KEEP IT SIM-PLE MAKE IT FAST!

AN APPROACH TO UNDERGROUND MUSIC SCENES (VOL. 4) 2019

EDITORS: PAULA GUERRA & THIAGO PEREIRA ALBERTO

U. PORTO
FLUP FACULDADE DE LETRAS
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

KISMIF © 2018

1.2 Punk and museum: notes about the exposition 'Nirvana: Taking Punk to the Masses'

Paula Guerra[16] and Thiago Pereira Alberto[17]

A b s t r a c t

In this article, we considered how the exhibition 'Nirvana: Taking Punk To The Masses', held in Brazil in 2017, helps to think about the possible tensions of the relationship between punk and museum. Given the transformations the museum has suffered over the last centuries, it was perceived critically as a mausoleum or a mortuary chamber of history (Adorno, 1998). Now, in its contemporary performance, it serves as an archive for the 'relics' of pop (affected by the logics of entertainment and establishment). Punk's supposedly inadequate adjustment to museum conditions, helps to reassert our investigative motto, thinking what are the potential implications, extended and upgraded, for punk when a band like Nirvana is set up in this system.

Keywords: *Punk, archives, memory, museums.*

16 University of Porto – Faculty of Arts and Humanities. Institute of Sociology – University of Porto. CEGOT and CITCEM - Transdisciplinary Research Centre «Culture, Space and Memory». Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research. KISMIF Convenor. E-mail: pguerra@letras.up.pt.

17 Federal Fluminense University – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and University of Porto – Faculty of Arts and Humanities. Institute of Sociology. E-mail: thiagopereiraalberto@gmail.com.

1. Overview

Released in 1977, the single 'God Save The Queen' by the British group Sex Pistols can be seen as one of the strong landmarks for punk rock, both as a musical genre and as a social, political and economic narrative of a historical period. Published in the year of the Jubilee of the Queen of England (the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Elizabeth's accession to throne), the song swipes the title of the British countries' official anthem, bringing it - and resignifying it - lyrically and sonorously to the context of that time. Therefore, the song takes on as its central goal the whole monarchical institution; a presence that, in this specific juncture, was unquestionably perceived as unwanted and unnecessary for the punk uprising. A period of substantial social changes, the 1970s was the setting for the fertile germination of British punk, for the presence of a monarchical system served as a clear catalyst for its anti-establishment discourse. (Laing, 2015, 1997).

Several parts of 'God Save The Queen' can be highlighted in order to understand the message intended by the band. Here we point out some that suggest specific criticisms to the attachment to the past, heritage and patrimonialism, central themes for this article. For the Pistols, maintaining a monarchical system (and its corollary, such as the occasional festivities of 1977) seemed directly connected not only to the social cleavage ("They made you a moron") or to a salable and illusive image of Britain citizen and foreigners fascinated by British culture ("God save our mad parade", "God save the queen, cause tourists are money"). It mostly denounced the desire to glorify the tradition ("Oh God, save history") as a kind of chance, or, perversely, an option to remain eternally in the past ("There's no future in England's dreaming"). The final argumentative balance seemed to point out that monarchism, in its twentieth-century version, in fact resembled another reprehensible "ism" ("The fascist regime"), denouncing the desire for a pure and unchangeable caste, which was built and praised through the preservation of old values and the crystallization of traditions, to which punks were utterly opposed.

In this way, the early punk stands as clearly anti-patrimonialist, steadily despising heritages, refraining from being part of the hegemonic narratives carried out by kings, queens and their subjects, and getting ready to be the flowers in the bin ("We're the flowers in the dustbin"). It inspires us, therefore, to think about the modernist quarrel that made the museum a symbol of cultural ossification, a catalyst for articulations between nation, estate and canon, and thus to be considered negatively, as the main way to legitimate tradition and as an opponent of progress. No wonder punk joins both modern artistic practices - such as Dadaism and the Duchampian ready-made - and the Marxist political vanguards. These are points of view which, in the twentieth century, through various disputes in defense of utopias that could be reached in the future, saw in the museum an opponent to be fought (Hebdige, 1979; Marcus, 1989).

It is, thus, ironic (and deeply inspiring) to think that today, a Madame Tussauds museum's visitor in Blackpool, England, finds among hundreds of famous wax statues that are displayed, the figure of Johnny Rotten emulating exactly (through pose, clothes and objects) his image in the 'God Save The Queen' video clip. Assured by a series of instances of legitimation, at the heart of contemporary art's logic of hybridization, symbols of do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos - such as pins stuck on the face or torn tissues- are together, even if having different intensities or presences, with the royalty's crown   in an archival equipment of the British cultural patrimony.

