CONCEPTS OF THE WORLD

EFFIE RENTZOU

THE FRENCH AVANT-GARDE AND THE IDEA OF THE INTERNATIONAL, 1910–1940

Concepts of the World

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The French Avant-Garde and the Idea of the International, 1910–1940

Effie Rentzou

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Acknowledgments

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aux (Paris: Hermann 2011); “Minotaur” in *Liquid Antiquity*, edited by Brooke Holmes (Athens: DESTE Foundation, 2017); and “Tête de grec: La Revue *Minotaure* et la recherche d’un nouvel homme universel” in *Paris-Athènes 1919–1939: Le Double Voyage*, edited by Polina Kosmadaki and Lucille Arnoux-Farnoux (Athens: EFA/Benaki Museum, 2018). And finally, a synthesis of chapter 4 and 5 appeared as “The Surrealist World” in *Cambridge Critical Concepts: Surrealism*, edited by Natalya Lusty (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

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The writing of this book grew along with my son. Alexi showed me the thrill of thinking outside the box and, most importantly, that a goodnight hug promises that next day will start the world anew.

But most grateful and thankful I am for wonderful André, who has made my world spin a bit faster—“pour qui elle se prend, la terre?”

Concepts of the World

INTRODUCTION

The Double World

The world stretches out elongates and snaps back like an accordion in the hands of a raging sadist.
—Blaise Cendrars, *La Prose du transibérien et de la petite Jehanne de France*, 1913

I wanted to know if there still existed in his domain a bizarre establishment which Valéry had once described to me: an agency which accepted unstamped letters and arranged to have them posted from any desired point of the globe to the address written on the envelope, a facility which would allow the customer to feign a voyage to the Far East, for example, without moving an inch from the far west of some secret adventure.
—Louis Aragon, *Le Paysan de Paris*, 1926

In 1913, Blaise Cendrars proposed an image of the world as a huge accordion, stretched out or compressed according to the whims of a "sadistic hand." A decade later, Louis Aragon told of searching the Passage de l'Opéra in Paris for a "bizarre establishment," an agency which, according to rumor, "accepted unstamped letters and arranged to have them posted from any desired point on the globe to the address written on the envelope"—he never found it. On the eve of what would later be called the First World War, the well-traveled Cendrars saw the world not only as a place still open for discovery but as something to be constantly reimagined: his world was plastic and malleable, a thrill of conflicting feelings, of elation and deception, of angst and exhilaration. Aragon, bound more closely to Paris after having fought in the Great War, was intrigued by the possibility of a kind of feigned travel around the world, which for him, like for many of his fellow surrealists, occurred in the secret adventure of Paris itself; traveling was not necessary, his world could not but be imagined.

In their work, these writers and many others like them unfolded a geographical imaginary,[1] a matrix of gripping images of the world that still enthralls readers, to which the twenty-first century still appeals, and without which contemporary visions of the global would be something quite different. The first half of the twentieth century was a time of intense experimentation in literature and art in a rapidly changing modern world. Radical questioning of the rules of representation in text and image went hand in hand with a repositioning of art and literature within social and political praxis. What is commonly called the historical avant-garde—movements like futurism, Dada, and surrealism—engaged in formal experimentation and called into question the frame of art, as well as the rules and frame of life in the Western, industrialized, capitalist, bourgeois world.[2] These historical avant-garde movements were not only deliberately international, actively trying to expand their activities beyond national confines and often operating in transnational networks, they were also fully conscious of the tightly interconnected world of modernity and were thoroughly dedicated to producing conceptualizations and representations of what this world might be. What united these avant-garde movements was their common aspiration to the "world" as their potential audience, as a terrain of expansion and action, and as an object of representation. Paris morphed from the capital of the nineteenth century to an explosive hub of the historical avant-garde, a place of convergence for artists and writers from all over the world. The French avant-garde had Paris as its vantage point and the world as its horizon. Chains of connections and associations, influences and narrow genealogies, but also bitter fights and quasi-fratricidal rifts, united the French avant-garde, stretching from a few years before World War I to the eve of World War II. What emerges when following this thread of people and works is a common but very diverse posture of worldliness.[3]

Consider, for instance, the following chain. Guillaume Apollinaire, poet and critic, leader of the European prewar avant-garde, soon to be theoretician of cubism, prescient visionary about Marcel Duchamp's impact on modern art,[4] and inventor of the word "surrealism," was arrested in Paris on September 7, 1911. He was suspected of having stolen Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* from the Louvre, the painting having disappeared from the museum on August 22. Picasso, Apollinaire's friend, was discovered to have in his possession two Iberian statuettes which were also from the Louvre, and Apollinaire became a prime suspect by association. He was imprisoned for several days, and this trau-

matic experience found its way into "Zone," the opening poem of his 1913 collection *Alcools* (*Alcohols*):

> You are in Paris before the magistrate
> You are under arrest you are a criminal now[5]

Apollinaire was not a French citizen—neither was Picasso—and the danger of being deported as an "étranger," a foreigner, if found guilty was very real. In the end he was completely acquitted, and this incident catapulted both him and the *Mona Lisa* to international celebrity.[6] The painting was endlessly reproduced in the illustrated press, and many postcards were printed commemorating its return to the Louvre in 1913.

By 1919, Apollinaire, who fought and was wounded in the war, was already dead, but it was in that year that his friend Duchamp, who was living at Francis Picabia's house in Paris, bought a postcard of the newly iconic *Mona Lisa*, "a cheap chromo 8 × 5."[7] He drew a moustache and a goatee on the famous face and inscribed the letters "L.H.O.O.Q." at the bottom of the image, a tongue-in-cheek pun (figure 1). A "readymade" was born, and Picabia was eager to publish Duchamp's modified *Mona Lisa* in his Dada magazine *391*, then printed in Paris, the magazine's fourth city of publication after New York, Zürich, and Barcelona. Picabia did not have Duchamp's original handy, but this ultimately did not pose a problem. He simply substituted another postcard, adding a moustache but not the goatee, and dropping the periods between the letters of the inscription. The work was published on March 20, 1920, in *391* with the title "*Tableau Dada* par Marcel Duchamp" (figure 2).

That same year, Picabia completed his painting *Le Double Monde* (figure 3). The painting combined words and images, and the letters "LHOOQ" once again appeared prominently, this time in a vertical column in the middle of the composition, cutting through curved intersecting lines that form some kind of enigmatic diagram. The words "Haut," "Bas," "Fragile," "à Domicile," "m'amenez'y," and "que les malades dieu n'a jamais guéri" ("Up," "Down," "Fragile," "at Home," "take me there," and "the sick that god never healed") were inscribed in smaller letters on the canvas. This double world looks like a package to be sent somewhere, with instructions about top, bottom, where to send it, how fragile this missive is, and the imperative of "m'amenez-y": take me there. "LHOOQ" stands in as a reminder of Duchamp's readymade, which was itself an echo of Apollinaire's adventure, but the image of the Gioconda is gone and replaced by abstract lines and scattered words.

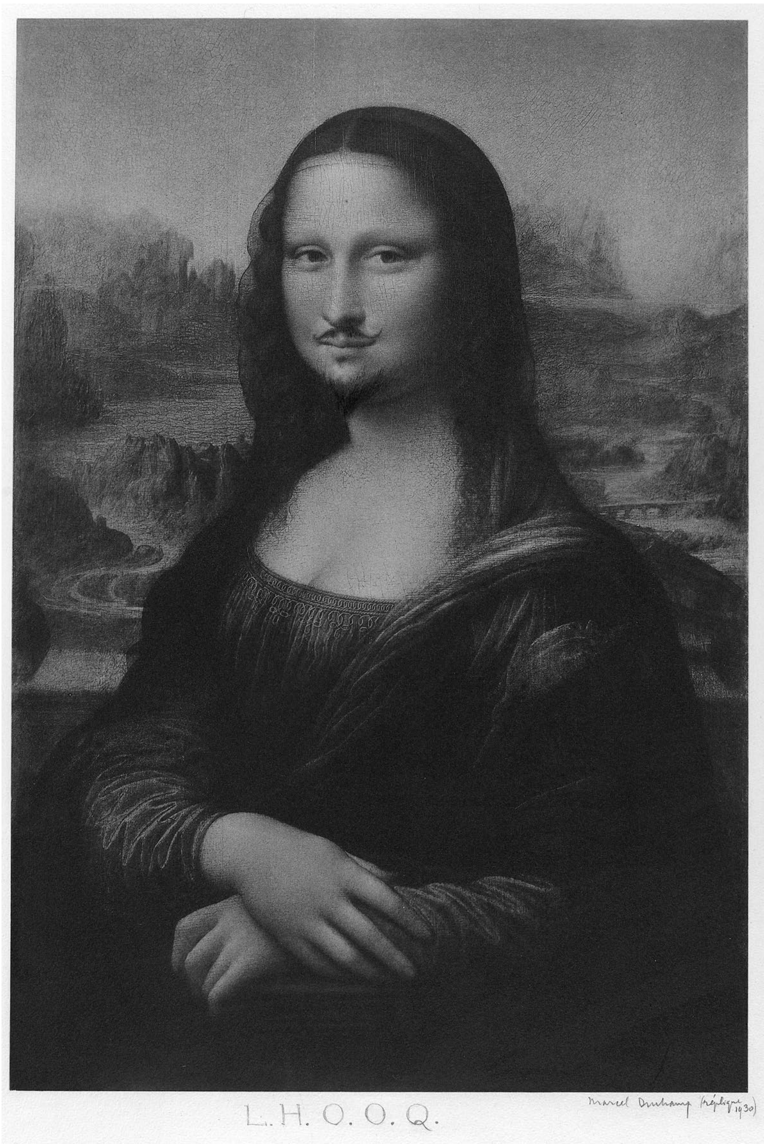
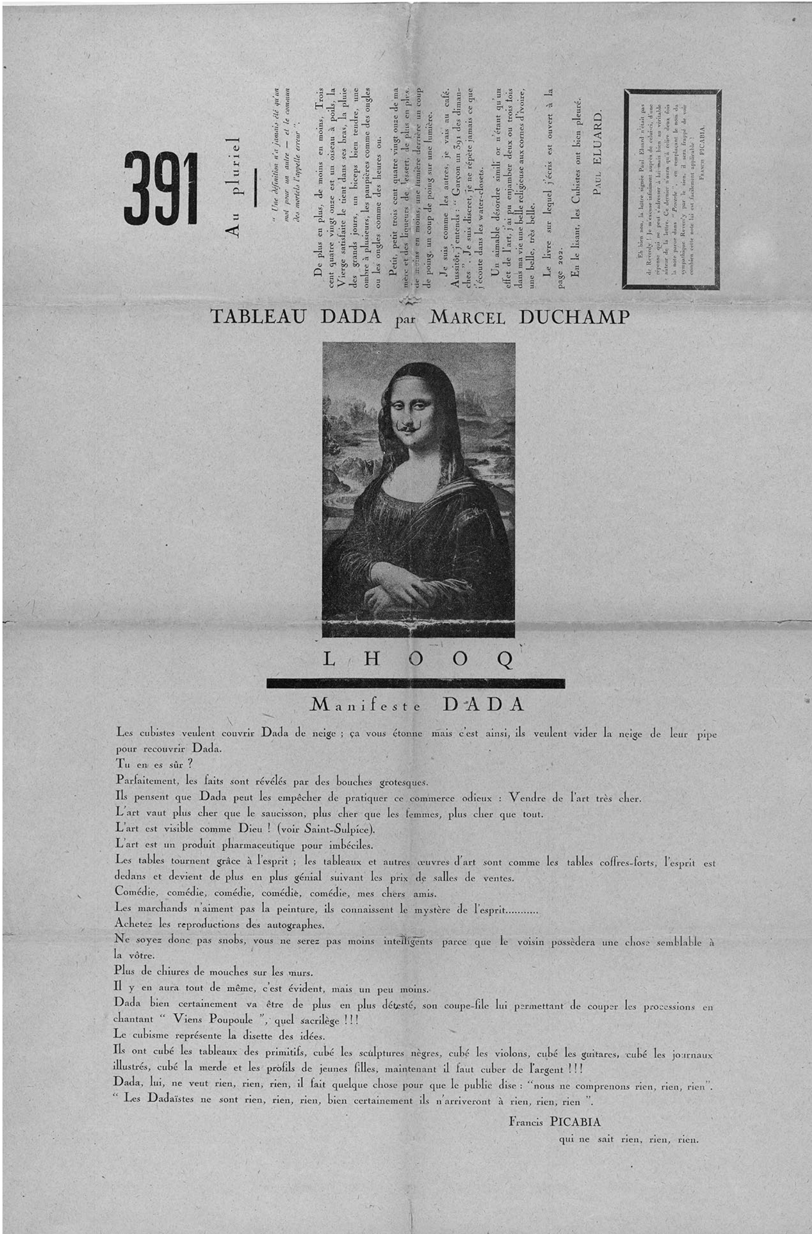


Figure 1. Marcel Duchamp, *L.H.O.O.Q. Mona Lisa*, 1919 (replica from 1930). Retouched readymade (reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* with added moustache and beard). Graphite on rotogravure, 61.5 × 49.5 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Copyright © CNAM/MNAM, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais; Art Resource, NY. Copyright © Association Marcel Duchamp / ADAGP, Paris / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 2021.



391

Au pluriel

" Une définition n'a jamais été qu'un mot pour un autre — et le commun des mortels l'appelle erreur ".

De plus en plus, de moins en moins, Trois cent quatre vingt onze est un oiseau à poils, la Vierge satisfaite le tient dans ses bras, la pluie des grands jours, un biceps bien tendre, une ombre à plusieurs, les paupières comme des ongles ou les ongles comme des heures ou.

Petit, petit trois cent quatre vingt onze de ma mère et des liqueurs de dessert, de plus en plus, de moins en moins, une lumière derrière un coup de poing, un coup de poing sur une lumière.

Je suis comme les autres, je vais au café. Aussitôt, j'entends : " Garçon un 391 des dimanches ". Je suis discret, je ne répète jamais ce que j'écoute dans les water-closets.

Un aimable désordre simili or n'étant qu'un effet de l'art, j'ai pu enjamber deux ou trois fois dans ma vie une belle religieuse aux cornes d'ivoire, une belle, très belle.

Le livre sur lequel j'écris est ouvert à la page 202.

En le lisant, les Cubistes ont bien pleuré.

PAUL ELUARD.

Eh bien non, la lettre signée Paul Eluard n'était pas de Reverdy ! Je m'excuse infiniment auprès de celui-ci, d'une réponse qui ne peut s'adresser à lui mais bien au véritable auteur de la lettre. Ce dernier n'aura qu'à relire deux fois la note parue dans *" Proverbe "*, en remplaçant le nom du sympathique Reverdy par le sien, il sera frappé de voir combien cette note lui est facilement applicable !

FRANCIS PICABIA.

TABLEAU DADA par MARCEL DUCHAMP

L H O O Q

Manifeste DADA

Les cubistes veulent couvrir Dada de neige ; ça vous étonne mais c'est ainsi, ils veulent vider la neige de leur pipe pour recouvrir Dada.
Tu en es sûr ?
Parfaitement, les faits sont révélés par des bouches grotesques.
Ils pensent que Dada peut les empêcher de pratiquer ce commerce odieux : Vendre de l'art très cher.
L'art vaut plus cher que le saucisson, plus cher que les femmes, plus cher que tout.
L'art est visible comme Dieu ! (voir Saint-Sulpice).
L'art est un produit pharmaceutique pour imbéciles.
Les tables tournent grâce à l'esprit ; les tableaux et autres œuvres d'art sont comme les tables coffres-forts, l'esprit est dedans et devient de plus en plus génial suivant les prix de salles de ventes.
Comédie, comédie, comédie, comédie, comédie, mes chers amis.
Les marchands n'aiment pas la peinture, ils connaissent le mystère de l'esprit..........
Achetez les reproductions des autographes.
Ne soyez donc pas snobs, vous ne serez pas moins intelligents parce que le voisin possèdera une chose semblable à la vôtre.
Plus de chiures de mouches sur les murs.
Il y en aura tout de même, c'est évident, mais un peu moins.
Dada bien certainement va être de plus en plus détesté, son coupe-file lui permettant de couper les processions en chantant " Viens Poupoule ", quel sacrilège !!!
Le cubisme représente la disette des idées.
Ils ont cubé les tableaux des primitifs, cubé les sculptures nègres, cubé les violons, cubé les guitares, cubé les journaux illustrés, cubé la merde et les profils de jeunes filles, maintenant il faut cuber de l'argent !!!
Dada, lui, ne veut rien, rien, rien, il fait quelque chose pour que le public dise : "nous ne comprenons rien, rien, rien".
" Les Dadaïstes ne sont rien, rien, rien, bien certainement ils n'arriveront à rien, rien, rien ".

Francis PICABIA
qui ne sait rien, rien, rien.

Figure 2. Francis Picabia, "*Tableau Dada* par Marcel Duchamp." In *391* no. 12, 1920. Copyright © Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950, 1950-134-1051. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris / Succession Marcel Duchamp.

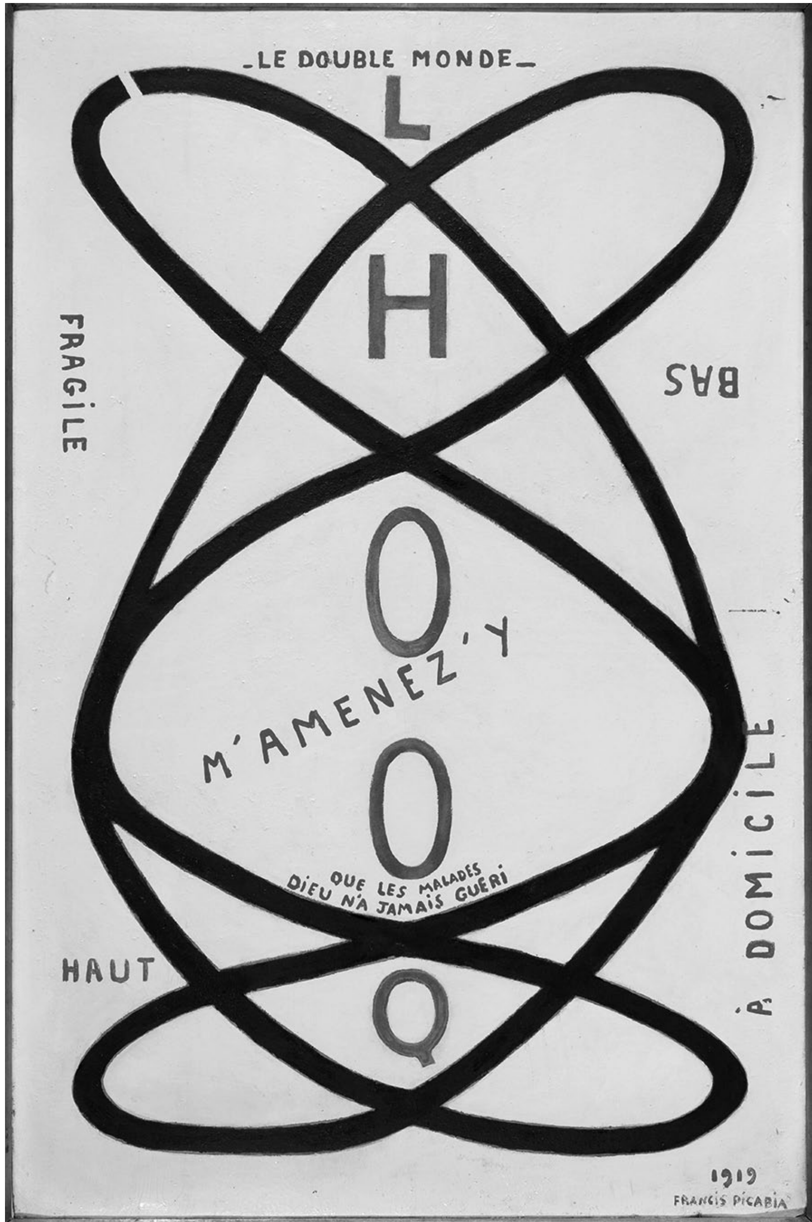


Figure 3. Francis Picabia, *Le Double Monde* (*The Double World*), 1919. Oil on cardboard, 132 × 85 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Copyright © CNAC/MNAM, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais, copyright © Art Resource, NY.

Le Double Monde was displayed to the public at the first Dada event in Paris, in the Palais des Fêtes in January 1920, where a very young André Breton held the painting on stage in front of a rioting crowd.

André Breton actually acquired *Le Double Monde* and hung it in a prominent position on his famous "mur," the wall in his studio where he displayed his collection of art, ethnographic objects, found objects, surrealist objects, and photographs, now residing at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris (figure 4). Picabia's painting, which rehashed Duchamp's readymade and weirdly connected with Apollinaire's life, became a component of this magnificent and unorthodox mosaic of objects and artworks which stood as a representation of Breton's world, a surrealist world. On this wall, Picabia's painting no longer seems abstract. The work's title, "the double world," obtains a new meaning in connection with everything else around it and suggests a world within a world, with the curved, crisscrossing shapes recalling equatorial lines gone astray, their circumferences or trajectories sinuously connecting. Seen together with all of Breton's other objects, one is tempted to read

Figure 4. Sabine Weiss, *André Breton dans son atelier* (*André Breton in His Studio*), 1956. Gelatin silver print on baryta. Copyright © Sabine Weiss.

the painting as some kind of epitome of the whole collection. Breton's wall juxtaposed art and everyday things, Western and non-Western objects, and indeed, as Picabia's painting dictated, objects both high ("Haut") and low ("Bas"), and reads as a composition that ultimately reflects the totalizing spirit of surrealism: the whole world within surrealism's reach, but also surrealism as the summation of the entire French avant-garde's trajectory.

Le Double Monde condenses in its minimalism the connections, borrowings, reworkings, and voyages of the French avant-garde, from Apollinaire to Breton, from the eve of World War I to that of World War II, from futurism to surrealism, from foreigners who felt French, to French who felt foreigners, from heist to humor, from word to image. *Le Double Monde* encapsulates signs traveling through postcards, magazines, feigned posted packages, live performances, and a collection of objects representing the world. I cannot help but see the lines of this painting as the connecting threads of the French avant-garde. From the *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre to the Centre Pompidou, this thread points to permutations of life events into representations, of works of art into other works of art, and of representations into ways of life. The French avant-garde wove one movement into the next, separated by different aesthetics but connected by one unifying impulse, which was to exist, circulate, and create within a "double world": the actual globe rapidly changing in the historical and political conditions of the interwar period, and the world as imagined and projected by these avant-garde movements. Real and imagined worlds meet or diverge, in an ebb and flow matching the interlacing curves of Picabia's painting, creating a continuum. *Le Double Monde*, a mobile and dynamic work, showcases mostly empty space circumscribed by these "lines of flight"[8] that point to an outside of the painting, an escape, a connection to a "there," "y." The world of the tableau and the world outside of it form a circuit, a double world replicated in the double "O" in the middle of the composition, two almost circles separated by the order and wish of "m'amenez-y," "take me there."

Concepts of the World is about this *double monde* and how the avant-garde's imaginary of the global paralleled, rejected, or expanded the conceptualizations of the world that were dominant at the time. As much as historical circumstances and political concepts determined the avant-garde's imaginary of the world, this imaginary also, and in turn, shaped visions of the world that are still operative today. The chapters that follow explore different aspects of this geographical imaginary, of conceptions of the world, deployed by writers and artists in

and around such movements as futurism, Dada, and surrealism, as they were expressed in specific works and as they were informed by broader political, social, and cultural dynamics of the first half of the twentieth century. Each of these conceptions has been encoded in terms that, while ostensibly embracing the whole world in the sense of the globe, developed historically as different interpretations of this totality. The terms "internationalism," "cosmopolitanism," and "universalism" have come to be used interchangeably in contemporary discussions of globalization. I am interested in tracing the differences among these terms, thereby establishing substantial and meaningful variations that have a considerable effect on the perception and the representation of the world. To imagine the world means to project a historical and political view on a geographical topos. Representations of the world are like snapshots that capture complex and multidirectional processes of historicization; that is, of interpreting the past, understanding the present, and gauging the future.

The point of departure for this exploration is the simple and generally accepted assumption that movements of the historical avant-garde were very self-consciously international. They spread to many different countries—throughout Europe and North America in the case of futurism and Dada, and reaching beyond the regions of the North Atlantic into South America, Japan, and North Africa in the case of surrealism. Beyond this fact, though, what I argue is that the avant-garde's international aspirations determined its forms and practices; as the geographical imaginary fed into different and intertwined conceptualizations of the world, almost everything about the avant-garde—its spaces and places, persons and things, divisions and continuities, inclusions and exclusions—was transformed.

The historical avant-garde was one episode in the deep history of globalization—the latest chapter of which we are all now experiencing. Two decades into the new millennium, exuberant accounts of a global society maintained by freely circulating people, goods, and ideas have given way to an increasingly bleak landscape of a globalization predicated on the violent displacement of populations, economic exploitation, pandemics, and global surveillance. Understanding globalization in its historicity, in its mutations, contradictions, and successes and failures, in one word, in its dynamics, has thus become imperative. Contemporary discourses on globalization fall roughly into two large—and nonhomogenous—categories. On the one hand there is "good" globalization, a desire for togetherness, for obliterating the differences that

divide us, and for emphasizing that which unites us all. This "good" globalization pursues tolerance and the creation of a global brotherhood that fights for justice, rights, democracy, ecology, protection of the weak, and equality—in short, the creation of a true global community. The European Union, as the optimistic remaking of a Europe devastated by war in the first half of the twentieth century, could stand in as the paradigm of this "good" globalization which nominally puts everyone on the same footing, creating a utopia of free border-crossing travelers, consumer goods, elite workforces, and exchange students, and ultimately fostering an increased sense of shared identity in the Old Continent. Until many of these assumptions collapsed. The series of European financial crises in Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland, the rise of populist voices that want out of Europe, from Brexit to Marine Le Pen, the redrawn lines between rich North and poor South and the moral qualifications that come with it, have translated the looming dangers of a "bad" globalization into concrete political and social events.

The backlash to globalization from both the Left and Right is everpresent. The global domination of the financially powerful—the United States, Europe, China—and the exploitation of weak countries in an increasingly unequal world, appear as a version of neocolonialism in the guise of markets that needs to be resisted. At the same time, massive displacements of populations, refugees, and migrants have brought an unwanted version of the world to our doorstep and ignited fear of "them" versus "us," as "they" become the scapegoats for a changing economy, the menace to privileges that have been "ours" for decades or centuries, and the cipher for our misery. However, and here I am stating the obvious, even fierce critics of globalization, from the Left or from the Right, are benefiting indirectly or directly, consciously or not, from the process. From cheap consumer goods and airplane tickets, to using the internet and social media as worldwide connectors and organizers, even the staunchest opponents of globalization still live in a globalized world. This is, of course, a rudimentary and overly simplistic description of globalization, but it nevertheless emphasizes that globalization is an ambivalent process, both embraced and resisted, affording narratives of integration and disintegration, of concord and discord, of togetherness and separation.

This ambivalent process is historical, and as such it is subject to historical imaginaries and, further still, to political imaginaries. Looking macroscopically at the avant-garde as an extensive lab elaborating dif-

ferent ideas and visions of the world allows for a vivid account of the historical push-and-pull of globalization, of the desire to connect and the hesitance at such interdependence. In the chapters that follow, a close and accumulative reading of works that encapsulate these dynamics constructs an alternative narrative of globalization, one that integrates resistance and discontent within this very process. In other words, these micronarratives complicate the grand narrative of modernity's triumphant march toward globalization, of which the historical avant-garde (and modernism in general) are considered to be a decisive factor and proponent. Resistance and critique to the then existing geopolitical models of globalization—international capitalism, colonization, the ideological dominance of the West, and elite mobility—were in fact part of the avant-garde's process of imagining the world during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Reconstructing these processes may show how the path toward globalization was not smooth but striated, one marked by a tug of war between the experience of the local and the aspiration to the global, a process that ultimately leads to the world.

CONCEPTS

The inevitable question that arises here is what, indeed, is a world? This is the question asked by Pheng Cheah in his homonymous book, which discusses the conceptualization of the world in temporal terms as the basis for capitalist globalization, while pondering the role of literature as a "worlding" process.[9] Goethe's influential concept of a "universal world literature,"[10] for instance, presents the world as something almost constructed by literature which imposes a common imaginary on peoples around the globe. The etymology of the English word "world" as the Age of Man[11] contains embedded in it the subjective element of the world, its making by humans—as opposed perhaps to the French "le monde," coming from the Latin "mundus," itself translating the Greek "kosmos," as something elegant, neat, and ornate, independent of human making. The world is a world because it is perceived as such and is made to be one. In this sense, the world and the globe are not identical. Cheah makes precisely this distinction, pointing out that the globe is "a bounded object or entity in Mercatorian space."[12] While the globe is bound to the geographical reality of the entirety of our planet, the world departs from this geographical reality to constantly reimagine it, redistribute it, and ultimately signify it. The world is "an ongoing, dynamic

process of becoming, something continually made and remade rather than a spatial-geographical entity."[13]

This is indeed the approach to the world in this book, a syllepsis of geography and ideology, of historical processes and representation, of political positions and ethical imperatives for a unified human community. The world as process, subject to many variables some of which I have just mentioned, is thus not one, but many, which can coexist as active imaginaries. During the period in question, the agitated years between the end of the Belle Epoque and the outbreak of World War II, many different imaginaries of the world were operative. This was a historical moment marked by violence, conflict, and the rise of lasting ideologies. From empires to nations, from the war of nations to renewed colonial expansion, from the crisis of liberal democracies to the rise of totalitarianism, the period from 1910 to 1940, bookended by two world conflicts, was one of tectonic changes. This was a period continuously grappling with modernity understood as interconnectedness in the world; it was a crash test for the consciousness of being modern, of living in the modern flattened world.

By the early twentieth century, new technologies of transport and communication had created a sense of an ever-decreasing distance and an ever-increasing connectivity around the globe. The global expansion of capitalism, foreseen already by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, and the colonial and imperial expansion of European countries, created a new economic and geopolitical landscape. The eighteenth-century neologism "international," coined by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham as a necessary step to systematize the laws regarding relations between nation-states as opposed to the laws internal to one state, quickly took root in English and other languages, and by the mid-nineteenth century it was a neologism no more.[14] During the first few decades of the twentieth century, the institution of a series of international organizations meant to coordinate and regulate issues and people around the globe reached a moment of culmination. The inauguration of the Central Bureau for the International Map of the World in London in 1909, which had as its goal the production of an accurate 1:1,000,000-scale map of the world,[15] the creation of the Universal Association of Esperanto in 1908,[16] the establishment of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904, the institution of the League of Nations in 1919, of the International Chamber of Commerce that same year, and the replacement of the Second International by the Third International (i.e., the Communist International), again in

1919, were just a few of the many international administrative, political, humanitarian, technological, and cultural endeavors that arose at this time.

All of these pragmatic organizations, associations, congresses, groups, and the like ultimately depended on an explicit or implicit conceptualization of the world, dictated by explicit or implicit sociopolitical assumptions. These conceptualizations were encoded in the different common words used to describe the world during this period: "internationalism," or the more neutral "international" (which notably carries in it the word "nation"), "cosmopolitanism," and "universalism." Each of these terms telescopes historical strands of world conceptualization and maps out a different world.

As David Armitage has remarked when discussing the legal origin of the terms "international" and "transnational," these "are concepts that depend upon broader and more elaborate theories for their analytical precision and utility," and though "such concepts can migrate from theories within which they were first located . . . they cannot entirely escape their origins."[17] The neologism "international" piggybacked on the word "nation," probably the most formative geopolitical concept of modernity. Perry Anderson summarizes the dance between nationalism and internationalism, as the latter's meaning morphed to fit the former's changing significations from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries: "the meaning of internationalism logically depends on some prior conception of nationalism, since it only has currency as a back-construction referring to its opposite."[18] And while "internationalism" clearly refers to a certain vision of a world beyond—but not without—national units, "nationalism," although it posits the nation as the highest political, social, and cultural value, also envisions the world in some fashion. From Enlightenment patriotism, to Romantic nationalism, to the chauvinist nationalism of the late nineteenth century, the nationalist imaginary shaped a world in which the nation exists and with which the nation actually interacts. In the France of the Third Republic a renewed, republican nationalism took root, spurred by the Prussian defeat of 1870 and sustained by obsessive fears about a French decline. This new nationalist narrative revolved around the question of who was French, with antisemitic and xenophobic iterations, prominently hinging on the Dreyfus affair. At the same time, this nationalism developed in tandem with, and to a degree thanks to, a new colonial expansion, and most importantly, a new colonial ideology. In 1874 the economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu published the book *De la colonisation chez les peuples*

modernes, an advocacy of colonization as necessary for progress and commercial expansion, but also for helping "inferior peoples" to access civilization: the rhetoric of the *mission civilisatrice*, the civilizing mission of the French colonial enterprise, found a point of origin in this influential book, and gained traction thanks to its elaboration in the political realm by Jules Ferry and Léon Gambetta.[19] The French nation was destined to civilize the world,[20] and Ferry's address to the Chamber of Deputies in 1885 regarding *l'affaire du Tonkin* says as much: "We must believe that if Providence deigned to confer upon us a mission by making us masters of the earth, this mission consists not of attempting an impossible fusion of the races but of simply spreading or awakening among the other races the superior notions of which we are the guardians."[21]

In the period preceding World War I, the moment when the historical avant-garde movements arose, the most widespread political discourse projecting France as a nation onto the world was that of its civilizing mission. Republican universalism expanded to the world thanks to colonization and the mission to civilize. This nationalist view of the world through colonization was premised upon the implicit universalism of nationalism—I will come back to this shortly. It also covertly entailed the violent imposition of one nation, France, on other parts of the world as a leader and homogenizer. The Great War brought this violence into full view, as nations fought for dominance and leadership. The image of the world emanated by French nationalism during the period was either that of an arena of constant antagonism and jockeying for supremacy, which found its culmination in the world conflict, or that of a seemingly peaceful and voluntary subjugation to France's superiority, which found its expression in the French colonial project predicated upon the *mission civilisatrice*. Both of these visions were espoused by the French avant-garde. Before the war, French artists and writers engaged in a nationalist-inflected European quarrel over the leadership of the avant-garde, while during the war this bitter conflict was transformed into visions of quasi-colonial expansion of the French avant-garde spirit and mastery in the world. Guillaume Apollinaire was central in the elaboration of these conceptualizations, before and during the war, as a staunch supporter of France's intellectual leadership.

Internationalism, on the other hand, stands seemingly as the antithesis of nation and nationalism. A political term vigorously deployed during the interwar period, internationalism as a political principle of class struggle was put in place in the nineteenth century. Karl Marx said

as much when he declared that "the nationality of the worker is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is *labor, free slavery, self-huckstering*. His government is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is capital. His native air is neither French, nor German, nor English, it is *factory air*."[22] The International Workingmen's Association, the First International, coalesced in 1864 an internationally mobile, urban artisan-class. In the late 1880s it was succeeded by the Second International, which collapsed with World War I, when the socialist parties under its aegis betrayed the internationalist mandate by patriotically embracing a nationalist war. The Third International was founded in 1919, after the end of the war and after the Russian Revolution. Rejecting any form of nationalism, the new Communist International was solely dedicated to a worldwide class revolution. This stern antinationalism, however, would soon be blatantly contradicted by its subordination to the Soviet Union, as the arbitrator of both the revolution and its internationalism. As Perry Anderson explains:

> The upshot was the arresting phenomenon, without equivalent before or since, of an internationalism equally deep and deformed, at once rejecting any loyalty to its own country and displaying limitless loyalty to another state. . . . With its mixture of heroism and cynicism, selfless solidarity and murderous terror, this was an internationalism perfected and perverted as never before.[23]

The strong and deep influence of the nation on internationalism, apparent in the collapse of the Second and the compromises of the Third International, is already embedded in the concept itself. Alejandro Colas homes in on precisely this idea, first by pointing out the importance of the concept of the nation for Marx and Engels in their understanding of the development of capitalism and the subsequent counter-development of an organized working class; and then by expanding on the formative power of the nation-state on the concept and practice of internationalism itself. As Colas aptly remarks, socialism underestimated the nation's political heft, "either as an ideology in the guise of nationalism, as an institution in the form of the state, or as part of the constraining structure of the international system." And he concludes: "It was this miscalculation of the power of these three interrelated forces that ultimately defeated the cosmopolitan project of socialist internationalism."[24] The distinction between internationalism and cosmopolitanism

is important here, since the former is associated with the determinism of class struggle, and the latter, as I will discuss momentarily, is seen in a contemporary light as an ethical stance akin to universalism. What is equally important, though, is that it may have been the paradoxical and simultaneous overdependence on the nation *and* the underestimation of its power that doomed internationalism as a project embracing the world beyond nations. Building on national organizations of class struggle that would then harmonize across nations in a kind of supranational world class solidarity could not happen conceptually since the building unit was the nation itself.

Internationalism, a militant conceptualization of the world by the Left that privileges transverse solidarity over national allegiance, was thus in wide circulation during the interwar period. World War I catalyzed its importance, as the reaction to the nationalist war was paired with the new communist internationalism evangelized by the Russian Revolution. The antinationalism of the postwar avant-garde, appearing prominently first in the Dada movement, is often conflated with this political internationalism. And indeed, the practice, representations, and declarations of Dadaist writers and artists hinged both on a blatant rejection of the nation as value, identity, and possible horizon, and on their transnational mobility that aimed at some kind of international coordination of action. However, this coordination seemed to be elusive, as the various Dadaist groups dispersed in European cities coalesced only very loosely. The internationalism of Dada during the period from 1917 to 1924, pronounced as a principle and practice, seemed to be aligned less with the new communist internationalism of the highly centralized Third International and more with anarchist internationalism, as it was practiced in the late nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the war. Decentralized clusters of lax networks, exemplified by the creation of numerous little magazines that signified an internationally connected group, characterized Dadaist internationalism as a vision of a world that was both transversely connected and still somehow local.

This internationalist spirit was riding on the cosmopolitan existence of its avant-garde practitioners: many avant-garde writers and artists moved from one country to the next, leading what was understood during the interwar period as a cosmopolitan life. Today, the term "cosmopolitanism" is ubiquitous in theory and criticism as a world-forming concept that counterbalances de facto economic globalization with a politically and ethically responsible position. In the twenty-first century, "cosmopolitanism" for philosophers, political and legal theorists, and

cultural critics alike has become the prevailing term for envisioning citizenship in a globalized world. Being cosmopolitan now means being tolerant, respectful, and welcoming to the other, since we are all part of the global community; a civic duty bound not to national entities, but to the world. The *kosmos* in question calls for *polites*, "citizens," not just inhabitants but individuals engaged in the well-being of a community that is identified with humankind. The term "cosmopolitanism" has come to acquire the meaning of a moral, political, and cultural universalism. Being cosmopolitan, however, meant something different during the historical moment of the avant-garde.

One of the many concurring terms to describe a vision of the world, "cosmopolitanism" underwent a substantial semantic and cultural transformation over the course of the nineteenth century, a transformation that would culminate in the late 1930s. With roots in ancient Greek philosophy and occasional elaborations by Enlightenment philosophers, most famously Immanuel Kant in his 1795 treaty *Toward Perpetual Peace*, the term "cosmopolitan" drifted in the nineteenth century toward the increasingly negative connotation of "devoid of national allegiance." This is the way that Marx and Engels used it to describe the global reach of capitalism, since "the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country."[25] And this is the way the term was deployed to describe the idle and pointless existence of a globe-trotting elite—an elite of wealth, of culture, or an imaginary elite, like the Jews and the intellectuals. Being cosmopolitan in 1900 and in 1919 alike chiefly meant being mobile, not bound to any national entrenchment, being essentially a perpetual foreigner.

During the interwar period, the concept of cosmopolitanism implied a rather utilitarian vision of the world unified through the circulation of goods (the cosmopolitan character of consumption and production that the *Communist Manifesto* described) or people (the traveling elite). This circulation would stitch the world together, beyond national restrictions and boundaries, but it would also be perceived as impermeable to any sense of bond or communal belonging. Indeed, the cosmopolitan was almost the polar opposite of the citizen. Back then, being cosmopolitan meant that, on the one hand, the world was one's oyster. At the same time, however, this itinerant way of life was seen as wanting; a "poor in world" existence, to paraphrase Heidegger, that does not allow for "world forming."[26] Once again, the formidable conceptual power of the nation is evident here, as it had become reflexively synonymous with

any community. The nineteenth-century nationalist consolidation incited a consistent devaluation of the term "cosmopolitanism," since no politically—or even ethically—meaningful action could exist without a national anchoring. It was internationalism as theorized and promised by the Left, from the socialists to the anarchists, that successfully stepped in to fill this vacuum, making it possible to conceive of political commitment beyond national belonging. Against this background, the de facto cosmopolitan avant-garde—according to the interwar criteria, that is, traveling, foreign, and mobile—elaborated and transformed the notion of cosmopolitanism. The various representations of the avant-garde put forth a cosmopolitanism that morphed notions of a drifting existence of perpetual foreignness into a possible position of commitment to a collective that bypassed the nation entirely, and instead embraced the world.

Embracing the world as one community entails some degree of universalism or universality. As mentioned above, it was the implicit universality of nationalism on which France predicated the legitimacy of its civilizing mission. The Enlightenment's abstraction of a universal man as a basis for a universal humanity became the basis for circumspecting citizenship in the nation-state. As Gary Wilder points out,

> In the early years of the republic, the very ambiguity of categories such as the people, the nation, the citizen stabilized the constitutive tension upon which the nation-state was founded. They did so by conflating universal humans and particular nationals and by condensing liberal, democratic, and rational modes of universalism. Through the concept of popular sovereignty deployed against monarchical privilege, revolutionary republicans constructed their own universal norms, which appeared to be grounded in nature and reason rather than a historically specific social order.[27]

This conflation of the universal and the particular has dogged universalism as a concept in general, and in France in particular. "French republican ideology is the epitome of modernist [*sic*] universalism: of democracy based on a universal notion of citizenship," Slavoj Žižek remarks.[28] Naomi Schor elaborates this particular brand of French universalism as a blend of three different types of universalism: religious, and specifically Catholic, universalism; linguistic universalism maintaining from Descartes to Rivarol the dominance of French as the only

possible universal language; and ethical universalism, emblematized in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man.[29] Thanks to these strong and influential universalist narratives, France positioned itself as the arbiter of modern universalism.

Modern Western universalism, with its ethical and metaphysical roots in Greek thought and Christian universality, almost always implies some kind of exclusion. Inclusion in humanity, or inclusion within a religious community, excludes that which is not human or that which is not part of the religious group. Étienne Balibar points out precisely this dynamic:

> No *definition* of the Human Species, or simply the Human—something which is so crucial for universalism, or universalism as humanism—has ever been proposed which *would not imply* a latent hierarchy. This has to do with the impossibility of fixing the *boundaries* of what we call "human," or fixing the boundaries within which all human beings could be possibly gathered.[30]

Universalism as an Enlightenment project ostensibly shapes a vision of the world as a boundless whole for a unitarian human; but at the same time, it restricts substantially what counts as human. Male, white, able-bodied, European or Western, sane, straight, Christian, have been some of the explicit or implied attributes of humanness in modern universalist discourses. The opposite of these attributes becomes the yardstick against which the human is defined. Balibar, again, articulates these dialectics of exclusion and inclusion which lie at the heart of universalist visions of the world:

> It is the nonhuman, or the "monster," against which one has to strive in order to become human; in the extreme, it features the return or the intrusion of the inhuman into the human. But on the other hand, the foreign body, with her otherness, is the absolute human, it is the arch-human: no being is more human, or to put it in Kantian terms, more clearly embodying the "destination" of the human, than a criminal, a mad-man, a stranger, a racial and cultural other, a jealous or hysteric woman, a gay or a transgender subject, et cetera. But taken together (and they certainly do not form a *tout*, an "all" or a "whole"), all these singularities are

> the majority, the quasi-totality of mankind. They push the bearers of the model of the human (or the characters of the human "essence") toward the margins, the place of the "exception" from which it distinguished itself in the modality of a "negation of the negation" (as convincingly argued by Erving Goffman). . . . What happens, we may ask, if, keeping in mind that historically "man" is always a relational figure, we start taking into account the anthropological differences not as contingent or empirical phenomena affecting the universal from outside or merely limiting the empirical possibilities of its implementation, but as intrinsic contradictions, which at the same time relate the universal to itself, and open a gap—sometimes an abyss of inhumanity—within this transindividual relation called "the human"? [31]

The question of the human and of humanism and their contours is thus inextricably bound up with conceptions of a secular ethical universalism. It was in this guise of the human that universalist visions of the world congealed in the French avant-garde of the 1930s. The terms "universal" and "universality" flourished in surrealism, a movement that from its inception was mounted as a universalist project: that of redefining the human, but no longer as a singular model, but rather in Balibar's terms, as a relational entity, as a continuous open abyss.

Where is the term "globalization" in all this? While the concept gained traction after the 1990s, the word emerged precisely toward the end of the period I will discuss in this book. David Armitage points out that the term "global," signifying "worldwide" or "universal," was generated in English by the "moment of national reassertion" following the Great Depression and immediately preceding World War II.[32] Retracing the origins of the word, Paul James and Manfred Steger remark on the abundance of images of the globe in media and transportation companies from 1910 on, with newspapers like the *Boston Globe*, movie studios like Universal Pictures featuring the globe in its logo, and Pan American Airways, with its blue globe trademark sign, all signifying an increased world connectivity.[33] During the same period, this ubiquitous imaginary of the globe and the global invaded leading economic and market-driven events as well. The most iconic vista of the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris was the Eiffel Tower standing next to the "globe céleste," a blue sphere with the zodiac and constellations, while the publicity for the 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology in

Modern Life (Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne), also in Paris, included many posters featuring our planet.

Over forty years ago, Anthony Giddens was among the first to identify globalization, understood as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa,"[34] as a consequence of modernity. Following Immanuel Wallerstein's similarly prescient analysis of the world system, Giddens pinpointed capitalism's inherent expansiveness and worldwide reach as a fundamental globalizing factor. David Harvey also talked about capitalism's addiction to geographical expansion, and of globalization as "the contemporary version of capitalism's long-standing and never-ending search for a spatial fix to its crisis tendencies."[35] Today, as I mentioned above, we tend to use the term "globalization" to refer not only to a process of global interconnectedness but to signify the negative impact of neoliberalism and unbridled capitalism, which have transformed the whole globe into a free market of extreme inequality. Manfred Steger makes a distinction between globalization as a historical process with different phases, and the ideologies that give meaning to this process, which he gathers under the term "globalisms." Of these "globalisms," "market globalism" is the one that prevails in the imaginary of globalization.[36] Steger remarks that "given that the exchange of commodities constitutes the core activity of all societies, the market-oriented discourse of globalization itself has turned into an extremely important commodity destined for public consumption."[37] He adds: "Market globalists have been successful because they have persuaded the public that their neoliberal account of globalization represents an objective, or at least a neutral, diagnosis of the very conditions it purports to analyze."[38] This imaginary of globalization depoliticizes the process, endowing the market with agency that supersedes political decisions, a kind of perversion of Marx's observations about "cosmopolitan" capitalism that operates transnationally and globally, followed by Giddens, Wallerstein, Harvey, and many others. While Marxist and neo-Marxist accounts of capitalism's global hunger point to the urgent need for political accountability and responsibility, the prevailing "market globalism" falsely evacuates even the possibility of politics, since this version of globalization is presented as one that cannot and should not be prevented or controlled, stemming as it does "naturally" from self-regulated and autonomous markets.

Is it anachronistic to talk about globalization, in the contemporary sense and not as an ongoing historical process, during the period in

question? Probably, yes. Yet, some of the features of contemporary globalization invested with the concept of a powerful, all-encompassing, globalized market were in place by the 1930s. Surrealism, by far the longest-lived avant-garde movement, articulated a scathing critique of what, in 1938, it already perceived as an imaginary of globalized capitalism overtaking other versions of the world, especially the universalist world which that movement was envisioning. Embracing the global but rejecting globalization as "market globalism" *avant la lettre*, the surrealists tried to restate the stakes of the world in political rather than economic terms.

The world is thus protean, it keeps changing shape depending on its conceptualization. It is a terrain for national strife or national expansion; a loose network of interconnected clusters of transnational agents; a community of strangers that form civic connections beyond national affiliations; a human world, in which the human as a category is not operating on exclusion but on the inclusion of contradictions; or a world as the commodity of a globalized market, against which an equally global political action is imperative. Not one but many different worlds can coexist in antagonizing or harmonious positions, and the historical avant-garde in its heterogeneous but unified thrust toward an increasingly global public became the testing ground of these conceptualizations and representations of the world.

THE WORLDS OF THE AVANT-GARDE

The avant-garde reflected in its shifting conceptualizations of the world the general evolution of the perceptions of the global during the historical period in question; it functioned as an amplifier of the general cultural and political context or as a harbinger of things to come. Within this evolution, various concepts were worked through, and their history, limits, and limitations were rehearsed at the representational (and sometimes factual, I will come back to this shortly) level. Within this changing range of images of the world, the avant-garde seemed to move increasingly toward contemporary understandings of the global, anticipating both negative economic globalization as well as recent conceptualizations of a positive cosmopolitanism ushering in an active political and ethical position for the individual in an ever-increasingly planetary reality.

There are numerous accounts of modernism as a global phenomenon, but all the while, modernist works often betray ambivalence to-

ward modernity and its ensuing globalization. Despite this ambivalence, modernism has been heralded by contemporary criticism as a crucial step toward an exultant globalization. This book takes a different perspective and approaches the process of globalization as equivocal from the start, marked by endorsements as much as resistances. The avant-garde, an offshoot of modernism that stands critically against it while sharing most of its stakes, becomes the ideal seismograph to capture these hiccups of globalization. Being modern is above all about having a certain sense of timeliness, of contemporaneousness, or what the early avant-garde called "simultanéité." The avant-garde as a movement struggles with this notion of timeliness and produces a culture in which modernism's ambivalence is amplified and becomes a direct critique of modernity. Time is often projected onto space, and the sense of contemporaneousness is translated in spatial terms as a representation of the world. This book looks at these representations of the world and untangles the various positions, critiques, endorsements, hopes, and fears that the world—but, in fact, modernity—generated. I argue that within the tensions between local and worldwide, national and international, particular and universal (tensions which more often than not took the form of "Paris and the others"), the avant-garde created a new version of "the world."

A premise of this book is that modernity—and modernism, and the avant-garde—are best approached as uneven terrains marked by heterogeneity. Modernist studies, in its "global turn," has taken this unevenness seriously, exploring hitherto neglected archives to rethink modernism and modernity as global phenomena. The principle of unevenness or the heterogeneity of modernity is a way to see beyond the stale binary of "center-periphery" for understanding modernism as a global phenomenon. In this binary model, it is usually the "periphery" that carries the burden of difference, of not complying, of defying a canonical and homogeneous "center." Indeed, modernist studies has increasingly turned toward "peripheral" modernisms as a way to rethink the canonicity and authority of the "center." Given this current direction of modernist studies, one could easily mistake the critical perspective outlined in this book, for it may appear to construct "the global" yet again from the standpoint of that quintessential "center" of modernity, France and specifically Paris. But far from seeing Paris as the capital of the "world republic of letters," as a point of convergence or even as a producer of hegemonic views for the rest of the world, my aim is to illuminate this "center" itself as a site of extraordinary

and productive heterogeneity. Under the light applied here, this "center" proves to be a surprisingly uneven and unstable vantage point for seeing and representing the world. The many different ways that the French avant-garde imagined the world showed their own conflicting views about France (and often Europe or the West) within a rapidly changing world. At times, these views were fueled by grandiloquent aspirations to a universality that is dominated by the "French spirit," a perspective one would expect from a hegemonic center, but not from a nominally cosmopolitan avant-garde. Elsewhere, however, they were ridden by a continuous angst of belatedness, backwardness, and derivativeness, all characteristics that are ordinarily associated with "peripheral" perspectives. I map out such different and contradictory positions and show that the world project of the avant-garde was polysemic, reflecting tensions and scissions within the alleged center itself. What I suggest is that the description of the global avant-garde (and modernism) through a center-periphery model is problematic and inadequate, and my case studies aim to show that this theoretical framework was discredited by the French avant-garde itself, as it contested, in various and often contradictory ways, its own centrality. Most of the artists and writers I will discuss seem to be looking from Paris out at the world, although many of them traveled extensively or migrated before or after the snapshots I provide here. It is outside the scope of this book to reverse the gaze and outline the conceptualization of the world by the non-Parisian, non-French avant-garde. This book stays with the perspective from France, giving thus a partial, but coherent, narrative of what the world felt like during the interwar period there. The extraordinary diversity of the French avant-garde, reflected in the polyphony of its political positions, as well as its astonishing variety of media, forms, techniques, and strategies, demonstrates a heterogeneity that speaks to a world in flux and a "center" which probably cannot hold as such.

But this imagined and represented world is inevitably filtered through France's factual and imaginary position during the first half of the twentieth century, that of an imperial nation-state, to go back to Garry Wilder.[39] Modernity's world was a colonial world, a truth that was even more salient in the French case. Interwar Paris, in Jennifer Ann Bottin's words, "was a colonial space, meaning a space in which the specter of 'empire' guided the self-identification of its residents as well as their social and political interactions."[40] The political, ideological, economic, and cultural reality in France was overdetermined, explicitly or not, by its colonial expansion. In discussing the formative concept of the nation

earlier, I underscored that colonialism was the main lens through which nationalism viewed the world. Colonial politics structured the world within which the nation aspired to exist in power dynamics that seem inescapable: those of the colonizer and the colonized, of the center and the periphery. This power differential was baked into the physiognomy and identity of the nation of the Third Republic, and consequently the other concurrent conceptualizations of the world, dependent as they were on an understanding of the nation. This was clear in the concept of the universal, where universality excluded, discounted, or ignored the colonial subject—along with other subservient groups excluded on the basis of gender, race, ableness, and so on—since it was construed from the position of the colonizer. This was also implicit in the formulation and historical evolution of internationalism, as an ideal and process countering the geopolitical dynamics of colonialism, and as materialized concretely in the anticolonial struggle undertaken by Left internationalism in the 1930s, and especially after World War II. It also ran through the concept of cosmopolitanism during the period in question, since the cosmopolitan, identified with the foreigner, seemed to eschew these dynamics, only to confirm them: indeed, can a colonized subject be cosmopolitan?

What is remarkable in the avant-garde's elaboration and representation of these world-making concepts was that they systematically addressed this power dynamic of the colonial center and colonized periphery, "naturalized" by the imperial nation-state. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the avant-garde collectively reflected, in various ways, on decolonizing the concepts of the world. In its move toward contemporary visions of the world, the avant-garde grappled with the political reality and ideological underpinnings of a world divided into colonizers and colonized. This becomes perfectly clear in the case of surrealism, since one of the central and explicit political positions on which the movement's activism hinged was anticolonialism. The surrealists' reworking of universalism and their conscious effort to unpack the hegemonic power that the Western tradition imbued this concept with as a tool for domination, encapsulates this process of decolonizing the concepts of the world. But even in the case of Apollinaire, who as an ardent nationalist espoused the rhetoric of France's civilizing mission, and thus could not but see the world as a terrain to be conquered and dominated by the superior French intellect, it was the alienation of the colonial subject, as he experienced it during World War I by witnessing colonial troops, that shook his monolithic nation-

alism. The avant-garde's works indeed provided the space in which the power structure of a colonial world could be rethought, not only as a pressing political cause but also as an underlying epistemology. When Louis Aragon takes the figure of the peasant—a scorned, uneducated, poor, unsophisticated, nonurban, non-modern figure—and invests him with the features of cosmopolitanism *and* an ethical and political agency, he unsettles precisely an epistemological frame distributing the right to the world and to its representation. The power of world-making does not belong only to the elite, while the peasant's rooted communitarianism is projected as an ethical and political imperative for the world. It is this kind of deeper reshuffling of values and ideas operated by the avant-garde that ultimately allows for questions like the one I mentioned: can a colonized subject be cosmopolitan? According to the prevalent connotation of cosmopolitanism during the interwar period, the answer to this question would be no, since "cosmopolitan" might have been a derogatory term associated with foreigners, but it was also associated with the elite, from which the colonized were automatically excluded. A cosmopolitan was someone who did not have an ethical or political allegiance to a (national) community by choice, while the colonial subject could not have this choice, as they had no ethical or political existence for the colonizer. Aragon's cosmopolitan peasant, however, opens the possibility for a cosmopolitan colonial subject who can claim their political position in the world. If the peasant can be cosmopolitan, so can the colonial subject.

The avant-garde in France did not exist, however, in a virtuous vacuum from which it contemplated and ultimately condemned the French colonial and imperial project. In many ways the entity of the French avant-garde, in its transnational and international existence, in its national and international resonance, in its opposition to racism, exploitation, global capitalism, and war, still benefited from and sometimes was continuous with the very apparatus of the imperial nation-state. From the obvious fact that Paris became the threshing floor for artistic innovation and experimentation *because* it was also the center of an imperial power, to the collection of indigenous art from Africa by Apollinaire *thanks to* a colonial administration that made these objects available in Paris, to the trade of colonial artifacts that financially sustained many surrealists, André Breton included, artists and writers of the avant-garde were systemically intermeshed with a world-forming colonial reality. And this reality in Paris was, to quote Jeremy Braddock and Jonathan Eburne from *Paris, Capital of the Black Atlantic*, "the product of a di-

alectical relationship between actual and virtual conditions of intellectual life."[41] While this book discusses mainly the "virtual" aspects of this reality, as it focuses on concepts and representations, the "actual" elements that structured the activity and production of the avant-garde are also considered. A red thread that runs through all the book's chapters is thus the avant-garde's reckoning with the colonial past, present, and future of France as a world power, a reckoning that comes from French-born (Picabia, Aragon, Breton) or migrant (Apollinaire, Carrington, Calas, Dalí, Tzara) artists and writers, all of them white and most of them male.

While I keep using the unifying denomination of the "French avant-garde," I do not offer in this book a strong theoretical argument about the unity of the avant-garde as a phenomenon. Instead, it is through specific examples that I explore one of the avant-garde's fundamental features, its entanglement with the global. I see the avant-garde as a heterogeneous whole that, sometimes in spite of itself, elaborated and in some sense imposed a worldwide perception of culture. The characterization "French avant-garde" thus does not erase differences between movements and individuals, but it does suggest the avant-garde as an identifiable group of particularities across time, space, and practices, with the aspiration to the world as one of its unifying components. The works discussed are bound together by their connection with an avant-garde movement, even if—as in the case of Apollinaire and Cendrars with futurism—this connection is sometimes loose. But most importantly, what these works have in common is their intense formal experimentation. The avant-garde functioned almost as an amplifying machine that assimilated, appropriated, and reoriented the world and our experience of it and in it, by deploying groundbreaking techniques that upset the public's expectations. A close reading of experimental textual and visual works as encodings of political and social positions is thus a basic methodological premise of this book.

Many avant-garde artists and writers wrote expository texts that explained their sociopolitical positions: manifestos, declarations, essays, appeals, and so on. The avant-garde's political engagement probably culminated with surrealism, which over its long existence made its fundamentally political endeavor very public, sometimes aligning with specific political formations—like the brief association with the French Communist Party in the late 1920s—or leveling with specific political actions—such as the antifascist alliance of the 1930s. While these self-theorizing texts are of paramount importance for understanding the

avant-garde project, they only tell half of the story. Public political positionings condition our reading of the avant-garde's works as embedded in politics, but it is the actual avant-garde artifact, in its difficulty and opaqueness, that presents the most interesting political ramifications. A polemical Dada text that clearly states an antinationalist or antiwar position directly conveys a perception of the world beyond nations. An article in *La Révolution surréaliste* that attacks Europe as a relic of the past and praises Asia as the bearer of the future draws clear lines of a geographical imaginary inflected by politics. Do these perceptions and imaginaries also permeate the experimental, difficult, illegible, avant-garde work beyond its contents, in its forms and media? Can we see a representation of the world in one of Picabia's diagrams? Does a surrealist magazine seen in its totality as a mixed-media, serial object articulate a vision of the world? This is not only a distinction between the politics *in* and the politics *of* a given text, to follow Craig Dworkin,[42] but also the distinction between the slogan, at which the avant-garde excelled, and the importance of the formal, media, and semiotic experimentation with which the avant-garde identified. Indeed, the avant-garde artifact unfolds multilayered and nuanced representations of the world that both absorb the political and cultural discourses of the period and deflect them. While the avant-garde's theoretical texts often align or at least directly engage with dominant political and social conceptualizations of the world—the nation, internationalism, universalism, and so on—their plays, poems, artworks, magazines, and exhibitions challenge these standard conceptualizations through their representations. It is precisely this political understanding of the world, as it is entangled in the texture and structure of the avant-garde's works, that is sought in the following chapters.

The issue of the avant-garde and politics has of course been the subject of extensive critical discussion. Peter Bürger's pioneering *Theory of the Avant-Garde* is still very influential, despite the vigorous and ongoing criticism it has generated,[43] precisely because Bürger posited the sociopolitical ramifications of the avant-garde as the theoretical basis for its unification and its consideration as a distinct phenomenon. Matei Calinescu and Renato Poggioli have provided theoretical accounts of the avant-garde which rely on formal criteria that sharply differentiate the avant-garde from both traditional and modernist aesthetics.[44] Bürger, in contrast, adopts a perspective that unifies the historical avant-garde in its perception of the social function of art. He distinguishes three historical stages of art in its relation with society: sacral art, courtly art,

and bourgeois art. Whereas during the first two historical phases art was fully integrated into social praxis—art as a cultic object and art as a confirmation and consolidation of monarchy—in bourgeois society, art ceased to have any kind of pragmatic function within the social realm. For this reason, as early as the late eighteenth century, art gained an autonomy that, on the one hand, emancipated it from social function, and on the other isolated it from everything else. According to Bürger, bourgeois art might reflect the social deficiencies and problems in bourgeois society or it might function as a wish-fulfillment for the alienated subject who finds in art an imaginary completion of the desires that society cannot satisfy, but this reflection stays firmly segregated in the realm of art, in the symbolic order, and does not cross over into real, everyday life. In response, the avant-garde reacts to art's autonomy and isolation and tries to reintegrate art into life, a reintegration that inevitably would also change life and the social order.[45] The avant-garde is thus defined by its radical opposition to art as a separate institution, which motivates it to sublate (in the Hegelian dialectical sense) art into the praxis of life.

Following Bürger's theory, the historical avant-garde failed on both fronts: the abolition of art as a separate institution and the sublation of art into life did not happen. In his later works, Bürger revised some of these claims and attenuated the statement about the failure of the avant-garde by also assessing its success.[46] The tremendous appeal of the avant-garde—imposing as canonical concepts like rupture, break, or shock, and bringing into the institution of art materials and practices that were thought to be outside of it—radically changed the institution of art. Bürger attributes the avant-garde's ultimate failure to this enormous success: because the avant-garde was overwhelmingly successful *as* art, it failed to unify art and life by destroying art as a separate sphere. We should note here that Bürger's theorization of the avant-garde sets it up from the start for failure: if the goal is to destroy art as a separate sphere, distinct from life, but this is accomplished through the constant creation of works of art, how can the avant-garde project not fail? Bürger is not alone in concluding that the avant-garde failed. Jürgen Habermas, for instance, clearly states to what degree avant-garde experimentation with forms, media, and the connection between life and art, has been vacuous:

> But all those attempts to level art and life, fiction and praxis, appearance and reality to one plane; the attempts to remove

> the distinction between artifact and object of use, between conscious staging and spontaneous excitement; the attempts to declare everything to be art and everyone to be an artist, to retract all criteria and to equate aesthetic judgment with the expression of subjective experiences—all these undertakings have proved themselves to be sort of nonsense experiments.[47]

While Bürger and Habermas conclude that the enmeshment of the avant-garde with politics failed, Jacques Rancière relates the avant-garde to social and political praxis in a different way. Rancière recasts the relation between aesthetics and politics through his notion of the "distribution of the sensible": "aesthetics can be understood in a Kantian sense . . . as the system of a priori forms determining what presents itself to sense experience. It is a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience."[48] Aesthetics and politics are thus seen not as completely separate spheres that can only maintain hierarchical relations—the politicization of aesthetics or the aestheticization of politics—but as domains transversely connected through the "sensible": "Artistic practices are 'ways of doing and making' that intervene in the general distribution of ways of doing and making as well as in the relationships they maintain to modes of being and forms of visibility."[49] This reshuffling of politics and aesthetics leads Rancière to reconsider the political element of "modernity"—which he uses more in the sense of modernism—and the avant-garde, defined by their quest to autonomize the aesthetic through radical experimentation. The distinction that he draws is subtle: instead of viewing avant-garde formal innovation "in a relationship of distant analogy with a political modernity susceptible to being identified, depending on the time period, with revolutionary radicality or with the sober and disenchanted modernity of good republican government,"[50] he assigns the political relevance of the avant-garde to its capacity to invent "sensible forms and material structures for a life to come," to provide "the aesthetic anticipation of the future."[51] The avant-garde's political relevance is thus less a matter of "its ability to read and interpret the signs of history," than it is of "the potentiality inherent in the innovative sensible modes of experience that anticipate a community to come."[52]

This perspective not only revisits the possible conjunction of politics and aesthetics but also restates the issue of the failure of the avant-garde as a project. Unlike Bürger, Rancière does not deny the possible success

of the utopian project of the avant-garde. He inscribes it in a futurity, not in the sense of a future moment in which the promise of the avant-garde for a different life and art will be fulfilled, but rather in the sense of the creation of the possibility, the space, the imaginary (the *sensible* for Rancière) for life experiences yet to be realized. This book brings forth some of these spaces that allow for imagining life experiences yet to come, the experience of the world. And it is precisely reading closely the "sort of nonsense experiment" of the avant-garde work that permits us to see this opened space.

The basic claim that the avant-garde magnified, developed, and distilled conceptualizations of the world that were circulating during its time rests on its treatment, manipulation, appropriation, or reinvention of specific institutions that concretely shaped these concepts. Already, the group formation inherent in the avant-garde replicated in its structure a community that counteracted—or doubled—the larger "imagined community" of the nation or the world. The avant-garde group often reproduces organizational structures that administer these communities: congresses, bureaus, associations. This replication, which sometimes, as we will see in chapter 5, even becomes an obsessive simulation, seems to be tottering between earnest appropriation and parodic reinvention. Should we understand the failed International Congress for the Determination of the Direction and Defense of the Modern Spirit (Congrès international pour la détermination des directives et la défense de l'esprit moderne), the 1922 Congress of Paris, as a replication of so many other congresses that were occurring all over the world after World War I, forming and organizing international coalitions of professionals or ideologues? Was the "Bureau des recherches surréalistes" (Bureau of Surrealist Research) a parody of the politburos that sprouted up everywhere after the October Revolution? Rather than seeking an either/or approach, what seems to be important is that the avant-garde as a whole, and especially in its engagement with the world as a concept, also engaged with the institutions that made the representation of the world possible.

Whereas a certain reading of Bürger's theory of the avant-garde might lead us to automatically dissociate the avant-garde from traditional institutions, the reality of these movements' activities tells us something different. As Sophie Seita points out, "definitions based on an opposition between avant-gardes and institutions are inadequate once avant-gardes are viewed within their 'complex social realities.' . . . Indeed, there are, as poet and editor Charles Bernstein puts it, 'provisional institutions' in the form of small presses, magazines, and reading series,

. . . that offer alternatives to more established or commercial institutions."[53] The chapters that follow highlight precisely such "provisional institutions" that concretely materialized different conceptualizations of the world, altering existing institutions that, within the frame of the nation-state or international administration, actuated versions of the world. Two of them appear prominently: the magazine and the exhibition. It would be a commonplace to restate the paramount importance of the press, newspapers and magazines, for the concept of the nation. The newspaper and the magazine shape in daily, regular reminders a cohesive image of the nation and its world, in a daily "mass ceremony" that ensures a secular imaginary connection with other members of the national community,[54] as well as "a refraction of 'world events' into a specific imagined world of vernacular readers."[55] The avant-garde avidly invested in the periodical press to create and consolidate groups and networks, and to experiment with forms and ideas, but mainly, within the scope of this book, to erode sclerosed concepts of the world and project their own vision. Dada periodicals (chapter 2) in the early 1920s challenged prevalent ideas of internationalism through their proliferation, ephemerality, and highly decentered structure, while the surrealists in the 1930s (chapter 4) revisited the format of the "belle revue" in order to uproot universalism away from the hegemonic shadow of the Western tradition. Likewise, the exhibition became, in the hands of the avant-garde, and specifically of the surrealists (chapter 5), a way to subvert both the museum—a key institution for the nation's rituals of citizenship in the nineteenth century—and the international commercial fair, in its role as a staging of economic and technological inequalities among nations. Periodicals and exhibitions as provisional institutions engaged the collectivity of the avant-garde and pitched it against the collectivity represented by the press, the museum, and the commercial fair, all cornerstones for the conceptual building of the nation and the world. Other attempts to create provisional institutions discussed here include Apollinaire's "new spirit" theater conceived as a civic ritual analogous to Athenian drama (chapter 1), and the reinvented "erroneous" French language of Dadaists and surrealists alike (chapter 3), which took aim at the most revered of all national institutions, that of a correct, homogenous, and common language.

This book is thus divided into five chapters, each taking a specific text, work of art, or cultural manifestation as a point of departure, and each revolving around a key concept for imagining the world. The specter of an imperial nation-state and its institutions on the one hand, and

the provisional counter-institutions mounted by the avant-garde on the other, thread the chapters as they proceed in chronological order. Chapter 1, "A Nationalist World: Futurism, Apollinaire, and the Nation," discusses the impact of nationalism on avant-garde works produced around the First World War, with Guillaume Apollinaire emerging at the center of this discussion. The seeming contradictions in Apollinaire's nationalist perspective, intensified as they were by the trauma of the war, are investigated within the cultural and political context of France's colonial nationalism, but also in relation to Apollinaire's personal trajectory and his entrenchment within the European avant-garde. The first part of the chapter considers the period between 1909 and 1914, which was marked by a series of declarations and theoretical debates among the various manifestations of the European avant-garde, as they aggressively strived to prove their national preponderance on an increasingly unified international scene. The poetry of the same period, however, attenuates this posturing and reveals an ambivalence over this newly unified world-landscape in which modernity is measured and judged, and an agony over not being adequately "modern." This prewar tension, between an assertive nationalist worldview and a persistent sense of (national) lack, complicates narratives of the avant-garde based on the "center-periphery" model, since it shows the Parisian "center" ridden with angst about its own relevance and timeliness in the modern world. Apollinaire's wartime work brings these tensions to a head. In his influential manifesto "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" (1917), nationalist visions of the world take the form of a symbolic peaceful colonial expansion, with France as a universal civilizer that brings the new, experimental poetry to the whole world. This major theoretical text is shadowed by a literary work that stands alone within Apollinaire's production: the 1918 play *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*. This is a multimedia spectacle that addresses a burning national issue, that of France's falling birthrate, and at the same time performs the new aesthetic evangelized in "L'Esprit nouveau." I show how the play brings into the public sphere the impasse of both Apollinaire's nationalist position and his own personal drama, through a deconstruction of the colonial and the gender dynamic. Together these two very different but continuous texts present a vision of the world shaped by nationalist dreams of belonging, despair over the violence of international conflict, and a hope for some kind of world unity. On the surface, the world of this vision offers a sense of heroic expansion; beneath lurks a perception of the world that is disorienting and unstable, and riddled with anxiety.

The second chapter, "Messy Internationalism: Dada, Anarchism, and Picabia's Group Portraits," moves to the period immediately after the Great War and examines Dada's international reach, as practice and as imaginary. Dada's international vision is usually approached by critics in relation to its antinationalism, which was a direct reaction to World War I and its disastrous effects, and is equated with the political internationalism of the Left. In tracing the political roots of Dada's conception of the international, I argue that Dada's internationalism owed much more to the spirit and practices of anarchist internationalism than to the Marxist/communist one. Unlike other internationalisms of the Left, anarchist internationalism presented the paradoxical particularity of resisting the process of internationalization while also embracing it, a reluctance also shared by Dada. I propose that the distinct and prolific practice of Dada periodicals between 1916 and 1924 was an avatar of anarchist print culture as it was shaped during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and America. Like these anarchist periodicals and journals, the Dada magazines collectively performed and propagated a decentered internationalism, inspired by anarchist internationalism, which resisted capitalist global domination while also rejecting any central organization. Francis Picabia has a pivotal role in this discussion, both because of his profuse activity as a magazine editor and because of his artworks, which often took Dada itself as their object of representation. Picabia produced what I call "group portraits" of Dada as a movement, works like *Construction moléculaire* and *Mouvement Dada* (both from 1919), published in magazines, or his monumental canvas *L'Oeil cacodylate* (*The Cacodylic Eye*, 1921), a work comprised of signatures and inscriptions written by his friends. These group portraits offer a visual representation of the Dada movement as an international collective of people. The idea of the network runs through my approach, first in relation to political, and specifically anarchist internationalism, second in relation to the print culture of Dada, and last in the visual representations of Dada as an international network. The nodes of these Dada networks often remained unconnected, while the edges that were supposed to link them melt away or are unclear. I conclude that Dada performed a "messy" internationalism, brilliantly captured in Picabia's works, that resists organization and ultimately may resist internationalism itself.

Chapter 3, "Cosmopolitan Peasants: The Foreignness of the Avant-Garde," discusses instances in which the French avant-garde interlocked with cosmopolitanism and its features, as they were delineated in France

during the interwar period. As mentioned above, "cosmopolitanism" has today become the dominant term in almost all discussions of the ethical, political, and cultural implications of living in a globalized world. This signification for cosmopolitanism is, however, a recent revalorization of a term that was devalued in accelerated ways throughout the nineteenth century, perhaps reaching a peak of contemptuous connotations during the interwar period: "cosmopolitan" was synonymous with being rootless, abstract, *rastaquouère*, elitist, and Jewish. This chapter starts by delineating how the term "cosmopolitan" was used in dominant social and political discourses at the specific historical moment of the avant-garde. From there, I examine how the French avant-garde endorsed some of the negative features attributed to cosmopolitanism for itself, and in so doing appropriated cosmopolitanism, socially constructed as a negative value, and revalorized it, turning it into a badge of honor. The notion of foreignness as a derogatory term associated with both cosmopolitanism and avant-garde production was central in this process. Cosmopolitanism as foreignness bore the stigma of elitism, on both the Right and the Left, of detachment, distance, spectatorship, and of non-belonging. I show how avant-garde artists and writers capitalized on these characterizations, constructing an ambiguous position of detachment and attachment. Francis Picabia's appropriation of the figure of the "rastaquouère," almost synonymous with a shallow and suspect cosmopolitan, in his 1920 book *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*, and Louis Aragon's paradoxical use of the term "peasant," a virtual antonym of the urban sophisticated cosmopolitan, in his 1926 narrative *Le Paysan de Paris* (*Paris Peasant*) are both seen as iterations of a foreign/native polarity lying at the core of discourses on cosmopolitanism at the time. A different version of foreign/native at play within cosmopolitanism was that of language. The French avant-garde movements brought together artists and writers from different linguistic backgrounds who all wrote in French, seemingly harboring French as a homogenizer that created unity but also imposed a linguistic hegemony. I thus consider instances in which non-native French avant-garde writers—Salvador Dalí, Leonora Carrington, and Nicolas Calas—wrote in French, but consciously did so in an erroneous French, creating a language that feels foreign. What looks like an impeccable monolingual operation is sabotaged by errors that become signifiers of cosmopolitanism and, ultimately, of the constitutive foreignness of the avant-garde. What I finally argue is that by cutting through discursive, and ultimately ideological, polarizations that delimited cosmopolitanism, the post-World War I French avant-garde

appropriated a tattered cosmopolitanism and transformed it. Conscious of its own cosmopolitanism as a world posture, the avant-garde injected cosmopolitanism with an ethical and political dimension, thereby providing a foundation for the future revaluation of the concept.

Universalism as a humanist ideal is the focus of the fourth chapter, "*Monstrum Universale*: Surrealism and a New Vision of Humanism," with the luxurious surrealist magazine *Minotaure* (1933–39) at its center. Surrealism was, by far, the avant-garde movement with the widest and longest international life. This prompts the question of why this movement enjoyed such astonishing and enduring success at a near global level. While this is a question with no simple answer, what should be pointed out is that surrealism was, from its inception, "designed" as a potentially global movement. Stripped to its core, surrealism was a deeply universalist project that viewed the human holistically and aimed to counteract other universalist visions of the human, most notably that of the Enlightenment. Against Enlightenment's valorization of reason as an absolute universal value for all human beings, which also implied that the human is understood mostly as Western, male, and healthy, the surrealists sought something different. This was a far-reaching project in which many different possibilities could coexist, but it was perhaps the vastness of this general frame that made surrealism so adaptable, and so appealing worldwide. *Minotaure* was the most accomplished example of this new universalism. The chapter first examines surrealism as a revolutionary rewriting of the French republican universalism of "the rights of man," with a distinctive anti-Western stance informed by ethnography and anthropology. I then discuss the aesthetic iterations of this stance through the visual program of *Minotaure*, and specifically the representation of the human figure in the magazine. The magazine visually and theoretically stages an intense investigation into the human, which leads to a striking new understanding of humanism, one that is as encompassing as its Renaissance and Enlightenment predecessors, but no longer anthropocentric in the same ways. The universal human quality now said to unite us all is not a rational harmonious figure at the center of the world, but rather a being taking its cue from the mythological figure of the magazine's title, who is at once open to the animal- and object-realms, and shares with them certain modes of perception and qualities previously viewed as pre-human or inhuman. The elaboration of this new human hinges on the transformation of the classical tradition of "Greece" from a humanistic topos of universality into a new cultural code for the world. The commonplaces associated

with Greece are displaced from traditional aesthetic values to modernist ones, from "reason" to the "irrational," from "*anthropos*" to the "animal," thus counteracting contemporary fascist appropriations of classical Greece for exclusionary definitions of the human. The surrealist non-anthropocentric humanism that results from these displacements approaches the human in its universal diversity and thereby generates a new understanding of the world itself.

The final chapter, "World Simulated: The Surrealist Exhibition as Critique of the Global," also focuses on surrealism and brings into the discussion the art exhibition as a representational strategy intended to simulate the world—and specifically the 1938 International Surrealist Exhibition (Exposition internationale du surréalisme) that took place in Paris. The 1930s was a period marked by an increased and concentrated effort on the surrealists' part to internationalize the movement widely, an effort reflected in the series of international surrealist exhibitions which were conceived and developed as a powerful tool for achieving this aim. The 1938 exhibition was the first one to make extensive use of installations and environments, with intense manipulation of the exhibition space. The groundbreaking difference between this and other surrealist exhibitions that preceded it, I argue, stems from the fact that it was conceived as international and was, indeed, motivated by a desire to signify this internationality in and through its very structure. The challenge is to see how this international element was represented not as a simple accumulative inclusion of artists with different national provenances, but rather in the show's blend of works of art, objects, and installations, and of aural, olfactory, haptic, and visual environments. I show how the surrealist world that came out of this self-proclaimed international exhibition relied heavily on well-established display strategies that espouse specific conceptualizations of the world: the museum (a national view of the world), the commercial fair (the world as an international capitalist market), and the anthropological museum (a universalist view of the world). Cannibalizing all kinds of conventions and tropes of display, the surrealists created an ephemeral event that simulated the sensory experience of being in the world on the eve of a world war. The previous chapter explored an image of the world in *Minotaure* that was deeply informed by anthropology and by the historical and political context of the 1930s. In this final chapter, the surrealist group stages a somewhat different vision of the world: that of a critique of the rationalized economic and utilitarian view of the global which can only lead to conflict. Together the magazine and the exhibition, these

two different, collective, multi-genre and multimedia objects sketched out the surrealist vision of the world, calling attention to the dangers of globalized capitalism and appealing for a new consideration of the human at a moment of increasing global upheaval. This final chapter closes the book with the surrealists' anticipation of another world war and their answer to it, which remained global but eschewed violence by focusing on enlarging the concept of the human.

Concepts of the World presents an alternative narrative of globalization, punctuated by both exhilaration and angst, and identifies a powerful and distinct political language in avant-garde formal experimentation, one that was capable of expressing this unique ambivalence of living and creating in a globalized world. These movements profoundly shaped the way the world is conceptualized and experienced to this day, pointing to a different iteration of *Le Double Monde*, the doubling of the world: theirs and ours.

CHAPTER 1

A Nationalist World

Futurism, Apollinaire, and the Nation

On November 26, 1917, Guillaume Apollinaire stood backstage at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier in Paris. Apollinaire—alias for Guglielmo Alberto Wladimiro Alessandro Apollinare de Kostrowitzky, born to a Polish mother and an unknown father, a naturalized French citizen for just over a year and a half, bearing a head wound from a shell in the trenches of the Great War, wearing his Croix de Guerre medal on his chest and a leather band around his forehead to hold his skull together after a trepanning operation—waited while the actor Pierre Bertin read his lecture "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" ("The New Spirit and the Poets"). The lecture would be published in *Le Mercure de France* a year later, on December 1, 1918, after Apollinaire's premature death. Its opening lines succinctly summarize the core of his argument, but also set an assured and prophetic tone for the whole text: "The new spirit which will dominate the poetry of the entire world has nowhere come to light as it has in France."[1]

This first sentence contains almost all the building blocks for Apollinaire's argument in this paramount text that was written and perceived as a manifesto. The text not only proved influential for the writers and artists of its time and the new avant-garde generation rising after the war but is also a landmark for our own understanding of the avant-garde dynamics of the 1910s. Apollinaire evangelizes the new spirit in

poetry that will sweep over the world after its birth in France. In envisioning this new lyricism that will do justice to modern life, his horizon is the entire world, and his vantage point is that of his adoptive nation, France. The conviction of the centrality of France for this world-dominating spirit gathers strength as the text progresses, culminating in the declaration, toward the end, that "the French bring poetry to all people."[2] A list of countries and areas enlightened by the new French poetry follows: Italy, England, Spain, Russia, Latin America, North America. The opening toward an international community of poets—who are or will be taught by the French how to bring glory to their own national poetries—is intertwined with a deeply nationalist stance.

The conjunction of a broad perspective on the whole world, united through art and literature, with a consistent national outlook that, not unjustly, can be seen as nationalist is a mainstay in Apollinaire's work. At first sight it seems to be paradoxical, and almost an anomaly in standard critical narratives that equate the avant-garde with a spirit of cosmopolitanism or internationalism. Indeed, scholarship has often passed over such strong national(ist) positions to emphasize the cosmopolitan way of life or conscious cosmopolitan spirit commonly associated with the avant-garde. By the same token, attachment to the national has long been considered as a regressive, antimodernist reflex, or is delegated to a fascist or reactionary modernism.[3] These generalizing readings tend to emphasize the avant-garde's revolutionary political positions, identified from most critical standpoints with the avant-garde's rupture with the nationalist order. However, a closer look at the actual discourses, representations, and ensuing imaginaries of the avant-garde also (and I am tempted to say equally) reveals a continuity with the existing political order and specifically with the ideologeme of the nation. The nationalist inflections of the avant-garde were not limited to those with fascist affiliations and leanings—as in the well-known case of the Italian futurists—nor did they appear only as a consequence of the war. Far from being uncommon, Apollinaire's way of thinking was for the most part generalized within the avant-garde both inside and outside France, before the outbreak of the First World War. While the 1914–18 conflict did broaden or congeal nationalist elements that predated it, it certainly did not make them appear ex nihilo.

Critical literature has been particularly reluctant to address the issue of the nation within modernism without either denying its formative power and persistence altogether (and as a result modernism is presented as an antinational and therefore exclusively cosmopolitan or

transnational discourse), or equating any modernist or avant-garde discourse on the nation with fascist leanings. The only consistent exception to these two alternatives has been studies on the so-called "peripheral" or "deviant" modernisms in Latin America, Asia, Africa, or peripheral European countries like Greece and Ireland. The salient importance of nationalism in these modernist traditions has been "normalized," in a way, as a political positioning within these countries' specific contexts: rather than a reactionary stance, the nationalism of peripheral modernisms is seen as an integral part of the modernizing process, and in the case of previous colonized countries as part of decolonization, and as a reaction to pressures from "central" instances of modernism and the threat of homogenization.[4] In other words, the theoretical substratum operating here is a postcolonial approach that sees cultural nationalism both as a reaction to a colonial (or central) power imposition and as the periphery's means of autonomization, and thus as a rupturing of this power structure. The delegation of nationalism to peripheral modernisms (and avant-gardes) also operates on an implicit assumption that identifies modernism's "center" with a supra-national, cosmopolitan perspective, and leaves the "periphery" with what may be considered as retrograde: nationalist, regressive, "folklorized" versions of "true" modernism.[5]

Over the last years, scholarship has begun to look at nationalism within modernism and the avant-garde not simply as an antechamber for fascism, or as an unmistakable indicator of reactionary positions. Attention has shifted to canonical, "central" modernisms in their entanglement with the idea of the nation, thus breaking their prevalent associations with fascism and reactionary politics. The pioneering works by Paul Peppis on the English avant-garde and its politics before the First World War, as well as Pericles Lewis on nationalism and the modernist novel,[6] show precisely to what extent the nation, as an ideologeme and an imaginary, but also as a political system and a psychological category, has "shaped late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century western history no less than class, democracy, socialism, even capitalism."[7] Within the avant-garde, works that came to be through the push-and-pull of the ideas of "nation" and "the world" prove to be particularly resistant to interpretation, as they seem to combine mutually exclusive concepts. The question, however, is whether these concepts indeed annul each other, or rather, whether the combination of "nation" and "the world" in avant-garde production should prompt us to think these and other categories, such as those of center and periphery, differently.

This question in fact teases out from conventional views of the world or of the global what is hidden in plain sight: the nation. Prevalent perceptions of the world as a unified place informed by the concepts that this book outlines, be it internationalism, cosmopolitanism, or universalism, project this world as some kind of transcendence of the nation. Specifically, within the study of the avant-garde and its politics, such transcendence is equated with the avant-garde's progressive agenda, which leaves the nation—historically fostering inequalities, oppression, violence, and war—behind, to embrace the world as an expression of an exactly opposite political order, that of equality, freedom, and peace. Such views construct the world as an annulment of the nation, or see the relation between the two as similar to Russian dolls: nations nest within a world that supersedes them. If we look, though, at the actual avant-garde polemical, theoretical, and poetic texts alike, we see that such divisions actually fall apart. The compelling views of the world that the French avant-garde produced during the period between 1909 and 1918 do not leave the nation behind, nor do they transcend it. Instead, they transform the symbol of the nation in such a way that it becomes constitutive of, rather than antagonistic to, the notion of the world.

This chapter sets out to explore precisely how this happened; the nationalist global view of Guillaume Apollinaire, a key figure for the French and the rest of the European avant-garde, is the anchor of this analysis, which will follow three threads. The first one is an overview of the prewar competition among European avant-gardes, which culminated with a debate over the paternity of the term "simultanéité," a debate that was played out in largely national(ist) terms. While the polemical texts show an assured belligerence over national preponderance, the poetry of the same period undermines this nationalist competition and reveals an ambivalence over the newly unified landscape of modernity, and an agony over not being adequately "modern." This push-and-pull between nationalist posturing in polemical texts and ever-present uncertainty about one's position in the world implicit in poetry, reveals Paris as a shaky "center" for intellectual world dominance.

