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Spectacle and the One-Man Band :
Technology, Performing Bodies, and Imaginary Spaces

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Résumé

L'étiquette « homme-orchestre » est apposée à une grande variété de musiciens qui se distinguent en jouant seuls une performance qui est normalement interprétée par plusieurs personnes. La diversité qu'a pu prendre au cours du temps cette forme n'est pas prise en compte par la culture populaire qui propose une image relativement constante de cette figure tel que vue dans les films *Mary Poppins* (1964) de Walt Disney et *One-man Band* (2005) de Pixar. Il s'agit d'un seul performeur vêtu d'un costume coloré avec une grosse caisse sur le dos, des cymbales entre les jambes, une guitare ou un autre instrument à cordes dans les mains et un petit instrument à vent fixé assez près de sa bouche pour lui permettre d'alterner le chant et le jeu instrumental.

Cette thèse propose une analyse de l'homme-orchestre qui va au-delà de sa simple production musicale en situant le phénomène comme un genre spectaculaire qui transmet un contenu symbolique à travers une relation tripartite entre performance divertissante, spectateur et image. Le contenu symbolique est lié aux idées caractéristiques du Siècle des lumières tels que la liberté, l'individu et une relation avec la technologie. Il est aussi incarné simultanément par les performeurs et par la représentation de l'homme-orchestre dans l'imaginaire collectif. En même temps, chaque performance sert à réaffirmer l'image de l'homme-orchestre, une image qui par répétitions est devenue un lieu commun de la culture, existant au-delà d'un seul performeur ou d'une seule performance.

L'aspect visuel de l'homme-orchestre joue un rôle important dans ce processus par une utilisation inattendue du corps, une relation causale entre corps, technologie et production musicale ainsi que par l'utilisation de vêtements colorés et d'accessoires non musicaux tels des marionnettes, des feux d'artifice ou des animaux vivants. Ces éléments spectaculaires divertissent les spectateurs, ce qui se traduit, entre autres, par un gain financier pour le performeur. Le divertissement a une fonction phatique qui facilite la communication du contenu symbolique.

Mots-clés : Homme-orchestre, Performance, Spectacle, Corps, Espace, Technologie, Liminalité, Divertissement, Musique

Abstract

The term one-man band is applied to a number of different types of performers who use a variety of technological means to perform by themselves what is usually played by several different musicians. Repeated use of similar representations in popular culture and movies such as in Walt Disney's *Mary Poppins* (1964) and Pixar's *One-man Band* (2005) point to a particular image of the one-man band as a shared point of cultural reference. This image is of a solitary performer dressed in a colourful costume with a bass-drum on his back, cymbals between his legs, a guitar or other string-instrument in his hands, and some small wind-instrument attached close enough to his mouth to allow him to alternate signing and playing.

This thesis seeks to understand the one-man band as more than simply a musical phenomenon by situating it as a spectacular form in which symbolic content is communicated through a three-part relationship between spectator, image, and entertaining performance. In so doing, the one-man band becomes a representation of ideals associated with the Enlightenment such as liberty, the individual, and a relationship with technology. At the same time, each performance reaffirms the image of the one-man band, reconfirming and maintaining its place as a shared cultural space which exists beyond any one performer or any one performance.

All of this is achieved in part through the important place accorded to the visual elements of the performance such as causal use of technology and the important place given to the performer's body as well as through the use of colourful costumes and accessories such as puppets, fireworks, or live animals. The musical and visual aspects of the performance entertain the audience which rewards performers by positively impacting the audience resulting notably in material gain. Entertainment also fulfils a phatic function facilitating communication of the performance's symbolic content.

Keywords : One-Man Band, Performance, Spectacle, Body, Space, Technology, Liminality, Entertainment, Music

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List of acronyms and list of abbreviations

No acronyms or abbreviations are used in this thesis. This page is nonetheless included in accordance with the *Guide de presentation des memoires et des theses de l'Université de Montréal.*

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Introduction

Where's this going? Notes on form and style

This thesis is built around three articles on the one-man band which I wrote intermittently from 2012 to 2015. More precisely, this thesis explores the one-man band both as individual performers and as representations in popular culture. It looks at both people who are one-man bands, and the idea of the one-man band itself. Each article examines the phenomenon under a different lens – corporeity, technology, imagination – but all three articles are tied together by their common themes of performance and spectacle, the two theoretical pillars of this thesis. To help readers better situate the content of the articles, I begin with an introductory section presenting the topic through a description of the phenomenon and a review of existing literature. It is here that we are also introduced for the first time to ideas on performance and spectacle which permeate the rest of this dissertation. At the same time, the introduction provides an overview of some of the main ideas on the sub-topics of each article: body, technology, and public space.

One of the primary challenges of preparing a thesis by articles is bringing the different elements together into a coherent whole. With that in mind, the articles themselves are each preceded by a short introduction, linking them together and helping transition the reader through the text as a whole. The articles are collectively followed by a general discussion in which the central ideas of the different articles are brought together to provide a more complete picture of the one-man band and how it can be understood as an interrelation between performer, audience, and shared imaginary space. This discussion is itself followed by a few brief comments drawing the full text of this dissertation to a close.

For ease of consultation, lists of works cited follow each article as in their original publications, just as a list of works cited follows this introduction. A full bibliography for this thesis is included in its usual location, at the end of the document after the conclusion.

Before we get into the whats and hows of this thesis, I feel as though a why and a who might be appropriate. If nothing else, the following (perhaps overly personal) introduction provides the reader with background information allowing them to contextualize this research within my broader academic journey.

Why the One-Man Band? "A theatrical, inventive, unique, spirited, absurdity celebration"[1]

In early 2003 I was enjoying part of my misspent youth in Toronto, attending classes at the University of Toronto with some irregularity and attempting to "make it" as a professional musician. On one particular night, my roommates and I went to see a couple of movies at Hot Docs, an annual international documentary film festival. The last film of the evening was a documentary on one-man bands, Canadians Derek and Heather Emerson's *Let me be your band* (2003). I loved what I saw. Most striking was the interview with famous one-man band Hasil Adkins who claimed to get his start by listening to the radio and trying to imitate what he heard. It never occurred to him that there might be more than one person playing the music coming over the air-waves, and so he never tried to find anyone else to play with.

This story stuck with me as did the idea of studying one-man bands in greater detail. I liked the unusualness of the topic and the element of humour associated with it, and it didn't seem like something that I would lose interest in as time went on. The fact that preliminary surveys revealed little existing research on the subject only served to interest me further.

In hindsight, it is perhaps not surprising that this ended up as my thesis topic. In my own musical practice, I have never been able to limit myself to playing only one instrument, always seeking out the challenge of playing something new, and I have always played whatever instruments I could get my hands on, though never all at once. I've also always been attracted to the unique and the marginal. Somewhat coincidentally, my favourite movie as a

[1] (Austen, 2002, p. 10)

child was Walt Disney's *Mary Poppins* (Stevenson, 1964), which features Dick Van Dyke in one of the best-known representation of one-man bands.

Though perhaps odd considering I was a musician myself for a number of years, it has never been the music of the one-man band that has particularly interested me. While I have great respect for the one-man bands I have met and spoken with and the music that they create, my research has lead me down one of the many forks that present themselves to researchers along the long road of a PhD dissertation. Consequently, though both the music and the performers themselves inform my work, I have concentrated more on the performances of the one-man band, how the spectacular nature of these performances helps draw in and build relationships with audiences, and how the image of the one-man band as a social construction could represents the ideological underpinnings of the society that it's from. In this way, I hope to arrive at an understanding of the one-man band that can help explain its longevity as a form and the attraction people have to it.

This focus has necessarily impacted the type of thesis that I have produced. There are no transcriptions in the following pages, nor did I conduct in-depth studies of repertoire (apart from asking performers what kinds of songs they like playing) or how people learn and practice to become one-man bands. Those looking for a how-to guide will be disappointed. This thesis is, however, an attempt to understand the one-man band, or at the very least, an attempt to present one possible way of understanding the one-man band.

Undoubtedly because of *Mary Poppins*, I had always associated the one-man band with Victorian England[2]. However, as I began my research, I was surprised to find that the phenomenon was much older than that, with references to these multi-instrumental performers being found dating back to at least the 1780s (Gétreau, 2000). I was struck by the longevity of this type of performance and couldn't help wondering what it was that has kept attracting audiences (and performers) for that length of time. Along with a remarkable longevity, the one-man band has a reputation as being outside of mainstream musical production. British cultural musicologist Dale Chapman (2013) describes these figures as being perennial side-

[2] I now know that the movie and books on which *Mary Poppins* was based were set in Edwardian London, but these details weren't part of my original imagining of the one-man band.

shows, “their disarmingly comical affect [...] both embodying and reinforcing” what Chapman calls “marginal class positions” (p. 451). I wondered how to reconcile what seemed to be an apparent contradiction. On the one hand, social marginality, and on the other, stable existence for more than 230 years.

As I turned my research from the historical to the contemporary, the current popularity of the one-man band became increasingly evident. While conscious of the fact that anytime one starts to immerse themselves in a subject, it seems to show up everywhere, in the five years of my PhD studies an annual one-man band festival was formed in Montreal and has seen three successful editions ("The One Man Band Festival," 2014), a documentary film was released (Gellez, Guezet, & Pernis, 2013), a remarkable compendium was published (D. Harris, 2012), an academic article (Chapman, 2013) was written on the subject, and British super-group Coldplay chose one-man bands as the theme for the music video of one of their singles (Whitecross, 2014)[3]. This is, of course, not including my own work on the topic, both published (Whittam, 2014) and in preparation. What is it about the one-man band that has spurred such a recent surge in activity on the subject?

Despite its marginal nature the one-man band has permeated collective consciousness to become what French sociologist Jean-Marc Leveratto (2006) calls “un lieu commun de la culture” (p. 281), a shared cultural space which exists within people’s imaginations above and beyond any one performer or any one performance. What is this imagined view of the one-man band? More importantly, what does this image tell us about the social space in which it exists, and can it help us understand the current (relative) popularity of the phenomenon?

Through my research, I hoped to develop a way of understanding the one-man band that would help answer these questions. To do so, I use each one of the three articles which make up the body of this thesis to examine one essential aspect of the one-man band: *L’homme-orchestre et le corps en musique* looks at the role the body plays in one-man band performances, *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle: The one-man band and audience*

[3] While these five sources might not seem like a lot, it is a significant number when compared to the total output on the subject as detailed in the section on existing literature, or as found in the final bibliography at the end of this document.

relationships in the digital age looks at the relationship between the one-man band and technology, and *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment: Imagining the one-man band* looks at the one-man band as a shared imaginary space representing ideals associated with the Enlightenment such as freedom and individuality.

In order to play so many instruments at once, the one-man band puts more parts of his body to work and does so in different ways than would a performer who only plays one instrument at a time. In *L'homme-orchestre et le corps en musique*, I argue that this use of the body is one of the defining stylistic elements of the one-man band. The one-man band is perhaps a virtuoso, but it is a horizontal virtuosity, not a vertical one. "Doing several things at once requires extra concentration and most [one-man bands] would admit that they play better guitar (or whatever) by itself." (D. Harris, 2012, p. 9). Despite being impressive musicians, dividing ones attention and resources among several different instruments means that the music produced by one-man bands is not the same as music produced by, say, a four-person band. The attraction of the one-man band is not how good the music is, qualified at times as being "crude and musically not very interesting" (Rammel, 1990, p. 14), but rather that the performer is in fact able to make good music. Any analysis of the one-man band that excludes a study of the performing body is missing a crucial part of the phenomenon.

Knowledge of body shared between performer and audience allows the audience to appreciate the virtuosity of the one-man band. Furthermore, this virtuosic use of the body adds to the spectacular nature of the performance. Much of the allure is in watching the performer, a fact acknowledged by Canadian one-man band Washboard Hank who remarks that audiences prefer seeing the notes of a scale spread out all over his body, rather than methodically ordered and placed where they would be easiest to play (Emerson & Emerson, 2003). In an age where recorded sound consistently separates performers from their music (Auslander, 2006a), and where studio over-dubs and digitally tweaked recordings are the norm, the performing body of the one-man band acts as a measure of authenticity for audiences.

The bodily exertions of the one-man band are transformed into musical production through innovative use of technology. Ropes stretched from his feet to drums on his back, special harnesses to keep instruments in place between uses, technology is also an important part of the one-man band, particularly when examined as part of its interrelated nature with body.

As Chapman (2013) points out, the application of new digital technologies to musical production have facilitated multi-instrumental performance. However, this hasn't created a consensus within the one-man band community. While some performers have adopted looping, samples, and software, many continue to rely on the same mechanical technology used by their 19th century predecessors. Furthermore, despite living in a technological age in which rapid improvements lead to technological obsolescence and irrelevance within a decade, the one-man band's use of older forms of technology seems to resonate with audiences. More precisely, the interrelation between body and technology helps the one-man band attract audiences and hold their attention. This relationship between body and technology is addressed more directly in the second article, *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle: The one-man band and audience relationships in the digital age.*

American performance artist and theoretician Daniel Wilcox (2007) describes the one-man band as a "musical cyborg[4]" at the meeting point between body and technology. While most of my research examines so-called traditional forms of the one-man band, this particular article draws on contemporary manifestations of the phenomenon to show that understanding the one-man band can help us understand our larger relationship with technology in our current society. The evident causal nature of the one-man band's mechanical technology is in contrast to the near-magical invisible nature of today's digital technology. Visible technology adds to the spectacular nature of performances, as the one-man band also becomes a kind of Goldberg machine[5] in which part of the interest is seeing how the sound is produced.

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[4] The term "cyborg" was first used by Manfred Clynes and Nathan Kline in their "Cyborgs and Space", published in *Astronautics* in 1960. They coined to word to describe cybernetic organisms, humans whose functions would be altered through biochemical, physiological, or electrical modifications to meet the rigours of space exploration. Since then cyborgs have appeared regularly in science fiction and popular culture, either as good guys (Robocop, the Bionic Woman, and most recently Ironman), bad guys (Darth Vader, the Borgs of *Star Trek*) or a bit of both (Terminator, Frankenstein).

[5] Goldberg Machines are named after American cartoonist Rube Goldberg whose cartoons were known for showing intricate and complicated machines performing the most basic of tasks in incredibly indirect ways, usually through a string of unusual steps in a chain reaction, such as throwing a cracker past a parrot or using lighters to burn through ropes releasing a variety of payloads.

The third and final article, *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment: Imagining the one-man band* deals with the image of the one-man as represented in popular culture. Despite the variety of forms presented in documentary sources (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; Gellez et al., 2013; D. Harris, 2012), representations of the one-man band in mass media are surprisingly uniform: one man, playing standing up with a bass drum on his back, wearing a colourful costume and soaked in feelings of nostalgia and fun. This article explores the idea of spectacle as a Durkheimian force that participates in the creation and maintenance of central community values. If we accept the image of the one-man band as represented in popular culture being a distillation of societal ideals which emerged during the Enlightenment such as personal liberty and the individual within society, then we can elaborate upon this to develop a model for understanding the longevity of the phenomenon. Each performance is a re-enactment of these ideals and audience support of the performance is in turn representative of tacit audience agreement with the place that these ideals still occupy within society.

All three articles share a theoretical framework based on performance and spectacle. As these concepts are presented in lesser and greater detail in each of the articles, I have balanced the risk of repeating myself with the necessity of providing an overview of what are the theoretical pillars of this thesis and have decided that both performance and spectacle should be addressed here first, albeit briefly, before presenting existing literature on the one-man band itself (lest we forget what this thesis is supposed to be about). In a similar manner, the theme of each article – be it body, technology, or public space – is given its own treatment within each separate article. However, again seeking to balance a desire not to repeat myself too often with a duty to provide the necessary theoretical background to readers, I feel it important to spend some time presenting ideas on body, technology, and public space, before launching into spectacle and performance.

Body, Technology, and Space

The body as an object of study in anthropology is particularly noticeable in physical anthropology and early studies on racial classification of the 19th century. However, for the question at hand it would appear more productive to examine the body from the viewpoint of sociology or cultural anthropology. In a 1934 presentation to the *Société de Psychologie* which is largely considered one of the first treatises on the anthropological study of the human body, French sociologist Marcel Mauss, introduced the notion of 'technique du corps', by which he means "les façons dont les hommes, société par société [...] savent se servir de leur corps." (Mauss, 2002 [1936], p. 5). In this presentation the body is referred to as "le premier et le plus naturel objet technique, et en même temps moyen technique, de l'homme." (p. 10). Mauss' ideas were taken up in France by two of his students, anthropologist André-Georges Haudricourt and archaeologist André Leroi-Gourhan. Haudricourt continued studying the notion of 'les techniques du corps' through the 1940s and 50s and believed that if the way the body moves and operates is culturally conditioned, then a study of the body can reveal much about the culture in question (Haudricourt, 2010). Within this French school of study, the body and technology were often connected. Leroi-Gourhan drew on the ideas of Mausse and Haudricourt in his two volume work *Le geste et la parole* published in 1964 and 1965 in which he maintains that without cultural knowledge conditioning bodily movement, tools are of little use. It is only the "geste qui [rend l'outil] techniquement efficace." (Brill, 1991, p. 177). *Le geste et la parole* is best known for its introduction of the concept of "chaîne opératoire" to describe the entire process of tool production, use, and disposal from acquiring the raw materials to abandoning the object at then end. Widely used in archaeology, this concept allows the researcher to reconstruct the choices made by humans in tool selection and use and thus extrapolate the concepts that lie underneath such choices and learn something of the society that created and used the tools. This concept was adopted and used by French anthropologist of technology Pierre Lemonnier (1992), among others.

Contributing to the French study of the body were the phenomenologists who concentrated on lived experiences as a way of understanding everyday life. Important among them was philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty who, from the publication of his *La phénoménologie de la perception* in 1945 to his death in 1962, helped develop the idea of "corporéité" in which the body is not just an object, but is our way of entering into contact with the world and moving through it. This placed an emphasis on the determining nature of embodiment rather than seeing it as a determined concept (Schilling, 2005). Sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu added to the development of the French school of thought in the 1970s through his notion of "habitus", used to describe how cognitive patterns are shaped by bodily habits. Social and cultural features such as class position and moral values become embodied through everyday life. This embodiment creates dispositions within a person, and these dispositions work to shape future social practices by serving as guidelines to be followed when confronted with a new situation (Bourdieu, 1972). The body played an important role in the work of another French thinker, Michel Foucault, whose works of the 1970s focused on the body as the site of power and discipline (T. Turner, 1995).

One of the defining characteristics of the study of the body in the West has been attempts to disassociate it from the mind. This has been accompanied by a similar duality between body and soul, which is in part responsible for “Western perceptions of the body, which [...] have been seen as distorted by culturally transmitted images associating the body with sin and moral pollution.” (Willis, 1996, p. 76). In his 1983 article arguing in favour of a new anthropological approach to the body, New Zealand anthropologist Michael Jackson outlines what he considers to be the main faults of the traditional ways of viewing the body which he believes have led to the body being regarded as passive or inert in many anthropological studies. A Cartesian split “which detaches the knowing and speaking subject from the unknowing inert body,” is coupled with a “reification of the knowing subject, which is made synonymous with ‘society’ or ‘the social body’.” (1983, p. 329). Jackson goes on to refute this view as being “fallacious [...] as well as contradicting our experience of the body as lived reality.” He instead promotes a “phenomenological approach to body praxis [which shows] how human experience is grounded in bodily movement within a social and material environment.” (p. 330).

In refusing to separate body and mind, and thereby refuting the idea that the mind is knowledge and the body exists only to store the mind, the discipline of performance studies developed a different way of viewing the body in the 1980s and 1990s. The body is seen as a site of knowledge (Conquergood, 2002) and embodiment is situated in the area between a positivist view of the body and one which believes it to be malleable clay, prepared to be moulded into any form by society's workings (Lewis, 1995).

The study of technology has been a core element of anthropological research from its earliest days, often in the guise of material culture. At the onset of the 20th century, the study of material culture was one of anthropology's three areas of expertise, along with physical anthropology and social organization (Pfaffenberger, 1992). However, unlike their French counterparts, technology (and material culture) was about to fall out of favour within the Anglosphere. American anthropologist working in the field of science and technology studies Brian Pfaffenberger (1992) argues that anthropology began to reject technology partly due to its connection to debunked evolutionist theories and partly through a fear that it would distract from what anthropologists of the second quarter of the 20th century considered the disciplines true goal: studying culture. However, if we understand technology to be "the particular domain of human activity immediately aimed at action on matter," (Lemonnier, 2002, p. 544) then its importance to anthropology lies in the fact that technology, be it gestures or techniques, "is always a physical manifestation of mental schemata of how things work, how they are to be made, and how they are to be used." (p. 545). It is through this interpretation that technology began to make a return to Anglo-American anthropology in the 1980s (Pfaffenberger, 1992).

Technology in society includes material artefacts such as tools and gestures, as well as information and know-how. French anthropologist of technology Robert Cresswell (1991) presents a hierarchy of three increasingly complex levels of technology: First, the tool, gesture, or information itself, second, the processes and social relationships associated with tools, gestures, or information, and third, the bringing together of all of these processes, operations and relationships into larger, socially constructed systems (pp. 698-701). A parallel can be drawn between these three levels of technology and how anthropology has approached the subject. Early anthropologists concentrated mainly on material artefacts or tools and it was only later that the study of technology as larger systems emerged. More recent anthropological research has focused on the ways in which technology is integrated into society; the "uninterrupted process by which material culture is made part of culture; [and how it] simultaneously results from, and participates in, particular socio-cultural characteristics." (Lemonnier, 2002, p. 545).

Central to the study of technology as part of larger technological systems was the work of French historian Bertrand Gille, who developed the idea of a "système technique" in his 1978 book, *Histoire des techniques*, to describe the interrelation between the development of a technological system (based on a particular type of technology such as stone tools or mechanical power) and the social, economic, and political systems which emerge synchronistically (Herlea, 1982). Gille theorized that human history could be divided into a series of successive systèmes technique, each based on a different type of technology.

While much broader in scope, Gille's ideas are consistent with the widely-held belief that there is an interrelation between technological invention and societal development. “[S]cholars generally concede that language, tool use, and social behavior evolved in a process of complex mutual interaction and feedback.” (Pfaffenberger, 1992, p. 493). Pfaffenberger (1992) argues that it is need which drives the creation of technology, but reminds us that need is determined by culture, not by nature. This becomes even more apparent when we consider the relationship between technologies of production or acquisition and technologies of consumption or use. “Dans les techniques de production existent des relations d’influence mutuelle entre activités techniques et phénomènes sociaux. Lorsque sont considérées les techniques de consommation et d’utilisation, les rapports techniques expriment des rapports sociaux.” (Cresswell, 1991, p. 701).

For most people in the 21st century, the term technology has come to represent its electronic and increasingly digital manifestations, and current anthropological research reflects this tendency. Columbian-American anthropologist Arturo Escobar uses the term “cyberculture” in a 1995 article to describe the fact that “we increasingly live and make ourselves in techno-biocultural environments structured by novel forms of science and technology.” (Escobar, 1995, p. 410). Escobar contends that these forms include new computer and information technologies as well as biological technology which permits a new order of producing and altering life and nature. One key role anthropology plays in the new American field of science and technology studies created in the mid 1990s is its attempts to refocus in cultural terms the dominant model of scientific study which puts “science and technology on the one side and people on the other.” (Downey, 2001, p. 13629). As digital and biological technologies become ever more present in the lives of most people in the Western world, the borders drawn by this dominant model are being re-theorized in the face of technological activities which straddle the supposed divide between science and people (Downey, 2001).

Anthropologists have taken an interest in spatial beliefs and practices since at least the cultural evolutionists of the 19th century and have used ethnographic studies of space to support other theoretical arguments (Lawrence & Low, 1990). Every society structures and approaches space in different ways, and space is therefore an expression of the society in question. Despite anthropology's long relationship with space, American anthropologists Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga (2003) make the argument that since the 1990s the study of the spatial dimensions within culture has moved into the foreground of anthropological research, giving new meaning to the notion that all behaviour is simultaneously constructed of space and located within it.

Characteristic of the earlier approach to studying space, functionalists in the 1940s such as Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Edward Evans-Pritchard used space to describe territorial structure, which then provided the framework for other forms of social organization (Radcliffe-Brown, 1987). American anthropologist Edward Hall's 1966 publication of *The Hidden Dimension* was a key moment in the anthropological study of space. In his book, Hall coins the term “proxemics” to describe “the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture.” (p. 1). However, he is perhaps most famous for the notions he developed concerning personal space, that “bubble” of space that surrounds each person and to which each person attaches certain feelings of ownership of territoriality. Personal space is culturally variable, and the way that public space is structured and used within society is an extension of each culture's ideas on personal space. Public space within the context of Hall's work is understood as being “the area of space beyond which people will perceive interactions as impersonal and relatively anonymous.” (Brown, 2011, p. 2).

In his 1974 book *La production de l'espace*, influential French geographer and sociologist Henri Lefebvre developed the idea that space is a social product, either through the way we interact with it, how it is represented (on maps, or plans), how we inhabit it and create symbolic meaning within it (Lefebvre, 1974). This idea is developed by Stuart Rockefeller in his 2002 Ph.D Dissertation, *Where are you going? Work, Power, and Movement in the Bolivian Andes,* in which he contends that despite being anchored in a geographical space, places are not just geographical or architectural features. Places exist simultaneously in the land, people's minds, customs, and bodily practices (Rockefeller, 2003). This argument needs to be reconsidered when applied to urban spaces which have to balance built forms with created spaces. A study of urban public space must therefore take into account the relationship between the materiality of urban forms and the subjective experience of urban space (Tonkiss, 2005). The increased density of urban environments and the accompanying premium placed on space makes them critical sites for studying public space. “Urban environments provide frequent opportunities for spatial contests because of their complex structures and differentiated social entities that collude and compete for control over material and symbolic resources.” (Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga, 2003, p. 19).