Several issues emerge from this panorama. Issues centered on transforming critiques of the past's unchanging anchorage into legacies to be exhibited and consumed. Is this change merely a kind of commodification of rock and punk, in which what used to be offensives to such logics inevitably became products to be consumed or landscapes to be visited? On that account, we take as an object of analysis the exhibition 'Nirvana: Taking Punk To The Masses' that toured in Brazil in 2017, for we believe that this event amplifies and updates even more these instigating equations (and inadequacies).It aims to be a memorial occupation around the historical and material heritage of a group that considered punk as a compass for their creations and performances, at least a decade after the climax of this scene. The band's trajectory, as protagonist of a major musical scene that has exposed as few did the changing (but not necessarily malleable) membranes between mainstream and underground, and which adds to its history the dimension of an early and tragic death, adds larger possibilities to our analysis (Guerra & Bennett, 2015).

2. Museum and its historical perspectives in contemporary times

The fascination about the museum can be presented as a determining feature in contemporary culture, especially highlighted by the rise of the discourses on memory that emerged in the West after the 1960s, in the light of the decolonizations and the movements of history review. This debate resulted in a deep crisis of the main institutions invested in study, validation and preservation of historical and patrimonial values, forcing a major rethinking of this cultural axis. Especially in the United States and in Europe, one can observe the historicizing restoration of urban centers, cities, of whole landscapes; highlighting the importance of patrimonial enterprises and national legacies - especially museums - as well as the retro fashion boom (Huyssen, 1996).

As consequence, there has been a clear conceptual expansion of the idea of heritage. The affirmation of new agendas that show concerns with the safeguarding, protection and disclosure of new inheritances related to less monumental and more immaterial spaces, landscapes, communities and forms of cultural expression. Huyssen (1996) evaluates this scenario as an indication of the search for total recall, a desire to bring several past times into the present, which spreads through various aspects of contemporary life. Thus, the concept of musealization is used by the author as a philosophical and cultural consideration on the transformation of the status of memory and temporal perception in today's culture, which motivates us to think about the growing attachment to the past and the contemporary subject's need to find forms to record as much information as possible (Bennett & Guerra, 2019).

Such postulates are strongly contrasted with the futuristic vision that characterized the first decades of the twentieth century, making a sensible change in the social fabric through the display of a remarkable nostalgic pathos. Historically, the battle against museums was a persistent subject of modernist culture, as historical vanguards movements (among them Futurism, Dada, Surrealism and Constructivism) took on a radical and relentless struggle against the museum and its symbolisms. Huyssen (1996, p. 222) views this conflict as a sign of a central proposition, the "dictatorship of the future," whose discourse was based on a complete rejection of tradition and cultivated the apocalyptic celebration of a totally different upcoming, where

the museum was a "plausible scapegoat […] embodying all the hegemonic monumentalization and pompous aspirations of the bourgeois age, which saw its end in the fallout of the Great War.

The modernist crisis in the second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of another way of thinking, intimately connected to the rise of consumer logic, the technological acceleration and the media's central role in social life, as vectors of late capitalism. In this context, the anxious search for progress generated nostalgia for what had disappeared. Among the possible reactions to this finding was "to obliterate history and transform it into private or collective mythology, revisit time as place, refuse to surrender to the irreversibility of the time that afflicts the human condition". (Boym, 2001, p.14). If changes were inexorable, the past - that which is not repeatable or reversible - should be possessed, and memory becomes stronger while directing the constructions of spirit (as in academic teaching of history and literature) and material architectures such as museums. Nostalgia has become a central theme in the wars that divide us into "ethnic, religious, cultural, and political (...) while people across the world have sought identity through artifacts collected from the past, where 'museum mania' seems to be a direct reaction to the acceleration of life" (Cross, 2015, p.8).

