

Notes

Introduction

1. I am using the terms 'space' and 'place' in Michel de Certeau's sense, in that 'space is a practiced place' (Certeau 1988: 117), and where, as Lefebvre puts it, '(Social) space is a (social) product' (Lefebvre 1991: 26). Evelyn O'Malley has drawn my attention to the anthropocentric dangers of this theorisation, a problematic that I have not been able to deal with fully in this volume, although in Chapters 4 and 6 I begin to suggest a collaboration between human and non-human in the making of space.
2. I am extending the use of the term 'extra-daily', which is more commonly associated with its use by theatre director Eugenio Barba to describe the performer's bodily behaviours, which are moved 'away from daily techniques, creating a tension, a difference in potential, through which energy passes' and 'which appear to be based on the reality with which everyone is familiar, but which follow a logic which is not immediately recognisable' (Barba and Savarese 1991: 18).
3. Architectural theorist Kenneth Frampton distinguishes between the 'scenographic', which he considers 'essentially representational', and the 'architectonic' as the interpretation of the constructed form, in its relationship to place, referring 'not only to the technical means of supporting the building, but also to the mythic reality of this structural achievement' (Frampton 2007 [1987]: 375). He argues that postmodern architecture emphasises the scenographic over the architectonic and calls for new attention to the latter. However, in contemporary theatre production, this distinction does not always reflect the work of scenographers, so might prove reductive in this context. It is probably true, however, to suggest that the representational aspect of the scenographer's work is less generally relevant to the current book.
4. Since *Dramaturgy and Performance* was published in 2008, this understanding of dramaturgy has become less exceptional. We were not the first to describe an 'expanded dramaturgy', as we acknowledged at the time, but more recent publications have taken the discussion further. See, for example, Eckersall 2006; Trencsényi and Cochrane 2014.
5. I am using the term 'theatre' here, following the title of Pearson and Shanks's *Theatre/Archaeology*, to 'signal a specific focus on artistic practice and the aesthetic event and dispel any initial confusion'. However, it should be clarified that it is sometimes more appropriate to use the word 'performance' to 'indicate a particular concern with those genres of theatre that, by and large, are not reliant upon the exposition of dramatic literature' (Pearson and Shanks 2001: ix).
6. Guy Debord (see Chapter 5), Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Jean Baudrillard.
7. Fuchs refers to the work of Françoise Collin, Hélène Cixous, Catherine Clément and Luce Irigaray.

8. Lehmann cites Derrida's concept of '*éspacement*', Gertrude Stein's notion of the 'landscape play' and Knut Ove Arntzen's use of the term 'visual dramaturgy' (Lehmann 1997: 59).
9. Edgar rightly emphasises the varied practices of British playwrights, but implicitly doubts the value of devised or collaborative practices, without 'linear, dramatized narrative' or 'personal voice' – at least in so far as they are seen to take priority over the playwright.
10. According to Lehmann, dramatic theatre 'of former centuries' wanted to 'let all the stage represent – be – a world ... What is necessary ... is the principle that what we perceive in the theatre can be referred to a "world", i.e. to a totality ... dramatic theatre proclaims wholeness as a model of the real' (Lehmann 2006: 22). Lehmann prefers to describe postdramatic work in terms of a 'landscape', 'situation' (1997: 58), 'atmosphere' and 'state of things' (2006: 74) in contrast to the 'fictive cosmos' of dramatic form. He bases the distinction on a shift towards direct communication from stage to audience. However, as Shakespeare's or Brecht's theatre demonstrates, this calling to the audience across the proscenium is not incompatible with the notion of 'fictive cosmos' – though it may imply the porosity of its boundaries or its potential extension to include the audience. An absence of overt fictional narrative in postdramatic theatre may also prove deceptive in some cases, a reality effect that does not in fact exclude fictive construction.
11. Founding members were Robin Arthur (Performer), Tim Etchells (Director), Richard Lowdon (Designer/Performer), Cathy Naden (Performer), Terry O'Connor (Performer). Claire Marshall (Performer) joined slightly later. Other artists, including Jerry Killick (Performer), Wendy Houstoun (Performer), John Avery (Composer), Nigel Edwards (Lighting Designer) and Hugo Glendinning (Photographer), are frequent collaborators.
12. Act One represents a different home, that of Haakon Werle, which is no less implicated in the hierarchical structures that define the Ekdals' attic.
13. All citations are from Una Ellis-Fermor's translation, this being well known and widely available. I have, however, referred also to Michael Meyer's translation (1994) for a comparison.
14. Williams is commenting on the 2001 performance, *First Night*, in which the forms of variety theatre and vaudeville are those seen in a process of 'de-composition'. He is responding to extraordinarily hostile reviews that the performance received in Adelaide in 2004 and comments extensively on the attack on the expected role of the audience through a subversion of form, through which the audience members become uncomfortably aware of their own mortality.
15. Quick discusses a number of Forced Entertainment's works, including *200% and Bloody Thirsty* (1988), *Emmanuelle Enchanted* (1992) and *Showtime*.
16. The rational and articulate language of *Showtime* is not necessarily typical of the company's work, in which linguistic architectures can also be destabilised through various strategies (see, for instance, *200% and Bloody Thirsty* (1987), *Emmanuelle Enchanted* (1992) and *Disco Relax* (1999), as well as many works that push language to the limits of particular structures, such as *Speak Bitterness* (1994), *Quizoola!* (1996), *Dirty Work* (1998), *And on the Thousandth Night ...* (2000) and *Marathon Lexicon* (2003).

17. While pantomime and children's shows are clearly a reference point within the work, Richard's and Robin's speeches tend to invoke the conventions of 'the dramatic form', as defined by Szondi, rather than the anarchy of pantomime.
18. Ruth Levitas says they might be useful to analysis, but as descriptions lead to crude classification (2003: 143).
19. The terms 'naturalism' and 'realism' are not always consistently used in relation to theatre and are sometimes used interchangeably. I am using the description 'naturalist' here, since an attempt to distinguish between 'naturalism' and 'realism' becomes confusing in relation to cited critics in Chapter 1, and is not essential to my argument. However, 'realism' may be used to describe a less literal development of 'naturalism' which would often seem more fitting in relation to the texts I discuss.
20. *Bauhaus: Art as Life*, Barbican Centre, London 3 May–12 August 2012.