The nature of public space as a place shared by many also makes it the site of contestation. This is in part because public spaces “concretize the fundamental and recurring, but otherwise unexamined, ideological and social frameworks that structure practice.” (Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga, 2003, p. 18). In his 1980 examination of the construction of everyday life, the two-volume *L'invention du quotidien,* French philosopher Michel de Certeau revisits some of Foucault's ideas of power. The ideas of “strategies” and “tactics” developed by de Certeau are used to describe the interplay at work in public space. Administrative power uses strategies of urban design to try and impose order on the city. Citizens use tactics such as short-cuts, jaywalking, or unorthodox routes to contest the view of the city imposed upon them. In this way ordinary people transform space through use (de Certeau, 1980a).

Contestation increases when social divisions exclude groups from using public spaces or when public space is used as a way to impose or subvert power. French geographer Michel Lussault reminds us that colonial or other segregationist societies often separate public space between different groups. Rosa Parks' refusal to move to a different part of a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama “a rendu visible l'injustice, a apporté la *preuve par l'espace* de l'iniquité des règles sociales.” (Lussault, 2007, p. 30).

Public space does not always need to be seen as a conflictual site. French sociologist Louis Quéré reminds us in a 1992 article that it can also be seen as a forum, a mediating element between citizens and political or administrative power (Quéré, 1992).

Bodies, technologies, and spaces are not isolated nor are they isolatable. Lines of thought can and do start in one and veer off into another, developing where two or more of the topics meet. There is a richness of research and material in the spaces between these three topics that exceeds what the study of one alone can produce. One only has to return to the works of Mauss to see that technologies and bodies are often intimately linked. As we have already discussed earlier in the section on the body, tools and technology simultaneously stem from the body and are influenced by the way that cultures decide to use the body. The reverse is equally true. Technology can impact and change the body, as shown by the fact that we walk differently if we are wearing shoes or not (Mauss, 2002 [1936]). The cybercultural world described by Escobar brings technology and the body into increasingly close contact. Escobar evokes the concept of the cyborg as representative of the combination of body and technology and the term “cyborg anthropology” has been used to describe the anthropological study of this intersection (Downey, Dumit, & Williams, 1995).

Technology has also impacted public space through the creation of virtual public spaces existing on-line and accessible through the internet either in the form of chat-rooms and discussion boards or in the form of complete virtual worlds such as the game Second-life. The internet itself has been described as a public space, and its use has changed the way we interact with physical public space through simultaneity (being in multiple places at once), permeability of previous well-delimited spaces such as home, work, or transport, and the exclusivity and security we seek (Champ & Chien, 2000). Within the internet, “the public space, the private sector space, and the personal spaces merge seamlessly.” (p. 14). However, despite its differences, virtual public space is still subject to many of the same issues of power and contestation as physical public space (North, 2010).

Though the intersection of body and public space may be, on the surface, less obvious than the others cited above, we mustn't forget that embodied space stands as a counterweight to virtual public space. “Embodied space is being-in-the-world – that is, the existential and phenomenological reality of place: its smell, feel, color, and other sensory dimensions.” (Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga, 2003, p. 5). Embodied space uses spatial orientation, movement, and language to understand the creation of space, thereby situating the body at the centre of space. British sociologist Fran Tonkiss believes that “bodies make a difference in terms of the symbolic, the practical, and the formal ordering of public space” (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 6), and gives us the example of “how women's spatial practice is constrained by spatial perceptions of violence and fear.” (p. 94). Public space, by its very essence, implies a public, and while technology can provide means of creating contact without the physical presence of bodies, there is always a body at the other end of the keyboard.

In the same way it can be argued that bodies, technologies, and public spaces don't truly exist independently of each other, performance by one-man bands can't be understood by only examining these three topics independently. The interest lies not solely with one or the other, but rather in the relationship of these elements each to the other. The performer must mediate among them by occupying the space in the middle of this triad, by simultaneously being both the generating force that sets these elements in motion, causing them to act upon each other, and the conciliatory medium which brings resolution to the conflict or dispute this action and the ensuing reactions cause. Consequently, there is some overlap in the treatment of these topics in the three articles, particularly when looking at body and technology in *L'homme-orchestre et le corps en musique* and *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle*. Body and technology are intimately linked within the one-man band and it makes sense that an article examining one also deals with the other and vice-versa. Whereas the first article focuses on performers who adopt technology similar to that used by their 18th and 19th century counterparts, the second follows the one-man band into the electronic and digital age. Likewise, the first article shows the role the body plays in creating spectacle and developing rapport with audiences while the second shows that this rapport is further strengthened by a causal relationship between body, technology, and result. In a similar way, the audience can only enter into a relationship with the one-man band through shared use of space, either public or imagined. While these themes are found throughout the three articles, what really ties them together is their shared focus on performance and spectacle, to which we will now turn.

Performance and Spectacle.

The phrase 'performative turn' (Conquergood, 1989) has been used to describe a shift in thinking within the humanities that has seen ideas on performance move from an enactive view of structures and texts to a constructive one in which meaning and behaviour are created through performance. This 'turn' was influenced by ideas coming from linguistics such as Austin's (1975) concept of the performative, Dell Hyme (2004 [1981]) and the importance of communicative competency, and Richard Bauman's *Verbal Art as Performance* (1977), among others. In literary theory, French thinker Roland Barthes (1970) articulated this as readerly texts, in which the text is a finished product, its meaning pre-determined by the author and its reader a passive consumer, and writerly texts, in which meaning is created by the reader through the process of consuming the work. Performance was also adopted within sociology, notably by Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) who used the model of the theatre to describe how we interact with others as part of everyday life.

In anthropology, performance was primarily studied as it related to forms of artistic expression, performing arts being one part of E.B. Tylor's (1889) "complex whole" of culture. Ethnological studies of people around the world included descriptions of dance, music, and theatre. However, the way that performance was viewed within anthropology began to change as scholars like Milton Singer (1972) started thinking about cultural performance which can include things such as rituals, ceremonies, or festivals which were previously classified as ritual or religion. Clifford Geertz's (1973) examination of Balinese cockfights published around the same time revealed the relationship between performance and other aspects of culture.

Victor Turner (1986) believed that performance was reflexive and that "in performing, [man] reveals himself to himself." (p. 81). His work with theatre theoretician Richard Schechner (1985) eventually lead towards the development of performance studies as a discipline in its own right (Schechner, 2006). Emphasis on performance shifted away from texts and examinations of their symbolic content and towards the role of performance as a form of social interaction, either between performers, members of the audience, or both (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). In so doing, performance was seen less as an act of culture, and more as an agency of culture (Conquergood, 1989, p. 82).

Within ethnomusicology, ideas on performance followed much the same path. Before the 1960s, ethnomusicology treated performance as the enactment of a text, as evidenced in the important place accorded to transcription in ethnomusicological publications of the time (Nettl, 2010). As ideas of performance began to change, Alan Merriam (1964) proposed examining the context in which music is produced. Following these ideas, Gerard Béhague (1984) believed that studies of musical performance should equally concentrate on the behaviour (musical or not) of the participants, including the audience. Charles Seeger (1977) took the position that words cannot adequately be used to describe music, leading Mantle Hood (1960) to adopt performance as a way of understanding the music of another culture through his work on bi-musicality. Work by Norma McLoed (1980) and Marcia Hendron (1980) and Regula Quereshi (1986) build on this idea of performance as agency within ethnomusicology. More recently, Nicholas Cook (2003) demonstrates the shift in thinking on performance by remarking that meaning exists in the process of performance and can't be reduced to a product. Monique Desroches (2008) contributes to our understanding of how music is produced by exploring how extra-musical elements, which she terms co-text, are manipulated by individual performers to create their unique performance style.

Studies of musical performance have also dealt with questions of authenticity (Aubert, 2001; Godlovitch, 1998), authorship (Brackett, 1995), and liveness (Auslander, 2006a). Quebecois popular music scholar Serge Lacasse (2006) examines performance as being one state of musical existence, along with what he terms composition and *phonographie* (p. 67). Charles Keil and Stephen Feld (1994) explore, among other topics, the participatory role of music performance. More recently, ethnomusicology has had to reconfigure its study of musical performance in the face of phenomena such as globalisation, the creation of virtual performance spaces, and the increasing circulation of musical traditions and heritage (Desroches, Pichette, Dauphin, & Smith, 2011).

The idea of spectacle has attracted less attention than has performance. John MacAloon (1984) and Frank Manning (1992) were among the first to study spectacle as large-scale visual events such as the Olympics, but these types of events had also been studied under other headings such as public events (Handelman, 1990) or the many studies of ceremony or ritual found within anthropology (Beeman, 1993). American anthropologist and artist William Beeman (1993) provides one of the most in-depth examinations of spectacle and describes it as being the a type of performance that involves the presentation of symbolic material to an observing audience in a way that is supposed to entertaining. Beeman also evokes the role spectacle can play in cultural mediation. Using examples of spectacle from past times, Archaeologists (Inomata & Coben, 2006) and art historians (Bergmann, 1999) have helped show that spectacle can act as a way of presenting and reinforcing social values. In this way, "societies and people define themselves through spectacle." (p. 9).

The concept of spectacle has been used within cultural studies starting with Guy Debord book *La société du spectacle* (1992 [1967]). Since then, authors such as James Twitchell (1992) and Barry Sandywell (2011) have built on Debord's work to critique what they see as a continual spectacularisation of society in which the image becomes an ideological mechanism which prevents people from taking control of their lives (Teurlings, 2013, p. 3).

In trying to separate spectacle from performance, it helps to remember that performance is generally broken down into two large categories. Turner (1986) talks of 'social performances' and 'cultural performances'. Similarly, Conquergood (1989, p. 82) calls these categories cultural performance and culture as performance. Bauman (1992) describes them as doing something, and a special kind of doing something. This special kind of doing something is presented to an audience and clearly set off from normal action by use of accepted frames. As a type of symbolic performance, spectacle falls into the category of cultural performance or Bauman's special kind of doing something.

Spectacle is consistently defined as being visual in nature (Kan, 2004; MacAloon, 1984; Manning, 1992), but this in itself isn't enough to separate it from performance. It is the *overtly* visual nature of an event that makes it spectacular. It is not only that we see it that it becomes a spectacle, but that we recognise it as clearly being meant to be seen. This has for effect of contributing to make the event more entertaining, but simultaneously lowering its perceived status. In speaking about the Olympics, MacAloon (1984) states that "spectacle is associated with tastelessness, gigantism, moral disorder and the surrender of the games to mere entertainment. As a general statement on spectacle, this view is now widely shared throughout modern cultures." (p. 265). At the same time, MacAloon remarks that "the same forces that have precipitated their spectacular quality are responsible for much of the global popularity of the games." (p. 248). Spectacle can thus be included in debates on high vs low art (Fisher, 2001) with status/taste attributed to one side and popularity/entertainment to the other.

Performance and particularly spectacle are useful to us as they provide the framework within which we can examine the one-man band and try to arrive at some understanding of it. With this in mind, the time has come to present the subject and introduce the one-man band.

What is the one-man band? "...a most elusive yet persistent tradition"[6]

The one-man band seems like an easy thing to define: One person playing several instruments at once. This simple definition (or something similar) is used by most sources trying to describe the phenomenon (Austen, 2002; Calogirou, Cipriani-Crauste, & Touché, 1997; Chapman, 2013; D. Harris, 2012; Oliver, 2003; Rammel, 1990; Wikipedia contributors, December 2012). While certainly identifying what seems to be, on the surface anyway, one key part of the one-man band, this definition is broad enough that just about anything could fit under the heading: DJs, vaudeville novelty acts, Bob Dylan playing guitar and harmonica, street performers wearing bass-drums on their backs. In fact, because so much fits into it, this simple definition is almost too large to be of use. In their One Man Band Encyclopedia, Chicago music zine *Roctober!* almost admits as much: "an ultra-broad definition [that will] let almost anyone in this book" (Austen, 2002, p. 10).

Rather than trying to define what exactly constitutes a one-man band, many efforts to define it seem instead to describe the ethos of this type of performance, rather than the performers themselves. *Roctober!* calls it a "theatrical, inventive, unique, spirited, absurdity-celebration" (p. 10). French one-man band Léo Vermandel says that the one-man band is "un art : la musique, la danse, le rythme, le sport, la force, l'endurance, la condition physique, la curiosité, l'originalité, l'exploit, la performance" (Calogirou et al., 1997, p. 101). American artists Hal Rammel calls one-man bands "diverse, inventive, and determined […] musicians" (Rammel, 1990, p. 4). *Roctober!* and Harris (2012) both call the one-man band "spectacle". Along with these entertainment-evoking adjectives, the one-man band is also usually attributed a marginal status (Chapman, 2013). Harris states that being a one-man band is a "novelty" and that doing several things at once isn't "normal" (D. Harris, 2012, p. 8).

[6] (Rammel, 1990, p. 4)

One of the reasons it can be difficult to define the one-man band is because of the enormous variety the form can take. In order to give a better impression of what we mean when we say one-man band, it might be useful to describe the one-man band before trying to define it more precisely. While there are enough exceptions to make hard and fast rules impossible, most one-man bands generally fall into one of three categories: sit-down, stand-up, and electric[7]. The important role the body plays in one-man band performances is evident in the names given to the first two categories which are defined by body posture.

Sit-down performers play seated, surrounded by their instruments which generally consist of a pared-down drum set, a guitar or other string instrument in their hands and often a keyboard instrument close by. These performers are usually all about the music. They often write and play their own material. Many perform in the same clubs and bars as more conventional musical acts. Their interest in becoming one-man bands is often for artistic and practical reasons such as more control over musical creation and less time spent dealing with the difficulties of group-life (like the classic difficulty in finding a drummer, or at least one who is consistently sober). This decision comes with certain financial rewards; playing alone means never having to share the cash at the end of the night. While called one-man bands, some of these performers try to distance themselves from this moniker to avoid being thought of as a novelty (D. Harris, 2012) or carnivalesque (Chapman, 2013), choosing instead to be called solo artists. Their efforts are directed towards being taken seriously as musicians and as artists. While iconographic representations and textual references of sit-down one-man bands exist from the early 1800s onwards, most people consider the spiritual fathers of the style to be Jesse Fuller and Hasil Adkins.

Jesse Fuller is known best as an African-American bluesman of the 1950s and 60s who mainly played in the San Francisco Bay area, as reflected in his best known song, 'San

[7] Though I didn't invent them, these titles are my own, developed by condensing or adapting titles found in other sources. For example, Harris (2012, p. 394) discusses the relative merits of the "sit-down style" versus the "stand-up style" of one-man band, but also uses the term "traditional" to talk about the stand-up musicians. His term "bedroom band" is applied to musicians who use recording or overdubbing to replace other bandmates. *Roctober!* uses the term "drum-on-back" (Austen, 2002, p. 10) to describe stand-up musicians. For his part, Rémy Bricka told me that the two types of one-man band are those who put their instruments on the ground, and can't move, and those who are like snails, they take their instruments with them wherever they go.

Francisco Bay Blues'. Fuller had been playing 12 string-guitar and harmonica, but was having difficulty finding other musicians to play with so decided to build a contraption that would let him play bass with his toes. The fotdella was born in 1951 and subsequent versions and modifications were made in the ensuing 15 years or so. Standing up in front of him, his fotdella looked like a decapitated double-bass mounted onto an organ pedal-board. Fuller recorded and toured regularly through the 1950s and 60s and his sizeable discography[8] has served as inspiration for many bluesmen and one-man bands since. In many ways, Hasil Adkins and Jesse Fuller were two very different musicians. Fuller was black, Adkins was white. Fuller played the blues, Adkins has strongly influenced the thrash/punk/garage scenes (D. Harris, 2012, p. 88), Fuller's lyrical themes are standard fare for the blues – loves lost and the hardships of life, Adkins' lyrics are difficult to categorise. "Recurring themes in Adkins's work include love, heartbreak, hunchin'[9], police, death, decapitation, commodity meat, aliens, and chicken" (Discogs).

The well-circulated story of Hasil Adkins's start as a one-man band is already recounted in the first pages of this thesis, when he mistook the sounds of Hank Williams on the radio as being made by one-person, instead of a whole band. Like Fuller, Adkins grew up poor and like Fuller, Adkins started playing and recording in the 1950s, though most of his recordings didn't achieve wide-spread release until the 1980s and 1990s. Adkins played seated behind a drum-set with a guitar in his hands. He would play bass-drum and hi-hats with his feat and often beat drums or cymbals with his bare-hands or the neck of his guitar during performances. While Fuller's success lead him to play festivals and tour in Europe, Adkins primarily played bars and clubs around his West-Virginia home. Adkins' (relative) fame came when one of his songs, "she said", was covered by American punk band The Cramps in 1981.

During my fieldwork I had the pleasure of meeting and talking with another great example of the sit-down one-man band: Canadian Dave Harris. A tall, slim, man sporting a long greying beard, Harris has made a career out of playing music, at times with others, but

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[8] See, for example, http://www.wirz.de/music/fullefrm.htm.
[9] The "Hunch" was a lascivious dance Adkins invented and a slang term he used for sex.

mostly by himself. In conversation with him, Dave described to me how he got started as a one-man band.

> "The OMB for me grew out of my being a stand-up guitar and rack harp player, which goes right back to when I started busking. I was a simple one-man band right from my early days, going back to the 1970s. […] I didn't become a one-man band because of the influence of other people, I think it was the fact that I realised I could do this. I started doing the drums with my feet with a couple of other people and immediately realised that this really added to the musical part, the show part, and the money part. When you're a busker, the money part is always important. When I did finally go solo, I kept the drums. Then shortly after I started doing the harp[10], guitar, and drums I began to wonder if I could get the fiddle back in there. So then I had the fiddle on a stand, and I played the fiddle and harp together. That sort of came naturally to me. Some times it works better than others." (April 22nd, 2014).

Dave's early repertoire was folk, bluegrass, and rock, but a discovery of Jesse Fuller in the early 1990s led him towards the blues and towards his own fotdella. While always being modified and improved, his set-up hasn't changed too much since this time, though he changes his instruments based on the day, usually still playing drums with his feet (often Farmer's footdrum[11] these days), a steel-body guitar, fiddle, and mandolin played with his hands, rack-harmonica, and vocals (and a large parasol to keep out the sun on hot days). On the day we had our longest conversation, he had left his fiddle and fotdella at home. The inner causeway, a tourist harbourfront in downtown Victoria is his usual pitch and he busks there almost year round, when weather permits. His audience consists of a lot of tourists, but he has many longtime listeners as well. After one performance that I saw him do, a man came up to him afterwards and gave him a tip. They talked for a little while and then the man left. Later Dave told me that the man had requested a song that Dave used to play in an band in the 1980s. Dave expressed surprise at how long the man had been watching him play, and the man said

[10] Harp here refers to a blues harmonica and not the stringed instrument.

[11] The Farmer company has been making a variety of percussion instruments designed for one-man bands, or for those musicians who wish to multitask since 2006. According to the Farmer Foot Drums website, the footdrum is the company's "Flagship model […] and incorporates snare, hi hats, bass drum, jingle stick, egg shaker and various other percussion and performing accessories." https://footdrums.com/footdrum-kits.

that his daughter was now in her 30's, but he used to bring her here all the time when she was young.

Along with playing their instruments, stand-up one-man bands have the added challenge of finding ways to carry their instruments with them as they go. Almost always mobile, these performers generally have a modified drum set (bass drum and cymbals, but occasionally snare drum as well) attached to their back and the various parts are activated by straps connected to their feet. They usually have a guitar or an accordion in their hands and, like their sit-down counterparts, sing and play harmonica or kazoo. Unlike most sit-down musicians however, these stand-up performers often embrace the carnivalesque, adorning themselves with bells and whistles (quite literally), and using colourful costumes and extra-musical props like puppets or live animals to attract attention. They usually perform well-known songs from the canon of popular music and can most often be found busking in the street or at fairs and celebrations (weddings or birthdays). Through my conversations with them, I have found them to be like any good clown: serious about what they do, but fully conscious of the importance of providing enjoyment, entertainment, and laughs to their audience. In conversation with British one-man band Jake Rodrigues, his own concern for fun in his performances was expressed when he asked me if as part of my fieldwork I had ever met any "serious" one-man bands (March 13th, 2013) For stand-up one-man bands like Jake, the music is important, but not as important as the show, or the spectacle.

It is perhaps fitting then that the most celebrated stand-up one-man band is in fact fictional. Bert (known only by his first name), played by Dick van Dyke in the 1964 Walt Disney film, *Mary Poppins*, is certainly the most widely known one-man band. When the film opens, we see Bert dressed in workmen's clothes with a bass drum on his back. The drum is painted with the image of a night landscape and topped-off by cymbals. Around his neck is a harmonica, a bicycle horn and two brass instruments. He is playing a concertina and singing. Bert's time as a one-man band in the movie is short, but long enough for us to see him busking (somewhat unsuccessfully, as most people leave without donating to his hat), playing an upbeat number accompanied by dancing, and interspersed with a melodramatic tune in waltz time with lyrics improvised about his audience, or as he puts it in the movie, "a comical poem, suitable for the occasion, extemporized and thought up before your very eyes." Unfortunately, Dick van Dyke isn't actually playing the music we hear. It is the magic of cinema that makes it appear as though he is playing.

While this is the best known stand-up one-man band, it is by far not the first. Signor Rossi was an Italian one-man band who performed at P.T. Barnum's American Museum in the 1860s. The back-drum adorned with cymbals, hand-held accordeon, and pan-pipes supported at mouth level bear visual similarities to Bert's character. Like it's sit-down sibling, images and references to the stand-up one-man band go even further back, and can be found dating back to the end of the 1700s. My fieldwork led me to meet and talk with several stand-up one-man bands, notably Pete Moser.

Moser is known for his work in street theatre and socially engaged music. In the late 1980s he served as the musician-in-residence for Welfare State International's programme of arts development in Barrow-in-Furness, a blue-collar community in North-West England. Around about the same time, Moser started putting together his first one-man band, consisting of drums, cymbals, accordion, whistles and a hat covered in bells. In 1988, Moser began to see the possibilities of playing while running, and organised his first world record attempt as the World's Fastest One-Man Band. Pete still performs as the World's Fastest One-Man Band while wearing multi-coloured spandex leggings and a bright pink top. He has several puppets adorning the top of his bass drum, which he wears on his back, both it and the cymbals connected to his heels by ropes. The accordion in his hands gets counted as two instruments in Pete's shows (left and right hands). Pete plays festivals (some of which he has helped organise, including the One-Man Band Shebang in Morecambe, UK) and fairs, but gets booked for all kinds of events around the world, including school shows. In a conversation with me, Pete says that he enjoys playing the one-man band, but that he is careful not to do too much of it. "I do it for fun, and to earn a good bit of cash that allows me to do other things, but I don't want to so promote myself that it's all I do." (March 27th, 2013).

Many people, including several of those I spoke to as part of my fieldwork point to Vic Ellis as a classic example of the traditional one-man band. Vic himself says that not many one-man bands have his particular slant "on the art, trying to recreate a traditional British version of the band." (D. Harris, 2012, p. 120). Vic has worked to create his own voice and style, but says that "traditional English dance music is still at the heart of my music" (p. 120). When I saw Vic Ellis play, it was a cold and grey spring weekend in central England. The venue was the Kelmarsh County Fair in Northhamptonshire. Held every Easter, the Kelmarsh County Fair and Show is one of the first Shows to open what is known as the game fair season in the UK. Game fairs are trade shows and competitions for country life and field sports (i.e. hunting, riding, dog trials) in the grand old English tradition. The site was a field near Kelmarsh Hall, an elegant 18th century home and originally the seat of local nobility. The cold and wet spring, along with the thousands of visitors (and hundreds of dogs) attending the fair in the last couple of days meant that the walking areas between the booths selling gun-covers and outdoor wear, vermin control and pet grooming supplies were spectacularly muddy. Vic had told me through email that he would be performing throughout the day and that I should "come and find him". I wandered around the fair site for about thirty minutes, looking at booths, watching dogs run after decoy shots and return them to their masters, and listening to an interesting presentation on the best way to eradicate groundhogs before I saw him.

Normally, you hear a one-man band before you see them, but the background noise of the fair, presenters, and announcers on the public address system meant that I saw Vic Ellis first (though it may have been the faint sound of a cymbal crash in the distance that drew my attention towards him). He was between the "Daily Mail's Gardening Question Time" tent and a vendor selling Crocs of all kinds, walking away from me with a particular rolling gait. I could see the bass drum on his back, the smaller snare mounted three quarters of the way up the larger drum, and two small cymbals right on top. He was wearing blue shoes and beige pants with black bands around the knees. As I got closer, not only did I begin to hear his accordion playing a jaunty-sounding march, but I saw the strings leading from his heels to the bass-drum beater (right) and cymbals (left) and the ones connected to his knees by those black bands leading to the snare drum (left) and a tambourine (right) that I hadn't previously seen perched on the bass drum between the snare and the cymbals. I followed him for a while and listened to him play. Some people seemed oblivious to his presence, studiously ignoring him, while others smiled at him, took out their phones to take a picture, or did a little dance beside him for a second before continuing on. Some people stopped and watched him for a while before his walk took him away from them.

When he met a particularly appreciative spectator, Vic would stop walking and sway and dance a little while playing in front of them. Occasionally he would stop and talk for a while with them or pose for pictures. As I watched, I began to see the rest of his instruments.

