DADA'S CRADLE: AN EVALUATION OF ZURICH DADA'S SPACES AS TO CORPOREALITY

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ABSTRACT

DADA'S CRADLE: AN EVALUATION OF ZURICH DADA'S EVENT SPACES AS TO CORPOREALITY

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The research focuses on the World War I period (1914-1918) to explore the relationship between bodies-spaces-media in Zurich Dada, which unfolds through its appropriation of performance, exhibition, and urban cultures, along with mediums of magazine, collage, and photography. It comprises three layers: the theoretical layer, where I review influential studies that explore the notion of avant-gardes (like the works of Peter Bürger, Matei Călinescu, Hal Foster, Richard Murphy, Marjorie Perloff, and Renato Poggioli) in light of various philosophies concerning the body and perception (including the works of Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, Norbert Elias, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty); the historical layer, where I examine the institutional conditions under which Zurich Dada emerged, reacted against, and dissolved; and the historiographical layer, where, by exploring the relationship between verbal and non-verbal forms of expression in the practice of "history-writing," I describe an interface that not only portrays the publication network of avant-garde movements in the early 20th century but also provides its bodily utilizers with multidimensional domains for making critical arguments.

Keywords: Dada, Zurich, Body, Space, Historiography

ÖZ

DADA'NIN BEŞİĞİ: ZURİH DADA MEKÂNLARININ
BEDENSELLİK AÇISINDAN BİR İNCELEMESİ

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Araştırma Zürih Dada'nın dergi, kolaj, fotoğraf ortamları ile performans, sergi, ve kent kültürlerini benimsenmesinde ortaya çıkan bedenler-mekânlar-ortamlar arasındaki ilişkiyi keşfetmek amacıyla Birinci Dünya Savaşı dönemine (1914-1918) odaklanır ve üç katmandan oluşur: Avangard kavramını araştıran kanonik çalışmaları (Peter Bürger, Matei Călinescu, Hal Foster, Richard Murphy, Marjorie Perloff ve Renato Poggioli'nin çalışmaları gibi) beden ve algıya ilişkin çeşitli felsefeler ışığında (Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, Norbert Elias ve Maurice Merleau-Ponty'nin çalışmaları dahil) gözden geçirdiğim teorik katman; Zürih Dada'yı ortaya çıkartan ve çözen, grubun tepki gösterdiği kurumsal koşulları incelediğim tarihsel katman; "tarih yazma" pratiğinde sözlü ve sözlü olmayan ifade biçimleri arasındaki ilişkiyi sorguladığım ve 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki avangard hareketlerin karmaşık yayın ağını görselleştirmekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda bedenli kullanıcılarına eleştirel tartışmalar yapmaları için çok boyutlu alanlar sağlayan bir arayüzü tanımladığım tarihyazımsal katman.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dada, Zürih, Beden, Mekân, Tarihyazımı

To all forgotten bodies of yesterday,
May your stories be heard tomorrow.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> What can be said at all can be said clearly, and what we cannot talk about we must pass over in silence.
>
> –Ludwig Wittgenstein[1]

Since the 1990s, rapid changes in technology, violence, identity, and consumer culture have prompted some scholars from social sciences to rethink the definitions of the *body* within historical contexts. Thomas Csordas interpreted this turn of embodiment as an "opportunity to reformulate theories of culture, self, and experience with the body at the center of analysis."[2] In the same way, this study targets rediscovering the interrelations between bodies, spaces, and media. Accordingly, studying the art and architecture of as extreme a context as the Great War (1914-1918) provides an appropriate point to start such reflection, because the context of the war challenged living beings and their bodies in many aspects, which has evoked endless debates since then over many divisions like human-machine, human-animal, or else animate-inanimate. Here, it wouldn't be far-fetched to say that the period leading to the Great War was the same period giving birth to the "historical avant-garde" movements.[3] More to the point, throughout the war, as Eric Hobsbawm observed, only two avant-garde movements made noteworthy formal inventions: Constructivism and Dadaism (foretelling Surrealism).[4] A glance at the works of these movements suggests that manipulating corporeality was one of the strategies helping the agents to cope with conventional, if not authoritarian, mentalities. As Elza Adamowicz observed, in a context where "Western man has lost his sense of the tactility in favour of the head in what constitutes a form of disembodiment, Dada poetry and

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[1] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London: Routledge, 1961), 3.
[2] Thomas Csordas, "Introduction: The Body as a Representation and Being-in-the-world," in *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*, ed. Thomas Csordas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4.
[3] Peter Bürger uses the designation *historical avant-garde* to distinguish the discussions of European avant-garde movements of the early 20th century from the discussions of the *neo-avant-garde* of the 1960s. See Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 54-9.
[4] Eric Hobsbawm, "The Arts 1914-45," in *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994), 179.

art are literally embedded in the body."[5] Refusing mimetic representation and applying different functions on bodies like relocating, distorting, or liquifying, Dadaists contradicted the idea of the classical body developed in the art of the Italian Renaissance and cultivated the idea of the grotesque body inherited from the art of Northern Europe. In these "limit-bodies," as Adamowicz named, "they[anatomical boundaries] become hybridised with the animal or the machine; they replace academic, controlled delineation of form with deliberately messy execution; they become blob or blur, organic proliferation, exaggerating the ornamental, the tangential, the arbitrary."[6] Defining "Dada" has been a challenge for historians because of the event-based aspect of its production and the diverse participants it held. Reviewers, therefore, have practically combined the term Dada with the names of various cities where the movement flourished.[7] Accordingly, each Dada hub had also a unique style in the way of handling bodies: Zurich embraced festive masks; Hanover assembled fragments of the earlier century; Berlin criticized society through prosthetic photomontages; Cologne used laughter; Paris collectively created "exquisite corpses;" New York critiqued machine and consumer culture through play.[8]

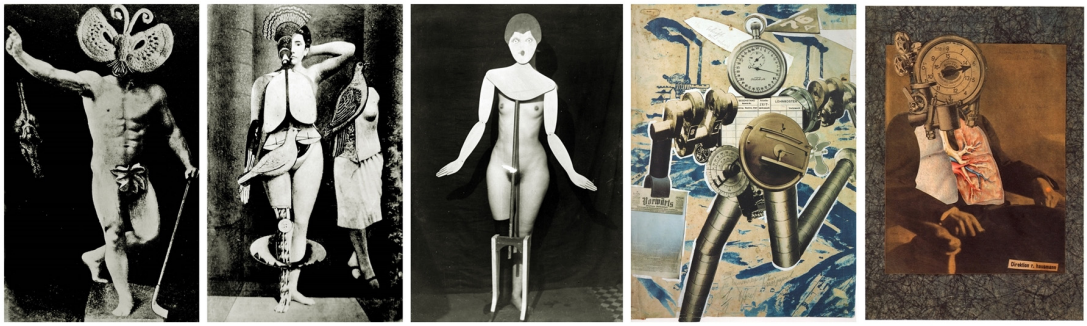


Figure 0.1 Max Ernst, *Health through Sport*, 1920; Ernst, *Santa Conversazione*, 1921; Man Ray, *Coat Stand*, 1920; John Heartfield, *Rationalization Marches!*, 1927; Raoul Hausmann, *Self-Portrait of the Dadasoph,* 1920.



Figure 0.2 Raoul Hausmann, *Tatlin Lives at Home*, 1920; Johannes Theodor Baargeld, *Typical Vertical Mess as Depiction of the Dada Baargeld*, 1920; George Grosz, *A Victim of Society*, 1919; Raoul Hausmann, *Gurk*, 1918-9; Marcel Janco, *Portrait of Tristan Tzara*, 1919.

[5] Elza Adamowicz, "Introduction: Spare Parts," in *Dada Bodies: Between Battlefield and Fairground* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 5.
[6] Adamowicz, "Spare Parts,"12.
[7] Elza Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada: Between Gas Mask and Carnival Dance," in *Dada Bodies: Between Battlefield and Fairground* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 45.
[8] Adamowicz, "Spare Parts," 6.

To understand how this kind of agency emerged and given the fact that the "Great War is not central to Dada studies,"[9] this research will concentrate on the performance, exhibition, and urban practices of Zurich Dada along with the mediums of magazine, collage, and photography. Staying neutral within the context of the Great War, Switzerland welcomed many individuals from different nations who did not take part in the war. Among these "iconoclasts of all kinds"[10] as once put, there were "conspirators, spies, revolutionaries, conscientious objectors, draft evaders, singers, musicians, scholars, scientists, philosophers, traffickers in war material, speculators, informers, and propagandists,"[11] some of whom became notable figures of the following century such as Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). While everyone who suffered from the war was able to express herself freely in Zurich, Cabaret Voltaire (carrying seeds of Dada) was an aesthetic materialization of this moral self-expression against established systems of society. Set against intellect and seriousness associated with the disaster of the war, the cabaret supported bodily impulses; energy, interaction, antagonism, chaos, rage, and laughter constitute a few of the terms historians have used to define Dada.[12] In brief, Zurich Dada gathered towards the beginning of 1916 and dispersed near the end of 1919 to spread across other cities. During these four years, the group presented a mix of examples from plastic arts (including different techniques like weaving, printing, painting, collage, or embroidery), performance, music, poetry, and dance.[13] In such a mix, "modern elements coexisted with conventional quotidian offerings," blurring boundaries between "low" and "high" art.[14] In their productions, Zurich Dadaists also questioned boundaries outlining many identities — be it *human* or *woman*.[15] What is more, in the Dada environments, not only collages hung but also recitations held were abstract. Dadaists embraced this brand-new idea of nonrepresentational art more and more (e.g., at one point, they even rejected using scissors while making collages to remove human traces). They sought a fundamental form of art transcending language/intellect and resonating with the unconscious mind freed from the disasters of the time.[16] As Leah Dickerman observed, Zurich Dadaists' "ideas about a primeval stratum of the mind, ancient ritual, psychic regression, and infantile states were often

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[9] Geert Buelens, "Reciting Shells. Dada *and*, Dada *in* & Dadaists *on* the First World War," *Arcadia* 41, no. 2 (2006): 276, https://doi.org/10.1515/ARCA.2006.019.
[10] Leah Dickerman, "Zurich," in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris,* ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 2006), 19.
[11] John Erickson, *Dada: Performance, Poetry, and Art* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 2.
[12] Dickerman, "Zurich," 19-25; Debbie Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," in *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism,* ed. David Hopkins (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 32.
[13] Dickerman, "Zurich," 23.
[14] Lewer, "Dada's Genesis," 24; Dickerman, "Zurich," 23.
[15] Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada," 37-41.
[16] Dickerman, "Zurich," 26-7; Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada," 28; T.J. Demos, "Zurich Dada: The Aesthetics of Exile," in *The Dada Seminars*, eds. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 33.

conflated, their differences collapsed into a general notion of primitive, or ur-consciousness."[17] This had them pay attention to illustrations of children, less valued techniques of production, or African and Oceanic art, and present examples of *simultaneous poems, sound-poems*, *chants n'egres*, or dances with archaic masks believed to carry historical forces of previous ages. The cabaret constituted a domain where different mediums not only co-existed but also interacted. As Emily Hage, observed, "the paintings in this intimate little theatre of war take on a sonic and polemic quality."[18] Similarly, both experiments of dance and poetry conducted in the cabaret nourished each other reciprocally.[19] In the same way, Dadaists paid attention to designing performance props concerning the properties of the surrounding stage, where geometric abstraction stood not only as a principle unifying these two domains but also allowing new possibilities of physical movement.[20] Provided that the environment of artworks in Dada had an important role in these intermedial negotiations, "Dada studies," as Debbie Lewer noticed, "tend to neglect 1) the significance of the geographical location; 2) heterogeneity of Dada venues and locales within the city and 3) the significance of the different times, periods, and frequency of the use of these venues and locales for Dada activity."[21]Along with using residences, cafés, or related places like printing houses, Dadaists presented mentioned mixture of artworks through no less than 9 exhibitions, 9 publications, and 27 evening gatherings taking place in at least seven event settings in Zurich varying in character: Cabaret Voltaire, Zunfthaus Zur Waag, Gallery Corray, Kunstsalon Wolfsberg, Zunfthaus Zur Meisen, Kunsthaus Zurich, and Kaufleuten. This study, nevertheless, limits itself to the first two, namely climax, years of the journey that gave birth to the movement, and three locations that hosted at least 25 evening shows as well as 6 exhibitions. Even though there were many individuals in contact with the group, what will be called Zurich Dada within the scope of the study consists of eight artists: Hugo Ball (1886-1927), Emmy Hennings (1885-1948), Richard Huelsenbeck (1892-1974), Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), Marcel Janco (1895-1984), Hans Arp (1886-1966), Sophie Taeuber (1889-1943), and Hans Richter (1888-1976).

Using language, one cannot express every experience. Also, when the experience does not belong to the one who tries to express it, or rather if there exists an interval between the expression and the experience, this shortage of words brews trouble. To illustrate this, one can

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[17] Dickerman, "Zurich," 31.
[18] Lewer, "Dada's Genesis," 23.
[19] Ruth Hemus, "Sex and the Cabaret: Dada's Dancers," *Nordlit,* no. 21 (2007): 99, https://doi.org/10.7557/13.1677; Lewer, "Dada's Genesis," 31.
[20] Renée Riese Hubert, "Zurich Dada and Its Artist Couples," in *Women in Dada: Essays on Sex, Gender, and Identity,* ed. Naomi Sawelson-Gorse (London: The MIT Press, 1998), 534.
[21] Debbie Lewer, "From the Cabaret Voltaire to the Kaufleutensaal: 'Mapping' Zurich Dada," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 45.

imagine a process of composing a historical study: first, an incident happens in many facets, then this occasion gets recorded by someone who is there or not, later a historian re-constructs the incident by using available material, and finally, she describes this reconstruction. And all these phases dwell in a non-linguistic channel to be expressed with words: historical incidents materialize in embodied beings and objects, records in crafted papers, reconstructions in imaginations, and imaginations in narratives. Yet, as there are multiple ways of describing an event, recording a description, relating a record, and narrating an imagination, the audience cannot detect whether the final narrative pictures the primary incident "sufficiently." When this critical inquiry focuses on fine arts, the mentioned difficulty gradually multiplies because the besieged incident tends to coincide with the very medium of expression: How can a reviewer be sure of expressing a novel "aesthetic experience" or "art object" with "correct" words? Here, standing chief in the discussions upon novelty, a controversial topic as avant-gardes could be interesting to pursue. Accordingly, Renato Poggioli revealed an acute symptom about the criticism of avant-garde movements:

> Unfortunately, avant-garde criticism, instead of working autonomously alongside avant-garde art, has too often let itself be determined, in both the negative and the positive way, by the avant-garde spirit. That spirit has historically conditioned criticism in a more decisive manner than has avant-garde art, if not by necessity, then by contingency. Critical judgment, in other words, instead of tending toward a conscious reconstruction of the ambiance of the works or toward an intelligent interpretation thereof, has preferred to develop the subordinate task of controversy and polemic, of propaganda for or against.[22]

On the one hand, such a determination emerges due to commentators' over-trust in the words they use: one who builds her evaluation merely using language cannot easily criticize a movement experimenting with the language. On the other hand, this problem emerges due to commentators' over-trust in the words they study: unfortunately, one cannot easily review a movement inclined to manipulate the verbal treatise about itself. The intricate discourse of Dada is more than enough to illustrate this, so much so that Marcel Janco felt necessary to utter that "no Dadaist will ever write his memoirs! Do not trust anything that calls itself 'dada history', however much may be true of Dada, the historian qualified to write about it does not yet exist."[23] Therefore, considering the gaps amongst what happened, recorded, reconstructed, and narrated, it would not be far-fetched to claim that one who merely uses language may becloud the production and dissemination of knowledge.

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[22] Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1968), 22-3.
[23] C. W. E. Bigsby, *Dada & Surrealism* (1972; reis., New York: Routledge, 2018), 4–7.

Many of the most stimulating Dada and Surrealism exhibitions, Kathryn Floyd observed, "are the stuff of myth but completely unknown to us visually. We must become comfortable with new kinds of evidence or innovative approaches that take us beyond the typical strategies of art history or museum conventions."[24] Fortunately, reviewers have been using information technology as well as different mediums to enhance their textual treatise: owing to photographs, games, or videos, today one can pay a visit to the Roman Forum or the Great War "from the eyes" of citizens, soldiers, or clerics. Yet, while importing several techniques from other mediums or using the tools provided by information technology, there remains a risk for operators to take things for granted. Here, focusing on the "positive" side of getting determined by the "avant-garde spirit" Poggioli mentioned, one can interpret such a spirit as a power that prevents one from taking existing relations for granted to produce novel ones. In that case, a review determined by "avant-garde spirit" — as it does not presume any tool, manner, or material — can be useful while generating novel interpretations. In other words, a frontline commentator should use various mediums only if she keeps away from pre-supposing them. And this was extensively problematized by Johanna Drücker, who stressed that every concept of science is a habituated *construction* waiting to be de-naturalized — from *data* to *interface*.[25] Johanna Drücker is a pioneering scholar researching intersections of digital humanities, visual culture, and information studies. Her work explores graphical communication, digital aesthetics, and the history of text, illuminating the relation between technology and human understanding. Sketching a genealogy on visual epistemology, Drücker observed that the derived way of conducting critical science research has unfortunately not been determined "positively" by the avant-garde spirit:

> Artists and innovative writers played with visual and spatial writing within the avant-gardes of the twentieth century, but few if any of those radical works changed the shape of critical or scholarly conventions put into place centuries earlier. In spite of the networked condition of textual production, the design of digital platforms for daily use has hardly begun to accommodate the imaginative possibilities of constellationary composition, graphic interpretation, and dia-grammatic writing. We may use mind mapping or other schematic approaches to outline a plan, sketch an argument, organize information flows, or do other tasks that abstract process into graphic forms. We may read through our links and click trails, follow our associations of thought in tracking one thing after another through browsers and faceted searching. But very few acts of composition are diagrammatic, constellationary, or associative. Fewer are visual or spatial.[26]

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[24] Kathryn M. Floyd, "Writing the Histories of Dada and Surrealist Exhibitions: Problems and Possibilities," *Dada/Surrealism* 21 (2017): 6, https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1327; Jed Rasula, *Destruction Was My Beatrice: Dada and The Unmaking of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 40.

[25] Johanna Drücker, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 125-7.

[26] Drücker, *Graphesis*, 182-3.

For Drücker, one of the main points of digital humanities should be generating "visualizations that expose, rather than conceal, these principles of knowledge in the domains where the authority of information makes (still persistent and often pernicious) claims to 'truth' through the 'transparency' of the visualization."[27] However, Drücker defends, this attitude can survive only if "spaces and supports that structure interpretative acts" are re-designed.[28] In other words, seeking a novel way of handling tools, approaches, or documents in art and architectural history, one should start with establishing a domain where one can stay conscious of these entities.

Before proposing a way for establishing the mentioned kind of domain, in order to set an analytical framework as well as a terminology, one can start with questioning whether studies conceptualizing avant-gardes had handled the interaction between bodies and environments sufficiently. Therefore, holding a theoretical concern, the next chapter starts with a review of canonical studies problematizing the term avant-garde and argues that a lack on behalf of the relationship between bodies and environments in these theoretical attempts should prompt one to find ways of closing the gap. As observed by Andreas Huyssen, "Despite its ultimate and perhaps inevitable failure, the historical avantgarde aimed at developing an alternative relationship between high art and mass culture."[29] Not only to do so but also to get in touch with a broader audience, as Roy F. Allen observed, Dada used two of the most powerful communication mechanisms of the early twentieth century: literary-artistic periodical and political-literary cabaret.[30] Accordingly, focusing on the first mechanism Allen mentioned with a historiographical concern, the chapter also imagines an interface portraying the publication network of historical avant-gardes. The interface not only connects magazines of these movements with contextual documents, artifacts, locations, or critical studies but also grants its embodied users multidimensional domains to make critical arguments. Then, to historicize the discussion, along with bringing concise biographical material about Dadaists, the third chapter of the study briefly describes how the modernization of the early twentieth century appeared in the built environment, how people experienced those contexts, and how struggles escalated. Finally, focusing on the second mechanism Allen observed, the fourth chapter traces the birth and development of Dada within Cabaret Voltaire, Gallery Dada, and other locales of Zurich with specific attention to corporeality and media. Stressing that each setting inhabited by Dada might have granted the movement unique features, especially

[27] Drücker, 135.
[28] Drücker, 180.
[29] Andreas Huyssen, "Introduction," in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture and Postmodernism* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1986), viii.
[30] Allan C. Greenberg, "The Dadaists and the Cabaret as Form and Forum," in *Dada/Dimensions*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 24.

through the way it correlates embodied agents, the chapter also brings several concepts that problematized body and perception provided by Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, Norbert Elias, Michelle Foucault, Erving Goffman, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The chapter proposes that these perspectives about corporeality may prove useful while understanding Dada's construction of intricate relationships between various bodily agents, spaces, and media.

CHAPTER 2

REBUILDING AVANT-GARDES

2.1. Reviewing canonical studies on avant-gardes concerning corporeality

In the beginning, it should be emphasized that the very handled material affects one's interpretation enormously. Accordingly, within studies of avant-gardes, researchers working on practices using the body as a medium unsurprisingly have stressed corporeality to a greater extent. For example, in *The Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1993) by Richard Kostelanetz: all the examples stressing the use of the body were drawn from the practices of dance and performance. Yet, the concern of this chapter is not to discuss the awareness of bodies and environments within such practices, but to evaluate the know-how developed outside of them. In other words, this chapter will not evaluate whether studies on "avant-garde performance" handled corporeality or spatiality sufficiently but whether studies handling the concept of avant-garde have done so.

In *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, through concentrating on the manifestos and programs of movements rather than the testimonies of agents, Renato Poggioli interpreted the emergence of avant-garde movements as an upshot of a "flirt" between political and literary left circles lasting from the 1840s to 1880s. Through studying various parts ranging from venues to magazines, Poggioli positioned the term *movement* against the *school*.[31] Thenceforth, Poggioli "diagnosed" four "mythic" characteristics more or less carried by all avant-garde movements: activism, antagonism, nihilism, and agonism: activism denotes a need for a goal to follow; antagonism refers to a need for an authoritarian position to protest; nihilism, which was on the word of Poggioli most visible in Dada, signifies a wish for self-destruction; and agonism implies a need for a utopian justification of self-destruction to encourage the following movements. Accordingly, the first two characteristics, which were rational and social for Poggioli, "dialectically" struggle with the last two, which were irrational and psychological.[32] In light of this dialectic, Poggioli described a common target for all avant-garde movements,

[31] Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 1-40.
[32] Poggioli, 60-77.

and that was alienation — social, political, ethical, or aesthetic.[33] Even though Poggioli's account touches upon many themes crucial to grasping avant-garde movements, it, unfortunately, lacks a sustained analysis of corporeality. It seems that social and psychic spheres affect only the "minds" of agents. Similarly, although he talks about alienation in many layers, Poggioli refrained from commenting on the bodily dimension of alienation.

Two decades later, in *Five Faces of Modernity,* through defining "aesthetic modernity" as a "crisis concept" opposing all types of authorities (including itself, tradition, and bourgeois civilization), Matei Călinescu took the term avant-garde as one of the expressions of such modernity.[34] For him, the avant-garde was a "deliberate and self-conscious parody of modernity" reminding the very crisis.[35] Developing the etymologic research previously conducted by Poggioli, Călinescu also highlighted that the career of avant-gardes indeed had started with the French Revolution and that the term was associated with Saint-Simonian ideas stressing the significance of "artists, along with scientists and industrialists" in the course of sharing the benefits of life with people.[36] For Călinescu, a notable shift in the meaning of the word occurred in the mid-19th century when avant-garde got commissioned with "being conscious of being in advance of its own time," emphasizing the importance of the imagination with many nuances.[37]After the mid-19th century, instead of artists, the term has been used by social utopists and reformers targeting to "explode" the "existing social structures and make a new and better world possible."[38] When this was applied to the sphere of art, nevertheless, it pointed out a "type of commitment one would have expected from an artist who conceived of his role as consisting mainly in party propaganda."[39] Such a definition of the avant-garde, however, was rejected by many like Baudelaire, who saw a contradiction between nonconformism and a programmed final aim.[40] Around the 1870s, the term was used by artists who criticized social configurations with the help of artistic ones, who also "become a seer, to reach the unknown, to invent an absolutely new language."[41] Here, against Poggioli, Călinescu saw the separation of the literary and the political left as more complicated, as the term was associated not only with the revolutionaries but also with the "corrupted" bourgeois art of the time.[42] By the early 20th century, the avant-garde designated "new schools whose aesthetic

[33] Poggioli, 102-129.
[34] Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 10.
[35] Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 141.
[36] Călinescu, 101.
[37] Călinescu, 102-5.
[38] Călinescu, 109.
[39] Călinescu, 110.
[40] Călinescu, 108-11.
[41] Călinescu, 112.
[42] Călinescu, 113-15.

programs were defined, by and large, by their rejection of the past and by the cult of the new."[43] For Călinescu, however, after the mid-20th century, avant-garde became "an antistyle," where "alienated" artists aimed at defeating "the whole bourgeois system of values, with all its philistine pretensions to universality."[44] This was also the time when the "death" of the avant-garde was announced as the very shock of the avant-garde became "a widespread fashion."[45] Nevertheless, by emphasizing the crisis culture mentioned at the beginning, Călinescu contradicted such a death, arguing that "avant-garde has been dying all along, consciously and voluntarily."[46] Additionally, by recalling the Nietzschean stress on the death of God [sic], he interestingly associated the term of the avant-garde with the crisis of Man [sic] in the modern secular world that resulted in the discard of Man's [sic] image from art.[47] Călinescu, in sum, demonstrated the colorful journey of the term avant-garde through history quite well. Yet, just like Poggioli, he has shown such richness by merely focusing on written material: even though the relationship between bodily agents and environments changed drastically throughout the interval he studied, one cannot find any comprehensive reflection on such a change in the study.

Around the same time as Călinescu, Peter Bürger commenced his *Theory of Avant-Garde* by separating the institution of art from the content of the artwork: the effect of the work is determined not by the content but by the surrounding institution.[48] In brief, Bürger saw the art historical journey of western Europe in three phases: sacral, courtly, and bourgeois. In the first phase, Bürger argued, the object of art was produced and experienced collectively, and with religious concerns; in the second phase, albeit enjoyed collectively, the art object was produced by an individual artist and became a sign of aristocratic power; in the final phase, the object of art was not only produced by individuals but its enjoyment was also confined with bourgeois households than society. On the whole, by criticizing the non-autonomous condition of art in bourgeois society, Bürger argued that historical avant-gardes tried breaking away from art to reform life, even though such an attempt reformed art rather than life. This, according to Bürger, had people understand that art, with all its aspects of production, distribution, or reception, was an institution.[49] Additionally, focusing on the medium of collage, he rationalized avant-garde works of art through the conceptual pairs of part/whole and organic/non-organic:

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[43] Călinescu, 117.
[44] Călinescu, 119.
[45] Călinescu, 121.
[46] Călinescu, 124.
[47] Călinescu, 125-6.
[48] Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 24-31.
[49] Bürger, 47-54.

> Artists who produce an organic work (in what follows, we shall refer to them as 'classicists' without meaning to introduce a specific concept of what the classical work maybe) treat their material as something living. They respect its significance as something that has grown from concrete life situations. For avant-gardistes, on the other hand, the material is just that, material. Their activity initially consists in nothing other than in killing the 'life' of the material, that is, in tearing it out of its functional context that gives it meaning.[50]

Bürger's stress on the art institution stimulated many scholars of the time and followers about the space bounding the work of art. Nevertheless, Bürger did not clarify how such an institution manifests itself in the relationship between bodies and environments. How can one interpret the role of places, or else changing places enveloping bodily agents differently, within the instance of avant-garde movements' withdrawal from the art institution? Besides, it is not clear if Bürger's dualist way of reading artworks could explain without difficulty collage works of Dada epitomizing bodies in a large-scale disaster of the war.

Perhaps, instead of deducing that what is cited so far pays no attention to the relationship between bodies and spaces, one may argue that "body [along with space, in our case] has traditionally been something of an *absent presence* in the discipline [which signify attempts of theorizing avant-gardes in our case]."[51] Such an argument was proposed by Chris Shilling to uphold some canonical studies in the history of sociology, which were argued to have disregarded the body at the expense of the mind while speaking of a subject. Even though the well-known social scientists had not focused on the very body, Shilling argued, the themes they studied just as mobility or inequality could still be seen as a sensitivity touching human embodiment.[52] Accordingly, one can still argue that whenever mentioned researchers have spoken of a subject, they were also speaking of corporeal and spatial one. Yet, is it enough to emphasize corporeality as such and proceed as previously? How can such an emphasis be helpful? The following studies might answer that question.

In *The Futurist Moment,* wondering how artists of the early twentieth century have supported the Great War by seeing it "as the revolution that would remove the shackles of monarchy, papacy, and class structure,"[53] Marjorie Perloff distinguished the period before the war, namely the "Futurist moment," as "the period of artistic rupture — the rupture of established genres and verse forms as well as of the integrity of the medium."[54] During this moment, Perloff argued, avant-garde movements not only questioned and reformulated themselves vis-

[50] Bürger, 68-82.
[51] Chris Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (1993; reis., London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 10.
[52] Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory*, 18-9.
[53] Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Moment: Avant-garde, Avant Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), xxi.
[54] Perloff, *The Futurist Moment*, 15.

à-vis a mass audience but also questioned many relations concerning the domain of art such as art-life, art-politics, reality-representation, and so on.[55] Focusing on a rich quantity of visual and literary material as well as the phenomenon of war, Perloff's study remains quite sensitive to the relationship between corporeality-spatiality-materiality. Yet, it would be unfair to attribute such a sensitivity only to the studied material, as Perloff reformulated many topics related to avant-garde concerning the perceptual dimension of the parties involved as well as the built environment. While sketching "simultaneity," for instance, she stressed how one experiences and remembers extreme environments, how one perceives impulses dissonantly, or how space, time, or movement tend to be distorted within the progress of a lived experience.[56] Besides, contrary to Bürger, focusing on collages and assemblages produced at that time, Perloff revealed how each artist focused on a different aspect while bringing things together: while Picasso was displacing the meaning of the material, Tatlin listened to the very nature of it; while Boccioni was emphasizing tectonics, Schwitters stressed the space.[57]

A similar sensitivity can be found in the studies of Hal Foster, who reviewed not only works but also theories of the avant-garde in the light of psychoanalytical concepts. For example, in *The Return of the Real*, through the application of the psychoanalytic concept of "deferred action" to the model of "individual subject" within modernist history, Foster reformulated the relationship between the "historical-avant-gardes" and "neo-avant-gardes." The neo-avant-garde, Foster argued, might have been the first attempt to grasp the historical avant-garde: "if the historical avant-garde focuses on the conventional, the neo-avant-garde concentrates on the institutional."[58] Besides, in *Compulsive Beauty*, asking "*how* is the surreal rather than *what* is surrealism,"[59] Foster reformulated surrealist concepts of *marvelous*, *convulsive beauty*, and *objective chance* vis-à-vis Freudian *uncanny*.[60] From the lookout of this study, the significance of Foster's interpretation is that embodied agents and environments became the very domain on which concepts materialize: the marvelous appears on ruins and mannequins;[61] the city shows up "as array of anxious signs;"[62] the machine represents a prosthetic model to be imitated by "docile" bodies of agents;[63] the shocked soldier signifies "the becoming machine and/or commodity of the body."[64] Similarly, in *Prosthetic Gods,* the idea of primitive shows

[55] Perloff, 38.
[56] Perloff, 7-14.
[57] Perloff, 42-79.
[58] Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the end of the Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 17.
[59] Hal Foster, *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), xviii.
[60] Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, xix.
[61] Foster, 21.
[62] Foster, 48.
[63] Foster, 131.
[64] Foster, 136.

up as an outcome of heterogeneity in the European culture of early the twentieth century while the idea of technology appears as the limit and the extension of the bodies' capacity.[65]

Similarly, in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, Manfredo Tafuri read the production of historical avant-gardes as a double-sided reaction to the frantic experience of the modern city: some avant-garde clusters tried to grasp the energy of the city through magnification (chaos, labyrinth, irrational subjectivity, or eccentricity); some avant-garde clusters tried to tame the energy of the city by through attenuation (order, sphere, rational objectivity, or organization).[66] Tafuri's reading also echoes some ideas brought by Wilhelm Worringer around the 1900s about the abstraction trend in fine arts. Positing real-life representation and geometric abstraction as opposing approaches, Worringer associated the former approach with empathetic acceptance of the world forces and the latter one with the annoyed elimination of them.[67]

Acknowledging the progress avant-garde studies have been making on issues related to corporeality and space, Sascha Bru wondered how one can problematize these within a political framework.[68] Following Étienne Balibar's remark that modern politics is conducted through the element of "citizen," Bru also maintained that avant-gardists can be taken as units of "citizen-bourgeois" containing both *State* and *revolution*.[69] After Perloff, Foster, or Tafuri, one can add that such a citizen-bourgeois is not only a cerebral being but also a corporeal one. Besides, such a unit occupies space, as the very name signals. Here, Bru noted "the avant-garde's artistic production, in mediated and at times overdetermined ways, translated or filtered social events and material shifts elsewhere in the public space, where it found itself boxed in by various state apparatuses."[70] Accordingly, the space surrounding an agent can be seen as a container of societal forces affecting, even defining, the agent.

A reproach to this way of reading can be about the danger of overgeneralization while speaking of *the body, poet, spectator, artist, or city experience* as if these words can depict a well-distinguished entity. How can one conceptualize the relationship between agents, space, and

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[65] Hal Foster, *Prosthetic Gods* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), xi.
[66] Sascha Bru, *The European Avant-Gardes, 1905–1935: A Portable Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), chap. 9, EPUB.
[67] Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A contribution to the Psychology of Style*, trans. Michael Bullock (1908; reis., Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, 1997), 18; Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy,* 42-5; Hal Foster, "1908," in *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism,* eds. Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, and David Joselit (2004; reis., New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 97-101.
[68] Sascha Bru, "Introduction," in *The Invention of Politics in the European Avant-Garde (1906-1940),* eds. Sascha Bru and Gunther Martens (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2006), 12.
[69] Bru, "Introduction," 23.
[70] Bru, 15.

institutions without falling into over-generalization? Here, one can visit some discussions from social sciences having similar concerns. Even so, as Bru remarked, "whatever theoretical model we may devise, we will always fall short in uniting all poetics and programmes it [modernist avant-garde] put forth in order to ground an alternative society in art."[71] For this reason, rather than proposing a single way to introduce corporeality and spatiality in what has been discussed so far, the final chapter of the study will bring more than one interpretation of the body while reviewing the case of Zurich Dada, which may prove useful while setting a wider strategy while handling bodies in other cases of avant-garde movements. Yet, all these ideas have also hinted that the very same institution may not conduct on bodies in the same manner. So, there is still a need to understand institutions on their account, which will be addressed in the second chapter.

2.2. The network of avant-garde magazines and possibilities of surfaces in reasoning

From where should one start to imagine the critical domain having one stay conscious while handling tools, approaches, or documents in art and architectural history? Drücker stressed that "the structure of an interface is information, not merely a means of access to it."[72] Then, one should begin with studying an apt document enabling shifts between word and non-word. Here, it should be noted that historical avant-garde movements chiefly used *little magazines* to record and spread their experimental works, events, and ideas.[73]



Figure 2.1 Cover of *Poesia* (1909); Cover of *391*(1917); Cover of *Cabaret Voltaire* (1916); Cover of *Collier's* (1910), Cover of *Praesens* (1930)

[71] Bru, 10.
[72] Drücker, *Graphesis*, 143.
[73] Recapping a common definition, Eric Bulson stresses that the term *little magazine* is "associated with an Anglo-European print culture and used to define this noncommercial, experimental medium produced in limited quantities (usually under one thousand) for a select group of readers between 1910 and 1940." See Eric Bulson, *Little Magazines, World Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 2.

On the intimacy between avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century and little magazines, for instance, Poggioli saw the identity of "avant-garde" as it appeared in the dynamic way of using periodicals:

> We can express the difference by defining the romantic, nineteenth-century periodical as essentially an organ of opinion, exercising an avant-garde function only insofar as it leads and precedes a vast corps of readers in the labyrinth of ideas and issues; but the avant-garde periodical functions as an independent and isolated military unit, completely and sharply detached from the public, quick to act, not only to explore but also to battle, conquer, and adventure on its own.[74]

The novel scholarship should be able to model discourse-making documents, critical studies, and lived experience, Drücker argued.[75] Given that there was an alliance between historical avant-gardes and periodicals, little magazines indeed became valuable documents for the history of avant-garde movements: there are reams of critical studies focusing on the design, circulation, and reception of modernist magazines.[76]

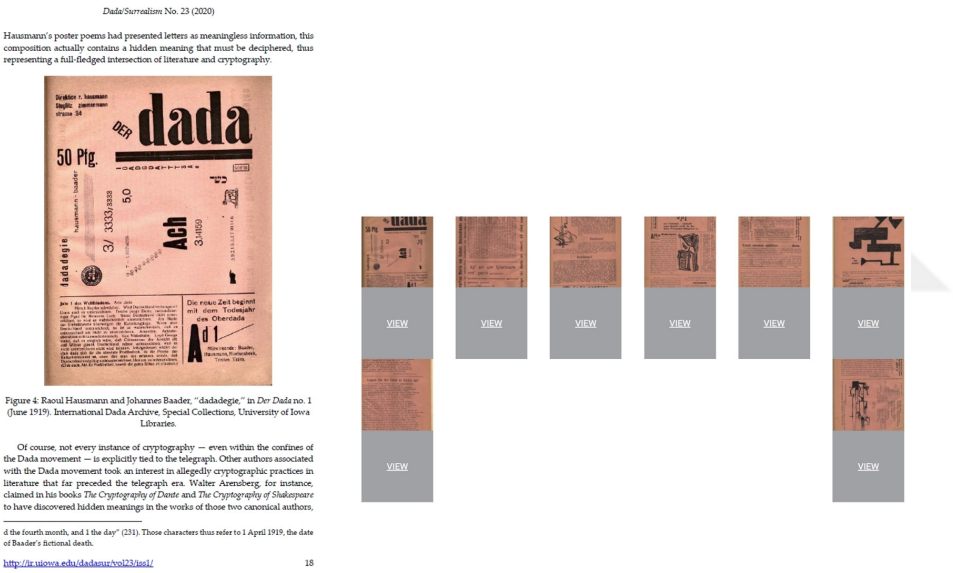
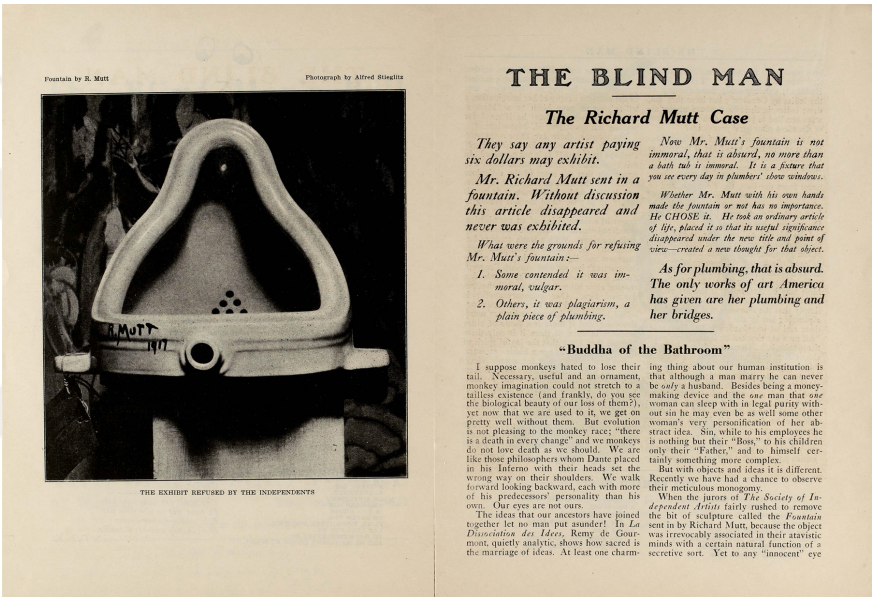


Figure 2.2 A page of an article about *der Dada* inevitably using a fragment from the magazine; A page of *Digital Dada Library* showing *der Dada*.

