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## CHAPTER 1 Introduction

'My eyes, till then, no sights like this will see,  
Unless we meet at *Shakespeare's Jubilee!*  
On Avon's Banks, where flowers eternal blow!  
Like its Full Stream our Gratitude shall flow!  
There let us revel, show our fond regard,  
On that lov'd Spot, first breath'd our matchless Bard;  
To Him all Honour, Gratitude is due,  
To Him we owe our all – to Him and to You.'

DAVID GARRICK<sup>1</sup>

With these words, the actor and theatre manager David Garrick brought the season of plays at London's Drury Lane to a close on 18 May 1769. Normally he would have confined himself to a promise to return after the summer's break, but on this occasion chose instead to extol the virtues of a forthcoming event – a Jubilee to be held at Stratford-upon-Avon in honour of William Shakespeare. It was a cause close to his heart. Garrick first attracted attention in 1741 with his 'career-defining' performances as the King in 'Richard III' (McPherson, 2014). Thereafter, he became a formative influence in staging and interpreting Shakespeare's plays for eighteenth century audiences and was the mainstay of the movement that sought to elevate Shakespeare to the status of *the* 'national poet and icon' (Thomson, 2004, 537; Marsden, 1995). Such was Garrick's admiration that in 1756 he commissioned the architect Robert Adam to design an octagonal Palladian-style temple for a riverside plot adjacent to his villa at Hampton-on-Thames to house appropriate memorabilia (Fig. 1.1). A life-size statue of Shakespeare by the celebrated French Huguenot sculptor Louis-François Roubiliac presided over its interior.

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.1 about here\*\*\*

The planned Jubilee resonated with this brand of hagiography – much later satirised by George Bernard Shaw (1901, xxxi) as 'Bardolatry' – although its scope and intent fundamentally diverged from anything previously associated with Stratford. Admittedly a funerary bust posited in the parish church (Holy Trinity) shortly after Shakespeare's death in 1616 was the first memorial to him erected anywhere, but hitherto his name had been primarily connected with London (Dobson, 1992, 180-4). That was where his plays had originally been performed, where he achieved his greatest success and where his audiences, 'both courtly and common', resided (Lynch, 2007, 245; Salkfeld, 2018). Stratford, by contrast, merely provided the setting for the bookends of his life; the place where he was born and raised and where he later chose to spend his retirement. There is no record of his plays being performed there before September 1746<sup>2</sup> and a scheme for a festival in 1764 to celebrate the bicentenary of his birth had come to nothing.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly the Shakespearean connection had long drawn a trickle of visitors to the town, but the prevailing local attitude towards this early expression of cultural tourism was more acquiescent than enthusiastic. Other than selling souvenirs of dubious provenance, there was strikingly little concerted effort by Stratfordians to capitalise upon the

reputation of their illustrious predecessor.

The Jubilee radically altered matters. The idea stemmed from a somewhat unlikely source, when a proposal emerged in 1768 to fill an empty niche on the exterior wall of the Town Hall, then under construction, with a statue of Shakespeare. Stratford Corporation<sup>4</sup> readily agreed provided that the necessary artefact could be procured at little or no expense. Aware of the statue created for the faux temple at Hampton and knowing that he was a man of means, civic dignitaries made tentative inquiries to see if Garrick might donate something similar to Stratford. In December 1768, the strategy of persuasion extended to proposing to make him an Honorary Burgess (freeman) 'in order to flatter Mr Garrick into some such handsome present' (quoted in Macdonald, 1986, 4). Further blandishment came from suggesting that his portrait might hang alongside Shakespeare's in the new building (Deelman, 1964, 73).

The town's leaders, it should be stressed, were only interested in sculpture. Yet while quickly obliging their request by supplying a cheaper plaster cast copy of the statue at Hampton, Garrick sensed a bigger opportunity in the offing. A celebratory event based around the statue's unveiling might revive the spirit that had inspired the unrealised celebrations planned for the 1764 bicentenary. It would also serve professional self-interest. Garrick's friend and mentor Samuel Johnson had recently published *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (Johnson, 1765), an eight-volume collection critically acclaimed as a landmark in its field. It was an achievement that challenged Garrick's position 'as top man' in the Shakespearean world in a way that no actor had ever managed (England, 1964, 11). By way of response, staging the Jubilee might lastingly endorse his leadership, especially as the festival was initially envisaged as being recurrent. As testimony to that point, the first public announcement on 6 May 1769 in the *St James's Chronicle* had proclaimed that:

'a Jubilee in Honour and to the Memory of Shakespeare will be appointed at Stratford [at] the beginning of September which will be kept up every seventh year. Mr. Garrick, at the particular request of the Corporation and Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, has obligingly accepted the Stewardship. At the first Jubilee, a large handsome Edifice, lately erected in Stratford by subscription, will be named Shakespeare's Hall and dedicated to his Memory' (quoted in Tait, 1961, 103).

'Stewardship' meant responsibility for event planning and design as well as management. Here Garrick had ample precedents to direct his thinking. The theatre, a realm in which he was fully at home, furnished ideas for set and auditorium design and for ways of achieving dramaturgical effect. State and royal pageantry provided inspiration for achieving spectacular displays involving processions, music, lights and pyrotechnics (see also chapter 2). More specifically, there were the 'Jubilees' staged at irregular intervals in Georgian London's pleasure gardens (Corfield, 2008; Coke and Borg, 2011). Usually reserved for special occasions such as celebrating royal births, commemorating military victories or the signing of

important peace treaties, Jubilees featured colourful processions, loud music, fireworks, masked balls and abundant opportunities for 'pleasure-seeking, socializing, [and] dressing up' (Caines, 2013, 105). Observing one such event on 26 April 1749 in the Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea, a 'Jubilee Masquerade in the Venetian manner' held in honour of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English polymath Horace Walpole told a correspondent that: 'it had nothing Venetian in it, but was by far the best understood and prettiest spectacle I ever saw; nothing in a fairy tale even surpassed it' (quoted in Shelley, 2004, 171).

The version proposed for Stratford promised a three-day 'heady cocktail of miscellaneous entertainments' (Watson, 2007, 205; Doderer-Winkler, 2013, 33); some designed as 'panegyric and quasi-religious rites for paying tribute to Shakespeare' (Habicht, 2001, 441) and others more reminiscent of fairground attractions. The programme included the composer Thomas Arne presiding over a performance of his oratorio *Judith*, cannonades, pealing bells, fireworks, a horse race for the Jubilee Cup, a ball, festive meals, a masquerade, display of transparencies (lantern-lit allegorical illuminations), and a procession of 200 costumed Shakespearean characters (Thomas, 2012, 16). Surprisingly, there were no plans to stage any of Shakespeare's plays as part of the festivities, but Garrick decided to fill that gap with a celebratory ode that would be permeated with suitable 'echoes and quotations' from the Bard (DG, 1769).

After a month spent formulating plans, carpenters and builders moved in to undertake the necessary works. Houses were freshly whitewashed. The completion of a turnpike road from Dudley was expedited. Sedan chairs arrived from London and Bath to meet the needs of more genteel visitors (Fogg, 2014, 112-13). A substantial octagonal, wooden-boarded and 'elegantly painted and gilded' rotunda, based on the design of the large rococo building used for concerts at London's Vauxhall Gardens (Coke and Borg, 2011), would serve as an arena for the main celebrations. Constructed at a spot where woodland had been cleared at Bankcroft Mead, a water meadow 'on the brink of the Avon' (Boswell, 1769, 451), the Stratford rotunda (Fig. 1.2) could hold a thousand spectators, with a stage large enough for 100 performers.

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.2 about here\*\*\*

Garrick actively marketed the event to polite society, drawing on his celebrity status<sup>5</sup> and his consummate abilities in the field of self-promotion. The festival of music, theatre and entertainments, he assured them, would be well worth the 'difficult and crowded' two-day stagecoach ride from London (Frost and Laing, 2013, 110). Sceptics, however, questioned whether Stratford, a provincial market town with just 2200 inhabitants, could cater for a gathering on this scale. It manifestly lacked sufficient accommodation to cope with the sudden influx of performers, festivalgoers and their small armies of accompanying servants. The proprietor of the drab and poorly appointed 'White Lion', the only inn, did endeavour to modernise his premises, rapidly adding assembly, coffee and card rooms, renaming guest bedrooms after Shakespearean characters, ordering 3600 pewter plates and the

cutlery to go with them, procuring a 327-pound sea turtle, and stocking his cellar with 1000 gallons of wine (McConnell Stott, 2019, 114). Nevertheless like other hostleries of rural England, the 'White Lion' was essentially geared up to cater for the clientele attending the town's three annual fairs;<sup>6</sup> typically 'plebian, brash and raw' affairs (Cameron, 1998, 1) that served the agricultural economy and provided sites for recruitment for domestic service. It was always highly unlikely that it could provide food and services of the calibre to which fashionable visitors from London were accustomed. Stratford would also lack a functioning sewerage and main drain system until the mid-nineteenth century. Its roads were unmetalled, rutted, poorly lit and always likely to turn into a quagmire if the weather should turn inclement. Conscious of potential problems, the organisers therefore inserted the phrase 'if the Weather will permit' into the publicity material for the Jubilee (Ousby, 1990, 43).

Those harbouring doubts would soon feel that their views were fully vindicated. The Jubilee drew double the anticipated number of visitors (Stochholm, 1964, 173), with accommodation in short supply and then only available at sharply inflated prices. Those unable to rent houses found themselves lodging in the parish almshouses, spare rooms, attics, cellars, hay lofts and even henhouses (England, 1964, 34). Others that failed to procure even those meagre and sometimes insanitary quarters might find themselves sleeping in the carriages in which they arrived. Visitors complained volubly about the high cost and poor quality of the limited amount of food that was available. The clause about the weather proved judicious. While the first day enjoyed clear skies, 'a violent tempest of wind and rain' (Murphy, 1801, 298) blighted the more ambitious second day. Floodwater inundated the riverside site. The street pageant was postponed for a day before being summarily cancelled. The firework display was severely impaired, literally featuring damp squibs. The roof in the Rotunda leaked and the rising waters affected the ball, necessitating the rescue of the more unsuitably clad participants. The third day's activities were truncated despite improved weather, with the Rotunda unusable and the horse race on Shottery Meadow contending with deep standing water before the winner 'swam home by seven lengths' (Fogg, 2014, 120). It would be several days before the roads were sufficiently passable for the remaining visitors to depart.