He was wearing a colourful chequered shirt with the sleeves rolled-up and underneath he had on a thick long-sleeved shirt for the cold. Around his neck was a black and white scarf and had on a black workman’s cap. Mounted on a rack close to his chin were a kazoo, a whistle, a duck call, another tambourine, a penny whistle, and a few other noise makers. Sometimes he would sing, occasionally blowing into something for emphasis or to end musical phrases. Sometimes he would blow the melody through any one of the instruments in front of him. Other times he would sing nonsense syllables, following the melody being played on his accordion. On his right hip was a hand-bell, like you used to find in a hotel lobby, and on his left hip was a bicycle horn, both of which he would play occasionally, often just after someone had come up to him to have their photo taken.

His bass drum was open on one side and hanging in the middle of the circle was a tall black and white puppet, dressed much like a dandy from the 1920s. Though not easily visible, when I stopped to introduce myself to Vic and get a closer look at his set-ups, I saw a leather back-pad protecting himself from the rubbing and weight of the bass-drum and everything else he was carrying. On one of the straps of his accordion was a ratchet noisemaker, and he had castanets on both of his feet. Not to be left out, the puppet had sleigh bells around each foot.

Both the rolling gait when he walked and the swaying dancing he did when talking to people were the result of needing to keep moving to keep making music. However nothing seemed rushed, nothing seemed forced. Vic played with the smooth effortlessness that you would expect from any professional. His demeanour was very calm and he didn’t make a big show of what he doing. In this way he differs from a performer like Pete Moser, who spends as much time talking and building up his performance as he does playing. Vic had a relaxed look on his face and didn’t appear lost in concentration, rather he looked to me like any number of musicians I had seen who were comfortable enough on their instruments that they could just play away, moving from one song to the next without really thinking of it. Having often played informal gigs similar to the Kenmarsh Country Fair myself, I was reminded of the mental space I often get into where the music is just kind of flowing out of me as I walk around, looking at people and letting my mind wander a little bit.

Speaking with Vic after one of his walkabouts, he told me that he usually adapted his repertoire to the performance venue, so what he played at an event like a fair was different from what he played when he was busking. “When you’re busking, you can play whatever you want. At a country fair, if the kids want 'Old Macdonald' you give the kids 'Old Macdonald'." (March 31st, 2013). He also confirmed my analysis of his relaxed amble when he told me that he would usually just play bits of one tune and go into bits of another, rarely actually finishing a whole song. He was quick to point out that this wasn't because he couldn't finish the song, not because he didn't know it, but rather because he gets thinking about something else and liked to move on to a song that fits his thoughts.

Vic was quite aware of the importance of spectacle in what he does, believing the one-man band to be about the show, and demonstrating it in his use of puppets and colourful costume. Even with his understated presence, Vic knows how to draw people into his performances: a smile, a wink, a nod of head at the right time and to the right person creates a comfortable ambiance. He told me that he'll often stop and ask children their names, and then make up songs using their names. However, Vic's reasons for performing are not only to please others, He also likes the artistic expression that comes with being a one-man band, and presumably the freedom of being able to choose his repertoire and move from one song to another, whether or not he finishes the first.

Due to its emphasis on the spectacular, the stand-up one-man band like Pete Moser and Vic Ellis features prominently in this thesis. When popular culture wants to evoke the idea of the one-man band, this is the model they turn to. When Walt Disney Productions wanted to provide a visual metaphor for Dick Van Dyke's character being a Jack-of-all-trades, this is the model they chose. And when I wanted to study one-man bands, this is the type of performer that interested me, in part because of the place it occupies within the popular imagination and in part because I liked the element of fun associated with it.

Contrary to the stand-up and sit-down models, the electric one-man band is not defined by how the musician plays the instruments, but rather by the type of instrument played. Like the other two, this term encompasses a variety of different performers. Some people call DJs one-man bands because they can replace an entire band by themselves, others lump musicians who use looping pedals or extensive sampling controlled by digital triggers under the category of one-man band. Indeed an internet or Youtube search for one-man band reveals a fair number of people overdubbing themselves live using technological means. Musicians who have recorded entire albums by themselves (think Paul McCartney's first studio album after the Beatles, *McCartney*, or Prince on his earlier albums, like *Controversy*) are also called one-man bands by some. In his article on one-man bands, Chapman (2013) prefers to call these performers “live solo multi-instrumentalists”, rather than one-man bands, because he feels they have achieved a level of “cultural capital […] unknown to earlier generations of similar musicians” (p. 452). While Chapman’s arguments about the one-man band do bring some interesting ideas to the discussion, his article belies his own conflicted opinions on the subject as he chooses not to call the artists he studies one-man bands, preferring the term “live solo multi-intrumentalists” (p. 452). Should electric one-man bands be grouped together with the stand-up and sit down models previously expressed? This question is addressed in more detail in my second article *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle: The one-man band and audience relationships in the digital age*, and my answer centres around the definition of the one-man band that I have chosen to use throughout this thesis.

It appears that, as found in *Roctober’s One Man Band Encyclopedia*, just about any type of performer can be categorised as a one-man band depending on your point of view. My challenge is properly circumscribing the phenomenon to arrive at a working definition for the sake of my research. As a musician myself, I am particularly sensitive to the problems associated with labelling and self-identification within a particular musical style. Like Roctober, I do not wish to offend someone by telling them that they are not a one-man band. Therefore, rather than adopting an exclusive definition, I have chosen to examine the one-man band through a series of parameters: use of body, simultaneity, and presence of extra-musical elements.

The one-man band’s use of their body is an essential element of their performance. However, studies on the role the body plays in musical production (Delalande, 1988; Thompson, Graham, & Russo, 2005) have shown that even when only one part of the performer’s body is engaged in producing music, the rest of the body can be employed in producing meaning. When I talk about the body being involved in musical production, I’m referring to what Delalande (1988) calls effective gesture, that which is “nécessaire pour produire mécaniquement le son.” (p. 43). An accumulation of different effective gestures (i.e. producing sound on different instruments) by one person is impressive in any situation, but all the more so when these roles are performed at the same time. The more a performer is doing at once, the more they become what I consider a one-man band. The simultaneous use of different parts of the body to make music adds to the visual appeal of the one-man band, however its visual nature goes far beyond simply what is required for musical production.

The one-man band is often presented in popular culture as wearing colourful costumes or extravagant hats. This is only one way that extra-musical elements contribute to creating spectacle within the one-man band's performances. Some performers such as Bandaloni, Chucklefoot, and Washboard Hank adopt stage characters, others such as Rémy Bricka (2007) include fireworks and live doves in their performances. These extra-musical elements all contribute to the symbolic quality of the performance, thereby serving to make it more spectacular.

Rather than arrive at a fixed definition, I use these three parameter to help situate different one-man bands on my subjective scale of one-man bandness. The higher a performer rates in the three categories, the more they fit my definition of the one-man band. I am aware of the limitations of this method, notably that these parameters were chosen solely by me in a subjective (and non-democratic) way based on the model of one-man band that particularly interests me, the traditional stand-up version. Despite its limitations as a personal and subjective way of classifying performers, this method does allow me to answer what has become the most-often asked question when people find out that I study one-man bands: "Oh, well what about [Insert artist's name here], would you consider them a one-man band?" in a way that usually doesn't offend the asker or the artist in question. Furthermore, these three characteristics allow me to focus my interests and research on a particular type of one-man band; one that uses a larger amount of his body to create music, one that does more things than normal at once, and one that has a particular interest in creating additional visual and/or emotional[12] interest in their performance. When I explained my methods of defining one-man bands to Dave Harris, he was in general agreement with me, particularly in the importance of making maximum use of one's body. Speaking about his own practice, Dave told me

"I was pretty good for a while when I was doing my foot-operated

[12] I use here the two terms visual and emotional to help explain someone like Pete Moser whose self-billing as the fastest one-man band in the world may not initially add a visual element to the performance, but does serve to generate spectator interest in his performance.

> bass. I had a fair bit going, but not as much as some of these guys. Some of these guys are bloody amazing. They've got their elbows going and they're doing stuff with their knees. The cymbals between the knees is starting to get pretty novelty, but it's indicative of what is possible" (April 22nd, 2014)

Putting this three-characteristic definition into practice, let us return to the idea of the electric one-man band. Artists who only play one musical part at a time, but use looping pedals, computers, or other devices to generate the other musical parts rate low on simultaneity. Consequently, they often rate somewhat low on effective gesture, usually using only their hands to play an instrument, but frequently redeemed slightly by use of feet to start and stop samples. Finally, many of them do not adopt a particularly spectacular method of presentation. In fact, electronic music has often been criticised for its lack of spectacle: "the lack of visual stimuli while performing on technological "instruments" has plagued electronic music for over forty years" (Cascone, 2003, p. 101). This definition then, excludes most electric one-man bands, or at the very least, sends them to the periphery of this thesis. However, there are notable exceptions to this statement.

The first artist I got in touch with during my fieldwork was American media and performance artist Dan Wilcox whose performance project *robotcowboy*[13] synthesizes efforts to combine "embodiment and physical instrumentality in electronic musical instruments" (Wilcox, 2007, p. i). Seeking to combine the physical stage presence of his punk music past with the musical sound of his (then) electronic music present, Wilcox developed his "wearable music computer" (p. i) along with the robotcowboy persona. The basic hardware for the project consists of a small wearable computer connected to a sound card and a Direct Input box[14] all mounted on a belt worn by the performer. This system allowed many different peripherals such as microcontrollers, MIDI[15] instruments, electro-acoustic instruments, video signals, and lights to be connected to the system and controlled by the performer.

[13] The use of the lower-case here is intentional and corresponds with the artist's orthography.
[14] Direct Input (or DI) boxes are used to bring the signal of instruments such as an electric guitar up to the same level as a microphone, enabling them to be connected directly into a mixing board or PA system.
[15] MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) describes a particular technology protocol that allows electronic musical instruments and computers to connect and communicate with each other.

robotcowboy's helmet, a modified iMac computer, displayed images on the screen where one would expect to see the performers face. Wilcox considers that this helmet brings the robotcowboy man-machine to life (p. 37), however in conversation with me, Wilcox did admit that after several years of performing as robotcowboy, he began to tire of the attention directed towards the helmet, distracting somewhat from the music he was trying to create. robotcowboy's performances were mainly at festivals or in bars and clubs aimed at an electronic or experimental music audience. Wilcox put an end to his robotcowboy project in 2011, just as I began serious work on my own project, and moved his creative energies elsewhere.

What is particularly interesting about Wilcox and the robotcowboy project is his stated desire to pay homage to the one-man band tradition (2007, p. i). He is an electronic musician, who modified his musical equipment to permit an increased physicality of performance. In so doing, he greatly increased the spectacular nature of his performance, but his effective gesture is still limited mostly to his hands. The simultaneous nature of his musical production remained relatively unchanged from his pre-robotcowboy days. By the parameters listed above, he is certainly more of a one-man band than many other electronic musicians and certainly captures the ethos of the form, but does not perhaps rate as high on some aspects as a musician like Stuart McRorie Tate.

Performing under the name of McRorie-Live Electronic, Tate has embraced electronic technology to allow him to perform a repertoire of rock-based songs by himself. Engaged in music from a young age, Tate played many different instruments as a youth, and began experimenting with simultaneous instrumentation as part of a family band, playing keyboards and drums at the same time to add more sound to the three-person ensemble. Later Tate played in a five-person band, and as different members left the band for different reasons, Tate took over their parts one by one. Today, McRorie-Live uses a combination of electronic sensors on his feet and chest to play drum sounds along with a self-designed 144-key MIDI controller over each shoulder. These controllers are similar to keyboards, but with notes arranged more like a guitar or other stringed instrument and serve to play the rhythm and bass parts. A sound processor translates McRorie's voice into a wide range of sounds allowing him to play lead parts or solos with his voice when he's not singing. Finally, Tate uses an exo-sensor that translates the movements of his shoulders, elbows, and wrists into digital signals allowing him to control video and projections, adding a live-visual element to his performances. McRorie-Live plays at festivals, fairs, clubs, and colleges throughout North America, usually performing in a kilt and white t-shirt.

These two performers are clearly different than most DJs, laptop musicians, and digital sound artists. I repeat that I do not feel it is my place to exclude anyone from the category of one-man band, particularly as doing so would contradict the standard current use of the term[16], however within the category of electric one-man band, few electric performers rate high enough on my three categories to fit within the research parameters of this thesis. McRorie-live and robotcowboy, however are both excellent examples of the one-man band moving into the digital age, as will be seen in my second article, *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle: The one-man band and audience relationships in the digital age.*

How it all comes together

At this point both my subject (the one-man band), the themes (performance and spectacle), and the sub-themes (body, technology, space) have been presented. I have also provided some of my motivations for wanting to study one-man bands. The remaining step before moving onto the three articles which make up the body of this thesis is a presentation of my methodology. When preparing to write a thesis, one generally starts by looking at the other work already conducted on the topic. This presented one of the first challenges I encountered in writing this thesis, as there was a noticeable lack of previously existing research on the subject. While some generalized encyclopaedias and dictionaries include brief entries for the one-man band, specialised reference publications in music have not as of yet, with the exception of the *Continuum encyclopedia of popular music of the world* (Oliver, 2003). Other

[16] See for example the artists included in the Montreal One Man Band Fest (http://onemanbandfest.com/past-artists) and in the three documentaries on one-man bands already mentioned (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; Gellez et al., 2013).

academic sources are few enough that I can present them all here in overview without fear of overly congesting the text.

In one of the first articles published on the subject, American artists and musician Hal Rammel (1990) studied Choctaw one-man band Joe Barrick, his musical invention the pitarbajo, and presented some possible origins to the one-man band. Shortly afterwards Spanish organologist Beryl Kenyon de Pascual (1994) examined the possibility of an unidentified musical instrument in the Metropolitan Museum of Art as having been adapted for use by an early one-man band. More recently, Dale Chapman (2013) published an article examining the one-man band as an expression of neoliberalism entrepreneurial spirit to which we have already referred a couple of times.

The exhibit *Musiciens des rues de Paris* (Gétreau & Colardelle) presented at the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris in 1997 was responsible for much of the research conducted on one-man bands in France. This exhibit featured a section on the Vermandel family and their four generations of one-man bands. Research on the family was presented in the exhibit catalogue (Calogirou et al., 1997), sparked publication of a family autobiography (Vermandel & Vermandel, 1999), and lead to iconographic research on one-man bands as found in French archives (Gétreau, 2000).

Outside of academia, popular published sources are about as rare. There are some autobiographies written by one-man bands themselves (Bricka, 2007; Paul Woodhead Woody's One Man Band, 2008), a published biography of American inventor and one-man band Albert Nelson (Hukriede, 2004), and one book on a notable concert given by British one-man band Don Partridge (Partridge, Keene, & Warner, 2011). Three documentary films have also been produced on the subject (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; Gellez et al., 2013) .

Perhaps the most complete publications on one-man bands are the comprehensive *Head, Hands, and Feet: A Book of One Man Bands,* by Canadian one-man band Dave Harris (2012) and the *One Mand Band! Encyclopedia* published as the 34th volume of the music magazine Roctober (Austen, 2002). Harris' book brings together listings of over six-hundred performers along with historical information on the one-man band and personal commentary. Harris' approach isn't intended to be an academic study of the phenomenon, but is rather an attempt to bring together in one place all the one-man bands he could find and situate them chronologically, stylistically, and geographically. Some of the entries are very detailed, while others are no more than a couple of sentences, but taken together, the entire book provides an excellent picture both of one-man bands as performers and some common subjects of discussion or debate within the one-man band community.

Roctober is an independant music zine published (irregularly) several times a year in Chicago. The publication celebrates the "marginal, dispossessed, and unsung" (Borrelli, 2011), often focussing on artists that the editor Jake Austen feels deserve more attention than they've previously gotten. The One Man Band Encyclopedia (Austen, 2002) edition contains more than a thousand entries on different types of one-man bands. However, the quality of each entry varies. As the introduction states, "while we have 100s of excellent entries here with well-researched and well-written info on important One Man Band figures, tools and ephemera, we have 100s of more shoddily presented half-entries." (p. 10). The volume of entries can in part be explained by a generous, previously described definition of the one-man band that lets "almost anyone in this book" (p. 10) and was chosen in part to insure that "everyone would be a little dissatisfied by some of the stuff we included, but hardly anyone would be livid by what we left out." (p. 10).

Mention of one-man bands can also be found in publications dedicated to street performance. *The Buskers: A history of street entertainment* by David Cohen and Ben Greenwood (1981) traces street performance from the Roman Empire to the 1970s. Born from the authors' concern with the low importance seemingly accorded to urban public space, they present street entertainment as being an undervalued element of town and city life (p. 9). Mention of one-man bands is limited to a description of British one-man bands Don Partridge and Allan Young, notably in their creation of a somewhat fanciful Union of Buskers and Street Players in the mid 1960s along with another one-man band who is simply identified as Roy (pp. 168-178).

American performance artist Dan Wilcox's (2007) re-examination of the one-man band as a musical cyborg provides a revisioning of the subject, but draws almost exclusively on Rammel's work for its information on the history of one-man bands.

Historic descriptions of one-man bands can be found in Louis-Sébastien Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* (1781), Victor Fournel's *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris* (1867), and Charles Yriarte's *Les célébrités de la rue* (1868) as cited by Gétreau (2000). Kenyon de

Pascual (1994) presents three Spanish newspaper descriptions of one-man bands from between 1789 and 1795. There is also the oft-cited description published by Henry Mayhew in 1864 as part of his *London Labour and the London Poor* (1864). Tracing a detailed history of the one-man band was not the intent of my thesis, consequently the bulk of my attention was directed towards other research than the unearthing of new historic sources, particularly as descriptions of 18th and 19th century one-man bands are sufficiently represented in Gétreau (2000) and Harris (2012).

Due in part to the fact that the type of one-man band that interested me is usually found busking in the street, and in part due to the dearth of information directly relating to the one-man band, I thought it important to add to my survey of existing literature some of the more important works on street performance. Apart from the above cited work by Cohen and Greenwood (1981), Sally Harrison-Pepper's (1990) book on buskers in New York's Washington Square is one of the most important pieces on the topic. One of the first scholarly works to document and analyse street performance, Harrison-Pepper's fieldwork reveals the ecology of a public space used concurrently (though not necessarily simultaneously) by multiple performers. It also brings important insight into the performances of buskers and their impact on their audiences. To this we can add *Passing the Hat: Street Performers in America* by Patricia Campbell (1981). Campbell's book uses the presentation of buskers in four American cities – Boston, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco – to provide a comprehensive view of street performance in America. Through profiles of different artists, Campbell presents the challenges and rewards of street performance.

To this we can add the previously mentioned exhibit at the Musée national des Arts et traditions populaires in Paris (Gétreau & Colardelle, 1997). Of particular use on the topic was Murray Douglas Smith's work on buskers in Toronto (1996; 1993). Information on buskers in the subway was gleaned from the work of Anne-Marie Green (1998) for Paris and Susie Tanenbaum (1995) for New York. Complementing Smith's work, Sylvie Genest (2001) and Michael Bywater (2007) examine the role municipal reglementation plays in reinforcing and perpetuating the marginal status attributed to street performers. Roland Kushner and Arthur Brooks (2000) look at the economic model of busking to see how it might benefit performers over a ticketed or set-fee model of payment.

Clearly I needed to augment these secondary sources with my own fieldwork. During the course of my research, I spoke with many one-man bands. Much of these conversations were of the fleeting ephemeral nature, briefly before a performance, or helping to load equipment into a van after one. Above and beyond these conversations, I conducted and recorded comprehensive semi-directed interviews from 2012 to 2014 with six performers: Daniel Wilcox, Jake Rodrigues, Pete Moser, Vic Ellis, Dave Harris, and Rémy Bricka.

Very early in my research I found Dave Harris' internet posts concerning his work on one-man bands, and I immediately pre-ordered his book, *Head, Hands, and Feet: A Book of One Man Bands* (2012). After receiving and reading it, it was obvious that I needed to talk to him in person. As author of what I have already described as the most complete compendium on one-man bands and a one-man band himself, Dave was extremely well-placed to talk about one-man bands in general, and his own practice specifically. The years of research he has conducted on one-man bands meant that he had already spent time reflecting on the subject and was able to point me towards new sources of information. Apart from our time together on his pitch in Victoria, BC in the spring of 2014, Dave has been kind enough to answer my emails and give his opinions on my work.

I first came across Pete Moser's work as a one-man band on-line and was immediately struck by his unique approach. Pete has developed at least five different one-man band personas, each with their own costume and repertoire, but the best-known of these is his incarnation as the world's fastest one-man band. His 1988 record of 100 meters in 19.75 seconds while playing four recognisable tunes on 139 instruments is a remarkable feat. His diversity of expression as a one-man band (five separate one-man band characters), and his decision to quantify and attribute a title (a world-title at that!) to the spectacular nature of the one-man band showed a particular atunement to the importance of spectacle in his performance. As someone who has worked in community music since the early 1990s and the founder of a not-for-profit charitable organisation that works to positively impact individuals and communities through creative arts and music, Pete has a broader look on the role and power of music and music making within society. Consequently, the reflections he shares on being a one-man band can provide deeper insight on the practice. Pete has also organised both 'One Man Band Shebang's (1994 and 2013), a festival of one-man bands held in Morecambe, UK, and is consequently quite familiar with other one-man bands and their practices as well as his own. Through the notoriety he has gained within the UK, Pete has been asked to teach a couple of people how to become one-man bands. The time I spent with Pete in the spring of 2013 in Morecambe has been augmented with regular email correspondence and a second meeting in the spring of 2014 when Pete and I were both invited to be panel members at the 3rd annual one-man band festival in Montreal and co-presented a paper at the Laboratoire d'ethnomusicologie et d'organologie of the Université de Montréal.

Pete put me in touch with a one-man band he had helped get started, Jake Rodrigues. Jake spoke with me at his home in London, U.K., in the spring of 2013. Talented musician both as a one-man band and in other formats, Jake shared his thoughts on the one-man band and his ideas for future projects. While still in the developmental stages at the time of our conversation, Jake currently performs as two distinct one-man bands, the "Have a Banana Cockney One Man Band" and what he terms its nemesis, "The Poshest One Man Band in the World." (Rodrigues, 2015).

Dan Wilcox's (2007) M.A. work conducted at Götenburg University in Sweden on the digital one-man band as a musical cyborg, is one of the few examples of reflection on the evolution of the figure of the one-man band into the digital age from a practitioner's point of view. When Dan and I spoke in late fall of 2012, he was working on a new incarnation of *robotcowboy*, the intentionally lower-case name given to both his on-stage persona and the wired suit he wears supporting his musical interface. *robotcowboy* 2.0, as he terms the revisionning of this project, moves away from the one-man band and towards performance art exploring the one-way colonisation of mars. His insight was useful and much appreciated, however his work with one-man bands was limited to his exploration of the idea as an inspiration for models of embodied musical performance in an age of digital musical creation and ended with the 'death' of *robotcowboy* in 2011.

Many one-man bands, particularly in the United Kingdom, point to Vic Ellis as the archetypal example of the traditional one-man band, and credit him with keeping the practice alive in the UK. Vic has been performing as a one-man band since the 1970s and generously spoke to me after a (very muddy) spring 2013 performance at the Kelmarsh County Fair in Northhamptonshire, UK.

The career of French one-man band Rémy Bricka isn't representative of the commercial success experienced by most one-man bands. His 1977 album *La vie en couleurs* (reissued in 2002) was certified gold in France and the single *Elle dit blue elle dit rose* sold more than 250 000 copies. Rémy wears an all-white suit playing an all-white guitar for his performances which feature live doves and fireworks among other visual displays. Adventurer as well as musician, he is also known for his successful self-propelled solo-crossing of the Atlantic Ocean on two large float-skis in 1988. While reading his autobiography (Bricka, 2007) gives insight into what he does, our conversation together in the spring of 2014 in Paris helped better contribute to my understanding of this remarkable man.

Initial contact was made with all of these performers on-line, and in many cases, this is also how I first discovered them. Taken together, these sources comprise a representative cross-section of one-man band-dom: the new (Wilcox) and the old (Ellis); the continual buskers (Harris and Ellis) and the festival and special-event performers (Bricka and Moser); the sit-down player (Harris) and the stand-up players (Ellis, Moser, and Bricka), the British (Ellis, Moser, Rodrigues), the French (Bricka) and the North Americans (Wilcox and Harris). However, I don't pretend that the performers I spoke with covered the entire range of one-man bands. My focus throughout my research has been on the traditional stand-up model of one-man band, and my interview choices reflect this interest. Furthermore, my choices were also conditioned by practical criteria such as language (English and French speakers only), availability (both theirs and mine), and my own financial limitations. Finally, I had a particular interest in speaking with performers who appeared to have taken a reflexive approach to their practice, that is, those who were one-man bands and who had also thought about one-man bands. Harris, Bricka, and Wilcox all wrote about their experiences, and the experiences of other performers. Moser, Rodrigues, and Ellis all demonstrated particular approaches to the one-man band, either through the development of different characters, as with Moser and Rodrigues, or through Ellis' particular attention to preserving a historic version of the one-man band. Through his own studies and research in Fine Arts, Rodrigues was able to articulate some of his thoughts on the subject in comparison with other ideas in the social sciences and did much to help me expand my vision of what the one-man band could be.

To complement my discussions with these performers, I also met and spoke with the director/producers of two documentaries on one-man bands, Adam Clitheroe (who I met in the spring of 2013) and Derek and Heather Emerson (who I met in late fall, 2012), whose works feature many sit-down one-man bands, including interviews and footage of the great Hasil

Adkins and many one-man bands such as the Lonesome Organist and Eric Royer who have since become well-known figures within the milieu.