1 Building: Ibsen, *Jugendstil* and the Playwright as 'Master Builder'

1. Fleskum was Christian Skredsvig's farm, about 32 km west of Christiania (Oslo). Werenskiold, Skredsvig, Harriet Backer, Kitty Kielland, Gerhard Munthe and Eilif Peterssen spent the summer of 1886 there. They aimed to establish a new, national art, inspired by the Norwegian landscape. The same group of artists were core to the Lysaker circle in the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century. Lysaker is an area 8 km west of the city; the Lysaker circle drew intellectuals, including both artists and scientists from all over Europe. Here, the applied arts and architecture joined with painting in the expression of a new model for a national way of life, forward-looking, but based on rural tradition (Liseter 2010: 5–6; Miller Lane 2000: 83–8).
2. Moi insists that Ibsen does not depart from realism in these late plays, but rather that the characters 'get harder to understand'. However, she does acknowledge that 'the sense of heightened obscurity of motivation and purpose ... [is caused by] Ibsen's ever deepening interest in the sceptical problem of "expressing the inner mind", a problem that is absolutely essential in all his major modernist works (and in *Emperor and Galilean* too)' (Moi 2006: 320).
3. The Théâtre de L'Oeuvre (1893) followed the Théâtre de L'Art (1890–92) and was the major venue for symbolist theatre in Paris. It opened with Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, but is most often remembered for its controversial staging of Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi* in 1896.
4. I use this phrase to suggest the uncertain place naturalism has in theatrical modernism. For example, Christopher Innes does not include it in his account (Innes 2006), while Kirsten Shepherd-Barr argues that 'in theatre history, Naturalism is a phase of Modernism' (Shepherd-Barr 2005: 59). The shift Theoharis identifies is key to the development of symbolism – away from verisimilitude, linear, cause-and-effect narrative and psychology revealed through circumstance. The simultaneous operation on two planes, worldly and symbolic, is an aspiration for symbolist writers. Both symbolist individualism and its *allegorisation* of the individual are prefigured here, although Theoharis tends to emphasise the Nietzschean 'Superman', rather

- than stress the literal 'death of character' (see Fuchs 1996) and Solness's transmutation into an icon. As Helland puts it, 'the image is more important [to Hilde] than the real Halvard Solness ... it is not until he is in the quarry that Solness can become the statue of the great man to whom Hilde has devoted herself throughout' (Helland 2009: 71–2).
5. Theoharis produces lengthy and detailed readings of several of Ibsen's plays, particularly *The Master Builder*, and comments on its philosophical context in some detail. However, he makes scant reference to their immediate theatrical context, although he proposes that this breakthrough in Ibsen's work 'radiated out from Ibsen's stage to Shaw's, Chekhov's, O'Neill's, and in its most radical form, Beckett's' (1999: 281).
 6. It remains uncertain whether, or to what extent, Ibsen actually read Nietzsche. Thomas Van Laan has carefully traced the likely extent of this reading, concluding that it is likely he read at least Georg Brandes's work on Nietzsche, and possibly some of the latter's major works. The posthumously published fragment cited above could not have been read by Ibsen. However, it is similar to a famous passage, placed in the mouth of the 'madman' in *The Gay Science*, which Ibsen conceivably could have known (Nietzsche 1974 [1887]: 181). Nevertheless, it is also necessary to remember that he claimed not to have been well acquainted with Nietzsche's work, so he may not have done. While it is difficult to accept that Ibsen read as little of Nietzsche as he claimed (so strong are the parallels), it is not essential to prove a direct influence in order to demonstrate Nietzsche's relevance as a lens through which to view Ibsen's play and many have done so. Works published in English that comment on the Nietzschean resonances in the play include but are not limited to Kaufman 1972; Theoharis 1999; Wohlfarth 1999; Johnston 2000; Van Laan 2006; Helland 2009. However, Nietzsche was invoked in Norwegian reviews following the play's first publication (Aanrud 1892; Brinchmann 1892–93).
 7. Robert Brustein, while not referencing Nietzsche, also suggests that the plot of this play undermines cause and effect, when Solness reveals that the fire that led to his children's death was not caused by his own neglect of the chimney: 'Ibsen has quietly proceeded to undermine a basic assumption of the naturalist universe – namely that cause A precedes consequence B, which in turn is responsible for catastrophe C.' In so doing, he aims to move us 'beyond the sterile cycle of guilt and expiation' (Brustein 1980: 109).
 8. The term dates from the 1896 publication, *Jugend*, and is associated, too, with the 1896 exhibit of textiles by Hermann Obrist; see Mallgrave 2005: 211.
 9. Semper's ideas informed Wagner's theatre, which he was originally commissioned to design. Nietzsche also read Semper, and Mallgrave suggests he was particularly interested in his discussion of Greek drama and theories of masking (2005: 129) – quite antithetical to Benjamin's materialism.
 10. This word, difficult to render into English, connotes comfort, wellbeing, cosiness and belonging.
 11. Mallgrave suggests that *Jugendstil* is in fact 'an epiphenomenon emanating from realist currents', citing the architectural theorist Richard Streiter. Mallgrave goes on to state that 'it is only by looking at the Realist movement that one can understand the ideological complexity of the *Jugendstil*, secessionist and art nouveau movements of the second half of the 1900s', pointing

- out the influence of former realist architect Otto Wagner and the parallel publication of theorists of realism Streiter and Alfred Lichtwark in the pre-dominantly *Jugendstil* journal *Pan* (Mallgrave 2005: 209–11).
12. Streiter suggests that ‘Just as poetic realism considers the relation of the characters to their milieu, so architectural realism sees the principal goal of artistic truthfulness in developing the character of a building based not only on its purpose, but also on its milieu, local building materials, the landscape and historical details of the region’ (cited in Mallgrave 2005: 108).
 13. Solness idealises and to a degree fictionalises this past, just as the National Romantics imagined a somewhat fictional past as their inspiration.
 14. Arestad suggests that the pit represents Hell; however, it can also be seen as a sepulchre (Arestad 1959: 295).
 15. It was later used in rebuilding the town of Ålesund in a *Jugendstil* style, after its destruction by fire.
 16. Binding also suggests that Victoria Terrasse, where the Ibsens rented an apartment in 1891, might have infiltrated Ibsen’s imagination when he wrote of the Master Builder’s new house (Binding 2006: 160–1). This building, by Henrik Thrap-Meyer (1833–1910), was built in 1883–84 and is in a neo-gothic, or neo-renaissance style with towers and turrets, though built in a poor area of Oslo. Its grandiloquence made it attractive to the Nazi occupation and it became the headquarters from 1940 through the war, where it served as a site for interrogation and torture. Semper’s second Dresden theatre, mentioned above, was also in a neo-renaissance style.
 17. The examples given by Miller Lane include Norwegian houses by Werenskiöld (1895–96); Gerhard Munthe (1898–99); and Carl Larsson’s development of his home (1890–1901). All these were made of wood, but if we look at the two houses built by architect Hjalmar Welhaven for the explorer Fritjof Nansen at Lysaker, we see the possibility of a diversity of styles in the context of the Lysaker circle, though separated by a decade. The first house, Godthåb (1890), was in the dragon style, whereas the second, Polhøgda (1901), designed by Nansen with Welhaven’s help, was conceived as a stone, castle-style dwelling, with rounded arches.
 18. He writes that ‘in Ibsen, *Jugendstil* produced one of the greatest technicians of the drama’ (Benjamin 1999: 360).
 19. In an Austinian sense (see Austin 1976: 6). This architectural ‘statement’ is an act of commitment, or self-realisation (at least in a Nietzschean reading of it).
 20. Behrens would have been 24 in 1892, a year older than Hilde.
 21. The scenario, *The Sign* (*Das Zeichen*), was a reworking of Fuchs’s short play, *The Arrival of Prometheus* (*Die Ankunft des Prometheus*).
 22. ‘Das Zeichen’ is the title of the last section of Nietzsche’s work (Nietzsche 2011 [1892]: 359).
 23. The German Werkbund was established by Behrens and others to transform everyday objects through an association between artists, producers and tradesmen. It was allied to movements of national and cultural reform (see Schwartz 1996: 9, also Chapter 2 of this volume).
 24. Hitler reportedly admired Behrens, and Speer commissioned him to design the new AEG headquarters in Berlin. This was never built, however.
 25. The ‘crystal chain’ letters, which Taut initiated, were a series of utopian exchanges between architects in 1919–20. Walter Gropius, a pupil of