The museum, as cultural equipment, stands as one of the possible venues for this kind of social sensitivity, and no longer stands as "temple of the Muses, but rather as a resurrection-oriented place, as a hybrid space between the public fair and the department store" (Huyssen, 1996, p.15). Once a bulwark for high culture, today it participates directly in the laws of the media and the economic systems; becomes transnational, competes in gigantism, innovative architecture, image and impact. Thus, the era of world culture is that of spectacle-museums, elevated to a category of tourist destination for a hyper-consumerist public "seeking more immediate experiences than spiritual initiation and elevation" (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2011, p. 90). In these processes, the values of 'tradition', 'authenticity' and 'identity' are understood and reinterpreted in their historical and cultural dimension, but also as market values, transforming themselves into brands, objects and experiences of various orders.

3. 'Memories can't wait': rock and punk in the museum

Thus, as a pop culture typical phenomenon, born in the context of the 1950s' baby boomer consumerism, rock n' roll (and its adjacent subcultures) will also be framed as an object of patrimonial desire, which is evident in its propagation of its qualification to occupy museums. Embedded firmly in the memory of several generations since then, this music gender becomes an important key in contemporary collective cultural consciousness and one of the main contributors to the generation of its identity (Bennett, 2009). Institutions of cultural consecration (Bourdieu, 1996) are created, operating firmly in the cultural sphere, establishing an institutional environment that is highly significant in turning rock n' roll into patrimony, what Bennett (2009) calls rock heritage. Based on the publicity of the archives as inheritances of rock[18], we watch rising a conjuncture that acts as a body of organs specialized in prestige concessions, capable of reinforcing the value of rock within our social fabric, which creates its textures through media instances (magazines,

18   The arising of compact disc (CD) in the 1980s is an example. It plays a fundamental role in this process, with reissues of albums previously available only in vinyl, giving instruments an older audience to effectively get in touch with their musical past, besides, of course, to redeem or reinforce the "seminal", "anthological" feature, and any other adjective that emanates an aura of originality to what was done in past times. The term "classic" goes perfectly with certain artists and products in this context.

radio, re-releases, biographies, documentaries), for example.

Museums - institutions that collect, archive and preserve cultural heritages -position themselves as an important axis in this dynamic. In this regard, several representatives or holders of rock heritage took advantage of their power and curatorial status to get involved in this process[19]. As Reynolds (2011, p.15) points out, this new configuration proves that rock is "old enough and reasonably established as an artistic form that can justify its own museum industry". He also claims that this fact currently exceeds the limits of a satisfactory historical review to a specific audience, such as the aged and nostalgic baby boomer generation, satiated by staying in contact with their 'memories of battles'. The exhibition of these collections, irradiated by the "original spirit of an epoch" under the notion of musealization, reaches several audiences that somehow establish a common ideology among themselves: the search for artifacts charged with "posterity and historicity"(Reynolds, 2011, p. 15). These concepts relate to how such materials are carefully preserved, presented in an orderly fashion and carry the "aura of an era", reminiscences projected around the belief that such elements profile traditions and possess a kind of truth that was lost in time.

The musealization of rock presents itself as an ideal condition to configure what Reynolds (2011) calls *retromania*[20], the feverish attachment of contemporary pop culture to its own past, through the constant use of references to itself and the return of several elements of previous decades in the current musical practice. Therefrom, the canonical articulation of rock in artistic discourses, represented and preserved as cultural patrimony, inspires the scenery to become more complex, from the moment the past gets too close to the present and such scenery is questioned by some of its own players -for instance, punk rockers and their aesthetic and ethical heirs, such as Kurt Cobain and Nirvana. It is, therefore, a place of litigation, tensions, crossings, contradictions[21].

We return here to the Sex Pistols. The British band was uncompromising when induced to the Rock and Roll Hall Of Fame in 2006, sending a bitter response to the ceremony invitation[22] and somehow recovering traces of the iconoclasm propagated when they arise. In the following year, they held a reunion tour - another typical feature of *retromania* - which allowed them to "monetize the legend through 'Nevermind the Bollocks' album as an itinerant museum", as Reynolds observes (2011, p.11). The author also notes that these punks also profit from nostalgia - they just prefer to assert autonomy and repulsion to some established systems of turning rock into a patrimony. In this context, we add the fact that one of the greater merits accredited to punk's uprising was protesting against the musical context of late 1970s, with an absolutely retrospective musical perspective, attuned with past virtues in rock's chronology itself. Bands like Pistols became famous for recovering and bringing back the "trash of history" (Alberto, 2017), in a musical a(na)rcheology gesture, elements of simple, fast, energetic rock of the 1950s and 1960s, which until then seemed absolutely discarded by the hegemonic sonic narratives.

