In other words, this explosion of new festivals around the world can be understood within a framework of a modernist aspiration towards self-definition, networking, and putting a city (back) on the map, expressed through cultural production (in the arts). What this implies is a model of multiple modernities, where the concept of modernism is detached from its relationship to the West, where it is best known to have flourished (Eisenstadt 2000, 2–3). Timothy Morton expresses this same sentiment adroitly in writing that:

> Although the desire for it first emerged in America, it turns out everyone wants air conditioning. … Likewise obesity isn't simply American. Americans are not like aspartame, ruining the natural sweetness of other humans. (Morton 2016, 15)

The point being the decoupling of the accoutrement of modernism (air conditioning, arts festivals) from where they first occurred, usually in the West. It is more broadly an aspect of the Anthropocene, a trait of the concept of the modern human most generally, not reducible to one particular culture or nation. This implies a very different relationship between the festival format and its role in developing countries, one that does not per se need to position itself towards the festival as a "Western" import, but rather as part of a larger, self-determined strategy.[6]

2.2 The Anatomy of Festivals and Biennales

2.2.1 Fest/ival

The previous section presented the Crystal Palace Exhibition, as well as subsequent universal exhibitions, as a precursor to the practices of museology and art history that still inform our understanding of artistic work today, serving as an important cardinal point for mapping the origination of festivals for arts and culture since the mid 19th century.

Before examining arts festivals from the late 19th century until the present, it is important to acknowledge that universal exhibitions should not be thought of as the sole progenitor of contemporary festivals. For instance, theatre festivals in ancient Greece also prove to share many similarities in terms of their array of economic and societal functions with contemporary events (English 2011, 65–66). Theatre scholar Jennifer Elfert furthermore positions the contemporary (theatre) festival within a longer history of the German Festspiel, a format strongly tied with a projection of sovereign power of the Germanic states in the 16th and 17th centuries, and later as a catalyst for German nationalist sentiment as of the late 19th and early

6 "Developing" is meant here in the very concrete sense of investing in the modernist aspirations of self-definition and nation-building.

20th centuries (Elfert 2009, 49). Franz Willnauer also supports the emphasis on the Festspiel rather than the universal exposition in his writing on the emergence of music festivals in Germany (Willnauer 2017, 1–2).

Such positions point to a second important aspect of the history and emergence of the contemporary festival and its societal role. Sociologists Liana Giorgi and Monica Sassatelli argue that most writing regarding festivals can seemingly be read as some combination of two different perspectives and theoretical framework. There exist firstly readings of the festival phenomenon that, coming from a Bourdieu-inspired standpoint, will tend to see them as sites for the negotiation of community status, or as James English calls it, participation in the "symbolic economy" of cultural capital (Giorgi and Sassatelli 2011, 5; English 2011, 64). Such a focus has also been seen in the reading of the history of the universal exhibition above, and formulations such as those of Roces, who views the true subject of that exhibition format to be capital in all its facets (2010, 57). In other words, the festival is seen as fulfilling various functions relating to the creation and exchange of different forms of capital.

Giorgi and Sassatelli's second perspective on the festival format is the understanding of it as a place for the negotiation also of societal values, and as a form of public sphere. While of course intrinsically linked with the negotiation also of status and exchange value in the symbolic economy, they argue that this reading of the festival stems more from a Habermassian approach (2011, 5). Reading festivals from this perspective connects them to earlier festival formats that have occurred over the course of human history, named variously "primitive" or "traditional" festivals (Foucault 1984, 4; Sassatelli 2011, 13–14), which served an important role in the production and reproduction of society and culture (Giorgi and Sassatelli 2011, 4). Here the role of the festival becomes one of actualizing and (re)affirming community bonds and identity through local co-presence.[7]

To understand the festival from this societal perspective, the first step is to understand the "fest," its root and etymological parent.[8] The fest, historically a com-

7 Anthropologist Georgina Born, in an investigation of musical habits of Southeast Asian diasporic youth, calls this phenomenon particularly in the musical realm a "musically imagined community" that is constituted by the microcosm of a local co-present public, but is often afterwards globally-dispersed and existing only through virtual (digital) connections (Born 2005, 29).

8 The word "fest" has been chosen as an English approximation of the German noun *Fest*. Though the word is similar in its connotations, the OED's example sentences emphasize more the light and celebratory aspect of the word more comparable with the German word *Feier* (party). The word should be understood rather in its German connotation and ostensibly less-frequent sense in English. It is more akin to the less-common English "holy-day" [sic], with its connotation of a day of religious observance or religious festival, as opposed to the more conventional "holiday," more related already since the 16th century with the "day of recreation,"

pulsory event for community members, is a site and ritual serving the communication and reproduction of societal order. It is a moment where rules are either set aside or inverted, either out of the necessity of a destabilizing event in the community, or out of the need to reaffirm the values of living together that underpin a community. It is an exceptional situation, and one that serves a variety of functions in ensuring the continued stability of a community. Significantly, the fest and the ritual are frequently associated with various forms of theatre, which can serve just such a function as affirming values, suggesting solutions to conflicts, etc. (Turner 1982, 11).

The concept of the fest is an ancient building-block for the maintaining of a community, its core components of the ritual, destabilization of society, and reaffirmation of a societal order are all elements that have been revised within contemporary society. In a section of *Theaterfestivals* (2009), Jennifer Elfert in her study of the societal phenomenon aligns the formerly-essential fest described above and its now-optional modern descendent, the festival, with ethnologist Victor Turner's distinction between liminal and liminoid rituals. The main differentiation for Turner revolves around the transformation in the understanding of work and its relationship to play or leisure (which both contains and exceeds play) between pre- and post-industrial revolution societies, respectively. He argues that liminal phenomena are phenomena of passage, of transformation across a threshold, they are all those rituals to prevent the destabilization of a community given events like birth, marriage, death, war, etc. They mark a change in status of a member of the community, and are moments when the ritual, the fest, is needed in order to re-establish stability (Elfert 2009, 76).