- Behrens's, was part of the 'Crystal Chain' and later went on to found the Bauhaus, where he was director 1919–28. Taut's play was entitled *Der Weltbaumeister* and indicates an abstract stage where architecture dissolves and is rebuilt (1919).
26. Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, giants of architectural modernism, also trained under Behrens. Mies was director of the Bauhaus from 1930 to 1933.
 27. Binding suggests that 'all those fantasies of hers come not just from fairy-story but from the cultish work of Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949)' (Binding 2006: 168).
 28. The plays were written within three years of each other and Trepliev, 25 in 1895, is a year younger than Hilde, who is 23 in 1892.
 29. The Blur Building is made of water vapour, with an evocatively named viewing platform, the 'Angel Deck', at its top. 'Emerging through the fog', they write, 'is like piercing a cloud while in flight to the blue sky.'

2 Chronotope and Rhythmic Production: Garden Cities, Narratives of Order and Spaces of Hope

1. Pinder points out, for example, that 'the "insane", "epileptics", "inebriates", "waifs", and the "blind"' are placed in homes and asylums outside the garden city itself (Pinder 2005: 51).
2. Doyle references Robinson Crusoe, when he defines his hopes for Ireland as based on its potential international significance, rather than as a 'Robinson Crusoe island'.
3. Shaw, like Doyle, was Irish-born, though lived in England from the age of 20.
4. Yde focuses on the attack on democracy offered by Stockman in *An Enemy of the People*, identifying the latter with Ibsen himself. He also points to the Nietzschean aspects of Ibsen's work, including the anticipation of a 'third order' in *Emperor and Galilean* while qualifying these suggestions by remarking that 'Ibsen was much more ambivalent than Shaw about the dawning of a new age' (2013: 42). Yde's work offers a useful corrective to a tendency to emphasise the progressive elements in admired writers. On the other hand, these readings of the plays take little account of dramatic irony, or either writer's capability for self-questioning.
5. As proposed by Howard, First Garden City Ltd (FGC) held the land in trust, the costs to be gradually recouped via leases, with limited profits to shareholders and a reinvestment of the 'unearned increment' (resulting from the transformation of rural land to town) in amenities and support services.
6. I viewed the script for *The Garden City Pantomime* of 1910 at the Frederic Osborn Archive in Hertford. I viewed the script for *The Garden City Pantomime* of 1911 at the Garden City Collection, Letchworth, which also holds the musical score and lyrics for the 1909 pantomime. For more information on the set designs and costumes, see forthcoming research undertaken by Helen Nicholson and Cara Gray.
7. The pantomime in 1911 is set at the besieged Estate Office: throughout, the dynamics of incursion, escape and siege suggest the potential for sudden shifts in power; but equally, for these to be reversed.

8. George Bates, a leader of the local Independent Labour Party, and known as an outspoken trades unionist, plays the part of Conservative councillor Bloggs, who is terrified of revolutionaries. Howard Hall (playing the composer, Brougham Handel) and the publisher Hugh Dent (playing the painter Michael Angelo Poskins) were both members of the Parish Council, formed in 1908. Edward Docker (playing the Common Keeper), one of the four artists in the cast, was on the Residents Council, formed in 1905. Purdom himself was employed by the Garden City Pioneer Company Limited in 1902 as Junior Clerk and in 1910 was accountant for First Garden City Ltd. He also edited *Letchworth Magazine* and led the Letchworth amateur theatre company, later producing books about both theatre and urban planning (he plays the journalist and poet Willie West). Purdom's collaborator on the score, Charles Lee, was, Buckley says, better known for his Cornish novels than his music, although the music is praised more than 'the book'. Lee later wrote short plays set in the West Country, and these, too, were performed by Letchworth's amateur theatre company. Like the pantomimes, they are gently satirical, concerned with the contradictions and absurdities of human relationships. Both *Mr Sampson* (1912) and *The Banns of Marriage* (1913) are one-act plays concerned with the difficulties and ambiguities of betrothals, where convenience, social status, financial gain, company and affection are all matters for consideration among the lower middle classes. Other pantomime cast members included the artists Charles Fox and William Ratcliffe as part of the May Pageant, while another artist, Robert Percy Gossop, played the Spirit of the Place (Gossop was the first art director for British *Vogue* and designed the logo for W. H. Smith). Architect Murray Hennell plays the Chairman of the Parish Council. Frank Reynolds, who plays the 'fool', is referred to by Purdom as an actor; here, the joke is that he is too convincing to be truly carnivalesque. A. C. Borwell, who plays the reformed hooligan, may be a member of the family of coal merchants; if so, the script is evidently making a joke about class mobility.
9. Buckley singles out the suffragette's scene as one of the best in 1910: 'the best scene is one in which a delightful suffragette crawls from beneath the table, to the horror of the Parish Councillors, who fall to the ground like a pack of cards. She pours forth a diatribe, which, musically and dramatically, reaches a high level. So full of humour and fire is Miss Andrew's singing that no doubt she is "sealed of the tribe" of Woman's Righters' (Buckley 1910).
10. The pantomimes were not staged after 1911. The cause for this is uncertain, though Miller speculates that it 'went a little too far even for the liberal free-thinkers' (Miller 1989: 108).
11. This banner was not made for the masque, but was made in 1909 and had previously appeared in civic processions. There is an image of it being used on Coronation Day, 1911, with Howard giving a speech before it in Miller 1989: 106.
12. Carlut (1908–79) attended summer schools with Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and visited Hellerau in the 1920s (Robinson 1998: 223).
13. *Sachlichkeit* is often translated as 'objectivity', although it also has associations of 'practicality' and 'rationality'.
14. 'Second Cities – Performing Cities/Stadt als Bühne' was operated by HELLERAU, European Centre for the Arts, Dresden (D); Kaserne Basel (Ch); Ringlokschuppen Mülheim an der Ruhr (D); TAP – Théâtre et Auditorium