## After the Jubilee

The Jubilee, which had aroused huge public curiosity before the event, triggered even keener interest afterwards. Contemporary commentators avidly debated the merits and follies of the occasion (Cunningham, 2008). The machinations of the local inhabitants invited vitriol, with Garrick's colleague Benjamin Victor, Drury Lane's treasurer, railing against 'the scandalous Behaviour of the very *low People* of the Town of *Stratford*, in regard to their *Avarice*, and shameful Extortions' (cited Stochholm, 1964, 112). In a letter to *The Town and Country Magazine* another correspondent scathingly concluded:

'A Jubilee, as it hath lately appeared, is a public invitation urged by puffing, to go post without horses, to an obscure borough without representatives,

governed by a mayor and aldermen who are no magistrates, to celebrate a great poet whose own works have made him immortal by an ode without poetry, music without harmony, dinners without victuals and lodgings without beds' (ibid, 113).

By way of reply to these and similar comments, James Boswell defended the townspeople: 'it is reasonable that Shakespeare's Townsmen should partake of the Jubilee as we as Strangers did; they as a Jubilee of Profit, we of Pleasure' (cited Stochholm, 1964, 110). In a further rebuttal, he went on the attack against the 'envious Foes of our Roscius' for claiming that the Jubilee was a 'Piece of Farce and Rhodomantade' rather than 'an elegant and truly classical Celebration of the Memory of Shakespeare' (cited in Tankard, 2014, 19).

The response from the inhabitants and Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon was less predictable. At one level, they would have been excused if they chose to forget about the Jubilee as quickly as possible. A substantial part of the proceedings could not be delivered and there were heavy losses. Local resentments had been fuelled by the disruption caused by building works and from the high admission prices charged for the main entertainments. Certainly, all physical traces of the Rotunda soon vanished. Nevertheless, at another level, the seeds of commercial self-interest and civic boosterism had been sown. Any perceived damage to the town's reputation from criticisms of profiteering and alleged mendacity quickly dissipated. The festival had allowed Stratford to challenge, if not yet to shake off, the sense of being a rural backwater, revealing in practical terms how staging high-profile Shakespearean events of several days' duration could enhance the town's reputation as well as yield sizable profits for its business community (Brock and Morris, 2016, 5). This positive assessment, for instance, prompted a new approach to Garrick to see if might be prepared to curate another Jubilee in 1770. He courteously declined, but his reply (quoted in Deelman, 1964, 289) bore a waspish sting in the tail; effectively questioning whether Stratford was a fit place to be associated with a national hero:

'But my good Friend, w<sup>d</sup>. the Gentlemen do real honour, & show their Love to Shakespeare – Let 'Em decorate y<sup>e</sup> town (y<sup>e</sup> *happiest* & why not y<sup>e</sup> *handsomest* in England) let your streets be well pav'd, & kept clean, do Something with y<sup>e</sup> delightful Meadow, allure Everybody to visit y<sup>e</sup> *holy Land*; let it be well lighted, & clean under foot, and let it be said for y<sup>r</sup>. honour, and I hope for y<sup>r</sup>. Interest, that the Town, that gave Birth to the first Genius since y<sup>e</sup> Creation, is the most dirty, unseemly, illpav'd, wretched-looking Town in all Britain' .

Yet while being unwilling to repeat the exercise, Garrick could not ignore the Jubilee's estimated £2000 losses. In view of Stratford Corporation's unwillingness to underwrite an event that was always beyond their means (Foulkes, 2002, 59), it was agreed in advance that Garrick would cover any shortfall while profits would accrue to the town. As it transpired he settled the debts, albeit too slowly for Stratford's liking, by restaging the 'dampened celebration' of the Jubilee as a light-hearted and

gently self-mocking musical spectacular at Drury Lane. That decision was not entirely premeditated (Farnsworth Smith and Lawhon, 1980; Ritchie, 2019). Garrick had learned that the theatre's competitors at Covent Garden planned to adapt George Colman's existing matrimonial comedy 'Man and Wife', shifting its focus to Stratford and adding new dialogue in a tongue-in-cheek review of the Jubilee (Burden, 2017, 152). On hearing the news, Garrick wrote to Colman 'in a most candid manner' (Everard, 1818, 15; quoted in Burden, 2017, 152). He proposed abandoning all thoughts of performing 'The Jubilee' at his theatre if Colman would reciprocate at Covent Garden. Only after being rebuffed, did Garrick assemble his version, 'The Jubilee, or Shakespeare's Garland', for the Drury Lane stage. This subsequently opened on 14 October 1769.

Both theatres gained immediate box office successes, but Garrick's show quickly gained the upper hand. Taking 90 minutes to perform and involving appearances from 320 individuals, it closed after 91 performances – the longest continuous run of any theatrical production in the eighteenth century (Brewer, 1997, 325).<sup>7</sup> The debt to Stratford was 'covered four times over', with the play proving so popular with audiences that the Drury Lane company felt compelled to take it off for a few days in January 1770 simply 'to vary the Entertainment of the Stage' (Deelman, 1964, 286). For years afterwards, Garrick had recourse to 'The Jubilee' as an afterpiece to ensure filling the house when the main play of the night was judged to be weak (Johnson with Buzwell, 2016, 110).

With or without Garrick's participation, Stratford also strove to keep the memory of its landmark festival alive; a decision that impacted in a discontinuous but discernible way on the long-term development of the town. In immediate terms, a series of smaller annual adaptations attempted to emulate something of the content and visitor potential of the 1769 Jubilee. This initiative eventually foundered in 1776 when a slump in the wool trade caused prolonged recession, but the enhanced flow of visitors to Stratford proved enduring. The town had effectively become a pilgrimage site, indisputably benefitting from the 'romantic belief that the spirit is immanent in matter, that genius can hallow the common earth it touched briefly long ago' (England, 1964, 81). As the English naturalist, the Rev. Edward Daniel Clarke (1793, 379) wrote in his account of travels in Britain and Ireland in 1791: 'STRATFORD! *All hail to thee!* When I tread thy hallowed walks; when I pass over the same mould that has been pressed by the feet of SHAKESPEARE, I feel inclined to kiss the earth itself'. Bardolatry now enveloped Stratford as firmly as it hero-worshipped the Bard himself: it was *the* location most closely identified with Shakespeare considering that the principal London theatres where he worked had long since been demolished.<sup>8</sup>

Conditions became right for the resumption of celebratory festivals in the early nineteenth century. A one-day event in 1816 to mark the bicentenary of Shakespeare's death offered a ball, public banquets, and a firework display (Styles, 1945, 245). A decade later, the newly founded Shakespeare Club held commemorative events in 1826 and 1827. In April 1830 the Club, now enjoying the patronage of George IV, organised a three-day Royal Gala, replete with another

wooden rotunda (Hunter, 1864, 85). Closely reminiscent of its 1769 antecedent but now situated beyond the river's reach in the Rother Market (Styles, 1945, 245), it housed a rich mixture of activities that included banquets, masquerades and a performance of 'Richard III' (Anon, 1830). In April 1864 a weeklong festival, instituted to mark the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, again commissioned a rotunda and incorporated the usual blend of memorial services, processions, firework displays, concerts and junketing, albeit now with tours and excursions as additional attractions.<sup>9</sup> Notably the brewer Charles Edward Flower, one of the major sponsors of this event, used it as a platform to argue strongly for constructing a major theatre that would be devoted to performances of Shakespeare's plays. This ambition was achieved in 1879 with the opening of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre (SMT),<sup>10</sup> completing the process of forging closer connections between the town and playwright.

By this time too, local sentiment was fully aligned with the national and international movement that had 'purloined, appropriated, [and] re-deployed' Shakespeare's work in order to 'suit new designs and new purposes' (Caines, 2013, xix; see also Watson, 2006, 56-68; Rumbold, 2012; Dobson, 2015). As the 'Swan of Avon',<sup>11</sup> Shakespeare was the Warwickshire boy who conquered the London stage and had become the greatest playwright of his or, arguably, of any age. His work possessed a 'universalism, global and multicultural' (Bloom, 1998, 3; Massai, 2016, 73-6) that transcended national or linguistic boundaries. That point was quickly verified by the foundation of the first recognisable annual Shakespeare festival outside of Stratford at Kronborg Castle (Elsinore, Denmark) as early as 1816, itself the forerunner of the extraordinary global proliferation of such events (see chapter 7).

Understandably, celebration and reverence for the life history and works of Shakespeare remains at the heart of Stratford's annual round of festivities and relationship with festivals. Explicitly Shakespearean events span the arts and are an integral part of the unique and instantly recognizable selling proposition that is endlessly exploited when seeking to promote Stratford nationally and internationally. For example, the SMT has long organised theatre festivals.<sup>12</sup> From inception, the Birthplace Trust has run the Poetry Festival which, when introduced in 1953, was the first of its kind in Great Britain. A Film Festival with an openly Shakespearean content was added in 2012. In addition, organizers of kindred arts festivals have chosen the town when looking for somewhere with a sympathetic ambiance for their offerings. In 1949, for example, the English Folk Song and Dance Society selected Stratford against several other contenders for its first Folk Festival held outside London.