Festivals have also provided an opportunity to meet and talk with performers and aficionados. Through my research, I was asked to participate in a panel discussion as part of the 3rd annual Montreal One Man Band Fest in 2013 along with one-man bands Pete Moser, Washboard Hank, McRorie, Chersea, and Molly Gene One-Whoman Band. One-man band festivals are a phenomenon worthy of study in their own right, but weren't the focus of my research. The festival did however allow me to talk with performers and hear their thoughts both on their own work and on my research.

To draw a more detailed picture of the one-man band, I also used web-based research methods to complement my fieldwork and existing literature. As with any specialised interest, the internet abounds with one-man band fan groups. The One Man Band club on Facebook run by Italian one-man band The Straniero (real name Mark Di Giuseppe) and YouTube's thousands of one-man band videos have been particularly useful, as have the websites of individual performers.

My thesis came together over the course of 5 years. The first year was spent preparing my ideas as part of my coursework at the Université de Montréal and preparing for my *Examen de synthèse*, which I completed in the spring of 2012. With a clearer vision of my project in front of me, I began working on my first article, *L'Homme-orchestre et le corps en musique*, which helped concretise what I saw as one of the main elements of the one-man band: a unique and expanded use of the musical body. I was able to deliver some preliminary ideas on the topic at the *Journées d'études sur le role et la place du corps en esthétique et dans la definition stylistique des musiques* organised by the Laboratoire d'ethnomusicologie et d'organologie at the Université de Montréal, the Laboratoire audionumérique de recherche et création and the Groupe Recherche-Création en Musique at l'Université Laval in early 2013 and used the comments and suggestions I received to draft the text that was submitted and accepted after peer-review and corrections to be published as a chapter in *Quand la musique prends corps*, published by Les presses de l'Université de Montréal in 2014. Summer and fall of 2012 also provided an opportunity to start my fieldwork, meeting and speaking with Derek and Heather Emerson, producers of *Let me be your Band*, the documentary that had first spurred my interest in the topic more than a decade ago in Toronto. While unable to meet him in person, Dan Wilcox was kind enough to talk with me over Skype and explain his robotcowboy project and his ideas in greater detail. At the same time, I began to sit in with "Création Sonore" directed by Serge Cardinal at the Université de Montréal.

Création Sonore is a multi-disciplinary research group that brings together researchers and artists around the themes of sonic creation, particularly (but not exclusively) as it relates to moving images. Création Sonore provided a welcoming environment for me to explore some of my ideas on the technological side of the one-man band, particularly as it relates to new-media and electro-digital sound production. Furthermore, Création Sonore provided both financial and moral support in the writing of the second article, which was presented to the group in draft form, before being presented in an early version at the 2013 British Forum for Ethnomusicology conference in Belfast, Northern Ireland. After submission, peer-review, and corrections this article was accepted for publication by *Organised Sound* and is currently awaiting publication for late 2015. I took advantage of my time in the United Kingdom for the 2013 BFE conference to meet and interview a few British one-man bands I thought would be particularly useful for my research, namely Vic Ellis and Pete Moser. Pete was good enough to connect me with Jake Rodriguez while I was in London. I also took the opportunity at this time of meeting up with Adam Clitheroe, the director of *One Man in the Band*, one of the one-man band documentaries I had seen. Conversations with all of these people helped move me forward onto my third article, which I started shortly after returning home from the United Kingdom.

My ideas on space and the image of the one-man band were developed throughout 2014 and a first draft of my third article was completed as summer came to a close. The spring of 2014 provided me with an opportunity to meet and talk with both Dave Harris in Victoria, BC, and Rémy Bricka in Paris, France; two key performers for my third article, and my thesis as a whole. The 2014 edition of the *One-Man Band Festival* in Montreal allowed me to reconnect with Pete Moser who had been invited to perform and talk as part of an open panel discussion on one-man bands. I managed to get myself invited to participate in the panel as well and sat and conversed with several notable one-man bands including McRorie-Live and Washboard Hank. I presented an early version of this article at the 2015 International Associate for the Study of Popular Music conference in Campinas, Brazil, and the feedback and suggestions I received help shape it into its present form. Shortly after my presentation in

Brazil and as I was starting to piece together the remaining parts of my thesis, I was given the opportunity to present the broad lines of my research over the past 5 years on the musical-interest radio show *PM*, hosted by Patrick Masbourian on Radio-Canada.

As in any dissertation, the fieldwork I have undertaken, the sources I have consulted, and the thinking I have done on the one-man band, spectacle, and the other topics presented herein work together to form the following articles and general discussion, to which we can finally turn our attention.

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Body

We now turn our attention to the three articles of this thesis. The idea of body and embodiement is essential to the one-man band, and so it only makes sense that the first article should take this for its subject. French ethnomusicologist André Schaeffner (1980) theorized that while sung music is related by its use of the voice and vocal apparatus to the production of language, instrumental music comes directly from dance and the movement of the human body. What separates the two couplets is that "le chant eût peut-être pu exister sans l'invention du langage, alors que la musique instrumentale […] suppose toujours la danse: elle est danse." (pp. 13-14). Schaeffner thus traces the origins of instrumental music to the human body itself. Through the use of his body, the one-man band makes this relationship between dance and music even more explicit. American cultural studies scholar Richard Leppert claims that because the body produces music, music is necessarily about the body (Leppert, 1993, p. xx). Studying the body within music is therefore an essential to understanding both the reception and the production of music.

We have already seen that body position is (or can be) one of the ways of categorising one-man bands, but the body is more than just that for these performers. In conversation with him, Dave Harris told me how sometimes his body knows how to play more than he does.

> "[Busking] has been really good for muscle memory. Some of this stuff I can do just like falling off a log. I don't even have to think about it at all. I can remember a few times, and I mention this in the book, where I had everything going and I'm singing away and I'm playing harp and I'm thinking, 'hmm, what am I going to do when I get home? I wonder if there's a good movie on tv or something', then I come out of my reverie and realise I'm in the middle of a song, and I have to wonder 'did I sing that verse already? I think I sang that verse twice' because I'm not even really paying attention to what I'm doing. It's all muscle memory." (April 22nd, 2014).

For the one-man band, the body serves as a support for instruments, a site of performative knowledge, and through shared experience, it helps connect performers to their audiences.

L'homme-orchestre et le corps en musique[17]

Il est impossible d'ignorer le rôle du corps humain dans la création musicale. Qu'il s'agisse de l'interprétation d'un instrument, de l'improvisation vocale, ou de la programmation des procédés numériques de la musique électronique, derrière toute musique, il y a corps. Ceci est tout aussi vrai pour le spectateur, car son corps sert de récepteur pour la musique créée.

La culture occidentale a tendance à vouloir séparer le corps de l'âme ou de l'intellect. Cependant, en adoptant une pensée basée davantage sur la phénoménologie, il est possible de dire que le corps et son utilisation nous renseignent sur l'expérience humaine. Cette vision du corps est un élément clé du champ d'études connu en anglais comme *Performance Studies*, approche qui considère que le corps humain est détenteur de connaissances uniques qui ne peuvent être écrites ou transmises autrement.

Malgré ce qui semble être, du moins pour une certaine école de pensée, l'évidence du rôle que joue le corps dans la création musicale, les études en musique l'ont longtemps ignoré, se concentrant plutôt sur l'analyse textuelle de partitions ou de transcriptions et non sur la performance musicale ou le corps musiquant. L'analyse du corps musiquant permet une vision élargie de la musique et dépasse la seule étude des textes musicaux pour mieux comprendre l'interprétation musicale qui inclut alors les mouvements, les gestuelles, les chorégraphies, sans oublier les spectateurs et les interactions entre ces derniers. Le corps musiquant est ainsi un phénomène tant visuel que sonore et le plaisir de sa performance est capté autant par les yeux que par les oreilles. Toute performance musicale implique donc le corps de l'interprète et sollicite le regard et l'écoute du spectateur.

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[17] This text originally appeared as a chapter in *Quand la musique prends corps*, published by Les presses de l'Université de Montréal in 2014.

L'homme-orchestre est un phénomène assez répandu, mais néanmoins peu étudié. Ce musicien de rue, qui amuse son public en interprétant un morceau de musique en jouant à lui seul plusieurs instruments en même temps, est un lieu commun de notre culture. Le modèle est assez bien connu pour être facilement identifiable sans faire référence explicitement à un performeur ou une performance en particulier. Cependant, rares sont les chercheurs qui se sont penchés sur le sujet. Pour ceux qui préfèrent se concentrer sur le texte musical (nous pensons ici au niveau immanent/neutre de Molino (1975) et à l'analyse paradigmatique de Nattiez (1976)), l'homme-orchestre est peut-être un objet d'étude moins intéressant. Pour les autres qui prônent une analyse du corps en musique (Mabru, 2001; Sakata, Wakamiya, Odaka, & Hachimura, 2009; Schaeffner, 1980), il est un cas de figure exceptionnel. La grosse caisse fixée sur son dos, les cymbales entre ses jambes, l'accordéon dans ses mains et les chansons qui remplissent sa bouche, tout le corps de l'homme-orchestre est mis à l'ouvrage. De plus, par ses mouvements et sa façon d'interpeler les spectateurs, la performance de l'homme-orchestre est tant visuelle que sonore.

Dans le texte qui suit, nous mettrons en évidence l'étroite relation entre corps et musique chez l'homme-orchestre. Nous montrerons que pour comprendre l'attrait du phénomène, une analyse de l'homme-orchestre doit dépasser une simple étude de ses textes pour prendre en compte l'utilisation du corps du praticien et doit examiner tant les éléments visibles du spectacle que les éléments audibles. En soutenant que l'utilisation du corps peut servir d'élément définissant de l'homme-orchestre, nous espérons également montrer que des analyses qui prennent en compte le corps, que ce soit celui du performeur ou du spectateur, peuvent offrir une compréhension accrue de la musique et de ses objets.

La performance

Tel que nous l'avons dit antérieurement, l'analyse de la musique se penche souvent sur des textes musicaux, que ce soit des enregistrements, des partitions, ou des transcriptions et la performance musicale est souvent délaissée. Cette omission a pour conséquence de laisser également de côté plusieurs aspects du processus de la production musicale qui peuvent être très révélateurs. La performance est musique, mais elle est aussi tout ce qui entoure la production musicale : « mise en scène, chorégraphie, rite, cérémonie, festival » (Pichette, 2011, p. 314)

Le terme performance est utilisé dans plusieurs disciplines, notamment en linguistique. Selon le philosophe britannique John Austin (1975) et l'anthropologue américain Richard Baumann (1977), le langage ne sert pas uniquement à décrire quelque chose. Le langage peut également créer quelque chose. Quand le marié dit « oui, je le veux », ses paroles changent son statut légal. La performance a des capacités que le langage seul ne possède pas. En transférant ces concepts à la musique, nous pouvons constater que la réalisation des textes est aussi importante que les textes eux-mêmes.

L'anthropologue américain Alan Merriam (1964) a proposé un modèle d'étude de la performance musicale qui prend en compte le son musical, ainsi que le contexte dans lequel le son est produit et le comportement de ceux qui le produisent. Dans le dernier quart du XX^{e} siècle, plusieurs chercheurs en ethnomusicologie, tels que Gerard Béhague (1984), Regula Qureshi Burckhardt (2006) et Nicholas Cook (2003), ont adopté des regards qui prennent en compte la performance musicale. Plus récemment, l'ethnomusicologue Monique Desroches (2008) a proposé dans cette perspective les concepts du co-texte et de signature singulière. Pour Desroches, le terme co-texte « englobe tous les éléments qui ne sont pas inclus dans les éléments syntaxiques ou formels du texte et qui entourent ce dernier. [Ces éléments du cotexte], loin d'être des paramètres périphériques […] sont en réalité des points centraux de la performance. » (p. 113). Desroches poursuit en affirmant que chaque performeur (il s'agit ici d'un conteur) « maîtrise, sélectionne, combine et agence [les différents éléments du co-texte] pour marquer le récit de sa propre signature. Une analyse du texte, en dehors de la performance, n'aurait pu et su révéler cette signature singulière. » (p. 114)

Le spectacle

Les *Performance Studies* américaines prennent pour objet la performance entendue de manière large. Selon un des pionniers de la discipline, Richard Schechner (2006), il n'y pas de limites à la performance. « Any action that is framed, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance. » (p. 2). La performance est donc un métagenre qui inclut plusieurs sous-catégories, comme la cérémonie, l'identité et le spectacle.

L'anthropologue américain John MacAloon (1984) est un des premiers à explorer l'idée de spectacle. Pour lui, le spectacle comprend un aspect visuel important, sans doute lié aux racines latines du mot, soit *spectaculum* ou *spectare,* qui signifient tous deux « regarder ». MacAloon propose que le spectacle attire son public surtout par son envergure visuelle et que seuls des évènements d'une certaine grandeur, comme les Jeux olympiques par exemple, puissent être considérés dans cette catégorie. Frank E. Manning (1992), lui aussi anthropologue américain, reprend les travaux de MacAloon en ajoutant une précision. Tout comme MacAloon, Manning croit que l'intérêt du spectacle passe par l'ampleur et l'immensité des proportions d'un évènement, mais il ajoute que cet intérêt peut également venir de quelqu'un ou quelque chose qui éveille une plus grande variété d'émotions chez le spectateur : de l'admiration, de la curiosité, du mépris. Pour certains, incluant Manning, la présence du spectateur est un élément clé du spectacle, et distingue ce dernier de la simple performance.

L'artiste et anthropologue américain William O. Beeman (1993) se base sur les travaux de MacAloon et Manning, ainsi que ceux de Richard Schechner, pour distinguer le spectacle d'autres types de performance. En plus de l'importance de la présence de spectateurs mentionnée par MacAloon et Manning, Beeman considère que le spectacle est symbolique, plutôt que réel, et doit être divertissant, ou du moins avoir comme objectif d'être divertissant. Pour sa part, Beeman ne considère pas qu'un évènement doit être d'une certaine taille avant de pouvoir être considéré comme un spectacle. Des performeurs individuels devant un public modeste peuvent donc très bien être considérés comme un spectacle s'ils répondent aux autres critères.

Si nous acceptons les thèses de Beeman, nous pouvons proposer que les éléments qui contribuent à la qualité spectaculaire d'une performance soient ceux qui s'adressent expressément aux spectateurs, particulièrement sur le plan visuel, et qui servent à renforcer la nature symbolique de la performance ou qui contribuent à rendre le spectacle plus divertissant.

L’homme-orchestre et le spectacle

Amuseur public et performeur de rue, l’homme-orchestre joue souvent seul devant une petite foule, mais ses représentations n’en sont pas moins spectaculaires pour autant. La faible quantité de recherches existantes sur l’homme-orchestre fait en sorte qu’il n’y a pas de définition englobante du phénomène. Dans un ouvrage ethnographique sur la famille Vermandel, famille d’hommes-orchestres franco-belge, Léo Vermandel décrit l’homme-orchestre comme étant « un art : la musique, la danse, le rythme, le sport, la force, l’endurance, la condition physique, la curiosité, l’originalité, l’exploit, la performance. » (Calogirou et al., 1997, p. 101). Dans son livre encyclopédique sur le sujet, l’homme-orchestre canadien Dave Harris décrit son métier comme « Anyone who plays enough instruments at the same time or creates enough sound to imply more than one musician. » (2012, p. 10). Finalement, dans leur numéro spécial dédié au phénomène, le journal *Roctober!* décrit l’homme-orchestre comme « at least a vaguely musical act [:] theatrical, inventive, unique, spirited, absurdity-celebration. » (Austen, 2002, p. 10). La grande diversité de formes que peuvent adopter les artistes qui se déclarent homme-orchestre rend complexes les tentatives de définir le phénomène. Pour arriver à mieux le comprendre, nous proposons de regarder ce que fait l’homme-orchestre, comment il réalise ses exploits, et quels effets ont ses actions sur les spectateurs.

La simultanéité semble être au cœur de ce phénomène unique. Être homme-orchestre, c’est faire plusieurs choses en même temps. Il est important ici de noter la différence entre ce qui est produit simultanément et ce qui est perçu simultanément. Par exemple, plusieurs artistes utilisent des appareils technologiques qui permettent de faire entendre une ligne mélodique ou un accompagnement préenregistré en même temps qu’ils jouent d’un deuxième instrument. Le spectateur entend les deux instruments en même temps, mais l’artiste ne les joue pas simultanément. Pour en arriver à jouer de plusieurs instruments simultanément, le corps du performeur doit jouer un rôle primordial.

La plupart des instruments de musique ne sont pas conçus pour être joués en même temps par une seule personne. Ils sollicitent presque toujours les mains ou la bouche de l’interprète. À défaut de modifier son anatomie, l’homme-orchestre doit modifier ses instruments pour les adapter à ses besoins. Les jambes et les pieds sont mis à contribution pour seconder les mains, alors que des prothèses (comme un support d'harmonica, par exemple) permettent encore de libérer les mains en tenant certains instruments pendant qu'ils ne sont pas utilisés. Prenons l'exemple de Solsirépifpan, un homme-orchestre français de la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, tel qu'il est décrit par Charles Yriarte en 1868.

> Solsirépifpan […] joue d'une flute de pan qui est à portée de ses lèvres et dissimulée sous les revers de son habit; sa main droite taquine une guitare, tandis que l'avant-bras gauche, serré par une courroie à laquelle s'attache un tampon, frappe une grosse caisse suspendue dans le dos par une bandoulière passée de l'épaule droite au côté gauche; une corde, passée au même bras gauche et suspendue aussi à l'extrémité de la mandoline, retient à la hauteur du genou un triangle frappé par un manche attaché au mollet droit; au-dessus des malléoles, à l'endroit où s'attachent les pieds, sont fixées deux cymbales, de façon à pouvoir produire une percussion en rapprochant les genoux. (p. 28)

Nous voyons ici l'importance de l'utilisation de la technologie par l'homme-orchestre. La technologie vient appuyer le corps en remplaçant des membres (tel que les cymbales fixées entre les genoux) ou en transférant la force vers un autre endroit (tel que la courroie qui connecte l'avant-bras au tampon qui fait sonner la grosse caisse).

Malgré les efforts héroïques du performeur, les résultats musicaux laissent parfois à désirer. Gétreau (2000) fait remarquer que « l'accumulation des accessoires, poussée à son comble, est inversement proportionnelle à la qualité du résultat musical. » (p. 71). Pour sa part, Harris (2012, p. 9) croit que la plupart des hommes-orchestres reconnaîtraient jouer mieux d'un instrument seul qu'en même temps que plusieurs autres. Si, comme Gétreau le remarque, la qualité musicale de l'homme-orchestre souffre quand il ajoute plus d'instruments à sa performance, où en est l'avantage? Nous pouvons peut-être trouver la réponse dans les paroles d'un homme-orchestre canadien, Washboard Hank, qui dit que ses spectateurs préfèrent quand les notes d'une gamme musicale sont réparties sur son corps, plutôt qu'ordonnées de façon méthodologique et concentrée dans un même endroit (Emerson & Emerson, 2003). L'attrait de l'homme-orchestre n'est pas nécessairement ce qu'il joue, mais comment il le joue et, plus particulièrement, de quoi il a l'air quand il le joue. Pour le spectateur, l'intérêt n'est pas tant d'écouter l'homme-orchestre que de le voir à l'œuvre. Cela dit, il ne faut pas négliger l'importance du contenu musical dans ce qu'il fait.

L'intérêt pour le spectateur est peut-être plus de voir l'homme-orchestre que de l'entendre, mais les exploits de l'homme-orchestre ne sont impressionnants que s'ils sont réussis. Le spectateur utilise le contenu musical pour juger des efforts du performeur. Ceci expliquerait possiblement la place importante qu'occupent les chansons que nous pouvons catégoriser de « grands classiques » dans le répertoire des hommes-orchestres. Nous pouvons imaginer que le spectateur cherche l'équilibre entre la qualité de la production musicale et la complexité du processus nécessaire pour créer la musique. L'utilisation de pièces très connues permet au spectateur de comparer l'interprétation de l'homme-orchestre à celles déjà connues et entendues antérieurement, afin d'évaluer s'il considère cette version de l'homme-orchestre réussie ou non.

Cette brève description du phénomène nous permet de fournir une définition de l'homme-orchestre qui n'est peut-être pas complète, mais qui sera utile aux fins de ce texte. L'homme-orchestre utilise son corps, combiné à des composants technologiques, pour jouer de plusieurs instruments en même temps dans le but de reproduire devant un public ce qui est normalement joué par plusieurs personnes. Quoique le produit musical soit important, car il permet au spectateur de décider si ce qu'il voit est réussi ou non, la musique sert surtout d'encadrement pour les éléments de la performance liés au spectacle et au spectaculaire. Tel que nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, ces éléments sont ceux qui contribuent à la nature symbolique de la performance et qui divertissent les spectateurs. En lisant cette définition, nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi il est si important pour l'homme-orchestre d'accentuer la nature symbolique de sa performance et de divertir ses spectateurs, et ce parfois au détriment de la qualité musicale de sa prestation.

Plusieurs théoriciens de la performance distinguent entre la performance de tous les jours et la performance symbolique, entre faire quelque chose et faire quelque chose de spécial qui n'appartient pas à la vie normale et qui est présenté à un public. Pour aider le public à distinguer les deux, le performeur utilise des cadres référentiels connus du public, comme le lieu de la performance, le comportement du performeur et la structure de la performance. Pour l'artiste qui se présente dans un théâtre ou une salle de concert, les cadres référentiels sont assez clairs. Le spectateur sait qu'il est là pour voir un spectacle. Il n'en est pas toujours de même pour l'artiste qui se produit dans la rue.

Dans une société industrialisée et urbaine où la vie citadine installe une distance psychologique par rapport à ceux qui nous entourent et où il est parfois mal vu de fixer quelqu'un avec un regard trop direct, les éléments non musicaux de l'homme-orchestre sont sa façon de nous montrer qu'il se met en exposition pour nous et que nous pouvons nous divertir en le regardant. Ces éléments non musicaux peuvent prendre plusieurs formes : des costumes, des marionnettes, de la technologie visible, des feux d'artifice. L'homme-orchestre français Rémi Bricka s'habille complètement en blanc, chapeau inclus. Ses instruments sont également peints en blanc pour ajouter à l'allure générale. À un moment propice de son spectacle, des feux d'artifice sont déclenchés accompagnés de colombes blanches (Bricka, 2006). De son côté, l'homme-orchestre anglais de longue date, Vic Ellis, dit dans un entrevue privée en 2013 qu'en début de carrière, le public avait souvent une certaine gêne à regarder ses spectacles. Une fois des marionnettes attachées à son ensemble d'instruments, les spectateurs n'éprouvaient plus de réserve à le regarder. Pour renforcer l'aspect symbolique de leur présentation encore davantage, plusieurs hommes-orchestres adoptent un nom de scène comme The Straniero, The Lonesome Organist, ou Chucklefoot[18], pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns.

Par ailleurs, il importe ici d'être attentif à la façon dont l'homme-orchestre gagne sa vie. Musiciens de rue pour la plupart, ces artistes offrent des spectacles pour le grand public en échange d'un don monétaire volontaire. La somme recueillie à la fin du spectacle est liée à la quantité de spectateurs et leur appréciation du spectacle. Pour les artistes qui sont engagés pour jouer lors d'évènements, tantôt publics, comme une foire agricole ou un festival, tantôt privés, comme un mariage, le nombre d'engagements et la somme qu'ils peuvent demander dépendent de leur renom et d'expériences précédentes. Quoique ce ne soit pas une règle

[18]www.thestraniero.com/, lonesomeorganist.com/, et www.chucklefoot.co.uk.

absolue, dans les deux cas, plus les auditeurs apprécient le spectacle, plus c'est rentable pour l'artiste.

Les éléments qui accentuent la qualité du spectacle chez l'homme-orchestre servent donc à deux fins. Premièrement, en renforçant la nature symbolique de la présentation, ils fournissent une partie du cadre qui permet aux spectateurs d'identifier que ce que fait l'homme-orchestre est un spectacle, et qui leur indique qu'ils peuvent être des spectateurs. Deuxièmement, en divertissant les spectateurs, l'homme-orchestre espère rendre sa performance plus rentable.

L'homme-orchestre et le corps

Le corps de l'homme-orchestre est en relation étroite avec la musique qu'il crée. Plus que d'autres musiciens, l'homme-orchestre est indissociable de ses instruments. Attachés à son corps, ils deviennent des membres musicaux. En décrivant un homme-orchestre du XIX^e^ siècle, Victor Fournel (1867) dit que « [l]e moindre dérangement des muscles, le moindre tremblement de jambes, le moindre clignement d'yeux, le moindre tressaillement des nerfs produirait aussitôt, la plus déplorable cacophonie. » (p. 38). Quand l'homme-orchestre bouge, ses instruments font du bruit. Il est donc parfois difficile de voir où l'homme-orchestre arrête et où ses instruments commencent.

Nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher ici de penser aux cyborgs de la science-fiction. Ces êtres mi-humains, mi-machine combinent des éléments organiques à des éléments cybernétiques ou mécaniques. Des robots à peau humaine ou des humains disposant de prothèses mécaniques, les cyborgs ne sont pas uniquement limités au monde des films ou des romans. L'utilisation de plus en plus répandue d'articulations métalliques pour remplacer des pièces osseuses usées, des stimulateurs cardiaques de plus en plus informatisés et le développement d'ordinateurs qui s'intègrent au corps humain tel que *Google Glass*[19] fait en sorte que le cyborg est de moins en moins confiné au monde de la science-fiction. En intégrant ses instruments à son corps et en utilisant la technologie pour les activer, l'homme-orchestre nous présente un modèle du cyborg musical.