de Poitiers (Fr); Le Maillon, Théâtre de Strasbourg, Scène Européenne (Fr); Festival A/D Werf Utrecht (NL); Teatr Laznia Nowa, Nowa Huta (Krakow). The event took place on 9–11 November 2012, in Hellerau, curated by Prof. Dr Patrick Primavesi (Leipzig University) and Anna Bründl (HELLERAU – European Centre for the Arts, Dresden). Commissioned artists were Ant Hampton (Brussels), Dries Verhoeven (Utrecht) and LIGNA (Hamburg/Berlin). I attended with Stephen Hodge, to make a presentation on our work with Wrights & Sites.

15. Ant Hampton and Tim Etchells are British artists, though Hampton was born in Fribourg, Switzerland. The work has been performed in Dresden, Ghent (2013), Utrecht (2014) and Basel (2014), though partly rewritten for each place. This commentary refers to the Dresden Part I and the Ghent Part 2, see note 16.
16. The Dresden soundtrack for part two was rewritten for subsequent cities and my more detailed comments refer to this version, though not in fact paired with the Dresden part one. In doing this, I reflect the work in its more definitive form and the artists' preferences, although it should be acknowledged that, ironically enough, the work as described here never took place, since there are site-specific elements to all versions. The original Dresden soundtrack offers a frenetic, stuttering male voice struggling to articulate ideas of the future, eventually dissolving into helpless laughter, while the rewritten version is quieter and more reflective.

3 Construction: The Convergence of City and Stage in Russian Constructivism

1. The 'Third International', also called the Communist International, or Comintern (1919–43), was an international association of communist parties, which pledged to fight for World Revolution. It was dominated by the Soviet party.
2. Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov (SovNarKom) was The Council of People's Commissars, which was founded in 1917 and became the highest government authority in Soviet Russia.
3. In 1923, Tatlin designed, directed and acted in Velimir Khlebnikov's play *Zangezi*. In designing the set, he tried to create forms to mirror the invented languages of the script, thus developing the notion of a correspondence between architectural form and the spoken word or sound: 'The word is a unit of construction – material is a unit of organised volume' (cited in Lodder 2005: 229).
4. Gabo's 'Project for a Radio Station', c. 1921, clearly shows the influence of Tatlin's 'Monument' (see Lodder and Hammer 2000: 86).
5. Gan designed a folding stand for Mosselprom c. 1923, for example, and a 'rural kiosk' c. 1924, which included radio speakers, banners and a podium.
6. Tschumi's design for Paris's Parc de la Villette (1982–98) comprised a series of red-enamelled steel 'follies' dispersed across a system of lines throughout the 125-acre site.
7. This was an adaptation by Sergei Tretiakov of *Night* by Marcel Martinet, which was a pacifist play about World War I. Tretiakov adapted the play to refer to the Civil War, creating what he termed a 'montage' of the text (Leach 1994: 137).

8. INKhUK was the Institute of Artistic Culture, 1920–24, a section of the Department of Fine Arts (IZO), of the People's Commissariat for Education (Narkompros). Comprising artists, architects and scholars, it held a series of debates at its meetings for the General Working Group of Objective Analysis, in spring 1921, during which the distinction between composition and construction was discussed and demonstrated with examples offered from participating artists. There was no absolute consensus, although a general statement was drawn up on 4 March. Those who became members of INKhUK's First Working Group of Constructivists (formed 18 March 1921) insisted that constructions must relate to real objects rather than painting, and should contain a utilitarian imperative (Lodder 1983: 83–94).
9. I have outlined what might be understood by this in an article, specifically concerned with architecture and public space (see Turner 2010: 153).
10. According to Lehmann, although Meierkhöld "'alienated" the stage plays in an extreme manner ... they were still presented in a cohesive totality' (Lehmann 2006: 22). The cohesion and singularity of these stage 'worlds' is, however, brought into question by such radical gestures as the introduction of a messenger bearing real news into an updated and topical adaptation of a play in a mass-meeting setting (Verhaeren's *The Dawn*, 1920). Victor Shklovsky recognises in this production the attempt to 'insinuate the tragedy of life into the tragedy of art', but regrets the 'destruction of the play by the mass meeting element. For this conflict to have had a successful outcome, it would have been necessary to keep the play intact and rupture its immobile body with excerpts from contemporary writers' (Shklovsky 2005 [1923]: 40–1). Shklovsky seems to regret the lack of clear contours dividing the 'fictive cosmos' from the enstranging 'real' elements.
11. This group was informally convened in December 1920 between Alexei Gan, Varvara Stepanova and Alexander Rodchenko, but was officially established on 18 March 1921 comprising Gan, Stepanova, Rodchenko, the Stenberg brothers, Konstantin Medunetskii and Karl Ioganson.
12. OBMOKhU was the 'Society for Young Artists', formed in 1919 and comprising students from VKhUTEMAS, the school for art and design which became a centre for constructivism, Suprematism and Rationalism. At OBMOKhU's second exhibition, held in Moscow, 22 May 1921, at 11 Bol'shaia Dmitrovka (the former Mikhailova Salon), the Stenbergs and Medunetskii, who were members of OBMOKhU, and of the new INKhUK Working Group of Constructivists, showed work in a gallery alongside older constructivists, Rodchenko and Ioganson (Shatskikh 1992).
13. At a meeting within INKhUK on 24 November 1921, following a speech by Brik, an agreement was signed by 25 artists, rejecting easel painting and affirming a commitment to Production. Those not in agreement left the institute. Those signing the agreement included constructivists Medunetskii, the Stenbergs, Ioganson, Liubov Popova and Alexander Vesnin. According to Gough, Rodchenko, Stepanova and Gan were absent on this occasion (Gough 2005: 102).
14. Meierkhöld's 'biomechanics' were sequences of physical movement, designed to train the actor's attention, movement, co-ordination and control. Though they were training exercises, they were also used in performance, demonstrating skilled and co-ordinated group work. For instance, Meierkhöld's