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[74] Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 22-23.
[75] Drücker, *Graphesis*, 135.
[76] Even in the last fifteen years of scholarship one can find numerous accounts on little magazines: Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, eds. *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Ann L. Ardis and Patrick Collier, eds. *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880–1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, eds. *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009;2012;2013); Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Eric B. White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Eric Bulson, *Little Magazines, World Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017); Sophie Seita, *Provisional Avant-Gardes: Little Magazine Communities from Dada to Digital* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019); Emily Hage, *Dada Magazines: the Making of a Movement* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020).

These critical studies revealed how each movement shaped magazines vis-à-vis their form, content, and function. For example, analyzing the typographic experiments of the historical avant-garde movements, Drücker characterized experiments of Russian Futurism with "orchestral arrangements which mimic the conventions of musical notation," experiments of Italian Futurism with "typographic variety, with a certain pictorial quality and a degree of chaos," and experiments of Parisian avant-gardes with "recognizable iconic form in the arrangement of the words on the page."[77] Even so, surfing among the digital archives of avant-garde magazines found on the web such as *Digital Dada Library* one realizes that little magazines were exhibited as full scans with few remarks. At this juncture, one can question whether avant-garde studies responded to the 21st century sufficiently.[78]



Fountain by R. Mutt — Photograph by Alfred Stieglitz

THE EXHIBIT REFUSED BY THE INDEPENDENTS

THE BLIND MAN

The Richard Mutt Case

They say any artist paying six dollars may exhibit.

Mr. Richard Mutt sent in a fountain. Without discussion this article disappeared and never was exhibited.

What were the grounds for refusing Mr. Mutt's fountain:—

1. *Some contended it was immoral, vulgar.*
2. *Others, it was plagiarism, a plain piece of plumbing.*

Now Mr. Mutt's fountain is not immoral, that is absurd, no more than a bath tub is immoral. It is a fixture that you see every day in plumbers' show windows.

Whether Mr. Mutt with his own hands made the fountain or not has no importance. He CHOSE it. He took an ordinary article of life, placed it so that its useful significance disappeared under the new title and point of view—created a new thought for that object.

As for plumbing, that is absurd. The only works of art America has given are her plumbing and her bridges.

"Buddha of the Bathroom"

I suppose monkeys hated to lose their tail. Necessary, useful and an ornament, monkey imagination could not stretch to a tailless existence (and frankly, do you see the biological beauty of our loss of them?), yet now that we are used to it, we get on pretty well without them. But evolution is not pleasing to the monkey race; "there is a death in every change" and we monkeys do not love death as we should. We are like those philosophers whom Dante placed in his Inferno with their heads set the wrong way on their shoulders. We walk forward looking backward, each with more of his predecessors' personality than his own. Our eyes are not ours.

The ideas that our ancestors have joined together let no man put asunder! In *La Dissociation des Idees*, Remy de Gourmont, quietly analytic, shows how sacred is the marriage of ideas. At least one charming thing about our human institution is that although a man marry he can never be *only* a husband. Besides being a money-making device and the *one* man that one woman can sleep with in legal purity without sin he may even be as well some other woman's very personification of her abstract idea. Sin, while to his employees he is nothing but their "Boss," to his children only their "Father," and to himself certainly something more complex.

But with objects and ideas it is different. Recently we have had a chance to observe their meticulous monogomy.

When the jurors of *The Society of Independent Artists* fairly rushed to remove the bit of sculpture called the *Fountain* sent in by Richard Mutt, because the object was irrevocably associated in their atavistic minds with a certain natural function of a secretive sort. Yet to any "innocent" eye

Figure 2.3 A page showing "The Richard Mutt Case" in *Blind Man*

Suitably, magazines of Dada could be interesting to study as Dadaists not only emphasized inconsistency as a discursive theme but also constituted at once an international and interdisciplinary group. Besides, Dadaists identified themselves as magazine editors rather than artists given that they criticized the act of making art; attacked the routine use of magazines to emphasize magazine's crafted character; and cited the works or ideas of other international artist groups.[79] This editorial persona can be illustrated at best with the 1917 dated

[77] Johanna Drücker "Experimental, Visual, and Concrete Poetry: A Note on Historical Context and Basic Concepts," in *Experimental -Visual – Concrete: Avant-Garde Poetry Since the 1960s,* eds. K. David Jackson, Eric Vos & Johanna Drücker (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 1996), 39-42.

[78] "Digital Dada Library," The International Dada Archive, accessed August 4, 2023, https://dada.lib.uiowa.edu/; "The Journals," Modernist Journals Project, accessed August 4, 2023, https://modjourn.org/journal/.

[79] Emily Hage, "The Magazine as Strategy: Tristan Tzara's Dada and the Seminal Role of Dada Art Journals in the Dada Movement," *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 40, https://doi.org/10.5325/jmodeperistud.2.1.0033.

case of *Fountain* where Marcel Duchamp defended his famous work in a journal he was editing, *Blind Man*, where he dubbed the work as *The Richard Mutt Case*. Moreover, Dadaists were the first to use the magazine medium as a performative site, Emily Hage observed.[80] Dada and its magazines, therefore, provide fruitful material to study the interaction between lived experience and the magazine as a medium.

Accordingly, as little magazines provide shifts between word/non-word, as the existing scholarship on these magazines needs a recapture within the 21st century, and as these magazines interacted interestingly with the events, experiments, and personalities of the avant-garde movements, a focus on the relationship between avant-garde movements and the medium of the magazine might prove useful while establishing the interface enabling one to review tools in art and architectural history. This study will focus on Dada, even though every studied journal and movement necessitates a different set of qualities and research questions.

Given that observers and phenomena are co-dependent entities, Drücker stressed that a research interface should acknowledge that "embodied and situated persons" utilizing the system possess varying needs and questions.[81] To design such a flexible form, one can turn to Breande Laurel who conceptualized interfaces as surfaces mediating between operators and tasks.[82] Conceptualizing interfaces as surfaces could prove useful, especially if one recalls recent stress by Mike Anusas and Cristián Simonetti on the importance of surfaces while dealing with the interaction amongst minds, bodies, and the environment.[83] Drawing upon James J. Gibson's seminal study on the act of perception as a function between organism and environment where surfaces become alive "thresholds" of cognitive engagement, Anusas and Simonetti also highlighted the shortcomings of dualist understandings such as superficial/deep, matter/mind, solid/fluid, optic/haptic, thin/thick in derived scholarship. They accordingly emphasized how thinking with surfaces — which denote different information according to changes in scale, context, or form — can open new possibilities for intellectual growth. Provided that corporeal agents interact with the environment across surfaces, any operation conducted upon the surfaces of the interface — whether it is numerical, physical, or intellectual — can change agents' interpretations. Here, an agent can *fold*, *cut,* or *juxtapose* the interface concerning her needs and questions, while the final condition of the system or the form of the surfaces turns out to be her creation. And the richness of this outcome depends

[80] Emily Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals, 1916-1926: International Venues of Exchange," PhD diss., (University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 1.
[81] Drücker, *Graphesis*, 146.
[82] Drücker, 147.
[83] Mike Anusas and Cristián Simonetti, "Introduction: Turning to Surfaces," in *Surfaces: Transformations of Body, Materials and Earth*, eds. Mike Anusas and Cristián Simonetti (New York: Routledge, 2020), 1–13.

on the initial set of questions related to operations provided by agents. Accordingly, the flexibility of the interface constitutes the system's capacity to remain as much as *pliable*. Nevertheless, in this formula, even a simple-looking function such as *color-coding, highlighting*, or *outlining* can be pliable. For example, using *color-coding*, an agent can assign different hues, chromas, and values for different research questions wondering if a text in a magazine signifies a poem, a song, or an event program. Accordingly, the final color composition with various intricate blends, splashes, or juxtaposes could expose novel information for the agent. *World Wide Web of Avant-Gardes*, as a mentioned kind of system, aims to portray a view from the publishing network of historical avant-garde movements. After divorcing the content within the digitalized pages of magazines crafted by these movements, the interface connects divorced information with contextual documents, artifacts, sites, or critical studies, and grants its embodied users multidimensional domains to make reasonable speculation or unreasonable exploration. By visiting several ideas proposed by Johanna Drücker, the rest of the chapter will focus on Dada magazines to explore how such an interface may facilitate and what outturns it may bring to art and architectural historiography.

2.3. Extracting contents from avant-garde magazines vis-à-vis research questions

For example, recalling Dadaists' roleplay as editors, one can commence by taking Dada magazines as coherent entities of communication where every design choice on each page serves a specific purpose. This enables one to designate the editorial categories within the magazines such as *titles, explanations,* or *referential names* regardless of whether they are about a person, location, or another magazine. The second concern then might be about the transnational quality of Dada, if not all historical avant-gardes, which allows one to designate *languages* within the magazines. Next, recalling the relationship between Dada magazines and performances, one can focus on the records of events, such as *event programs*, *dates*, and *locations*. Provided that after the Great War, almost all avant-garde movements focused on film rather than theatre, one may ask whether there was a remarkable change in using photographs on magazines after the war, and eventually code the ways of introducing images upon magazine pages.[84] Without a doubt, while denoting all these categories, some records in the magazines will necessitate other discernments, such as the *angle of reading* or *words representing voices* in the case of Dada.

[84] Bruce McConachie, "Theatres of the Avant-Garde, 1880–1940," in *Theatre Histories: An Introduction*, ed. Gary Jay Williams (London: Taylor & Francis, 2010), 365.



Figure 2.4 Coding editorial divisions, mentions, dates, places, and angles of reading



Figure 2.5 Denoting languages.



Figure 2.6 Denoting event programs

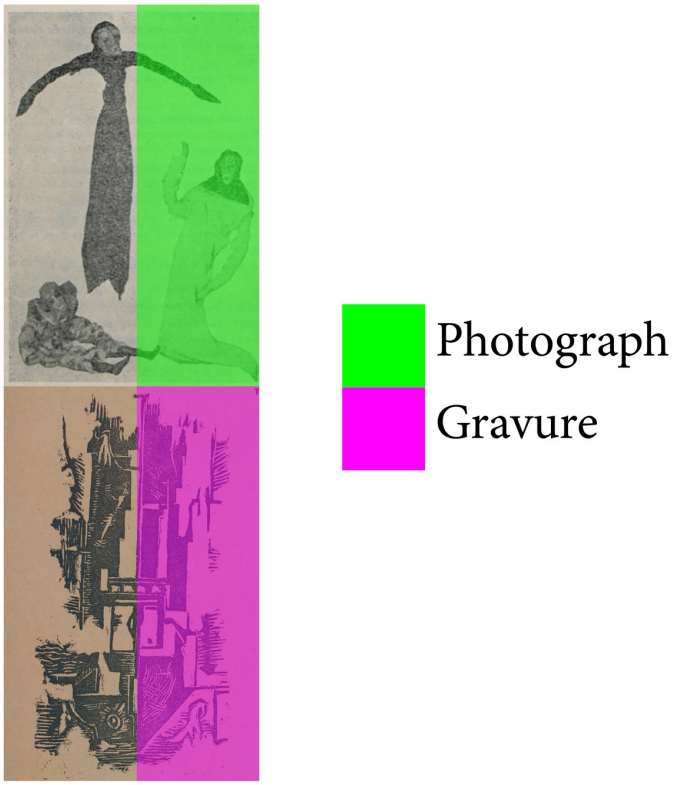


Figure 2.7 Denoting ways of crafting images in magazines

Running a decoding process with all these layers of transnationality, craft, citation, style, and events in mind, one grasps several changes in the magazines to test out some arguments about the movement. The traffic of citations might also set a scope for the system: when the decoding function observes a novel mention of another magazine, it links the digital copy of the mentioned magazine to decode. When all mentions end, the interface, *World Wide Web of Avant-gardes*, can stop.

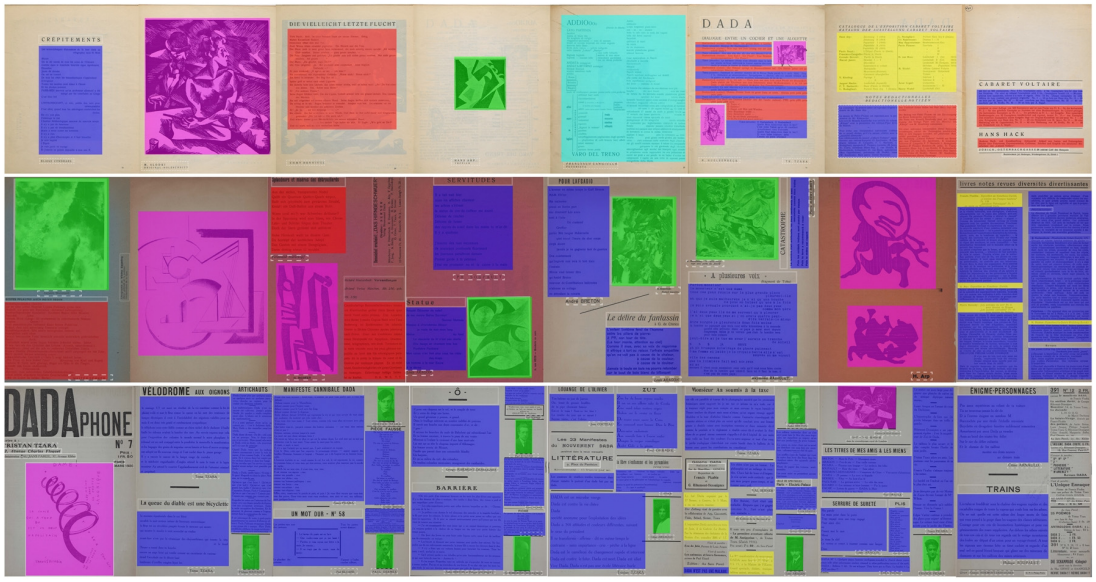


Figure 2.8 A still from the decoding process in macro-level



Figure 2.9 Mentioned published materials links themselves.

2.4. Relinking extracted material with artifacts, archival material, and critical studies

Scholars inevitably build their arguments by using only samples from magazines. Accordingly, one can relink critical studies with the material they cite. For example, the *title* of the simultaneous poem *L'amiral cherche une maison a louer* can connect all critical studies that mention itself. At best, this reveals which archival material was studied in a more detailed manner than the others. To be sure, connecting secondary studies with primary sources could be useful only if one understands the primary source. The interface therefore can provide all existing translations of the contents as well as contextual artifacts, incidents, or documents. When these were combined with a division enabling a reviewer to comment upon, one can portray the derived discourse, and most importantly how it was derived.

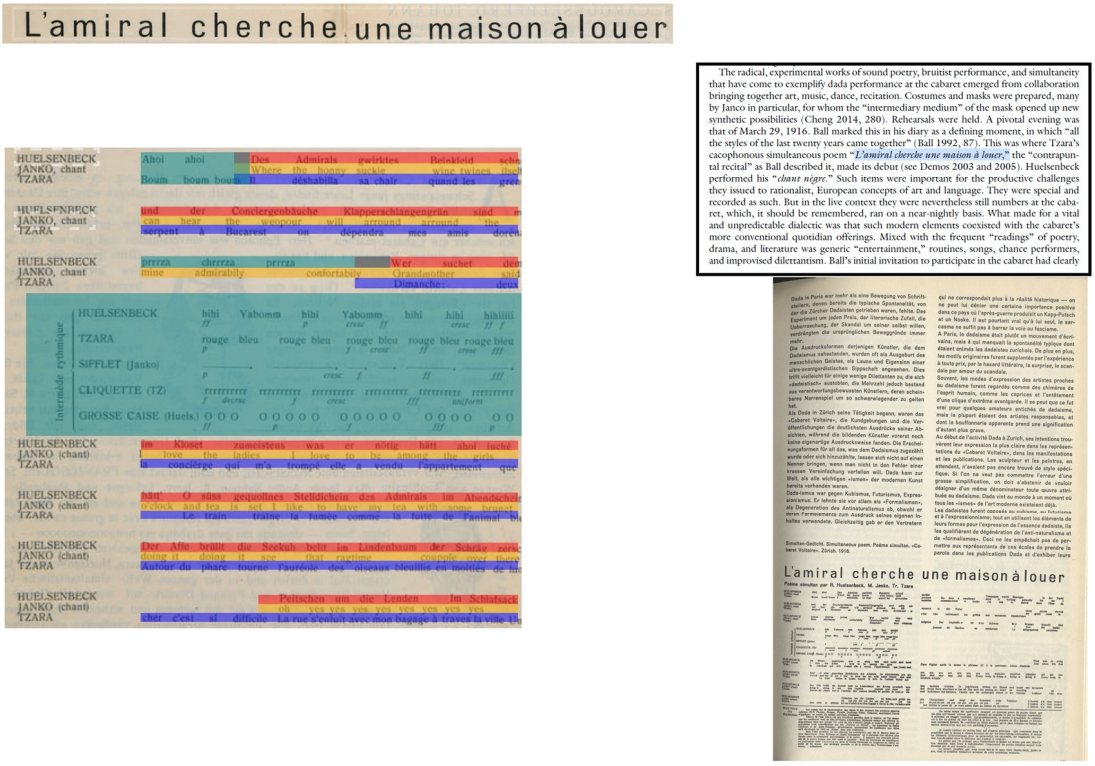


Figure 2.10 Articles gather around the contents.



Figure 2.11 Contents bring their translation.



Figure 2.12 Gathering all related material around mentioned times.

Likewise, all curatorial information about the mentioned artworks like dimensions, craft techniques, or owners can be shown in the system, which might visualize lost works as well. The interface can also connect the mentioned names with further information. The details of the provided information may change according to the situation, the movement, and the related figure. For example, when one peruses a composer who is affiliated with Dada, one may experience the composer's other works, ideas, diaries, and so on. Conversely, when one browses a composer who is not directly affiliated with the studied movement, one may rather experience a piece of introductory information about the composer. If there is an unfamiliar name, experts can also comment on them.

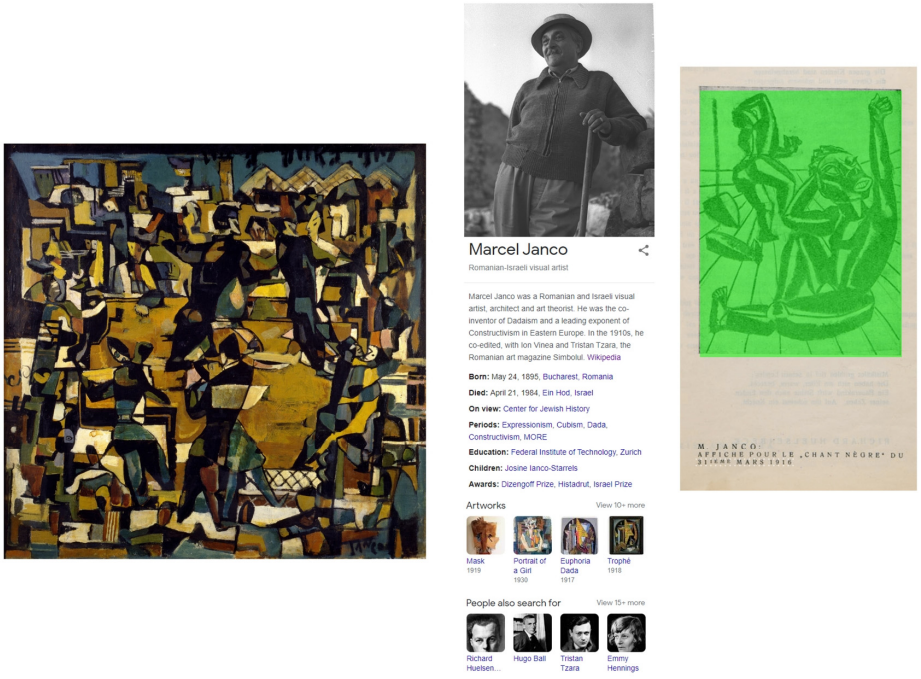


Figure 2.13 Mention of Marcel Janco in the system

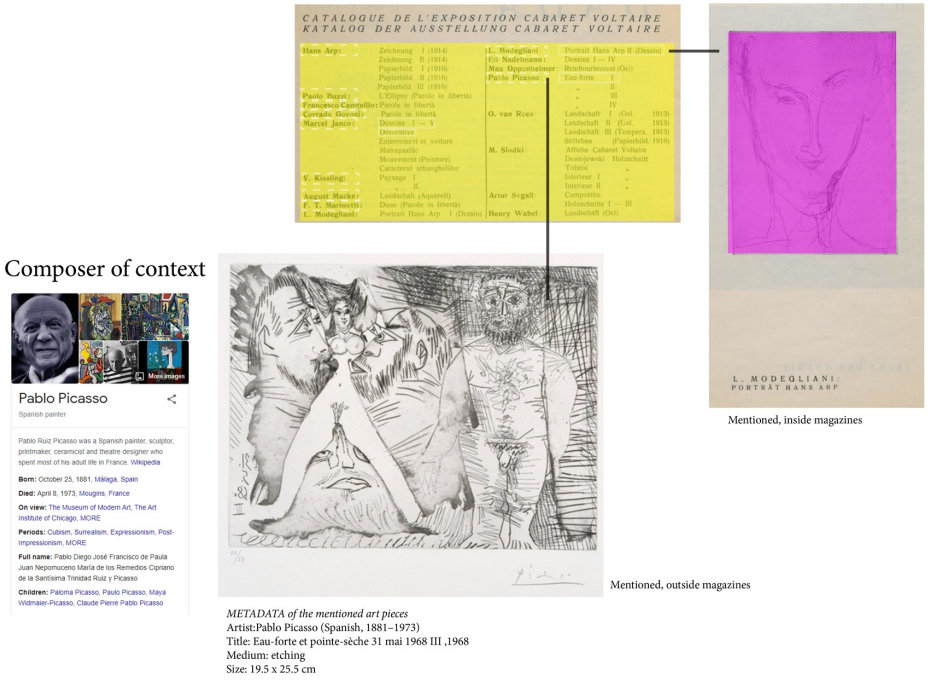


Figure 2.14 Unfolding of an event program, mentioned composers, paintings, and places.

Eventually, when all names were "hyperlinked," one can evaluate which agent contributed what, how, when, and where. For example, crisscrossing the mentioned *addresses* and *names*,

one can map Tristan Tzara's journey spreading from Zurich to Paris. Relatedly, a recent survey dubbed *Pocket Guide Dada City Zurich* has shown how wide the spaces of Dadaists were.



Figure 2.15 Cover of *Pocket Guide-Dada City Zurich*; Some addresses from magazines showing the locations of Tzara and the administration of Dada.

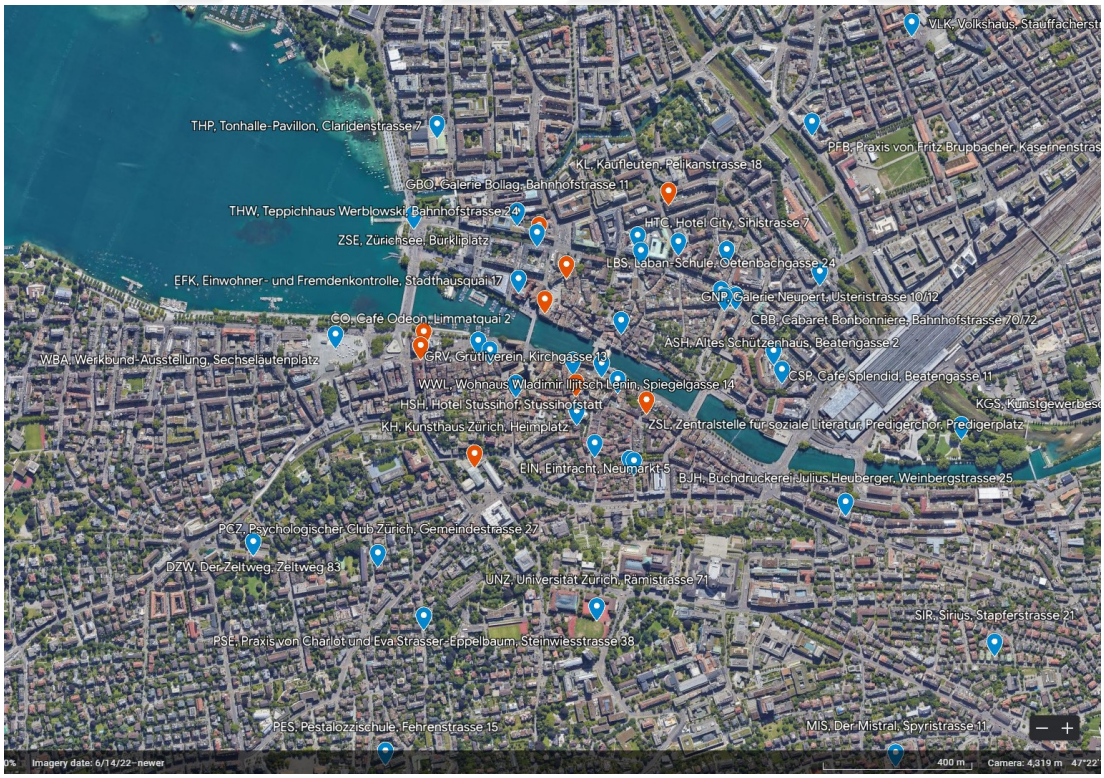


Figure 2.16 Satellite view of Zurich. Red spots show chief locations; blue spots show contextual places.

2.5. Rebuilding events of avant-gardes to test and produce critical arguments

Pocket Guide remains interesting: on the cover, editors juxtapose two pictures — one is taken from an event of Dada, the other from an event preceding Dada — to have readers imagine an ill-documented occasion. At this juncture, Drücker discerns visualizations that display information from the ones generating knowledge.[85] Portraying artifacts, documents, spots, or agents can be placed within the former category. Nevertheless, once all these materials become visible, one can also gather them to produce new arguments or challenge existing ones. In other words, one can hang digital versions of paintings, artifacts, or documents upon the virtual walls of Cabaret Voltaire. "It remains a challenge," Joyce Cheng noted, "to develop an interpretative framework capable of addressing the poetic/textual, plastic/artisanal, and performative (in the sense of theater and choreography) dimensions of Dada."[86] Here, curating on space can be the very function that generates knowledge.



Figure 2.17 A division enabling one to gather artifacts and documents within space.

Problematizing the relationship amongst time, space, narrative, and audience orientation, Drücker also emphasized how the form of graphic novels — gathering images, framing actions, visualizing effects — can be useful in producing knowledge:

> A frame can extend, intensify, connect, embed, juxtapose, or otherwise modify another frame and perception. The terminology is spatial and dynamic. It

[85] Drücker, *Graphesis,* 10.
[86] Joyce Suechun Cheng, "Cardboard Toys and Dancing Marionettes: Play, Materiality, Agency in Zurich Dada," in *Virgin Microbe: Essays on Dada, eds.* David Hopkins and Michael White (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2014), 275.

> describes cognitive processes, not simple actions of an autonomous user, but codependent relations of user and system. In invoking frame analysis as part of the diagrammatic model of interpretation, we have moved from a traditional discussion of graphical formats as elements of a mise en page to a sense that we are involved with a mise en scene or système.[87]

Accordingly, not only the form of a graphic novel but also the very process of creating a graphic novel can produce different sets of questions revealing new facts. Take a few pages of Hugo Ball's diary documenting the first week of Cabaret Voltaire, on which almost all stories about Dada have grounded themselves: at a glance, such a diary may seem like a document revealing important moments steeped in personal experience. However, the more one wanders between the sentences of the diary with the questions of *what and how, who and where* (specifically questions one asks oneself before composing anything, in this case, a graphic novel), the better she grasps interesting aspects of the movement.

> 5.II
>
> The place was jammed; many people could not find a seat. At about six in the evening, while we were still busy hammering and putting up futuristic posters, an Oriental-looking deputation of four little men arrived, with portfolios and pictures under their arms; repeatedly they bowed politely. They introduced themselves: Marcel Janco the painter, Tristan Tzara, Georges Janco, and a fourth gentleman whose name I did not quite catch. Arp happened to be there also, and we were able to communicate without too many words. Soon Janco's sumptuous Archangels was hanging with the other beautiful objects, and on that same evening Tzara read some traditional-style poems, which he fished out of his various coat pockets in a rather charming way.
>
> 6.II
>
> Poems by Kandinsky and Else Lasker. The "Donnerwetterlied" [Thundersong] by Wedekind:
>
> In der Jugend frühster Pracht
> tritt sie einher, Donnerwetter!
> Ganz von Eitelkeit erfüllt,
> das Herz noch leer, Donnerwettcr!
>
> [In the early splendor of youth
> She entered, by thunder!
> Filled with vanity,
> But with an empty heart, by thunder!]
>
> "Totentanz" [Dance of Death] with the assistance of the revolutionary chorus. "A la Villette" [To Villette] by Aristide Bruant (translated by Hardekopf). There were a lot of Russians there. They organized a balalaika orchestra of about twenty people and want to be regular customers.[88]

For instance, Ball's awareness of time made me question personal items like pocket clocks if not all clothing. Likewise, after his use of the adjective "oriental looking" to describe the arriving group consisting of Marcel Janco and Tristan Tzara, one can wonder how Ball

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[87] Drücker, *Graphesis*, 157.
[88] Hugo Ball, *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary,* ed. John Elderfield, trans. Ann Raimes (1974; reis., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 50-51.

perceived such a difference in an environment where almost all men have used suits as daily wear. As the question of clothing arises throughout the process of composing the graphic novel, it requires a detailed study of the identities of the time, especially as they manifest themselves in material culture. From then on, a simple phrase like "poems of Kandinsky" becomes a huge dilemma. What poems of Kandinsky has Hugo Ball chosen to read on the opening night of Cabaret Voltaire? The magazine *Cabaret Voltaire*, which portrays several works presented in the cabaret, cites only one poem of Kandinsky, that is *Sehen*. Yet, as Ball read many poems of Kandinsky, such an act of visualizing the first night of the cabaret necessitates one to bring the other poems of Kandinsky into the discussion. How to interpret unknown poems? Here, I chose the poem *Später(Later),* which describes a chain I found interesting to cross with a futurist poster having an elliptical shape by Paolo Buzzi, which was in fact exposed in the cabaret:

> In the deep summit I know I will find you. Where smooth pricks. Where sharp doesn't cut. You hold the ring in your left hand. I hold the ring in my right hand. No one sees the chain. But these rings are the last links of the chain.
>
> The beginning.
>
> The end.[89]

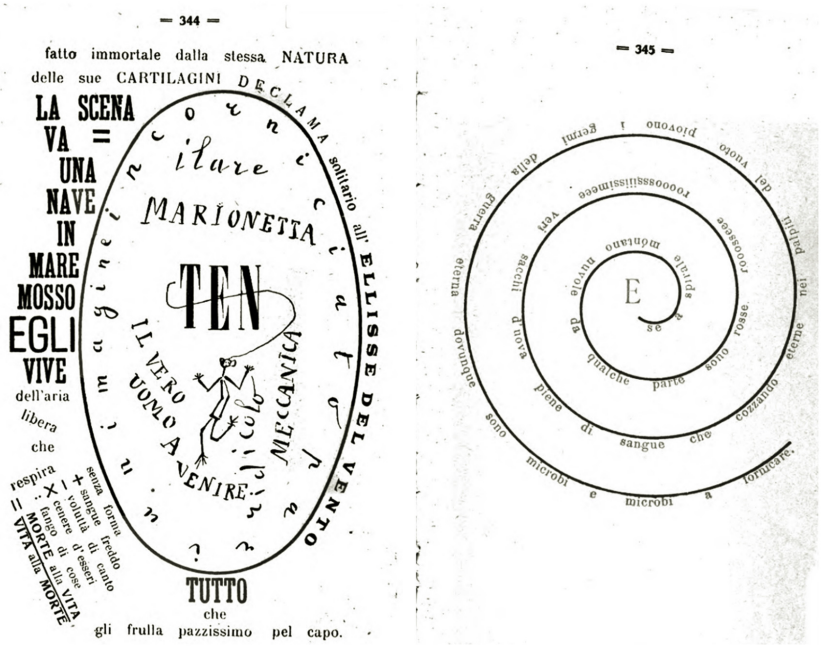


Figure 2.18 Paolo Buzzi, Two pages from *L'Ellisse la Spirale: Film + Parole in liberta*, 1915.

Besides, in the process of composing a graphic novel, to interpret unknown poems, one can bring the other works of the poets mentioned at the time and select several poems concerning

[89] Wassily Kandinsky, "Later," in *Sounds*, trans. Elizabeth R. Napier (1912; reis., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 91.

the war environment, general themes of the time, or any other content that might be interesting to study. Here, every design choice refers to a specific layer of information, a separate argument about Dada. If one extends this problem and questions the other objects of the cabaret — from the tables to the chairs; from the tablecloths to the glasses; from the piano to the drums — the questions of harmony and discord between objects could be interesting, especially in a context of war where the design of each object changed rapidly. Following the evolution of modern furniture, for example, one can depict cabaret furniture as it was from Thonet.[90]Similarly, following the evolution of musical instruments, one can imagine the drum set Huelsenbeck played as it includes Chinese cymbals specific to the era.[91]The difficulty perhaps doubles when one wonders how to separate a recited song from a recited poem in a graphic novel. Should one put all the verbs of the songs or only the verses? How to separate the piano from the drums? Among these songs and poems, the stories told in the cabaret, such as Oscar Wilde's *Selfish Giant* recited by Ernst Tape, remain as another interesting dimension because these stories produce different concrete realities for those who listen to them. These stories bring the question of imagination into the discussion, where one can wonder how people in the 1910s imagined an alternate reality. Should one bring the story as a text, or should one include these narrations as sub-plots of the novel? All these questions were asked without even putting the pen on the paper.

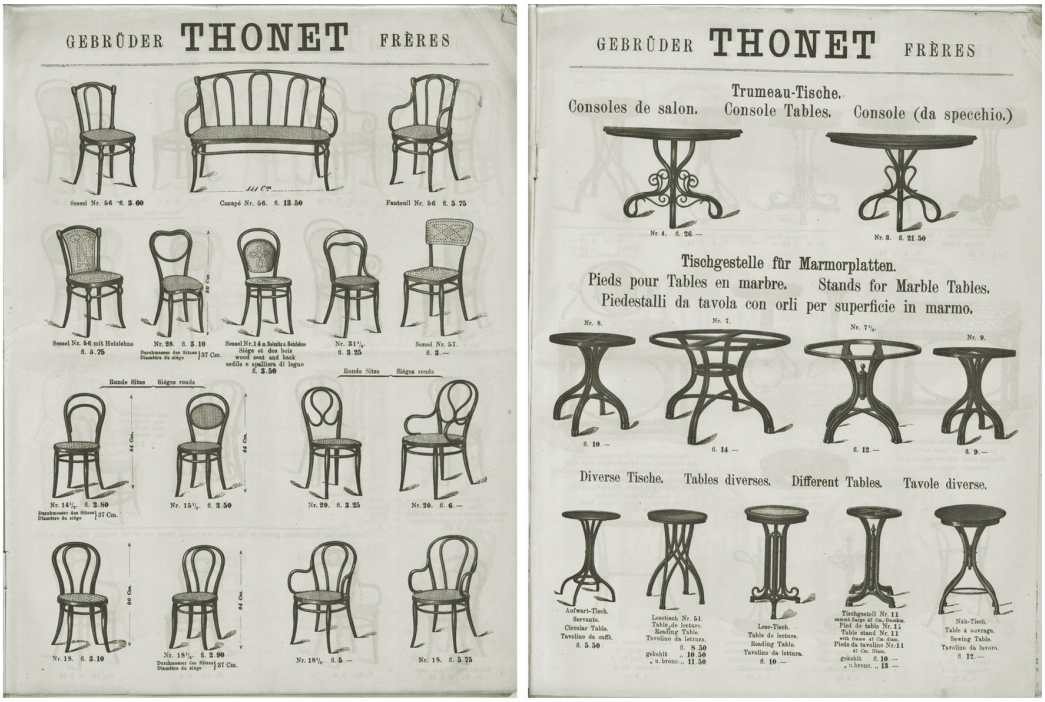


Figure 2.19 Two pages from 1886 dated catalouge of Thonet.

[90] Karl Mang, *History of Modern Furniture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), 46-56.
[91] Matt Dean, *The Drum: A History* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), chap. 12. EPUB.

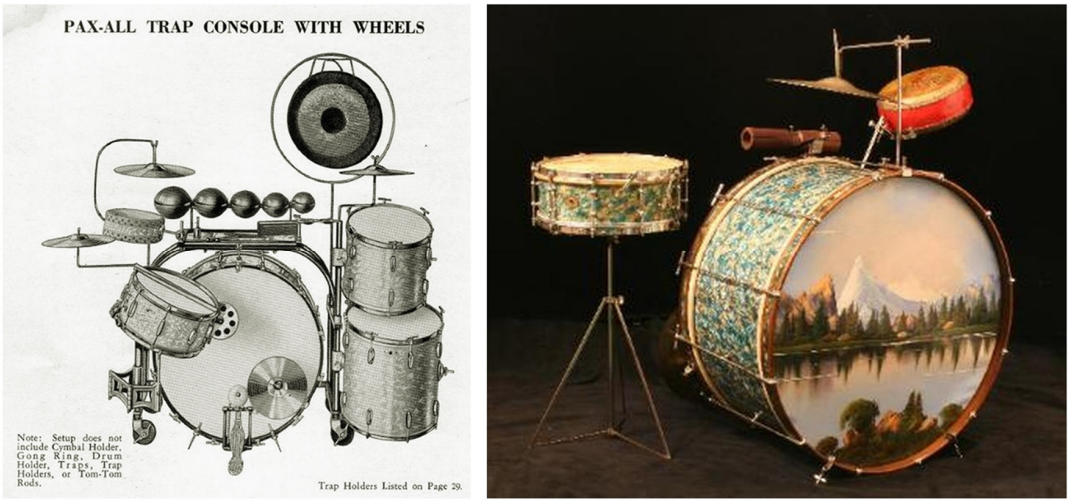


Figure 2.20 Drum sets used between 1900-1930s.