Nous pouvons imaginer que cette relation entre corps et musique ou corps et technologie chez l'homme-orchestre contribuent également au plaisir qu'éprouvent ses spectateurs. Plusieurs personnes sont fortement intéressées par la technologie, et se plaisent à comprendre comment quelque chose fonctionne. Vic Ellis constate que quelques-uns de ses spectateurs sont parfois plus intéressés à comprendre son appareillage que de regarder son spectacle (communication personnelle, 2013). Entrelacé avec ses instruments, l'homme-orchestre devient une espèce de machine Goldberg. Cet éponyme vient d'un dessinateur américain et des plans qu'il a créés pour des machines extrêmement compliquées dont l'objectif était de réaliser des tâches très simples et anodines, ouvrir une lumière par exemple. Comme l'homme-orchestre, l'intérêt n'est pas nécessairement le résultat, mais le processus. Pour que ce processus soit intéressant, il doit être visible.

Les nouvelles technologies d'enregistrement audio abordables et facilement utilisables par le grand public font en sorte que presque n'importe quel musicien peut s'enregistrer plusieurs fois et faire entendre toutes les pistes en même temps. Comme nous l'avons décrit auparavant, même si le musicien a joué de tous les instruments lui-même et que le spectateur les entend en même temps, le résultat n'a pas été produit de façon simultanée. C'est sans doute ce qui amène Harris (2012) à conclure que même si ce sont des musiciens talentueux, ces derniers ne sont pas des hommes-orchestres.

Pour la plupart de ces musiciens, la technologie informatique ou électronique est invisible. On ne voit pas le stockage d'informations sur le disque, ni le travail que fait un ordinateur. Par contre, la technologie mécanique de l'homme-orchestre est très évidente. Il ne cache aucunement ses poulies, ses courroies, ou ses attaches. Sa technologie est visible.

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[19] www.google.com/glass/start/

La relation entre corps et musique chez l'homme-orchestre devient encore plus étroite lorsqu'on s'attarde à regarder quelle influence l'un peut avoir sur l'autre. L'homme-orchestre doit bouger pour actionner ses multiples instruments. Il doit également bouger pour créer un spectacle qui plaira à ses spectateurs. Cependant, il n'est pas libre de bouger comme il le voudrait, car chaque mouvement est accompagné d'un bruit. La musique structure les mouvements du corps en même temps qu'elle les restreint. Il est difficile de dire qui joue de quoi. Est-ce que l'homme-orchestre joue de la musique, ou est-ce que c'est la musique qui joue de l'homme-orchestre? Le corps de l'homme-orchestre et la musique qu'il joue sont indissociables. L'un devient partie intégrante de l'autre.

Une fois la relation entre corps et musique mise de l'avant, il n'est pas surprenant de constater que le corps de l'homme-orchestre est utilisé de façon taxonomique. Les artistes qui répondent à notre définition d'homme-orchestre sont multiples, et ils jouent d'une grande variété d'instruments de plusieurs façons différentes. Les styles joués incluent le blues, le folk, le jazz et la musique électronique. Ce qui lie ces artistes est l'utilisation spécialisée de leur corps pour jouer de plusieurs instruments en même temps. Pour des fins taxonomiques, l'utilisation du corps sert à distinguer l'homme-orchestre des autres musiciens. L'utilisation de son corps est plus importante que les instruments, le style musical ou le contexte dans lequel la musique est jouée. De plus, Dave Harris (2012, p. 394) nous fait remarquer qu'à l'intérieur de cette catégorie d'homme-orchestre, les artistes sont en majeur partie classés selon leur posture : debout ou assise. Rares sont les musiciens qui passent d'une posture à l'autre, mais certains font la transition d'une vers l'autre pour des raisons professionnelles ou de santé. Encore une fois, l'utilisation du corps sert à créer des catégories avant les instruments utilisés ou le style de musique joué par l'interprète.

Le corps et le spectacle

Comme nous l'avons mentionné au début de ce texte, le corps joue un rôle important dans la création musicale. Par contre, le corps et la musique sont de plus en plus séparés depuis l'invention du phonographe à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle (Auslander, 2006b). La diffusion radiophonique de la musique et l'omniprésence de la musique portable depuis l'arrivée du baladeur font en sorte que, dans les pays développés à tout le moins, la consommation de la musique incorporelle, c'est-à-dire la musique sans la présence de performeurs, est plus élevée que la consommation de musique avec performeur. D'autre part, le gain en popularité de la musique électronique contribue aussi à cette séparation entre performeur et musique.

La relation causale entre geste et production musicale qui est présente dans la musique instrumentale est moins évidente dans la musique électronique. L'évolution de la musique numérique et de la création musicale sur ordinateur portable fait en sorte que n'importe quel geste peut créer n'importe quel son. En appuyant sur une même touche d'ordinateur, le musicien peut créer une grande variété de sons différents. De plus, il est possible de séparer complètement dans l'espace et dans le temps le son du geste qui l'a produit. Compositeur et théoricien de la musique, R. Murray Schafer (1977) a développé le concept de la schizophonie pour décrire une situation dans laquelle un son est séparé de sa source d'origine par l'amplification électronique.

Professeur de musique à l'Université de Victoria, W. Andrew Schloss (2003) croit que, dans la musique numérique, la relation entre geste et résultat musical n'est plus perceptible. Cette séparation entre geste (et donc corps) et musique est ressentie par le public. Artiste et professeur à l'Université de Western Sydney, Garth Paine (2008) suggère que si les spectateurs ne sont pas capables d'identifier le rôle que joue le performeur dans la création musicale, ils ne sont pas plus capables de déterminer l'authenticité de la performance. Revenons ici à l'homme-orchestre.

La relation étroite entre corps et musique chez l'homme-orchestre fait en sorte que la relation entre geste et production musicale est très évidente pour son public. Là où la technologie a ailleurs servi à diminuer le rôle du corps dans la musique, chez l'homme-orchestre le rôle du corps est augmenté par la technologie en permettant à toutes les parties du corps de participer à la production musicale. La causalité des mouvements de l'homme-orchestre permet au spectateur d'attribuer une certaine authenticité à la performance. Cette dernière est importante pour le spectateur, particulièrement à l'ère numérique où tout évènement visuel ou sonore qui passe par un appareil technologique est susceptible d'être truqué d'une façon ou d'une autre. Encore plus que sa musique, le corps de l'homme-orchestre devient le spectacle.

En conclusion, l'homme-orchestre est continuellement en équilibre entre le réel et l'authentique d'un côté et le faux et le symbolique de l'autre. D'une part, l'homme-orchestre se situe dans le spectaculaire. Ses costumes, ses accessoires et son personnage coloré servent de cadre référentiel pour nous montrer qu'il nous offre un spectacle symbolique et qu'il ne fait que jouer à être un homme-orchestre pour nous plaire. De l'autre, son corps est garant d'authenticité. Ce qu'il fait est réel et c'est bien lui qui joue de ses instruments. D'un point de vue symbolique, l'homme-orchestre utilise la technologie pour l'aider à incarner à lui seul plusieurs musiciens. Du point de vue de l'authenticité, l'utilisation de son corps et la causalité évidente entre geste et résultat musical nous montrent que c'est lui et non pas la technologie qui est aux commandes. Si la relation entre geste et résultat est perdue, l'attrait pour le spectateur est également perdu. Nous proposons donc que l'intérêt du spectateur pour l'homme-orchestre vient justement de cet équilibre entre réel et symbolique, et que le corps est au centre de cet attrait.

Le spectateur se divertit en regardant l'homme-orchestre parce qu'il est à la fois pareil et différent du performeur. Les deux protagonistes ont bien évidemment chacun un corps. Or, le spectateur connaît son propre corps et ce qu'il peut en faire, alors que l'homme-orchestre met en évidence l'utilisation de son corps par une relation claire entre geste et résultat, des processus technologiques visibles et l'utilisation de textes musicaux connus qui permettent de juger de sa compétence. En se basant sur la connaissance de son propre corps, le spectateur peut reconnaître la difficulté de ce que fait l'homme-orchestre. Nous croyons que l'intérêt du spectateur réside donc dans ce mélange entre possible et impossible. Le spectateur a un corps et pourrait éventuellement devenir homme-orchestre lui-même, s'il y mettait le temps et la pratique nécessaires pour y arriver. En parlant de sa musique, l'homme-orchestre britannique Honkeyfinger dit que les spectateurs semblent aimer le côté moins raffiné de sa musique, car ça leur permet de penser qu'ils pourraient le faire, eux aussi (Clitheroe, 2008). Le spectateur s'identifie à l'homme-orchestre et apprécie donc les habiletés et le talent du performeur. Repensons ici à Frank Manning quand il dit que le spectacle peut éveiller plusieurs émotions chez le spectateur, dont l'admiration.

Pour le chercheur qui ne regarde que les textes, l'homme-orchestre n'est peut-être pas le sujet le plus intéressant. Un performeur ne pourra jamais, à lui seul, reproduire avec le même détail ou la même complexité ce que font quatre ou cinq musiciens. Cela dit, l'intérêt de l’homme-orchestre n’est pas ce qu’il produit, mais plutôt comment il le produit. Un mode d’analyse basé sur la performance et plus particulièrement sur le spectacle nous aide donc à comprendre l’importance de la réalité symbolique chez l’homme-orchestre et sa relation avec les spectateurs.

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Technology

While body is one of the defining elements of the one-man band, it is brought into focus through use of technology. Technology helps channel bodily movement into discernable musical or performential outputs while simultaneously restricting and constricting bodily movement and form. One-man bands are usually covered or surrounded by their instruments, to the point where the line between instrument (technology) and body is blurred. In fact, the one-man band is inseperable from technology. Without its musical instruments, it ceases to be. In the previous article (L'Homme-orchestre et le corps en mouvement) the relationship with body was outlined in more detail. In this next article, it is technology which receives our attention, not just for the ways it effects or helps make the one-man band, but particularly how its use by the one-man band helps create a special relationship with audiences. This relationship in turn contributes to the success and longevity of both individual artists and the one-man band as a form more generally.

Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle: The one-man band and audience relationships in the digital age[20].

Introduction

French sociologist Jean-Marc Leveratto (2006, p. 286) uses the term "*lieu commun de la culture*" to describe archetypes that have been created and popularized through a process of invention, evolution, and commodification. These archetypes, once standardized, take on an existence outside of and beyond their performances. Since its emergence in the second half of the 18th century, the one-man band has become a shared frame of reference above and beyond its reference to the lone multi-instrumentalists seen in 19th century engravings, early 20th century vaudeville acts, and movies such as such as Walt Disney's *Mary Poppins* (Stevenson, 1964) or Pixar's animated short *One Man Band* (Jiminez & Andrews, 2005).

Despite the familiarity of the one-man band (or perhaps because of it), a detailed definition of the phenomenon proves hard to find. The subject has for the most part managed to escape prolonged study by academia, though it has received recent documentary treatment in films and other publications. Invariably the one-man band is described as one person playing several instruments at once.

While this description can serve as a broad working model for study, I argue that it only superficially addresses the essence of the one-man band. Though it is tempting to consider the one-man band a purely musical phenomenon, it could be argued that music is only one part of a more complex whole. A careful examination reveals that the visual aspects

[20] This article was originally written for the research group *Création Sonore* at the Université de Montréal. An earlier version of this article was made available on their web-page, www.creationsonore.ca. My thanks to creation sonore for their thoughts, comments, and financial contribution to this article's development.

of the one-man band are as important as its audio ones. Seeing the one-man band as the interaction of musical production and visual spectacle is key to developing a better understanding of the phenomenon that allows us follow the practice as new permutations emerge in the digital age. In so doing, the one-man band can serve as a model to help understand our developing relationships with technology. Furthermore, examining the extra-musical aspects of the one-man band can help us understand the staying-power of the practice by shedding new light on the important role these visual elements play in developing and maintaining performer/audience relationships.

Performance

Léo Vermandel, a third-generation French one-man band describes a complicated interrelationship of several different elements. “L’homme-orchestre, c’est un art : la musique, la dance, le rythme, le sport, la force, l’endurance, la condition physique, la curiosité, l’originalité, l’exploit, la performance.” (Calogirou et al., 1997, p. 101). Chicago music magazine *Roctober!*‘s editor Jake Austen (2002, p. 10) says that “One Man Bands are about spectacle” and calls them “theatrical”. In his compendium on one-man bands Canadian one-man band Dave Harris (2012, p. 9) discusses the importance of spectacle to the practice. How does the one-man band fit with existing ideas of performance and spectacle?

Henry Sayre (1995), American art historian, distinguishes between two types of performance, one being a particular set of actions which occur in a given situation, and one being the enactment of an existing text. He qualifies this second type of performance as “artistic performance”. Until the early years of the 20th century, most notions of performance concentrated solely on “artistic performance” in which qualitative judgement was based on whether an interpretation of a text was as faithful as possible to what the audience and the performer believed the author's intention to be. The performer and the audience presuppose “that the artist's intentions are embodied in the work itself.” (p. 92).

This notion began to be challenged in the early 20th century as artistic movements such as Dadaism began to demonstrate that the authority of a text doesn’t always lie with its author, but that interpretations of meaning can be created by the viewer as well. French literary theorist Roland Barthes (1970) describes these ideas in his work *S/Z* in which he labels the former a readerly text and the latter a writerly text. In a writerly text, each new reading can produce a new meaning.

By the 1950's, the exploration of performance began to spread into other fields of study. British linguist and philosopher John L. Austin (1975) used the term "performative" during a lecture series at Harvard University in 1955 to indicate that "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action." (p. 6). Speech and performance aren't only used to describe something; action or meaning can be produced through the process of performance.

Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman's 1959 book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, portrays social interaction through a model based on the theatre, in which we assume different roles for different situations and perform them accordingly. These performances can be analyzed through the setting in which they take place, as well as through our manner and our appearance during the performance. Goffman's work takes Austin's ideas to a more individual level by suggesting that who we are isn't a fixed definition, rather our personality and our character is performed different ways in different situations.

American Linguist Richard Bauman (1977) builds on concepts used by both Austin and Goffman to develop the idea of verbal art as performance. "In such an approach, the formal manipulation of linguistic features is secondary to the nature of performance." (p. 8). This way of seeing things challenged existing ideas of competency. Bauman (1992) says that generative grammaticians of the 1960s considered competency to be the ability to speak a language and performance to be the putting into action of this ability. In this case, performance is seen to be deviant and imperfect due to its grammatically irrelevant features such as pauses and stutters. Social linguists such as Dell Hymes (2004 [1981]), however, emphasize communicative competency which takes into account the ability to speak in socially interpretable and appropriate ways. In this model performance and competency are not at odds with each other. The grammatically irrelevant features which some saw as interfering with the text become, through performance, part of the text. Competency can be understood as knowing how to perform in a given situation so that what we say and do is interpretable by others.

Musical performance

Within the category of artistic performance we can include music-making. The way that musical performance has been understood has evolved along with the idea of performance itself. As musicology began to develop in Europe in the mid 19th century, performing music was thought of as interpreting the author's intent from a pre-established text. Much work of this time concentrated on the study of these texts, either the composer's score or a researcher's transcription. Performance and extra-textual aspects of music were of secondary importance.

Around the same time that the idea of performance was evolving in linguistics and sociology, ethnomusicology started to develop new ideas on the subject as well. Anthropologists began to understand musical performance as being one part of a larger system which included the setting, the audience, and articulation with other texts or performances. French-born, Brazilian-raised ethnomusicologist Gerard Béhague (1984) studied performance by concentrating on the behavior (musical or not) of both the performers and the audience. This includes the "social interaction [between participants], the meaning of that interaction [...], and the rules or codes of performance defined by the community for a specific context or occasion." (p. 7). In her 1975-76 field study of Sufi music, Canadian ethnomusicologist Regula Quereshi (2006) adopts a similar approach, one that incorporates the dimension of context into the analysis of musical sound. In doing so, musical performance both reflects and is shaped by the culture it is issued from.

In discussing New Zealand philosopher Stanley Godlovitch's book *Musical performance: a philosophical study* (1998), multimedia artist and Senior Lecturer in Sound Technologies at the University of Western Sydney Garth Paine (2008) makes the point that musical performance is more than just entertainment, "it is a ritualised form of collective conscience [...] Music plays an important role in the emotional state of the society from which it emerges, and [...] is in part a critique of the fashion (manners, customs and clothing) of the time." (p. 219). Here musical performance is social performance, and understanding one without the other becomes almost impossible.

Studying music began to move away from studying a text towards studying the process of enacting or creating the text. As British musicologist Nicholas Cook (2003) describes, meaning exists in the process of performance and therefore can't be reduced to a product. This situates musical performance as an act of creation, similar to Austin’s idea of performativity.

Watching music

This expanded understanding of musical performance underlines the fact that it is much more than what we hear, it is also what we see. American cultural studies researcher Richard Leppert (1993) points out that "sonoric landscapes are both heard and seen.” (p. 18).

Canadian researchers William F. Thompson, Phil Graham and Frank A. Russo (2005) remind us that making music is “also characterized by a continuously changing and meaningful use of facial expressions, body movements, and hand gestures.” (p. 203). Musical gestures play an important role in how we understand music. In a 1988 article, French cognitive musicologist François Delalande divides musical gesture into three levels: effective, accompanist, and figurative. This supports the idea that music isn't only played, it is performed.

The haptic-feedback loop between performer and instrument is a key part of musical creation. American philosopher Don Ihde (1990) suggests that the performer enters into an embodied relationship while playing a musical instrument, so much so that the instrument ceases to be an object in its own right and becomes the means of expression for the performer. Paine (2008) proposes that the perseverance of acoustic musical instruments can in part be attributed to embodied relationships “that encourage expression on a highly abstract but simultaneously visceral and rewarding basis.” (p. 221).

Spectacle and defining the one-man band

Both Austen and Harris use the term spectacle to describe the one-man band. Like performance, spectacle is a meta-genre which comprises many different things. But how would we define spectacle, either on its own or as it differs from performance? And how does the one-man band fit into all of this?

One of the first to write on the subject, American anthropologist and historian John MacAloon (1984) emphasizes the important visual component of spectacles, related to the Latin roots of the word *spectare* "to view" and *specere* "to look at". "Like its optical counterpart spectacles which mediates eye with object, the spectacle event serves as a form of mediation between the eye and the affective senses of the spectator." (Kan, 2004). However, MacAloon (1984) stresses that not every sight is a spectacle. Only those "of a certain size and grandeur" (p. 243) fit the description. He qualifies spectacles as being "public displays appealing or intending to appeal to the eye by their mass, proportions, colours, or other dramatic qualities." (p. 243). Frank E. Manning (1992) also appears to use size of the event as a criteria for defining spectacle. He calls it a "large-scale, extravagant cultural production that is replete with striking visual imagery and dramatic action and that is watched by a mass audience." (p. 291).

Despite this emphasis on large-scale events, Manning (1992) does concede that spectacle can have two definitions, either the "sweeping, visually impressive public event" he describes, or a "person or thing put on display that evokes responses ranging from admiration through curiosity and contempt." (p. 293). Both MacAloon and Manning acknowledge, at least implicitly, through their use of the phrase "making a spectacle of oneself", which usually happens in front of tens of people rather than thousands, that spectacle can also occur in smaller settings.

Regardless of its size, and unlike performance, spectacle can't exist without an audience. American performer and anthropologist William O. Beeman (1993) uses the work of performance studies scholars Victor Turner and Richard Schechner in saying that presentation to an observer/audience is one element that separates spectacle from performance.

Another way that spectacle differs from performance is its symbolic aspect. Once again Beeman (1993) cites Turner and Schechner in saying that spectacle involves the presentation of a symbolic reality which is not necessarily connected or related to the performers' lives outside of the performance. MacAloon (1984) also discusses the irreality of spectacle by saying that it takes the "'realities' of life and defuses them by converting them into appearances." (p. 275).

If we return to the ideas presented above, Bauman (1992) uses the idea of frames to separate the two kinds of performance, performance as doing something and performance as a special kind of doing something. Spectacle is a special kind of doing something. Therefore, if we wanted to determine what parts of a performance contribute to making something a spectacle, we could say that elements that emphasize the symbolic aspect of the performance or that specifically relate to the audience all fall under the heading of spectacular.

We have already briefly evoked the importance of the visual component of the one-man band's performance. Many performers wear colourful costumes, make-use of non-musical accessories such as puppets or feathers, or adopt other strategies to appear visual enticing. French one-man band Rémy Bricka (2006) paints his instruments white and wears an all-white costumes to match, complementing his suit by releasing live doves and setting off fireworks attached to his instruments during his performances. Even without the visual accessorizing, watching a one-man band play several instruments at once can be quite interesting on its own. In fact, it could be argued that this visual emphasis of the one-man band takes precedence over the musical aspects of its performance.

Dave Harris (2012) concedes that "doing several things at once requires extra concentration and most [one-man bands] would admit that they play better guitar (or whatever) by itself." (p. 9). French ethnomusicologist Florence Gétreau (2000) remarks that "l'accumulation des accessoires, poussé à son comble, est inversement proportionelle à la qualité du résultat musical." (p. 71). In describing the placement of musical bells in his kit, Canadian one-man band Washboard Hank mentions that it is much more appealing to the audience if a musical scale is distributed randomly over his body rather than being arranged linearly in a concentrated space, even if that would be easier to play (Emerson & Emerson, 2003). However, arguing that the way an artist looks is more important than the way they sound shouldn't completely diminish the importance of music within the performance.

We can enjoy someone playing music, but only if we can recognize what the music is, or recognize that what is being played is in fact music. Otherwise, it's just noise. There must be some kind of musical threshold under which the one-man band stops being impressive and merely becomes annoying because the performer can't meet the audience's expectations of musical competency.

The visual and the musical aspects of the performance must work together to create the desired effect of the one-man band. The musical elements provide the framework for the performance, and allow the audience to judge the competency of the performer. However, when compared to a band made up of several people, the musical production is only impressive/of interest/entertaining when the spectacular conditions under which it is produced are taken into consideration.

One challenge that many performers face is that the instruments they use are often not designed or intended to be played at the same time. One-man bands make and adapt their instruments to fit their needs. This often means using mechanical devices to allow an instrument that is usually played by the hands to be played with a different part of the body. The most common example of this is the foot-powered and back-mounted bass-drum and cymbals found in many one-man bands.

In light of the ideas of spectacle provided above, this use of mechanical technology accomplishes two things. In terms of musical production, it allows performers to play several instruments at once, which wouldn't normally be possible. Of equal importance is the fact that it also add to the entertainment aspect of the performance. The technology used by the performer becomes part of the show. A particularly elaborate one-man band resembles in some ways a Rube Goldberg machine and interest is not necessarily in the final product, but in the process itself. Furthermore, if we allow that what makes the one-man band interesting is seeing rather than hearing several instruments played simultaneously, visible technology allows the spectator to see more instruments being played, and understand how they are being played. The one-man band would probably be much less interesting if the audience wasn't able to see how the performer's foot was responsible for making the drum on his back sound.

The one-man band is a special kind of doing something. Spectacle serves to remind us of the symbolic nature of the performance. What we're watching isn't a one-man band, it is an artist being a one-man band for the duration of that performance. The way this is signalled to the audience can take many forms, but ranges from a variety of common performance frames such as time and place, to the integration of theatrical elements such as costumes and staging, to the creation of an on-stage persona such as The Straniero, The Lonesome Organist, or Chucklefoot[21].

Through all of this, we can see the bases of a particular one-man band performance aesthetic emerging. Performers use a variety of limbs, appendages, and mechanical devices to simultaneously play several instruments, replicating what would commonly or normally be played by several different people. Though the musical output is important, as it helps the audience determine the performer's competency as a one-man band, its role is to provide the framework for the spectacular parts of the performance which consist of, among others, visible mechanical processes, costumes, and the adoption of stage personas by the performers. The end objective is a live performance in front of an audience.

The electric one-man band

Since the 1980s, the advent of increasingly affordable and easily available digital and electronic technology has had a noticeable impact on music-making practices, including one-man bands. With a laptop and a library of pre-recorded samples, or a microphone and a looping pedal more and more people are able to reproduce the sound of an entire band by themselves. But are they one-man bands? The use of digital technology has allowed these artists to combine musical production with the display of images (still or in motion), animation, and video played or projected during the performance. How does this fit with the *Mary Poppins* version of the one-man band? Or does it even fit at all? At the same time, film is seeing a resurgence of the idea of live cinema, a term initially used to describe silent movies accompanied by live musicians but now employed by a number of multimedia artists who create video performances in real-time in front of an audience. Some of these artists take control of the audio and video elements of their performance, while others, like their late 19th

[21] See http://www.thestraniero.com/, http://lonesomeorganist.com/, and http://www.chucklefoot.co.uk respectively.

and early 20^{th} century counterparts prefer to leave the sonic elements to their musical accompanists. What relationship do these performers have, if any, to one-man bands?

One-man bands have always used technology to expand their ability to play several instruments at once, be it through head racks that allow pan-pipes or a harmonica to be played without occupying the hands, or through straps and pulleys that connect heels to a bass-drum on their back. New electric and digital technologies provide opportunities for one-man bands to expand the visual and sonic elements of their performance. Digital processing of sound allows musicians a greater range of control over timbre, rhythm, volume, and pitch. Furthermore, increased accessibility of video capture, manipulation, and projection allows artists to easily integrate video into the visual aspect of their performance.