- production of Crommelynck's *The Magnanimous Cuckold*, 1922–23, drew on them extensively.
15. Arvatov's colleague and Meierkhold's former pupil, Eisenstein proposes a theatre that is a 'montage of attractions', whose organising principle is ideological purpose towards theatrical effect, rather than the logic of a fictional plot (see Eisenstein 1973 [1924]: 77–85).
 16. I use the two terms together to clarify that I am referring to the architectural structures of scenographic design, but that these are also understood as part of a dramaturgical whole.
 17. One could, however, also consider Eisenstein's smaller-scale site-specific production of Tretiakov's *Gas Masks* (1924) in Moscow Gas Works. This confirmed the Gas Works as the site of heroic working people, here depicted fixing a lethal gas leak.
 18. Biographers of both Popova and A. Vesnin cite it as seminal for their later scenographic work (see Khan-Magomedov 1986: 72 and 104; Sarabianov and Adaskina 1990: 250).
 19. Apparently the project reached the point of laying out a maquette in place (Sarabianov and Adaskina 1990: 249), but I am not aware of any photographs of this.
 20. Though the term 'Red Terror' is sometimes applied to all violence associated with the Russian Civil War, the 'Red Terror' was officially a response to an assassination attempt on Lenin, on 30 August. The term here refers to the systematic arrests, executions, torture and confiscation of property carried out by the Bolshevik Secret Police (the Cheka) in Autumn 1918.
 21. I am referring here to Cliff McLucas's use of the terms 'host' and 'ghost' in relation to the occupation of a site by an artwork, see Chapter 6.
 22. Not only those of Nikolai, but perhaps also those proposed by Catherine the Great in 1775 to celebrate the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardzhi. Bazhenov was instructed to lay out a map of the Black Sea on the field and to place the pavilions and fortresses to match the sites of victorious battles.
 23. The latter, though only achieving third prize in the competition, was praised by Moisei Ginzburg as 'a landmark for Constructivism ... attempting the creation of a new social organism, whose inner life flowed as a whole not from the stereotypes of the past, but from the novelty of the job itself' (cited in Cooke 1995: 89).
 24. This city cannot only be related to Gan's proposal for a mass action celebrating and modelling a future city, but also to proposals (also unrealised) by Lunarcharsky, to create a scenario concluding with a spectacular 'city of the future' for Red Square, again to accompany the third congress of the Comintern in 1921. Lunarcharsky suggested that this 'city' 'is a complex of wondrous and fantastic buildings shimmering with the colors of the rainbow (I would recommend using light, inflatable materials), with the names "Free Labor School", "Temple of Science", "Temple of Art" and so forth. The main task is to create a truly captivating picture, which would be a hint of the "Promised City"' (cited in Von Geldern 1993: 212).
 25. Meierkhold's RSFSR No 1, based at the Zon, had been closed in September 1921, following accusations of extravagance in June, and criticisms of the second production of Mayakovsky's *Mystery-Bouffe* as 'anarchistic' (this production, too, showed the back wall of the Zon theatre). After a brief period

- under the control of the State Theatre of Communist Drama, the empty theatre was reclaimed by Meierkhold, in alliance with Konstantin Nezlobin's company. At first, the Nezlobin company remounted their productions, but in April, Meierkhold's company took control of the space (see Leach 1994: 103–10). *The Magnanimous Cuckold* was the second production they staged, following a performance of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, which featured flats turned back to front and jumbled furniture, signifying the disruption of the bourgeois life and the 'denuding of the theatre' (Rudnitsky 1988: 91–2).
26. Apparently a wall hanging was eventually introduced to cover props and equipment (Hoover 1988: 128).
 27. According to Rudnitsky, this freestanding set was also used in the open air on some occasions, during the tour of 1923 (Rudnitsky 1988: 92).
 28. Estrugo is a kind of Iago figure to Bruno's jealous Othello, but since he does not speak, Bruno actually takes on this persuasive role himself, imputing suggestions to his silent servant.
 29. Meierkhold also introduced a double into Nikolai Gogol's *The Inspector General*.
 30. It should be acknowledged that Wigley's link between constructivism and most of the architects in the 1988 exhibition has been described as 'tenuous at best' and reflecting a 'superficial reading of architectural forms' (Hill 2013). However, Wigley continues to argue that the architects represented were linked by a knowledge of the Russian avant-garde and significant time spent thinking and researching that work, and that the projects in the exhibition 'use[s], consciously or not, the ghost of the Russian avant-garde to infect the generic orthogonal fantasies predominant in architecture to raise questions about structure' (MoMA 2013).
 31. Wigley is clear about the distinction between the terms 'deconstruction' and 'deconstructivism', proposing that architecture can only be identified with the latter term. Those interested in 'deconstructive' thought might, however, be interested in 'deconstructivist' architecture (MoMA 2013).
 32. Wodiczko has described his course in industrial design at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, under the directorship of Jerzy Sołtan, as being indebted to the programme of Vkhutemas, though regrettably shifting to 'International Constructivism' rather than 'Constructivism proper' in later years (Crimp, Deutsche et al. 1986: 33).
 33. Blok was a Polish group of Cubist, constructivist and Suprematist artists, based in Warsaw from 1924 to 1926. Members were Henryk Berlewski, Katarzyna Kobro, Karol Kryński, Vytautas Kairiūkštis, Henryk Stażewski, Władysław Strzemiński, Szczuka, Mieczysław Szulc, Teresa Żarnowerówna, Jan Golus, Maria Nycz-Borowiakowa and Aleksander Rafałowski. The group was represented by exhibitions and the journal, *Blok*. Tensions in the group resulted from different views on utilitarianism, with Strzemiński, Kobro and Stażewski defending the autonomy of art, against Szczuka's instrumentalisation of it.
 34. When Blok broke up in 1926, some of its members, including Katarzyna Kobro, Henryk Stażewski and Władysław Strzemiński, joined Praesens (1926–30), founded by Szymon Syrkus, again based in Warsaw. This group brought together architects and visual artists seeking a social role for art through architectonics and architecture. Again, tensions surrounding utilitarianism led to the break up of the group.

35. A.r. ('revolutionary artists', 1929–36) was founded by Strzemiński after leaving Praesens and included Kobro and Stażewski. It was based in Łódź and reflected their preference for a 'laboratory' version of constructivism and indirect approach to social problems.
36. Wodiczko has exhibited at the Foksal Gallery and referenced it in interviews (Crimp, Deutsche et al. 1986: 35). The constructivist Stażewski was one of its founders, as was theatre director Tadeusz Kantor, in 1966. Turowski, who was co-director of the gallery during the first 20 years of its existence, was a constructivist scholar, and has written about Wodiczko in this context (Turowski 2011: 23).
37. UNOVIS was a group of artists (1919–22) primarily based at the Art School in Vitebsk, led by Kazimir Malevich and committed to his idea of Suprematism, which emphasised feeling in art, rather than representation, and the creation of new forms, rather than a more instrumentalist view of applied art. Strzemiński was close friends with Kazimir Malevich and he and his future wife, Kobro, were involved with UNOVIS, particularly in the branch in Smolensk. Strzemiński exhibited with UNOVIS in Moscow in 1920 and in Vitebsk in 1921.
38. Svomas (State Free Art Studios), founded in 1918, was the forerunner of Vkhutemas, founded in 1920.
39. The Old Courthouse was the place where slave Dred Scott sued for freedom in 1847. Scott's case was eventually rejected by the United States Supreme Court.
40. These statues represent writer and politician Karel Havlíček Borovský; feminist author Eliška Krásnohorská; composer Bedřich Smetana; first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk; poet and linguist Josef Jungmann; historian and politician František Palacký; writer Božena Němcová.