A similar process can be conducted while investigating the plastic production presented in the cabaret. By focusing on the diary passages about the discussions on art held in the cabaret, one can question the paintings, painters, and groups mentioned. As shown in Figure 3.6, the journal *Cabaret Voltaire* includes a catalog for the exhibition held in the cabaret. Nevertheless, one cannot fully find information about paintings mentioned in the catalog. Interested in how these objects were displayed, I have chosen several paintings dated 1916 that could replace unknown paintings. Unlike poems or stories, however, to "hang" these paintings on the wall of the cabaret, one must imagine the relationship between the painting and the wall, including the style of framing, the distance, etcetera. Unfortunately, there is not any graphic source revealing how paintings were exhibited in Cabaret Voltaire and Gallery Dada, but only comments such as Tzara's way of recapping Cabaret Voltaire exhibition as follows "On the walls: van Rees and Arp, Picasso and Eggeling, Segal and Janco, Slodky, Nadelmann, colored papers, ascendancy of the NEW ART, abstract art and geographic futurist map-poems: Marinetti, Cangiullo, Buzzi."[92] Could the way Tzara has mentioned paintings give an idea about the sequence of the exhibition? Having a similar concern, to estimate the exhibition in Gallery Dada, Emily Hage followed Charlotte Klonk's famous study on the interiors of modern art galleries stressing the rise of a novel exhibition technique used in the early twentieth century where paintings were hanged as one row in the eye-line of a standing person with a spacious gap between instead of multiple rows of nearby paintings coating the entire wall.[93] Some photographs from later Dada exhibitions in Zurich and Paris put by Tzara, Arp, or Janco support this interpretation. Nevertheless, some other photographs from German Dada

[92] Tristan Tzara, "Zurich Chronicle," in *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell (1951; reis., Boston: The Belknap Press, 1981), 235.
[93] Emily Hage, "Mise-en-page to Mise-en-scène: Intersecting Display Strategies in Dada Art Journals and Exhibitions," *Dada/Surrealism* 21 no. 1 (2017), 3-4, https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1332.

exhibitions do not. For sure, both techniques could have been used, yet is should be noted that Richard Huelsenbeck left Zurich Dada in the summer of 1916, after the closure of Cabaret Voltaire, to set up a cluster in Berlin (it is unlikely that he was present in Gallery Dada). What if Huelsenbeck carried the idea of Dada, which includes the way it exhibits paintings, to Berlin only with an experience of Cabaret Voltaire? In other words, Tzara, Arp, and Janco might have decided to exhibit the paintings differently than before, following the novel techniques of the day, while Huelsenbeck was only loyal to what he had seen in the Cabaret Voltaire. Alternatively, assuming the exhibition in the Cabaret Voltaire followed a system Hage mentioned, one can wonder whether the eye-line was set for a standing person or a sitting one.



Figure 2.21 Janco, the art dealer Miecislas Sterling and Arp at the Galerie Wolfsberg, 1918.



Figure 2.22 Marcel Janco, *Fleur-géométrie*,1917; A detail of its wooden frame.



Figure 2.23 Installation views from *Salon Dada* in Paris, 1921.

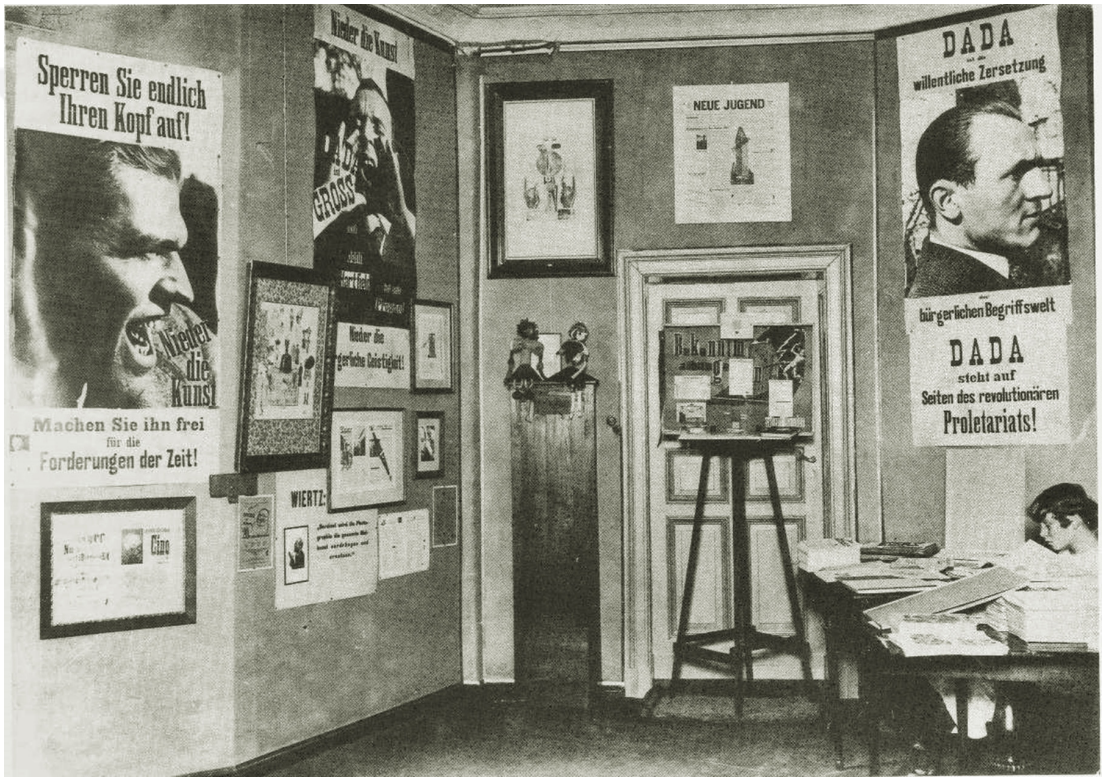


Figure 2.24 Installation view of the *First International Dada Fair* in Berlin, 1920.

To test out all these questions, a model of the cabaret was created after the well-known lost painting depicting the environment (Figure 4.10) as well as the architectural drawings. Accordingly, every object in the model (from Thonet chairs to lighting elements) was placed differently to emphasize that every detail has a naïve power to influence the overall perception (Figures 4.9, 4.15, and 4.16). Besides, after Hage's argument, the exhibition in the wall was curated responding to both old and new styles of exhibiting things while the first argument included contextual paintings to give an idea about the splendor of the exhibition in the cabaret. This is more than enough to reveal that every question asked to create a scene in a graphic novel is indeed an argument revealing novel aspects, or gaps, about the historical incident.

Nevertheless, a graphic novel is a novel. In other words, it has a narrative that has a point. What should be the goal of a Dada graphic novel? For instance, should it reveal the impact of the movement on the existing condition? Within such a domain, therefore, an agent is able not only to generate new knowledge but also to explore these movements. This ability, therefore, can also ease the way of educating art history.

If an act of denoting magazines with color codes can produce some fresh arguments, one should be eager to bring much more complex functions into the interface. Accordingly, speculation was and will be used throughout the study to produce new research question. With the pliability of an interface as a surface in mind, one should accordingly ask proper questions that can be flexibly traced out. Within such an interface, I presume, one is much closer to the "book of the future" Drücker anticipates:

> The "book" of the future will combine reading and writing, annotation and social media, text processing and analysis, data mining and mind-mapping, searching and linking, indexing and display, image parsing and distant reading, in a multi-modal, cross-platform, inter-media environment. Pages will be temporary configurations based on calls to repositories and data sets. We will "publish" our data trails as guidebooks for the experience of reading, pointing to milestones and portals for indepth exploration of stories, inventories, and the rich combination of cultural heritage and social life in a global world. The display will take advantage of the n-dimensional space of the screen in ways that combine multiple design visions.[94]

[94] Drücker, *Graphesis,* 63.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To assess bodily interactions deployed by Dada while challenging its surroundings, one should also question if such a series of acts constituted a willful strategy. This is simply because one can quite reversely argue that it's impossible to pinpoint corporeality as a distinct dimension, given that a deed cannot exist without its bodily aspect. In other words, what urged Dadaists to work on bodies? Was it an all-of-a-sudden action or an upshot of culture inherent in the period? Besides, if there was a change in the consciousness of people at the time highlighting a return to bodies as a distinct strategy of coping with the existing order, how can one expose it? With all these questions in mind, in this chapter, a portrayal of the background that gave birth to the Great War will be provided. John Merriman observed, "The post-war period, rampant with hard times and disappointments, caused many people to look back even more on the pre-war period as the 'Belle Epoque,' the good old days."[95] Even so, as Jonathan Sperber remarked, these good old days were indeed oscillating between peace and conflicts at different levels.[96] To understand such oscillation, the first subdivision of this chapter briefly describes how those good old days were manifested in environments while the second examines how people experienced them. To contextualize the discussion further, both subdivisions also bring some ideas from the domain of fine arts at the time. Then, the third subdivision carries some biographical material about the examined Dadaists. Finally, the last subdivision focuses on how people acted in accordance and discordance with all mentioned changes escalating to the Great War. Given that the examined era had many similarities with the present one, or rather it held the roots of many contemporary problems, such portrayal, I hope, will help readers to put their bias about the era aside while assessing Dada's novelty.

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[95] John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe: From the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 925.
[96] Jonathan Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914: Progress, Participation and Apprehension* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 217.

3.1. Science, technology, and built environment in Europe: 1870-1914

On the way to preparing a palette portraying the Belle Epoque expressively, one should hold the rapid population increase as the primary marker. Even though birth rates were decreasing towards the end of the 19th century, a result of changing marriage patterns if not birth-control methods of the time, more children survived compared to before, a result of improvements in medicine, nutrition, and sanitation as well as changing parental care.[97]

Table 3.1 States and Populations 1880-1914 (Millions of persons)

		1880	1914
E/K	*UK	35·3	45
R	*France	37.6	40
E	*Germany	45.2	68
E	*Russia	97.7	161 (1910)
E/K	*Austria	37.6	51
K	*Italy	28.5	36
K	Spain	16.7	20.5
K, 1908R	Portugal	4.2	5.25
K	Sweden	4.6	5.5
K	Norway	1.9	2.5
K	Denmark	2.0	2.75
K	Netherlands	4.0	6.5
K	Belgium	5.5	7.5
R	Switzerland	2.8	3.5
K	Greece	1.6	4.75
K	Roumania	5.3	7.5
K	Serbia	1.7	4.5
K	Bulgaria	2.0	4.5
K	Montenegro	–	0.2
K	Albania	0	0.8
E	Finland (in Russia)	2.0	2.9
R	USA	50.2	92.0 (1910)
E	Japan	*c.* 36	53
E	Ottoman Empire	*c.* 21	*c.* 20
E	China	*c.*420	*c.*450

Other states, orders of magnitude of population:

Over 10 millions	Brazil, Mexico
5–10 millions	Persia, Afghanistan, Argentina
2–5 millions	Chile, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Siam
Below 2 millions	Bolivia, Cuba, Costa Rica, Domin. Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay

E = empire, K = kingdom, R = republic.
* The great powers of Europe.

[97] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London: Vintage Books Edition, 1989), 193; Michelle Perrot, "Roles and Characters," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 181-201; T. C. W. Blanning, ed., *The Oxford History of Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 102-5; Richard J. Evans, *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914* (New York: Penguin Books, 2017), "Out of the Shadow of Death" in chap. 5, EPUB; Jan Lucassen, *The Story of Work: A New History of Humankind* (London: Yale University Press, 2021), 332-3; Alain Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 211; Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 274.

Table 3.2 The Decline in Family Size (Number of Children) in England and Wales

Year	Family Size
1861–1869	6.16
1871	5.94
1876	5.62
1890–1899	4.13
1900–1909	3.30
1910–1914	2.82

The second marker on the palette can be the overall improvement that happened within the energy, chemical, and steel industries, a process dubbed *the Second Industrial Revolution*.[98] With the help of novel business models easing capital accumulation as well as the comprehensive application of scientific concepts in technology, such a revolution at best had many people in the continent intervene in their environment more efficiently than before.[99] Novel techniques of engineering — such as taking advantage of water power to produce electricity, processing petroleum, or using fertilizers in agricultural production — allowed many people to produce the same amount of goods with fewer resources.[100] Even so, this efficiency did not have manufacturers exhaust *less* reserve per object. For a manufacturer in a context where the number of people was rapidly rising, such efficiency meant producing *more* entities per hour.[101]

Table 3.1 World Production and World Trade 17811-1971 (1913=100)

	Production	Trade	
1781–90	1.8	2.2	(1780)
1840	7.4	5.4	
1870	19.5	23.8	
1880	26.9	38	(1881–5)
1890	41.1	48	(1891–5)
1900	58.7	67	(1901–5)
1913	100.0	100	
1929	153.3	113	(1930)
1948	274.0	103	
1971	950.0	520	

[98] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), 770-1; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 744-48; John Merriman and Jay Winter, eds., *Europe 1789 to 1914: Encyclopedia of the Age of Industry and Empire* (Farmington Hills: Thomson Gale, 2006), 1156-62; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power, "*The Second Industrial Revolution" in chap. 4.

[99] Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 749-758; Blanning*, The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 67; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Passion For Knowledge" in chap. 6. For a detailed chronology of important publications of the time, see Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914,* lviii-lxxi.

[100] Robert Gildea*, Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 294-7; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power, "*The Second Industrial Revolution" in chap. 4; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 251.

[101] Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War (*New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2014), 294; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 26-7.

Mentioned efficiency projected itself at the subtlest on mechanics. Steel, the latest cost-effective structural element of the time, enabled industrialists to assemble novel mechanisms that manufactured the other ones, a course called *the industry of industry*: mills and lathes, thenceforth electrified and automated, began to shape any metal object soon to be a modular unit of a greater whole within minutes.[102] As a result, for the first time grains were harvested not by horses, but by tractors, and costumes were tailored not by hand, but by sewing machines.[103]

Table 3.2 Annual Output of Steel (In millions of metric tons)

Year	Britain	Germany	France	Russia
1875–1879	0.90	—	0.26	0.08
1880–1884	1.82	0.99	0.46	0.25
1885–1889	2.86	1.65	0.54	0.23
1890–1894	3.19	2.89	0.77	0.54
1895–1899	4.33	5.08	1.26	1.32
1900–1904	5.04	7.71	1.70	2.35
1905–1909	6.09	11.30	2.65	2.63
1910–1913	6.93	16.24	4.09	4.20

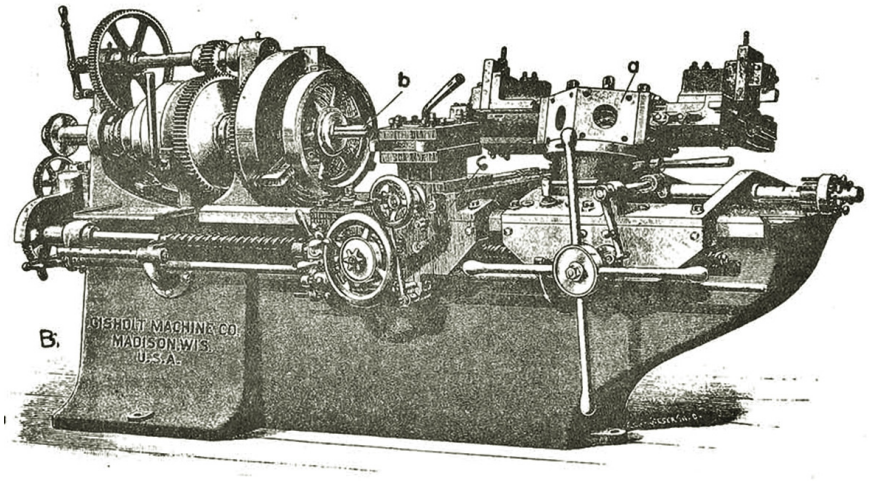


Figure 3.1 A turret lathe built by Gisholt Machine Company.

Thanks to steel, bicycles, airplanes, and zeppelins were assembled while trains, ships, and motorcars were reassembled.[104] Run by gasoline, the period's discovered energy source, the internal combustion motor began to ensoul those booths. More these mechanisms became widespread, both goods and people traveled far distances with less effort.[105] Relocations had not been unusual occasions, though during the period their recurrence increased

[102] Sigvard Strandh, *The History of the Machine,* trans. Ann Henning (New York: Dorset Press, 1989), 84-85.
[103] Davies, *Europe*, 766-7; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 747.
[104] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Shrinkage Of Space" in chap. 5.
[105] Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 753-5.

considerably.[106] Seeking better conditions of living and working, some saw this mobility as a one-way ticket and migrated to urban centers or oversea lands.[107] Seeking novel supplies and stories, some saw this mobility as a round-trip and spread to rural centers or oversea lands.[108] As Jim Jaraush observed, tolerating wider know-how, ampler capital, tougher self-awareness, studier organization, and severer rivalry, European states couldn't help but attempt to dominate non-European states. Strategies of domination were used adaptably and included using direct military force, supporting inferior groups in local conflicts, or just maintaining exchange. In the last-mentioned strategy, dominators were exporting valuable labor force as well as resources from the dominated states and importing institutions related to the monetary system, administration, science, education, or culture. Nevertheless, motivations behind the course of colonization were not always the same: there were adventurers, entrepreneurs, administrative employees, missionaries, welfare volunteers, and so on. In addition, the *rational* mindset producing the cited technologies had also been studying the *irrational* side of humans, eventually obliging art clusters of the time to move away from the accepted idea of autonomous/rational individual and to review the production of children, mads, or Africans.[109] Accordingly, Hal Foster spotted two situations that shocked European society in the early 20th century: the emergence of divergent cultural forms in the European metropoles because of imperial expansion, and the rational re-organization of working bodies.[110] For Foster, many modernists could not help but tackle either by embracing or negating these two shocks manifesting themselves in the fetishistic figures of the *primitive* and the *machine*.

Table 3.5 Emigration from Europe, 1876-1910 (per 100,000 population)

	1876–80	1881–5	1886–90	1891–5	1896–1900	1901–5	1906–10
Europe	94	196	213	185	147	271	322
Ireland	650	1422	1322	988	759	743	662
Great Britain	102	174	162	119	88	127	172
Denmark	157	380	401	338	117	292	275
Norway	432	1105	819	597	312	903	746
Sweden	301	705	759	587	249	496	347
Germany	108	379	207	163	47	50	44
Belgium			86	50	23	57	69
Netherlands	32	136	111	76	25	45	58
France	8	14	49	14	13	12	12
Spain		280	437	434	446	391	758
Portugal	258	356	423	609	417	464	694
Italy	396	542	754	842	974	1706	1938
Austria	48	90	114	182	182	355	469
Hungary		92	156	134	205	437	616
Russia	6	13	42	47	32	63	67

[106] Konrad H. Jarausch, *Out of Ashes: A New History of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 6-42; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 105-6.
[107] Davies, *Europe*, 774; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Great Exodus" in chap. 4.
[108] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Building The New Jerusalem" in chap. 4; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 63-4; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 277-89.
[109] Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 275-80; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 798-804; Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 244-48; Adamowicz, "Spare Parts," 5.
[110] Hal Foster, *Prosthetic Gods*, xi.



Figure 3.2 Hélène Dutrieu, one of the pioneer pilots of the 1910s.

Since things may not go as planned during a trip, precision became crucial. Therefore, backed by scientific institutions and transport companies, administrative offices arrived at a consensus on the systems organizing time, distance, temperature, and so on.[111] In sum, not only the physical distances between people began to dissolve, but also the mental ones. Simultaneously, novel mechanisms of communication of the time eased any kind of exchange, from goods to ideas, at an international level.[112] Telegraphs, for instance, were introduced to reduce the duration of a message traveling between two cities to minutes. Typewriters snatched the ideas while newspapers transmitted them.[113] People of the time, on the other hand, were not satisfied with conveying their thoughts only through scripts. Sound and light, re-conceptualized as waves, were fruitfully worked out. As a result, phonographs started to record echoes of things while telephones conveyed these through distances. The exterior of an object was recorded by a light-sensitive film while the interior was captured by an X-ray.[114] Backed up by the evolving paper industry, postcards began to accompany letters in their travels.[115] Reacting to recent discoveries in science and technology, art movements of the time were also reviewing fundamental concepts like space or time to find ways of breaking with the past. Making things easier, Jonathan Sperber discerned two tendencies in fine arts before the great war: the first

[111] Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 12-15; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Making of Modern Time" in chap. 5.
[112] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 17; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 49-53.
[113] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 226.
[114] Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 267-8.
[115] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The Shrinkage Of Space" in chap. 5; Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 226.

cluster — Cubists, Futurists, or Constructivists — have searched for novel ways of grasping the outer world; the second cluster — Post-Impressionism, Expressionism, or the experiments in music and literature — have searched for novel ways of conveying the inner world.[116] Nevertheless, as David Krasner stressed, whether the aim was to capture reality as it is or to create a non-referential system as it ought to be, the theatre practitioners of the era encountered the materiality of bodies while moving away from the physical to the metaphysical.[117] Accordingly, some theatre visionaries of the time reconceptualized actor/spectator bodies to create total illusions. Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966), for instance, proposed using large puppets (*Übermarionettes)* on the stage instead of performers.[118]

All mentioned mechanisms were in close relation with their surroundings. Such an expansion of mechanisms, therefore, led to a series of spatial conflicts too. Large-scale building programs were run in cities to resolve these conflicts.[119] Rail work, for instance, eased the horizontal movement in the space while the elevator improved the vertical one.[120] The ground was dug out and deepened to make space for vast pipes of water, long cables of electricity, or fast compartments of transport.[121] Evolving from earth to asphalt and being ornated with several regulative signs, streets were also disciplined to allow less problematic transport, and they were, along with buildings, lit with lamps.[122] Getting complex more than ever, businesses necessitated better-organized settings for their operations. Rather than cottages of the countryside, things henceforth would be produced in factories and traded in department stores of the towns.[123] Crossicks observed:

> [The department stores] were amongst the first to introduce pneumatic tubes to dispatch orders round the store, cash registers for on-the-spot transactions, lifts and escalators not only to transport customers between floors but to lead them

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[116] Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 275-80; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Rites of Spring," in chap. 6. Also see Philip Hook, "Beyond Instinct," in *Art of the Extreme 1905-1914* (London, Profile Books, 2021).
[117] David Krasner, "Introduction," in *Theatre in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology*, ed. David Krasner (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 1-5.
[118] McConachie, "Theatres of the Avant-Garde, 1880–1940," 354-89.
[119] Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 251-4.
[120] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Shrinkage Of Space" in chap. 5.
[121] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power, "*Building the New Jerusalem" in chap. 4.
[122] Anne Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 279.
[123] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: Global History of the Nineteenth Century,* trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 687; Catherine Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 71; Michelle Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 117; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Gendering Of Emotion" in chap. 6; Davies, *Europe,* 681; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 778.

through the theatre of the store, as well as experimenting with new construction methods and plate-glass windows to maximise display without as well as within. The new building which Jourdain built for the Samaritaine in Paris between 1905 and 1910 had electric awnings on the exterior to protect merchandise from the sun; steam heating ducts and electric conduits in each floor's exposed metal stanchions and girders; a pneumatic tube system for messages; motor-driven conveyor belts to transfer packages from the sales to the delivery area; and much more. Department stores were becoming machines for selling.[124]

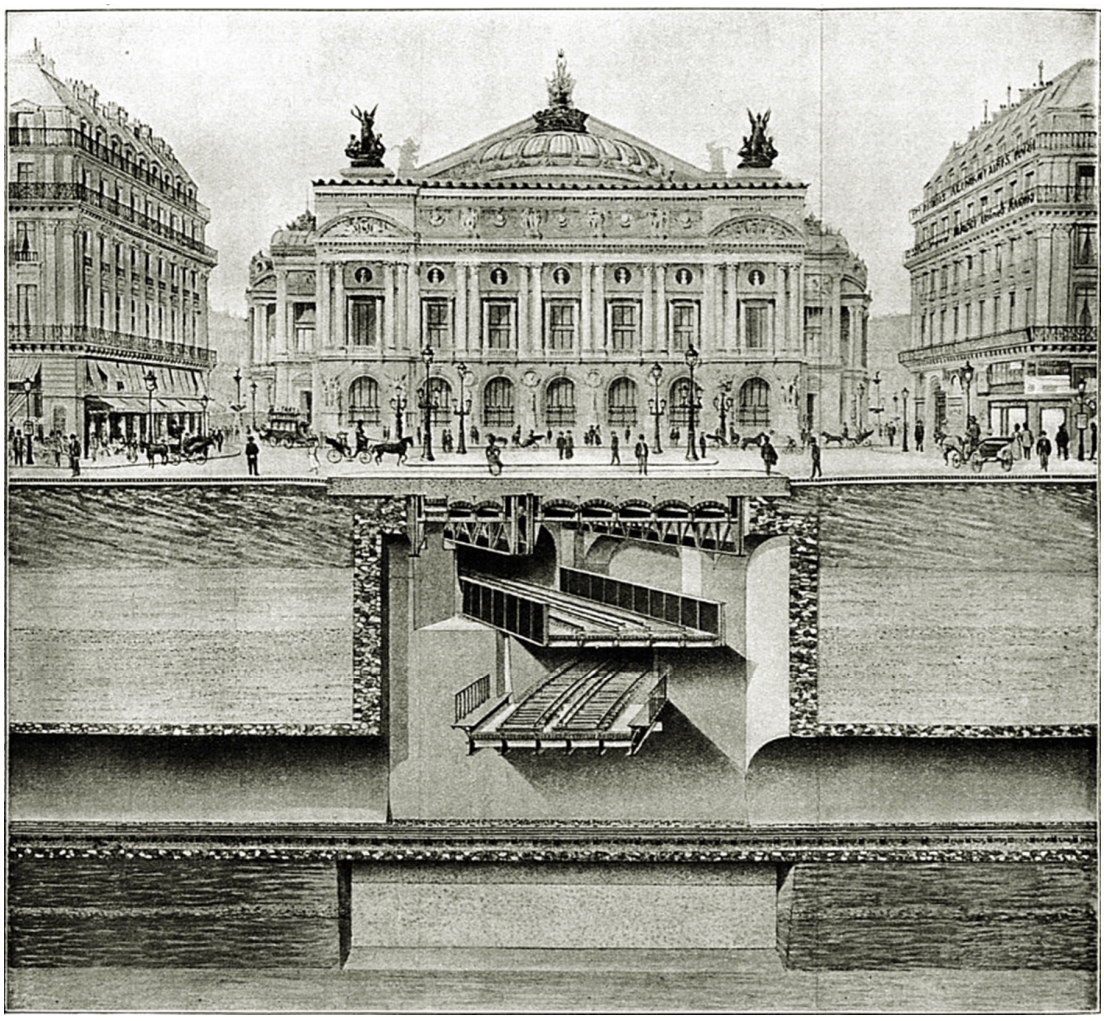


Figure 3.3 Jules Hervieu, Special work of the Opera neighborhood. A section from *Boulevard des Capucines,* 1900s.

This process eventually pulled labor out of the domestic sphere: the gap between public and private domains, which was already gendered, was enlarged.[125] At that time, medical discourses were not in harmony: along with old but still practiced concepts such as humoral

[124] Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain, "The World of the Department Store: Distribution, Culture, and Social Change," in *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850-1939*, eds. Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain (1999; reis., New York: Routledge, 2018), 11-3.
[125] Lynn Hunt, "The Unstable Boundaries of the French Revolution," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 44-5; Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 11; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 197-8; Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 70-71.

theory, scientists have reconceptualized the human body through pairs of unit-whole and interior-exterior, or terms of microbe and metabolism.[126] Accordingly, dirt-free kitchens and hygienic bathrooms were inserted into building flats, which changed the routines of bathing and catering.[127] So, the privatized sphere turned out to be not only a reminder of identity concerning objects and furniture it contained, but also an upholder of the body concerning safety, hygiene, or sexuality. In a few words, cities not only marshaled novel offices, hospitals, parks, sports facilities, canals, ports, or stations, but also removed city walls, slums, or flammable edifices.[128] Even so, since the earth did not expand as much as the number of people or goods did, what was efficient and healthy for people was indeed an imperceptible destruction of the environment, above all considering disrupted forests, poisoned rivers, yellow clouds, or exploded mountains.[129]

3.2. Diverse public structures of Europe appearing on bodily agency: 1870-1914

All these environments and mechanisms were used by people, yet not in the same manner. Such diversity not only formed some selves but also quaked a few. The family unit might prove useful while identifying how this setting up or tremor ran. Perrot acknowledged the importance of the family for the social order:

> As the linchpin of production, it [family unit] kept the economy running and managed the transmission of wealth from generation to generation. As a reproductive cell, it produced children and assumed responsibility for their early socialization. As the guardian of the race, it was responsible for racial purity and health. As the crucible of national consciousness, it inculcated symbolic values and memories of the nation's founding.[130]

In the household, the family would designate who was the husband, father, or sister; in the neighborhood, it would signal who was the relative, foreigner, or suitable; in the workplace, it would emphasize who was the head, hand, or arbitrator.[131] For instance, holding resources of the family, the father (or the oldest brother) would be considered a major decision-maker: he

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[126] Olivier Faure, "Hekimlerin Bakışı," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 21-49; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 265-7.

[127] Georges Vigarello, "Bedenin Temizliği ve Görüntüsü Üstüne Çalışmalar," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 389-407; Julie L. Horan, *The Porcelain God: A Social History of the Toilet* (Secaucus: Carol Publishing Group, 1997), 104-9.

[128] Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 44; At that time, people considered Europe as a face, or center, of modernity, see Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 11; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 234.

[129] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Mastering the Elements" in chap. 5.

[130] Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 111; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Triumph of The Bourgeoisie" in chap. 4.

[131] Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 116; Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 133; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 183; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 226-31; Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," 261.

would have a special zone within the dwelling, and often his death would signal a resolution for the family.[132] In turn, the mother (or the eldest sister) would be responsible for many tasks concerning the upkeep of the family, whether material or emotional.[133] In this formula, considered short of a family, single, widow, and divorced people would not be much respected.[134] Regarding members' temporal or spatial duties, families surely varied in form, yet not as much as conceptions about them: from Liberals to Traditionalists, from Socialists to Feminists, many groups reconceptualized the family unit, which unfortunately will not be discussed here in detail.[135] Even so, focusing on families from different orders, regions, religions, or classes, this subchapter will briefly describe how people of the Belle Epoque may have experienced their surroundings differently. Wealth, nevertheless, will be held as the primary condition separating these families. Here, Tim Blanning's observation on the difference between social orders and classes might be helpful:

> The notion of orders rested on a belief in a static society. The first order was the clergy because they kept the devil at bay. The second order, the nobility, were responsible for organizing the defence of the community from more visible enemies. The third order, which included everyone else, provided for the bodily needs of society. During the medieval and early modern periods the wealthier members within each order acquired privileges, the most desirable of which were fiscal. By the eighteenth century the tail wagged the dog. Privilege, limited to a small, wealthy subsection of each order, came to be a definition of the order itself, while their original duties were performed by the poorer elements of each group. Financial standing and perceived status, the basis of a modern notion of class, emerged within the vertical subsections of the society of orders.[136]

Along with bringing many themes related to corporeality, the following description will also exercise the viewpoint of a growing child. This is to defend not only that cultures are learned entities but also that those who study a historical occasion cannot understand the studied era better than a child discovering it.

At that time, born into a peasant family, a child would primarily grasp that self-sufficiency was the main principle organizing daily life in rural areas.[137] Villages, for instance, would assemble in the way that huts within would share some resources and edifices that were in short supply. Barely lit and ventilated by tiny openings, a peasant's hut would shelter at best a bench, one or two beds each carrying four to five beings, a niche as a cellar, and a machine for handicrafts.[138] Such a hut would be heated by an oven having a cauldron nearby which one

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[132] Lucassen, *The Story of Work,* 335-7; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 173.
[133] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 187; Perrot, 220; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 247.
[134] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 190; Perrot, 241-5.
[135] Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 99-132; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe,* 120-1.
[136] Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 107-109.
[137] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The 'Dangerous Classes'" in chap. 4; Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 116.
[138] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 476-7; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 223.

would sleep on cold nights. The reeking cesspit, which would be placed out of — and even sometimes under the hut — would draw many rats, mosquitos, or snakes eventually giving rise to famed diseases of the time such as cholera, tuberculosis, or smallpox.[139] Nevertheless, from sexual intercourse to bathing, deeds would not be narrowed to a certain place but spread into the whole landscape.[140] One had to desire only in line with the premises of the environment. Clothes, shoes, or dolls, soft objects would be tailored out of wool, linen, or leather. Axes, pitchforks, plows, or sickles, else would instead be crafted out of wood or iron.[141] If not resting, lands would carry grains from autumn to winter, and crops from winter to spring. According to season and what was available, therefore, one would eat gruel and bread at most, some dairy products, nuts, or crops, and hardly any meat.[142] These would be baldly boiled, salted, smoked, dried, or pickled within a stew, a griddle, one or two pans, and a few bowls.[143] What was drunk, in turn, would vary between milk and herbal tea, homemade beer and wine, or vodka and cider.[144] In rural, all in all, the weather would regulate where to be and what to do.



Figure 3.4 August Sander, *Farm Children*, 1913; Sander, *Middle-Class Child*, 1925.

[139] Horan, *The Porcelain God*, 97; Horan, *The Porcelain God*, 122.
[140] Alain Corbin, "Backstage," in *A History of Private Life,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 594.
[141] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 204.
[142] Melanie Byrd and John P. Dunn, eds. *Cooking Through History: A worldwide Encyclopedia of Food with Menus and Recipes* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2021), 322.
[143] Byrd and Dunn, *Cooking Through History*, 322.
[144] Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914*, 1751-57.



Figure 3.5 August Sander, *Farming Family*, 1913/14.



Figure 3.6 August Sander, *Farming Couple Spinning*, 1927; Sander, *Farm Woman from the Sieg Valley,* 1921.

Work routines would also differ according to age, gender, ability, or any other preconception of the time, though many tasks, for the sake of self-sufficiency, would be handled together or interchangeably.[145] Women would mainly get involved in cooking, cleaning, gleaning, spinning, or else looking after animals if not children. If there was any, a senior member of the family would take responsibility for crafting objects and raising children. Men would

[145] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World,* 677; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 196.

mainly get involved in sowing the land, repairing the tools, and reaping the harvest. Even though agricultural machines were introduced, they were not common.[146] Besides, when they were available, rather than making things easier for workers, these machines would exhaust them. Evans described this richly:

> up to thirty men for each machine, carrying out tasks such as stoking and carrying water to the engine, baling the straw, collecting the ears of corn, and so on. A few machine-owners also used a mechanical binder or baler, which reduced the number of men needed, but mostly the work was done by hand. Conditions of work were almost unbearable. The machine made a deafening noise, and the dust it threw up stopped the workers' noses, made their eyes swollen, and got in their throats and lungs, so that they coughed up 'black lumps of black mucus', as Rehbein reported. If it rained, the dust clung to their skins in a thick layer. The labourers were paid an hourly rate that could be as low as 15 pfennigs. Work often began at three in the morning, and carried on until nine or ten in the evening, sometimes even longer. Breaks were allowed only for meals, or to allow the machine to be oiled.[147]



Figure 3.7 August Sander, *Farm Girl, Hesse*, 1913.

On the important days of the year, members of the village would assemble mostly in the open air not only for tribute, worship, or revel — which also contained some bloody games — but also for discussing issues related to the governance of the land such as "rights to water, passages, grazing, gleaning, and wood-gathering."[148] For instance, as Merriman noted, if there were "conscription; abuses by local lords; illegal imposition of excessive corvee or taxation," family heads would settle on "smashing fences and walls, filling up ditches, tearing down

[146] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Decline of the Aristocracy" in chap. 4; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 290.
[147] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.
[148] Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914*, 1754; Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 680-81.

hedges, and occupying 'usurped' land," or else burning records and smashing houses.[149] Yet, this was also the period when landlords began to control this and similar violent actions like blood feuds through the police force as well as market pressure.[150] What is more, the developments mentioned in the previous subchapter gradually decreased crop prices. Accordingly, a child growing up in a peasant family would realize in time that the concern of self-sufficiency was indeed getting unachievable.[151] Owing to the rapid changes in machines as well as products, many businesses at that time were constantly appearing and disappearing. In this context, except for special industries like machinery, printing, or moto-car, being unskilled would be considered an opportunity given that one would get trained about a specific machine and start to work in a few days.[152] Hence, from spring to autumn, when roads were more accessible and lands were resting, many country people, per the approval of their landlords as well as village heads, would travel to urban regions to work in constructions, mines, or forests.[153] In Gelsenkirchen of 1907, for example, half of the miners, which constituted %60 percent of the workforce, were from rural areas.[154] This mobility was also a work opportunity for those who lost their cottage professions on account of emerging factory, women.[155] Even though women's wages remained less than men's, many of them would work in factories as soon as their children were able to look after themselves.[156] Besides, in a city, a single woman would be able to work as a child carer, laundry washer, housekeeper, servant, or depending on her familial bond, as a prostitute.[157] For sure, if there were animals, women would stay in the village to look after them, but if there were not, immigration would occur together.[158] Aware of being seen as a burden in those harsh days, a child would have two choices: to master the husbandry of animals as well as special crops or leave the hut.[159]

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[149] Merriman and Winter*, Europe 1789 to 1914*, 1754.
[150] Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1992), 91; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The 'Dangerous Classes'" in chap. 4; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Age of the Masses" in chap. 7; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 521.
[151] Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 289-90.
[152] Gildea, 304; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 115; Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 686-7.
[153] Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914,* 2153; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Shrinkage Of Space" in chap. 5; Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*, 78; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 761; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 245-6; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 115.
[154] Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 282-3.
[155] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.
[156] Lucassen, *The Story of Work*, 334; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 765; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 247.
[157] Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 119; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 192-4 and 232-9; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Controlling The Primal Urge" in chap. 5; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 764-7; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 50.
[158] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.
[159] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The Shrinkage Of Space" in chap. 4; Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914*, 1756.



Figure 3.8 August Sander, *Road Construction Workers*, 1927.



Figure 3.9 August Sander, *Cafe Waitress*, 1928/29; Sander, *Servant in a Grand Household*, 1928.

A child born into a family of workers, nevertheless, would not find living in a city easier than rural.[160] Higher death rates in industrial towns validate this.[161] At that time, a great number of workers were living in overcrowded sheds, and there was no landscape providing clean water or fresh air anymore.[162] So, even though a city shed was not so different from a counterpart in

rural, diseases spread in cities much faster.[163] For sure, crates of city stores were not empty, yet the pockets of workers were. Evans illustrated how workers "often had to live off food bought as leftovers even for their good meals; on broken eggs, stale bread, bruised fruit, offal, and unsold and unfresh meat and fish. Bread, potatoes, polenta or other starchy foods provided the bulk of their diet," while milk for a child was the deadliest one.[164] Tuchman similarly remarked, "fish on Sundays was the weekly protein for a family of eight, at two and a half ounces per portion. Children were stunted and pale, with rotting teeth, and if they went to school, sat dully at their desks or fell asleep."[165] Education, therefore, was a short, if not impossible, path for children of workers: just like their parents, they had to work as earliest moment as they could.[166]



Figure 3.10 August Sander, *Working-Class Family*, 1912.