The second thread will follow Apollinaire's wartime lecture "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," a key text for understanding his aesthetics and his vision of the world, as shaped by France's colonial expansion; but we will also consider a few of his war poems focusing on colonial troops. In his influential theoretical text, Apollinaire seems to espouse the rhetoric of the colonial "civilizing mission," positing France as the leader of the avant-garde which conquers and illuminates an admiring world.

His wartime poems, however, take the side of the colonized submissive other, whom France and her violence has rendered invisible, complicating thus again the polemical and theoretical positions of the poet.

These issues seem to find their paradigmatic literary materialization in a work that stands alone within Apollinaire's production: the play *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* (*The Mammaries of Tiresias*), presented to the public in 1918, and Apollinaire's only theatrical text performed during his lifetime—and this is the third thread of the chapter. This often-dismissed play drew elements from popular culture, as well as cinema and the theatrical tradition, and had as its goal, according to Apollinaire, to tackle the important national issue of France's falling birthrate. The play, on the one hand, exemplifies the aesthetic positions of "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," while on the other, it stages symbolically both Apollinaire's political positions and his own personal ghosts. The wartime manifesto and the play in tandem repeat and amplify the prewar contradictions between theoretical texts and poetry. Apollinaire openly denotes an expansive world, united by France's superior colonial-like mastery—an antidote to the nationalist carnage of the war. But his highly poetic play connotes a world in which the power of the colonizer is uncertain, as distinctions in the dynamics of gender, race, and even of the metropolis and the colonial periphery, collapse. The three threads of this chapter ultimately sew together another iteration of the "double world," that of a powerful unified modernity, which hides beneath it a world of despondency and anxiety precisely because of the violence that this unification entails.

METRONOMES OF MODERNITY

The First World War did not exactly come as a surprise. Long-brewing wars in the Balkans, as well as the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, were preludes to this war of nations and nationalisms. Within this international climate of escalating violence, the emergence of futurism in Italy via France in 1909 was marked by excessive patriotism and by a clear desire to promote and advertise an art that would be truly Italian. F. T. Marinetti's declaration in October 1911, spurred by the Italian-Turkish war in Libya, is characteristic of this spirit: "Proud to feel that the war-like fervor which animated the whole country equals our own, we incite the Italian government, finally become futurist, to magnify all national ambitions, scorning the stupid

accusations of piracy and proclaiming the birth of Pan-Italianism."[8] The political, and specifically the ultrapatriotic, aspirations of futurism were indeed evident from its very beginning. A few weeks after the publication of the founding manifesto of futurism, Marinetti published in March 1909 a "Political Manifesto for Futurist Voters," in which he advocated patriotism and military expansion for Italy.[9] The 1911 text in support of the war in North Africa was a confirmation of the irredentist, patriotic program of 1909, combined with a rejection of tradition in anticipation of a new era for Italy: "The fastidious memory of Roman grandeur must be erased by an Italian grandeur one hundred times greater,"[10] declared the "Italian Tripoli" manifesto. This vocal political positioning would continue throughout 1913 and 1914 and would include, among other things, activities and performances pushing for the entry of Italy into the war on the side of France. The unambiguous nationalist and patriotic stances of Marinetti and (gradually) of the other futurists rode, however, from the beginning on an intense international campaign, which was inaugurated with the founding manifesto of futurism. Before its famous publication in French in *Le Figaro* on February 20, 1909, that manifesto had already been sent to newspapers and venues throughout Italy, but also to Germany, England, Poland, Russia, Spain, and other countries.[11] As Christine Poggi remarks, this publicizing agenda reflected Marinetti's understanding of modernity in general as simultaneously "nationalist and cosmopolitan."[12]

The intertwining of futurism with Italian nationalist politics was not an isolated occurrence. Paul Peppis shows convincingly how the English avant-garde formed itself to a large extent as a response to the futurists' nationalist and cultural imperialist agenda. He argues that in Britain the Italian futurists were seen as synergizing with the Italian imperial policy of expansion and domination; in the same manner that the Italians were invading North Africa as part of Italian imperial endeavors, the futurists were invading Europe and its capitals to put "Italy on the map culturally."[13] The English avant-garde responded with a pronounced patriotism in an effort to revive and impose English literature and art on the international sphere. The prevailing sense of provincialism that permeated English cultural life was, according to Peppis, commensurate with a general consensus about Britain's declining international status as an imperial power. The country's avant-garde responded forcefully to this cultural provincialism, espousing the logic and discourse of imperial political power. The examples of the vorticist movement and the short-lived magazine *BLAST* are telling in this respect. The vorticist

"Manifesto" in the first issue of the periodical in June 1914 was the terrain on which exterior pressure from Italian futurist tactics met the general climate in Britain, one of discontent concerning its artistic vigor and innovation. Peppis pithily summarizes the goals of the vorticists: "to publicize their movement as England's—and possibly Europe's—premier art group; to revitalize a declining empire as a defense against foreign competition and encroachment—especially the futurists' efforts to 'occupy' the English art market; and to place England's art and literature on a level commensurate with its status as the world's 'greatest' power."[14]

Peppis's explanation for the intensely nationalist, and specifically imperialist, antagonism between the Italian and British avant-gardes hinges on his use of the concept of uneven development. Transferring the term from the economic and technological sphere to the cultural one, Peppis claims that both England and Italy at the beginning of the century "shared an acute sensitivity to evidence of uneven development in the cultural sphere," compared to other European countries. As a result, their avant-gardes overcompensated with "competitive short-cuts" so that they would not be left behind.[15] These shortcuts, for example, Marinetti's adoption of advertising techniques for aggressive publicizing, or the tactics of shock and scandal, bypassed traditional modes of international cultural consecration and attracted a large public. Furthermore, Peppis claims, the avant-garde responded to this perceived "cultural inequality in much the same way that European governments responded to perceived economic, industrial, and military inequalities: they would bring nationalism to the aid of advanced art."[16]

We see that in this compelling analysis, which deploys economic terms to establish a cultural power dynamic of inequality, Peppis actually adopts a logic of "periphery" and expands it to include Italy and, in a seeming paradox, even Britain. Italy's and Britain's perceived "inequality" compared to other European cultures, or their belatedness on the cultural level, consigns them to a periphery from which they now want to escape. At least in the case of Britain, this culturally peripheral position clashes with its economic and political centrality. Peppis's approach, then, in a way follows the general consensus in discussions of nationalism and the avant-garde. When nation and nationalism are associated with a local avant-garde movement, then this local avant-garde should be delegated to a symbolically peripheral position. It is only on the periphery that the avant-garde thinks with the nation; the "true" and "authentic" avant-garde, that of the alleged center, can only think

against the nation. In this logic, Italy and its futurism are seen as peripheral, but, counterintuitively, so are Britain and its vorticism. The logic of this approach is confusing. If the periphery could be ever expanded to include what logically would be a center like Britain, then where *was* the center? And furthermore, was this projected center exempt from the notions of perceived inequalities on the cultural level that supposedly motivated nationalist stances in the periphery?

To answer this question, we should begin with what is missing in the above account of this race for domination between Italian and English avant-gardes: France. Included in the *BLAST* vorticist "Manifesto" are two lists, things to be "Blasted" and things to be "Blessed." England is the first thing to be "Blasted," but what immediately follows is France—the only other country mentioned by name:

> Oh blast France pig plagiarism belly slippers poodle temper bad music sentimental Gallic gush sensationalism fussiness.
>
> Parisian parochialism.
>
> Complacent young man, so much respect for Papa and his son!–Oh!—Papa is wonderful: but all papas are!
>
> Blast aperitifs (Pernots, Amers picon) Bad change Naively seductive Houri salon-picture Cocottes Slouching blue porters (can carry a pantechnicon) Stupidly rapacious people at every step Economy maniacs Bouillon Kub (for being a bad pun)
>
> Paris. Clap-trap heaven of amative German professor. Ubiquitous lines of silly little trees. Arcs de Triomphe. Imperturbable, endless prettiness. Large empty cliques, higher up. Bad air for the individual.
>
> Blast Mecca for the American because it is not other side of Suez Canal, instead of an afternoon's ride from London.[17]

The list of contemptible things about France appears endless, but is complemented by all the commendable things that France has to offer in the "Bless" section that follows:

> Bless France for its bushels of vitality to the square inch.
>
> Home of manners (the best, the Worst and interesting mixtures).
>
> Masterly pornography (great enemy of progress).
>
> Combativeness

> Great human sceptics
> Depths of elegance
> Female qualities
> Females
> Ballads of its prehistoric Apache
> Superb hardness and hardiesse of its Voyou type, rebellious adolescent.
> Modesty and humanity of many there.
> Great flood of life pouring out of the wound of 1797.
> Also bitterer stream from 1870.
> Staying power, like a cat.[18]

The staying power of France in this manifesto, like a cat, shows the importance of French and specifically Parisian cultural production for the *BLAST* group. This becomes evident when in the second "Manifesto" they declare:

> 1. We have made it quite clear that there is nothing Chauvinistic or picturesquely patriotic about our contentions.
> 2. But there is violent boredom with that feeble Europeanism, abasement of the miserable "intellectual" before anything coming from Paris, Cosmopolitan sentimentality, which prevails in so many quarters.[19]

Here, the robust British spirit that the new avant-garde claims to represent is defended against accusations of chauvinism by its opposition to a brand of cosmopolitanism and Europeanism that stems from Paris. The "Parisian parochialism" of the "Blasted" list merges with European cosmopolitanism: the most parochial feature of the Parisian intelligentsia would actually be its professed cosmopolitanism, while cosmopolitanism might as well be another word for "French." Against this trend of cosmopolitanism, devoid of any real substance and, in fact, no more than the Parisian intelligentsia's disguised insularism, the avant-garde of *BLAST* proposes a "universality . . . found in the completest English artists"[20] and based on the seafaring character of the British nation.

The true universalism of the English spirit, as opposed to the fake cosmopolitanism of the French, is a recurrent dichotomy in the "Manifesto," and reveals some of the motivation behind it. In an attempt to define the new English art as that of the North—and not of the South, of the "Latins," in a denomination and division that will be widely used

and propagated during the war in France—this vorticist manifesto establishes a comparison between English and French art. The common points between the two are brought forth as prerequisites for defining the new English "necessary native art,"[21] and also show the ambiguous place held by the French in this cultural geography. Not fully "Latin," as the Italians are—enthralled by their "futuristic gush over machines, aeroplanes, etc."[22]—the French do share some characteristics with the English. "At the freest and most vigorous period of England's history, her literature, then chief Art, was in many ways identical with that of France,"[23] claims the "Manifesto," adding that "Shakespeare and Montaigne formed one literature."[24] For this reason, this section of the text concludes:

> 12. No great English Art need be ashamed to share some glory with France, tomorrow it may be Germany, where the Elizabethans did before it.
> 13. But it will never be French, any more than Shakespeare was, the most catholic and subtle Englishman.[25]

This contrast between French and English runs through the "Manifesto" and is confirmed by the last principle: "The nearest thing in England to a great traditional French artist, is a great revolutionary English one."[26] Whether the *BLAST* "Manifesto" was a satirical one or not—a product of what Martin Puchner calls the "rear-guard," a defensive and reactive form of the avant-garde prompted by the cultural belatedness of the English with regard to the Continental avant-garde[27]—what is certainly noticeable in the text is the reaction and defensiveness toward the French, despite the fact that this "Manifesto," and the magazine *BLAST* in general, are usually read as a reaction to Italian futurism. What the British are measuring themselves against, in the end, is not the Italians, it is the French, who are both despised and admired, similar and different.

The Italian futurists are going by the same yardstick, the French. Futurism's roots in and debt to French literary tradition are well established: Marinetti's symbolist affiliations, his contact and friendship with Gustave Kahn, his early symbolist work, as well as his admiration for Alfred Jarry, are all parts of his thoroughly French literary upbringing.[28] It was through painting, however, and not literature that the competition of the Italian avant-garde with the French avant-garde manifested itself. The first exhibition of futurist painters in Paris, "Les Peintres futuristes italiens" ("The Italian Futurist Painters") took place in Febru-

ary 1912 at the Galerie Bernheim to much fanfare and scandal. This was the first comprehensive exhibition of futurist art that was designed to travel to other European capitals. In the catalog of the exhibition, a text with the title "Les Exposants au public" ("The Exhibitors to the Public") declares that this European tour started in Paris as a "défi," a challenge launched at the French avant-garde, and specifically the contemporaneous cubist movement. The painters Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, and Severini collectively sign this text and write:

> What we have attempted and accomplished, while attracting around us a large number of skillful imitators and as many plagiarists without talent, has placed us at the head of the European movement in painting, by a road different from, yet, in a way, parallel with, that followed by the Post-Impressionists, Synthetists and Cubists of France . . . While we admire the heroism of these painters of great worth, who have displayed a laudable contempt for artistic commercialism and a powerful hatred of academism, we feel ourselves and we declare ourselves to be absolutely opposed to their art. . . . It is indisputable that several aesthetic declarations of our French comrades display a sort of masked academicism.[29]

The futurist painters explain that Italy is at the forefront of world avant-garde painting basically because the Italians have surpassed the French. While acknowledging the admirable heroism of the cubists, the futurists, in a very patronizing way, nevertheless boldly declare them to be an academic movement, which from an avant-garde point of view means dead. The rivalry of futurism with cubism over their revolutionary originality was further intensified by the intervention of Apollinaire and his promotion of Orphism as a division of cubism that included futurism. This pushed Boccioni to insist in the Florentine magazine *Lacerba* in April 1913 that futurist ideas were "our ideas, created by us, which have sprung forth from our pure and inexhaustible Italian genius."[30] Such statements were not simply expressions of rivalry over revolutionary form; they also clearly showed the Italians' defiance of the preponderance of the French avant-garde.

The declarations and reactions of the Italian and English avant-gardes just before the First World War can be seen as proofs of Paris's dominance, of its status as the "literary Greenwich meridian" against which

everyone else measured themselves.[31] However, this picture becomes more complicated once we look closer at the self-perceptions of the dominant culture evoked, namely the French avant-garde. The cultural superiority projected upon the French by the Italians and English alike was already feeling shaky during the first years of the twentieth century. The barnstorming of Paris by the futurists certainly played a role here. This happened at the moment when the cubist visual revolution was taking root, but also at the moment when cubism triggered a considerable public—and political—debate on art as an expression of Frenchness. Public perceptions of cubism were polarized: it was seen either as an assault on the "French spirit" or, on the contrary, as the realization of a truly French modern art.[32] The parliamentary debate in the Chamber of Deputies between the socialists Jules-Louis Breton and Marcel Sembat on whether the French state should permit cubist painters to show their works of "bad taste . . . that risk compromising our marvelous artistic patrimony"[33] in nationally sponsored exhibitions, like the Salon d'Automne, was certainly a highlight of this public discussion. Cubism stood as a cipher both for cutting-edge innovation, the spirit of the modern, and for the nation's (France's) relation to modernity.

The public debate on cubism in France is well-documented, and its history has been told from various perspectives. The debate is generally seen as an indication of the pervasive force of the nationalist discourse that flourished in post-Dreyfus France, ignited by the likes of Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrès. At the heart of the debate was the issue of art as an expression of a national aesthetic and a national character, which often boiled down to determining whether cubism was French or not, whether it was native or foreign—a debate which during the war would morph into whether cubism was German or not, and thus an enemy of France. Arguments in the defense of cubism's Frenchness were centered around its analytical and thus "reasoning" character, which attached it to the classic spirit of French culture in general, stemming from its Latin roots. This (neo)classical interpretation of cubism reached new heights during the war, opposing with its "Latin" origins the barbaric Germanism of the enemy. Other arguments defending cubism's Frenchness claimed something entirely different, namely that cubism in its inventiveness was reviving "indigenous" French elements, Celtic or Gallic, and not "foreign" imported ones, meaning classical Latin or Greek.[34] In this extensive public debate, nationalist rhetoric and sentiment did not align automatically with right-wing politics, or with chauvinistic or xenophobic positions. A strong republican, and even left-wing, post-

revolutionary tradition that identified the "people" with the Gallic element in French national identity discourses found a loud echo in arguments concerning the Celtic roots of cubism. The urge to align the new art, which challenged realist representation, with the values of national identity as they were reshaping themselves after the Dreyfus case was powerful on all fronts.

While this nationalist debate was conducted mainly by critics, some artists intervened decisively, including of course Apollinaire, and especially the cubists connected with the Abbaye de Créteil. These artists' interventions followed the same logic as the general debate over whether cubist antirealist representation was part or not of the national patrimony and character. To this they added an open or a hidden polemic with the Italian futurists, played out also on nationalist grounds. Albert Gleizes, for instance, published in 1913 in the first two issues of the short-lived magazine *Montjoie!*—which bore the eloquent subtitle *Organe de l'impérialisme artistique français* and was edited by Ricciotto Canudo—an article with the title "Cubisme et tradition." Written one year after Gleizes and Jean Metzinger published *Du Cubisme*, this article offers a view of cubism as the apex of true French art which stems from the Gallic and Celtic tradition, and which resisted the Renaissance as a foreign, Italian invasion. Gleize's genealogy of the true French art starts with François Clouet and continues through Philippe de Champagne and Chardin, and up to Cézanne and cubism. The Renaissance of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, contemptuously called "that Italian art," represented the most disastrous assault on French art. It was an invasion from beyond the Alps that brought to France a fascination for anything Italianate, a kind of "pedantic intoxication" that took over the French aristocracy, almost like a brainwashing.[35] Gleize's passionate and high-spirited polemic appears to be talking about the invasion of Italian Renaissance art four centuries earlier, but in fact it is perfectly aimed against the contemporaneous futurists and their claims on innovation. The retrospective legitimization of cubism, by its inclusion in a true French artistic canon created as the polar opposite of "Italian" art, is a transfer of the contemporary rivalry with futurism onto the historical realm.

Apollinaire's reaction to the futurist Italian invasion is also telling. In the article "La Peinture nouvelle" ("The New Painting"), published in his own magazine *Les Soirées de Paris* a few months after the 1912 futurist show in Paris, he claims the autochthonous origin of the new, modern art—saying, in other words, that modern art is exclusively

French: "Today's French art was born spontaneously on French soil. That proves the vitality of the French nation; it is far from decadence."[36] The tone of this declaration on the vitality of the French nation and its art echoes that of Gleizes and seems oddly defensive. This defensiveness strikes a chord with a widespread discourse on France's supposed decadence, developed in parallel with that of its cultural supremacy, from the Franco-Prussian War on. The literary *décadence* of the late nineteenth century, with its insistence on maladies physical and psychological, neurosis, degeneration, and the like within symbolist literature, was certainly an elaboration of this general cultural (and political) trope. Anxiety over the declining birthrate in France was another symptom of this fear of national decadence: during the forty years between 1870 and 1910, Germany experienced a growth in population of 42 percent, while the French population only rose by 8 percent.[37] The anxiety over decadence would be further exacerbated by the First World War but was not created by it. The obsessive concern with the birthrate, for example, would be amplified by the war, as we will see in Apollinaire's *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, but war was not its cause.[38]

Apollinaire's and Gleizes's defensive tone with regard to the value and rigor of French cultural production transmits an anxiety that seems strange coming from what was widely thought to be the forefront of the international avant-garde, the "center" for the cultural peripheries of Italy and Britain. And indeed, this anxiety found perhaps its most paradigmatic and symptomatic expression in another public debate between the French and Italian avant-gardes, this time over the term "simultanéité."[39] In wide circulation between 1911 and 1914 in its various forms—"simultanéité," "simultanéisme," "simultanisme"—the term connotes a perception of space inflected by time and based on contrasts. The philosophical underpinning of this notion should be sought in Bergson's theories of time, which were especially popular among the avant-garde,[40] while the influence of recent scientific breakthroughs such as Einstein's theory of relativity was also palpable.[41] It was in 1913 that "simultanéité" became a hot term of contention between the French and Italian avant-gardes, with bitter attacks that reveal more than a simple quarrel over artistic forms.

In the catalog of the 1912 futurist exhibition in Paris, mentioned above, the Italian painters had insisted that the aim of their painting was "the simultaneity of states of mind in the work of art," in clear distinction from the cubists who were interested only in visual perspectives, like engineers.[42] Here, "simultaneity" was used to describe a fusion of

the dynamism and speed of modern life with the multiple and simultaneous perceptions and subsequent psychological alterations that this new reality entails. The fusion of images from memory and of present images, "the synthesis of what one remembers and of what one sees"[43] which results in a representation of serial stages of motion, was the futurist version of simultaneity. Their understanding of the term and its all-encompassing embrace of modernity becomes even clearer in the 1914 manifesto "Futurist Painting Sculpture (Plastic Dynamism)" by Umberto Boccioni:

> Simultaneity is the condition in which the various elements that constitute DYNAMISM appear. It's therefore the effect of that great cause which is *universal dynamism*. It's the lyrical exponent of the modern conception of life, based on the rapidity and the contemporaneousness of knowledge and communications. If we consider the various manifestations of Futurist art, we see in all of them the violent affirmation of simultaneity.[44]

"Simultanéité" thus quickly became a term used by the futurists as a fundamental aspect of their aesthetic vision.

On the French side, Robert Delaunay also used the term "simultanéité," but in a completely different way. For him, "simultanéité" was associated with a theory of color. Delaunay himself specified that in 1912–13 he invented a kind of painting based on color contrasts that would develop simultaneously over time, though perceived in a single moment.[45] He used the term "simultaneous contrast" to describe it, borrowing from an 1839 color treatise by Eugène Chevreul, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (*On the Law of Simultaneous Contrast of Colors*). The result of this idea was Delaunay's series of paintings called *Fenêtres* (*Windows*), while his shift to "simultanéité" marked his dissociation from cubism, both as a group and as a mode of representation. "It was the reaction of color against the chiaroscuro of cubism," Delaunay notes in 1913, and continues:

> The art of today is the art of profoundness. The word "simultaneous" is a term of the trade. Delaunay uses it when he works with everything: harbor, house, man, woman, toy, eye, window, book; when he is in Paris, in New York, in Moscow, in bed or up in the air. "The simultaneous" is a technic.

> The simultaneous contrast is profoundness seen—Reality—Form—Construction, representation. Profoundness is the new inspiration. We live in profoundness, we travel in profoundness. I am there. The senses are there. And the spirit![46]

For Delaunay too, "simultanéité" was a way to describe and represent the multilayered texture of modern life, albeit in different terms than the futurists' ones.

Delaunay's use of the term "simultanéité," however, and the sanctioning of his method by Apollinaire in *Les Peintres cubistes* (*The Cubist Painters*) with his coining of the term "Orphisme" or "cubisme orphique," did not sit well with the Italian futurists. "Orphism . . . is nothing but an elegant disguise of the fundamental principles of futurist painting,"[47] protested Umberto Boccioni in an article from March 1913, eloquently titled "The Futurists Plagiarized in France." "This is how our colleagues in France pay back the solidarity, the sincerity, and the sympathy that we always had toward them. They copy us and then they pretend to ignore us!"[48] he exclaims in indignation. For the Italians, it is obvious that the French avant-garde is derivative, that it arrogantly copied them and refuses to acknowledge their value and originality. The futurists were somewhat vindicated when a few months later Apollinaire, reporting on the first Salon d'Automne in Berlin organized by the magazine *Der Sturm*,[49] attributed the paternity of simultaneity to them: "Delaunay, who by his insistence and his talent appropriated the term 'simultaneous' which he borrowed from the vocabulary of the Futurists, merits that we call him from now on with the name he signs with: the Simultaneous."[50] The response of the futurists was swift; in an article first published in French in *Der Sturm* and then in Italian in *Lacerba*, they reclaim their dues:

> We see with pleasure that the influence of our powerful DISCOVERIES is spreading, mainly in France and in the work of M. Delaunay, who, obsessed with simultaneity, *specializes in it*, as if it were his own discovery. In addition, we are happy to note that our great friend and ally Guillaume Apollinaire—the audacious poet of *Alcools*—vindicates us on this topic, in his beautiful magazine *Les Soirées de Paris*.[51]

This would solicit more responses from Delaunay and Apollinaire, with the latter maintaining the dominance of France in matters of the avant-garde, as in the following article, again in 1913:

> Now, in France, there is not a single futurist painter as defined by the manifestoes published in Milan. I myself published a manifesto that was not particularly futurist, acclaiming various new experiments, and by publishing it, the futurists simply showed that they do not wish to be excluded from the general striving for modernity that has manifested itself all over the world, but especially in France.
>
> . . .
>
> From an artistic point of view, futurism bears witness to the worldwide influence of French painting, from impressionism to cubism.[52]

Apollinaire asserts that the general quest for modernity is that of one country, France, and that whoever does not want to be left behind should jump on the French bandwagon.

"Simultanéité" thus triggered, for a few months in 1913, an international quarrel that was highly symptomatic of the ideas, hopes, and fears underlying the feeling of "being modern." The fight over "simultanéité," peppered with very explicit national references, with questions of national dominance and of preponderance, of copying and originality, but chiefly of timeliness, epitomizes the state of antagonism between national avant-gardes in 1913. And the term in dispute is not accidental. Denoting a specifically modern perception of time and synchronicity, simultaneity seems to transfer to the representational and conceptual level an ideological, political, and economic issue, that of a perceived belatedness, of a generalized sense of unevenness and of potential inequalities. The question of who invented simultaneity first, the French or the Italians, thus becomes not only an issue of innovation in art, but an issue of modernization, and most crucially, a symptom of an angst over falling behind. "Simultanéité" as a concept brings together space, time, perceptions, and affects, and compresses the feeling of synchronization that the various European avant-gardes shared with that of mutual annulment because of this very proximity. The collapse of space and time embedded in "simultanéité" was readily transferred to the content of the quarrel: questions of territoriality (is "simultanéité" French? is it Italian?) were transposed onto questions of timeliness (who invented it first?). The agitation over the ownership and best representation of "simultanéité" betrays a shared anxiety, both on the French (central) side and on the Italian (peripheral) one, over their modernity. Whoever is the most "simultané" is the most modern, keeping ahead of

all others in a very close cultural race, but perennially weighed down by the fear of being left out. The one who wins this race, French or Italian, gets to be the metronome of European modernity.

David Harvey famously outlines the "time and space compression" of modernity and the crucial importance of the rationalization of time, but also of international time synchronization, for the development of world capitalism and its spaces.[53] A unified time was as important as the sense of a unified space for the smooth and swift operation of capitalism. It was in Paris in 1912 that President Raymond Poincaré hosted the International Conference on Time, which determined, after a long period of world confusion, a uniform method for keeping accurate time and transmitting it throughout the world.[54] It was the radio antenna of the Eiffel Tower that sent on July 1, 1913, the first time signal to be transmitted simultaneously around the world, which made Paris, as one journalist remarked, "the watch of the universe."[55] Harvey remarks that the pervasive presence of clocks in De Chirico's paintings is a manifestation of this new, universal, public time that supplanted private and local time.[56] In fact, clocks also appear quite often in literary works of the period, and specifically in poetry. Along with the visual arts, "simultanéité" marked the poetry of 1913, and clocks pop up in key poems and function as concrete symbols of the ambivalence packed into the term.

Apollinaire's revolutionary opening poem in his 1913 collection *Alcools* (*Alcohols*), "Zone," is structured on a principle of simultaneity. "Zone" is a free verse recounting of incidents in the poet's life, scattered across different times and places, but sewn together by the continuity of the poem and its eternal present. One of these incidents stems from Apollinaire's visit to Prague in 1902, which also produced the fiction "Le Passant de Prague" ("The Passerby of Prague," sometimes translated as "The Wandering Jew"). In both the poem and the story, a clock on a tower in the Jewish ghetto makes a prominent appearance. Its main feature is its backward-moving hands, because the clock face is marked in Hebrew, which is read from right to left. In the poem, this backward clock is associated with rather negative feelings:

> Appalled you see yourself reproduced in the agates of Saint Vitus
> You were sad near to death to see yourself there
> You looked as bewildered as Lazarus
> In the Jewish ghetto the clock runs backwards
> And you go backwards also through a slow life[57]

The poet sees himself in the reflective walls of the church of Saint Vitus in Prague, an incident of unexpected self-recognition. This leads him to a kind of rebirth, like Lazarus, but a rebirth ridden by agony; he is "bewildered" ("affolé").[58] It is this distraught feeling that makes him notice the clock, a time-measuring device going seemingly awry, backwards, which in its turn triggers more memories to be accumulated in the space of the poem. The proximity of the scene of self-recognition with the reference to the clock suggests that the poet experiences a second self-recognition in the Jewish clock, one that points to his own time and timeliness.[59] He is like the clock, they both go backwards, "à rebours," reversing the arrow of time. The clock in this context prompts the poet to contemplate the possibility of his own untimeliness, backwardness, and un-synchronicity. Indeed, the whole poem can be read as an exploration of deregulated time, of conflict between old time—with constant reference to antiquity—and new time, measured by technology, but also as an experience of the jarring juxtaposition of personal and public perceptions of time. Personal time is expressed as the simultaneous existence of all past experiences in the present of the poem, marked by the abundance of time indicators of the now: "now" ("maintenant"), "today" ("aujourd'hui"), "here you are" ("te voici"), and so forth. Public time is measured by the comings and goings of factory workers four times a day or the sirens calling them to work. It seems that all these conflicted temporalities, private and public, but also old and new, antique stasis and modern dynamism, converge upon the paradoxical dial of the Jewish clock, which measures the always future-oriented time by going backwards.

The specific agony created by the Jewish clock is amplified in Blaise Cendrars's contemporaneous long poem, *La Prose du transsibérien et de la petite Jehanne de France* (*The Prose of the Trans-Siberian and of Little Jeanne of France*), also published in 1913. This epic poem appeared in the form of a long sheet of paper that folded like an accordion—or a train schedule—and bore on its left side the dazzling abstract illustrations of Sonia Delaunay, qualified as "simultaneous colors" ("couleurs simultanées"). The book was meant to be the "first simultaneous book," *premier livre simultané*, as it was written on the verso of the cover painted by Delaunay. Simultaneity here is that of the text and image, of perceptions of the visual and the verbal. But the poem is also largely structured on notions of time and timeliness, and, again, clocks appear prominently. Cendrars pays tribute to Apollinaire and his "simultanéité" in different ways, and his reference to "Zone" and the clock in Prague is one of them:

She's asleep
And she hasn't taken in a thing the whole way
All those faces glimpsed in the stations
All the clocks
Paris time Berlin time Saint Petersburg time all those stations' times
And at Ufa the bloody face of the cannoneer
And the absurdly luminous dial at Grodno
And the train moving forward endlessly
Every morning you set your watch ahead
The train moves forward and the sun loses time
It's no use! I hear the bells
The big bell at Notre-Dame
The sharp bell at the Louvre that rang on Saint Bartholomew's Day
The rusty carillons of Bruges-the-Dead
The electric bells of the New York Public Library
The campaniles of Venice
And the bells of Moscow ringing, the clock at Red Gate that kept time for me when I was working in an office
And my memories
The train thunders into the roundhouse
The train rolls along
A gramophone blurts out a tinny Bohemian march
And the world, like the hands of the clock in the Jewish section of Prague, turns wildly backwards.[60]

This passage might describe the chaotic situation ruling train travel before the imposition of standard time, with the conflict of various local times and various railroad times—in 1899, for instance, St. Petersburg used a local time that was two hours, one minute, and 18.7 seconds ahead of Greenwich.[61] But it also evokes an angst over a synchronized world that does not yet seem to have taken shape. The sounds of timekeeping, different for each country, create the simultaneous soundscape of modernity. The train effects the spatial unification of the modern world and is the technological symbol of the new worldwide simultaneous space. However, the train's apparently seamless flow from one place to the other—"the train rolls along" ("le train roule")—is undermined by the jerky dissonances of different times. The cacophony of clocks around the world magnifies the disjunction between a train time

which is always ahead and the sun which stays behind. Varying times, unsynchronized and relentless, break the continuum of modern space, to finally create an image of the world much like the backward clock in Prague: "And the world, like the hands of the clock in the Jewish section of Prague, turns wildly backwards" ("Et le monde, comme l'horloge du quartier juif de Prague, tourne éperdument à rebours"). The world goes backwards despite all the formidable forward thrust of modernity—a thrust that Cendrars poignantly emulates in this breathless epic poem—and one can feel only disarray. The adverb "éperdument," translated as "wildly," succinctly captures the sense of disorientation and dishevelment over the loss of, and quest for, synchronicity—the elusive "simultanéité."

A similar image is conveyed in Apollinaire's poem "Liens" ("Bonds"), chosen to open the collection *Calligrammes*, but published for the first time also in 1913 in *Montjoie!* In the poem, a series of images materialize the idea of the title, either as positive links or as stifling chains. The first of these images is the sound of bells throughout Europe:

> Cords made of cries
> Sounds of bells across Europe
> Hanging centuries
> Rails binding the nations[62]

As in Cendrars, the stringent bells, most likely counting time, unite Europe in the rhythmic movement of the pendular time implied by the "hanging centuries" ("siècles pendus"), at the same time that the chain of railroads binds nations together. To this ominous image of bonds and bondages within Europe is juxtaposed the idea of a few free men who lend their hands:

> We are only two or three men
> Free of all chains
> Let's join hands.[63]

A contrast between technological ties, increasingly modern—trains, submarine cables, bridges—and personal links—friendship, the ties of lovers—articulates the poem and leads to the ambivalent conclusion:

> I write only to exalt you
> Oh senses oh cherished senses

Enemies of memory
Enemies of desire
Enemies of regret
Enemies of tears
Enemies of all I still love[64]

In a world that is highly interlinked in a simultaneity of time and space, the senses are overstimulated, and the poet's task becomes to enhance this stimulation. This realm of heightened senses is the antidote for regret, for longing, for nostalgia and for tears, presumably for things past. However, the poet confesses that all these are things he still loves, and ends his poem with this line: "Enemies of all I still love" ("Ennemis de tout ce que j'aime encore"). The key word here might be "still" ("encore"), the last word of the poem in the original French. The residue of a different time and temporality, a time that the avant-garde and specifically futurist anti-sentimentality wants to forget, this "still" yanks the poet away from the simultaneity of the poem and of his epoch and brings him back to an old temporality at odds with modernity, in a move that might even betray some guilt.

These varying times, conflicted and disjointed, together with the fear of failure to keep up with the time of one's epoch, as materialized in the Prague clock, reveal a disquietude about what it means to be timely, modern, and synchronized with the rest of the world in the vast new international space of "simultaneité." Even if the nationalist fervor of the Italian futurists and the British avant-garde is to be explained by an alleged realization of their own uneven cultural development and belatedness, with their standard of comparison being France, it seems that the French avant-garde, at the period just before the outbreak of the war, was not devoid of similar anxieties. Paris is seen by the Italians and the British as the metronome of modernity, but to the French it appears to be more, in the words of Cendrars, like a "main station where desires arrive at the crossroads of restlessness" ("Gare centrale débarcadère des volontés carrefour des inquiétudes").[65] Here in this image, the metaphor of the train station—the hypothetical home for the Trans-Siberian express, the nesting place for the itinerant's fantasy, the seed of the possibility of voyages around the world, but also the first space where time became modern, or "simultané"—makes Paris into a virtual place of transition. Paris as the crossroads of avant-gardes and anxieties amplifies the main anxiety of the European avant-garde at this moment: an anxiety over being timely, over being modern. The powerful image

of Paris as a crossroads of anxieties, a train station where all the world's trains meet, unveils a center of modernity that is frail.

The quarrel over simultaneity reveals angst on all sides, from the "center" to the "periphery." And while the "peripheral" anxieties, those of the Italian futurists, can be explained as a result of their perceived inequality, the anxieties of the "central" Parisians cannot be explained in the same manner. It could be argued that French anxiety had more to do with the maintenance of the cultural superiority of Paris over the rest of the world, threatened by the Italians—and perennially by the Germans, more overtly so during the war. The antagonism could be summed up as a desire not to fall behind, and the "prize" would be dominance on a "universal" level; the winning nation would set the tone for the whole world. While the polemical texts we have read seem to confirm this description, the literary texts of such leading poets as Apollinaire and Cendrars—note that both were foreigners, both would be naturalized French thanks to their volunteer participation in the war, and both would be severely wounded in the war—change the narrative. What their antebellum poems emanate is a deeply rooted uncertainty and disorientation projected from the personal onto the public, and onto the whole world. This uncertainty seems to contradict the polemic assertiveness of their various paratexts as far as an unproblematic French world-dominance is concerned, and unfolds instead a perception of the whole world, Paris included, as a unified *space* but also as a disjointed *place*. The poems reveal a conflict between the "world" as a projected, continuous *space* provided by technology and modern communications, and the "world" as an experienced *place*, disorienting, disjointed, and contradictory. The avant-garde's polemics and their poetics both speak ultimately to a pervasive sense of backwardness, of belatedness. In the polemics, the avant-gardists defensively refute their untimeliness; in the poems they reluctantly embrace it.

The poets speak indeed of a perceived unevenness, as measured against "others" who threaten to be more advanced, or measured against a modern reality that seems always to be ahead. The sweeping power of this anxiety over the avant-garde requires a questioning of assumptions about Paris's "centrality" in a core-periphery dominance model. These "central" anxieties suggest that perceptions of unevenness and inequality, and the power dynamics that ensue, cut through and across the "center-periphery" model. Within the French avant-garde, the "center" is bound up in this anxiety of timeliness and is thus perceived as unstable, even dispersed. Reliance on a nationalist perspective should

supposedly assuage this anxiety and subsequently strengthen the aspirations of dominance that would launch the French avant-garde confidently onto a world scene. However, the poetry and the debates, read in parallel, show that as the concept of the "world" as a projection of a unified, "simultaneous" space invades, faith in one's position within a specific place (Paris), time (modernity's now), and imagined community (nation) becomes uncertain. Paris, blessed and blasted by the rest of Europe, proves to be an anxious center at the moment of its projected superiority, unsure about its own modernity, sitting uneasily within an increasingly unified world. Paris seems to react almost like a "periphery," projecting the "center" always elsewhere. This may lead us to think that in the modern "simultané" world, everyone, whether "central" or "peripheral," is perpetually ridden by angst over their relevance. The poetry and the debates of 1913 are pointing to an imaginary in which perceptions of timeliness and synchronicity reveal a modernity that is uneven everywhere. The alleged and coveted center is but a crossing of disquieting routes that ultimately link an anxious center with an equally anxious periphery in the nexus of modernity.

THE MISSION OF THE NEW SPIRIT

The life of Guillaume Apollinaire has been inextricably linked with his work, and exhaustively accounted for.[66] Although Apollinaire famously said that "you cannot carry your father's corpse around everywhere you go,"[67] he himself carried this burden throughout his life, a fact that to a large degree conditions interpretations of his work. Reading Apollinaire's texts through the lens of his life, or rather through the mythology that the poet himself created, is a critical mainstay. There is the uncertainty surrounding his illegitimate birth: though his father was unknown, Apollinaire spread rumors about his noble origins. There are also his multinational associations: he was born in Italy to a Polish mother who was thus a Russian citizen at the time, and after having spent some time in Germany and Italy he lived in France, where he managed to officially become a French citizen only during the war, in which he volunteered. There is his implication in the famous affair of the theft of the *Mona Lisa* in 1911—he was arrested and then acquitted—and there is of course the adventure of the war itself, his mobilization, his wounding, and then his untimely death from the Spanish flu a few days before the Armistice. All these events and circumstances irresistibly in-

vite a cross-pollination between literary criticism and biographical or psychological speculation. Many of the events in Apollinaire's life did have a crucial impact on his work, but none as big as the war.

"L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" is perhaps Apollinaire's most important wartime text, and as such, it both reflects and deflects his experience of the war. The text established the term "esprit nouveau" ("new spirit") as almost synonymous with the modern spirit, but this catchphrase was not invented by Apollinaire and did not appear for the first time in the Vieux Colombier. The origins of the expression lie in the political realm, specifically as a call for national unity. The political alignment of moderate republicans with clerical and aristocratic elites in the mid-1890s found its expression in the term "l'esprit nouveau," coined by Eugène Spuller, the minister of public instruction and fine arts in the government of Prime Minister Casimir Perrier. "*L'esprit nouveau*," said Spuller, "is the spirit that tends, in a society as profoundly troubled as ours, to draw all Frenchmen together around the ideas of good sense, justice, and charity. These ideas are necessary for any society that wants to endure. It is a spirit that aspires to reconcile all citizens."[68] This rhetoric of good sense—"bon sens"—and coalition in the face of discord was also to find its cultural expression in Spuller's initiative to organize a Congress of Decorative Arts, through which he wished to show that national art rises above the strife and differences of politics and becomes a national bond of beauty. As he remarked in his speech at the congress, "it gives me great satisfaction to see that despite all sorts of changes, disruptions, revolution, worries of all types, and even the shock waves of violent acts, those men who love great and beautiful things still come together in association."[69] Indeed, Spuller's aspiration to create a sense of national unity through the decorative arts did materialize, for in the period between 1905 and 1914 the decorative arts became another locus of intense contention over the vigor or decline of French national creativity: exhibitions and salons were sites of extreme national pride and acute competition with the Germans.[70] During and after the First World War, the phrase "l'esprit nouveau" would be used in politics again to signify the reawakening of France and the new strength and vigor found precisely because of the war. In 1916 Charles Saroléa points out in his book *Le Réveil de la France* (*The Awakening of France*): "People are talking today about a 'new spirit,' about a dramatic transformation of the French character . . . But this explanation is . . . superficial . . . What we see in France now is not new, but something very ancient and very familiar."[71] The term was thus in

wide circulation before and during the war, with various connotations: novelty but also tradition, national unity and international resonance, transformation and permanence. And although "l'esprit nouveau" had other connotations as well,[72] Apollinaire's source seems to lie in these political discussions and the term's subsequent use in the cultural sphere as a defense of the national cause.

In Apollinaire's own texts, the phrase appears for the first time in English as "new spirit" in a 1913 article on the Salon des Artistes Français, and refers to the groundbreaking 1913 Armory Show in New York and the immense *succès du scandale* of the French artists there:

> There were so many people at the vernissage of the Salon des Artistes Français, that I did not recognize anyone. However, the diplomates, the mondains, the Ecole, and the Americans, were all there. I even saw a few that were nursing in their buttonhole the little green spruce of the "New-Spirit," the *esprit nouveau*, which has just made possible the 395,000 francs sale of French art, from Cézanne to the cubists, in one single exhibition in New York.[73]

Already synonymous in 1913 with the avant-garde that France exported almost as a commercial commodity, the phrase "l'esprit nouveau" would reappear in 1917 in the program of the ballet *Parade*. The ballet was performed in May 1917 at the Théâtre de Châtelet by the Ballets Russes, with a libretto by Jean Cocteau, music by Erik Satie, choreography by Léonide Massine, and decor and costumes by Pablo Picasso, and was a landmark for avant-garde aesthetics.[74] Apollinaire's essay "*Parade* et l'esprit nouveau"[75] in the program claimed firmly that this "modernist spectacle" constituted the first specimen of the new spirit in art:

> This new alliance—I say new, because until now scenery and costumes were linked only by factitious bonds—has given rise, in *Parade*, to a kind of surrealism, which I consider to be the point of departure for a whole series of manifestations of the New Spirit that is making itself felt today and will certainly appeal to our best minds. We may expect it to bring about profound changes in our arts and manners through universal joyfulness, for it is only natural, after all, that they keep pace with scientific and industrial progress.[76]

The elements that Apollinaire would develop in the essay "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" a few months later are already embedded in this passage: "l'esprit nouveau" is constructed as synonymous with a new aesthetic, *surrealism*—a term that was to have an illustrious career within the avant-garde, and which would be further explained in *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*—a joyful aesthetic that would deeply change art.

Moving forward in time, the term "esprit nouveau" would continue its life after the death of Apollinaire in 1918. During the first years of the 1920s, André Breton and the surrealist group still in formation sought to appropriate the term through such initiatives as organizing the (failed) International Congress for the Determination and Defense of the Modern Spirit. However, the term was finally taken over by a different group, the purists, who named their magazine after it: *L'Esprit nouveau* was edited between 1920 and 1925 by Paul Dermée and Michel Seuphor, to be joined by Le Corbusier and Amédée Ozenfant.[77] The "esprit nouveau," originally synonymous with "surrealism," was thus left to the purists who drew up their own brand of modernism, building on Apollinaire's emphasis on clarity, the synthesis of all arts, and the continuity between technology and art, while André Breton and his group finally coalesced around the other term, "surréalisme," emphasizing different elements in Apollinaire's text, such as imagination, surprise, and freedom. "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" thus had a pivotal role in the development of modernism and the avant-garde in France after the war, proving to be the matrix of different perceptions and practices of the "new," and the instigator of groupings and coalescences that desired to unify and express the spirit of the moment.

Looking now at the text, "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" has wide theoretical claims that aim to create a unified vision of what could constitute an avant-garde during the troubled times of the war. In conflating "l'esprit nouveau" with a new lyricism, Apollinaire hoped to usher in a new era of poetry, a poetry for modern times. This new lyricism would take full advantage of technology and would introduce novel verse forms that would be appropriate for the new meanings that modernity had introduced. The main component of this poetry would be surprise: "Surprise is the greatest source of what is new."[78] Together with its bold aesthetic proclamations, the text details an intensely nationalist agenda: the new poetry of the "esprit nouveau" can only be French, and as such, it conquers and wins over the world. Declarations of this sort are a reminder that the text came after three years of war that were predictably marked in the cultural sphere by intensely nationalistic stances—ones

not only pronounced by conservative art critics and intellectuals but espoused by the artists of the avant-garde as well. Positions already outlined before the war were radicalized or shifted their target. If the quarrel over "simultanéité" had initially aimed at the Italian futurists, during the war the French avant-garde fell into sync with the general cultural consensus in France and unsurprisingly found its enemy in Germany.[79] Even the term "simultané" acquired a different meaning. Robert Delaunay's escape to Spain to avoid the war provoked the disdain of Apollinaire, who from a great defender of the Frenchness and originality of Delaunay became his relentless critic. "That simultaneist deserter," wrote Apollinaire, "that sad character abandoned France so that he would not be a soldier."[80] Once the artist who had earned the name "le Simultané" as a badge of honor, Delaunay was now demoted to the pejorative "that simultaneist," worthy only of contempt.

In "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," the claim of France's superiority and its role as a natural leader in the world of letters is explained at length, while Apollinaire deploys the "new spirit" as the main reason for this supremacy: it is the great unifier, it becomes a "universal spirit," and in fact cannot but be French:

> Likewise the new spirit which has the ambition of manifesting a universal spirit and which does not intend to limit its activity, is nonetheless, and claims to respect the fact, a particular and lyric expression of the French nation, just as the classic spirit is, *par excellence*, a sublime expression of the same nation.[81]

In an ardent defense of national literature as the only valuable and possible kind, given that poets are always the children of a milieu, a nation, and a race, Apollinaire dismisses the possibility of a cosmopolitan literature: "A cosmopolitan lyric expression would only yield shapeless works without character or individual structure, which would have the value of the commonplace of international parliamentary rhetoric."[82] The need for a national anchorage for the new literature to come is justified in terms of a necessarily idiosyncratic originality, while a cosmopolitan literature is equated with the rigid administrative discourse of international politics. Against this cosmopolitan parlance, Apollinaire wants to preserve national and local differences as a means to enrich literature: "From ethnic and national differences grows the variety of literary expression, and it is this variety which we must safeguard."[83]

Here Apollinaire follows Rousseau's dictum that "every people have, or must have, a national character. If it lacks one, we must start by endowing it with one."[84] He thus subscribes to the logic of organic nationalism stemming from Romantic notions of the nation, one that had gained new life in France and Europe from the 1890s on, and which subjugated the individual to a "national character."[85]

However, to this initial vision of the world of the new spirit as a plural one that cherishes and pursues national differences, Apollinaire adds another, different take. The universalism of the new spirit that should sweep the world is specified as no less than the dominance of France:

> As far as we know, there are scarcely any poets today outside the French language. All the other languages seem to keep silent so that the universe may hear the voices of the new French poem. The entire world looks toward this light which alone illuminates the darkness that surrounds us. . . . France, the guardian of the whole secret of civilization, a secret only because of the imperfection of those who strive to divine it, has for this very reason become for the greater part of the world a seminary of poets and artists who daily increase the patrimony of civilization. And through the truth and the joy they spread, they will make this civilization, if not adaptable to any nation whatsoever, at least supremely agreeable to all.[86]

France's dominance is accepted and even welcomed by the rest of the world, which sees it as the only source of light in these times of darkness. Apollinaire gives here an interesting twist to the organic nationalist discourse he developed earlier in the text. The organicist equation of national character with race, its imperative of shared blood and culture that supersedes liberal nationalism's idea of citizenship, should lead to the logical conclusion of the importance of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity in a nation. The triumph of this idea would be, in a way, the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, as Eric Hobsbawm remarked: "The logical implication of trying to create a continent neatly divided into coherent territorial states each inhabited by a separate ethnically and linguistically homogenous population, was the mass expulsion or extermination of minorities."[87] We know the tragic historical outcome of this, in the rise of totalitarianism in Europe after the First World War.[88] Although Apollinaire does insist on the unifying power of language and culture, his nationalist vision does not seem to claim ethnic homogeneity. The

image of France presiding over a seminar for the greater part of the world implies an "apprenticeship" of the non-French to the French spirit through the French language. It is sufficient for someone to write in French in order to partake of the glory of France's civilization. Moreover, no matter what its origin, any contribution to this giant seminar for poets that France has become enriches its "patrimony." Here, Apollinaire veers toward a civic conception of nationalism, in which "foreigners" can be integrated into the national community by virtue of a shared culture. This is a long-standing position for Apollinaire, as the few words preceding his 1913 novella *Giovanni Moroni* demonstrate:

> There are now, like in any other country, so many foreigners in France, that it is interesting to study the sensibility of those who, born elsewhere, have come here young enough to be molded by the French high culture. They introduce to their adopted country the most vivid of all impressions, those of their childhood, and they enrich the spiritual patrimony of their new nation.[89]

In this passage and the one from "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," Apollinaire obviously projects his own experience, having himself been in this situation, as an "étranger" born elsewhere and crafted by French high culture. His experience is elevated as a model for national participation and belonging. His way of explaining his allegiance to the French nation thus bypasses racial and biological discourses of origin—otherwise consubstantial with the kind of organicism he seems to endorse.

Following the passage in "L'Esprit nouveau" that presents France as a "seminar" for poets and artists, Apollinaire enumerates instances of the new spirit in the poetry of various nations, as inspired by the French:

> The French bring poetry to all people:
>
> To Italy, where the example of French poetry has given inspiration to a superb young national school of boldness and patriotism.
>
> To England, where lyricism is insipid, and practically exhausted.
>
> To Spain and especially in Catalonia, where the whole of an ardent young generation, which has already produced painters who are an honor to two nations, follows with attention the production of our poets.

> To Russia, where the imitation of French lyrics has at times given way to an even greater effort, as will astonish no one.
>
> To Latin America where the young poets write impassioned commentaries on their French predecessors.
>
> To North America, to which in recognition of Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman, French missionaries are carrying during the war the fertile elements destined to nourish a new production of which we have as yet no idea, but which will doubtless not be inferior to those two great pioneers of poetry.
>
> . . .
>
> The poetic schools, before throwing themselves into heroic adventures or distant apostleships, must mould, strengthen, clarify, enlarge, immortalize, and sing the greatness of the country which gave birth to them, which has nourished and instructed them, so to speak, with what is most healthy and what is purest and best in her blood and substance.[90]

Behind these descriptions, we recognize poets and groups: the futurists in Italy, probably the imagists in England, Picasso as the painter from Catalonia who honors both Spain and France with his art, the Russian cubo-futurists, and maybe Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia as the "French missionaries" in America. The vocabulary deployed to describe these national manifestations of the new poetry leaves no doubt as to the perceived model of world-expansion: France gives the example, the others imitate it. The worldwide movement of this section is centrifugal: Paris, the center, radiates out toward the rest of the world.

This centrifugal world dynamic is an inversion of that deployed earlier by Apollinaire in the last poem of *Alcools*, "Vendémiaire" ("The Harvest Month"). First published in November 1912 in *Les Soirées de Paris*, one month before "Zone," "Vendémiaire" marked a turning point: it was Apollinaire's first poem without punctuation, inaugurating a new era in his poetics. Judiciously placed at the end of *Alcools*, it mirrors "Zone" in many ways. Both are homages to Paris as a telescopic representation of the whole world; however, in contrast to the choppy, "simultané" juxtaposition of worldly scenes in "Zone," "Vendémiaire" involves a narrative based on the extended metaphor of vintage. Paris is depicted as a vast grapevine to which are added the finest grapes of all the cities in France and in the world. The grape harvest of the whole

world comes to Paris which, personified, declares, "Cities of France and Europe and the world I'm thirsty / Come to me cascade into my enormous throat."[91] The entire universe is distilled in the Parisian wine, and the poet himself becomes the recipient of this "alcool": "Listen to me I am the gullet of Paris / If it pleases me I will swallow all of creation / Listen to my songs of cosmic drunkenness."[92] "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes" unfolds a symmetrical reversal of this give-and-take dynamic, as the emphasis shifts from the concentration of resources from around the world to Paris, to the distribution of France's new spirit to the world. In the poem, Paris gulps down the riches of the whole world for its own *rayonnance*—and the world gives happily. In "L'Esprit nouveau," in exchange for these primary cultural resources, Paris gives back: missionaries and apostles bring the French light to the world. The underlying logic governing Paris's connection with the rest of the world in these two texts is undeniably colonial-like. Paris concentrates the material resources from around the world, and then generously gives culture back to the world. Indeed, such phrasings as "French missionaries" ("missionnaires français"), "apostleships" ("apostolats lointains"), or even "the French bring poetry to all people," along with the theme of the distribution of civilization, bear traces of the rhetoric of the "civilizing mission" ("la mission civilisatrice") that accompanied and largely legitimized French colonial expansion.

The concept of the "mission civilisatrice," which was central to the French colonial state, had been in circulation since the 1880s, first in scientific and geographical societies. It was consecrated by the minister of public instruction, Jules Ferry, and came to represent the Third Republic's obligation to civilize, as Ferry said, by "making us masters of the earth . . . spreading, awakening the superior notions of which we are the guardians."[93] During the same period, Jean Jaurès outlined this utopian vision for the French republic in the world: "Wherever France went, they loved her, wherever she only passed through, they miss her; everywhere she spreads her light, she is beneficent; and wherever she does not shine any longer, she left behind a long and sweet twilight to which eyes and hearts are set."[94] A minister of the colonies, Georges Leygues, spoke in 1906 in similar terms: "To colonize . . . is to increase the national capital and the universal capital by lighting in every corner of the globe new hearths of activity, of hope, and power."[95] The consubstantiality of the French republic, specifically the Third, with colonial expansion under the banner of the "mission civilisatrice" cannot be doubted. The promotion of a French model of colonial expansion—

implicitly or sometimes explicitly opposed to the British one—rested on the deeply entrenched idea of France's superior republican values of equality and freedom and her obligation to propagate them to the world, to less civilized, less free, less advanced people who would only benefit from colonization. The "mission civilisatrice," then, appeared from its inception as a natural prolongation of the "rights of man" ("les droits de l'homme") on a global level.[96] The aspiration to unite all people, not only within the metropolitan territory but throughout the world under the ideals of the republic, was indeed a utopian political fiction, but one that would expand even further after the war.[97] The identification between the French republic and colonial expansion would lead in the 1920s to a reflexive understanding of any anticolonial stance as antinational and anti-French[98]—and the surrealists were the avant-garde who would fully attack and dismantle this association, as we will see, all the while riding on the universalism of the "droits de l'homme."

The dependence of "L'Esprit nouveau" on the logic and the discourse of the "mission civilisatrice" is thus another facet of Apollinaire's nationalism. It also sheds a different light on certain aspects of the text, such as its praise of technology. Apollinaire's insistence on technology is usually interpreted as a welcoming of modern material culture and new inventions such as the phonograph and the cinema into the realm of poetry, and thus an avant-garde radicalization of lyricism,[99] but this attitude of his might also be conditioned by the rhetoric of the "mission civilisatrice." The technological and scientific mastery of France was, together with its moral republican superiority, the main reason to colonize, and thus civilize the world.[100] Napoleon's founding of the Institute of Egypt in 1798 set the path that would be followed consistently, at least on the level of its theoretical commitments, throughout the colonial expansion of the Third Republic: bring science, knowledge, and technology to all, which means bring mastery, a synonym for civilization.[101] In a similar spirit, Apollinaire's prophecy of a new and universal lyricism rests partially on his idea of "machiner le monde," "to mechanize the world":

> Can poetry be forced to establish itself outside of what surrounds it, to ignore the magnificent exuberance of life which the activities of men are adding to nature and which allow the world to be mechanized [*machiner le monde*] in an incredible fashion? . . . The poets want to master prophecy,

> that spirited mare that has never been *tamed*. And finally, they want, one day, *to mechanize poetry* [machiner la poésie] *as the world has been mechanized*.[102]

"Machiner le monde," "machiner la poésie": these are ways of achieving, finally, the mastery that poets crave. A fantasy of the machine as the great equalizer, but also as a weapon that secures superiority for those who possess the know-how, underlies the prophecy of a new poetry. Just as mechanization and feats of engineering tamed wild nature in the colonies, to "machine" poetry would mean to tame "prophecy," the visionary but unruly glimpses of a new reality to which poets have access. Both "mechanizations" concern the control of forces once thought to be uncontrollable—nature, poetic vision—and thus their mastery would multiply creative possibilities.

Apollinaire's discursive figures and images of a universal "esprit nouveau" thus stem from the political legitimization offered by the "mission civilisatrice" to the French nation's expansion. Before the war, his nationalism had informed his vision of the international sphere in terms of antagonism: sharp differentiations from other nations and conclusions of French superiority, anteriority, or progress had created the image of a world already in strife, and as we saw, ridden by angst. In "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," a text meant to unify the various avant-garde trends burgeoning before the war and to create both an aesthetic continuity and an international brotherhood after the war, Apollinaire passes to the rhetoric of peaceful colonial expansion. His slide from metropolitan nationalist to colonial nationalist rhetoric is, on the one hand, a symptom of the times. In "L'Esprit nouveau" Apollinaire takes the experience of war, violence, and barbarism and transmutes it into a rhetoric of peace, in the only way available to him as an ardent nationalist: that of the "mission civilisatrice," a peaceful and republican disguise for the violence of colonial expansion. This was not the only time during the war that Apollinaire expressed his fantasies about a nonviolent, universal, and colonial-like expansion of France. A scenario for a propaganda film that he drafted in 1917 with the title "C'est un oiseau qui vient de France" ("It's a Bird Coming from France") is telling in this respect. The story revolves around two scientists, one French and the other German, who share a large prize; the Frenchman devotes his prize money to "the moral amelioration of the indigenous races in the French colonies,"[103] while the German uses his share to make a factory for war explosives and "pledges his fortune to pan-Germanism."[104] This contrast between

good and evil not only develops the *revanchiste* theme of the title,[105] but in fact extends the rhetoric of civilization (France) versus barbarism (Germany) to the way the two countries project themselves upon the world. Whereas the German doctrine is that of a violent imposition of pan-Germanism—and the war is the proof—the French way is that of bringing civilization and moral principles to its colonies, in a peaceful though unmistakably colonial expansion.

But the experience of the war also brought another vision of the colonies for Apollinaire. We should note here that he was placed in the Ministry of the Colonies after his trauma at the front, and served as the editor of the "official bulletin," starting May 21, 1918. This institutional position seemed to complement his long-standing interest in the French colonial world, which also took the form of a collection of what he called "fétiches": African artifacts, twenty-two in all, that he acquired from Parisian dealers.[106] Apollinaire's fascination with these ethnographic objects was expressed in such articles as "Mélanomanie ou mélanophilie," published in 1917,[107] in which he defended the aesthetic equality of African objects and Western art and vehemently rebuked Gobineau's racial theories. Despite this interest, Apollinaire never visited the colonies, and his closest encounter with them would be during the war: the colonial troops that fought for France. This was a marking experience witnessed in two poems in *Calligrammes*: the poignant "Les Soupirs du servant de Dakar" ("The Sighs of the Gunner from Dakar") and "Il y a" ("There Is There Are"). The first poem recounts the war experience of a Senegalese soldier. In a rare move for Apollinaire's war poems, the first person "I"/"je" is not that of the poet but conveys another's voice, that of the Senegalese. Happy memories of an African village are juxtaposed with the absurdity of the soldier's situation in the war. Apollinaire presents the soldier's life as entirely determined by the colonizers' violent imposition—his father fought in the English army, he was a servant in Paris after having served as a guide for the colonial administrator in his country—and concludes:

> I'm a French soldier and so they turned me white
> Sector 59 I can't say where
> But why is it better to be white than black.[108]

Similarly, "Il y a" adopts an external point of view, describing the psychological, anthropological, and material landscape of the front and of the world reshaped by a world war. These are the closing lines:

> There are men in the world who have never been to war
> There are Hindus watching in astonishment the Western landscapes [*les campagnes occidentales*]
> They think sadly of their friends and wonder if they'll see them again
> For we have pushed very far in this war the art of invisibility.[109]

The two last lines are the only ones in the poem that do not start with the anaphoric "Il y a"—or "Il y avait" in the case of the German soldier, who dies—and they are dedicated to the thoughts of another part of the colonial army, the one from Indochina. In both poems, the wonder over the war and its incomprehensibility is voiced by a colonial subject who becomes a French soldier, and thus French for the first time—like Apollinaire himself.[110] Annette Becker remarks that the theme of invisibility and visuality is prominent in these poems: both the Senegalese and the Hindu soldiers are invisible, one is "whitened" by being baptized French, the others sink into invisibility as they powerlessly watch the unfolding of the war.[111] The violence and the draining psychological experience of the war are doubled by that of being colonized: "French" and "whitened" all of a sudden, trapped in the "campagnes occidentales" (both the landscapes and the campaigns of the West) of a war that does not belong to them, the colonial soldiers are subjects who see and observe, but are not seen. The colonial troops, by virtue of their multiple dispossession, become in this way a paradigm of disorientation for all soldiers at the front.

This invisibility granted to the colonial troops in Apollinaire's poems contrasts with the high visibility they acquired both amid the reality of the war and in the popular culture of the period. One has only to think of the wide smile of the Senegalese *tirailleur* on the posters for the chocolate drink Banania that in 1915 covered walls all over France, and created a long-lasting image of the colonized as eternal infant—the same posters that Léopold Sédar Senghor wanted to tear down from the walls of France.[112] This widespread and popular image of the Senegalese soldier is replaced in Apollinaire's poem by a complex and nuanced subjectivity and the deep melancholia of colonial dispossession. In the reality of the war, in addition to being represented as catchy commercial images conveying France's patronizing, yet benevolent, sympathy for the colonial army, the colonial troops came to represent the battle between civilization and barbarism. Constant accusations against the Germans for atrocities in Belgium and northern France were countered by

the Germans accusing the French and British of atrocities committed by the colonial branches of their armies.[113] The Germans, who did not use colonial forces in Europe, denounced the French and British alike for barbarism and an assault on civilization because of their deployment of savage and inferior races in a war between civilized nations. These savages could only be expected to propagate acts of cruelty. In the January 1916 *International Bulletin* of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the German government declared:

> The colored auxiliaries . . . have the savage habit of making war trophies of the heads and cut-off fingers of German soldiers and of wearing necklaces of cut-off ears. . . . The Hindus accomplish their infamies with sharpened daggers . . . It is hard to understand how French commanders, well aware of the barbarous and cruel habits of Senegalese Negroes, could have assigned these men the task of escorting wounded German prisoners . . .[114]

The accounts, real and fictional, of the colonial troops' atrocities and mutilations counterbalanced those of Germans cutting off women's breasts in Belgium,[115] and also served as an attempt to reshuffle the map of civilization and barbarism as it had been drawn and established by the French. The colonial troops became, in these and other accounts, the signifier of war atrocities, and in a way the scapegoat for the astonishing violence of this world war.

In an analogous manner, the colonial troops became the signifier of the violence of the war in Apollinaire's poetry too, but in a reverse manner. Apollinaire's "colonial" war poems read against this background grant humanity to what were, in one way or another, dehumanized subjects. The colonial subject at war is exemplary for any soldier who lived through this violence. Ultimately, the colonial subject becomes the paradigm for a continuous dispossession that the war comes to amplify. The colonial soldier is the lost individual in no-man's land, whose return to an original "home" is deemed to be impossible—much like Apollinaire himself who never had an original "home." Speaking with the voice of the Gunner from Dakar, Apollinaire places himself in the position of the colonized subject: homeless, helpless, a foreigner, prey to violence, invisible. This kind of position is in stark contrast with that of the triumphant colonizer in "L'Esprit nouveau," the brilliant and famous French poet who spreads his light. In the prewar period, it was

the poems that revealed cracks in the exultant polemical texts which presented an assured French national(ist) dominance in the world of modernity: the poems betrayed that everyone felt shaky, "peripheral" in modernity, trying to catch up. Likewise, in these wartime texts, the poems again undermine the polished confidence of the theoretical text, exposing the violent side of colonialism, the violent side of nationalism. The voice of the poet oscillates between the loud proclamation of the civilizing colonizer who conquers the world, and the whisper of the disposable colonized "other," recognizing himself in both. More than examples of mere confusion or opportunistic rhetoric, these inconsistencies seem to condense the political dynamics of the time and merge them with personal positions and anxieties. Apollinaire's debt to contemporary political debates and to the discourses surrounding these positions is clear, while his personal conflicts having to do with his civic status in France, his reputation and acceptance by the public, and with the deeper, unresolved issues of his identity and belonging are palpable. The play that he staged during the war, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, brings all these issues to a head.

THE WORLD IS A THEATER

Staged on June 24, 1917, in the Renée Maubel Theater in Montmartre, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias—Drame surréaliste* was the only play that Apollinaire saw performed in his lifetime.[116] A production of Pierre Albert-Birot's magazine *SIC*, the play created a reasonable scandal at the time and was mostly seen as a failure, especially compared to the Ballets Russes' *Parade*. The decor and costumes by Serge Férat were not as elaborate and remarkable as those made by Picasso for *Parade*, the music by Germaine Albert-Birot was not as memorable as Satie's compositions,[117] and the play itself was confusing, though the story line is simple. Thérèse, a married woman living in Zanzibar, decides to leave her unnamed husband, adopt a masculine persona under the name Tirésias, and enjoy various male activities that were off-limits for women at the time: go to war, become a politician, and so on. In this gender transformation she also undergoes a significant body alteration, which gives the title to the play: she effortlessly loses her breasts, which fly away like balloons. Her husband adopts a feminine persona and stays home, wears Thérèse's clothes, and starts having children—49,051 of them. The play, according to Apollinaire's preface, was supposed to incite the French to

have more children, since underpopulation was one of the chief national problems of the time. And indeed, the husband touts the merits of having a lot of children in a series of burlesque incidents. The story resolves with the return to the marital home of Tirésias/Thérèse, who decides to stay with her husband, but does not take her breasts back.

From a thematic point of view, the play places the natalist cause at the forefront, reflecting widespread national fears over the declining vigor of the French nation. The battle of the sexes as represented by the married couple has been readily interpreted as both an antifeminist[118] and a feminist[119] stance on the part of Apollinaire—who was himself an ardent feminist and supporter of the suffragette movement.[120] It definitely filtered changes in social life provoked by the war, namely the massive wartime entry of women into the workforce, their subsequent empowerment, and the change in family power dynamics.[121] From a theatrical point of view, the play is a clever rewriting of the typical bourgeois plot of a boulevard drama—a husband, a wife, a conflict, a reconciliation—while it also takes over a tradition dating from Aristophanes and his plays of gender reversal, like *The Women Celebrating Thesmophoria* or *The Assemblywomen*, or even *Lysistrata*.[122] The play impressed Francis Poulenc, present at the premier, enough to compose his homonymous opera in 1947, which preserved the plot but placed the action in 1912 instead of 1917, and in Monte Carlo instead of Zanzibar in order "to avoid exoticism."[123]

The premier was attended, as one journalist noted, by "futurists, cubists, fauvists, dentists, well, the whole literary menagerie"[124] and was advertised as follows:

> An event by *SIC Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, First play by Guillaume Apollinaire (first performance) The spirit of the avant-garde (à propos of cubism, futurism, and nunism) Contradictory conference (Pierre Albert-Birot).[125]

The announced "conférence contradictoire" by Albert-Birot did not take place, while the initial date announced on the invitation, June 10, was corrected by a *prière d'insérer* written by Apollinaire himself, who detailed the play as "the first private performance of *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, a sur-realist drama in two acts and a prologue by Mr. Guillaume Apollinaire, music and costumes according to the *esprit nouveau*."[126] The program of the premier had on its cover a sketch by Picasso depicting a (probably circus) woman standing with a whip in

front of a horse, an etching by Matisse (*Nu*, from 1906), and poems by Max Jacob ("Périgal-Nohor"), Jean Cocteau ("Zèbre"), Pierre Reverdy ("Mao-Tcha"), and Pierre Albert-Birot ("Poème en rond"). The announcement of the play and the diversity of artists featured in the program show clearly that the play was meant as a materialization of the "new spirit," in its ambition to unify the vital forces of the Parisian avant-garde. And indeed, all Paris was present at the premier, in a meeting of older and younger generations: Paul Fort, Jules Romains, André Billy, Paul Dermée, Max Jacob, Juan Gris, Diego Rivera, Gino Severini, Jean Metzinger, André Lhote, Jean Cocteau, Jacques Doucet, Francis Poulenc, the very young André Breton, Philippe Soupault, Jacques Vaché,[127] and Louis Aragon all duly attended, some with enthusiasm and others with disappointment.

The premier was raucous; the critical reception was almost unanimously negative, dismissing the play as silly and weak, with some notable exceptions that lauded Apollinaire's lyricism and humor.[128] The reception by fellow artists was often sympathetic, and even enthusiastic in Cocteau's case, though one instance of a rather hostile reaction stands out, adding another chapter to the cubist wars. A group of painters identifying as cubists, namely Metzinger, Gris, Rivera, Lipchitz, Hayden, Lhote, Kisling, and Severini, signed a declaration that appeared in the newspapers *Le Pays* and *Le Bonnet Rouge* on June 27 in which they repudiated, as cubist painters and sculptors, any association between their work and certain "literary or theatrical fantasies." They made a point to formally declare that the *SIC* performance had nothing in common with their own research and endeavors.[129] This fairly aggressive statement coming from close friends of Apollinaire, and at the very least from representatives of a movement that he had repeatedly defended, has been correctly decoded by Kenneth Silver within the frame of the relentless, ongoing public war against cubism seen as a movement of foreign, and specifically German origins.[130] In this regard, the operational term in their declaration was "fantaisie," condensing the fear of the artist signatories, all of them foreigners save for Metzinger, of being associated with frivolous, non-serious, and thus antinational activities.[131] In a climate that was increasingly hostile toward anything that might suggest lack of depth, the cubist avant-garde comprised by foreigners distanced itself from another foreigner's seemingly silly conception of the avant-garde, in order to protect itself.

The terrain was doubly treacherous around *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, for underlying what seemed the burlesque story or the "fantaisie"

was a serious national issue: France's declining birthrate and a decreasing population, Apollinaire put this at the forefront in the "Préface" that he added to the published version of the text in January 1918. This preface is a theoretical text that continues and completes in many ways "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes." It includes the first attempt to define the new antirealist aesthetic outlined in "L'Esprit nouveau," described now by the neologism "surréalisme," but it also develops a theory of theater and its social function. Apollinaire explains that the subtitle of the play, "drame surréaliste," was chosen with the Greek origins of the word "drama" in mind, signifying action. Putting together the ancient term "drame" with a neologism, "surréaliste," Apollinaire claims to win back reality, but without deploying an imitative, trompe l'oeil representational strategy. In his now-famous words Apollinaire explains: "When man resolved to imitate walking, he invented the wheel, which does not look like a leg. In doing this, he was practicing surrealism without knowing it."[132] The pairing of an ancient term with a neologism also condenses the "new spirit" that the play represented: while solidly anchored in tradition, it reaches for the new. The metaphor Apollinaire uses to explain the adjective "surrealist" is also significant; the reproduction of a bodily action, walking, by a mechanical device, the wheel, is seen as a representational and thus an aesthetic move. This transformation of the organic and bodily into the mechanical is part of the fantasy encompassed by "machiner le monde/machiner la poésie," and to some extent underlies the play.

Not fearing to characterize the play as a "fantaisie," Apollinaire boldly asserts in the "Préface" that he is not certain of its seriousness: "I can't decide whether my drama is serious or not."[133] Underscoring the generic indeterminacy of his play—lyric, farce, tragedy, review—Apollinaire places it in the vein of the medieval *Farce de Maistre Pierre Pathelin* on the one hand, and Athenian comedy on the other. Developing this latter ancestry, Apollinaire declares: "I wrote my surrealist drama for the French, just as Aristophanes composed his comedies for the Athenians."[134] The parallel between Athens and France is in sync with the general classicizing discourse of the period, claiming the Greco-Roman heritage for France. This was a move already amply exploited in "L'Esprit nouveau," in which references to Greek myths, from Minerva springing from Jupiter's head to Icarus, support Apollinaire's idea of the prophetic function of literature: the Greeks imagined human flight in the myth of Icarus, and now this had become a reality with airplanes; literature imagines what is not yet possible. But at the same time, the

rapprochement with Athenian comedy overtly suggests Apollinaire's political understanding of theater as civic engagement. Comedy had a specific function in Athenian democracy, that of keeping political power in check with the help of laughter and satire; through fantastic plots, often with absurd or miraculous elements, the dysfunctions of civic life were brought to light. Comedy and tragedy were prominent civic rituals for the Athenian democracy, enacting in the space of the theater the power and unity of the demos, and performing on the stage the polis's capacity to reflect upon itself. Apollinaire's ambition is thus wide. His conception of the theater rhymes with his idea of the function of the avant-garde, which is that of social relevance. This is the position that runs through "L'Esprit nouveau," which envisions a poetry that would create a complex aesthetic object on a par with the complex collective entities that animate modern life, such as the nation, or the crowd:

> The rapidity and simplicity with which minds have become accustomed to designating by a single word such complex beings as a crowd, a nation, the universe, do not have their modern counterpart in poetry. Poets are filling the gap, and their synthetic poems are creating new entities which have a plastic value as carefully composed as that of collective terms.[135]

The new poetry should then create "new entities" that would correspond aesthetically to the intricate social reality of modernity. Appropriately, then, the theater of "the new spirit" should create the conditions for the collectivity to reflect on its institutions, values, strengths, and weaknesses. The public, collective experience of the theater should thus be a reenactment of civic community, identified moreover with national community: "I write for the French," insists Apollinaire. This reenactment, however, cannot be a straightforward mirroring, as in realism, but rather an avant-garde enhancement of reality.

Seen in this perspective, the insistence in both texts, "L'Esprit nouveau" and the play, on the need to found a new realism, coined as "surréalisme," is not only a matter of a new aesthetic but also a matter of conceiving a different kind of social engagement for poetry. The "surrealism" of "the new spirit," as it was partly materialized in *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, does away with a theater that creates an illusion of reality. Already in "L'Esprit nouveau" Apollinaire warns against the lure of any

"imitative harmony," a reproduction of reality that would result in a trompe l'oeil art, or "trompe-oreilles" in the case of music. Instead of this kind of illusionist mirroring, facilitated greatly by technology like the cinema, he proposes a new realism, one that will be described as "surréalisme" in *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*. In the lyrical prologue of the latter, spoken by the "Director," a transparent persona for Apollinaire himself, he elaborates this new realism by opposing the idea of traditional illusionist theater as a "slice of life"—"une tranche de vie"[136]—to surrealist theater *as* life itself. This theater would no longer be a representation of a small piece of life, but "nature itself."[137] The cacophony and jarring juxtapositions of modern life, its absurdity and surprises, should become the characteristics of modern poetry, and theater should follow suit:

> I'm trying to bring a new spirit to the theatre
> A spirit of joy ecstasy virtue
> Instead of this pessimism aged at least a hundred
> A ripe old age for a thing so tedious
> The play was written for a traditional stage
> For they wouldn't have built us a new one
> A theater in the round with two stages
> One in the middle the other like a ring
> Round the audience would give us scope
> To display our modern art to the full
> As in life often linking unrelated
> Sounds gestures colours shouts noise
> Music dance acrobatics poetry painting
> Choruses actions and multiple sets[138]

Apollinaire imagines here a new theatrical space with a double stage, apt for the theater of the new spirit: one central and one peripheral, one that concentrates the spectators' attention, and one that observes and surrounds them.[139] Apollinaire's vision of a revolutionary theater thus evolves on several different levels at once. On one level, there is the new theatrical practice with surprising combinations of genres and media. On a second level, there is the new configuration of theatrical space with the unfolding of action in two concentric scenes. And on a third level, there is the new representational strategy, surrealism, which rejects illusionism in order to delve deeper into reality. This triple operation is a concerted effort to create a radically new theatrical experience that

would depart from that of mimetic realism in order to approximate the experience of modern life—theater not as a slice of life but as life itself.

Apollinaire's quest for a new kind of realism should be seen within the context of the new reality created by the acute crisis of a prolonged war. Illusionist realism, as a representational strategy against which Apollinaire rebels, had once created a stable universe that reproduced the perceived immutability of the social order. The war shattered any sense of stability, and as a consequence, realism based on logical continuity and coherent narration was defunct too. What Apollinaire proposes instead, his brand of "surrealism," is a type of representation that will replace order with disorder, coherence with surprise, stability with uncertainty. While his "surrealism" corresponds to a reality that was indeed riddled with disorder, surprise, and uncertainty, Apollinaire does not adopt the paradigm of reflective mimesis: the new realism is not to be simply a reflection of the disorder around it. Instead, the loss of coherence and stability in modern reality is transposed to the structure of representation itself. This new structure of representation will function with uncertainty, instability, and surprise as its mechanisms of production.

The fact that this wide and ambitious antirealist project revolves around a play that puts forth a specific ideological position should give us pause. Apollinaire's innovative vision cannot but be inextricably connected with the theme of this hapax play: the rebirth of the nation. At first sight, a nationalist subject matter seems to be the obvious choice for a "new spirit" play, conceived by Apollinaire as a kind of "provisional institution" which should be in the service of the nation, following the Greek dramatic tradition, and should offer a reenactment and reflection of the national bond. However, the new realism, indeed an antirealism, which runs toward the unexpected and verges on dissolution, is at conceptual odds with the specific social and political frame that Apollinaire created for himself, that is, the nation. The ideology of the nation runs on concepts of continuity, coherence, and unity that Apollinaire's "surrealism" rejects on principle. There is thus a fundamental oxymoron at the heart of *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, since the play cannot be "surrealist" and nationalist at the same time. And some of these clashes were perceived already at the first performance. The generic medley of the play that made it into a "fantaisie" triggered a defensive reaction on a part of the avant-garde as we saw, a reaction that more or less suggested that one cannot play around with such serious issues as national rebirth.

The idea of the double stage in two concentric circles also brings to the fore the incompatibility between the nationalist theme and the

actual play. The doubling of the performance space hints at a spatiality that is at the same time focused and dispersed, central and peripheral, here and there. Apollinaire was very conscious of the indeterminacy induced by this doubling. On the back of a sketch he made of this concentric configuration of the two stages, he wrote "Partout et nulle part,"[140] everywhere and nowhere. The new scene would give the impression of being everywhere and nowhere at the same time. This spatial simultaneity reproduces modern life, but it also recalls the disorienting prewar feeling of being caught between the idea of a unified space and the experience of a disjointed place. Theater as a totalizing, synthetic art that re-creates modern life via a combination of genres and tones should also be a reproduction of modern spatiality. Apollinaire talks about this in "L'Esprit nouveau" when he wonders why poets cannot be freer with space at a time of telephones, radio, and airplanes. Thanks to new perceptions of the global introduced by new technologies, there was a sense of being both in one place and everywhere in the world at the same time. However, this everywhere ends up feeling like "nowhere," as Apollinaire's scribbled note implies. The universal double space of the theater seems to lose its specificity and becomes, indeed, no-place. What would this fickle and indeterminate spatiality imply for the nation as the horizon and ultimate content of the new theater?

The indeterminacy of place goes beyond the thought experiment of an imagined double stage and is actually central to *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*. At the beginning of the play the location is described as "Zanzibar today,"[141] a locality that is evoked, according to staging instructions, by objects recalling the dice game called zanzibar: "The market-place in Zanzibar, morning. The set shows houses, a view of the port and a number of items which should give the audience some idea of the game of zanzibar. A megaphone shaped like a dice-shaker, decorated with dice, stands at the front of the stage."[142] The reality of the place Zanzibar dissolves into a verbal pun, "zanzibar" as dice game, and locality has become a game of chance already from the beginning. Along with allusions to dice, Zanzibar as a country is present through the pronounced exoticism of the costumes and general manner of the actors. Thérèse, her face blue, wears a dress printed with monkeys and exotic fruit, prompting Louis Aragon to exclaim: "On her dress, all the fruits that we love, those whose names sing of the tropics, those who defy by their strange words our memories, those that no one has named yet."[143] In the 1917 premier, the character named "People of Zanzibar" was played by one silent person, always present on the scene, who

produced all the sound effects of the play; he had half his face painted black and wore a costume resembling Native American attire. The idea of half-black and half-white is reinstated with the children born to Thérèse's husband: half are black, half are white.[144] This exaggerated exoticism incited Peter Read to suggest that the choice of Zanzibar was inspired by the need for a generally exotic "elsewhere" that might serve to sharpen a satire of one's homeland, in the tradition of Montesquieu.[145] Zanzibar may have been chosen as a place that is nowhere and everywhere, like the theater's double stage, a no-place place that signifies an indeterminacy, further enhanced by other elements such as the Husband's intermittent "Belgian accent," or the meteoric presence of an American journalist.

This indeterminacy and instability of place is also central in one of the subplots of the play. In parallel with the plot revolving around Thérèse/Tirésias, the unnamed Husband, and their change of gender, the fourth scene of the first act features two more characters: Presto and Lacouf. Armed with cardboard Brownings, they engage in a verbal joust about their whereabouts: Lacouf claims that they are in Paris, while Presto insists they are in Zanzibar. The disagreement ends in a duel, and both of them are shot dead by the People of Zanzibar. They rise and are shot a second time, after the People of Zanzibar has placed two placards on each side of the stage:

PLACARD FOR PRESTO

First he lost at Zanzibar
Now Monsieur Presto's lost his bet
Paris is where this is set

PLACARD FOR LACOUF

Monsieur Lacouf won nothing
The scene is set in Zanzibar
As the Seine is set in Paris[146]

PANCARTE POUR PRESTO

Comme il perdait au Zanzibar
Monsieur Presto a perdu son pari
Puisque nous sommes à Paris

PANCARTE POUR LACOUF

Monsieur Lacouf n'a rien gagné
Puisque la scène se passe à Zanzibar
Autant que la Seine passe à Paris.[147]

These two inscriptions do not solve the issue about where the action is situated: they claim that we are in Paris and in Zanzibar at the same time. The fight over Paris or Zanzibar and the duel are repeated in the sixth scene. Presto and Lacouf fall dead again, only to get up and escape from the policeman who wants to arrest them. The puns and homophonic plays between "Paris/pari," "scène/Seine," and "Zanzibar" as place and as a dice game that underlie these two scenes incite Daniel Albright to characterize the whole play as a kind of Saussurean drama "in that it shows a domain of arbitrary names, indeed a whole world of misnomers."[148] He furthermore sees in the "zibar" of "Zanzibar" an anagram of Paris, and thus posits Zanzibar as a distortion of Paris: "Zanzibar is both a displacement of Paris and a defamiliarization of it, a recombination of its elements in a dice game the size of the whole stage, where nothing is ventured and nothing is gained."[149] This idea of stalled progress, as well as the duel over territory and place names and Presto and Lacouf's following dialogue in the sixth scene, all converge into an evocation of the war:

PRESTO:
I'm getting tired of being dead
To think that some people
Think it's more honourable to be dead than alive

LACOUF:
Now you see you weren't in Zanzibar

PRESTO:
And yet one would wish to live there
But I'm disgusted at us for fighting a duel
There's no doubt that people view death
With too kindly an eye.[150]

It seems as if the two characters were trapped in an endless repetition of the same murderous act over an absurd argument about territoriality.

The instability of place that they introduce—neither here nor there—rhymes with the no-man's land of the trenches and the front, the vast, contested territory—was it French? was it German?—that was the scene of the war, but was also nowhere. One must recall that the First World War not only brought an unprecedented degree of violence because of the mechanization of warfare but also deprived the battlefield of heroism. The combination of the new weaponry with the vastness of the terrain of the battlefield made any kind of survival almost purely a matter of chance.[151] This dehumanization of violence is captured in the duels of Lacouf and Presto and through the shootings administered by the silent, collective, impersonal People of Zanzibar, while the randomness of death is evoked in the absurd and seemingly random, pre-Dadaist repetition of the duel-death-resurrection.

The question of "Zanzibar or Paris" is thus more than a multilayered game of puns and sounds. The reference to the dice game certainly creates a dialogue with a modernist poetics stretching from Mallarmé—*Un coup de dès* (*A Throw of Dice*)—to Max Jacob—*Le Cornet à dés* (*The Dice Cup*)—which deploys dice as a symbol for poetry and its relation to reality, and specifically for poetry's formative power over reality. Zanzibar, then, seen in this way, becomes the domain of poetry, the elusive place in which the new poetry shapes the real, akin to Mallarmé's sinking ship, which is saved or doomed by a throw of the dice. But the ongoing dilemma between Zanzibar or Paris, along with an evocation of the war, undermine the stability of place: it is here, there, nowhere, everywhere. A sense of unpredictability and disorientation enhanced by the idea of the dice is central to the play.

The indeterminacy and uncertainty of place is replicated by the uncertainty and indeterminacy of the body. Thérèse's body undergoes a radical transformation in the first scene, when she loses her breasts, "birds of frailty" ("oiseaux de ma faiblesse"), as she says.[152] It is a mutilation welcome on her part because this, together with the beard and the moustache that she suddenly grows, make her into a man and liberate her from her conjugal burdens. The bodily transformation of Thérèse, although beneficial to her, may be reminiscent of contemporary rumors, widespread among civilians, of German atrocities during the war, according to which the Germans cut off women's breasts. But we can also see in Thérèse's bodily mutilation Apollinaire's own wartime experience of violence, of which his wounded head held together with a leather band, as if preserving some kind of post-traumatic self-coherence, was a constant reminder. It wasn't just the wound itself but also the medical

procedures, the trepanning and X-rays, that left a vivid impression on Apollinaire. In "L'Esprit nouveau" he marvels at the new technology that can actually see inside his head: "*But there is nothing new under the sun?* It remains to be seen. What! My head has been X-rayed. I have seen, while I live, my own cranium, and that would be nothing new?"[153] The X-rays focused on his body are the proof of the absolute novelty of modernity which opens new creative pathways for poetry. And one example of the new is this little story in "L'Esprit nouveau":

> That is why I imagine that, if women could bear no more children, men could make them, and why in showing it to be so I express a literary truth that could only be termed a fable outside of literature, and I thus cause surprise. But my supposed truth is no more extraordinary or unbelievable than those of the Greeks, which show Minerva coming armed out of the head of Jupiter.[154]

Here we recognize immediately the summarized plot of *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, which is associated with the Greek myth of Minerva born from a man's head. Jupiter's pregnant head joins the fantasy of male fertility that is played out in *Les Mamelles*, but also recalls Apollinaire's own fractured skull, in an interesting triangulation. Apollinaire's head, wounded and open, like that of Jupiter's, open and giving birth, joins the Husband's body giving birth to thousands of children.