Therefore, a certain practice of rock heritage is at the heart of punk. Thus, the quarrel between the old wave (represented, for example, by progressive rock groups, destined to great arenas) and the new wave (punk and its later affluences) contain, from the outset, a rich series of contradictions and crossings, exposed even in its terminologies, which refer to the opposition between progress and return in the scope of the rock. Faced with these

19 Notable examples are the foundation of Rock and Roll Hall Of Fame in 1983 by Ahmet Ertegün, a major recording executive at Atlantic Records; and Jann Wenner, editor of Rolling Stone magazine, in Cleveland, United States; and the Experience Music Project (renamed later as Museum of Pop Culture), funded in Seattle in 2000 by Paul Allen, one of the co-founders of Microsoft. Through special or per-manent exhibitions and supported by a spectacular mise-en-scène, these spaces contain all kinds of artifacts related to the music genre and its manifestations, a historical and material archway that houses instruments, clothes, tickets, drafts of lyrics and even original pieces of studios or concert halls, as well as interactive reproduction of record-ings, display of disc covers and the above mentioned wax replicas.

20 If retromania is not a new phenomenon, given that culture seasonally goes through distortions and creative revivals, Reynolds (2011) highlights that the aspect instantanious recolection, made possible by the information revo-lution (symbolized strongly by the internet) differentiates the current phenomenon from the past.

21 There has been a real boom of punk museums across the globe in recent years Examples are the Ramones Museum in Berlin, which opened in 2005; the Los Angeles Punk Rock Museum, opened in 2012; and the Icelandic Museum PUNK, which was founded in 2016; in addition to an extensive list of exhibitions dedicated to it in Ger-many, United States and England.

22 "Next to the Sex Pistols, that Hall of Fame is a piss stain. Your museum. Urine in wine. We're not coming. We're not your monkeys. If you voted for us, hope you noted your reasons. You're anonymous as judges but you're still music industry people. We're not coming. You're not paying attention. Outside this shit stem is a real Sex Pistol."

issues, Reynolds (2011) seems to strike a fundamental nerve for our analysis, emphasizing the oppositional character in which rock - and especially punk - built its foundations.

> *Rock (and rock writing) was always energized and focused by being against. But animosity, the sort of polarised vision (…) that fuelled strident rhetoric, has gone now, everywhere. Rock museums like the British Music Experience represent the triumph of the Tapestry[23], with even the most troubling threads, like The Sex Pistols, nearly woven into its fabric. The Old Wave/New Wave war is distant history, and that's the point of the rock museum: it presents music with the battle lines erased, everything wrapped up in a warm blanket of acceptance and appreciation.* (Reynolds, 2011, p.7)

The author explains the tension we have here: among punk's topics is the returning to the character of rebellion and confrontation that is seminal in rock; a fundamental transgressing teenager spirit in its articulations as an emerging youth subculture of the 1950s. Consequently, its musealization, according to the current parameters that shape these processes, becomes a possibility to eliminate the threatening and contentious gesture that characterized the genre. Therefore, rock and anger, one of its essential fuels (as Lydon sang in his post-Pistols band Public Radio Limit: "anger in an energy") would be caged, available for visitation, as a valuable relic of past, but also as a testimony of his own absence. In the early 1990s, Nirvana was the group that somehow opposed this condition, even though sometimes contradictorily.

4. 'Here we are now, entertain us': punk goes to the museum, the museum goes to punk

The exhibition 'Nirvana: Taking Punk to the Masses', which came to Brazil in June 2017, seems particularly pertinent to update and amplify the questions mentioned so far in our analysis. It focus on a band that was still 'young' being in a museum, a group which had its peak in the first half of the 1990s and remained the subject of intense public and media interest until the beginning of the subsequent decade, that is, just over twenty years[24]. This confirms a typical internal equation of current *retromaniac* process in pop culture: the sooner the musical sceneries succeed, the more quickly others are restored for a review, triggered by the 'nostalgic impulse' highlighted above. Moreover, it expands, as shown by the very name of the exhibition, by endorsing Nirvana as a genuine heir to punk[25], while emphasizing the status of massive visibility and popularity unprecedented that the group conquered (inferred from market data and media presence[26]). This seems to leave the tensions and contradictions that surround punk more noticeable, given the greatness achieved.

