skype interview with the artist. [op. cit.].

REFERENCES

- Aceves Sepúlveda, Gabriela (2018). Artists' networks in the 1960s: The case of El Corno Emplumado/The Plumed Horn (Mexico City, 1962–1969). In: Chaplin, Tamara and Pieper Mooney, Jadwiga E. (eds.), *The Global 1960s: Convention, contest and counterculture* [Kindle version]. London, Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Applin, Jo, Spencer, Catherine and Tobin, Amy (eds.) (2018). *London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks, 1960–1980* [Kindle version]. University Park: Penn State University Press.
- Arasse, Daniel (2000). *On n'y voit rien: Descriptions*. Paris: Denoël.
- Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña* (2014). Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes. Exhibition catalogue.
- Asbury, Michael, Fraser, Valerie, Iñigo Clavo, María and Whitelegg, Isobel (2011). Meeting Margins Dossier. *Concinnitas, UERJ*, 12(1) (18), 6-65.
- Bayón, Damián (1984). El estado del arte latinoamericano en Europa. *Plástica Latinoamericana*. San Juan, Puerto Rico, vol. 1, no. 12, September 1984, 35-38. Accessed through <<https://icaadocs.mfah.org>>
- Braden, Sue (1974). Politics in Art. *Studio International*, 187, n°967, June 1974, 272-274.
- Brett, Guy (1974). Sharing Art. *The Times*, London, 16 July 1974, 7.
- Cecilia Vicuña* (2013). London: England & Co gallery. Exhibition catalogue.
- Chile 100 Años. 1950-1973: Entre Modernidad y Utopía* (2000). Santiago: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. Exhibition catalogue.
- Chile in London (1974). *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 12/ 1974, 803.
- de Zegher, Catherine (1997). *Ouvrage: knot a not, notes as knots*. In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 17-45.
- Fraser, Valerie, Asbury, Michael, Iñigo Clavo, María, Whitelegg, Isobel, and Harwood, Joan (2010). Interview with Felipe Ehrenberg at the

University of Essex on the Eve of 'Xocoyotzin, the Penultimate'. *arara*, nº8, n.p. Retrieved from: <https://www1.essex.ac.uk/arthistory/research/pdfs/arara_issue_8/ehrenberg.pdf>

Gilbert, Zanna. 'Something Unnameable in Common': Translocal Collaboration at the Beau Geste Press. *ARTMargins*, Volume 1, Issue 2-3, June-October 2012, 45-72.

Guía de Diseño Arquitectónico Mapuche 2016 (2016). Dirección de Arquitectura, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Gobierno de Chile. Retrieved from:http://arquitectura.mop.cl/Documents/Guia_diseno_arquitectonico_MAPUCHE.pdf

Huysens, Andreas (2003). *PRESENT PASTS: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Jones, Ann (2014). *No truck with the Chilean junta!: trade union internationalism, Australia and Britain, 1973-1980*. Canberra: ANU Press.

Livingstone, Grace (2013). Uncovering Britain's secret role in protecting Chile's 1973 coup. *The Guardian*, 11 September 2013. Retrieved from: <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/11/chile-1973-coup-britain-protecting>>

Lippard, Lucy (2017). Floating Between Past and Future: The Indigenisation of Environmental Politics. *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, issue 43, Spring 2017, 94-118. iBook.

Lippard, Lucy (1974). Five. *Studio International*, vol. 187, nº 962, January 1974, 48.

Macchiavello, Carla (2017). Caught in a Mesh: Weaving Forms of Resistance and Collaboration. Unpublished. Keynote paper presented at the conference *Through, From, To Latin America: Networks, circulations and artistic transits from the 1960s to the present*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 27-28 November 2017.

Macchiavello, Carla (2017). Resistir/existir: el ensamblaje como estrategia de resistencia en las palabrarmas de Cecilia Vicuña. *Meridional. Revista Chilena de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 9, 55-89.

Macchiavello, Carla (2010). *Marking the Territory: Performance, video, and conceptual graphics in Chilean art, 1975-1985*. New York: Stony Brooks University. PhD Dissertation. Unpublished.