This fantasy of male fertility, or reproduction without women, is not new for Apollinaire. Androgyny or male pregnancy also appear in an episode of *Le Poète assassiné* (*The Poet Assassinated*), but maybe more interesting are the relevant comments in "L'Esprit nouveau," in which birth without a mother is associated with the machine. Apollinaire exclaims, once more, over the mechanical aspect of the modern world: "The air is filled with strangely human birds. Machines, the daughters of man and having no mother, live a life from which passion and feeling are absent, and that would be nothing new?"[155] The description of the machine as a daughter of man without a mother recalls Francis Picabia's 1916 painting *Fille née sans mère* (*Girl Born without a Mother*) depicting a machine part, probably from a steam engine, as well as his drawing of another mechanical device with the same title published in the magazine *291* in June 1915, and of course his 1918 collection *Poèmes et dessins de la fille née sans mère* (*Poems and Drawings of the Girl Born without a Mother*). This vision of mechanical reproduction would

be further elaborated by Marcel Duchamp in a different way in *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors*. All these works betray a shared fantasy among the male avant-garde artists of the period, connected to male procreation. For Apollinaire specifically, this fantasy is again part of his concept of "machiner le monde/machiner la poésie." In *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, the almost industrial number of the Husband's progeny makes procreation into a kind of mechanical reproduction in line with Apollinaire's mechanistic fantasy. Indeed, this fantasy determined even Apollinaire's self-image after his traumatic wounding in the war. The poet often referred to the star-shaped wound on his head as his "telephone device" ("appareil téléphonique"),[156] projecting in this way a mechanized vision of his traumatized body. Apollinaire's body gets to be "machined" by the war, is transparent thanks to X-rays, and functions like an antenna thanks to its mutilation. And his "machined" body is one that can give birth without a woman, or one that itself may have been born without a mother.

The latter permutation of this fantasy had already appeared in earlier poems, as in "La Petite Auto," the first of the war poems in *Calligrammes*. This poem describes the beginning of the war exactly as Apollinaire experienced it, leaving Deauville and returning to Paris in a car, "la petite auto," with André Rouveyre.[157] By the time Rouveyre and Apollinaire arrive in Paris from the French countryside, the future theater of a massacre, the mobilization has started and they are no longer the same, they are new men. This is the ending of the poem:

> And when having passed that afternoon
> Through Fontainebleau
> We arrived in Paris
> Just as the mobilization posters were going up
> We understood my buddy and I
> That the little car had taken us into a New epoch
> And although we were both grown men
> We had just been born.[158]

Apollinaire is reborn without mother (or father), with the car as vessel for this birth, in a surprising rewriting of the opening of Marinetti's "Manifeste du futurisme" ("Manifesto of Futurism"). Recall that in this founding document Marinetti creates the mythical origins of futurism by recounting a car accident that threw him into a ditch, where he experienced a "rebirth": "O mother of a ditch, brimful with muddy water!

Fine repair shop of a ditch! How I relished your strength-giving sludge that reminded me so much of the saintly black breast of my Sudanese nurse."[159] Marinetti's symbolic rebirth out of maternally figured technological and industrial detritus—mixed, interestingly, with colonial references—changes direction when he, with a single caress, resuscitates the dead car.[160] As Christine Poggi remarks, this passage is symptomatic of Marinetti's—and to some degree, of futurism's in general—fantasy about the male body and its fusion with the machine, but also of the instability of gender identification in its alignment with the human/machine couple.[161]

In Apollinaire's case, these fantasies about fertility, procreation, gender instability, motherless birth, and male pregnancy that run through the avant-garde of the period all seem to revolve around a deeper existential question that openly preoccupied him throughout his life, having to do with his own uncertain origins, his unknown father, his unknown genealogy: Where do we come from? Who are our parents and how do we relate to them? And furthermore, where do we belong? This question of origin, either within the family drama or on the broader level of community or the nation, underlies *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* and binds together all the iterations of the question of identity: family identity, civic identity, sexual and gender identity, racial identity, national identity. In this respect, the choice of Tiresias as the central symbolic figure of the play is more than apt, since he is a hinge for both questions of sexual differentiation and the universal question of human origins. Tiresias, the oracle of Thebes, appears in Greek tragedies, most prominently in Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* and Euripides's *Bacchae*, but also in the *Odyssey*, and had a rich mythological tradition woven around him, as narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[162] He also gained a prominent position in modernist poetics thanks to his presence in T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* and in Ezra Pound's first "Canto."[163] Tiresias attracted modernist attention mainly as a figure of mediation and transgression, especially in the realm of gender and sexuality. Recall that, according to the myth, Tiresias changed his sex from man to woman and back to man, a metamorphosis that either happened seven times or every seven years. In the myth, Tiresias's sexual change is closely associated with his gift of mantic power: his capacity for prophecy is due to his sexual indeterminacy. Prophetic power is often linked with poetry, a commonplace that routinely associates the figure of the poet with that of the prophet. Apollinaire did so in "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," in which the new "machined" poetry will tame and master what had been uncontrollable

until then, the poet's capacity for prophecy. The "machined" body of Thérèse/Tiresias in the play can then be seen as an incarnation of the new poet, the poet of "l'esprit nouveau."

In addition to being a figure of transgression, Tiresias is inextricably connected with the figure of Oedipus. In Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex*, Tiresias first refuses to help Oedipus's investigation of the murder of his father, knowing all too well that the culprit is Oedipus himself, and then in a fit of anger he reveals to him the truth—but Oedipus does not believe him. Indeed, Oedipus and *Oedipus Rex* loom behind a genealogy of avant-garde theater that Apollinaire consciously continues, after Alfred Jarry's archetypical *Ubu Roi* (to which *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* owes a great deal), but also after Marinetti's early futurist play influenced by Jarry, *Le Roi bombance* (*The Feasting King*) from 1905.[164] These plays detour and subvert the figure of Oedipus, a gesture that is appropriately avant-garde since it questions the symbolic order of the father.[165] In Apollinaire's homage to this recent avant-garde tradition, the weight is displaced from Oedipus to Tiresias, from the king to his seer, a displacement that marks a shift regarding the fundamental questions embedded in the Oedipus myth. Claude Lévi-Strauss's classic structuralist analysis of the myth interprets it as a negotiation of human origins:

> The myth has to do with the inability, for a culture which holds the belief that mankind is autochthonous . . . , to find a satisfactory transition between this theory and the knowledge that human beings are actually born from the union of man and woman. Although the problem obviously cannot be solved, the Oedipus myth provides a kind of logical tool which relates the original problem—born from one or born from two?—to the derivative problem: born from different or born from same?[166]

The thematics of *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* corresponds with the deeper structure of the Oedipus myth, but its constitutive elements are reshuffled. Apollinaire's Tiresias seems to absorb some of the symbolic functions of Oedipus, and becomes a figure on which both personal and political questions of identity converge. The question "born from one or from two?" becomes "born from a mother or a father?" while the question "born from different or the same?"—the unresolved question of autochthony—in Apollinaire becomes a question of the composition of the national community. The basic stakes of the play is the rebirth

of the nation, and the solution given through Thérèse/Tirésias and her/his refusal to continue the biological reproduction of the nation is a "mechanical" one: the husband bears children, but in fact what is implemented, as we saw, is a fantasy of mechanical reproduction. This solution is aligned with the anti-biologistic elaborations of the national community in "L'Esprit nouveau," while it resonates with Apollinaire's own personal ghosts.

Apollinaire's modern rewriting of a classical myth, that of Tiresias, after the trauma of the war and through his coming to grips with the question of his own origins, results in a play that on the surface is a piece of nationalist propaganda imploding with humor and laughter, but which underneath has an unresolved, almost tragic undertone that undermines both its nationalist coherence and its burlesque lightheartedness. Tiresias himself proves to be ideal for channeling these unresolved dilemmas and situations. Tiresias's mythic figure is a mediator on many fronts.[167] As a seer, he mediates between gods and humans. His blindness belies his foresight. In the underworld journey in the *Odyssey*, Tiresias is the only one among the dead who can converse with Odysseus, warn him about his future, and even instruct him about divination; by virtue of this he is a mediator between the living and the dead, life and death. Most notably, though, as we saw, he is a mediator between female and male. As a figure of mediation and transgression of what should be strict dichotomies, Tiresias is also an object of repression. As Luc Brisson remarks, "people, his peers, do not recognize him as one of their own, and for this reason do not believe him, they make fun of him and sometimes even insult him."[168] One can imagine how this quality would resonate with Apollinaire, "le mal-aimé," especially at the specific moment when, according to witnesses, his trauma had changed him. Cendrars remembers that after his trepanning, Apollinaire was unrecognizable and had developed an almost childlike vanity.[169] Tiresias, as more than a general symbol of the poet, becomes a persona for Apollinaire himself: as an unrecognized prophet and a mediator between the seen and the unseen, man and woman, the organic and the mechanical.

This state of mediation and of maintaining two mutually canceling positions at once seems to be an iteration of the prewar *simultanéité*, but now inscribed not only as an anxiety over time and belatedness, but as an anxiety over bodily existence itself. Simultaneity is somatized in a kind of extreme and extremely personalized territorialization and spatialization. This acute somatization cannot but be the result of the

war as a radical modification of the interaction between the personal and the public realms, played out on the body itself. In *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, the theoretical spatial organization of the theater as a spectacle of simultaneous action on two stages, one central and one peripheral, is transposed thematically onto the indeterminacy of a place that is simultaneously Paris, the center, and Zanzibar, a projected colonial periphery. Ultimately, this stage and place indeterminacy are projected onto the human body and its imagined possibilities: man and woman, machine and human. We see then that the imagined coloniality of Zanzibar is neither incidental nor anecdotal. It becomes a structural element of the play, a necessary "otherness" or opposite pole to "Paris," a "periphery" opposing the Parisian "center" which, along with other polarities, like man/woman, is finally annulled. The primordial couple Husband and wife (Thérèse) switch to become Mother and Man (Tirésias) and then switch back to unspecified roles. Thérèse will not take back her breasts, symbols of her frailty and her motherhood. Will she be the Mother? Or will the Husband continue to spawn? Are we in Paris or in Zanzibar? These questions remain unclear.

Les Mamelles de Tirésias is indeed a materialization of the new spirit in poetry. It is a specimen of "machined" poetry, but it also stages a "machined" world, one that is not determined by "nature" or biology but by the imagination which can create a wheel in response to a walking leg. As a play about how to achieve national rebirth, about the survival of the nation after a severe crisis, it gives a surprising solution. Paris or Zanzibar, metropolis or colony, black or white, man or woman, speaking with an accent or not—none of this matters for the nation to be reborn. The celebratory final chorus of the play underscores precisely this new community that is ever changing:

> So sing from morn till night
> And scratch wherever you itch
> Feel free to go for black or white
> It can be fun to switch
> Just mind to get it right [*Suffit de s'en apercevoir*][170]

The results of the Husband's mechanical reproduction are children black and white; the couple, Thérèse/Tirésias and Husband, defies biological determinism in their sexual roles, while their offspring defy biologism as a basis for national community. All that matters is to perceive change as something good—"suffit de s'en apercevoir." Blaise Cendrars,

a friend and fellow combatant, saw exactly this when he described the "dream of MAMELLES" finally realized, in the moving poem he wrote for Apollinaire upon his premature death:

> Apollinaire is not dead
> You followed an empty hearse
> Apollinaire is a magus
> . . .
> He was astride the hood of an American truck and waving an enormous international flag spread out like an airplane
> LONG LIVE FRANCE
> . . .
> And look a new generation is rising
> The dream of the BREASTS [*MAMELLES*] is coming true!
> Little French children, half English, half Black, half Russian, a bit Belgian, Italian, Annamite, Czech
> One with a Canadian accent, another with Hindu eyes
> Teeth face bones joints lines smile bearing
> They all have something foreign about us and are still part of us
> Among them, Apollinaire, like that statue of the Nile, the father of the waters, stretched out with kids that flow all over him
> Between his feet, under his arms, in his beard
> They look like their father and go their own way
> And they all speak the language of Apollinaire.[171]

The "language of Apollinaire," the language of the avant-garde, is that of the new spirit, of a newly "machined" poetry. As such, it is the great unifier of the Tiresian children of all races who are part foreigners but are also "de chez nous" (translated as "still part of us"). Cendrars's multicultural dream is obviously inspired by the play, while the cry "Long live France," "Vive la France," which cuts the poem in two, between the before and after, the old and new generation, appears as a shortcut for summarizing Apollinaire's oeuvre at the moment of his death. A happy solution to Apollinaire's personal drama, a happy solution to France's war trauma, changing composition, and changing position in the world, this hopeful message further elaborates the dynamics present in "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes." The effacement of difference between one/other, man/woman, human/machine, black/white, Paris/Zanzibar, and center/colony creates a vision far less hierarchical than the clear metropolitan center–colonial periphery model in the "L'Esprit" essay. In the essay,

ultimately both the nation and the world onto which the nation is projected as a colonial power are mutually strengthened: world expansion empowers the nation, and the nation empowers the world. This is a reciprocity that does not entail equality: what remains as the main motivating power is the nation, and the "world," the "periphery," whatever lies beyond the centrality of the nation, cannot but be a projection of it. In the play the dynamics are different, as the interaction between the "nation" and its "periphery" verges on interchangeability: the one can replace the other or switch positions, in a reciprocity that now brings equality. This interchangeability cannot but ultimately undermine the power of the nation (and also of the male or the human as opposed to the female or the machine) as a unique, irreplaceable, and homogenous symbolic order.

As with prewar nationalist visions of the world, which are clearly expressed in the polemical and theoretical texts of the avant-garde, the positions of "L'Esprit nouveau" are attenuated once they are translated into the poetic realm. Both prewar and wartime polemical texts absorb the social and political imaginaries and discourses and function as distillers of the cultural and political currents of their time. Poetry, on the other hand, complicates this straightforward narrative, and offers instead a prismatic vision in which political imaginaries are often twisted into unexpected trajectories and generate new, and sometimes radical, imageries. Both the prewar and wartime poetic representations of supposedly nationalist visions of the world paint a counterintuitive picture. It is not the "world" that is undermined, as a rootless, abstract formation, in favor of national allegiances of belonging; rather, it is the nation that becomes uncertain as the world invades it. At a moment of intense nationalist strife, when the world seemed only to exist as the background for international violence nourished by absolute confidence in the nation's power, what comes out of the nationalist poetic visions of the French avant-garde is an uncertain and unstable nation, invaded by an equally unstable world.

Apollinaire's idea of founding a poetry that would convey new entities of collective value indeed comes true. And the new entity conveyed by this new poetry of the avant-garde is that of an anxious world, but a world nevertheless, that results from the dialectics of the national and the global, not as mutually exclusive categories, but rather as mutually informing notions.

CHAPTER 2

Messy Internationalism

Dada, Anarchism, and Picabia's Group Portraits

"Tzara and I made big plans about his coming to America," wrote Jane Heap, publisher of the *Little Review*, in a 1925 letter. She continued: "We want to have his play and we want the world—here is some thing—exactly Tzara—he intends to make a tour around the world—at dinner he said, adjusting his monocle, with a most worried face, 'I must have a globe—could I get one that would fold up so that I could take it out and look down and then put it back flat in my trunk'—then we got all busy, inventing a globe—we finally decided upon a balloon, that would have all the countries assembled in one spot, all the oceans together."[1] Heap wrote this letter at a moment when Dada had ceased to exist and Tristan Tzara—a Romanian Jew who had arrived in Paris after a successful stint in Zürich during which Dada took shape in the raucous performances of the Cabaret Voltaire—was flirting with surrealism. His idea of a world tour never happened and we do not know if the balloon-globe was ever made, but this desire to "invent the globe" was a mainstay in Dada.

A few years earlier, on May 11, 1921, Tzara's former Dadaist friend, Francis Picabia, had very publicly declared his separation from the Dada movement, in an article in the journal *Comoedia* with the self-explaining title "M. Picabia se sépare des Dadas"[2] ("M. Picabia Separates from the Dadas"). The article came after a series of events that

marked an increasing rift between Picabia and the Parisian Dada group, a rift revolving mainly around the issue of who owned Dada, what Dada should be, and what should happen to it. Picabia declared that "you have to be a nomad, go through ideas the way you go through countries and cities,"[3] implying that in 1921 Dada was no longer nomadic, and therefore why he left. The power of Dada, Picabia says, the reason it spread internationally like gunpowder on fire, was because it did not take itself seriously:

> The Dada spirit only really existed from 1913 to 1918, a period in which it did not cease to evolve, to transform itself . . . By wanting to continue, Dada retreated into itself . . . Dada, you see, was not serious, and it is for that reason that, like a trail of gunpowder, it reached the world; if some people now take it seriously, it is because it is dead.[4]

Dada was alive when it was constantly changing and mutating, when it was open and not enclosed on itself, when it was a nomad, going through ideas like a nomad goes through cities and countries, and that is how it got to the world.

Picabia identified the period from 1913 to 1918 as Dada's life span, a period when he himself lived like a nomad and created like one. It was during this time that he edited the magazine *391*,[5] infusing the periodical with this nomadic quality, as its place of publication changed along with the itinerant displacements of its editor: New York, Barcelona, Zürich, Paris. Picabia's presence in Switzerland at the beginning of 1919 also caused some of this dynamic movement to rub off on what was initially a more "sedentary" magazine, *Dada*, published by Tristan Tzara and the Zürich Dada group. *Dada* was aesthetically transformed through Picabia's intervention, as it adopted a bold typography that enabled a new interaction between image and text. *391* and *Dada* were two of many Dada magazines published during the movement's heyday. The paramount importance of magazines for the avant-garde and modernism in general has been extensively explored, especially as vehicles of their internationalization.[6] Renato Poggioli pointed this out when he stated in his influential *Theory of the Avant-Garde* that, in the extended war metaphor that the avant-garde incarnated, magazines could be likened to its soldiers.[7] For Dada in particular, it is difficult to overstate the centrality of magazines for the formation, dissemination, theorization, and evolution of the movement as a widely international one. More

than any other avant-garde movement, what is striking about Dada is the sheer volume of magazines that it produced in different countries and languages during its relatively brief lifetime. Dada magazines sprouted up in various parts of Europe and in New York, sometimes printing just one issue, and often as essentially one-person operations.

In fact, no other art movement has generated so many magazines in such a short period as Dada. One obvious explanation for this proliferation is Dada's decentralized spirit. As opposed to more centralized groups like the surrealists, who would only sanction one magazine at a time, in 1920 alone, for instance, the Dada movement in Paris had six different magazines in circulation, while a couple of others were announced but did not materialize. More than simple vehicles of the Dada spirit and ideas, however, we have to think of Dada magazines *as* the Dada movement itself, in the sense that it was in the magazines, in their organization, editing, collaborations, content, format, and structure, that the Dada movement actually happened. The Dada magazine was not an afterthought or a mere vessel for circulating ideas. Instead, ideas, concepts, strategies, experiments, debates, and fights were occurring within and because of the magazines. The act of conceiving, writing, soliciting contributions, typesetting, producing, and distributing the magazines was Dada in its actual occurrence. The logic should thus be inverted: it was not Dada that generated an unusual number of magazines, it was this unusual number of magazines that generated Dada. And if we invert this logic, we can also approach Dada's internationalization differently. Dadaist groups and their practices resisted a centralized organization of their internationalization; instead, the real vehicle, operator, and signifier for Dada's internationalization was the magazines. All these magazines were very consciously international, as they were addressed and disseminated to an international public, and they declared openly and in different ways their international commitment.

In this chapter, I will discuss Dada's idiosyncratic international reach in relation to the political internationalism of the Left. More specifically, I approach Dada's internationalism first as practice and imaginary through its very distinctive print culture, and then as representation through the visual artworks that depict Dada as an international movement. I will start by outlining Dada's international vision, which is usually explained as an aspect of its antinationalism, and as a direct reaction to World War I and its disastrous effects—a very different reaction from that of Apollinaire. Dada's rejection of the nation and nationalism is often understood in critical literature as a version of political

internationalism, and is contextualized in socialist and communist discourses that called for the demise of nationalism in the name of an internationalist utopia. In tracing the political roots of Dada's conception of the international, I argue that Dada's internationalism owed much more to the spirit and practices of anarchist internationalism than to the Marxist/communist conception of internationalism, which became the dominant model for political internationalism after World War I and the October Revolution, while anarchism's clout waned. Anarchist internationalism, unlike other internationalisms of the Left, presented the paradoxical phenomenon of resisting the process of internationalization while also embracing it, and Dada's internationalism displayed a similar reluctance.

The second section of this chapter looks closely at the "provisional institution" that actualized this reluctant internationalism: Dada periodicals. The magazine emerges as the paradigmatic Dadaist object, the site that actually created Dada as an internationalist movement. The distinctive print culture of Dada—prolific, ephemeral, decentered or polycentric—performed the movement's internationalism without institutions, just as the anarchist press had done for anarchism at the turn of the century. What I propose is that anarchist print culture, which arose as the main institution for organizing and propagating the anarchist movement, was the model for Dada's deep investment in periodicals as pragmatic forms which allowed and shaped its decentered internationalist existence.

A central figure in this chapter is Francis Picabia, as he was involved in many Dada magazines, but also because he depicted Dada as an international movement in his artwork. Indeed, Picabia's conception of Dada as a nomad, and the constant cross-fertilization of text and image in his work in an effective representation of boundary-crossings, spilled over into his pictorial renderings of Dada as a movement, which are discussed in the final section of this chapter. In these representations which I call "group portraits" of Dada, the names of the movement's makers stand for their presence and role. These group portraits include two 1919 drawings published in magazines, *Construction moléculaire*[8] and *Mouvement Dada*,[9] as well as his more monumental, less ephemeral, but very unconventional 1921 canvas *L'Oeil cacodylate*, a work he completed in Paris during his split from Dada, and comprised of signatures and inscriptions written by his friends. Because of the mechanical elements included in the first two of these works, they are usually grouped with Picabia's "mechanomorphs," images of machines and

mechanisms. *L'Oeil cacodylate*, on the other hand, is seen by critics as a unique work, at the same time individual and collective, visual and textual, aesthetic and performative, and is rarely associated with the two drawings in the periodicals. All of them, however, offer a visual representation of the Dada movement as an international collective of people. All of them render the Dada group in a way that eschews traditional portraiture to concentrate on names and the representation of the relation and connections among these names, spread on both sides of the Atlantic. All of them visually enact a conception of the Dada group in its international existence.

What follows is a triangulation of Dada's internationalism, Dada's periodicals, and Dada's self-representations, the three of which, taken together, delineate Dada's conception of its world, its particular "inventing of the globe." The scopic imperative of holding the world on a piece of paper expressed by Tzara—"I must have a globe" which folds up and can be looked at—was partially materialized in Picabia's work. There, Dada's internationalism boils down to the group, Dada's international network slowly dissolves into nodal points, the people of Dada, without clear edges connecting them. Through this triangulation, Dada emerges indeed as a series of clustered networks with often unconnected nodes, which finally perform a "messy" internationalism that resists organization, and ultimately questions the concept of internationalism itself.

INTERNATIONALISM WITHOUT AN INTERNATIONAL

Dada's almost contagious spread from one country to the next is captured in the quote from Picabia who likens it to a line of gunpowder catching and spreading its fire rapidly throughout the world. "World" might be an exaggeration, since Dada only circulated through European countries—Switzerland, Germany, France—and New York. Yet the Dadaists did see a world in this circuit, and at the time they were often perceived by a weary public as having a menacing global reach. Tristan Tzara's memorable axiom pithily conveys the imaginary of Dada's viral-like expansion, both as a boon and as a threat: "Dada is a virgin microbe" ("Dada est un microbe vierge").[10] Dada is both a foreign body that contaminates like a microbe and spreads uncontrollably, and a pure, untouched and untouchable entity. Dada is both autonomous in its virginal self-sufficiency, and parasitic in its microbial expansion. This paradoxical combination of autonomy and parasitism suggests a

menace, coming mainly from the unfixed position that Dada seems to occupy, perennially eluding definition, but also assimilation.

Indeed, Martin Puchner points out that in the public reception of Dada, the only characterization that remained constant was that it came from elsewhere, that it was foreign:[11] "Dada is always elsewhere imported and transient, redirecting the print cultures that had created the imagined community of the nation-state into a multilingual and nonnational direction."[12] In France, Dada was associated with Germany, or Dadaists were seen as Jews, and thus perennially foreign: the *Nouvelle Revue française* of September 1919 referred to Dada as "nonsense . . . that comes to us directly from Berlin."[13] André Gide in April 1920, also in the *Nouvelle Revue française*, said of Tzara: "They tell me that he is a foreigner. I am easily convinced. A Jew? I was going to say that."[14] Many articles in the larger nonliterary French press at the time repeated these same characterizations. "These people, one fine day, set up shop in Paris, seeking publicity with a barbarous violence and a cynicism akin to Bismarck,"[15] smirked a newspaper from Bordeaux. Another article, from Nantes, with the programmatic title "Le Dada du Boche" ("The Dada of the German") went even further: "Such thoughts are not *French*. Our clear and logical spirit, our constructive temperament, could not birth them and could not accommodate them. The theory of the *tabula rasa* is *nihilist*: it is a theory of the Asian, not of the European. It is the hatred towards our civilization, it is, in the old days, the horror of the Barbarian toward the Greek culture."[16] In 1920, when Dada was in full swing in Paris, it was perceived not only as German but as somehow Asian, having thus invaded and assimilated half of the globe. Some critics understood, though, that what Dada was doing was contesting the nation in general, not France in particular. In a 1921 article that rekindled the issue of "l'esprit nouveau" with the title "L'Esprit nouveau dans le domaine publique" ("The New Spirit in the Public Domain"), the author claimed with remarkable lucidity: "To be honest, this is less of an anti-French movement and more of an antinational movement, directed in each country against whatever represents the specific genius of its language and the particular twist of its spirit."[17] The fact that such reactions to Dada also came from the provincial press and not just from Parisian newspapers underscores the wide-reaching perception of the anti-Frenchness and antinationalism of Dada. While Dada's action was located in Paris, anti-Dada reaction spread throughout France in a national coalition of defense against what was seen as a threat to the national bond.

In the 1920s, Dada's resistance to cultural assimilation was interpreted as foreignness by a disquieted post-World War I public; today, critical assessments of the movement's elusiveness turn to the concept and the practice of the network. Dada is often described by contemporary critics as a network that connected cities, rather than countries, as hubs of Dada activity. This narrative became more or less canonical with the blockbuster exhibition "Dada: Zürich, Berlin, Hanover, Cologne, New York, Paris," which took place in 2006 at the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, and the Museum of Modern Art in New York. "Part of Dada's radical achievement lies in imagining a global network of artists of diverse nationalities,"[18] declares Leah Dickerman in the opening paragraphs of the catalog for the exhibition. She elaborates on this idea by describing Dada as "diffuse . . . with activities in a handful of city centers created by networks of itinerant, often politically displaced artists of diverse nationalities," and she adds: "In one of its most important innovations, Dada fashioned itself as a network, a web of connections linking actors and local groupings, which served as a conduit of ideas and images."[19] Henri Béhar uses the same metaphor, describing international Dada as "a web of relations beyond frontiers, in other words, a network with loose and flexible meshes."[20] The "network" enables us to understand Dada as an international, but loose and nonhierarchical avant-garde phenomenon, one resistant to assimilative discourses.

While the network is overwhelmingly the dominant schema adopted by scholarship to describe Dada's international practice, the terms used to describe this internationalization vary. Concepts are often interchangeable in these descriptions, sometimes even within the same sentence. Going back to Dickerman, for instance, she says that Dada was the first avant-garde movement to be "so self-consciously international," with aims that were "often supranational," since Dada made "antinationalism a central tenet."[21] "Supranational" is a term that reappears in other descriptions of Dada, such as that of Raimund Meyer, who writes that "national institutions and sacred sites were satirized and the idea of a supranational 'Dadaist' was developed."[22] Puchner deliberately uses the term "internationalism" "because it was used, for lack of a better one, by the various socialist Internationals and also by the Dadaists themselves," although he recognizes that the network structure of Dada would rather call for the term "transnationalism."[23] Cathérine Hug talks about the Dadaists as "these radical harbingers of a transnational, intermedial, and transdisciplinary *Weltgefühl* [who] are

particularly significant in view of our current era of global networking, where so much is tweeted in less than 140 characters."[24] Dada's endeavors and specifically its publications are casually characterized as "internationalist."[25] Béhar, for instance, sees an "internationalist will" ("volonté internationaliste") already in the first collective Dada volume published in Zürich in 1916, *Cabaret Voltaire*.[26] Everyone agrees on the international spread of Dada, and on its programmatic position as an international movement, based on a vehement antinationalism; but the fluidity in terminology—internationalism, transnationalism, supranationalism—again shows the difficulty of pinpointing and assimilating Dada's internationalization within a distinct conceptual framework. Dada remains "foreign" even in its internationalization.

And indeed, Dada has been described as an "international without institutions" ("internationale sans institutions")[27] to reflect both the uncontested, deliberate, and constitutive physiognomy of its international spread and its (again deliberate) resistance to an efficient internationalization. The Dadaists were not very keen on organizing themselves in any kind of "central" way that would bring together all the various loops of this vast network, and when they did attempt to create such moments, they failed. Tristan Tzara and Francis Picabia's never-published and programmatically titled volume *Dadaglobe* might be the most salient example of this kind. Conceived by Tzara and backed—both financially and creatively—by Picabia, *Dadaglobe* was supposed to be published in Paris in 1921 as the ultimate Dada anthology, with 160 pages of artworks and texts by fifty or so solicited international contributors. It was "to have been an ambitious declaration of international affiliation and exchange in the postwar period."[28] The anthology was triumphantly announced only once, in a letter by Tzara published in the sole issue of Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray's magazine *New York Dada* in April 1921, inciting readers to "order from the publishing house 'La Sirène' 7 rue Pasquier, *DADAGLOBE*, the work of dadas from all over the world."[29] The book had a projected printing of 10,000 copies that would be distributed worldwide with the help of local groups.[30] *Dadaglobe* followed another ambitious, but also doomed, smaller-scale project, *Dadaco*. *Dadaco* was initiated within the German Dada group by Raoul Hülsenbeck and was to be an anthology flamboyantly described in an advertising brochure of 1919 as a "Handbook of Dada," a "Dada World Atlas," a "Dada Hand Atlas," and "The Greatest Standard Work in the World."[31] This publication also folded before it came to be.

Dadaglobe was intended to bring together Dada artwork, texts, and photographic portraits from artists in Paris, Berlin, Zürich, and New York—but also from Rome, Barcelona, and Cologne. Tzara solicited works from more than fifty artists, and the reply letters poured in. As Germaine Everling would recall, "the mail brought an avalanche of letters from all countries. So much so that, on an anonymous tip, the police were alerted and led to a covert investigation."[32] Despite the enthusiastic response from the artists, the explicit commitment from the publisher, Paul Lafitte, and the meticulous work by Tzara himself, the project collapsed when Picabia abandoned it. Since Picabia was materially supporting the book, *Dadaglobe* could not go forward without his financial backing. The reasons for Picabia's change of heart are not obvious. In *Dadaglobe Reconstructed*, the catalog for the homonymous exhibition organized by Kunsthaus Zürich in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2016, the curator of the exhibition, Adrian Sudhalter, claims that *Dadaglobe* was a politically perilous project for the immediate post-World War I period. The book's overt "international ethos"[33] and, most importantly, its inclusion of German texts in their original German in the aftermath of Germany's defeat, would have been viewed with suspicion by the French state, especially since the initiative came from a Romanian Jew, Tzara, who had just exchanged his stateless status for a Romanian passport—something that only became possible in 1920.[34] Certainly, Germaine Everling's recollections testify to the police's suspicion of any kind of sustained foreign exchange. Sudhalter, however, also claims that the international orientation of *Dadaglobe* could have been interpreted in this postwar climate as communist internationalism and that Picabia's abandonment of the project—which also coincided with his break from Dada in general—was due precisely to his fear of being accused as a communist. Sudhalter backs up this argument by pointing out that around this time Picabia also published two articles in magazines, one in *L'Esprit nouveau* and the other in *Ça ira*,[35] in which she detects "his first public tirades against Lenin, communism, and the Russian Revolution."[36] She concludes that Picabia was publicly distancing himself from an enterprise that might have been perceived as overtly political, and specifically linked to communism, and she wonders whether "perhaps Dada's internationalism had been mistaken for communism's internationalism."[37] While Tzara's precarious position as a foreigner would justify some fear of possible persecution, she reasons, Picabia's French nationality, but mainly his wealth, would have secured him from such dangers, leaving Sudhalter

to ask: "Was Picabia simply unable to abide a label—anarchist, communist, etc.—that he himself had not chosen?"[38]

It is true that, at the time, Dada's international vision was often conflated with "bolshevism" in public perceptions.[39]A number of articles in the press attest to this: "[Dada] is the literary Bolshevism";[40] "Like Marxism gave birth to Leninism, cubism produced dadaism";[41] "Extremists, revolutionaries, bolshevists, dadaists—same paste, same origin, same poison. . . . And it is the shameful voluptuousness of upheaval and of anarchy that hides behind these colorful masks of the mad. Like in Petrograd, like in Moscow. Like in the slums of Berlin";[42] "Come on! Come on! Make no mistake: [Dada] is bolshevism in art and literature. . . . However, if, when the Big Day comes, we live under the rule of the Soviets, I think that they will name Mr. Francis Picabia as the administrator of the Comédie-Française."[43] These are a few reactions in the 1920 press that are indicative of the general perception of Dada, and, as the last one shows, of Picabia specifically. Did these accusations against him as the future leader of the Soviets in Paris scare Picabia away from an international and antinational project like *Dadaglobe*? Was Picabia really afraid that he would be considered an enemy of the nation?

In the two articles in *Ça ira* and *L'Esprit nouveau* mentioned by Sudhalter, Picabia did mount a critique of Bolshevism, but he also engaged in a severe attack on nationalism as well. In the article in *L'Esprit nouveau*, "Francis Picabia et Dada," Picabia explained why he broke with Dada, but also attacked Lenin's betrayal of the communists' ideals. He fiercely criticized Lenin for appearing ostensibly as an antimilitarist, when in fact he had only reshuffled the Red Army without changing its militarist structures. Picabia likened this move to Parisian Dada's current propensity to reproduce hierarchies and authoritative stances that Dada should reject on principle: "Now Dada has a court, lawyers, soon probably policemen and a M. Deibler:[44] it will become like Lenin's antimilitarism which, in order to do away with a general, turns him into a soldier and vice-versa."[45] In the second article, published in *Ça ira*, Picabia developed a more complex political position which aligned him with militant antinationalism and against any kind of authoritarianism, including the one that he saw rising from the glory of the October Revolution:

> The one thing that interested me for a minute in Russia was the Revolution, but it only lasted for a few weeks and now they have the same spirit of "bourgeois family" as here. The

> revolution exterminated the czarist stupidities to replace them with other absurdities that appear with the same opportunist exaggerations as those produced by the autocratic capitalism of the imperial government.[46]

Picabia's attack on Lenin and the communists is actually coming from the far Left: he sees authoritarianism rising in communist Russia—he shies away from calling Lenin a czar, but he does create this association—and detects in communism a mandatory egalitarianism that he finds as stupid as nationalist patriotism. Picabia rants against this patriotism as it is expressed through sports—"What is amusing is that the newspapers of France and America announce with the same absolute certitude the victory of their respective champions!"[47]—and wonders how different things would be if this kind of admiration were not given to sport champions, but instead to those who would do something substantial for ensuring the happiness of all peoples, "for instance, those who would make sure now [of] the abolition of all frontiers."[48]

This quick overview shows that the political positions that Picabia adopted in both of these articles could hardly be seen as safe; they were consistently antinationalist, antiauthoritarian, antihierarchical. Similar positions were voiced at that time in other publications of the Left, and specifically in anarchist ones, which saw in the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat no more than any other dictatorship exercised by the bourgeoisie.[49] So the argument that Picabia's fear of being accused as communist by a nationalist state and establishment made him abandon the international *Dadaglobe*, seems to hold little water. He might have worried about being characterized as a communist, but only if this characterization came from those who shared his far Left politics. Picabia is not recoiling from the international impetus of Dada or from its revolutionary potential; what he is protesting against is what he perceives as Dada's increasing sclerosis, the movement's progressive sterilization, and ultimately its death in the grips of some kind of centralization that for him only signaled a non-evolution, reminiscent of what he saw as the failures of communism in Russia.

Picabia had a similar reaction in 1924, against the abortive International Congress for the Determination and Defense of the Modern Spirit (known also as the Congrès de Paris). This congress was meant to unite all tenets of the European avant-garde, including Dada, but like *Dadaglobe* and *Dadaco*, this internationally oriented conference never came to fruition. The congress was first announced in an article

published in *Comoedia* in January 1922,[50] and was meant to take place on March 30, 1922—just one day before Albert Einstein's scheduled lecture at the Collège de France.[51] The International Congress followed the logic of other contemporary international initiatives to organize intellectuals across nations,[52] and was probably modeled on and inspired by similar political congresses, most recently the one in Tours, held on December 20–25, 1920, which led to the creation of the French Communist Party. The Congrès de Paris fell through, but not before the eruption of a virulent fight between Tristan Tzara and André Breton, who was the main instigator of the operation. Tzara protested against what he perceived to be Breton's xenophobia,[53] which of course clashed directly with the programmatic purpose of the conference, and withdrew himself—and Dada—from the congress. As a response, Tzara launched the only "transparent" Dada magazine, the one-off *Le Coeur à barbe*, on the back cover of which he declared: "The members of the Congress of Modernism, after threats by some treacherous impostors, decided a few days ago to abandon this excellent idea of circulating like leashed dogs among the principles of famous theorists. The Congress is dying of chocolate nationalism, vanilla vanity, and the almost Swiss stupidity of some of our most precise fellow citizens."[54] Tzara explained Dada's nonconformity with the other avant-garde and modernist factions a bit later, in an interview with Roger Vitrac published in *Merz* in 1923. Unlike other avant-garde movements like futurism or cubism, which Tzara explained were just an "intellectual thrust" ("poussée intellectuelle") that could fall under the general umbrella of Apollinaire's "new spirit," Dada had no theory and no technical principles; it was pure protest.[55] As such, we are to conclude, Dada could not be circulated like a "leashed dog" in cultural congresses.

But Tzara's "transparent journal," *Le Coeur à barbe*, was also a response to Francis Picabia's one-issue magazine published on February 25, 1922, *La Pomme de pins*, in which Picabia gestured at his own rather ambiguous position toward the International Congress. Early on, Picabia had very publicly dismissed the congress, talking about its organizers as "the Jesuits of 1922" with no ideas, just envies, and characterizing "those organizations" as derivative, like the sheep who want to lead the shepherd.[56] Picabia's initial public dismissal of the congress seems to be contradicted by the content of *La Pomme de pins*, which was published after it had become clear that the congress was destined for failure, largely because of Breton's and Tzara's falling-out.[57] In the four-page publication, very short, aphoristic texts crisscross the pages

in all possible directions, making typography the actual content of the work. Most conspicuously, a kind of signature stamp is ubiquitous among the blocks of text, in which the names of artists in Picabia's circle, including his own, are paired with "Congrès de Paris" written underneath them: André Breton, Louis Aragon, Christian,[58] Jean Crotti, Suzanne Duchamp, Roger Vitrac, Francis Picabia, all are stamped with "Congrès de Paris." Georges Hugnet interprets this name-stamping as a clear support of the congress: "this four-page quarto doesn't so much ridicule the Congrès de Paris as flatter it, by taking its reality into account . . . *La Pomme de pins* . . . turns everyone into a supporter of the Congrès de Paris."[59] However, how flattering could this support be coming at a moment when the congress was already certain never to happen? Isn't it possibly the congress's non-reality that Picabia finds alluring? Rather than supporting the congress, the pamphlet seems to mount a sardonically ironic position toward the failure of this monumental endeavor of international, centralized organization and administration of the avant-garde.

These examples of failed projects suggest that Dada, at least in its French-language manifestations, very actively resisted any possibilities for the organization, centralization, and coordination of its internationalization. In fact, Dada in Paris started falling apart almost as a consequence of this very effort. The International Congress, which in essence wanted to bring Dadaists together with all the other active forces of the avant-garde and modernism in France and in Europe, only made the rift between Picabia and Tzara clear, while also pointing out both parties' reluctance to subordinate Dada to any kind of organized internationalization. And while Dada's resistance to the congress might be explained by the movement's aversion to external organizations, even internal instances of a more coordinated internationalism, such as *Dadaglobe*, fell apart. An "International without institutions," Dada was, on the one hand, bathing in an internationalist culture and, on the other, recoiling from an organized internationalist action. Dada doesn't appear to have been a centralized and coordinated network, but it was not a distributed network either, since many nodes of its international existence did not connect with each other. Indeed, in a way, Dada was many networks, small clusters of local networks that often collided but could not adhere as a whole.

This kind of internationalism was at odds with that of the communist Left, especially in the way that communist internationalism was shaped exactly at the moment of Dada's birth. Hugo Ball's entry from

his personal diary in 1917 is interesting in this respect, as he questioned how the first activities of Dada in Zürich were related to preparations for the revolution which were underway at Lenin's house, just a few steps away from the Cabaret Voltaire: "Is dadaism as sign and gesture the opposite of Bolshevism? Does it contrast the completely quixotic, inexpedient, and incomprehensible side of the world with destruction and consummate calculation?"[60] Ball's conceptual juxtaposition of Dada as "sign and gesture" with Bolshevism is spelled out here, with Dada seen as a quixotic gesture and Bolshevism as calculated endeavor. Ball's opinion in 1917 is consistent with what Theresa Papanikolas describes as his anarcho-individualist political positions which, influenced by his study of Nietszche and Stirner and nourished by his earlier active participation in the anarchist circles around the magazines *Die Aktion, Der Revolution*, and *Der Sturm* in Berlin, were opposed to anarcho-communism.[61] In fact, Ball's opinions in 1917 were not far from Picabia's positions on Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution laid out in his 1922 articles in *L'Esprit nouveau* and *Ça ira*. It should be remembered that the Antwerp-based Francophone magazine *Ça ira* was created with a clear anarchist and internationalist agenda. In this vein, the magazine both opposed Bolshevism as the sole mode of an internationalist revolution, and embraced Dada as a possible cultural expression of the internationalist revolution to come. In the magazine's July 1921 special issue dedicated to Dada, with the interesting title "Dada, sa naissance, sa vie, sa mort" ("Dada, Its Birth, Its Life, Its Death"), a series of articles, including the one by Picabia, elaborated precisely this perception of Dada as a truly internationalist movement. Dada was described as a "global phenomenon" that spread disorder,[62] as "more parisianizing than Parisian," and as a movement that was "free and does not believe in flags,"[63] fighting, as Picabia claimed, the "bourgeois family" spirit of the Bolshevik revolution as too conservative, and ultimately not conducive to true freedom. The contrast between Bolshevism and Dada was thus extended to the movement's implicit internationalism, as Dada was turning its back on the kind of internationalism that was professed by the communist Left around that time, but leaving the door open to the one coming from the anarchist tradition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Anarchism from its inception transcended national boundaries. The anarchist movement appeared first within the context of the foundation of the First International in the 1860s and this international impetus marked its history, both as a fundamental ideological position that

placed the "no flag" dictum at its core, and as the concrete reality of a movement that functioned through a network of groups around the world, often connected by traveling individuals. At the same time, this theoretical frame and practice consistently failed to generate a successful institutional setting. The 1872 break of the anarchists with the Marxists in the aftermath of the Paris Commune, their subsequent aborted efforts to create a purely anarchist International throughout the 1880s, their effort to "gain a footing" in the Socialist Second International that led to their exclusion in 1896, and the short-lived "Black International" in 1881,[64] all these organizational efforts met with failure. The anarchist International was more of a "phantom international"[65] than a real entity. George Woodcock eloquently explains this tension:

> Looking back over the history of the anarchist Internationals, it seems evident that logically pure anarchism goes against its own nature when it attempts to create elaborate international or even national organizations, which need a measure of rigidity and centralization to survive. The loose and flexible affinity group is the natural unit of anarchism.[66]

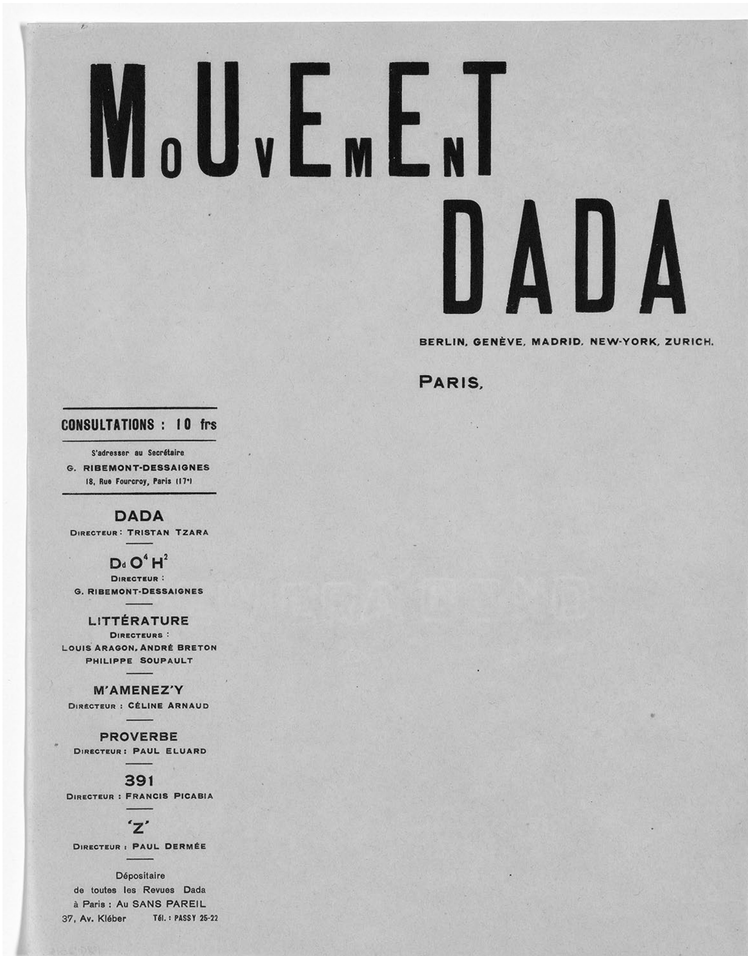
Despite the spectral existence of any kind of organized internationalism, anarchism thrived in the late nineteenth century as an international and deliberately internationalist movement, with internationalism in fact being one of its few clear and stable principles. After the collapse of the First International and up to the Great War, anarchism in fact dominated in all its polymorphous variety the radical Left around the world.[67] As Constance Bantman explains, anarchism in the period preceding the First World War was characterized by "first, the permanent tension between the failed efforts to set up a new International and the actual wealth of informal internationalism" and "secondly, the diverging attitudes towards internationalism, and the achievements of a handful of highly internationalized militants."[68] This oxymoron of a wide internationalist action combined with an inability and unwillingness to coordinate it, prompts Bantman to refer to anarchist internationalism as an "internationalism without an International,"[69] that is, without a coordinated and centralized organization like the Socialist and then Communist First, Second, and by 1919, Third International.

The informal internationalisms of the anarchists counteracted locally the absence of a centralized coordinating authority and flourished at the turn of the nineteenth century thanks to syndicalism, which was

nourished by the massive global labor migrations of that time.[70] Indeed, the consolidation of nation-states and nationalist ideologies went hand in hand with the parallel mass migrations of workers, both within Europe and from Europe to the Americas.[71] National centralization and solidification were paradoxically fertilized by transnational migrations that crisscrossed countries and continents, two processes that would seem to counter each other. Anarchism gained traction among immigrant workers, whose own lives came to embody anarchist internationalism. Benedict Anderson reminds us that "anarchists were also quicker [than mainstream Marxists] to capitalize on the vast transoceanic migrations of the era. Malatesta spent four years in Buenos Aires—something inconceivable for Marx or Engels, who never left Western Europe. Mayday celebrates the memory of immigrant anarchists—not Marxists—executed in the Unites States in 1887."[72] These migrations, and especially the itineraries of militant anarchists, were often marked by constant movement that created and maintained links among different localities.[73] During its golden age between the Paris Commune of 1871 and the outbreak of the war in 1914, anarchism practiced internationalism, as dedication to a political ideal of a world without frontiers, and most importantly without nation-states, through the creation of transnational networks, activated by local groups. More than a theoretical stance and elaboration, anarchist internationalism of the early twentieth century was a practice.

This is indeed very close to Dadaist internationalism, another "phantom international," another "internationalism without an International" that resisted organization. Dada's practical and, to a degree, theoretical understanding of internationalism was aligned with that of anarchism, at a moment of historical junction for internationalism itself as an organizing principle of the Left—with the dissolution and discredit of the Second International in 1916 and the creation of the Third in 1919. Dada's organization in small groups, a decentered network of people who functioned largely independently, was resistant and even hostile to a centralized and coordinated internationalist action. The "no flag" principle was there, as was the actively itinerant existence of many Dadaists—Picabia among them—who occasionally connected these groups, leading them to sometimes act in synergy—as in the case of the 1919 Zürich publication of the periodicals *Dada* and *391*, as we will see. Yet, these clustered networks resisted the idea and the practice of a centralized network—and the failure of *Dadaglobe* and the International Congress are symptomatic of this. Dada performed a spectral

internationalism, existing but diffuse, present but elusive. Maybe the Dada object that best encapsulates the kind of internationalism that was Dada was its "Mouvement Dada" stationery (figure 5). With a letterhead composed by Tristan Tzara in 1920, 8,000–10,000 pieces of this stationery were printed and were intended for official Dada business—it was used, for instance, for all the correspondence around *Dadaglobe*. The



MOUVEMENT
DADA
BERLIN, GENÈVE, MADRID, NEW-YORK, ZURICH.
PARIS,

CONSULTATIONS : 10 frs
S'adresser au Secrétaire
G. RIBEMONT-DESSAIGNES
18, Rue Fourcroy, Paris (17e)

DADA
DIRECTEUR : TRISTAN TZARA

$D_dO^4H^2$
DIRECTEUR :
G. RIBEMONT-DESSAIGNES

LITTÉRATURE
DIRECTEURS :
LOUIS ARAGON, ANDRÉ BRETON
PHILIPPE SOUPAULT

M'AMENEZ'Y
DIRECTEUR : CÉLINE ARNAUD

PROVERBE
DIRECTEUR : PAUL ELUARD

391
DIRECTEUR : FRANCIS PICABIA

'Z'
DIRECTEUR : PAUL DERMÉE

Dépositaire
de toutes les Revues Dada
à Paris : Au SANS PAREIL
37, Av. Kléber Tél. : PASSY 25-22

Figure 5. Tristan Tzara, Mouvement Dada letterhead, 1921. Letterpress, 27.3 × 21 cm. Elaine Lustig Cohen Collection, gift of Lawrence Benenson and the Committee on Architecture and Design Funds. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Copyright © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY; copyright © M-T. Tzara.

letterhead featured under the denomination "MoUvEmEnT DADA," written in a mixture of capital and lowercase letters, the "branches" of Dada all over the world: Berlin, Geneva, Madrid, New York, Zürich, and Paris. It also featured a fee for consultation (10 francs), a secretary, Ribemont-Dessaignes, and his address, as well as the names of various magazines and their directors—existing ones, like *Dada*, or virtual ones, like *M'Amenez'y*, a magazine which Céline Arnaud planned to publish but never did. The corporate model for this letterhead is obvious, and the connection between Dada and capitalist corporatism as a reference for the movement's internationalism is well-documented.[74] The importance of mail correspondence for the formation of the movement, particularly as it related to the publication of its numerous journals, cannot be overstated. Indeed, the voluminous correspondence and postal exchange between various Dadaists across the world, sending to each other texts, images, publications, asking permissions, and so on, was like the private shadow cast by the public network of Dada publications.[75] This correspondence was a silent counterpart of the vocal magazine network, a "M . . . U . . . E . . . E . . . T" ("muet," mute, silent) network, as the capital letters of "MoUvEmEnT DADA" spell out on the letterhead. This silent network, seemingly centralized by what was supposed to be the official communication medium of Dada, the letterhead, but in fact dispersed as the letters flew from one person to the other, may be seen as a stand-in for the phantom international that was Dada: explicit in its international ambition, but stealthy and elusive in its actual materialization.

INTERNATIONALIST PRINT CULTURES

The Dada network which these letters created and operated in the background was performed publicly through Dada's numerous publications. Magazines were indeed the spearheads of Dada as an international movement, and often announced activities, books, and new magazines in other parts of the world. Matthew Witkovsky characterizes the mass of Dada periodicals as "the principal vehicle for broadcasting Dadaist identity, something akin to relay stations in the alternative pathway of transmissions."[76] Dada magazines, however, can be described as more than just the vehicle of transmission for the Dada virus; the magazines did not just function as external media that invested and propagated Dada activities in any given site. Dada magazines were Dada activity

itself, materializing the collective diversity of this network. As Emily Hage remarks, "in order to participate in the Dada network, an individual had to produce or actively contribute to a Dada journal, and the exchange of journals stimulated a network of collective identification."[77] The proliferation of magazines within Dada, she argues, is an indicator of the multiplicity, pluralism, and inclusivity which defined the movement's identity.[78] Avant-garde magazines in general, as they came to be from the mid-nineteenth century on, broke new ground in the art and literature periodical press, mainly by their polemical, aggressive, and almost militant stance.[79] However, they retained the main concept of an art and literature magazine, which was that it functioned as a secondary report on activities and works that happened outside the magazine—paintings, public performances, publication of poetry, and so on. The Dada magazine followed a different model: it became the primary site of Dada activity, an activity often exhausted within the pages of the publication.[80] Dada in its local expression was often just a magazine.

The Dada magazine thus transcended the function of a secondary documentation of group activities happening elsewhere: it was the activity itself; one became Dadaist by participating in or even producing a Dada magazine as the locus of Dada action. Symptomatic of this was the simultaneous publication of multiple Dada magazines at the same location, and a good example is the editorial effervescence in Paris during the great Dada season of 1920. Tzara's letterhead memorialized these Dada magazines in Paris, some of them existing and in circulation and others only planned. The existing ones were *Littérature*, under the direction of Louis Aragon, André Breton, and Philippe Soupault; *Proverbe,* directed by Paul Éluard; Tzara's *Dada*; Picabia's Parisian *391* installments; and *Z*, directed by Paul Dermée. Two more magazines, *DdO4H2*, directed by Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, and *M'Amenez'y*, directed by Céline Arnaud, were planned as projects, but were never actually brought to fruition. To these magazines listed on the stationery letterhead should be added two more titles that were circulating in Paris that same year: Arnaud's *Projecteur*, which published only one issue in May 1920,[81] and Picabia's *Cannibale*, published in March and July of 1920. There were also several other projects for magazines that never came to be: there was *Mouvement*, planned by Breton in collaboration with Tzara,[82] and *Ipeca* or *I.P.K.*, planned by Céline Arnaud and eventually "killed" by her, as her husband Paul Dermée playfully noted in the sole issue of *Projecteur*: "*Céline Arnaud* has already killed two magazines: 'M'Amenez'y' and 'Ipéca' now nowhere to be found

[*introuvables*]. Do not insist M. Doucet [*N'insistez pas M. Doucet*] . . . nowhere to be found, nowhere to be found."[83] And for that matter, some of the magazines that did manage to get to the printing press were extremely short-lived: one issue for *Z*, one issue for *Projecteur*, two issues for *Cannibale*.

Michel Sanouillet explains this surge of Dada periodicals in Paris in the first half of 1920 by saying that "on the basis of the principle that five or six journals ten pages long make more noise than a single journal of sixty pages, it was decided that each Dadaist would attempt to launch his or her 'own' bulletin."[84] A carefully calibrated salvo, these simultaneous publications by different members of the Dada movement were clever publicizing events, since the press gave these journals "a sympathetic and brotherly mention," whereas for the "general public, wary of buying and, a fortiori, reading these journals, their titles remained nothing more than mysterious terms, the multiple tentacles of an immeasurably bloated monster named Dada."[85] While undoubtedly the magazines which had a slightly more sustained publication record were the nodes of the network that was Dada, the magazines that scarcely existed, and even more so the ones that never existed, did not truly partake in this circulation network. These were in reality more like phantom connections, missed links and "useful reminder[s] of the many influences circulating in the non-linear mess of [Dada's] history."[86] What would be the function, then, of these magazines—and there were many[87]—that were often a one-person, one-issue operation, with little readership and even less connectivity to the Dada network? There seems to have been something deeply performative in conceiving, planning, and producing a Dada magazine as an ephemeral personal project within the Dada group and movement. The Dadaists themselves were conscious of how their publications might be only performative gestures, and how this performativity prevented actually documenting Dada as a concrete object to be preserved for the ages as a precious artifact: Dermée's aforementioned ironic comment addressed to Jacques Doucet, who was actively collecting manuscripts and print objects by the Dadaists and had already established ties with the Sorbonne foreseeing the institutionalization of these activities, speaks precisely to this self-consciousness.[88] *Ipéca* and *M'Amenez'y* were indeed nowhere to be found because they never existed, and thus they were never to become relics of Dada in a monumentalization of the movement by collectors and institutions: "N'insistez pas M. Doucet . . ."

Céline Arnaud and the Parisian group were not the only Dadaists to create magazines that were almost "introuvables." This was also true

for several Dada and proto-Dadaist magazines produced in New York. Leaving the New York installments of *391* aside, the best-known of these publications, *New York Dada*, edited by Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray, printed only one issue, in April 1921. The two editors were no strangers to short-lived publications even before the official birth of Dada. Duchamp published the two issues of *The Blind Man* in 1917, followed by the one-issue periodical *Ronwrong*, which he edited with Man Ray and Beatrice Wood, also in 1917. Man Ray himself had published two one-off proto-Dadaist periodicals, *The Ridgefield Gazook* in March 1915 and, with Adolf Wolff, *TNT* in 1919. *The Ridgefield Gazook* was produced in the largely anarchist artists' colony at Ridgefield, New Jersey, where Man Ray lived between 1912 and 1915. It was a one-page handwritten pamphlet which already displayed some features that would become part of the Dadaist aesthetic.[89] The magazine had virtually no circulation outside of Man Ray's circle—which did not yet include Duchamp or Picabia. The Ridgefield artists' colony was burgeoning with both anarchist ideas and avant-garde experimentations and churned out magazines at a rapid pace. It was at Ridgefield that Man Ray, along with Alfred Kreymborg, started publishing *The Glebe* in 1913, before the magazine moved to New York; it was there that one issue of the anarchist journal *The Modern School*, an offspring of the New York Ferrer Center, was produced before moving to Stelton, New Jersey, in 1914; and it was there that the legendary modernist magazine *Others*, backed by Walter and Louise Arensberg, was launched in 1915 before it too moved to New York.[90] Kreymborg clearly remembered the arrival of the printing press at the colony for the printing of *The Glebe*; when the delivery man dropped it and broke it, Man Ray "offered to print out the poems by hand and try out a new process of issuing facsimiles,"[91] probably in the same way he produced the *Gazook*.

Man Ray's other magazine, *TNT*, was published in New York and was a more elaborate production, counting fifteen pages. Man Ray himself described it as a "political paper with a very radical slant." He remembered that "we were all mixed up with the anarchist group. It was anarchism rather than anything else . . . we were out-and-out anarchists. . . . It wasn't made to attract attention; it wasn't even circulated."[92] Man Ray's coeditor, the artist Adolf Wolff, had taught art classes at the anarchist hub of the Ferrer School in New York, where Man Ray actually met him, and had clear anarchist affiliations and positions.[93] Man Ray was no stranger to purely anarchist publications either, as he had published in Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth*, and provided the cover artwork for the magazine's August 1914 and September 1914 issues—

the latter pictured an American flag whose stripes were formed by the striped uniforms of two prisoners of war, and whose stars were replaced by the exploding shells of a battle scene.[94] Allan Antliff has detailed how Man Ray came to Dada through anarchism as it had developed in New York around 1910,[95] while Francis Naumann has explained Man Ray's early pictorial work in the context of the anarchist circles he frequented in New York during this time.[96]

These cross-fertilizations between anarchist and Dada publishing activity were not unique to the American case. In France, Picabia was publishing in the anarchist-leaning magazine *Les Humbles* and had a column, "Carnet d'un sédentaire" ("Diary of a Sedentary"), in the also anarchist-leaning *La Forge*, which he penned under one of his pseudonyms, "Pharamousse."[97] As we saw, his articles in the Belgian *Ça ira* were in complete harmony with the general anarcho-individualist and internationalist position of that magazine. Julius Heuberger, anarchist, printer, later cofounder of the Swiss Communist Party, and frequent resident in various prisons, was the printer behind the first Dada magazine in Zürich, *Cabaret Voltaire*, as well as the second, *Dada*, and the third, Francis Picabia's *391* Swiss edition. He was also the printer of the anarchist/leftist magazines *Der Revoluzzer, Der Mistral*, and *Sirius*. Heuberger printed *391* no. 8 (February 1919) and *Dada* no. 4–5 (May 1919), the two synergistic issues, which marked the close collaboration between Tristan Tzara and Francis Picabia and signaled the forging of a new aesthetic for Dada publications. Gabrielle Buffet, Picabia's wife at the time, recalls the printing of *Dada* 4–5 and Heuberger's aura: "The magazine was printed in the awe-inspiring air of a revolutionary Swiss printer who happened to be out of prison, and who at last restored my conception of the anarchist type, which had been quite upset by my experience of the anarchist club in New York."[98] Picabia himself was happy to announce on the back cover of the eighth *391* issue that three more issues of *Dada* would appear soon, since the printer was not in prison any more, and the paper had already been bought.[99] Heuberger's thick, heavily contrasted, expressionist-looking woodcuts run through the anarchist publications and the early Dadaist periodicals alike, harmonizing them visually. Michel Sanouillet indeed notes that the new typography set forth by the Dada publications was "a haphazard mixture of the anarchist Julius Heuberger's fonts and the determination to undermine the prestige of the printed word."[100]

But the intersection between anarchism and Dada was not haphazard. Terms like "anarchic" or "anarchizing" are often carelessly used to

describe the nihilist, destructive, nonhierarchical, and polycentric aspects of the Dada movement, thereby constituting a cliché about what Dada—but also what anarchism—was.[101] On a more substantive level, the influence of anarchist thought on a series of key Dadaist figures—for instance, the influence of Max Stirner and anarchist individualism on Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia[102]—and the intersections between Zürich Dada and anarchism have been widely discussed, pointing out a more precise political and ideological affinity between the two movements.[103] Contrary to the *idée reçue* that anarchism in the Dada context basically meant individualism and finally a kind of apolitical position, Dada's entanglement with anarchism was in fact a deeply political one, motivated by both a desire for social change and an anti-authoritarianism which, in the context of the Great War, was often encoded as antinationalism. Theresa Papanikolas argues that the prevalent critical reflex of dismissing anarchism in Dada as an apolitical position may have been induced by the waning of anarchism in France during the First World War.[104] The war indeed marked a crisis for the anarchist movement, especially in France, which was amplified by the October Revolution and the creation of the French Communist Party immediately after the war.[105] Thereafter, Marxist communism dominated the Left and syndicalist organizations, but also determined internationalism as a revolutionary concept, thus overturning anarchism's long-standing strong influence. The public conflation of Bolshevism with Dadaism in 1920 in the French press, mentioned previously, can be understood in this context as the outcome of the automatic association of antinationalism and internationalism with communism at this point.

As discussed in the previous section, Dada's conceptualization and practice of internationalism as a decentralized process, with no central authority or directive, mirrored anarchist internationalism. Anarchism was as fiercely internationalist as it was opposed to an instrumentalization of internationalism at the expense of local autonomy. Local groups, often animated by the flux of migrant workers stitching together continents and the globe, manned an anarchist network that for years was the actual and virtual terror of the establishment.[106] Numerous anarchist groups and networks were created all over the world and left their material traces in a staggering quantity of scattered magazines and journals. The exact numbers of these remain uncertain, since there is still no definitive or comprehensive study of anarchist print culture except for specific magazines or local cases. Patricia Leighten counts 452 journals in France in 1905 alone,[107] while in 1906 the newspaper

Le Gaulois estimated this number at 250,[108] again only in France.[109] The distribution network of some of these journals was astonishing. Jean Grave's journal *La Révolte*, which started publication in Geneva in 1879 and relocated to Paris in 1885, by its closing in 1894 had a run of 7,000 copies with subscribers in the United States, Uruguay, Guatemala, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, Algeria, India, Spain, Italy, Holland, Romania, Ukraine, and Switzerland. Even the very idiosyncratic Parisian *Le Père Peinard*, which thrived on invective, virulent humor, and French argot, had an impressive international distribution.[110] In the United States, thousands of anarchist magazines and journals were printed and circulated in the period between the Paris Commune and World War I—some 83 Italian-language anarchist journals have been documented for this period, while for the longer period from 1833 to 1955 scholars have managed to document different numbers of English-language ones, ranging between 93 and 152. The FBI identified 249 radical periodicals in the United States in 1919,[111] and that same year Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer listed 222 radical publications in foreign languages, 105 in English, and 144 foreign-published journals circulating in the United States and "hundreds of books, pamphlets, and other publications which also receive wide circulation."[112]

Journals were central to the circulation of anarchist ideas; they operated the anarchist network, but they were also instrumental in creating distinct identities for local groups. As Kenyon Zimmer remarks:

> As anarchism was not a political party that one joined and, in the United States, attempts to create formal federations with official memberships almost all failed; belonging to the anarchist movement or a faction within it rested largely on affiliation with a specific publication. When a Bureau of Investigation informant in Richmond, California told the Belgian-born anarchist Jules Scarceriaux that he wished to become an anarchist, Scarceriaux replied: —First step . . . is to subscribe to the Anarchist paper.[113]

Subscribing to an anarchist journal might have been sufficient to signify affiliation, but not necessarily enough to signify participation. Kathy Ferguson notes:

> The first thing that an emergent anarchist group did was usually to launch its own journal, rather than join an exist-

> ing publication. In New York City between 1878 and 1919, for example, there were at least thirty-eight anarchist publications in circulation. The group who started the thirty-eighth journal did not, I imagine, do so primarily because they judged thirty-seven journals to be an inadequate number; they did it because they themselves wanted/needed to make (and be made by) a journal.[114]

Ferguson further explains the paramount importance of the printer, the press, and the printing process of the journal for the anarchists, who embraced the production of the print medium programmatically and ideologically as a "brain-body-machine assemblage"[115] that permitted and materialized self-organization and self-determination. Unlike the prevalent practice of learning how to become a printer through apprenticeship,[116] anarchist schools, like the Ferrer Center in New York and its offspring, the Modern School, taught printing regularly.[117] The editors and writers of anarchist journals did not recoil from the job of printing, nor did they outsource it; "instead, they cherished the interactive process of making and the creative practice of printing."[118] Producing a journal was a way to engage in anarchism.[119] Anarchism was not something that occurred elsewhere; it was happening with these magazines and journals, where to a large extent dissident politics transpired. Creating an anarchist magazine became for many the anarchist political action par excellence.

One could perhaps trace the origin of this practice—the identification of independent, individual printing activity with revolutionary activity—to the Paris Commune, whose importance for the international anarchist movement was tremendous. The Paris Commune stood in anarchism's history as a moment of revolution, possibility, and action. Its actual and symbolic centrality can be seen in the writings of prominent anarchist theorists, Bakunin and Kropotkin being the first,[120] but also in the commemoration of March 18, the beginning of the Commune, by anarchist groups around the world as a strongly symbolic moment for anarchism's internationalism.[121] Commemorating the Commune was for anarchist groups an occasion to strengthen their internationalist spirit of revolt. The short two months of the Paris Commune, marked at first by the giddy exhilaration of taking control of the city, its public space, and its culture, shaped what revolutionary practice should be, especially in print, and offered a blueprint for revolt that was venerated by anarchists worldwide. Before the Commune, the Second Empire had

exercised strict censorship and control over the press, operated through a series of material constraints—for instance, the requirement of official approval for establishing or changing the ownership of a press title, the imposition of a very high security deposit which made the publication of journals impossible without great wealth, or the imposition of a stamp-duty.[122] And although by 1870 many of these restrictions had already been lightened, they were completely lifted by the Commune. During the short spring of 1871, any militant, journalist, syndicalist, or any other person who had a deposit of a few thousand francs could publish a paper.[123] Some ninety titles of daily newspapers and magazines were produced in Paris during the Commune,[124] some of them better known, like the revival of *Le Père Duchêne*, or *Le Cri du peuple*, or *Le Mot d'ordre*, others short-lived, issued by all kinds of groups, associations, individuals, and committees.[125] To these should be added the daily production of posters that were plastered all over Paris by the Imprimerie Nationale, which was taken over by the Communards and was under the direction of three anarchist-leaning printers.[126] The city itself had become a text to be read: posters, affiches, proclamations, and manifestoes were posted on walls for the public to see on a daily basis, uniting the citizens through their public textuality. Kristin Ross sees in these printing and publicizing practices of the Commune a radical transformation of the role of the press, which thus became the heart of the revolutionary process itself: "far from providing a décor for the 'real' social conflict taking place, the small revolutionary periodicals, the cartoons and wall art in fact serve to articulate that conflict."[127] Print becomes the revolt itself.

Many other changes in the late nineteenth century were responsible for making decentered print cultures like that of the anarchists possible—such as technological advances, the explosion of literacy, and the general proliferation of print media. However, I think that the specific ethos of writing, printing, editing, publishing, and publicizing that equated these activities with the revolution not as mere vehicles of a praxis of revolt situated elsewhere but *as* the revolt itself, can be traced back to the Commune.[128] During the Paris Commune, the printing press became not only the voice of individuals and groups who wanted to participate in this newly founded and revolutionary political and social space; it also created this revolutionary space with each journal it printed. Loosely connected, decentered, short-lived, and self-managed publications set the model for future revolutions while also providing the modus operandi of this revolution. Anarchists around the world

took this lesson from the Commune and ran with it. For anarchists, making one's own journal or having a group create its own autonomous magazine was a political act of self-determination and fulfillment; it was to become an anarchist. But it was also becoming internationalist, being part of the international practice of producing journals as a revolutionary act, while staying fiercely situated in the local all along and forgoing any kind of centralized organization or control. To print a local anarchist journal, as many groups around the world did, was in effect to become internationalist without an International. This kind of printing activity stood in stark contrast with the international print practices of the Communist Party, especially after the Third International and the Russian Revolution. "The Comintern insisted that 'all periodical organs' of the party should come under 'exclusively Communist editorship,'" while "the Comintern and its satellite organizations would be duly forthcoming with support and criticism for the full spectrum of parties' endeavours in print, from newspaper production to publishing houses."[129] In its means of production, in its spirit, and in its content the anarchist journal, newspaper, or magazine fought such centralized control and authority. Anarchist print culture resisted the use of print as a tool for homogenization and hegemony.

Circling back to Dada, Dadaist periodical practices seem to have been in tune with the anarchist exemplum. Dada periodicals functioned both as the locus of the Dada assemblage and as the signifier and the medium of its internationalism, much like periodicals and journals functioned within anarchism. Anarchism's influence on Dada did not stop at their shared anti-authoritarian, antinationalist, anti-patriotic, and antimilitarist political positions, or even at specific common paths and affiliations like those of Hugo Ball, Man Ray, or Picabia; it extended to its concept and practice of internationalism. Anarchist internationalism opposed capitalism's global reach, but it also counteracted the dominant internationalist agenda of the Left. Unlike Marxist, then socialist, and then communist internationalism which fought capitalist globalization but did not bypass either the nation or the government as organizing and symbolic instances, anarchist internationalism rejected any central organization, including the nation altogether, and focused on small communities or on the individual, and on the present time. The proliferation of anarchist journals within one nation, one region, or one city reflected this spirit and spoke to nowness, to a perception of time and history as instantaneous. Dada magazines, as ephemeral, collective, inexpensive print objects destined to an, at least imagined, world

circulation—whether they achieved it or not—enacted and propagated a similarly decentered internationalism that was modeled on anarchist internationalism, whether intentionally or not. Both types of journals, in different ways, resisted print-capitalism as homogeneity and instead cultivated diversity and singularity, unfixing ideas and language. For both anarchism and Dada, periodicals as their main print product, most of them with a flimsy ephemerality, also resisted history as durable artifacts or as something transmissible and monumental.

Dada's internationalism as performed through its magazines was programmatically ambitious, reaching throughout Europe and to America; but it was also disjointed, episodic, eschewing coordination and centralization—like the magazines themselves, real or virtual. The magazines were meant to function as the connections between the nodes of the network that was Dada—missives from one editor, writer, artist, or group to another—but they were also the nodes themselves, they were the sites of Dada. As in the anarchist periodical or journal, the Dadaist magazine *was* the action and created a distinct identity for a group or even for an individual. As in the anarchist publications, the Dadaist magazine produced the author not only as editor but also as printer,[130] in the sense of the author's intense involvement in the production of the magazine, in the choice of fonts, paper, and experimental printing—or even, in the case of Man Ray's proto-Dadaist *The Ridgefield Gazook*, actually handwriting it. This identification with the manual producer of the magazine was a gesture of self-determination, along the lines of the anarchist press discussed above. But it was also a performative, material gesture that completed what the experimental typography of *Dada* and other Dadaist magazines denoted. The daring Dada printed page created a "marked text," as Johanna Drucker puts it, a literary text printed with a distinctive typography that was ordinarily reserved for commercial uses.[131] This marked text attracted attention to the author as a printer,[132] since it canceled out the presumed transparency of a neutral literary text.[133] It created a different symbolic position for the author, whose inflected "voice," or rather "hand," became noticeable through printing. The Dada author indeed became visible through printing.

The paradigmatic instance for this transformation of the author into the printer, the producer of the magazine, might be the second cover of *Dada* no. 4–5 from 1919 (a second cover because there was a first "official" one that bore the title "Anthologie Dada" with artwork by Jean Arp).[134] This second cover featured Francis Picabia's *Réveil matin* (figure 6), an image showing the dismantled pieces of an alarm clock imprinted

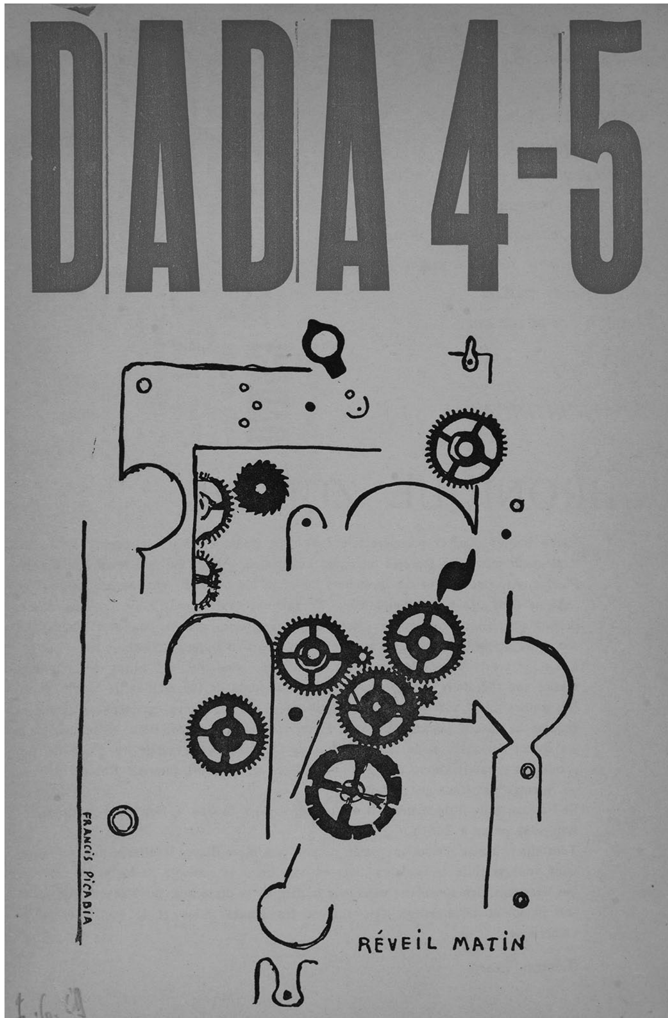


Figure 6. Francis Picabia, *Réveil matin* (*Alarm Clock*). In *Dada* no. 4–5, 1919, cover. Ink on paper. Support: 31.8 × 23 cm. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris; International Dada Archive, Special Collections and Archives, University of Iowa Libraries.

on paper.[135] Jean Arp recalls the creation of this cover as he witnessed it during his first meeting with Picabia, who had just arrived in Zürich:

> We [Tristan Tzara and Arp] found him [Picabia] busily dissecting an alarm clock. . . . Showing no mercy, he dismantled

> his alarm clock down to the mainspring, which he extracted in triumph. For a brief moment he interrupted his work in order to greet us. But without wasting too much time, he adorned a white sheet of paper with impressions of the little gear wheels, springs, hands, and other secret tiny parts of the clock. Like a dutiful postman, he zealously applied these things to the stamp pad and then to the paper, and connected the stamps to one another with lines.[136]

By stamping the ink-infused clock parts on paper, Picabia literally becomes the printer of the magazine at this moment,[137] as the process of his art-making coincided with the process of the production of the magazine: printing.

Réveil matin is one of Picabia's useless or malfunctioning machines that populated Dada iconography. It has been seen as such a broken mechanism, reconstituted according to the "logic of the dream and hence the unconscious";[138] or as a depiction of Dada as a machine which "no longer functions except to unhinge time and violently rouse people from their great sleep";[139] or as one of Picabia's "destroyed diagrams" in which "vectors disappear. Relations and links dissolve";[140] or even as a commentary on Swiss neutrality during the war, with the clock standing metonymically for Switzerland.[141] And while *Réveil matin* joins Picabia's other machines and diagrams, it also stands apart from all of them since it is not just drawn, it is an imprint, a stamp, a representation that is linked directly with the object that produced it; there is no arbitrary connection through symbolization to the referent here—the image is the direct trace of the object.[142] *Réveil matin* is a rearrangement of a mechanism, of a specific device, a clock that keeps time, periodicity, and awakens, sounds the alarm. The clock, however, does not keep time anymore, but through printing and with the addition of the lines drawn by the artist, it becomes a kind of labyrinth, with the signature of the artist "Francis Picabia" on one end, and the title of the work, "Réveil matin," on the other. Tracing one's way through the maze of the clock's gears leads from the artist to the reconstituted and represented object, from the instigator to the awakening. A machine for keeping time is visually transformed into a spatial maze, and the imprints of gears used to maintain the rhythm of periodicity now almost resemble revolving doors, turnstiles that allow a through-passage or induce a change of direction.

If we look closely, we see that the red letters of the magazine's title, "DADA 4–5," positioned on the cover just above the printed image, seem to be shadowed by traces of sloppy printing around the letters D and around the number 5,[143] as if the letters too were imprinted by hand, and in a frenzy similar to Arp's description of *Réveil matin*'s creation. The title "DADA 4–5" appears to be replicating the technique by which the printed image was made; it looks like a stamp. Both the magazine's title and *Réveil matin* stand thus as indexical traces, the latter of a broken clock, the former of the name of the movement that the periodical performs and ultimately materializes, Dada. Just as *Réveil matin* dismantles a machine, out of which it creates, through imprint, a representation of broken time, "DADA 4–5," the title of the magazine, may stand as the sign of a different system which the bleeding letters performatively dismantle: Dada itself as a fixed movement. "DADA 4–5," with the number included in the title, reminds us of the ephemerality of the magazine. Recall that the periodicity of the magazine was symbolically broken by the title on the actual cover of the issue, "Anthologie Dada," which indicated that this might be a document memorializing Dada with an anthology.[144] "DADA 4–5" brings back on the alternative cover the periodical as a living print medium that constantly remakes itself with each new issue. Just as the anarchist (and the Dadaist) print culture in its prolific and decentered ephemerality defies durability and homogeneity, the printed images of a clock undone and of "DADA 4-5" contest historical fixity and allude to the present moment, to nowness, that will soon be replaced by the next instance. Each of these instances is a wake up call, and Dada as a movement is present in them and renewed in the next instance, the next issue—or the next magazine. On this cover thus, printing as a technique is deployed to underscore the movement's resistance to time, both as the regulated chronometry of the clock and as a momumentalizing history. But also on this cover, the Dada artist becomes printer. Like the anarchist printer, a "brain-body-machine assemblage" which allows for a self-determination and for the creation of a revolutionary community around the printed object, the dutiful and zealous Picabia as he dismantles and prints, meets Jean Arp and Tristan Tzara, the Zürich Dadaists, and together they remake the Dada group. The magazine makes the community, and the community is non-other than Dada. The Dada periodical emerges as the indexical imprint of the movement, the palpable trace of Dada, its fingerprint and material presence. Picabia's depictions of Dada as an international

movement will revisit precisely the trace and presence of its people and their connections.

PICABIA'S DADA

During his stay in Zürich, Francis Picabia created two works which stand as visual representations of the Dada movement. One has the self-evident title *Mouvement Dada* (figure 7), published in *Dada* no 4-5, and the other bears the more cryptic title *Construction moléculaire* (figure 8), on the cover of the eighth issue of his own *391*. They both include the handwritten names of the people and the magazines who made Dada. They both involve machines and abstract elements that imply and perform connections among these names, offering visual encodings of the international network that was Dada. Later on, the surrealists would create a series of photographic group portraits, either as snapshots of the group at any given moment—like the ones taken in the "Bureau de recherches surréalistes," adorning the first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* of December 1924—or as photographic compositions—like the one also published in the first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, of surrealists' head shots (including Freud) arranged around the photographic portrait of the anarchist Germaine Berton.[145] Picabia's works do not feature individual photographs, but elements of a similar indexical value, proper names.[146] His two 1919 images thus emerge as peculiar group portraits made out of names connected (or disconnected) by drawings.

Mouvement Dada is indeed a drawing depicting a mechanism, with a clock and an alarm bell, flanked by the abstract elements of a grid and some wavy lines, while the names of artists are arranged within the mechanism or in relation to these abstract parts. On the left side, a vertical space is delineated between a black column, connected to the clock, and two thinner stripes that look like overlapping grids. In between these two vertical limits, four undulating lines intersect to form curvy shapes: an outer shape resembling a torpedo which connects with a box bearing the inscription "Mouvement DADA" on the top, and an inner shape that looks like an open 8 or an hourglass. Interspersed between the curvy lines, a series of names creates what seems like a genealogy of modern art, from Ingres, Corot, and Rodin through Picabia himself, Apollinaire, and Arensberg (the only non-European and the only non-artist or poet included in this genealogical list), to the "Mouvement DADA" box.[147]

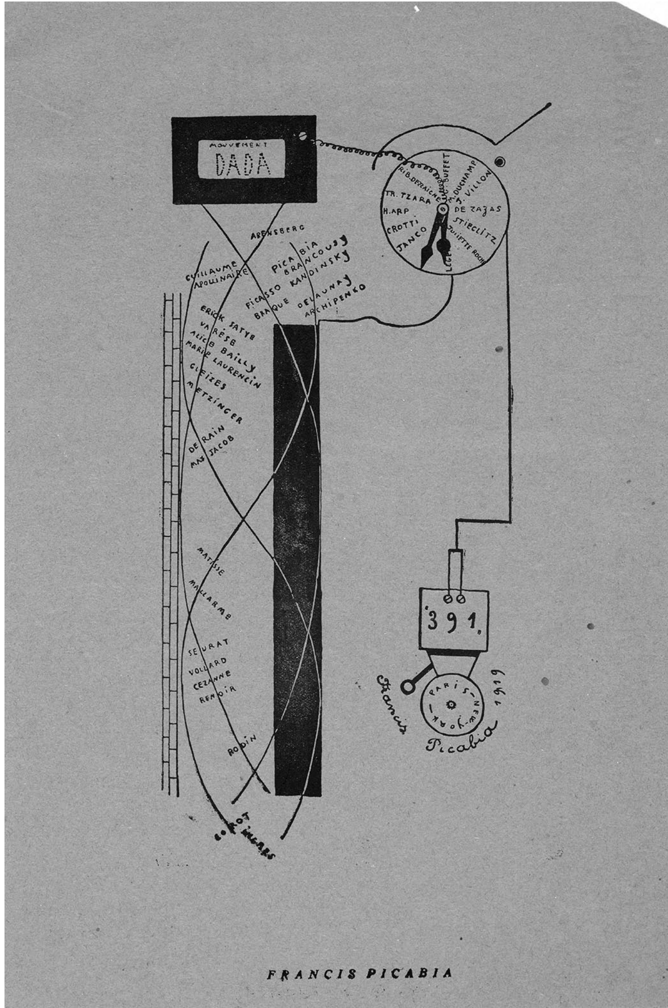


Figure 7. Francis Picabia, *Mouvement Dada*. In *Dada* no. 4–5, 1919. Ink and pencil on paper, 51.1 × 36.2 cm. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Marquand Library of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

On the right, this Dada box is connected to a clock, whose twelve hours are replaced by the names of Dadaists on both sides of the Atlantic.[148] The clock itself is connected with another box at the bottom, containing the name of Picabia's magazine, *391*, attached to a round bell on which are inscribed "Paris-New York" in a circle. Around and outside the bell stand the artist's signature and the date, 1919. The drawing shows the

ancestry and the contemporary dynamics of the Dada movement, as well as its main protagonists internationally.[149] Picabia seems to play on the two meanings of "mouvement," as an artistic movement but also as motion, and Dada is depicted as a kinetic device.

If we view this work as a representation of the Dada movement, a kind of snapshot of Dada in 1919, what is first striking is that Picabia includes a past genealogy. On this left side of the work, Picabia creates a timeline that leads up to the present moment, following the pictorial tradition of chronography, the representation of time as a chronological chart. In *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline*, Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton qualify Picabia's work as an "as if" chronological chart that consciously borrows from the existing vocabulary of chronography, but in a non-consistent and non-regular way.[150] The visual vocabulary of chronography referenced here is first and foremost the arrangement of the "predecessors'" names, and thus of history, in a vertical order that places the past at the bottom—Ingres—and the present at the top—"Mouvement DADA."[151] The wavy vertical lines that cross and cut through the series of names create a sense of evolution or at least of a time continuum,[152] underscored by the hourglass shape of the lines, which suggest chronometry, the measuring of the passage of time. These waves as signifiers of evolutionary time seem to be measured against the grid scale on the left, which reproduces yet another convention of chronography. The chronographic grid was established as a graphic convention of history notation by the eighteenth-century scientist Joseph Priestley and his 1765 *Chart of Biography*. In Priestley's chart, the names of authors were arranged from left to right, that is, from older to newer, forming a grid in which dates were marked and also measured by its regularity.[153] Picabia's side grid seems to stem from this visual convention as a measure of time, as an easily readable way to grasp a timeline. However, there is no chronology inscribed in the grid against which the names of the artistic genealogy of Dada can be situated; the grid is actually void of any concrete chronographical content. The grid and the wavy lines stand as empty gestures, as two symbolic signifiers of time: the grid of a calendar, of a historical time, and the wavy lines of time as process. They both visually convey "time," but in an "as if," non-concrete manner.