Regarding these points, some issues emerge as touchstones when emphasizing the process of museification of the band, through this exhibition. First, the fact that Nirvana symbolizes, as well as other groups (Pearl Jam, Soundgarden, Mudhoney, Screaming Trees), the architecture of a musical scene

23 Allegory used by the author to refer to the most important and noble lineage of the genre.

24 This 20year landmark is informally called the nostalgic cycle of pop. The 1970s sought to reprise the 1950s. Similarly, the 1980s tried to copy the 1960s …The unusual factor here is the patrimonial consecration through museums that traditionally occurs in another time scale.

25 Strong (2011) emphasizes the idea that Nirvana, within the grunge scene, would be one of the articulations of the punk movement from previous decade. Through music and lyrical discourse, it alludes to the signs of freedom, violence, discontent and disenchantment with the established social order. A song like "Smells Like Teen Spirit", often seen as a generational hymn, reconciles the self-recognition of alienation tuned with the outlining of a new community of "outcasts" or social outcasts (called 'slackers'), sustained by the feeling of non-belonging and inadequacy that are dear to punk.

26 According to media sources, the band sold almost 80 million albums worldwide (https://www.statisticbrain.com/nirvana-album-sales-statistics). As a reflection of its importance to the critics, we could mention "Nevermind" being appointed as best album of the 1990s by publications such as the American magazines Rolling Stone and Spin.

– grunge - that is located in a very specific place, the city of Seattle, in northern United States. In spite of its changing and fluid characteristics[27], marked by the "construction and differentiation of musical alliances" (Straw, 1991, p. 373), grunge has become synonymous with the "Seattle sound", so important was its role in that period. Thus, it becomes similar to Memphis, Chicago, London or Manchester, as part of a geographic heritage of rock, reaching the status of a tourist city for rock n' roll lovers and having Nirvana as a major responsible for this recast. Decades after the grunge boom, the city established permanent nostalgic expression marks, materialized in referential points of visitation (bars, concert halls, recording studios, record stores, SubPop label, addresses where its artists have lived) that fit comfortably to the idea of musealization.

Another aspect that we find remarkable for Nirvana's configuration as a museum object is Kurt Cobain's early death. He was the vocalist, guitarist and leader of the group. His suicide, in April 1994, promoted his image as a kind of myth, typical path for pop celebrities. Driven by several vertices (media, public, artists), Cobain is taken as a cultural object of reference to the rock community and establishes a series of narratives that describe him in several ways – 'nonconformist', 'martyr', 'tragic hero','spokesman of a generation'. These descriptions amplify his artistic importance and help ensure his presence for other generations, as well as positioning him alongside an extensive gallery of permanent paintings that rock already possessed at the time of his death: early, not infrequently tragic and unexpected losses of fundamental artists to the music genre commonly enshrined in the war cry 'live fast, die young'.

The fact that Cobain killed himself at age 27, the same age as other rock n' roll icons were when they died (Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Jim Morrison, Brian Jones), served as an argument to fit him in a kind of tradition. So, an exhibition like 'Nirvana: Taking Punk to the Masses' rectifies an obvious but important fact for some issues we point out: its permanent absence. Cobain, precociously deceased, increases his coefficient of museification, making even clearer the feature of something that does not return. This perception is expressed in the nostalgia that drives the capitalization of the past and helps to configure him and the band as an inheritance, an authentic patrimony of rock.

Considered a rock heritage, Nirvana now positions itself, through the exhibition, in the contemporary scope of changing paths taken by the museum - and by the rock n' roll that inhabit the museum -, becoming one of its spectacular traces, typical of entertainment and establishment. Therefore, the corporate character of 'Nirvana: Taking Punk to the Masses' is one of the main arguments brough by this discussion. Originally created as a permanent exhibit in Seattle curated by Jacob McCurray (produced and hosted by the aforementioned Museum of Pop Culture), the exhibit remained for over six years in the United States and arrived in Brazil - its first international tour - sponsored by a giant electronics company, Samsung. Within a museum transnationalization program, the exhibition is part of this multinational's project that aims to offer "unique experiences in music"[28], and this idea of experience serves the purposes of a trip to the past. This is typical of the current museum context: a dynamic, interactive visit, oriented to "aestheticize public expectations and practices" as opposed to the idea of "annihilating" them (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2011, p. 91), museum for 'the masses'.