French historian Bertrand Gille (1978) developed the idea of a "*système technique"* in his book, *Histoire des techniques* to describe the interrelation between the development of a technological system (based on a particular type of technology such as stone tools or mechanical power) and the social, economic, and political systems which emerge synchronistically. Gille theorized that human history could be divided into a series of successive *systèmes technique*, each based on a different type of technology. By integrating digital audio and video manipulation, one-man bands can be seen as moving from the mechanical *système technique* present at their emergence with the industrial revolution of the 18^{th} century to the digital and information *système technique* of the 21^{st} century. Just as the mechanical one-man band can take different forms, so can these new digital one-man bands.

The 2002 performance of *Afasia* by Spanish digital media performer Marcel.lí Antúnez has been labled a "one-man-multimedia-band" (Jordà, 2002). In *Afasia*, Antúnez is fitted with a sensor-suit and uses it to control animations, video, and music while playing the only human role in the piece. The music is produced by four on-stage robots who are each controlled (or "played") by the performer while a sampler, cd player, and effects module all controlled by the performer help provide audio support for the performance. Antúnez also controls video samples while a camera fixed to his arm provides live video images. Though the piece follows a set narrative arc, the performer can act and react to what is displayed on the screen behind him, both creating what is seen and responding to it. The system used allows a variety of final forms to emerge, ranging "from free audiovisual improvisation to completely pre-recorded sequence playing." (Jordà, 2002, p. 6).

robotcowboy[22] is both the name used by American musician and multimedia artist Dan Wilcox (2007) to describe both his on-going performance project and the stage persona he assumes when performing. The robotcowboy wearable platform features a variety of interfaces such as a digital guitar, a gamepad, and a touchpad connected to a lightweight portable computer. All of the equipment is worn on the performer's body. Early incarnations of robotcowboy featured a modified i-mac as a wearable video display, with video output sometimes connected to a projector or other visual system[23]. robotcowboy is currently being reworked as robotcowboy 2.0 to take advantage of changes in technology since its debut as well as the evolution of the performer's ideas and artistic direction.

If robotcowboy is musician who includes visual elements in his performances, live cinema performers often emphasize the aspect of visual creation while adding musical accompaniment. British live cinema scholar Toby Harris (2012) uses two definitions of his art form, one referring to it “as a contemporary, experimental relation where improvisation and performance become inevitably intertwined.” (p. 1). The other using it to describe any audio-visual presentation or experiment based on a live performance. Either way, Harris believes Live Cinema’s key elements to be “a theatrical presentation of audio-visual material, a claim to authorship, and a claim to performance of this material.” (p. 1).

Live cinema is described by practitioner Mia Makela (2008) as consisting of four main parameters : (1) Live-time manipulation and (2) projection of video and audio elements in front of an (3) audience (4) sharing the same space as the performer. Though sharing certain aspects with both cinema and VJing, Makela maintains that there are important differences. Unlike cinema, live cinema isn't linear storytelling, and unlike VJing, the live cinema performer strives to communicate personal and artistic goals to an audience that is attentively watching the creative process. While VJing often takes place at clubs or festivals where the audience is enjoying various sensorial inputs, live cinema often takes place in theatres and adopts the traditional proscenium model of audience/performer interaction.

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[22] The use of a lower-case r at the front of robotcowboy is in keeping with the artist’s orthography.

[23] During the 2009 Ars Electronic Festival in Linz, Austria, robotcowboy’s visual display was connected to the grid of giant illuminated panels which cover the outside of the ARS Electronica Centre.

Spanish live cinema performer Rafaël[24] (2012) uses a combination of MIDI controllers, Resolume software, guitars, keyboards, and preselected video samples to create his performances. He describes his approach as being narrative, but which allows improvisation to play a larger and larger role in his performances. Though performing from behind a laptop, he often uses his feet to draw sounds from a guitar set on the floor in front of him.

The three artists presented above each arrive at some form of the digital one-man band from different backgrounds. Antúnez considers himself less a musician and more a performance artist. In *Afasia* he develops different ways to control what is happening on stage while leading the audience through the narrative arc of the play. For Antúnez, *Afasia* was less about pushing the one-man band envelope and more about continuing his exploration of performance pieces using mechatronics[25]. On a personal level, robotcowboy seeks to add the stage presence and energy of his punk/new wave past to his new interest in computer music, while simultaneously proposing a new paradigm for electronic music, which he believed was suffering from a lack of a true performance aesthetic (Wilcox, 2007). Finally, Rafaël (2012), originally a photographer, desires interaction with his work and seeks a greater ability to show narrative structures than still photography allows.

These three case studies use digital technology in the same ways that traditional one-man bands use mechanical technology to create a greater sense of spectacle, which is essential in developing and maintaining the performer/audience relationships that underpin the staying-power of the practice. Furthermore, by bridging the one-man band tradition into the digital age, these electric one-man bands can serve as a model to help understand our developing and changing relationships with technology while resituating the body and embodied practice within digital music.

[24] www.leafar.be

[25] *Afasia* was Antúnez third performance piece featuring mechatronics, but only the first where the performer had control over the actions on stage. The first two pieces featured installations or performances which were manipulated by audience input.

Technological relationships

American professor of theology and computer science at St. John's University, Noreen Hertzfeld, believes that one of the defining elements of humanity in a world of technology is our ability and our desire for interaction and relationships between humans ("AI: The Answer to Cosmic Loneliness," 2012). Technology can either be used to enhance this ability or diminish it.

Music is generally thought of as a social behaviour. Many people join bands for the enjoyment of creating something with other people. The traditional one-man band appears to use mechanical technology to avoid having to interact with other people, to remove the other humans in the band. The electronic one-man band does the same but with an array of digital technologies. However, to say that the one-man band exists in isolation would be to completely ignore the importance of the audience. The one-man band may be a solitary figure, but, to borrow an idea from French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, it is a crowded solitude. Rather than using technology as a way of distancing themselves from this crowd, the one-man band actually uses the spectacular nature of his performances as a way of entering into contact with his audience and developing a relationship with them.

The same digital and electronic technologies that have influenced music making have also impacted how music is consumed and the effect it has on an audience. Performance studies scholar Philip Auslander (2006b) notes that most people access music through recorded sources, meaning the performers are not usually present when their performance is being heard. Furthermore, the increased popularity of the music video format and use of music within films, television, and advertising also means that many of us are used to hearing music in conjunction with visuals that aren't necessarily related to the production of what we hear.

By changing the causal relationship between gesture and musical production found in acoustic instruments, electronic and digital music has distanced the role of the body and the human element in its creation. This is the basis of Canadian composer and theorist R. Muray Schafer's (1977) concept of Schizophonia in which sounds “have been torn from their natural sockets and given an amplified and independent existence.” (p. 90). This separation of product from source is even more noticeable in digital music.

According to W. Andrew Schloss (2003), professor of computer music at the University of Victoria, the cause-and-effect relationship between gesture and musical production has disappeared in the use of computers in live performance as has the body’s role in musical production. Removing the embodied relationship found between acoustic musicians and their instruments impacts audience reception. If “the audience are unable to identify the role the performer is playing in the production of the music they hear, they question the authenticity of the action.” (Paine, 2008, p. 218).

Live cinema appears to suffer from some of the same issues regarding audience reception. In digital practices, audio and visual information exist in the same format before being broadcast to the audience. The performer controls neither audio nor video, but in both cases manipulates a digital flow of information. Because the type of information is the same, the same tool, usually a laptop, can be used for both mediums. Both types of performance can be subject to the same criticism stemming from audience expectations.

Computer music composer and researcher Kim Cascone (2003) believes that audience expectations are shaped by a certain set of performance codes as promoted by mass media and popular culture. “[T]he unfamiliar codes used in electronic music performance have prevented audiences from attributing “presence” and “authenticity” to the performer.” (p. 102). In laptop performances, “the standard visual codes disappear into the micro- movements of the performer’s hand and wrist motions, leaving the mainstream audience’s expectations unfulfilled.” (p. 102). In most forms of cinema, the expectations of performance are quite different because the audience sees a product, not a process. The act of creation isn’t live. This is different in live cinema, however. Being created or edited in real-time creates the expectancy of being able to see the person doing it, or more accurately, the expectancy of being able to understand the person doing it through visible cause-and-effect relationships between the performance and the performer.

The one-man band’s use of their body provides the spectator with the necessary level of authenticity to appreciate the performance while also serving to meet audience expectations about the performance they are about to see. We have seen how mechanical one-man bands use their bodies and technology to create spectacle within their performances, but this also holds true for electric one-man bands. In a personal conversation with Dan Wilcox in December 2012, he noted that the use of visual displays in his robotcowboy performances served to accentuate or expand the physical movements of his fingers on the controls.

By subsuming technological processes within the hidden world of electronics, microchips, and computer processors, the spectacular effect of the activation of technology is mostly lost in the digital age. Sound creation process passes from the visual world (mechanical processes and flailing limbs) to the invisible world (digital processes and button pushing). However, within electric one-man bands digital technology is used to create visual elements which both add to the spectacle of the performance and reinforce the body's role in sound production. This allows easier identification of the cause and effect relationship which is seemingly important to audience satisfaction.

The full-body approach of the one-man band can also bring the audience and the performer closer together by creating the perception of a shared experience between the two. "[V]isual aspects of performance signal that performers are not merely producers of sound but are themselves listeners, highlighting the musical activity as a shared experience between performers and listeners." (Thompson et al., 2005, p. 204). A shared experience or some form of interaction between performer and spectator appears to play an important role in our three case studies.

Rafaël, robotcowboy, and Antúnez all state that interactivity with the audience was one of their goals for moving towards the particular performance styles that they adopted. The surface understanding of this is that the greater mobility and freedom accorded to the performer allows him or her to interact better with the audience. What isn't often mentioned is that interactivity is a two way street. The audience must also respond to the performance they are witnessing. It could be argued that these performers adopted a style similar to the one-man band to solicit greater reactions from the audience, allowing for the greater interaction that they were seeking.

In a heavily mediatised world where technology has helped at times blur the lines between the real and the imagined (think of, for example, the use of special effects in movie making), the human body and its presence represents reality. Because we have become accustomed to disembodied performance on recordings, corporeity becomes a stand-in for liveness, particularly in mediatised situations. Spectacle, despite its seeming artifice, helps establish the realness of the performance.

Musical cyborgs

Coined in 1960 by scientist Manfred Clynes and pharmacologist Nathan Kline to refer to a human whose organic systems had been extended to meet the requirements of space exploration (Clynes & Kline, 1960), the term cyborg has often been used in science fiction to describe beings who are part human, part machine. Though the enhancement of human capabilities through the addition of technological devices to our bodies is not new (O'Mahony, 2002), British sociologist Chris Schilling (2005) describes the increasing influence that technology wields in our lives and in our bodies. "[P]roductive techniques have moved *inwards*, to invade, reconstruct and increasingly dominate the very contents of the body." (p. 173). Plastic surgery, replacement body parts, and the ever thinning line between technology and the body, the physical self and the virtual self means that the body has shifted from being a source of technology to a location of technology (Schilling, 2005).

The body/technology dichotomy present within the one-man band can be seen as a continuation of the traditional nature/culture dichotomy within anthropology. However, an increasingly co-joined relationship between the two could be signalling the end of this division and the creation of what Schilling calls the "technological body". In doing so, the separation between body and technology becomes increasingly artificial, and the claim to studying either one independently becomes increasingly difficult to defend.

Views on a conjoined relationship between body and technology are not always positive. “Critical theory and science fiction seem to present us with only two possible scenarios: either we become slaves and caretakers to technology, or the human body will be forced to evolve through technological augmentation and genetic manipulation.” (Wilson-Bokowiec & Bokowiec, 2006, p. 49). However, the one-man band provides us with a symbiotic relationship between body and technology that shows that we can live with technology, not have it dominate us.

Though rarely cited as such, the one-man band may be one of the early predecessors of the cybernetic organism. Gétreau (2000) cites a 19th century description of a one-man band so covered in instruments that "le moindre dérangement des muscles, le moindre tremblement des jambes, le moindre clignement d'yeux, le moindre tressaillement de nerfs produirait aussitôt la plus deplorable cacophonie." (p. 70). Covered in instruments using straps as tendons and constructed frames as bones, it can sometimes be hard to see where the one-man band stops and where the human begins. This idea of a musical cyborg is taken further with digital one-man bands. Wilcox (2007) makes it one of the central ideas of his robotcowboy project. "In placing the computer directly on the body, this [project hopes to suggest a paradigm which fosters] a physical, semiotic, and instrumental return to the body in the realm of electronic and computer music." (p. 48). Rather than seeing technological elements overwhelm organic ones within computer music, the full use of the one-man band's body serves to reaffirm the central role of the human organism in a technological age.

Spectacle and staying power

The one-man band has existed in essentially the same form for at least the past 250 years. Even with the addition of new variations as with the emergence of vaudeville in the late 19th century and some of the digital practices described above, the traditional model of the mechanical one-man band has continued playing in the streets and on stage right up to the present day. Why has the one-man band survived for all of these years? Why has it not been replaced by something different, or evolved into a different form of performance entirely?
The one-man band's ability to develop and maintain performer/audience relationships is a key element in explaining the longevity of the form. These relationships are strengthened through the use of spectacle, which is shaped by a highly visual performance style and an accentuated use of the performer's body. Both simultaneity and the use of technology contribute to drawing the audience's attention to the use the performer makes of his body. The spectacular nature of the one-man band sets it off from everyday life and gives the performance a symbolic quality, which allows the audience to enjoy it for what it is, a show.

Some multimedia performers have built upon the tradition of the mechanical one-man band. Though digital technology makes it much easier for one performer to *sound* like a full band, much less common are electronic artists who actually simultaneously create the different musical parts heard by the audience, as their mechanical counterparts do. The invisible nature of digital technology could be countered by the use of visual aids that help magnify and accentuate the causality of the performance. The combination of causality and simultaneity help reinforce the live quality of the performance and help situate the performance in the present.

The embodied nature of the one-man band is particularly important in the digital age. By placing the body at the centre of its performances, the one-man band reasserts corporeity amidst disembodied computer or laptop music and performers, thereby helping meet audience expectations and providing spectators with the authenticity they seek within a performance. Furthermore, by presenting a symbiotic relationship between man and machine in artistic creation, the electric one-man band provides us with a positive model of the body as a site of technology. To quote Kim Cascone, "Spectacle is the guarantor of presence and authenticity, whereas laptop performance represents artifice and absence, the alienation and deferment of presence." (Cascone, 2003, p. 101)

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Image and Public Space

The first two articles worked towards establishing the primary physical representations of the one-man band through its bodily existence and its coming into being through use of technology. The second article (*Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle*) showed how body and technology work together to build relationships with the public. In this third and final article, it is this relationship with the audience that is examined in more detail. The one-man band exists both as individual performers and as a particular image, a shared commonly-held idea. These two parts of the phenomenon come together in two kinds of public space. There is of course the physical space in which one-man band performances take place, which can be in the street or on the stage, but there is also the audience's mental space which is informed and shaped by representations of the one-man band as found in popular culture. These spaces are created and structured through performance, which puts in place the elements that makes communication possible and successful.

Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment: Imagining the one-man band

The one-man band is experiencing a certain popularity as of late. The past ten years or so have seen the apparition of three film documentaries (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; Gellez et al., 2013), one impressive published compendium (D. Harris, 2012), and an animated short film (Jiminez & Andrews, 2005) on one-man bands. Montreal just hosted its third annual one-man band festival ("The One Man Band Festival," 2014) and British pop group Coldplay's 2014 music video, "A Sky Full of Stars" (Whitecross), features one-man bands and has close to 60 million views on YouTube in less than a year.

Despite this recent popularity, the one-man band is not necessarily something new. These versatile musicians have been playing music in the street and on the stage since at least the last quarter of the 18th century. A brief examination of historic and current examples reveals remarkable diversity within the heading of one-man band (D. Harris, 2012). Some play standing, their instruments attached to their backs, arms, chest, wherever a spot can be found. Others play seated, their instruments spread out around them. Most play alone, but like in the Coldplay video, some play in groups, such as the famous Franco-Belge Vermandel family (Vermandel & Vermandel, 1999), the Puta Madre Brothers (D. Harris, 2012), or Pete and Andrea (Emerson & Emerson, 2003). American artist and musician Hal Rammel (1990) describes the one-man band as being "limited only by the mechanical capabilities and imaginative inventiveness of its creator." (p. 4). They are often highly visual, with artists wearing colourful costumes and adopting equally colourful stage personas (D. Harris, 2012) or employing non-musical elements like puppets (such as those used by Vic Ellis) or fireworks and live doves (Bricka, 2006). In many cases, the allure of the one-man band is as much about how they play as it is about how well they play.

There seems to be no hard and fast rules about what exactly is a one-man band. Within the one-man band community itself, most people seem to agree that the general concept involves one person playing several instruments at once, but there is disagreement on details such as how many instruments must be involved and the acceptability of using electronic devices or pre-recorded elements.

In the face of such diversity, how can we make sense of the one-man band? How can we understand its enduring presence and its recent popularity? I argue that through repeated use of similar representations in popular culture, the one-man band has become an idea that exists above and beyond any one particular performance or any one particular performer. This idea of the one-man band resonates with audiences because it is a symbolic presentation of societal themes associated with the emergence of the modern industrial capitalist world following the Enlightenment, themes which still have relevance in our world today. How do we connect the one-man band to the key themes of the Enlightenment or the Industrial Revolution? Well, we have to start with performance.

Performance

For anthropologists, performance is one way of organising and therefore understanding cultural practices such as the one-man band. Studying performance appears to have its roots in the performing arts, principally theatre and rhetoric, and sociologists of the first half of the 20th century carried this idea over into the metaphor of the world as theatre (Kolankiewicz, 2008). Ideas on performance were influenced by developments in linguistics, such as British linguistic John L. Austin's (1975) idea of the performative in which speech doesn't just describing something, but through the process of performance can be used to produce action or meaning. An example of this is when a judge says 'I declare the defendant guilty'. American linguist Noam Chomsky (1965) differentiated between competency and performance, stating that competency was the "speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language" and performance was "the actual use of the language in concrete situations." (p. 4). This view was countered by linguistic anthropologists such as Americans Dell Hymes (2004 [1981]) and Richard Bauman (1977) who adopted performance-centered approaches to speech in which "the formal manipulation of linguistic features is secondary to the nature of performance." (Bauman, p. 8). These developments in linguistics along with the 'world as theatre' metaphor are often cited as the origins of the so-called 'performative turn' in the humanities which gives more weight to the agency of actors and participants compared to traditional models concerned with the primacy of the text. Performance can be seen as a creative event rather than merely an enactive one.

Within anthropology, American ethnologist Victor Turner (1986) called performance social or cultural drama. According to Turner, performance is a process of transformation that acts on individuals and groups. Through acting or through watching others perform, "[man] reveals himself to himself." (p. 81). Turner's work was instrumental in establishing the processual approach within anthropology and is often associated with the work of theatre theorist Richard Schechner (2006). The subsequent emergence of the field of performance studies lead to the adoption of a broad vision of performance within the field: "Any action that is framed, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance." (p. 2).

Despite this broadening approach to performance, those studying the topic have been careful to differentiate between "artistic performance" as related to the performance arts and linguistic or social uses of the term. Turner (1986) made the distinction between "'social' performances (including social dramas)" and "'cultural' performances (including aesthetic or stage dramas)." (p. 13). Bauman (1992) used the idea of frames to explain a separation between doing something and a special kind of doing something set off from normal action and displayed for the scrutiny of an audience. This can include musical performances, such as those of the one-man band.

Early studies in musicology and ethnomusicology were concerned with music as text. The performer was merely communicating the composer's intent. In the 1960's, American anthropologist Alan Merriam (1964) proposed analysing both the sound and the context in which it is produced. Even with Merriam's work and the importance placed on performance practice by ethnomusicologists such as Americans Charles Seeger (1977) and Mantle Hood (1960), French-born, Brazilian-raised ethnomusicologist Gerard Béhague (1984) notes that up to the mid-1980s, "few ethnomusicologists [had] paid close attention to the study of music performance as an event." (p. 3)

By the 2000s, the performative turn was well-present in studies of musical performance. British musicologist Nicholas Cook (2003, p. 205) affirmed that meaning exists in the process of performance, and therefore can't be reduced to a product. More recently, Quebecois ethnomusicologist Monique Desroches (2008) brought into discussions on musical performance the ideas of *co-texte*, which consists of all elements not included in the formal text but which surround it, and *signature singulière*, the stylistic elements unique to each performer, which are in turn made up of co-textual elements (pp. 113-114).

Musical performance can be seen as a way of creating (temporary) freedom within oppressive contexts. Nigerian ethnomusicologist Zainab Haruna (2000) decribes how "through songs [Nigerian] woman challenge and resist their individual and collective subordination and marginalization." (p. 142). In popular music, performance often equals authorship, regardless of who composed the song (Brackett, 1995), and is described by Quebecois popular music scholar Serge Lacasse (2006) as being one of the states of existence of music, along with composition and what he terms *phonographie*, or its recorded state. American Ethnomusicologists Charles Keil and Steven Feld (1994) question the limited nature of uniquely textual musical analyses, as music is more than merely the recreation of a text. More recently, ethnomusicology has had to reconfigure its study of musical performance in the face of phenomena such as globalisation, the creation of virtual performance spaces, and the increasing circulation of musical traditions and heritage (Desroches et al., 2011).

In differentiating between performance as doing something, and performance as a special kind of doing something, Gary Palmer and William Jankowiak (1996) writing at the University of Nevada label these two possibilities the 'mundane' and the 'spectacular'. It is this idea of the spectacular to which we next turn our attention.

Spectacle

As of yet, spectacle appears to have received less attention than performance within the social sciences. One of the first to use and study the term was American anthropologist and historian John MacAloon (1984) who qualified spectacles as being large scale public displays "appealing or intending to appeal to the eye by their mass, proportions, colours, or other dramatic qualities." (p. 243). This is essentially the same definition used by Frank E. Manning (1992) less than ten years later when he said that spectacle is a "large-scale, extravagant cultural production that is replete with striking visual imagery and dramatic action and that is watched by a mass audience." (p. 291). In some ways, this is not that different from other anthropological categories of study such as festivals and public events. However, despite MacAloon and Manning's definitions, spectacle needs not apply solely to large-scale events.

American scholar of Greek and Roman art Bettina Bergmann (1999) reminds us that a spectacle can also be "a person or a thing seen as an object of curiosity, contempt, marvel, or admiration." (p. 11). Her definition of spectacle sounds the Latin roots of the term to involve something being displayed for the pleasure of others. This can include "officially sanctioned collective performance, as well as impromptu acts, spontaneous parodies, and even personal appearances on the street." (p. 9). Romanian thinker Solomon Marcus (2013) considers spectacle to be "something deserving our attention, irrespective of its correlation with a possible aesthetic function." (p. 5). For Marcus, this can include any aspect of human and social life, nature or culture, science or art. This is similar to Leslie Kan (2004) of the University of Chicago, who reminds us that spectacle is not only related to the theatre or theatre performance, but can be found in many different contexts and types of media. Kan also evokes the emotional effect spectacle should have on its audience by invoking Aristotle's catharsis, or "the purification of emotions through drama".

In perhaps one of the most detailed articles on spectacle within anthropology, American performer and anthropologist William O. Beeman (1993) defines spectacle as a type of performance that involves the presentation of symbolic material that is intended to be entertaining to an observing audience. Following Beeman's definition, the one-man band can easily be included as a type of spectacle.

In ethnomusicology, studying spectacle has given rise to questions on authenticity (Desroches et al., 2011), globalisation (Aubert, 2005), and stardom/fandom (Butterworth, 2014).

Spectacle as a concept has also been used within cultural studies since the 1967 publication of *La société du spectacle* by French situationist Guy Debord. A Marxist critique of postwar capitalism, the publication is divided into 221 theses, the 4th of which states "Le spectacle n'est pas un ensemble d'images, mais un rapport social entre des personnes, médiatisé par des images" (p. 10). Jan Teurlings (2013) describes the main theme of Debord's treatise as being that spectacle is "first and foremost an ideological mechanism that prevents people from taking direct control over their own life. [In] the society of the spectacle, it is the spectacle that becomes autonomous and governs all of life." (p. 3). Spectacle is no longer restricted to a commodity of the entertainment sector, but invades and spectacularizes all aspects of life. Debord's idea has been used and adapted by many since then, but not always using the same terms. James Twitchell (1992), for instance, speaks of 'Show Business' and British sociologist Barry Sandywell (2011) talks of 'the simulation of reality' and 'image commodities'.

In trying to define spectacle, I believe it is important to note Hymes' comment on performance. "If some grammarians have confused matters by lumping what does not interest them under "performance" as a residual category, cultural anthropologists and folklorists have not done much to clarify the situation. We have tended to lump what *does* interest us under "performance," simply as an honorific designation." (2004 [1981], p. 81). It is important that spectacle, to paraphrase Hymes[26], does not become a wastebasket.

One of the challenges of defining spectacle is that it is not an innate characteristic of something. "[To] be spectacular is not a quality in itself; it is one that a situation may acquire with respect to some people and lose with respect to others." (Marcus, 2013, p. 7). Furthermore, spectacle is not an either/or quality, but events can rather be situated somewhere along a scale of spectacularity: "to be *spectacular* is not a binary predicate, but a matter of degree." (Marcus, 2013, p. 7). This doesn't makes defining spectacle with any exactness an easy task. Beeman (1993) conceeds that "the distinction between theater and spectacle and other performance genres in a given case may be blurry." (p. 380). Perhaps rather than examining what spectacle is, it might be more beneficial to examine what spectacle does instead.