Picabia's representation of Dada's chronography streamlines, since it gives the impression of only one possible timeline for Dada, one possible history, one possible trajectory. But it also syncopates. Compare Picabia's drawing to Alfred Barr's famous 1936 chart on the cover of

the catalog *Cubism and Abstract Art* for the homonymous exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.[154] In Barr's chart, the evolution of modern art is represented in a neat diagram of causalities and affiliations, indicated by directional arrows against the vertical column of chronologies. By contrast, Picabia's much earlier drawing is not neat; the scribbled handwriting and the complications of the mysterious machine look messy. But most importantly, its chronography is messy: chronologies are absent, and timelines and causalities are confused. Why are the names of Picabia, and even of Walter Arensberg, on the supposedly "historical" left side of the chart which gives the genealogy of "Mouvement Dada" and not on the right side, on the clock of synchronicity? Are they already "historicized," part of a genealogical evolution culminating at its top? A more disturbing observation, however, is that Picabia's drawing "fakes" the convention of the time chart as a chronographic device by disrupting the linearity and unidirectionality of historical time itself. The clock at the top right of the drawing stands in for the present moment, and so does the "Mouvement DADA" box at the top left; but so does the alarm bell bearing the title *391*, situated at the bottom. The vertical history timeline seems to have the present at both ends, bottom and top. The history timeline as a representational convention should clearly go in only one direction; Picabia's timeline, however, seems to start in the present and end in the present, in some kind of endless loop. History and time are short-circuited and bracketed in an overwhelming present. While chronographic charts connote a perception of time as a monument to be pegged and immortalized as causal history which moves in one direction, Picabia's chronography sabotages this monumentality and sees history as contingent, non-directional, and problematically causal.[155]

Picabia's drawing looks like a Dada time bomb that might soon explode,[156] a kind of "propaganda by the deed" whose moving parts seem to be as much the mechanical contraptions as the names of the artists ready to start a chain reaction. The drawing not only bursts time, it also bursts the geographical continuum. As with *Réveil matin*, in which the material fragments of the timekeeping clock morph into space signifiers, in *Mouvement Dada* the clock-machine indicates both time and space. The mechanism on the right, which extends the timeline on the left, shows a clock, a device which instead of measuring time, delineates the international space of Dada: New York, Zürich, and Paris. Artists in New York (Stieglitz, de Zayas), Zürich (Tzara, Janco, Arp), Paris (Villon, Juliette Roche, Léger, Jean Crotti, Ribemont-Desssaignes), or living

in between these cities (Gabrielle Buffet, Marcel Duchamp) count the hours, while their potential connection is operated by the hands of the clock passing over them. The clock as a representation of the Dada world in this drawing has a very different connotation than the prewar clocks in the poems by Apollinaire and Cendrars that betrayed anxiety over modernity. Here, the clock face becomes a homogenizing space for the Dadaists on either side of the Atlantic, who are not synchronized but synergistic, as they all together form the mechanism for keeping time, giving the tempo of the movement. If the clock in *Réveil matin* becomes the signifier of the Dada magazine as the indexical trace of the Dada movement, in *Mouvement Dada* the clock becomes the iconic representation of its imagined geography. The circular "Paris-New York" inscribed on the bell that the clock activates through "391" conveys a similar type of synergy. Paris and New York are bound together in a circle of exchange that does not end, a kind of ouroboros infinity loop, much like the other loop of the drawing, that of history moving from present time to present time. Dada's history and geography are thus presented as strangely cyclical, a kind of closed circuit, in which some rogue elements persist: Picabia, Arensberg, and even Satie are out of the clock, floating in this interstitial area between history and now, between time and space.

Mouvement Dada as an ambiguous mechanomorphic diagram smudges timelines, history, and chronography, as well as space. David Joselit sees in the various mechanomorphic works of Picabia not so much machines per se, but diagrams connecting disparate parts of a whole. In fact, Joselit identifies the "diagrammatic" as Dada's third major formal innovation, along with the readymade and the montage, and argues that it is deployed as a response to the epistemological crisis created by the "historical rupture between the textual codes of the book and the visual codes exemplified by cinema," which Apollinaire had already detected in "L'Esprit nouveau."[157] "In other words," Joselit says, in Dada "the diagram reconnects the disconnected fragments of representation invented by cubism. This act of reconnection does not function as a return to coherence, but rather as a free play of polymorphous linkages."[158] The Dada diagram is likened to Deleuze and Guattari's "abstract machine," which "does not function to represent something real, but rather constructs a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality."[159] For Joselit, then, the Dada diagram, and especially the ones by Picabia, "have no referent," but instead represent relationality, "a dynamic form of agency" and "a nonplace or utopia."[160]

As its title indicates, however, Picabia's *Mouvement Dada* does have a referent: the Dada movement itself. The referentiality of this object is reinforced by the inclusion of all the names, historical and contemporary, in the work. The referent might not be a specific machine, or a cubist guitar, but the movement still stands as the specific "thing" to be represented, even if this representation is difficult to achieve in ways that are not metaphorical. The names included anchor the work in the concrete, nonmetaphorical realm, and bring *Mouvement Dada* close to the mechanomorphic portraits that Picabia created in the period immediately before Zürich—a notable, magazine-published example is the triptych for issue no. 5–6 of *291* in 1915, comprising mechanomorphic portraits of Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Haviland, and Marius de Zayas.[161] George Baker rightly points out that in these and other mechanomorphs, despite their pronounced diagrammatic character, the representational figurative function captured in the segment "-morph" (as figure) of their denomination cannot just be dismissed. He sees them as "modern imaginings of metamorphosis," a metamorphosis understood not as a formal transformation but rather as a semiotic transmutation that transcodes people and things into a "mobile assemblage of relations and vectors."[162] Indeed, *Mouvement Dada* operates one such transformation in which instead of the mechanomorphic portrait of one person we have the portrait of a group, Dada, whose internal relations and connections are depicted precisely as a "mobile assemblage."

Mouvement Dada is at one and the same time an icon (diagram) and an index (name) of Dada. As an icon, it performs a resemblance to the Dada movement in its historical becoming and its international existence, through the visual vocabulary of chronography and the clock connected to the kinetic device. The drawing thus shows Dada as a closed circuit of infinity, endlessly repeating itself, as a synergizing movement existing in an endless now. The inscription of names, on the other hand, underscores the indexicality of this representation. The handwritten names ground *Mouvement Dada* in the "now" with their distinct identities, but their relations seem messily diffuse, and resist attempts to plot connections and causalities, to create a history. The indexical names function as the nodes of a network, but these nodes are not clearly connected, thus making a "homeless network."[163] *Mouvement Dada* is the visual representation of what Dada magazines performed through their ephemeral proliferation: a dismissal of historicity as something monumental and transmissible. The drawing creates an "as if" history and space for Dada by voiding chronographic and topographic conventions

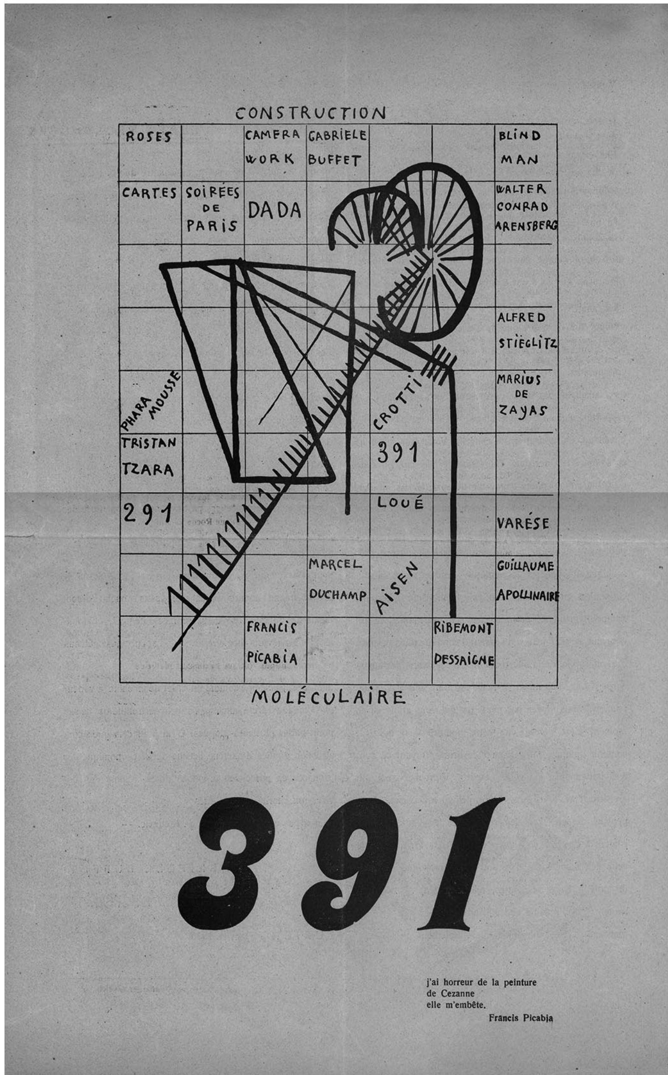


Figure 8. Francis Picabia, *Construction moléculaire* (*Molecular Construction*). In *391* no. 8, 1919, cover. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Marquand Library of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

which create a historical and geographical plotline. The actors of Dada, the names, float in a now and here, without a clear direction.

Construction moléculaire, published on the cover of issue no. 8 of *391*, the pendant for *Dada* no. 4–5, makes these dynamics even clearer.

A striking image of a modular grid, the only grid of this kind in Picabia's work, this work has been described as a chessboard,[164] a crossword puzzle, a periodic table, or a chart. The grid comprises 7 × 9 squares, in some of which various names, magazine titles, and words connected to Dada find their place.[165] In the center of the image stands a strange-looking mechanical device which, depending on our perspective, has either been superimposed on this grid or instead lies behind it. Michel Sanouillet reads in this image a "deployment of Picabia's troops,"[166] while Matthew Witkovsky describes the written parts in the grid as "grouped but not ranked," "nominal 'molecules' [that] hover around a thresherlike machine, which, lacking a clear purpose of motor, might either produce these floating cells or expend them as fuel."[167] Outside the grid and on top of it there is the word "Construction," and at the bottom "Moléculaire." On the magazine cover, the whole image is looming over its title, *391*, while under the title and at the bottom right of the cover page there is a short epigraph: "J'ai horreur de la peinture de Cézanne elle m'embête. Francis Picabia"—"I am horrified by Cézanne's painting it annoys me. Francis Picabia."

The same components that compose *Mouvement Dada* are again present: handwritten names related to Dada, a machine, and an abstract element, the grid. This time, however, the title of the work is not transparently referencing Dada, and while in *Mouvement Dada* the grid seemed like a secondary element, in *Construction moléculaire* it becomes the main visual focus. The basic components in these two images thus seem to be reversed: in *Mouvement Dada* the machine-like contraption is the focal point, while the grid recedes and is barely noticeable at the side; in *Construction moléculaire* the grid is the central element, while the machine-like sketch in the middle seems to recede. In a parallel way, temporality is much more pronounced in the first image with the genealogy column and the clock as its main signifiers, while in the second image spatiality seems to take over. While some of the names in the squares of the grid are not strictly contemporary—like that of Guillaume Apollinaire, dead by 1919, and his magazine *Soirées de Paris*, published in 1912–13, or even *Camerawork*, Stieglietz's magazine which had ceased publication in 1917—they mostly seem to float onto a present time as defined by a general Dada aesthetic, or at least an aesthetic which Picabia espoused as Dada.

Sascha Bru describes the image in *Construction moléculaire* as a "snapshot of the Dada movement," a kind of "grid-like family portrait,"[168] linking it to the *pêle-mêle* photographic tradition of grouping

photographs in one frame. Here again we have a kind of group portrait, in which personal names and the titles of magazines fulfill the indexical function of photographs. The words dispersed in the squares seem to define not a timeline but a synchronicity, a network visualized in the form of a grid. And this network is certainly international, as various positions in the grid are populated by actors in Paris—Apollinaire, Duchamp, Crotti, Buffet, Ribemont-Dessaigne, and *Soirées de Paris*; in Zürich—Tzara and *Dada*; and in New York—Stieglitz, de Zayas, Arensberg, Varèse, *291,* and *Blind Man*—the same geographical configuration present in *Mouvement Dada*. Almost all the agents of Dada included in the image were very mobile, the periodicals because of their international circulation, and the artists because most of them moved from one country to the other. This was true for Picabia—who appears with his real name in the grid but also with one of his many pseudonyms, "Pharamousse"—and his wife Gabrielle Buffet; for Marcel Duchamp, who was bridging New York and Paris; for Tzara, a Romanian in Zürich (who would soon head to Paris); for the Mexican Marius de Zayas, who went back and forth between New York and Paris; for Jean Crotti, a Swiss who lived in New York before getting to Paris; for the French composer Edgar Varèse, who moved to New York in 1915; and of course for Guillaume Apollinaire.

Like pieces on a board game that could potentially move, these names and words suggest mobility, which is further underscored by the blank squares of the grid. What are these gaps in the network that is Dada? What might be used to fill them? Are they blank spaces waiting to be occupied by the players already on the board, or are they awaiting new agents? The blank spaces create less an effect of homogeneity and similarity and more an effect of aleatory distribution. This chart distributes the elements of Dada in an open possibility of perpetual change. From the clock in *Mouvement Dada* as an iconic representation of the international space of Dada, a united but also finite space contained by the twelve hours, we move to a theoretically ever-expandable grid with many possible positions and positionnings.

Eric Bulson sees in the grid the visual signifier of the network shaped by the typography of the modernist magazines, a kind of "global positioning system in print form." As Bulson points out, in the late 1910s and early 1920s the grid became a "typographic protocol"[169] in modernist magazine vernacular, mainly as a way to "organize the titles and locations of like-minded magazines."[170] Often situated on the back covers of those periodicals, a grid would organize a list of similar maga-

zines, thereby visualizing a network: "the grid was there to organize information, but it was also an expression of being *in the network*, a way for magazines to identify their connections with and disconnections from one another."[171] Bulson refers to this as the "Dada grid," although he qualifies this denomination by adding that "it's difficult to pinpoint who is responsible for bringing the grid into the magazine: it appears as much in Constructivist and Russian Futurist magazines as it does in the neo-Dada offspring."[172] Among the avant-garde magazines that Bulson discusses, such as *L'Esprit Nouveau, Noi, G., De Stijl, Merz, Het Overzicht, Ma,* and *Mavo,*[173] in which the grid is deployed as a powerful typographic tool for the idea of the network, only one of these, Kurt Schwitters's very idiosyncratic *Merz*, could possibly be thought of as Dada. None of the others are specifically Dada publications, and are instead generally avant-garde or modernist magazines that occasionally hosted some Dada contributions. Nevertheless, Bulson comes back to the grid as a chiefly Dadaist feature, declaring that "the grid is rhizomatic" and seeing it as "the symbol, par excellence, of the decentralized disorganization that characterized Dada and neo-Dada movements in the early 1920s."[174]

Certainly, the grid does offer a visual representation of the avant-garde and modernist network, and as such it is decentralized and in fact polycentric. But the grids in the periodicals that Bulson discusses are not disorganized. On the contrary, the visual effect of these magazines' grids is that of a neat organization. Those grids that distribute the magazine titles might not be hierarchical or centralized, but they are clearly delineated, absolutely legible, and strictly arranged within a transparent and angular geometry. If we compare these modernist grids to the equivalent typographies in the Dada periodicals we have discussed so far, *Dada* and *391*, which are not included in Bulson's study, a completely different treatment of the grid arises. On the back cover of *Dada* no. 6, for instance, published in Paris in March 1920 (figure 9), Dada publications are advertised arranged in a grid, according to the logic of the modernist magazine explained by Bulson. But here the grid takes the form of delineations between block paragraphs in which text is oriented horizontally or vertically and includes a few squares which enclose the titles of affiliated periodicals (*391, Proverbe*) and editors ("Au sans pareil"). The geometry of this grid and its regularity are uncertain; the grid looks disorganized and aleatory. This disorganization is further emphasized by the superimposition over the grid of a red, airy sketch by Picabia with handwritten inscriptions. The

Figure 9. Back cover of *Dada* no. 6, 1920. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

page is barely legible, the grid is a mess. Likewise, a page in the fourteenth issue of *391*, published in Paris in November 1920 (figure 10) and entitled "Une nuit d'échecs gras, page composée par Tristan Tzara" ("A Night of Greasy Chess, Page Composed by Tristan Tzara") seems almost like a parody of the modernist grid. Typographically, the page is a composition of text blocks of different fonts going either horizontally or vertically which give the impression of a grid, while frames enclose titles of Dada publications. What prevails is a strong sense of crowded disorganization. But perhaps the best example of this deconstruction of the grid in Dada periodicals is the cover for the deluxe edition of *Dada*

Figure 10. Tristan Tzara, "Une nuit d'échecs gras" ("A Night of Greasy Chess"). In *391* no. 14, 1920, page 4. Copyright © M. T. Tzara; International Dada Archive, Special Collections and Archives, University of Iowa Libraries.

no. 4–5 (figure 11), bearing the non-serial title "Anthologie Dada," as mentioned above. This cover is composed of a woodcut by Jean Arp, a vaguely organic form printed on a piece of paper; the paper is glued on a newspaper page of classified ads organized in a neat grid. The word "dada" in thick black letters is printed over the newspaper and under Arp's woodcut. The fluid shape of Arp's work, together with the

Figure 11. Jean Arp, "Anthologie Dada." In *Dada* no. 4–5, 1919, cover, variant edition. Wood engraving and collage, 29 × 19.5 cm. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

word "dada," seem to overwrite and annul the abstraction of the grid and its austere typographic organization. Over the grid as organizing device for the exchange of goods and money—the classifieds in the mainstream press—Dada stamps its name and its undefined, malleable form. The grid in the actual Dada publications, as opposed to the other avant-garde and modernist magazines of the time, actually appears as

messy and disorganized, with its abstract rigidity often overtaken by other dynamic structures.

Similar processes of undermining the grid as a representational device of international connections seem to be at work in *Construction moléculaire*. Deleuze and Guattari see in the grid a rhizome which permits endless connections and as such is opposed to the tree, which plots a point and creates linear relations and genealogies.[175] In this sense, *Construction moleculaire* opposes *Mouvement Dada* in their group representation of Dada: the latter creates a semblance of a genealogy, the former a plane of distribution. The grid seems to function in *Construction moléculaire* as some kind of positioning device, distributing names and titles in its boxes, much like the twentieth-century cartographic grid, a mathematic abstraction of coordinates that can accurately locate position, while ignoring the curvature of the Earth. One of the "most successful cartographic innovations of the twentieth century," according to William Rankin, grid coordinate systems were first designed in 1915 by survey engineers in the French Army to facilitate the accuracy of its artillery bombardments.[176] The grid has a different representational logic from that of the map, which functions on latitude and longitude, relative to the equator and the Greenwich meridian; grids, by contrast, locate points in relation to each other on a regional rather than a global level.[177] Maps are iconic miniatures of the world, while grids are frameworks of points.[178] Grid coordinates thus create a representation of the world in which the real terrain is overlaid with the most abstract version possible of a map.[179] Like the perspective grid used by Renaissance painters, which was superimposed on a landscape scene in order to achieve a more realistic representation of it, the grid as a cartographic convention functions almost like an optical device. As Rankin concludes, "although the grids of World War I were certainly a cartographic technology, they did not actually represent anything at all. Instead, they were a new kind of spatial infrastructure, overlaid and installed as a new way of inhabiting geographical space."[180] In *Construction moléculaire*, however, the object layered under the grid is unclear. Is it a strange machine placed diagonally on the grid? And what is this machine? Is it a cannon pointing out to the left? Is this a remnant of the war[181] that invites us to read the cartographic grid as an artillery map, a "canevas de points," marking all the beacons of Dada in Europe and in New York, ready to shoot? Is this what is left of a diagrammatic machine which now connects nothing? Or is the actual object to be seen through the grid something else, maybe the collective of Dada?

Picabia experimented once more with the grid in his work *Danse de Saint-Guy* (*Saint Vitus's Dance*), which was shown at the Salon des Indépendants in 1922.[182] This work consists of the frame of a tableau, on which strings are fastened to create a grid stretched across the empty space. Attached to the strings are small labels with words written on them. The original is now lost, but in a photograph published in the magazine *The Little Review* in the spring of 1922, Picabia himself is holding up the work and can be seen through the grid (figure 12). The words on what seem like five labels are illegible in this photograph.[183] In the extant 1940s version, three handwritten labels give the title, "Danse de Saint-Guy," the artist, "Francis Picabia," and the enigmatic

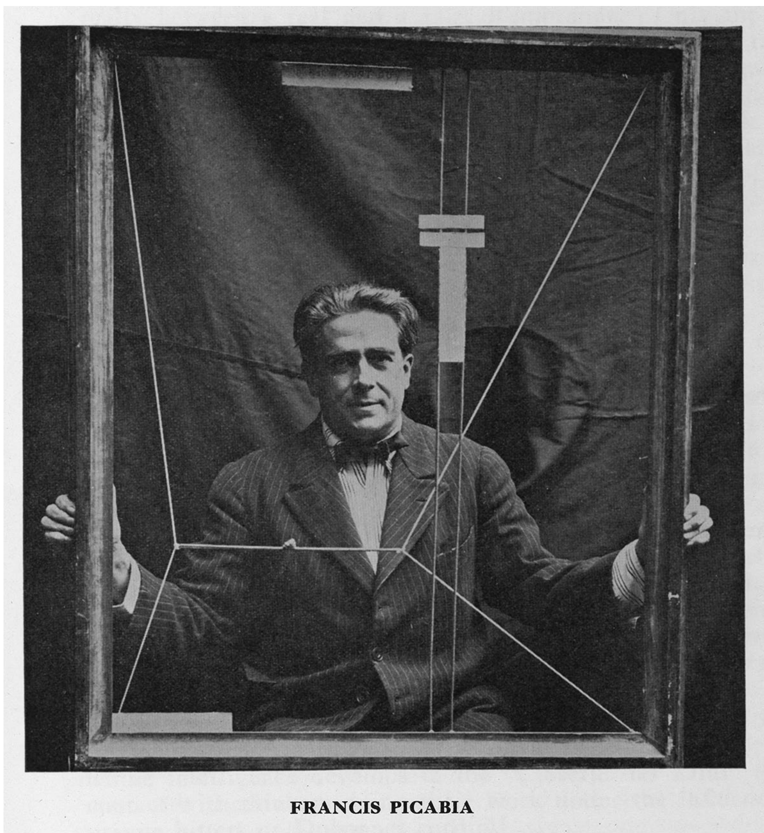


Figure 12. Photograph of Francis Picabia holding *Danse de Saint-Guy*. In *The Little Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, spring 1922, page 43. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

phrase "Tabac-Rat"—"rat," in a familiar Picabia wordplay manner, could stand as an anagram of "art."[184] Named for the contagious Saint-Guy/Saint Vitus dance mania of delirious crowds, the "painting" was supposed to hang not against a wall, but from the ceiling: "The painting," said Picabia in a 1950s interview, "must remain 'transparent.' The strings accompany the movement of anything that passes beyond the frame and constitute a painting. Thus, one can only hang this painting far from the wall, outside the reach of the wall that would only obstruct it. The painting divides space into volumes."[185] Picabia holding up the work in the photograph indeed creates a "tableau," in which the grid in the foreground divides the space in the background into volumes, that space being occupied by none other than Picabia himself. Like the cartographic grid superimposed on the terrain or on a map in order to divide space for accurate positioning, or like the Renaissance drawing frame as a grid imposed between the eye and the object to be reproduced in order to translate three dimensions in two dimensions, the strings of the *Danse de Saint-Guy* perform this decoupage on Picabia's figure. *Danse de Saint-Guy* creates connections between the written words, the abstract grid, and the changing imagery behind the grid[186] by continuously showing that these correlations can be unstable: the image behind can change; the words attached to the strings can and did change from the first to the second version; the strings' configuration can be altered; the words can be attached to different grid compartments, and so on. As in Picabia's other works of layering, in this work too superimposition and transparency "intentionally fail to add up or resolve themselves in any one, easily decipherable narrative or composition."[187]

The radicalism of *Danse de Saint-Guy* in relation to issues of transparency has been widely discussed, thereby connecting it to Marcel Duchamp's contemporaneous *To Be Looked at (from the Other Side of the Glass) with One Eye, Close to, for Almost One Hour* (1918) and his *Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors*,[188] or even to his now lost *Sculpture for Traveling*—a "sculpture" made out of rubber bands and string that could be installed, stretched out, in any room, and then put away.[189] Moreover, its affinity with other works by Picabia which deploy transparency, like *Jeune fille (Bracelet de la vie)* (*The Young Girl* [*The Life Bracelet*[]),[190] or with his works that explore repainting and painting in layers,[191] has also been established. The connection of *Danse de Saint-Guy*, however, to the only other grid in Picabia's work, that of *Construction moléculaire*, has been overlooked. In a way, *Construction moléculaire* seems to be like a first go for *Danse de Saint-Guy*, with the

latter deploying the same components—grid, words distributed by the grid, and an object over which the grid is layered—but in the three-dimensional space of a gallery, instead of the two-dimensional space of a magazine page. *Construction moléculaire*, unlike the grid in modernist magazines, directs our attention as much to the empty squares as to those that contain writing. Like the *Danse de Saint-Guy* which capitalizes on emptiness and the void, *Construction moléculaire* brings the empty squares on to the same level as the written ones. If the object that the grid shows through its transparency is Dada, then much of it is vacant space that might or might not be filled by some mad dancers contaminated by the contagious frenzy of Saint-Guy. Like the *Danse de Saint-Guy*, *Construction moléculaire* implies that the correlations among its elements are unstaible, subject to perpetual change.

The connection with *Danse de Saint-Guy* might help us better understand the enigmatic title of *Construction moléculaire*: is this image really about molecules? As mentioned before, if we look at the entire cover of the magazine, the epigraph at the bottom right reads: "J'ai horreur de la peinture de Cézanne, elle m'embête. Francis Picabia." Picabia will attack Cézanne again a couple of years later, when he would publish in his short-lived magazine *Cannibale* a piece called *Tableau Dada*[192] which depicts a stuffed toy monkey, waving and holding his tail, surrounded by the inscriptions "Portrait de Cézanne Portrait de Rembrandt Portrait de Renoir Natures mortes." The monkey in the middle is indeed a "nature morte," a lifeless imitation of nature, and stands as a literal depiction of art as mimesis, as aping—according to the old convention of art as an "ape of nature."[193] Rather than the artist as a monkey, *Tableau Dada* shows that the traditional art of the portrait is a kind of a ridiculous imitation.[194] This Dada image strips bare the convention of imitative representation in a parodic gesture to show the triteness of art as we know it and to point in a different direction, a different type of representation, one that would perhaps be, as Picabia said, not an imitation of nature but rather an "imitation of the artist's choice,"[195] the mimesis of mimesis, the representation of the act of representation.

Construction moléculaire, then, might be the antidote to Cézanne's paintings, as the sly inscription under it anathematizing Cézanne implies, and a kind of first iteration of the *Tableau Dada*. Both works deploy some kind of "tableau" and diverge from it: the *tableau* as painting (*Tableau Dada*) and the *tableau* as chart, as a canvas in the military charting sense, or perhaps even as the periodic table (*tableau périodique*), in which the eponymous molecules float and are organized

(*Construction moléculaire*). The prevalence of the abstract optical grid, as well as the ghost-presence of "tableau" in *Construction moléculaire*, lead us to understand the title as a comment on the representational strategy of the work itself. The word "construction" points to the assemblage aspect of the work: a grid, handwritten elements, the diagonal machine, they all compose the picture together. But it also points to the assemblage character of the Dada movement which the work depicts. "Moléculaire" might indeed be a reference to all the elements in the grid that constitute the "molecules," the elementary units of Dada; but I think it is also a wink, one of many Picabia's puns, since it almost hides in itself the word "oculaire." This is a "construction-mon-oculaire," a construction of the artist's eye, his kind of "tableau." Instead of an image that cultivates "retinal euphoria," as Marcel Duchamp would have put it,[196] Picabia gives his viewpoint on what the artwork should be, by focusing on concepts and at the same time transferring these concepts to his view of the Dada movement. Like *Tableau Dada* which zeroed in on the convention of the mimetic portrait and pointed to Dada's rejection of mimetic representation, *Construction moléculaire* seems to undermine another convention: the grid. The viewer is prompted to see the grid in *Construction moléculaire* in spatial and relational terms, as some kind of system; but the rules of this system, the specific spatiality and connectivity of it, are left open. Dada as a system, the distant referent of this representation, is undermined.

Construction moléculaire appears to be an imitation of the act of imitating, another type of stuffed monkey. It is a representation of a representation, that is, a representation of the grid as an organizing conceptual unit, as a chart, as a convention in science, geography, chronography, but also in art, and especially within the avant-garde. As such, it defies both the modernist grid as a signifier of abstraction and nonmimetic representation,[197] and the avant-garde grid as a tool of organization, as a printed GPS. Picabia's "mon-oculaire," his own vision, his own eye on Dada, a collective and polymorphous movement, is this clash of optical grid, diagrammatic machine, and handwritten names of people, that ends up performing some kind of spatial hopscotch in a pseudo-neat organization, which in fact is a non-organization.

Picabia keeps coming back to the representation of the group even as he breaks away from Dada, and to writing and rewriting the names that stand in indexically for the Dada community. In one of these works, the 1922 pamphlet "Plus de cubisme" ("No More Cubism"), the grid also reappears as an almost imperceptible trace. The pamphlet is a simple

pink-colored page whose recto bears the aphorisms "No more Cubism Cubism is no more than commercial speculation Amateurs, beware No more Dadaism Dadaism wants to be a political speculation Snobs, beware There is only" ("Plus de Cubisme Le Cubisme n'est plus que spéculation commerciale Amateurs, méfiez-vous Plus de Dadaïsme Le Dadaïsme veut être une spéculation politique Snobs, méfiez-vous Il n'y a plus que"), and whose verso features one single rectangular frame (figure 13). The frame contains and is contained by names: the lines are bordered by a series of names that can be seen to represent a general modernist aesthetic,[198] while inside the frame, the names of those who Picabia thought constituted the living avant-garde in 1922 float, typed in different directions.[199] The typography of this pamphlet resembles that of the one-off magazine *La Pomme de pins*, as the names are typed (and not handwritten) in different directions emulating a calligrammatic composition, but there is also an affinity with *Construction moléculaire* that goes beyond the repetition of names that appear in both compositions. The 1922 pamphlet seems to eliminate the modular

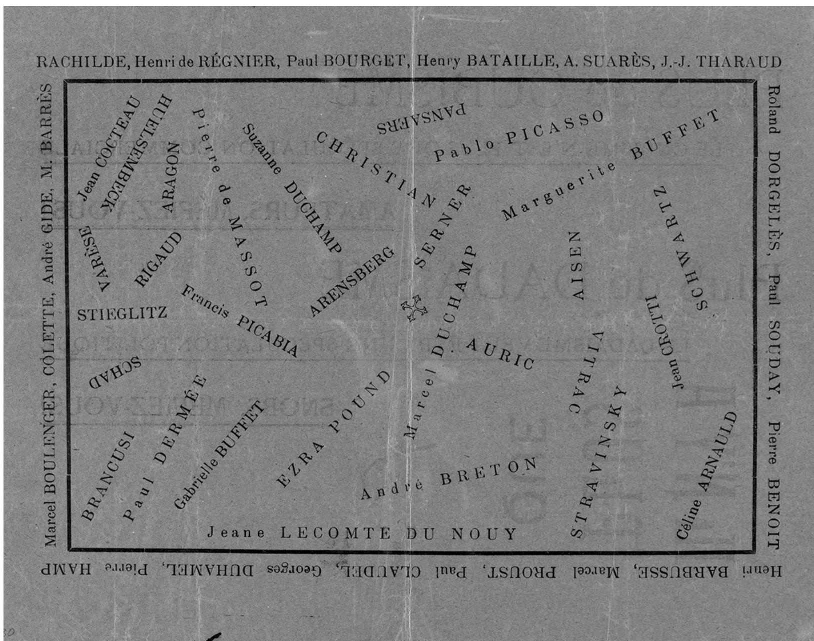


Figure 13. Francis Picabia, "Plus de cubisme" ("No More Cubism"), 1922. Handbill: letterpress, 19 × 23 cm. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Copyright © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY; copyright © ARS, NY.

grid and retains from it just one frame, in which all the names seems to coexist without any other kind of organization. In the center of this frame there is a small cross, which stands as a relic of a grid—just as the small hook-like shape on the other side of the pamphlet stands as a simplistic relic of a machine or of a diagram. The names have taken over all the other elements of the composition, grid and machine, with the latter two holding only token positions, as a mere wink to an attempt at a minimal organization of the group.

Picabia's representations of Dada as a movement revolve around his strategies to create pictorial relations among the people who made international Dada; he brings names and magazines together and gestures to their connections, temporal and spatial, but these connections remain graphically unclear. I see these unclear connections as the graphic representations of Dada's spectral internationalism. In *Mouvement Dada*, the graphic materialization of the connections among Dadaists was a kinetic machine, which operated an iconic equation between the movement and its international existence, as well as an equation between Dada and the indexical traces of its components, the names of the artists. *Construction moléculaire* maintained this indexical presence of artists' names, but the representation of Dada's international space is no longer iconic but abstract, conceptual, an optical grid imposed on the names that obscures connections between them instead of clarifying them in the way one would expect from a rational, organizing grid. The last printed snapshot of the group, "Plus de cubisme," retains only the names and forgoes any attempt to represent the time or space of the movement. The names float without mechanical, diagrammatic, abstract, or any other connections. Dada as a network is visualized by Picabia in increasingly disconnected ways; edges are lost, and nodes remain as free-floating molecules. Dada seems indeed to be a cluster of nomads, unconnected, misconnected, or messily connected.

Nowhere else is this nomadic messiness more pronounced than in the last group portrait by Francis Picabia, the canvas *L'Oeil cacodylate* (figure 14), completed in 1921. Picabia created this work when he had an eye infection, treated ostensibly with sodium cacodylate. While he stayed at home, he asked his international group of friends who came to visit, most of them, if not all, associated with some version of a local Dada group, to inscribe something on a canvas he placed in the middle of the room, and they did: they signed their names and wrote short texts, sometimes accompanied by photographic portraits. After this tableau was shown at the Salon d'Automne, Picabia had a second round

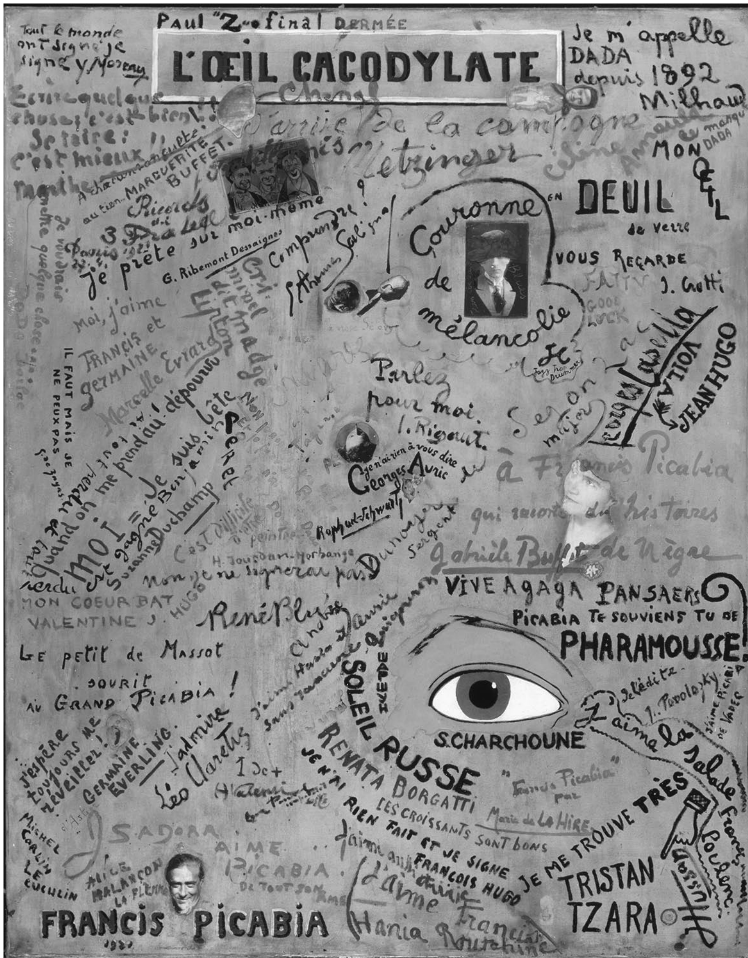


Figure 14. Francis Picabia, *L'Oeil cacodylate* (*The Cacodylic Eye*), 1921. Oil on cloth and collage with photographs, 148.6 × 117.4 cm. Musee National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris; CNAC/MNAM, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

of inscription-writing, this time at the "réveillon cacodylate" organized at Marthe Chenal's house on New Year's Eve of 1921,[200] and the work was thereafter exhibited for years at the Parisian cabaret "Le Boeuf sur le Toit."

The "cacodylate" in the title refers to the aforementioned chemical compound and comes from the Greek *kakodes*, meaning bad smelling,

precisely because of the chemical's bad odor.[201] The acid was not actually prescribed for eye conditions but rather for mental conditions,[202] like the ones suffered by Picabia when he was hospitalized in Switzerland during his 1918–19 trip.[203] It was during this stay that the word "cacodylate" appears for the first time in Picabia's work, in one of his poems in the collection *Poèmes et dessins de la fille née sans mère*—written when his doctors had prescribed abstinence from painting. The poem "Cacodylate" describes this Swiss stint and seems to imply a description of the medication's effects and attributes of which the "cacodylic eye" is a part:

> Her parade whose turmoil has ruthless milestones
> led a procession of a bright pink cacodylate eye
> through my life of Swiss overeating.[204]

This procession of the cacodylic eye was to be graphically realized in the tableau a few years later. *L'Oeil cacodylate* is a collection of different handwritten inscriptions, along with a few collaged in photographs. The parts made by Picabia himself are the painting of an eye (painted first on the empty canvas), the title at the top of the canvas (painted last), and his name in printed-like capital letters, not as a signature, on the left side, together with a collaged photograph of his. All of these elements painted by Picabia usually belong outside of the representational realm: the title, the date, and the artist's name are part of the labeling of the work, while the eye of the artist (or of the viewer, for that matter) stand for the conditions of visuality that determine the production and the reception of the work. Picabia, yet again, paints the institutional and conceptual framework of the work of art and leaves everything else blank. Much like *Danse de Saint-Guy* whose emptiness was to be filled by the presence of people crossing the gallery space behind it, the empty canvas of *L'Oeil cacodylate* was filled by signs of people's presence, their handwritten messages and signatures. This work has been variously called one of "the most celebrated ex votos of modern painting,"[205] a mural graffito,[206] a painting as "monument" "newly about the logic of the sign,"[207] and an anti-painting. There are indeed many things to be said about this canvas, which defies all kinds of categories: it is a visual work made out of words, it is the work of an individual made by a collective, and it is a tribute to the collective precisely at the moment when Picabia was breaking from Dada as a movement. The eye dominating the canvas is the eponymous cacodylic eye, the eye of the artist,

literally a "bad-smelling" eye, a sort of stink eye, that looks out at the viewer and seems to be omnivoyant.[208] The ocular punctum of the canvas is the only painted image, which is overwhelmed by the inscriptions, by writing. The painting is not to be seen, it is to be read; it is an anti-ocular work, or rather, a work that redefines the ocular, what the eye should do. "Moléculaire/mon occulaire" finds its literal depiction here. The eye of the artist is surrounded by inscriptions, like a graffiti mural, that repeat some of the names in the other works discussed above. Yet these names are no longer written by the hand of the artist; each is written by the hand of its owner. The indexical value of the name is now complete, as the individual handwriting exemplifies the singularity of the name. This indexical function is further amplified by the inclusion of photographs, which double the signatures as traces left by the artists. The painting is the signature(s) of the artist(s), augmented by other elements that intensify the imprint of each participant.

These individual inscriptions make the painting into another group representation of Dada, but this time almost as a group self-portrait. The tableau, made by signatures that memorialize the lived presence of the group,[209] functions as a record of sorts which takes handwriting, present in the other works that we saw, from a secondary position to the central focus. In the other works, the names written by the hand of Picabia grant content to diagrams and grids, whose lines attempt to give the names some syntax and relationality. In *L'Oeil cacodylate* the names are no longer connected by any linear element; they are completely liberated from semiotic strictures, whether those of the diagram or the grid. The names and inscriptions may look like forming groupings and connections, but in a kind of diagram gone wild, an anarchic diagram, in which there is no pretense to formalize nodal points of contact and relationalities. The names as scriptural monuments of "Dada" are free-floating and offer no narrative of continuities, causalities, or connections. If the diagram and the grid visualize relations and connections in spatial terms, here they are superseded by a different type of semiosis, which was already vying for imposition in the other works: the signature as an indexical sign of absolute individuality and uniqueness. *L'Oeil cacodylate* re-creates the international group, international Dada, and Dada's internationalism, as a barely legible—and problematically visible—nonhierarchical and non-organized accumulation of traces of singularity.

L'Oeil cacodylate thus seems to be completing a visual process—both formal and cognitive—that is already present in what appear to

be helpful diagrams but are in fact "messy" diagrams of Dada as an international movement. *Mouvement Dada* and *Construction moléculaire* as Dada's group portraits end up showing that Dada as an international movement is a series of clustered networks that might intersect in some unpredictable ways, but which do not and cannot coalesce in a neat, tree-like, diagrammatic way. *L'Oeil cacodylate* goes one step further and offers an imprint of the "messy" internationalism of Dada by its own actors. The molecules of Dada, the individual artists and writers, are now completely free of any diagrammatic or other connection. What keeps them together is only the frame of the canvas, the only organizing instance of the work.

Picabia creates compelling visual representations of the programmatic and pragmatic "internationalism without an International" that Dada practiced through its magazines. The world that Dada imagines and reaches out for boils down to the distinct individual voices of its creators, who transcend national borders with an internationalist ethos while resisting organization and coordination. The representations of Dada as messy networks dominated by the strong presence of individuals align with the function of magazines as traces of the movement. Dada magazines function as fingerprints of the movement, they stand for Dada itself. They emulate the print culture of the anarchists, its decentralization and proliferation; like the anarchist journals, Dada magazines are the concrete manifestations of an internationalization that eschews coordination. Picabia's group portraits pictorially represent this ambivalence toward organization and render the decentered internationalism of Dada.

Picabia's Dada group portraits are visual counterparts of the Dada magazines' performance of internationalist connections: ephemeral, syncopated, disjointed, elusive. Visual works and print culture create the assemblage image of the Dadaist world just after the war, which is far from the anxious world of Apollinaire. This is a jubilant world, teeming with vibrant individuals who attempt to connect it together. But these connections do not adhere to a whole; they meander, are redrawn constantly, and keep changing shape dynamically, forming an image of a euphoric but messy world.

CHAPTER 3

Cosmopolitan Peasants

The Foreignness of the Avant-Garde

At some point in 1924, Louis Aragon struck up a conversation with the concierge of the Passage de l'Opéra, a soon-to-be demolished arcade in Paris and the object of half of his 1926 book *Le Paysan de Paris* (*Paris Peasant*). The concierge was having a drink at the Café Louis XVI when Aragon started asking questions about the various establishments located in the passage:

> I wanted to know if there still existed in his domain a bizarre establishment which Valéry had once described to me: an agency which accepted unstamped letters and arranged to have them posted from any desired point of the globe to the address written on the envelope, a facility which would allow the customer to feign a voyage to the Far East, for example, without moving an inch from the far west of some secret adventure. Impossible to find out anything, the concierge had never heard such a place mentioned.[1]

The agency was never found, it remained a legend, niched in an arcade that would disappear and become legendary in its turn thanks to Aragon's narrative.

Within a general modernist discourse of the phantasmagoria of the city, *Le Paysan de Paris* stands out as a characteristic case of surrealist urban mythology. The book is seen as exemplary of the surrealists' dedication to Paris, both as an urban reality and as a condition of possibility for their movement, for their endeavor. In this quintessentially urban narrative, Aragon starts his research in the Passage de l'Opéra by looking for an agency that helps its clients feign voyages around the world. The voyage, one of the greatest myths of modernity, one of the most renowned topoi of modernism, and one of the features of cosmopolitan literature and culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is completely deconstructed: no one needs to take a trip around the world; travel is an illusion, everything is just here, in a dirty corner of Paris about to be demolished. But most strikingly, in the middle of the "movable feast" that designated 1920s Paris as the cosmopolis par excellence, teeming with artists and writers coming from all over the world in a renewed and reinvigorated cosmopolitan spirit, it is to a "peasant," a humble non-urban figure, that Aragon gives Paris, and through whom Paris is given to us. Globe-trotting and urban elitism, two of the most persistent features of cosmopolitan life from the 1880s on, are just dismissed.

This chapter discusses this and other instances in which the French avant-garde interlocked with cosmopolitanism and its attributes, as they were delineated in France during the interwar period. "Cosmopolitanism" has today become a term that dominates almost all discussions of the ethical, political, and cultural implications of living in a globalized world. It has assimilated in its newly widened philosophical, sociological, political, and cultural scope the characteristics of other world-signifying terms—the ethical stance of universalism and the political urgency of internationalism. This signification for "cosmopolitanism" is recent, however; the contemporary iteration of cosmopolitanism is a re-valorization of a term that was devalued in accelerated ways throughout the nineteenth century, reaching perhaps a peak of contemptuous connotations just before the First World War. The concept of cosmopolitanism as it is used in the twenty-first century redeems the Enlightenment's investment of the term with universalism, skipping over the "dark period" for cosmopolitanism which coincided with the consolidation of nationalism and with various nationalist crises in France—most notably the Dreyfus affair, the nascent modern antisemitism, and the First World War. It is no accident that most contemporary thinkers who revisit cosmopolitanism find their early conceptual cornerstones in

the Greek Cynics and Diogenes, and in Kant, before then leaping forward to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948. The historical avant-garde, however, happened between these two moments of the late eighteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, and engaged with what cosmopolitanism meant then.

What being cosmopolitan meant then was being nomadic, rootless, detached, abstract, exotic, *rastaquouère*, foreign, elitist, degenerate, and of course Jewish. Always associated with the city, cosmopolitanism *was* Paris, especially after World War I and the advent of foreign artist and writers, the Paris of Montparnasse and jazz: Paris, the *polis*, was indeed a *cosmos*, as the world came rapidly to meet and mingle in its streets. Emerging as a polyvalent term, "cosmopolitanism" became something akin to the negative imprint of patriotic nationalism and was circumscribed as a nebulous, catchall concept whose affirmative features were few and lacking in constructive coherence. In this chapter, I reconstruct what the term "cosmopolitan" came to mean in dominant social and political discourses at the specific historical moment of the avant-garde, and then see how the French avant-garde actually endorsed some of the dominant negative features of cosmopolitanism for itself. I therefore explore the notion of "foreignness" as a disparaging term associated with "cosmopolitanism," and one used consistently as a qualifier for avant-garde production in France which, beginning with the symbolists in the 1880s and continuing with the futurists, the Dadaists, and the surrealists in the twentieth century, was itself seen as a threat to the nation. Cosmopolitanism as foreignness was condemned by both the Right and the Left, and was seen as a condition of detachment and distance. Avant-garde artists and writers did not eschew this characterization; on the contrary, they embraced it and cultivated for themselves an ambiguous position of detachment and attachment. The figure of the "rastaquouère," a flashy and suspect cosmopolitan, became for Francis Picabia an instance of this appropriation of foreignness as a cosmopolitan feature, which he re-signified as a positive attribute. Picabia's provocative text *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* (1920) complements his commitment to Dada's paradoxical internationalism, as it transforms cosmopolitanism from an elusive and ill-defined experience of high-class nomadism into a potential social, political, and ethical position in the world.

Louis Aragon's surprising image of the "peasant" in *Le Paysan de Paris*, a narrative that aims at conveying the urban experience of Paris, is another instance of grappling with cosmopolitanism as it was perceived in the 1920s. Almost an antonym of the sophisticated Parisian

cosmopolitan, the peasant becomes the paradigmatic expression of a new type of engagement with the city, the cosmopolitan place par excellence. The peasant is transformed from a trope of organic nationalism into the exemplary city dweller; the traditional sedentary existence of the peasant, rooted now in Paris and not in the unspecified "land" of the rural *patria*, replaces the globe-trotting of a cosmopolitan, urban elite. Cosmopolitanism is thus decoupled from international mobility as its necessary condition and is instead associated with a specific posture of "being in the world" that is provided by the modern city-as-a-world. Aragon's imaginary travel agency that simulates voyages around the globe from the heart of the Passage de l'Opéra is emblematic of this shift. The new cosmopolitanism envisioned by the newcomers on the French avant-garde scene, the surrealists, is no longer a synonym for detachment but is infused instead with a sense of militant belonging, not to the nation, but indeed to the "world." In the last section of this chapter I turn to a different version of foreign/native bipolarity within cosmopolitanism, that of language. I discuss instances in which non-native French avant-garde writers, the cosmopolitans pouring into Paris, wrote in French, but consciously did so in an erroneous French, creating a language that feels foreign. French as a homogenous and hegemonic language imposed by a Parisian "center" is in these cases undermined by errors, which function as linguistic materializations of the endemic foreignness of the avant-garde.

The pervasive expansiveness of the concept and the experience of cosmopolitanism during the interwar period allows for a holistic view of the avant-garde in France adopted in this chapter—as opposed to the other chapters of the book, which focus on one movement at a time. Thanks to the avant-garde, a cosmopolitan life came to signify not just international mobility, but an openness to the "worldliness" of the world, and a committment to a collectivity that transcended the nation. The Dadaists and surrealists appropriated interwar cosmopolitanism—which at best had been descriptive of foreign provenance and at worst connotative of a detached, meaningless existence of debauchery. The post-World War I avant-garde actively absorbed these negative connotations, underscoring its own cosmopolitanism in multiple ways—as foreignness or urbanity, for instance. To these common perceptions the avant-garde added new ones that were to be associated with cosmopolitanism thereafter, and thus transformed cosmopolitanism into a positive value: an ethical and political responsibility as "citizens of the world."

OF COSMOPOLITANS AND *RASTAQUOUÈRES*

"Paris knows now what it costs to be the Bed and Breakfast of both worlds. Paris was no longer the French capital; it was Cosmopolis that holds an open house for the foreign immigrants."[2] This is a description of Paris in 1871, quoted in a 1915 article in the Catholic conservative newspaper *La Croix*. The author bemoans the fact that this warning from some forty years before was not heard in time, and the results have been nefarious. Paris has become a hotel for all the foreigners flooding into it, a "Cosmopolis" that seems to be devoured by foreign invasions. In the midst of the Great War this cosmopolitanism, in the form of the thousands of foreigners in the Parisian capital, is lamented as a calamity. The author of *La Croix* traces the roots of this calamity to the end of the Franco-Prussian War and creates a connection with the ongoing Great War, which seems to continue what was started in 1870. And indeed, these two historical moments, 1870 and 1915, mark a period during which the term "cosmopolitanism" underwent a significant revision and was endowed with new meanings: cosmopolitanism came to be viewed as "bad" during the last third of the nineteenth century, and this negativity permeated the concept for the first half of the twentieth century as well.

At the opposite pole of these early twentieth-century connotations of the concept is the contemporary understanding of cosmopolitanism as a political and ethical counterpoint to a world shaped by a ruthless globalized market—an understanding largely influenced by the publication of Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins's volume *Cosmopolitics* in 1998.[3] From there on, cosmopolitanism has been increasingly elaborated as a political project, based on a reconstructed philosophical tradition that predated national formations and nationalism, and nourished by anthropological considerations which valorize flexible communities that transcend or cut across nations.[4] Most of the contemporary approaches to cosmopolitanism have found their theoretical support in a genealogy of the term that takes it from ancient Greece, through Rome, to the Enlightenment, and specifically to Kant.[5] These elaborations of cosmopolitanism have imbued the concept with an ethical universalism that counters earlier universalist perspectives, which articulated, in explicit or implicit ways, Western hegemonic positions.[6] Cosmopolitanism today is thus understood as an expression of the ethical imperative and the political urgency imposed by a renewed perception of citizenship in a global era, that of a whole world not just one nation.[7] Yet genealogies

of contemporary cosmopolitanism bypass an important stage in the history of the term, when "cosmopolitan" was used almost as a slur. As Bruce Robbins remarks in his introduction to *Cosmopolitics*, "in the past the term has been applied, often venomously, 'to Christians, aristocrats, merchants, Jews, homosexuals, and intellectuals.'"[8] When was this past? It was more or less the present of the historical avant-garde.

The term "cosmopolite" appeared in French in the sixteenth century and was first applied to plants that are capable of living everywhere around the world,[9] and then to insects along the same lines,[10] before entering the realm of humans. For humans, the term in French followed the meaning given to it by Diogenes the Cynic, who invented the word to signify his allegiance to the world, and not to one city-state; to the question of where he came from, Diogenes responded, "I am a *kosmopolites*," I am a citizen of the world.[11] We find the term in the dictionary of Trévoux in 1721 as "cosmopolitain": "a man who has no fixed abode, or is a man who is a stranger nowhere."[12] A few years later, in 1750, Jean-Louis Fougeret de Montbron published his autobiographical narrative *Le Cosmopolite, ou le citoyen du monde* (*The Cosmopolitan, or the Citizen of the World*), which opens with this rather ominous conclusion:

> The universe is a sort of book, whose first page one has read when one has seen only one's own country. I have leafed through a great many that I have found equally bad. This inquiry has not been at all unfruitful. I hated my country. All the oddities of the different people among whom I have lived have reconciled me to it. Should I gain no other benefit from my travels than this, I will have regretted neither the pains nor the fatigues.[13]

Usually, only the first sentence of the book is quoted, as an invitation to an openness to the world: the universe is a book, and our own country is only the first page.[14] What follows this first sentence, however, shows that for Fougeret de Montbron a cosmopolitan existence of traveling from country to country only proved to him how good the fatherland is, compared to a bad wide world. This is not an opening to the world but rather a closing off from it.

Around the same time, D'Alembert wrote the entry for "cosmopolitain ou cosmopolite" for the *Encyclopédie*, noting that "one says this sometimes in jest to mean a *man who has no fixed abode* or is a *man who is a stranger nowhere*."[15] The italics here obviously quote the Trévoux

dictionary, while "in jest" casts doubt on the actual use of the term in this sense. From this witticism to Rousseau's admonition in *Emile*, "beware of those cosmopolitans who go to great lengths in their books to discover duties they do not deign to fulfill around them,"[16] what we can infer is that the *term* "cosmopolitan" did not actually have an invariably positive value during the Enlightenment period, but the *concept* of universality attached to it did. Immanuel Kant's essay "To Perpetual Peace" in 1795 advocates for a law for "world citizenship" (*ius cosmopoliticum*), "so far as men and states are considered as citizens of a universal state of men,"[17] and invests the term "cosmopolitanism" with the universalist scope of the Enlightenment ideal. As mentioned above, this Kantian cosmopolitanism became the basis for the contemporary philosophical but also juridical elaboration of the concept, which privileges universality and global human community over actual travel and mobility.

Nineteenth-century philosophy, evolving in the context of Romantic nationalism, often reacted to this Kantian universalism, and Joseph de Maistre's lapidary declaration might be its most succinct expression: "Now, there is no such thing as 'man' in this world. In my life I have seen Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, and so on. I even know, thanks to Montesquieu, that one can be Persian."[18] However, this perspective, and others,[19] were reactions to the programmatic conceptual universalism of the Enlightenment emblematized in the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man, and not necessarily to the term "cosmopolitanism." The term itself gained new traction through the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Marx and Engels famously used "cosmopolitan" to describe the bourgeoisie and its modes of production and consumption that had created the global capitalist market:

> The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every

> quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.[20]

For Marx and Engels, "cosmopolitan" is associated with the bourgeoisie and its economic system and is perceived as a "unifying agent of the world."[21] While this association with the economic elite might ring as a pejorative use of the term, what is recognized here is the expansive vitality of capitalism that inevitably would create a homogenous world. In this short paragraph, a cosmopolitan economy thwarts the nation as a necessary condition for economic growth, and ultimately dictates a culturally and intellectually unified world. As Alejandro Colas remarks, Marx's use of "cosmopolitanism" is devoid of any kind of "universal ethics," and is instead driven by a "historical materialist account of social change" which would lead to a contrapuntal class-interest formation, that of the worldwide exploited proletarian class.[22] This worldwide class solidarity would constitute Marxist—and socialist, and communist, and anarchist—internationalism, which, in the end, carried a moral predicament (that of solidarity against exploitation) which was sharply differentiated from capitalism's cosmopolitan, amoral, and matter-of-fact expansion. "Marxian internationalism," remarks Colas, "was premised on a view of capitalism as a homogenizing system which would turn the working class into the universal moral agent."[23] The terminological and conceptual move from cosmopolitanism to internationalism in the discourse of the Left gutted cosmopolitanism of the political impetus that Kant had bestowed on it through his *ius cosmopoliticum*, injected universal ethical values into the new term and concept of "internationalism," and ultimately left cosmopolitanism as a mere descriptive category signifying worldwide expansion associated with the upper-class bourgeoisie.

These two connotations of cosmopolitanism, what is supra-national and what is associated with an upper class, would more or less prevail

during the second half of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth century. The first connotation often occurs as a neutral description of what extends beyond the "here"—in the specific context of our discussion, France—and instead belongs to the "world." Charles Blanc's "Introduction" to his review *La Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1859 would be one example of this use. He speaks of the publication's goal, to inform the French about what is happening abroad, in the spirit of what he understands as the only possible culture for the nineteenth century, a cosmopolitan culture: "Keep France informed about what happens abroad, and keep abroad informed of what is happening in France, what is [contributing] to this great work of the cosmopolitan civilization which seems to be the role imposed by our century."[24] Marx's class distinction, on the other hand, also persists during this period: while all cosmopolitans are foreigners, in one way or another, as we will see, not all foreigners are cosmopolitans, only the ones belonging to the upper crust of social, economic, or cultural stratification. Immigrant workers are not cosmopolitans, whereas rich travelers or poor foreign poets are.

Indeed, the changing value of what it meant to be "foreign" had a serious impact on perceptions of cosmopolitanism. Before 1870, the term "étranger" (foreigner) did not seem to be socially or politically problematic in France. The issue of nationals and non-nationals was so negligible during the Second Empire that it did not even appear as a question on the census of 1856.[25] The Exposition Universelle of 1867 was a momentous occasion when the specialized and general press alike were beaming with the idea of a hospitable Paris, an "immense melting pot, in which for a century we cooked the universe,"[26] as was noted in the remarkable *Paris-Guide* of that same year. But from 1870 onward things changed. The French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War opened up the discourse and fueled the imaginary of "foreign agents" as spies, and encouraged the equation of the foreigner living in France with a potential "enemy from within."[27]

The publication of Edouard Drumont's *La France juive* (*Jewish France*) in 1886 facilitated the public alignment between "foreigner," "enemy," and "Jew" as spies,[28] and the Dreyfus affair consolidated these equations further. Even before Dreyfus, Maurice Barrès had been instrumental in elaborating a rhetoric that created an association between foreigner, Jew, cosmopolitan, and enemy of France—we should recall that Barrès was elected as a deputy from Nancy in 1893 with a program "against the foreigners."[29] Barrès masterfully created the narrative of "rootlessness"[30] for Jews and foreigners alike, both of whom were seen

as "cosmopolitans" and were associated with the decadence of the city, while the "enracinés," rooted in the regions of the countryside, were the true French. Barrès fleshed out this theme in his polemical writings, most notably in *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme*, in which these symbolic equivalences were deployed in such statements as: "Aren't you now convinced, seeing the countryside resisting the furious attempts of the cosmopolitans? What better helpers can you find than the *rooted ones* [*les racinés*]? What worst enemies than the *uprooted* ones [*les déracinés*]?"[31] or in this statement: "The opportunistic system for twenty years now has favored the Jew, the foreigner, the cosmopolitan."[32] Barrès indeed mainstreamed the triangulation of Jew, intellectual, and *apatride* (stateless person):

> The Jews have no fatherland in the sense in which we understand that word. For us, the fatherland is the soil and the ancestors. For them, it is the place where they find the greatest [material] interest. Their "intellectuals" thus arrive at their famous definition: "The fatherland is an idea."[33]

In addition to being instrumental in popularizing the term "intellectual" during the Dreyfus affair,[34] Barrès articulated the interchangeability between Jew and intellectual, but also between intellectual and foreign or rootless. Fiction cemented these imaginaries in an even more effective way. Barrès's hugely influential novel *Les Déracinés* (*The Uprooted*), published in 1897, pitched the rooted and "real" people of the countryside against the rootless urbanites, represented by the "intellectual" lycée professor M. Bouteiller, a man who was "completely abstract,"[35] cut off from his Lillois roots and raised according to abstract principles of reason.[36] Barrès explained this in *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* when he spoke of the Kantianism that aims at regulating a universal "abstract" man out of the young Lorrains, Provençals, and Bretons, while what is really needed is "men rooted solidly in our soil, in our history."[37] What the polemical text explains, the novel stages as a tragedy of the uprooted youngsters who leave Nancy, lured away by Paris and the cosmopolitan ideals of their "abstract" professor, which ultimately lead them to their doom. By the 1890s, the connotations of cosmopolitanism, Jews, and intellectuals as foreign and hostile bodies in the French nation were in place and would be endlessly repeated in the first half of the twentieth century, especially just before World War I. Charles Maurras's idea of the "four confederate states—Jews, Protestants, Free-

masons, and Métèques [foreigners],"[38] speaks to the permutations of this association.

A different variation of the foreigner, also conflated with the cosmopolitan, gained traction at the end of the nineteenth century: the *rastaquouère*. Created in the 1860s as a type in the musical theater of Henri Meilhac and Jacques Offenbach, the *rastaquouère* initially designated the rich, flashy, and ridiculous South American in Europe. But it quickly came to stand for any kind of intrusive, maybe exotic, and dangerous foreigner. René Maizeroy wrote in 1886:

> It is a modern leprosy, a contagion that dates from the empire, this happy period which it swept like a madness, when we wanted to have fun despite all and relentlessly. The rastaquouères then started descending on the streets, like birds of prey that smell their victim and do not yet dare to take their share of the feast. Then they came from everywhere as if for a victorious conquest. They came from Madrid and from Chile, from Constantinople and from Saint Petersburg, from Portugal and Germany, with titles, decorations, gifts, their "ki" and their "off" for grand orchestra. They nestled in the most elegant neighborhoods, sweeping the plasters of the new mansions, buying land, building, founding a noisy colony in these neighborhoods that were just built. Their salons look like gambling dives: open for all.[39]

Between 1886 and 1892 three humorous monologues were published on the topic of the ridiculous foreigner in Paris, all featuring the term "rastaquouère."[40] From fiction to reality, Gustave Macé, chief of the Paris Police until 1884, would write extensively on crimes committed in the capital by this "vermine dorée" (gilded rabble) of the cosmopolitans.[41] From the happy melting pot of the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris had become by the Exposition of 1900 an "immense cosmopolitan bazaar" and a "brothel for rastaquouères."[42] There were foreign *rastaquouères*, but there were also indigenous *rastaquouères*, like the immensely famous Sarah Bernhardt in 1883: "Madame Sarah Bernhardt, with her balloons, her sculptures, her coffins, her international tours, her family theaters, is an ingenious rastaquouère."[43] And of course, the Dreyfusard Jews, although French, were *rastaquouères* par excellence—"the rastaquouères Jews, the Jews without patriotism for the good reason that they do not have a patria,"[44] claims an article from 1898. A

rastaquouère was not just a foreigner; he was the tasteless, ridiculous, over-the-top individual who offended the French tradition of *bon goût*, equilibrium, and measure.

The fitting place for these *rastaquouères* would be "Cosmopolis," a term which often came to designate Paris. The word "Cosmopolis" appeared for the first time in the 1890s designating an abstract domain, either one of spiritual and intellectual freedom, or as the imaginary realm of the cosmopolitans' pointless existence. The first connotation was perhaps best represented by the short-lived international journal *Cosmopolis: Revue Internationale* (1896–98), and the second by a very successful novel by Paul Bourget, *Cosmopolis*, published in 1892. The magazine *Cosmopolis*, chiefly remembered today because it hosted the first publication of Mallarmé's revolutionary poem *Un coup de dés* in 1897, was an international, multilingual literary journal in English, German, and French. The writings of Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, W. B. Yeats, Paul Bourget, Jean Moréas, Anatole France, and many others were published in its pages. *Cosmopolis* fashioned itself as an international forum, with simultaneous publications in London—where its headquarters were—Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, New York, and Amsterdam. In the editors' words, "*Cosmopolis* has inspired the hope of its originators that, by its independence and impartiality, by its moderation and urbanity of tone, it may, in some measure, help to bring about a sense of close fellowship between the nations."[45]

Bourget's best-seller, on the other hand, outlined a very different concept of the Cosmopolis. The author described the stakes of the book's story, which takes place in Rome, with its heroes coming from the cosmopolitan ranks of the rich and traveling elite:

> The drama is not even Italian, for the scene might have been laid, with as much truth, at Venice, Florence, Nice, St. Moritz, even Paris or London, the various cities which are like quarters scattered over Europe of the fluctuating *Cosmopolis*, christened by Beyle: *Vengo adesso da Cosmopoli.* . . . That world, indeed, does not exist, it can have neither defined customs nor a general character. It is composed of exceptions and of singularities.[46]

The Cosmopolis is a no-place, devoid of any particular local characteristics; it is an abstract milieu for the idle rich. With *Cosmopolis*, Bourget

created a thesis novel to show precisely how this cosmopolitan way of existence—for people who are rich, snobbish, and travel with no attachment—is meaningless. The critics of the time immediately picked out this aspect of the novel:

> M. Paul Bourget does not hesitate indeed to first proclaim the vanity of cosmopolitanism, which is all for show, and then its danger. His cosmopolitan characters, except for his philosopher, . . . are charged to show that cosmopolitanism is only a surface, a matter of habit, of fashion, and not at all based on a larger understanding of humanity, even unconsciously . . . The man who is transplanted, like a shrub, withers and dies . . . Great men gave to their work the taste of a deep life only in their natal land where they grew.[47]

The rhetoric of plants that contrasts a rootless and ultimately dangerous cosmopolitanism with the natal, fruitful place is in full swing here. It was only appropriate that Maurice Barrès should dedicate *Les Déracinés* to Paul Bourget.

The novel *Cosmopolis* would inspire a growing production of "cosmopolitan novels,"[48] described as a new "literary species": "[writers] abandon the Parisian plots, they open their ears to the four winds and anguished, musical noises come to them. They reclaim their passports. They leave. They go, their notebook under their arm, their pen in the pocket, their suitcase full of images in their hand."[49] For this 1920s critic, placing the story outside of France and bringing a foreign element into its intrigue qualifies a novel as "cosmopolitan." At the same time, cosmopolitan novels could *also* be those that take place in Paris, and "Parisian" comes to signify "cosmopolitan."[50] In 1923, *La Croix* reiterated Paris as a "Cosmopolis,"[51] and *Le Figaro* the same year described Parisian life as saturated by "cosmopolitan infatuations."[52] Already in 1913, the same *La Croix* was lamenting how few French artists participated in the Salon d'Automne, just 283 French against 297 foreigners, to conclude: "So now you will know why when you go in the Salon d'Automne you will first have the impression that you are not at home [*chez nous*]. It is the impression we feel almost everywhere in Paris now, this Paris which is more and more a Cosmopolis."[53] Paris becomes increasingly a kind of "banal cosmopolitan quarter where it is not good to be French,"[54] losing its character to "the dregs of the world that crush down on this too hospitable [city]."[55]

By the 1920s in France, "cosmopolitan" had become a pejorative synonym for "foreigner," whether as a threat or as an innocuous, ridiculous, and inconsequential drifter, a foreigner often conflated with the Jew, and definitely associated with the city, with Paris. The general, repeated impression conveyed in newspapers of the time that the nation was being invaded by foreigners had a real basis. In 1931 there were 2.9 million foreigners in France, that is, 7 percent of the general population, compared to 800,000 in 1876.[56] In 1931, 600,000 of those foreigners lived in Île-de France alone.[57] Montmartre was characterized as a "congress of five continents,"[58] and Montparnasse as the "navel of the world."[59] In this urban Parisian setting, 1920s cosmopolitanism bore no kind of affirmative political connotation, and was rather the bearer of an apophatic political charge as the almost photographic negative of patriotism and devotion to the nation. This use, spurred by the Right, was also adopted by the Left, which thereby extended Marx's use of the term "cosmopolitan" to describe bourgeois capitalist expansion. In *L'Humanité*, for instance, the characterization "cosmopolite" was predictably deployed to describe global capitalism, but also to characterize a leisurely, upper-class, foreign elite that was often contrasted to the local working class. Paul Lafargue wrote in a 1909 article demanding lower rent rates in Paris:

> Paris for half a century now is being transformed: neighborhoods have been demolished and rebuilt anew, empty arrondissements have been covered with houses and workshops; exactly as the Empire wanted it, Paris has become a cosmopolitan city of luxurious celebrations, the meeting point of the millionaires from all nations, and the paradise of the rastaquouères and of the prostitutes, high and low; but it is also a city of work, where multiple industries and shops pay for a whole population of employees.[60]

Hubert Lagardelle, when he was still a socialist, similarly wrote in 1913 in *L'Humanité* about the image that foreigners held of Paris: "they only know the fake Paris of the cosmopolitan boulevard, the meeting point of the international rastaquouères, universal fair of vice. The other Paris, that of work, of intellectual discipline, of national customs, how would they see it, through the smoke of this sham capital, made for foreigners by the foreigners?"[61] Jules Romains also chimed in, talking

about "the cosmopolitan scum" ("la racaille cosmopolite") that built the Cote d'Azur with casinos, hotels, and villas.[62]

But it was in another article in *L'Humanité*, published in 1926 by Stefan Zweig, that the communist perception of cosmopolitanism was laid out. With the eloquent title "Internationalisme ou Cosmopolitisme?"[63] Zweig insisted on explaining the difference between the two terms that "risk being considered identical" in a time of peace. This was a period, the 1920s, marked by intense efforts to create some kind of European union,[64] spearheaded politically by Aristide Briand and Richard von Coudenhove-Kallergi's manifesto *Paneuropa* and subsequent political activism.[65] Zweig argued that all such efforts at international cooperation, including Pen International, the League of Nations, and various German and French associations, could not really be effective unless they stepped out of the realm of irresponsible and *mondain* (high-society) relations and thus stopped being an afterthought of a "cosmopolitan nature."[66] His distinction between the two terms deserves to be quoted at length:

> Cosmopolitanism is simply a sort of reciprocal hospitality among nations, a kind of *mondain* relations and not a result of an agreement, and it presupposes a favorable politics among these nations. It is only applicable then in time of peace, and it does not commit at all in time of war, it is completely innocuous because at any moment it can end. . . . On the contrary, internationalism is the adherence to the principle of one indestructible unity of nations, independent of the vicissitudes and the volte-faces of politics; not only does it survive war, but it is precisely the war that becomes its utmost and most decisive challenge. . . . It ties, it forces the truly convinced spirit, to a lasting faith in the intellectual and profound unity of our universe, a faith that no invasion and no injustice can alter. It does not recognize in particular the hospitality towards foreigners, because it does not recognize any "foreign" nations. [67]

Zweig is making clear that at this point cosmopolitanism does not have a real political or ethical mandate; it is nothing more than a polite tolerance of the other, without any substantial political position of civic responsibility or universalist commitment to humanity. He finds that the

concept that fulfills this mandate can only be that of internationalism. He does not bypass the nation; nations are still active in this concept of internationalist brotherhood, but none of them is a "foreign" one. Zweig's position in 1926 was in accord with the socialist and communist internationalism that built on the nation in order to create a unified world. From the point of view of the Left, cosmopolitanism, at this specific historical moment, could not respond to any political or moral world-making.

This brief historical overview shows that cosmopolitanism during the interwar period was, as Richard Sennett puts it, more a social experience than a clearly articulated political concept.[68] As such, it was an urban experience, one first discerned as a distinct phenomenon by Georg Simmel, who saw in the stranger and his fundamental alterity the quintessential modernity of the cities.[69] Simmel did not necessarily see the stranger as a foreigner, but rather as someone who cannot be classified, who stays unknown. Sennett similarly merges this "unknown" with cosmopolitanism when he concludes that "the quality of cosmopolitanism . . . at that time had to do with the notion of being engaged by the unknown."[70] And no other group was more consistently perceived as foreign and as cosmopolitan precisely because of their engagement with the unknown than the artistic and literary world of the avant-garde.

Already the symbolists in the 1880s had been targeted as foreign invaders. In 1886 *Petit Bottin des lettres et des arts* talked about the foreign invasion within the symbolist ranks in terms of the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire: "The Atrebates, the Bellovaci, the Veliocasses, and the Aulètes[71] invaded the Parisian Gaule around 1882. They brandished manuscript swords and marched with a heavy pace . . . After the Belgians were held back, the Helvetii came down from the Jura, from the Oberland and the Saint-Gotthard."[72] In 1891 the poet José-Maria de Heredia, himself a Cuban with Spanish citizenship, would protest against the symbolists and their experimental poetics of free verse:

> Look, for instance, at Vielé-Griffin, who is an Anglo-Saxon and who had, I think, a big influence on the symbolist movement; well, he gives us today, under the name of "verse," a prose that looks like a sort of literary translation of a foreign poem. A lot of talent in there and a true poetic feeling, for sure. But again, this is not poetry! . . . and all the Belgians too! And all the Swiss! One would think, my word! that the

> symbolists in France have taken their orders from Brussels, Liège, or Geneva![73]

That same year Charles Maurras, theorizing on the newly founded *école romane* (Roman school) of poetry, divided French literature into "barbares" and "romains," with the barbarians being Maria Krysinska, who was "Scythian" (in fact of Polish origin); René Ghil, "who was nurtured by Saintonge, but was born in Belgium" (in fact, he was French); Georges Rodenbach, "another Belgian"; Charles Vignier, Swiss; Judith Gautier as "Tartar" (in fact, also French); and Joris-Karl Huysmans, "who saw the light of day in the lands where Homer could not have been born: in Holland."[74] Taking the relay from the symbolists, in the 1890s and 1900s it was the Art Nouveau style (often referred to as "Modern Style") that was perceived as foreign. The ornamental organic delirium and eclecticism of Art Nouveau—which would so much delight the surrealists thirty years later—was perceived as the aesthetic of a degenerate cosmopolitanism, as a Jewish style, as a *rastaquouère* style.[75]

By the interwar period, it was the historical avant-garde that was almost always seen as foreign: foreign like cubism during the war, foreign like Dada coming from Switzerland, Germany, or the Orient, foreign like surrealism even, a movement that was anchored in Paris and manned by French artists almost exclusively during its first years. Élyette Guiol-Benassaya describes how the surrealists were insulted in the general press as foreigners, strangers to the national collective, as non-French, anti-French, Jews, *métèques*, Germans, and Russians.[76] In the end, the actual nationality of the artist did not matter; the avant-garde was perceived as perennially foreign, speaking a foreign language, even when it was speaking in French. Through foreignness, the avant-garde was thus conflated with a detached cosmopolitanism, which would either have no substance and consequence, or would threaten national cohesion. The prewar and the wartime avant-garde, with Apollinaire as its leading figure, actively resisted these characterizations of foreignness and defensively tried to deflect them, by proving that they were indeed French and patriotic. For the postwar avant-garde, Dada and especially surrealism during its lengthy existence, this attitude changed, as they readily welcomed the stigma of the foreigner. The prewar and postwar avant-garde alike, however, from Apollinaire to the Dadaists to the surrealists, scrupulously avoided the use of the term "cosmopolitan" for themselves or "cosmopolitanism" for describing their project, insofar as this project

had both a world-embracing scope and a politically motivated position. We saw in chapter 1 how for the magazine *BLAST*, European and specifically Parisian cosmopolitanism was something that could only inspire "violent boredom" and was seen as a disguised Parisian parochialism, while for Apollinaire in "L'Esprit nouveau," cosmopolitanism was equated with an empty "international parliamentary rhetoric,"[77] devoid of any substance. But while none of the avant-garde artists and writers nominally embraced cosmopolitanism as such, many of them engaged with aspects of cosmopolitanism as an experience, and Francis Picabia, again, stands out.

In the first issue of his magazine *Cannibale* in 1920, in an open letter to the writer Rachilde, Picabia wrote:

> To Madame Rachilde woman of letters and good patriot
> Madame
> You've presented yourself on your own, with your lonely French nationality. Congratulations. As for me, I am of several nationalities and Dada is like myself.
> I was born in Paris, of a Cuban, Spanish, French, Italian and American family, and what is most astonishing is that I have a very clear impression of being all those nationalities at once![78]

Picabia's proud declaration of his foreign provenances—and his attribution of these multiple nationalities to Dada—is one of many appropriations by the avant-garde artists and writers themselves of the derogative characterizations thrown against them. Picabia, a French national—as opposed to Apollinaire, a non-French national who fought fiercely against his foreignness, his voluntary enlistment in the war marking perhaps the ultimate moment of this fight—did not recoil from the accusation of being a foreigner. As we saw in the previous chapter, Picabia and other Dadaists, most prominently Tristan Tzara, were caught in the crossfire of the national vs. cosmopolitan debate, which was often encoded as French vs. foreign. Tzara was accused of speaking and writing in a "petit nègre,"[79] a pidgin, adulterated, childish, and dirty French. Tzara, to some degree, appropriated this in his "poèmes nègres" in the same way that he also cunningly subverted other dominant metaphors: his dictum "Dada est un microbe vierge" (Dada is a virgin microbe) filters the terms "parasite" or even "vermine" that were applied to foreigners and Jews alike within an anti-cosmopolitan discourse, and turns

the slur into a slogan for Dada's formidable corrosiveness.[80] Tzara's declaration accepts that Dada is indeed a type of parasite, a foreign body, that contaminates everything, and this is exactly what it wants to be.

One of the most interesting instances of Picabia's embrace of these insults as part of his identity is his pivotal text *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*, published in 1920, around the same time that he produced the two-issue *Cannibale*. Generically ambiguous, *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* is a highly polemical text that mixes theoretical positions with what can only be considered verse.[81] The book was prefaced by Gabrielle Buffet and illustrated with three plates by Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes. The editor of the most recent English translation of Picabia's writings notes that "there is no easy translation for the somewhat pejorative *rastaquouère*; a 'flashy foreigner' is the best the dictionaries have to offer," and he opts to retain the book's French title, untranslated—as opposed to past translations of *rastaquouère* as "carpetbagger" or "rascal."[82] As we saw, "*rastaquouère*" was synonymous with a vain, extravagant, and suspect cosmopolitanism of the elite, or wannabe elite; it was synonymous with Jewishness and with a lack of taste or distinction, and was a highly derogative and ridiculing term. Picabia pairs all this with Jesus Christ, in an irreverent gesture in tune with his other contemporaneous "blasphemous" and "anti-Christian" works, notably his drawing *La Sainte Vièrge* (*The Holy Virgin*) reproduced that same year, 1920, in the magazine *391*.[83] Given that *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* is highly autobiographical, its title can be seen as yet another pseudonym that Picabia chooses for himself, along with "Funny Guy" or "Pharamousse," among others.[84] Picabia presents himself as a *rastaquouère* Jesus and flaunts precisely some of the most insulting features attributed to *rastaquouères*.

Gabrielle Buffet, in her introduction to *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*, gives some preliminary indications of what a *rastaquouère* does:

> The Rastaquouère is possessed with the desire to eat diamonds. He is the owner of several motley costumes and naive sentiments; he is simple and tender; he juggles with any objects that fall into his hands; he doesn't know how to use them; all he wants is to juggle—he has learned nothing, but he invents:
> The Rastaquouère is not a sort of tightrope walker.
> One must not think that the absence of principles suppresses life's fulcrum.
> The explanation is always insipid and always fake.

> It is a point of view, the focusing of a lorgnette, but the important thing is to have a lorgnette. [85]

This description touches upon some points common to the caricature of a *rastaquouère*, like naiveté, simplicity, and a predilection for flashy jewelry; but ultimately Buffet is sketching out programmatically the kind of artist Picabia is, and "rastaquouère" is tailored to fit this. Being a *rastaquouère* is a question of having a specific "point of view," of having and knowing how to use a "lorgnette," an optical device, since the most important thing is to have a point of view, to actually have a "lorgnette." Buffet also insists on the *rastaquouère*'s constant invention, even if this is without steady principles, which she considers less important than having a perspective. Buffet's affirmations recall and reverse some familiar accusations against cosmopolitan *rastaquouères* as leading a fake, superficial existence without any strong foundation of belonging. She dismisses the latter as unimportant. Instead, she praises vision over structured principles. Mobility and versatility are what make a *rastaquouère*, and are what characterize Picabia as an artist—in a different version of his nomadism that does not imply actual travel, but just a state of mind. A juggler rather than a "tightrope walker" ("équilibriste"), a *rastaquouère* is not a diplomat keeping difficult and delicate balances, but rather a spectacular handler of objects.

After this introduction, the poem itself lingers delectably on several of these attributes of a *rastaquouère*. Picabia first attacks the idea of taste, which he associates with an honorable nationalism, and instead he proposes to dwell in a "désert du goût":

> LET US GO INTO THE
> DESERT OF GOOD TASTE.
>
> Taste, something good, good wines, speeches, success, the incredibly grotesque spectacle of enthusiasm for one's nationality, for honor—*I only give my word of honor in order to lie*—are for me so many feelings of disgust, accompanied by nausea.[86]

The *rastaquouère* was considered to be tasteless, extravagant, and *tape-à-l'oeil* (flashy), someone who insults the understatement and elegance of French style. Picabia embraces this and invites us into the "desert of good taste," away from a common language of connoisseurship about

good wine, or the art of conversation, away from mundane notions of success, and chiefly away from enthusiasm for one's nationality—and specifically for French nationality, "bon goût" being almost the national privilege of France.

Picabia does not pull his punches on nationalism; a couple of pages later he is surprised to discover that "there are people who stand on their heads, like plants, and who look with their feet!"[87] This is perhaps a reference to the ideal of the "rooted" as the model citizen, who for Picabia is nothing more than a plant with his head buried in the ground, as opposed to the "uprooted" *rastaquouère*. Picabia becomes even more explicit in his understanding of rastaquouèrianism when he proposes: "Reality tosses your dreams onto the dunghill [*fumier*]? You must straddle this dunghill and plunge straight into what I call Rastaquouère infamy."[88] And what is this "rastaquouère infamy"? It is a universe opposite to what is considered to be the "official intelligence" of academia, it is a domain populated by

> bearded ladies of painting, or little cyclops of literature. All artists are hunchbacked; music-box humps, receptive to the rhythms of life's castanets. Barnum's freaks [*les phénomènes de Barnum*] are unwitting international Bolsheviks, are monstrously picturesque; . . . others, more practical, sell their charlatan-signature, like the ass-hairs of Mohammed or a piece of Jesus's cross, signed at the suggestion of snobs.[89]

This is a cryptic passage, but glimpses of Dada, its aesthetic, its works, and its protagonists shine through. The bearded women of painting might be an overt reference to Duchamp's Mona Lisa of *L.H.O.O.Q.*; the small cyclops of literature might be a reference to Tristan Tzara and his famous monocle; the mention of those who "sell their charlatan-signature" as if it were a holy relic brings to mind Picabia's own work, his painting featuring his own signature, *Francis Picabia*, created at this time. These were indeed infamous works that incited scandal and provoked derision. Characterized as "les phénomènes de Barnum," a kind of freak show for the bourgeoisie, this motley *rastaquouère* band is a group of unwitting Bolsheviks and internationalists who are monstrously picturesque. Bolsheviks, internationalists, *rastaquouères*, traveling Barnum circus performers, in other words Dadaists, are those who step over the dunghill, the "fumier" of reality into a different realm.

Much of this "fumier" is associated with blind nationalism:

> Fathers and Mothers do not have the right to kill their children, but the fatherland, our second mother, can sacrifice them as it pleases for the greater glory of politicians.
> POLITICIANS
> GROW
> ON THE HUMAN DUNGHILL [*fumier*][90]

The "enracinés" politicians of the nation, a nation that kills its children, in fact grow their roots in the human manure of the dead, feeding on them. Picabia completes this scathing attack on nationalism by connecting it with capitalism and patriarchy. Addressing a female reader, "dear Lady" ("chère Amie"),[91] he starts by pointing out the ridiculousness of male pride attached to the penis, characterized as "the egoism of a cancer wearing you out" ("l'égoïsme d'un petit cancer qui vous épuise"), which in the end the good fatherland takes away and kills. And he concludes: "In the name of a great virile, fertile, and innovative future of the world, I sentence the idiocy that drives men to a supersaturation of their equals, solely with the preservation of their masculine capitalism in mind."[92]

The *rastaquouère* universe is thus against nationalism, capitalism, bourgeois convention, patriarchal authority, and artists of "bon goût." Picabia inhabits this infamous universe and calls by name members of the Dada group whom he particularly likes. The three Dadaists named are Arthur Cravan, Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, and Tristan Tzara. Cravan is invoked just after an unusual attack on Guillaume Apollinaire, whose name is equated with the verb "piper," to fake, to dupe:

> To Dupe [*Piper*]—Guillaume Apollinaire
> I much prefer Arthur Cravan who toured the world during the war, perpetually obliged to change nationality in order to escape from human stupidity. Arthur Cravan disguised himself as a soldier in order to not be a soldier, he did as all our friends do who disguise themselves as honest men in order to not be honest men [*honnête hommes*].[93]

The association and comparison here are clear: unlike Apollinaire, a foreign national who enlisted to become a soldier, thereby "faking" being an "honnête homme" by fighting in a nationalist, capitalist war—a war that Picabia himself went at great lengths to avoid—Cravan just went around the world in a perpetual motion. Cravan seems to incar-

nate the "nomadic spirit" that Picabia prizes, which, again, is part of the *rastaquouère*-cosmopolitan arsenal: that of no national attachment and allegiance—an allegiance which can only be synonymous with stupidity.

Ribemont-Dessaignes appears as yet another alternative to nationalist stupidity. To the politicians growing on human manure, quoted above, Picabia prefers Ribemont-Dessaignes: "No, I prefer to think of Ribemont-Dessaignes, who wrote these lines: 'According to St. John Clysopompe.'"[94] This is a reference to the "Manifeste selon St. Jean Clysopompe" ("Manifesto according to St. John Clysopompe") by Ribemont-Dessaignes, which was first published in *391* that same year.[95] The title of this manifesto joins in the sacrilegious gesture of Picabia's whole poem: St. Jean Clysopompe, which attaches the name of the saint to a clyster, sounds like a scatological perversion of Saint John Chrysostom. The "golden mouth" of that Church Father is replaced by the relieved anus of the Dadaist. To the "fumier humain," the dunghill of decaying bodies of the dead in a war that served only to glorify some politicians, Picabia, through Ribemont-Dessaignes, prefers to produce an excremental rhetoric that, in a homeopathic way, throws the shit back to the political establishment.