Liminoid (*-oid* in the sense of similar) phenomena share characteristics of liminality, but are not mandatory, and are less associated with moments of personal or societal crisis in the same fundamental way. They can be similarly transformational, but are opt-in events that exist as offerings to fill the leisure time of post-industrialist workers (Elfert 2009, 76; Turner 1974, 64). These liminoid phenomena, because of their lack of a binding character, allow for the creation of uncoded space where there exists the possibility for the subversion of established values through the creation of "a plurality of alternative models for living, from utopias to programs, which are capable of influencing the behaviour of those in mainstream social and political roles … in the direction of radical change" (Turner 1972, 65). This makes the liminoid character of the festival an ideal instrument for the dissemination of new forms of perception and subjectivity, as discussed in the functioning of the regime of sight deployed with the universal expositions.

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once again more akin to the *Feier* (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2018a). This second connotation becomes clear also through its use in the context of this text.

The liminoid festival can be further articulated by examining Foucault's similar concept of "heterotopia" in modern society. For Foucault, the heterotopia is the incarnation of the utopia, the non-place, within a real site. It exists outside of all places, while still existing at a real location, such as a fairgrounds (Foucault 1984, 4). It is a place defined less by the actual set of relations that constitute it in its specificity, but rather by their existence as a real screen onto which one can project a vision of society in perfected form. Foucault argues that while what he calls "primitive" societies frequently created heterotopias of crisis, akin to Turner and Elfert's concept of the liminal fest, modern societies are more involved in the production of heterotopias of deviation, ones meant to collect and sometimes contain difference and deviation from the norm. This creation of a temporalized and spatialized moment of deviance will always have a specific, if changing, relationship to the society that it is abstracted from. (Foucault 1984, 4–5).

Foucault continues that heterotopias can also exist as heterotopias in time: they can both exist within the normal functioning of time, while also seeming to suspend it, as during the intensity and seemingly-stretched "festival time" where so much can be done while the clock moves at a totally unrelated speed to the events in progress. This is a time that is isolated and separate from linear time, while obviously in the practical sense of hours and minutes still existing within it. If this is applied back to the core mechanism of the establishment of the festival community, namely its spatial and temporal concentration, then Foucault's conception helps to conceive of the parameters for the creation of a "rite of passage," but within the framework of modern society. It also frames the functioning of the festival mechanism on the two axis that constitute it as a category as such: time and space. The festival is a time within time, a suspended, heterotopic time, separate but within and therefore limited. It is also a place within space, somewhere that transformation can occur, but nevertheless somewhere real. A festival can thus be understood as a spatio-temporal concentration with transformative function.

2.2.2 Arts Festivals

While the functioning of the festival format has now been established along two fronts, namely its function as a site for the creation and exchange of forms of capital, and as a site for the (re)constitution of community bonds, what remains to be explored are the specific characteristics of the festivals being examined here, namely contemporary music and arts festivals. This requires a more detailed examination of the historical emergence of festivals exclusively for the arts in the wake of the large-scale universal exhibitions of the late 19th century.

Both the Crystal Palace Exhibition and its subsequent descendants in London, Paris, and elsewhere around the globe both were and remain to this day costly, large-scale, and enormous undertakings dealing with works from all areas of the

world and many facets of society. The sheer size of these events led to many of their characteristics being distilled and reduced down to "leaner," purely artistic festivals. These have proven to be (comparatively) smaller affairs that could still function as these large feats of self-definition both for cities and for nations. They maintained the aspirations to the projection of power on the international stage as in the universal expositions, importing much of the formats and working methods, but doing so through a focus exclusively on visual art, music, and theatre/opera. The arts thus become the quintessential brokers of internationality, representing particular ethnic and national values and meanings via the communication vessel of art, which becomes de- and re-contextualized thanks to the modernist system of display, and is thus able to circulate within the smooth non-place of the festival.

Looking again to art historian Caroline A. Jones, she writes that "the twentieth century witnessed the dramatic shift …, when the energies of the world's fairs were appropriated by the trade-specific biennial form" (2010, 81). This miniaturization of the universal exposition brought with it the importation of many of those characteristics of the grander format, and by extension also its deployment of representationality as explored earlier. Jones makes this link as well, writing she is focusing on clarifying that

> the sets of values and cultural practices inculcated by such large-scale international exhibitions. Seeded by the event of the [world's] fair, these practices could involve impressive diplomatic events, scholarly conferences …, spectacular images, celebrated works of art, collectible objects […,] as well as new experiences (and thus new subjectivities) for the middle class. (2010, 80)

The functioning of this system of display becomes an apparatus of education for its visitors, understood here in the sense of a carefully orchestrated showing and seeing in the name of a particular enlightenment agenda, exemplified through these cultural practices carried over from the universal expositions. The concentration of factors listed above were all meant to elicit a specific form of education of visitors. These events were built and billed as special events, moments to be experienced. Their concentration allowed them to create dense moments of exchange, their distinction from everyday life allowed them to take on characteristics of the *ritual*, bringing with it aspects of transformation, and of transforming subjectivities.

All these factors can be seen with the founding of the Venice Biennale in 1895. Though the Venice Biennale in the form it is known today has been the result of over a century of development of its form, it is nevertheless widely regarded as marking with its inaugural edition the first arts biennale, and has come to represent the "ur-biennial" that others would necessarily stand in some relationship to (either in rejection or in affirmation of its organizational decisions).

The most basic characteristics of the arts biennale, while taking some time to be properly established in the way they are now known, align with this view of the

biennale as a purely-artistic, scaled-down descendant of the universal exposition. Like its predecessor, its internationality would come to be one of its defining characteristics (seen for instance with Venice's often problematic system of national pavilions). So too would its emphasis on periodicity—memorialized through the now-eponymous term "biennale," which effectively promises a repetition every second year. The aspect of capital (and Capital) central to earlier universal expositions is also clearly present as of the beginning of the biennale, with one of its original goals being the hope of re-establishing an art-market in Venice, a formerly-thriving city for art (a goal which largely succeeded), and stymying urban decline (Jones 2010, 73; Papastergiadis and Martin 2011, 46).

The Venice Biennale is thus significant not just for the persistence of its artistic offering since 1895, but also related to this continuing presence its outsized influence on the discourse around perennial arts events (Filipovic 2010, 326). This can be seen, among other places, in the use of the Italian spelling of biennale, rather than the English biennial, to brand other perennial arts festivals around the world.

Though the Venice Biennale is a main stay of the discourse around biennales, this discourse itself is not without its share of issues. Perhaps one of its most well-established points is the issue of a lack of adequate and quality scholarship on the issue of biennales perennial arts events both historically and in terms of a theoretical framework.[9] This in turn connects with a position within the related discourse on curating regarding a lack of scholarship and research on exposition history (see section 2.4.1).