The conditions of work were the toughest. In 1910 Budapest, for instance, out of 5000 studied factories, merely 109 contained restrooms and only 75 included eateries.[167] Without any weekly off or lunch break, workers operated for twelve to fourteen hours a day.[168] Monday taken off work would be called "Holy Monday" when the family would have a journey towards

[163] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Building The New Jerusalem" in chap. 4; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 245-6.
[164] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.
[165] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 476-7.
[166] Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 764; Poor would be sent to boarding schools, see Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 217.
[167] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.
[168] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World,* 688; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower,* 477.

rural or relatives.[169] Work was not regulated with rural songs anymore but with clock hours and bells.[170] The air was full of noise, poisonous gas, and dust.[171] If workers were lucky enough not to have any accidents resulting in a burn, limb loss, fracture, or even death, they would get sick in time.[172] Alive or dead, the bodies of the poor therefore became objects of study for doctors of newly established hospitals. There, pain and its interpretation have always constituted a domain where patients and doctors struggled, but with the arrival of questionaries and anesthesia, doctors began to take control. Eventually, they declared new diseases just like silicosis or pneumoconiosis.[173] Evans illustrated this:

> in the London-based Bryant and May company the fumes from the white phosphorus used to make the combustible matchheads began to have a terrible effect on the workers – almost all of them women and teenage children – whose job it was to prepare the phosphorus solution and dip frames of matchsticks into it. Their gums began to ulcerate, their teeth fell out, and their jawbones began to rot, exuding a vile-smelling pus, sometimes through the nose. This was 'phossy jaw.'[174]



Figure 3.11 August Sander, *Blacksmiths*, 1926; Sander, *Machine Operator*, 1926.

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[169] Perrot, "The Family Triumphant," 136.
[170] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Pursuit of Happiness" in chap. 6.
[171] Lucassen, *The Story of Work*, 301.
[172] Alain Corbin, "Bedenin Acıları, Sıkıntıları ve Sefaleti," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 324-338.
[173] Corbin, "Bedenin Acıları, Sıkıntıları ve Sefaleti," 328-353; Faure, "Hekimlerin Bakışı," 31-41; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Management of Pain"in chap. 5.
[174] Apart from being *disabled*, being *injured* was embraced with dignity by workers of the time. See Henri-Jacques Stiker, "Yeni Özürlü Beden Algısı," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 386; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'Nothing to Lose but Their Chains'" in chap. 4.

Yet, neither workers nor administrators of the time took these conditions for granted. The former group acted towards uniting to boost their wages, rights, and conditions of work.[175] Accordingly, they have used different strategies of resistance.[176] Following the scientific know-how, the latter group acted towards enhancing their operation, its place, and ways of motivating workers.[177] They reorganized the relationship between the worker's body and the surrounding engine, two "motors" working together as Rabinbach described, vis-à-vis themes varying from fatigue to efficiency.[178] Hobsbawm explicated this review briefly:

> The task on which 'Taylorism' immediately concentrated its efforts, and with which 'scientific management' was to become identified in the public mind, was how to get more work out of workers. This aim was pursued by three major methods: (i) by isolating each worker from the work group, and transferring the control of the work process from him, her or the group to the agents of management, who told the worker exactly what to do and how much output to achieve in the light of (2) a systematic breakdown of each process into timed component elements ('time and motion study'), and (3) various systems of wage payment which would give the worker an incentive to produce more.[179]

Even though harshly criticized, such re-organization was progressively adopted by many facilities on the way to the Great War.[180] Concerning rising wages and refurbishing environments, a worker's appetite for living in a city therefore can be justified.[181] In a newly industrialized city, for example, a worker family would be offered a two-story lodgment within a naïve garden. Such lodgment would have rooms separating sleeping from living as well as cooking from cleaning; each room would contain a fireplace and a closet.[182] Within the neighborhood of this lodgment, parents would find inexpensive services for childcare, medicine, cleaning, eating, education, trade, or recreation.[183] A child of a worker would be able to desire without being limited to weather: both local and colonial goods thenceforth

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[175] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Rise Of The Welfare State" in chap. 7; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Second International and Its Rivals" in chap. 7; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 306-7; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 119-123.
[176] Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe: From 1815 to the Present* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 135-140 and 148-168; Lucassen, *The Story of Work*, 302-4; Merriman and Winter, *Europe 1789 to 1914,* 2485; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 36; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Second International and Its Rivals" in chap. 7; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 547.
[177] Lucassen, *The Story of Work*, 350; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 547.
[178] Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 2-3; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor,* 48-52; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor,* 248.
[179] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 44-5.
[180] Lucassen, *The Story of Work,* 345; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, 123; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, 239-45; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, 250-58; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 44-5.
[181] Michelle Perrot, "At Home," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 351; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 247; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 759; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 779.
[182] Roger-Henri Guerrand, "Private Spaces," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 414; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 767-71.
[183] Guerrand, "Private Spaces," 419.

could be served out of a can while concentrated soups, margarine, condensed milk, pasta, and vitamins would accompany them.[184] With reduced hours, workers would also be able to listen to many cheerful stories that can erase unwanted ones, because numberless cafes, fairs, circuses, cinemas, variety theatres, or music halls, would invite them to inspect "spectacular" bodies — dubbed *burlesque queens, exotic dancers,* or *freaks* — and to eat and drink.[185]



Figure 3.12 August Sander, *Circus Artistes*, 1926-32.

A diverse group of people discerned themselves from workers through spending what they earned on services bringing societal status rather than "immediate" pleasure.[186] Evans designated them:

> The bourgeoisie. The name itself – *bourgeois, Bürger, borghese* – meant city-dweller. In the pre-industrial urban social order, the dominant elite of guildsmen would include a handful of educated, literate doctors, lawyers, notaries, apothecaries, clerks and scribes. Many long-established towns were dominated by an hereditary patrician elite that increasingly had to make room for bankers, industrialists and professionals without necessarily being displaced by them…Nevertheless, the old patrician elite was in effect merging into a new urban middle class as its legal privileges were gradually eroded…In 1850 a further

[184] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 64.
[185] Bruce McConachie, "Popular entertainments, 1850–1920," in *Theatre Histories*, ed. Gary Jay Williams (London: Routledge, 2016), 327-53; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Pursuit of Happiness" in chap. 6; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders,* 375-7; Corbin, "Backstage," 638; Alain Corbin,"Bedenlerin Buluşması," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 232-70; Stiker, "Yeni Özürlü Beden Algısı," 368-79.
[186] Michael D. Richards and Paul R. Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe: A Brief History, 1900 to the Present* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 32; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 127; On how middle-class interpreted workers, see Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe,* 125.

> municipal reform defined citizenship (as distinct from mere domicile) in even broader terms of educational and propertied factors, including possession of a degree, exercise of a profession such as architect, surgeon, apothecary and so on; ship's captains and master artisans were included in the list, as were lawyers and tradesmen.[187]

Concerning the professions of its members, such a group possessed a diverse set of know-how, bodily practices, and utensils, which cannot be recapped here easily. Besides, it had been diversifying with new members: the re-organization of businesses, namely the emergence of giant corporates and factories, offered numerous positions in services for bright individuals, soon to be branded "white-collar."[188] The same process challenged certain parties in the middle class who had been running family businesses for a long time. Many artisans, for instance, eventually found themselves cooperating with unskilled people under the roof of a factory, which created fear.[189] Accordingly, out of work hours, many family/business heads would gather in special clubs to defend their interests.[190]



Figure 3.13 August Sander, *Wine Merchant's Family*, 1913; Sander, *City Dweller*, 1912.

At that time, perhaps not so different than today, children would be considered one of the most important assets to be invested in.[191] They would therefore be disciplined from the very

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[187] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Triumph of The Bourgeoisie" in chap. 4.
[188] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Triumph of The Bourgeoisie" in chap. 4; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders,* 305; Crossick and Jaumain, "The World of the Department Store," 18; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 771-2; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 248; Sperber, Europe 1850–1914, 258.
[189] Lucassen, *The Story of Work,* 328-31; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders,* 305; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 258; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 763-6; Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World,* 686-7; Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 67.
[190] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Petty Bourgeoisie" in chap. 4; On the difference between Clubs and Salons, see also Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Triumph of The Bourgeoisie" in chap. 4; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 255.
[191] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 196; Perrot, 211-13.

beginning through carrot and stick: every action would be observed by a tutor reminding them what was proper and what was not.[192] Within this journey of disciplining the self, gender usually would not be emphasized until the age of five: both boys and girls would keep dress-like outfits as well as long hair. With their toys, either crafted or bought by their fathers depending on the family's background, children would play around with their mothers or household servants, both of whom would, unfortunately, be in the kitchen. Mothers hence would be responsible for the early education of children.[193]Around the age of eight, namely the age when one would gain reason as people of the era believed, the family would begin to gradually supervise, if not surveil, the children concerning their gender: fathers would be responsible for educating the boys to become new patrons of family/businesses while mothers would be responsible for training the girls to become new dames of households.[194] Yet, this also would be the threshold when children would be noticed by over-family institutions like the state, church, or clinic, often possessing different concerns than families.[195] Accordingly, during the turn of the century, regardless of which background they came from, children began to receive fundamental education customarily in a boarding school up until the age of thirteen, which was about disciplining them under a national dialect, history, and religion.[196]



Figure 3.14 Charles Félix Girard, *Struggle for a child between the child's family and the Church, the State and the Freemasons*, 1909.

[192] Perrot, 208-11.
[193] Perrot, 204-5.
[194] Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 68; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 203-213; Corbin, "Backstage," 496; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 354.
[195] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 203; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 20.
[196] Fritz K. Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (London: Indiana University Press, 1979), 117; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Christianity and Beyond" in chap. 6; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 352-4; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 25; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 774; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 216.

As a middle-class initiation as well as an indicator, secondary education was indeed constituted earlier than the primary counterpart.[197] It was about preparing children, more accurately middle-class boys rather than girls and poor, for universities where they would be learning how to conduct professions often run by their families. Nevertheless, these schools varied in style, syllabus, and clientele, which interestingly cannot be abridged to specific social groups, as Ringer illustrated: in Germany, not only high officials and landowners sent their children to Gymnasium, the most prestigious secondary education at the time, but also lower officials and able farmers. Likewise, in Oberrealschules, one would find children of rich entrepreneurs taking classes along with children of minor tradesmen.[198] Secondary education cultivated the mind and soul: in "barrack-like" buildings, pupils would learn literature, religion, sciences, ancient Greek and Roman classics, or practical subjects.[199] If the male body was still the nation's favored tabula to manifest, the female body was a favorite of the church, which was losing its symbolic power against the state.[200] Accordingly, churches would help mothers during their coaching by reproducing the discourse about the importance of virginity, and by surveilling them.[201] Interestingly, even though it was targeted to evaporate corporeality, asceticism was indeed materializing the body through the constant control of consumption and behavior.[202] And, not surprisingly, all these transformations had individuals feel difficulty in self-actualization, which manifested itself in journal keeping as well as increasing cases of suicide, hysteria, and alcoholism.[203] Still, days were changing: both young men and women at the age of fifteen were leaving the household regardless of attending school.[204]

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[197] Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 351-57; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 174-5.
[198] Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe*, 76-7; Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914,* 190-7.
[199] Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 114; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 773; Evans, The Pursuit of Power, "The Passion for Knowledge," in chap. 6; Lieven*, The Aristocracy in Europe,* 1815-1914, 169; Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe*, 87; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 216.
[200] Alain Corbin, "Dinin Etkisi," in *Bedenin Tarihi 2: Fransız Devriminden Büyük Savaşa.* eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, trans. Orçun Türkay (İstanbul: Alfa, 2021), 64; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 207. For the relationship between state, church, and females, see Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe,* 163-64; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 773-8; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Dissent, Doubt and Disbelief" in chap. 6; Anthony J. Steinhoff noted that unchurching does not necessarily mean secularization due to at least four conditions: one cannot find a correlation between secularized and urbanized locations; religious practices were indeed conducted in family scale; church going declined but life-time events like death were conducted under the authority of church; people started to be able to reach out to religion through institutions over church. See Anthony J. Steinhoff, "Protestantism," *A Companion To Nineteenth Century Europe 1789–1914*, ed. Stefan Berger (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 251.
[201] Corbin, "Dinin Etkisi," 64-86; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 207.
[202] Corbin, "Dinin Etkisi," 89-94.
[203] Corbin, "Backstage," 498-502; Corbin, "Backstage," 615-647; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Pursuit of Happiness" in chap. 6; Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 192-206; For different body understandings appeared on literature, see Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 221.
[204] Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 219.



Figure 3.15 August Sander, *High School Student*, 1926; Sander, *Working Student*, 1926.

This was also the interval when many sports were institutionalized in parallel with the military if not aristocratic values like endurance, perseverance, or courage. Therefore, depending on their familial and national background, students would join a sports association about athletics, football, rugby, cricket, golf, swimming, rowing, skiing, cycling, horse racing, boxing, or gymnastics.[205] Another interrelated wonder of the period was the body in movement and its record with new media.[206] Accordingly, some dance practitioners of the time were criticizing traditional dance such as ballet, and were searching for a novel foundation for dance. Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958), one of these vanguard practitioners, was problematizing the interaction between dance, space, and time and defending the importance of dancing naked in nature to free the body from the unhealthiness of the existing urban culture. Perhaps a positive side of all these interests was that the garments special to these disciplines have set people of the era free from their traditional clothes, which can be seen at best from women's fashion.[207]

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[205] Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 780-81; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 182; Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914,* 190; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Climbing the Tower of Babel," 536-544; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 209-11.
[206] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918,* 20-35.
[207] Sara Pendergast and Tom Pendergast. *Fashion, Costume, and Culture: Clothing, Headwear, Body Decorations, and Footwear through the Ages-Volume 4: Modern World Part I: 1900-1945,* ed. Sarah Hermsen (Farmington Hills: UXL, 2004), 663-718. On clothing bodies in public, see Corbin, "Backstage," 486-491.



Figure 3.16 Dr. Krajewski's Athletic Room. Walls were full of portraits of athletes; Athletics Club.

Along with education and leisure time activities, the middle class distinguished themselves from the "lowers" through the standard of living and dwellings. Equipped with novel household technologies of the time and encircled with a garden, a middle-class property would contain many divisions for activities and roles: in addition to separate rooms for bachelors, young ladies, servants, and parents, such a dwelling would have; a smoking room for men; a morning room for women; an attic; a dining room; a drawing room; a training room; a kitchen; a nursery; and a bathroom.[208] Houses of the rich would possess additional rooms just like kitchens for the production of confection or dairy.[209] To fill the spaces not only protecting but also defining them, the middle class had to buy things.[210] Therefore, even though household technology had not changed so much, a great amount of time would still pass in the department stores where they were more than welcome, as Crossick and Jaumain observed:

> The department stores offered new services, both to ease their customers' transactions and to make the act of shopping as agreeable as possible. Free entry with no obligation to buy was designed to remove all hesitation about going into the store, encouraging passers-by to inspect the vast range of merchandise as if in an exhibition hall, before deciding whether to become not merely observers but customers. No shop assistant or floor walker would harass those who entered, but were available to offer advice in response to the merest inquiry. To help the customer, prices were fixed, ticketed and even published widely through newspaper and other advertisements. As a final incentive to buy, home delivery and mail order were introduced together with a commitment to accept goods returned because the purchaser had changed her or his mind.[211]

[208] Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 70-3; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 49-50. Members of middle-class had been living outside of the towns to where they travelled between home and work daily. After industrial town-centers got re-vitalized, they moved back to live in town houses. See Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Building The New Jerusalem" in chap. 4.
[209] Byrd and Dunn, *Cooking Through History*, 321-2; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 247.
[210] Crossick and Jaumain, "The World of the Department Store," 27.
[211] Crossick and Jaumain, 11-3.

Towards the end of the 19th century, what empowered industrialists did indeed threaten landowners. Landowners, therefore, either concentrated more on their governmental duties or turned to investing in factories. In turn, to gain political prestige, plutocrats embraced several activities formerly associated with aristocrats such as sailing, gambling, or sponsoring arts and sciences. Ultimately, these mutual gestures were crowned with a bloodline: wealthy families espoused noble ones.[212] Therefore, as Evans noted, "a new, hybrid social elite had emerged, based on bourgeois values of thrift, hard work, sobriety and responsibility," which manifested itself at best in governmental reforms and the cited urban recovery.[213] Having a tycoon father and a baroness mother, children of such elite would grow up in many properties belonging to the family: a townhouse for winter; a country house for spring; a chateau with a massive garden for summer; and a shooting box for hunting.[214] Yes, they would love hunting — and exhibiting — animals, be it wild ones like elephants, tigers, crocodiles, and bears, or fast ones like ducks, rabbits, and deer.[215] Tuchman illustrated this well:

> With the opening of the grouse season in August, and until the reopening of Parliament in January, the great landowners engaged in continuous entertainment of each other in week-long house parties of twenty to fifty guests. With each guest bringing his own servant, the host fed as many as a hundred, and on one occasion at Chatsworth, four hundred extra mouths while his house party lasted. Shooting was the favored pastime and consisted in displaying sufficient stamina and marksmanship, assisted by a loader and three or four guns, to bring down an unlimited bag of small game flushed out of its coverts by an army of beaters.[216]



Figure 3.17 August Sander, *Member of Parliament(Democrat),* 1927; Sander, *High School Girl*, 1928.

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[212] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 171; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 308-10.
[213] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Great Exodus" in chap. 4; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 254.
[214] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 48-49.
[215] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Taming the Wild," in chap. 5.
[216] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 49.



Figure 3.18 Bertillon's physical measurements to identify criminals.



Figure 3.19 Suspension treatment at Pitié-Salpêtrière Hospital, 1889.

Experiencing wonders of nature thoroughly outside of these estates, children would find every object within — from glasses to candle holders, from chairs to clocks — covered with golden leaves, shiny glasses, and colorful sateen. Each gesture, animal, or plant within paintings on walls would narrate a story for them to remember: a boy should walk a political, military, or diplomatic path while a girl should stand as the backbone of such man, an idea soon to be challenged by women partaking in higher education.[217] Even though it was often represented contrarily, grown members of this group also would not experience an effortless day regarding the body. Tuchman described how "the day began at ten with a gallop in the [Hyde] Park and ended at a ball at three in the morning."[218] Gentlemen's morning activity was keeping bodies

[217] Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*, 134-7; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914*, 245-50; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 47-9; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The New Elite" in chap. 4.
[218] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 37.

fit by riding a horse soon to be replaced with a moto-car, which was always accompanied by private meetings of fellows.[219] In the afternoon, respectively, a cigar in one hand and a glass of punch in the other, they would meet in various houses vis-à-vis their status in society to discuss politics, economy, diplomacy, or any topic related to their affairs.[220] With the rising population, for instance, crime was one of the problems gentlemen had to handle: after intense meetings, the public sphere would start to witness individuals with detailed names and bodily records along with personas dubbed bohemians, dandies, or freaks.[221] They imagined special institutions where an orphan or an elderly person could be cared, a mad or disabled person could be cured, and a homeless or a murderer could be disciplined.[222] Given that homosexuality threatened the settings of these institutions, gentlemen introduced physical exercises in the day as a way of discharge.[223] Similarly, rising alcoholism cases forced many executives to facilitate the development of leisure time activities — entertainment, or pulp fiction — to keep people away.[224]

If clubs and houses were special for men who had to govern the public domain, salons were special for women who had to govern the private one.[225] Disappearing in time, manuals of appropriate behavior would set up the manners.[226] Accordingly, the lady would get up before everyone. The first breakfast, a slice of bread with a cup of hot drink, would be taken next to awakening. The lady would then check the tasks of the day, related inventory, and children heading out to school, even if all were set properly by servants responsible for catering, maintenance, and logistics. The second breakfast would include starters, cold meat, or snacks, and be taken around ten. After that, the lady would peruse received mail, fabricate garments, or play piano as respectable women "should" neither show up in the streets before noon nor be saluted if they do. Even though lunches started to be taken outside of the house because of the changing work conditions, they had to be taken among family members: outsiders would

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[219] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The New Elite" in chap. 4; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "The Decline of Aristocracy" in chap. 4; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 23; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 38; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 51.
[220] Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*, 137; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower,* 52.
[221] Corbin, "Backstage," 468-75; Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914,* 17-8; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 248-58.
[222] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Madness and Civilization" in chap. 5; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 223; Perrot, "Roles and Characters," 258-9; Corbin, "Bedenin Acıları, Sıkıntıları ve Sefaleti," 293-307; Stiker, "Yeni Özürlü Beden Algısı," 360-68; Stiker, "Yeni Özürlü Beden Algısı," 379-84.
[223] Corbin, "Bedenlerin Buluşması," 210-12.
[224] Gildea, *Barricades and Borders,* 353-4; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders,* 373; Merriman*, A History of Modern Europe,* 804-6; Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 248; Tuchman*, The Proud Tower,* 503; Davies, *Europe*, 775; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Pursuit of Happiness" in chap. 6.
[225] Sperber*, Europe 1850–1914*, 255.
[226] Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," Perrot 268-85. For yearly and lifetime activities, see Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," 285-337.

not be invited. So, the rules were stricter than one can imagine.[227] Aside from elaborate family gatherings held on Sunday, the lady had to assign a day in a week to receive guests in the afternoon, between three and seven. On these receptions, she would sit in the center of the salon and only get up to address visiting women, seniors, and priests, not men — who would usually be a proprietor or literate. Also, it was an old-fashioned behavior to embroider during the meeting, so any object reminding such activity would be removed. A table would contain gorgeous appetizers while the daughters of the house would serve the tea. Guests would stay fifteen to thirty minutes and they would not talk much during farewell in order not to disrupt the conversation. For sure, the context affected these receptions a lot. Affairs of men getting stricter, these receptions advanced in time to be held in the evenings. Similarly, as some women did not want to remain at home, they would receive guests on the second and the fourth Tuesdays of the month, between five and six. Other than hosting, the lady had to show up at other receptions, which were many: for relatives; for nearness; for weddings; for employment; for awards. If one cannot find the host at the home, she would leave a card whose folding style would indicate if the host was visited by the very person who sent the card or a representative. With dinners being taken later, around seven-thirty, people started to have a snack — butter, bread, and a cup of tea — around five o'clock. Evenings then again would be assigned for dinner parties, theaters, balls, operas, or looking over horses in sales. The theater or opera box would be considered an extension of the salon, thus private: not sitting in a box, proper women had to be accompanied by a male relative.[228] Elaborate dinners would be prepared by a French chef and, other than hunted animals, they would present diverse plates of beef, lamb, veal, and mutton; chicken, ham, and duck; tongue and kidneys; sole fillets, turbot, and lobster.[229] In dinners with guests, if there is not any modest performance by children, a recital by an amateur group, or a game such as charades, men would play billiards while women would embroider or paint. In the climax of the night, around two in the morning, a supper would be served, which could be very fancy. For sure, on important evenings a professional orchestra would be hired, and guests would dance. And all mentioned phases of the day would require a special garment, as Tuchman illustrated "at private dinner tables draped in smilax, with a footman behind each chair, gentlemen in white tie and tails conversed with ladies in clouds of tulle over bare shoulders, wearing stars or coronets in their elaborately piled hair."[230] While all these experiences were running in the background, one can center on the lives of Dadaists.

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[227] Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, 1815-1914, 137.
[228] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 39-44.
[229] Byrd and Dunn, *Cooking Through History*, 322; Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914,* 149.
[230] Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 38; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 50; Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914,* 138.

3.3. Lives of Zurich Dadaists before 1914

Member of a committed Catholic family of eight, Hugo Rudolf Ball was born in 1886 in Pirmasens, Germany.[231] His father was a shoe salesman. Ball's early childhood was not recorded well, even though his biographers acknowledge that he experienced an emotionally unstable childhood full of religious stories. Because his parents were unable — or unwilling— to finance him for further study, Ball, started working in a local leather factory at age fifteen, after his primary education. Interested in poetry and music, Ball started writing poems and plays during these four years of work. At the age of seventeen, for instance, he wrote *der Henker von Brescia*. At the age of nineteen, he quit his job and managed to enroll in a Gymnasium around Zweibrücken and completed three years of education in one year. This was also the interval when he discovered the writings of Nietzsche. In 1906 when he was twenty years old, Ball decided to try Munich for studying literature, philosophy, and history, as well as diving into anarchist/communist literature. This was also the interval when he met artists from the Expressionist circle such as Frank Wedekind, who had been challenging moral rules of the time with his skits using body just like masturbating or urinating in the scene.[232] Interestingly, when he was 21 years old, Ball was in Heidelberg and had an operation to change his "Jewish" nose on account of common antisemitic ideas at the time, which had him also write *Die Nase des Michelangelo*. His final dissertation was about Nietzsche, even though he did not complete his education for the sake of attending the Drama School of Reinhardt in Berlin in 1910, where he was going to make friends like George Heym, Richard Huelsenbeck, and Klabund. At the age of twenty-five, Ball started to work as a stage manager in Stadttheater in Plauen even though he got disappointed due to the coldness of the audience, and returned to Munich in 1912.[233] In Munich, he got closer not only to *Der Blaue Reiter* run by Wassily Kandinsky but also to Hans Leybold, who was going to die in the war after three years, eventually having Ball and Huelsenbeck organize an expressionist soirée in Berlin against the war — *The First Memorial of Fallen Poets*. 1913 was a dynamic year for Ball: in addition to

[231] For a much more detailed biographical material, see John Elderfield, "Introduction," in Hugo Ball, *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary,* ed. John Elderfield, trans. Ann Raimes (1974; reis., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), xv-xix; Karl Riha, "'I Was Born a Great Enthusiast': On Hugo Ball," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 63. Also see Hans Bolliger and Willy Verkauf, "A Dada Dictionary," in *Dada: Monograph of a Movement*, ed. Willy Verkauf (New York: George Wittenborn, 1957), 115-76.

[232] RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance: Live Art 1909 to the Present* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1979), 34-5.

[233] Ball had produced Hauptmann's *Helios*, Blei's *Die Welle*, Andreev's *The Life of Man* during the days preceding the cabaret.

producing plays in *Münchner Kammerspiele*, he collaborated with some artists and writers on the journal *Die Revolution, Die Neue Kunst*, *Die Aktion*, or *Phöbus*, and met Emmy Hennings.

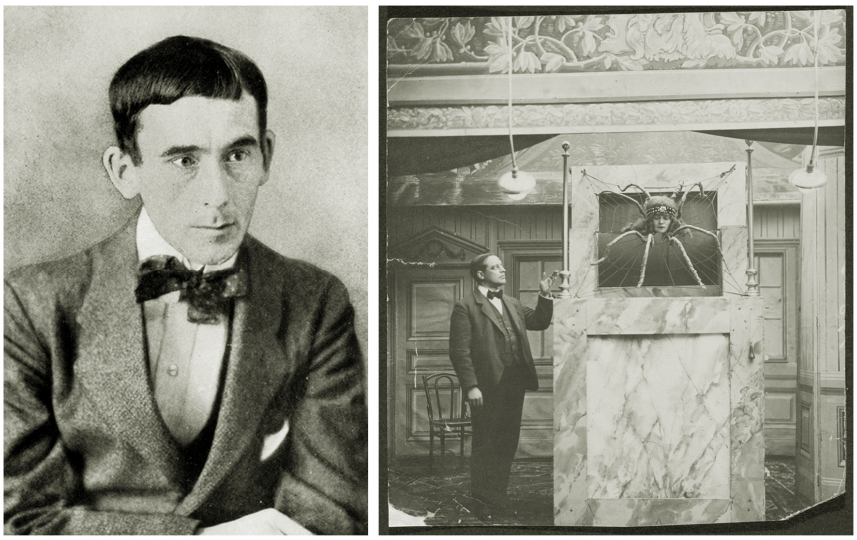


Figure 3.20 Hugo Ball, 1916; Emmy Hennings in performance preceding the days of the cabaret.

Emmy Hennings, originally Emma Coldsen, was born in 1885 in Flensburg, Germany.[234] Member of a German and Danish seafaring family of three, she experienced a life she saw in between opposites of religion and entertainment. Her father was a helmsman on a sailing ship, who would do ship models for Hennings when she was younger. Similar to Ball, there is no information about her early childhood, unfortunately. At the age of fifteen, in 1900, Hennings left home and worked as a maid, kitchen helper, and washwoman. This was the time when she also gave her first stage performances. At seventeen, she married Josef Paul Hennings and gave birth to her first child who would die soon after, while the couple was traveling throughout other cities. Then her second child, Annemarie, was born. When she was 21 years old, her husband deserted, which forced Hennings to sell bathroom supplies at doors for a living while the child remained with Emmy's mother. At the age of twenty-three, in 1908, Emmy Hennings started working as a cabaret performer where she worked almost every day from seven pm to three am. In 1910, she was on morphine and diagnosed with typus as well as syphilis. This was the time when she decided to become a Catholic. At that time, she met Ferdinand Hardekopf, an Expressionist artist as well as a morphine addict, and started to travel with him. Between 1911 and 1914, she had been arrested multiple times for streetwalking and

[234] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Paula K. Kamenish, "Emmy Hennings: From Cabaret Singer to the First Mama of Dada," in *Mamas of Dada: Women of the European Avant-Garde* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 11-7; Riese Hubert, "Zurich Dada and Its Artist Couples," 517-23; Hubert Van Den Berg, "The Star of the Cabaret Voltaire: Other Life of Emmy Hennings," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha, trans. Roy F. Allen (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 83; Thomas F. Rugh, "Emmy Hennings and the Emergence of Zurich Dada," *Woman's Art Journal* 2, no. 1 (1981): 1, https://doi.org/10.2307/1357892.

theft. At the age of twenty-eight, in 1913, she was present in Munich as a cabaret performer (performing in *Café Simplicissimus*) as well as a poet close to the expressionist circle like many artists of the time. This was the time when she also met Ball, who would ask her to recite her songs and poetry again and again.

Marcel Janco (originally Iancu) was born in 1895 in Bucharest, Romania.[235] He was a member of an upper-middle-class Jewish family of six. His father was a merchant selling suits; his mother was a trained piano player. Janco grew up in one of Bucharest's largest houses. At age thirteen, in 1908, he enrolled a popular elementary school, *Gheorghe Sincai*. Around 1910, Janco enrolled in *Gheorghe Lazar Lyceum*. Around these times, Janco also took classes in painting and graphic arts from Iosif Iser, a famous caricaturist drawing "simple people" against bourgeois taste. Educated in Munich and Paris, Iser was a fan of Cézanne as well as Nabis and was publishing works in the journal of the *Café Simplicissimus*. Besides, during his high school education, Janco visited numerous museums across Hungary, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. This was also the time when he met Samuel Rosenstock(Tzara), Eugen Iovanaki (Ion Vinea), Paul (Poldi) Chapier, and Jacques Costin, whom he collaborated with while publishing the journal *Simbolul* that appeared in 1912, during the Balkan Wars. Along with sponsoring the journal, he was responsible for the graphical section. So, this was the time when he and Tzara were learning the basics of preparing something to publish.

Tristan Tzara, namely Samuel Rosenstock (also used S. Samyro), was born in 1896 in Moineşti in Romania, a village famous for the oil business and mineral waters.[236] Member of a relatively secular Jewish bourgeois family of four, Tzara experienced a childhood full of medical stories as he, for example, had vertigo. His father was working in forest exploitation. Tzara was educated in the Israelite School of Moineşti between the ages of six and ten where he took Romanian, modern languages, science, and religion. Nevertheless, he was also getting educated in languages as well as music at home. In 1906, at the age of ten, he left the household to attend the first year of a gymnasium in Foşcani. He was good at German, French, and mathematics. In 1907, peasants in Romania revolted against landowners and marched upon the capital, which was sadly suppressed with blood. Tzara's parents concluded that capital would be better for Tzara's education. So, he moved to Bucharest, a provoking city with its

[235] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Tom Sandqvist, "Marcel Iancu Becomes Marcel Janco," in *Dada East: the Romanians of Cabaret Voltaire* (London: The MIT Press, 2006), 65-79.
[236] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Marius Hentea, *Tata Dada: The Real Life and Celestial Adventures of Tristan Tzara* (London: The MIT Press, 2014), 1-56. Also see Tom Sandqvist, "Samuel Rosenstock Becomes Tristan Tzara," in *Dada East: the Romanians of Cabaret Voltaire* (London: The MIT Press, 2006), 123-140; Marius Hentea, "The Education of Samuel Rosenstock, or, How Tristan Tzara Learned His ABCs," *Dada/Surrealism* 20 no. 1 (2015), 1-22, https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1294.

boulevards, casinos, cafés, and cinemas, where he was going to be staying for the next eight years. There, for the second year of gymnasium, Tzara attended *Schewitz-Thierrin Institute*, a famous preparatory school where he took classes in Romanian, French, German, Latin, religion, history, geography, mathematics, and natural and physical sciences. Also, he was trained in drawing, music, gymnastics, and calligraphy. So, it was a serious institution where one would get 42 hours of education in a week, where everyone would also get training related to the military and hygiene (which was a hot problem at the time). In 1910, Tzara accordingly wrote a final thesis about the importance of hygiene. After a rough year in Dimitrie Cantemir and Sf. Gheorghe, in 1912, at age sixteen, Tzara enrolled in *Mihai Viteazul Lyceum* in Bucharest. In addition to the cited publication of *Simbolul*, Tzara was also going to publish the journal *Chamerae* with Vinea*,* showing up in 1915.



Figure 3.21 The circle of Simbolul in 1912: from left to right, Samuel Rosenstock, unknown, Marcel Iancu, Iuliu Iancu, Poldi Chapier, and Eugen Iovanaki.

Hans Peter Wilhelm/Jean Pierre Guillaume Arp was born into a family of three in 1886 in Strasbourg, which was a part of Germany at that time.[237] Being Alsatian, he was able to speak both French and German. He had loved painting and sculpting since his early childhood. Around the age of fourteen, Arp accordingly enrolled *École des Arts et Métiers* in Strasbourg.

[237] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Jean Arp, "Reflections Of A Sculptor," in *Jean Arp,* ed. Henry Gelzaher (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972); H. Henkels, and F. C. Nagels, "The Beginning of Dadaism: Arp and van Rees in Zürich 1915," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 23 (1972): 373–90, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24705675.

Five years later, in 1905, he went to Weimar to attend two-year course at the *Kunstschule* under Professor Ludwig von Hoffman, where he also found the chance to study French painting thanks to exhibitions by Count von Kessler and Henry Van de Velde. At twenty-two, Arp then went to Paris to attend *Académie Julian* for a year, where he reviewed cubist drawings. As Garb noted, "French art students had long studied the internal structure of the body in their anatomy classes. Studying the human skeleton and drawing the structure of the muscles from famous statues of flayed figures such as Jean Antoine Houdon's *Ecorché* was standard practice."[238] After two years of personal study at home in Weggis, Switzerland, and visits to Paris, in 1910, Arp, contacted some friends from Paris — Wilhelm Gimmi, Walter Helbig, and Oskar Lüthy — to publish *Der Moderne Bund* that came in the following year. He then went to Lucerne to open an exhibition of *Der Modern Bund* exhibiting paintings from Arp, Aimet, Friesz, Gaugin, Gimmi, Helbig, Hodler, Lüthy, Matisse, and Picasso. In 1911, at the age of twenty-five, Arp went to Munich and met Kandinsky who invited him to collaborate in *Der Blaue Reiter*. He was hired by expressionist Robert Delaunay for Herwarth Walden's Sturm Gallery where he organized exhibitions and wrote reviews. In 1912, Arp moved back to Munich for the second exhibition of *Der Blaue Reiter*. At age 26, he went to Zurich to put on the second exhibition of *Der Modern Bund*, then to Berlin to exhibit his works in the *First German Autumn Salon* at Sturm Gallery.

Sophie Henriette Gertrud Taeuber was born into a family of five in 1889 in Davos, Switzerland.[239] She was able to speak French and Swiss German but also tutored in English. Her mother was a proprietor of a large building rented by architects, florists, dressmakers, or paper merchants, and was into a business of linen goods, both hand-crafted and machine-made. Sophie learned to do everything on her own from her mother, who had designed even the very house they dwelled in. So, she experienced a childhood full of arts and crafts. Accordingly, in 1907, she became a student at the Drawing School of the *Industrial and Weaving Museum* at St. Gallen. Next year, Taeuber enrolled in a two-year program at the *School of Applied* Arts of St. Gallen. In 1910, she moved to Munich and enrolled in the *Teaching and Research Studio for Applied and Fine Arts* — an experimental textile workshop of Wilhelm von Debschitz and Hermann Obrist — in the city's bohemian quarter. The school was aiming to integrate traditional craft with industrial mass production (forerunning the reorganization of the School

[238] Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 62.
[239] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Roswitha Mair, *Sophie Taeuber-Arp and the Avant-Garde: A Biography*, trans. Damion Searls (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 1-36; Jill Fell, "Zurich Dada Dance Performance and the Role of Sophie Taeuber," in *Dada and Beyond, Volume 2: Dada and Its Legacies,* eds. Elza Adamowicz and Eric Robertson (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2012), 17-22; Riese Hubert, "Zurich Dada and Its Artist Couples," 527-535. See also Naima Prevots, "Zurich Dada and Dance: Formative Ferment," *Dance Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1985): 3–8, https://doi.org/10.2307/1478215.

of Arts and Crafts by Henry van de Velde and the establishment of Bauhaus) and was defending the importance of athletics and leisure within a creative process. Accordingly, in addition to studying famous movements of the time such as *Judengstil, Nabis,* or *Japonism*, students would hike, sail, play tennis, ski, or else put on festivals and theatrical performances, balls, and public readings where nearby artists — such as Stefan George, Karl Wolfskehl, Clara Rilke-Westhoff, Wassily Kandinsky, or Gabriele Münter — would be invited to. In 1912 when she was twenty-three, Taeuber visited the School of Applied Arts in Hamburg for a year. There, along with contemporary popular discussions about art, Taeuber studied folk arts. In 1913, Laban, a friend of Obrist, founded a dance school in Munich where Isadora Duncan, Clotilde von Derp, and Alexander Sakharoff had already been present, while Taeuber was observing their work. Besides, this was the interval during which Arp, Ball, Hennings, or Huelsenbeck co-lived in the city whether aware of each other or not.



Figure 3.22 Hans Arp in Weggis, 1911; Sophie Taeuber in Munich, 1914.

Carl Wilhelm Richard Huelsenbeck was born in 1892 and raised in Dortmund, Germany.[240] He was a member of a family of four. The father of Richard was a chemist. His maternal grandfather had Richard love poetry at a young age. After having a primary education, at age fifteen, Huelsenbeck enrolled in a Gymnasium in Burgsteinfurt, where he found the chance to write his first poems. In 1911 when he was nineteen years old, his father wanted Huelsenbeck to work in civil service, thus study law, even though he was interested in literature and art history. He, therefore, managed to go to Munich to study with Heinrich Wölffin and Arthur

[240] For a much more detailed biographical material, see Hans J. Kleinschmidt, "The New Man—Armed with the Weapons of Doubt and Defiance: Introduction," in Richard Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, ed. Hans Kleinschmidt. trans. Joachim Neugroschel (1974; reis., Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1996), xv-xix.