American scholar in literature and performance, Steven Mullaney (2013), describes performance as being "a potential catalyst for the making of various publics and counterpublics." (p. 19). This applies equally well to spectacle. According to Bergmann (1999), "societies and people define themselves through spectacle." (p. 9). Sandywell (2011) states that "societies have been shaped by symbolic displays and conspicuous spectacles as a

[26] "Performance is not a wastebasket, but a key to much of the difference in the meaning of life as between communities." (Hymes, 2004 [1981], p. 84).

collective means of establishing public order and normative identity." (p. 10). Spectacle does more than merely reflect or attempt to impose social identity, it also acts as a mediator.

On an individual level, Kan (2004) proposes that spectacle "serves as a form of mediation between the eye and the affective senses of the spectator.". On a collective level we can include Debord's conception of spectacle as a social relation between people mediated by images. Talking of spectacles of the Greek and Roman Classical period, Bergmann (1999) describes their "efficacity as a mode of political and cultural discourse between Italy and the Greek world." (p. 17). However, Mullaney's statement about publics and counterpublics above reminds us that performance and spectacle do not necessarily create consensus, just as mediation does not always imply a relationship of equals.

If we accept the idea of spectacle playing the role of mediator, then perhaps American Archaeologists Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence Coben (2006) summarize it best when they state that "spectacles ostentatiously dramatize the central value of a community and present it in sensible forms." (p. 23). This isn't far from Clifford Geertz's (1973) statement on performances as being "not only reflections of a pre-existing sensibility analogically represented; they are positive agents in the creation and maintenance of such a sensibility." (p. 451). If we retain the idea of performance being a creative force, rather than merely an enactive one, then spectacle can also serve in a Durkheimian way to create and maintain central community values.

As we have seen, entertainment is an important aspect of spectacle. American anthropologist Peter Stromberg (2009) states that "[e]ntertainment is not just idle fun, but a social and cultural process through which values and commitments are generated." (p. 13). In this way, entertainment is similar to spectacle in that it creates or reinforces commonly held values or ideals. Stromberg argues in favour of a Darwinian approach to entertainment: "forms that are not entertaining lose out to those that are." (p. 8). Because of this need to keep an audience's interest, entertainment is often derided for its apparently superficial nature. However, this does not mean entertainment is lacking in content, but rather that "the discourse which occurs in entertainment is merely embodied in less direct expression." (Root Jr., 1987, p. 12).

Entertainment is culturally defined and reflects an audience's particular reality in a way they understand and enjoy. A look at TV preferences among African-American and white households in the United-States shows important differences between what each audience watches, with little cross-over. A show like *Friends* which was incredibly popular with white audiences, failed to attract significant numbers of black viewers, ostensibly because it presented an overly-white vision of life in New York (D. Campbell, 2003). Interestingly enough, it appears that if something is too close to everyday existence (think of Palmer and Jankowiak's mundane), it fails to be entertaining. Entertainment presents an enhanced version of reality, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as Romantic Realism. It can explain why doctors are better looking on TV than in real life (Trilla, Aymerich, Lacy, & Bertran, 2006). This phenomenon is also used in advertising to associate a product with an ideal lifestyle. In this way, "soap ads should sell 'afternoons of leisure'." (Marchand, 1985, p. 24).

American sociologist Michael Shudson (1984) uses the term 'capitalist realism' to describe the plane of existence inhabited by advertising, one that "does not represent reality, nor does it build a fully fictive world." (p. 214). In analysing Shudson's work, Eva Illouz (1997) remarks that this type of advertising works because through the abstraction (which here we can understand as being real but not real) of capitalist realism, advertising "transmutes complex symbols into collectively shared *utopias*." (p. 91).

Could the one-man band, as a kind of spectacle, serve to create and reinforce central community values? Following Shudson and Illouz, can the one-man band be representative of a collectively shared utopia? By concentrating and enacting social constructions, spectacle and entertainment bound performance and establish temporal start and end points. However, for these social constructions to be enacted, to be viewed and understood, they also need a space in which to occur. Before looking at how this framework can be used to understand the one-man band we need to examine the idea of space in more detail.

Space

Space and spectacle share several similar elements. Like spectacle (perhaps even more so) space is a social construct. Influential French geographer and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1974) developed the idea that space is a social product, either through the way we interact with it, how it is represented (on maps, or plans), and how we inhabit it and create symbolic meaning with it. Also like spectacle, French sociologist Louis Quéré (1992) reminds us that space can be seen as a forum, a mediating element between citizens and political or administrative power. Space can be a sign and a tool of authority, used to promote or concretize power. Colonial or segregationist societies often separate public space between different groups. Through Rosa Parks' refusal to move to a different part of a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama, space became the proof of social iniquity, a physical representation of injustice (Lussault, 2007).

Specialised or dedicated performance spaces, places where spectacles happen, can also serve as mediators. French theatre theorist Anne Ubersfeld (1998) states that theatrical space mediates, amongst other things, between spectators and actors. This opinion is shared by performance studies scholar Gay McAuley (1999) who sees the specificity of theatre not in its relation to the dramatic, but rather in its "interaction between performers and spectators in a given space." (p. 5). In a similar way, space plays an essential role for theatre historian David Wiles (2003) as he considers that theatre must include place, performance, and public. While these three references deal specifically with the theatre and not spectacle at large, McAuley (1999) points out that the "processual nature of theatre and the dynamic role of the spectator in the construction of meaning are not factors particular to theatre but are shared by many other modes of artistic expression." (p. 15).

Despite also performing in theatres and on stages, one-man bands are most often associated with the public space of street performers and buskers. Due to its association with begging and mendacity (Bywater, 2007; M. Smith, 1996), many contemporary studies of street performance focus on attempts to legislate and control the use of public space. American performance studies scholar Sally Harrison-Pepper remarks that "much of the history of street performance, [...] is found in laws that prohibit it." (1990, p. 22). Québecois musician Sylvie Genest (2001) describes the effects restrictive legislation has on street performers by acting "d'une part, comme *un mécanisme de processus de leur exclusion*; et, d'autre part, comme *un outil de la condamnation sociale de la marginalité qui les caractérise.*" (p. 32, original italics). According to Bywater (2007), this marginality emerges when performers contest ownership of the "liminal" street, a space which is normally transitional, where people go from one place to another. The effort to control the use of urban public space is one way that controlling classes assert their power. French philosopher Michel de Certeau (1980b) uses the ideas of "strategies" and "tactics" to describe how administrative powers try and impose order on the city through urban design (strategies). Citizens, however, use tactics such as short-cuts, jaywalking, or unorthodox routes to contest the view of the city imposed upon them. In his article on street musicians, Murray Smith (1996) postulates that musical buskers in Toronto draw on the imagery of a larger tradition of itinerant musicians (stretching back to medieval troubadours and jongleurs) as a tactic to help overcome their marginalisation in the face of the strategies of existing power structures.

Imaginary space

If we accept that space is a social construct, then it is necessarily also imagined. Amercian anthropologist Stuart Alexander Rockefeller (2003) shows that places exist simultaneously in the land, people's minds, customs, and bodily practices. Winifried Fluck (2005) considers all perceptions of space to be constructs. Consequently, "in order to gain cultural meaning, physical space has to become mental space or, more precisely, imaginary space." (p. 25). The imagination of space includes both impressions of the people in it, and of their relationships to each other. Benedict Anderson (2006) writes of nations being imagined in their existence, but also in their scope, their sovereignty, and in their communal nature.

The idea of imaginary space is very much present in performance spaces. Performance represents places or requires the spectators to imagine them. In her taxonomy of theatre space, MaCauly (1999) talks of the fictional space, "the place or places presented, represented or evoked onstage and off." (p. 7). Indeed Mullaney (2013) argues that one of the reasons theatre is such an integrated part of so many different societies is that it allows cultures to "think about how they feel and feel what they are thinking, and to do so in actual experiential and felt spaces as well as virtual or imagined worlds." (p. 37).

In its role of mediating social relationships, spectacle helps create the imaginary social space in which citizens and communities live. As Steven Mullaney and Angela Vanhaelen (2013) state, "Private individuals [come] together as a public [...] in virtual public spaces as well as - and even, in some examples, before - coming together in physical or actual spaces." (p. 2). This resonates with Jürgen Habermas' (1991) well-known work, *The Structural*

Transformation of the Public Sphere. The bourgeois public sphere examined by Habermas developed in both physical spaces, such as the coffeehouses of England and the Salons of France, but also in the virtual literary world leading into and through the eighteenth century. In this way, public spaces are imaginary spaces. They are "as much conceptual or virtual as they are actual." (Mullaney, 2013, p. 18).

Musical performance, like many other kinds of art including the literary world evoked by Habermas, is particularly well placed to creating shared imaginary spaces. American performance studies scholar Philip Auslander (2006b) describes how the young women attending the Beatles' infamous Shea Stadium concert constituted a community through their shared imagination of the Beatles before even arriving at the concert. Furthermore, Auslander submits that the imaginary space the audience had constructed was so strong, that it took precedence over the actual physical space of the performance. There was a "complete disassociation of the *agent performance* (what the Beatles were doing) from the *phenomenal performance* (what the audience experienced)." (p. 267, original italics).

What spectators share when they watch something like the one-man band is the imaginary space that it creates, or put another way, the vision of the world that it puts forth. If this vision is entertaining enough, if it presents a symbolic reality that the audience can associate with, usually an altered and heightened version of real life, then the spectacle succeeds. If not, following Stromberg's evolutionary view to entertainment, it dies out.

One way then to try to understand the longevity of the one-man band and the recent success it has enjoyed is to examine the imaginary space it occupies. We have already seen that the one-man band can be found in a wide variety of forms. However, our interest here is not on how individual artists express the idea of the one-man band, but rather on how audiences imagine the one-man band. Lacking quantitative survey data on what people think the one-man band is, an alternative path is examining how the one-man band is portrayed in popular culture as a representation of the popular imagination.

Imagining the one-man band

Perhaps the best-known representation of the one-man band in popular culture is in the Walt Disney film, *Mary Poppins* (Stevenson, 1964). In the opening scene, Jack-of-all trades and friend of Mary Poppins, Bert, is performing in the street before leading the spectators to the house of the Banks family. Bert has a bass drum on his back with cymbals both on top of it and attached to the sides of it. The drum and the cymbals are played with straps attached to his feet. There are more cymbals between his legs, and a tambourine hanging off of his belt. He is playing the concertina with his hands and has a harmonica attached to a rack on his chest. There is a bicycle horn on one shoulder and a small brass instrument on the other. There appears to be a xylophone hanging down from one shoulder. Bert sings, and at the end of his performance, plays a cymbal by striking it against his face. He is dressed as a workman, with pants and a jacket, wearing a cap and a brown bandana as a scarf.

This model of one-man band is similar to those found in other films, such as 1949's *Totò le Mokò* (Bragaglia). When a mobster dies in a shootout, his street musician relative from Naples, Totò (played by the famous Italian comedic actor of the same name), is chosen to replace him. Totò is dressed as a one-man band playing in the streets of Naples. He is wearing a tall conical hat covered in bells and jingles, a bass drum on his back is played with a beater held backwards in his hand. On top of the bass-drum is a large circular horn whose mouthpiece reaches to his mouth. He has an accordion in his hands, and cymbals between his legs. He sings and has a panpipe attached to his suit within easy reach of his mouth. He's dressed in a regular three-piece suit with a small black bow-tie.

We see a similar depiction of the one-man band in the 2005 Pixar studios release of *One-man Band* (Jiminez & Andrews), an animated short in which two one-man bands compete for a young girl's money. The two musicians employ increasingly intricate devices to try and win the coin. At the beginning, the first musician has a bass drum attached to his chest, and a snare drum attached to the front of that. On his back is a large brass instrument, and resting on the top of the bass drum, at mouth level, is a clarinet and 3 smaller brass instruments. He is playing the accordion, attached to the side of the bass drum, with his left hand, and the trombone with his right. He has two cymbals hanging on a wire off of the side of the large brass instrument on his back. He is wearing a colourful gold and red triangle motif hat and baggy, accordion-bellow like pants, and a baggy shirt under what looks like a doublet. The second musician's set-up is a little more fanciful. He is playing an instrument that appears to be half-lute, half violin, sometimes strummed, sometimes bowed. On his back he has a clarinet and a variety of wind instruments, though how they are played is not exactly clear. Around his waist, he is wearing a large boat-shaped instrument that is half giant lute and half small piano or organ. He is dressed in a green band-masters suit with buttons cleverly arranged as the fingering mechanism on what could be a clarinet.

Dutch painter and graphic artist Anton Pieck was known for his nostalgic fairytale-like images. His picture for the months of July and August of a 1973 calendar published in The Hague by Van Keulen shows a one-man band performing in a cobblestone streetscape. He is wearing a tall-conical hat covered in bells, and is playing a harmonica on a rack. With his hands, he is playing a concertina. There is a bass-drum on his back with cymbals attached to the top of it, all played by straps attached to his feet. He is wearing a colourful suit of a red and gold diamond motif. In the background we can make out what appears to be a fair or a carnival.

In 1948, Warner Bros released an animated short as part of their Merry Melodies series. This particular episode, entitled *Back Alley Oproar* (Freleng) sees Porky the Pig unable to sleep due to the antics of Sylvester the cat. At one point, Sylvester dresses up as a one-man band in order to wake up Porky, who has just managed to fall asleep. Sylvester wears a bass drum on his back which he plays with a beater held by his tail. A cymbal hanging off the top of the drum sounds as it hits him in the head with every step. He is playing a trombone with one hand and has a parade-master's baton in the other. Between his legs, an accordion squeezes in and out as he walks.

The image of the one-man band has also been used by that staple of pop culture, *The Simpsons*. In episode 12 of season 5, "Bart Gets Famous" (Swartzwelder, 1994), Homer describes his first job in a flashback. We see him performing as a one-man band on a busy street corner. He is dressed in normal clothes, jeans and a t-shirt. He has cymbals between his knees and a bass drum on his back played with a beater attached to the top of the drum and activated by a strap attached to his feet with a bicycle horn under one foot. He is playing the electric guitar with his hands and a harmonica with his mouth, held in place by a harmonica rack. Before he can play for too long, he is attacked by the monkey of an organ grinder, jealous that Homer stole his street corner. Writhing on the ground under the monkey's attack, Homer's movements mean the instruments keep making noise.

When seen against the diversity found in documentary sources (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; D. Harris, 2012), the one-man bands in these 6 examples are remarkably homogenous. It seems as though the phenomenon is consistently represented in popular culture as playing standing up in the street. The bass-drum and cymbals play an important role, as do instruments such as accordions, electric guitars, and harmonicas usually associated with popular or folk music. There is an element of humour and entertainment in the way the performer is portrayed and in what types of products he is found. Colourful costumes and hats predominate.

Moving backwards in time from *Totò le Mokò* in 1949, we find this figure of the one-man band on the cover of the July 11th, 1928 edition of the *Katholicke Illustratie*, a Dutch religious magazine. We find him performing as part of Barnum's Great American Museum in 1865 (Kunhardt Jr., Kunhardt III, & Kunhardt, 1995) and coloured engraving on wood in the collection of the Carnavalet Museum in Paris shows him as found on the streets of Paris in 1810 (Gétreau, 2000).

Repeated and consistent use of this figure through time has helped the image of the one-man band become what French sociologist Jean-Marc Leveratto (2006) calls "*un lieu commun de la culture*", existing as a cultural reference above and beyond any one performer or any one performance. Through spectacle, this shared cultural space helps reinforce and maintain shared cultural values which resonate with audiences in a positive way, thereby contributing to the longevity of the one-man band.

The one-man band and social representation

In *The Sociology of Art*, Arnold Hauser (1982) describes the relationship between art and society as being reciprocal and simultaneous. Each effects the other, and in so doing effects itself. This is also true for the relationship between music and society. While the exact date of the first one-man band performance is unknown, we find mention of single performers playing several instruments at once in Paris in 1788 (L. S. Mercier & Bonnet, 1994) and in Madrid in 1789 (Kenyon De Pascual, 1994). French musicologist Florence Gétreau (2000) demonstrates that the figure of the one-man band was already well-established by 1815. If we place the beginnings of the one-man band somewhere near the end of the 18th century or the start of the 19th, the emergence of the form corresponds roughly to the end of the Enlightenment. It is also roughly half-way through the first Industrial Revolution. This period of change and transformation is considered by some to be the beginning of the second period of modernity, also called classical modernity or the long 19th century. Could the emergence of the one-man band at this time be connected to the changes in political, economic, and technological regimes of this period?

Hauser cautions against assuming an overly causal relationship between art and society, but states that coincidences between artistic developments and societal changes shouldn't be seen as meaningless or happenstance. By casting a net as large as Modernity, the Enlightenment, *and* the Industrial Revolution, there is bound to be some correspondence between the values they represent and just about any form of cultural expression. Therefore, it wouldn't be surprising to find correlations between the one-man band and these major movements in human history. On this point, I would return to Hauser's words and caution that this doesn't mean such a correspondence is meaningless.

The ideas of the Enlightenment permeated 18th century society and resulted, at least in part, in the revolutions of France and the United States. Theatre, music, and the visual arts all experienced their own mini-revolutions at this time as well. It shouldn't be considered too far-fetched to attribute, at least in part, a relationship between the social changes of the end of the 18th century and the emergence of a new type of performance such as the one-man band. Likewise, the continued success of the form is in part due to the fact that we are still living in a world shaped mainly by values put in place during the early years of industrial capitalism.

While the exact social values the one-man band represents are open to interpretation, individuality, personal liberty, and a relationship with technology seem to be among the most important.

Hal Rammel (1990, p. 4) describes the one-man band as being unique and independant. Though we have seen that one-man bands occasionally play in groups, the image of the one-man band is always a single performer. The emergence of the individual as self-determined and separate from the collective is one of the defining points of the Enlightenment. For the audience of the early one-man band, the performer might have represented this shift towards the individual's place in society.

In some ways counteracting the emergence of the individual within society, changes in labour brought about by the Industrial Revolution have been noted as increasing the amount of same-ness within labourers (Schilling, 2005). Today, the individuality of the one-man band and the allure of being unique could be representative of a larger reaction against standardisation and mass-production, two products of the industrial age. A strong do-it-yourself attitude characterises the one-man band's approach (D. Harris, 2012, pp. 6, 398), and home-made instruments help solidify performers as unique. This is similar to Pedro Rebelo's comments (2006) on the African Mbira

> "An underlying factor here is the realization that every instrument will be different. It is different because its materials are inevitably different, but most importantly, it is different because there is no desire to make it the same. This is, needless to say, in great contrast with the prevailling trend in Western music to standardize instrument-making, tuning systems and timbre. I believe it is this realization of difference that promotes a particular type of engagement that involves the instrument-maker, the instrument and, ultimately, the performer." (p. 29).

The idea of individual liberty and freedom is enshrined in the rallying cries of the revolutions of both France and the United States. While it is arguably true that many members of Western democratic nations currently enjoy higher levels of personal freedom than at almost any other point in our history, this also comes with certain constraints. The constraints of industrialised labour have compartmentalised leisure time into carefully apportioned time slots. Simpson (2011, p. 427) posits that street performers, in which we include the one-man band, present a different career path, one of freedom from the daily grind and routine experienced by much of their audience. This idea is echoed by Harrison-Pepper (1990, p. 12). Freedom is the idea of resistance to constraints.

The one-man band's association with the street situates these performers in the urban sphere. As the organisation of labour around industrialised bases created a shift in population from the country to the city, it is possible that many audience members of the early one-man band were new arrivals in the city and new mill and factory workers. In his work on the study of leisure since 1600, Gary Cross (1990) reminds us that the street was a primary space for entertainment in the new urban environments created through industrialisation. Both audiences today and in the early 19th century may have related to the one-man band as a figure of resistance to the increasing organisation of labour in mills and factories. Sally Harrison-Pepper (1990) cites freedom as a primary motive for street performers, “a desire to be ‘outside the system’, self-employed and self-sufficient” and providing the crowd with “momentary relief from an oppressive civic environment.” (pp. 10-11).

Technology is an essential part of the one-man band. It allows him to take the place of several other musicians by putting to work body parts and movements that are usually less present in musical production. In much the same way, technological changes of the industrial revolution allowed for the multiplication of production by the redistribution of force. Cross (1990) cites Italian economic historian Carlo Cipolla describing employees in early textile mills as slaves, obligated to adapt their movements to those of the machines they work, advancing and retiring with the machine, “struggling with it in velocity, and no more able than it to rest.” (p. 59). In a similar way, by wearing their instruments on their body as some sort of musical exo-skeleton, the one-man band becomes a type of musical cyborg: half-musician, half-machine (Wilcox, 2007). Gétreau (2000) cites a 19th century description of a one-man band so covered in instruments that “le moindre dérangement des muscles, le moindre tremblement de jambes, le moindre clignement d'yeux, le moindre tressaillement des nerfs produirait aussitôt, la plus déplorable cacophonie.” (pp. 70-71). It is hard to know where the man ends and the music begins. For audiences of the early 19th century, the one-man band may have represented their struggle with new forms of technology.

For many audiences in the 21st century, the invisible (almost magical) forces of digital technology are ubiquitous. However, an understanding of how they work and the ability to exert some type of control over them escape most people. The image of the one-man band may represent for a contemporary audience a simpler technological time, one that was easier to understand. As questions of who is controlling whom become more present (the term technology addiction has been prevelant since the mid-1990s (McNamee, 2014)) the figure of the one-man band becomes a visual metaphor for our struggles within a technological age.

All of these social representations, but particularly our relationship with technology, appear to be tinted with one final element associated with the image of the one-man band: a nostalgic impression of an unidentified yet approachable past, be it Georgian England for Mary Poppins, Italian Renaissance for the characters in the Pixar film, or turn of the 20th century Holland in the case of Pieck.

The image of the one-man band appears to have resisted integrating technological advances. Many one-man bands make use of digital or electronic technology. Canadian musician McRorie uses sensors on his feet and chest, specially constructed keyboards on his hips, and his voice to perform a range of popular music from Hard Rock to Hip-Hop to Country while also controlling and triggering a stage show which includes lights and videos (Tait, 2013). American digital artist Dan Wilcox' musical project robotcowboy used MIDI guitar, wearable computing, and visual display presented on a modified iMac G3 worn as a helmet (Wilcox, 2007). Despite these technologically modern examples of solitary performers, the image of the one-man band as represented in popular culture is still strapped into his instruments with ropes and pulleys. It appears that the image of the one-man band is set, despite changes to its original source, the performers themselves.

Conclusion

What is presented here is only one way to approach understanding the one-man band. British social musicologist Dale Chapman (2013) uses the structural trope of virtuosic self-reliance as found in Hollywood action movies and elsewhere to examine live solo multi-instrumentalists against the backdrop of neoliberal entrepreneurial selfhood. One-man band Dave Harris situates the appeal of the one-man band in the financial and artistic incentives it offers performers, but doesn't buy a larger relationship with society or attribute anything more to the phenomenon than "a guy playing several instruments." (personal correspondence, 2014).

It is hard to dispute the longevity of the one-man band and the continued use of a similar presentation by performers and similar representation within society. Like the buskers studied by Smith (1996), the one-man band may be drawing on a larger and longer tradition as a particular tactic for their benefit, be it financial or social. However, this doesn't necessarily address how this tradition is viewed by spectators.

Presenting the one-man band as a distillation of social values through spectacle allows us to understand both its emergence as a result of social changes associated with the Enlightenment and its enduring presence ever since.

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General Discussion and Towards a Conclusion

"To do it all!"[27]

At first sight, a thesis by articles presents the same challenges as does a traditional thesis: academic rigour, advancement of science, condensing multiple years of study into a (hopefully) readable document. Similarly, both types of thesis require the author to create cohesion from separate elements. A thesis by articles adds the extra challenge of creating a coherent document out of three separate self-contained pieces. With that in mind, the following section of general discussion attempts to build on information already presented with the goal of renewing our vision of the one-man band and using it to expand existing work on performance and spectacle. In so doing, this section aims to fill in gaps that may result from the secation of research into self-supporting articles and tie all of the separate information together.

"L'homme-orchestre c'est une façon de voir la vie…"[28]

We have seen that the one-man band can be many different things. In *L'homme-orchestre et le corps en musique*, I describe the one-man band as using a combination of his body and technology to play several instruments at once, achieving by himself what is normally performed by several musicians. The music helps the audience judge the performer's competency while serving as a framework for spectacular elements which in turn both

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[27] One-man band Joe Barrick as quoted in Rammel (1990, p. 3)
[28] Rémy Bricka in a personal interview (May 23rd, 2014)

entertain the audience and add a symbolic nature to the performance. This is similar to how I describe the one-man band in *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle*, however, I also used this particular article to broaden the discussion to see how this definition can be applied to new breeds of electronic musicians.

The use of the term one-man band as applied to DJs, looping artists, or laptop musicians is not unanimous. Chapman (2013) describes how sequencing, sampling, and multitracking have facilitated what he terms live multi-instrumental performance, creating new types of one-man bands. In a footnote, he explains his use of 'live solo multi-instrumentalist' as a broader category encompassing both one-man bands who use acoustic instruments through mechanical technology and artists using digital technology in a practice he terms mediated polyphony. The single quotation marks around the term one-man band in the title of his article (*The 'one-man band' and entrepreneurial selfhood in neoliberal culture*) suggests that he isn't fully comfortable including the contemporary performers he describes with the idea of the one-man band. For his part, Dave Harris (2012) is reluctant to apply the term one-man band to musicians who perform with backing tracks. He includes in his book a few artists who use looping pedals, but they do not receive the same treatment as what he terms "manually operated" one-man bands, the main focus of his publication. I believe that this reluctance to apply the label one-man band to these contemporary performers can in part be attributed to the prevalence of the image of the one-man band as described in *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment.*

In describing the one-man band to me, Rémy Bricka spoke of the importance of the image of the one-man band, above and beyond the instruments it plays.