Its most significant issue however is that, despite frequent cross-citations among festivals and biennales, music and arts events stemming from the tradition of the universal expositions are not often considered by scholars or practitioners to exist within the same genealogy. Though especially in earlier festivals, material/medial differences in the cultural offerings being presented were surely

9 On the lack of an established discourse around biennales, Filipovic writes that "despite the number of symposia, lectures, and debates that biennials have inspired, little sustained critical assessment of the phenomenon – in all its specificities and implications – has yet been carried out" (2010, 16). Fleck writes that "there existed no comprehensive presentation of the Venice Biennale, despite it being the most influential art event of the last century" before his attempt to do so (Fleck 2009, 7; translation added). See also (Teissl 2013, 13). Original text by Fleck: "Bei der Vorbereitung für die Einzelausstellung [an dem österreichischen Pavillion der Biennale von 2007], entdeckte ich, dass es keine zusammenfassende Darstellung der Biennale von Venedig gibt, obgleich es sich um die historische bedeutendste Kunstveranstaltung des letzten Jahrhunderts handelt" (Fleck 2007, 7). Alloway's 1968 study of the Venice biennale should be understood as a notable exception here, see Alloway 1968. NB: This volume makes use of German-language sources. In the interest of monolingual legibility, these have been translated by the author in the running text. These instances are marked with the words "translation added" in the parenthetical references, and the original German-language source is quoted in full in corresponding footnotes.

relatively clear in a simplistic sense (theatre/music performances at fixed times vs. paintings hung for a duration), not only do these events share a common point of origin, but their underlying characteristics and historical developments track to each other.

This can be seen in the lack of acknowledgement and examination within this discourse of analogous important artistic festivals beginning around the same time, and which also continue until today. For instance, Verena Teissl points out that the Bayreuther Festspiele, begun in 1876, can be significantly established as the first purely artistic festival that comes out of this same spirit of the universal expositions, not, as stated by Jones and others, the Venice Biennale some time later (2013, 13). The following sections will explore the parallels between these arts festivals in both the performing and visual arts, highlighting the common characteristics that unite these festival events in order to begin to understand them in a unified way.

2.2.3 General Characteristics of Arts Festivals

The consensus around the definition of the arts festival seems to be that there is a lack of consensus—the mutability of its form appears to be one of its most fundamental characteristics (Elfert 2009, 21; Willnauer 2017, 2; Filipovic, van Hal, Øvstebø 2010, 19). However, despite the heterogeneity of cultural projects that can be given the title "festival," the term nevertheless is not resistant to definition. As theatre scholar Jennifer Elfert writes, "despite a tendency … to transgress boundaries, festivals are comparable to each other, and therefore also fundamentally definable" (Elfert 2009, 23; translation added).[10] This section will look specifically at how the basic festival schema refracts into symptoms of current performing arts festivals and arts biennales, in order also to establish a field of common ground between them.

Limited Time-Frame and Periodic Repetition

Most festivals take place over a limited amount of time and recur with some degree of regularity. While specific institutional constellations and project-management considerations necessary for realizing the festival, such as funding deadlines and size of staff, can have a large influence on their individual lengths, general tendencies are nevertheless discernable. At the lower limit, many shorter performing arts festivals can last as little as one or two days (often on the weekend) of intense programming, as is often seen for instance in the German free theatre scene. More standard-length performing arts festivals consist of around a week of events

10 "Trotz … Tendenzen zur Grenzverwischung … sind Festivals untereinander vergleichbar und damit auch grundsätzlich definierbar geblieben."

or evening concerts (often 9–10 days, which includes two weekends), such as the Maerzmusik festival at the Berliner Festspiele every March, or the Ultima Festival in Oslo. Sometimes they can last up to a month of often more diffused programming, like Wien Modern or Steirischer Herbst in Graz, which often have more dark days and a less concentrated program. Characteristic of festivals for music is also that most seem to occur annually, with only some happening in the two-year rhythm more characteristic of fine arts biennales. Among these exceptions include Maerzmusik's predecessor, the Music Biennale Berlin, as well as the Munich Biennale for New Music Theater, and the Darmstadt Summer Course (yearly from 1946 until 1970, then biennial). Theatre or performing arts festivals can also be of this length, however seem to take place over a slightly longer period of time of 3 weeks (Berlin Theatertreffen) to one month (Salzburger Festspiele, Ruhrtriennale).

Visual arts biennials tend to be longer, not least because they are normally object- and thus exhibition-based (and therefore presumably are subject to a different set of economic calculations regarding visitor numbers), however the longest still last only several months (documenta traditionally for 100 days, the Venice Biennale lasts about 6 months).[11] When it comes to biennale exhibitions, the Paris Convention of 1928, which the Bureau International des Exhibition (BIE) uses to govern the parameters of world expos (the direct descendants of earlier universal expositions), sets out in its Article 4 that the duration of international exhibitions "may not be less than three weeks nor more than three months" in order to be recognized (Bureau International des Expositions n.d-b, 8). This codification is a useful rule of thumb, not least because of the BIE's longstanding position within the field.

Regardless of exact length, in contrast to a yearly museum exhibition program, symphony orchestra season, or ensemble theatre program, a festival or biennale implies is a concentration of activity, attention, and effort within a short period of time. Festivals thus operate on a kind of project-basis, also in their administrative structure, rather than through sustained, continuous commitment.

Spatial Concentration

Festivals and biennales occupy one or more museums, arts spaces, or performance venues for the duration of their exhibition period. These spaces are sometimes purpose-built, happen in public space in the city or the region, or some mix of the above. They normally occur within a relatively small geographical area, which allows visitors to visit most or all of the sites with relative ease.

11 See the production issues surrounding the Lithuanian Pavilion of the 2019 Venice Biennale, which had trouble financing its opera installation over the biennale's 6 months, an example of the problems that arise when these two different time scales meet ("Their Beach Opera Won at the Biennale. But They Can Hardly Afford It.," *New York Times*, 31 May, 2019).

Purpose-built spaces for a biennale can best be seen in the various national pavilions of the Venice Biennale. Each pavilion in the Giardini is built by an individual nation, who is responsible also for its design. In the particular case of the Venice Biennale, this pavilion system translates the participation of international artists directly to their affiliation with various nation-states, by way of the pavilions they must exhibit in.