Kutscher, two of the most famous art historians of the time while the latter was also close to Wedekind and would hang out in *Café Simplicissimus.* This was the time when Huelsenbeck also met Hugo Ball, who was also close to Franz Marc and Paul Klee. Between 1912-3, at the age of twenty, Richard Huelsenbeck went to Paris to study philosophy but also wrote in *Die Revolution* as a Paris reporter in collaboration with Ball and Leybolds. At age twenty-two, just before the war, he went to Berlin to study literature and published writings in *Die Aktion*. Perhaps war changed his mind as Huelsenbeck decided to study medicine for a living. Nevertheless, while taking classes in anatomy, physiology, histology, and chemistry, he kept writing poems for *Die Aktion*.

Johannes Siegfried Hans Richter was born into a wealthy family of eight in 1888 in Berlin, Germany.[241] His father was a real estate speculator, farmer, and furniture maker while art was cared for a lot in the family. In 1902, at fourteen, Richter enrolled in a boarding school in Seesen where he made his first drawings. Two years later, he visited a pastel drawing exhibition of Manet in Berlin that impressed him a lot. In 1906, Richter graduated from *Falk-Real-Gymnasium* of Berlin. He wanted to become a painter, even though his father had him choose architecture. At age 20, in 1908, Richter completed his apprenticeship in carpentry and then was allowed to enroll at *the Academy of Art* where he took classes for a year. Richter then moved to Weimar to attend *the Academy of Art*. At that time, he was studying paintings from the *Old Masters Exhibition* in the National Gallery as well as the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of which results were going to return as a source of income in the following years. Between 1910-11, Richter was commissioned by a publisher to illustrate Decameron he would be ruining later. Then, just like Arp, he attended *Academie Julian* in Paris, where he also worked with Emil Szittya on a publication dubbed *Les Hommes Nouveaux/Neue Menschen* that also included his poems. In 1912, Richter returned to Berlin where he saw the Secession Exhibition as well as Cezanne's painting *Les Grandes Baigneuses*. This was the time when he started working on political themes as well as moving towards abstraction. Richter was up to contemporary painting: around 1913, he was close to *Der Sturm* in Berlin, *Die Brücke* in Dresden, and *Der Blaue Reiter* in Münich. At that time, he also met Marinetti and distributed the Futurist Manifesto in Germany. The next year, in 1914, Richter was close to expressionist artists assembled around *Die Aktion* where he published his sketches of artists. Now, one can address how World War I challenged all these lives.

[241] Marion von Hofacker, "Chronology," in *Hans Richter: Activism, Modernism, and the Avant-Garde*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (London: The MIT Press, 1998), 240-8.

3.4. Violent conflicts between 1870-1914, the Great War, and wartime conditions

None of the mentioned changes remained without reaction. By the turn of the century, owing to the expansion in the exchange of ideas as well as in education, more people wanted to be politically represented.[242] And yet, determining the very identity people wanted to be largely represented by has brought endless struggles. Blanning observed:

> Industrialization, imperialism, the growth of cities, the decline of the countryside, the power of money and the power of machines, the clenched fist of the working class, the red flag of Socialism, the wane of the aristocracy, all these forces and factors were churning like the bowels of a volcano about to erupt.[243]

Because of their complex backgrounds, none of these struggles can be easily cited here.[244] What matters from the lookout of this study are the implemented approaches of self-justification and confronting others. In the first place, many pressure groups of the time justified their actions by reasoning that they, in contrast with the cluster they contradicted, did not benefit from the achieved result as much as they suffered to achieve such a result. In other words, the struggle of these movements, their representatives declared, was about setting a fairer world. Interestingly, not only unifying factions of the time but also the discriminator ones followed such an approach. For example, like many of his antisemite fellows, Hermann Ahlwardt asserted "wherever there are opportunities to make money, the Jews have established themselves, but not in order to work — no, they let others work for them and take what the others have produced by their labor."[245] In the second place, many action groups of the time eventually remained unsatisfied with the progress achieved through give-and-takes conducted in words. In other words, they couldn't help but implement violence to defend their points or draw attention.[246]At that time, for example, not only anarchist groups but also feminist ones were taking actions of terror.[247] Emmeline Pankhurst had to declare "only justification for violence, the only justification for damage to property, the only justification for risk to the

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[242] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Age of the Masses" in chap. 7; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 313.
[243] Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 117-8; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 22; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 230.
[244] For the idea of revolution manifesting itself on the period, see Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 16-36; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, 597-608; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 506-7; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 159-160; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 175. For women groups, see Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 256. For Irish question, see Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 132.
[245] Hermann Ahlwardt, "The Semitic Versus the Teutonic Race," in *Sources of European History Since 1900,* eds. Marvin Perry, Matthew Berg, and James Krukones (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011), 28.
27. For a brief explanation of antisemitism, see Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 219-24; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 140-6; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 164-7.
[246] For a brief explanation of the declining violence in political movements, see. Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 36.
[247] Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 174.

comfort of other human beings is the fact that you have tried all other available means and have failed to secure justice."[248]



Figure 3.23 The arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst outside Buckingham Palace, 1914.

Even the Great War can be seen as an upshot of an international escalation that couldn't be prevented through words, namely diplomacy. As Sperber noted, the escalation perhaps had started with the Moroccan Crisis of 1905, then respectively followed the Young Turk Revolution, the second Moroccan Crisis of 1911, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.[249] All these sad battles enkindled many debates about the fate of nations under multinational empires. The well-known peak point was going to be the moment when a Serbian separatist assassinated the heir of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[250] While the empire had been backed up by Germany, the Serbian separation had been supported by Russia, which was close to France. England was intermediating but also highly suspicious of Germany that — like many other delayed but strong rivals in the competition of colonization, industrialization, and culture — had been alarming.[251] For sure, the colonial/imperial project had already been in question owing to another series of struggles — Boxer Rebellion, Boer Wars, or Russo-Japanese War — that also caused people to see the effectiveness, if not the horror, of the latest warfare technology

[248] Emmeline Pankhurst, "Why We Are Militant," in *Sources of European History Since 1900,* eds. Marvin Perry, Matthew Berg, and James Krukones (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011), 12-3.
[249] Sperber, *Europe 1850–1914,* 219-24.
[250] Sperber, 219-24.
[251] Sperber, 219-24; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,"*The Second Industrial Revolution" in chap. 4; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 54-58.

at the time, which also had many defenders of imperialism to feel obliged to prove their project through a novel accumulation of wealth owing to novel resources like petroleum.[252] The justification of violence, especially in the international domain, was also related to misinterpretation of the Nietzschean and Darwinian ideas, which had many people consider that their race was superior to others. Cecil Rhodes, for instance, chronicled "we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race."[253] Ultimately, even though there had been many clusters opposing larger battles just as socialist or religious groups, in the company of militarist desires, "yellow" press, unhurried reason of the leaders, and steadfast jolly folly of followers, the great powers of Europe started to march upon each other.[254] Austria-Hungary declared to march over Serbia; Russia mobilized its armies to the place; Germany then declared war against Russia and marched to France over Belgium; the United Kingdom declared war against Germany on account of Belgium. The Great War has started.

Imagining an overall revitalization in society, many artists of the time supported the Great War, at least until the war exposed its dark side.[255] Likewise, although disgusted by the war, most of the Dadaists were not pacificists, as Buelens noted "their own rhetoric and iconography were to a very large extent drenched in violence and aggression."[256] When the war came, Ball volunteered three times but got rejected due to his health issues. He accordingly made a private journey to the front, which eventually had him protest the war. Huelsenbeck volunteered in military service and was trained for an artillery unit. Luckily, he did not experience the front, as he was released from service owing to nerve pain. Unlike many male expressionist artists of the time, Hennings was pacificist from the beginning. She was even imprisoned for forging passports on behalf of draft evaders. In 1915 when the context became harsher regarding nationalism, Ball and Hennings decided to leave Berlin for Zurich. In the summer of 1914, both Janco and Tzara were high school graduates about to enroll in a university. For a Romanian Jewish child at the time, the typical successful path was going to

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[252] Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 158; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 170-3; Blanning, *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 235-7; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 41; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 63-4; Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 277-89; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "Building The New Jerusalem" in chap. 4; For Belgian crisis, see Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 170-173; Evans, *The Pursuit of* Power, "'The White Man's Burden'" in chap. 8.
[253] Cecil Rhodes, "The Superior Anglo-Saxon Race," in *Sources of European History Since 1900,* eds. Marvin Perry, Matthew Berg, and James Krukones (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011), 20-1.
[254] Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 178-184; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes, 64*-70; Richards and Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe,* 10; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes, 53*-9; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "'The Great War We All Hope For'" in chap. 8; For the characteristics of the great powers before the war, see Richards and Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe,* 13-27; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 30; Evans, *The Pursuit of Power*, "The Workshop Of The World," in chap. 4.
[255] Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada," 23.
[256] Buelens, "Reciting Shells," 295.

Paris. Feeling that Romania was about to enter the war, Janco nevertheless went to Zurich to study chemistry, soon to be replaced with architecture. This was followed by Tzara in the autumn of 1915. Days before the cabaret were boring: they would hang around in the city, cafés, and friends.[257] When the war came, Arp went to Paris with one of the last trains departing from Cologne. He lived in Montmartre and met important artists of the time like Apollinaire, Cravan, Jacob, Picasso, and Modigliani. Nevertheless, he was arrested by French officials and directed to leave France. Arp then headed out to Switzerland where he was sent to German officials. There, he managed to skip the duty by acting insane. He then moved near Romanian artist Arthur Segal living in Ascona. There, just as "renaissance painters," Arp collaborated with Otto van Rees for a wall painting of a children's school, run by Han Corray, one of the main supporters of Dada in the following years.[258] In 1915, Arp announced an exhibition in Galerie Tanner with Van Reeses. There, Arp also met Taeuber along with Tzara and Janco. As a newly graduated designer, Taeuber was traveling around northern Europe just before the war. She then decided to settle near her sister in Zurich and work as a painter and carpet designer. When she got economically comfortable, she contacted Laban, who was offering dance classes in Zurich. In the school of Laban, Taeuber explored how to create and maintain bodily forms in a dance, how to move with or without a surrounding group, or how to improvise. Among the Dadaists this study focuses on, Richter was the only member who directly experienced the front. When the war started, he immediately was taken for the army. In a farewell party organized by Hardekopf and Ehrenstein, Richter and the organizers promised each other to meet in Zurich after two years. In the following few months, Richter was fighting in light artillery. Just like his two brothers, Richter was wounded and sent to Berlin for treatment. In 1915, his two drawings appeared on *Die Aktion.* After eighteen months of service, in 1916, Richter was discharged from duty, which was announced in *Die Aktion* with a special issue. This was followed by an important exhibition of him in *Galerie Neue Kunst* in Munich. In August, Richter married Elisabeth Steinert, the nurse who looked after him in the military hospital, which was also a common incident among war veterans. Be it related to the honeymoon, ensuing treatment, or the mentioned rendezvous; Richter managed to visit Zurich in the summer of 1916. As luck would have it, in Café de la Terrasse, Richter was able to meet not only Hardekopf and Ehrenstein but also Tzara and Janco, who were sitting next to them.[259]

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[257] Hentea, *Tata Dada,* 59.
[258] Esther Tisa Francini, "'Hot spot of international energies' The network of Dada artists, dealers, and collectors of African art," in *Dada Africa: Dialogue with the Other,* eds. Ralf Burmeister, Michaela Oberhofer, and Esther Tisa Francini (Chicago: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2016), 93.
[259] Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art.* trans. David Britt (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1997), 27.



Figure 3.24 A Medieval war with modern means; Old and new combat in World War I

Scholars have characterized the Great War as a "total war" where states wrestled not only on the battlefield but also in the homeland.[260] In other words, a state was powerful in the war as much as it was able to support the frontline with its internal institutions — from business to household. This primarily manifested itself in the reorganization of scientific knowledge vis-à-vis the wartime requirements: many specialists collaborated on reformulating the human body vis-à-vis fatigue, nutrition, or ergonomics, and maturing special plans, techniques, and garments to support the body of a soldier in extreme conditions. Besides, they not only modernized conventional weapons like bayonets, sidearms, rifles, or mortars but also developed new ones like grenades, machine guns, flamethrowers, or poisonous gas machines. Unfortunately, the fatal mistakes made on the battlefield were going to be the very feedback developing all these gadgets: leaders were going to severely understand that the colorful outfits and vertical postures used in the prior wars would not be able to perform well anymore against novel machine guns. And yet, all these could not be done without the necessary resources and workforce, i.e., the reorganization of civil life concerning the wartime conditions. Accordingly, in addition to being responsible for raising the morale of soldiers per the propaganda run by the state, civilians — women, elderly, and children — were going to apply firm diets: it was hard to find local goods like fish, potato, or fresh crops while sugar, milk, butter, jam, cereal, cheese, eggs, bacon, meat, lard, or canned goods were going to be rationed. As men had to fight, women also speedily started to work in jobs running all previously mentioned institutions just as laboratory assistants, battlefield nurses, manual laborers, car drivers, office secretaries, accountants or any other white-collar job formerly associated with men. Even though many pressure groups lost their strength over the state during the war, this

[260] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, "Combat," in *A Companion to World War I*, ed. John Horne, trans. Heather Jones (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 174; Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 295; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 308; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 897-901; Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 189-91; Richards and Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe,* 41-62; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes, 75-76;* Jarausch, *90*-100; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, 259-70.

employ, positively, was going to be the very power that forced leaders to acknowledge the rights of women and workers. Nevertheless, no matter how much to be prepared, the very environment — cold, rain, mud, snow, pests, and mice— was going to challenge the infantry from the very beginning.



Figure 3.25 Some animals used in the war.



Figure 3.26 Garments of French Infantrymen by 1914 and 1916 (Verdun).



Figure 3.27 Increasing number of woman workers during the war.



Figure 3.28 German infantry advances across open terrain; French cycle-mounted troops rush to help Belgium.



Figure 3.29 Entities stuck in the mud.

If the home was redesigned as a battlefield, the battlefield was reshaped as a home. The land, for example, was bordered, piled up, and dug out to create a trench system not only protecting the army from attacks but also consolidating it. Embracing different elements — like artillery platform, information ditch, staging area, or observation post — such a system typically consisted of two parallel lines connected with minor ones, which would be protected by sandbags, steel wires, and heavy artillery. The spare time of the soldiers was decisive in deciding whether the trench system was going to be articulated well or not: the more time soldiers had, the better they set up the trench, their new home. Among the soldiers attacking, only half were able to pass the trenches to fight with the enemy hand-to-hand. It is impossible to recap the experience of soldiers during an attack:

> For most soldiers, fighting in the First World War was anything but heroic. On October 29, 1914, Sergeant I. F. Bell of the Gordon Highlanders was admiring his “almost perfect trench” near the Belgian town of Ypres “when all hell seemed let loose.” Suddenly the great guns roared and made the earth heave, ears ring, and eyes tear. Then “Germans sprang from everywhere and attacked us,” throwing hand grenades, ducking into craters, cutting through barbed wire, tiptoeing through minefields, and ignoring dying comrades. Terrorized defenders crouched behind sandbags, countering with rifle and machine-gun fire until their barrels glowed, but were forced to fall back. In a ritual repeated a thousand times, a British officer rallied his troops, ordering them to “retake the trench” with bayonets in hand-to-hand combat. Then Bell felt a “dull thud,” tumbled head over heels, and “discovered that [his] right foot was missing.” The dead piled up three deep, but hardly any ground was

gained. Eventually stillness returned and corpses rotted in the mud, emitting a nauseating stench. The "stark hellishness" of the scene was indescribable.[261]

Owing to the very trench system setting a strong defense, days were boringly long. So, forming the trench was not the only leisure time activity of the soldiers: other than cooking, sleeping, getting prepared, and fighting, soldiers would play cards, smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, and visit the adjacent brothels if there were any. Along with rewards like chocolate or jam, a meal of a soldier would consist of a dry biscuit, bread, bean, pork fat, bully beef, soup, tea, wine, rum, or brandy. In sum, the war was not only challenging senses of seeing or hearing but also of taste, touch, and smell, be it of mold, sandbags, motionless water, wet woolen clothes, gunpowder, chemical gasses, toiles, cleaning chemicals, blood, trench, foot, or unwashed/decomposing body.[262]

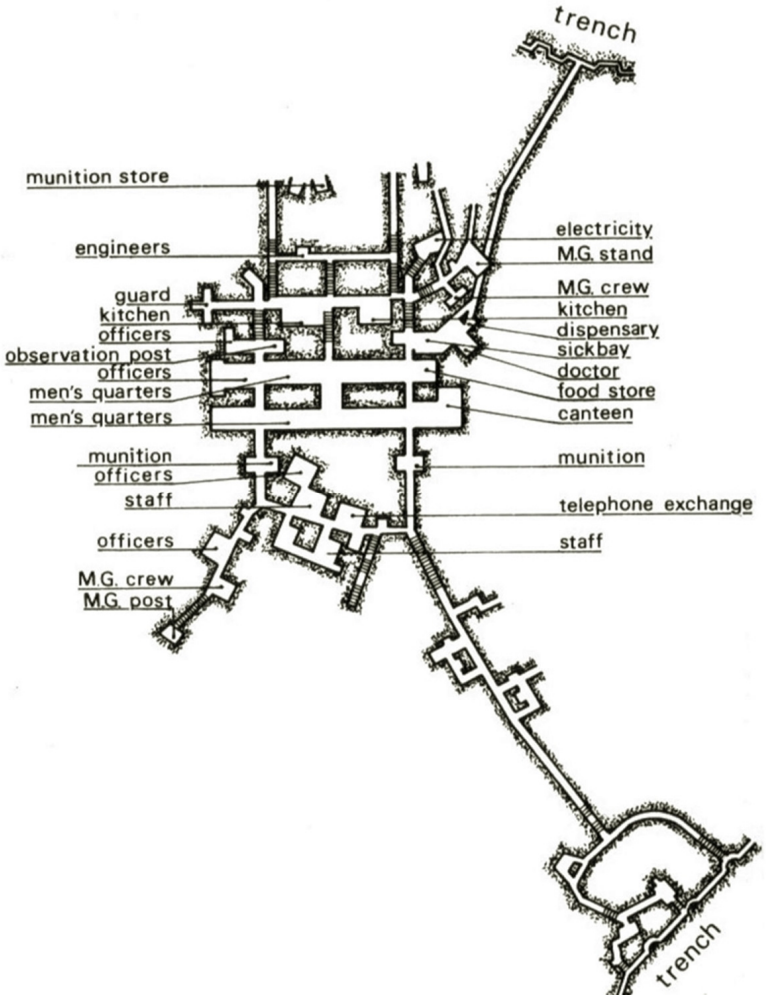


Figure 3.30 Plan of the dugout complex constructed by the 126th Infantry Regiment

[261] Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 74-86; Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe,* 892-918; Richards and Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe,* 46-49.
[262] With its defenders and opposers, the violence has a long history. See Corbin, "Bedenin Acıları, Sıkıntıları ve Sefaleti," 277-292.



Figure 3.31 German troops immediately before the attack; A British soldier inside a trench



Figure 3.32 Moments of spare time in the war.



Figure 3.33 Objects of spare time activities: a diary, a cigarette, or a tiny set of playing cards.



Figure 3.34 George Grosz, *Battlefield with Dead Soldiers*, 1915; Felix Vallotton, *Barbed Wire*, 1916.



Figure 3.35 Félix Vallotton, *Verdun*, 1917; Giro Severini, *Cannon in Action*, 1915.

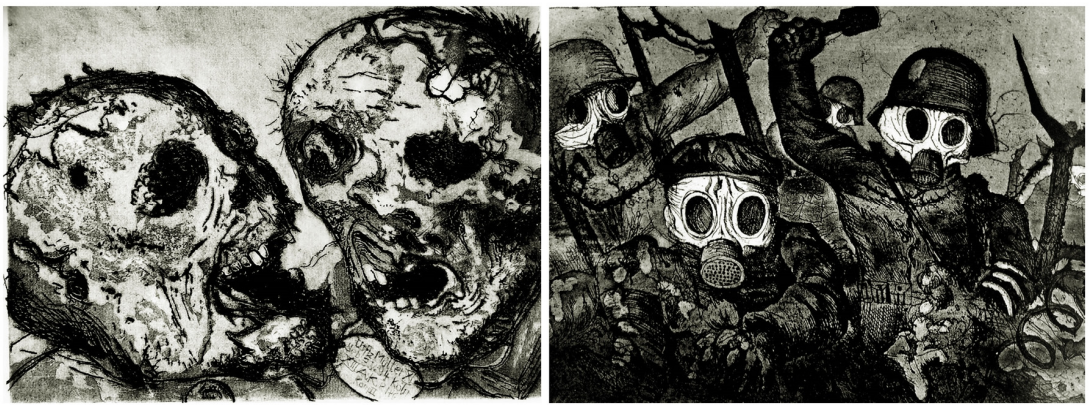


Figure 3.36 Otto Dix, *Dead Men before the Position near Tahure*, 1924; Dix, *Storm Troops Advancing under a Gas Attack*, 1924.

Against all that happened, it's hard to understand whether living was easier than death. From the lookout of this study, a few occasions after the war might be interesting to underline. In a recent study about internment conditions in Switzerland, Susan Barton fruitfully illustrated the context that facilitated the emergence of Dada. First, many Swiss officials at the time had people festively decorate cities to salute the arriving interned groups and to establish a feeling of safety. Citizens, for example, would gift interned soldiers packages of "garments, soap, games, writing materials, picture postcards, cigars, tobacco, chocolate, fruit and cash."[263] For sure, the conditions of Switzerland went bad throughout the war: in time, the government started to ration vital goods like bread, fat, or coal.[264] Another interesting point is about the segregation and integration while treating soldiers: they would be grouped not only concerning their nations and military ranks — which cannot be separated from familial background — but also their diseases.[265] So, the very physical body brought different social corpora together.

[263] Susan Barton, *Internment in Switzerland during the First World War* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 45-65; 166-69.
[264] Barton, *Internment in Switzerland during the First World,* 68.
[265] Barton, 45-48; Barton, 64; Barton, 72-75.

And within medical treatment, as Marjorie Gehrhardt recently stressed, a brand-new type of artist has emerged: an artist who collaborates with doctors to unite disintegrated bodies. Emphasizing the uniqueness of the incident, Gehrhardt also maintained "historical documentation focuses on the work of surgeons with no mention of sculptures, photographers or artists contribution to the reconstructions of wounded faces."[266]



Figure 3.37 A field hospital of the Allies; Stanley Spencer, *Travoys arriving with Wounded at a Dressing-Station at Smol, Macedonia,* 1916.

Perhaps a final remark from the lookout of this study could be about the ways of bringing injured soldiers to life. As Barton has also shown, because of the long daytime and the trauma they had, many interned soldiers couldn't help but appear in the environments of "low" entertainment as consumers, even though it was very hard for them to mix with people (and more specifically with women).[267] Aware of the danger while integrating such fragile soldiers back — either to life or to service — governments consequently promoted both agonist and personal sports, practical and theoretical education, practices of religion, or arts and crafts.[268] Even though this has not totally prevented soldiers from being present in the environments states had not liked very much, it at least had soldiers feel like active agents again. And interestingly almost every cluster of these soldiers was also sharing their ideas through local newspapers.[269] If abstract questions have been asked in the first chapter and how complex the answers could be was shown in the second, one should also highlight a path enabling one to bounce over the difficulties. While getting closer to the case of Zurich Dada, the next chapter will address some methodological concerns by focusing on the artifacts that remained from avant-gardes.

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[266] Marjorie Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces*: *Gueules Cassées of the First World War* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 203.
[267] Barton, *Internment in Switzerland during the First World War,* 79-110; Barton, 159.
[268] Barton, 113-173.
[269] Barton, 157-158.

Table 3.5 Estimated Casualties of the World War 1

Country	Total killed or died	Total mobilized	Pre-war male pop. 15–49	Total pre-war population	*Total Killed* per 1,000 mobilized	*Total Killed* per 1,000 males 15–49	*Total Killed* per 1,000 people
	(in thousands)						
Britain & Ireland	723	6,147	11,540	45,221	118	63	16
Canada	61	629	2,320	8,100	97	26	8
Australia	60	413	1,370	4,900	145	44	12
New Zealand	16	129	320	1,100	124	50	15
South Africa	7	136	1,700	6,300	51	4	1
India	54	953	82,600	321,800	57	1	0
France	1,327	7,891	9,981	39,600	168	133	34
French colonies	71	449	13,200	52,700	158	5	1
Belgium	38	365	1,924	7,600	104	20	5
Italy	578	5,615	7,767	35,900	103	75	16
Portugal	7	100	1,315	6,100	70	5	1
Greece	26	353	1,235	4,900	73	21	5
Serbia	278	750	1,225	4,900	371	227	57
Rumania	250	1,000	1,900	7,600	250	132	33
Russia	1,811	15,798	40,080	167,000	115	45	11
United States	114	4,273	25,541	98,800	27	4	1
Allied Total	5,421	45,001	204,018	812,521	120	27	7
Germany	2,037	13,200	16,316	67,800	154	125	30
Austria-Hungary	1,100	9,000	12,176	58,600	122	90	19
Turkey	804	2,998	5,425	21,700	268	148	37
Bulgaria	88	400	1,100	4,700	220	80	19
Central Powers' Total	4,029	25,598	35,017	152,800	157	115	26
Grand Total	9,450	70,599	239,035	965,321	134	40	10



Figure 3.38 Horace Nicholls, *Reconstructive Plastic Surgery During the First World War.*



Figure 3.39 Horace Nicholls, *Repairing War's Ravages: Renovating Facial Injuries*



Figure 3.40 An amputee at L'Hopital du Grand-Palais attaches a tool to his prosthetic device, 1919; Jean Larrivé, Statues showing functional forearm and hand protheses, 1914; Paul Suján, Poster for the State War Welfare Exhibition in Poszony, 1917.



Figure 3.41 Otto Dix, *Prostitute and War Wounded (Two faces of Capitalism)*, 1923; Dix, *War Cripples*, 1920.



Figure 3.42 Raoul Hausmann, *Mechanic Head*, 1919; Bercher and Ginestet Maxillofacial Helmet, a fixator settling mandible fractures without a surgery.

CHAPTER 4

EMBODYING ZURICH DADA

> In dance as in painting we are on the threshold of the art of the future. The same rules must be applied in both cases. Conventional beauty must go by the board and the literary element of "story-telling" or "anecdote" must be abandoned as useless. Both arts must learn from music that every harmony and every discord which springs from the inner spirit is beautiful, but that it is essential that they should spring from the inner spirit and from that alone.
>
> Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944)[270]

> The new theater will use masks and stilts again. It will recall archetypes and use megaphones. Sun and moon will run across the stage and proclaim their sublime wisdom.
>
> Hugo Ball (1886-1927)[271]



Figure 4.1 Serge Sudeikin, *Cabaret*, 1915

First, one reads literary thoughts to create new heavens. Next, one sees "a slum atmosphere of the music-hall performers, the singers, the magicians, fire-eaters, and others."[272] Finally, one hears screams of injured people "lying around all over the place, with arms and legs ripped off

[270] Wassily Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, trans. Michael Sadleir (London, UK: Chiswick Press, 1914), 100.
[271] Ball, *Flight Out of Time*, 7.
[272] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 5-6.

and stomachs split open."[273] Without a doubt, the people of La Belle Époque felt a dense blend of emotions when the Great War came to shred modernization's harvest of individuals, institutions, goods, and ideas. Staying neutral within the context of the Great War, Switzerland greeted many exiles who did not take part in the war. In April 1915, nine months after the Great War had begun, one of these exiles, Hugo Ball, wrote in his diary "who wants to act now, or even see acting?"[274] In January 1916, after another nine months and a couple of suicide attempts, however, he could not help but be on the way to realizing his "new theatre." How can one recite the well-known story of Dada's spread from Cabaret Voltaire?

Dadaists were corporeal beings. Besides their "vanguard" ideas, they rushed and washed, laughed and cried, starved and dined. And all these deeds inhabited a specific place and time. So, with the relationship between bodies and environments in mind, one still may discover novel aspects about Dada. This chapter, accordingly, starts with a review of two ideas paving the way for the birth of Dada: *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the cabaret culture of early twentieth-century Europe. Then, in light of the discussion brought in the first chapter of this study and several concepts that problematized corporeality by Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, Norbert Elias, Michelle Foucault, Erving Goffman, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the chapter examines several incidents that happened in Cabaret Voltaire, Zunfthaus Zur Waag, Gallery Dada, and other locales of Zurich.

4.1. Birth of Dada, its foundations, and Cabaret Voltaire

The journal *Cabaret Voltaire* welcomed its readers by illuminating the cabaret's start:

> I went to Herr Ephraim, the owner of the "Meierei" and said: "Herr Ephraim, please give me your room. I would like to start a cabaret." Herr Ephraim agreed and gave me the room. And I went to some people I knew and asked "Please give a picture, a drawing, an engraving. I would like to put on an exhibition in my cabaret."[275]

When Dada scholars concentrate on Zurich, they tend to elucidate the emergence of Cabaret Voltaire and artworks inside with "Ball's keen interest in the idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk — the total work of art that would integrate various media into a multisensory whole," which was an outcome of Ball's pre-war collaboration with Kandinsky, who defended the idea for the

[273] A letter Huelsenbeck got from the fiancé of his sister, quoted in Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 6.
[274] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 16.
[275] Hugo Ball, "Introduction," in *Cabaret Voltaire,* ed. Hugo Ball (Zurich: Julius Heuberger, 1916), 5 translated in Debbie Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," in *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism,* ed. David Hopkins (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 21.

sake of getting a bodily reaction from audience than an intellectual one.[276] Even so, as Annabelle Melzer observed, Kandinsky was also opposing the idea's practical application by Wagner at the time for "never really aiming at a true fusion: at times making the music prominent, at times the text, and never even considering color and pictorial form."[277] Accordingly, Kandinsky was searching for ways of *fusing* three elements of theatre: musical movement, pictorial movement, and physical movement, all of which had to be *abstract*.[278]

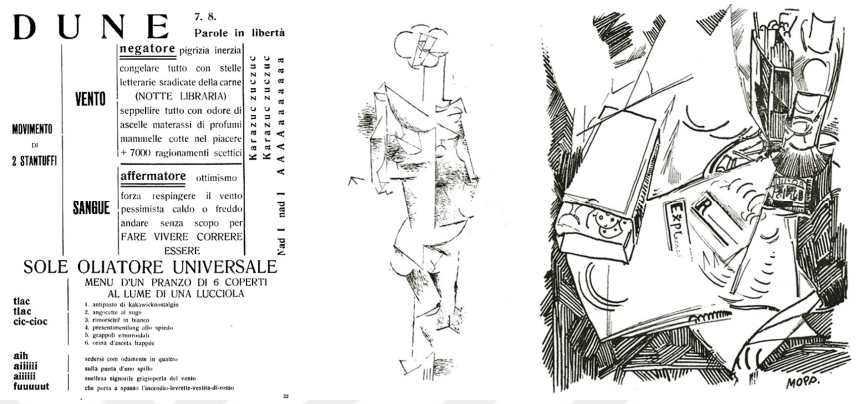


Figure 4.2 Some drawings depicted in the journal *Cabaret Voltaire*: Filippo Marinetti, *Dune (Parole in libertà),* Pablo Picasso, *Dessin*, Oppenheimer, *Zeichnung.*

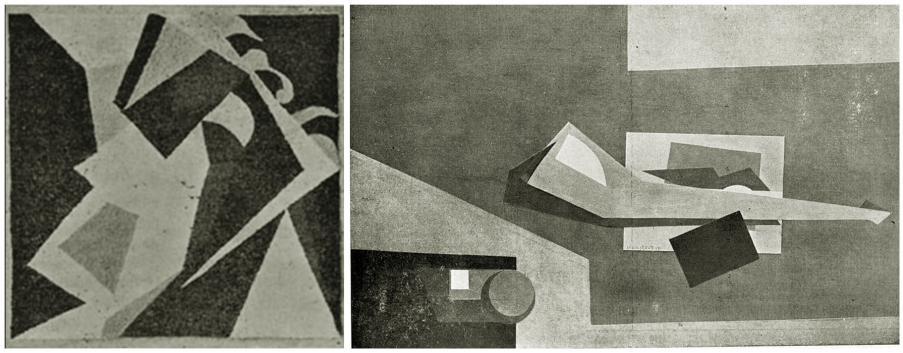


Figure 4.3 Some paintings depicted in the journal *Cabaret Voltaire*: Hans Arp, *Teppich*; Otto Van Rees, *Papierbild.*

Yet, as mentioned in the introduction, a closer look at the samples presented in Cabaret Voltaire exposes that the latest artworks of the time were indeed combined with commercial cabaret pieces poking "fun at politics, literature, human behavior, or anything else that people

[276] Dickerman, "Zurich," 23. David Roberts recaps a canonical discernment of *Gesamtkunstwerk* made by Roger Fornoff as "I. An inter-or multimedial union of different arts in relation to a comprehensive vision of the world and society; II. An implicit or explicit theory of the ideal union of the arts; III. A closed worldview, combining a social-utopian or historical-philosophical or metaphysical-religious image of the whole with a radical critique of existing society and culture; IV. a projection of an aesthetic-social or aesthetic-religious utopia, which looks to the power of art for its expression and as the aesthetic means to a transformation of society." See David Roberts, *The Total Work of Art in European Modernism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 7.
[277] Annabelle Melzer, *Dada and Surrealist Performance* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 17.
[278] Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony,* 101.

will understand."[279] And, such an eclectic combination was going to challenge both categories in a short time and be a defining feature of Dada.[280]

Here, one may wonder why Ball and Hennings needed a cabaret room to realize a total theater rather than, for instance, a theater hall. Economy, perhaps, lies on one side of the answer, since Ball, just like Hennings, "was obviously poor; he could never spend much money, and he lived in very modest rooms."[281] Accordingly, they must have asked permission from Jan Ephraim, the Dutch owner of a wine bar, to use a room with a stage by "arguing that it would be popular with intellectuals and draw a crowd," which hopefully would increase Ephraim's "sales of beer, sausage and rolls."[282] Familiarity, equally, could be on the other side: as mentioned, Hennings had already been performing in cabarets while Ball was playing the piano as well as directing theater pieces.[283] Having met in a *Café Simplicissimus,* a cabaret in Munich famous among Expressionist artists, the couple had already been working together in a traveling group dubbed *Flamenco* just before establishing their "miniature variety show."[284] Besides, the intended audience was already familiar with the venue: the room wanted by Ball and Hennings had already hosted a faction of Swiss poets two years before under the title of *Cabaret Pantagruel*, namely the first literary café of Zurich. This question, nevertheless, also requires a clearer demarcation for cabarets, which will be provided here by Peter Jelavich as:

> a small stage in a relatively small hall, where the audience sat around tables. The intimacy of the setting allowed direct, eye-to-eye contact between performers and spectators. The show consisted of short (five- or ten-minute) numbers from several different genres, usually songs, comic monologues, dialogues and skits, less frequently dances, pantomimes, puppet shows, or even short films. They dealt in a satirical or parodistic manner with topical issues: sex (most of all), commercial fashions, cultural fads, politics (least of all). These numbers were usually presented by professional singers and actors, but often writers, composers, or dancers would perform their own works. The presentations were linked together by a conferencier, a type of emcee who interacted with the audience, made witty remarks about events of the day, and introduced the performers.[285]

For sure, such an ideal image constantly fluctuated in line with the attendants' background: While Parisian cabarets were tavern-like settings encouraging consumption and free

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[279] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 10; Erickson, *Dada: Performance, Poetry, and Art*, 65-6; See also Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 50-7.
[280] Jeanpaul Goergen, "The Big Drum: Boom Boom Boom Boom: The Music of Zurich Dada," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 155; Debbie Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 50; Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," 24; Dickerman, "Zurich," 21.
[281] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 2.
[282] Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, 13; Dickerman, "Zurich" 21.
[283] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 4.
[284] Roy F. Allen, "Zurich Dada, 1916-1919: The Proto-Phase of the Movement," in *Dada/Dimensions*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 6.
[285] Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 2.

movement for the sake of intimacy, German counterparts were theater-like settings separating stage and audience.[286] For Jelavich, cabarets can be seen as successors of variety shows, an outcome of a metropolitan experience, namely the experience of abrupt changes driven by consumerism.[287] Nevertheless, in the wake of Nietzsche's ideas, many artists at the time believed in variety shows' energy to revitalize culture. The final aim for these artists was to infuse "everyday existence" with "aesthetic vitality," achieved by enhancing applied arts with "applied lyrics."[288] For Jelavich, cabarets oscillated between dramatic theater and Nietzschean variety show with a bulky pinch of "antiauthoritarian sarcasm," a German contribution to save entertainment from being an object for consumption. The best example of this mixture, which Jelavich dubs a revolution, was Max Reinhardt's 1901 dated cabaret *Schall and Rauch*. In a context where drama was chiefly drawing on spoken word, Reinhardt believed in the stage's ability to create another reality, and at this juncture, the cabarets — with their gift to use visual, gestural, and musical elements — could revitalize the stage.[289] In other words, cabaret was seen as the exact place to experiment with new media to revitalize the drama of the time. It would not be far-fetched to argue that Hugo Ball had a similar understanding since he was one of Reinhardt's students.[290] So, for Ball and Hennings, whatever the "new theatre" would be, one needed to discover it from the joyful path of a cabaret.[291] Anyhow, Ephraim accepted the offer. On the February 5th, 1916, a few weeks before the Battle of Verdun, the press declared:

> Cabaret Voltaire. Under this name, a group of young artists and writers has been formed whose aim is to create a center for artistic entertainment. The idea of the cabaret will be that guest artists will come and give musical performances and readings at the daily meetings.[292]

The phrase "a center of artistic entertainment" is of note, given that Ball at first imagined the venue as a bistro of artists, "in the [Café] Simplizissimus style, but more artistic and more deliberate."[293] Also, the cabaret was promoted as Künstlerkneipe Voltaire, "not a cabaret exactly but something between a saloon or pub and a student club — a beer joint," as deciphered by Jed Rasula.[294] Dadaists' chronicles are in accord with Peter Jelavich's

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[286] Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, 36-61.
[287] Jelavich, 17-8.
[288] Jelavich, 10-35.
[289] Jelavich, 62-84.
[290] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 9.
[291] Allen, "Zurich Dada, 1916-1919," 27-8.
[292] Ball, *Flight Out of Time*, 50; For Verdun, see Lindemann, *A History of Modern Europe*, 192; Richards and Waibel, *Twentieth-Century Europe,* 51-53; Jarausch, *Out of Ashes,* 84.
[293] Richard W. Sheppard, "Hugo Ball an Rathe Brodnitz: Bisher unveroffentlichte Briefe und Kurzmitteilungen aus den 'Dada'-Jahren," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schiller-Gesellschaft* 16 (1972): 50, quoted in Roy F. Allen, "Zurich Dada, 1916-1919: The Proto-Phase of the Movement," in *Dada/Dimensions*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 6. At that time, terms *bistro* and *cabaret* were used together/interchangeably.
[294] Rasula*, Destruction Was My Beatrice,* 3.

description of cabarets. Janco, for instance, recalls the cabaret as "a small hall with some fifteen or twenty tables and a 100 square feet of stage, the place could hold about 35 to 50 guests."[295] In terms of elegance, nevertheless, Cabaret Voltaire was on the deprived side as Huelsenbeck noted "the furnishings of the cabaret were inconceivably primitive. Emmy, on whose success or failure as a singer the existence of the cabaret hinged, had no dressing room. She would change behind a trestle over which a canvas was stretched with holes as big as your fist."[296] Following Jelavich's discernment of setting and program, one can identify Cabaret Voltaire as a sample of pub-cabarets, of which primary example can be Max Tilke's (1869-1942) 1901 dated *Zum hungrigen Pegasus*, which also "took place in a small back room of an Italian restaurant" while the fifteen tables accommodated sixty to hundred people ranging from artists to financiers that were sometimes invited to perform on stage, creating an atmosphere of "amusement" with "absolute equality" and "indifference."[297] The decoration of The Hungry Pegasus is interesting especially when compared with Cabaret Voltaire, as the walls were also decorated with drawings of Tilke.