At the same time, as suggested earlier, other events that have been steadily added that bear less relationship to the process of 'mapping' Shakespeare on to Stratford (Hodgson, 1998) but rather a steady accretion of increasingly 'commodified [and] standardised' events, cloned from general practices, that have 'no special relationship with place' (Newbold *et al*, 2015, xxi; Yeoman, 2004). This occurrence has contributed here, as elsewhere, to the two related trends with universal



application. The first is to clone innovative ideas for festivals found to be popular and profitable elsewhere, albeit often with a rationale, however contrived, that stresses some link to the locality (MacMillan, 2014). The second is to market almost any gathering as a 'festival' if it promises, no matter how optimistically, to deliver the senses of joyous spontaneity or commemorative commitment implicit in that term.

The extent and spread of the Stratford's annual festivals calendar provides a first indication of these points. The 2018 schedule, for example, began in March with a Shakespeare Week. This was followed by the Birthday Celebrations, the Literary Festival and the Festival of Motoring (all in April); the Poetry Festival and the Folk Festival, newly revived as an annual event (June); the Beer and Cider Festival and the River Festival (July); the Shakespeare Film Festival and the Food Festival (September); the Music Festival, Mop Fair<sup>13</sup> and Halloween Festival (all in October). The Christmas Festival rounded off the year. Naturally these events tended to be clustered in the main tourist season but at any juncture when the timetable might have seemed somewhat empty, it was always possible to co-opt suitable events hosted by nearby towns to provide a semblance of continuity. For Stratford, these included advertising Alcester's Food Festival or Chipping Campden's Literature and Music Festivals as local events that might plug the empty weeks in May.

Cumulatively, this schedule conveyed the impression that the town had a coordinated 'programme', a telling word with implications of a *planned* sequence of events with purposive outcomes. Yet designation as a programme and claims that the town was now 'alive with festivals' (DS, 2014, 26) owe more to *ex post facto* marketing of discrete events initiated by separate actors and agencies rather than to any comprehensively organised development policy. It was true that Stratford-on-Avon District Council, the current local authority, participated in the process through marketing initiatives and a small funding scheme that assisted festivals that could claim 'to support the local economy and specifically [involve]... businesses from the local area' (SADC, 2014). Nevertheless, the overall strategy rested on a reactive approach rather than one that sought to impose a defining and comprehensive vision as to how such events might be deployed.

Moreover, the sense of a municipally approved programme did not necessarily indicate unanimous public support. That, in itself, is nothing new. As noted above, Garrick's Jubilee drew its share of complaints about the intrusiveness of the building works and the high price of entry to the Rotunda celebrations. The 1864 Tercentenary experienced similar discontent over admission prices.<sup>14</sup> This prompted the formation of a Committee that organised, albeit relatively amiably, a series of alternative and affordable events (Anon, 1864, 73; Hunter, 1864, 246; Chouhan, 2014); a move that was in some respects similar to later creations of 'fringe' events. Hubbard and Lilley (2000, 229-30) identified a lengthy list of dissatisfactions arising from Stratford's more recent drive to boost tourist revenues through festivals and related activities. These included inflated prices for groceries in local shops, unwanted temporary land-use changes, parking restrictions, overcrowding, traffic congestion in the town centre, concerns about visitor behaviour, damage to seats and street furniture, litter, and the dangers of attracting

the 'wrong sort of people'. Opinions about these matters, though, varied according to whether or not the local residents concerned saw themselves as benefitting from the visitors' presence. As ever, self-interest colours attitudes.

## Festivals and Festivalization

Clearly much sets Stratford-upon-Avon apart as a centre for staging festivals but, equally, aspects of this town's experience are amply replicated elsewhere. In broad terms, a *festival* is an out of the ordinary, place-specific, thematically organised and publicly accessible gathering that is recurrent, animated and pleasurable. That definition places little emphasis on the size, duration or content of the event, although self-evidently these are factors that impact on its resulting character. Rather the defining characteristics are an amalgam of organiser intent and participant experience. An event is a festival, therefore, if its organisers establish and designate it as such and participants experience it something that captures the spirit associated with festive events and that differentiates them from everyday life.

Understandably plurality abounds, as is manifested in the enormous range and scope of festivals. For example, any survey of current practice could potentially include: celebrations of the fine arts (painting, sculpture, classical music, opera, ballet and modern dance, literature, poetry, film, television, photography, philosophy, haute couture, cuisine, archaeology, architecture, design, and theatre); expressions of popular culture (e.g. food and drink, fashion, ice and snow, gaming, sand sculpture, flowers, pets, puppets, hobbies and crafts, motoring, fire, murals, lanterns and floating baskets, marching bands, majorettes and cheerleaders, circus arts, comedy, comics, ceramics, popular cinema, street art, visual media, song, world music, jazz and blues, country and folk music); folklore and re-enactments; science and engineering (particularly events that aim at increasing public understanding of the results and implications of technological innovation); night (*nuit blanche*) and light festivals; carnivals and street performance; celebrations of political identity, ethnicity, gender and sexuality; and religious ceremonies, harvest celebrations and thanksgivings.

To compound matters, most of these categories can be further divided into a bewildering range of sub-genres. When considering film festivals, for instance, one can identify: the acknowledged market leaders (Cannes, Venice and Berlin); other major international events (Toronto, Rotterdam, Karlovy Vary, Sundance, Tribeca, Hong Kong, Locarno, Hong Kong, Busan, San Sebastián and Mar del Plata) that are similarly 'embedded within the global system of the film festival circuit' (de Valck, 2007, 68); a host of smaller gatherings dedicated to documentary, indie, art house, alternative, experimental, avant-garde and underground cinema; fan-fest events devoted to identifying with the characters and locations associated with selected televisual or cinematic series; festivals highlighting cinematographies differentiated by region, country or continent; events that show specialised programmes (e.g. adult, animation, archival, bizarre, silent, children's films, extreme, fantasy, horror, thriller, human rights, natural history, environmental, science fiction, sports, ethnography and anthropology); festivals showing movies by named film-makers

(especially retrospectives) or types of director (e.g. students, newcomers, minorities, refugees and political detainees); events screening films that cater for audiences differentiated, *inter alia*, by age, gender, sexual preference, ethnicity, religion and political allegiance; gatherings devoted to particular film formats (e.g. 16mm, Super 8, Cinerama, IMAX and smartphone); and even bring-your-own festivals (where participants show up, register their films, and then exhibit them).

Attempting to take stock of such diversity might seem a truly Sisyphean task in light of the continual search for new rationales, forms and fusions that have fuelled the exponential growth of festivals. Nevertheless, it is readily apparent that there are categorizations available. To continue with the example of film festivals, Table 1.1 cautiously recognises two main orientations – ‘business’ and ‘audience’ – by virtue of the ‘characteristics typical to the operation of the film festival itself’ and in light of the ‘interest groups that must be appeased for the continuing support and success of the festival’ (Peranson, 2009, 25). The ‘business model’, which would typify the major festivals, is configured around the desire to sell. In line with that commercial orientation, its organisers seek to maximise exposure through press coverage, awards ceremonies, A-list celebrity receptions and the screening of premieres. These festivals predominantly feature a diet of mainstream movies designed to attract large audiences through the box office. By contrast the ‘audience model’, which characterises the vast majority of film festivals, is primarily concerned with promoting film to cinema audiences rather than addressing the needs of the movie industry. It is designed less to ensure the participation of distributors, agents and buyers than to guarantee the satisfaction and continuing attendance of filmgoers (de Valck, 2007).<sup>15</sup>

\*\*\*TABLE 1.1 about here\*\*\*

Binary classifications of this type are common first steps when deconstructing the cultural complexities of festivals. As examples, festivals can be designated as either primarily sacred or dominantly secular. They may embrace internationality or focus explicitly on the locality. They may be tied to a special, often sacred place where the faithful habitually assemble as pilgrims or may be celebrated with equal intensity at any location suitable for the observances required. They may be rooted in fan culture, in which participants have a deep commitment to the festival’s subject matter or be framed in a way that seeks to develop markets and audiences that did not previously exist (Linden and Linden, 2017). They may be conceived as singular events or used purposefully as part of ‘a programme of events [designed] to strategically and sustainably support long-term policy agendas that enhance the quality of life for all’ (Richards, 2017a, 45). They may be primarily ‘celebrations of some aspect of the community that is special to the residents of that community’ (Delamere, 2008, 130) or, as suggested earlier, respond to universal trends that have no profound local associations. They may focus narrowly on accomplished artistic achievement or address more ‘inclusive’ concepts of culture by encouraging amateur participation (Lee, 2004).

Conversely, binary distinctions can be too simplistic or even misleading when

dealing with the complexity of festivals. Giorgi et al (2011), for example, distinguished between 'traditional' and 'post-traditional' when seeking to differentiate longer-established and culturally-embedded festivals from more recent 'placeless' events. That dichotomy, however, unwittingly seems to suggest the historiographically problematic idea that there are archetypal and authentic states that contrast with and progressively give way to commodified events might appear the same but lack the same intent. Other types of classification that recognize greater complexity through demarcating spectra within which individual events may be situated may be preferable. Size is an obvious benchmark in this respect, with festivals ranging from small niche or 'boutique' events, through medium-sized and large festivals, to sporting and cultural mega-events with a global outreach. Timing is another, with some festivals completed in a day, others held over several days and yet others lasting months. Modes of observance also supply the basis for classification, with events situated on a scale that ranges from solemn worship to chaotic irreverence and all points inbetween.

The growing interest in festivals of all types as ingredients in urban life has frequently led to allusions of 'festivalization' when referring to 'the role and influence of festivals on the societies that host and stage them – both direct and indirect, and in both the short and longer term' (Roche, 2011, 127). However, precisely what festivalization includes and excludes remains contentious. For Smith (2016, 32), it was an overarching process within which the urbanisation of events occurs. Bennett et al (2014b, 2) suggested that festivalization brought together 'cultural identities, lifestyles, political ideologies, leisure practices, creative styles, taste cultures and audiences' in the process of building 'an understanding of festivals as integral components of the contemporary cultural landscape and as key sites that inspire community, cultural critique, social mobility and change' (also Roth and Frank, 2000; Hitters, 2007; Hooker, 2008; Cudny, 2016). Dealing with festivals that are held repeatedly in the same locations, Zherdev (2014, 6) maintained that what was at stake was a new cultural ambiance, with urban space turned 'into a place of constant festival'.