While many subsequent biennales have rejected this system as obsolete, among other issues because of this insistence that artists *represent* the values and art of a particular nation (once again an affirmation of the modernist exhibition values discussed in section 2.1.1), art historian Caroline A. Jones makes the argument that "the pavilion component of biennale culture in Venice has proved useful. Pavilions have allowed the problematization of both spectacle and the ethnic state" (Jones 2010, 83). Artists such as Haacke, who in 1993 smashed and destroyed the granite floor of the German pavilion built by Hitler as part of his Nazi art policy, are thus given a clear frame to also call into question the presumptions of the nation-state, which for better or worse still has an enormous impact on contemporary reality.[12] The flipside are situations such as when in 2015, 10 Chinese artists and only 2 Kenyan artists were shown in the Kenyan pavilion at the biennale, in a move that seemed to represent a moment of neocolonialism (Muñoz-Alonso 2015).

In an example from another context, recent editions of Documenta make clear that spatial concentration within one city can also be questioned and experimented with, precisely in order to question this norm. For instance, one can look to Documenta 14's decision to take place in both Athens and Kassel, Documenta 13's exhibition in Kabul, or how document 11's opening in Kassel was understood as the fifth and final of a series of platforms that Okwui Enwezor organized on four different continents for evidence of this. As will be argued in the next section, these important exceptions are all reactions to this phenomenon of spatial concentration.

Spatial concentration is also seen in performing arts festivals as well. Wagner's famous Festspielhaus in Bayreuth was purpose-built in order to gather a public for whom he could stage his works in what he considered to be ideal conditions. The Festspiele concept, itself informed by Greek theatre festivals, that informed Wagner's approach puts a strong emphasis on the aspect of *play* (*spiele*) in the sense of recreation, communion, and gathering for the theatre play itself. This is in turn related to having *company* in the sense of the Latin *com/panis*, the breaking of bread together (or bratwurst in Bayreuth), to mark an occasion (an event, temporally-bound), to have a meeting, to conduct business, and to strengthen community bonds. The Festspielhaus' spatial concentration and nexus of activity can also be seen in more recent buildings such as the Haus der Berliner Festspiele, which the

12 Jones has also referred to this as conducting "politics by other means," in ways similar to other international events such as the Olympics, or sports leagues (Jones 2010, 77).

organization in its newly-combined form has occupied since 2001, or the Grosses Festspielhaus for the Salzburger Festspiele, since 1960.

City (Marketing) and Centre/Periphery

The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851 brought together works from all the nations doing trade with the British Empire at that time in a celebration of London as the capital, the centre of that empire. The Crystal Palace itself was an instrument for the domestication of difference into a singular national narrative. It was also, in its position as a glass house in Hyde Park, meant to evoke an exchange between city and exhibition, going as far as to integrate the park's trees directly into the building itself.

Since that time, festivals and biennales have been an important mechanism whereby cities—and their tourism boards—are made to be part of the backdrop against which the artistic practice is seen. This profiling can be seen to occur historically at the earliest festivals exclusively for the arts, such as in Venice or Salzburg (Papastergiadis and Martin 2011, 46; Haitzinger 2013, 132). This occurs today also with regions that seek this level of recognition as well, something that can be seen with the Ruhrtriennale in the Ruhr valley of Germany, with Manifesta, which calls itself the "European Biennial of Contemporary Art," and takes place within a different European city every second year, highlighting it on a European stage, or the European Capital of Culture program, which is often understood by cities to be part of a larger urban regeneration plan led driven by culture (Sassatelli 2011, 21).

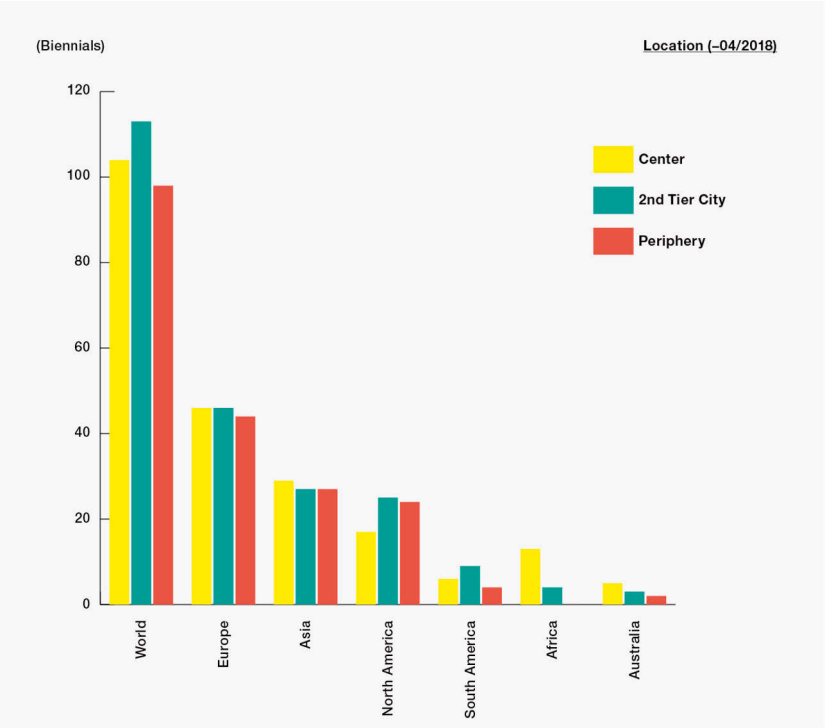
As with the world exposition in London, the city itself becomes a co-actor in the event, framing it as "a central node within global production networks" (O'Neil 2012, 53). Aside from the quantifiable interest in a festival by tourism groups interested in increasing their hotel occupancy rates, they also have the potential to generate attention to a city's place within these global networks. Framing the relationships between global currents and local effects allows cities to increase their brand recognition. As city marketing becomes an important tool for attracting both tourism and business interests, it is unsurprising that festivals often tend to be initiated in cities normally deemed as on the periphery of global currents, rather than in their centres.[13]

This effect has been studied in relation to biennales for the visual arts: Figure 1, taken from an article by Ronald Kolb and Shwetal A. Patel, illustrates the distribution of visual arts biennales among centres, 2nd tier, and peripheral cities worldwide, sorted by continent (Kolb and Patel 2018). More important than the relative number of biennales per region is the relative consistency with which they

13 See here also the publication *Eventisierung der Stadt* (Muri et al. 2019).

are distributed here between first-tier, second-tier, and peripheral cities.[14] Notice for instance in the case of North America that there are even less biennales in first-tier cities compared to second and third-tier cities.