4 *Gestalt*: From the Bauhaus to Robert Wilson

1. Christina Lodder writes with much useful detail about the relationship between the Bauhaus and Vkhutemas (2005: 459–98). She demonstrates that this is at times a parallel development and sometimes ideas were transmitted through figures such as the Russian artists Vasilii Kandinsky, who joined the Bauhaus in 1922, and El Lissitzky, who became Russian Cultural Ambassador to Weimar Germany in 1921. Neither school was the direct inspiration for the other, and Lodder clarifies that the Russians perceived there to be a distinct difference between the 'aesthetic' pursuit of new forms in Germany and the productivist work at Vkhutemas (in 1922) (2005: 464). Bauhaus masters László Moholy-Nagy and Johannes Itten were both influenced by the pedagogical theories of human creativity developed by Heinrich Jacoby, who taught at Hellerau (Mallgrave 2013: 129), while Oskar Schlemmer worked with dancers who had trained there.
2. Christine Hopfengart discusses this at length in her essay on Klee's relationship to the Bauhaus theatre. The curious thing, as she discusses here, is that he does not seem to have been directly involved in the Bauhaus stage work, perhaps because his tastes were not in accordance with Schlemmer's (Hopfengart 2008).

3. International Constructivism was inaugurated as a movement in 1922, at the Düsseldorf Congress of International Progressive Artists, in a faction organised by Theo van Doesburg, El Lissitzky and Hans Richter. Influenced by De Stijl, it also took up many of the ideas of Russian constructivism though without the rejection of art and aesthetics.
4. De Stijl was a Dutch artistic movement, and the name of a journal edited by Dutch artist Theo van Doesburg. The movement advocated a return to essentials of colour and form, through abstraction.
5. The name 'Bauhaus' was a reference to the medieval guild of cathedral masons, the *Bauhütte*.
6. Expressionist Workers' Council for Art, 1918–21: a Berlin-based union of architects, painters, artists and critics, which aimed to bring new developments in art and architecture to the masses.
7. Tessenow's architecture evidences some of the same preference for crystalline forms, and the Institute at Hellerau was sometimes considered in terms of a 'cathedral'.
8. Architecture students worked in Gropius's private architectural office. There were also some courses led by Adolf Meyer and some engineering and technical courses were also available.
9. We could argue that a note cannot represent a *Gestalt* in itself, because we do not perceive it as integrating separate elements.
10. The term *eidolon* refers to a spiritual double, apparition or dream-image.
11. Although, since she proposes the replacement of an 'absolute freedom' which 'threatens chaos' with the 'infinite freedom' of structured material, one might wonder whether there lies a deeper question here, one which concerns our understanding of 'freedom'.
12. A quotation from the diary entry of June 1922 referred to directly below.
13. He was a dramaturg at the Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Hamburg before founding the *Kunstbühne* in Berlin, and later the '*Sturm-Bühne*', the expressionist stage of *Der Sturm* gallery.
14. See Kanae 2009 for a fuller comparison.
15. Friedrich von Schiller was dramaturg at the Weimar Höftheater where Wolfgang von Goethe was Intendant at the end of the eighteenth century.
16. The web page giving details of McCall's visit explicitly acknowledges a direct influence (2013): <http://watermillcenter.org/events/oskar-schlemmer-bauhaus-dances-debra-mcall-lecture>.
17. It should be noted that primary influences on McNeil were Paul Cézanne and, later, Hans Hofmann, rather than the Bauhaus, which he identifies as offering a 'design approach'. Nevertheless, Hofmann was a fellow student with Kandinsky and his ideas in his Munich Art School prospectus echoed Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Moreover, Kandinsky's works were on display in New York (at the Guggenheim and MoMa) and remained a significant point of reference. Wilson is also influenced by Donald Judd, who contributed to a volume entitled *Against Kandinsky*, where the earlier artist is a significant, if contested, point of departure, and by Barnett Newman (Marter and Anfan 2007: 14–16; Sandler 1968).
18. Cage acknowledges the influence of Moholy-Nagy's *The New Vision*, and taught alongside the older artist in 1938 (Mill's College) and 1941 (Institute of Design). Cage also taught at Black Mountain College under Josef Albers in

1948. *Theater Piece # 1* was indebted to Schawinsky's *Spectrodruma* (Blume and Duhm 2008: 191). In the 1950s, he took part in Anna Halprin's San Francisco Dance Workshop, where Walter Gropius's influence was felt at one remove, through Lawrence Halprin, who studied with Gropius and Marcel Breuer at Harvard Institute of Design.
19. Both Johannes Itten and László Moholy-Nagy were friends with Heinrich Jacoby and influenced by him, and Gindler had an influence on Itten and shared his interest in, although not his commitment to, the cult of Mazdaznan. I have not been able to confirm whether the influence was significant in the other direction, although Sophie Ludwig comments that Bauhaus contacts probably stimulated Jacoby to 'allow us to experience in his courses how interconnections within problems of color and form also follow natural laws – and how decisive our *attitude* is for finding our way in these areas' (cited in Roche 1986: 22).
 20. For instance, Thierry Grillet remarks that he noticed a book on the Bauhaus on Wilson's table during a workshop with students from East Berlin (Grillet and Wilson 1992: 10).
 21. She was László Moholy-Nagy's second wife, and they did not meet until after he had left the Bauhaus. He was previously married to writer and photographer Lucia Schulz, later Lucia Moholy. They married in 1921 and lived as a couple in Weimar and Dessau. Lucia Moholy was involved in the school as official photographer. She also contributed to the development of her husband's early publications. The couple separated in 1929. He met and married Sibylle Pietzsch, later Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, in 1931–32.
 22. While there is not room to discuss Moholy-Nagy's vitalist thinking here, Oliver Botar has explicated his understanding that both natural and human technologies 'are rooted in the Bios or universal natural system' (Botar 2010: 53), suggesting one reason why the word 'organism' is often used for a technological construction. Barbara Eschenburg notes similar thinking in the paintings of Paul Klee. This current at the Bauhaus warrants further discussion in relation to theatre (Eschenburg 2007: 329–30).
 23. This understanding does not originate with the Bauhaus, but has its roots in the Arts and Crafts and related movements. For instance, Ruskin wrote in 1870 that the key architectural elements were 'skill, beauty and use' and that '[all] the architectural arts begin in the shaping of the cup and platter and they end in a glorified roof' (2008 [1870]: 51).
 24. In this it may, of course, differ from the lecture presentations.
 25. The main chapters in the book all operate along these principles and though the introduction and conclusion offer more focused arguments, they similarly include illustrations across geographies, time zones and scales.
 26. These included the influential *Lightplay black-white-grey* (1930); *Big City Gypsies* (1932); *Berlin Still Life* (1931); *Lobsters* (1936).
 27. The available 'Guide to the Sibyl Moholy-Nagy Collection', held at the University of California, demonstrates that the Bauhaus, its architects and their contemporaries are well represented in the extensive list of teaching resources and slides (Moholy-Nagy 2009). Interestingly, she also has significant collections of materials relating to Paulo Soleri, with whom Wilson later trained, and to Louis Kahn, whose work inspired Wilson's Watermill Center.