Announced as the compilation of more than 200 original pieces - instruments, photos, videos, testimonies, albums, personal objects of the members, posters -, 'Nirvana: Taking Punk To The Masses', which we visited

[27] Thus, the grunge seal also reached groups outside of Seattle and the surrounding areas. For instance, the Smashing Pumpkins, from Chicago, and the Stone Temple Pilots, from San Diego

[28] As the project's official website explains at https://www.rockexhibition.com.br

in August 2017 at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, 'delivers what it promises'. The viewer can leave with the sensation of accessing an organized and detailed memorial and material narrative of the group: albums they listened to years before forming the band, artifacts that symbolize its pinnacle ('relics' of the band's most notorious videos, set lists of major shows), and a re-creation of the recording scene of Cobain's last live album, 'Unplugged MTV in New York'. Just before the exit, as a final reminder, it was one of the event's highlights, a booth where the viewer had the chance to mimic in a screen the iconic 'Nevermind's' cover, a album released in 1991. Where originally there was a baby submerged in a pool, catching a dollar bill, now is the viewer, who can be there just before leaving the museum: punk for the masses.

The combination of both axes (punk and museum for the masses) alludes to the problems of Nirvana's incorporation process into the chronology of rock, and consequently, into the contemporary museum system. As Robins (2008) contextualizes, the band emerges in a time when rock was seen as a genre in creative lag and commercial crisis, already heavily encoded or emptied in its subgenres, as can be seen in the weary recipe of Californian hard / glam rock (the last great media representative, until then) and in its absence on hit parades. Such inertia helps to parameterize and reinforce the impact caused by 'Nevermind', released in 1991. This power of this worknot only represented a triumphant return from rock to mainstream (the album was on the Billboard chart for almost a year), but also reopened familiar discussions in some dynamics related to the phonographic market, with the rise of terms like 'alternative rock', 'grunge' and the re-evaluation of others, such as 'punk' and 'underground'.

In an extraordinary dimension for pop culture, Nirvana achieved a global success, which positioned the band as a fundamental and profitable name in music industry, even insisting on being based on the punk ethos. This transition from a promising band in an independent record label (SubPop) to a big commodity in a major one (Geffen Records) became a fundamental point in the group's history, in which anethical entrenchment was the subject of songs, interviews and performances. This constant relationship of approaching and distancing from the market logic was a typical dilemma of the incorporation and excorporation game, reproduced in the pop environment through the possible dilutions of marked boundaries between youth culture and dominant culture (Grossberg, 2010). This condition was indicated (curiously, with prophetic tone) by Nirvana itself in the cover of 'Nevermind'. It had an image of 'youth corruption', which became a symbolic mote, one associated with discussions that revived the battles between underground and mainstream.

The mere existence of this exhibition seems to reprise such quarrel, now putting the stamp of museification onto the group and highlighting the tensions underlying this process. Offering the public the chance to 'integrate' into that past - like replacing the baby from 'Nevermind's' cover and 'updating' the image in the successive sharing in social media - says a lot about the connection of heritage exhibitions to the logic of spectacle and advertising tactics of major brands sponsoring these events. As Lipovetsky and Serroy (2011) point out, if in the heroic era of avant-garde modernity what constituted great art was its opposition to institutional norms, customs and established values, when structured by the logic of spectacle - curiously, by what is new - the museum, once governed by the rule of contemplation, now yields space to recreation, hedonistic and light consumption, selfies and the rapid

registers of its patrons. Thus, rock (in its 'heritage' version) and the museum clearly align with contemporary consumer practices and show, through the interpenetration 'of aesthetic logics and the logics of tourism development' (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2011, p.91), the fading of clear, historically constructed contours of museum as a space of retraction and of some oppositions that punk projected in its trajectory.

Nirvana, even in this context, somehow maintained its aura or originality - often its historical ballast is accompanied by expressions such as 'the last great band' or the 'final sigh of rock' - for having recovered, as well as the 1970s punk, much of the countercultural traits of rock, through a kind of youthful anguish that echoes and triggers allegories of anti-establishment rebellion. It is noteworthy that such a statement had been molded into an evident anti-past character, and thus with no nostalgic nor patrimonial implications. When Kurt Cobain sang and teased "Here we are now, entertain us", in the name of a whole generation, it was implicit and required the idea of here and now. In 2018, such a phrase, a motto of 1991, suggests what Reynolds (2011) points as an imperative condition of the pop music consumer in last decade: the search for archived memories of the past, where the pulse of 'now' is increasingly weakened each passing year and nostalgia is an effective prophylaxis in a *retromaniac* present.