Figure 1: Chart by Kolb and Patel of Distribution of Biennials among Central (yellow), 2nd Tier (green), and Peripheral Cities (red), sorted by continent.



Kolb and Patel 2018. Pay attention to the relative number of biennales in first-tier, second-tier, and peripheral cities within each region, rather than the total numbers across regions. Image reproduced with permission from Kolb and Patel, and OnCurating Journal.

Such numbers support the argument that second-tier and peripheral cities have been central to the biennale form since its establishment with the Venice biennale in the late 19th century. The organizers chose as the site of the biennale the

14 Kolb and Patel consider first tier cities the "nations capital [sic] or … one of its main cities (e.g. Istanbul is not a capital city, but it holds an important economic, cultural, and social position in Turkey)." Second-tier cities are "not as big as the capitals, but are on the rise and hold a prominent position within the country." Finally, the third group is made up of biennales taking place in "remote and peripheral regions." (Kolb and Patel 2018)

Giardini pubblici in the eastern part of the city created by Napoleon during his rule. The choice of this contentious historical site was a strongly political statement. As art historian Caroline A. Jones writes:

> Venice, the former republican city-state capable of snubbing Rome's authority for 500 years but humiliatingly conquered by the French at the turn of the nineteenth century, could now demonstrate its importance to the young nation of Italy … As a portal to the world, it could both be a leading component of the nation-state (thereby flattering its king) and assert its time-honored international identity as a cosmopolitan center of the liberal arts and free speech. (2010, 75–76)

With its new arts biennale, Venice was engaged in a symbolic (re)claiming of its status as an important city on the international stage. The impetus for putting the city "[back] on the map," for self-definition and identity of a city or nation was achieved through the "pedagogical promise to visitors to bring them the world" (Jones 2010, 76). Thus, in a seemingly-paradoxical turn, an affirmation of (participation in) nationhood came along with a turn to internationality, to bringing in others and stitching together through festival-making those relationships between the self and the world. In this way, the self becomes preconditioned on the definition of an outside other, and by extension the nation is constituted through the display of alterity.

This phenomenon can be seen to exist also in biennales that take place outside of the West, and seems to be part of the ideological software that has made festivalization a highly important format for the arts in the 21st century.

For instance, the biennale in Gwangju understood itself as part of a process of "shifting gravity," i.e. the growing influence of Asian biennales in relation to those in the West, which was also the title of the *World Biennial Forum N°1* that took place as part of the 2012 biennale in that city (Hou and Meta Bauer 2013, 19–20). This recognition led to an interrogation on behalf of the Gwangju Biennale as to its second-tier status in relation to the institutions of the West (Lee 2013, 88). Furthermore, casting the biennale in terms of this East–West shift allows for it to explore through the forum of the arts ways in which this is occurring, what is happening to the dominant global narrative as told by Western institutions, and the implications of the "rest" (colonialized places and sites of orientalist projection) affirming their place on the global stage.

A similar tendency towards a re-imagination of the periphery can also be seen to have basis in the history of arts festivals. Teissl argues that since the very beginning of their rise in prominence in the 19th century, arts festivals have sought out the periphery as a space that allows for a bit of escape from the watchful eyes of powerbrokers in major cities and cultural centres (2014, 81). She cites the founding of the Cannes film festival in the French Riviera, as well as the festivals in Bayreuth and Venice all as examples of festivals founded outside of major centres out of a

need to establish less codified spaces (82). They were spaces that were able to support a counterculture, or experimental practices and formats that would not have been possible elsewhere (ibid.).

Similar stories can be told of Donaueschingen, Salzburg, Darmstadt, Graz, Kassel, Avignon, Shenzhen, etc. For many of these places, the periphery has historically functioned as a kind of retreat from or tension with, the metropolis, like with Foucault's heterotopia, located in the real world but somehow suspended from its surroundings (see section 2.2.1). The periphery seems to lend itself well to the establishment of these heterotopia; the isolation offered by these places, their distance from the discussions and watchful eyes of the centre's influencers allow for precisely the kind of festival community to be constructed that is so crucial to the festival's functioning as a place of transformation.

Explosive Growth

Returning to the concept of the fest can help unlock another aspect of this will towards internationality of festivals and biennales. Both the fest and the festival are strongly associated with moments of self-definition and self-positioning. In the archaic version of so-called "pre-modern" societies, these rituals needed to be carried out at moments that threatened to destabilize the community, such as births, deaths, and transitions of power.

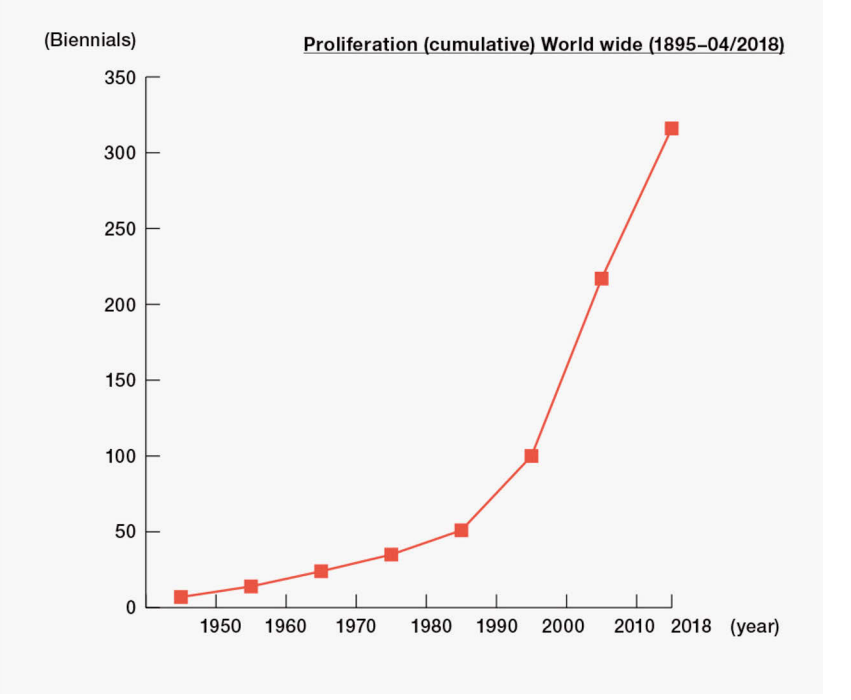
Because of their large scale and high level of societal visibility, modern festivals and biennales are attractive for their ability to bring in tourism, as well as their power to define both a national and artistic narrative for their visitors, which lead them to often put on by similarly-important stakeholders. The study by Kolb and Patel sheds light onto this, examining what funding bodies have historically been responsible for the founding of biennales. They break down the list of stakeholders into the categories of "artists and curators; private foundations; museums; governments; tourism councils; and academics" (Kolb and Patel 2018). What these stakeholders have in common is a shared interest in defining and shaping large-scale national and international narratives about the arts, but also about the societies in which they exist more generally. Once again, they use the same art historical software seen in the Crystal Palace where art is used as a foil for the societal context in which it has emerged.