MacRitchie, Lynn (1974). *Opening Ceremony from the Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile*. Original video recording, editing and voiceover: Lynn MacRitchie. Digital transfer: Stanleys at The TV Set, London, December 2013. Post production: Michael Cheetham, 2014. Retrieved from: <<https://vimeo.com/83809414>>

MacRitchie, Lynn (1974). *Statements from the Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile*. Original video recording, editing and voiceover: Lynn MacRitchie, 1974. Digital transfer: Stanleys at The TV Set, London, December 2013. Post production: Michael Cheetham, 2014. Retrieved from: <<https://vimeo.com/83348858>>

Martin, Courtney J. (2018). Collectivity, Temporality, and Festival Culture in John Dugger's Quasi-Architecture, 1970-74. In: Applin, Jo, Spencer, Catherine and Tobin, Amy (eds.), *London Art Worlds: Mobile, Contingent, and Ephemeral Networks, 1960-1980* [Kindle version]. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Martin, Gerald (1989). Britain's cultural relations with Latin America. In: Buhner-Thomas Victor (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 27-51.

Meeting Margins: Transnational art in Europe and Latin America 1950-1978 (2009-2011). Retrieved from: <http://www.arts.ac.uk/research/current-research/ual-research-projects/fine-art/meeting-margins/>

Nicholson, Robin (1974). Black Hole in Chile. *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 12/ 1974, 800.

Not Chile, but London (1974). *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 6 /1974, 386.

Pidgeon, Monica (1973). Political street art in Santiago. *Studio International*, vol. 185, n° 954, April 1973, 160.

Plante, Isabel (2013). *Argentinos de París. Arte y viajes culturales durante los años sesenta*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.

Rodríguez, Ana (2014). Los lamentos de Cecilia Vicuña. *The Clinic online*, 11/02/2014. Interview. Retrieved from: <http://www.theclinic.cl/2014/02/11/los-lamentos-de-cecilia-vicuna/>

Rothon, Tony (1973). Museum of Solidarity, Chile. *Studio International*, vol. 186, nº 961, December 1973, 242-243.

Rowntree, Diana (2009). Monica Pidgeon, Obituary. *The Guardian*, online edition, 21 September 2009. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/sep/21/monica-pidgeon-obituary>

The World University Service, Academics for Chile (1974). Help Chile [Appeal]. *Architectural Design*, vol. XLIV, 1/1974, 56.

Varas, Paulina (2014). La memoria hablada: Cecilia Vicuña y Artists for Democracy. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes, n.p. Exhibition catalogue.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2014). Páginas de un libro borrado (Un relato oral): Londres 1972-1975. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña*. Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes, n.p. Exhibition catalogue.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2013). Organizar la ensoñación. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña (2014)*, Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes, n.p. Exhibition catalogue.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2013). Organized dreaming. In: *Artists for Democracy. El Archivo de Cecilia Vicuña (2014)*, Santiago: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Museo de Bellas Artes, n.p. Exhibition catalogue. English version of Organizar la ensoñación.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2013). Chronology. In: *Cecilia Vicuña*. London: England & Co gallery. Exhibition catalogue. 17-40.

Vicuña Cecilia (2011). *Saborami*. Oakland and Philadelphia: Chainlinks. First published in 1973.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2011). About the objects. In: *Saborami*. Oakland and Philadelphia: Chainlinks, 12.

Vicuña, Cecilia (2010). Fragments of Memory: An Afterward. In: *Saborami (2011)*. Oakland and Philadelphia, Chainlinks, 157-162.

Vicuña, Cecilia (1997). *QUIPOem*. In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press.

Vicuña, Cecilia (1996). *Arte Precario*. In: *QUIPOem* (1997). In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, q.136-137.

Vicuña Cecilia (1983-1991). *Entering*. In: *QUIPOem* (1997). In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, q.131-132.

Vicuña, Cecilia (1974). *The Coup came to kill what I loved*. *Spare Rib*, nº 28, 36-38.