Others prefer narrower meanings. To Négrier (2015, 19), festivalization represented two processes: that 'by which cultural activity presented in a regular, on-going pattern or season, is reconfigured to form a "new" event'; and that 'by which cultural institutions, such as a cinema, theatre, arts centre or gallery orients part of their programme around one or more themes or events, concentrated in space and time'. When exploring the experience of two Australian music festivals, Duffy (2014, 230) noted how they are 'intimately embedded within the public sphere as normative and at times transformative processes' (see also Giorgi and Sassatelli, 2011). When seeking to understand a Finnish festival, Van Elderen (1997, 126) took festivalization to mean the 'transformation of the town into a specific symbolic space in which the utilisation of the public domain... is under the spell of a particular cultural consumption pattern' (quoted in Richards and Palmer, 2010, 28).

The definition adopted here recognises this plurality, viewing 'festivalization' as the process by which increasing the number and duration of festivals held in a

particular place produces tangible and intangible changes in the economy, culture and environment of that place. As such, staging festivals harnesses the age-old role of the city as a centre for formally-constituted and regularly-repeated festivities to the new 'cultural and creative economy' – the dynamic and still-evolving economic sector that encompasses activities that 'lie at the crossroads of arts, culture, business and technology' and that capitalise on 'the socio-economic potential ... of creativity, knowledge and information' (O'Connor, 2010; CCBC, 2014).<sup>16</sup> Festivals thereby shed their aura of being ephemeral appendages to the *real* urban economy. Instead, they are recognised to have contributed substantively to the post-industrial economic restructuring of towns and cities (Häussermann and Siebel, 1993) by linking cultural creativity to economic competitiveness. Working with the grain of fundamental structural changes, festivalization assists the growth of economically vibrant sectors of cultural and creative activity by helping to offset the problems brought by deindustrialisation (see also Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Mommaas, 2004; Amin and Thrift, 2007).<sup>17</sup>

This revalorisation of festivals as being central rather than peripheral to the urban economy demonstrably reflects the recent realities of the contemporary city. Yet appreciation of their significance has long been hamstrung by overemphasis on their diversity as a genre of events. Certainly it is true that constructing a working understanding of the actual and potential impact of festivals requires a multi-stranded and historically grounded approach that embraces a wide range of processes and variables. Yet in reality, most of those processes and variables fit within three overall categories. These are respectively: festivals as media for the transmission and reception of culture; festivals as significant ingredients in creating and maintaining place identity; and festivals as intrinsic parts of the urban economy. The ensuing three sections consider these propositions in turn.

## Culture

Dealing first with culture, the archaeological record shows that festivals have occupied an important niche in cultural organisation since the dawn of human civilisation. Exactly how long is an open question. Excavations at Göbekli Tepe in south-eastern Anatolia (Turkey), for example, reveal clear signs of ceremonial structures but scant evidence of permanent occupancy, suggesting that around 11,600 years ago a 'mobile population gathered for feasting and collective labour in monumental construction and returned periodically to continue and commemorate their work' (McCorriston, 2017, 13; Dietrich et al., 2012; Mithen et al, 2011). Artefacts and other objects retrieved from excavations at ancient settlements throughout the Near and Middle East provide source materials that indicate celebratory or ceremonial dimensions of life during the Neolithic era (Darvill, 2010, 165-6; Hill *et al*, 2016). Yet despite unambiguous archaeological signatures of prehistoric festivities, it is always difficult to pinpoint the purpose and meaning of any associated rites or proceedings from excavations or relict landscape features.<sup>18</sup> Meanings drawn from the available clues are generally imaginative extrapolations that reflect whatever overarching views are currently in vogue about cultural formation (see Morris, 2012).

Rather more reliable information can be gleaned once it is possible to triangulate archaeological discoveries with written or hieroglyphic testimony (Greer, 2013). Scriptural and other sources from Antiquity highlight the character and timing of observances. Festivals joined the seasons into circles (Rappaport, 1999, 96). Babylonian and Assyrian texts described ceremonies for the spring festival associated with the sowing of barley (Bidmead, 2004). The annual cycle of ancient Egyptian festivals centred on the flood regime of the Nile (Bleeker, 1967). Special occasions merited recognition. Sumerian clay tablets depicted feasts and celebrations of military victories (Crawford, 2004, 152) although similar events, as Assyrian written records and bronze reliefs show, might also include the spectacle of grisly punishment for the vanquished (Bleibtreu, 1991). The Old Testament emphasised festivals as being at the heart of the Judeo-Christian tradition, supporting the idea that devotion is amplified if people express faith together. Exodus 12:14 indicated that festivals were divinely ordained events intended to be celebrated ‘for all time to come’. Leviticus 23 and 25, respectively, laid out a full calendar of holy days and established the idea of a fifty-yearly celebration of emancipation from Egypt known as a ‘Jubilee’ – the original meaning of that term.<sup>19</sup> Centuries later, festivals would serve as the ‘heartbeat’ of classical ‘Greek and Roman society, its social and political organization, and its institutions’ (Brandt and Iddeng, 2012b, 1; see also chap. 2 below).

Important vestiges of these practices emerge when considering the etymology of the English noun ‘festival’ and its equivalents in other major Western European languages: *Fest* (German), *fiesta* (Italian), *fête* (French), and *fiesta* (Spanish). All derive from the Latin noun *festum*, meaning a ‘feast-day’ or ‘holiday’ that is accompanied by plentiful food, public joy and revelry. So saying, it is important to recognise that early Latin had a second word for festive occasions – *feria* – meaning abstinence from work in honour of the gods (Falassi, 1987, 2). Over time, the two terms fused together, but the uneasy tensions between joyous festivity and solemn observance, often in relation to the same event, have remained. Equating this dualism with the distinction between secular and sacred, Brandt and Iddeng (2012b, 5) pointed out that, even for the rites of ancient religion: ‘Was a festival... a true religious celebration and a way of communicating with the gods? Or were the gods more of a pretext for social festivity and political demonstration?’ For example in *The Republic*, written around 380 B.C., Plato imagined his tutor Socrates visiting the port city of Piraeus to undertake religious observances, but also being intrigued by the spectacle of the festival and accompanying rites:

‘I went down to the Piraeus yesterday with Glaucon the son of Ariston to offer a prayer to the goddess [Bendis]. Also I wanted to watch the festival, to see how they would conduct it, since it was the first time it was being celebrated. The parade of Athenians struck me as excellent, and the show put on by the Thracians was every bit as impressive, I thought. We offered our prayers, watched the festival, and then started off on our journey back to town’ (Ferrari, 2000, 1).

This existence of mixed motives for attending festivals was not confined to Antiquity since, throughout the ages, ritual solemnity has rarely negated all opportunity for conviviality. Many solemn festivals are preceded or concluded by celebration, as with carnival (or Mardi Gras) paving the way for Lent or Eid being positioned at the close of Ramadan. Each underlines the juxtaposition between religious piety and secular transgression. At a more fundamental level, Émile Durkheim (1912, 312-14) argued that festivals and religious rituals are closely linked in that: 'the very idea of a religious ceremony of some importance awakens the idea of a feast. Inversely, every feast, even when it has purely lay origins, has certain characteristics of the religious ceremony' (cited in Leal, 2016, 584-5). Durkheim also stressed the role of the 'collective effervescence' as a force that could lead to behaviour that crosses the line into boisterous merry-making (Ramp, 1998, 136). Such eventualities can pose problems for political or spiritual leaders: the former worried about the potentially destabilising effects of disorderly conduct; the latter about the possibility of moral or aesthetic indulgence that might cross the line into licentiousness and depravity.

Nevertheless, those in authority usually avoided imposing outright bans unless prohibition was absolutely necessary and the outcomes could be guaranteed. Torn between tolerance and control, they weighed their wishes to maintain order against the expediency of permitting a measure of forbearance. Notable in this respect was the French charivari, also known as stang riding or the skimmington ride in England (Fig. 1.3). These were street parades in which revellers armed with 'kettles, pans, tea-trays, and the like' cavorted through the streets 'in mockery and derision of incongruous or unpopular marriages, and of unpopular persons generally; hence a confused, discordant medley of sounds; a babel of noise.'<sup>20</sup> As the lawyer Claude de Rubys observed when witnessing the excesses of a charivari in the early seventeenth-century, those in authority may have calculated that temporary disorder acted as a 'safety valve'. As he noted: 'It is sometimes expedient to allow the people to play the fool and make merry, lest by holding them in too great a rigour, we put them in despair' (quoted in Davis, 1971, 41; also Mänd, 2005).