Immediately after the reference to Ribemont-Dessaignes, Picabia adds: "or [I prefer to think] of Tristan Tzara TOTO-VACA poet."[96] The reference here is to Tzara's "Toto-vaca," one of the poems he produced by painstakingly copying into French spelling original texts coming from Oceania, Madagascar, or various African countries. The specific poem reproduces phonetically a Maori song/poem collected by missionaries.[97] Picabia quotes an excerpt from "Toto-vaca" in his own text:

> i
> Ka tangi té Kivi
> Ki vi
> Ka Tangi ré moho
> hi hi e
> ha ha e
> pi pi e
> ta ta e
> ta kou ta ka jou[98]

Tzara was not alone in the Swiss Dada group in writing and publishing poetry that emulated some kind of real or imagined non-Western language. Within the general orientation toward phonetic poetry that thrived on the stage of the Cabaret Voltaire,[99] Hugo Ball famously

experimented with sound poems, giving them a mystical and ritualistic orientation, while Raoul Hausmann and Kurt Schwitters would pursue their own phonetic experiments in Germany.[100] Sound poetry belonging to no one language was well suited to the multilingual Zürich group. Indeed, Leonard Forster in his study on poetry and multilingualism identifies the Dada sound poem as the "lowest common denominator of the linguistic resources of the group," a group that was composed of Germans, Rumanians, and French-German bilingual—the Alsatian Jean Arp—artists.[101]

Picabia did not himself engage in such sound experiments—although phonetic wordplay had a central position in his writing and art. One of the rare times that Picabia did experiment with phonetic poetry occurs in *Cannibale*, in a poem with the title "Coeur de Jésus":

> Jardi me cha vide
> Plu cuses vi gent re
> Jan este oses cine resses
> Brûl ille mor gnée cui
> Avo alon allu ndon
> Cur emblés clu tite pord
> Porch raient couro sotis chrét
> Son terrés eff Teprie sa[102]

Picabia's phonetic language here is much closer to French than is Tzara's "Toto-vaca"; it sounds almost French, like a code that needs to be deciphered. This experimentation with sound poetry happened at the same time that Picabia was writing *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*, while he gives to this phonetic poem a title, "Coeur de Jésus," that thematically resonates with the longer poem. The "heart of Jesus," and we might read here the heart of *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*, can be found in this poem of phonetic nonsense.

I am not going to insist on Dada's phonetic poetry in general, which joined and expanded the futurists' onomatopoetic "parole in libertà" and ultimately knocked on the same door as the Russian futurists' "transrational" or "transmental" language, "zaoum"—a universal idiom which would unite all people. What I want to point out here is that Picabia chooses to quote in his own text the actual poetic "petit nègre" of Tzara, the incomprehensible language he was accused of by nationalist critics, which was meant by the poet as an homage to non-Western indigenous cultures. The insulting characterization of "petit nègre," a

colonial description of imperfect French associated with the ridiculed, necessarily black, colonial subject as a sign of intellectual inferiority, was thrown at the Dadaists—but it was in fact welcomed by them. Tzara responded to the insult by scrupulously reproducing an actual indigenous language, while Picabia invents a language that would correspond to the idea of butchered French. This is the language that the heart of Jesus speaks in a poem that seems to somehow foreshadow *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*. In fact, the language of the *rastaquouère* was endlessly parodied in many dramatic monologues and plays at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was an accented, phonetic French, much like the "petit nègre," that was perhaps immortalized by Georges Feydeau in his farce *Fil à la patte* (*Tied by the Leg*), in which the *rastaquouère* General Irrigua's mispronunciation of the name Bois-D'Enghien as "Bodégué" becomes a comic punch line. When Tzara himself arrived in Paris, he was said to demonstrate a poor command of French which "rendered him ridiculous."[103] The phonetic poem of Dada in the context of *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* thus acquires a dimension beyond formal experimentation, and becomes another way for Picabia to hone his *rastaquouère* cosmopolitanism. Dada speaks like a *rastaquouère*: in foreign sounds, a broken French, that is incomprehensible.

Picabia writes a text in which he poses as a *rastaquouère*—and, let us not forget, as Jesus, as a savior—adopting the persona that has been attributed to him and to Dada as a way to neutralize through ridicule the perceived danger of Dada's antinationalist aesthetic. Picabia repeats the litany of cosmopolitanism's negative features and transmutes them into positives: being a foreigner, not serving as a soldier for your country or any country, having no allegiance or attachment, being unprincipled, being vulgar and without taste, speaking a broken French. Picabia's gesture in *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* can initially be read as an instance of Louis Althusser's concept of "interpellation." For Althusser, interpellation is the process by which ideology transforms individuals into subjects through a kind of self-recognition. The individual who will turn around when hearing the policeman's call on the street, "Hey, you there!" automatically becomes the interpellated subject of this call: "By this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a *subject*," Althusser writes. "Why? Because he has recognized that the hail was 'really' addressed to him, and that 'it was *really him* who was hailed' (and not someone else)."[104] Picabia shows that the avant-garde responds precisely to a call, the call of the "rastaquouère," of the "foreigner" and the "cosmopolitan," confirming that those artists

are indeed all of these things. By responding, the avant-garde artist becomes the cosmopolitan subject, recognizes himself in this derogatory call, and pleads guilty in this ideological name-calling.

However, in an additional step beyond this simple self-recognition that Althusser describes, what we also see here is a process of "subjectivation" (subjectivization) as described by Jacques Rancière. Rancière gives the example of the socialist Auguste Blanqui, who, in response to the prosecutor's question "What is your profession?" answered, "Proletarian," and to the prosecutor's follow-up, "That is not a profession," replied, "It is the profession of the majority of our people who are deprived of political rights."[105] For Rancière, this answer is an instance of subjectivization; that is, of "the formation of a one that is not a self but is the relation of a self to an other,"[106] which ultimately allows the subject "not only to specify a logical gap that in turn discloses a social bias, but also to articulate this gap as a relation, the non-place as a place, the place for a polemical construction."[107] This is not exactly an act of an identification—as is interpellation—but rather a process of "disidentification or declassification."[108] The process of subjectivization is what can turn policies into politics, through precisely this disidentification, the crossing of the lines of names and misnomers: "[Subjectivization] is always, at the same time, the denial of an identity given by an other, given by the ruling order of policy. Policy is about 'right' names, names that pin people down to their place and work. Politics is about 'wrong' names—misnomers that articulate a gap and connect with a wrong."[109] Subjectivization as a political act starts at the moment these gaps are identified as such, and are addressed with a name that is thus recast and politicized.

This process of subjectivization is what we can ultimately see in Picabia's and other avant-garde work. Picabia's bold acceptance of rastaquouérism, of vulgarity, of foreignness, of stuttering French, of, in a word, several negative attributes of cosmopolitanism—all of them the "right" names used by conservatives to pin the avant-garde in a marginal position—becomes a way to disconnect these terms from a process of identity-labeling for the enforcement of an ideology, and integrate them instead in a process of creating a new, affirmative political space for the cosmopolitan. To go back to Richard Sennett's observation that at the beginning of the twentieth century cosmopolitanism was a social experience more than a clearly articulated political concept, what the avant-garde does by first responding to the insulting call and then by disidentifying from it as an insult, is to turn the social experience of cos-

mopolitanism into a political one. Like Blanqui who re-signified "proletarian" into a political position, Picabia re-signifies "rastaquouère" and by association "cosmopolitan" not as a ridiculed other, but as a figure for a new understanding of community. By this time, "cosmopolitan" was almost the name for an outcast who could only participate in the symbolic order of politics negatively, as what the political subject could not do or be. Picabia's and other avant-garde works transform that cosmopolitan through his own negative attributes from a non-citizen to potentially a citizen—a citizen of the world, not of the nation, and someone close to the contemporary vision of political cosmopolitanism. The attributes of cosmopolitanism as negative exclusion become in the avant-garde features of a different inclusion. Picabia in *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* creates the possibility of this inclusion by insisting on the group, the community, all of them inhabiting the *rastaquouère* infamy. He finds Rachilde to be "on her own" ("seule") in her "lonely French nationality" ("seule nationalité française"), and he counterintuitively shows national identity as isolation and exclusion, while foreignness is community and inclusion. His *rastaquouère* is neither isolated nor exclusivist, and he does not rely on a fixed identification; instead, he is multiple in the many. Picabia's *rastaquouère*, to return to Rancière, contests an established narrative by disrupting a specific "argumentative plot" and its dominant identification with specific voices and individuals. Instead, his *rastaquouère* puts forth a different "argument" which dwells in the gaps, the "desert" as he put it, a gap between identifications and attributions in which "rastaquouère" and "cosmopolitan" may start developing as political positions. A few years later, Louis Aragon would perform a similar operation with his urban peasant.

COSMOPOLITAN PEASANTS

It was on a spring evening in 1924, after dessert had been served, that Louis Aragon, Marcel Noll, and André Breton decided to step outside Breton's house for a walk. Wandering through the ninth arrondissement, with Montmartre very close by, "made of spangles" with "a glimmer in its eye almost the colour of kohl,"[110] did not seem to offer much adventure, nor did Montparnasse, as proposed by Noll. Instead, the three of them jumped in a taxi, and Breton had the idea of going to the Buttes-Chaumont park. Immediately, any residual sense of boredom and stagnation dissipated:

> The Buttes-Chaumont stirred a mirage in us, one with all the tangibility of these phenomena, a shared mirage over which we all felt we had the same hold. Our black mood evaporated in the light of a huge, naïve hope. At last we were going to destroy boredom, a miraculous hunt opened up before us, a field of experiment where it was unthinkable that we should not receive countless surprises and who knows? A great revelation that might transform life and destiny.[111]

This is the promise, that of a big revelation, and the premise of "Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont" ("A Feeling for Nature at Buttes-Chaumont"), the third section of Louis Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris*, published in 1926.[112] The book is divided into four sections. The first one, "Préface à une mythologie moderne" ("Preface to a Modern Mythology"), sets the tone for the whole narrative as a treatise on modern mythology, to be sought in the city, and specifically in places that channel myth as Aragon understands it. The second and best-known section of the book is "Le Passage de l'Opéra" and refers to the homonymous Parisian arcade, built in 1822 and demolished in 1925. The third section is "Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont," while the fourth and last section is "Le Songe du paysan" ("The Peasant's Dream"), a sort of philosophical envoi after this voyage through the city, which crystallizes some of the ideas explored throughout the work.

The two middle sections are the ones which usually attract critical attention, and "Le Passage de l'Opéra" in particular, in large part because of Walter Benjamin's early focus on it in his 1929 essay "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia." Benjamin was enthralled with *Le Paysan de Paris*, as he mentioned in a letter to Adorno in 1935: "Evenings, lying in bed, I could never read more than two to three pages by him because my heart started to pound so hard that I had to put the book down."[113] He admired surrealist narratives, such as Breton's *Nadja* and Aragon's book, in which Paris becomes the place for bringing "the immense forces of 'atmosphere' . . . to the point of explosion."[114] "At the center of this world of things," claimed Benjamin in talking about surrealism, "stands the most dreamed-about of their objects: the city of Paris itself." And he adds: "the Surrealists' Paris, too, is a 'little universe.' That is to say, in the larger one, the cosmos, things look no different . . . It is the space on which the lyric poetry of Surrealism reports."[115] Benjamin's reading of surrealism has largely oriented contemporary critical discourses on it, and one result of this is

the invocation of an unbreakable association between surrealism and the city.[116] And indeed, *Le Paysan de Paris* has become a paradigmatic text of surrealist urban mythologizing. In fact, it has become a critical commonplace to insist on the urbanity of surrealism, precisely because of its dedication to Paris as the space for discovering the possibilities of surreality. Whether as the site of potential political revolution or as a more benign, dreamlike backdrop for the exploration of the marvelous through some version of *flânerie*, Paris and by synecdoche the city, the urban environment, have become the place for surrealism to be.

As Gavin Parkinson remarks, however, this common association of surrealism with the metropolis is only one part of the equation. He rightly points out that the second section of one of Breton's most famous "urban" narratives, *L'Amour fou* (*Mad Love*), is placed outside of the city, in Tenerife's natural landscape, and he goes on to state that "the distribution of city and nature in *Paris Peasant* and *Mad Love*, also gestured in the title of the former and photographs of the latter, suggest that a *relationship* between the two spheres animated Surrealism's outlook."[117] Parkinson insists on the importance of nature in surrealist textual and visual production to argue for a "natural history of Surrealism," with nature functioning within surrealism as an avatar of "primitive" unrepressed desire, "the bestial forces antithetical to the habits, customs, restrictions, and laws that characterized modern Western society."[118] I think that what is most interesting in this account is precisely how the surrealists represented, and ultimately conceptualized, the relationship between the urban and the natural. A long-standing antithetical pair, the "city" versus "country," on which another pair, that of "culture" versus "nature," is often overlaid, has fueled the imaginary of modernity and served as an interpretational matrix for understanding modernism and the avant-garde. To simplify—but not by a lot—from Charles Baudelaire onward the modern and the avant-garde have been classified on the city/urban side of this scheme, in opposition to the Romantic sensibility of the natural sublime.[119] In this logic, turning to nature or the country can only be a nostalgic gesture reflecting antimodernist tendencies and often reactionary politics—Barrès's plant metaphor of rootedness is, of course, one salient example of this. As we saw in the previous section, this dividing line also defined the negative connotations of the term "cosmopolitanism" from the late nineteenth century on. Cosmopolitanism was a phenomenon of the cities; and in the French context, Paris as an urban center of drifting cosmopolitans was opposed to a supposedly authentic French identity rooted in the rural

environments that made up the "real" France. Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris* appeared at a moment of culmination for these types of polarizing discourses and complicated the dichotomies that ran through the term "cosmopolitan," to finally articulate a different relation of the rural with the polis, thereby suggesting a different conception of the cosmopolitan.

Paris, the cosmopolis of the roaring 1920s, became the subject of representation par excellence for French and foreign writers alike during this period. Evelyn Cohen has re-created the interwar literary landscape of Paris by cataloging the "quartiers" privileged by writers, artists, and intellectuals in their everyday life but also as subjects of representation.[120] Léon Daudet was convinced that the Latin Quarter was an Action Française stronghold swearing by Maurras's name,[121] but the same neighborhood was also the headquarters of Sylvia Beach's "Shakespeare and Company" and Adrienne Monnier's "La Maison des Amis des Livres," and of the modernists, Anglo-American and French alike, who gathered around these bookstores. The Left Bank in general was the place to be for cosmopolitan foreigners, from Gertrude Stein to Ernest Hemingway, Djuna Barnes, and Henry Miller, and largely offered the backdrop for their narratives in *Paris, France*, *The Sun Also Rises, Nightwood*, and *Tropic of Cancer*. Montparnasse became the unofficial capital of modernism, and was vividly described by Leon-Paul Fargue as the new cosmopolitan center of the city:

> It was in 1910 that the painters of Montmartre decided on a general mobilization of their palettes, filled up their cans, greased their weapons, and descended on the Left Bank and settled around the café du Dôme . . . Montmartre would soon die as it was giving birth to cubism . . . And when Picasso arrived in 1911, preceded by Douanier and followed by Vlaminck, Pascin and Measlas Golberg, Montparnasse immediately became the big international, a Mecca, a Rome, a Navel of the World, one of these harbors for all boats, a Paradise-City, a Hell, a nerve center, and a floating island . . . But it was written in the destiny of this republic of fantasy that Montparnasse would be invaded twice. When the world found out that the best of Art, that the elite of the obscure, geometric, nuanced, verbose, hermaphrodite, and even banal poetry, that the headquarters of Bohemia, of partying, of pre-gangsterism, of the before-the-jazz, of Russian terrorism, of international Marxism, of Popular Song, of amusing

> science, of everything-goes, was located on this strip of land between the Gare de Montparnasse and the crossroads of Raspail-Montparnasse, the world sent its hulls, its yachts, its half-tracks, to attack this Parisian fortress, where the insurgents, the fighters, the indigenous, and the explorers were partaking in the same exhilaration.[122]

Despite Fargue's declaration about the death of Montmartre, that hill remained the other pole of attraction, mainly because of its nightclubs. Only a few writers seemed to prefer the "quartiers populaires"; some of these writers were on the Left, like Eugène Dabit with his *Hôtel du Nord*,[123] while others, like Robert Brasillach, on the extreme Right, found in the poorer neighborhoods the spirit of "true" France, which was otherwise lost in the central areas of the capital.[124] Very few texts dramatized the suburbs, Céline's *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (*Journey to the End of the Night*) and Breton's *Nadja* being notable exceptions.[125] The end result of all these books was the creation of Paris as a phantasmagoria, an illusory spectacle. Roger Caillois explained this in 1937:

> There exists a representation of the the cityscape that exerts *such a powerful hold on the imagination that no one has actually ever questioned its accuracy*. Although thoroughly derived from books, it is now sufficiently widespread to be part of the collective mental atmosphere and thus to have a certain constraining force. Here we may already discern some features of mythical representation.[126]

Paris had become a myth that excites the imagination, and this was the work of modernity. Joseph Delteil, who like Caillois was briefly another "compagnon de route" of surrealism, spelled out part of this mythology of Paris through the eyes of the "petit provincial," the young country boy, who marvels at the strangeness of the city:

> In the end, the Petit Provincial realizes all too well that life in Paris is like a bird on a branch. Nowhere else are state, social, and family structures more precarious than there . . . He thinks that people in Paris don't even have a house (the house, the center and the root of life in the countryside). . . . Oh, people in Paris are like the bird on the branch. Like the bird, ready to fly away. Ready at any minute to emigrate to

> those domains of the spirit that light up a blazing halo over Paris some nights. In the countryside, everyone is planted in square obligations . . . the material conditions of life are public, blinding. People are categorized, glued in an intangible system of life . . . But in Paris, anonymity offers a kind of spiritualization.[127]

In yet another variation of Barrès's "abstract" cosmopolitan man of the city as opposed to the countryside's "enracinés," Delteil rehashes the well-established theme of the provincial as securely planted in his country life and the Parisian as a free bird, unrooted and almost spiritualized.

The metropolis as a mythical phantasmagoria perceived by a flâneur who wanders aimlessly is indeed a powerful trope of what Rebecca Walkowitz calls "vernacular cosmopolitanism."[128] The city is the site of this cosmopolitanism, the Benjaminian little universe within the cosmos, and channels into everyday habits a moral and emotional stance of an "openness to the unknown," an unknown largely brought into the metropolis by people coming from all over the world. In modernist accounts, this city is a constructed object made out of different versions of panoptical gazes—which turn it into a spectacle—and of flickering montages of mobile gazes—that of the stroller, the flâneur. At first sight, Aragon's narrative seems to confirm these tropes, as they were also spelled out by Delteil and Caillois: *Le Paysan de Paris* looks like a book explicitly concerned with the creation of new mythologies of the city, and somehow stages the provincial country bumpkin visiting Paris. However, the book works largely against these modernist topoi, in subtle and not so subtle ways. As Aragon did with the voyage, which is demoted to a fraudulent illusion, a prank set up by a real or imaginary agency in the middle of Paris, the city as phantasmagoria and site for *flânerie* is similarly demoted. Aragon's imaginary peasant does not go to the unfolding city spectacle taking place in the hubs of Montparnasse or even Montmartre, but instead to two weird parts of the city, the Passage de l'Opéra and the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, both one way or the other outcomes of the first modernization of Paris, its Haussmannization. The park and the Passage de l'Opéra are far removed from the usual itineraries covered in the literature of the time. Johanna Malt explains Aragon's choice of these specific places through Benjamin's idea of "obsoleteness" as a powerful revolutionary tool, pointing out that the Passage de l'Opéra about to be demolished was a relic of the nineteenth century's almost utopian conceptions of capitalism and industrial abundance.[129] Aragon

himself, when he introduces the Passage de l'Opéra, talks about specific places in the city as repositories of certain memories, places that

> deserve, nevertheless, to be regarded as the secret repositories of several modern myths: it is only today, when the pickaxe menaces them, that they have at last become the true sanctuaries of a cult of the ephemeral, the ghostly landscape of damnable pleasure and professions. Places that were incomprehensible yesterday and that tomorrow will never know.[130]

Aragon sees Paris as a depository of myths, preserved in these "ghostly landscapes" and released under the threat of the pickaxe, but he shows no nostalgic mood of preservation or rekindling of the past. There is an acceptance that everything in the city is potentially ephemeral. And while this is immediately comprehensible in the case of the arcade about to be demolished, the park, looming in the Parisian night, seems to be less a sanctuary of ephemerality than a monument to nature's permanence, a token of rooted stability.

Aragon describes the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont as "this crazy area [*cette aire folle*] born in the head of an architect from the conflict between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the economic conditions of existence in Paris."[131] Indeed, this mad endeavor—or this "mad threshing-floor," as the word "aire" may signify—was inaugurated in 1867, in tandem with the Exposition Universelle.[132] One of the most splendid accomplishments of Haussmann's ongoing urban redesign during the Second Empire, the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, because of its engineering innovations, cost almost twice as much to construct as the Bois de Boulogne, despite being only a fraction of its size.[133] The area had a long, unglamorous history before it was turned into a park. Up to 1792 the site was a place for executions, known as the Gibbet of Montfaucon.[134] After that and up until 1848 it was essentially a wasteland in which all kinds of waste were dumped, especially animal carcasses—an estimated 50,000 of which could be found on the site at any given time.[135] The stench from the Buttes when the wind was coming from the north was notorious. The quarry already established on the hill by the time of the French Revolution provided much of the limestone and gypsum for Parisian buildings during Haussmann's urban redesign. When J. S. Adolphe Alphand was called upon by Haussmann to design the park, he created four grassy hills and a lake, complete with a rocky island, from the holes and tunnels which had previously made up the quarry.[136]

Alphand did not completely obliterate the existing landscape of the hill; instead he sculpted it into an artificial nature that concealed its own artificiality: the limestone quarry's hole was sculpted into a grotto, with a waterfall coursing through it and artificial stalagmites made of concrete decorating its sides.[137]

The resulting garden "à l'anglaise" stood as an ersatz remaking of nature, a sort of reinvention of nature, that successfully hid its artificial origins. Rousseauian fantasies of a primordial nature seemingly untouched by humans are played out in this park meant to look "natural" and to provide a hygienic environment for the less privileged arrondissements of the capital. Louis Aragon characterizes this artificiality as one of those "arbitrary reductions of nature" that the city dweller likes because, still drunk with the alcohol of Romanticism, "he plunges into this illusion, perfectly prepared to recite to the Buttes-Chaumont Lamartine's poem 'The Lake,' which sounds so charming when set to music." And Aragon concludes:

> Once he has plunged in, it is not the sound of the torrents which capsizes his spirit: the outer-circle railway is there, and the gasping of the streets marks the horizon's boundary. Great cold lamps rise above all this modern machinery, including what is pliable, including also the rocks, the hardy perennials and domesticated streams. And in this place of confusion, man is horrified to come across, once more, the monstruous imprint of his body, and his gaunt face. Each step he takes, he runs full tilt into himself.[138]

In the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont rural nature is not to be found, since this is a kind of hyper-park, a "forerunner to the contemporary theme park";[139] technology is hiding behind the natural-looking rocks and waterworks, and it also invades the park itself, with the rails of the "outer-circle railway" ("petite ceinture") and the trains going through it. The artificiality of the park dispenses with Romantic visions of nature, exemplified by Lamartine's invocations, creating confusion and ultimately just bringing the visitor face to face with his own self. The park as a "place of confusion" ("lieu de confusion") is in fact in accordance with what Aragon means by the "feeling for nature" ("sentiment de la nature"). Aragon states that for him, the commonly accepted understanding of the "feeling for nature" as an inexplicable urge to paint the sea, the mountains, and the rivers, or to create gardens, an urge that

ultimately obscures its object, nature itself, is of no interest.[140] In fact, he claims to abhor this impulse, for it amounts to little more than the refashioning of nature into a landscape—and we are to understand that this is what the Romantics, and certainly Lamartine in "The Lake," had done.

In order to redefine the "feeling for nature," Aragon attempts to first understand what nature is. Through a series of rather complex predicates, he concludes that "nature is my unconscious" ("la nature est mon inconscient").[141] Here the unconscious is understood as the boundary of his own mind: the unconscious lies outside the limits of his conscious mind, so does nature, thus nature is his unconscious. With this syllogism, the unconscious and nature are brought together in a familiar surrealist gesture that objectifies the absolutely subjective, making the most intimately personal into a "thing" of the world. In this way, the unconscious is both objectified and projected onto the realm of the collective; the unconscious is not just the inner world, it is also a latent, shared world of significations that usually goes unperceived. At the same time, nature is downgraded from an absolute, autonomous entity outside and separate from the human into a construct whose existence depends on human perceptions. Nature is not the opposite of humans and their creation; it is continuous with them. It includes humans not because they are living beings like animals, but because nature is construed *as* nature by humans. What Aragon is pointing out at the beginning of this section and goes on to develop throughout the nocturnal stroll in the park is not an understanding of the "natural" as primitive or primal, and thus an approach to nature as a signifier of the irrational. He is not operating a metaphor in which nature stands for a repressed primordial source, one opposed to a logocentric Western tradition of which the city becomes the crowning achievement. Rather, Aragon posits that nature cannot but be part of the human because it is a human construction: "the whole of nature is my machine,"[142] he exclaims, creating an equation between nature and culture. They are both human constructions, apparatuses of perception and understanding.

Having defined nature in this way, Aragon goes on to explain the "feeling for nature." There are certain rare, privileged moments, Aragon maintains, when our senses are activated by the environment in such a way that they permit a glimpse into what cannot be consciously perceived—a glimpse into nature and/or our unconscious. The knowledge gained from these moments of recognition is what Aragon calls "myth,"[143] which, in his version, is synonymous with the "feeling for

nature": "But very occasionally, at rare thresholds, I become aware of this bond which unites the data of my senses, a few of these data, with nature itself, with the unconscious. This exquisite consciousness of a passage is the *frisson* of which I was speaking. The object which is the occasion of that *frisson* is myth, in the sense that I have given to the word."[144] The "feeling for nature" is thus a kind of anagnorisis, a recognition and a revelation of nature or the unconscious by the conscious mind. It is this "feeling for nature," myth, that is at the core of the section on the Buttes-Chaumont, and not nature per se. The object of the quest in the Buttes-Chaumont is subjective experiences, feelings, "sentiments" of nature and the unconscious that, in one way or another, burst into consciousness and alter it. The Buttes-Chaumont, an overtly artificial staging of nature within an urban, industrialized environment, is presented as the ideal laboratory for the kind of experience that brings nature and our unconscious to the surface, and thus confronts the visitor with confusion.

The confusion that the place imposes on its visitors is performed textually through the extensive and varied descriptions of the park, in which Aragon thematizes its illusionistic aspect, its status as representation already from its inception. *Le Paysan de Paris* as a whole is a generically ambiguous text that has been described as a collage, alternating meticulous realistic or even scientific descriptions with highly poetic passages, or dramatizations of states of mind.[145] The park is approached through this kind of polyphony, first with a detailed description of the taxi's itinerary through the streets of Paris on the way to the entrance of the park. The taxi ride is followed by a meticulous topographic and geographic description that opens with a view of the park from above, which makes it look like a "nightcap."[146] This view, along with an exact cardinal localization of the park and a vocabulary borrowed from geographical and cartographic terminology, betrays the description's reliance on a map. The park is rendered in long enumerations of surrounding streets and neighborhoods, with cartographic representational conventions bleeding into the text, as in the following example, when the three friends are still in the taxi, racing through the nineteenth arrondissement: "Coming level with the rue de Meaux we failed to notice the little red dotted line which traces the border between the Quartier de la Villette and the Quartier du Combat."[147] The "little red dotted line" refers to the demarcation line on a map that indeed separates the two quartiers from each other at around the rue de Meaux. Aragon points out here that reality falls short of its carto-

graphic representation: the red line was nowhere to be seen on the real street as the car passed it.

The second detailed description is triggered by the discovery of a bronze column in the park, an "indicator-obelisk" that is a combination of a thermometer, a barometer, and a clock, with a list of statistical data engraved on it valid for July 14, 1883, the date that the column was installed. The names of schools, police stations, hospitals, public buildings, cardinal positions, and the population and number of houses in the nineteenth arrondissement are all inscribed on the obelisk and then studiously copied by Aragon in the text. The column stands as the oracle of the park, as its hidden meaning, and the three friends are called the modern "Champollions" who decipher it.[148] The obelisk functions thus as a synecdoche of the park and its mystery, while also standing as a codified description of the whole nineteenth arrondissement. The column in the heart of Buttes-Chaumont, the park "in which nestles the town's collective unconscious"[149] in the heart of the nineteenth arrondissement, the arrondissement in the heart of Paris, create a chain of metonymic displacements that zoom out from the inscriptions to the city. The city, however, is absent, or at least non-representable. On the engraved list of data, two frames remain empty: the map of the nineteenth arrondissement[150] and the map of Paris.[151] In this case, it is representation that falls short of reality; the map, and subsequently the text, cannot represent the city, and the quadrant stays vacant.

Layered upon the cartographic and statistical representations of the park are a series of non-starter descriptions that seem to self-sabotage: an evocation of the "grande illusion" that is the night, which obscures the park rather than offering a view of it; a reference to all the couples finding an amorous refuge in the park that exhausts itself in the description of their positions; a monologue of Marcel Noll who meditates on garden architecture in general, but not on this garden; and the discovery of a statue which starts speaking and brings into the nocturnal illusion of the park all the statues of Paris, the "statuomanic" capital of the Third Republic.[152] And there are descriptions that are self-consciously set up as representations. When a specific path in the park chosen by the friends is evoked, its description is predicated on what seem like a series of extensive analogies—the path is likened to a scientist's abandonment of a hypothesis, or to André Breton's sculpted walking cane, or to a dog in an empty provincial town. These predicaments end with "Thus . . ." ("Ainsi . . ."), which, however, does not conclude the metaphor and is turned into a missile against the reader's expectations:

> Ah I've got you, there's the thus that your need for logic was frantically awaiting, my friend, the satisfying thus, the soothing thus. This whole long paragraph was finally drawing its huge uneasiness along behind it, and the shadows of the Buttes-Chaumont were floating somewhere in your heart. Thus puts this dismal gloom into flight, thus is a gigantic sweeper.[153]

Speaking directly to the reader, Aragon mocks him for waiting for a conclusion in this description. The confusion provoked by the paragraphs that obfuscate the topic, Buttes-Chaumont, is likened to the nocturnal darkness over the park, and the "thus" that should have guided the reader's understanding instead leads the reader astray. Continuing to deride the reader's habits, Aragon offers four different options to follow "thus," the logical articulation that would permit a full description of the path, and a passage, finally, to the park. As a result, the reader is lost in this purposefully bifurcated narrative of multiple choices, like a stroller at night in a park would have been. In a similar vein, realistic descriptions are often short-circuited when they are overtly encoded as already a representation, a painting or a film. The description of the lake, for instance, emulates the label of a painting in a gallery: "The lake, with electric moonlight, painted by Arnold Böcklin, and the subject is continued in the frame, which is the City of Paris; the whole printed in three colours. And three young men contemplating it. For sale."[154] Likewise, when the friends need to retrace their steps, Aragon describes how they "run the film backwards,"[155] while one of the views of the park is presented as an illustration from Lewis's novel *The Monk*.[156]

The park is thus discursively approached as a threshing-floor of confusion—not so much a confusion between artificial and natural, but as one between an object and its representation. Aragon makes this point clear in his very aggressive conclusion to the description of the park, when, again, he addresses the reader to, in fact, abuse him:

> You think, my boy, that you have an obligation to describe everything. Fallaciously. . . . You are sadly out in your calculations. . . . All these people who are wondering what on earth you are driving at may as well get lost in the details, or in the garden of your bad faith. . . . I shall never finish this book which you are rather beginning to like. You will simply have to imagine this sort of Siberia, these Urals which skirt

> the Rue de Crimée where the outer-circle railway passes. . . . Everything I say, everything I think is too good for you, will always be perfectly adequate. . . . Shut up, the lot of you.[157]

The park can be a whole continent—described earlier as Mesopotamia, but now likened to Siberia. The synecdochic machine that has made the park into a figure of the nineteenth arrondissement and then of Paris now ultimately makes it a figure of the whole world. However, this is only to reveal that the whole world might also be a representation or, as in the empty quadrants on the column, that the world cannot be represented at all. "What is the point of imagining this world,"[158] reiterates Aragon at the end of the book, to add: "The concrete is the indescribable: why should I care two pins whether the Earth is round or no?"[159] Description is an illusion and the readers have to accept it, whether they want to or not. The park is a product of words, of imagination: "Yes, I began to mingle the landscape with my words,"[160] Aragon admits. The anagnorisis, the revelation in the Buttes-Chaumont, is that the concrete, no matter how painstakingly pinpointed, cannot be seized; that representations will not attain reality, but that reality also pales next to representation. To this effect, and in parallel with the synecdochic chain, layers of representation are accumulated in a complicated *mise en abyme*: the real Parc des Buttes-Chaumont is a representation of nature; the map is a representation of the park; the literary description is a representation of the map; the painting label is a representation of the literary description, and so on. The Buttes-Chaumont becomes, indeed, a *locus amoenus* of illusion and confusion. Peeling back the layers of representation cannot lead to an object that is concrete. Proceeding backwards, from label, to description, to map, to park, to nature, we find that this last link of the chain, nature, the *feeling* of which motivates the night walk in the park, is completely unstable. Nature is concrete inasmuch as it cannot be described and is not to be found in the Buttes-Chaumont—and metonymically, neither in Paris nor in the whole world. There is only a "feeling for nature" that can be glimpsed under layers and layers of representations and signification, as a vertiginous look into nature and the unconscious.

Other surrealist works in which the natural lurks as a trace or a fragment extend similar operations. Max Ernst's portfolio *Histoire naturelle*, also from 1926, comprises thirty-four frottages, works produced by the technique of rubbing a pencil on a paper placed over or upon a textured surface. The results of this technique in Ernst's portfolio are

natural-looking images, formed by traces of mostly natural materials, like wood, leaves, or bark. Along with frottage, Ernst also developed the technique of *grattage* (scraping), in which textured materials were placed under a canvas covered with layers of paint; those layers were then scraped off, revealing the texture of the objects lying beneath. In 1927 Ernst painted a series of *Forêts* using this technique, and a series of twelve images of cities in the early 1930s. The 1927 grattage painting *Vision provoquée par l'aspect nocturne de la porte Saint-Denis* (*Vision Induced by the Nocturnal Aspect of the Porte Saint-Denis*) turns that Parisian monument into a kind of petrified forest. Both frottage and *grattage* are techniques that reveal what lies hidden underneath, either by tracing or by scraping. What is found are marks of nature, barely perceptible as patterns, as structures, as remotely recognizable ciphers. Ernst's cities, including Paris, bear the traces of nature, uncovered by scraping the surface, and paralleling Aragon's operations in *Le Paysan de Paris*. Aragon uses the Buttes-Chaumont to stage nature as representation, as a sign—an illusion, but also a ghost that occasionally manifests itself in traces and fragments. The spectrality of this site is not due to its imminent disappearance, as in the case of the Passage de l'Opéra. It is a "ghostly landscape" because it thematizes illusion, error, myth, the elusive concrete, all of them as positive generative mechanisms of cognition, first and foremost through the transformation of the concept of "nature."

But there is of course one more element associated with "nature," one curiously obscured by the narrative: the "paysan." The peasant of the title is found nowhere in the text, except in the title of the last section of the book, "Le Songe du paysan." Claudine Raynaud remarks that the peasant "is never described for he is so to speak virtual, a narrative and poetic hypothesis, the gaze which allows and legitimates a description of certain parts of the city, or rather certain parts of the city in a certain way."[161] This is the usual interpretation of the meteoric presence of the "paysan" in the title of the book: the peasant stands for the gaze of the outsider, the marginal, the one who does not belong to the city, the gaze of the naïf, of the one who is a stranger to a given culture and can for this reason see it critically. This insistence on a scopic gaze also incites the conflation in critical literature of the "peasant" with the "flâneur," and *Le Paysan de Paris* is often associated with Breton's urban *flânerie* in *Nadja*.

Aragon, however, does not choose to name his book after the flâneur but after the peasant. Let us recall here that Pierre Bourdieu distin-

guishes precisely between these two viewpoints on nature, the "stroller" ("promeneur") and the "paysan," explaining that the former casts a distant gaze that produces nature as landscape, as décor, while the latter works nature and ultimately structures it; the first is a figure of dispossession, the second is a figure of lived experience.[162] The stroller, the bourgeois flâneur produces "landscapes without peasants" ("paysages sans paysans"), insists Bourdieu, a "structured structure without structuring work," an effortless work of art as a product of detached bemusement. The peasant has his hands dirty with the work of the land. The flâneur is a walking gaze that reproduces the kind of "feeling for nature" that Aragon wants to undo, that is, an urge to create landscapes, while the peasant works and shapes nature. In Aragon's version of the "feeling for nature" as a mythical and concrete moment of revelation of the unconscious, the peasant, the privileged inhabitant of nature as well as its shaper, seems to be the form of subjectivity appropriate for mediating this "feeling" and channeling it symbolically. In this quest for mythical moments of revelation, is the peasant then the necessary persona through which unconscious significations can be unveiled? Is *Le Paysan de Paris*, this quintessential surrealist urban book with its paradoxical and programmatically adopted agrarian trope, the return of the repressed "paysan" kernel of the Parisian (and French) intellectual?

Yet by 1926, the repressed French peasants had, in true Freudian style, already returned. While, as Raymond Williams has shown, representations of the city and the country have been pitched against each other in modernity, encoding fears of social transformations linked, among other things, with industrialization,[163] the specific French context for this opposition after the First World War was more nuanced. Indeed, the ideological and discursive permutations of the term "paysan" mirror and reverse those of its polar opposite, the term "cosmopolitan" as we traced it in the previous section. In the nineteenth century the "paysan" had almost universally pejorative connotations, immortalized in the novels of the time as the grotesque peasant existing at the opposite pole from the sophistication and refinement of the urbanite, or as brutal, ignorant, and sneaky.[164] Maurice Barrès radically altered these significations around peasantry with his novel *Les Déracinés* in 1897, as did Jules Méline with his book *Retour à la terre et surproduction industrielle* (*The Return to the Land and Industrial Overproduction*) in 1905, a fierce defense of agriculture in the midst of expansive industrialization. But even Méline avoided using the word "paysan" and preferred paraphrases to steer away from the negatively loaded term.[165]

It was another 1905 book with the title *Paysans de France* (*The Peasants of France*), published by the Catholic weekly *L'Action Populaire*, that touted the term "paysan" as a noble one: "this beautiful name of the peasant [*paysan*] that the stupid scholars would like to cover with scorn and which means the man of the country [*pays*], he who is its force and its reserves, he who makes the race and is capable of remaking it."[166] The agronomist Joseph-Honoré Ricard followed the same line and indignantly stated in 1908:

> If the jealous malignity of the cities managed to detour this word [*paysan*] from its original meaning, the agricultural syndicates should consider as their honor to give it back, to restitute this title in all its beauty to those who maintain the vital sources of the Country, to those who refuse to go in the streets of the cities and feed the ranks of the uprooted [*déracinés*], those deserters of the plow, fearful of the bright sun![167]

"Paysan" in these discourses became the opposite of the "déraciné"; the peasant was the real inhabitant of the "pays," the country, the fatherland. This rehabilitation of the "paysan" chased away the bad rap bestowed on the term by urban intellectuals—who, we are to understand, are not equally part of the "pays."

The changing value of the term "paysan" was inextricably linked with the changing signification of the "land" ("terre") and of "roots," associated, as we saw, with a nationalist discourse that valorized regionalism against the metropolitan centers open to foreign elements of cosmopolitanism. Along these lines, the Great War would give yet another twist to the signification of the peasant. A war of the trenches, of the soil, conducted mainly in the French countryside, with a heavy toll on French farmers—over a half million dead—made the French peasant an iteration of the "soldat-laboureur."[168] The historian and politician Gabriel Hanotaux in 1920 echoed a more general perception of the peasant as the Frenchman par excellence in affirming that "this was a war fought by men of the land . . . It is by the land, with the land, with men of the land, that France defends herself . . . This peasant, this Frenchman of the war, has become suddenly the archetypal Frenchman, the Frenchman of the peace."[169] Eugen Weber in his monumental study *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*, explains in detail how war in general, and in particular the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the First World War, were major catalysts for the peasantry, divid-

ing the old world from the new and integrating the neglected peasants into the national community.[170] This social—and linguistic—integration that mandatory mobilization imposed on peasants from all over France, forcing a common (albeit traumatic) experience of national belonging, was replicated in the collective imaginary, in which the peasant rose as the model citizen of simplicity and self-sacrifice.

The hero of the war, but also the protagonist in a renewed scenario of French national identity, the peasant was central in postwar political discourses like the one articulated by Jules Méline in the 1919 sequel to his 1905 book, *Le Salut par la terre* (*Salvation by the Land*), or Pierre Caziot's *Une solution du problème agraire: La Terre à la famille paysanne* (*A Solution to the Agrarian Problem: The Land to the Peasant Family*), also published in 1919, or Michel Augé-Laribé's *Le Paysan français après la guerre* (*The French Peasant after the War*) in 1923. Against the trope of the semi-savage, naive, and ignorant peasant of the nineteenth century, these types of discourses elevated peasants as the "stabilizing force of the economy"[171] and occasionally saw them as "a counterweight to the revolutionary proletariat growing in the cities."[172] Literature followed this turn to peasant themes with a flourishing of the rustic novel which seemed to dominate literary prizes in the 1920s. Ernest Pérochon received the 1920 Prix Goncourt for *Nêne*, while in 1923 Alphonse de Châteaubriant was awarded the Grand Prix of the Académie Française for *La Brière* (*Passion and Peat*). Maurice Genevoix's *Raboliot* got the Prix Goncourt in 1926, and in 1927 Joseph de Pesquidoux's *Sur la glèbe* (*On the Soil*) was awarded the Grand Prix de Littérature.[173] Romy Golan argues that a similar turn characterized the art production of the period, with the "paysan" promoted to a dominant theme in such paintings as Roger de La Fresnaye's *Le Bouvier* (*The Herdsman*) from 1921. The peasant, along with agrarian and regionalist themes, was not solely the domain of conservative nationalist rhetoric. During the 1920s the peasantry was taken over by the Left as well, an appropriation of regionalism and folklore that found its symbolic apotheosis in the Regional Center at the Popular Front's 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life, which showcased the "peasant soul of France."[174] By 1926, the year of the publication of *Le Paysan de Paris*, the term and the figure of the "paysan" were ubiquitous and loaded; the peasant stood, mainly on the Right but not exclusively, as the materialization of the rooted Frenchman who won the war and should dominate the peace, a counterweight to the rootless man of the cities, the cosmopolitan, the abstract man.

This political and social elevation of "paysan" would have been difficult for Aragon to miss. Children of the Great War who were finely attuned to the political and social beliefs of their time, the surrealists consistently turned to commonplaces and "idées reçues" and debunked them. The programmatic deployment of the term "paysan" in *Le Paysan de Paris* is just such an instance of ideological and political debunking, but on surrealist terms. To return to Pierre Bourdieu, he calls the peasants an "object class" ("classe objet"): they do not speak, they are spoken ("[ils] ne parlent pas, [ils] sont parlés"), and are signified by the dominant class.[175] Bourdieu points out different types of such objectifying discourses, but whether as a respectful and modest figure speaking like a child, or as a figure of profound wisdom, or as a self-conscious and perhaps a bit ironic and grotesque "peasantly peasant" (a very imperfect translation of "paysan empaysanné"), or as a folklorized peasant, the peasant in literary and political discourses alike is in fact mute.[176] Aragon takes the "paysan" over precisely as a mute figure, as part of an "object class": in this iconic surrealist text, the peasant does not speak, he is spoken, and overtly so. Against the dominant representations of the time, in which the peasant's clear-cut image and voice became an emblem of a true France posing as an authentic reality, *Le Paysan de Pris* presents the peasant as a construction, as a dematerialized, purely textual entity, a disembodied voice that points to places and moments of confusion. Symptomatic of this is the end of the section "Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont," where the body of the "one who speaks," perhaps an iteration of the peasant, is first decapitated, and then is dematerialized into light: "The whole useless body was invaded by transparency. Gradually the body turned into light. . . . And the man was no longer anything but a sign among the constellations."[177] Like nature which, it seems, recedes endlessly behind layers of representation, losing any possibility of essential, concrete existence, the surrealist peasant keeps nothing of the characteristics grafted upon him by the general context of the time, and finally dematerializes. Aragon creates the peasant as a ghost, one that demonstrates its own value as a representational commonplace, thereby undermining essentialist discourses. Eroding the dominant myth of the peasant as a robust French figure attached to the "land and the dead" ("la terre et les morts"), the Paris peasant is an immaterial subjectivity, a specter of representation that becomes light and air.

This dematerialization of the peasant at the end of the Buttes-Chaumont section continues differently in the last section of the book,

"Le Songe du paysan." Here, in the only section in which the peasant is explicitly mentioned but again only in the title, the process of dematerialization happens through a highly theoretical, indeed philosophical discourse about the nature of the real. This last section completes the first section of the book, "Préface à une mythologie moderne" ("Preface to a Modern Mythology"), and together they explain the conceptual basis of the book.[178] The "Préface" departs from a questioning, a rejection even, of certainty and from a praise of error—which is seen as almost synonymous with imagination and myth as a fluent generator of perceptions and ideas; and "Le Songe" indeed ends with an unmitigated devotion to concreteness. The concrete is identified with poetry: the concrete is the particular that eludes description, it is specific, yet it can bear contradictions, it is almost identical with the marvelous. In the end, myth and concreteness, the two conceptual cornerstones of the book, are not far away from each other. Aragon's "concrete" is elusive, ephemeral, indescribable, open to contradiction and error; in a word, as he says, it is poetry. The peasant's dream is a philosophical discourse that largely undermines certainty, stability, and determinism. Aragon thus takes the peasant, the quintessential figure of the rooted, stable, real Frenchman, the antidote to the rootless, "abstract," and fickle cosmopolitan, and remakes him *as* an abstract figure—first by dematerializing him and then by giving him the abstract, philosophical discourse that Barrès saw as the tongue of the uprooted.

To say that Aragon's peasant is not the one constructed by the nationalist frameworks is simple and obvious: his ruralization of the urban cannot be construed as a nostalgic or conservative gesture. Nor does *Le Paysan de Paris* fall on the other side of the critical commonplace of a heroic, forward-looking modernism which spectacularizes and glorifies the city. The simplistic, but wrong, interpretation would be to see gestures such as Aragon's (or Ernst's in his "natural" works) as antimodern or antimodernist. What Aragon does is more radical, delving deep into modern(ist) dichotomies, such as that of culture against nature, one version of which would be city vs. country, or city-dweller vs. peasant, and transcending them. This already starts with the work's title. Most readings of Aragon's book interpret it as if the title were *Le Paysan* à *Paris*, the peasant *in* Paris, as in various guidebooks for Paris in the nineteenth century that would often include a (condescending) chapter on "Les Paysans à Paris," capitalizing on the country dweller's naiveté,[179] and focusing on the trope of the stranger coming into the city as a complete outsider. However, the title is famously *Le Paysan* de *Paris*, implying that

for Aragon the peasant is not an outsider coming in from the sticks, but rather he is *of* Paris, he is its dweller and its citizen. This Parisian peasant is at the same time rooted in Paris and dissolved in the starry constellations. As a peasant, he is the opposite of a "gaze" taking in the city, which conforms to a general modernist aesthetic ideal of the spectacular city. The peasant is the one who works nature and shapes it; the Parisian peasant works the city, what is "nature" for him, and morphs it. This is a departure from the flâneur as a metropolitan fixture of scopic pleasure. Against landscape and cityscape—and Aragon's efforts to create them through descriptions fail—what finally arises in *Le Paysan de Paris* is not a phantasmagoria of the modern metropolis. Instead, what the book offers are microscopic and telescopic visions of ambiguous urban spaces, in which the "concrete" arises but cannot be described. The "peasant" narrator offers detailed descriptions that imply a careful and discerning gaze, only to constantly point out that these are just descriptions; the "real" is not in them. As such, the "peasant" narrator does not report the city or even think that the city is an objective entity that can be reported. He makes the city through his labor—the narrative. The two sites visited, the Passage de l'Opéra and the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, stand for the entire urban experience, and make it apparent that reality and representation do not fit neatly together, that they are misfits, except for rare moments of coincidence that offer glimpses into myth, into the "feeling for nature." Consistent with surrealist aesthetic and epistemological positions, this non-correspondence between reality and its representation is neither hierarchical nor axiological—the real is not valorized as more important than its representation. Paralleling this process, the relation between nature and city is also radically rethought: nature as the underlayer of the city is not more "real" or more authentic; nature and city do not fall into neat categories, any more than reality and its representation do. Nature, and the peasant, are ultimately deployed as the unconscious of modernity, not because they are a wilderness and instincts repressed by modernity, but because they are a reminder that modernity, like the unconscious, is not representable.

Aragon turns the "peasant" into a "Parisian," the "concrete" into the "abstract," and the "enraciné" into a "déraciné." With this cunning gesture he subverts the peasant as the discursive paragon of nationalist anti-cosmopolitanism of his time and imbues him with cosmopolitan attributes. He creates the cosmopolitan peasant. This cosmopolitan peasant is entrenched in his Parisian surroundings, he doesn't dwell in the distanced bemusement of the cosmopolitanism of the 1920s. The

cosmopolitan peasant of surrealism does not belong to the nation, in fact he derides the nation; he belongs to the world not because he travels it, but because he lives in the cosmopolis, the abstract domain of imagination, the concrete messiness of the city. Aragon thus reshuffles the values associated with either side of the opposition of national and cosmopolitan as it was played out at the time; he attaches the signifiers par excellence for "nationalist"—rooted, simple, peasant—to the signifiers par excellence of cosmopolitanism—Paris/city, abstract, elite. The result is a cosmopolitan peasant who seems like an early version of what Kwame Anthony Appiah would many years later call the "rooted cosmopolitan." For Appiah, the rooted cosmopolitan is "attached to a home of one's own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people."[180] This rooted cosmopolitanism counteracts abstract universalism, and thus ultimately the political and ethical inadequacy of a Kantian universalist vision of cosmopolitanism, as well as perceptions of cosmopolitanism as a perpetual exile. "Becoming a citizen of the world is often a lonely business," remarks Martha Nussbaum; "it is, as Diogenes said, a kind of exile—from the comfort of local truths, from the warm, nestling feeling of patriotism, from the absorbing drama of pride in oneself and one's own."[181] Contrary to these visions, Appiah's rooted cosmopolitan is not someone in exile; the rooted cosmopolitan might be a perpetual stranger, but a stranger at home in the world, one that is shaping the local through his vision of the world.

Aragon in 1926 recasts cosmopolitanism in the direction that Appiah and others would take the concept some eighty years later. His peasant stands next to Picabia's *rastaquouère* as the avant-garde, in text after text, re-signifies the attributes of cosmopolitanism. The avant-garde engages with cosmopolitanism as a social experience and discursive reality and slowly transforms it into an affirmative position of potential belonging and action. The contestation and neutralization of conceptual and rhetorical polarities is the main strategy of this transformation. In the last section of this chapter I would like to turn to another instance of neutralizing polarities, this time between native and foreign tongues.

FAKE MONOLINGUALISM

The French avant-garde embraced cosmopolitanism also as the host of the many non-French, foreign artist and writers who came to Paris and

joined its ranks—which, from 1924 on meant overwhelmingly the surrealist group. Aragon and Picabia were French and they both wrote in French, but many of these foreign newcomers wrote in French too. Even writers who passed through Paris, did not stay long, and already had a considerable publication record in their native language, like the Chilean Vicente Huidobro, wrote in French. Indeed, the Parisian avant-garde of the time looks like a well-calibrated monolingual machine that absorbed all other languages and spewed back French. Whereas Dada, in its Swiss iteration, retained multilingualism in its publications, the nascent surrealist group of the 1920s seemed relentlessly averse to other languages: French dominated.[182] This hegemonic language imposition which almost demanded non-native speakers to write in French in order to be heard, resulted in a monolingualism that seemed to replicate the eighteenth-century universalist aspirations of French speakers, famously expressed by Antoine de Rivarol's *Discours de l'universalité de la langue française* (*The Universality of the French Language*). In contrast to the "pidgin French" of Dada, surrealist French, published in France by writers from all over the world, seems to speak as a native.

In the contemporary view of cosmopolitanism as a positive value, the cultivation or encouragement of multilingualism is lauded as a way to break national boundaries. Within the study of the avant-garde, the multilingual experiments and publications of the Zürich Dada stand as a paradigm for a radical contestation of national communities and an articulation of a fundamental "homelessness" that defies nationalist demarcations, and is first and foremost expressed as not having a "home" language.[183] For Dada, juxtaposing different languages became a way to contest the primacy of one language and to break the insularity of monolingual cultures, with everything that this entailed after World War I. The almost automatic association between textual multilingualism and a "positive" cosmopolitanism may obscure, however, the operations active in seemingly monolingual enterprises, especially within the avant-garde. Does switching to one common language, in our case French, take away from the radical contestation of one nation, one language, one identity? Is this a de facto recoiling from cosmopolitanism when one language, that of the host country, is imposed? In other words, is being a non-French avant-garde artist in France, and writing in French, a kind of capitulation to a national(ist), crypto-colonialist, and thus non-cosmopolitan mandate of the French avant-garde?

As we saw with the *rastaquouère*'s broken French, cosmopolitans as foreigners who vandalized French were a mainstay in public dis-

course, and this of course extended to the avant-garde. The Dadaists were characterized in a 1920 article as "unwanted métèques" and "precocious gagas" who compromised the "beautiful garb of our native idiom," the French language, a part of the patrimony that needed to be defended against "those who sabotage syntax and good taste"[184]—Picabia's attack on "bon goût" comes to mind here. The Dadaists were foreigners, and were seen as a threat to the national language because they adulterated the purity of French. A few years later, in 1926, the surrealists, most of whom were French at this point, were similarly judged a threat to the French language. As an article in *L'Action française* stated, they were "these young writers for whom France is 'a country of pigs' and who torture equally common sense and the French language in their lucubration."[185] This newspaper maintained the same line for years, stating in 1929 that surrealism was essentially "pseudo-Asian nightmares, Freudism, and other rubbish and nonsense, deadly for the French spirit and the French taste, which tarnish and cretinize our literature."[186] These articles echoed the more generalized perception of the avant-garde as cosmopolitans who did not speak French, or who spoke it badly, destroying the national language and consequently the French spirit.

But this accusation of not speaking proper French, of not knowing the language, of making mistakes, has actually pestered modernist literature from its very beginning. Baudelaire's foundational collection, *Les Fleurs du mal* (*Flowers of Evil*), was condemned by one critic in 1857 for its agrammatical and barely French title: "*Les Fleurs du mal*, the title is not French (I dare anyone to understand it)."[187] Accusations of barbarism, of language error as a mark of the philistine who threatens the cultural power and the purity of language, are recurrent in the criticism of novelty. Marcel Proust was famously attacked by critics for his errors in French that, according to them, debased his prose to barbarism:

> The mistakes abound . . . Clearly, the young do not know French at all any more. The language is decomposing, it is changing into an amorphous patois and slips towards barbarism . . . M. Marcel Proust has, however, a lot of talent. This is precisely why we deplore the fact that such a beautiful gift is spoiled by so many errors.[188]

Proust writes like a peasant, in patois, he does not know French. Proust's own opinion, however, contrasted sharply with this:

> The only people who defend the French language are those who "attack" it . . . The idea that there exists a French language which exists independently of the writers who use it, and which must be protected, is preposterous. Every writer is obliged to create his own language, as every violinist is obliged to create his own "tone."[189]

Here Proust is echoing Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, in the eighteenth century, defended the right and even the obligation of the writer to violate language:

> Thus, speak clear for everybody who understands French; that is common, and be sure, if beyond this you produced five hundred barbarisms, you would not have written less well. I go further and claim that sometimes grammar mistakes are needed to be clearer; this is the real art of writing, and not the pedantry of purism.[190]

Rousseau, Proust, and indirectly Baudelaire all took a position against one uniform use of French, and indeed argued for an erroneous use of French as a way to create a vibrant, innovative language, a style. All of these authors advocated, in a way, the use of French, by the French, as a foreign language, of speaking French as if they were foreigners, *rastaquouères*, cosmopolitans. Gilles Deleuze joined them in this position when he called for being in one's language like a foreigner:

> We must be bilingual even in our own language. Multilingualism is not merely the property of several systems each of which would be homogenous in itself: it is primarily the line of fight or of variation which affects each system by stopping it from being homogenous. Not speaking like an Irishman or a Rumanian in a language other than one's own, but on the contrary speaking in one's own language like a foreigner.[191]

Deleuze's call for being in "one's own language like a foreigner" is a call to undo the homogeneity of language, to create a language of variation, of heterogeneity, of experimentation, which ultimately can create new significations and new realities; in a word, to speak the language of the avant-garde.

Speaking and writing one's native French as if it were a foreign language could describe many modernist and avant-garde linguistic experiments. The misrecognition of French as foreign by critics of Baudelaire and Proust attests to the foreignness of the idiom of modernism; similar reactions to the twentieth century avant-garde followed the same logic. This type of attack was intensified by the fact that non-native speakers, that is, foreigners, increasingly joined the modernist and avant-garde ranks. There is an argument to be made that French modernism as linguistic experimentation, from the foreign-invaded symbolist circles of the 1880s to the "cosmopolitan" turn of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was partly the result of writing in French as indeed a second, non-native language. Stephen Forcer makes this argument for the Romanian Tristan Tzara, and claims that it is precisely Tzara's use of French as a second language which is the source of his linguistic experimentation.[192] Indeed, against the prevalent idea that in the essentially monolingual culture which is France, multilingual writers like Samuel Beckett or Eugène Ionesco have barely been tolerated and are the exception, a closer look reveals that multilingual writers in the canon are much more prevalent. Leaving aside the long multilingual centuries of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,[193] the overt or hidden multilingualism of modernity is everywhere. Rainier Grutman even talks about a "bicultural moment" to describe fin-de-siècle French literature and its intense pollination by non-native French speakers.[194] But it was also during this fin-de-siècle era that the choice to write in French while not a native speaker was branded with suspicion. As Leonard Forster remarks, "in 1784 William Beckford wrote his oriental fantasy *Vathek* in French. No one thought that there was anything odd in an English merchant turned country gentleman writing a novel in French, least of all anything disgraceful. . . . In 1894 Oscar Wilde wrote *Salomé* in French; this was thought to be a scandal. Language loyalty had supervened."[195] This was also, of course, the historical moment when cosmopolitanism became labeled as suspect, and the two phenomena are obviously related.

As we saw, the pattern of associating experimental art and literature with foreigners who are destroying French tradition was inaugurated with symbolism. The invention of "vers libre" (free verse), which signified the death of the alexandrine, the cornerstone of French poetics, coincided with the increasing nationalist xenophobia of the Third Republic, thus creating a perfect storm. Recall that Heredia thought it

was outrageous that it was the Belgians, the Swiss, the Greeks, and the Americans who wanted to renew French poetry; and when he was reminded that he was not French either, he added: "I am Spanish, it's true, but I am Latin . . . And then I have no pretense of revolutionizing anything!"[196] The implication here is that at least Heredia was of Latin origin, which created some connection with French tradition, whereas the symbolists were in general perceived as Germans, the ultimate foreigners after 1870, as Paul Verlaine's following comment shows: "Symbolism? Don't get it . . . it must be a German word . . . right? . . . I am French, do you understand, a French Chauvin before anything else!"[197] The other implication of Heredia's comment is that being a foreign poet in France and writing in French is fine, as long as one respects the tradition of French literature and language and does not violate it. Apollinaire would have been of the same opinion, since he talked about France as a "seminary" that teaches the poetry of the new spirit to poets from all over the world.

The avant-garde writers, however, both French and foreign, did violate the French language, and thus I would like to end this discussion of cosmopolitanism with three brief examples of cosmopolitan writers who all joined the ranks of surrealism in Paris in the 1930s. They all led peripatetic lives, moving to different parts of the world, and they all wrote in French while coming from a different native linguistic background: the Spaniard Salvador Dalí, the Briton Leonora Carrington, and the Greek Nicolas Calas. These very different artists/writers were multilingual (French-Spanish-English for Dalí and Carrington, Greek-French-English for Calas) and chose to write in French for some part of their career—and they also wrote in other languages, including their native ones. But what also unites them is their erroneous French: they all wrote, in different ways, in a faulty French that was full of errors. Their French idiom was not a hybrid language, a type of personal creole, or a mixture of native and foreign. Their grammatical errors and misspellings altered written, printed French, but the language is still unmistakably French. These authors seemed to embrace barbarism—the general accusation against the avant-garde for not speaking proper French—and make it their own. While typical accounts of multilingual authors or of writing in a non-native tongue emphasize a sense of exile from one's own language,[198] or the discomfort of writing in a foreign tongue, the texts of these authors do not betray any such malaise. But neither do they display the kind of "naturalness" that the multilingual Joseph

Conrad showed in his fluent English style.[199] Much like Aragon's cosmopolitan peasant who does not experience cosmopolitanism as an exile, the errors in these texts suggest feeling sufficiently at home in the foreign language to allow for publicizing such barbarisms, and at the same time an unnaturalness, a lack of fluidity that creates a foreign French.

Salvador Dalí arrived in Paris in 1928 and joined the surrealist group in 1929 with a splash. In addition to his artwork and his films with Luis Buñuel, his writings on the "paranoiac-critical method" and on the surrealist object propelled surrealism into a new theoretical phase in the 1930s. By 1938 and the International Surrealist Exhibition (Exposition internationale du surréalisme) held in Paris, Dalí had become a key figure for the movement. At the entry of this exhibition, in the courtyard of the Wildenstein Gallery, stood his installation, *Taxi pluvieux* (*Rainy Taxi*). On the taxi Dalí had placed a misspelled sign announcing a "Commissariat général de l'imagination publique" ("General Commission of Public Imagination"), an invented administrative entity that supposedly had organized the exhibition. Here is the full sign in Dalí's original orthography with an approximate translation:[200]

> General Commission of public imagination. The Rainy Taxi for a snob and surrealist lady, will entail: "vegetal obscurity," installation of interior rain, 200 live snails of Burgundy 12 Lilliputian frogs each of them wearing a very delicate golden crown hanging from their head: the driver will wear a helmet made out of the jaws of a shark. The Lady will be dressed preferably with a sordid cretonne printed with a stigmata of The Angelus by Millet and of his sensational gleaners. Good for the whole year 1938. Salvador Dalí.

> Commissariat général de l'imagination publique. Le Taxi pluvieux pour dame esnob est surréaliste, comportera: de "l'obscuvité bégétale," instalation de plui intériere, 200 escargots de bourgogne vibants 12 grenoilles lilputicienes portan chacune delles une très fine courone d'or agripé sur la tête: Le chofeur portera un casque construit avec une machoir de roquin. La d'Ame s'habillera de préférence avec une cretonne sordide ou sera imprimé l'estigmate de l'Angélus de Millet et de ces sansationnelles glaneuses. Bon pour toute l'Ane 1938. Salvador Dalí.[201]

None of these misspellings were corrected by any of Dalí's fellow surrealists who were native French speakers.

Dalí wrote a lot in French, and always in this way. André Breton would correct his texts before publication, and later Dalí's wife, Gala, would take over this role. The translator of the American edition of Dalí's autobiography, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, notes, with what seems like quiet desperation, that "Mr. Dalí's manuscript, as to handwriting, spelling and syntax, is probably one of the most fantastically indecipherable documents ever to have come from the pen of a person having a real feeling for the value and the weight of words, for verbal images, for style," and he adds: the "deliriously fanciful spelling . . . would bring beads of perspiration to a lexicographer's brow."[202] The editor of the French edition of Dalí's autobiography, Frédérique Joseph-Lowery, adopts a different perspective, as this edition reinstates the original text written in the misspelled French, before it was edited by Gala. She sees in Dalí's French spelling a linguistic materialization of his paranoiac-critical method.[203] Through a careful analysis of misspellings, the editor re-creates chains of associations and significations that are repeated in Dalí's visual and textual works. Joseph-Lowery maintains that Dalí's French was a conscious effort to disobey the rules of grammar, syntax, and spelling, with this last one characterized as "that science of imbeciles."[204] "Dalí writes what he says," the editor notes, "he does not transcribe what he hears in the discourse of others. He controls the morphemes of the language . . . His style is not the result of an illness. . . . His style carries the trace of a metaphysical anxiety."[205]

While most of the texts that Dalí published went through the relentless editing of Breton or later Gala, the handwritten sign at the entrance of the 1938 International Surrealist Exhibition was left intact. We will see in detail in the last chapter the paramount importance of this exhibition for surrealism in general, and in particular for the elaboration of its idea of the "world." This was a very public moment for surrealism, and Dalí's work was the entry point for what would become a landmark exhibition for the avant-garde and modern art in general. The sign written in misspelled French created an "official" language under the auspices of which the exhibition was taking place—a fantastic and ironic "General Commission of Public Imagination." The sign gave an ekphrastic (and accurate) description of the *Taxi pluvieux*; this installation consisted of a standard but useless taxicab, with ivy covering the exterior and grass covering the floor, and the cab's interior hosting two mannequins, a driver and a woman passenger, both seated under dripping rain with

dozens of snails crawling on them. In the sign it is obvious that Dalí used some kind of phonetic writing, inflected by his native Catalan—the addition of "e" in front of "snob," for instance, or the confusion between "b" and "v" show these phonetic cross-sections.[206] But this phonetic rendering of words is mixed with less obvious choices of spellings, like "La d'Ame" for "la dame," referring to one of the two mannequins in the taxi. This spelling is not phonetic, but rather graphic, insisting on the production of meaning by the written sign which can sharply differentiate the phonetic one. By adopting this spelling, Dalí is creating some kind of association between the lady in the taxi and "Ame," the soul, which in turn creates an association with Millet's painting *The Angelus*, a reproduction of which is worn as a garment by the mannequin, "la d'Ame." The original, spiritual connotations of Millet's painting were famously dismantled by Dalí's paranoiac-critical interpretation of it, which was heavily indebted to the psychoanalytical methods of Freud and of a young Lacan whom Dalí admired.[207] "La dame" becomes "la d'Ame," and the lifeless mannequin is granted a soul, a psyche, in accordance with Millet's spiritualism and Dalí's psychoanalytical interpretation. Dalí indeed is performing paranoiac-criticism through the misspelling of his adoptive language. He writes in French, but a French that is simulated, a French that sounds like French when read aloud, but which looks like a foreign language, rich with hidden layers of meaning, when written.

Dalí was not alone in this kind of operation. In the same year as the International Surrealist Exhibition, 1938, the Englishwoman Leonora Carrington would publish her first book, in French, *La Maison de la peur* (*The House of Fear*). Carrington was one of the new generation of newcomers to surrealism and Paris in the 1930s, the moment of the grand exodus from Paris of the American expatriates from the 1920s. Her initial inclusion in the movement happened through her male partner, Max Ernst, and indeed, for many years Carrington's written and visual work was overshadowed by her role as Ernst's partner and muse, before being recognized in its own right. Having lived in Paris, New York, and Mexico City and created works in painting, sculpture, poetry, theater, short fiction, and cinema over the course of her long life, Carrington has emerged in critical literature as one of the most powerful figures of the international surrealist movement.[208] *La Maison de la peur* was her first appearance as a writer, which was marked by Max Ernst, who wrote the preface and contributed three collages as illustrations.[209] The preface with the title "Loplop présente la mariée du vent" ("Loplop

Presents the Bride of the Wind") plays out the personal relationship between the two: Ernst featured himself with his avian persona, Loplop, and Carrington was presented as the partner, the bride. These two alter egos appear as characters in the preface, as Loplop exits the eponymous house of fear and meets the wind's bride. He then asks:

> Who is the Bride of the Wind? Can she read? Can she write French without mistakes? . . . She has read nothing, but drunk everything. She can't read. And yet the nightingale saw her sitting on the stone of spring, reading. And though she was reading to herself, the animals and horses listened to her in admiration. For she was reading *THE HOUSE OF FEAR*, this true story you are now going to read, this story written in a beautiful language, truthful and pure.[210]

The questions about whether the wind's bride knows how to read or write in correct French prefigure what follows: a text written in a very faulty French. Described by critics as a "matter of fact prose," the text brims with misspellings, with "a confusion concerning verb endings," with "substitutions of one gender for another,"[211] and many other types of errors. Andrea Oberhuber sees in this text a deregulated language that resists interpretation and shocks the reader from the first lines.[212] In contrast to the pristine and perfect language of Ernst's preface, Carrington's idiom, like Dalí's, textualizes the phonetic and at the same time seems to generate meaning from error. The story narrated is very simple: a female narrator, "I/je," meets a horse who asks her to follow it to a house, and then invites her to a party there that same evening. The narrator agrees, returns to her own house, makes something to eat, and the horse comes back to take her to the party. They leave in darkness, galloping with other horses, to arrive at the Castle of Fear, in which Fear, "la Peur," who looks a bit like a horse, is the hostess. Fear orders everyone—the horses and the narrator—to participate in a game:

> You must all count backward from a hundred and then to five as quickly as possible while thinking of your own fate and weeping for those who have gone before you. You must simultaneously beat time to the tune of "The Volga Boatman" with your left foreleg, "The Marseillaise" with your right foreleg, and "Where Have You Gone, My Last Rose of Summer" with your back two legs.[213]

> Il faut tous conté au numero cent dix jusqu'au numero cinq à tout vitesse en pensant à son propre destine et en versant des larmes pour ceux qui ont passé devant nous; en même temps il faut tappé l'air de la Volga avec le pied gauche de devant, la Marseillaise avec le pied droite et avec lé deux pieds de derrière l'air de 'Où est-tu ma dernière rose d'été ?' [sic][214]

The horses play the game for twenty-five minutes, while the narrator fears the huge eye ("l'oeuil," *sic*) of Fear, and the narration stops abruptly with a suspended "but," "mais . . ."

This was an impressive literary debut that marked the disquieting tone of Carrington's subsequent stories, in which animals share the narrative with humans, fairy tales and gothic elements are thrown into more or less realistic settings, and a narrator is often left to confront an authority figure.[215] But it was also a brave move showcasing a language that is broken down by an accumulation of errors. Along with the systemic grammatical errors in verb conjugations, gender choice, concordance of gender or number, and so on, there are a series of plain misspellings that create an almost mystical language. "Aitres" instead of "êtres," "comme même" instead of "quand même," "oeuil" for Fear's eye but "oeil" for the horses' eyes, "appreuvez" instead of "éprouvez," and "souvis" instead of "suivis." As with Dalí's misspellings, these alternative spellings open the words to associations and interpretations and reactivate them poetically. "Appreuvez" brings to mind by its orthography "abreuver" but also "approuver" in addition to the meant "éprouvez," which we can only infer by the context as the "correct" signification. Similarly, "souvis" brings to mind "assouvis" instead of just "suivis," and "comme même" introduces with the "comme" some kind of resemblance and affinity to the concession of the meant "quand même." The terrifying "oe**u**il" of "la Pe**u**r" maintains in its misspelling a little bit of the Fear: the superfluous "u," not used when the "oeil" of the horse is evoked, mirrors the "u" in "Pe**u**r."

This language is indeed deregulated, much like the performance imposed on the horses by "Fear": they are asked to tap the rhythm of three different tunes with three different legs. However, this is not a hybrid language that emulates Carrington's affinity for animal/human hybrids and shifts of identity.[216] In fact, in opposition to how most current criticism approaches texts by bilingual authors, neither Dalí nor Carrington seem to be cultivating their erroneous French as a way to explore or establish an identity of bilingualism. Instead, they both seem to be

exploring the possibilities of their adoptive language, French, by failing or refusing to write it correctly. They are exploiting the creative potential of error, as Louis Aragon in *Le Paysan de Paris* suggests. Aragon praises error as the generating principle of a different reality: that of revelation beyond the surface of the real: "I no longer wish to refrain from the errors of my fingers," he says, "the errors of my eyes. I now know that these errors are not just booby traps but curious paths leading me towards a destination that they alone can reveal to me. There are strange flowers of reason to match each error of the senses."[217] Aragon is not speaking specifically about linguistic error but about error in general as a heuristic tool. Yet, given that his whole book is predicated, as we saw, on the formative power of language over reality, these thoughts about error can be applied to the linguistic realm. "Truth presupposes error," says Aragon, "it is these mingled opposites which people our life . . . We only exist in terms of this conflict."[218] Error for Aragon is the opposite of certainty, and certainty is what is opposed to imagination. Error is thus the possibility of imagination to exist and flourish, and imagination, characteristically personified in Aragon's narrative as a foreign man, is what brought surrealism as a "new vice" to the world.[219] Both Carrington and Dalí pursue linguistic error as an expansion of imagination, creating, as Apollinaire was evangelizing in "L'Esprit nouveau," new words for new notions.

Another non-French surrealist who went down the same road of error, but in a somewhat different way, was the very idiosyncratic and oft-forgotten Nicolas Calas.[220] "Nicolas Calas" was the pseudonym of Nikolaos Kalamaris, born in Lausanne in 1907 to a wealthy Greek family. He spent his childhood and youth in Greece, receiving a well-rounded and multilingual education. While in Greece, he wrote critical essays in Greek on various subjects[221]—literature, politics, art, and cinema—for Athenian journals and magazines and published his first collections of poetry in Greek in 1933, under the pen name Nikitas Randos. That same year he started shuttling between Paris and Athens, retaining a lively presence on the Athenian intellectual scene while also getting to know the surrealists in Paris. When the first Greek collection of automatic texts appeared in 1935 (Andreas Embeirikos's *Υψικάμινος* [*Blast Furnace*]), inaugurating an astonishingly vigorous public debate, Calas defended Embeirikos and joined the Greek surrealists.

In 1937 Calas settled in Paris, and he became an active member of the French surrealist group. With the encouragement of André Breton, he published articles in French in *Minotaure* and, in 1938, his first

book of essays, *Foyers d'incendie* (*Hearths of Fire*). Breton described this book as a "manifesto of unprecedented necessity and magnitude" with "inspired, decisive, and exalted" answers to the Surrealists' long-standing questions.[222] By 1939 Calas had decided to flee Europe, and he arrived in New York in 1940, via Lisbon. He was quick to make contact with the exiled European intelligentsia there, especially the surrealists. Calas already had a reputation in American artistic and literary circles thanks to *Foyers d'incendie*; the book had been praised in the *Partisan Review* and in James Laughlin's *New Directions in Prose and Poetry* anthology of 1939, and had made a profound impression on people like William Carlos Williams. Calas immediately started writing and publishing in English upon his arrival in New York. James Laughlin asked him to prepare an anthology of surrealism for the 1940 edition of *New Directions in Prose and Poetry*, which was the first of its kind in America. Surrealism was known in New York mainly as an art movement—especially through Dalí's great commercial success—and there was only vague information about its positions, ideas, and literary production. Calas's special section in *New Directions* aimed to fill this gap. It opened with an interview of Calas himself, and his answer to the first question, "What is Surrealism?" is very characteristic of his perspective: "I prefer to answer for its aims, because I believe in speaking in terms of dynamics and movement, especially when we are part of that movement—and not in static terms."[223]

Throughout the 1940s, Calas dedicated considerable effort to adapting surrealism to America and to the new conditions of life during and after the war. He edited a special issue of *View* magazine on surrealism in fall 1941 and published his first book in English in 1942, *Confound the Wise*. He curated the exhibition "Bloodflames," designed by Friedrich Kiesler, at the Hugo Gallery in New York, and published articles in various magazines. From the 1950s on he wrote mainly art criticism, and he published regularly in *Artforum, Art International, Arts Magazine*, and the *Village Voice*. With his wife Elena, he prepared the catalog of Peggy Guggenheim's art collection, and published many books of art criticism.[224] Calas died in 1988, having seen almost his entire poetic work in Greek published in two volumes, *Οδός Νικήτα Ράντου* (1977; *Nikitas Randos Street*) and *Γραφή και φως* (1983; *Scripture and Light*).

In 1977, Calas granted an interview about his life and work to Paul Cummings for the Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution. Recounting his childhood and upbringing, Calas mentioned his education in three languages, Greek, English, and French, an education

that was aimed at a diplomatic career. "I can't translate," he says, "from the one [language] to the other, because I find it very difficult . . . to translate. Because I don't translate, I immediately think in the other language." And he adds: "As a result I spelled very badly because I never, never was able to see the word in one language. And they say that, well, I was deficient. So I was thought to be practically moronic when it comes to spelling."[225] This spelling deficiency or, more generally, a tendency for language errors stalked Calas long after his school years, and indeed marked the reception of his work in all three of the languages he wrote in: Greek, French, and English. The Greek critic Andreas Karandonis fiercely criticized Calas's first poems published in Greece in 1933, noting that "he does not understand, he does not feel what a verse is, *at least not in our language*. This has its roots in his ignorance, his lack of taste and his incapacity to intuit the artistic variations of poetic discourse."[226] Likewise, Raymond Queneau's criticism of *Foyers d'incendie* included an ironic comment on the mistaken gender of some words, as well as the following conclusion: "he is simply making fun of us, or he is offering a medley of incoherent words."[227] Just a few years later, in 1942, Edouard Roditi wrote a positive review of Calas's *Confound the Wise*, but saw fit to mention criticism by others concerning what was perceived as his insufficient knowledge of English: "One or two well-known writers have damned this book rather viciously, snorting at its spelling mistakes, grammatical errors, confused vocabulary and typographical blunders."[228] In each of the three languages that Calas wrote, the same type of criticism and questions would inevitably arise: does he actually know the language he's writing in?

It is no accident that in the aforementioned interview with Cummings, the only example Calas gives of his troubles with spelling is the word "littéraire," which is spelled with two t's in French but with only one in the English equivalent, "literary." Calas was never sure about which was the appropriate spelling for each language. And it was in this literary realm that the error became for him a deliberate strategy. Calas seems to have followed the advice of Proust, Rousseau, and Aragon and the practice of Dalí and Carrington to a T, establishing the necessity of the error as the only way to create something worthwhile, a true and personal art. He misspelled, committed errors, and violated what is understood as the normal and normative use of language as he was navigating between three languages—indeed, he bridges and unites three different languages through these errors. From the misspellings that annoyed critics, to the dismantling of words that appear

in his later poems, the red thread of error seems to delineate a personal path in Calas's relationship with language and his writing itinerary—it was part of his own personal sound, a sound heavily invested with his personal history, his multilingual experience, and his itinerary in the world.

In Calas's late Greek and French poems, language is deliberately and obsessively dismantled by acts of erring. In these poems Calas invents new words, disorients the reader with intentional errors, uses and abuses puns, and dissects and reassembles French and Greek. One of these French poems is indeed predicated on "error." The poem is "La Vie con ose," written in 1957, unpublished during Calas's lifetime, given here in the original and in an attempt at an English translation.[229]

La Vie con ose
Eros est Rose et zéro, o
le nombre d'or du consacré
l'o bénite de Rosa
O nom d'un chien d'amour
Dio gêne fils de Dieu
et de la vase
nom d'une Panthère
avec son zéro d'épines
sur un roseau penchant

The Life We Dare
Eros and Rose and zero, o
the golden number of the consecrated
the holy water of Rosa
O name of a dog of love
Dio genes son of God
and of the vase
name of a Panther
with a zero of thorns
on a leaning reed

The poem is a relentless series of wordplays and insinuations that amplify homophonies and paronomasias and create a short, explosive text that resonates in French almost as foreign—as not French. This poem merges the ambiguity of forms and meanings with the ambiguity of the content. The poem develops a female/male paradigm, two opposites

that fuse either in a sexual union or in a state of gender and sexual ambiguity. The references to "Eros," "est Rose," and, in the first part of the title, to "La Vie" allude perhaps to Marcel Duchamp's famous female persona, Rrose Sélavy, a gender-ambiguous figure that first appeared in the surrealist magazine *Littérature* as the author of one-line puns,[230] not unlike the ones produced here by Calas. The gender ambiguity of Rrose Sélavy—cross-dressed as a woman but obviously a man, as Man Ray's famous portrait of Duchamp shows, a figure that is neither man nor woman, and at the same time both man and woman—resonates through the sexual hints that circulate in the poem. To start with the title: "con," as the vulgar term for female genitalia, replaces a-grammatically by homophony the correct grammatical structure "qu'on." At the same time the word functions, again a-grammatically, as an adjective for "la vie," with the meaning of "stupid." Later, "con" returns hidden in "consacré," meaning "consecrated" but also read as "con-sacré," a sacred vagina. Recurring circular forms, the zero and the letter "O," likewise allude to female genitalia as an orifice but also as the ground zero of existence, a zero that in French is almost an anagram of Eros. With female sexuality dominating, the male genitals appear in the pun "zero d'epines," which can be read as "de pines," "pine" being a vulgar denomination of the penis, coupled here with "zero," the vagina.

These sexual opposites take a biographical twist with the insertion of the name "Rosa," which changes the initial Duchampian "Rose" into Calas's mother's name, Rosa Karantza. The line is "l'o bénite de Rosa," in which the letter "o" could stand either as a homophone of water, "l'eau," or could reiterate the allusion to female genitalia. "The holy water of Rosa" may express a nostalgia for the first home, the mother's womb, a mother to whom Calas was very much attached. This interpretative direction—in which the male/female paradigm is also one that stands for the father/mother archetype—is reinforced by the pervasive presence of Christic references and symbols: the son of God ("fils de Dieu"), the reference to the "zéro d'épines," in which we can see the "couronne d'épines," the crown of thorns around Christ's head, and even the reference to a "panthère," a medieval symbol of Christ, all bring the son into the dyad of mother/father, female/male. The name chosen for this son is a pun on Diogenes, "Dio gêne," which we now read as a play on "Dieu gêne," the one who bothers God the father—Calas had a very bad relationship with his own father, a failed amateur poet. But Diogenes is also the one who has two "γένη," two genera, two genders but also two species, two families, two races. Like with Apolli-

naire's Thérèse/Tirésias, the sexual and gender ambiguity is overlaid by an ambiguity of provenance, a double belonging, a double race. To this should be added the ancient figure of Diogenes as cynic and as the first cosmopolitan. Thus, through words that are broken only to recombine in many different ways, the poem composes the personal glyph of Calas: a position of ambiguity, an ambiguity between roles and possibly genders, an eternal son and a cynic, who thematizes his ambivalence in his cosmopolitanism. The fundamental foreignness of the cosmopolitan is materialized in the "foreignness" of the poem, a French poem written in, literally, broken French. But it is also the fundamental foreignness of the avant-garde writer, the one who wants to create his own language, which is made concrete in this estranged language.

Broken-down French in an elegant riddle, the answer to which might well be "Nicolas Calas": the playful pleasure-inducing element behind these linguistic experiments is obvious. A language is created out of elements of French, but also, it should be noted, out of elements of Greek, since similar processes dominate Calas's later Greek poems too. These formative processes cut across both languages and center on pun and error, revealing a trans-linguistic impetus that transcends the limitations of one national language: French and Greek mirror each other in formal procedures—anagrams, spoonerisms, portmanteau words, homophonies, misspellings and the like. Using words like toy building blocks puts the subject in the position of simultaneously being both in and out of language; he steps outside of language norms and rules in order to upset them, while de facto he stays within the language he writes. Public and private seem to be connected and transcended through the error, which thereby encodes a perpetual position of foreignness, of in and out, that is overdetermined by Calas's own cosmopolitanism.

Through this process, Calas exemplifies and aestheticizes the accusation launched at him by critics throughout his life: he is indeed a foreigner to the language in which he writes, and even in his native Greek, he makes it sound like a foreign language to the native ear. What critics found unsettling in Calas's errors was the invasion of foreign elements into a language as preciously guarded as theirs. This foreignness found an easy explanation in Calas's perpetual otherness—he is French in Greece, Greek in France, European in America, and so on—but also in Dalí's and Carrington's perpetual otherness. However, the deepest foreign element perceived in each case is on a different level: it is the foreignness of a personal idiom, of a private space that sets itself apart as a threatening anomaly to the collective one constituted by the (cor-

rect) national language. For all three of these writers this seems to be the monolingual materialization of a multilingual experience, expressed emblematically by Calas when he said that "I was never, never able to see the word in one language." For Dalí, Carrington, and Calas one language is never one, and monolingualism does not exist even within the strict frame of one language—or, as Derrida would have put it, "we only ever speak one language. We never speak only one language."[231] Dalí, Carrington, and Calas in their trilingualism seem to speak one and the same language: a language of error, an erroneous language, or a language that is always wrong.

Calas, Dalí, and Carrington all cultivate a rhetoric of error in the sense of Louis Aragon, one lying at the margins of acceptability, at the edges of the normative. They are foreigners, cosmopolitans, in the French avant-garde and they write like foreigners, embracing non-fluidity—genuine or mimicked—and undermine, as Deleuze posits, language as a homogenous system. Their writing amounts on the page to a visual "stuttering," to follow Deleuze again, a "stuttering as an affect of language and not an affectation of speech."[232] These writers bring French to "a state of *boom* close to *crash*"[233] by capitalizing on barbarism. Their texts represent another instance of interpellation/subjectivization, but this time performed in the texture of the written language. The misspellings and errors only visible in writing create the possibility of the simultaneous coexistence of many variants. Indeed, the error in writing annuls certainty and invites us to dwell in the interstitial space between interpretations, between the archetypical correct spelling and the actual incorrect spelling.

Picabia and Aragon called attention to these interstitial spaces, the gaps in the conceptual polarities deployed to circumscribe cosmopolitanism at the time, and in this way unhinged certainties of categorizations. From their texts emerged the possibility of a cosmopolitanism with an ethical and political heft as a constructive value. Linguistic error connects with cosmopolitanism not through a banal association of error and "errance," mobility and nomadism; rather, cosmopolitanism aligns with linguistic error as a structural method to create multiple positionings within and through language. Far from an exile, French becomes a home for these cosmopolitan foreigners in which everything is rearranged. The rhetoric of error is the rhetoric of instability, of variation and fickleness; it is the rhetoric of unsettling the home, "the House of Fear," and arranging it differently with results that are uncertain, but open to possibility. It is the pidgin of the *rastaquouère* and the patois

of the peasant that fit cosmopolitanism as an affirmative position constructed out of the dismantling of its negative attributes. The rhetoric of error speaks the language, French, but it remains detached from it enough to uproot it and make it multiple. It is a monolingualism that is true only on the surface, and is in fact fake; it harbors the foreign as the positive possibility of cosmopolitanism.

A cosmopolitan vision of the world permeated the French avant-garde after the Great War, and confronted the *experience* of cosmopolitanism with a constant revaluation of the *concept* of cosmopolitanism as it was outlined at the time. Foreign, rootless, urban, abstract, erroneous, are features embraced as positive qualities, while unexpected conceptual rapprochements create new significations: fake monolingualism, native *rastaquouères*, and cosmopolitan peasants upset established dichotomies and produce new possibilities for visions of the world. The cosmopolitan peasants of the avant-garde dwell conceptually in a world that is increasingly unified by their real or imagined mobile existence, and not fragmented by this very mobility. The cosmopolitan peasant of the avant-garde paves the way for a political position in a global world, premised on an implicit universalism, as the surrealists will make clear.