> "Ce n'est pas parce que [l'homme-orchestre] joue de cent instruments qu'il est forcement bon. Il faut qu'il soit musical. Il faut qu'il fasse un spectacle. Il faut qu'il apporte un message, ou qu'il représente une certaine philosophie ou image." (May 23rd, 2014).

This image is incarnated by perhaps the best known representation of a one-man band, that of 'Bert' in Walt Disney's *Mary Poppins* (Stevenson, 1964), but similar images are also found used in a more recent Pixar animated short (Jiminez & Andrews, 2005) and films pre-dating Walt Disney's iconic nanny (for example Bragaglia, 1949). Gétreau (2000) reports that this same image, one musician performing in the street and colourfully dressed with drums on his back, cymbals between his legs, a string-instrument in his hands and a wind-instrument attached near his mouth, is already in place by the early 19th century (p. 69).

One-man band Jake Rodriguez talking about why audiences seem to recognise him instantly, without needing an introduction says "they're not seeing me. They're seeing the iconography of the one-man band. It's a very, very potent image." (March 26th, 2013). In *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment*, I posit that along with being a visual representation of the phenomenon, this image also represent a site of resistance to the constraints of industrialized labour. When I expressed this idea to Dave Harris, he agreed with my analysis.

> "There is definitely an aspect of rebellion, certainly as a busker. There's an aspect of rebellion against conventional music in being a one-man band. […] I think one of the things [audiences] enjoy about it is the fact they see somebody being free and free of the system in some ways. I mean no one is really free, I just did my taxes, but I have more freedom of choice in my life than a lot of people. I'm very aware of that and very grateful of that. I do see a lot of people come, and part of the reason they are so admiring is that they do wish that they could be doing that too and are living vicariously through me." (April 22nd, 2014).

In order then to properly understand the one-man band, one has to understand both parts of the phenomenon: the performers and the image.

Another way of looking at this is to see the one-man band as both something that you do, and something that you are. It is this layering of doing and being that makes up the complexity of the phenomenon. For the one-man bands that I spoke with, 'doing' can be related to their performances and how they earn (in part or in whole) their livelihood. 'Being' a one-man band, however is more than a way of making money. Dave Harris, speaking about how he became a one-man band, told me "For me, I don't even know if it was even all that much of a choice. It was sort of like a calling almost." (April 22nd, 2014). Rémy Bricka takes this even farther when he explains that

> "Être homme-orchestre est une ascèse joyeuse. Plutôt un Sacerdoce. C'est comme être prêtre. Les vrais hommes-orchestre, ceux qui durent, ceux qui en font carrière, ils ne font pas juste ça pour l'argent. Ils l'ont dans le cœur, dans l'âme. L'homme-orchestre s'est une philosophie. C'est une façon de voir la vie." (May 23rd, 2014).

It is perhaps this dual idea of doing and being that can help us better understand the apparent reluctance to categorize ‘electric’ performers as one-man bands. While DJs and Laptop Musicians may fit simple definitions of the one-man band on a practical level, they do not on an emotional one. They do what one-man bands do, but aren’t what one-man bands are. Not all digital artists, however, should be excluded from the idea of the one-man band. The example of McRorie-Live allow us to re-examine this category of artist. In form and in performance, McRorie-Live is little different than a traditional stand-up one-man band, the only difference being his use of digital and electronic technology instead of mechanical and acoustic instrumentation. His path to becoming a one-man band is similar to others[29], as is the end product. He has used the technology available to him to push the one-man band concept farther, but is in my eyes clearly part of the same line of performers stretching back to the first one-man bands of the 18th Century. So what does it mean to ‘be’ a one-man band?

Being a one-man band comes back to the points that have featured prominently throughout this thesis: unique use of one’s body, strong relationship with technology, representation of an alternate lifestyle. It is the use of their body in ways unlike that of any other musicians that makes the one-man band special and this use of the body is essential to making the music associated with ‘doing’ the one-man band. Being the one-man band means a willingness to put one’s body on display. Even more so than the music being performed, it is the performer’s body that becomes the show. Audiences need to see and understand the body to attribute authenticity to the performance and to appreciate its unique nature. This is in part why the technology preferred by one-man bands is also often very visible, making cause-and-effect relationships between body, technology, and sound production evident. This display of technology also communicates a secondary message which is the performer’s own interest in technology. Though there is some equipment designed specifically for one-man bands (such as that made by the Farmer Company), most one-man bands make their own equipment and constantly work to refine and improve their personal set-ups. I feel that Dave Harris gets to the heart of this when he says that “Truly the one man band is at heart an inventive being.” (D.

[29] See for example (Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; D. Harris, 2012)

Harris, 2012, p. 398). This continual tinkering is akin to the figure of the *Bricoleur* developed by French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. “Le Bricoleur est apte à exécuter un grand nombre de tâches diversifiées […] la règle de son jeu est de toujours s’arranger avec les ‘moyens du bord’.” (Lévis-Strauss, 1962, p. 27). Finally, as described by Rémy Bricka above, being the one-man band means incarnating a certain personal philosophy, which I have argued evokes for spectators a certain individuality or existence outside of common labour-related social structures. This outsider status is in part what leads some people to categorise the one-man band as marginal.

“Something deeper at work...”[30]: The importance of being marginal

One of the first questions to interest me about the one-man band was what appeared to be an inherent contradiction between its longevity and the seemingly marginal nature of the phenomenon. We have seen how the one-man band has enjoyed a permanent existence since the end of the 1700s. New variations get created as technology or musical style changes, but these varieties don’t replace existing ones. The new and old co-exist. Despite this, the one-man band is still considered by most to be a marginal phenomenon.

Marginal has several meanings. Howard Becker (1963) used marginality and deviance as stand-ins for non-conformity, attributing them an outsider status. Marginality is also associated with transgression as well as the periphery, compared to the centered situation of normalcy (Xanathakou, 2010). The periphery and the center are not necessarily an either/or proposition, as American professor of psychology, Ken Corbett (2001), argues. “All human development is infused with an interplay between centrality and marginality.” (p. 313).

Situating entertainers and musicians, particularly those who play popular music, as deviant or as outside of social norms is nothing new. For example, Alan Merriam (1979)

[30] (Rammel, 1990, pp. 12-13)

presents the case of the Basongye musicians of Lupupa Ngye whose behaviour is characterised as deviant and their status within the community described as low. As already noted, street musicians (and other types of street performers) are even more firmly categorised as marginal than their on-stage colleagues (Harrison-Pepper, 1990; M. Smith, 1996; Tanenbaum, 1995). On the surface, it makes sense that the one-man band as a sub-category of a sub-category within an already socially deviant group (musicians) could be categorised as marginal.

When marginal is related to ideas of periphery, it also has the negatively connotated meaning of being close to the lowest limit of qualification, acceptability, or function. Kenyon de Pascual (1994) situates one-man bands at the lowest artistic level due to their performances being more physical than artistic. In his article on one-man bands, Chapman (2013) describes the one-man band as historically being "culturally devalued" and situates practitioners as occupying marginal class positions due in part to their visual nature, social affiliations, and overt economic interests. The one-man band certainly does not command the same type of cultural capital as any number of "high-art" musicians, but it also doesn't appear any more marginal in this sense than other types of street performance or popular entertainment.

The idea of the financial marginality of the one-man band is challenged because many one-man bands make more alone than they would with other performers. In fact, the financial advantages are one of the reasons that lead many people become one-man bands. Dave Harris (2012, p. 324) states that he started as a one-man band as a way to make more money, and none of the one-man bands I spoke with could be categorised as being in a financially marginal position. Kushner and Brooks (2000) show that performing in the street may actually be a more lucrative model than performing in concert situations. This said, no one should mistake a life of playing music on the street for money as being particularly financially rewarding. Dave Harris described this to me by saying that being a one-man band is "not all easy and fun. It doesn't pay as well as other jobs and there are a lot of things that are tough about it too. It's a hard choice to make." (April 22nd, 2014).

By thinking of it as being along the periphery, marginality can also refer to borders or spaces of transition. This can include being outside of the mainstream of society or not being of central importance or status. Returning to the idea of the marginal as having an outsider status, this meaning seems to fit the one-man band. Despite the diversity of forms it can take, there are a relatively low number of practitioners compared to other musical or performative styles. The perceived oddity and uniqueness of the one-man band also work to situate it outside of society's mainstream. I am certainly in agreement with Harris (2012) when he says that "the whole [one-man band] genre has an element of 'outsider' to it." (p. 14).

Like Corbett's statement above, the one-man band is at once marginal and central. It is outside of mainstream occupations and practices, and its practitioners do not occupy what many would consider important positions within society, yet the phenomenon is well-known throughout the western world and is, as mentioned, long-lasting. Despite the negative connotations associated with the term, marginality is increasingly being seen as not a purely negative label. Feminist standpoint theory posits that "marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized." (Bowell, 2011). African-American feminist bell hooks (1990) states that marginality is "much more than a site of deprivation [...] it is also the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance." (p. 341). To return to Merriam (1979), the Basongye musicians he studied certainly had low social standing, but had high social importance which both encouraged and permitted their deviant (and self-beneficial) behaviour.

Where the word marginal might be most appropriate to our understanding of the one-man band is in its association with a border, a limit, or a threshold, and its subsequent shared meaning with liminality. Most commonly associated with the work of Victor Turner (1964, 1974, 1977), liminality is generally seen as being the transformative stage in ritual or ceremony, when a participant is neither here nor there but between two states of being or two different positions attributed by law, custom, convention, etc. For Turner, much of the interest in liminality is its break from normal constraints which allows for a reconstruction of ordinary life, occasionally in bizarre ways.

In *L'homme-orchestre et le corps en musique*, I argue that the one-man band can be found halfway between the literal and the symbolic. Use of spectacle increases the symbolic nature of the one-man band's performance through colourful costumes, assumed names or stage characters, and evident use of contextual frames. At the same time, the embodied nature of the one-man band provides its authenticity. This idea of the one-man band as a halfway point is also taken up in *Music, Multimedia, and Spectacle* which shows it to be between using technology and being used by technology. Wilcox's (2007) idea of a musical cyborg is apt.

Not quite human, not quite robot (or in our case musical instrument), the one-man band is outside of our world, yet still a part of it. The interpretation of the image of the one-man band in *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment* presents what appears to be contradictions. How can the image of the one-man band represent the idea of the individual while also serving as witness to the lack of individuality available in society today? How can the one-man band through its relationship with technology be both a product of the industrial revolution, and a reaction against it? This contradiction can be resolved by furthering this understanding of the one-man band as being in a state of betweenness.

As a shared point of reference, images such as the one-man band are akin to Barry Sandywell's (2011) social institutions which "both reproduce the ruling political system but also come to articulate the imaginary structure of ideological threats to that order." (p. 11). This takes us back to the idea of Romantic Realism and its role in entertainment as outlined in *Space, Spectacle, and the One-Man Band*. The one-man band is entertaining in part because its symbolic presentation is close enough to reality to be recognised by its audience, but different enough to allow them to access an imagined ideal hyper-reality. It has to be both the way things are and the way things aren't: the same, but different.

This idea has been used to explain, among other things, the popularity of the Minstrel Show in 19th century America (Mahar, 1999) and the so called 'human zoos' of world exhibitions of the late 19th and early 20th century in Europe (Razac, 2002). In both cases, what attracted audiences was the presentation of 'otherness' that demonstrated a recognisable similarity between audiences and the other, but presented in such a way as to exaggerate differences in non-threatening ways. Interestingly enough, the exaggeration of these differences only serve to make them increasingly superficial, thereby reinforcing the sameness between spectator and those on display. This is similar to the process of overt visual nature = entertainment = dimished status as seen in the one-man band, or to the pejorative meaning often applied to spectacle today (Bergmann, 1999, pp. 10-11).

Applying the concept of liminality to the one-man band can help us move towards understanding the phenomenon, but only within certain limits. The liminal state described by Turner figured primarily in ritual and ceremony, and though we have seen a relationship between the idea of spectacle and certain rituals or ceremonies, there is not much of a connection between these categories and the one-man band. Turner describes an element of play found within liminality, particularly in the ways that individuals can reconfigure reality. However, Johan Huizinga's (1950) categorisation of play as referenced by Turner is in part defined by its lack of connection with material interest or profit. This is once again at odds with the one-man band we have seen often involved in a commercial transaction: music for money. Turner (1974) presents a solution for some of these issues by using the term liminoid to describe the differences present between the liminal in what he termed tribal and/or agrarian myths and rituals on one hand, and what he classified as the leisure genres of symbolic forms and action in complex industrial societies on the other. Categorising the one-man band as liminoid helps address its limited or less overt relationship to ritual, but doesn't necessarily deal with the material function of performance for the performers: earning money.

Schudson's (1984) use of the term capitalist realism describes a plane of existence between reality and fiction. Unlike liminality which is usually applied to the participants, capitalist realism as found in advertising is designed to impact and influence spectators. Through spectacle the one-man band becomes both real and unreal, and in so doing influences audiences, primarily by eliciting feelings of entertainment which it can be argued have a direct correlation with financial reward. Chapman (2013) describes the one-man band's virtuosity as being inseparable from "the most practical impulses of economic self-sustenance." (p. 456). In conversation with Jake Rodriguez he told me that "physically, [the one-man band] is a means for people to go and earn money. Never forget it." (March 26th, 2013).

The one-man band could thus be understood as a liminoid figure operating within a plane of capitalist realism. Performances serve to communicate to audiences while also rewarding performers with material gain. These two results are both achieved through entertainment.

"What's wrong with being entertaining? I thought that was the idea!"[31]

As put forward by Fisher (2001, p. 538), entertainment has often been attributed a negative status, either due to its association with low-culture or the assumedly non-intrinsic value of fun/frivolous pleasure. For the one-man band, its entertaining nature has contributed to it being dismissed as marginal or unimportant. This said, entertainment is an important part of spectacle (Beeman, 1993), and, as we have seen, spectacle can be used to communicate social values. What role does entertainment play in this communicative process?

In discussing the meaning of performance, Beeman (1993) cites Shechner's suggestion that its function lies in the restoration of behaviour in which experience in the world is taken by performers and restored in a theatrical frame for the "edification of spectators." (p. 385). Beeman continues by saying that this experience is only meaningful to the degree it allows the spectator to feel the original experience, and this can only happen if the spectator collaborates psychologically in the total theatrical event. What Beeman has termed the support mechanisms of spectacle – costumes, lights, language, music, and motion – and what I have referred to as the spectacular nature of a performance or what we can think of as the overtly entertaining part of spectacle serve to keep the different parties engaged in the communication.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1936) coined the term phatic communion to describe a linguistic social exchange in which the words and phrases used don't necessarily retain their usual symbolic meaning, but are used to fulfil a social function. For Malinowski, phrases such as 'nice day today' overcome the unpleasant tension which occurs when people face themselves in silence and are the first acts to establishing fellowship. This phatic use of language serves to link hearer and speaker through a social bond. Malinowski's idea was expanded on by Roman Jakobson (1960) who described phatic communication as being that

[31] (D. Harris, 2012, p. 9)

which contributes to the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact (pp. 355-356).

Root (1987, p. 12) comments on how often the importance of entertainment is overlooked because it employs methods of less-direct communication. Within the one-man band, entertainment serves a phatic function which has for effect of making the communication more effective. After all, it was only when one-man band Vic Ellis added puppets to his musical apparatus that people stopped to watch him perform (Whittam, 2014). Within our model of capitalist realism, entertainment thus serves two functions. It is of course related to the audience's enjoyment of a performance, which in turn is related to the performer's material gain, but entertainment also enhances communication between performer and spectator.

The one-man band is without a doubt spectacular (Austen, 2002; Calogirou et al., 1997; D. Harris, 2012), but current ideas on spectacle leave out an important aspect of the phenomenon. We have seen that the one-man band exists both as performers, and as a commonly held representations (what I also referred to as doing and being earlier). These commonly held representations are equal to Leveratto's (2006) idea of a shared cultural space or what I have been calling the image of the one-man band. The one-man band must be examined as the simultaneous presence of both performer and image. Audience interaction is not with one or the other, but with both at the same time.

When audiences watch the one-man band they are seeing the performance, but they are also simultaneously internally referencing the image of the one-man band. When I spoke with him in the spring of 2013, British one-man band Jake Rodrigues told me of how he once met an elderly lady at one of his performances who remarked that she hadn't seen him in forty years. Jake told me that in actual fact, she had probably never seen him play before. While it is possible that the lady simply mistook Jake for another one-man band (which would involve her overlooking the passage of time or us making unfounded assumptions of her possible diminished mental acuity), Jake feels that spectators such as the elderly lady transpose his performance onto the image of the one-man band which they carry as a mental image. This story is an excellent example of how the image of the one-man band and individual performers merge within spectators to become the same thing.

In Stromberg's evolutionary view of entertainment, he says that "forms that are not entertaining lose out to those that are." (2009, p. 8). The longevity of the one-man band is in part attributed to its entertaining nature. However, if we accept that the one-man band exists simultaneously in the minds of audience members and as manifested by performers, then the longevity of the form can also be attributed to a constant interplay between these two existences. One supports and reinforces the other. Marginality is an essential element of this longevity, because the marginal aspect of the one-man band allows it to exist in liminal areas and to travel between the two poles of doing and being, of performer and image.

For performers who wish to play multiple musical parts at once, there are many different ways this can be achieved (see for example Clitheroe, 2008; Emerson & Emerson, 2003; Gellez et al., 2013). Rammel (1990) reminds us that the one-man band is "limited only by the mechanical capabilities and imaginative inventiveness of its creator." (p. 4). Advances in music making technology have made it easier to go it alone (Chapman, 2013) and have provided more possibilities, both musical and spectacular, for performers (Jordà, 2002; Tait, 2013). Yet, in spite of all of this, performers continue to adopt performance modes that match the image of the one-man band, and this image continues to be used in popular culture.

For performers, drawing on this image works like a form of short-hand. Audiences are already familiar with it and generally associate it with positive connotations, chief among them entertainment (or fun) and a pleasant nostalgia. One-man band performances serve to reinforce the image of the one-man band for spectators. In a similar manner, use of the image within popular culture reinforces benefits for performers. Smith (1996) makes the point that buskers draw on a larger tradition of street performance dating back to medieval times as a tactic to overcome marginalisation. At the same time, these performers use what he terms a stereotypical imagery "for the creation, maintenance, and legitimization of 'busker' identity." (p. 9). Spectacle works to create and maintain collectively held social ideals. In *Space, Spectacle, and the Enlightenment* I argue that the one-man band is representative of freedom, individuality, and a relationship with technology. Through spectacle the one-man band recreates these ideals and offer them to the audience to be accepted or rejected in public space. Through their approval and continued support of his performances, spectators reaffirm the place of these values in society. At the same time, spectacle also works to maintain the image, or the idea, of the one-man band within shared public imagination.

Through every one-man band performance, the image of the one-man band is brought to life, reaffirming and strengthening it. As this image is strengthened, so too is its existence beyond the practice of the one-man band, which continues to evolve in different ways. This image is taken and reused by popular culture which in turn provides more incentives for its use by performers. This referential cycle is, as much as pure entertainment is, responsible for the longevity, or as Stromberg (2009, p. 8) puts it, the survival, of the one-man band.

In this way, the performance of the one-man band must be understood not just as a relationship between musician and spectator, but as a three-way relationship which includes both parties referencing the continually present image of the one-man band.

"A Triumph of the Human Spirit"[32]

This thesis is about the one-man band. However, it is as much about performance and spectacle as it is about one-man bands. Each allows us to understand the other better. Performance, notably the kind I have been referring to as spectacle, provides a framework for helping unwrap the one-man band. At the same time, the one-man band serves as an excellent example of how spectacle can work.

The idea of performance has been the subject of much work in the humanities since the "performative turn" of the 1970s and 1980s. Through the work of linguists such as John Austin (1975), Richard Bauman (1977), and Dell Hymes (2004 [1981]), anthropologists such as Milton Singer (1972) and Victor Turner (1977, 1986), and sociologists such as Erving Goffman (1959), performance came to be seen as not just a process of enacting structures or texts, but as a constructive force through which meaning and behaviour could be created. Since then, the study of performance has grown into a field of its own (Schechner, 2006) and has been used to expand understanding on subjects such as power (Fabian, 1990; Storey, 1997), gender (Butler, 1988), and race (Kemp, 1998). Within ethnomusicology, performance

[32] (D. Harris, 2012, p. 6)

has been used to examine questions of authenticity (Aubert, 2001), authorship (Brackett, 1995), and mediatised performances (Auslander, 2000), among others.

While performance has received significant academic attention over the years, the idea of spectacle has received considerably less. One of the first to write on the subject, American anthropologist and historian John MacAloon (1984) emphasizes the important visual component of spectacles, related to the Latin roots of the word *spectare* “to view” and *specere* “to look at”. However, MacAloon stresses that not every sight is a spectacle. Only those “of a certain size and grandeur” fit the description, notably those that are “public displays appealing or intending to appeal to the eye by their mass, proportions, colours, or other dramatic qualities.” (p. 243). Bauman (1992) separates performance into two categories, performance as doing something, and performance as a special kind of doing something set off from everyday life by the use of recognisable frames. Spectacle falls into this second category. American anthropologist and performer William O. Beeman (1993) further categorises spectacle within performance by describing it as the presentation to an audience of a symbolic reality in a way that is meant to be entertaining. The symbolic aspect of spectacle was previously noted by MacAloon (1984) who stated that spectacle takes the “realities of life and defuses them by converting them into appearances.” (p. 275). Most importantly, spectacle can act as a mediator between audiences and commonly held social values. Spectacles “dramatize the central value of a community and present it in sensible form.” (Inomata & Coben, 2006, p. 23). In this way spectacle can serve in a Durkheimian manner to create and maintain central community values. Because of this, spectacle can often be used or assumed for ideological aims, as different parties try to set or influence which values the community holds dear.

Guy Debord (1992 [1967]) warns against this in his *La Société du spectacle*, but the germ of this idea of spectacles being used as instruments of social control can be found earlier, in the much paraphrased Marxist quote about religion being the opiate of the masses and back further to the Roman edict of bread and circuses. However, the ideological use of spectacle can also be used to resist dominant narratives, as in many forms of activist theatre (Ellam, 1997).

At the start of this thesis, I hoped to answer several questions. Chief among them was how to arrive at an understanding of the one-man band – what it is, and what it does. I thought that by answering this question, I would be better able to explain the apparent contradiction that had puzzled me from the beginning. How can the one-man band be at once a marginal figure, and a persistent and pervasive one? I also hoped to be able to explain recent interest in the phenomenon. I suspected that the answers to at least some of these questions lay in the image of the one-man band – the way it is imagined in people's individual and shared mental spaces, and how it is represented in popular culture.

The one-man band can be considered marginal due to its unusualness. As Dave Harris reminds us (2012, p. 8), it's not normal to be a one-man band. Performers in general, and street performers in particular have often been attributed a marginal status (Harrison-Pepper, 1990). In terms of practitioners, total numbers of one-man bands are small compared to other types of musicians, or even other types of hobbies. At the same time, the one-man band has existed since at least the 1780s (De Pascual, 1994) and has shown remarkable consistency over time (Gétreau, 2000). There are a couple of ways of explaining the longevity of the form. My interviews with one-man bands revealed that it appears to be more financially rewarding for practitioners than other types of musical busking and provides them with greater artistic flexibility than they might have in a larger group. Audiences like the one-man band because it's fun. It's entertaining. Stromberg (2009) reminds us that "those forms that are not entertaining lose out to those that are." (p. 8). Entertainment, like spectacle, is a way of creating, transmitting, and affirming centrally held community values. It is the transmission of these values from performer to audience through spectacle that allows for a continued reaffirmation of the values that the image of the one-man band represents, as well as the form of the one-man band itself. Public space is a key part of this whole process. It is the contact zone in which performers and spectators meet and interact (McAuley, 1999). The role of the audience is essential for interpreting and reaffirming the symbolic content of the performance.

The symbolic content of the one-man band has enabled it to remain pertinent as a form of entertainment by presenting and reinforcing social ideals which emerged with the Enlightenment and continue to underpin our modern capitalist society such as individuality, personal freedom, and a relationship with technology, and this despite important social and cultural changes in the intervening years. This said, many audience members may not necessarily think of the one-man band as being a symbolic representation of social values. In conversation with me, Jake Rodriguez affirmed my ideas that the one-man band may resonate with audiences because of what it represents, but argues that audiences only process this symbolism on a subconscious level. This transmission process is simultaneously facilitated and dissimulated by entertainment which serves a phatic function while also dissimulating communication, making it appear less direct.

If the one-man band emerged as a result of changes in society due to the industrial revolution, then its recent popularity can perhaps be attributed to other recent technological changes: the computer revolution. Jake Rodriguez explained this idea to me in conversation.

> "There is a huge renaissance in this idea of 'he's a one-man band' as a cabaret thing using looping […] There is a way of looking at it as technology and [independence]. There's a zeitgeist in society of this idea which is being reinforced by the computer revolution. […] Technology is saying you don't need all these other people, you can be a one-man band." (March 26th, 2013).

On the surface, the one-man band appears deceptively simple: one person playing several different instruments at once. However, upon deeper reflection, the performance of the one-man band is a complex deconstruction of society created and maintained through a three-way interaction between performer, spectator, and image. Such an analysis of the one-man band goes beyond the personal gratification that performers feel from realising their artistic aims or the simple financial transaction involved in busking and helps explain the persistence of the form for over two centuries in the face of enormous changes to the way entertainment is produced and consumed.

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