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.3 about here\*\*\*

If when stripped to their rudiments, festivals are 'public themed' events staged at given times by groups of people participating in acts of celebration, remembrance or commemoration, then they must meet four broad sets of requirements to qualify as festivals (Falassi, 1987; Boissevain, 1992; Jepson and Clarke, 2015). First, the event needs to be part of a recurring series, although the lapse of time between events in the series concerned might be annual, biennial, decennial, quadrenscentennial, or even centennial. Secondly, festivals need to be 'delivered with a clear purpose' (Evans, 2001, 237) that distinguishes the day or days of festivity from the normal rhythms of work and domestic life. The experience of a festival is premised upon difference (Pieper, 1999, 9) and the sense of being planned and anticipated occasions that, at their best, bring 'sudden intrusions of the marvellous into the everyday' (Gooding, 1986, n.p.). Thirdly, festivals are conduits for the celebration and transmission of 'culture'<sup>21</sup> and are internalised into a

'community's calendar of memorable and narratable pasts, with the sociocultural rhythm of life in the present, and with anticipated futures' (Roche, 2011, 127-8). In saying that, there is no suggestion that festivals passively transmit authentic tradition, for they change over time in the same way as culture itself changes. Indeed, as will be seen in chapter 2, many festivals accord to the principles of 'invented tradition' whereby set of practices are instituted that are: 'normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature... [these] seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1). Finally, festivals necessarily involve some form of physical gathering at prearranged locations. Their proceedings may be shaped for a television audience – 'media events' (Getz 2012, 45; Couldry et al, 2010) – or communicated on-line by extending participation to a far flung audience through internet 'streaming' of video and audio material, but as understood here festivals cannot be purely virtual events (see also chapter 9).<sup>22</sup>

Festivals, therefore, not only bring people together at regular intervals to participate in an event with a common focus, they also connect the occasion with the frameworks of beliefs, values and practices prevailing within society. Some of the oldest known festivals, for example, principally served to remind people of their station in society. For example, the twelve-day atiku festival, dating back to Babylon in the third millennium BC, began with rites that symbolised chaos, such as having slaves with temporary authority over their masters, but continued with purification rituals and sacrifices that aimed at confirming the reinstatement of the proper order (Bell, 1997). The underlying conception of managed social inversion would resonate down through the ages.

Yet while staging festivals usually works towards reinforcing the cultural status quo, as noted their character and content changes over time in accordance with social and cultural trends. This applies even to festivals run by religious groups, who might reasonably be expected to cling tenaciously to the original purpose and symbolic meanings of the events that they stage. At times these have also changed in order to accommodate new circumstances, either voluntarily through reinterpretations of doctrine and working practices or through social pressures. Occasionally, too, festivals serve as forums in which accepted values or received wisdoms are directly contested. This may be, say, by mounting protest at exclusion of minority groups from established festivals or by arranging carnivalesque or alternative arts events where the rights and identities of neglected minority groups are asserted (see chapter 8).

Notions of power and identity also enter the equation. These may stem from 'the wider context of political structures', which position 'the festival vis-à-vis the type of political context [from which] it emerges' (Cremona, 2005, 6) or from control over the administration of 'ritual' – defined as 'demonstrative actions with an agenda and the possibility of repetition' (Burkert, 2012, 39). Since Antiquity, enforced festival observances have been used by ruling groups as part of exercises to proclaim or promote identity, defined as the 'set of characteristics or a description



that distinguishes a person or thing from others'.<sup>23</sup> Exercises in identity promotion through festivals are often linked to cultural subjugation (e.g. Amitay, 2017), with patterns of influence articulated in linguistic practices associated with the event. Pintarić and Škifić (2018), for example, showed how the naming of the street festival of Špancirfest reflected the spread of dominant Germanic immigrant groups into north-western Croatia. The staging and content of festivals have been used to crystallise disputes, say, over location and land ownership or about competing demands for resources. They may act as foci for resistance through what are termed 'manifestivals' (Zaiontz, 2018, 11) or 'protestivals' (Lundman, 2018) – events arranged around issues of collective struggle. Poetry festivals, for example, were enormously popular in Latvia during the period of Soviet rule due to the scope that the medium gave for 'reading between the lines' (Morris, 2018, 39). Festivals may also serve purposes of public diplomacy. Goirizelaia and Iturregui (2018), for example, show how organisers of festivals among Basque communities in the USA sought to use these events to emphasise and solidify community identity and also to help in forging closer relations between the United States and the Basque Country (Fig. 1.4).

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.4 about here\*\*\*

Alternatively, issues of power and identity may centre upon 'cultural politics', defined as the field concerned with the power behind meaning and the way that the exercise of such power advances the position of particular groups and their interests (Barker, 2000, 383). Cultural politics may stem from seemingly innocuous details such as the names and themes chosen for a festival; 'labelling' that, through announcing the organisers' intentions and chosen identity for the festival, can play a determining role in the artistic direction of and spectatorship for the event (Cremona, 2005, 6). At other times, cultural politics may engender fierce debate by explicitly addressing key issues connected with social exclusion (Fig. 1.5) or by filtering festival content in the light of value-laden notions of 'taste' or public decency. Such interventions are part of a process that serves to elevate certain interests and downgrade or silence others (Quinn, 2013, 50). Not for nothing do festivals routinely spawn fringe events, apparently freed from the constraints of the mainstream festival, at which alternative groups of performers or celebrants exercise their right to be seen and heard.

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.5 about here\*\*\*

## Place

The close and mutually enriching bonds that develop between festivals and their home venues often become defining features of both place and event.<sup>24</sup> Simply stated, festivals appropriate places and places appropriate festivals. If 'places' are understood as being 'meaningful locations' (Cresswell, 2004, 7), then the experience of establishing and retaining festivals can be seen as part of the way in which the host location acquires meaning (Agnew, 1987; Wilkinson, 2007). Equally, the character of the host city quickly becomes engrained in the event, even for the more

generic type of festivals, and is reinforced by the word-of-mouth recommendations of visitors, which undoubtedly help to root a festival and impart a distinct character (Luonila et al, 2016). The cumulative effect is that no two place-based festivals are ever identical regardless of how 'placeless' they might seem to outsiders (MacLeod, 2006).

Various propositions flow from the interrelationship between festival and place. Some observers speculate that the staging of festivals was an intrinsic part of the founding of cities. Harold Carter (1977), for example, argued that the desire to congregate temporarily for both solemn and joyous purposes was an important element in the emergence of the earliest permanent settlements. Similarly, Lewis Mumford (1963, 18) asserted that 'the first germ of the city... is in the ceremonial meeting place that serves as a goal for pilgrimage'. Ray Laurence (2007, 186; also Robertson, 1992) hypothesised that, through the generations: 'the city's existence may have been bound up with the continued maintenance and re-invention of these sacred places'.

Such ideas, of course, are difficult to evaluate dispassionately, given that they are generally overlain with broader theories about the relationship between the city, social organisation and cultural development (e.g. Sjoberg, 1965; Hall, 1998; Kemezis, 2015). In the first place, the genuinely archaic is overlain with the accretion of later centuries' beliefs and attitudes. The practice of physical sacrifice in one era, for example, might give way to the ideal of symbolic offerings in another. Equally, the use of festivals to transmit urban foundation myths bears the hallmarks of subsequent manipulation of mythologies to strengthen beliefs in the deep connection between people and place; ideas charged with notions of possession and belonging (see also chapter 2). What is eminently plausible, however, is that the presence of sanctuaries where religious rites were routinely enacted provided foci for place-based festivals (Iddeng, 2012b, 17; Brandt and Iddeng, 2012a). Interconnections between sacred sites within the city might also be inscribed upon urban space by the routes of processions and wakes, sometimes with starting and finishing points marked by sumptuous architecture (Rykwert, 1976).

The notion of recurrence – a key dimension in classifying festivals – is another important expression of the relationship between festivals and place. To elaborate, the largest sporting and cultural festivals, including mega-events such as the Olympic Games and World's Fairs,<sup>25</sup> are ambulant gatherings that are unlikely to be awarded again to any specific city within a generation. The large-scale event spaces and varied arenas needed for such gatherings are difficult to procure and develop, but the expense and effort involved in doing so is frequently justified by the hope that staging a festival will lead to an enduringly positive 'legacy' (Gold and Gold, 2007, 2017a). By contrast the vast majority of festivals, including those considered in this text, are non-ambulant. There is, of course, no absolute division between the two types; the World's Fairs, for example, inspired techniques of spectacle and display and an orientation towards internationality that were crucial to the subsequent development of many arts festivals (e.g. see chapter 3). Nevertheless, non-ambulant festivals are generally smaller than their ambulant counterparts and involve no

general bidding process. They are intended to make a continuing contribution to local culture and economy rather than serving as one-off catalysts for legacy. They are normally run by bodies that are permanent fixtures in their host cities, with the local presence of organising committees and at least a skeleton staff on a year-round basis. This contrasts with the patterns employed for mega-events, which are typically run by specially recruited taskforces that are disbanded once the event is over.

Besides acting as crucibles for activity, the nature of the places set aside in the city for performance, display and encounter serve to energise the festivities that occur there, most notably through the medium of urban spectacle. There was always a close connection between spectacle and power. The organisers of major festivals of classical Greece and Rome, the pageant-masters of the European Renaissance, and the ideologues that designed the revolutionary festivals of France and the former Soviet Union shared an understanding of how to appropriate the city and its resources in the interests of their ruling regimes' wishes for positive self-representation and social control (see also chapter 2).<sup>26</sup> Typically, they used the city's architecture as a backdrop to reinforce effects created by deploying imposing scale, brilliance of colour, imaginative costumes, inventive installations and wanton extravagance (Fig. 1.6). Often co-opting many thousands of participants in a manner that blurred the boundaries between audience and celebrants, festival organisers effectively wrapped proceedings in the 'imagery of urbanity itself' (Castle, 1986, 14). It was perhaps a logical conclusion to the argument by Chisholm and Brazeau (2002, 3) that: 'The city is the spectacular centre of metropolitan modernity: a mass theatre where progress is staged in scenes of radical innovation' (see also Zherdev, 2014).

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.6 about here\*\*\*

However, the notion of 'spectacle', especially with regard to the visual power and emotive force of large festivals, needs to be treated with care. There is no single culture of spectacle and the word itself is invoked 'in a wide range of critical and not-so-critical discourses' (Crary, 1989; quoted in Pinder, 2000, 361).<sup>27</sup> This point is exemplified by the continuing debate around 'The Society of the Spectacle', written by the French Marxist theorist and philosopher Guy Debord (1967).<sup>28</sup> Written at a time when social commentators struggled to conceptualise the apparently all-pervasive incursion of media imagery into everyday life (Morgan, 2010), Debord's book drew together two main strands of thought: one centred on 'commodity fetishism and the politics of everyday life and the other focusing on the geopolitical importance of images and appearances' (Kinkle, 2010, 16).<sup>29</sup> Upon this basis, it was argued that spectacle had become the central organizing principle in modern societies, with authentic social encounter supplanted by its representation.