Figure 4.4 Society in Simplicissimus; musicians and guests, 1910

[295] Marcel Janco, "Creative Dada," in *Dada: Monograph of a Movement*, ed. Willy Verkauf (New York: George Wittenborn, 1957), 28; Huelsenbeck also described the atmosphere: "Whenever someone opened the door, thick clouds of smoke would come pouring out like the smoke that hovers over fields during the burning of the harvest leavings. A caustic, cindery smell wafted through the corridor. The Zurich students would bring their long pipes with them from the restaurant. This was their way of irritating the bourgeois. They would sit at round tables with their feet up on the boards." See Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 9.
[296] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 10.
[297] Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret,* 86.



Figure 4.5 Max Tilke, *Self-portrait at the opening of "The Hungry Pegasus",* 1902(?)

Even Café Simplicissimus had paintings on the wall. At this juncture, perhaps one can ask whether it is enough to put pictures, drawings, or engravings on the walls to create a total work of art. To be sure, there was a programmatic intersection of different activities in Cabaret Voltaire where embodied agents interacted with space differently. Huelsenbeck, for instance, noted that Ball and Hennings "had transformed [the setting] into a combination [of] artists' club, exhibition hall, pub, and cabaret."[298] Yet, did that intersection of activities manifest itself as a combination by *external* means as Kandinsky's criticism of Wagner implied, or did that intersection manifest itself as a fusion of those pictorial, musical, and physical movements where the entire setting was reorganized *from the beginning?* To what degree one can argue that Cabaret Voltaire, as a distinct entity, formed a *Gesamtkunstwerk*? There are two possibilities to follow. On the one hand, one can assume that Cabaret Voltaire was an intersection of different art practices and can study presented pieces as separate attempts to

[298] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 8-9.

create a total work. Ruth Hemus, for instance, saw Dada dances as separate examples reinforcing a search for a total artwork.[299] On the other hand, one can assume that Ball was very aware of Kandinsky's effort to *revitalize Gesamtkunstwerk* and study Cabaret Voltaire assuming that it was re-organized from tip to toe. The second alternative is still likely, as some reports suggest that the cabaret had a blue ceiling, black walls, and red tables, all designed by Arp.[300] Plus, Ball was conscious of Kandinsky's preoccupation "with the regeneration of society through the union of all artistic mediums and forces."[301] He understood the *Gesamtkunstwerk* proposed by Kandinsky as follows:

> [Kandinsky] envisages a counterpositioning of the individual arts, a symphonic composition in which every art, reduced to its essentials, provides as an elementary form no more than the score for a construction or composition on the stage. Such a composition would allow each individual art its own material mode of operation, and it would create the future monumental work of art [total-work-of-art] from a blend of the refined materials.[302]

Since this study is dealing not only with Dada's emergence but also its development, one can consider those two paths together too. In other words, one can argue that what Dadaists could not achieve in the Cabaret Voltaire was set up in the Gallery Dada, which can provide a point to compare the cabaret and the gallery.



Figure 4.6 Hans Arp and Otto van Rees at work on the mural for the Pestalozzi School, Zurich 1915; The wall at present.

In both cases, one should also study the intersected activities of the cabaret one by one to understand their relationship with embodied agents as well as the built environment, as Ball noted:

> There is a distinct need for a stage for the truly moving passions; a need for an experimental theater above and beyond the scope of routine daily interests. Europe paints, makes music, and writes in a new way. A fusion of all regenerative ideas, not only of art. Only the theater is capable of creating the new society. The

[299] Hemus, "Dada's Dancers," 99.
[300] Mair, *Sophie Taeuber-Arp and the Avant-Garde,* 38; Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," 23.
[301] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 8.
[302] Ball, 233.

> backgrounds, the colors, words, and sounds have only to be taken from the subconscious and animated to engulf everyday routine along with its misery.[303]

Accordingly, the following discussion proposes that Dada's discourse appeared day by day as well as through a daily cycle of rehearsal, reaction, and reproduction. The rehearsal phase speaks for Dadaists' preparation of events and exhibitions; the reaction phase stands for the very performing moments where the prepared pieces met with the audience; and the reproduction phase acts for the discursive activities reinterpreting what has been achieved. Projecting these phases upon the course of a day, the chapter treats mornings as times of reproduction, afternoons as times of rehearsal, and evenings as times of reaction. In other words, the chapter follows a cycle where morning discussions had Dadaists create works in afternoons; these works were evaluated during evenings; and these evaluations summoned new morning discussions. Nevertheless, a study of these phases cannot be done profoundly without an analytical framework helping one to handle corporeality.

Emphasizing that derived thought systems of modern social sciences had separated "mind" from "body," Simon J. Williams and Gillian Bendelow wondered about the ontological status of the body within the social order. Accordingly, they brought two lines of reasoning in sociology with distinctive outlooks on the relationship between organizations and agents: the first saw social actors as the creation of systems; the second saw agents as free beings able to control systems. Reviewing the first line of reasoning from the perspective of corporeality, Williams and Bendelow outlined three interpretations more or less arguing that the human body is a passive entity over against the social order: Michel Foucault's *discursive* body; Norbert Elias' *civilized* body; and Mary Douglas's *symbolic* body. In turn, reviewing the second line of reasoning, the authors brought three interpretations exploring the use of the body in social action: Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*; Erving Goffman's *carnal* intercommunication in everyday life; and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *the bodily being-in-the-world*. Ultimately, Williams and Bendelow emphasized a need to harmonize *representational* and *experientially grounded* understandings of the body to set an "ethics of existence" as well as a base for an embodied discipline — sociology, in their case.[304] As will be shown, these concepts have underlined from different viewpoints that subjects and institutions interrelate with each other through bodies inhabiting spaces. So, the body as a medium can constitute an epistemological field intersecting both communal history and personal experience, which is not so different from echoing Williams and Bendelow's call to harmonize *representational* and *experientially grounded* understandings of the body. The following subchapters will

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[303] Ball, 8.
[304] Simon J. Williams and Gillian Bendelow, *Lived Body: Sociological Themes, Embodied Issues* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 9-24.

briefly recap these interpretations and apply them to phases in the cycle of rehearsal-reaction-reproduction. The description, nevertheless, will not follow the sequence of morning-afternoon-evening, but afternoon-evening-morning to emphasize a cyclic repetition of rehearsal-reaction-reproduction.

4.2. Reconsidering rehearsals concerning ideas of Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu

The cabaret was announced in the newspapers with enthusiasm that did not endure. After a series of evenings, a crisis came out: Herr Ephraim, the landlord, asked protagonists to arrange "better entertainment and draw a larger crowd or else shut down the cabaret."[305] Dadaists, having a Nietzschean vitality, turned that crisis into a fortune by ever-increasing the quality of the entertainment: Ball noted how trying to be entertaining pushed them "in an exciting and instructive way to be incessantly lively, new, and naïve" by adding that "it is a race with the expectations of the audience, and this race calls on all our forces of invention and debate."[306] An examination from a corporeal side of the existing photographs taken in Zurich performances and of artworks created in the following years recalls Craig's call for using large puppets instead of actor bodies. This wouldn't be unfamiliar as Hennings and Sophie Taeuber were already into crafting puppets or performing with costumes.[307] A close look at diaries reveals that Dada's *innovations* did not appear in performances but in rehearsals, when bodily practice constantly encountered collective contemplation.



Figure 4.7 Marcel Janco, *At the Cabaret Voltaire*, 1916.

[305] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 17.
[306] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 54.
[307] Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada," 35-42; On the relationship between religious women and puppets, see Corbin, "Dinin Etkisi," 94-99.



Figure 4.8 Emmy Hennings with one of the puppets she crafted(and probably performed with); Hennings' puppets depicted in the journal *Cabaret Voltaire*

While examining the role of the cabaret within such a creative process, the first moment when Dadaists used "cubist" masks, which scholars characterize as a distinguishing mark for Dada performances, could be valuable:

> Janco has made a number of [presumably blood-red][308] masks for the new soirée, and they are more than just clever. They are reminiscent of the Japanese or ancient Greek theater, yet they are wholly modern. They were designed to be effective from a distance; in the relatively small space of the cabaret they have a sensational effect. We were all there when Janco arrived with his masks, and everyone immediately put one on. Then something strange happened. Not only did the mask immediately call for a costume; it also demanded a quite definite, passionate gesture, bordering on madness. Although we could not have imagined it five minutes earlier, we were walking around with the most bizarre movements, festooned and draped with impossible objects, each one of us trying to outdo the other in inventiveness. The motive power of these masks was irresistibly conveyed to us. All at once we realized the significance of such a mask for mime and for the theater. The masks simply demanded that their wearers start to move in a tragic-absurd dance.
>
> Then we looked more closely at the masks; they were made of cardboard and were painted and glued. Their varied individuality inspired us to invent dances, and for each of them I composed a short piece of music on the spot. We called one dance "Fliegcnfangen" [Flycatching]. The only things suitable for this mask were clumsy, fumbling steps and some quick snatches and wide swings of the arms, accompanied by nervous, shrill music. We called the second dance "Cauchemar"

[308] Arp said "I haven't forgotten the masks you used to make for our Dada demonstrations. They were terrifying, most of them daubed with bloody red. Out of cardboard, paper, horsehair, wire and cloth, you made your languorous foetuses, your Lesbian sardines, your ecstatic mice." See Jean Arp, *On My Way: Poetry and Essays, 1912…1947* (New York: Wittenborn Schultz, 1948), 46; Huelsenbeck noted how "Janco had also made a series of extremely beautiful blood-red masks that now adorned the walls of the cabaret." See Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 22.

> [Nightmare]. The dancing figure starts from a crouching position, gets straight up, and moves forward. The mouth of the mask is wide open, the nose is broad and in the wrong place. The performer's arms, menacingly raised, arc elongated by special tubes. The third dance we called "Fcstliche Vcrzwciflung" [Festive Despair]. Long, cutout, golden hands on the curved arms. The figure turns a few times to the left and to the right, then slowly turns on its axis, and finally collapses abruptly to return slowly to the first movement.[309]

How to elucidate this "strange" innovation? How could masks call for a costume or a gesture? What was the role of the setting within such an association? To study these questions, first, the anecdote can be divided into phases: I. Janco's arrival with masks; II. Masks' call for costumes and gestures; III. Creation of novel dances and figures.



Figure 4.9 A visual argument about the design of the Cabaret Voltaire (afternoon).

To understand the use of bodies in Zurich Dada, Valerie Preston-Dunlop discerned the term *object-body* from *experienced-body* vis-à-vis *the grasp of own-body-as-object* from *the grasp of own-living-body,* which Elza Adamowicz finds useful but undeveloped.[310] With the help of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology as well as Bourdieu's habitus/field reading, this subchapter tries expanding Preston-Dunlop's discernment by bringing spatial awareness into the discussion. On the one hand, masks are object-bodies: having colors, forms, and textures, they denote a set of quasi-gestures for observers.[311] On the other hand, masks are experienced-bodies: as an item of clothing, they regulate the deeds of performers. Here, a mature mask illusion comes into view only if performers turn quasi-gestures promised by masks into more

[309] Ball*, Flight Out of Time,* 64.
[310] Valerie Preston-Dunlop, "Notes on Bodies in Dada," in *Dada, The Coordinates of Cultural Politics*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 171-5; Adamowicz, "Spare Parts," 16.
[311] To set a scope of investigation, I will be drawing merely upon the experience of seeing.

defined gestures through an iterative negotiation between object-body and experienced-body. Accordingly, Joyce Suechun Cheng saw these masks also as toys rather than only sculptures:

> In the case of Zurich Dada and its performing bodies and objects, a historical-anthropological approach would accept that masks and marionettes, some of the most challenging artifacts fabricated by participants of this milieu, can be understood as sculpture *but not only as such*. For instance, the carton masks and body costumes made by Marcel Janco, Hans Arp, and Hugo Ball are plastically formed objects with a specific structure and facture, yet they are also *performance props* that demand to be addressed in relation to problems in avant-garde theater and dance. Similar considerations are applicable to the abstract marionettes designed by Sophie Taeuber-Arp for Carlo Gozzi's fairy-play *King Stag*, which plastically qualify as polychrome sculpture but are better understood functionally as a kind of action toy, reflecting the double vocation of their designer as teacher of applied arts and Dada performer.[312]

In *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty — by examining the unfinished ways where one constantly constructs notions of perception, perceived object, and judgment — argued that one's *perception* ends up in objects.[313] Therefore, talking about a perceiving subject is talking about a perceived environment. Reminding the fact that sensations are simultaneous and double (seeing/being seen, touching/being touched), he also argued that it is one's body that carries *intentionality* linking one to surroundings.[314] In other words, one's body is not an object in the world but the medium of one's communication with these objects and the world. What is more, he argued that the pair of bodily space-external space, namely a perceptual field against the background of the world, produces a practical system for one's understanding of the world.[315] Studying a case where a veteran had lost one of his legs without losing the feeling of it, Merleau-Ponty argued that one is conscious of her body by way of the world: when there is no obstacle, bodies feel nothing, namely remains in *silent moments*; when there are obstacles and embodied agents intend to do something *habitually*, these obstacles remind the agents that they cannot do what they want. Consequently, embodied agency holding earlier experiences faces the limit of "I can" rather than "I think." Following such an interpretation, one can bring separate-looking understandings of exterior space and interior body together: observing a novel bodily action, one can hunt for a spatial change; observing a spatial change, one can search for a new corporal deed.

Following Merleau-Ponty's emphasis on correspondence between the perceiving subject and the perceived world, and focusing on the first phase, it can be argued that Janco's masks owed their *clever, terrifying,* or *wholly modern* effects not only to their relationship with the context

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[312] Cheng, "Cardboard Toys and Dancing Marionettes," 276.
[313] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (1945; reis., New York: Routledge, 2005), 75-83.
[314] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 106-7.
[315] Merleau-Ponty, 115-7.

but also those of Dadaists.Photographs of the artifacts could verify this: when there is a blank sheet behind, one cannot fully grasp a mask's illusion. When there is a background filled with objects and "normal" bodies to compare with, however, it is easier to label them.[316] In other words, by surrounding both masks and observers, the setting can shape the signification process in between. If the cabaret had been larger than the extent that masks' *effective distance* had demanded, or if it had been in the way to conceal each mask's *varied individuality*, would Dadaists realize a *sensational effect* or any other illusion? The answer is likely to be no.



Figure 4.10 Marcel Janco, *Mask*, 1919; Marcel Janco, *Cabaret Voltaire*, 1916.



Figure 4.11 Author near one of the masks by Marcel Janco. Masks were not always so large.

[316] It is especially important in the case of masks as they represent part of bodies. Also, I assume that Marcel Janco has tried to *represent* the atmosphere of the cabaret in his painting. This could also make one to ask several other questions such as whether Janco was aware of the "relatively small space of the cabaret," and designed the masks accordingly or whether the cabaret, especially in rehearsal times, worked like an atelier to craft artifacts used in performances and exhibitions.

If one studies phase II, masks' call for gestures and costumes, in the light of Merleau-Ponty's emphasis on the pair of bodily-external space as well as *double sensation* emphasizing a simultaneity, one can bring two stresses on Preston-Dunlop's discernment of *the grasp of own body-as-object* and *the grasp of own-living-body*: Embodied agents do not understand themselves either as objects or as life-forms without a background of the world and the separation between object-body and experienced-body is of use as long as these experiences remain attached/double. In other words, the grasp of object-body-*in-world* and the grasp of experienced-body-*in-world* appear *concurrently*. Since one is aware of what she perceives and the possible ways in which she is perceived during an action within a setting, and since this double awareness changes meaning according to one's awareness of the environment, in the end, the very setting can influence one's actions without any direct contact. In other words, the built environment's *aptitude* to alter the meaning of an artifact that affects agents' movement (e.g., masks, clothing, furniture, or anything else) could be enough to vary agents' action programs. If this concurrent awareness is projected into the moment when Dadaists used the masks rather than being content with observing them, it can be argued that Dadaists not only grasped these massive masks' effects from outside, but also imagined the ways themselves would be seen within these masks, and since they were aware that an effort could change such a portrait, their double awareness of object-body/experienced-body resulted in a "call" to enhance masks' illusions with gestures, tricks, and clothing.[317] At this moment, Janco's masks began to animate as atypical creatures.

The international encounter of the Great War let Marcel Mauss realize that people from various backgrounds use their bodies quite differently during an action. He, accordingly, wrote one of his most famous articles, *Techniques of the Body*, which interpreted *body techniques* as *technical, efficient,* and *traditional.* There, Mauss argued:

> These 'habits' do not just vary with individuals and their imitations, they vary especially between societies, educations, proprieties and fashions, prestiges. In them we should see the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason rather than, in the ordinary way, merely the soul and its repetitive faculties.[318]

Recalling Marcel Mauss's such influential but subjective study, Williams and Bendelow emphasized how bodies can be used differently in changing social environments through the term "habitus" both Bourdieu and Mauss used. Accordingly, they argued that individuals adopt social, political, or economic inscriptions through their bodily activities in an

[317] Huelsenbeck noted how Hennings had joyfully presented him "the different costumes that belonged to the different numbers." Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 10.
[318] Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the body," trans. Ben Brewster, *Economy and Society* 2, no. 1 (1973): 73, https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147300000003.

environment.[319] Bourdieu argued "the body is linked to a place by a direct relationship of contact, which is just one way among others of relating to the world. The agent is linked to a space, that of a field, proximity within which is not the same as proximity in physical space."[320] Here, a *field*, for Bourdieu, was the entirety of the associations between people within an environment. And when an agent enters the field, "it has a memory, it will be submitted to forces and will suffer the effects of those forces, among other things; at every moment it will be modified by the forces that it suffers and tries to resist."[321] Bourdieu termed this memory "habitus," namely "the inertia of all the past experience that we have accumulated in our biological bodies."[322] Nevertheless, to understand what an agent can do, he maintained, one has "to know its whole trajectory: where it has come from, how it happened to arrive here, and so on," while "the momentary stimulus is important, but only in so far as it acts on the individual."[323] The whole idea of memory that shows up during physical action remains very interesting especially when one thinks of the efficient machinery of modernization along with Dada's irrational performances.[324]

One cannot expect these newborn "tragic-absurd" creatures to behave, move, talk, or chant like "normal" human beings, which needs serious practice. Studying phase III in the light of Bourdieu's "habitus/field" notions, it can be argued that by systematically articulating bodily movements for "impossible" creatures through different combinations of dances, sounds, actions, and music, Dadaists widened the limits of their existing "habitus." Didier Plassard, as Elza Adamowicz argues, discerned dances of Laban that *liberated* bodies by omitting clothes from the dances of Dada that *limited* bodies by masking them.[325] Nevertheless, it is not clear if tectonic limitation and bodily liberation constitute a contrast. What would happen if a mask's, if not any costume's, restriction of bodily movement could postulate a new understanding for the agent? With Merleau-Ponty's case study on a veteran who lost a leg in mind, one can reread the difference between "normal" use of the body and "abnormal" use of

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[319] Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. Richard Nice (1997; reis., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 141-2; Williams and Bendelow, *Lived Body*, 49-51.
[320] Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, 135.
[321] Pierre Bourdieu, *Habitus and Field: Lectures at the Collège de France (1982-1983)*, trans. Peter Collier (2015; reis., Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020), 20-1.
[322] Bourdieu, *Habitus and Field*, 21.
[323] Bourdieu, 21.
[324] For the sake of this study, I will limit this audience to the other artists of the Dada movement.
[325] Adamowicz, "Zurich Dada," 39; Such a "call" incites me to also make another discernment upon the awareness of object-body-in-world, which is reminiscent of discussions on body-image: awareness of one's *actual* body within the environment and awareness of one's *augmented* body within the environment. Without the latter, the former could not create a target point for the body-experience-in world. In other words, if Dadaists were not aware of how the illusion of masks within their bodies become more "finished" or "proper," they would not be able to move towards that "finished" or "proper" object-bodies.

the body with a positive understanding. It can be argued that the very *inability* to do a *habitual* movement could offer a novel understanding of reality for the mask-wearer, which one can also call a moment of *liberation*. As Hemus observed, "Here, the costumes were designed to limit the performer's physical movement, conceal the body, and prevent individual psychological expression. The dancer is somewhere between body and machine, agent and puppet, nature and technology."[326] From then on, the limits of that *impossible* universe would only depend on the limits of the restricted body. Indeed, following the Bakhtinian notion of the grotesque body, Adamowicz argued that Dada's costumed/masked dances not only blurred the border between human/mechanical, human/animal, male/female but also transgressed bodily constraints.[327] In my opinion, Sophie Taeuber's puppet designs could be understood as a similar attempt.

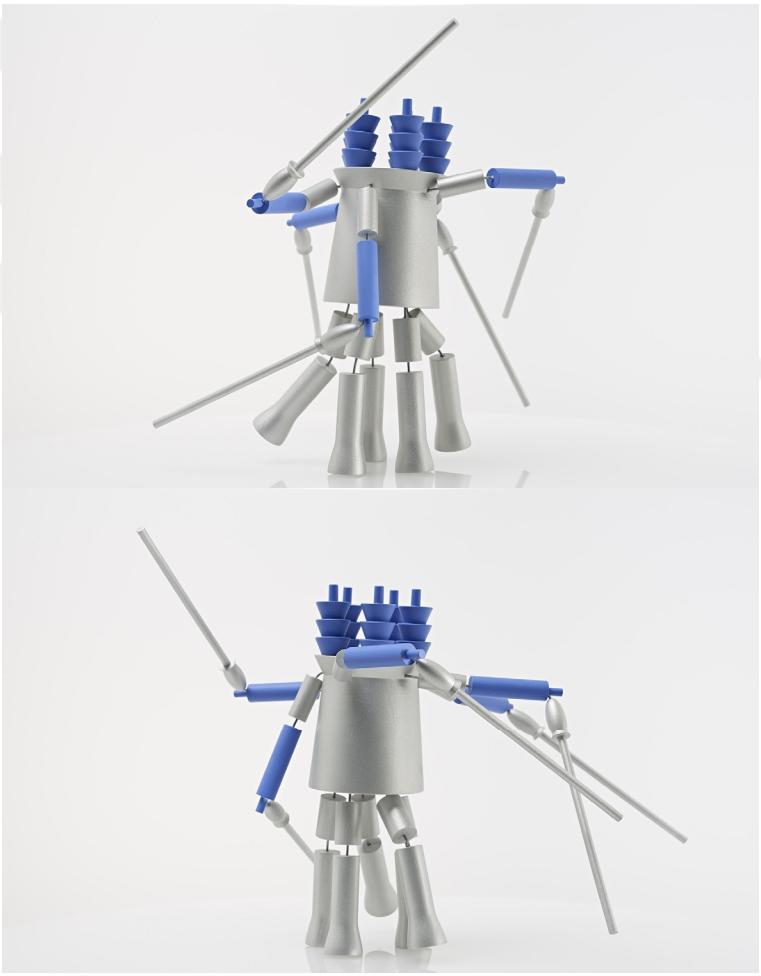


Figure 4.12 Marionettes designed by Taeuber for a 1918 dated play by Swiss Marionette Theater.

[326] Hemus, "Dada's Dancers," 95.
[327] Elza Adamowicz, "Hybrid bodies (II): the grotesque," in *Dada Bodies: Between Battlefield and Fairground* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 92-114. Interestingly, Ball's diary ratifies that the use of masks precedes his innovation of "sound poems," though it is hard to establish a strong connection between the two.

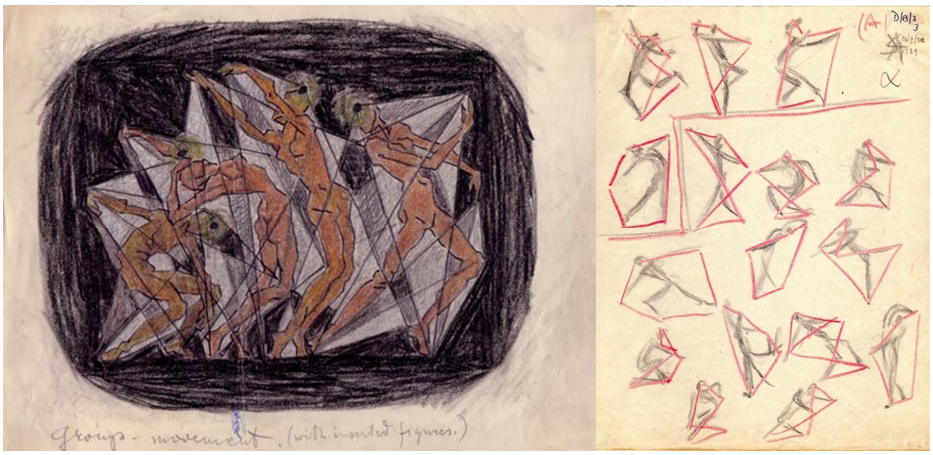


Figure 4.13 Rudolf Laban, Sequential unfolding of movement within crystalline shapes; Laban, Pentagonal shapes used to generate poses, n.d.

In sum, during practice times, the cabaret was the laboratory to evaluate the developed ideas of the morning, where Dadaists, listening to the call of masks and music, released their bodies to move and discover. The atmosphere of evenings stays far more limiting for that kind of discovery. Under the gaze of an entertainment-demanding audience such as yelling students, Dadaists would not be able to not free their bodies to listen to the call of masks. The existence of a large audience at the cabaret during rehearsal times, therefore, is not plausible.

4.3. Reassessing events regarding thoughts of Goffman and Douglas

Dadaists prepared the pieces in rehearsals, but evenings were the sifter through which these pieces would pass. The newborn creatures socialized with the audience in the soirées having them gain new identities. Here is an interesting example: at the outset of his "little premiere" for sound poems "everyone was curious" about, Hugo Ball "was carried onto the stage in the dark," above all due to his inability to move easily with a blue, white, scarlet, and golden colored cardboard costume depicted in Figure 4.14. Lights were switched on and the performance began. The pieces were doing very well up until "the stresses became heavier, the emphasis was increased as the sound of the consonants became sharper." Aspiring to stay grave due to the presence of Laban's pupils in the audience, Ball carried on briskly flapping his "wings" and moving to the left, to the right, and to the middle of the stage along with reciting his other sound poems. Unfortunately, this was not helping him to stay serious. Following a crescendo, Ball couldn't help but finalize his performance by suddenly beginning to intone like a priest in a liturgy. Finally, when "the lights went out," he "was carried down off the stage like a magical bishop."[328] To grasp that identity shift, Goffman's sociology is fruitful to ensue.

[328] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 70-1.

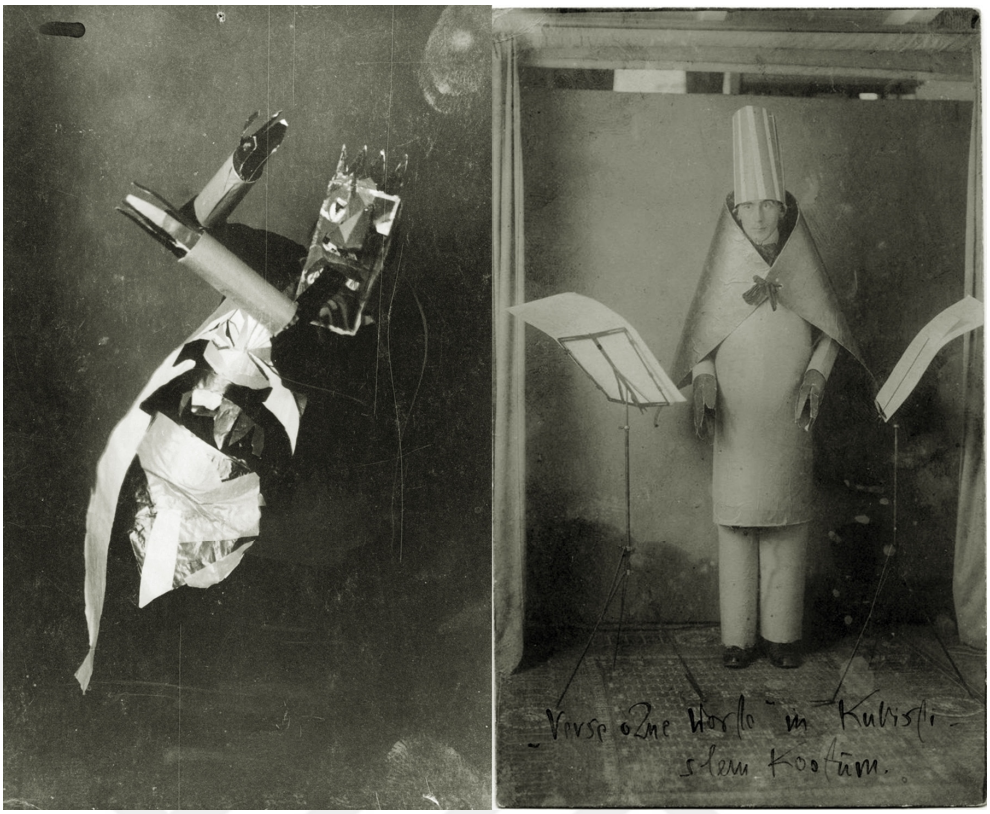


Figure 4.14 Photographs of Sophie Taeuber and Hugo Ball in “cubist costumes.”

In *Relations in Public*, deciphering physical encounters among people in public space, Goffman argued that agents gain their identities through constantly “externalizing” and “scanning” gestures that denote special meanings — often related to the agent’s position in the situation — vis-à-vis their form, path, or context. For sure, this exteriorization and examination run iteratively:

> When an individual deems that a simple body-check is not sufficient, as when a collision course is apparent or there is no clear indication of the other's course, then additional assurances are likely to be sought. He can ostentatiously take or hold a course, waiting to do this until he can be sure that the other is checking him out. If he wants to be still more careful, he can engage in a "checked body- check"; after he has given a course indication, he can make sure the signal has been picked up by the other, either by meeting the other's eyes (although not for engagement) or by noting the other's direction of vision, in either case establishing that his own course gesture has not likely been overlooked.
>
> In all of this maneuvering, two special moments can be found. First, there is the "critical sign": the act on the part of the other that finally allows the individual to discover what it is the other proposes to do. Second, there is the "establishment point": the moment both parties can feel that critical signs have been exchanged regarding compatible directions and timing, and that both appreciate that they both appreciate that this has occurred. It is then that movements can be executed with full security and confidence; it is then that those involved can feel fully at ease and fully turn their attention elsewhere.[329]

[329] Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 11-3.

This constant give-and-take, therefore, inaugurates novel selves in the embodied agents and novel hierarchies in the social order. In other words, not only bodies can influence the constitution of social identities but also agents can control public order, albeit at a micro level, through bodily communication.[330] Goffman's study is fruitful in terms of showing how communication is indeed corporeal as well as spatial, and how the result can be influenced by the tiniest detail of agents. Accordingly, the anecdote effectively proves how a body idiom of a performer, a result of an emotional improvisation, converts an abstract creature of a performer to a colored gibbering bishop for a spectator.

What would happen if observers could change the very setting where such an identity shift happens?[331] Dadaists, to be sure, were aware that Ball's "cubist" costume would create a kind of enthusiasm in the audience, especially when combined with his sound poems. In order not to break this enthusiasm, they carried Ball to the stage in darkness and then switched the lights on. In other words, to visually withdraw the domain of the stage from the domain of the cabaret, the darkness became an outline for the piece. Comparing the settings in Figure 4.14, for instance, one realizes that Dadaists might have intended to neutralize the surroundings for the sake of the illusion of the costumes. Nevertheless, the immediacy of the cabaret atmosphere disallowed the separation of the audience from the performers. If Ball was not aware of the audience (e.g., if they were in a bigger, more silent, or artificially darkened stage of a theatre), he would do as he planned (or at least something different from what he did), which would give rise to a planned identity on behalf of costumed figures.[332] So, Dadaists were planning to create a particular body idiom, yet the very setting subverted such a plan. Here, one realizes another dimension of the relationship between space and body. During corporeal communication between agents, tectonic space could motivate the agents to change their pattern of "body idiom" resulting in a change of identities and hierarchies. Correspondingly, I will name this ability *architectural idiom.* To be clearer, in my understanding, *architectural idiom* is the setting's ability to gather embodied agents in a way to have these agents change their planned flow of "body idioms," which eventually creates new identities and social hierarchies. Accordingly, it can be argued that the pub-cabaret idiom had the audience give

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[330] Williams and Bendelow, *Lived Body*, 55-61.

[331] For example, Huelsenbeck narrated his first day in the cabaret when "Hugo was sitting at the piano, playing classical music, Brahms and Bach. Then he switched over to dance music. The drunken students pushed their chairs aside and began spinning around." Huelsenbeck*, Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 10.

[332] Cornelius Partsch observed "The Dadaists' body language on stage both embodied and dissimulated the familiar gestures and symbols of the authoritarian types." Cornelius Partsch, "The Mysterious Moment: Early Dada Performance as Ritual," in *Dada Culture: Critical Texts on the Avant-Garde*, ed. Dafydd Jones (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2006), 53; Buelens interpreted the same costume as following: "With his pseudo-metal coating and aerodynamic body, Ball looks in fact like an absurd warhead, a reciting shell." Buelens, "Reciting Shells," 281.

transparent, if not transgressive, reactions.[333] If the audience was not satisfied with the proposed entertainment, owing to alcohol and intimacy, they instantly reacted with wild gestures and sounds.[334] Huelsenbeck noted "it was too wild, too smoky, too way out. Hugo had written a poem against war and murderous insanity. Emmy recited it, Hugo accompanied her on the piano, and the audience chimed in, with a growl, murdering the poem."[335] The protest in modern music surely was not a new thing, yet it became a typical feature of Dada evenings as an outcome of Cabaret Voltaire.[336] During evening performances, in brief, the audience assessed the values and meanings of Dadaists' inventions, yet their authority was a result of the pub-cabaret idiom.

One speaks of an audience as it is a homogeneous group, but such a group always consists of people having different backgrounds and, therefore unpredictable reactions.[337] Investigating the psychic effects of the war on Dadaists, T.J. Demos argued that Dadaists first deconstructed, then relearned the meaning as well as the form of words in their performances while sound became the smallest unit for language within the transnational context of Cabaret Voltaire.[338] The simplification of language could also be related to the physical inability to speak.[339] Marjorie Gehrhardt's study on war veterans, for instance, shows that at least 12 percent of wounded soldiers had a damage in the face.[340] Most of these veterans were unable to physically speak, as Gehrhardt noted:

> the silence, understood here as the inability to communicate, surrounds injured men. The only sound is the voice of the nurse who has the responsibility to tell soldiers about the seriousness of their injuries. If death puts an end to any communication, facial injuries isolate their victims but leave them alive and conscious of their loss.[341]

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[333] Huelsenbeck noted how Ball "played anything the drunken audience demanded." Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 16.
[334] Huelsenbeck noted "I would roar my lungs out, more like a sideshow barker than a reciter of verse, and wave my cane about in the air. The spectators saw me as an arrogant and utterly belligerent young man. I would often recite the poem "Rivers" because it contains extremely daring images and always brings out the audience's antagonism. I got on the podium with a blasé expression on my face and doing my best to hide my stage fright. As I spoke, I saw L. [Huelsenbeck's lover at that time] get up and head for the door. I stopped in the middle of the poem and leaped off the podium. The audience protested…" along with "talk, singing, shrieks, and cries of protest became audible." Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 21-2.
[335] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, 9.
[336] Evans, *The Pursuit of Power,* "Rites of Spring," in chap. 6.
[337] Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 49; Ball felt "ashamed of the noise of the performance, the mixture of styles and moods" when there were Turks and Japanese "who watched all the activities with real astonishment." Ball, *Flight Out of Time*, 65
[338] T.J. Demos, "Circulations: In and around Zurich Dada." *October* 105 (2003): 147–58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3397690.
[339] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes,* 25.
[340] Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces*, 4.
[341] Gehrhardt*,* 54.

If there were “broken mouths” inside the audience, what would yelling syllables mean?

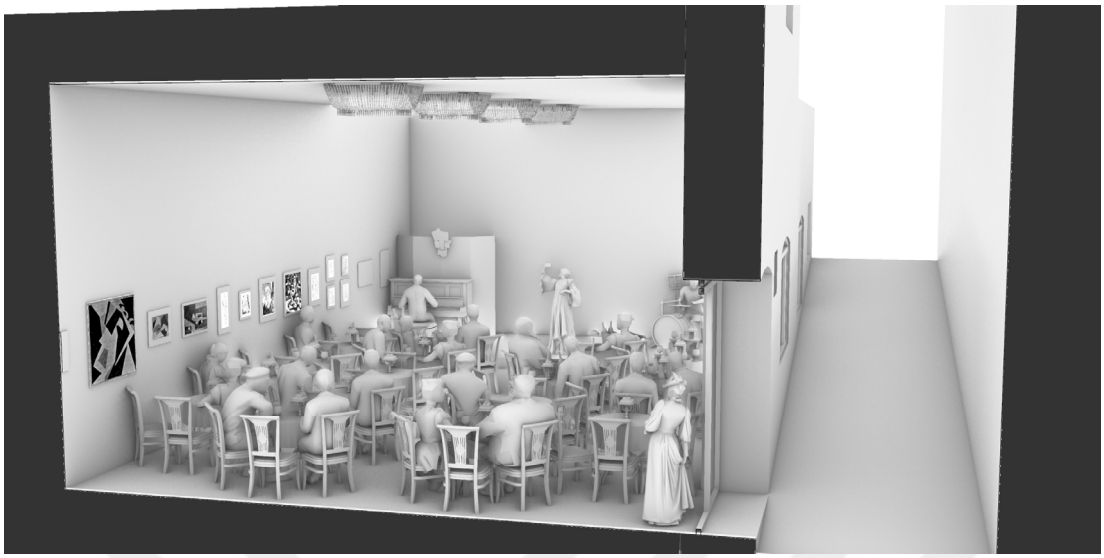


Figure 4.15 Another argument about the design of the Cabart Voltaire (evening).