Therefore, at the same time that musealization affirms its patrimonial importance for the genre - given the conditions in which happens, that is, under the mainstream rules - its presence in the museum also shows the taming of what was previously fed by a warlike spirit. As Reynolds (2011) highlights, framing a group like Nirvana in the face of a structure that often suppresses the confrontation lines of history - or even commodifies such lines - may also signal the fading of an aura previously illuminated by its dissenting force. When replaying and rethinking some of the repercussions of 'Nevermind' this point of view assumes that the most efficient way to contain the threat possibilities represented by rock is the market itself - and 'Nirvana: Taking Punk To The Masses' is also a strategic corporate piece –, where industry promotes anti-establishment rebellion as cool, and in the process, tries to turn countercultural heroes into conventional commodities.

In this context, Robinson (2017) aptly defines punk as an "itchy sort of heritage", an obviously thorny and tension-generating heritage. In other words, what is the best place for punk, in alliance with its political and behavioral coherences? A flagrant DIY culture will not force the existence of DIY organizations to preserve it? Trying to respond to these problems, small fan niches, which Bennett & Janssen (2016) called 'DIY preservationists', opted for a DIY route: if musealization is an appropriation of the punk spirit by the mainstream, then the answer would be the constitution of autonomous institutions aimed at setting aside all the precepts of institutional museums, a work that involves retrieving and documenting the genre's roots for fan community.

5. Conclusion

Given the countercultural genesis of rock, some of its retrospective reinsertions into the social fabric establish a range of contradictions and cleavages that justify specific analysis. As an example, the alignment of punk and its anti-patrimonialist ethos, at least in its political dimension. We

consider that Nirvana has always positioned itself as punk, either through the DIY as a goal in life or as a compositional guide, by triggering certain sonic (as simplicity, weight and velocity) and lyrical frameworks (where they yelled anti system discourses, often in the form of acidic self-criticism to the youth culture of that time). In a broader context, the band, along with the Seattle scene, incorporates values that push them away from rock bands from the late 1980s, (re)creating an attempt to separate 'we', the underground culture, from 'they', who integrated the consumer masses of the mainstream music industry (Cardoso Filho, 2010).

But the release and resounding success of 'Nevermind' has shuffled the attempt to create such boundaries, enabling infiltrations that expanded the historical dilemma of approaching and distancing rock and dominant culture - symbolically culminating in Kurt Cobain's suicide, adhering to his persona an undeniably seductive mythical load in times of constant review of pop. His physical absence somehow accelerates the process of consolidating Nirvana as a classic, unquestionable inheritance of rock. 'Nirvana: Taking Punk To The Masses', by framing the group under the tuning of contemporary museum conditions, brings back some of these discussions by aesthetizing 'rebellious' ethics in the spectacle's sphere, testifying to the effectiveness of patrimonialization in undermining the critical possibilities of punk and rock and, in an increasingly accelerated way, in the rhythm of a *retromaniac* pop culture.

Based on a critical appraisal of this conjuncture, we point out, as a conclusion, another possibility of reading it. To establish punk and rock in museums may also represent the maintenance of a necessary phantasmagoria, a way of designating them as a threatening and permanent ghost. We recognize that it is a matter of seeing the context from a more optimistic angle, but perhaps a necessary one, and above all, a possible one. As we have pointed out, the renewal cycles of rock - and punk are exemplary in this sense - also depend on their archaeological gestures, where the image of the museum arises not only as a kind of deposit of dead things, but also as a place of possible resurrections, mediated and contaminated by the gaze of new spectators, which makes it possible also to maintain a kind of authority and originality.

The recognition of power and importance of works such as Nirvana's, even through museification, is attesting that memorialist practice also touches subcultural aging and its practices of resistance, even as an important way of access for the new generations, giving shape to its inspirational character. Hence, the museum, and its patrimonialization properties of rock heritage, appears as a possible space where nostalgic *pathos* and *retromania* can also be present as a challenge to contemporary informational space and an expression of the human need to live in long lasting structures, a "reactive formation of bodies that want to maintain their temporality against the media's world that spreads seeds of a timeless claustrophobia". (Huyssen, 1996, p.123). Thus, an ideal setting may require the blessings that the cultural consecration provides and it is clear that the process of museification would also imply a revival of rock and punk, in a reevaluation of its social importance, where it would be necessary that this heritage discourse take into account the punk's social functions and its importance for millions of individuals.