Vicuña, Cecilia (1973). *Pain things and explanations*. ICA, May 1973. ICA archive, Tate Library.

Vicuña, Cecilia (1973). *From the explanation of the painting called 'The response of the warrior'*. ICA documentation, n.p.

Vicuña Cecilia (1968). *Las Basuritas de Con-cón*. In: *QUIPOem* (1997). In: de Zegher, Catherine (ed.), *The Precarious: The Art and Poetry of Cecilia Vicuña*. Kortrijk: Kanaal Art Foundation. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, q. 21.

Walker, John A. (2002). *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Walker, John A. (2002). 1974. In: *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 111- 136.

Webb, Alban, Smith, Andrew, Macfarlane, Jess and Martin, Nat (2014). *The British Council and the Political Economy of Cultural Value in Historical Context [Working Paper]*. *Open University Project Cultural Value at the British Council and BBC World Service*. Retrieved from: <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/sites/www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/files/BBC%20World%20Service%20Historical%20Report.pdf>

Whitman, Christopher J., Armijo, Gabriela and Turnbull, Neil Jon (2015). *The Ruka Mapuche: Clues for a sustainable architecture in southern Chile?* In: Mileto, Vegas, García Soriano and Cristini (eds.), *Vernacular*

Architecture: Towards a Sustainable Future. London: CRC Press / Balkema, Taylor & Francis Group, 759-765.

Zaldívar, Claudia (ed.) (2013). *Museo de la Solidaridad Chile: Fraternidad, Arte y Política 1971-1973*. Santiago: Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende. Exhibition catalogue.

Zizek, Slavoj (2001). *The Fright of Real Tears: Krzysztof Kieslowski between Theory and Post-Theory*. London: British Film Institute.

Ehrenberg, Felipe y Llanos, Fernando (Eds.) (2007). *Felipe Ehrenberg*. México: Editorial Diamantina.

Ehrenberg, Felipe (2011, 13 de Abril) *Felipe Ehernberg, Comunicación Electrónica/Entrevistador: G. Aceves Sepulveda*.

Higgins, Dick (2001). Intermedia with appendix by Hannah Higgins. *Leonardo*, 34(1), 49-51.

Hijar, Alberto (2007). *Frentes, Coaliciones y Talleres. Grupos Visuales en México en el siglo XX*. Ciudad de México: CENIDIAP.

Joyeux-Prunel, Béatrice (2016). *Graphs, Charts, Maps: Plotting the Global History of Modern Art*. Comunicación presentada en la conferencia Global Art Challenges: Towards an Ecology of Knowledges, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Barcelona y MACBA, Barcelona.

Juneja, Monica (2016). *The Ethnic and the Global— Tangled Trajectories of the “Primitive” in Modern and Contemporary Art*. Comunicación presentada en la conferencia Global Art Challenges: Towards an Ecology of Knowledges, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Barcelona y MACBA, Barcelona.

Mondragón, Sergio y Randall, Margaret (Eds.) (1962-1969). *El Corno emplumado = The Plumed horn*.

Nielsen, Anne-Mette y Beltran, Nikolenka (Writers) (2005). *El Corno Emplumado una historia de los sesenta* [DVD]. In A. Production (Producer).

Newman, Michael y Bird, Jon (Eds.). (1999). *Rewriting conceptual art*. London, UK: Reaktion Books.

Rostagno, Irene (Ed.) (1997). *Searching for Recognition. The promotion of Latin American Literature in the United States* (pp. 60-87). Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press.

Randall, Margaret (2015). Remembering El Corno Emplumado *El Corno Emplumado: Hemispheric Poetry Networks, 1962-1969*. In: <<http://opendoor.northwestern.edu/archive/exhibits/show/el-corno-emplumado-hemispheric/remembering-el-corno-randall>>

Randall, Margaret (2009). *To Change the World; My Years in Cuba*. New Brunswick: Routledge.

Zolov, Eric (2014). Introduction: Latin America in the Global Sixties. *The Americas*, 70(3), 349-362.