Figure 4.16 Architectural idiom

There is a symbolic correlation between the physical body and social corpus, Douglas argued in *Purity and Danger*:

> The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious. The body is a complex structure. The functions of its different parts and their relation afford a source of symbols for other complex structures. We cannot possibly interpret rituals concerning excreta, breast milk, saliva and the rest unless we are prepared to see in the body a symbol of society, and to see the powers and dangers credited to social structure reproduced in small on the human body.[342]

[342] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; reis., New York: Routledge, 2001), 115-6.

In other words, in an experience of the physical body, it is the boundary of the social system that designates whether something is dirty, dangerous, or taboo.[343] Even though Douglas refers to the role of rituals in mediating these two spheres, it is not clear in her study how such a correspondence gets exactly constituted.[344] Even so, one can wonder what happens when two types of social bodies encounter each other through physical bodies. For instance, Gilles Deleuze saw the power of avant-garde art in its ability to mold new forms of bodies enabling spectators to imagine novel societal relations.[345] Accordingly, does the mentioned kind of cultural mismatch affect embodied agents, for instance, "alienate" them? Nevertheless, this question might also prove useful given the transnational atmosphere of the Great War where many migrating people, soldiers, or artists, experienced each other's social boundaries through their physical bodies.

Here, in the light of Mary Douglas' reading, I will argue that the intimate atmosphere of the cabaret — the use of alcohol; closeness between people; and most importantly the thematic emphasis on bodies everyone had — blurred boundaries between the audience members that would have been carrying different social corpora through their physical bodies. That is why, despite the protests, Dadaists occasionally were able to catch the audience. Huelsenbeck, for instance, reported "the songs created the 'intimate' atmosphere of the cabaret. The audience liked listening to them, the distance between us and the enemy grew smaller, and finally everyone joined in."[346] Similarly, Janco remarked, "people came not for amusement, but to take part in that wonderful atmosphere of mental regeneration."[347] Such a blur of differences might have helped Dadaists to realize the limits of art-practice, which can remind one of Dada's "anti-art" discourse, if not Bürger's argument on avant-garde movements' breaking away from the art institution.[348]

When Zurich Dadaists embraced abstraction to veil the "repulsive" limbs with surfaces of materials, they entered a new universe where the corporal fragments devastated by the war were kept alive by an assemblage of artificial body parts. The adjective "alive" is used as these

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[343] Williams and Bendelow, *Lived Body*, 26-29.
[344] Douglas argued "The rituals enact the form of social relations and in giving these relations visible expression they enable people to know their own society. The rituals work upon the body politic through the symbolic medium of the physical body." Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 129.
[345] Bru, *The European Avant-Gardes, 1905–1935,* chap. 9.
[346] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 10
[347] Janco, "Creative Dada," 30.
[348] Ball noted "One cannot exactly say that the art of the last twenty years has been joyful and that the modern poets are very entertaining and popular. Nowhere are the weaknesses of a poem revealed as much as in a public reading. One thing is certain: art is joyful only as long as it has richness and life. Reciting aloud has become the touchstone of the quality of a poem for me, and I have learned (from the stage) to what extent today's literature is worked out as a problem at the desk and is made for the spectacles of the collector instead of for the ears of living human beings." Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 54.

corporeal assemblages, which were already introduced by Picasso and Braque to the realm of the canvas at the beginning of the 1910s, danced and chanted in the performances of Cabaret Voltaire. Dadaists might have emphasized how earlier artistic attempts at vanishing bodies became meaningless within the context of war dissolved bodies more than ever. By masking wounded bodies to make them a part of a total work with a critique of such "reality," Dadaists might have provided the audience and themselves with the strength to survive. Hennings, for example, noted in a letter "All types of mask were good for the Dadaists. We still don't know if each one chose the mask which suited him. But the mask was essential; it served as the underground refuge to hide the overagitated faces."[349] Now, one can center on the mornings when Dadaists reviewed what they had discovered during the evenings.

4.4. Reviewing reconstitution in light of Foucault and Elias's concepts

During *matinées*, Cabaret Voltaire was an "artist's co-op," namely "a gathering place for all artistic trends, not just modern ones."[350] Within a relatively censor-free context of Zurich, the group would discuss politics, philosophy, psychology, literature, and art, of which not only the "primitive" version but also the "futurist" reformulation. They were never in full accord, and alliances dynamically changed: Ball logged "an idea, a gesture, some nervousness is enough to make the constellation change without seriously upsetting the little group."[351] During mornings, the group would likely review the pieces presented on the previous night and plan novel strategies to follow on afternoons. Presumably, the cabaret's *exhibition hall* side was highlighted at these times, even though the debates were not constrained to the very setting: The group would discuss while drinking beer in taverns, attending events in theaters, or strolling streets in Zurich. Many Dadaists recorded the life out of the cabaret, yet it was Huelsenbeck who illustrated it in the greatest detail:

> He [Ball] took me through a maze of angular streets, opened an old wooden door, and climbed up an ancient groaning stairway. I found myself alone in a garret. Below me, Zurich lay asleep, not a puff of air was stirring, and the red sickle of the moon hung over me.
>
> The next day I ambled through Zurich. I paused at Bellevue-Ecke, which hadn't yet become a traffic center. Then I walked along the lake, watching the swans whose feed Ball had envied; I walked, last but not least, down the Bahnhofstrasse, which was more of an international promenade in those days. One might see refugees from all over the world; you could tell them by their clothes, which were so different from the respectable Swiss coats.

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[349] Robert Maguire, *Le hors théâtre: Essai sur la signification du théâtre de notre temps* (PhD diss., Sorbonne, 1963), 68, translated in Annabelle Melzer, "Dada Performance at The Cabaret Voltaire," *Artforum* 12, no. 3 (November 1973), 76. https://www.artforum.com/print/197309/dada-performance-at-the-cabaret-voltaire-37407.
[350] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 19.
[351] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 59.

> I sat in the Café des Banques, which no longer exists and where we subsequently saw Mary Wigman dance. She put on a special performance for us dadaists and "danced Nietzsche." I can still see her in the center of a circle, waving Zarathustra about. Left, right, left, right — "and conceived deeper than day."[352]

So, Dadaists dwelled in a network of places in the city, which was a result of a constant negotiation between geographical, social, political, financial, cultural, and historical forces.[353]



Figure 4.17 Tzara and Janco(from right) at the Zurich Lakeside with three people, 1916; A photograph from Constructivist International, 1922

[352] Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 11; There are a lot of entries in Dada diaries observing off-cabaret hours, and suitably other venues in Zurich: Ball noted "The city is beautiful, The Limmatquai is especially attractive. However many times I walk up and down this quay, I know I will like it over and over again." Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 18; Huelsenbeck reported "At the time, Zurich was still an unhurried city; there was no traffic problem, there were no cafeterias or Möwenpicks…The city is constructed within a medieval framework against the lake, although the Bahnhofstrasse, the avenue along the railroad terminal, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of modernity. Zwingli's cathedral and the maze of little streets in Niederdorf always reminded me of a good, pious past" Huelsenbeck*, Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 8; Huelsenbeck also mentioned "We walked wordlessly through nighttime Zurich, which in those days did not as yet illuminate its venerable' buildings with neon lights. It was really dark, very dark." Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 24; See also Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 14-9; Tzara reported "In the most obscure of streets in the shadow of architectural ribs, where you will find discreet detectives amid red street lamps—birth—birth of the cabaret voltaire—… bustle and stir, the joy of the people, cries, the cosmopolitan mixture of god and brothel" Tzara, "Zurich Chronicle," 235; Just like Tzara complaining of the weather that was not "kind," Hennings remarked "in the winter of 1915 we were hired by Flamingo to perform at the 'Glock' in Basel. We thought that the world had never seen such a winter. It was horribly cold. The place was very big. A large crowd could fit into this room which was heated only by a very small furnace. Heated! It only turned warm when there were many people, and a crowd was only present on Saturdays and Sundays. On icy days and weekdays attendance was, to use our jargon of that time, rather weak." Emmy Ball-Hennings, "Das Varieté: Die Zeit vor dem Cabaret Voltaire, in *Hugo Ball Almanach 1984*, ed. Ernst Teubner (Pirmasens: City of Pirmasens, 1984-5), 106ff, quoted in, Karl Riha, "Dada in the Cabaret Voltaire," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha, trans. Barbara Allen (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 36.

[353] For a survey of settings inhabited by Zurich Dada see Salome Hohl, ed. *Pocket Guide Dada City Zurich* (Zurich: Cabaret Voltaire, 2021); Ruth Hemus emphasized how these locales were gendered. See Ruth Hemus, *Dada's Women* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), 64.

Dadaists, nevertheless, were not the only flâneurs in Zurich. They were in fact a division of "coffeehouse revolutionaries," as brought by Roswitha Mair, namely the refugees that spent afternoons in coffeehouses with a single cup of coffee. Arp, to exemplify, dubbed Café Odeon "Mecca and Medina" for Dadaists and reported, "the numbers of Dadaists became so large that whoever wanted to have a sensitive exchange of ideas had to find a quieter place."[354] What is interesting, however, is that the Swiss citizens, according to Mair, "rarely showed their faces there[in coffeehouses], and when they did, it was generally to watch the scene rather than to take part."[355]

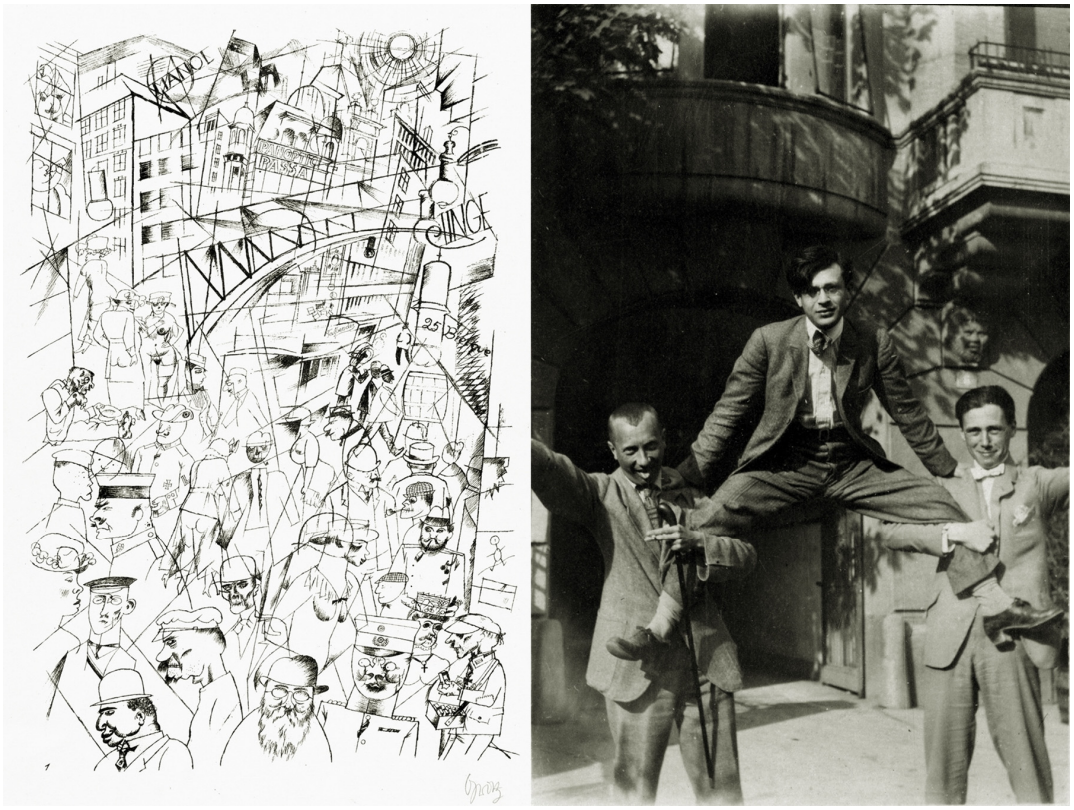


Figure 4.18 George Grosz, *Frederick Street*, 1918; Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara and Hans Richter in front of the Hotel Elite, Zurich 1918

In *Discipline and Punish*, through studying the shifts in the state-run institutional procedures conducted between the 17th and 19th centuries, Foucault argued that historically "contingent" power/knowledge mechanism not only disciplines beings through their bodies but also discursively re/produce them.[356] He, for instance, stated:

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[354] Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, and Tristan Tzara, *Die Geburt des Dada: Dichtung und Chronik der Gründer* (Zurich: Verlag die Arche, 1957), 92, quoted in Reinhard Döhl, "Hans Arp and Zurich Dada," in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing*, eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha, trans. Roy F. Allen (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 118.
[355] Mair, *Sophie Taeuber-Arp and the Avant-Garde*, 36; Scholars rationalize this with the fact that Swiss citizens had to work during the day.
[356] Williams and Bendelow, *Lived Body*, 28-36.

> The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power. It is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body - to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces. The great book of Man-the-Machine was written simultaneously on two registers: the anatomico-metaphysical register, of which Descartes wrote the first pages and which the physicians and philosophers continued, and the technico-political register, which was constituted by a whole set of regulations and by empirical and calculated methods relating to the army, the school and the hospital, for controlling or correcting the operations of the body. These two registers are quite distinct, since it was a question, on the one hand, of submission and use and, on the other, of functioning and explanation: there was a useful body and an intelligible body. And yet there are points of overlap from one to the other.[357]

Accordingly, one can ask whether an avant-garde movement's emergence — corporeal, material, or discursive — can be read on account of such a power/knowledge mechanism. Accordingly, one may ask whether Dada's discursive emergence can be read as an outcome of a power/knowledge mechanism in Zurich and whether the relationship between Cabaret Voltaire and Zurich can be understood accordingly.[358] If not, one can ask whether such a procedure can discursively reproduce a movement. For instance, can one read Dada's change of setting as a discursive reproduction?[359]

Indeed, Cabaret Voltaire was not the only setting in the city providing entertainment. As Debbie Lewer noted, Niederdorf, the neighborhood around the cabaret, was already famous for its countless "bars, restaurants, inns, and Variétés(Variety shows). These establishments offered entertainment of many kinds: comedy, popular songs, folk music, dancing girls, and the hawking of unusual animals, dwarfs, fat ladies and other 'freaks' around bar to bar."[360] Accordingly, many refugees, not only Ball and Hennings, were reading the entertainment offered in the neighborhood as a chance for work while many landlords, not only Ephraim, were reading it as a chance for sales.[361] For instance, unable to contact his family to ask for money because of poor communications, the upshot of the war, Janco recalled how "looking for work, one evening I found myself in one of the medieval alleys of old Zurich. In an old

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[357] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; reis., New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 136.
[358] Huelsenbeck described "There were no newspaper stands in those days. There were no taxis on the square, and at nine o'clock it was as lonely as the Sahara…and in my time there was no entertainment to be had after work. Radio was unknown, movie houses were few, concerts were given only on high holidays. Recreation consisted in reading good books." Huelsenbeck*, Memoirs of a Dada Drummer,* 16; Lewer noted how at that time the atmosphere of Zurich was emphasizing a feeling of order, see Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 51.
[359] Here, one can perhaps read Bürger's institutional critique with respect to Foucault's interpretation of power/knowledge mechanism: it not only disciplines bodies of spectators and artists but also discursively reproduces the artwork.
[360] Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 47.
[361] Lewer, 50.

night-club, there was music. To my amazement I discovered, seated at the piano, a gothic personality," who was Hugo Ball.[362]

So, the conditions of being an immigrant as well as unemployed brought many Dadaists together and such a gathering took place in an area of Zurich that was seen as not only appealing but also appalling, just like the movement. Peter Jelavich stressed the importance of artists' persona as it grants unique facets to cabarets.[363] Quite conversely, an investigation into Cabaret Voltaire proposes that the idea of cabaret could grant unique facets to *artists*.



Figure 4.19 Aerial view of Zurich. Cabaret Voltaire(1), Café Odeon(2), Café de la Terrasse(3), Zunfthaus zur Waag (4); Gallery Corray/Dada(5), Zunfthaus zur Meisen (6), site of *Sechseläuten* (7)

Even so, Zurich Dadaists have stayed in Cabaret Voltaire as well as in Niederdorf for only about five months and the reason for the cabaret's dissolution is not clear.[364] After shutting the cabaret down and publishing the first and only volume of the journal *Cabaret Voltaire*, Dadaists held the first "public" evening of Dada on 14th July 1916 in Zunfthaus zur Waag, a

[362] Marcel Janco, "Creative Dada," 32-4. This meeting has not been necessarily taken place in the Cabaret Voltaire, as Ball also working on another company before establishing the cabaret. As it recorded by Ball, in the first day of the cabaret Janco arrived with Tzara (Tzara's also account verify this). So, it is possible that Janco met Ball before, then he took Tzara with him to the opening of Cabaret Voltaire.

[363] Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret,* 3.

[364] According to Richter, the owner "listened to the complaints of respectable citizens outraged at the nightly excesses committed in the name of Voltaire." Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, 39.

guild house facing one of the main squares of Zurich.[365] In general, nothing was novel in the program except for the place hosting the occasion.[366]

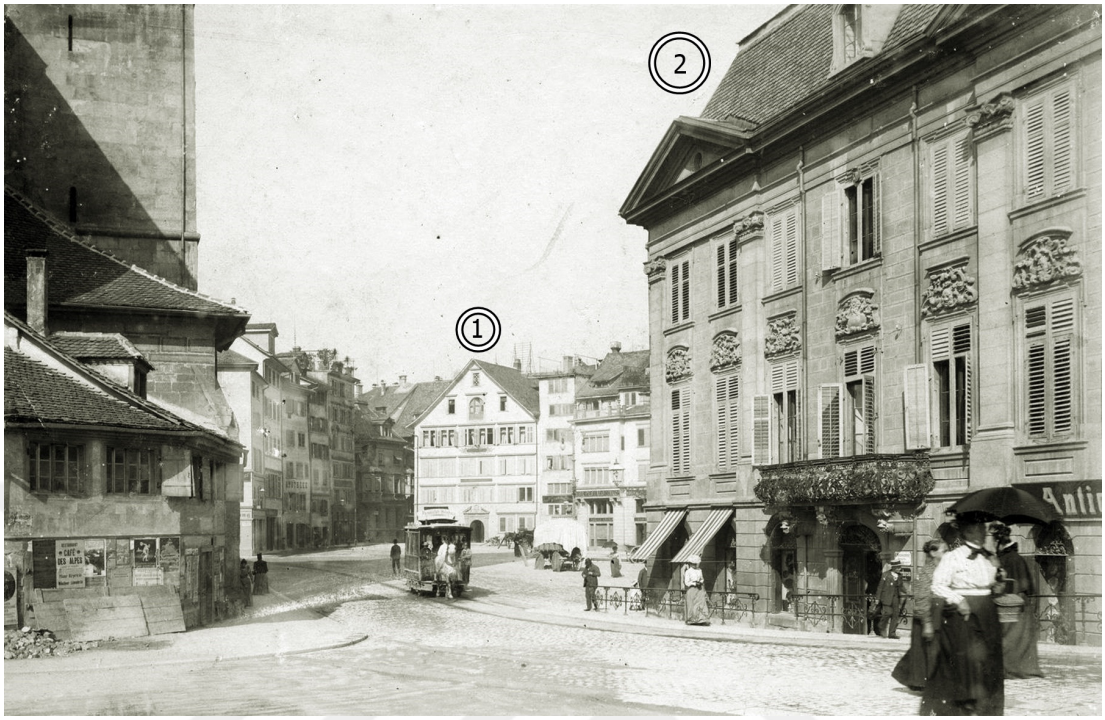


Figure 4.20 A photograph showing Münsterhof: Zunfthaus zur Waag (1); Zunfthaus zur Meisen (2).



Figure 4.21 Interior of a hall in Zunthaus Zur Waag at the present.

[365] It was Ball who characterized the event as the first "public" event of Dada. The day was Bastille Day. The Battle of Somme had started on June 24th 1916.
[366] Lewer, "Dada's Genesis," 27; See also, Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 74.



Figure 4.22 Restaurant Meierei (hosting Cabaret Voltaire) ; the backyard of the building today; A photograph from the 50th anniversary of Cabaret Voltaire.

Together, they have one wonder whether the events of Dada spread out of the cabaret to streets in a festive manner.

Subsequently, to tour Switzerland with the pieces discovered, Ball and Hennings dropped the group that would stay in Zurich and publish three collections attributed to Dada until October.[367] At that moment, as Mair observed, "the Heuberger print shop served as the Dadaist headquarters, but in truth there was no place for them except in the coffeehouses where they met and talked."[368]

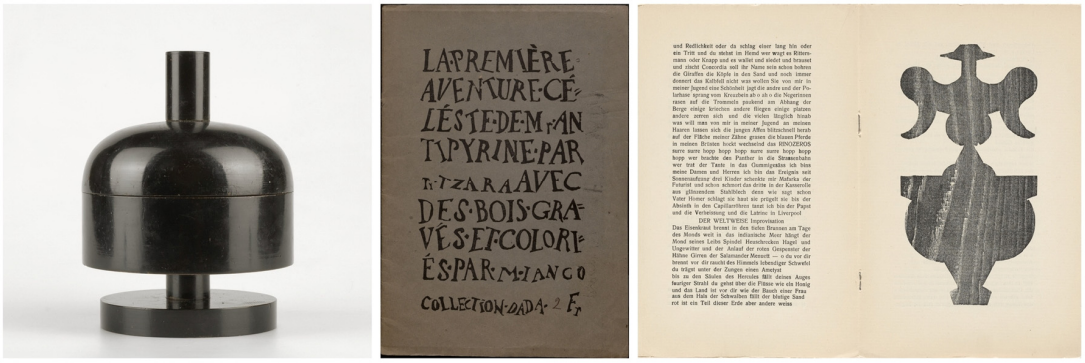


Figure 4.23 Sophie Taeuber, *Dada Bowl*, 1916; Few pages from *Collection Dada* published in 1917.

After a few months, between 12 January and 28 February 1917, the group in Zurich organized a Dada exhibition in the recently opened gallery of Han Corray facing Bahnhofstrasse, the international "center of the city's commercial and public life."[369] Subsequently, Ball and Hennings rejoined the group to open a gallery, alias Gallery Dada, which would have not only a richer inventory and better-dressed audience but also a shorter lifespan: between 17th March

[367] Elderfield, "Introduction," xxix.
[368] Mair, *Sophie Taeuber-Arp and the Avant-Garde*, 51; For sure, Mair only considers public locations.
[369] Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," 30; See also, Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 100.

and 29th May 1917. Accordingly, be it calculated or impulsive, such a series of displacements across various locales had Dada not only move "upwards" but also, as Partsch noted, "fix its art as objects and texts in exhibits and journals, thus entering a different discursive economy of 'art' and exchange."[370] Following the argument about Zurich Dadaists' embrace of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, should one be able to observe a difference in character responding to these changes of settings between the cabaret, gallery, and journal pages? By the same token, should one be able to observe the impact of a traditional event happening in Zurich — like *Sechseläuten* or *Seenachtfest* — on the production of Dada?



Figure 4.24 Postcards showing usual Zurich festivals: *Sechseläuten* in 1916; *Seenachtfest*, 1910s.

In *Civilizing Process*, Elias compared the behavioral codes — as they unfold in songs, poems, or parental warnings — of medieval times when behavior was loose and violence at its peak with the stricter behavior of the 17th century when the codes were no longer repeated, and bodies *had got civilized.* He accordingly proposed that in everyday life, social forces constantly infuse the rational, emotional, and bodily impulses of individuals through historically changing behavioral codes, which can be seen at best in the gap between the attitudes of adults and children.[371] Yet, this process of civilization, Elias argued, only can be grasped in a look from a wider angle as it is conducted through minor iterations:

> Nothing in table manners is self-evident or the produce, as if were, of "natural" feeling of delicacy. The spoon, fork and napkin were not invented one day by a single individual as technical implements with obvious purposes and clear directions for use. Over centuries, in direct social intercourse and use, their functions became gradually defined, their forms sought and consolidated. Each

[370] Partsch, "The Mysterious Moment," 38-9; Remarking Dada's upward move, Debbie Lewer cannot find a source verifying that Dadaists calculated such a shift. See Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 52; One, nevertheless, can find several entries showing that Dadaist were aware of being observed in the city. For instance, Janco recalled "one evening three motor-cars stopped in front of our cabaret. It was an unexpected invasion: A dozen or so students, with some Viennese professors, had come to study us. Flourishing their notebooks the disciples of Jung and Adler took the particulars of our case: Were we schizoid, or were we simply pulling everybody's leg? When the programme was over we sat down for a drink and to expound our creed, our faith in a direct art, a magical, organic, and creative art, like that of primitives and of children. They threw each other significant glances, then took fright, laid down their pencils and fled." Janco, "Creative Dada," 32-4.
[371] Williams and Bendelow, *Lived Body*, 36-43.

> custom in the changing ritual, however minute, was established infinitely slowly, even forms of behavior that to us seem quite elementary or simply "rational", such as the custom of raking liquid only with the spoon. Every movement of the hand — for example, the way in which one holds and moves knife, spoon or fork-was standardized only step by step. And the social mechanism of standardization can itself be seen in outline if the series of images is surveyed as a whole.[372]

How can one take this reading in the light of Renato Poggioli's emphasis on alienation as a final aim for avant-garde art or Peter Bürger's reading of historical avant-garde movements' withdrawal from art institutions? Can one argue that historical avant-garde movements have "civilized" the bodies, minds, and emotions of the artists and spectators? Given that a change in a corporeal action (e.g., a specific way of painting, acting, or dancing) cannot occur without a code, can one read avant-garde publications as continuous "codes of behavior" enabling that civilization process? Following these questions, rather than a solitary analysis of magazines or events, one can seek whether there was a reciprocal change echoed between a movement's magazines and the bodily actions of agents taking place in the events of the movement.

Here, with Elias' ideas in mind, one can ask whether Dada's journey in and outside of Zurich can be read as a de/civilization process.[373] The term de/civilization is tricky because the more "civilized" the movement has been, the better it has antagonized the civilization surrounding it.[374] As mentioned in the first chapter, one can interpret the complex discourse of Dada as a "code of behavior" enabling this de/civilization process, and perhaps the publications of Dada as elements carrying such a code. To study this line of reasoning, let me concentrate on the last displacement mentioned so far, namely the establishment of Gallery Dada. Be it related to the Gesamtkunstwerk or not, Gallery Dada fruitfully offered the most recent art, poetry, music, and dance of the time through four exhibitions and six evening gatherings, which eventually have the group "being pointed out in the street: 'There come the Dadaists.'"[375]

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[372] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, eds. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; reis., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 92.

[373] As Elias noted, "In reality, our terms 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' do not constitute an anti-thesis of the kind that exists between "good" and "bad", but represent stages in a development which, moreover, is still continuing. It might well happen that our stage of civilization, our behaviour, will arouse in our descendants feelings of embarrassment similar tot we sometimes feel concerning the behaviour of our ancestors." Elias*, Civilizing Process*, 52.

[374] Chaos of an event was a beloved aim of Dadaists. To create a scandal, they would even exaggerate things while narrating the events they had. See Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," 29-32.

[375] A letter from Ball to August Hoffman (June 26, 1917), Hugo Ball, *Saemtliche Werke und Briefe 1904-1927,* eds. Ernst Teubner and Gerhaud Schaub (Göttingen: Wallsetin Verlag, 2003), 181, quoted in Esther Tisa Francini, "'Hot spot of international energies' The network of Dada artists, dealers, and collectors of African art," in *Dada Africa: Dialogue with the Other,* eds. Ralf Burmeister, Michaela

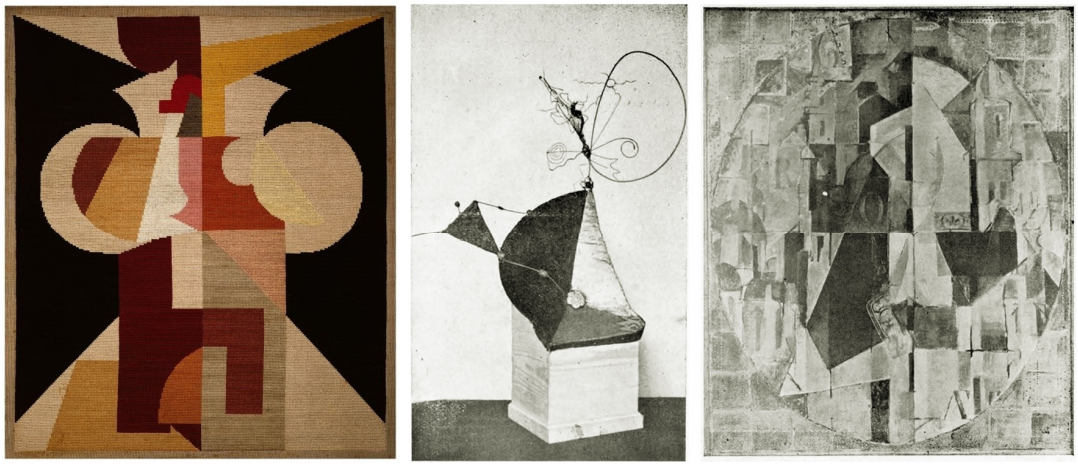


Figure 4.25 Drawings depicted in the first issue of the journal Dada: Hans Arp, *Pathetic Symmetry,* 1917; Marcel Janco, *Construction 3*, 1917; Oskar Lüthy, *Madonna*, 1917.



Figure 4.26 Hans Arp, *Plant Hammer*, 1917; Marcel Janco, *Blanc sur blanc*, 1917; Sophie Taeuber, Formes élémentaires en composition verticale-horizonatale, 1917.

The gallery was at best an attempt to crystallize, or consolidate, the morning discussions mentioned at the outset of this subchapter. A record by Janco fairly illustrates how Dada's discourse was advanced all over daytime gatherings in the gallery:

> Day after day the little group sat in its[Gallery Dada's] cafe, reading aloud the critical comments that poured in from every possible country, and which by their tone of indignation showed that Dada had struck someone to the heart. Stricken dumb with amazement, we basked in our glory. Tristan Tzara could think of nothing else to do but write manifesto after manifesto, speaking of "l'art nouveau, which is neither futurism nor cubism," but Dada. But what was Dada? "Dada," came the answer, "ne signifie rien." [signifies nothing][376]

Oberhofer, and Esther Tisa Francini (Chicago: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2016), 93; As Huelsenbeck noted "The Gallery Dada capriciously exhibited cubist, expressionist and futurist pictures, it carried on its littlee art business at literary teas, lectures and recitation evenings, while the word Dada conquered the world. It was something touching to behold" Richard Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell (Boston: The Belknap Press, 1981), 32-3; For works presented in the gallery, see Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 100-17.

[376] Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada," 33.

In parallel, Dadaists reevaluated the work fashioned in the cabaret at the utmost during the days in the gallery.[377] Correspondingly, Gundolf Winter observed how Zurich Dadaists "had eliminated, little by little and in varying degrees of swiftness, all subjective, elitist, conventional forms, motifs, and techniques still present in their art."[378] Given that such a review procedure cannot run without an analytical point of departure, Dadaists also gave attention to incorporating theoretical lectures into their usual discussions.[379] This had Dadaists not only develop their work but also reinterpret them apropos boiling concepts of the time. Sound poems of Ball, Debbie Lewer exemplified, were "recited as 'abstract dances' and placed in the context of serious artistic contemplation, which aim at 'magical invocation, ' 'to liberate from time,' and the expression of the subconscious."[380] This entire process of "civilizing" was supported by the architectural idiom of the gallery, which was stricter than the cabaret's: No further wanting to produce work for an imaginary or uncontrolled audience, Dadaists announced higher entry fees, preferred organizing invitational parties, and forbade hard drinks in the setting.[381] As a result, Ball recorded:

> The gallery has three faces. By day it is a kind of teaching body for schoolgirls and upper-class ladies. In the evenings the candlelit Kandinsky room is a club for the most esoteric philosophies. At the soirées, however, the parties have a brilliance and a frenzy such as Zurich has never seen before.[382]

The presence of bourgeois women in the gallery is of note so much so that Huelsenbeck called Gallery Dada a "'manicure salon of the fine arts,' characterized by tea-drinking old ladies trying to revive their vanishing sexual powers with the help of 'something mad.'"[383] Accordingly, even though the location change eliminated certain types of audiences special to the cabaret and its neighborhood like students, institutionalizing morning times indeed introduced a novel few.[384] Perhaps as a rival of department stores, the gallery stood as a novel extension of public space ready to embrace bourgeois women when daily program of them theoretically began to be freed from "day" gatherings.

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[377] Ball, *Flight Out of Time*, 101.
[378] Gundolf Winter, "Zurich Dada and the Visual Arts" in *Dada Zurich: A Clown's Game from Nothing,* eds. Brigitte Pichon and Karl Riha, trans. Roy F. Allen (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996), 146-51.
[379] For works presented in the gallery, see Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 100-17.
[380] Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 41.
[381] Ball, *Flight Out of Time*, 98.
[382] Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 112.
[383] Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada," 33.
[384] Dadaists did not exclude economically distressed individuals on purpose. They even arranged special, albeit unsuccessful, tours for them. Yet, the procedure applied in the gallery caused such an exclusion. See Lewer, "'Mapping' Zurich Dada," 53-4.



Figure 4.27 Surrounding of Sprünglihaus, place of Gallery Dada/Corray, at the present.; Han Corray in front of his book store, 1919.

Yet, under which conditions has this happened? Was it just related to the change of neighborhood? What exactly attracted upper-class women to enter Gallery Dada? It is well noted that while designing their magazines, Dadaists used novel tactics of regulating readers' navigation akin to galleries of the time, and such a flirt revealed itself in the following Dada exhibitions.[385] By the same token, one wonders whether Dadaists have also learned the way of presenting their art from the design of novel department stores of the time. For example, many of these stores were designed to openly signal what they were from the very outset.[386] And many art exhibitions of the time were also learning from the spectacle offered by department stores. Paul Greenhalgh observed:

> As with the stores, women were a principal target. Decorative and applied arts palaces, fashion and textile pavilions, thousands of private manufacturers stalls and restaurant facilities were arranged self-consciously to attract what was thought to be the feminine eye. Thus a substantial part of the site was made specifically to captivate those sections of the female population able to buy, giving rise to massive areas of artificially constructed femininity.[387]

Gallery Dada was in fact a transformed version of Han Corray's gallery that had hosted the first Dada Exhibition after Cabaret Voltaire's closure. Here, one wonders what exactly

[385] Hage, "Mise-en-page to Mise-en-scène," 8-10.
[386] Crossick and Jaumain, "The World of the Department Store," 25.
[387] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 190; Crossick and Jaumain, "The World of the Department Store," 29.

Dadaists have done to transform *Gallery Corray* to make it *Gallery Dada*. As Esther Tisa Francini noted, Corray was not only eclectic in taste — as he would gather artifacts one can categorize as *old* and *new*, *western* and *eastern* — but also sensitive to the surrounding space of artwork while putting his exhibitions. Nevertheless, with furniture coming from Corray's home, Gallery Corray was more like a *salon* than a catchy *gallery*.[388] Accordingly, one may wonder whether Dadaists have replaced some of these artifacts in a way to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Even though there are many positive remarks about the use and design of the *Gallery Dada*, unfortunately, there is not any visual document enabling us to imagine the place, as noted in the introductory chapter.[389]

[388] Francini, "'Hot spot of international energies,'" 92.

[389] Ball noted "The gallery was very interesting, often grotesque, often entertaining. We had four rooms in the middle of the main street in Zurich, in the house belonging to the millionaire Sprüngli." The letter from Ball to August Hoffman (June 26, 1917), Hugo Ball, *Saemtliche Werke und Briefe 1904-1927,* eds. Ernst Teubner and Gerhaud Schaub (Göttingen: Wallsetin Verlag, 2003), 181, quoted in Esther Tisa Francini, "'Hot spot of international energies' The network of Dada artists, dealers, and collectors of African art," in *Dada Africa: Dialogue with the Other,* eds. Ralf Burmeister, Michaela Oberhofer, and Esther Tisa Francini (Chicago: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2016), 93; Ball also noted "[Klee's paintings] will scarcely be seen again in such a beautiful and lively setting." Ball, *Flight Out of Time,* 103; Ball maintained how a "play was performed in two adjoining rooms; the actors wore body masks. Mine was so big that I could read my script inside it quite comfortably. The head of the mask was electrically lighted; it must have looked strange in the darkened room, with the light coming out of the eyes. Emmy was the only one not wearing a mask. She appeared as half sylph, half angel, lilac and light blue. The scats went right up to the actors. Tzara was in the back room, and his job was to take care of the 'thunder and lightning' as well as to say 'Anima, sweet Animal' parrot fashion. But he was taking care of the entrances and exits at the same time, thundered and lightninged in the wrong place, and gave the absolute impression that this was a special effect of the production, an intentional confusion of backgrounds." Ball*, Flight Out of Time*, 106; Early reviewers of the cabaret noted how works were united well, see Lewer, "Dada's Genesis: Zurich," 23.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This, nevertheless, does not necessarily mean that one needs to stop interpreting. If Dadaists were sensitive to their social, political, or aesthetic spheres, how is it possible that they were not to their physical environment? Indeed, Thomas Elsaesser noted a problem on the conceptualization of the Dada film, because the first reception of some films attributed to Surrealists just like *Entr'acte* (1924) was designed as regards their exhibition contexts, that is Dada soirées, where the audience was expected to protest them — a failed wish.[390] Similarly, as Naima Prevots observed, Laban's Zurich activities lack documentation and a further investigation of existing records on his performances and teachings is needed.[391] Accordingly, a simple question such as "how would one day of a Dadaist elapse in the city?" or "how did Dada soirées affect the setting of a ballroom?" could be very interesting to study with architectural sections, plans, and perspectives. Such an act of rebuilding the environments of Dada with the existing records could reveal unnoticed sides not only of the presented artwork but also of the protagonists. As Paula Kamenish observed, even though female artists in Dada were acknowledged in the accounts of male artists on which the common story of Dada was based, details about female artists' lives, works, or networking methods that led to the spread of Dada is still missing.[392] So, there is still a lot of work to do.