These stakeholders spring into action in moments of definitional crisis for society, and attempt, through the festival form, to re-stabilize societal norms and narratives in their own interests. In the normative account of the development of biennales, their post-1989 growth is a highly-theorized point. This moment marked a veritable explosion of biennales all around the world, and in particular in China, where they still continue to grow at a rapid rate. This leads to a typical "hockey-stick" graph illustrated again by Kolb and Patel in Figure 2. What it shows is re-

flected also in the discourse about biennales, for instance when Elena Filipovic in her preface to the *Biennale Reader* writes that "it would take until the nineteen-nineties, when an exponential expansion of the genre occurred with the launching of more than a dozen new biennials, for the term to become the household name with which we are now familiar" (Filipovic et al. 2010, 14). Paul O'Neil concurs with the same trend, however puts it within a framework of the becoming-global of visual arts, writing that:

> Manifesta; the biennials of Berlin, Tirana, Lyon, and Istanbul; and many of the smaller peripheral biennials, triennials, and quadrennials established across the globe during the 1990s, have all tended to employ a transnational approach, with local artistic production being taken as the main point of departure linked to global networks of artistic production with a handful of roving curators at the helm. (O'Neil 2012, 67–68)

Figure 2: Chart by Kolb and Patel of number of total biennales globally since 1895 "Proliferation (cumulative) of Biennales World wide [sic] (1895–2018)".



Kolb and Patel 2018. Image reproduced with permission from Kolb and Patel, and OnCurating Journal.

This same sentiment is also echoed by Kolb and Patel, who affirm again this conclusion that "the proliferation of biennials accelerated from the mid 1980s, in particular from the mid 1990s onwards" (Kolb and Patel 2018). However, as stated in section 2.2.2, these biennales must be examined within a shared history together with performing arts festivals. Doing this, Kolb and Patel's affirmation of the widely-held conclusion becomes only one part of the story.

What this data shows is 1. The extent to which the term "biennale" has seen an expansion in its use worldwide. This relates to a tendency towards an expansion of existing terms has led to an increased frequency of the use of the term in general. 2. The proliferation of the biennale format within countries that are experiencing their own modernisms and moments of national self-definition on the global stage. This can be attributed to the position taken by O'Neil that the format of the biennale began to deal with non-Western artistic production in a significant way as of around 1989. As O'Neil explains:

> Biennales are an efficient means by which these localities can map out a place for themselves, at a global level, to become one point in the networked communication between other biennials. (O'Neil 2012, 70)

However, what is significantly missing from this chart are the multiple waves of fairs, festivals, and biennales that have swept across the globe since the mid 19th century. Tracing this history while looking past just the use of the term biennale suggests a different narrative. What it reveals is that *fairs, festivals, and biennales are all founded in variously situated historic "explosions," as moments of definitional crisis sweep across the stakeholders able and willing to found them*.

While thorough tracking of all these different perennial cultural events goes beyond the scope of this work (see here however again the exhaustive attempt to do so by Kolb and Patel 2018), what can roughly be considered four different waves of "festive explosions" seem to be able to be identified. Note that the magnitude of these waves (the number of festivals and biennales, their significance and relationship to one-another) could not yet be adequately studied. The first of these is the post-1851 interest in the universal exposition format, with fairs subsequently opening in 1855 in Paris, 1862 in London, 1867 in Paris, 1873 in Vienna, 1876 in Philadelphia, 1878 in Paris, 1880 in Melbourne, 1888 in Barcelona, etc.[15]

Overlapping with these early expositions were also early artistic festivals in Europe, starting with both Wagner's Bayreuth in 1876 and the Venice Biennale in 1895. This wave would continue with the and Salzburger Festspiele as of 1920, regarded as one of the most important, together with Bayreuth, of the pre-war festivals, as well

15 See again https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/all-world-expos for a list of historically-significant world's fairs since 1851.

as Donaueschinger Kammermusiktage as of 1921, and Venice's addition of music in 1930 and film in 1932.

These early festivals can be described as the growth of a consciousness about the role of the universal exposition in helping to defining a city's role in an international context, with the concept of internationalism being defined in various ways based on local situations. It also is time where the extension of this thinking to smaller, exclusively artistic festivals occurs.

What is also already in place in this era is the groundwork for further post-war festivals throughout the rest of the 20th century. Festivals in the post-war period would largely be modelled, or explicit differentiations from, the forms of organization created in this early wave in Bayreuth, Venice, Salzburg, etc.

As a second wave, the post-war period marked a renewed interest in the festival and the biennale, especially in Germany, but also within a newly configured global picture. Elfert for instances lists 18 festivals founded around Europe between 1946 and 1950 (Elfert 2009, 28). To this can be added important arts festivals like Documenta 1 in 1955 (see section 2.3.1), and the São Paolo in 1951, which sought for itself an identity within the Brazilian nation compared to Rio (Jones 2010, 76). The post-war festival period saw the rise of a new kind of internationalism, expressed also through the founding of important biennales in Paris, Tokyo, and Sydney. While systematic academic analysis beyond individual festivals of this mid-century internationalism seems relatively scarce, it is still seen as the precursor to the broader globalization of the biennale format as of the late 1980s (70).