28. However, see note 22: at the Bauhaus, as with Wilson, these ideas may not be contradictory.
29. Vanden Heuvel is citing a previously mentioned comment by Elizabeth LeCompte, referring to her own work with The Wooster Group.
30. Knowles's autism enabled a unique, poetic approach to language, involving repetition and *non sequitur*.
31. Howell is referring to the Stanley Kramer film (1959), based on the 1957 novel by Nevil Shute.
32. Francis Picabia was a French artist associated with Dada.
33. More than most artists, Wilson has a habit of repeating key ideas with small variations in different interviews, providing both an admirable consistency and a number of differently nuanced reflections on some guiding principles.
34. A number of designs for theatres were created in 1926, for example Xanti Schawinsky's *Space Theatre*, Andor Weininger's *Spherical Theatre*, Farkas Molnár's *U Theatre* and Joost Schmidt's *Mechanical Stage*. Perhaps the best known and most influential was Walter Gropius's designs for director Erwin Piscator (1927); this 'total theatre' would have had an oval auditorium which could shift in relation to the stage area (even during the performance), designed to draw the spectator into the drama. It also aimed to facilitate incorporating film into the stage image. While these dynamic spaces were never built, they have been important reference points for subsequent theatre designs.
35. Der Blaue Reiter (The Blue Rider) was a group of Russian and German artists, based in Munich 1911–14, and fundamental to the expressionist movement. Kandinsky, who later taught at the Bauhaus, was central to this movement, which was named after his 1903 painting.

5 Situation: (Un)building the Hacienda

1. Jorn's group brought together artists from the recently disbanded CoBrA movement with those from Enrico Baj's Nuclear Art movement. Bill's school was the Hochschule für Gestaltung, Ulm.
2. We could also look backwards, however, and consider the 'supertemporal frame' introduced by the Letterists (see note 3, below), which invited the audience to participate in a work of art.
3. The Letterist International (1952–57) was a collective that resulted from a break with Isidore Isou's Letterist group, formed in the previous decade. Both groups expressed antagonism to surrealism, referring back to Dada, while revising aspects of the surrealist project.
4. In fact, Rumney was the only member of the London Psychogeographical Association, explaining later that it was 'put in to make our movement sound international ... It was a pure invention, pure mirage' (Rumney 2002: 37).
5. CoBrA (1948–51) was a group of artists from Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam, taking its title from the initial letters of these cities. Founders included Jorn and Constant. Though formed in opposition to surrealism, it had its roots in the Belgian Revolutionary Surrealist group, as well as the Dutch group Reflex, founded by Constant in 1948. Nash was also associated with CoBrA, as was Maurice Wykaert, another member of the SI in later years.

6. Rumney, Olmo, Simondo and Verrone were excluded in 1958; Constant, Khatib and Pinot-Gallizio resigned in 1960; Jorn resigned from the movement in 1961 (though continuing to contribute in various ways); SPUR, De Jong, Nash, Kotányi and others were excluded in 1962; Bernstein eventually resigned in 1967, though associated with the movement until 1970; Vaneigem did not resign till 1970.
7. Debord, in particular, moved towards a form of 'council communism', rejecting bureaucracy and advocating revolutionary change through Workers' Councils rather than via a central Revolutionary Party. It was revived in France by the 'Socialisme ou Barbarie' group (1948–65), founded by Cornelius Castoriadis, Claude Lefort and others. Debord was a member in 1960–61, and had some contact with the group beforehand. For a detailed discussion of his relationship with the group, see Hastings-King 1999.
8. As numerous situationist texts and writings have stressed, 'there is no such thing as situationism' (Dahou et al. 1958b: 13, my translation).
9. For a more detailed outline of the relationship between different approaches to art in relation to the Marxist understanding of reification see, for example, Bewes 2002: 131–3.
10. It is reported that only Nash objects to this conclusion, but does so vociferously. Meanwhile 'the German situationists' accept it, but (Heimrad) Prem questions situationist tactics, proposing that the practical possibilities for change exist within cultural politics and nowhere else. He is proposed as being merely the most honest of the German contingent, who tend to favour a pragmatic, rather than abstractly theoretical, approach. This is not the first nor the last time that tensions have been felt, and they later lead to the expulsions and resignations of 1962.
11. Asger Jorn's name was added, to inflate value, although he was not present, having left the SI in April that year.
12. While studying with Fernand Léger, Jorn had worked on decorations for Le Corbusier's 'Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux' at the 1937 world exhibition in Paris. He admired aspects of Le Corbusier's innovation, though fiercely critical of functionalism: 'Functionalists ignore the psychological function of surroundings' (Jorn 1954b: n.p.). For a more detailed account of this relationship, see Birtwhistle 2005: 395. Jorn did not accept the rejection of artwork or the artist.
13. The Co-Ritus manifesto was signed by Jens Jørgen Thorsen (never a member of the SI); Nash, Strid and Ambrosius Fjord (actually Nash's horse). The exhibition also included Dieter Kunzelmann and H. P. Zimmer, from the excluded SPUR group, and Gordon Fazakerley (not a former member of the SI).
14. This proclamation (Nash et al. 1962) was signed by Nash, Thorsen, Fazakerley, Strid, Steffan Larsson, Ansgar Elde, De Jong and Patrick O'Brien, although De Jong later denied the existence of a 'Second SI' and claimed that her name was added without her full approval.
15. This gallery was in the basement of 'the house', a building at Hunderupvej 78, Odense which was occupied by Denmark's first collective. One of its founders, Mogens Amdi Petersen, later became the leader of Tvind, a controversial pedagogical project. Others, potter Carstens Ringsmose and Ole Hansen, were already involved in the campaign for nuclear disarmament.