The first issue of the journal Dada was published in July 1917, just after the termination of Gallery Dada. This was also the time when Hugo Ball and Emmy Hennings left the group. Yet, Dada was born, and it had to continue its journey, eventually inhabiting exhibitions places in Zurich and magazine medium more and more intimately. The termination of the gallery was followed by a Dada Exhibition in Kunstsalon Wolsberg in November 1917, exhibiting novel works of Arp and Taeuber, who had been collaborating on "duo" paintings, collages,

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[390] Thomas Elsaesser, "Dada: Cinema," in *Dada and Surrealist Film*, ed. Rudolf Kuenzli (New York: MIT Press, 1996), 13-27.
[391] Prevots, "Zurich Dada and Dance," 4.
[392] Paula K. Kamenish, "Introduction: The Problem with Dada," in *Mamas of Dada: Women of the European Avant-Garde* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 8.

sculptures, and embroideries, which explored margins between mediums as well as categories of applied and fine arts.[393] The second issue of the journal *Dada was* published in December 1917. By the beginning of 1918, people also began to hear some doings of Dada in Berlin. On the 23rd of July 1918, a Dada evening was held in Zunfthaus Zur Meisen. In that month, as a part of *Collection Dada*, 25 poems of Tzara were published with 10 woodcuts of Arp. September 1918 was a fruitful month as it not only welcomed the famous play of the Swiss Marionette Theater, of which geometric and colorful props were designed and produced by Taeuber but also a Dada Exhibition in Kunstsalon Wolfsberg was organized by Janco, Arp, and Richter. And then, in November 1918, the Great War came to an end. In December 1918, the third issue of the journal Dada was published with a radical change in mise-en-page, which was followed by a Dada Exhibition in Kunsthaus Zurich, problematizing new art trends of the time. As a result of increasing mobility after the war, Dadaists in Zurich got in touch with novel artists like Francis Picabia (1879-1953), Walter Serner (1889-1942), Christian Schad (1894-1982), or Viking Eggeling (1880-1925), manifesting itself in solo exhibitions of Eggeling or Schad in the Kunsthaus Zurich and a shift of Dada discourse. Schad, for example, was experimenting with photographic paper and fixative, creating compositions out of everyday objects.[394] Serner, Arp, and Tzara not only collaborated on Dadaist poems but also pranked newspapers with articles narrating fake Dada activities like a duel, undermining journalism's credibility. 8th and final Dada evening in Zurich was held in Kuafleuten while the details of this scandalous event cannot be addressed here. In late 1919, Dada split into two factions: Tzara, Picabia, and Serner versus Richter, Janco, and Arp (who formed the *Alliance of Revolutionary Artists,* greeting Munich and Budapest revolts through embracement of abstraction). The disagreement centered on Dada's nihilism as well as political sympathy for postwar Europe's revolutionary artists.[395] Then, Tzara, Huelsenbeck, and Richter left Zurich while Arp and Janco remained.[396] "Continuing the labeling and mapping of itself as a social enterprise, indexed in social space," Timothy Benson argued, "Dada was no longer a single site or place but had become an array of multiple sites within a widening cultural and geographical space," linking Hannover, Cologne, Paris, and other cities of the continent.[397] Accordingly, until 1923, Dada protagonists organized at least 24 exhibitions and 24 evening shows across cities in Europe.

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[393] Dickerman, "Zurich," 36-8.
[394] Dickerman, 40-1.
[395] Allen, "Zurich Dada, 1916-1919," 15.
[396] Dickerman, "Zurich," 41; Some scholars think that Janco may have attended the first event of the French Dadaists in Pari, see Sandqvist, "Marcel Iancu Becomes Marcel Janco," 98.
[397] Timothy O. Benson, "The Dada Text and the Landscape of War, " *Dada/Surrealism* 23 (2020): 15-6, https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1358

Following Brenda Farnell's discernment of two recent turns in critical theory — if the first turn was remembering *body*, the second one was recalling the fact that this body is a *moving* one — Emma Bond saw "body as a liminal, multifaceted, and generative space capable of both reproducing and subverting cultural, national and gender norms and inscriptions," and a "locus of ultimate certainty or uncertainty, depending on location and orientation, leading to sensations of either 'being at home' or being 'out of place.'"[398] Accordingly, reviewing the whole journey of Dada concerning the moving body can open new interpretations allowing one to understand different aspects not only of Dada but also of contextual movements whose protagonists sometimes shared similar locations with Dadaists. Given that the acknowledgment of Dada's relation with Constructivism had the Dada gain a progressive persona,[399] such research may bring productive stories about the movement. With interrelations between bodies, spaces, and media in mind, a deeper investigation of Dada environments across the continent, as well as the city, is therefore needed as it could provide scholarship fruitful ways not only for reviewing Dada's works and discourse but also appreciating them:

> We must add: they cannot persuade us to enjoy eating the rotten pie of human flesh that they present to us. They cannot force our quivering nostrils to admire the smell of corpses. They cannot expect us to confuse the increasingly disastrous apathy and cold heartedness with heroism. One day they will have to admit that we reacted very politely, even movingly.[400]

[398] Emma Bond, *Writing Migration Through the Body* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 11.
[399] Rasula*, Destruction Was My Beatrice,* xvi.
[400] Ball*, Flight Out of Time,* 67.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1990'lardan bu yana kamusal alandaki hızlı değişimler, sosyal bilimlerdeki bir grup bilim insanının beden kavramını tarihsel bağlam içinde yeniden düşünmesine sebep oldu. Paralel olarak bu çalışma, bedenli varlıklar, mekânlar ve ortamlar arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkileri deşifre etmeyi amaçlar. Buna göre, Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914-1918) gibi bedenli varlıklara birçok açıdan meydan okuyan bir bağlamın sanatı ve mimarisini incelemek böyle bir düşünceyi başlatmak için uygun bir nokta gibi görünmektedir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na sebep olan tarihsel bağlam aynı zamanda erken yirminci yüzyıl avangard hareketlerini doğurmuştur. Eric Hobsbawm'ın gözlemlediği kadarıyla savaş boyunca bu hareketlerden yalnızca Konstrüktivizm ve Dadaizm kayda değer biçimsel icatlar yapmıştır. Bu hareketlerin çalışmaları daha dikkatli incelendiğinde, bedenselliği manipüle etmenin geleneksel zihniyetlerle başa çıkmada yardımcı bir strateji olarak kullanıldığı fark edilmektedir. Bu tür bir eylemliliğin hangi şartlar altında geliştiğini anlamak amacıyla bu araştırma, Zürih Dada'nın performans, sergi ve kent pratiklerine odaklanır.

İkinci bölümde, kavramsal bir çerçeve oluşturabilmek adına, avangard terimini ele alan kanonik çalışmaların bedenler ve mekânlar arasındaki etkileşimi yeterince derinlemesine ele alıp almadığı sorgulanır. Örneğin *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, çev. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1968) adlı çalışmasında Renato Poggioli, avangard hareketlerin ortaya çıkışını siyasi ve edebi sol hareketler arasındaki bir "flörtün" sonucu olarak görür. Avangard hareketlerin kullandığı mekânlardan dergilere kadar çeşitli detayları inceleyen Poggioli, avangard hareketlere has dört özellik (aktivizim, antagonizm, nihilizm, ve agonizm) ve bir hedef (sosyal, politik, estetik veya etik yabancılaşma) olduğunu gözlemler. Poggioli'nin çalışmasından yaklaşık yirmi yıl sonra, "estetik modernite"yi her türlü otoriteye karşı çıkan bir "kriz kavramı" olarak tanımlayan Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987) adlı çalışmasında avangard hareketleri estetik modernitenin bahsi geçen krizi hatırlatan bir yüzü olarak görür. Ayrıca Poggioli tarafından yürütülen etimolojik araştırmayı geliştirerek avangard teriminin renkli ve zengin yolculuğunu da belgeler. Bahsi geçen iki düşünür de avangard hareketleri kavramak için hayati öneme sahip

pek çok temaya değinmiş olsa da çalışmalarında ne yazık ki beden-mekân arasındaki ilişkinin sürdürülebilir bir analizini bulmak mümkün değildir; bahsettikleri tüm alanlar yalnızca faillerin "zihinlerini" etkiliyor gibi gözükmektedir. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, çev. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) adlı çalışmasında Peter Bürger, erken yirminci yüzyıl avangard hareketlerinin — kendisi bu hareketleri 1960'lı yıllardaki avangard hareketlerden ayırmak adına "tarihsel avangardlar" olarak yeniden adlandırmıştır — hayatı reforme edebilmek amacıyla sanattan kopmaya çalıştığını iddia eder. Bürger'e göre bu girişim hayattan ziyade sanatı reforme etse de insanların da sanatın bir kurum olduğunu anlamasını sağlamıştır. Bütün detaylı okumalarına rağmen Bürger çalışmasında bir kurumun, özellikle sanat kurumunun, bedenler açısından kendini nasıl gösterdiğine açıklık getirmez. *The Futurist Moment: Avant-garde, Avant Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) adlı çalışmasında, sanatçıların nasıl olup da Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı desteklediğini merak eden Marjorie Perloff, savaştan hemen önceki dönemi sanatsal kopuş dönemi olarak nitelendirir. Ona göre bu dönemde avangard hareketler yalnızca kitlesel bir izleyici karşısında kendilerini sorgulayıp yeniden formüle etmekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda sanat-politika, sanat-zanaat, sanat-tüketim gibi sanat alanındaki birçok ilişkiyi de sorgular. Zengin bir malzemeye odaklanan Perloff, çalışmasında önceki teorisyenlerden farklı olarak yapılı çevrenin yanı sıra ilgili tarafların bedensel ve algısal boyutuyla ilgili birçok konuyu olumlu bir şekilde yeniden formüle eder. Örneğin avangard hareketler tarafından sıklıkla kullanılan "eşzamanlılık" ilkesini açıklarken kişinin ekstrem ortamları nasıl deneyimleyip hatırladığını, duyuları uyumsuz olarak nasıl algıladığını veya uzay-zaman-hareketin bir deneyim içerisinde nasıl çarpıtılma eğiliminde olduğunu tartışır. Perloff'unkine benzer bir duyarlılık Hal Foster'ın çalışmalarında da görülür. Foster, sadece avangard hareketler tarafından üretilen işleri değil, aynı zamanda avangard üzerine yazılan teorik tartışmaları da psikanaliz ışığında inceler. Fosterin çalışmalarında çevreler ve bedenli failler, kavramların somutlaştığı alan olarak ortaya çıkar. Örneğin *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993) adlı çalışmasında, "harika" kavramı harabelerde ve mankenlerde kendini gösterirken, "şehir" ise bir endişeli işareteler dizisi olarak ortaya çıkar. Benzer şekilde "makine," faillerin "uysal" bedenleri tarafından taklit edilecek protez bir model olarak ortaya çıkarken "şok olmuş asker," bedenin makine veya meta haline gelmesini hatırlatır. *The Invention of Politics in the European Avant-Garde (1906-1940), eds. Sascha Bru and Gunther Martens (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2006)* adlı çalışmanın giriş bölümünde avangard hareketleri ele alırken beden ve mekânın politik bir çerçeve içerisinde nasıl sorunsallaştırılabileceğini merak eden Sascha Bru, avangard sanatçıların hem "devleti" hem de "devrimi" içeren "yurttaş-burjuva" birimleri olarak ele alınabileceğini önerir. Burada bu yurttaş-burjuvanın yalnızca zihinsel değil, aynı zamanda mekânı da işgal eden bedensel bir varlık olduğunu hatırlatmak gerekir. Yine de

böylesi bir okumada "beden," "sanatçı," ya da "şehir deneyimi" gibi sözcükleri kullanırken — sanki bu sözcükler iyi tanımlanmış varlıkları tasvir ediyormuşçasına — fazla bir genelleme yapma tehlikesi bulunmaktadır.

Buna göre aynı bölüm avangard hareketlerden kalan eserlere odaklanarak bazı tarihyazımsal kaygıları ele alır. Johanna Drücker'in *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014) adlı çalışmasında yaptığı tartışmalar bağlamında, olup bitenler, kaydedilenler, yeniden inşa edilenler ve anlatılanlar arasındaki boşluklara dikkat çekerek, yalnızca yazıyı kullanan birinin bilginin üretimi ve yayılması sırasında birtakım engellerle yüzleşebileceğine dikkat çeker. Poggioli'nin anladığı haliyle "avangard ruh" ile şekillendirilmiş bir araştırma alanının da — herhangi bir aracı, yöntemi veya malzemeyi önceden varsayarak işe başlamadığı için — yeni bilgi üretmede faydalı olabileceğini savunur. Bedenli varlıkların birtakım yüzeyler vasıtasıyla çevreyle etkileşime girdiği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bahsi geçen eleştirel araştırma alanını bir yüzeyler sistemi olarak okumak faydalı olabilir. Burada bahsi geçen alanın yüzeyleri üzerinde gerçekleştirilen herhangi bir işlem, bedenli faillerin yorumlarını da değiştirebilir ki sistemin başarısı olabildiğince "katlanabilecek" esneklikte kalabilmesine bağlıdır.

Avangard hareketler tarafından sıklıkla kullanılan dergiler yalnızca söz-görüntü arasında geçişler sağlamakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda bahsi geçen hareketlerin etkinlikleri ve bedenli failleriyle ilginç bir şekilde etkileşime girmiştir. Bu yayınlar üzerine mevcut bilgi birikiminin çevrimiçi arşivlerin yayınlanmaya başladığı XXI. yüzyılda yeniden ele alınması da gerektiğinden, dergi ortamına odaklanmak sanat ve mimarlık tarihi araçlarının gözden geçirilebileceği bu eleştirel alanı oluştururken yararlı olabilir. Dolayısıyla ilk bölümde erken yirminci yüzyıl avangard hareketlerinin yayın ağını tasvir eden bir arayüz betimlenir. Bahsi geçen arayüz, avangard haraketler tarafından kullanılan yayınları içeriklerine kadar böldükten sonra, yalnızca bölünmüş materyali bağlamsal belgeler, eserler, konumlar veya kritik çalışmalarla bağlamakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda bedenli kullanıcılarına, uzam içerisinde kritik argümanlar üretebilecekleri çok boyutlu alanlar sağlar. Arayüzün sağladığı bahsi geçen bu çok boyutlu alanları örneklendirelim. 1916 ve 1917 yıllarında Kabare Voltaire'de ve Galeri Dada'da yapılmış olan ve hakkında hiçbir görsel veri bulunmayan Dada sergilerinin nasıl kurulduğunu merak eden Emily Hage, Charlotte Klonk'un modern sanat galerilerinin iç mekanları üzerine yaptığı kanonik araştırmadan yararlanarak Galeri Dada'da sergilenen resimlerin tüm duvarı kaplayan çok sayıda yakın tablo yerine göz hisasında ve tek sıra halinde devam eden bir dizi şeklinde sergilenmiş olabileceğine varır. Benzer bir hedefle, ilk olarak eldeki mevcut malzemeden (mimari çizimler, mekânın güncel fotoğrafları, dönemdeki resimler, vb.) yola çıkarak Kabare Voltaire'in üç boyutlu taslak bir modeli oluşturuldu. Taslak

modeldeki her tasarım tercihi (Hage'in argümanı gibi veya anılarda bahsedilen olayların gelişimiyle alakalı) çeşitli araştırma sorularının ardından farklılaştırılarak kabarenin farklı modelleri oluşturuldu. Bu, tarihsel olayı yeniden üretmek için yapılan her yeniden inşa denemesinin, olayın kendisine ilişkin yeni yönleri/boşlukları ortaya çıkartan ve olaya dair yeni bilgiler üretebilen bir argüman olduğunu hatırlatmaktadır.

Zürih Dada dosyasına yaklaşırken, üçüncü bölüm, okuyucunun 1870-1914 arasındaki bağlamı daha iyi kavramasına yardımcı olacak şekilde bilgiler sunar. Örneğin bu dönemde eskiye oranla daha fazla çocuk hayatta kalmıştır. Ayrıca "ikinci sanayi devrimi" olarak adlandırılan bir süreç, birçok insanın çevrelerine eskisinden daha verimli bir şekilde müdahale etmesini sağlamıştır ki böylesi bir verimlilik en incelikli olarak kendini mekanikte göstermiştir. Ayrıca bu dönemde ulaşım araçlarının yaygınlaşmasıyla hem bölgesel hem de uluslararası hareketlilikler artmıştır. Görüntü ve sesin farklı ortamlarda kayıt edilebilmesi gibi teknolojiler hızla gelişirken dönemin yöneticileri, zamanı, mesafeyi veya sıcaklığı düzenleyen sistemler üzerinde fikir birliğine varmıştır. Buna parallel olarak zamanın sanatçıları hem dış hem de iç dünyaları kavramanın yeni yollarını aramıştır. Hareket halindeki beden mefhumu ise dönemin birçok düşünürün ilgisini çeker. Bu bağlamda Rudolf Laban (1879-1958) gibi zamanın önde gelen dans kuramcıları, hareket, mekân ve zaman arasındaki etkileşimi yakından incelemiştir. Fakat fiziki olandan metafizik olana doğru giderken varlıkların bedenselliği dönemin performans uyguluyacıyıları için sorun teşkil etmiştir. Buna göre Edward Gordon Craig (1872-1966) gibi zamanın bazı tiyatro vizyonerleri sahnede tam bir yanılsama yaratmak için oyuncular yerine büyük kuklalar kullanmak gibi fikirler ortaya atarak oyuncu/izleyici bedenlerini yeniden kavramsallaştırmıştır. Bahsi geçen bütün bu yeni mekanizmalar bir yer kapladığı için böylesine sayıca bir genişleme bir dizi mekânsal çatışmaya da yol açmıştır. Sonuç olarak büyük ölçekli inşaat programları yürütülmüştür. Modern şehir fabrikalar, ofisler, hastaneler, parklar, spor tesisleri, kanallar veya istasyonlar gibi yeni mekânsal örgütlenme biçimlerine tanık olurken kamusal ve özel alan arasındaki ayrım daha da genişlemiştir.

Bütün bu mekanizmalar insanlar tarafından kullanılmıştır ama aynı şekilde değil. Buna göre bölüm, 1870-1914 yılları arasında farklı geçmişlerden ailelerin yaşamlarına odaklanarak köylü bir ailede doğan bir çocuğun nasıl kendi kendine yeterliliği temel bir ilke olarak kavradığını, işçilerin nasıl zorlu koşullarda çalıştığını, yöneticilerin iş akışını ve işçinin bedeni ile çevresindeki motor arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl yeniden düzenlediğini, eğlence tesislerinin insanları nasıl "muhteşem" bedenleri tüketmeye davet ettiğini, aile üstü kurumların çocukları eğitime nasıl götürdüğünü, sporun nasıl kurumsallaştığını, kamusal alanda farklı bedenli varlıkların nasıl ortaya çıktığını, bu "öteki" varlıkların özel kurumlarda nasıl ehlileştirildiğini ve buna benzer döneme özgü bedenli varlık üzerinde tezahür eden kurumsal kuvvetleri

betimler. Buna ek olarak bu dönemde artan okuryazarlık sayesinde daha fazla insan siyasi olarak temsil edilmek istemiştir. İnsanların büyük ölçüde temsil edilmek istediği kimliğin belirlenmesi ise sonsuz mücadeyi beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu çalışmanın perspektifinden önemli olan, uygulanan kendini haklı çıkarma ve başkalarıyla yüzleşme yaklaşımlarıdır. Birincisi, dönemin pek çok baskı grubu, karşı çıktıkları kümenin aksine, böyle bir sonuca ulaşmak için çektikleri acı kadar elde edilen sonuçtan fayda sağlayamadıklarını gerekçe göstererek eylemlerini meşrulaştırmıştır. İkincisi, zamanın pek çok grubu kendi görüşlerini savunmak için şiddet uygulamaktan kendini alıkoyamamıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı bile diplomasiyle dindirilemeyen bir kriz ortamının şiddet üzerinden tezahür eden bir çözüm arayışı olarak görülebilir. Uzmanlar, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı, devletlerin sadece savaş alanında değil, arka planda da güreştiği bir "topyekün savaş" olarak nitelendirmiştir. Bu, öncelikli olarak bilginin ve sivil yaşamın savaş zamanının gereksinimlerine göre yeniden düzenlenmesinde kendini göstermiştir. Yuvanın bir savaş alanı biçiminde yeniden düzenlenmesi gibi, ilginç bir şekilde savaş alanı da bir yuva olarak yeniden şekillendirillmiştir. Ayrıca savaş ortamında yeni bir sanatçı tipi ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu, parçalanmış bedenleri birleştirmek için doktorlarla iş birliği yapan sanatçıdır. Ayrıca esir olan birçok asker can sıkıntısından kendini tutamayıp eğlence ortamlarında boy göstermiştir. İlginçtir ki tehlikenin farkında olan yöneticiler tutsak askerlere sporu, eğitimi, dini, sanat ve zanaatı teşvik ederek askerleri ucuz eğlence ve tüketimden uzak tutmaya çalışır.

Tüm bu tartışmalar ışığında dördüncü bölüm, Dada'nın Kabare Voltaire, Galeri Dada ve Zürih'in diğer mekanlarında doğuşunun ve gelişiminin izini sürüyor. Birinci Dünya Savaşı bağlamında tarafsız kalan İsviçre, farklı uluslardan savaşa katılmayan birçok şahsı da ağırladı. Bunun bağlamda Dada, 1916'nın başlarında Zürih'te toplandı ve 1919'un sonlarına doğru Berlin, Köln, Paris, New York gibi şehirlere yayıldı. Zürih'te geçen bu dört yıl boyunca grup, en az 9 sergi, 9 yayın ve 27 akşam toplantısı aracılığıyla plastik sanatlar, dans, performans, müzik ve şiirden karma örnekler sundu.

Dada uzmanları Zürih'e yoğunlaştıklarında, Kabare Voltaire'in ortaya çıkışını ve içerideki resim sergisi-performans-dans gibi farklı mecralarda sunulan sanat eserlerini Hugo Ball'un (1886-1927) *Gesamtkunstwerk* (bütünsel sanat eseri) fikrine olan ilgisiyle açıklama eğilimindedir. Ancak daha yakından bakıldığında, dönemin son sanat eserlerinin nispeten daha ticari kabare eserleriyle birlikte sunulduğu görülür. Burada Hugo Ball ve Emmy Hennings'in (1885-1948) bütünsel bir tiyatro oluşturabilmek için neden bir kabare odasına ihtiyaç duyduğunu sorgulamak gerekir. Ekonomi cevabın bir tarafında yer alırken aşinalık diğer tarafındadır. Savaş şartlarında durumu iyi olmayan çift önceden başka kabarede birlikte çalışıyorlardı. Ayrıca hedef kitle zaten mekâna aşinaydı çünkü Kabare Voltaire'i kurmak için

kiraladıkları oda zaten birkaç yıl önce Zürih'in ilk edebiyat kafesi olarak İsviçreli bir gruba ev sahipliği yapmıştı. Ancak bu soru aynı zamanda kabareler için de daha net bir sınır çizmeyi gerektirir. Peter Jelavich'in hatırlattığı haliyle kabare mekânı, enerjisi ve yeni mecraların denenebileceği deneysel bir yer olması sebebiyle yirminci yüzyılın başındaki kültürü canlandırmak isteyen dönemin sanatçılarının zaten ilgisini oldukça çekiyordu. Daha dikkatli incelendiğinde ise zamanın pek çok kabaresinin duvarlarında resimlerin sergilendiği görülür. Bu noktada bir performans mekânının duvarlarına resimler asmak "bütünsel bir sanat eseri" yaratmak için yeterli midir? Bir diğer deyişle, Kabare Voltaire'in ayrı bir varlık olarak bir *Gesamtkunstwerk* oluşturduğu ne ölçüde iddia edilebilir? Şüphesiz ki Kabere Voltaire'de bedenli faillerin mekânla farklı şekilde etkileşime girdiği farklı etkinliklerin programatik bir kesişimi vardı. Dolayısıyla kabarenin kesişen faaliyetlerini de tek tek incelemek de gerekir. Bu nedenle bu bölüm, Dada'nın karmaşık söyleminin prova-tepki-yeniden üretim döngüsünü takip ederek gün be gün ortaya çıktığını öne sürüyor. Prova aşaması (öğleden sonrayla ilişkilendirildi), Dadaistlerin etkinlik ve sergi hazırlıklarını yaptıkları zaman dilimini temsil ederken, tepki aşaması (akşamla ilişkilendirildi), hazırlanan eserlerin izleyiciyle buluştuğu, performans anlarını temsil ediyor. Bu döngüde yeniden üretim aşamasıysa (sabahla ilişkilendirildi), Dada'cıların performans anlarını geriye dönük bir şekilde yeniden yorumlayan söylemsel faaliyetlerini betimliyor. Beden üzerine kavramsal bir çerçeve olmadan bu aşamalara odaklanmak tehlikeli olabilir.

Buna göre bölüm, "beden" kavramını sorunsallaştıran önemli çalışmaları da hatırlatır. *Lived Body: Sociological Themes, Embodied Issues* (New York: Routledge, 1998) adlı çalışmada, Simon J. Williams ve Gillian Bendelow, modern sosyal bilimlerin, "zihin" kavramını "beden" kavramından ayırmış olduğunu hatırlatarak bedenin toplumsal düzen içindeki konumunu merak eder. Yazarlar buna göre sosyal bilimler tarihinde sistemler ve aktörler arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışan iki okuma olduğunu hatırlatır. Birinci okuma, sosyal aktörleri sistemlerin yaratısı olarak görürken ikinci okuma aktörleri sistemleri kontrol edebilen özgür varlıklar olarak görmüştür. Yazarlar bu bağlamda modern düşünce tarihinden üçü kabaca insan bedeninin toplumsal düzene karşı pasif bir varlık olduğunu savunan (Michel Foucault'nun "söylemsel" bedeni, Norbert Elias'ın "uygar" bedeni, Mary Douglas'ın "sembolik" bedeni), üçü de toplumsal bir eylemde bedenin aktif kullanımını araştıran (Marcel Mauss'un "beden teknikleri" ile Pierre Bourdieu'nun "habitus"u, Erving Goffman'ın gündelik yaşamdaki "bedensel" iletişim üzerine gözlemi, Maurice Merleau-Ponty'nin "yaşantılanan bedeni") altı kanonik çalışmayı hatırlatır.

Discipline and Punish, çev. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977[1975]), adlı çalışmasında, 17. ve 19. yüzyıllar arasında kurumsal prosedürlerdeki değişimleri inceleyen

Michel Foucault, güç/bilgi mekanizmasının varlıkları yalnızca bedenleri aracılığıyla disipline etmekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda onları söylemsel olarak yeniden ürettiğini savunur. Buna göre avangard bir hareketin — bedensel, maddi veya söylemsel — gelişiminin böyle bir güç/bilgi mekanizması üzerinden okunup okunamayacağı sorulabilir. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, eds. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, çev. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2013[1939]) adlı çalışmasında Norbert Elias, davranışların gevşek, şiddetin zirvede olduğu Orta Çağ'daki davranış kodlarını, kodların artık tekrarlanmadığı ve bedenlerin "uygarlaştığı" sonraki yüzyılların daha katı davranışlarıyla karşılaştırır. Bu bağlamda günlük yaşamdaki sosyal güçlerin, tarihsel olarak değişen davranış kodları aracılığıyla bireylerin rasyonel, duygusal ve bedensel dürtülerini sürekli olarak şekillendirdiğini öne sürer. Bu çalışma ışığında avangard dergiler tarafından kullanılan yayınları "davranış kodları" olarak okuyarak tarihsel avangardların sanatçıları ve izleyicileri "uygarlaştırdığı" iddia edilebilir mi? *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Routledge, 2001[1966]) adlı çalışmasında Mary Douglas, fiziksel beden deneyiminde bir şeyin kirli, tehlikeli veya tabu olup olmadığını belirleyen şeyin sosyal yapının sınırı olduğunu öne sürer. Buna paralel olarak Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın uluslararası atmosferi göz önüne alındığında, iki tür toplumsal yapının fiziksel bedenler aracılığıyla birbiriyle karşılaşması durumunda ne olduğu merak edilebilir. Aslında böylesi bir karşılaşma Marcel Mauss'un farklı kökenden gelen insanların bir eylem sırasında bedenlerini oldukça farklı şekilde kullandıklarını gözlemlemesini sağlamıştır (Mauss bunu 1935 yılında yayınlanan "Techniques of the body" adlı makalesinde tartışır). Hem Pierre Bourdieu hem de Mauss'un kullandığı "habitus" terimi aracılığıyla Williams ve Bendelow, bireylerin sosyal, politik veya ekonomik kurumları bedensel faaliyetleri aracılığıyla benimsediklerini iddia eder. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971) adlı çalışmasında kamusal alanda insanlar arasındaki fiziksel karşılaşmaları deşifre etmeye çalışan Erving Goffman, faillerin kimliklerini bedensel "deyimler" alıp vererek kazandıklarını savunur. *Phenomenology of Perception*, çev. Colin Smith (New York: Routledge, 2005[1945]) adlı çalışmasında Maurice Merleau-Ponty, kişinin algıyla ilgili kavramları sürekli olarak inşa ettiği tamamlanmamış yolları inceleyerek kişinin algısının nesnelerde sonuçlandığını önerir. Başka bir deyişle, ona göre algılayan bir özneden bahsetmek, algılanan bir ortamdan bahsetmek demektir. Ayrıca duyuların eş zamanlı ve ikili yapıda (görme/görülme, dokunma/dokunulma) olduğunu hatırlatarak kişinin bedeninin dünyadaki bir nesne değil, bu nesnelerle ve dünyayla iletişim aracı olduğunu savunur. Bütün bu farklı görüşler ışığında denilebilir ki beden, bir araç olarak hem toplumsal tarihin hem de kişisel deneyimin kesiştiği bir alandır. Ancak aynı kurum

bedenli varlıklar üzerinde aynı şekilde tezahür etmez. Dolayısıyla tüm bu fikirleri akılda tutarak tartışmayı tarihselleştirmek gerekmektedir.

Günlüklere yakından bakıldığında Dada'nın çoğu yeniliklerinin akşam performanslarında değil de öğleden sonraki provalarda ortaya çıktığı görülüyor. Böylesine yaratıcı bir süreçte kabare mekânının rolünü incelerken Dadaistlerin "kübist" maskeleri ilk kez kullandıkları an, çalışmak açısından değerli olabilir. Bir gün Dada'cı Marcel Janco (1895-1984) diğer grup üyelerinin çok etkilendiği maskelerle çıkagelir. Grup üyeleri bu maskeleri kullanır, tuhaf davranışlar sergiler ve ortaya "alışılmadık yaratıklar" için yeni danslar çıkar. Merleau-Ponty'nin fikirlerini takip ardından yapılı çevrenin maske gibi bedenli faillerini hareketlerini etkileyebilecek bir nesnenin anlamını etkileme yeteneğinin, faillerin eylemlerini değiştirebileceği iddia edilebilir. Ayrıca Dada'cılar, farklı eylem kombinasyonları yoluyla "imkansız" yaratıklar için bedensel hareketleri sistematik bir şekilde ifade ederken Bourdieu'nün anladığı haliyle mevcut "habituslarının" sınırlarını genişletmiş olabilir.

Akşam etkinliklerinde ise bu yeni doğan "alışılmadık yaratıklar" izleyiciyle sosyalleşerek yeni kimlikler kazanmıştır. Burada Goffman'ın fikirlerini anımsamak mümkün. Örneğin, bir gün soyut kostümlerle bir dans parçası hazırlayan Ball, karanlıkta sahneye götürülür. Orada seyirciyi yakından görür, heyecanlanır ve yaşadığı stres sonucu çocukluğundan hatırladığı dini bir ezgiyi söylemeye başlar. Sonunda bu durum onun seyirciler tarafından sahnede "sihirli bir piskopos" olduğu düşünülmesine yol açar. Yani mekân, faillerin planlı beden "deyimlerinin" akışını bozacak şekilde failleri bir araya getirme yeteneğine sahiptir ve bu da sonuçta yeni kimlikler ve sosyal hiyerarşiler yaratabilir. Ayrıca Douglas'ın okumasının ardından akşam etkinliklerinde faillerin sosyal sistemler arasındaki farkları bedenleri aracılığıyla gözardı ettiği söylenebilir. Alkol kullanımını desteklemesi, insanlar arasındaki yakınlığı sağlaması ve en önemlisi herkesin sahip olduğu bedenlere yaptığı tematik vurgudan dolayı kabare mekânının bu muğlaklaştırma sürecinde rolü büyüktür.

Sabahları (yeniden üretim aşamalarında) ise Dadaistler birçok şeyi tartışırken yeni stratejiler planlamak için önceki geceyi gözden geçiriyorlardı. Kabarenin sergi salonu tarafı bu zamanlarda vurgulansa da aslında grup, tartışmalarını tavernalarda bira içerken tiyatrolarda oyun izlerken veya Zürih sokaklarında dolaşırken yapıyordu. Böylesi bir "aylak" zaman geçirme, savaş zamanında daha çok çalışmak zorunda olan İsviçreli vatandaşlardan ziyade uluslararası savaş sığınmacılarına mahsustu. Bu bağlamda, Foucault'nun fikirlerinin ardından Dada'nın söylemsel ortaya çıkışının Zürih'teki bir iktidar/bilgi mekanizmasının sonucu olarak okunup okunamayacağı ve Kabare Voltaire ile Zürih arasındaki ilişkinin buna göre anlaşılıp anlaşılamayacağı sorulabilir. Aslında Kabare Voltaire şehirde eğlence sunan tek ortam değildi,

çünkü pek çok sığınmacı kabarenin bulunduğu eğlence mahallesinde çalışıyordu. Şunu da eklemek gerekir ki aktif olarak on yıllık bir yolculuğu olmasına rağmen Dada, Kabare Voltaire'de yalnızca beş ay kadar kaldı. Kabare'nin kapanışının ardından grup, şehrin eğlence merkezinden ziyade merkezine yakın bir yerde yeni açılan bir galeride bir Dada sergisi düzenledi. Buna müteakip grup birkaç ay içinde galeriyi yeniden organize ederek nispeten daha sofistike sergiler, gösteriler, dersler sunan "Galeri Dada'yı" kurdu. Bu dönüşümde tam olarak neyin değiştiği hala bir merak konusu olmakla birlikte, Dada'nın Zürih içi ve Zürih dışı yolculuğunun Elias'ın anladığı haliyle bir "uygarlaşma" süreci olarak okunup okunamayacağı sorulabilir.

Galeri Dada'nın kullanımı ve tasarımı ile ilgili günlüklerde pek çok olumlu yorum bulunsa da maalesef mekânı hayal etmemizi sağlayacak görsel bir belge yok. Dadacılar sosyal, politik veya estetik alanlarına duyarlı idiyse, fiziksel çevrelerine duyarlı olmamaları nasıl mümkün olabilir? Buna göre "bir Dadaistin şehirdeki bir günü nasıl geçerdi?" veya "Dada partileri, partinin düzenlendiği etkinlik alanının düzenini nasıl etkiledi?" gibi soruları mimari kesitler, planlar ve perspektif çizimlerle çalışmak bir hayli ilginç olabilir. Dolayısıyla bedenler, mekânlar ve ortamlar arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkilere odaklanan daha derin bir araştırmaya ihtiyaç vardır. Çünkü bu, yalnızca Dada'nın çalışmalarını ve söylemini yeniden değerlendirmek için değil, aynı zamanda onları takdir etmek için de verimli yollar sağlayacaktır.

B. CURRICULUM VITAE / ÖZGEÇMİŞ

Trained as an architect with experience in performing arts, I possess a diverse skillset that includes expertise in photography, freehand drawing, storytelling, video editing, three-dimensional modeling, and the use of Adobe Creative Cloud. Uncovering forgotten dimensions of ideas, historical occasions, or places is where my true passion lies. My goal is to tell stories that challenge present-day debates on discrimination, violence, and technology.

EDUCATION

-Middle East Technical University (METU) 09, 2020-09, 2023
Master of Arts, The Dept. of History of Architecture, CGPA: 4.00/4.00
-École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville 02, 2022-07, 2022
Erasmus European Mobility Program
-Middle East Technical University (METU) 09, 2015-07, 2020
Bachelor of Architecture, The Dept. of Architecture, CGPA: 3.15/4.00
Graduation Project: "City as Archive: A New Ground for Bodrum"

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

-Architects' Association 1927 02, 2021-03, 2021
Execution of "Nejat Ersin Digital Archive"
-METU Faculty of Architecture & The Getty Foundation 11, 2019-01, 2020
Execution of "METU Dept. of Architecture Archive"
in "Keeping It Modern: 2017 Grants"
-SCRA Architecture 08, 2019-10, 2019
Office Internship
-METU Design Factory & Anadolu Efes 02, 2018-05, 2018
Interdisciplinary Design Studio
-YDA Group 06, 2017-08, 2017
Construction internship in the construction of "YDA Center"
-METU Faculty of Architecture 06, 2016-08, 2016
Internship on surveying, model making, and construction materials.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR EXPERIENCE

-METU Theatre Club/ODTÜ Oyuncuları 09, 2015-09, 2019
Performer
Designer (graphic, video, scenery)
Coordinator of the annual METU Theatre Festival
Executive Board Member
Trainer
Creative Director
Director
-Ankara Tiyatrolar Platformu *(Ankara Theatres Platform)* 06, 2017-10, 2019
Designer
Executive Board Member
Coordinator of Ankara Summer Theatre Festival
Coordinator of weekly short courses

-METU Department of Architecture 09, 2016-06, 2018
Co-representative of 2nd and 3rd year studios of architecture, with Ezgi Geyik
-METU Mountaineering & Winter Sports Community/DKSK 09, 2015-01, 2016

ATTENDEE

-Şiirsel Komedi: Bir Clown Araştırması (*Poetic Comedy: A Clown Exploration*) 2019
Instructor: Güray Dinçol, Assistant: Hazal İspirli
-BETONART: 18. Architecture Summer School
2019
-Introduction to Jacques Lecoq's Mask Theatre 2019
Instructor: Pınar Akkuzu
-Immersive and Responsive Environments: Performative Arch. Design in MR 2018
-Cocoon: A Computational Design Workshop 2018
-UTAK: Simulation and Personas 2017
-IDEO: Design Thinking Workshop 2016

AUDITOR

-International Association of Aesthetics Interim Conference 2021
European Avant-Garde – A Hundred Years Later
Organizer: Slovenian Society of Aesthetics
-Mediterranean Congress of Aesthetics 2021
Organizer: The Hellenic Society for Aesthetics
- The 5th Vienna Forum for Intercultural Philosophy 2021
Demarginalizing Futures: Rethinking Embodiment, Community and Culture
- METU Architectural History Grad. Symposium 11 2020
Spaces, Times, People: Fiction and Architectural History
-UTAK: Tasarım ve Umut 2019
-Koruma: Geçmiş, Bugün, Gelecek arasında bir diyalog 2017
-MSTAS.2017: Imkansız Mekanlar: Olanaksızın Olanağı 2017
-UTAK: Sorumluluk, Bağlam, Deneyim ve Tasarım 2017

SELECTED COMPETENCIES IN NUMERICAL MEDIA

-Adobe Illustrator/InDesign/Photoshop/Premiere Pro Advanced
-Autodesk AutoCAD/Fusion360/Maya/Revit Advanced
-McNeel Rhinoceros/Grasshopper for Rhinoceros Advanced
-Lumion Render Intermediate

LANGUAGES

-Turkish Native
-English Advanced
-French Intermediate
-Syrian Arabic Conversational

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): DADA'NIN BEŞİĞİ: ZURİH DADA MEKÂNLARININ BEDENSELLİK AÇISINDAN BİR İNCELEMESİ/ DADA'S CRADLE: AN EVALUATION OF ZURICH DADA'S SPACES AS TO CORPOREALITY

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☒ **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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