Many of these post-war festivals were positioned as celebrations of humanity in the face of the trauma of the world wars. Particularly in the context of occupied Germany, these festivals would also serve, as has been previously established, as places where (both) new nations could shape and project their new values, be they those of artistic freedom of expression in the West, or the struggle against oppression in the East.[16] This boom in new festivals would continue at a significant rate until around the time of the 1968 student protests, when the founding of festivals would slow once again. Elfert claims this is due to the younger generation's view of festivals as being reactionary, unpolitical, and consumption-oriented (2009, 29).

After a period with less festival and biennale growth around the 1970s, there emerges with the fall of the iron curtain and the expansion of the capitalist narrative and Western values across the globe a fertile ground for new growth in festivals and biennales. With this would come the post-1989 expansion discussed earlier, and with it the growth of a global system of arts festivals and institutions worldwide.

While festivals founded immediately post-WWII can be seen mostly within the framework of Western capitalism outlined above, those founded in this era can be

16 See Ernst Reuter's speech on the occasion of the first *Berliner Festwochen* (Berliner Festspiele 1998, 2).

defined by the adaptation of this narrative of the construction of national identity and aesthetic values to many emerging economies outside of the West, and particularly in Asia (which shows similar percentage-wise growth to other continents, but whose number of biennales is second only to Europe in absolute numbers). Even when these biennials do not actively thematize their relationships to the West and to the Venice model, the appropriation of this form of "festive" knowledge-creation in the service of non-Western emerging powers can already be seen in itself as a repudiation of a universalist, Western-centric worldview in favour of a model of multiple modernities, although this too is a controversial issue (Bradley 2003, 88–89).

Exceptionalism in Presentation

> Never before in the history of the world was there so large a collection of valuable gems and exquisite specimens of the lapidary's art collected in one building. … Never was there such a display of these gems as in our Crystal Palace. The Exhibition contains the finest diamonds, the finest ruby, and the finest emerald known to the world. (Great Exhibition 1851, 1)

As this quote from the Crystal Palace Exhibition guidebook *The Illustrated Exhibitor* shows, perhaps the most important characteristic of those cultural artefacts presented in festivals is the exceptionalism of that which is on display. At the Crystal Palace, the diamond in question was the Indian Koh-i-Noor diamond, in possession of the British Monarchy, whose provenance is now being questioned.[17] The "gems" presented at other, subsequent festivals would vary greatly in kind, but would have in common the creation of a special occasion on which to view equally special works, ones that would unable to be seen by most people, or be able to be presented the quotidian programming of an arts space. The event of viewing thus becomes an important part of the ritual of festival-going. Exceptionalism can be created through novelty or newness, as is the case with contemporary classical music (CCM) festivals, which often involve a large number of newly-commissioned works.

In the case of other music festivals, the staging of works that otherwise would not be able to be staged either for practical reasons, or because they are a rarity in the repertoire can also create forms of newness. This is perhaps most famously the case at the Bayreuther Festspiele, which are dedicated to the presentation of Wagner's operatic works; massive undertakings that are difficult for even large opera houses to pull off successfully (see here the case of Robert LePage's *Ring* at the Metropolitan Opera). Other examples include festivals dedicated to the serial

17 BBC. "Koh-i-Noor: India says it still wants return of priceless diamond" *BBC News*, 20 April, 2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36088749.

performance of a specific composer's work, such as a concert series dedicated to the performance of all of Beethoven's nine symphonies at the Salzburger Festspiele 2018.

A last form of exceptionalism can be found in reactions to the specificities of the site of the festival. The Festival Rümligen in Switzerland (of which the Munich Biennale's Daniel Ott is a director) often puts a particular emphasis on its relationship to its surrounding nature, as well as its surrounding community (Ott and Zytynska 2016, 9). Site-specificity is also a very common approach to exceptionalism in arts biennales, where there is a robust history of relating artistic production to its site of display. An example of this is once again Haacke's *Germania* at the German Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 1993. Another is the British Pavilion at the 2018 Venice Architecture Biennale: Entitled *ISLAND*, the pavilion did not display any objects, but rather invested in a discursive program around issues of decolonization, islands, borders, and migration. In this way it attempted to address the reality of the physical building itself (situated at the highest point on the island) and its role in the Giardini, as well as issues of migration and their relationship to Venice and Italy, and how these local issues interconnect with the international networks that connect at the node of the Biennale (British Council n.d.).

Elena Filipovic warns though of the danger that this exceptionality can present to the artistic rigour of a festival. Keeping in mind the quote at the top of the section about the chance to see the Koh-i-Noor diamond at the Crystal Palace, she warns of the problem of so-called "biennale art," or an art of "bombastic proportions and hollow premises" (Filipovic 2010, 326). Her diagnosis is to argue that these failed attempts at exceptionalism occur when mega-exhibitions like biennales become too spectacular or commodified, and cow too much to market interests, in other words, when they fail to use their exceptionality as moments to defy traditional institutional order (327).

Networking and Politics by Other Means

The biennale and the festival being places of gathering, exchange, and networking, Jones makes the point that they can also function as places to practice "'politics by other means'" (Jones 2010, 83; see also Roche 2011, 136–137). This means that in their function as places to gather and to form common experiences, perennial arts events have the possibility of increasing dialogue and decreasing hostility between groups. This can be seen to be the case in explicitly artistic projects, such as Florian Malzacher's *Truth is Concrete* as part of the 2012 Steirischer Herbst festival, which brought together over 200 artists, academics, and activists all working at the cross-section between art and activism for a 24/7 event lasting for an entire week (see section 3.4.2).

Less drastic, but also more germane are all the many moments of informal contact and exchange that happen at these concentrated gatherings of people. Jennifer Elfert, in expanding on her definition of the festival, mentions the importance of festivals also as networking events, functioning as a place for the establishment and renewal of networks between artists and arts organizations (Elfert 2009, 83). Elfert also argues that part of a festival's specificity is its liveness, which stabilizes intergroup contact, and ensures culpability for bad behavior, meaning participants are subjected to peer pressure to be held immediately accountable for their behaviour. This aspect of festivals is part of a festival's ability to promote instead of violent opposition instead the peaceful resolution of conflict (84–85).