Explicit applications of this theoretical perspective to the realm of festivalisation are limited but Will Self (2013) noted how festivals can act as important focal points for commodification and media-borne spectacle. By virtue of their high media visibility, for example, larger festivals can play a role in convincing 'the denizens of the Spectacle that they are still living in a cyclical and eternal go-

round, while only the anointed few, the celebrities, are imbued with the attributes of money and power that signify the ability to make choices – to progress into a better future’. Other commentators (e.g. MacAloon, 1984; Manning, 1992; Hancox, 2013) prefer to separate use of the term from that of ‘festival’, arguing that the sense of detached awe and wonder involved in spectacle distinguishes it from the participatory dimension that is an essential element of festivals. This argument gains some historical support from the fact that spectacle derives from the Latin verbs *specere*, meaning ‘to view or watch’, and *spectare*, meaning ‘to look at carefully, contemplate, observe’,<sup>30</sup> thereby suggesting a disinterested act of observation. However, arguments that use etymology to relate spectacle to detachment are countered by the connotations that derive from the related term *spectaculum* (describing the shared arenas in which spectacle occurs).<sup>31</sup> Festival venues are localities that come alive through the interaction of performers and audience. From that standpoint, it is hard not to see the presence and active participation of spectators as an additional part of the characteristics that create the spectacle and fuel its emotive power.

Beliefs that cities provide sympathetic environments for staging festivals are also applicable at neighbourhood level. Not all cities have culturally significant or even recognisable neighbourhoods (Judson, 2012), but the internal structures of many larger urban centres on both sides of the Atlantic enduringly reflect the arrival and settlement histories of groups migrating in hope of a better economic future or seeking sanctuary after displacement from their homelands. In the past, relatively little was made of any characteristics of difference. As minority communities, they frequently preferred to maintain a low profile in the face of prejudice and assimilationist pressures rather than advertise their ethnic distinctiveness. Indeed, festivals were often forums for ‘aesthetic cosmopolitanism’ whereby groups found ways to express or reshape their own culture in light of the culture of ‘others’ or the ‘outside world’ (Regev, 2007; Chalcraft et al, 2011).

That tendency is still present, most notably with music festivals for which organisers see advantage in situating their offerings in a broader context (e.g. folk, early and world music) in order to appeal to a larger audience. By contrast, other groups choose the opposite strategy, using neighbourhood festivals to boost community development (Bennett et al, 2014a, 1; Shaw 2013). These can constitute forceful statements of identity (Bungert, 2003; Valentine, 2008; Brighenti, 2010), which may simultaneously involve protests against erstwhile exclusion (Simonsen et al, 2017, 637). Festivals may also be part of redefining, rediscovering and expanding ‘local social life and the meanings of place... [t]hrough specific appropriations of public and semi-public spaces’ (Stevens and Shin, 2014, 1) or in communicating evidence of local creativity (Edensor et al, 2010). When analysing street festivals, Shaw (2012, 401) noted: ‘Around the world, in the public spaces of cities that are gateways to immigration, festivals are created and re-created by people whose cultural practices seem “exotic” to the majority population’. They may start with a local clientele, but can grow into international affairs that ‘raise the profile, not only of the neighbourhood where they take place, but also of the city as a culturally diverse and vibrant place to be’ (*ibid.*).

## Economy

Although many organisers routinely express reluctance when confronted by processes that seem to commodify culture, the commercial dimension is never far from the surface for some types of festival. For example, the British travel company Martin Randall has custom-designed private festivals for paying participants on a strictly commercial basis since 1994. Similarly, screenings at the larger film festivals may often be dictated more by the requirement to show new material to distributors or potential investors than to engage audiences drawn from the general public. As Cindy Wong (2011, 1) noted, such festivals owe their rationale to the economics of the cinema industry, unashamedly dealing ‘with business, from production to distribution, including the very financing that ensures their own reproduction’ (see also chapters 3 and 5). While other forms of festival may be run on an avowedly not-for-profit basis, they still depend on establishing reliable income streams in order to survive, especially if incurring hefty expenses from, say, live performance or needing to supply enhanced levels of security. If sources of revenue such as catering and souvenir sales are insufficient, then sponsorship, advertising revenues and media payments may be needed if admittance charges are to remain within acceptable limits.

At best, the precise nature of the contribution that festivals make to the economy of their host cities is contentious, despite the existence of a large, if highly disaggregated, corpus of ‘impact studies’. Mintel (2019), for instance, estimated the value of the UK music festivals and concerts market to be worth just over £2.6 billion in 2019, up from £2.46 billion in 2018.<sup>32</sup> In 2016, the value of Edinburgh’s annual festivals was assessed at £313 million, a sum increased by the multiplier effect of the 6,021 jobs that the festivals supported (Ferguson, 2016). A study in Ontario estimated that 97 culture, sports, recreation and community festivals contributed nearly C\$80 million to the province’s Gross Domestic Product. As such, these provided over C\$30 million in taxes for all levels of government and helped to create 2,600 jobs and over C\$50 million in wages and salaries (Hill Strategies, 2003). The 2017 San Antonio Fiesta in Texas had an economic impact of \$340.1 million in terms of sales to the local economy, up from \$284 million in 2007 (FSAC, 2017). The Cologne carnival generates €600 million in economic value added to the German economy (Consultancy.eu, 2020). Even a smaller-scale festival like the Gay Pride Festival in the Hillcrest neighbourhood of San Diego (California) yielded \$10.9 million economic impact in 2014 from sources that included ticket sales, vendor rents, parade entry fees, sponsorship fees and beverage sales – a ten-fold increase from a decade earlier (Gold, 2011).

Yet notwithstanding these seemingly impressive figures, many festivals routinely run on a financial knife-edge, barely covering their costs and scarcely living up to the view of festivals as the new ‘best thing’ in the battle to secure the future of traditional cities. Music festivals in Western Europe, for example, can see a quarter of ticket price revenue typically taken up by Value Added Tax and royalty fees to songwriters. After that come the costs of the live acts, expenditure on security and

logistical costs such as water, electricity and waste management. The 2014 Glastonbury Festival of Contemporary Performing Arts in 2014, for instance, made just £86,000 profit on a turnover of £37 million (Hickey, 2016). For smaller events that are run by enthusiasts who club together to foot the bills, a year when attendances are poor or when new and unforeseen expenses are suddenly incurred may mean the end of the festival (see also chapter 9). Viewed dispassionately, it is highly likely that most events have little either economic impact in their own right (Shibli, 2015) and may only seem to produce significant revenues by dint of adding large amounts of notional income or putative benefits to the balance sheet (Strydom et al, 2006).

Part of the problem is that audiences frequently come to a host destination for a variety of reasons besides attending a festival. Many will be classified as 'cultural tourists', defined as those who participate in 'passive, active and interactive engagement with culture(s) and communities...[to gain] new experiences of an educational, creative and/or entertaining nature' (Smith, 2009, 17). Through doing so, they not only participate in a process in which cultural resources are transformed into products with a recognisable financial expression, they also contribute to local exchequers beyond the boundaries of the festival's venues. In this respect, cultural tourists are highly prized since they normally have higher disposable incomes than 'mainstream' tourists and therefore spend more. This arises directly through sales at festival-related retail outlets and payment of local taxes (where relevant) and indirectly through expenditure on hotels, groceries, restaurant meals and transport.<sup>33</sup>

The actual gains, however, are difficult to ascertain. There are no universally approved frameworks for gathering economic data on festivals. Estimates of visitor numbers may not differentiate between participation of local residents and vendors (however 'local' is defined) and those visiting from further afield. Free entry events may not record figures at all. There are neither commonly accepted approaches nor criteria for conceptualising and measuring the economic impacts that come through investment, employment and income. The extent of leakages (e.g. the propensity to import supplies rather than source locally) and various imputed returns are rarely calculated on any standardized basis. Environmental and social impacts are seldom included in festival assessments and evaluations (UNESCO, 2015, 7). Multiplier effects on spending and employment are often exaggerated, with Crompton (2006) identifying a series of potential errors likely to cause overstatement of economic impact. The most significant concern overlooked countervailing factors such as failure to account for: 'time-switchers' or tourists who would have visited anyway with or without the festival taking place; 'casuals' or people attending tourists who happened to be in the vicinity but were not primarily attracted by the festival; and local visitors, whose expenditures simply redirect funds from alternative locality-based expenditures. In addition, there is often failure to account for incremental municipal costs related to the event or to take into account the loss of revenue from displaced visitors (Litvin, 2007).

This statistical morass is permissive. Without recognised canons of consistent

scrutiny, analysts frequently have virtual *carte blanche* to produce almost any conclusions that they wish from the figures produced for an event (Carlsen, 2004, 252), including those that they think their sponsors might most want to hear. As Crompton (2006, 67; cited in Litvin *et al*, 2013):

‘Most economic impact studies are commissioned to legitimize a political position rather than to search for economic truth. Often, this results in the use of mischievous procedures that produce large numbers that study sponsors seek to support a predetermined position.’

From a similar perspective, Richards (2007, 250) argued that the majority of Catalan festivals are neither generally staged for tourists nor are ‘commoditized’ in the manner common for many events in northern Europe. Yet although maintaining the view that festivals ‘are seen far more as a social tool which is ... aimed at Catalan society itself’, he accepted that promotion of events is not without an economic element in that the rhetoric:

‘is more often linked to political discussions, because the public sector has a crucial role in funding. Visitor numbers are inflated not so much to attract commercial sponsors but to persuade local politicians to continue public funding’ (ibid).