CHAPTER 4

Monstrum Universale

Surrealism and a New Vision of Humanism

Minotaure, the lavish art, literature, and culture magazine published by the Swiss editor Albert Skira, with the Greek Stratis Eleftheriadis—alias Tériade—as its initial director, started publication in 1933. The magazine lasted for six years, and by its last installment in 1939 it had produced thirteen issues. During this period *Minotaure* underwent many changes, most notably the departure of Tériade—an old hand in periodical publication who had been the modern art editor for Christian Zervos's *Cahiers d'art*—and the gradual takeover of the magazine by the surrealist group. Paul Éluard considered the double issue no. 3–4 as the first truly surrealist one,[1] although the surrealist editorial committee of Breton, Heine, Mabille, Duchamp, and Éluard did not fully take over until the tenth issue.[2] It has been a matter of debate whether the magazine was an exclusively surrealist publication; it certainly was not an official publication of the movement as were, before it, *La Révolution surréaliste* or *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*; the latter immediately preceded *Minotaure* and advertised the first issue in its last installment. But *Minotaure* from 1933 on became the de facto surrealist publication, and it did materialize a distinct surrealist aesthetic and, as we will see, politics.

The year 1933 was not 1924, when the *Manifeste du surréalisme* came out, establishing the movement as such. The launching in 1924

of the magazine *La Révolution surréaliste* was intended to cement the movement in its coherence, creating an official forum for surrealism's ideas and aesthetics. By the time *Minotaure* appeared in 1933, surrealism was a well-established and vociferous movement, albeit going through a transformation. The political marriage of surrealism and communism had, predictably, failed; attacks from the outside and discord on the inside had increased; and the practice and theory of automatism appeared to be at a crossroads. At the same time, an opening to the visual arts and to the international sphere seemed to be lending new vigor to the movement. Indeed, surrealism would become the avant-garde art movement with the widest and longest international appeal. Starting in the late 1920s, and throughout the 1930s and afterward, surrealism spread across Europe, the Americas, North Africa, and parts of Asia. This wide geographical spread that went beyond the Europe-New York axis of Dada also changed the temporality of the movement: surrealism outlived all the other avant-garde movements by far and kept fertilizing and being fertilized by local cultures well after World War II, and in some cases into the present time. The often-quoted map "Le Monde au temps des surréalistes" (figure 15), or "The World at the Time of the

Figure 15. Anonymous, "Le Monde au temps des surréalistes" ("The World at the Time of the Surrealists"). In "Le Surréalisme en 1929," special issue of *Variétés Revue mensuelle illustrée de l'esprit contemporain*, Brussels, 1929, pages 26–27. Courtesy of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Surrealists," published in 1929 in the magazine *Variétés*,[3] is an indication of this global scope. It is a map very different from what we know as the geographic reality of our planet and reflects the surrealists' idea about the world: the places that are appealing and significant for them are inflated, whereas the ones that are not, disappear. In keeping with this vision, Russia is huge, while Europe is dominated by Germany, the United States is completely erased, and Alaska, Labrador, and Mexico take over the northern part of the continent. This surrealist map is an artistic creation, a sophisticated and dynamic view of cartography: the fluidity of the equator line suggests movement, the possibility of change and of constant reconsideration of the world's image.

The astonishing success of surrealism on an almost global level, as well as its exceptional longevity, prompt the question of why: what was there in surrealism that propelled it to spread with such dynamism throughout the world? A first answer might be found in the surrealist map of the world, in which the cartographic fluidity visually expresses the movement's theoretical versatility which made it malleable in different local conditions and cultures. It is this versatility that positioned surrealism to thrive globally. At the core of this versatility was surrealism's basic premise, already laid out in the founding *Manifeste du surréalisme* and elaborated in countless ways in theory and practice ever after: the ambition to reconfigure what the human and its relation to reality are. Surrealism wanted to redraw our understanding of ourselves by tapping, initially, into Freudian theories of the subject, and increasingly into ethnography and a more general anthropological thought. At its most basic level, this new understanding of the human was reacting to rationalism, an opposition that morphed into many different manifestations: privileging the unconscious and its drives over the conscious mind; valorizing bodily sensations; and revolting against bourgeois social values, against capitalist reification, against a utilitarian view of human life—the list can go on. From its first steps, surrealism fashioned itself as a universalist project with a careful and holistic approach to human life. It also presented itself as a counter-vision of the human, opposing perceptions inherited from the Enlightenment that privileged logocentrism—along with its West-centric, patriarchal implications—as a universal value for humankind. The many permutations of such an ambitious epistemological project were perhaps the reason why surrealism was so adaptable worldwide. The surrealist map makes also visually clear that the Parisian surrealists were interested in the non-Western parts of the world, though not as an "objet de curiosité" or as

a source for aesthetic innovation. In their quest to redefine the human, the global is transformed to include the forgotten parts, those that were ostensibly left out of modernity. As the map graphically shows, for the surrealists the non-West, the vastness of the world that is not Europe, cannot but push against the West, changing its contours and boundaries: Asia is swallowing up a shrinking Europe, and Mexico has replaced the United States. For the surrealists it is these parts of the world that put pressure on the absoluteness and authority of modernity, not as "primitive" or antimodern sites, but rather as necessary bedfellows in a global modernity that includes different temporalities than those of the West. Surrealism responded to the malaise of the modern individual by thinking of the human and of modernity in universalist but not homogenizing terms.

Minotaure was one of the most splendid and salient manifestations of this global and universalist understanding of the human. On the rare occasions that *Minotaure* is discussed in relation to a conceptualization and representation of the world, it is only implicitly, via James Clifford's insight into an "ethnographic surrealism" that groups together this magazine, Georges Bataille's *Documents*, and works by Antonin Artaud, Michel Leiris, and others in relation to the thriving discipline of ethnography in the 1920s and 1930s in France. Their interest in figures of "otherness" catapulted them away from nineteenth-century Orientalism and into a consideration of other cultures as serious alternatives to that of the West. Unlike *Documents*, however, remarks Clifford, *Minotaure*—apart from its second issue entirely devoted to the notorious ethnographic mission of Dakar-Djibouti—failed to maintain this ethnographic import. Clifford therefore concludes that with *Minotaure*, "modern art and ethnography had emerged as fully distinct positions, in communication to be sure, but from a distance."[4] The decisive turn toward surrealism in the third issue of *Minotaure* marked an end to the magazine's ethnographic surrealism as a utopian project that tried to undermine and reshuffle definitions of art and science as separate institutions.[5] Katharine Conley, however, has convincingly demonstrated a different possibility; namely, that the ethnographic approach in *Minotaure* transcended the mere fascination with the tribal that Clifford posits as the basis for ethnographic surrealism. Conley shows that *Minotaure* was dominated by an ethnographic approach to everyday *European* life, with Brassaï's photographs as a telling example: "His *Minotaure* photographs," she says, "blur the distinction between ethnography as science and as aesthetic by examining familiar European objects

with the same scientific detail as unfamiliar tribal objects and by making them visible in their newfound strangeness—as decontextualized as a mask hanging in a Paris art museum."[6] This was an ethnographic attitude that indeed "attacks the familiar, provoking the irruption of otherness—the unexpected,"[7] by unsettling the categories of art and science. *Minotaure* brought ethnography, the study of the "other," to Paris, with Paris as its object of inquiry.

While in *Documents* the irruption of otherness into the familiar takes the form of a straightforward juxtaposition of the tribal documents of a given culture with those of Europe, in *Minotaure* the operation centers rather on finding otherness within European culture. The one and only ethnographic article in the magazine after it was taken over by the surrealists is a characteristic example of this attitude. It is an article by Kurt Seligmann with the title "Entretien avec un Tsimshian"[8] ("Interview with a Tsimshian"), published in 1939, concerning the native peoples of British Columbia. Seligmann traveled to North America during the summer of 1938 to research the life of the Tsimshian and had as his mission to collect North American objects for the Musée de l'Homme. He shipped to Paris a 60-foot mat totem carved in the mid-nineteenth century, but not before seeking permission from the 70 members of the clan, and becoming himself a clan member.[9] This practice seems far from the habits of collection in Africa, described by Michel Leiris, who participated in the Dakar-Djibouti mission. Leiris had remarked privately in a letter of September 19, 1931, on the way that objects were collected in Africa:

> Our research methods resemble the interrogations of an investigating magistrate much more than amicable conversations, and because, nine times out of ten, our methods of collecting objects involve forced purchases, if not requisition. All this casts a certain shadow over my life, and my conscience is only halfway clear. . . . We pillage the Negroes under the pretext of teaching people to understand and appreciate them—that is, ultimately in order to mold other ethnographers who will go in turn to "appreciate" and to pillage them.[10]

Seligmann's practice was completely different, and this is reflected in his *Minotaure* article, which is not a typical ethnographic account. Rather than an interview, it is a dialogue between a Tsimshian and the author

in which the Native American asks as many questions as the Westerner: "The Indian Tsimshian . . . asked me if in Europe we had ancestors who, like his, fought with monsters. . . . The Indian wanted to know if after that the women bore the children of monsters."[11] This series of questions prompts the Tsimshian to claim that "your minotaurs, your dragons, and your sea monsters . . . are certainly ancient totems," and to ask the author whether there are still totems in Europe. To this the author replies: "I think like you . . . that there were totems in our country a long time ago. But these totems hid in the family closets and later in the closets of the cities and the regions. . . . One single ancestor managed to sneak in the Christian religion: Saint George." Following this unexpected interpretation of Christianity as a totemic religion, Seligmann adds: "But I would be curious to know what the missionaries think of the totem poles—recently, said the Indian, they burned them."[12]

In this brief article the native temporarily becomes ethnographer by interpreting the myths and legends of Europe according to his own system of values. This change of roles upsets the usual power dynamic established by Western ethnography, and instead of the native being observed and interpreted, it is the Westerner who is in the position of being observed. And while this is the only ethnographic article in the surrealist run of the periodical, it responds to the general permutation of ethnography, or rather ethnology,[13] in the magazine. *Minotaure*, as a collective, multivoiced, dialogic and multi-genre serial object, unfolds through texts and images the surrealist perspective, informed by ethnography as a standpoint to consider culture. And it is this ethnographic attitude that reinforces surrealism's sense of universalism, a secular universalism predicated on a human that now appears diverse, different, but still one. This secular universalism expounded within the magazine took its cue from the anthropological humanism of the time, the most eloquent example of which was none other than the Musée de l'Homme, inaugurated in 1938. This anthropology museum was a Popular Front project that was originally part of the 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life. "Humanity is one and indivisible, not only in space, but also in time"[14] was—and still is—the motto of the museum as it was phrased by its founder, Paul Rivet. The museum was indeed posited as displaying "humanity" in all its forms. The authoritative Western humanism of the Musée de l'Homme, as Clifford remarks, dictated the organization and structure of the museum, though the modern West and its humans were absent as objects of study or display.[15] *Minotaure*, a surrealist periodical, was a counterpart to and

subversion of the Musée de l'Homme;[16] it placed itself at the museum's antipode, taking the Western human as its main object of inquiry and representation, while dismantling Western humanism. By so doing, the magazine unfolded a universalist perspective on the world, animated both by the ethnographic practices of its time and the deeply anthropological thought that marked the surrealist project during the 1930s.

This chapter follows the development of this surrealist universalist vision of the world, which concretized and elaborated one of the main epistemological demands of surrealism: a new understanding of the human. The discussion proceeds in four sections, starting with an overview of surrealism's universalist project as a revolutionary one, from the beginning of the movement until the mid-1930s. This project hinged on a programmatic rethinking of republican universalism, the legacy of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment and their shortcomings, and on a new declaration of the rights of man—indeed, on a rethinking of what and who is a (hu)man. This theoretical, political, and ethical project found its concrete realization in the representations of the human figure in *Minotaure*, which is at the center of the second section of this chapter. The magazine, through its images and texts, constantly reconfigures the human body, thus constructing "the human" as a polymorphous and open form that erases the axiological exclusions inherent in Western humanist ideals. These ideals are discussed in the third section, which bears the title of this chapter, "*Monstrum Universale*." In this section, the surrealists' deconstruction of the classical topos of "Greece" as the cornerstone of Western humanism results in a renewed engagement with humanism that decenters the human, and thus in a new universalism that is unbound from hegemonic, normative views of exclusion. The last section brings forth this decentering of the human through a discussion of the representation of animals in *Minotaure*, which verges on an animal ethnography. For the surrealists, a human that is open to the animal realm breaks down the ultimate barriers of human exceptionality, thus redefining universalism as a nonhierarchical humanism.

UNIVERSALIST REVOLUTION

Minotaure was beautiful. The visual arts orientation of the magazine was well-served by its surprisingly extravagant material presentation, in the form of color and black-and-white reproductions of works of art. At this point, even the most lavish magazine of the time against which

Minotaure measured itself, none other than *Cahiers d'art*, published reproductions of works of art only in black and white, with a cover kept uniform and simple. *Minotaure*, on the other hand, invested heavily in glossy presentation, with impeccable and abundant reproductions of photographs and works of art in both black and white and color, and offerings of *hors-textes* in color, all of which gave the magazine the appearance of an artist's scrapbook, putting the textual and the visual on an equal footing and making it a thing to both read and view.[17] Each cover presented a new work of art, an interpretation of the myth of the Minotaur, specially commissioned for the magazine, by artists within or close to the surrealist movement. From the first issue featuring a sketch of the Minotaur with *papiers collés* by Picasso (figure 16) to the last issue done by André Masson, covers were created by André Derain, Joan Miró, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Salvador Dalí, René Magritte, and others.[18] The covers alone show to what degree *Minotaure* transcended the realm of the avant-garde "little magazine" and drew closer to the artist's book, with each issue inaugurated by a different artist and constructing, page after page, the confrontation of a visual with a textual program.

The unexpectedness of this material sumptuousness was addressed in the editorial of issue no. 6, which claimed that "the luxury of *Minotaure* should be only considered as an organic necessity."[19] The editorial implied that creating a beautiful object beyond the expectations attached to the avant-garde periodical press was an integral part of the magazine's project. This declaration was undoubtedly a defense against critics who saw in *Minotaure*'s opulence a mark of surrealism's disengagement from its radical political and social agenda. A regular contributor to the magazine, the photographer Brassaï, noted that *Minotaure* was "a sumptuous review, in an edition limited to three thousand copies and beyond the reach of proletarian pocketbooks . . . Their [the Surrealists'] participation brought an end to the radical 'break with the world' and marked the formal entry of surrealist art and poetry into the world" ("Ce n'était plus la 'rupture radicale avec le monde,' mais bien la grande entrée dans le monde et même dans le *monde*"), implying here the *mondain* character of the publication.[20] Tristan Tzara saw too in the magazine the absolute decadence of surrealism.[21] They both found in the "luxe" of the magazine and in its aesthetic flawlessness a moral decadence and a political fault. Whereas an argument can be made as to whether other surrealist publications before *Minotaure*, such as *Littérature* or *La Révolution surréaliste*, despite their relatively wide

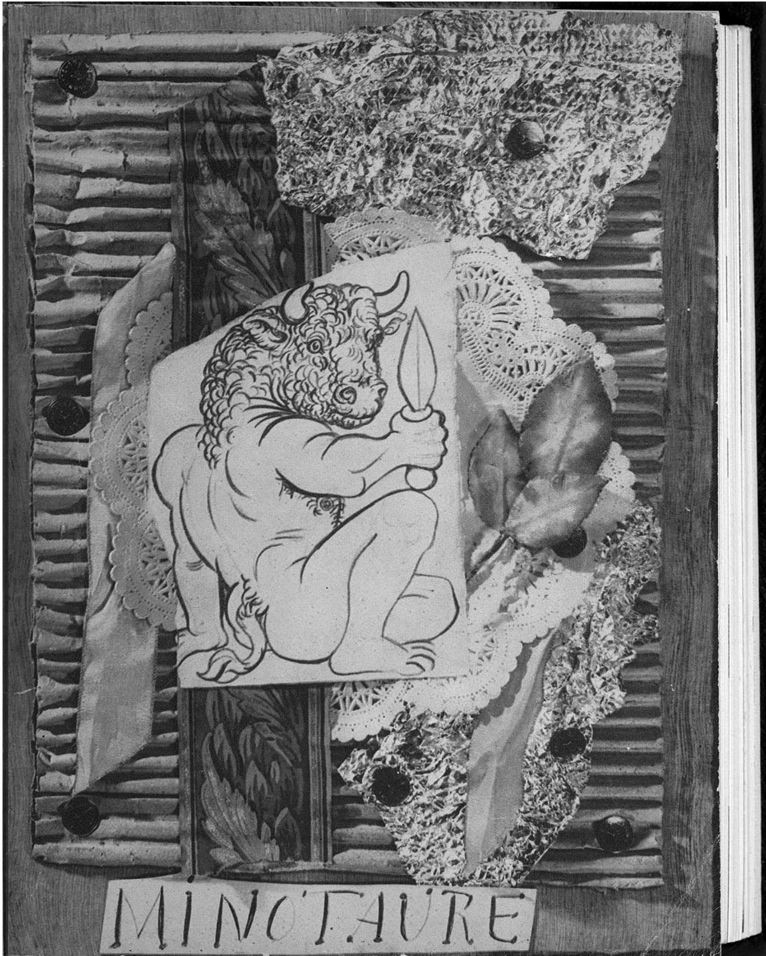


Figure 16. Pablo Picasso, cover of *Minotaure* no. 1, 1933. Copyright © 2021 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

circulation for avant-garde magazines,[22] could indeed boast a proletarian readership, the message is clear: with *Minotaure* the surrealists had entered a bourgeois world of luxury and had become socialites, leaving the rapturous political revolution behind.

It was precisely the "révolution," in fact, that was banned from *Minotaure*. According to José Pierre, the magazine's founder, Albert Skira, had given the surrealists carte blanche to talk about anything in the magazine, except their political positions. There was only one forbidden

word: "révolution."[23] In this respect, *Minotaure* found itself in oddly diametrical opposition to the magazine that immediately preceded it, *Le Surréalisme au service de la revolution*,[24] which, in a very austere presentation that left little place for illustrations and the visual arts in its six issues between 1930 and 1933, deployed a political position subordinated to the French Communist Party and the directives of the Third International.[25] This magazine, along with *La Révolution surréaliste* (1924–29), framed the first ten years of the surrealist movement's existence within a rhetoric of revolution, as announced in their titles and echoed in the content of every issue. With *Minotaure*, however, the surrealist project, both as a vision of the world and of its revolution, takes a different turn.

Already in the editorial of the first issue, a universal project for modern art is succinctly described:

> *Minotaure* will publish first the production and works of artists of universal interest [*d'intérêt universel*]. . . . That is to say, *Minotaure* will stand by its will to find, unite, and distill those elements that constitute the spirit of the modern movement in order to spread its influence; *Minotaure*, in an effort to update the artistic domain following an encyclopedic spirit, will commit to declutter it, in order to give back to the art in movement its universal expansion.[26]

While this aspiration to universality first appeared before the final takeover of the magazine by the surrealists, it remained strong throughout *Minotaure*'s run, and was actually reinforced after the surrealist turn. Sometimes universality was conflated with the international impact of the publication, as in the editorial of the fifth issue:

> The newspapers, the magazines of the entire world, dedicate important articles to the activity of *Minotaure*, and they prove the interest stirred by the magazine in the elites of all the countries in which it managed to penetrate. These encouraging words confirm today our will to create a universal organ, truly modern, to deal seriously and coherently with all the present questions in culture.[27]

The appeal to an international public that had already positively responded to *Minotaure*'s program confirmed the universality of the proj-

ect that the magazine wanted to embody. A three-page spread in the tenth issue with the title "Le Surréalisme autour du monde" ("Surrealism Around the World"), showing the covers of books and magazines, posters, tracts, and ephemera in languages from all over the globe, would be the visual proof of the editorial's statement.

Universality, together with an aspiration toward the modern spirit, are the two constant claims of the editorials. These qualities, modernity and universality, are conjugated in a third term, "actualité": "*Minotaure* wants to be a magazine constantly *actuelle*,"[28] declares the editorial in the first issue, a declaration that returns in the editorial of the sixth issue: "We wanted to create a true magazine of *actualité*."[29] The word "actualité," denoting at the same time the magazine's modernity and its relevance, seems to have some kind of talismanic value, and keeps emerging at various moments of the magazine's history. The editorial of the ninth issue glosses this "actualité" as a means of (re)situating the magazine itself:

> Facing an *actualité* that every day becomes more and more devouring, and considering the format of our periodicity, we can say that *Minotaure*, faithful to its title, proposes to absorb and go beyond the episodic character of this *actualité*. . . . We claim that one cannot create a work of art, nor, at the end of the day, any useful work, by insisting on expressing only the manifest content of an era, and that what is important beyond everything else, is the expression of its LATENT CONTENT.[30]

Paradoxically, the magazine's "actualité" does not rely on the events of the present moment, but rather depends on its capacity to reveal what lies hidden beneath the episodic. Like another *clavis universalis*, a "universal key"—the method imagined during the Renaissance that would permit one to see beyond the confusion of ephemeral phenomena[31]—the magazine's "actualité" is an operator of universal meanings, making what is invisible visible. The minotaur itself appears to be a telling symbol of this process. The monstrous figure is understood as a token of permanence and as a promise of universal structures latent beneath the manifest content of modernity. But it is also, as we will see, the figure on which hinges the urge to make visible, not only metaphorically, but literally too: the minotaur works as a generator of images and as a visual paradigm. The monstrous minotaur which, having replaced the various

declensions of the word "révolution," graces the cover of the magazine is a syllepsis of all the connotations of "actualité": here and now, latent invisibilities, manifest images, and universal insights. It becomes the embodiment of a visual universalism that is very relevant for its time.

The surrealists opted to come together behind a magazine whose title invoked a mythical Greek monster, half-bull and half-man, and they seem to have abandoned the rhetoric of revolution deployed in the surrealist press of the period between 1924 and 1933. By the same gesture, the worldview implied by communist internationalism and its revolutionary aspirations seems to have given way to a generalized and ill-defined universalism. The revolution has been diluted and thinly layered upon the glossy surface of a "thing of beauty."[32] Is it plausible, however, to believe that during a period marked by heightened political activity, the surrealists abandoned all political aspirations in the magazine that they espoused? Is their disappointment over the Communist Party and their ensuing estrangement from it a sufficient explanation for their turn to an apolitical forum, in which benign references to zoomorphic myths had replaced the hope for a generalized political revolution? In other words, within a movement that was, politically speaking, remarkably consistent and continuous for all its diversity, is there a link between the revolutions announced in the 1920s and the hybrid animal-man of the 1930s? How can a revolutionary internationalism turn into a visual universalism?

Retracing the movement's steps back to *La Révolution surréaliste* might offer an alternative entry into the project of *Minotaure*. *La Révolution surréaliste*, the first official surrealist periodical, began publication on December 1, 1924, and printed its last issue five years later. Surrealism had only just defined itself as a movement in the *Manifeste du surréalisme* published earlier that same year, and *La Révolution surréaliste* was the first magazine on which this new identity was emblazoned. Already in its title, the magazine was positioned as the organ of the revolution to come, a revolution that would take aim at various institutions and values, from the pope to the university. In 1925, in the third issue of the magazine, Antonin Artaud explains the scope of this revolution in an article on the activities of the "Bureau des recherches surréalistes":

> This revolution aspires to a general devaluation of values, a depreciation of the mind, a demineralizing of the obvious, an

> absolute and perpetual confusion of languages, an unleveling of thought. It aspires to the rupture and disqualification of logic, which it will hunt down until it has rooted out its oldest defenses.[33]

Above all the revolution is one of the mind, a revolution from within, as Artaud explains:

> But after all he [the surrealist] is in the mind, it is from within that he judges himself, and in comparison with his thought the world does not carry much weight. But during the interval of some loss, some departure from himself, some instantaneous reabsorption of the mind, he will see the white beast appear, the vitreous beast that thinks. This is why he is a Head, he is the only Head which is emerging into the present. In the name of his inner freedom, in the name of the exigencies of his peace, his perfection, his purity, he spits on you, world given over to desiccating reason, to the imprisoning mimicry of the ages, world who have built your houses of words and established your tables of precepts in a place where the Surreal mind, the only mind strong enough to uproot us, must finally explode. . . . At this point enters a certain Faith, but let all the coproloquists listen, all aphasiacs, and in general all the disinherited of language and of the word, the pariahs of Thought. I only speak for them.[34]

This powerful attack on reason, together with the idea that the revolution is for—and should ultimately come from—the pariahs of thought, from those who do not have a voice, finds its perfect target in Europe as the quintessential expression of what surrealism stands against.[35] "Bloodless Europe, queen of a dead bourgeoisie and a bastardized proletariat, what can you offer us?"[36] asks a short anonymous article titled "Europe" in 1926. The partial answer to this rhetorical question is: "We no longer have but one hope: distant waves of barbaric people on the decomposed corpse of the occident." These barbarians are the pariahs, the hitherto voiceless who will make the revolution happen.

This appeal to the barbarians as the only possible agents of radical revolution resonates throughout the magazine, and especially so in the collective declaration "La Révolution d'abord et toujours!" ("The Rev-

olution First and Always!") that appeared in the fifth issue in October 1925. Here, in a rage against patriotism and nationalism, Western civilization in general and capitalism in particular are presented as an attack on human dignity:

> Wherever Western civilization reigns, all human bonds have given way, except those based on interest, "payment in hard cash." For more than a century, human dignity has been reduced to the level of exchange value.[37]

In a surprising twist to this Marxist trope, the text goes on to declare: "We are certainly barbarians, since a certain form of civilization disgusts us." This saving barbarism is regularly sought in Asia; André Breton writes in the "Lettre aux voyantes" ("Letter to the Seers"): "It is our rejection of all accepted law; our hope in new, subterranean forces, capable of overthrowing history, which make us turn our eyes towards Asia."[38] Robert Desnos even imagines an alternative world history in which America would not have been discovered by Columbus, but from the western, Pacific side by Asians: "The American continent would have been an advanced fort, impassible for the narrow-minded men of the Old World (as they say, speaking of the wasp nest, the wart of Asia: Europe)."[39] It is evident that "Asia" transcends any specific geographic or historical space and permeates everything:

> The Orient is everywhere. It represents the conflict between metaphysics and its enemies, who are the enemies of freedom and of contemplation. In Europe even, who can say where the Orient is not? In the street, the man that you meet wears it on him: the Orient is in his consciousness.[40]

The Orient becomes an imaginary, virtual space created for and by the revolution to come. This space is opposed to Europe and to the civilization and values of the West by virtue of its barbarism. Denis Hollier rightly notes that this use of the Orient as a reverse orientalist trope establishes an East versus West binary that is almost devoid of content, making the Orient's alterity into a negative print of the West.[41] The imaginary and stereotypical nature of the Orient is not downplayed by the surrealists, however, who are very conscious of their use of this topos. In the article "Légitime défense" ("Legitimate Defense"), André Breton reacts to stereotypical deployments, by the likes of Charles

Maurras, of the Orient as a force destructive of Western civilization, asking:

> Why, under these conditions, should we not continue to claim our inspiration from the Orient, even from the "pseudo-Orient" to which Surrealism consents to be merely a homage, as the eye hovers over the pearl?[42]

This idea of pitching one imaginary against another is also applicable to the opposition of the civilized and the barbarian as it is evoked by Robert Desnos in his 1925 "Description d'une révolte prochaine" ("Description of the Next Revolt"): "Whoever says civilized, says ancient barbarian, that is to say the bastards of the night adventurers, that is to say those whom the enemy (Romans, Greeks) corrupted."[43] The barbarian ceases to be an unspecified other and becomes he who has been corrupted, specifically, by Rome and Greece; the barbarian represents the other side of civilization's incursions. Just as the Orient stands against Europe, the barbarian stands against the Greek. However, just as the Orient survives within the consciousness of the European, the barbarian still lives within the civilized. In this text the sharp distinctions between West and East, European and barbarian, are attenuated, and instead one seems to merge into the other. Going back to Artaud's words, the barbarians are the "vitreous beast that thinks" that emerges in moments of reason's absence or loss.

The surrealist revolution was thus centered upon an imaginary Orient, an anti-Europe that also implied an anti-Greece, each of which stands in its amorphous homogeneity as a metonym for universal upheaval and revolt. The accusations that were thrown against the Dadaists as barbarians, enemies of Europe, and Asians were indeed taken over by the surrealists and developed as a political program. Already in the 1920s, this position of theirs was deemed to be at best idealist and at worst naive and even dangerous, without any real political heft.[44] Their attack on the West and the cult of barbarism, however, goes beyond any simplistic critique of capitalism, and certainly goes beyond the creation of a new social and political "myth."[45] It aims its shafts rather at the heart of a humanist tradition that places a "Greek" perception of the human at its center, thus creating the hierarchies and cleavages that lie at the foundation of Western hegemony in the world.

The elements laid out in *La Révolution surréaliste* in an unambiguously political framework as part of a crucial equation for revolt—

Europe vs. its others, civilization vs. barbarism—are also framed by an implicit reevaluation of the "human." On the cover of the first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, one sentence stands out as demand, promise, and program: "We have to come up with a new declaration of the rights of man" ("Il faut aboutir à une nouvelle déclaration des droits de l'homme").[46] The nod to the French Revolution here is obvious in its aspiration to make *La Révolution surréaliste* a continuation or a rejuvenation of the revolution's message.[47] The reference specifically to the rights of man, however, shows a preoccupation not only with refounding *rights* but with refounding *man*. André Breton will later comment on this watchword by giving it the dimensions of a radical critique of reason, a critique that, according to Breton, is best explained by Ferdinand Alquié, whom he quotes as follows:

> To declare that reason is the essence of the human is already to cut the human in two, and the classical tradition always did that. This tradition distinguished within the human what is reason and thus really human, and what is not reason, and seems thereafter to be unworthy of the human.[48]

The new declaration of the rights of man implies a new definition of the human that goes beyond this "classical tradition," in other words, beyond the humanist tradition. The statement "We have to come up with a new declaration of the rights of man," taken at face value, programmatically frames the issue of man within the political realm, but it also unsettles the basis of republican universalism: rather than a declaration of universal rights, the weight shifts to a declaration of the rights of universal man. A gesture similar to Breton's is accomplished poetically in the fourth issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, in a fantastic narrative by Robert Desnos, "La Baie de la faim" ("The Bay of Hunger"), where we read: "Just as in 1789 the absolute monarchy was overthrown, in 1925 we must overthrow the absolute deity. There is something stronger than God. We must draft a Declaration of the Rights of the Soul [la Déclaration des droits de l'âme], we must liberate the spirit, not by subjugating it to materialism, but by refusing henceforth to subjugate it to materialism."[49] With a homophonic pun that brings together "droits de l'homme" and "droits de l'âme," human and soul, Desnos succinctly summarizes the surrealist program in its conception of the new rights of man: a radical liberation of the psyche. Aptly, Desnos segues this imperative with a scene in which the mythical figure of "Jeanne d'Arc-en-ciel" resolves a new riddle of the Sphinx:

> Joan of Arc-of-the-rainbow, after walking for years, arrives before the sphinx of ice with *Journey to the Center of the Earth* under her arm.
>
> RIDDLE
>
> "*What is it that climbs higher than the sun and descends lower than fire, that is more liquid than the wind and harder than granite?*"
>
> Without thinking, Joan of Arc-of-the-rainbow replies:
>
> "A bottle."
>
> "Why?" asks the sphinx.
>
> "Because I wish it."
>
> "Fine, pass by, Oedipus in flesh and idea."[50]

The rewriting of the moment when Oedipus solves the Sphinx's riddle, with the former replaced by a woman reading Jules Verne and the riddle's answer, "Man," replaced by "A bottle," is a rewriting of a myth, of a narrative, and of an interpretative history concerning the quintessential man, Oedipus. This gesture is not dissimilar to Apollinaire's implicit revisiting of the Oedipus myth in *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*: Apollinaire's counter-answer to "man" was a gender-ambiguous, mechanic-organic, and race-inclusive human. While Desnos's story might simply be read as a humorous and sarcastic surrealist pastiche, it enters the surrealist revolutionary discourse of the redefinition of human rights by unsettling Oedipus, the "human" par excellence at the core of the humanist tradition. Oedipus's acumen in reasoning, which elevated him to the status of a hero, the slayer of the chthonian monster, is dismissed and replaced by spontaneous manifestations of desire—the answer to the Sphinx's riddle, the perennial riddle of human existence, can be anything "because I wish it" ("parce que je le veux"), as the new heroine says.

Hal Foster sees in this liberating desire a basis for understanding surrealism as a humanism that "tended to presuppose a human nature that, suppressed, could be freed."[51] Roland Barthes was annoyed precisely because of what he saw as the prevalence in surrealist discourse of this "idea of origins, of depth, of primitiveness, in short of *nature*."[52] Indeed, the universality of the Declaration of the Rights of Man is predicated on the concept of "natural rights": a human nature shared by all, beyond societal and cultural differences. Rights are natural and universal not because of a natural order independent of the human subject to which the latter succumbs, but rather because they stem from human reason, which is part of a human nature shared by all. The surrealist position on

both human nature and nature in general is rather complicated and certainly not as simplistic as Roland Barthes dismissively thought. While the surrealists did believe that the universal common denominator of all people is not reason but desire, their view of what constitutes nature in general throws aside many assumptions about what, in turn, it means to be human.

We saw in the previous chapter how Louis Aragon elaborated at length upon what nature is in "Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont," arriving at the conclusion that nature is nothing less and nothing more than his own unconscious.[53] Nature is demoted from an absolute, autonomous entity outside and separate from the human, to something that depends on human perceptions. While the Enlightenment succeeded in equating natural rights with human rights by locating nature within human reason, folding nature back upon the human and establishing the reasoning man as a principle and measure at the center of a universalist view of the world, Aragon and the surrealists elaborated a different universality. Aragon too folds nature back upon the human, by equating it with the unconscious; however, this part of the human remains unknown to him, since it is located beyond the threshold of consciousness. Nature might be conflated with some source or origin, as Barthes scoffs, but this origin cannot be fully known or seen, but only glimpsed in rare moments that activate the senses and permit a fleeting experience of the unconscious and nature. Surrealism is indeed a humanism, but at the center of this universalist humanism, the human in question is unknown, unstable, and fragmentary, seen only through the distortion of the conscious mind, and only when the senses, the body, permit it.

In seeking a new declaration of the rights of man the surrealists are seeking the constitution of a new human, one with real revolutionary power. Like the Rousseaus of the twentieth century, the surrealists saw the disjunction between the lack of freedom in bourgeois, capitalist, Western society and the absolute freedom and liberation they had imagined and experienced as a group. The political project announced at the advent of surrealism, in the first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, is essentially a daring reconsideration of a long-standing revolutionary, post-Kantian question: what is human? This is a question that also echoes Kant's universalism which, as Nick Nesbitt points out, "is linked . . . to a descriptive anthropology of human difference and multiplicity, one that explicitly rejects the contingent empirical injustice of imperialism."[54] Nesbitt's description of Kant's universal anthropology could indeed be aptly applied to the surrealist project: "A Kantian

anthropology of universal human creativity would point not only to the rare, revolutionary moments that reconfigure human history, but to the often indiscernible micro-events that occur each day throughout human societies, moments in which the transcendental spontaneity of human imagination breaks free from the dominant state of things."[55] It is precisely this human multiplicity, as well as its revolutionary potential, that are at the center of *Minotaure*. And this was an elaboration, in the 1930s, of the revolutionary aspiration to redraw the rights of man that first appeared in *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

HUMAN FIGURES

The sixth issue of *Minotaure*, published in December 1934, closed with a dossier on poetry edited by André Breton and was prefaced by the text "La Grande Actualité poétique" (which may be translated as "Major News in Poetry").[56] Breton was to revisit this text a short while later, when he integrated it into his talk "Position politique de l'art d'aujourd'hui" ("Political Position of Today's Art") in Prague on March 29, 1935, and published it that same year in the volume *Position politique du surréalisme* (*Political Position of Surrealsim*). The title, which plays with the expected "grande actualité politique,"[57] the content, but also the position of this "Grande Actualité" article in the history of surrealism by virtue of its inclusion in an influential book on that movement's politics, all point to this text's crucial importance for understanding surrealism's political stance in the 1930s. In the ostensibly apolitical *Minotaure*, the lonely presence of an article on the political function of poetry in 1934 seems, at the least, intriguing. It would be easy to claim that the politically neutralized context of the magazine also neutralizes this article's political tenor, and ultimately depoliticizes it. However, a more productive view would be to see whether this article, which somehow passed the political ban imposed by Albert Skira, stood for a specific political orientation in the 1930s, one that resonated with the rest of the magazine. Just as *Minotaure* gained its "actualité" in the world by uncovering the hidden under the episodic, perhaps "La Grande Actualité poétique" can reveal the latent program of the magazine as a whole.

The initial question that motivates Breton's article is one of the position of the poet with regard to politics in historical moments of peace, not of upheaval. Should a work of art be a call for action? "The work of art," writes Breton, "can have as effect to provoke action, and thus the

specialists of unrest readily charge it with the crime of not provoking immediate action."[58] However, this can only lead to such instances as the "series of more or less unfortunate attempts to codify poetry and art in Soviet Russia, a codification that was paradoxically and imprudently applied immediately to all other countries by political zealots."[59] Against this kind of codification, and against "specialists of unrest," Breton quotes André Malraux in his talk at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow in 1934:

> Art is not a submission, it is a conquest. The conquest of what? Of feelings and the means to express them. About what? About the unconscious, almost always; about logic, very often . . . To the bourgeoisie that said: the individual; communism will reply: man. And the cultural watchword that communism will set in opposition to those of the greatest eras of individualism, the watchword which in Marx's works links the first pages of the *German Ideology* to the last drafts of *Capital*, is: "More awareness."[60]

Breton takes his cue from these last words to pronounce that the main political contribution of surrealism has been the liberation of the human being: "Surrealism's whole effort in particular for the last fifteen years has been to obtain from the poet the instantaneous revelation of these verbal traces whose psychic charges can be communicated to the perception-consciousness system."[61] The reference to automatism here is obvious, and is elaborated further when Breton points out the remarkable resemblance among automatic texts. He thus wonders "whether we have marvelously awakened the very source of poetry, of a poetry common to all humans."[62] The task of poetry, Breton concludes, the deeply political task of poetry, is none other than "to study the human problem in depth and in all its forms."[63]

The first poem included in the dossier for which this article serves as preface, written by fourteen-year-old Gisèle Prassinos and published for the first time, appears to demonstrate this task. "The importance of the problem it resolves," claims Breton, "binds me to let this exceptional document speak on behalf of me and all my friends."[64] In light of what precedes the poem, this important problem could not but be "the human problem in all its forms." Indeed, the poem, "Tragique fanatisme" ("Tragic Fanaticism"), has as its main subject one such form, a little old lady, a "petite vieille," defigured and abject:

> A black hole, a little old woman [*petite vieille*], animals
> In the hole, a tiny little old woman
> . . .
> She seems to be asleep. Her few remaining hairs have been gathered together three by three and tied together with a small green ribbon. Her face is triangular and all shriveled up. Her forehead: so wrinkled and pinched it's only half an inch high. Her eyes were once probably blue, but now they don't have any color: they're dull. She doesn't have any eyelashes but, probably in some brief flash of coquetry, she's sewn threads in their place. Her nose, if you can call it that, is barely a nose anymore, and little rosebush leaves peak out from each nostril. Her mouth has no lips, and her lower jaw is so sunken that you can't even see her teeth.
> . . .
> And there she is, naked.
> Her body is crisscrossed with purple knitting needles that she's stuck into her skin to make herself beautiful; and she's tied a little green ribbon to the end of each needle.
> She has no thighs. It's empty between her lower stomach and her knees.
> To hold herself together, she has hung her legs from a bit of string.[65]

This little old woman, who resembles a puppet or a crafted object put together with household materials, excited Breton enough to inaugurate with this poetic image a dossier containing what he felt to be the most relevant poetry of the time. In this little "petite vieille" described as a void, the surrealist leader found the perfect illustration of surrealism's modernity—its "actualité." Prassinos reshapes the woman's body to accentuate its negativity, its courtship with collapse and destruction; Breton saw in this black hole a concentrated humanity that in 1935 he considered revolutionary. The distorted human figure is deemed here to be the most politically subversive poetic image of the time.

Indeed, the human figure, mainly in its distortion and in general as a space of formal possibilities, took center stage in *Minotaure* throughout its publication. The unexpected similarity of Prassinos's poem to Hans Bellmer's sculptural object *La Poupée* (figure 17), also featured for the first time in the sixth issue, provides a clue about the networks of meaning and coherence created in the magazine. Bellmer's photograph series

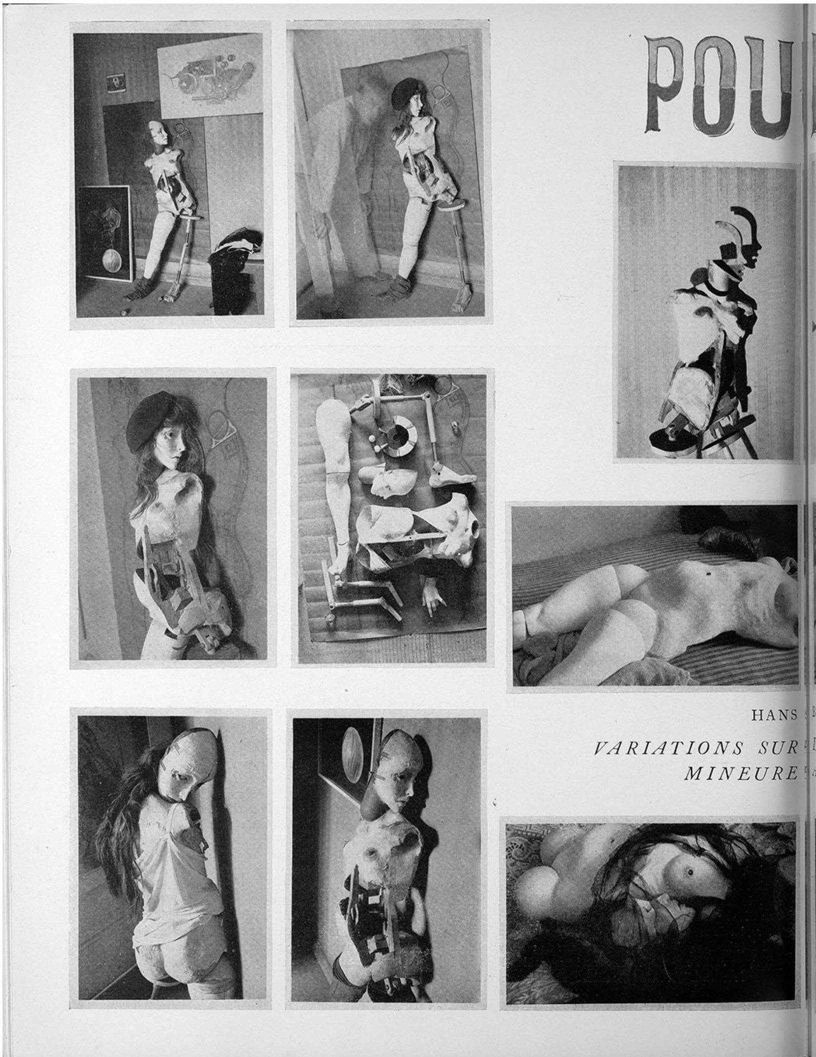
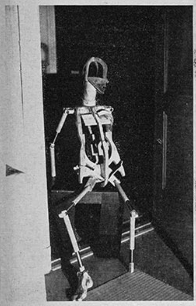
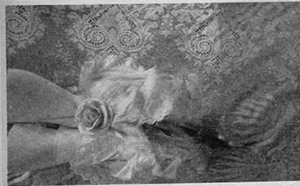


Figure 17. Hans Bellmer, "La Poupée: Variations sur le montage d'une mineure articulée" ("The Doll: Variations on the Montage of an Articulated Minor"). In *Minotaure* no. 6, 1933, pages 30–31. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

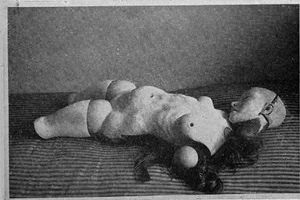
PÉE

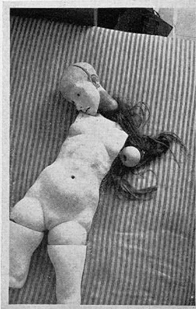




BELLMER

LE MONTAGE D'UNE
ARTICULÉE





"La Poupée: Variations sur le montage d'une mineure articulée" ("The Doll: Variations on the Montage of an Articulated Minor") explores the possibilities of the body articulated as a sign, as a sentence that is reassembled and rewritten.[66] However, the most striking similarity of Prassinos's poem is to Salvador Dalí's "Apparitions aérodynamiques des 'Êtres-Objets'" ("Aerodynamic Apparitions of Beings-Objects"), a text published in the same issue a few pages before the dossier on poetry (figure 18).[67] This article is part of Dalí's elaboration of the surrealist object understood as an object that, while useless within the capitalist order, constitutes the material representation of desire or trauma, and which thus has the potential to sabotage capitalism.[68] He extends this idea to humans, the "beings-objects," defining them as the "strange/foreign bodies of space" ("les corps étranges de l'espace") which make us realize that space is not a passive container of things—as modern architecture would have it—but a malleable entity that is constantly transformed by objects and beings. The photographs of Dalí in various stages of an elaborate performance which accompany the article and on the facing page Brassai's photograph *Le Maréchal Ney dans le brouillard* (*Marshall Ney in the Fog*) might allude to specific images of "beings-objects." However, Dalí gives only one explicit example of these "beings-objects," that of a little old woman—"une petite vieille":

> Rent a clean little old lady in the final stages of decrepitude and exhibit her in a toreador costume, placing on her previously shaved head a herb omelette: the omelette quivering in accord with the continuous trembling of the little old lady. One might also place a twenty-franc piece on the omelette.[69]

A decrepit old woman is already a strange, marginal body that challenges Western models of the ideal human by her lack of youth, vigor, usefulness, sexual appeal, and productivity. In this example, her oddity is enhanced by the Daliesque additions of a toreador costume and an omelet on her shaved head—not to mention the optional coin on top of the omelet—thus creating the blueprint for a weird performance. In Dalí's attack on modern architecture which sees space as a neutral recipient of objects, the little old woman's decrepit body verging on death and decay becomes his illustration of the opposite of modern space. By departing from the "architecture of self-punishment," as Dalí described austere and geometric modernist architecture, via the little old woman's jiggling flesh, he arrives at space as a living entity. The old woman's body transforms the space around it by infusing it with organic decay.

André Breton found the two little old ladies by Dalí and Prassinos compelling enough to include them in his *Anthologie de l'humour noir* (*Anthology of Black Humor*), which he edited in 1937 and had published in 1940. Indeed, he compares the two versions when he remarks, referring to Prassinos's old woman, that "since pity has definitively packed up its bags and gone, the 'little old lady' on whom Salvador Dalí's 'moral aerodynamism' likes to exert itself is in for a rough time."[70] He immediately comments on Prassinos's poetry:

> She's a child laughing, scared in the night; she is all the primitive peoples who look up to see if their ancestors, who look a bit tired, and whom they've just made climb up a tree that they're about to shake after having removed the ladder, are going to fall. It's *permanent revolution* in beautiful, colored one-penny images—they no longer exist. [*C'est la* révolution permanente *en belles images coloriées à un sou—elles n'existent plus*.][71]

Permanent revolution, claims Breton, is to be found in the cheap color images that would delight a child, such as those reproduced in the poem "Tragique fanatisme." The sacrilegious laughter of the child, the mischief of the "primitive," are put on the same footing with the body of an old woman, as loci of the permanent revolution. The body of the old woman—a type of body traditionally ignored, an invisible body, an imperfect, non-ideal body, the body of the pariah, an aphasic, coproloquist body—is in 1935 a political body.

In many articles in *Minotaure* the body, and not just the bodies of old women, becomes a paradigm for many possible forms. Paul Éluard's "Juste milieu" ("The Middle Way") in the eleventh issue, for instance, presents a series of words each followed by a short text, imitating the entry-definition structure of a dictionary.[72] The initial letter of each word attracts the reader's attention with its form: the typeface is a human body curved into the shape of the letter, implying an intensely sensual orientation, the human body made into a sign. Other articles follow this inventorial approach, where the object inventoried is the human body. In the fifth issue, for instance, Man Ray has an article with the title "Danses-Horizons" and describes the dancing human body as:

> Presentations of models in their entirety in series of four—eight models in all, each deriving from a nonfarinaceous vegetable organism, perfectly comparable to meat, except the

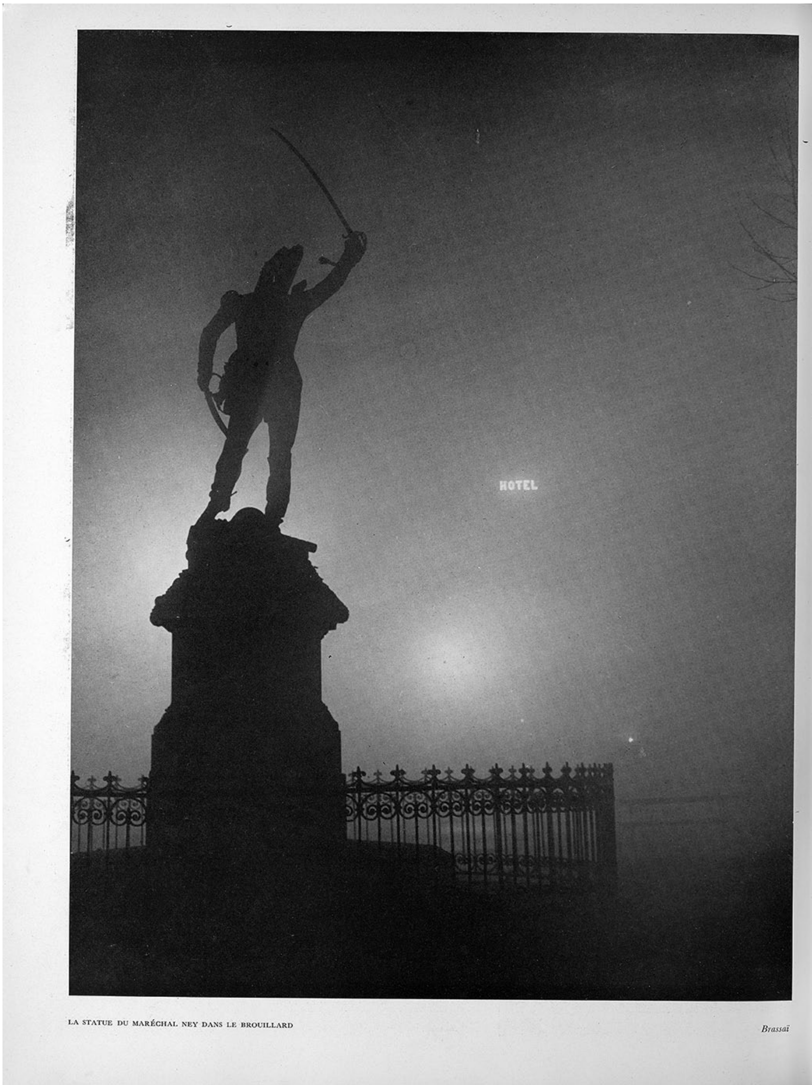


Figure 18. Brassai, *Le Maréchal Ney dans le brouillard* (*Marshal Ney in the Fog*), and Salvador Dali, "Apparitions aérodynamiques des 'Êtres-Objets" ("Aerodynamic Apparitions of Beings-Objects"). In *Minotaure* no. 6, 1934, pages 32–33. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris; copyright © Estate Brassaï Succession, Paris; copyright © 2021 Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

Apparitions aérodynamiques des "Êtres-Objets"

Par SALVADOR DALI

Les êtres-objets sont les corps étranges de l'espace.

Le mystérieux vertige des corps étranges. Tous mes lecteurs auront eu, j'en suis sûr, la satisfaction d'éprouver cet acharnement têtu, cette obstination hypnotisante, cette persévérance anxieuse raillant le vertige qui précèdent le bonheur dû à l'acte intime de faire jaillir des pores du nez, par une habile et douloureuse compression exercée autour d'eux, un glissant, neuf et aérodynamique comédon, plus couramment connu sous le nom de « point noir. »

Évidemment, il est beau et satisfaisant à l'extrême, surtout après plusieurs compressions malhabiles et infructueuses, d'arriver à celle qui, adéquate et définitive, déclenche la sortie sereine du corps étrange, contenu dans la propre chair de votre nez ou dans celle de l'être qui se prête stoïquement à un tel acte; acte qui, comme je l'ai insinué est, entre tous, entraînant, fascinateur et irrésistible.

Le plaisir dans ce jeu cocasse et mystérieux apparaît surtout, manifestement, avec le véritable « cérémonial névrotique » qu'on met en action, afin de prolonger voluptueusement par des « ratages adroits », la « lenteur précipitée » de la manipulation, le moment culminant où on tire l'agrément énigmatique, renfermé dans les conflits moraux et de mécanique élastique, que doit comporter l'extraction cérémonieuse de ces points noirs, terriblement concrets; et qui, une fois enlevés, alors qu'il n'en reste même plus un seul, plongent notre esprit dans un authentique regret et la plus inconsolable désolation, tandis que notre regard cherche encore, désespérément et paranoïaquement affolé, la possibilité de continuer le jeu divin sur le moindre pore susceptible de contenir l'ultime, lisse et précieuse larve.

LES COMÉDONS DE L'ESPACE

Ne haussez pas, stupidement, les épaules, ceux de mes lecteurs qui considérez l'extraction des comédons en question comme une affaire de petite qualité; sachez que cet apparent nettoyage ultra-prosaïque n'est pas autre chose que la personnalisation ultra-concrète de ce qu'il y a de plus vital et de plus lyrique dans la pensée morale, scientifique et artistique, contemporaine. Pensez, sinon, à cette actualité molle, à cette compressibilité super-gélatineuse modern' style et nutritive dont Salvador Dali vous parle et vous instruit sans fatigue, l'appareil précis de l'activité paranoïaque-critique à la main, toutes les fois que l'occasion s'en présente. En effet, mon lecteur attentif sait, aussi bien que moi, que tout ce qu'il y a de réellement superfin et sensationnel à notre époque provient spécialement de l'évolution de l'idée de l'espace. laquelle, comme tout le monde peut se le rappeler, ayant commencé par n'être qu'une espèce de nourriture abstraite, sans goût ni substance, a fini — comme nous allons le voir immédiatement — par devenir, de nos jours, un des plats les plus succulents et épais de la pensée contemporaine.

L'espace, pour Euclide, d'après qui l'intersection, le point, le plan n'étaient pas autre chose que des objets matériels idéalisés, l'espace, dis-je, n'arrivait pas pour lui à atteindre une consistance supérieure à celle d'un léger bouillon de tapioca parfaitement utopique et refroidi.

C'est avec Descartes que, par la considération de l'espace comme un contenu à trois dimensions, commence à épaissir le jus insipide et encore, et surtout, à ouvrir l'appétit aux expectations salivaires qui provoquent déjà cette extravagante cuisine de l'espace; laquelle trouve définitivement tout son poids nutritif et toute sa lourdeur caractéristique avec la pomme de Newton qui, comme on le sait, était un savant ayant, déjà, indiscutablement, une inertie et une famine considérables.

Mais jusqu'à Newton, comme il est facile de l'observer, l'espace s'offre à nous moins comme de la viande que comme le récipient de cette viande, comme le vase, le récipient de la force de gravité de la dite viande; son rôle est passif et chroniquement masochiste. Cet état de choses dure jusqu'au moment où, avec la découverte de la « théorie ondulatoire de la lumière » et des corps électro-magnétiques de Maxwell et Faraday, l'espace peut commencer à dire : « cette pomme est à moi », ce qui, pour ne pas trop nous écarter des termes de physique, signifie : « cette dynamique est à moi. » Mais à cette époque, il paraissait tellement absurde aux savants d'accorder à l'espace les fonctions des « états physiques » qu'il fallut les mille provisoires ductilités de l'éther pour en arriver à la théorie moderne de la relativité où l'espace est devenu une chose tellement importante, matérielle et vraie, qu'il a même fini par avoir quatre dimensions comprenant le temps qui est bien la dimension

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latter contains about 40% flour, which makes it unusable for any assimilation of strictly nitrogenized food such as meat, fish, eggs, cheese, milk, etc.[73]

This pseudoscientific introduction is followed by a spread of thirty-two numbered photographs of women dancers in poses that are compared to various vegetables (figure 19). In the same issue, Georges Hugnet presents a similar visual inventory with the title "Petite rêverie du grand veneur" ("Little Reverie of the Great Huntsman"), featuring twelve photographs of hands.[74] The hand is the object of an inventory of a different kind in the sixth issue, where the article "Les Révélations psychiques de la main" ("Psychic Revelations of the Hand"), signed by "Doctor Lotte Wolff," explores the mysteries of chirognomy; that is, "the methodic knowledge of the forms of the hand, the fingers, the mounts, the network of lines and of accidental marks."[75] The article pursues this "methodic" knowledge of the forms of the hand by including five drawings of palms with their lines marked out and named, followed by ink prints of types of hands reflecting different types of personalities. These gen-

Figure 19. Man Ray, "Danses-Horizons." In *Minotaure* no. 5, 1934, pages 28–29. Copyright © Man Ray 2015 Trust / Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY / ADAGP, Paris 2021. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

eral categories are then exemplified by the handprints of specific people: André Gide, Maurice Ravel, André Derain, André Breton, Aldous Huxley, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Paul Éluard, and Marcel Duchamp (figure 20).

These articles are not the only ones that explore the human form and its distortions as signs to be deciphered. In just the first issue in 1933 a whole series of articles present various versions of the human body. André Breton's long article on Pablo Picasso, "Picasso dans son élément" ("Picasso in His Element"), includes forty-five photographs of which the vast majority present sculptures of human figures by Picasso.[76] A few pages later, "Une anatomie: Dessins de Pablo Picasso" ("An Anatomy: Drawings by Pablo Picasso")[77] showcases works that study the human body, while Maurice Raynal's "Variété du corps humain" ("Variety of the Human Body") discusses cultural variations on the human body and is illustrated by a series of nude photographs by Brassai,[78] and André Masson's "Massacres" links the human figure with bloody violence.[79] Many other examples can be found in later issues, some of the most representative being Salvador Dalí's well-known photomontage "Le Phénomène de l'extase" ("The Phenomenon of Extasis"), an article on "L'Androgyne" ("The Androgynous") by Albert Béguin (figure 21), an illustration of "L'Homme anatomique" ("The Anatomical Man") taken from *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* (figure 22), and Raoul Ubac's photographs "Le Triomphe de la stérilité" ("The Triumph of Sterility").[80]

The recurring element in these and other articles is the presentation of the human body not in its humanistic splendor and unique difference from the rest of the organic world, but—as Man Ray's "scientific" description implies—as part of the organic world, into which it might disappear at any moment, undergoing endless combinations. Indeed, the human body and its real or fantastic variations lend a rhythm to the whole magazine, and it is no exaggeration to say that the human body becomes one of the magazine's organizing principles. The malleability, softness, and indeterminacy of the organic form, its openness to change, to decay or to regeneration, mark every issue. Breton's call to resolve the problem of the human finds a response in this persistent return to the human figure, not for the elaboration of a type or model, but rather as endless malleability and possibility. In *Minotaure*, as James Jamin remarks:

> Deformed at the risk of becoming formless (but because of that, open to remodeling), human nature as an immediate

LE TYPE IMAGINATIF INCONSCIENT

Les doigts, beaucoup trop courts par rapport à la paume, avec le renflement des phalanges inférieures, trahissent, physiologiquement, une fonction anormale de la glande thyroïde, et psychologiquement, une tendance au confort, une gourmandise intellectuelle autant que gastronomique, en même temps qu'une façon de vivre passive et végétative. Le sujet est fortement influencé par les forces imaginatives et inconscientes de sa personnalité.

Le Mont de Lune est parcouru d'un réseau de lignes diagonalement ascendantes et transversales et présente une couronne de trois croix[1] : l'imagination active ou créatrice est donc aussi développée que l'imagination passive. Le sujet est un écrivain visuellement doué, dont la vie instinctive et sensitive, et la faculté créatrice sont déterminées par la puissance de l'inconscient, comme le confirment les petites croix mentionnées ci-dessus. Elles révèlent une tendance excessive aux phantasmes phobiques.

La tendance à l'isolement est d'autre part, caractérisée par la ligne de tête qui se termine sur le Mont de Mars en y formant une île.

Les petites lignes dirigées vers le Mont de Mercure laissent deviner une sensualité menée par d'étranges représentations imaginatives. Sur ce mont, marqué de lignes ascendantes, signes d'habileté diplomatique, nous voyons la ligne d'intuition s'achever en triangle, autre indice de la faculté créatrice. La ligne de chance, faisant encore partie de la zone imaginosensorielle, fortement accentuée, est, malgré sa signification favorable, nettement démentie par la formation d'îles, sur son parcours, et de croix situées le long de cette ligne.

La façon de vivre végétative et sensuelle du sujet empêche la formation disciplinée d'une œuvre d'art, et même la réalisation du destin personnel. C'est ici qu'il faut voir les motifs qui entravent un psychisme si magnifiquement doué et le poussent non point au succès et à la satisfaction, mais au gaspillage de ses ressources.

LE TYPE ÉGOCENTRIQUE

Les lignes horizontales profondes du Mont de Vénus et du Mont de Lune semblent s'attirer réciproquement. L'espace entre les deux Monts est caractérisé par une quantité surprenante de croix[2]. L'interprétation de cette image nous révèle une personnalité chez qui le Moi *matériel*, (c'est-à-dire la sexualité et les besoins sensuels) prédomine. Mais ce moi matériel est contrebalancé par une tendance à la religiosité qui motive une inquiétude perpétuelle et des rêves agités.

Cet antagonisme prend la forme d'une névrose. Le sujet (de sexe féminin) extériorise constamment son traumatisme en provoquant des accidents, ce qui apparaît d'une manière particulièrement impressionnante et symbolique sur l'empreinte ci-dessus[3] (mutilation de l'index). A l'âge de trois ans déjà, notre sujet a subi un accident grave qui l'a mis en danger de mort, danger signalé par deux croix à la racine de la main gauche. Malgré le danger de mort, à partir de sa vingt-troisième année, des forces protectrices s'élaborent au sein de sa personnalité. A cette époque, plus de nouvelles formations de croix. Quelle est donc la puissance qui favorise le sujet? c'est le Moi, notamment le Moi *social et spirituel*.

Dans la paume de la main gauche (la *main propre* de la personne) nous remarquons l'élévation de la partie supérieure du Mont de Vénus, marquée de lignes fines, le Mont de Jupiter faisant légèrement saillie, enfin et surtout la position isolée de l'index.

Elle ne trahit pas seulement la prédominance de l'orgueil, mais aussi l'indépendance de la pensée et la volonté absolue d'arriver à ses fins. Dans ce but, le sujet use — sur un plan primitif — de tous les moyens depuis la tendresse et la délicatesse des sentiments, manifestes dans la partie supérieure du Mont de Vénus, jusqu'à la flatterie de soi-même et d'autrui.

Comme composante biologique de la névrose, mentionnons encore les signes d'une retroflexio uteri (le doigt de Mercure de la main droite présente une déviation de son articulation entre la phalangine et la phalangette.)

Dr L. Wolff

Traduit de l'allemand par Pierre KLOSSOWSKI.

1. Voyez la main gauche. — 2. Voyez la main gauche. — 3. Voyez la main droite.

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Figure 20. Lotte Wolff, "Les Révélations psychiques de la main" ("Psychic Revelations of the Hand"). In *Minotaure* no. 6, 1934, pages 40–41. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

ANDRÉ GIDE

La main de Gide présente une hypertrophie du Moi spirituel et du Moi social (ne pas confondre avec le sens collectif). Le monde subjectif (voyez le doigt de Jupiter) fournit le motif et le contenu de sa production. La ligne de destinée témoigne d'une activité tenace et dévorante que rien ne peut détourner du but qu'elle s'est assigné.

MAURICE RAVEL

Cette main est une main de Lune (le mont de Lune détermine le rythme de la vie et de l'œuvre). Le doigt de Mercure, recourbé en arrière indique une sensibilité auditive particulière et sa forme de spatule révèle la maîtrise créatrice de ce domaine. L'hyperémotivité de Ravel se détend dans la création, laquelle reste sous le contrôle rigoureux de la conscience et d'une autocritique sévère.

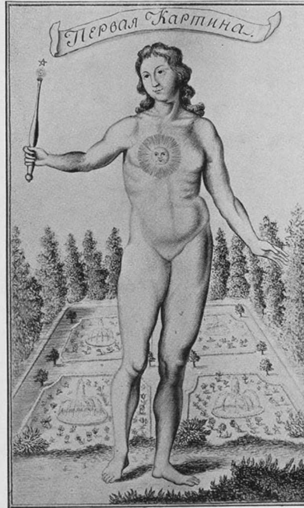
sens biblique du mot *connaître*, et que la *Gnose* se définit par ce double-sens même.

★

Parmi les mythes qui étendent ainsi à l'univers entier l'expérience de soi-même que l'homme fait dans l'amour, il en est un qui reparaît d'âge en âge avec des significations assez variables : celui de l'Androgyne. Il ne s'agit là qu'en apparence d'une négation de l'amour, et l'effort de ceux qui l'adoptent pour supprimer, dans cette image de l'Homme-Femme, la dualité des sexes, est encore une célébration de l'amour, une légende de la fécondité. C'est bien à tort qu'on y voit une volonté ascétique ou une horreur de l'amour, comme c'est le pire contresens que d'y reconnaître un rêve homosexuel. Le sens profond du mythe de l'androgyne (que la réunion des deux sexes en une seule personne soit attribuée à un dieu, à l'homme primitif, à un surhomme futur, ou encore à l'univers entier) est toujours dans cette même nostalgie de retour à l'Unité que l'on retrouve sous tant d'images de tous les temps. Le rêve d'une humanité échappant à l'incompréhensible dualisme de son état présent n'est qu'une forme de ce grand songe qui, de siècle en siècle, s'essaie à créer une figure de l'homme et une figure du monde où viennent se résoudre, s'harmoniser tous les contraires.

Observons d'abord que, du moins dans son expression la plus achevée, l'Androgyne n'est pas issu de l'imagination collective; quoiqu'on en trouve des préfigurations dans certaines religions asiatiques, ce mythe ne s'est développé que dans la spéculation de penseurs et de philosophes mystiques. Les dieux androgynes de l'antiquité grecque ne sont pas ceux de la croyance populaire, mais ceux de l'initiation orphique : le Zeus à la fois mâle et « vierge immortelle » des hymnes; le Phanès *arsénothélus* (mâle et femelle) qui est la première créature sortie de l'Œuf originel et qui, de façon fort significative, s'assimile à l'Eros présidant aux amours des dieux et au coït des éléments; ou encore le Dionysos « à la double nature », qu'une singulière image, remontant aux Mystères et conservée au musée d'Angers, représente barbu, pourvu du phallus et de trois rangées de mamelles, joignant en lui les pouvoirs de fécondation et de conception. L'hermétisme païen des siècles tardifs imagine à son tour un Jupiter « mâle, émettant les spermes, et femelle, les recevant », qui se confond d'ailleurs avec l'Univers « faisant jaillir en soi et prospérer tous les germes ». Des chrétiens hétérodoxes des premiers âges célèbrent encore dans leurs hymnes un Dieu « père et mère, mâle et femelle, racine du cosmos, centre de ce qui est, sperme de toutes choses ». La même tradition ésotérique, à laquelle Platon pouvait emprunter l'androgyne du *Banquet*, se continue dans la Gnose et reparaît dans les ambitions de l'alchimie, qui prétend à la création d'un *homunculus*, d'une créature artificielle, œuvre de la science humaine, en laquelle se réuniraient les deux sexes. Tous ces mythes sont savants, et en tous l'homme est conçu comme le *microcosme,* comme l'abrégé de l'univers : pour l'être de façon complète, il faut admettre qu'à un stade passé de son histoire il a nécessairement contenu en lui les principes mâle et femelle, — ou qu'il les contiendra à un stade encore à venir.

C'est à cette tradition que recourent également les mystiques de la Renaissance lorsque, tel Jakob Bœhme, ils renouvellent le sens du mythe. Pour le cordonnier silésien, en effet, c'est l'aurore et le terme de l'histoire humaine qui s'incarnent dans l'androgyne. Adam, selon lui, portait en lui-même les deux sexes, Sophia (ou la divine sagesse) étant confondue dans son être au temps de sa royauté primitive et de sa perfection. C'est seulement lorsqu'il eut imaginé et souhaité la vie animale que le principe féminin fut ôté de son flanc pour devenir, hors de lui, Ève. Car il fallait que la chute d'Adam dans l'animalité fût enrayée par l'union de l'homme avec une créature qui eût, comme lui-même, une étincelle de la lumière divine. Et, toujours selon Bœhme, l'effort de l'humanité à travers son histoire, comme celui de l'individu, doit aboutir à supprimer à nouveau toute séparation, à réintégrer tous les êtres dans la parfaite Unité originelle, et l'homme dans sa nature sans sexe. Ainsi, chez les occultistes disciples de Bœhme, l'androgyne passé et futur exprime la destinée humaine au cœur de la destinée cosmique. L'homme de ténèbres est encadré entre la royauté primitive d'Adam et sa royauté reconquise. Ces trois étapes sont nettement figurées dans les illustrations que nous empruntons à un manuscrit russe, qui reproduit probablement les gravures d'un ouvrage maçonnique ou rosicrucien : Adam porteur du sceptre dans un Eden assez versaillais n'a aucun organe sexuel (car il se distingue de l'hermaphrodite et des dieux antiques de la fécondité double), mais son corps unit assez étrangement les caractères secondaires des deux



Adam Androgyne avant la chute.

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Figure 21. Albert Béguin, "L'Androgyne." In *Minotaure* no. 11, 1938, page 11. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

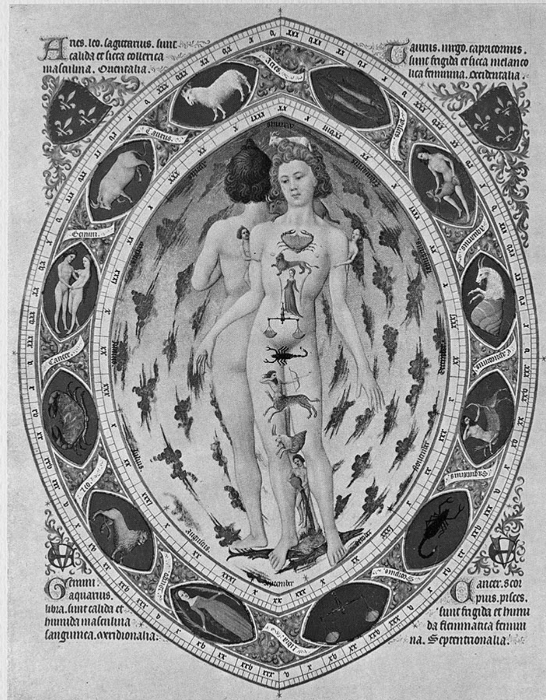


Figure 22. "L'Homme anatomique," from *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* (*The Very Rich Hours of the Duc de Berry*). In *Minotaure* no. 6, 1934, n.p. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

> and sensible fact—the body—is no longer of the order of essence or of continuity. It is rather the object of variable and infinite cultural constructions, which, by manifesting the many ways that we conceive the human, emphasized the ways, as Marcel Mauss has put it, that we wear out the body.[81]

The 1930s were generally marked by a turn to figuration, and specifically to the human body, in the visual arts. However, the human body in *Minotaure* is far from the ideal, neoclassical, humanistic body that appears in the imagination and the art of the late 1920s and 1930s as a symptom of the "retour à l'ordre." As Hal Foster remarks, reactions to the First World War's atrocious mutilations moved the visual arts either to a return to the human figure that entertained nostalgic neoclassical fictions of an intact body, or to machinic interpretations of the human body, like the ones that Apollinaire imagined. He adds: "Perhaps in the end the first reaction was not more humanist than the second, for *both* tended to treat the body as if it were already dead: a kind of statue in the first instance, a kind of mechanism in the second."[82] What we see in *Minotaure*, iconographically and theoretically, is a third way to return to the human figure, one that is neither intact nor neoclassical, neither a statue nor a machine. Instead, it is a figure that is extended, mutilated, recombined, demoted from its ideal forms and, most importantly, divorced altogether from the possibility of ideal form. Devin Fore, commenting on the interwar period's return to realism with the human at its center, points out that indeed "the reassertion of the human figure at this historical moment was a deeply conflicted proposal, since the seemingly natural body had by this time already become a thoroughly vexed construction."[83] It was precisely this idea of the construction of the natural body that permeates its representation in *Minotaure*, not through mechanical prostheses,[84] but rather through the rearrangement of the organic, classical (or neoclassical) body, along with the humanist assumptions attached to it. This rearrangement cuts across both visual and textual material, but relies heavily on the magazine's glossy visual opulence for its overwhelming effect on the reader. It is precisely the "luxe" of *Minotaure* that makes the deployment of all this weird and unexpected humanity so compelling and engrossing.

What is striking about the construction of the human figure in *Minotaure* is that it goes against the conventional understanding of the avant-garde paradigm of the "less human" and deploys one of the "more

human." Mechanomorphized humans, automata, and mechanical prostheses have all been readily associated with the avant-garde aesthetic in general—as we saw in the first chapter—and with surrealism in particular, to various effect. In surrealism, "mechanization does not produce a new objective being; it creates an uncanny hybrid beast,"[85] remarks Hal Foster. He concludes that these mechanomorphic fantasies suggest that "the capitalist *development* of the mechanical-commodified body can promote an uncanny *regression* to a quasi-autistic state."[86] The bodies that pullulate in *Minotaure* paint a different picture. Their multiplicity relies on the variability of the human form itself, and its fantastic iterations extend into the organic world rather than into the mechanical. It is not a man-machine that is constructed—and not a woman commodity, despite Bellmer's *poupée*—but rather the collective construction of a polymorphous, polyvalent body, one that can be old, young, male, female, intersex, mutilated, extended, vegetal, animal, twisted, stretched, chopped, multiplied. Even when objects are used as extensions of or additions to the body, the resulting figure is not mechanical; that which is human absorbs that which is inorganic, incorporating it into the body.

The reconfigured body is emblematically captured on the covers of the magazine, which feature different representations of the minotaur—a human/animal. Each artist arranges differently the monster's clashing parts, human and animal, and thus its monstrosity. Dalí's minotaur is a woman with the head of bull and a lobster crawling out of a hole in her stomach (figure 23). Her body has hollow niches for various objects, and her breasts are replaced by a drawer. The objects dug into this female minotaur do not create the impression of a commodified body, but rather of an uncategorizable figure of corporeal possibilities whose organic character affects the environment around it: what look like pillars of Greek columns surrounding the minotaur have lost their rigidly architectural, mineral form and have morphed into organic structures. Similarly, André Masson's cover merges what appears to be the head of a bull with built structures—steps, arches, and walls—while the organs of the animal, eyes, mouth and ears, seem interchangeable. Ernst's minotaur has two heads, a bull's head with a chimera-like figure attached to its back. In Duchamp's interpretation, the minotaur becomes a "desiring machine" (figure 24): one of his roto-reliefs is superimposed on Man Ray's *Elévage de poussière* (*Dust Breeding*)—a photograph of dust gathering on the glass surface of Du-

Figure 23. Salvador Dalí, cover of *Minotaure* no. 8, 1936. Copyright © 2021 Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

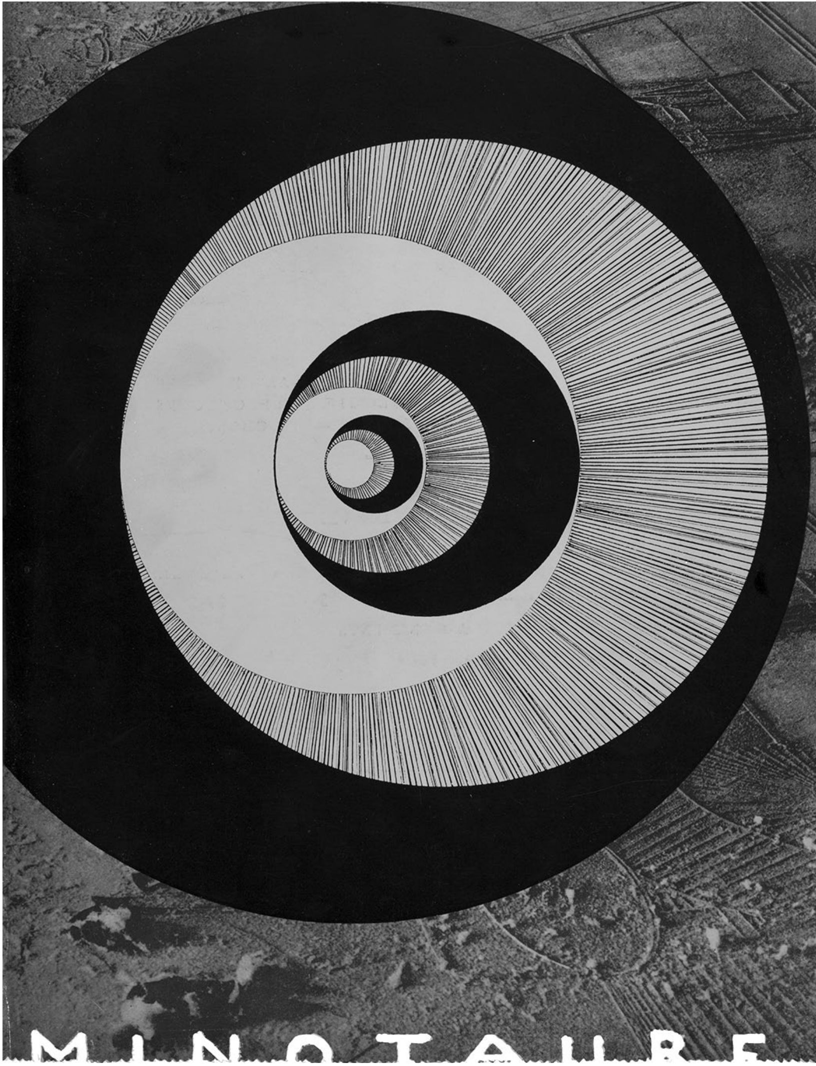


Figure 24. Marcel Duchamp, cover of *Minotaure* no. 6, 1934. Copyright © Association Marcel Duchamp / ADAGP, Paris / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

champ's *Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors*. Here, instead of a direct depiction of the minotaur, the roto-relief—made to be mounted on a record player and perceived, as it turns, in three dimensions, creating a stereo-kinetic effect[87]—evokes an optical labyrinth, resting upon the *Bride*'s organic/mechanical fantasy of desire. The latter work, the *Bride*, stages a love courtship among mechanomorphic figures, thus interpreting the human-animal minotaur through a different kind of hybridity, that of human/machine. But these mechanomorphs cannot be seen, as they are covered by the organic residue of dust veiling the sculpture. The particles of organic matter have overtaken the mechanical fantasy, the machinic vision of the human recedes behind the messiness of dust. Duchamp's roto-reliefs "proceed from a kind of deliberate confusion of values, of the arbitrary limits which, following the human order, separate the concrete from the abstract,"[88] according to Gabrielle Buffet, and on this cover they indeed hover between concrete and abstract. An abstract representation of the disorienting labyrinthine space, the roto-reliefs bring into focus the decentered but absorbing space of the hybrid minotaur. In Magritte's rendering the whole creature is a skeleton, but with a distinctive bull's skull, accompanied by scattered parts of the human body: feet transforming themselves into shoes, and a naked woman emerging from segments of female bodies nested like Russian dolls. Matisse creates a minotaur with a human face composed of thick, black lines that morph into letters forming the word "Minotaure"—the monster's human face is made out of letters.

By constantly remaking the unyielding materiality of the hybrid figure, the covers in synergy with the title sum up the program of the whole magazine: the visual figuration of the monster informs the visual treatment of the human. Experimenting with the unruly body of the minotaur, by reinventing it for each issue according to the visual vocabulary of each artist, opens up a space for a similar restructuring of the human body. The color covers, an aesthetic delight for the reader, set the conceptual tone for the rest of the magazine. From the monster to the human, the figure that results can be described in Deleuze and Guattari's terms as a "corps sans organes": it is a body not without organs per se, but rather without organism, that resists both physical and social organization, a body that is constantly reinvented, a body of potentialities, a nonhierarchical body.[89] The human body as a virtuality that defies organization and hierarchical structure—an idea, we should remember, that Gilles Deleuze borrowed from Artaud[90]—is an anarchic construction of immanence, open to intensities and to becomings, a

body of desire. This is not an autistic, regressive body; on the contrary, it is a body that is open to "connections . . . circuits, conjunctions, levels and thresholds, passages and distributions of intensity"[91]—it is an anarchic body, a coproloquist body. This reconfigured human body resists physical organization, as the many instances of the minotaur show: even this archetypical monster is un-archetypical, multiple, unstable, and decentered. The human body becomes, like the body of the monster, the terrain of experimentation, of assemblage, physical but possibly also social and political. André Breton's call for a resolution of the problem of the human as a political issue finds a preliminary visual response in the elaboration of the figure of the monster. Is this the new declaration of the rights of man?

Monstrum Universale

"Eternité de *Minotaure*" the editorial in *Minotaure*'s twelfth issue possibly written by André Breton himself, expands upon the persistence and universality evoked by the magazine's title. "The magazine with the head of the beast [*à tête de bête*]," we read, "is fundamentally different than any other publication with the head of an Academic, or of a museum curator. It conceives the artistic and intellectual event by turning backwards all retrograde conceptions [*une conception à rebours de toutes les conceptions retrogrades*]."[92] Breton develops here an imaginary in which the cultured head of an intellectual is replaced by the head of a beast, and thus prolongs the fantasy of the Terror and the guillotine, "the lovely machine of deliverance," which in *La Révolution surréaliste* becomes the paradigmatic moment of revolt. In "Description d'une révolte prochaine," for instance, published in *La Révolution surréaliste*, Robert Desnos had enumerated the heads that would fall in the approaching revolution:

> The decapitated diplomats and politicians piled at the foot of the lampposts. And the mug of Léon Daudet, and the hollow puss of Charles Maurras, mingled with the fat muzzle of Paul Claudel, and that of this old chap, the Marshal de Castelnau, and all the priests, yes, all the priests![93]

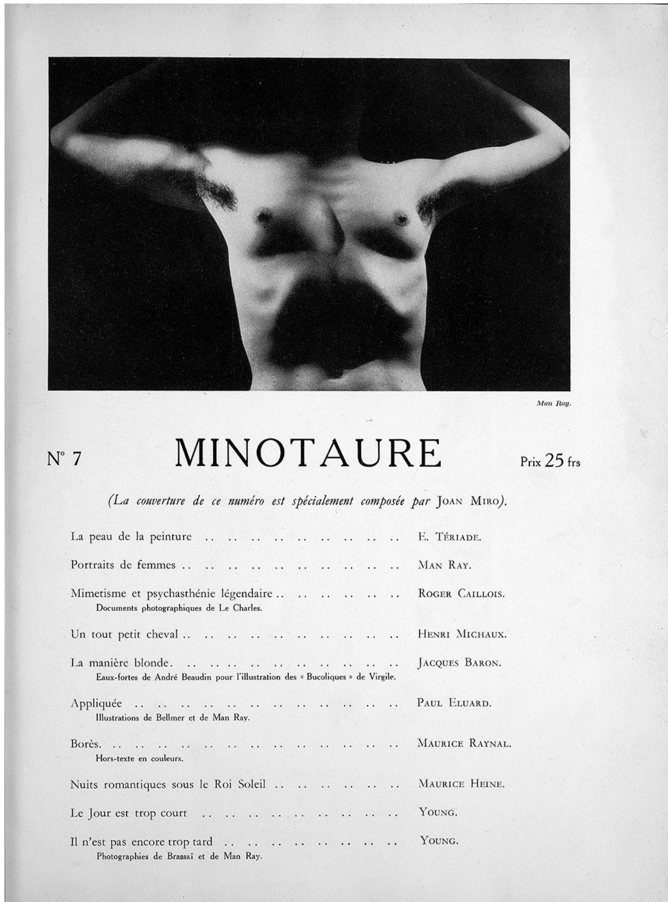
In the *Minotaure* editorial, Breton does not go so far as to call the future headless, but he does concentrate on the lost head. Chopping off

the head of an academic and replacing it with a "tête de bête," a beastly head—but also a stupid head, again that of a pariah who thinks—is what allows *Minotaure* to resist certain appropriations and interpretations of culture. Its strategy of cultural intervention is that of a negation of negativity which turns the retrograde backwards and, in this way, moves it forward. The title of the magazine encapsulates both the "tête de bête" and this double negation. The title, *Minotaure*, which was proposed by Roger Vitrac[94] or alternatively by Georges Bataille and André Masson,[95] refers directly to the Minoan mythological cycle, and reveals a general fascination with the half-man, half-bull monster materialized on the magazine's covers.

The theme of the minotaur was persistent in and around surrealism: one thinks of Picasso's series of minotaurs, of André Masson's minotaur-related paintings (*Minotaure* in 1935, and *Le Labyrinthe* and *Le Rêve d'Ariane* in 1938, to name just a few), of the Ariadne series by Giorgio de Chirico (1913), or the anthropomorphic minotaur of Man Ray that graces the contents page of the seventh issue of *Minotaure* (figure 25). In the wider culture of the time, interest in this Cretan mythological cycle was spurred by the discovery of the site of Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans in 1900, which launched a "Cretomania," as Paul Morand aptly describes it:

> At the beginning of the century, the world was awed by the revelation of one of the most ancient civilizations on earth . . . The Bavarian and Hamburg banks were decorated with golden mosaics, and the theaters in the Secession style resembled ritual caves four thousand years old, in which Greece was practicing its unknown religion with its invisible gods. In Saxony, a zoo had copied the throne room of Knossos! The bal-masqués in 1913 Paris, the carnivals on the Rhine, the avant-garde Aeschylus of Kunsttheater, were longing if not for the Neolithic Crete, then at least for the famous Prince with the feathers, or the famous "Parisienne" of the Knossos Museum . . . with her black, wavy hair, more twisted than Dedalus' labyrinth, the daughter of Pasiphae and the sister of Phaedra. This "cretomania" would last till 1914.[96]

This interest would flare up again around the time of the publication of the excavations between 1921 and 1936, which received consider-



Man Ray.

N° 7 MINOTAURE Prix 25 frs

(La couverture de ce numéro est spécialement composée par JOAN MIRO*).*

La peau de la peinture .. .. E. TÉRIADE.

Portraits de femmes .. .. MAN RAY.

Mimetisme et psychasthénie légendaire .. .. ROGER CAILLOIS.
Documents photographiques de Le Charles.

Un tout petit cheval .. .. HENRI MICHAUX.

La manière blonde. .. .. JACQUES BARON.
Eaux-fortes de André Beaudin pour l'illustration des « Bucoliques » de Virgile.

Appliquée .. .. PAUL ELUARD.
Illustrations de Bellmer et de Man Ray.

Borès. .. .. MAURICE RAYNAL.
Hors-texte en couleurs.

Nuits romantiques sous le Roi Soleil .. .. MAURICE HEINE.

Le Jour est trop court .. .. YOUNG.

Il n'est pas encore trop tard .. .. YOUNG.
Photographies de Brassaï et de Man Ray.