Elfert confirms and extrapolates on the claim made by Jones that the festival can work as a place to do "politics by other means." This also corresponds with the concept of bringing groups together to hash out their differences within the normalizing forum of the festival can be seen in Florian Malzacher's interpretation of the concept of agonism developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in *Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2013) (Malzacher 2014a, 119–120).

Elfert's contention is also supported by finding in contemporary social psychology, with the concept of intergroup contact theory. First put forward by Gordon W. Allport in 1954, the theory contends that intergroup contact can have positive effects on reducing bias among participants, given that four key conditions are fulfilled. These are namely 1. Equal status of all participants within the situation, such as in the military. 2. Common goals, such a mixed-group team trying to win a game together 3. Intergroup cooperation, such as working together to achieve a task, and 4. The support of authorities or customs, who sanction this intermixing. (Pettigew 1998, 66–67)

There are some latent issues to the theory, such as the contention that intergroup contact is subject to inherent selection bias that "prejudiced people may avoid contact with out-groups" (Pettigew 1998, 69), and that some intergroup contact may increase prejudice. According again to Pettigrew in a later study, "[t]hese situations frequently occur in work environments where intergroup competition exists as well as in in situations involving intergroup conflict" (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 277).

Nevertheless, in a 2011 meta-analysis of 515 studies in this field of research around this topic, Pettigrew et al. concluded that intergroup contact "typically reduces prejudice" (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 271). Furthermore, they also state that "[t]he meta-analysis found that contact effects typically do generalize to the entire groups involved," meaning that the effect expanded beyond the immediate situation, as well as that the "findings reveal a remarkable universality of intergroup effects," meaning that the effects of this contact are statistically significant across many kinds of groups (age, gender, or geographical location) (276).

Questioning the Power to Make Worlds

While analogies can be drawn between the biennales of the visual arts and performing arts festivals in many of areas that have been listed above, the main differentiating factor between these two kinds of cultural events lies in the *approach* that they exhibit towards these categories. Specifically, it is within contemporary visual arts biennales globally that a clear acknowledgement and critique of their indebtedness to modernist structures and values is explicitly thematicized. Though not entirely absent from performing arts festivals, particularly in theatre, such a self-reflexive turn, understanding the festival as a site specifically of critical knowledge production, is a characteristic much more clearly associated with visual arts biennales.

Historically, earlier biennales were often engaged with the reception of works on display, criticizing them, folding them into a discourse, into a history. Beginning in the post-war period, biennials, including already-established ones in the West, began to question their own structural disposition towards world-building and their relationship to state and economic power. They began during this time for instance exploring structural alternatives to the Venice model, such as the São Paolo Biennale's decision to create a biennale without national pavilions already in 1951, a model followed as well by the Gwangju Biennale as well (Jones 2010, 83).

Rather than being sites for the critique of works, they increasingly have come to act as sites for the critique of the theories and ideologies that establish the conditions for criticism in the first place. The goal of this re-examination of theory and the structures of knowledge-production has been to stop serving as spectacles to *reproduce* the colonizer's gaze, as was the case as of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851. Instead, many attempt to "outstare the colonizer's gaze" and establish themselves in embattled sites in an attempt to "'exorcise political traumas'" (Martínez quoted in Roces 2010, 53).

What is meant by this is precisely an attempt at subverting the scopic regime of modernism that has been laid out in the exploration of the Crystal Palace. The regime in question places importance on the deployment of the exhibition space as a representational container in which narratives suitable to hegemonic power can be manufactured and impressed upon its subjects. Understanding the nature and operation of this container will help to trace the path that can be taken to escape it. The Crystal Palace, with its system of manufacturing a gaze on the objects contained within it, makes a fundamental presumption and separation between its mechanisms of display—lighting, architecture, staging, etc., and the objects being displayed—objects of industry, art, performances. This is a tidy separation of background, or stagecraft, and foreground, or the objects on display.

Underlying this separation is what philosopher Timothy Morton would call the concept of *world*. A world is the result of just such aesthetic effects—like those used

in stagecraft or exhibition design, which produce and maintain a certain illusion that obscures the seams where the effect breaks down, or that hide the gaps in a cohesive story. In Morton's telling, the concept of world can be understood as " more or less a container in which objectified things float or stand," in the sense that it flattens relations and oversimplifies connections (Morton 2013, 99). This drastic reduction in complexity disregards anything that does not fit within its "world" which place the exhibited materials within a teleological history of industrial progress, and the triumph and inevitability of British colonial power.

The Crystal Palace, and the system of its functioning for the manufacturing of a specific narrative and form of subjectivity, is just such a kind of world. As Morton continues, "[t]he idea of world depends on all kinds of mood lighting and mood music, aesthetic effects that by definition contain a kernel of sheer ridiculous meaninglessness" (2013, 105). The mood lighting and aesthetic effect that is produced is here the architectural dispositive, the great sheets of glass, and the grand view across the transept in Hyde Park that formed the Crystal Palace Exhibition, as well as the many other elements of its branding and self-presentation (e.g. "The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations…").

Morton points out that this concept of world is extremely fragile, that one only need to begin to scratch at any of its surfaces in order to reveal the extent to which it is a meticulously manufactured and manicured matter. Returning to the ideology of contemporary arts biennales, it is precisely such an examination of the structures of knowledge creation that they are focused on. The goal of such examinations is another kind of narrative, albeit one of a very different tenor, imbued with this will to "exorcise" certain historical traumas as mentioned earlier, in the hopes often of formulating new possible forms of existing together. As Morton writes, the goal of the "critical knowledge production" that is the focus of much contemporary curating in the visual arts is to act as a "rogue machinery … [that] has decided to crash the machine, in the name of a social and cognitive configuration to come" (2013, 20). Contained in this position is a re-affirmation of the fundamental functioning of a rationalist-enlightenment system, however with the caveat that there are elements of this system that must be reformed in order to be able to address the problems and challenges that both humans and the earth face in the 21st century, be they issues of social justice, or earth-level catastrophes such as global-warming.

Inasmuch as such a focus on criticality of the structures of knowledge production constitutes a clear area of distinction between contemporary arts biennales and performing arts festivals, it is precisely this facet of curating that is most salient to the performing arts. The next section will therefore explore some key moments in the development of this discourse in contemporary art in order to begin to establish the specific ways in which its lessons can be applied to the particular case of both music and the performing arts.