Further complexities arise from the multiplier effects that attend the staging of festivals. Even local festivals can provide important shop windows for a city’s cultural and creative sector, resembling trade fairs in serving ‘as temporary clusters... which support processes of interactive learning and knowledge creation for those who participate’ (Bathelt and Schult, 2008, 853; Walters and Insch, 2018). Moreover, any festival can play its part in ‘reconstructing, reframing and promoting’ place identity (Govers and Go, 2009, 52) by being drawn into planning and management strategies designed to improve the city’s image. These include ‘place promotion’ – the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of towns and regions to a target audience (Gold and Ward, 1994, 2) – and its more focused management theory-based incarnations as place marketing, place branding, and ‘brandscaping’.<sup>34</sup> Branding a neighbourhood as a ‘cultural quarter’, for example, seeks to use the potential of culture ‘as the anchor of attraction’ in promoting the economic and social revitalization of an area (Hargrove, 2014, 3). Certainly, the business of promoting and selling places was an important factor behind the quickening pace of festival proliferation in the 1980s and 1990s (see chapter 7).

It is also important to recognise that festivals can also have negative outcomes. Some may have direct or imputed economic expression. The Spoleto Festival USA in Charleston (South Carolina), for example, is credited by the city’s long-term mayor John P. Riley as being founded:

‘at a time in 1977 when Charleston, like many cities in America, was wrestling with the decline of its central core and business areas... Spoleto, almost

magically, brought life and vitality to the streets and sidewalks that had been quiet in recent years; it was a catalytic agent that brought about much needed restoration and recovery within the city' (cited in Litvin and Fetter, 2006, 43).

Yet in spite of this apparent success, the business community are not necessarily convinced. Charleston's hoteliers, for instance, argue that the success of the festival can have an adverse effect on hotel occupancy and revenue, for instance by creating an impression that the town is crowded and that hotels are overbooked and overpriced (*ibid*, 46; see also chap. 7).

Less tangible but nonetheless substantial are the losses can stem from adverse publicity arising from festivals running into trouble through misfortune or malfeasance. Recent history, for example, reveals events that have caused environmental damage, suffered from corruption scandals and bungled last-minute cancellations, experienced serious overcrowding and crowd-related injuries including fatalities, witnessed civil disturbances, and gained reputations for substance abuse and perceived affronts to public decency (e.g. Getz, 2002; Carlsen *et al.*, 2007; Andersson and Getz, 2009; Garcia, 2012; Helbing and Mukerji, 2012; Dwyer and Jago, 2015). Open-air festivals are clearly vulnerable to the weather, with cancellations taking effect at the point when the emerging mud baths become safety hazards. On numerous instances, in-fighting between key stakeholders has seriously damaged the image of a festival and any movement that might support it, doing more to divide groups than to forge collective identity or inspire harmony. Finally festivals have recently generated unwelcome publicity through terrorist and insurgency groups seeking to further their cause by targeting large-scale public gatherings. As chapter 9 suggests, responding to this form of asymmetric conflict can pose the need for expensive protective infrastructure, surveillance capabilities and small armies of security personnel that can bring into question the festival's viability (Fig. 1.7). It also presents organisers and municipal authorities alike with the challenge of how to maintain the cherished freedoms and openness of the event while guaranteeing the safety of festivalgoers.

\*\*\*FIGURE 1.7 about here\*\*\*

## Aims and Structure

The relationships between festivals, on the one hand, and culture, place and economy, on the other, permeate all the ensuing chapters of this book, albeit with varying weights and empirical contexts. Its aim is to provide a critically reflective, evidence-based and historically-constructed survey of the ways in which regular, non-ambulant, place-based festivals have become embedded in the life and planning of the cities in the developed world since the end of the First World War. In saying that, we are only too aware that we are imposing chronological and spatial limits on this study, but do so in light of the potentially limitless nature of the subject matter given the dramatic expansion in numbers, scope and global spread of such festivals. Hence, while fully accepting the ubiquity of festivals and impressive vitality of festival culture in many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with few exceptions<sup>35</sup> our



spatial focus has performance been limited to festivals that are either West European or North American in origin.

Within that focus, we highlight two main types of events: urban arts festivals and carnivals. When examining them, we concentrate less on the nature of the experience for the participant or on the significance of specific festivals for the development of the arts – subjects about which large bodies of literature already exist<sup>36</sup> – than to identify the reciprocal relationship between development of the festival and the planning and management of its host city. Throughout, we have sought wherever possible to draw on contemporaneous comment and documentation to place events within the relevant climate of ideas. At the same time, when using reports of participants as mediated by personal memoirs – one of the staples of research in this field – we seek to ensure that they are properly scrutinised. As Rick Massimo (2017; see Glandfield, 2018, 29) ruefully noted with respect to the history of the Newport Folk Festival, it was one of ‘life’s more predictable ironies’ that ‘some of the most confidently expressed memories were among those proven incorrect’.

At the outset, it might seem that the twin foci on city-based arts festivals and on carnival events represent visits to two distinctly different domains; with the art gallery and opera house juxtaposed with the street, the world of high culture with popular culture. Increasingly, however, such distinctions have dissipated, if not completely disappeared. We have seen the advent of genre-busting events that have responded to the migration of peoples, celebrated fusions of existing forms of festival with new and different artistic media, and accommodated ‘changes in the nature of the public and the wider democratization and internationalization of culture’ (Delanty, 2011, 191). Any distinctions between different forms of festival, as made in the later chapters of this book, are frequently ones of degree and focus rather than rigid differentiation of kind.

With regard to structure, the ensuing book contains eight further chapters. Chapter 2 provides contextual background by introducing the long but nonlinear history of city festivals. It opens by identifying the social and political importance of festivals during the Age of Antiquity followed by an analysis of the interplay between secular and ecclesiastical regimes in establishing the annual cycles of festivals that were so much part of life in the towns of medieval Europe. After then discussing the chronologically synchronous theme of the propagation of the street parades and masquerades associated with carnival, this chapter stresses the need to balance any sense of historic continuity with recognition of the disjunctures to be observed. In doing so, it highlights the elements that separate present-day festivals from their pre-industrial antecedents as well as those that supply convincing threads of continuity. In relation to this point, we note the decline of many popular festivals during the nineteenth century, following the advent of industrialisation and growth of disapproving moral regimes, but also draw attention to the new forms of events that arose – a point illustrated by the example of music festivals. After providing commentary on the ideological dimension of the newly-emerging festivals, this chapter ends by adding historiographic reflections of key relevance to the case

studies that follow.

Each of the four subsequent chapters (3-6) then presents a case study of a pioneering European arts festival in its urban context. Chapter 3 begins with Venice, arguably *the* modern festival city, with its Biennale (founded in 1895) and associated Film Festival, both of which became the progenitors of similar events worldwide. This is followed by analysis of the founding and development of, respectively, the Salzburger Festspiele (chapter 4), the Cannes International Film Festival (chapter 5), and Edinburgh's International Festival (chapter 6). Naturally, there are differences between their respective experiences, most notably in the relationship between festival and city. It is noticeable that Cannes, for example, came about and was sustained by the actions of the municipality, whereas at times in Edinburgh there is a sense that the festival has survived despite the seeming periodic indifference of local politicians. Yet taken as a whole, these events share the credit for helping to codify the rationale for establishing city-based arts festivals and for acting as antecedents for the steady accretion of associated festivals, even though none technically were the first in their respective fields. Collectively, they helped to balance the spirit of internationalism against more parochial considerations; embracing the desire for understanding and harmony while advancing economic benefit, cultural ascendancy and, in certain instances, political ideology. In addition, the stories of the various festivals overlap. For instance, the establishment of the Cannes International Film Festival was directly stimulated by a powerful response to a forerunner in Venice and, equally, the foundation of the Edinburgh International Festival was strongly affected by the staging of the Salzburger Festspiele. In light of these shared features, we have tried wherever possible to include common structural threads that allow a measure of comparative analysis of the interaction between the festival and the broader agenda of the cities where they are held.

The next two chapters examine the proliferation of festivals over the last century and especially over the last 40 years. Chapter 7 covers the growth of arts festivals, although there is, of course, no attempt to account for all events ranging from the local to international and from the avowedly communal to the strictly commercial. After initially exploring the statistical mire encountered when seeking to trace the origins and spread of festivals, each of the next three sections provides a thematic overview of the growth of a given form of arts festival. Their subjects are respectively theatre festivals, literature festivals, and biennales.

A similar approach is taken in Chapter 8, which illustrates how carnival, a form of festival with a deep history, can be appropriated to serve variously assorted purposes, such as expressing the cause of identity. There are three sections. The first takes examples from both sides of the Atlantic to examine the way that Latin American especially Trinidadian carnival has been re-exported to supply statements of identity for black communities living in the USA and Europe. The second part examines St. Patrick Day celebrations, a longstanding example of carnivalesque parades used by the Irish, at home and abroad, to express varying conceptions of national identity. The final part focuses on the Pride Parades and the opportunities that they supply for the LGBTQ+ communities to declare their visibility in a changing

moral climate. In each section, we also note how an often uneasy accommodation is reached between the goals of asserting identity and pressures for commercial development, usually linked to tourism.

In providing summary and afterword, chapter 9 reviews the major themes developed in this book and underscores the key themes to emerge. It is noted that although the global trend of the last century and especially the last 40 years has been towards the rapid formation of new festivals and the continual expansion in their scope, a variety of countervailing trends have recently appeared. These include the problems of sustainability in a satiated market, mounting public resistance to encroachment and appropriation of urban spaces, the growing threats to security, and the sharp shock of 2020 when the entire world of festivals came to a juddering halt. Yet despite these and other uncertainties, we remain convinced that festivals – one of the most lasting and malleable form of social gathering – will survive. Indeed, if the lessons of their long history are to be believed, they will thrive as they continue to respond to changes both in society and in the agendas of the cities that host them.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Jarvis (1827, 5).