References

Adorno, T (1998). Museu Valery Proust. In: *Prismas: crítica cultural e sociedade*. São Paulo: Ática

Alberto, T.P (2017) - Cuspir o lixo em cima de vocês: uma leitura benjaminiana sobre o punk rock. *IS Working Papers*. 3ª Série. N.º 59, 2017. Available in: http://isociologia.up.pt/sites/default/files/working-papers/WP%2059.pdf

Baker, S; Doyle, P; Homan (2015) Shane Historical Records, National Constructions: The Contemporary Popular Music Archive. *Popular Music and Society*. Vol.31.N.º1, pp. 8-27.

Bennett A. (2009) *'Heritage rock': Rock music, representation and heritage discourse*. Brisbane: Centre for Public Culture and Ideas, Griffith University.

Bennett, A. & Guerra, P. (Eds.) (2019). *DIY Cultures and Underground Music Scenes*. Abingdon/Oxford: Routledge.

Boudieu, P (1996). *As regras da arte*. Lisboa: Presença.

Boym, S (2001). The future of nostalgia. New York: Basic.

Cardoso Filho, J. (2010) *Práticas de escuta do Rock: experiência estética, mediações e materialidades da comunicação*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG/FAFICH.

Cohen, S; Knifton, R; Leornard & Les Roberts, M (Orgs.) (2014). *Sites of popular music heritage: memories, histories, places*. Nova Iorque/Abingdon: Routhledge.

Cross, G. (2015). *Consumed nostalgia: Memory in the age of fast capitalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

De Nora, T. (2000) *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frith, S. (1996). *Performing rites: on the value of popular music*. Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard Univ Press.

Grossberg, L. (2010). *Cultural studies in the future tense*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Guerra, P (2013) *A instável leveza do rock. Génese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal (1980-2010)*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

Guerra, P (2014). Punk, ação e contradição em Portugal. Uma aproximação às culturas juvenis contemporâneas. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*. N.º 102-103, pp. 111-134.

Guerra, P; Bennett, A (2015)– Never Mind the Pistols? The Legacy and Authenticity of the Sex Pistols in Portugal. *Popular Music and Society*. Vol. 38, n.º 4, pp. 500-521.

Guerra, P; Silva, A (2015). *Music and more than music: The approach to difference and identity in the Portuguese punk. European Journal of Cultural Studies*. Vol. 18, n.º 2, pp. 207-223.

Silva, A; Guerra, P (2015). *As palavras do punk*. Lisboa: Alêtheia

Guerra, P; Straw, W (2017) – I wanna be your punk: o universo de possíveis do punk, do D.I.Y. e das culturas underground. *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia*. Vol. 6, n.º 1, pp. 5-16.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: the meaning of style*, London: Routledge.

Huyssen, A (1996). *Memórias do modernismo*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UFRJ.

Laing, D (1997). Listening to punk. In Gelder, K & Thornton, S (orgs.). *The Subculture Reader* (pp. 448-460). London: Routledge.

Laing, D (2015) - *One Chord Wonders: Power and meaning in punk rock*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Lipovetsky, G & Serroy, J (2011). *A cultura-mundo, respostas a uma sociedade desorientada*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras

Manoff, M (2004). Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines, em *Project Muse Volume 4, Number 1, January 2004*. Available in: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/51302

Marcus, G. (2011). *Lipstick Traces: A secret history of the twentieth century*, Cambridge,MA: Harvard University Press.

Natali, M (2009). *A política da nostalgia: Um estudo das formas do passado*. São Paulo: Nankin.

Reynolds, S. *Retromania: Pop culture and addiction to its own past*. Nova York: Logic.

Robins, W. (2008) *A brief history of rock, off the record*. New York: Routledge.

Robinson, L. (2017). Exhibition Review Punk's 40th Anniversary—An Itchy Sort of Heritage in *Twentieth Century British History*, 2017. Avaliable in: https://academic. oup.com/tcbh/advance-article- abstract/doi/10.1093/tcbh/hwx047/4107226.

Shucker, R (1999). *Vocabulário de música pop*. São Paulo: Hedra.

Straw, W. (1991). Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music. *Cultural Studies, v. 5, n. 3*, pp. 368-388.

Strong, C. (2015). Shaping the past of popular music: Memory, forgetting and documenting (pp.418-434). In *The SAGE Handbook of Popular Music*. London:Sage.