Figure 25. Man Ray, *Minotaure*. In *Minotaure* no. 7, 1934, n.p. Copyright © Man Ray 2015 Trust / Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY / ADAGP, Paris 2021. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

able attention,[97] including from magazines influential in the formation of a modern canon such as *Cahiers d'art*.[98] This phenomenon was an instance of a fertile intersection between archaeology and modernism, an intersection that has been described as the search for "an other (and even *othering*) archaeology loosely affiliated both with Freud's tracking of subterranean psychic and somatic intensities, and with an ongoing modern preoccupation . . . with tapping into 'prehistoric' instinctualisms, violence, savagery, sacrifice and sacrality."[99] A modernist archaeology, which "unburies life forms resistant to or hostile to Cul-

ture and Civilization,"[100] probably found its paradigmatic discovery in Evans's revealing of Knossos, since it uncovered a palpable, pre-Hellenic Greece, and thus destabilized the classical ideal. The words of Roger Vitrac in 1936 express precisely this idea: "The newly found forms of Hellas blend within us with the speed of an ever-accelerating revelation. I salute the advent of the franco-minoan poetry."[101]

This unsettling had of course already begun in the nineteenth century, with the cultural impact of Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890).[102] The convergence of classical philology and anthropology effected by the latter would soon be doubled by the convergence of archaeology and ethnography. "Fille parricide de l'humanisme" is what Georges-Henri Rivière calls archaeology in the pages of *Cahiers d'art* in 1926:

> *The Greek miracle* was alive. Sleeping under the foundations of the Parthenon of Maurras and Winckelmann were *kouroi* with Khmer smiles; archaeology woke them—archaeology, which has overturned the museums. Parricide daughter of humanism, archaeology presides over digs which present us with the Thinite dynasties of Egypt, precolumbian America, the ancient empires of China. If it removes Minos's halo of legends, it is in order to give him back his palaces, their treasures, their frescoes.[103]

Archaeology materially accomplished what had begun as an intellectual gesture a few decades earlier; namely, the demise of the locus of the harmonious, logocentric human, at the opposite pole of which stood barbarian primitivism. Archaeology—and specifically Minoan archaeology—blurred and obliterated the distinction between "Greek" and "barbarian," showing that the one was embedded in the other. It revealed a "Grèce panique," as Jean Cassou put it in 1936, that was Dionysiac and Nietzschean, "German" and "sociological," and which made him exclaim: "the inexhaustible labyrinth of these Greeces, what a vertiginous game of mirrors."[104]

Yannis Hamilakis remarks that modern archaeology at the beginning of the twentieth century made a concerted effort to prove that Minoan Crete was the first European civilization, in this way producing a "usable past" that would find in the Minoans "the free European spirit of capital, commerce and trade."[105] The approach of *Minotaure*, as well as that of Rivière, seems to be the opposite: this pre-classical archaeology

proved that Europe was much closer to the barbarian than had been thought. It was an approach already in place, theoretically as we have seen, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, while in *Minotaure* it already appears concretely in the first issue with an article on the sixth-century B.C.E. Temple of Artemis in Corfu written by the art historian Max Raphaël. Here, Raphaël describes early Greek art as essentially barbarian and Asian:

> When this art was discovered again by those whose eyes had learned to look at the works of primitive peoples, it was a new age that attracted the attention of all: the beginnings, disparaged as "barbarian" . . . Against the primitive assumption of a Greek art perfectly original, or only slightly influenced by Egypt, the idea that increasingly prevails is that its sources need to be sought in the Near East.[106]

The "sources" of Western civilization are displaced from a classical Greece, the Greece of reason, to a different one that is rather dark and primitive, nonrational, and perhaps a little menacing. The effect of such comments is to turn Greece away from its humanist, European identity to make it Asian—in concordance with *La Révolution surréaliste*'s earlier fantasies. In this gesture, "Greece" becomes its other, and the epitome of culture and civilization shades over into barbarism.

Humanism is thus put to death by the barbarian oriental figures on archaic temples, but in *Minotaure* this is primarily accomplished "à tête de bête," by setting an animal's head on the shoulders of the cultured man. Archaeology and the figure of the minotaur share an appeal to violence because they both bring to the surface what has lain latent beneath, what has stubbornly survived from the past—material remnants or hidden monsters that modify our idealist perceptions of antiquity or humanity. Like archaeology, the minotaur unveils hidden aspects of "Greece": a "Greece" invested in animality, a "Greece" in which the human, the center of Hellenic civilization, is displaced and replaced by a hybrid creature.[107] As Lisa Florman remarks: "Theseus's slaying of the monster amid the dark, disorienting spaces of the Cretan labyrinth, and his subsequent escape to the other side of its walls, is often taken to prefigure the triumph of logic and metaphysics—the philosophy that was born, like the vanquishing Theseus himself, under the clear blue skies of Athens."[108] For the surrealists, in their magazine, the minotaur is not slain but is alive and eternal, fed by the incontestable failure of rational-

ism. The universality to which the magazine aspired was to be found, as the editors clearly noted, emblematically in its title. This universality was the reversal of humanist "Greece," long a code word for logos and culture and a synonym for *homo universalis*. By designating the minotaur as a symbol of universality, a different "Greece" is evoked, an imaginary space in which the human and the nonhuman, man and animal, meet and release unpredictable and uncontrollable energies. *Minotaure* deploys "Greece" as a metonym for a new conception of the universal in which the universal human is no longer the Vitruvian man standing in the center of a circle as a measure of the universe, but a decentered creature "à tête de bête," lurking in the middle of a labyrinthine space.

A headless Vitruvian, or rather anti-Vitruvian, man is on the cover of another magazine of the same period, *Acéphale*. This magazine was published from 1936 to 1939 and was under the directorship of Georges Bataille—who was initially expected to become one of the permanent collaborators of *Minotaure*—Pierre Klossowski, André Masson,[109] Jean Rollin, Jean Wahl,[110] Roger Caillois, Jules Monnerot,[111] and Georges Ambrosino. Essentially a Bataille operation, the magazine functioned as the public face of the secret society of the same name, which experimented with the limits of human experience, including death.[112] Inflected by sociology and ethnography, working alongside its public sister group, Le Collège de Sociologie, the Acéphale ("Headless") group sought to articulate, through rituals and the sacred, an anthropological thought that would essentially redefine man.

The cover of the magazine, by André Masson, shows a naked, headless man with arms and legs spread, brandishing a dagger and what looks like a flaming heart, in mimicry of Leonardo's Vitruvian archetype (figure 26). His nipples are covered by two stars, his genitalia by a skull—which does not, however, conceal his anus—and his abdominal area is occupied by a labyrinthine structure of intestines in full view. Denis Hollier describes this as "an alteration of the human form that eludes every identification and draws the meditating subject into a labyrinth where he becomes lost, that is, he metamorphoses, is transformed in turn, rediscovers himself only as other, monster, minotaur himself."[113] Hollier here glosses an article by Georges Bataille in the first issue of *Acéphale*, in which he describes the headless man as a monster, but does not identify him as the minotaur: the headless man "is not a god either. He is not me but he is more than me: his stomach is the labyrinth in which he has lost himself, loses me with him, and in which I discover myself as him, in other words, as a monster."[114] The acephalic

man and the minotaur are ultimately iterations of the same figure of the human escaping from his head, the body's locus of reason.[115] Visually, the connection with the minotaur is implicit in the maze of guts that has become the center of this human without a head, but it is also present on the cover of the magazine, in the title adornment which features a stylized labyrinth resembling a slightly altered Greek key. The magazines *Minotaure* and *Acéphale* indeed complement each other in their search for a new definition of man and in their attempt to decenter the human, to liberate the human from its forms, its figures, its known and

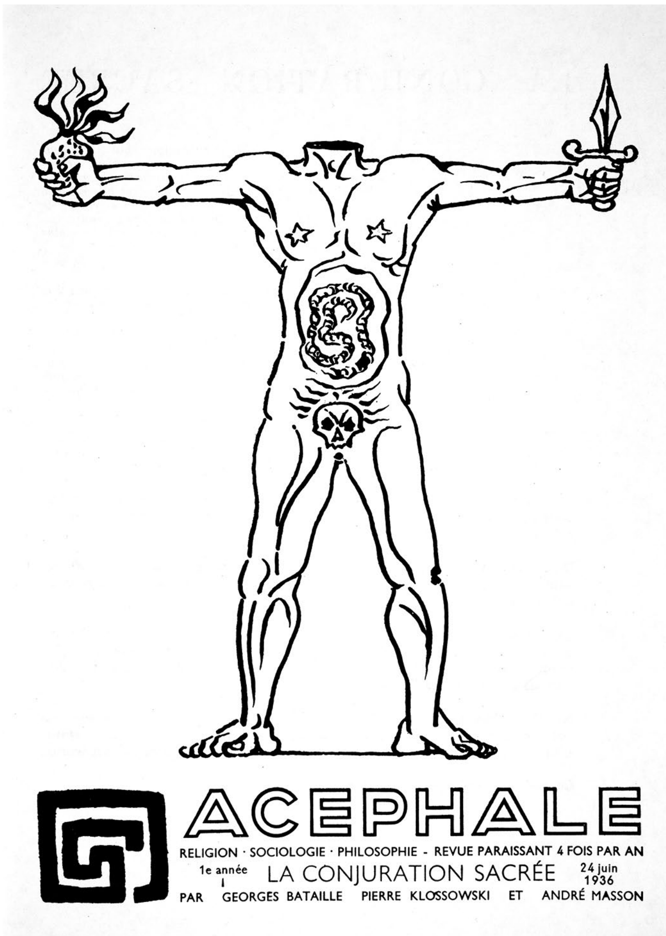


Figure 26. André Masson, cover of *Acéphale*, 1934. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

traditional centers, as the following text by Bataille on the back cover suggests:

> Acephale is the earth
> Under the crust of soil, the earth is incandescent fire
> The man who imagines the incandescence of the earth
> Under his feet
> Is set ablaze
> An ecstatic conflagration will destroy the fatherlands.[116]

If in *Minotaure* it is the title that declares the Greek subtext, in the Greek-sounding *Acéphale* the Hellenic element is channeled mainly through Nietzsche. The second issue dedicated to Nietzsche, and to the interpretation and appropriation of his work by the fascists, establishes the close affinity of the magazine's editorial group with the German philosopher. Aiming in particular at antisemitic uses and abuses of Nietzsche, the (anonymous) opening article "Nietzsche et les fascistes" attacks racist and nationalist appropriations of the philosopher and concludes with an appeal for "the possibility of man's finding not a flag and the senseless butchery before which this flag advances, but everything in this universe that can be an object of laughter, of ecstasy or of sacrifice."[117] This universe of laughter is embodied by Dionysus, the Greek god reinvented by Nietzsche. The third issue of the magazine is indeed dedicated to Dionysus and features, among others, a long article by Bataille called "Chronique nietzschéenne" ("Nietzschean Chronicle") with a section bearing the eloquent title "Nietzsche Dionysos."[118]

In this third issue, the illustrations on Dionysian and Greek topics by André Masson echo the cover that he created for *Acéphale*, as well as the cover that he would make for *Minotaure* two years later. The illustration with the title "Dionysos" features a headless man, very similar to the emblematic acephalic man on the cover, who uses a dagger to cut his chest and brandishes instead of the flaming heart, a branch of vine with a hanging grape.[119] The Vitruvian pose is abandoned and the god is slouched on the ground, hosting a snake curled around his leg, within a swirling and exploding landscape littered with Greek temples. Similar elements are repeated in another illustration, "L'Univers dionysiaque"("The Dionysiac Universe"), in which we see an exploding Greek landscape covered by the indistinct bodies of humans and animals, while in the foreground a creature holds a dagger and a flaming heart, like Acéphale, but bears a bull's head.[120] This overlap between

Dionysus and the minotaur, already implied by the Minoan myth,[121] is made clearer in yet another illustration by Masson, "La Grèce tragique" (figure 27).[122] A minotaur stands in front of a Greek temple holding a dagger and a vine and staring directly at the reader. In Masson's iconography, Dionysus, the minotaur, and the acephalic man merge. Allan Stoekl remarks that "the acephalic man through Nietzsche represented the death of God as well as the death of the classical conception of man."[123] And indeed, this acephalic man, together with the beast-headed one, aim to destroy man as a classical, humanist, universal concept.

It was the perfect classical man that was appropriated by the totalitarian ideologies of Europe at this time. The Nazi and fascist discourses and aesthetic inspired largely by the Greek (and Roman in the case of Italy) paradigms projected the image of the ideal man as typified in the athletic and harmonious splendor of Greek statuary.[124] The associations between Nazism and this essentially Greek model of a healthy, robust,

Figure 27. André Masson, "La Grèce tragique" ("Tragic Greece"). In *Acéphale* no. 3, 1937, page 5. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

intact body as the icon of the human were surely very strong during the 1930s—and the 1936 Olympics in Berlin functioned as the glorification of this ideal.[125] The body featured during this same period in the Greek-inspired *Minotaure*, and to a lesser extent in *Acéphale*, is situated far from this intact perfection associated with classical antiquity and manipulated to elevate totalitarian regimes. Instead, the human, "Greek" body represented in the magazines is altered, mutilated, hybridized, transformed. If the athletic perfection of the Nazi body was a neoclassical reaction to the extreme violation of the body during World War I, the mutilated and hybridized pre-classical bodies of the French avant-garde of the 1930s seem to represent quite a different way of working through repressed images of the "gueules cassées" (broken faces) of disfigured veterans of the Great War. Instead of a sublimatory correction toward an ideal, they offer organic extensions or reassemblings of the human figure verging on the monstrous that, to be sure, rework aesthetic models, but which chiefly rethink the human as an organizing principle of the world, as a universal value.

But the "Greek" body of the totalitarian regimes also shows that an aesthetic ideal can be a political tool: it was this ideal that provided an alleged legitimization, a yardstick, which determined who was worthy to be called a human and who was not, and ultimately and tragically who was worthy to live and who had to die. The exploration of the human form in all its possible iterations without such judgments became thus a clear political choice for the surrealists in the 1930s. Against the fascist and Nazi "Greek" body, the surrealists mounted another one that was equally "Greek" but radically different, a body of impurity, porousness, and endless variation. Against a model that called for exclusion and abjection, the surrealists proposed a human figure that called for inclusion. Against the Nazis' "Greek" body of perfection that hid behind it strife and death, the surrealist "Greek" body was imperfect and indeed called for endless liveliness and connection.

Minotaure—and to some degree *Acéphale*—not only accomplished the remaking of the human figure as an organic body that defies classical notions of perfection and wholeness, as well as its appropriation by Nazi rhetoric and politics, but did so by subverting the "Greek" and its universality. Though they kept "Greek" as a general category along with its function—standing in for the universal human—the French avant-garde around these two magazines rewrote the foundations of Western humanism by changing the content of that word. To the (then) totalitarian Greek classical human that became a model functioning on a basis

of exclusion and elimination—of the deformed, of the non-Aryan, of the deviant body—the surrealists opposed a Greek human as a "body without organs," that is, a nonhierarchical body, one that includes the possibility of a virtual other. The otherness included as possibility in this configuration of the human is emblematized in the animality of the minotaur. Against a Protagorean centrality of the human in the universe as the measure of all things, *Minotaure* chooses to blur the line between human and nonhuman, human and animal, thus asking us to reconsider the notion of the human altogether, and with it, through a questioning of the historical tradition, the notion of humanism. The surrealists in fact accomplished a virtuoso gesture: while upon the image of "Greece," a solid base of humanism, a universal worldview had been built around the centrality of the human, the surrealists managed to retool our cultural experience of ourselves through the very same image so as to actuate a non-anthropocentric consideration of the human. The universalist project of *Minotaure* was a humanist one that cut through Western humanism by undoing its Greek core. It kept the category of the human, but constructed it as a continuous difference; the *homo universalis* becomes a *monstrum universale*. This move is perhaps most daringly illustrated in the concrete representations of animals in the magazine, representations that verge on the creation of an alternative ethnography as a mode of inquiry into the human and its limits.

ANIMAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This chapter opened with some considerations of ethnography and its possible impact on *Minotaure* and its view on the world. It is clear by now that the main project of the surrealist *Minotaure* was an anthropological inquiry in the broadest sense. In this respect, the magazine took part in a wider intellectual current that swept France in the 1930s and became the leading philosophical framework of French thought after the Second World War and particularly from the 1960s on. A "philosophical anthropology," which posed the fundamental question "what is man" after the carnage and disillusionment of World War I and after the "death of God," displaced man from the center of the universe and mounted a lasting critique of humanism and its values. What is usually called an "anti-humanism"[126] had already been codified in such catchphrases as "the last man" by Nietzsche and "the death of man" that André Malraux[127] and later Michel Foucault were to establish as a

standard trope. What is at stake in *Minotaure*, however, rather than an antihumanist project, is the elaboration of a non-anthropocentric humanism. What is pursued is a sustained, secular reflection on the human initiated by the Renaissance and solidified in the post-Enlightenment nineteenth century, by a constant redrawing of the hierarchies within which the human could be understood. It is a humanism without the human at its center, and perhaps even a humanism without center, but it is not one against or without the human.

As we have seen, *Minotaure* emblematizes an uncentered, non-anthropocentric humanism in its replacement of the intact, classical Greek, perfect human with a polymorphous, mutilated Greek monster whose monstrosity spills from the cover into the rest of the magazine, with its obsessive return to the human figure and its real and fantastic aberrations. However, the animal part of the monster is equally (and obsessively) present throughout the pages of the magazine. A parade of animals extends the human-animal coalition of the title to the content: from the bulls and minotaurs of Picasso[128] and the Abyssinian sacrificial bull described by Michel Leiris following the Dakar-Djibouti ethnographic mission,[129] to the famous praying mantis of Roger Caillois;[130] from King Kong[131] to the monkeys described as "the most human of apes, and the most ape of humans" in the article "Analyse spectrale du singe";[132] from nocturnal birds[133] to Brassaï's moths,[134] from frogs[135] to Benjamin Péret's dogs and wolves[136] to Pierre Mabille's superimposed "worm, reptile, batrachian, fish, bird, mammal with horns, human" (figure 28).[137] Everywhere animals share with humans the pages of the magazine, resonating with its title. The way that animals are approached, however, tends to skirt any symbolic or mythological allusions. A notable exception to this would be Jacques Lacan in his well-known article "Moteur du crime paranoïaque: Le Crime des soeurs Papin" ("Motives of Paranoid Crime: The Crime of the Papin Sisters"), where he falls back on mythologizing interpretations of the human-animal relation in describing the case of the sisters Papin, two servants who killed their mistresses. Lacan refers to the women in their murderous frenzy as beast-like Bacchae who "tore their victims to pieces [and] hunted in their gaping wounds for what Christine in her innocence was later to call before the judge 'the mystery of life.'"[138] Lacan is compelled to use the Greek mythological image of women turned into animals in their ecstatic frenzy, dressed in animal skins, tearing apart and devouring living creatures, in order to speak of the revelation of the mystery of life. The general approach of the articles found in *Minotaure*, however, refrains

PRÉFACE
*à l'Éloge des Préjugés Populaires**

Par le DOCTEUR PIERRE MABILLE

Le spermatozoïde a rencontré l'ovule dans la matrice de la femme. Dès cette minute, une construction commence, qui dépasse le cadre humain pour rejoindre les vastes élaborations naturelles. Les échafaudages seront fournis par les espèces animales et les fils tendus au travers des âges géologiques. Toutes les séries vivantes ou éteintes ne se répètent pas dans l'embryon en formation comme on pourrait trop simplement le penser. Seules, et à l'état d'intentions, les tendances d'édification qui ont trouvé en des périodes lointaines leur réalisation dans les formes des animaux supérieurs reparaissent ébauchées dans le fœtus. Ces impulsions qui dans les temps se sont affirmées, différentiées ou cherchées, se mêlent ici et se nouent en se dissipant. L'œuf coagule en quelques semaines les recherches lentes de l'adaptation pendant des millions d'années. Mais très vite, il arrive à sa propre espèce, il commence à ressembler à ce qu'il sera et ralentissant le rythme de cette revue des temps, aboutit vers la fin de la grossesse, avec une plus grande précision anatomique, aux données de l'hérédité proche. Film qui ressemble à un rêve où les désirs, les imaginations créatrices de la nature se superposent, se surimpressionnent, floues, pour arriver à la netteté dans la mise au point de la construction achevée. Ce processus se retrouve d'ailleurs identique dans toutes élaborations, qu'il s'agisse d'un être, d'une idée ou d'un acte.

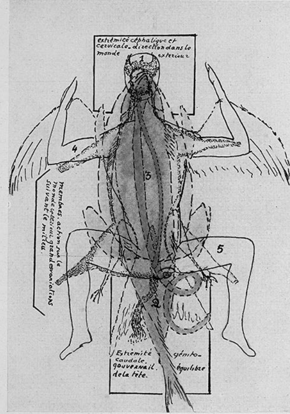
Mais dès que l'embryon existe matériellement, dès sa première minute, il est assujetti à une vie propre. Son ambiance est d'abord le sang maternel qui lui est univers étranger, contre lequel il doit lutter tout en lui prenant les choses dont il se fait. A la naissance, le contact devient direct avec les êtres et les objets. La défense, l'adaptation au milieu lui imposent une personnalité qui va s'établir en déformant plus ou moins la poussée héréditaire initiale. L'être, peut se représenter alors comme un rapport dont les deux termes sont : expériences des temps et expérience propre. Il lui faut adapter pour lui et en fonction de l'ambiance sa personne qui est déjà un conglomérat de toutes les adaptations antérieures.

Ces origines sont nécessaires à rappeler, car cet ordre dans la construction physique se retrouve dans les phénomènes psychologiques. Rien ici de bien différent. Cependant l'étude des faits psychiques est rendue plus difficile par l'existence de la conscience. Celle-ci paraît établir une barrière entre deux domaines opposés. D'une part, l'intelligence alimentée par les apports sensoriels ou de mémoire aboutissant au jugement, à l'abstraction; d'autre part, débordant cette étroite bande éclairée, l'inconscient avec son vaste contenu dont l'exploration est primordiale. Celui-ci apparaît formé de deux parts : un inconscient viscéral, témoin de notre vie interne et un autre plus général que l'on pourrait nommer inconscient d'oubli; il est à la fois personnel et social. Essayons d'en dégager les grandes lignes.

Viscères, glandes, vaisseaux de la circulation forment un système dont les appels, les harmonies, les discordes établissent une vie végétative, base même de notre existence. De cet alambic montent les impulsions, les désirs, les besoins, les états de tristesse ou de joie, les malaises ou l'euphorie. La conscience n'est généralement pas atteinte sauf lorsque les phénomènes dépassent leurs limites habituelles, mais ces mouvements internes, facteurs de notre dynamisme, imposent aux concepts intellectuels leurs directions et leurs couleurs. Le jeu viscéral, l'équilibre des hormones déterminent absolument nos goûts, notre activité, dirigent nos efforts, forment notre noyau passionnel que l'intelligence réalise ou non en conformité avec l'ambiance. La conscience n'a d'autre but que de servir ces passions, de les habiller ou de les déformer, de les réduire dans le cadre des limites impératives du monde extérieur.

Comme les animaux supérieurs ont une organisation viscérale assez semblable, cet inconscient est lui aussi voisin dans les diverses espèces, il est réaction psychologique de la matière vivante, inhérent à la vie, il évolue de la santé à la mort. Cependant la part individuelle n'est point négligeable du fait des susceptibilités personnelles, des formules intérieures, de l'équilibre humoral, des seuils variables de sensibilité consciente.

Il reste soumis au plus grand automatisme, par sa nature anatomique même (balancement régulatoire glandulaire, structure du système nerveux végétatif). La maladie, les plus importants désor-



VER, REPTILE, BATRACIEN, POISSON, OISEAU, MAMMIFÈRE A CORNES, HOMME SONT SUPERPOSÉS. EN 3, MASSE VISCÉRALE, FOYER DE LA VIE, CENTRE DE L'INCONSCIENT VISCÉRAL. LES VARIATIONS DES ESPÈCES SE PORTENT SURTOUT SUR 1, 2, 3, 4.

* Ceci peut être encore considéré comme un résumé synthétique d'une étude de morphologie physique et psychologique qui paraîtra incessamment.

1

Figure 28. Pierre Mabille, "Préface à l'éloge des préjugés populaires" ("Preface in Praise of Popular Prejudice"). In *Minotaure* no. 6, 1934, page 1. Courtesy of Marquand Libarary of Art and Archeology, Princeton University.

from symbolic readings and sees the animal not as the other or the opposite of the human, but rather as its continuation.

The seventh issue stands out in this respect, already under the spell of the animal in the table of contents, which is complemented by two photographs by Man Ray: one titled "Minotaure," showing a woman's naked, headless torso with raised arms who forms the figure of a bull (figure 25), and the other a portrait of a frog. This issue shows *Minotaure*'s ongoing anthropological inclination in a different light. A quasi-ethnographic discourse arises, though one that is no longer dedicated to humans, their lives, their artifacts, and their social organizations, but

to animals. Several articles on animals, accompanied by photographs, compose an issue in which the meaning of Clifford's "ethnographic surrealism," which began this discussion, changes course.

In his article "Oiseaux de nuit: Chouettes et hiboux" ("Night Birds: Screech-Owls and Owls"), for instance, the ornithologist Jacques Delamain begins by pointing out the symbolic value attributed to owls by humans over time and in different cultures, and then sets out to describe the life of owls in a remarkably poetic mode.[139] While avoiding an outright anthropomorphism, the article nevertheless emulates a tone usually reserved for the description of human social clusters, presenting us with the rich and sometimes unhappy lives of the nocturnal birds: their loving families and legendary monogamy, their nocturnal raids, their misery in captivity. What could otherwise have passed for a standard zoological description acquires the depth of an account of human societies. A different approach is sketched out in a strangely enchanting text by Armand Petitjean[140] with the title "Analyse spectrale du singe" ("Spectral Analysis of the Ape"). Here the author deliberately and constantly blurs hierarchies and boundaries between human and simian, creating a kind of *mise en abyme* between the two species: "And here it is, our old friend, that we never let go, the Great Ape, pithecanthropus, anthropopithecus, and anthropoid, the most human of the apes, and the most ape of the humans, in full possession of us in the absence of itself." Petitjean pursues this gesture of confusion to its vertiginous conclusion:

> The constant ambiguous movements between the ape and the human, its very anthropomorphism based on a simian pithiatism . . . together with the human pithiatism, propose the absolute relativity of biology, make us doubt if this human is an ape that apes the ape, or if this ape is a human who apes the human. What an ape this human is, says the ape in the spirit of the human, what a human this ape is, thinks the human in a true ape manner; and under the donkey skin [*sous la peau d'âne*] of the ape, matures the human flesh, and the hair of the ape, come through the bear skin [*la peau d'ours*] of the human.[141]

Beyond the commonplace of recognizing the uncanny humanity of primates, Petitjean creates layers of skin, a metaphoric and literal "peau d'âne" and "peau d'ours," that both hide and reveal a shared bodily materiality—"flesh," "hair"—while reflecting a shared, or at least con-

tinuous, psychology. The essay triangulates these prismatic reflections of human and ape in its description of the respective relationship of the two species toward mirrors, for apes do not recognize themselves, as humans do, in a mirror: "the ape does not recognize itself in the mirror . . . if it did, it would metamorphosize immediately into a human, which is precisely the gesture of Narcissus."[142]

The affinity of Petitjean's observations with what Lacan would soon develop as the mirror stage is obvious.[143] A better-known connection, however, would be that between Lacan and Roger Caillois, who published two articles on the animal world in *Minotaure*. Lacan greatly admired the first of these, "Mimétisme et psychasthénie légendaire" ("Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia"), which appeared in the seventh issue, while the second, "La Mante religieuse: De la biologie à la psychanalyse" ("The Praying Mantis: From Biology to Psychoanalysis"), appeared in the fifth issue. It is in the latter that Caillois explains his interest in animals:

> I am merely stating that as both these insects and mankind are part of one and the same nature, I do not exclude the possibility of invoking the insects to explain, if need be, people's behavior in certain situations. For we must realize that man is a unique case only in his own eyes, and that this study is actually nothing more than comparative biology.[144]

Indeed, Caillois claims that the major complexes discovered and explored by psychoanalysis, such as the Oedipus complex or castration anxiety, can be better understood within the frame of this "comparative biology": "It might perhaps be preferable to seek their origins in 'comparative biology' rather than in the human mind alone."[145] It is in a similar vein that Pierre Mabille claims in "Préface à l'éloge des préjugés populaires" ("Preface in Praise of Popular Prejudice") that humans and animals share the same type of unconscious: "Since the superior animals have a very similar visceral organization, the unconscious is also very similar in various species."[146] Petitjean, Caillois, and Mabille thus deconstruct human singularity, agency, and even the human unconscious by drawing continuous lines between man and animal. This operation works through a logic of recombination rather than that of blurring: it is not an effacement of the dividing lines between human and animal, but an effective epistemological and cognitive reshuffling of the two that results in new understandings of these categories. Aragon's opera-

tion of redrawing the categories of "nature" and "culture" in *Le Paysan de Paris* now comes full circle.

The appeal to extend psychology and psychoanalysis beyond human consciousness to a comparative biology of all living beings was certainly in tune with the emergence of ethology as a scientific field in the 1930s,[147] and possibly foreshadowed recent developments in neuroscience and the cognitive sciences. But it definitely proposes an eccentric consideration of the human and of humanity, adopting a perspective that has only recently reached the social sciences.[148] In *Minotaure*'s articles there is a systematic deconstruction of the notions of culture and nature through the observation of the social and, to some degree, psychological lives of animals. What might be "natural" within the realm of the animal world and understood simply in terms of instinct is seen in the light of "human" psychology—as Caillois and Petitjean point out—or of "human" sociability—in the case of owls—while inversely, "cultural" constructions such as the fear of castration or the Oedipus complex are seen as psycho-biological traits shared with other species. Animals are observed individually or in social groups of cultural exchange in a realm that seems continuous with the human, creating in this way a bilateral flow of information and observation. This approach is very close to trends in anthropology today, often gathered under the umbrella term "multispecies ethnography." This type of ethnography can be described by the anthropologist Anna Tsing's aphorism, "human nature is an interspecies relationship."[149] In a special issue of the journal *Cultural Anthropology* dedicated in its entirety to "The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography," editors Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich, borrowing Giorgio Agamben's as well as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's terms, note:

> Animals, plants, fungi, and microbes once confined in anthropological accounts to the realm of *zoe* or "bare life"—that which is killable—have started to appear alongside humans in the realm of *bios*, with legibly biographical and political lives. . . . "Becomings"—new kinds of relations emerging from nonhierarchical alliances, symbiotic attachments, and the mingling of creative agents . . .—abound in this chronicle of the emergence of multispecies ethnography.[150]

Contemporary anthropology is thus testing and peering beyond the contours of what might constitute the *anthropos* at the core of the dis-

cipline by going back to basic ethnographic observation. If ethnography at its beginnings broke down racial boundaries to bring forth the human's fundamental humanity, in the twenty-first century ethnography is eroding the boundaries of species to contemplate, once more, what is and is not human, but from a different, more radical perspective. This was a perspective adopted in a fragmentary, unsystematic, but definitely radical way by *Minotaure*.

The "animal ethnography" of *Minotaure* is thus part of an intensely anthropological thought that decenters the human, questions traditional divisions between nature and culture, and transcends (presciently) what were then the limits of ethnography, while using the latter as a steppingstone. Automatons, mannequins, and the mechanical in general had been extensively studied in surrealism as an alternative examination of the human at a time of increased consciousness of capitalist and industrialist dominance. The surrealists' gestures toward the animal, however, opened a different space for consideration of the human or the posthuman. Beyond the usual readings of modernist and avant-garde anxiety in a rapidly changing mechanized world, the surrealists' obsessive references to animals upset deeper-seated assumptions about the human. While the human-machine opposition is paradigmatic for the modern industrial era and practically appears alongside it, the human-animal coupling has had a long history during which its two poles frequently shifted to reflect different relational modalities. *Minotaure* took a position in this centuries-long confrontation by adopting a hybrid symbol of universality that combines the two parts of the dyad—the minotaur.

In *La Révolution surréaliste*, the Asian barbarian deconstructed the notion of the "Greek." Another and probably more subversive version of this process was assembled in the pages of *Minotaure*: the animal deconstructs the notion of the human altogether and instead posits a human continuous with the animal, a human that is not a master or a superior being, a human that positions itself outside of any human-animal division. Thus, if the revolution requires a new declaration of the rights of man, as *La Révolution surréaliste* proposed, it is because the revolution requires a new operative understanding of man. In this respect, perhaps, Giorgio Agamben has a point: "In our culture," he writes, "the decisive political conflict . . . is that between the animality and the humanity of man."[151] He concludes with the following:

> In our culture man has always been the result of a simultaneous division and articulation of the animal and the human,

> in which one of the two terms of the operation was also what was at stake in it. To render inoperative the machine that governs our conception of man will therefore mean no longer to seek new—more effective or more authentic—articulations, but rather to show the central emptiness, the hiatus that—within man—separates man and animal, and to risk ourselves in this emptiness: the suspension of the suspension, Shabbat of both animal and man.[152]

In their search for the new human that would defy the humanist perceptions of the West, the surrealists of *La Révolution surréaliste* dwelled on the division of Europe and Asia, of the "Greek" and the barbarian, with the latter as the reversed image of the former. The 1929 surrealist map of the world expressed similar polarities in visual form. The surrealists of *Minotaure*, ten years later, do not seem to construct dualities based on negative imprints. The animal in the magazine is not a human in reverse; throughout *Minotaure* human and animal experiment with different relations, different possible positions with respect to each other, ranging from the juxtaposition and the symbiosis of the two within the minotaur itself, to animalized visions of the human, like the minotaur's head composed by a woman's torso in Man Ray's photograph. *Minotaure* does not provide a definitive answer as to how to stop, once and for all, the "anthropological machine" that has sustained an image of the human as the conqueror of the animal first and foremost within himself.[153] But it provides glimpses of a situation in which the smooth functioning of this machine might be sabotaged, showing the possibility of a different configuration of the human, outside the dichotomies that underlie and support our civilization. "It is the very question of man—and of 'humanism'—that must be posed in a new way," claims Agamben,[154] and *Minotaure* seems to have done exactly that.

In this sense, the surrealists' parricidal act against humanism, orchestrated by an archaeology that brings dark strata to the surface, results in a relentless questioning of the human and its limits, of the human and its position within the world. This results finally in a paradoxical investigation of what is human that does not place the human at its core. More than taking an antihumanist stance, *Minotaure*, together with other surrealist endeavors,[155] puts forth a non-anthropocentric humanism which aspires to the same universality that humanist "Greece" had, but by voiding the idea of a homogenous, exceptional, and superior human being.

A thing of beauty fueled by a monster, *Minotaure* dismantled the homogeneity of the human figure, creating a visual paradigm that encompassed various time periods, styles, nationalities, and cultures. The human body as a constant rearrangement and as a nonhierarchical and non-submissive "body without organs" is the visual anchor for the magazine's conceptual and political universalist humanism. The advantage of visuality for universalist perspectives was not overlooked by the avant-garde. Various iterations of abstract art have been understood as elements of a universal language that would transcend national and cultural frontiers: Kasimir Malevich's simple suprematist vocabulary, and Hans Richter's abstract films were conceived as an antidote to national languages and misunderstandings.[156] In these instances it is a radical divorce from figuration, a departure from the human and an attachment to perfect geometric forms, that would ensure universality. These avant-garde universalist dreams restate visually the Enlightenment belief in the universality of reason, and they hope for a perfect language for all, trying to eradicate the possibility of error. The surrealist visual universalism of *Minotaure* goes in a different direction and reinstates the human body in its materiality, real or imagined, actual or possible, multiple and polymorphic, as a universal language. This language is not perfect; in fact, it is always imperfect and unfinished. The material luxury of the magazine, perhaps initially intended by Skira as a gesture toward a purely aesthetic realm, ends up in the hands of the surrealists not only supporting the surrealist ideological program, but, to a degree, informing it.

The surrealist political project, inaugurated in *La Révolution surréaliste*, of a generalized revolution was based on a new declaration of the rights of man and a rejection of the West, of Europe, of "Greece." The fading of the world revolution from the banner of the movement did not mean an abandonment of this political project. In *Minotaure* it took the form of a radical examination of the foundations of Europe. The result is an attempt at a universalism that tries to undo Western thought and its hegemony at its very kernel: its conception of the human. Already, the West and its humanist assumptions had been unsettled by an ethnography that brought forth new forms and considerations of the human. Almost a hundred years after the rise of ethnography, Étienne Balibar—commenting on the clash between "'real universality' as a process of globalization" and "'universalism' as it was conceived in Western history"[157]—has called for an alternative, "ambiguous universality" that accepts "the scattered meaning of the universal"[158] and its diverse

modalities that seek articulation. *Minotaure* was an early response to similar clashes and proposed, indeed, an alternative universalism. It was alternative not only because it unsettled standard Western universalism, but also because surrealist universalism was constructed as revolutionary. Against the professional revolutionaries, the magazine put together piece by piece, image by image, a materialist program that fused aesthetics and politics as an active consideration of the present in its "actualité," not as a contemplation of a constantly deferred revolutionary future. The heads are already cut off; the surrealist revolution has already happened. And what came after was the *anthropos*, as a universal ambiguity.

CHAPTER 5

World Simulated

The Surrealist Exhibition as Critique of the Global

"Surrealism, as it is understood by the surrealists of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, has already a storefront. For it has its own museum, the Dupuytren Museum."[1] This is how Raymond Lécuyer, the eminent art critic of *Le Figaro*, reacted to the International Surrealist Exhibition (Exposition internationale du surréalisme), which opened its doors on January 17, 1938, in Georges Wildenstein's Galerie des Beaux-Arts on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré in Paris. The Dupuytren referenced here was—and still is—a medical museum of anatomical pathologies founded in Paris in 1835.[2] Lécuyer provocatively equated the surrealist exhibition with a collection of dismembered bodies, a survey of human pathology and monstrosity meant at best to promote science and at worst to titillate curiosity. Lécuyer was not alone in responding with violent indignation to the show; in fact, his reaction is representative of how the general press received the exhibition. It was dismissed by some critics as nothing more than a morbid display of deviant bodies. What prompted Lécuyer and others to see an international art exhibition as something so radically other that he was compelled to place it completely outside the realm of art and in the domain of the medical profession and monstrosity?

The surrealist exhibition came a few weeks after a series of international exhibitions centered on a commercial fair called the International

Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life (Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne) had ended in the city. The surrealist exhibition was co-organized by Paul Éluard and André Breton, with Marcel Duchamp as the "generator-arbitrator," Man Ray as the "master of lights," Salvador Dalí and Max Ernst as "special advisers," and Wolfgang Paalen as the creator of water works. It presented more than 250 artifacts: paintings and objects, a series of ephemera, and sixteen mannequins. The exhibition space, which manipulated light, darkness, sound, smell, and textures, was a work of art in itself. The exhibiton's catalog was none other than the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* (*Abridged Dictionary of Surrealism*) edited by Breton and Éluard, which defined some key terms and presented the major figures of the movement through the familiar form of the dictionary.

The show came at the close of a decade marked by an increased and concentrated effort on the surrealists' part to internationalize the movement on a wide scale, an effort reflected in numerous theoretical texts and in such publications as the *Bulletin international du surréalisme*, which had four issues in 1935–36 and was published in Prague, Santa Cruz in Tenerife, Brussels, and London.[3] The movement's series of international surrealist exhibitions was conceived and developed during this time as a powerful tool for this internationalization.[4] The first surrealist exhibition bearing the term "international" in its title was held in London in 1936. It was organized by a group headed by Roland Penrose, with the active advice of André Breton, Paul Éluard, Georges Hugnet, and Man Ray, and presented 390 works by 68 artists. The 1938 Paris exhibition was the second international one,[5] and was followed by a 1940 exhibition in Mexico City, organized by André Breton, Wolfgang Paalen, and the Peruvian César Moro.[6] The third "international" exhibition, called First Papers of Surrealism, took place in New York in 1942 and was overseen by Breton and Marcel Duchamp, while the fourth, Surrealism in 1947 (Le Surréalisme en 1947), was held at the Galerie Maeght in Paris. Another exhibition took place that same year in Prague and in 1948 in Santiago, Chile, while the last exhibition, Exposition inteRnatiOnale du Surréalisme EROS, brought the series back to Paris in 1959.

If the 1938 Paris exhibition was not the first to be called "international," it was the first surrealist show in which the exhibition space became, extensively, the terrain of intense experimentation, in the creation of what later would be called installations or environments, as well as

in the integration of performances.[7] This experimentation would become standard practice for international surrealist exhibitions to come, from the promise of an "Apparition of the Great Sphinx of the Night" and "clairvoyant watches, perfume of the fifth dimension, radioactive frames, burnt invitations" in the Mexico exhibition, and Duchamp's famous mile of string in the First Papers exhibition, to the radically innovative environment of the 1959 EROS exhibition, which featured, among other things, a gallery space reinvented as a breathing human body.[8] The surrealists' manipulation of the exhibition space and their offsetting of traditional modes of display has been a topic of inquiry for art historians and critics alike, most often in relation to Marcel Duchamp's radically innovative ideas about visual perception and display.[9] The subversive element of these exhibitions is usually discussed within the general framework of a surrealist aesthetics of the uncanny, eroticism, incongruous juxtaposition, and explorations of the unconscious. In a larger, comparative framework, the 1938 show has been appraised in the context of other surrealist and Dada exhibitions, and from a synchronic point of view it has been compared with Nazi art displays, such as the 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition in Munich and the Great German Art Exhibition, with the surrealist exhibition as their politically polar opposite.[10] In each of these approaches to the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme in 1938, the terms of its self-titling that draw attention tend to be "exposition" and "surréalisme," leading into critical discourses on the radicalization of the exhibition space in relation to a general surrealist aesthetics and politics. But what really stands out in the show's title is the newly deployed term "internationale." What did "international" signify for the leading avant-garde movement of the 1930s on the eve of yet another world war? And how was this "international" represented?

This chapter sets out to explore what made this exhibition "international" beyond its claim of gathering artists from various countries—a claim that was to some extent misleading—and how this representation of the "international" spurred reactions such as that of Lécuyer. This exhibition differed from the previous surrealist shows in its conception as international and its intent to demonstrate precisely what the "international" meant for the surrealists through the various representational strategies they deployed. My motivating query is whether all these elements which intensely manipulated the exhibition's viewers were only components of the "surrealist" character of the exhibition, or whether

they should be attached to its "international" feature. The question is, in other words, if the move from unqualified surrealist exhibitions—such as the Surrealist Exhibition of Objects (Exposition surréaliste des objets) in 1936, and before that the shows Surrealist Painting (La Peinture surréaliste) in 1925 and Surrealism: Does It Exist? (Le Surréalisme, existe-t-il?) in 1928[11]—to "international" ones powered the creation of a different kind of exhibition, one that created a new and distinct kind of experience associated with a new understanding of the "international." I thus approach the exhibition as an experiential representation of the concept of the "international" at the precise moment when surrealism was vigorously thinking of and practicing its own internationalization. It was in the 1930s that surrealism developed representational strategies that encoded its deep political commitment within the aesthetic realm, with the surrealist object being the most prominent example of this sort of strategy. The 1938 and other international exhibitions can be seen as similar attempts to infuse another aesthetic object, the exhibition, with the political energy embedded in the concept of the "international." The challenge is to see how the international element, the world, which was crucial for the character of the exhibitions and for the dynamics of the surrealist movement in the 1930s, was manifested in the shows' innovative exhibition practices.

While the previous chapter explored an image of the world represented in a very worldly magazine, *Minotaure*, which brought surrealism's foundational universalist project full circle, this final chapter takes over another very worldly manifestation of the surrealist group, one which performs a different vision of the world, but no less entrenched in the political turmoil of the time. Together, these two iconic productions of surrealism, the magazine and the exhibition, represented the surrealist world just before the outbreak of the Second World War. We saw in chapter 4 that this surrealist world sought to transcend political internationalist visions through a new universalism; this chapter delves into a surrealist world that mounted a precocious critique of what we now understand as a de facto economic globalization. The exhibition took the then-prevalent idea of the "international" as synonymous with synergy and exchange among nations that could lead to a harmonious world economic order of capitalist progress, and ultimately unveiled its hollowness. What the surrealists replaced it with was a representation of the world "au temps des surréalistes," a world perhaps to come, based on a radical configuration of what human community should be.

THE EXHIBITION AND ITS DISCONTENTED

The International Surrealist Exhibition was set up to begin as soon as one entered the courtyard of the Wildenstein gallery.[12] There, in front of the gallery entrance, visitors encountered the installation by Salvador Dalí, *Taxi pluvieux* (*Rainy Taxi*), a taxicab covered with ivy, with two mannequins inside: a man driving and a woman in the back seat. As the title suggests, there was rain dripping in the car while snails were crawling all over. On the taxi Dalí had placed the sign announcing a "General Commission of Public Imagination," discussed in detail in the third chapter. After this provocative greeting in the courtyard, the viewers continued through the entrance of the gallery into the first room, which was in fact a long corridor outfitted with sixteen commercial female mannequins, each of them reconfigured by a surrealist artist (figure 29). Between the first one by Jean Arp, almost entirely clothed, and the last by Marcel Jean, lightly veiled with a cast-net, these intensely erotic and often ambiguous figures—like Duchamp's androgynous creation or André Masson's famous doll-in-a-cage—lined the wall of this narrow space. The wall itself was scattered with blue signs bearing street names: not only existing streets, significant to the surrealists for their history (e.g., "Rue Vivienne" where Lautréamont lived, or "Rue de la Vieille Lanterne" where Gérard de Nerval was found dead) or for their sound and meaning ("Porte des Lilas," "Passage des Panoramas," "Rue Nicolas Flamel"), but also imaginary streets whose names evoked surrealist desiderata and humor ("Rue de Tous les Diables," "Rue aux Lèvres," "Rue Cerise," "Rue de la Transfusion-de-Sang"). Together with the street signs, the wall featured posters, flyers, announcements, and journal articles, all of which frequently referred to the artists who had created the mannequins, as well as small reproductions of the artists' work and in one case an original piece, Hans Bellmer's photographs of his "Poupée." This part of the exhibition, appropriately referred to as the "rue surréaliste," led to the main hall of the gallery, or what was often called the "grotto."

This room was dominated by a dropped ceiling decked with 1,200 used coal sacks—still sooty, and stuffed with newspapers—an installation by Marcel Duchamp that ushered the show to its prominent position in the history of exhibition display (figure 30). The floor was littered with sand and dead leaves and harbored a small puddle of water, all designed by Wolfgang Paalen, while four fully made beds stood, one in each corner. An artificially illuminated brazier occupied the center

Figure 29. Josef Breitenbach, *Untitled*, view of mannequins from the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, 1938. Copyright © The Josef and Yaye Breitenbach Charitable Foundation. Image courtesy of the Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, AZ.

of the room, together with a revolving door on which were hung several paintings. The black walls were also covered with paintings, and surrealist objects were displayed around the room. Sound and smell accompanied the installation: the soundtrack was a mixture of screams recorded in insane asylums and the German Army's "pas de parade," while the visitors smelled Brazilian coffee brewing—this last idea came from Benjamin Péret, who had recently returned from Brazil. The main room was intended to be dark, at least for the night of the opening, and visitors were given small Mazda-manufactured flashlights at the

Figure 30. Josef Breitenbach, *Untitled*, installation view of the exhibition, from the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, 1938. Copyright © The Josef and Yaye Breitenbach Charitable Foundation. Image courtesy of the Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, AZ.

entrance to illuminate the artworks. This light design was credited to Man Ray, who recalls the opening night of the exhibition:

> An attendant sat at the entrance before a large box, as each visitor entered the dark gallery he or she was given a flashlight to find his way. Needless to say, the flashlights were directed more to people's faces than to the works themselves. As in every crowded opening, everyone wished to know who else came, and paid little attention to the paintings. The painters were quite angry with me, but I assured them that for the following weeks the gallery would be well lighted, when people came with the intention of seeing the works. Although a sign requested the visitors to replace the flashlights on leaving, many carried them off as souvenirs, making for a large indemnity to be paid by the organizers—the

> lamps having been rented. If I had thought of it, I'd have had them marked and sold as souvenirs, of the Surrealist Exhibition of 1938, Paris.[13]

On that day of the opening, the installation was completed by a happening: a performance by the dancer Hélène Vanel entitled "L'Acte manqué" ("The Unconsummated Act"), which took place mainly in the puddle of water and incorporated a simulation of hysteria (figure 31).[14] Jean Fraysse, in his article for *Le Figaro littéraire*, gave a compelling description of the atmosphere in this main room:

> This whole exhibition tends, actually, towards a different feeling, very difficult to grasp because of the black humor that prowls at every corner and breaks sinisterly the predominant ambiance. This ambiance stems, however, from an affectionate melancholy. The Grand Meaulnes would have gladly come to doze off under the low vault of the coal sacks, next to the small pond with the reeds, in the midst of this

Figure 31. Anonymous, photograph of the dance performance by Hélène Vanel at the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, 1938. Agence Photographique Keystone Paris. Courtesy of Ubu Gallery, New York.

> twilight, tepid with the spreading smells of Brazil, his hair mixed with the dead leaves that litter the floor.[15]

Two smaller rooms, installed by Georges Hugnet, contributed more paintings and objects to the exhibition. Hugnet also installed, in the first room, a giant pair of old-fashioned women's underwear hanging overhead like a huge tropical flower (figure 32), and in the second room, a trompe l'oeil window in the ceiling, "a window looking into the blue," as he himself described it.[16]

The checklist of the 1938 exhibition mentioned 60 artists and 14 countries represented in the show, without tracing the relationship between countries and artists. James Herbert remarks that the international element in the exhibition was "something spawned out of the

Figure 32. Josef Breitenbach, *Untitled*, view of Georges Hugnet's installation at the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, 1938. Copyright © The Josef and Yaye Breitenbach Charitable Foundation. Image courtesy of the Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, AZ.

jarring contiguity of these two lists, of these people without nations and these nations without people, yet never really managing to be either one or the other; the product instead, perhaps, of their odd plane of forced collision."[17] Herbert's comment rehashes the critical consensus concerning the international character of the exhibition, which was generally seen as half-hearted, and fulfilled simply by the series of foreign countries and foreign names populating the gallery and the catalog—and in any case, most of the latter belonged to the cosmopolitan Parisian group that constituted the movement at this point. Lewis Kachur points out that "in part the vaunted internationalism of the *Exposition* . . . was just quid pro quo for groups of artists who had recently hosted the Surrealists for lectures and/or exhibitions." He concludes that "this so-called 'internationalism' was in fact essentially Europeanism," while "of course many of the Paris-based Surrealists were born abroad; thus the catalogue, happily international, hardly contains any French names."[18]

Looking for the international—happy or unhappy, it remains to be seen—in national affiliations and labelings is a critical reflex that is perhaps conditioned by the familiar structure of international art exhibitions, that is the division into national sections. The Venice Biennale would be a typical and long-standing example of this kind. An institution that began in 1895, it adopted its national pavilions, still in place today, in 1907.[19] In this and other international art exhibitions, the "international" functions as a classificatory grid that structures the space and narrative of the exhibition. Judging by these criteria, in the surrealist show the gesture toward the international seems to have been, in the best case, oddly unfinished, and in the worst case only a marketing or public relations move. The paramount importance assigned to the internationalization of the movement during the 1930s, however, as well as surrealism's fundamental universalist worldview, beg a more serious consideration of the international claim. James Herbert attempts to do so by drawing a vivid parallel between the surrealist exhibition and the exhibitions held concurrently with the international commercial fair, the International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life: among these were the shows "Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français" ("Masterpieces of French Art") and "Maîtres de l'art indépendant" ("Masters of Independent Art"). All three of these exhibitions had ended a few weeks before the opening of the surrealist show and had dominated public discourse and public space in Paris for months. A comparison between these three exhibitions and the surrealist one leads Herbert to assert that while the official exhibitions, "collectively, may have claimed

to represent all that was the world," the surrealist exhibition filled the gap of "'that which is not this' . . . against all that had come before it in the procession of globally ambitious initiatives."[20] Herbert sees the surrealist exhibition as a counterpart to the largely nationalist projects of the commercial, technical, and artistic exhibitions sponsored by the French state, as a negative space, 'that which is not this,' which poked holes in the world image championed by the state.

Rather than just a negative imprint of the "national," though, the 1938 surrealist exhibition problematized the "international" at a historical moment when the term was rapidly being reclaimed by state organizations and financial institutions—for example, in the "universal fairs" which were renamed after 1928 as "international exhibitions"[21]—thus yanking the word and the concept away from the political internationalism of the Left.[22] As mentioned above, the clear difference between what the surrealists named "international exhibitions" and other surrealist shows was one of structure: their international exhibitions deployed a new vocabulary of display through installations, happenings, environments, and generally through the sensory stimulation of the viewer, to the degree that they constituted a distinct genre. This new multimedia and multisensory genre inaugurated in the late 1930s proved to be so compelling that it was forever to be associated with surrealism, as is confirmed, for instance, by the 1949 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, called "Modern Art in Your Life." In the room dedicated to "Surrealism and the Fantastic," a dark gallery with black walls featured mannequins from New York department stores—a tame memory of the 1938 exhibition made to fit into the museum institution.[23] This memory was further subdued in the same museum's 1968 exhibition "Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage," in which the Dalí room also had black walls and was kept darkened.[24]

Though institutionalized and recuperated by major museums by the late 1940s, in 1938 this mode of display caused confusion among contemporary critics concerning the nature of the exhibition. It was what inspired Raymond Lécuyer to make the comparison with the Dupuytren medical museum, an inspiration undoubtedly prompted by the surrealists' extensive use of simulacra of the human body, which included not only the sixteen mannequins in the "rue surréaliste" but also the mannequins' body limbs incorporated into various surrealist objects. Among the latter were Óscar Domínguez's *Jamais* (*Never*), a gramophone with two female mannequin legs sticking out of it, Breton's *Objet* (*Object Chest*) with hands and legs again borrowed from a mannequin, and

Kurt Seligmann's *Ultrameuble*, a stool with four female legs. The lasting impression made by these dismembered bodies and disembodied parts is indeed evident in a series of newspaper caricatures, which showed improbable human figures escaping the exhibition.[25] The public, like Lécuyer, was haunted by these lifelike bodies that were recomposed, scattered, and staged in the gallery[26]—one critic speaks of "those human images" that lingered in the memory long after one leaves.[27]

A few months earlier, Lécuyer had reviewed in quite different terms the ambitious, state-sponsored exhibition "Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français" ("Masterpieces of French Art"), which opened in June 1937 at the Palais de Tokyo in Paris. This exhibition gathered more than 1,300 works of art dating from the Roman period to the late nineteenth century, and showcased what was both perceived and constructed as a national art collection—its use of the term "French" to characterize Gallo-Roman artifacts and early medieval objects went unchallenged by contemporary reception and criticism.[28] The exhibition was meant to demonstrate the continuity and unity of French art, and with this, the unquestionable superiority of France's artistic heritage—much as the instigator of the exhibition, the socialist prime minister Léon Blum, had hoped.[29] Masterpieces of French Art went beyond the scope of a temporary exhibition and attained not only the didacticism but also the social function of a national museum. Raymond Lécuyer thought so himself when he said: "without harm to our durable Louvre, an ephemeral Louvre, a supplemental Louvre has been created."[30] His comparison of the exhibition to the Louvre, the most illustrious museum of France and one of the most important in the world, clearly shows the impact and heft of this show.

While Lécuyer was compelled to refer to the Louvre as the apex of a historical display of national art, the experience of the surrealist exhibition pushed him on the contrary to describe it as lying outside the limits of art display and within the realm of medical, scientific, or anthropological displays. "This form of romanticism," Lécuyer said about the 1938 surrealist show, "is not at all French. To grasp it, one needs a frame of mind that the people of our race can acquire only artificially. Whence this fake surrealism that is now offered, by recipes, formulas, and clichés."[31] Unlike Masterpieces of French Art, which he saw as "the outline of a contemporary encyclopedia of arts and techniques,"[32] the surrealist exhibition assaulted the values and the spirit of France—for which the *Encyclopédie* is a perfect symbol—in the same way that a sick, deformed, pathological, or monstrous body in a medical museum is experienced as an affront to a healthy one. As another critic in the

conservative newspaper *La Croix* put it, "surrealism is no more French than Hottentot," thus honing the contrast between "French" national art and the anthropological domain in which surrealism may be placed—the realm in fact of a traveling human zoo displaying Khoi (Hottentots) as freaks.[33] Existing at the opposite pole of a national collection of high art, the surrealist exhibition was presented as an accumulation of things that offend the French spirit, that are not French, that are savage, that present the human as an aberration and that, in the end, are antinational. The surrealist exhibition was nothing less than a caricature of the Louvre.

The critical references to medical and anthropological contexts of display, as opposed to art display and the national art museum, reveal what the public may have understood by the "international" gesture of the surrealist exhibition. Tony Bennett reminds us that the development of the modern museum as an apparatus for creating national history was inextricably linked with the creation of the anthropological museum as an ahistorical entity:

> In the context of late-nineteenth-century imperialism, it was arguably the employment of anthropology within the exhibitionary complex which proved most central to its ideological functioning. For it played the crucial role of connecting the histories of Western nations and civilizations to those of other peoples, but only by separating the two in providing for an interrupted continuity in the order of peoples and races—one in which "primitive peoples" dropped out of history altogether in order to occupy a twilight zone between nature and culture. This function had been fulfilled earlier in the century by the museological display of anatomical peculiarities which seemed to confirm the polygenetic conception of mankind's origins. The most celebrated instance was that of Saartjie Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus."[34]

The general impression of the surrealist show as a collection of *disjecta membra*, as well as the comparison of surrealism to an objectified, in fact abjected, Khoi seen as subhuman, reproduced the separation between civilization and "primitive peoples" that Bennett explains. It not only de-aestheticized surrealism, in a familiar rejection of the avant-garde as non-art, but also pushed it into the realm of ahistoricity, outside culture altogether. The chain of signifiers developed by the critical reception of the surrealist exhibition led from anatomical aberrations,

to "primitive," to non-French, thus antinational, and thus ahistorical and acultural. The "international" promised in this exhibition was not the one promoted by the commercial International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life: it did not display a synergy among nations toward some kind of cooperative world order; on the contrary, it seemed like a chaotic assault on the nation, much like the anthropological display as a representation of the other, non-Western world was a perpetual threat to national integrity, unless subjugated and pushed outside culture and history as "primitive." The surrealist show felt "international" precisely because it stepped out of established norms of art display and verged on what was understood as anthropological. And this surrealist version of the "international" was truly uncomfortable and deeply unsettling.

The gallery chosen for the surrealist exhibition exacerbated its incongruous character: Georges Wildenstein's Galerie des Beaux-Arts was a grand bourgeois and thoroughly established institution, "practically an annex to France's state museums."[35] This institutionalized setting, which readily set a frame of reference informed by state and national power, made the aberration of the surrealist show even more visible, and possibly more offensive. Lécuyer indeed concludes his indignant article with this remark: "An exhibitor jokingly speaks in the name of the 'ministry of national imagination.' National? No, my dear, not at all."[36] What he is referring to here was the sign placed by Salvador Dalí on his *Taxi pluvieux*, the installation that greeted visitors in the courtyard outside the main entrance of the exhibition. As mentioned earlier, the sign actually read "Commissariat général de l'imagination publique," and it was Dalí who had the sudden and imperative inspiration to place the whole exhibition under the auspices of this "commissariat."[37] Dalí's idea to invent an institution as overseer of the surrealist exhibition was more than just a humorous or satirical gesture. The "Commissariat général de l'imagination publique," appearing on the horribly misspelled sign written by the foreigner Salvador Dalí, replaced the "Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale" under whose auspices the Masterpieces of French Art exhibition had come into being, and was probably inspired by the "Commissariat Général de l'Exposition" which presided over the entire 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology. By reproducing these real and familiar structures of cultural politics and administration, Dalí sought on the one hand to evacuate their monumentality and authority. On the other hand, Dalí's administrative organization was as fantastic as the one misquoted by Lécuyer, but also tellingly different. Lécuyer's

lapse, replacing the word "publique" with "nationale," revealed his own preoccupations and frameworks, but at the same time it highlights surrealism's quite different perception of the collective. For the surrealists, the collective, the public, would be brought together by a shared imagination instead of by an allegiance to a nation. And Dalí proved Lécuyer to be right: the surrealist exhibition was hardly a national affair; it was meant to stimulate the imagination of a weary public, to create a new collective imaginary, in the sense of a creative force within human communities, an imaginary beyond the nation, an imaginary of the international.

Conservative critics were thus right to grasp that the surrealist show was, somehow, an attack on the French nation, and they were quick to align this attack with references to anthropological displays—they were not wrong in this association either. As discussed extensively in the preceding chapter, one of surrealism's main goals was an expansion of the human, and the medical as well as the anthropological museum do just that, crossing the boundaries of health and normalcy or questioning Western norms for the human as cultural product.[38] For all their hostility and disdain for surrealism, the conservative critics might still have realized, perhaps unwittingly, that the "international" in the title of the exhibition was not limited to the invitation addressed to local European surrealist groups to select their representatives for the show,[39] or to the multitude of foreign names in the catalog, or to the multinational audience that flooded the gallery on opening night.[40] The critics' knee-jerk reaction could only articulate this realization in terms of exclusion from cultural norms linked to the nation: the identifications between "France" and "culture" on the one hand, and "primitive" and "nature" on the other, reveal the all-encompassing and tremendously powerful dominance of the nation as the organizing principle for the experience of the world. But the critics' reception also showed the effectiveness of the deliberate confusion that the surrealists wanted to cast upon exhibitionary tactics. By bringing into the space of their show types of display which were perceived at the time as distinct from those of art, or, as we will see, by reactivating older conventions of display in unexpected and often literal ways, the surrealists pushed the public to think about what the "international" could mean as a narrative for a movement that went beyond art and aimed at revolutionizing life. For sure, this new "imagination publique" was not based on a narrative of continuity and glorification, as was the national one, or on a narrative of coherence and progress, as was the international one of the commercial fair. A closer

look at the representational strategies of the exhibition may give some clues about this new narrative of the international that the surrealists pursued.

HISTORY'S CEILINGS

The national museum—or an exhibition like Masterpieces of French Art which sought to emulate this kind of museum—promotes the authority of the state and the idea of the artist as a producer of the spiritual wealth of a nation. The modern public art museum, with the Louvre as one of its most salient representatives, performs what Carol Duncan has called the "ritual of citizenship."[41] This ritual of citizenship is acted out in the museum as it "makes visible the public it claims to serve," while "the work of art, now displayed as public property, becomes the means through which the relationship between the individual as citizen and the state as benefactor is enacted."[42] This framing is perhaps performed most blatantly, though inconspicuously, upon the ceilings. Carol Duncan sees in the ceiling decorations of the Louvre the materialization of its civic ritual program:

> Throughout the nineteenth century, the Louvre explained its ritual program in its ceiling decorations. An instance of this is still visible in what was originally the vestibule of the Musée Napoleon (the Rotunda of Mars), dedicated in 1810. Four medallions in the ceiling represent the principal art-historical schools, each personified by a female figure who holds a famous example of its sculpture; Egypt a cult statue, Greece the *Apollo Belvedere,* Italy Michelangelo's *Moses*, and France Puget's *Milo of Crotona*. The message reads clearly; France is the fourth and final term in a narrative sequence that comprises the greatest moments of art history. Simultaneously, the history of art has become no less than the history of western civilization itself.[43]

A similar operation took place in 1848, when the Second Republic redecorated the Louvre's Salon Carré and the Salle des Septs-Chéminées, "devoting the first to great artists from foreign schools and the second to French geniuses, profiles of whom were alphabetically arranged in the frieze."[44] The function of the ceiling in this archetypal museum

was intensely didactic, as Duncan observes, "lecturing the visitors from above."[45]

Much has been said about the 1938 surrealist exhibition's staging, brilliantly conceived by Marcel Duchamp, and especially about the impressive ceiling of the main room. Covered by 1,200 empty coal sacks, the ceiling hung low over the visitors, like a "Damoclean sword."[46] The ceiling conveyed a claustrophobic feeling of heaviness and looming danger, and was noted at the time mainly for its menacing aspect. Today, criticism has singled out Duchamp's ceiling for its problematization of the exhibition space, of its visuality and perception.[47] Whereas the ceiling in a modern gallery is usually no more than a source of light that illuminates the objects below, Duchamp created a ceiling that trapped light, a ceiling as a source of darkness, assisted by Man Ray's light engineering. Duchamp's ceiling is seen as a radical renewal of the exhibition space that brought into focus a traditionally neutral area and imbued it with meaning.[48] The "white cube" of the modern gallery as a space of supposedly objective, clear, and systematic display was turned on its head.[49] Elena Filipovic, drawing a comparison with the quintessential use of the white cube model in the Nazis' Great German Art Exhibition, convincingly explains the aesthetic and political implications of the staging of the surrealist exhibition. Against the pure, quiet, ordered space of the modernist gallery, the surrealist exhibition was "dirty, dark, loud and hysteric," and for this reason the "surrealists' idiosyncratic installation defined a form of ideological critique that concentrated on the disruptive potential of process, ephemerality, instability and visual frustration against the period's exhibitionary commonplace of stasis, solidity, sanity and visual primacy."[50]

It is beyond contest that one of the targets aimed at by surrealist subversion was the contemporary exhibition space, André Breton admitted so in his assessment of the exhibition ten years later: "The organizers had concentrated their efforts on creating an atmosphere as remote as possible from that of an 'art' gallery."[51] However, as is often the case in surrealist production, the deconstruction of a dominant aesthetic paradigm was achieved through unexpected reactivations of past practices. In the case of the exhibition, Marcel Duchamp's mise-en-scène, and specifically its most memorable and frequently quoted element, the ceiling that dominated the space, was just such a reactivation of the outmoded, in Benjamin's sense. We should recall that the ceiling as a blank, neutral space was a relatively recent development in art display; to subvert it, Duchamp revisited older display strategies, in which

the ceiling had played an integral role in the narrative of the collection exhibited beneath it, as in the case of the Louvre. This move revisited antiquated modes of display and shifted the symbolic institutional setting: by concentrating on the ceiling, Duchamp subtly but surely framed the surrealist exhibition as if it were taking place in a museum-like space—granted, a weird and perverted museum-like space, but defnitely not a modern gallery—and Wildenstein's entrenchment within the state culture machine did not hurt in this respect. The ceiling of the surrealist exhibition of 1938 was thus reinvested with the didactic, framing, and meta-commentarial function adopted during the nineteenth-century development of the art museum, which was itself a reinvention of the palatial or religious ceilings that had framed narratives of power and domination from above.

While the modern nineteenth-century museum glorified the state, the nation, or the individual artist by means of its ceiling decorations and insignia, the surrealist ceiling glossed the exhibition by contextualizing it within a specific historical moment. The empty coal sacks looming over the central space were interpreted later by Breton as premonitions of the war to come:[52]

> Ten years later, we are in a better position not only to distinguish what, in the stir caused by that exhibition, is fairly expressive of the mental climate prevailing in 1938, but also to put in their true perspective—which, once again, is not an artistic one—those aspects of its structure that, in our minds, were intended to open that zone of agitation that lies on the borders of the poetic and the real . . . We did not deliberately create that atmosphere: it merely conveyed the acute sense of foreboding with which we anticipated the coming decade.[53]

Already during the exhibition, viewers made the association between the coal sacks and war: as one critic noted, "we waited anxiously for the sudden scream of the siren announcing the Zeppelin!"[54] Other sacks, stacked like sandbags around Óscar Domínguez's *Jamais*, nourished impressions of a soon-to-be bombarded city, while the soundtrack of military music and screams also bespoke a warlike atmosphere. But even without any overt or premonitory references to war, Duchamp's installation set the tone for the oppressive feeling of the exhibit, a feeling that

was the sensory materialization of the historical and political context of the collection shown.

The allegorical function of the museum ceiling, which ensures a historical and ideological frame in which the exhibited objects below can be understood, was thus hijacked by Duchamp, who cleverly reverted the exhibition space of the gallery to antiquated, institutionalized, and pre-modernist museological tropes. These tropes were gutted and emptied of their content, but they preserved their structure and function—much like the sacks themselves were emptied of their coal but retained the semblance of their intended use. Symbolic representations of state power as the guarantor and ultimate reference point for the art displayed below were superseded by symbolic representations of historical forces that determined the works. Duchamp's sacks might also be seen to toy with the ceiling as a confirmation of the artist's genius. One of the most favorable critics of the exhibition, André Rolland de Renéville, in an article published in the *Nouvelle Revue française* a few months after the opening, remarked:

> The visitor was invited to enter into a surrealist painting and integrate himself in it, before studying those that would be shown to him. Sacks of coal hanging from the ceiling recalled the first poems of Breton, the *Magnetic Fields* . . . in which his name appears associated humorously with this combustible, which can in fact often be found in the market under a homonym for the poet. In this way, the surrealist paintings and objects appeared to be under Breton's sky.[55]

The literary reference here is to the last page of the first automatic text, the 1919 *Les Champs magnétiques*, which featured its two authors in a framed two-liner: "André Breton and Philippe Soupault / Wood & Coal" ("André Breton et Philippe Soupault / Bois & Charbon"). Renéville reads this as a chiasmus that equates Breton with "coal." The commercial mentioned was indeed a popular advertising campaign for "Charbons Breton," complete with posters, postcards, and even "timbres-monnaies." Rolland de Renéville saw in the coal-sack ceiling not the menace of dark historical times, but the omnipresence of André Breton, the spark and locomotive behind the surrealist movement for over twenty years by then. Duchamp's coal sacks created an allegorical frame that also reinstated the artist, the "genius,"[56] as an overarching

authority placed on the ceiling of the exhibition space. The conflation of the function of historical framing and the cult of the artist within the materiality of the charcoal bags, heavy with significance, signaled the dense semiotic web woven by this surrealist work.

And this web could extend further: along with the remaking of the historic, didactic frame of the ceiling, the undulating black sky created by the coal sacks might also quote and reverse conventional embellishments of ceilings with trompe l'oeil skies and clouds. To the baroque clouds on cupolas that breached the closed spaces of architecture by opening the ceiling to a transcendental space of rupture,[57] Duchamp juxtaposes another sky, low and heavy, "bas et lourd," as Baudelaire would put it, made from the core of the earth, coal, permitting no transcendence, and forcing a contemplation of the present. The class symbolism imposed by the coal sacks should not be overlooked, either. The opening of the exhibition was described, almost unanimously, by the press coverage of the time as a society event where "le Tout Paris" in evening dress attended en masse[58]—"evening attire" was required, in fact, on the invitation that the surrealists issued. Elena Filipovic comments on the possible annoyance of the coal dust drifting down onto the polished attire of the bourgeois crowd[59]—an annoyance exacerbated perhaps by the strong association between coal sacks and the working class. The ceiling thus performed another reversal: it was now the high bourgeoisie who were literally oppressed by the working-class props hanging over their heads. Whereas in a national art museum like the Louvre, the insignia of the state on the ceiling are an affirmation of power over the citizens walking through the rooms, in this exhibition the "insignia" of the working class were a pressing reminder of their (annoying) presence for the oblivious upper class below.

A complementary statement along these lines was made by the ceiling designed by Georges Hugnet, in a smaller, less documented room of the exhibition. A pair of old-fashioned women's bloomers hung from the ceiling like a chandelier,[60] a function underscored by a light hidden under them. Hugnet reworked the trope of the ceiling as source of light in a way different than Duchamp's approach, but in accordance with it.[61] Hugnet remembers that a seamstress helped him attach, "on the ceiling . . . pantaloons of French cancan which, and this was Breton's idea, would be scaled for a dancer the size of the height of the room, measuring from her shoes to her belt."[62] Viewers of the exhibition talked indeed about a "Victorian circus giantess"[63] that put them in the position of peeping under her skirts. The insistent reference to a

missing giant body that the undergarment should have dressed brings to mind other uses of the gigantic in art and literature and their symbolic power. As Susan Stewart reminds us, "in contrast to the still and perfect universe of the miniature, the gigantic represents the order and disorder of historical forces."[64] Confronted with the gigantic, the viewer's body becomes a "miniature, especially pointing to the body's 'toylike' and 'insignificant' aspects."[65] The oppressive helplessness engendered by the 1,200 coal sacks was retold in the second room of the exhibition in the form of a giantess that reduced spectators to toys. The imminent danger expressed by the sooty coal sacks was reshaped in a seemingly less menacing, but in essence equally threatening, imaginary giant female sex, hidden beneath the underwear fit for a "Hottentot Venus"—to recall *La Croix*'s description of the exhibition, which drew associations with the exhibition history of Saartjie Baartman's body, the actual "Victorian circus giantess" with her supposedly hypertrophied genitalia.[66]

The ceilings thus actively framed the surrealist exhibition as part of a collective, offered a context, and hinted at the surrealists' perceptions of the function of the exhibition. The surrealists turned to a traditional museological structure that was meant to encode the "national" in allegorical representations of the state that protects and presupposes culture, to create a historical narrative that reinforces a national continuum, and to assert the cult of the genius in the service of a national collective spirit. These traditional functions of the museum ceiling were replaced in the surrealist show by allegorical representations of the historical context of the exhibition, a context with which viewers were obliged to engage since they were physically dominated by it, while at the same time these allegories hinted at the idea of the artist's power to make history visible and palpable. But the ceiling also restated the relationship between the viewers and the objects. In the national museum, an airtight narrative is performed both by the objects displayed and by the allegorical insignia of power, beauty, and genius on the ceiling, inducing in the viewer the sense of partaking effortlessly in a collective culture. The Louvre's ceilings underscore an immutable order that gives meaning to the collection below as a neat narrative. In the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, on the other hand, the viewer was forced to admit his entanglement in a historical unfolding by a ceiling that gripped the senses, while the objects displayed were obscured and scantily perceived because of this entanglement—the ceiling obstructed the light and threw a large part of the collection into the dark. The tidy cultural narrative enabled by traditional ceilings was replaced by what appeared to be an accumula-

tion of disorderly surrealist things. This disorder, however, did produce a narrative and did construct a collectivity. Confronting the national narrative shaped in the museum, the surrealist exhibition spewed back its ugly reflection, that of a looming catastrophe brewing within growing nationalist strife, a catastrophe that bound together a public not as tranquil citizens of the state, but as weary citizens of a world about to collapse. The surrealist ceiling enacted a ritual of citizenship, but not one of allegiance to the nation. Through representational strategies of display, the ceiling materialized a collective imaginary, "l'imagination publique," that was projected on the "international," an imaginary of tectonic historical movements that were unsettling and dire. The 1938 show staged the exhibition space as an arena of entanglement with history's lines of force that were then sweeping across Europe.

In addition to history as a contemporary context, the exhibition also alluded to a temporal historical narrative. The Wildenstein gallery's artistic director, Raymond Cogniat, in a text he wrote as the preface to the exhibition's catalog, *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, argued that the surrealist show completed a series of exhibitions organized by the Galerie de Beaux-Arts as an art historical sequence meant to cover the various "stages of contemporary art," which had included cubism, fauvism, and impressionism before the surrealist show.[67] In other words, the stately Wildenstein gallery had undertaken to construct a narrative of contemporary art in installments, structured through artistic movements. Since surrealism was a living contemporary art movement, Cogniat says, the organization of the exhibition was left to its creators, instead of to the gallery as usual. Lewis Kachur rightly remarks that this was probably a rationalization after the fact, and that the surrealist show was not planned as part of the series on contemporary art.[68] Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Wildenstein gallery wished to frame the surrealist exhibition within a historicizing and explanatory view of contemporary art, with the aspiration to create an overarching evolutionary narrative.

A similar historical narrative was also the goal of another contemporary exhibition, Origins and Development of International Independent Art (Origines et développement de l'art international indépendant), which opened at the Jeu de Paume in August 1937 and was based on the collection of foreign modern art hosted in that museum. It was organized by André Dezarrois, who had as his advisors Paul Éluard and the *Cahiers d'art* editor, Christian Zervos. This exhibition was opposed to the other major state-sponsored exhibition of 1937, Masters of Inde-

pendent Art, since "the stress [in the former] was not . . . on individual 'masters,' but on historical 'development,'" The "Origins" exhibition "replaced a history of master artists with a history of master movements."[69] In Dezarrois's narrative, the evolution of international independent art started with late nineteenth-century paintings by Cézanne and the Douanier Rousseau, and proceeded through fauvism and cubism to surrealism, with the latter featured centrally. Christopher Green remarks that an overwhelming number of the international artists presented there were Paris-based, and the exhibition thus produced a genealogy and history of modern art that was predominantly French:

> The overall message of the exhibition was clear: the history of art between the 1890s and 1937 as a story of origins and development was to be understood in terms of movements driven by artists, French and "foreign," *in France*. . . . The end of the 1930s was perhaps the last moment when even the French could exhibit the "international" development of modern art as the dynamic history of modern movements in France.[70]

This exhibition seemed to reproduce Apollinaire's vision, the international avant-garde as an outcome of French leadership in creativity and innovation. The surrealists were the first to notice this underlying Francocentrism and the show's exclusion of important non-France-based artists, and sent a letter of protest to the minister of national education and other authorities responsible for the exhibition.[71]

Green points out that this kind of narrative through movements "inevitably produces a picture of art 'developing' by its own dynamics free of society; it enhances the false sense of disjunction between the cultural and the social."[72] In this regard, the surrealist show stood in stark contrast with the Jeu de Paume exhibition. In both exhibitions, the Origins show and the International Surrealist Exhibition, the surrealists found themselves implicated in an evolutionary narrative of international modern art in which they held a privileged position as art's latest development and culmination. Whereas the surrealists' input at the national Jeu de Paume exhibition was limited, for their own exhibition they could intervene in the grand evolutionary art-historical narrative put forth by the Wildenstein gallery, and they did so. The mise-en-scène of the surrealist exhibition brought into the gallery space this very social register that was left out in other exhibitions. The gripping and

harrowing presence of the immediate historical context of the surrealist show condensed the anguish spreading over Europe—an anguish that in other art exhibitions was eliminated altogether. It brought into the art-historical narrative the political and social context within which art actually develops.

The intertwining of art with its social and political context did not go unnoticed, and neither did the surrealist show's art-historicizing dimension. In a way complementary to Cogniat's attempt to integrate surrealism within an art-historical narrative, critics readily perceived the exhibition as a historical narrative of surrealism itself. The exhibition was frequently described as a retrospective of surrealism, covering the ground from surrealism's beginnings to its present.[73] Although the surrealist show did not follow the structure of a traditional retrospective exhibition, that is, a chronological order that channels the idea of the evolution of a given artist or movement, it was nevertheless perceived as doing so. Attached to this perception of the show as a retrospective was the idea that surrealism's life span had already completed itself: numerous articles proclaimed the death of surrealism, stamped and sealed by this exhibit, which was presented almost as a posthumous one: "Surrealism dead, exhibition follows," "The surrealist funeral," "Surrealism not yet dead," "The agony of surrealism," and "Failure of surrealism," are some self-explanatory titles.[74] Along similar lines, the terms used by the gallery organizers and by the surrealists themselves were often those of totality or completion. Raymond Cogniat, for example, talked about "a presentation of a whole" (une presentation d'ensemble) or "a manifestation so total" (une manifestation aussi totale) to describe the scope of the exhibit. And while publicly the surrealists did not use the term "retrospective," they did use it privately. In a letter requesting an artwork back from the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Paul Éluard described the exhibition as a retrospective of surrealism.[75]

As we saw, the surrealists did not really try to literally fulfill the accustomed meaning of "international": most of the non-French artists in the show already belonged to the Parisian surrealist group, and only a limited number of European countries and a few non-European artists were represented in it.[76] While there is a valid argument to be made that the surrealist show had fallen into a Francocentrism similar to that of which they accused the Origins exhibition, it might be more productive to inquire again into the meaning of the "international" for the surrealists. The totalizing, historical character of the exhibition seemed to be siphoned into its notion of the "international." As a signifier, the word

"international" conflated an (ultimately failed) ambition to include as much of surrealist creation from different countries as possible with a totalizing scope that embraced the whole of surrealism's history. In practice, the adjective "international" also stood as a masked signpost for "retrospective," thus transforming what would have been a historicizing view of surrealism—and therefore a neutralizing death kiss—into a spatialized, expansive perspective. As the previous chapter showed, surrealism conceived and positioned itself from the beginning as universal, and this universalism was also expressed sometimes in specific geographical inflections. The "international" seemed to follow a similar route: it denoted more a desire to embrace the world rather than to delve into an enumeration of specific nations. While clearly the exhibition was Paris-centric in one way or another, the international character of the show was manifested as the world-historical contemporary context; but it was also implied as a constitutive part of surrealism. "International" also meant "exposition d'ensemble," the movement as a whole, from its beginning to its present state, and it also meant "retrospective," though without saying it. The move from "retrospective" to "international" evacuated history of the burden of the old, the "passé," and imbued it with the relevance of omnipresence; it transformed history, and therefore the past, into a dynamic, interrelated present that engulfed everything; it turned history into geography, and underscored that the geopolitical dynamics implied by the "international" are subject to historical becomings.

Disproving the criticism that leveled the surrealist exhibition to an ahistorical and anthropological chaos, the surrealists brought history back with a vengeance as the necessary condition for creating and receiving art. They did the opposite of the art-historical narratives espoused by the national state institutions, which neutralize history as social and political context and only retain it as chronology in order to construct art as a seemingly autonomous field that ultimately serves the glory of the nation-state. The surrealists dismissed this chronological understanding of history and instead placed history as sociopolitical contextualization front and center. They screamed that art cannot be made, seen, or understood outside of history, especially when art is a lively vector of contestation of power and convention. They did so by sidetracking museological tropes and terms: the reactivation of the ceiling as a bracketing of a supra-national collectivity on the one hand, and the displacement of the connotations of the retrospective into the nexus of a geopolitical imaginary on the other, give an idea of their en-

codings of the "international." The term "international" stops signifying an accumulation of nations and opens to a different signification, one that emphasizes a common and shared (dark) horizon, but which also underscores the historical processes behind any type of international vision. But did these subversions of existing codes and strategies come together to draw a coherent image? Was there actually a vision of a world in this international exhibition?

SHOW ME THE WORLD

The surrealists morphed the concept of the retrospective, of a historical or progressive narrative, into that of the "international," a synchronic, geographical concept, in an operation not unlike the one undertaken by Francis Picabia in *Mouvement Dada*, in which Dada chronology and international expansion were fused synergistically through the mechanical contraption of a clock-bomb. This kind of spatializing operation also constitutes the fundamental organizing principle of the modern museum. As Tony Bennett remarks, the modern museum manages to "convert . . . temporalization into a spatial arrangement . . . The museum, rather than annihilating time, compresses it so as to make it both visible and performable," and therefore "the museum visit functioned and was experienced as a form of organized walking through evolutionary time."[77] In the surrealist show, however, the spatialization of history pointed to a conception of temporality that was neither deterministic nor evolutionary. This was not a positivist, or even Marxist-materialist understanding of history as a clearly directional evolutionary process. Instead, the surrealist show represented history as becoming, as Deleuze and Guattari would have it, as what in fact stands against history perceived as a structured succession of time, since "unlike history, becoming cannot be conceptualized in terms of past and future."[78] "All history does is to translate a coexistence of becomings into a succession,"[79] note Deleuze and Guattari, underscoring the conventional aspect of historiography against the explosive and multidimensional potential of becomings. The surrealist exhibition of 1938 brought history into the presentation and reception of the work of art, but it also encoded history not as a teleological, evolutionary progress, but rather as ever-present dense layers of becomings, of continuous and simultaneous transformations and interactions between past, present, and future.

At the opposite end of this spectrum stands the transformation of evolutionary and progressive time into a spatialized experience that underscores precisely this progress. This practice found perhaps its most salient expression in the international commercial fairs.[80] "World's fairs," Shanny Peers remarks, "provided a dramatic stage and centralized forum for the international exchange of information, ideas, products, and technologies between 1851 and 1939. . . . They signaled the growing influence of cosmopolitan, urban culture and promoted the emerging consumer society."[81] International exhibitions of this kind, Tony Bennett reminds us, transformed "displays of machinery and industrial processes, of finished products and *objets d'art*, into material signifiers of progress—but of progress as a collective national achievement with capital as the great co-ordinator."[82] Bennett points out pertinently that while earlier in the nineteenth century world's fairs had insisted on the processes used in the production of goods, after 1851 this "progressivist taxonomy based on stages of production was subordinated to the dominating influence of principles of classification based on nations and the supra-national constructs of empires and races." And he adds: "The effect of these developments was to transfer the rhetoric of progress from the relation between stages of production to the relation between nations by superimposing the associations of the former on the latter."[83] The equation of "primitive" peoples, often subjects of colonial power, with the infancy of Western civilization was one chief means of spatializing process and "worlding" progress. Extending Bennett's remark to also reflect the power dynamics between nations in general, and not just between imperial powers and colonized territories, the international exhibition transformed a temporal/historical rhetoric of progress into a spatial/geographic rhetoric of antagonism between nations.

This antagonism was perhaps most dramatically displayed in the 1937 Paris International Exposition, and prompted a contemporary critic to remark, comparing this exhibition with the one in 1900:

> In 1900, foreign delegations had merely provided space and cover to the motley crowd of national exhibitors. This time, for the most part, they exposed not products, but nations . . . In 1937, objects were not included for their own sake, but as parts of a synthetic whole encompassing the economic, social and political activities of a people. Commercial publicity disappeared and was replaced by national propaganda.[84]

Indeed, the 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life offered a straightforward and unproblematized narrative of international economic order and progress. Progress, both technological and cultural, as the inclusion of "arts et techniques" in the title implies, was layered upon a synchronic geographical qualification of the international. The international aspect of the exhibition materialized, as was the norm in this type of display,[85] in the various national pavilions lining the main axis of the exhibition—from the Palais de Chaillot, newly built for the occasion, to the Eiffel Tower, but also in the colonial section, named "Center of France Overseas," on the Île aux Cygnes in the Seine River. A common architectural practice for a world's fair was to reproduce within its space an experience of the whole world. "The world exhibitions had to give an image of the world, to make a blueprint of the earth as a controllable, ordered, intelligible, surveyable, available space."[86] To this effect, national pavilions often reflected local architectural traits and traditions and even incorporated copies of local monuments, while the inclusion of native peoples of the colonies amid the displays, with simulations of "local life," was a common practice.

The organizers of the 1937 exhibition, however, thought differently about the general aesthetic principles of the fair, at least in theory. In the *General Report* for the exhibition produced for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Edmond Labbé, the exhibition's general commissioner, notes: "It was often the norm that the foreign sections were pastiches of famous monuments of each country, even if they had to showcase the progress of their industry; the result was sometimes a shocking contrast between the exterior, treated as a medieval castle, and the interior, arranged as one hall of machines." And he adds: "For the International Exhibition of 1937 . . . we needed to affirm new concepts, if we did not want to fall prey to the public's indifference, a public that was increasingly informed and increasingly critical."[87] The organizers opted then to avoid pastiche architecture, and admonished national delegations—which were responsible for national pavilions—to convey national character in more subtle ways than by simply replicating local, premodern architectural features. Interestingly, the only two sections that took exception to this rule were the colonial one and, to a lesser degree, the one for the regions of France. The colonial section did not abandon the tried-and-true practice of copying local monuments, and French Indochina, for example, was represented by a free architectural interpretation of the Angkor temples. For the regional sections, the organizers instructed: "The architects of the various regional houses

should avoid the pastiche of local architecture, on the one hand, and on the other the 'international style.'"[88] Despite this admonition, the regional pavilions did reproduce local architecture, in stark opposition to the streamlined modernism of the national pavilions. Neither colonies nor regions partook in the modernist dynamics unfolding in such iconic pavilions as the Soviet, the German, or the Spanish, and were instead stranded in a premodern stage, creating in this way a vivid illustration of the geographic spatialization of progress: modernity, technology, and progress were a metropolitan affair, not one for peasants or for the colonies.