<sup>2</sup> This was when a travelling company staged 'Othello' to raise funds to pay for the repair of the monument in Holy Trinity (Highfill *et al*, 1993, 260). The town at that point had no resident theatre company.

<sup>3</sup> In passing, it is worth noting that this occurred primarily because Garrick, the obvious person to act as its steward, was unavailable (Stochholm, 1964, 5)

<sup>4</sup> The local council's status as a Corporation dates from a Royal Charter of Incorporation in 1553, which rectified land ownership and other residual problems resulting from the suppression in 1547 of the local religious house, the Guild of the Holy Cross, as a belated part of the Crown's Dissolution of the Monasteries. For more information, see Fox (1953).

<sup>5</sup> Garrick is now regarded by many commentators as the first true media celebrity (e.g. Lilti, 2014, 75).

<sup>6</sup> There was also a statute or 'Mop' fair for hiring labour, principally for the agricultural and domestic service sectors (Styles, 1945, 237; Kussmaul, 1981). There had been a medieval tradition of great seasonal festivals (e.g. at Corpus Christi), but these had fallen foul of Protestant reformers and by this stage were mostly a dim memory (Greenblatt, 2014, 37).

<sup>7</sup> A further 62 performances were added in a second run during the ensuing season (Taylor, 1989, 119).

<sup>8</sup> The Globe (Southwark) and Blackfriars (City of London) theatres were closed by the Puritans at the start of the English Civil War. They were demolished shortly

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afterwards in a manner that left so little physical trace that it took the attentions of archaeologists in the 1980s even to work out the exact location of the Globe (Carson and Karim-Cooper, 2008). For more on place and authorship, see Squire (1994), Dillon (2000) and Fawcett and Cormack (2001).

<sup>9</sup> These activities sought to draw in visitors via the newly opened rail routes to Birmingham, Oxford and London, although rail connections to the town have always remained problematic (Kennedy, 1998, 177).

<sup>10</sup> Notably, this was situated close to the location of the 1769 Rotunda. In passing, it is worth noting that there had been various previous attempts to found such a theatre. The 1827 festival saw the foundation stone laid for a Shakespearean theatre in Chapel Lane (Jarvis, 1827). This was one of four theatres opened in Stratford in the 1830s; the other three being the New Theatre (opened in November 1821), Scowton's Theatre, later Scowton's Royal Pavilion (1823), and the Henley Street Theatre (1824). Only the Chapel Lane would have any continuous history and even this was demolished in 1872 (Styles, 1945, 245).

<sup>11</sup> The phrase was coined by the playwright Ben Jonson in his tribute entitled 'To the Memory of My Beloved the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare', which was written in 1623. The encomium (quoted in Duncan-Jones, 2011, 233) reads:

'Sweet Swan of Avon! what a sight it were  
To see thee in our waters yet appear,  
And make those flights upon the banks of Thames'

<sup>12</sup> Its early festival seasons of roughly 10 plays per annum were largely dismissed by London-based critics as being 'notably banal' (Kennedy, 1998, 176), bedevilled by 'provincialism' (Jackson, 2010, 295), and blighted by the retention of actors 'who were fond of repeating their successful routines... a holiday resort instead of an English Bayreuth' (McMillin, 1991, 37). In time, however, the SMT's switch to more adventurous and thematically coherent seasons of plays has brought greater critical acclaim. This was notably the case from the turn of the 1950s onwards – a process that developed first under the directorship of Barry Jackson and then those of Anthony Quayle and Peter Hall (Smallwood, 2002, 103-4).

<sup>13</sup> The present version is now essentially a fun-fair and comprises three segments: the Charity Mop, Main Mop and Runaway Mop (all held in October).

<sup>14</sup> The festival was held against a general air of radicalism generated by reaction to the Shakespeare celebrations here and elsewhere (see Swindells and Taylor, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting, however, that in a later piece, Marijke de Valck (2016) argues that globalization makes division into mainstream and alternative increasingly misleading 'with regard to the different hierarchies that exist between them today, and in relation to the variety of cinemas that these festivals showcase'.

<sup>16</sup> Use of the term 'cultural and creative economy' (e.g. see O'Connor, 2010; CCBC, 2014) is preferred here to the bewildering array of alternative and conceptually overlapping terms on offer. *Inter alia*, these include the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), the 'cultural economy' (Scott, 2000; Gibson and Kong, 2005), 'the cultural industries' (Driver and Gillespie, 1993; Hesmondhalgh, 2002), the 'creative economy' (Howkins, 2001; Florida, 2008; Markusen *et al*, 2008), and 'creative industries' (Cunningham, 2001; Hotho and Champion, 2011; Gibson, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> The evolution of thinking about culture as an economic sector involves a sixty-year

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progression from ‘the Culture Industry’ thinking of the Frankfurt School (see Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002), through writings about the ‘cultural industries’ and ending at the ‘creative industries’ (O’Connor, 2010). Detailed discussion of this development in thinking, its historical and philosophical roots and the underlying tensions between culture and economics lies beyond the scope of this text. For more information, see Caves (2000), Power and Scott (2004), Moeran and Pedersen (2011), Flew (2012) and Bakker (2013).

<sup>18</sup> This leaves aside the probability that those originally creating artefacts may well have intended pictorial or other representations to invite imaginative or even symbolic interpretations: see Smith (2004, 20).

<sup>19</sup> Albeit emphasising devotion rather than pageantry (see Chase, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol 2., 260.

<sup>21</sup> Detailed discussion of the definition and characteristics of culture lie beyond the scope of the present discussion. For more information, see Smith (1995), Ingold (1999), Worsley (1999), Jeong and Almeida Santos (2004) and Jahoda (2012).

<sup>22</sup> Although extreme circumstances can bring exceptions, as with the Social Distancing Festival established to provide contact between artists whose live performances were cancelled due to the need for social distancing because of the spread of Coronavirus COVID-19 (see also chapter 9).

<sup>23</sup> Selected from the various definitions available from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, available online at <https://www-oed-com.oxfordbrookes.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/91004?redirectedFrom=identity#eid>, accessed on 27 August 2019.

<sup>24</sup> The ensuing discussion is framed in terms of city-based rather than rural events, which lie outside the scope of this book. For more on festivals held in the countryside and the continuing processes of reinvention that surrounds them especially in light of rural development, see: Janiskee and Drews (1998), Higham and Ritchie (2000), De Bres and Davis (2001), Gibson and Connell (2011), Blichfeldt and Halkier (2013), Hjalager and Kwiatkowski (2018), Mackay et al (2019), and Mahon and Hyyryläinen (2019).

<sup>25</sup> On the nature and characteristics of mega-events, see Greenhalgh (1988), Jafari (1988), Roche (1992, 2000, 2017), Gold and Gold (2005, 2017b), Horne and Manzenreite (2006), Maennig and Zimbalist (2012), Müller (2015) and Wenner and Billings (2017).

<sup>26</sup> See Beacham (1991), Edmondson (1999), Quigley (2012) and Malte (2015).

<sup>27</sup> Much proceeds on the presumption that modern society is ‘ocularcentric’ – dominated by, or perhaps under the hegemony of the visual. For opposing views on this matter, see: Ellul (1985) and Jay (1993).

<sup>28</sup> For discussion, see Debray (1995), Best and Kellner (1997) Cronin and Hetherington (2008), Rancière (2009) and Chu and Sanyal (2015).

<sup>29</sup> However, see also Debord (1988) for a later, and somewhat different, expression of his ideas.

<sup>30</sup> There is, however, dispute over the precise meaning of these verbs, as can be seen by comparing the definitions supplied by Kan (2004) with the entry in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, vol 2, 1968, p.1800.

<sup>31</sup> *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, vol 2, 1968, p.1800. Its plural *spectacula* was the original

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term for the amphitheatre and could thus signify the venue itself. The dedicatory inscription at Pompeii's amphitheatre, for example, refers to it as a *spectacula* (D'Arms, 1999, 301).

<sup>32</sup> These figures as those that follow are notoriously unreliable. For example, some years earlier, UK Music (2015) reported that British music festivals held between 2011 and 2014 generated £3.1 billion through direct and indirect expenditures.

<sup>33</sup> For more on the economics of cultural tourism, see Getz (1991), Crompton (1994), Richards (2001), McKercher and Cros (2002), Tyrrell and Ismail (2005), Bracalente *et al.* (2011), Herrero *et al.*, (2011), Kostopoulou and Kalogirou (2011), Dwyer *et al.* (2016) and Noonan and Rizzo (2017).

<sup>34</sup> With regard to city marketing and promotion, see: Young and Lever (1998), Bennett and Savani (2003), Kavartzis and Ashworth (2005), Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011), Richards (2017b) and Gold and Gold (2020). On place marketing, see Ashworth and Voogd (1990) and Columb (2012), 'place branding' (Papadopoulos, 2004; Lucarelli and Berg, 2008; Braun *et al.*, 2013) and 'brandscaping' (Riewoldt, 2002; Klingmann, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> The exceptions are primarily festivals in the Caribbean or South America that have important connections with the development of European or North American festival practice. With regard to festivals from non-European or North American contexts, the following can be recommended from a substantial literature: Ashkenazi (1993), Lara and Phillips (2000), Curcio-Nagy (2004), Lochtefeld (2004), Kawano (2005), Hauptfleisch (2006), and Turner and Salemink (2014).

<sup>36</sup> With regard to the former, see Lee *et al.* (2008), Holloway *et al.* (2010), Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011), Weber and Ali-Knight (2012), Hüsken and Michaels (2013), Ferdinand and Williams (2013), Mackley-Crump (2015) and Lee and Kim (2016). In respect of the importance of specific festivals for the development of the arts, see Levin (1982), Spotts (1994), Waterman (1998) and Mair (2019).