- Tom Lindhardt, the artist who curated the SI exhibition, later founded the successful playground equipment company Kompan.
16. The SI had adopted the term 'Nashist' to describe 'all traitors in struggles against the dominant cultural and social conditions'.
 17. It should be remembered that this exhibition took place less than a year after the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, when the world stood on the brink of nuclear war. It also took place just before Kennedy's assassination, which lends a retrospective chill to its mimetic shootings.
 18. It seems that the smell of deodorant was replaced by camembert and the taste of medicine with pills (Rasmussen 2003: 95 and n. 30, 112).
 19. According to Rasmussen, they were given the catalogue (Rasmussen 2003: 405).
 20. Rasmussen says that these in fact appeared in the third room (Rasmussen 2003: 405).
 21. Jan Strijbosch was supposed to supply five of these, but they were not exhibited. Debord's letters suggest that they did not arrive in time, but that following the curator's rejection of the exhibition as a whole, no attempt was to be made to supply them even after they were sent.
 22. According to Hagund and Garmer, who write with Nash and Thorsen, the action was repeated the following year, and these 'happenings had effect. Young artists at the Academy of Copenhagen nowadays are commissioned to do board fence paintings. There should not exist any grey board fences in Copenhagen' (Hagund et al. 1971).
 23. Constant sets the garden city idea in its original context in which a reaction against machines arose from their threat to the livelihood of working people and a desire to resist 'the pauperization of the working classes'. The twentieth-century dilution of this idea is in contrast 'a mere fiction', as it perpetrates a city of traffic, commerce and production with green spaces as 'traffic-free enclaves' where 'creativity, life' are options confined to the category of 'recreational activities' (Nieuwenhuys 1998 [1960]: 131).
 24. Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, a body representing modernist architecture. The Athens Charter was developed during a sea cruise from Marseille to Athens. Sadler points out that its authors did not always pay much attention to it themselves, and that Le Corbusier's own ideas moved away from it, towards 'more organic and self-contained structures' (Sadler 2001: 22).
 25. The overt cause of the split was a quarrel over the inclusion of images of a church accompanying a text by Constant, and his Dutch colleagues involvement in its design, which led to their exclusion. Debord saw in this, not a reactionary espousal of religion, but an interest in form, with indifference to psychological and social function.
 26. This word literally means 'diversion', 'rerouting', with overtones of 'hijacking', 'misappropriation' or 'corruption'.
 27. The Swiss Guard served the French, protecting the King during the revolution in 1792 and suffering considerable loss. The song dates from 1793. It is cited at the beginning of Louis-Ferdinand Céline's novel *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (1932), which is influenced by his own experience of World War I. Céline was one of Debord's favourite authors (Wark 2013: 18). Debord also mentions the Swiss Guards' defeat in *Panegyric*, Chapter VI.

28. Marx's text can be translated as 'The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities"' (Marx 1999 [1867]: 26 (he cites his own words from 'Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie' (1859)). Debord's first sentence can be translated as: 'The whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles' (Debord 1994 [1967]: n.p.).
29. According to Gerard Berreby, Jorn and Debord's *Mémoires* was an influence on Pop Art.
30. Sadler identifies all three as first appearing in the Letterist publication *Potlatch* in 1954, with *détournement* first appearing in no. 2 (June), *dérive* in no. 9–10–11 (August) and situation in no. 14 (November), although 'situation' also appeared in Debord's 1952 film, *Hurlements en faveur de Sade* (Sadler 2001: n. 38, 168).
31. Lefebvre draws attention to the fact that in the second half of the 1960s, Khrushchev broke with Stalinism, de Gaulle returned to France and the Algerian war continued. This produced a political ferment, in which revolutionary movements, disillusioned by the Communist party, began to operate outside established parties, and may partly explain the shift in the SI's direction (Ross and Lefebvre 2002 [1983]: 270–1).
32. See, for example, Owen Hatherley's critique of Nicolas Bourriaud's claims in *Postproduction* (2002a), in which the latter characterises the contemporary artist as a 'semionaut' who samples, remakes and reassembles the work of others. According to Hatherley, this is a 'deliberate depoliticization of the Situationists, this time with reference to their theory of *détournement*, here made over into a "utilization" of that which already exists rather than its "devalorization"' (Hatherley 2009: 154).
33. This might be an appropriate moment to acknowledge the influence of Brennan's work, despite obvious differences.
34. Most of the pages were tested through walks we undertook together, individually or in small groups, and some were informed by 'Mis-Guided tours' or other performances.
35. One sign is located in Cardiff, looking back towards Weston, across the Bristol Channel. Others are located in Uphill, just outside the town.
36. The project was curated by Situations, Bristol, with Field Arts. It was funded by the 'Sea Change' programme, Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE).

6 Architecture and Deep Map: Cliff McLucas's Placeevents

1. While Paul Davies's performance, *Welsh Not*, was one of the most discussed works from the 1977 Eisteddfod, he was not one of the commissioned artists, but employed as a steward. However, his work was an agreed contribution and 'annexed' to the event (see Roms 2008: 125).
2. Born in the Isle of Wight, Rolfe was based in Dublin, reflecting the intention of the Wrexham Performance Arts Programme to 'internationalise' an idea of 'Celtic identity' that artist Josef Beuys proposed as an 'alternative to mainstream European or international identity' (Roms 2008: 113).

3. Pearson concludes his essay in generous fashion by acknowledging McLucas's contribution to the ideas articulated: 'His unique architectural address to place and performance are of major importance not only in the development of Brith Gof's work but in suggesting an entirely new conceptual approach to theatre-making in Wales' (Pearson 1997: 99).
4. Pearson trained in archaeology as an undergraduate.
5. 'Space is nothing but the inscription of time in the world, spaces are the realizations, inscriptions in the simultaneity of the external world of a series of times, the rhythms of the city, the rhythms of the urban population, and in my opinion as a sociologist, I suggest to you the idea that the city will only be rethought and reconstructed on its current ruins when we have properly understood that the city is the deployment of time, and that it is this time ... of those who are its inhabitants, it is for them that we have to finally organize in a human manner' (Lefebvre, cited in Cunningham 2010: 272).
6. Iain Biggs suggests that it can be argued as originating in Thoreau's work, and that authors such as John Cowper Powys and Alan Garner anticipate aspects of deep mapping in the UK.
7. Ingold writes of the 'meshwork' of interwoven trails, deriving this term from Lefebvre (Ingold 2007: 80–1; Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 117).
8. Lorimer led a research initiative, *The Invisible College*, in partnership with NVA and academics at Glasgow, Strathclyde and Edinburgh Universities. The project took a workshop-led approach to engaging communities in the site. See www.theinvisiblecollege.org.uk/.

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