The overall effect for the visitors to the 1937 exhibition was that of a "trip around the world," an impression reflected in articles like Raymond Lécuyer's "Promenade dans le monde" ("Stroll in the World") or Georges Oudard's "L'Univers dans Paris" "The Universe in Paris."[89] At night, the exhibition would transform into a phantasmagoria of light, as the organizers paid particular attention to what they called the "luminous architecture" of the exhibition. In this illuminated replica of the world, two national pavilions famously stood out, facing each other in a highly symbolic manner: the German modernist tower topped with an eagle and a swastika, and the Soviet structure dominated by a socialist realist couple holding a hammer and sickle. Their emblematic standoff summarized the nationalist strife and antagonism which the 1937 commercial fair glossed over in its rhetoric of technological progress and wishful peacekeeping. The Peace Tower erected behind the Palais de Chaillot by the "Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix" bore witness to this futile hope. Christopher Green justly remarks that "the exhibition of 1937 acted as a huge stage for the anxieties of a world on the edge of conflict, a stage whose décor was dominated by allegories of peace, progress, and reason, the increasingly desperate expression of Republican virtue and collective hope."[90] This rhetoric of hope was also reflected in Léon Blum's own understanding of the exhibition as a catalyst for unity. "Our expositions have always accompanied or followed serious political crises," Blum notes in the preface to the *Album* of the 1937 exhibition, and he continues: "The Exposition of 1878 opened several months after the 'Moral Order' . . . the 1889 Exposition in the middle of the Boulangist campaign, and the 1900 Exposition in the middle of the Dreyfus affair." He concludes by saying that the 1937 exhibition would make the French "more greatly aware of their profound unity and strength."[91]

The architectural paradigm for the 1937 exhibition, as a replica of a hopeful and united world built at the heart of Paris, was urban—a

familiar device in this ephemeral world, inaugurated already at the Vienna exhibition of 1873 and consolidated by the Parisian ones in 1889 and 1900.[92] The way that the organizers described the planning of the Regional Center near the Quai d'Orsay is characteristic in this respect: "The general theme dictated by the chief Architect imposed a group of adjacent buildings, arranged as the central square of a small town, and fanning out from this square are a certain number of streets and secondary squares lined with constructions illustrating the particular character of each region."[93] These regional pavilions were distributed on the terrain around the central square in a manner that reproduced their geographical placement on France's map, so that, as the organizers said, "the traditional harmony that human geography expresses through construction"[94] would not be destroyed. France—which did not have a national pavilion as such in the exhibition[95]—was thus re-created in a three-dimensional city miniature that followed cartographic conventions. This idea of an urban order was also at play in the arrangement of the various national pavilions along the "Rue des Nations," the street of nations, which were placed "as is fitting for the guests, in the heart of the composition . . . In this way, from the terrace of the Palais de Chaillot, there was an overview of the Esplanade of the Nations, flanked by two lines of flags."[96] The vista from the Palais de Chaillot was the most famous of the exhibition, as it looked over the site's main axes and prompted André Dezarrois to exclaim: "It is from the new terrace of the new Palais du Trocadéro that the eye takes possession of this ephemeral and Babylonian City."[97] The 1937 exhibition, like others before it, reproduced and produced the world as a replica of a city within the city. The ideal world of the exhibition was a utopian, well-organized city, offered to an unobstructed panoramic view from the Trocadéro or the Eiffel Tower—another panoramic device constructed for a different exhibition—as the perfect illusion.[98]

This simulated world, as a representational convention, was too deeply embedded in the spatial organization of international exhibitions to escape the surrealists' attention. The surrealists had already revealed a keen eye for such conventions when, for instance, in their 1931 counter-colonial exhibition, "The Truth about the Colonies" (La vérité sur les colonies), they appropriated and subverted the pseudo-scientific tone, but in fact racist attitude, of the Paris Colonial Exposition of the same year. In this counter-exhibition, they placed Europeans in the position of the exhibited and quantified other: Christian devotional objects used in the colonies by missionaries were labeled as "fétiches européens"

and juxtaposed to African objects.[99] Ideologically and politically, this was the kind of reversal that we saw in *Minotaure*: the adoption of an anthropological perspective in order to other the familiar. From a representational point of view, these conceptual reversals often depended on subversions of familiar tropes, as we saw in the case of the gallery ceilings for the 1938 International Surrealist Exhibition. And indeed, the overall spatial structure and disposition of the surrealist exhibition was itself the result of such a representational subversion. If the international commercial fair encoded the world through the construction of pavilions that represented various nations, all orchestrated in a pseudo-urban ensemble offered to the panoramic gaze—the world as a "city" with "houses" standing for the different nations—the surrealist exhibition was similarly organized around the structure of a simulated city and a simulated house.

The idea of a world tour was already embedded in the entrance of the surrealist exhibition. Dalí's defunct taxi stood as an invitation to a road trip, a surrealist "world voyage," a suggestion that was reinforced by Dalí's reuse of the rainy taxi at the 1939 New York World's Fair in Queens, in his pavilion "Dream of Venus." For the fair in Queens, the female passenger was replaced by a male mannequin designated as Christopher Columbus;[100] the taxi was meant to be the vehicle for the discovery of a new world. At the Parisian exhibition, the first glimpse into this world was also the first recognizable element of the simulated city: "la rue surréaliste" ushered viewers in through a corridor lined with mannequins; this was the surrealist street par excellence bearing the names, as the invitation to the exhibition announced, of "the most beautiful streets of Paris." These same names also appear in an illustration in the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, rearranged in a rectangle around a work by Hans Bellmer and bearing the title "La Ville surréaliste" ("The Surrealist City"). Just as the map of France offered a topographical model for the arrangement of the regional pavilions in the commercial fair, the illustration in the *Dictionnaire abrégé* seems to be the model for the surrealist corridor. However, whereas for the commercial exhibition the spatial distribution within the two-dimensional cartography and within the exhibition itself coincide, in the surrealist material the correspondence is imaginary. The "map" of the rectangular surrealist city could never serve as a guide for the linear surrealist corridor; the one is not the icon of the other.[101] While the *Dictionnaire* deploys a cartographic convention and brandishes the idea of the map to its viewers/readers, it voids its practical utility. What

we are left with are two contiguous but very different representations of the same surrealist city, the one in the book and the other in the gallery. The non-correspondence between the two-dimensional "map" and the three-dimensional "street" may have alerted viewers to the fact that representations do not reproduce reality, but only remake it as an autonomous object—as Aragon had alerted the readers of *Le Paysan de Paris* in 1926. The veristic illusion of an exhibition as a city is shattered from the beginning.

The most important element of this "rue surréaliste" was the mannequins. Mannequins often appear in the surrealist imaginary as embodiments of the Freudian uncanny,[102] but for the 1938 exhibition specifically, the aspect of the mannequins that stands out is their eroticism and over-sexualization.[103] This has often led to their critical interpetation as materializations of misogynist male sexual fantasies of objectified and fetishized women.[104] The mannequins, however, also loom as strange inhabitants of the surrealist city, having leaped from the shop windows of the department store to the street, as figures that constantly recall the modern human condition as a commodified product—a commodification further layered by the frequent description of the mannequins by contemporaries as prostitutes.[105] Although the surrealists' predilection for mannequins, dolls, and automatons predated the 1938 exhibition and in fact went back to the beginning of the movement, the extensive use of commercial mannequins in this specific exhibition was new because of their large number—sixteen in total—and their function.

The cover of the checklist of the exhibition informs us that there were "mannequins of the P.L.E.M. dressed by Yves Tanguy, André Masson, Kurt Seligmann, Sonia Mossé, Hans Arp, Óscar Domínguez, Léo Malet, Max Ernst, Marcel Duchamp, Joan Miró, Marcel Jean, Man Ray, Espinoza, Matta Echaurren, Maurice Henry, Salvador Dalí." This list of the sixteen artists who dressed the mannequins corresponds to sixteen mannequins/works of art, in a familiar convention of using the name of the artist as a metonym for the work. The mannequins were so important to the show that they appeared on the cover of the checklist, just under the names of the organizers of the exhibition. And indeed, along with the general mise-en-scène of the exhibition, of which the heavy ceiling and the darkness of the rooms were perhaps the most immediately striking elements, the mannequins were the part of the exhibition that was most widely commented on by the press in 1938.

We don't know whose idea it was to create this mannequin street. But given Marcel Duchamp's central role in the conception, staging,

and structure of the exhibition—he was the generator and arbiter of the show—his mannequin should provide some clues as to the function of this part of the exhibition as a whole (figure 33). Man Ray describes how Duchamp put together his own mannequin: "Duchamp simply took off his coat and hat, putting it on the figure as if it were a coat rack. It was the least conspicuous of the mannequins, but most significant of his desire not to attract too much attention."[106] The idea that Duchamp did not wish to attract too much attention to his work, after having hung 1,200 coal sacks from the monumental ceiling, does not seem very convincing as the motivation and reasoning behind this mannequin. His dummy wore an almost complete male costume, save for the pants, which were missing, leaving her naked from the waist down.

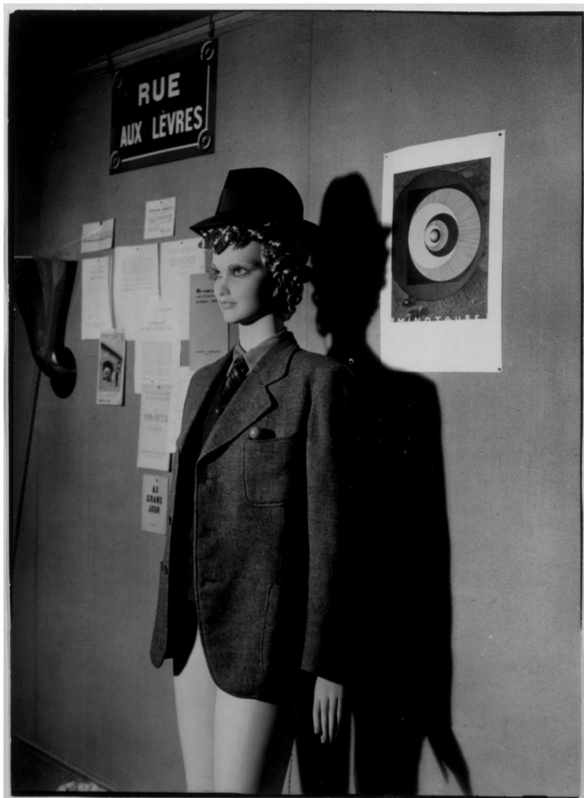


Figure 33. Man Ray, *Marcel Duchamp's Mannequin from the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, 1938. Copyright © Man Ray 2015 Trust / Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY / ADAGP, Paris 2021. Courtesy Ubu Gallery, New York.

This androgynous figure has been readily associated with Duchamp's female alter ego, Rrose Sélavy, an association sealed by Duchamp's signature as "Rrose Sélavy" on the mannequin's abdomen.[107] The signature leaves ambiguous whether the mannequin *is* Rrose Sélavy, or is the creation *of* Rrose Sélavy who has signed it after completing the work. As far as the extant photographs of the exhibition allow us to judge, the mannequins did not bear any signatures or names of artists. However, behind the mannequins could often be seen works by or references to the artist who had made that specific figure. Behind Duchamp's mannequin one of his roto-reliefs, actually the cover that he created for the sixth issue of *Minotaure*, is clearly visible; behind the Dalí mannequin there is a postcard with his painting *The Persistence of Memory*; and behind Óscar Dominguez's creation we see a page from the Canarian magazine *Gaceta de Arte* with which he was involved. A sign behind Yves Tanguy's mannequin admonished "N'oubliez pas l'artiste," don't forget the artist, pointing out that perhaps the main function of these mannequins was to serve as exactly this kind of reminder.

Aside from Rrose Sélavy's signature, photographs show one other name clearly associated with a mannequin, Man Ray's, appearing on flyers posted on the wall directly next to his creation (figure 34). Man Ray, the "master of lights," put together a figure that echoed Duchamp's one: his mannequin was naked except for pipes bearing glass bulbs in her hair, glass tears on her face and armpits, a cylinder trapping her legs, and a fine belt on her waist with the inscription "Adieu foulard," interpreted by Lewis Kachur as "farewell to scarf, clothes, and by extension, a hello to nakedness." Next to her hung two men's coats and hats, echoing Duchamp's figure's male attire. Kachur interprets the composition as the depiction of "the antechamber of a brothel, with the men already inside," and the mannequin engulfed in the cylinder as a prostitute.[108] But if we look more closely at the composition, a different interpretation can be fleshed out. The adornments in her hair were actually first created in 1927, as a surrealist object with the title *Ce que* [*sic*] *manque à nous tous* (*What We All Lack*)[109]—a porcelain pipe, with the title inscribed on it, supporting a glass bubble. This object was also shown in the 1936 Surrealist Exhibition of Objects at the Galerie Charles Ratton. The same object had a role in a somewhat different form in an obscure 1930 film by Man Ray, featuring himself and Lee Miller, with a title that repeats that of the object: *Autoportrait, ou Ce qui manque à nous tous* (*Self-Portrait, or What We All Lack*).[110] The film starts with bubbles full of smoke, blown out of a pipe, that burst and leave smoke

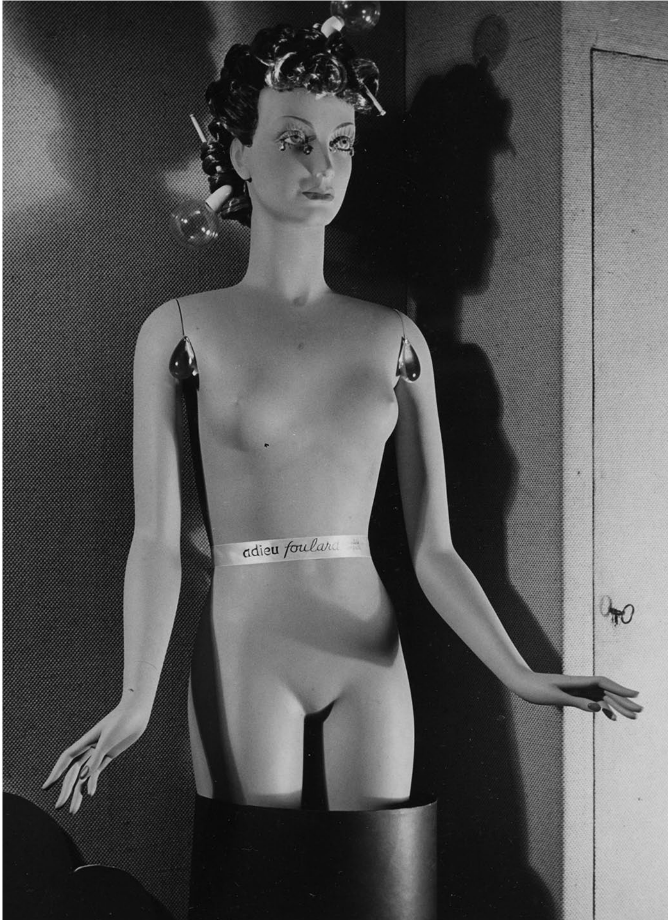


Figure 34. Raoul Ubac, *Man Ray's Mannequin from the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, 1938. Copyright © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Courtesy of the Association Atelier André Breton http://www.andrebreton.fr.

patterns behind them. This study of evanescent forms is followed by successive views of Man Ray and Miller, sometimes performing the same act, like peeping through a crack. By the end of the film, Man Ray is dressed in a woman's nightgown and plays with the camera by briefly showing his penis. What is called a "self-portrait" is actually a double portrait of Man Ray and Lee Miller who mirror each other, a portrait of a man and a woman who merge to create a representation of the artist's self.

If we work our way through all this back to Man Ray's 1938 mannequin, we could interpret it as indeed another "self-portrait." The additions to the figure—the pipes, "Ce que manque à nous tous" aka "Autoportrait," the men's coats and hats—function as mediators between the mannequin as a simulation of a woman, and the artist, creating a complex object upon which the male artist projects his own self. The enigmatic phrase on her waist, "Adieu foulard," comes directly from the popular song "Adieu madras, adieu foulard," a French West Indian folk song dating from the eighteenth century, about the pain of separation between a French man who returns to metropolitan France and his Creole lover who stays behind.[111] This reference might bring into the equation Ady Fidelin, the model from Guadeloupe who was Man Ray's lover at the time.[112] Together with the glass tears on the face of the mannequin—which first appeared around the period of Man Ray's breakup with Lee Miller in 1930–32 in the photograph *Larmes* (*Tears*), showing glass tears on the face of a real fashion model—and the film *Autoportrait*, the overall message is that Man Ray's mannequin in the surrealist exhibition might be a composite image of Lee Miller, Ady Fidelin, and the artist. Along with Man Ray's 1930 film, what the exhibition mannequin suggests is a self-portrait riddled with ambiguity: "ce qui manque à nous tous," what is missed is perhaps *these* women, or perhaps *a* woman, or Woman in general—a potential allusion to a platonic androgynous whole that split to leave mankind forever inconsolable.

We see, then, that two of the key figures of the exhibition, the "generator" Duchamp and the "master" Man Ray, created mannequins that stood as their own transgender personas. Duchamp, by giving his own clothes to the dummy, invests the mannequin with his bodiliness, thus creating a queer alter ego that stands in the gallery for him, the artist, while remaining at the same time the work of the artist. Man Ray also creates an implicit self-portrait of himself as a woman. These two mannequins might provide a key for interpreting all the mannequins in this long corridor that leads into the main hall. We can think that the mannequins parade as stand-ins for the artists, as their refashioned, imagined entities. In their lifelike simulations the mannequins stand on the threshold between living and dead, object and human. They become the perfect "beings-objects," announced on the invitation for the opening of the exhibition, that merge the human with the world of objects, but which also merge the subject, in this case the artist, with the object, the work of art.[113]

One of the main criticisms of the exhibition at the time was that the individuality of the artists had been lost, as well as the distinction, the uniqueness, of the works of art. Lécuyer's article is again representative of this attitude: "In this bric-à-brac, in this chaos, how could we have the time and desire to look for the individual talent? The man of letters disappears behind the prank of the old student; the painter does not stand out behind the mediocre apprentice's joke."[114] The individuality of the artist, at least as sought by the critics of 1938, was indeed lost, as was the distinctiveness of the work, and this is partly because artist and work seemed uncannily merged. The mannequins are simulacra of the artists who are the citizens of the surrealist city; each mannequin is a projected and constructed self that throws off balance received notions of the "artist" and the "work." This self turns out to be a woman, elsewhere described as "the worst kind of individualist anarchist,"[115] an irreverent citizen of the surrealist city, through the manipulation of a commodified object—the commercial mannequin. These mannequins are far distant from images of the female body as a homogenous, industrial, consumerist object that is basically a glorified clothes-rack; instead, the mannequins become polymorphous and often queer images of "what we lack," and of the artists themselves as "beings-objects."

Like ghosts of humans haunting the gallery space, figures that are more human than sculptural in their lifelike simulation of the female form, the surrealist mannequins were probably closer in function to the human displays that populated world's fairs than to sculptures. The 1937 International Exposition, for example, included in its colonial section native peoples performing all kinds of activities, with special attention to craftsmen who were "hired by the State at workers' wages."[116] Human but not quite, both subjects and objects of display, these native colonial people—as well as the locals, the "paysans," employed in the Regional Center—were there as ciphers of authenticity, fixed in predetermined roles, performing specific tasks, illustrating France's colonial power.[117] The surrealist mannequins, with their strange attire hinting at extravagant, imagined tasks, stood in the surrealist exhibition as both craftsmen and crafts, subject and object, as human and nonhuman, as attractive and repulsive, as citizens of that world. The peripheral objectification of colonial natives and regional peasants in the international fair is transferred to the core of the surrealist polis. The surrealists seem to take the position of colonial abjection and transform it into that of a perverse agency. Recall that it was these surrealist mannequins that made the critics think of anthropological displays and medical museums. The

surrealists transformed the anthropological (that is, non-Western, colonial, or even peasant) object from an out-of-culture marginality into a cultural object par excellence at the center of their art show.

As mentioned earlier, one of the principal axes—and definitely the most spectacular—of the International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life extended from the "Porte d'Honneur" to the Eiffel Tower, cutting through the newly constructed Palais de Chaillot and lined with the "foreign sections" of the national pavilions. While in the commercial fair the straight line starting from the Trocadéro ended both visually and symbolically—but not materially—at the Eiffel Tower, in the surrealist show "la rue surréaliste," the principal and only axis of the exhibition, led to the main, darkened room with the coal-sack ceiling. The feminine character of this space, described by Alyce Mahon as a "dark, warm and wet grotto,"[118] with its four beds and its simulated hysterical performance by a live, erotically charged female body, made this central room a kind of fantastic intrauterine refuge.[119] The iconically phallic and masculine Eiffel Tower, the incandescent visual end point of the Exposition of Art and Technology, illuminated in a way that valorized "the remarkable lightness of its construction,"[120] was replaced in the surrealist exhibition by the distinctly feminine dark room, in a symbolic reversal. This fantasy of femininity, and specifically of the uterus or female genitalia, continued into the smaller room, with Hugnet's old-fashioned woman's underwear on the ceiling concealing a sex that dominated the space. Alyce Mahon underscores that the tactile, interactive space of the exhibition was "emphatically feminine" and liberating from "the repressive day-to-day masculine environment" linked to rationality, thanks to its "irrationality and its feminine qualities."[121] Mahon explains that the intrauterine architecture of the exhibition resulted in a layout that "was itself a representation of the female sex in spatial terms." She concludes: "Given the architectural design of the exhibition, the orchestration and lighting of the gallery space, the erotic installations, the specific effects (noise, smells) that punctuated the spectators' experience, and Vanel's performance, this was an exhibition that reveled in the uncanny and all its hysterical, abject, feminine power."[122]

This intrauterine space of the exhibition had already been envisioned in surrealist theorizations of an organic, feminine, tactile architecture, like Tristan Tzara's in the 1933 article "D'un certain automatisme de goût" ("Concerning a Certain Automatism of Taste") and Roberto Matta's 1938 article "Mathématique sensible—Architecture du temps"

("Sensitive Mathematics—Architecture of Time"), both published in *Minotaure*.[123] Tzara and Matta, in their diatribes against modern public architecture as a spatial instrument of torture, turn to a different architecture as an antidote, that of the dwelling. Tzara claims that unadorned modern architecture is "the complete negation of the image of the dwelling," and he wishes for a future intrauterine architecture that will not be the interpreter and servant of the bourgeoisie, will not serve an "aesthetics of castration," but will promote an aesthetics informed by the human body.[124] Likewise Matta, who had worked in Le Corbusier's studio in 1935–37, imagines a "sensitive mathematics" opposed to Le Corbusier's "reasonable mathematics," and an architecture of time against the modernist architecture of space, as an attack on the modern bourgeois home.[125] He imagines a new space that will recall the comfort of the interior of the womb, while the furniture will serve to make each part of the body conscious of its existence: "It would discharge the body from all its right-angled armchair past, leaving behind the origin of the style of its predecessors, and would open up to the elbow, the neck, espousing infinite movements following the organ that would make conscious the intensity of life."[126]

T. J. Demos remarks that against the "homelessness" of early surrealism, the 1930s marked a regression toward "home," and that the 1938 exhibition specifically exemplified an apolitical turn from the street to the salon.[127] The political "homelessness" of cosmopolitanism, he claims, in opposition to the nationalist rhetoric and politics of the "homeland," receded into an artistic conservatism that made the street in the surrealist exhibition a "merely nostalgic representation" of political activism whose theater of action was the streets.[128] Demos dismisses the political power and relevance of the 1938 exhibition, but he brings forth its domestic element and more or less aligns it with the nationalism of the late 1930s. Along with signs of femininity, the surrealist exhibition was indeed saturated with signs of "home" and domesticity: the four beds in the main room, the many pieces of furniture refashioned as surrealist objects by virtue of their anthropomorphization, the creation of trompe l'oeil windows. The domestic character of these objects was destabilized by the intrusion of the outside world: dead leaves and water puddles on the floor, and the surrealist street. Nevertheless, domesticity persisted in the surrealist exhibition, and the similarity between this new domestic space and objects and Tzara and Matta's descriptions of a new domestic architecture that would open itself to the morphology of the human body, is striking.

The association between femininity and the home is hardly new, as the gendered division of space ensures both the oppression of women and the stability of bourgeois society: women at home, men at work, women in private spaces, men in public ones. The fantasy of "home" as it played out in the surrealist exhibition, however, was very different than the bourgeois version, whether one of nationalist rhetoric, patriarchal oppression, or that of modernist functionalism. As Tzara and Matta imply, the surrealist house was an attack on bourgeois patriarchy, just as the surrealist object was an attack on the capitalist consumer commodity. Tzara hoped for a private architecture of the dwelling as an expression and materialization of one's deepest desires, using materials like coal, wood, or velvet and deploying humidity and darkness along with olfactory, gustatory, and auditory sensations.[129] This private architecture, he says, would stand against the public architecture of classification and the "childish idea of progress," as exemplified in the modern museum.[130] It is not difficult to see that the kind of architecture—public, nationalist, streamlined, and modern—against which Tzara was reacting found its perfect expression in the monumental 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology, while the one he hoped for—private, materializing desire, and accommodating the body—found one realization in the surrealist exhibition.

The surrealists presented, within the Wildenstein gallery, the world as a city, and the city as a perverse, feminized home whose inhabitants are mannequins that are both subjects (artists) and objects (works), dead and alive, things and humans; they suggested that this home/city/world is shaped by and shapes the body, and specifically the woman's body. The association between world and woman was also reiterated by various exhibited objects. Marcel Jean's *Horoscope* reworks the mannequin and gives it a more literal, topical quality: the torso of a tailor's female dummy is first anthropomorphized by the designation of organs that liken it to an anatomy doll, and is then geomorphized by turning these organs into continents floating on a blue ocean.[131] Likewise, Roland Penrose's *The Last Voyage of Captain Cook* displays another female torso enclosed in an earth globe, with meridians and latitudes forming a wire cage. A headless female torso is also featured in Penrose's *The Real Woman*, and is combined with a silhouette of a bird whose body is a black-and-white decalcomania recalling a geological representation of an island.[132] The torso's sex is hidden by a tourist postcard of a flamboyant sunset, while several other postcards—images of southern France but also pictures of a sailing boat—are integrated in the work. Like Louis

Aragon's travel agency hidden in the Passage de l'Opéra that would simulate voyages which never happened, the postcards in Penrose's work evoke virtual faraway places, only to connect them with the nude body of a woman. The world seen as a woman, as well as the feminization of geographical representations, are of course not a surrealist innovation. From legends and myths to maps representing countries or continents in the shape of women, to allegorical female figures framing atlases and other cartographic objects, to Marianne as an allegory of France, the examples are many. In the surrealist exhibition, however, as in the case of the gallery's ceiling, allegories were pushed to their extreme materialization. Symbols, commonplaces, and rhetorical themes were uncannily fleshed out and thus acquired a haunting presence. In the surrealist exhibition, the allegorical representation of the world as a highly sexualized woman obtained an unnerving materiality.

A different example of this kind was the use of electricity. A little-observed fact about the mannequins is that almost all of them were "electrified": the vast majority of them were fitted with wires, often visible in the extant photographs, that lit small bulbs integrated in different parts of their bodies. Duchamp's mannequin had a light bulb tacked in the pocket of the jacket to replace a handkerchief, Masson's mannequin wore a cage over her head that had two bulbs on it, Dalí's mannequin held a bulb in her hand, and so on.[133] Electrification, rather than nudity, was probably the most common feature among the mannequins, who were shining with their own light. I mentioned earlier the paramount importance of electricity in the luminous architecture of the 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology, an importance underscored by the Palace of Light and Electricity which showcased Raoul Dufy's monumental fresco specially commissioned for the exhibition, *La Fée électricité* (*The Electicity Fairy*). Now hosted by the Musée de l'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Dufy's 10 × 60-meter narrative of the "Electricity Fairy" aimed at "underscoring the value of electricity's role in national life and showing the primordial social role of the electric light."[134] Indeed, the expansion of electrical power production in France during the 1930s—from 16 billion kilowatts in 1930 to 21 billion kilowatts in 1938—was the showcase of the industrial expansion and achievements of the Popular Front government.[135] In the commercial fair, the phantasmagoria of electric lights at night demonstrated technological sophistication, with a meticulous use of discrete and indirect lighting to illuminate sculptures, frescoes, and reliefs, as in the case of the newly constructed Palais de Chaillot and its statues. The surrealist

exhibition appears as a subversion of this spectacular "fairy-like illumination."[136] The lonely bulbs flashing on the mannequins' bodies take the powerful symbol of the Electricity Fairy and turn it into concrete, multiple fairies, fantastic creatures illuminated by pale electric lights. The electric lighting in the 1937 commercial fair was meant to display the world as a spectacle of technology and a promise of prosperity, a luminous illusion thrown over disparities and disorder in a homogenous explosion of light. The surrealists also used electric lights to show a world, but a very different one: that of the ghostly existence of its beings-objects.

The 1937 commercial fair created a replica of the world as a city in which each nation had its own "house," constructed in the hygienic transparency of the International Style. This harmonious vision of the world as a city implied an organic interconnectedness and coexistence of nations orchestrated into a seamless whole. The nation as a house suggested a similar homogeneity and likewise projected a vision of the world in which economy, progress, and prosperity would obliterate political friction. In the International Exposition of Art and Technology the world was offered as a panorama, the paradigmatic vista of the capitalist vision of the world as an endless expansion, ready to be seen, ready to be conquered and categorized, coordinated and harmonized by global capitalism.[137] The surrealists deployed a world which was also a "city" and also a "house." This city and this house, however, challenged and reversed established taxonomies, hierarchies, and functionalities. The surrealist version of this model was a collapse of all these categories: world, city, house, and ultimately the body. Rather than a neat tree diagram of interdependent allegories, these images became an undifferentiated *mise en abyme*. The world becomes a phantasmatic city, which is also a haunted house, which is again an inverted body. This *mise en abyme*, however, does not represent or reflect harmony in microcosmic-macrocosmic fashion. Instead, it underscores uncertainty and states of becoming, coexistences that defy hierarchies. It does not offer panoramas or vantage points; instead it offers a view of what can never be seen: the inside of the body. In the 1938 surrealist exhibition the all-encompassing vista was obstructed not just because of the lack of light, but also because its space was full of nooks and crannies, where overwhelming sensations subdued the scopic embrace. The world as a semblance of a harmonious ensemble gave way to the world as incongruence and disorienting sensory experience. The "international" was detached from the idea of a frictionless international cooperation, based on clear hierarchies among nations, and was attached instead to

a nonhierarchical fusion of "civilized" and "primitive" in an undifferentiated world. By subverting almost point by point the language of the international commercial fair, the surrealists staged a world that felt confusing and deeply unsettling. To a hopeful and optimistic vision of progress, surrealism counter-offered what Walter Benjamin identified as the prime revolutionary tactic: "Pessimism all along the line."[138]

SIMULATIONS

It is clear by now that the type of display that lurked behind the International Surrealist Exhibition of 1938 as a spatial encoding of the "international" was the international commercial fair. I have already pointed out the various material evocations of the 1937 fair enacted by the surrealist show, and its representation of the national and the "international." Starting with the "General Commission" sign at the entrance, borrowed directly from the administration and language of the 1937 fair, the surrealist exhibition exploited specific strategies that folded back upon the commercial world's fair and, by 1937, its long history. World's fairs since their inception had relied on the spectacular to create a total sensory experience for their audiences, using practices and tropes that had not (yet) entered the art show. The surrealists built upon these, using light—or the lack thereof—sound, smell, and performance to completely engage their audience. The re-creation within the space of the exhibition of a street, along with the deployment of an urban spatial model in order to convey a kind of world emulation, came directly from the expository conventions of the world's fairs. The aim of the latter was to simulate an experience of the whole world on their premises, thus making their universal or international component something much more than an inventorial device; the "international" was, through spatial-representational means, transformed into forms of sensory perception. The surrealist exhibition followed the same track, staging the international as a certain kind of experience that, while borrowing and quoting heavily from the commercial fair, also subverted it. What in the commercial fair was the creation of an illusionary experience of the world as a real thing that could be seen, circumvented, understood, and possessed as yet another object of consumption, became in the surrealist show an experience of this kind of world *as* an illusion.

It would be extremely reductive to think of the surrealist show as merely a parody, or an ironic subversion, of the International Exposition

of Art and Technology.[139] What is at play is instead a strategy of simulation, one extensively practiced within surrealism and having specific aesthetic, political, and social implications, especially during the period in question—the inclusion of the term "simulation" in the very selective *Dictionnaire abrégé* signals its importance. The notion of simulation entered the surrealist universe with the composition of the long poem *L'Immaculée Conception* by Breton and Éluard in 1930. In this poem, simulation is the process by which Breton and Éluard reproduced the discourse of the mentally ill, neither by imitating it—as in a pastiche—nor by identifying with the thing simulated and actually succumbing to mental disorder.[140] One of the goals of these simulations was to show that categories such as sane and insane, normal and abnormal are meaningless. Even before *L'Immaculée Conception*, Salvador Dalí, who was in fact instrumental in the conception of the poem, was the first to explore the notion of simulation. In his essay "L'Âne pourri" ("The Rotting Donkey"), published in 1930 in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, Dalí explained for the first time his new method of composition and interpretation of works of art, paranoiac-criticism. The paranoiac-critical method is described as a systematization of confusion that would contribute to the total discrediting of reality by producing "simulacra." These simulacra would "act skillfully and corrosively with the clarity of physical and diurnal appearances; a clarity which . . . will make us dream of the old metaphysical mechanism which has something about it that may readily be confused with the very essence of nature, which, according to Heraclitus, delights in hiding itself."[141] Surrealist simulation and simulacra in the 1930s were used to upset reality and puncture the illusion of its stability, by capitalizing on confusion and the dismantling of set categories.

Simulation, within the surrealists' effort to create the foundations of a different aesthetic, radically rethinks mimetic representation, and stands against the Platonic mimesis of the *Republic* and its avatars in the aesthetic theories that culminated in nineteenth-century realism. Michel Foucault was the first to point out the importance of simulation in surrealist aesthetics, in his discussion of the work of Magritte. According to Foucault, the simulacrum "is freed from its old complicity with representative affirmations"; it does not affirm reality, but on the contrary it troubles it by existing in another order of reality.[142] This argument finds its refinement in Gilles Deleuze's description of the simulacrum, which is very close to surrealist simulation, as an image that "produces an effect of resemblance" but which, unlike the copy, is in fact "an image with-

out resemblance."[143] According to Deleuze, the simulacrum, despite the effect of resemblance, "is constructed around a disparity, a difference; it interiorizes a dissimilitude."[144] In this way, simulation and simulacra "invit[e] us to think of similarity or even identity as the product of a basic disparity" and thus "posi[t] the world itself as a phantasm."[145] While representation by resemblance seeks to illuminate and reveal the model represented, simulation calls into question both the model and the copy, collapsing hierarchical orders, luring with the veneer of resemblance only to reveal differences and discontinuities. Deleuze turns to the simulacrum as a "reverse Platonism,"[146] as a means of rethinking mimesis, of refounding representation—and also the entire Western philosophical tradition—not as a binary between an original (the real) and a copy (the work of art), but rather as the creation of phantasmatic alternatives that would efface the distinction between essence and appearance. The simulacrum, then, is another form of becoming: "pure becoming, the unlimited, is the matter of the simulacrum . . . insofar as it contests *both* model *and* copy at once."[147] In Deleuze's description, as well as in *L'Immaculée Conception*, simulation is explained or performed as a relation rather than a dichotomy. The relational structure of simulation is twofold: on the one hand, simulation places the "real" and the "simulacrum" in a reciprocal relationship, feeding the one into the other in a constant exchange that optimally—according to the surrealist vision—would efface the boundary between reality and representation, life and art, projecting desire and fantasy onto the real. On the other hand, simulation actively involves the viewer in the representational process; as Plato points out in the *Sophist*,[148] in a simulacrum (a "phantasm" in this case), the proportions of the object are not the same as those of the original, but are distorted in order to accommodate the viewer's point of view; the simulacrum, then, is what introduces perspective in order to create a more "realistic" object. In other words, simulation seems to displace the act of mimesis from the object-maker to the viewer. The image is the terrain of a constant perceptual switch, experienced by the viewer, between reality and the simulacrum. Dalí's paranoid interpretations, and Breton and Éluard's poetic-psychotic discourse, operate indeed like Wittgensteinian duck-rabbits, causing the viewer and the reader to shift back and forth, altering their perception of the representation and of the real.

Simulation became central to surrealist aesthetics, theory, and practice in the 1930s and went beyond parody, pastiche, or irony.[149] Probably the genres in which simulation was unfolded most fully are those

of the surrealist object and the surrealist exhibition. The surrealist object reproduces and combines commercial, mass-produced objects in an effort to create an object that, once put into circulation, would cast doubt upon and perturb the order of "real" things.[150] It simulates existing objects, aiming to destabilize their function and symbolism and thus upset a material culture tied to a specific political and economic system—international capitalism. The simulation in this case is not exact copying, but instead a reproduction of the semblance of an object sufficient to be recognized as such and thus to inspire associations, but tweaked to a degree that creates new significations. Within surrealist logic—following, perversely, that of Plato—simulation creates a more "real" object by distortion, thus opening up possibilities of becoming (in the Deleuzian sense), of creating new significations and, ultimately, new realities.

In surrealism, simulation emerged in the 1930s as contestation of and resistance to the Western logocentric tradition, and specifically to the new capitalist reality of mass production and commodification. The aim of simulation was not to obliterate entirely the real and replace it with a simulation, but rather to call attention to the increasing hollowness of the existing real: capitalist, bourgeois, Western, logocentric, and so on. Surrealist simulation undercut *that* real and its essentialist categorizations by pointing out that this compromised real of modern society had already traded essence for appearance. In other words, surrealist simulation aimed at unmasking the simulacrum, now in Jean Baudrillard's sense, of a social reality dictated by international capitalism.[151] Moving fast from producing and consuming objects to a nascent global capitalism of producing and consuming signs, the capitalist world that the surrealists saw in the 1937 Exposition of Art and Technology was that of an accumulation of simulacra: the commercial fair was indeed an extensive theme park of the "world," "a deterrence machine set up in order to regenerate in reverse the fiction of the real."[152] Fredric Jameson remarks that "the culture of the simulacrum comes to life in a society where exchange value has been generalized to the point at which the very memory of use value is effaced, a society of which Guy Debord has observed, in an extraordinary phrase, 'the image has become the final form of commodity reification.'"[153] The comment by a contemporary critic of the exhibition mentioned earlier, that the 1937 fair showed no products as those in the past had done, but only nations (that is, concepts, images), speaks to this shift.

Surrealist simulation thus might be understood as a complicated game of mirrors, as a "positive" (that is, Deleuzian) simulation of the "negative" (that is, in Baudrillard's sense) simulacrum toward which capitalism was heading. To the capitalist reification of the "real" and its increasing supersession by simulacra that transcended commodity fetishism and now included experience itself, the surrealists proposed a similar strategy of simulation, which had, however, a productive goal: to unveil the simulacrum by simulating it, and to ultimately unleash new significations that could produce a new real. The genre of the international surrealist exhibition as it was created in the 1938 Parisian show unfolded this complicated mirror house of simulations. What we have in the International Surrealist Exhibition can be described, indeed, as a triple simulation. First, the exhibition could be considered a simulation of the surrealist movement; it was in itself an experience of the surrealist universe, as some critics of the time noted. The *Dictionnaire abrégé* defines painting as a series of representations of mental perceptions of a reality that is not (yet) present, of representations that seek "something that would answer them," adding that "this something will be."[154] The 1938 exhibition, similarly, created a space that solicited a response from a reality that was not yet, but would ultimately be. The space of the surrealist exhibition and the objects it contained pointed to a reality in the making, a passionate terrain on which the surrealist vision could materialize. Second, the surrealist exhibition was a simulation of the International Exposition of Art and Technology, or of all similar exhibitions for that matter. As such, and by reproducing some of the exhibition's tropes while wildly subverting them, the surrealist exhibition contested the validity of both the simulated object (the international commercial fair) and the commercial fair's process of simulation, global capitalism's simulacra and hyperreality, thus confounding "the very prospect of distinguishing subversion from replication."[155] And third, the exhibition simulated the international sphere, the world, and as such it replaced an international realm conceived as a globalized economic order of production and consumption, with a pure phantasmatic image of a diffuse world with no hierarchies, in which bodies, these beings-objects, which according to Dalí act on their surrounding space and transform it into a dynamic experience, would exist and create a new community.[156]

These operations were complemented and supported by the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, which performed a triple simulation of an analogous sort. First, it simulated the universalist project of the

dictionary, or the encyclopedia, as totalizing knowledge of the world or of the word. Second, it simulated the function of an exhibition catalog, and last, it simulated the function of a road map for surrealism. All three functions are under the spell of the simulacrum: they bear an appearence of resemblance to the project simulated, only to point to the *Dictionnaire*'s phantasmatic otherness. The booklet is far from including all information pertaining to surrealism, it does not provide useful information concerning the exhibition, and it constantly undermines the universalist, hierarchical project of a dictionary. The absolutely recognizable format of the dictionary, with words followed by definitions and accompanied by illustrations, is reproduced in a fallacious resemblance that, when examined closely, reveals discrepancies that unsettle hierarchies. The relation between the illustrations and texts is uncertain, unfolds in many different ways, and sometimes resists interpretation: Are its images self-defining entries, as in the case of the photographic reproduction of Man Ray's object *Fer* (*Iron*), which is appropriately inserted between the textual entries"Feu" ("Fire") and "Film"? Do images function as pictorial illustrations of already existing entries, as in Dalí's "Fossile" next to the homonymous entry? What is the relation between text and image in the case of the illustration next to the entry "Image," which bears no title or initials of authorship? These discrepancies disturb the hierarchic order of the dictionary and instead set up, in Deleuzian terms, a "world of nomadic distributions" in which values and relations are diffuse. The *Dictionnaire* reads like a "poem-object" calling the reader to see what is in-between text and image in search of the definitions promised by the title of the work. In fact, the confrontation of the surrealist exhibition and the *Dictionnaire abrégé*, the joint object produced by these two taxonomic devices, can be interpreted as a vast "poem-object" that calls attention to both the gaps and the continuities between images and words, the space of the book and the space of the exhibition, taxonomies and their objects, representation and the real.

The surrealist world that came out of this self-proclaimed international surrealist exhibition relied heavily on other representations of the world: a national one (the museum), an international capitalist order (the commercial fair), a "cosmopolitan" one (the world as a city), and a universal one (the human body as a common denominator). The show, in a vertiginous feat, represents these representations, simulates them, in fragments and often in reverse, finally creating a bewildering world-

as-representation. Cannibalizing all kinds of conventions and tropes of display, the surrealists created an ephemeral event that reproduced the experience of the world on the eve of a world war, but also on the edge of a period when the world had seemed likely to actually change. They simulated a simulation of the world in order to get back to the possibility of *a world*, not as a spectacle of exchange value, but as that of a community. The surrealists ultimately created a sensory experience of being in the world of the late 1930s, and this experience reproduced the reality of a world on the verge of explosion. They relied on the body for both the structure of the exhibition and its perception by the viewers: they tried to stage the visceral, and by doing so appealed to the public's visceral reactions, in order to convey a sense of urgency. This urgency was not just the premonition of the war, not just the threat of totalitarianism; it was a more general call, already launched in 1924, to reconsider and radically uproot and reorder "les droits de l'homme," the human, his psyche, his associations, society, and politics.

Minotaure and the International Surrealist Exhibition are linked together as surrealist representations of the world during the 1930s. Dismissed as "mondain," too bourgeois, too established, too glossy, too "salon," they both marked surrealism's entry into a different and much broader realm of diffusion and visibility. From the smaller circle of the surrealist venues, the surrealists reached out to a different public, that of art magazines like *Cahiers d'art* and the "snobs" of the Faubourg Saint Honoré. If for some, then and now, this was a conservative move of *embourgeoisement* of a once revolutionary movement, it also denoted not only a desire for expansion but also a will to subvert, from the inside, existing institutional settings. The sardonic satisfaction of making the Wildenstein gallery cope with the fire hazard of coal sacks, the provocations of a public dressed to the nines for a society occasion, were elements of the subversion they wanted to achieve. As in the case of the surrealist object—perhaps the quintessential surrealist production—the surrealist line of action was an infiltration of the existing social and cultural order and its sabotage from within.

This sabotage leads, among other things, to a reimagining of the world through existing concepts, practices, and images that the surrealists appropriate and then subvert. Universalism as humanism and its classical substratum, capitalism as a world order and its spectacular world's fairs, are digested and regurgitated, still as world visions, but now different. Central to this surrealist world vision was a representation

and conceptualization of the human body as a "plane of immanence," to go back to Deleuze and Guattari. Walter Benjamin was the first to observe the centrality of the body in surrealism's revolutionary potential:

> In invective . . . in all cases where action puts forth its own image and exists, absorbing and consuming it, . . . the long-sought image space is opened, the world of universal and integral actualities, where the "best room" is missing—the space, in a word, in which political materialism and physical creatureliness share the inner man, the psyche, the individual or whatever else we wish to throw on them, with dialectical justice, so that no limb remains untorn. . . . Only when in technology body and image space so interpenetrate that all revolutionary tensions become bodily collective innervations, has reality transcended itself to the extent demanded by the *Communist Manifesto*. For the moment, only the Surrealists have understood its present commands.[157]

Minotaure and the surrealist exhibition have indeed left no limb untorn. Building on the "creatureliness" of the human, they capitalized on the materiality and the imaginary of the body as an agent of collectivity and of revolutionary discharge. In both of these collective endeavors, the surrealists focused on the physical body as the anchor for being in the world, and thus for changing it, but also for imagining it, not only in the here and now, but as a revolutionary possibility for all, as "the sensible forms of material structures for a life to come," as "the aesthetic anticipation of the future," to recall Rancière and his assessment of the value of the avant-garde. In this perception, there was indeed no place for the "best room"—*die gute Stube*—as Benjamin says, the room that is only used for special occasions, a fossilized space of bourgeois display and stale convention. The body, instead of this untouched "best room," became for the surrealists a space of perpetual lived experience, an image-space. The surrealists wished to transform the body from the conventional "best room" of muted senses into a nexus in which political and physical materialism become one and the same, and by which reality is ultimately changed. The magazine and the exhibition, one serially and in two dimensions, the other ephemerally and in three, created this body—and they did so in the very bourgeois "best rooms" that they contested and rejected.

At the edge of another world catastrophe, the French avant-garde seems to fold back to earlier visions of the world, those produced by Guillaume Apollinaire in the midst of World War I. Apollinaire was theorizing a world of a "new spirit" dominated by French culture, in a script adapted from the imperialist-colonialist expansion of the French nationalist state. At the same time, his complex and nuanced literary works, poetry and theater, presented a world vision of an expanded community in which hierarchies of this sort, French/colonial, center/periphery, male/female, mechanical/organic, collapsed. His model citizen of the world was Thérèse/Tirésias, a woman/man/human/machine/Parisian/Zanzibarian figure, whose bodily transformation gave the title to his play—*Les Mamelles de Tirésias*—but also made possible this new de-territorialized community. The surrealists revisit these earlier Apollinairian fantasies and offer an expanded vision of what the human body can be and do as a platform of possibility for a new imaginary of a world community. In their magazine, experiments with the form of the human figure enact a universalism of inclusivity and nonhierarchical variations; in the exhibition, experiments with the limits between human and object—but also between gender distinctions, another move toward Apollinaire—perform a critique of the world produced by global capitalism. The body is seen as a "plane of immanence," as what "constitutes the absolute ground of philosophy, its earth or deterritorialization, the foundation on which it creates its concepts."[158] As such, the human body grounds the concepts that produce it, and it is the precondition and the result of the surrealist conceptualization of the world.

Our close readings of these avant-garde works which imagined some version of the world, from Apollinaire, to Picabia's Dada group portraits, to cosmopolitan *rastaquouères* and peasants, to the surrealists, have brought forth common and recurring themes, but perhaps none with the same intensity and frequency as the obsessive return to the individuality, particularity, and endless declension of the human. There are Apollinaire's and the surrealists' indeterminate human bodies as signs of their imagined world. There is Picabia's insistent repetition of the names of the people of Dada, the names as the keepsakes of the individuality of these free molecules that made Dada. There are the unique, non-reproducible languages of error of Dalí, Carrington, and Calas—but also of Tzara and Picabia. Mechanical hybrids, human-animals, monsters, little old ladies, all speak their faulty, always foreign but also recognizable language, and stamp the world with their indi-

vidual signature. From one war to the other, the French avant-garde imagined the world, but most importantly it imagined how humans, people, themselves, might fit in this world. The vast world becomes as reachable as the next person, while the small individual expands to embrace the polymorphy of a changing world. Their concepts of the world transformed their understanding of the human, and they rethought the human to remake the world.

Notes

Throughout, translations are mine, unless otherwise noted (as when a published source in English is referenced in the notes).

INTRODUCTION

1. I am using "imaginary" in the sense of Cornelius Castoriadis, *L'Institution imaginaire de la société* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).

2. I am using the term "historical avant-garde" descriptively as circumscribed by Peter Bürger in his influential *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), complemented by Peter Bürger, "Avant-Garde and Neo-Avant-Garde: An Attempt to Answer Certain Critics of *Theory of the Avant-Garde*," *New Literary History* 41, no. 4 (2010): 695–715.

3. I borrow this term from Rebecca Walkowitz, who uses it to describe T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land* as "certainly cosmopolitan in its posture of worldliness"; Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 7.

4. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les Peintres cubistes* (Paris: Athena, 1913), 76.

5. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Zone," in *Alcools*, trans. Donald Revell (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1995), 9. Original cited in "Zone," in *Oeuvres poétiques* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1965), 42.

6. Willard Bohn, *Apollinaire and the International Avant-Garde* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 6–7; and Donald Sassoon, "'Mona Lisa': The Best-Known Girl in the Whole World," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (Spring 2001): 1–18.

7. Cited in Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, eds., *Marcel Duchamp: A Retrospective Exhibition Organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, New York* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), 289.

8. From Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 220 and after.

9. Pheng Cheah, *What Is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

10. J. W. von Goethe, *Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. John Gearey, in Goethe's *Collected Works*, vol. 3 (New York: Suhrkamp, 1986), 225.

11. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, "world" is derived from the Old English "woruld," meaning human existence, human age, akin to Old English "wer" meaning man, and "eald" meaning old.

12. Pheng Cheah, "What Is a World?" in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. Gerald Delanty (London: Routledge 2012), 141.

13. Cheah, "What Is a World?," 141.

14. See Marc Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present* (New York: Penguin, 2012), 17–19.

15. Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge 2009), 100.

16. Esther Schor, *Bridge of Words: Esperanto and the Dream of a Universal Language* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2016), 100.

17. David Armitage, "Is There a Prehistory of Globalization?" in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective,* ed. Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (New York: Routledge 2004), 171.

18. Perry Anderson, "Internationalism: A Breviary," *New Left Review* 14 (March–April 2002): 5–25, 5.

19. See Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 12.

20. Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1997), 58.

21. Quoted in Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 13.

22. Karl Marx, "Draft of an Article on Friedrich List's book *Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie*," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 4 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975), 280.

23. Anderson, "Internationalism," 15.

24. Alejandro Colas, "Putting Cosmopolitanism into Practice: The Case of Socialist Internationalism," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23, no. 3 (1994): 513–34, 527.

25. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in *Birth of the Communist Manifesto,* ed. Dirk Jan Struik (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 85–126, 93.

26. Martin Heidegger, *The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics: World, Finitude, Solitude*, trans. William McNeill and Nicholas Walker (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 184; this is a point made for animals, and extensively discussed by both Derrida and Agamben.

27. Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 16.

28. Slavoj Žižek, "A Leftist Plea for 'Eurocentrism,'" *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 4 (1998): 988–1009, 1007.

29. Naomi Schor, "The Crisis of French Universalism," *Yale French Studies*, no. 100 (2001): 43–64.

30. Étienne Balibar, "Racism as Universalism," *New Political Science* 8, no. 1–2 (1989): 9–22, 14.

31. Étienne Balibar, "Civic Universalism and Its Internal Exclusions: The Issue of Anthropological Difference," *boundary* 2, 39, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 207–29, 226–27.

32. Armitage, "Is There a Prehistory of Globalization?" 173.

33. Paul James and Manfred B. Steger, "A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept," *Globalizations* 11, no. 4 (2014): 417–34, 422.

34. Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 64.

35. David Harvey, "Globalization and the Spatial 'Fix,'" *Geographische Revue* 3 (2001): 24–25.

36. Manfred Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 104.

37. Steger, *Globalization*, 106–7.

38. Steger, *Globalization*, 110.

39. Wilder, *French Imperial Nation-State*, 3–23.

40. Jennifer Ann Bottin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), xiv.

41. Jeremy Braddock and Jonathan Eburne, eds., *Paris, Capital of the Black Atlantic: Literature, Modernity, and Diaspora* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 4.

42. Craig Dworkin, *Reading the Illegible* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2003), 4.

43. The criticism of Bürger's theory is abundant and diverse. For a summary vision, see Gabriel Rockhill, *Radical History and the Politics of Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), especially chapter 3, 91–117.

44. Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

45. Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*.

46. Bürger, "Avant-Garde and Neo-Avant-Garde." Modifications of the initial argument are also in Bürger's subsequent books: Peter Bürger, *The Decline of Modernism* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), and Peter Bürger and Christa Bürger, *The Institutions of Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

47. Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity: An Incomplete Project," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay, 1983), II.

48. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum International, 2004), 13.

49. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics,* 13.

50. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics,* 28.

51. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics,* 29.

52. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics,* 29 and 30.

53. Sophie Seita, *Provisional Avant-Gardes: Little Magazine Communities from Dada to Digital* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), 3.

54. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 35.

55. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 63.

CHAPTER 1

1. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," in *The Selected Writings of Guillaume Apollinaire*, trans. Roger Shattuck (New York: New Directions, 1971), 227–37, 227. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1991), 943.

2. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 236.

3. See, for instance, Andrew Hewitt, *Fascist Modernism: Aesthetic, Politics, and the Avant-Garde* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Mark Antliff, *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909–1939* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Walter Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence: From Modernism to Fascism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Emilio Gentile, *The Conquest of Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003); Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff, eds., *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Robert Casillo, *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988); Tom Gibbons, "Modernism and Reactionary Politics," *Journal of Modern Literature* 3, no. 5 (July 1974): 1140–57; and Fredric Jameson, *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

4. George Yúdice, "The Avant-Garde from the Periphery," in *Modernism and Its Margins*, ed. Anthony L. Geist and José B. Monleón (New York: Garland, 1999), 65–70; See also Margery McCulloch, *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland 1918–1939* (Glasgow, UK: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2004). In some cases, like that of Greek modernism, preoccupations with the nation have been perceived by scholars as a mark of belatedness and of incomplete or unsuccessful adherence to modernism. See, for instance, Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

5. Susan Stanford Friedman, "Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies," *Modernism/modernity* 13, no. 3 (2006): 428.

6. Pericles Lewis, *Modernism, Nationalism, and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also Patricia Chu, *Race, Nationalism, and the State in British and American Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

7. Paul Peppis, *Literature, Politics, and the English Avant-Garde* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

8. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "Italian Tripoli," quoted in Peppis, *Literature, Politics*, 188.

9. Christine Poggi, *Inventing Futurism: The Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 1.

10. Peppis, *Literature, Politics,* 188.

11. Poggi, *Inventing Futurism*, 5.

12. Poggi, *Inventing Futurism*, 5.

13. Peppis, *Literature, Politics,* 82.

14. Peppis, *Literature, Politics,* 85.

15. Peppis, *Literature, Politics,* 5.

16. Peppis, *Literature, Politics,* 5.

17. Richard Aldington, John Arbuthnot, et al., "Manifesto," *BLAST*, June 20, 1914: 39–40. Quoted without typography.

18. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 27.

19. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 34.

20. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 35.

21. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 27.

22. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 41.

23. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 27

24. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 27.

25. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 38.

26. Aldington, Arbuthnot, "Manifesto," 42.

27. Martin Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution: Marx, Manifestos, and the Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 107 and after.

28. See, for instance, Shirley Vinall, "Marinetti, Soffici, and French Literature," in *International Futurism in Arts and Literature,* ed. Günter Berghaus (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 15–38.

29. Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla, and Gino Severini, "The Exhibitors to the Public," in *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, R. W. Flint, J. C. Higgitt, and Caroline Tisdall (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 45–50, 45–46. Original cited in "Les Exposants au public," in *Les Peintres futuristes italiens: Exposition du lundi 5 au samedi 24 février 1912* (Paris: Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, 1912), 1–3.

30. *Lacerba* 1, no. 7 (April 1, 1913): 66–68, quoted in Vinall, "Marinetti, Soffici," 18.

31. Pascale Casanova, *La République mondiale des lettres* (Paris: Seuil, 2015), 127 and after.

32. See, indicatively, David Cottington, *Cubism in the Shadow of the War: The Avant-Garde and Politics in Paris, 1905–1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); David Cottington, *Cubism and Its Histories* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); Christopher Green, *Cubism and Its En-*

emy: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916–1928 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987); and Mark Antliff, "Cubism, Celtism, and the Body Politic," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 4 (December 1992): 655–68. For the period during and after the war, see Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

33. See Cottington, *Cubism and Its Histories*, 3.

34. See Antliff, "Cubism, Celtism, and the Body Politic."

35. Albert Gleizes, "Le Cubisme et la tradition," *Montjoie!* 1 (February 10, 1913): 4.

36. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The New Painting," in *Manifesto: A Century of Isms*, ed. Mary Ann Caws (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 120–23, 123. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Peinture nouvelle : Notes d'art," *Les Soirées de Paris* 4 (May 1912): 114.

37. Cottington, *Cubism in the Shadow of the War*, 16.

38. See Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 13–27.

39. See Ester Coen, "Simultanéité, simultanéisme, simultanisme," in *Le Futurisme à Paris: Une avant-garde explosive,* ed. Didier Ottinger (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2008), 52–57.

40. See Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapter 2 and chapter 5.

41. Coen, "Simultanéité," 54.

42. Boccioni et al., "Les Exposants au public," 4.

43. Boccioni et al., "Les Exposants au public," 6.

44. Umberto Boccioni, *Futurist Painting Sculpture (Plastic Dynamism)*, trans. Richard Shane Agin and Maria Elena Versari (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016), 136.

45. Robert Delaunay, *Du Cubisme à l'art abstrait: Les Cahiers inédits de Robert Delaunay* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1957), 81. See also Gordon Hughes, "Envisioning Abstraction: The Simultaneity of Robert Delaunay's 'First Disk,'" *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (June 2007): 306–32.

46. Delaunay, *Du Cubisme à l'art abstrait*, 108–9.

47. Umberto Boccioni, "I futuristi plagiati in Francia," *Lacerba*, no. 7 (April 1, 1913): 67.

48. Boccioni, "I futuristi plagiati," 67.

49. Although Apollinaire still downplays the futurists' influence by claiming that Paris is the capital of the new artistic movements. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Chronique mensuelle," *Les Soirées de Paris* 23 (November 15, 1913): 2.

50. Apollinaire, "Chronique mensuelle," 3.

51. Umberto Boccioni, "Simultanéité futuriste," *Der Sturm* (December 15, 1913): 151.

52. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Salon d'Automne," in *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902–1918*, ed. Leroy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman (New York: Viking, 1972): 330–35, 334. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Salon d'Automne," *Les Soirées de Paris* 19 (1913): 46.

53. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 201–83.

54. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 13.

55. Kern, *Culture of Time and Space,* 14.

56. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 267.

57. Apollinaire, "Zone," 9.

58. See also Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 6.

59. Apollinaire's self-identification with Jews, his Dreyfusard position, and his aversion toward Jews is another issue to consider. See Annette Becker, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Une biographie de guerre 1914–1918–2009* (Paris: Tallandier, 2009), 174–78, who relates the common description of Apollinaire as a "fat Polish Jew," and Apollinaire's violent reaction to it—Apollinaire was Roman Catholic.

60. Blaise Cendrars, "The Prose of the Trans-Siberian and of Little Jeanne of France," in *Complete Poems*, trans. Ron Padgett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 13–30, 24–25. Original cited in Blaise Cendrars and Sonia Delaunay, *La Prose du transsibérien et de la petite Jehanne de France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 1.

61. Kern, *Culture of Time and Space,* 13.

62. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Chains," in *Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War (1913–1916)*, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 23. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, "Liens," in *Oeuvres poétiques* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1965), 168.

63. Apollinaire, "Chains," 168.

64. Apollinaire, "Chains," 168.

65. Cendrars, "Prose of the Trans-Siberian," 28.

66. See, for instance, Michel Décaudin and Laurence Campa, *Passion Apollinaire: La Poésie à perte de vue* (Paris: Les Éditions Textuel, 2004); Michel Décaudin, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Librairie Séguier, 1986); Francis Steegmuller, *Apollinaire: Poet among the Painters* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1963); Peter Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire: The Persistence of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Pierre-Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Le Mal Aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1952); Scott Bates, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Boston: Twayne, 1989); and Becker, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Une biographie de guerre*.

67. Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters*, trans. Peter Read (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 7. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les Peintres cubistes—Méditations esthétiques* (Paris: Eugène Figuière, 1913), 7.

68. Quoted in Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 48.

69. Silverman, *Art Nouveau* 137.

70. See Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 171–73; and Cottington, *Cubism in the Shadow of War*, 67–73.

71. Quoted in Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 123 and note 59.

72. As in the 1898 book *L'Esprit nouveau, dans la vie artistique, sociale et religieuse* by Léon Bazalgette, a translator of Whitman, "naturisme" sympa-

thizer, and frequent visitor at the Abbaye de Créteil. See Léon Somville, "L'Esprit nouveau d'Edgar Quinet à Guillaume Apollinaire," *Que Vlo-Ve?* 2, no. 1 (January–March 1982): 21–25.

73. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Au salon. Le vernissage. Un coup d'oeil d'ensemble sur la sculpture des artistes français," *L'Intransigeant* (April 30, 1913): 1.

74. Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 185–219; and Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, chapter 3.

75. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Les Spectacles modernistes des Ballets Russes: *Parade* et l'esprit nouveau," *Excelsior*, May 11, 1917 ; and Guillaume Apollinaire, "[Parade]," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1991), 865.

76. Guillaume Apollinaire, "[Parade]," in *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902–1918*, ed. Leroy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman (New York: Viking, 1972), 452.

77. See Briony Fer, David Batchelor, and Paul Wood, *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art between the Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 61–64.

78. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 233.

79. Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 9–13.

80. Guillaume Apollinaire, "On dit . . . On dit . . . Au pays de Vélasquez," *La Vie parisienne*, March 13, 1915: quoted in Becker, *Guillaume Apollinaire*, 46.

81. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 230.

82. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 230.

83. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 229–30.

84. Translation cited in Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 30. Original cited in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Projet de Constitution pour la Corse," in *The Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. 2, ed. C. E. Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 319.

85. "Organic nationalism," which viewed the nation as an organism with a distinct character, was first distinguished from "voluntarist nationalism" as a political formation by Hans Kohn in *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944). See also Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 5, and after.

86. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 235–36.

87. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 133.

88. See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), 230.

89. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Giovanni Moroni," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1991), 320.

90. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 236.

91. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The Harvest Month," in *Alcools*, trans. Donald Revell (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1995), 170. Original cited

in Guillaume Apollinaire, "Vendémiaire" in *Oeuvres poétiques* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1965), 149.

92. Apollinaire, "The Harvest Month," 171.

93. Quoted in Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 13.

94. Jean Jaurès, conference in *Alliance Française* (Paris, 1884), quoted in Nicola Bancel and Pascal Blanchard, "Les Origines républicaines de la fracture coloniale," in *La Fracture coloniale: La Société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: Éditions de la Découverte, 2005), 39.

95. Quoted in François Gèse, "L'Héritage colonial au coeur de la politique étrangère française," in *La Fracture coloniale: La Société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: Éditions de la Découverte, 2005), 156.

96. Bancel and Blanchard, "Les Origines républicaines," 39.

97. Bancel and Blanchard, "Les Origines républicaines," 39.

98. Bancel and Blanchard, "Les Origines républicaines," 40.

99. See Carrie Noland, *Poetry at Stake: Lyric Aesthetics and the Challenge of Technology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 3–4.

100. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 4; but see also Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), for a view of the colonies as terrains of experimentation for new technologies and knowledge.

101. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 6.

102. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 237; emphasis is mine.

103. Guillaume Apollinaire, "C'est un oiseau qui vient de France," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1991), 1059.

104. Apollinaire, "C'est un oiseau," 1:1059.

105. "C'est un oiseau qui vient de France" is a song that dates from 1885 and is about the loss of Alsace-Lorraine after 1870.

106. See J. B. Donne, "Guillaume Apollinaire's African Collection," *Newsletter* (Museum Ethnographers Group) 14 (August 1983): 4–9.

107. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Mélanomanie ou mélanophilie," *Mercure de France*, April 1, 1917, 557–61.

108. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The Sighs of the Gunner from Dakar," in *Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War 1913–1916*, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 179–83, French quotations on 181 and 183.

109. Guillaume Apollinaire, "There Is There Are," in *Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War (1913–1916)*, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 277.

110. See Peter Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias: La Revanche d'éros* (Rennes, Fr.: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2000), 186.

111. Becker, *Guillaume Apollinaire*, 84–85.

112. See Brett A. Berliner, chapter 1 in *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Leopold Sédar Senghor, "Poème luminaire," in *Oeuvre Poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 7.

113. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14–18: Understanding the Great War*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 142–53.

114. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14–18,* 151–52.

115. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14–18,* 152.

116. Other attempts at plays preceded it, most notably *A quelle heure un train partira-t-il pour Paris?* a theatrical version of the poem "Le Musician de Saint-Merry," later developed into a ballet with the title *L'Homme sans yeux et sans oreilles*. On this particular play, see Willard Bohn, *Apollinaire and the Faceless Man: The Creation and Evolution of a Modern Motif* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991). On Apollinaire's theatrical writing, see Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, 55–59. Apollinaire's play *Couleur du temps* would be performed two weeks after his death—and would be the venue where André Breton met Paul Éluard for the first time. See André Breton, *Nadja*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988), 653.

117. Apollinaire had apparently solicited Satie for the music of *Les Mamelles* but Satie refused, according to the memoirs of Georges Auric; see Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 91.

118. Already in the critical reception of the play at the time of its performance, see Victor Basch, "Critique dramatique: Conservatoire de Mme Renée Maubel, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, drame sur-réaliste de M. Guillaume Apollinaire," *Le Pays,* July 14, 1917, reprinted in *Que Vlo-Ve?* 1, no. 20 (April 1979): 30. See also Scott Bates, "Erotic Propaganda in Apollinaire's *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*," in French Literature Series 10: *Eroticism in French Literature* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 32–41; Adrianna Frick, "The Dugs of Tiresias: Female Sexuality and Modernist Nationalism in *The Waste Land* and *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*," in *The Waste Land at 90: A Retrospective,* ed. Joe Moffet (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 15–33.

119. Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 159–77.

120. Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 163–65.

121. See, for instance, the introduction in Kristen Stromberg Childers, *Fathers, Families, and the State in France, 1914–1915* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

122. See Froma Zeitlin, "Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*," chapter 9 in *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 375–416.

123. Quoted in Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent*, 298; on Poulenc's adaptation, see 297–308.

124. "Pattes de Lièvre," *La Griffe*, July 6, 1917, quoted in Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, 195.

125. Quoted in Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 112.

126. For information on these documents, see Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 113.

127. Jacque Vaché ostensibly drew his revolver and started threatening the crowd, while André Breton calmed him down, an incident that was the mythic origin of the famous sentence in Breton's *Second manifeste du surréalisme*, "L'acte surréaliste le plus simple consiste, revolvers aux poings, à descendre

dans la rue et à tirer au hasard, tant qu'on peut, dans la foule." See André Breton, "La Confession dédaigneuse," in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988), 200.

128. For instance: "Les Mamelles de Tirésias, par Guillaume Apollinaire," *Nord-Sud* (July 1917): 118; and Victor Basch, "Critique dramatique," both in "Le Dossier de presse des *Mamelles de Tirésias*," *Que Vlo-Ve?* 1, no. 20 (April 1979): 7–30.

129. Full text quoted in Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 205–6.

130. Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 166–85.

131. Even more so since the term "fantaisie" had been associated in concurrent public debates with "oriental" or "boche" influences, as in the famous case against the couturier Paul Poiret; see Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 167–70.

132. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," in *Three Pre-Surrealist Plays*, trans. Maya Slater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 153–207, 153–54. Original cited in Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias,* in *Oeuvres poétiques complètes* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1956), 865–66.

133. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 153–54.

134. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 155.

135. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 229.

136. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 165.

137. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 165.

138. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 165–66.

139. This staging, which was not realized for the performance of *Les Mamelles*, should be seen in light of contemporary experiments in France and elsewhere, most notably in Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater. See also Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 69.

140. Quoted and illustration in Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 63.

141. Apollinaire, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 877, "Zanzibar de nos jours" not included in the English translation.

142. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 168.

143. Quoted in Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 83.

144. Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 83.

145. Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 179 and 185. One interesting point is that in an earlier manuscript version, the play was situated in Bucharest.

146. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 165.

147. Apollinaire, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 890.

148. Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent*, 253.

149. Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent*, 255. See also Daniel Delbreil, *Apollinaire et ses récits* (Fasano: Schena, 1999), 304.

150. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 179–80.

151. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14–18*, 27.

152. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 171.

153. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 232.

154. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 233.

155. Apollinaire, "The New Spirit and the Poets," 233.

156. Read, *Apollinaire et Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, 82.

157. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Petite Auto," in *Oeuvres poétiques complètes* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1956), 207.

158. Guillaume Apollinaire, "The Little Car," in *Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War (1913–1916)*, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 104–11, French quotation on 106.

159. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism," in *F.T. Marinetti: Critical Writings*, trans. Doug Thompson (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006): 11–17, 13. Original cited in Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "Manifeste du futurisme," *Le Figaro*, February 20, 1909, 1.

160. Marinetti, "Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism," 13.

161. Poggi, *Inventing Futurism*, 158.

162. For the textual tradition around Tiresias, see Charilaos Michalopoulos, "Tiresias between Texts and Sex," *EuGeSta* 2 (2011): 221–39.

163. See Ed Madden, *Tiresian Poetics: Modernism, Sexuality, Voice, 1888–2001* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008).

164. On this pre-futurist work, see Giovanni Lista, *La Scène futuriste* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989), 34–39.

165. See Peter Nichols, "Anti-Oedipus? Dada and Surrealist Theater, 1916–1935," *New Theater Quarterly* 7, no. 28 (November 1991): 331–47.

166. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 216.

167. See on this Luc Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias: Essai d'analyse structurale* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

168. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias*, 45.

169. Blaise Cendrars, *Blaise Cendrars vous parle . . .* (Paris: Denoël, 1952), 560.

170. Apollinaire, "The Mammaries of Tiresias," 207.

171. Blaise Cendrars, "Homage to Guillaume Apollinaire," in *Complete Poems*, trans. Ron Padgett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 210–11. Original cited in Blaise Cendrars, "Hommage à Guillaume Apollinaire," *SIC*, no. 37–39 (January–February 1919): 286.

CHAPTER 2

1. Jane Heap to Florence Reynolds in 1925, in *Dear Tiny Heart: The Letters of Jane Heap and Florence Reynolds*, ed. Holly A. Baggett, (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 114.

2. Francis Picabia, "M. Picabia se sépare des Dadas," *Comoedia,* May 11, 1921, 2.

3. Francis Picabia, "M. Picabia Separates from the Dadas," in *I Am a Beautiful Monster: Poetry, Prose, and Provocation*, trans. Marc Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 262–64, 263.

4. Picabia, "M. Picabia Separates," 262.

5. Picabia also edited the magazines *Cannibale* (two issues, 1919) and *La Pomme de pins* (one issue, 1922). *391* was meant as the continuation of Alfred

Stieglitz's New York–based *291* and had two sequels, one in the form of a periodical, *491*, which stood as the catalog for Francis Picabia's 1949 exhibition in the Galerie René Drouin, and *591*, a book produced with Pierre André Benoit in 1952.

6. Eric Bulson opens his book *Little Magazine, World Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 1, with the pithy aphorism "No little magazine, no modernism," and adds shortly thereafter: "No Futurismo or Expressionismus, no Dada or Surréalisme, no Ultraismo or Constructivism." See also Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker, and Christian Weikop, eds., *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vols. 1–3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

7. Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 21.

8. Francis Picabia, *Construction moléculaire, 391*, no. 8 (February 1919): cover.

9. Francis Picabia, *Mouvement Dada*, *Dada*, no. 5 (May 1919).

10. Tristan Tzara, "Dada Is a Virgin Microbe," in *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981), 95. Original cited in Tristan Tzara, "Dada est un microbe vierge," *Dada*, no. 7 (March 1920): 4.

11. Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution*, 135.

12. Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution*, 136.

13. *Nouvelle Revue française* (September 1919), quoted in Yves Bridel, *Miroirs du surréalisme* (Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 1988), 34.

14. André Gide, "Dada," *Nouvelle Revue française*, no. 79 (April 1920): 477–81; quoted in Bridel, *Miroirs du surréalisme*, 34.

15. Marcel Boulenger, "Herr Dada," *Les Nouvelles de Bordeaux,* May 2, 1920, n.p., newspaper clipping, Fonds Francis Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Album 2, 18–19.

16. Maurice Schwob, "Le Dada du Boche: Cheval de Troie moderne," *Le Phare*, Nantes, April 26, 1920, n.p., newspaper clipping, Fonds Francis Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Album 2, 8–9.

17. "L'Esprit nouveau dans le domaine public," *Le Nouveau Spectateur,* February 20, 1921, n.p., newspaper clipping, Fonds Francis Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Album 4, 455.

18. Leah Dickerman, ed., *Dada: Zürich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*, exhibition catalog (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006), IX.

19. Leah Dickerman, "Introduction," in *Dada: Zürich, Berlin,* 1. See also Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution*, 136, and Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, for an extensive discussion of the network and the avant-garde.

20. Henri Béhar and Catherine Dufour, *Dada, circuit total* (Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 2005), 8.

21. Dickerman, "Introduction," 1.

22. Raimund Meyer, "Dada ist die Weltseele, Dada ist der Clou—Kleine Dada-Kosmologie," in *Dada Global,* ed. Raimund Meyer (Zürich: Limmat Verlag, 1994), 13.

23. Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution*, 136–37. Examples of different terms can be multiplied. See, for instance, T. J. Demos, "Circulations: In and Around Zurich Dada," *October* 105 (Summer 2003), 147–58, in which there is talk about Dada's "spirit of expatriation," "geopolitical dislocation," and "anti-nationalism."

24. Cathérine Hug, "'The Most Beautiful Moment Is Tomorrow': Thoughts on the Reception of *Dadaglobe* in Zürich," in *Dadaglobe Reconstructed,* ed. Adrian Sudhalter (Zürich: Kunsthaus Zürich, 2016), 15.

25. For instance, Adrian Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," in *Dadaglobe Reconstructed,* 24–25. Sudhalter says, in characterizing the Dadaists' first collective publication in Zürich, *Cabaret Voltaire,* "matters of artistic style and of the spirit gave way to internationalism itself, which constituted the volume's primary driving source."

26. Béhar and Dufour, *Dada, circuit total*, 8.

27. Henri Béhar, "Dada: Une internationale sans institutions?" in *Les Avant-gardes nationales et internationales: Libération de la pensée, de l'âme et des instincts par l'avant-garde,* ed. Judit Karafiath and Gyorgy Tverdota (Budapest: Argumentum, 1992) 55–61. See also Béhar and Dufour, *Dada, circuit total*, 10.

28. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 23.

29. Tzara's letter published in Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray, *New York Dada* (April 1921), n.p. [2].

30. Michel Sanouillet, "Le Dossier de 'Dadaglobe," *Cahier de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude de Dada et du Surréalisme*, no. 1 (1966): 111–24, 115.

31. "Dadaco," in *Der Dada*, no. 2 (December 1919), quoted and reproduced in Sudhalter, *Dadaglobe Reconstructed*, 28.

32. Germaine Everling, *L'Anneau de Saturne: Picabia, Dada, un roman d'amour* (Paris: Fayard, 1970), 99.

33. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 23.

34. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 26.

35. Francis Picabia, "Francis Picabia et Dada," *L'Esprit nouveau*, no. 9 (June 1921): 1059–60; Francis Picabia, "Bonheur moral et bonheur physique," *Ça ira* 16 (November 1921): 98–101.

36. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 64.

37. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 64.

38. Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 64.

39. See also Arnauld Pierre, "The 'Confrontation of Moral Values': A Moral History of Dada in Paris," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 241–68. Pierre notes that this association also went the opposite way: "Union officials, incriminated in early 1921 for instigating a Soviet-style workers' strike, defended themselves to the judge by claiming 'We seek new formulas. We are the 'dadas' of the social movement'" (254).

40. Paul Brulat, "L'Autre Péril," *Montpellier*, May 20, 1920, n.p., newspaper clipping, Fonds Francis Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Album 2, 10.

41. Schwob, "Le Dada du Boche."

42. Boulenger, "Herr Dada."

43. C.-A. Carpentier, "Dans le secteur de Cabotinville 15 avril 1920," *Le Poilu*, May 1, 1920, n.p., newspaper clipping, Fonds Francis Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Album 2, 23.

44. Anatole Deibler was the most famous public executioner in France at the time.

45. Picabia, "Francis Picabia and Dada," 264–65, 264.

46. Picabia, "Bonheur moral et bonheur physique," 100. See also Theresa Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 132.

47. Picabia, "Bonheur moral et bonheur physique," 99.

48. Picabia, "Bonheur moral et bonheur physique," 99.

49. Pierre Chardon, "Sur la tactique révolutionaire," *La Mêlée*, April 15, 1919, quoted in Theresa Papanikolas, "Cerebral Revolt: French Anarchist-Individualism in Print, 1914–1922," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 4, no. 2 (2013): 226–44, 229.

50. "Avant le Congrès de Paris—Un manifeste des revues d'avant-garde," *Comoedia*, January 3, 1922, 2.

51. Marius Hentea, "Federating the Modern Spirit: The 1922 Congress of Paris," *PMLA* 130, no. 1 (January 2015): 37–53, 38. On the congress and Dada's implication, see Michel Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), 233–53.

52. See Hentea, "Federating the Modern Spirit," for a detailed account of such initiatives. See also Arnault Pierre, who in "The 'Confrontation of Moral Values,'" 242, mentions the International Congress of Progressive Artists in Dusseldorf in June 1922, and the International Congress of Constructivists and Dadaists which took place in Weimar in September 1922.

53. See Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, and in detail chapter 3.

54. Tristan Tzara, "Dernière heure," *Le Coeur à Barbe*, no. 1 (1922): back cover.

55. Tristan Tzara interview with Roger Vitrac, "L'Arriviste Tristan Tzara va cultiver ses vices," *Merz*, no. 4 (July 1923): 40.

56. Francis Picabia, "Les Trompettes de Jéricho," *Comoedia*, January 19, 1922, 1.

57. This is Sanouillet's interpretation.

58. Pseudonym of Georges Herbiet.

59. Georges Hugnet, *L'Aventure dada* (Paris: Gallérie de l'Institut, 1957), 92, quoted in Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 599.

60. Hugo Ball, *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 117.

61. Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 87–90.

62. Renée Duncan, "Dada?" *Ça ira*, no. 16 (July 1921): 117.

63. Christian Herbier, "Preuve de l'existence du Da^2," *Ça ira*, no. 16 (July 1921): 98.

64. See Carl Levy, "Anarchism, Internationalism, and Nationalism in Europe, 1860–1939," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 50, no. 3 (2004): 330–42.

65. Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878–1934* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 18.

66. George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland, OH: World, 1962), 272.

67. Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2006), 2.

68. Constance Bantman, "Internationalism without an International? Cross-Channel Anarchist Networks, 1880–1914," in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*: *Histoire Médiévale, Moderne et Contemporaine—Middeleeuwse, Moderne Enhedendaagse Geschiedenis* 84, no. 4 (2006): 963.

69. Bantman, "Internationalism without an International?" 963.

70. Levy, "Anarchism, Internationalism," 337.

71. The Italian case is characteristic. See Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli, eds., *Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). Page 1 of their "Introduction" states: "Between the French Revolution and the onset of World War II, roughly twenty million migrants left Italy, representing about 10 percent of long-distance migrants throughout the world during those years."

72. Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 2. Anderson even calls this network of the global Left, largely dominated by anarchists, a "second world" existing in parallel with the "first world" of nation-states (54).

73. Kenyon Zimmer, "'The Whole World Is Our Country': Immigration and Anarchism in the United States, 1885–1940," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2010, 10–11: "According to contemporary observer Robert F. Foerster, Italian migration patterns revealed an amazing frequency of proletarian globetrotting, a frequency unequalled by the upper-class travelers of the richer countries. Anarchists had even higher rates of re-emigration . . . This constant movement maintained links between Italian anarchists and their comrades not only in Italy, but throughout Europe, South America, and North Africa."

74. Puchner is very clear about this model, *Poetry of the Revolution*, 140.

75. Matthew S. Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 269–94.

76. Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," 270.

77. Emily Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals, 1916–1926: International Venues of Exchange," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005, 4.

78. Emily Hage, "The Magazine as Strategy: Tristan Tzara's *Dada* and the Seminal Role of Dada Art Journals in the Dada Movement," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 33–53.

79. Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 21.

80. Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals," 7.

81. Sanouillet argues that *Projecteur* was the materialization of *M'Amenez'y* with a different title (*Dada in Paris,* 155).

82. Mentioned by Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 155, based on correspondence between Breton and Tzara.

83. "Signalement," signed by P[aul]. D[ermée]., *Projecteur*, no. 1, Paris (May 21, 1920): 5.

84. Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 152.

85. Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 152.

86. Ruth Hemus, "Dada's Paris Season," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 194. Hemus is referring specifically to *Projecteur*.

87. Bulson counts 175 international Dada titles between 1916 and 1926, but this number includes any general avant-garde aesthetic magazine published during this period, and not exclusively Dada ones; see below. See Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 29.

88. Jacques Doucet donated his art library to the University of the Sorbonne in 1917, and by 1929 his literary library would become the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, one of the most important archives of Dada.

89. David Hopkins, "Proto-Dada: The New York Connection," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 160–79, 162. On the artists' colony in Ridgefield, see Gail Stavitsky, "Artists and Art Colonies of Ridgefield, New Jersey," in *Conversion to Modernism: The Early Work of Man Ray,* by Francis M. Naumann and Gail Stavitsky (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 217–224.

90. See Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Art Politics and the First American Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 79–80.

91. Suzanne W. Churchill, *The Little Magazine "Others" and the Renovation of Modern American Poetry* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

92. Interview with Arturo Schwarz, "An Interview with Man Ray: This Is Not for America," *Arts* 51, no. 9 (May 1977): 116–21, 121.

93. See Francis M. Naumann and Paul Avrich, "Adolf Wolff: 'Poet, Sculptor and Revolutionist, but Mostly Revolutionist,'" *The Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (September 1985): 486–500, 487. Man Ray would marry Adon Lacroix, Wolff's ex-companion, in 1914.

94. See Kathy Ferguson, "Assemblages of Anarchists: Political Aesthetics in *Mother Earth*," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 4, no. 2 (2013): 171–94, 183–85.

95. Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 73–94.

96. Naumann and Stavitsky, *Conversion to Modernism*, 26–29.

97. Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 8.

98. Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, "Some Memories of Pre-Dada: Picabia and Duchamp" (1949), trans. Ralph Manheim, in *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology,* ed. Robert Motherwell (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1979), 247–72, 266.

99. No author is mentioned, but undoubtedly it is the editor, Picabia, who wrote this list of Dada activities in "New York-Paris-Zurich-Barcelone," *391*, no. 8 (February 1919).

100. Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 321.

101. Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 83.

102. See Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 83; and Allan Antliff, *Anarchy and Art: From the Paris Commune to the Fall of the Berlin*

Wall (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp, 2007), 53 and after. Duchamp talked about Stirner's influence on his thought; see Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Da Capo, 1987), 32.

103. Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*.

104. Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 1. For a more detailed view of anarchism and its print culture in France during the war and in its immediate aftermath, see also Papanikolas, "Cerebral Revolt."

105. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 324–25.

106. See, for instance, Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

107. Patricia Leighten, "Modernist Abstraction, Anarchist Antimilitarism, and War," *Anarchist Development in Cultural Studies*, no. 2 (2011): 115.

108. Bach Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism*, 55.

109. See also Patricia Leighten, "The World Turned Upside Down? Modernism and Anarchist Strategies of Inversion in *L'Assiette au beurre*," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 4, no. 2 (2013): 133–70, 136.

110. See Jean Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste en France,* vol. 1: *Des origines à 1914* (Paris: Maspero, 1975), 141–46.

111. Kathy Ferguson, "Anarchist Printers and Presses: Material Circuits of Politics," *Political Theory* 42, no. 4 (August 2014): 391–414, 395.

112. Quoted in Kathy Ferguson, "Anarchist Counterpublics," *New Political Science* 32, no. 2 (2010): 193–214, 199.

113. Zimmer, "The Whole World Is Our Country," 12.

114. Ferguson, "Anarchist Printers and Presses," 406.

115. Ferguson, "Anarchist Printers and Presses," 404. See also Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 101 and after. On the important role of printers in the anarchist movement, Ferguson observes: "The flow and the form of anarchist textual counterpublics came together in the person and machine of the anarchist printer. Along with garment work, printing was one of the most common trades of anarchists." Let's not forget that Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was a printer.

116. Johanna Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 98.

117. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*, 104.

118. Ferguson, "Anarchist Printers and Presses," 406–7.

119. Ferguson, "Anarchist Counterpublics," specifically referring to the production of *Mother Earth*.

120. Bakunin wrote *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State* in 1871, and Kropotkin wrote the influential article "The Paris Commune" in 1880.

121. See Bantman, "Internationalism without an International?" 972.

122. See, for instance, Robert J. Goldstein, "Fighting French Censorship, 1815–1881," *The French Review* 71, no. 5 (April 1998): 785–96, 787: "The abolition of all press controls following the 1848 revolution witnessed a massive eruption of newspapers, with the combined daily press run for all Parisian newspapers growing almost overnight from 50,000 to 400,000 copies. A subsequent crackdown under Napoleon III led to a sharp reduction in the number

of newspapers—for example, daily and weekly political journals in the French provinces dropped from 420 in 1851 to 160 in 1865—while a loosening of press controls after 1868 led to another press upsurge, with 140 new journals begun in Paris alone." See also Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 171–72.

123. Maxime Jourdain, *Le Cri du peuple (22 février 1871–23 mai 1871)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), 13.

124. Jourdain, *Le Cri du peuple,* 13.

125. See Gwladys Longeard, "L'Imprimerie nationale pendant la Commune de 1871," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, no. 52–1 (2005): 147–74, 158.

126. Longeard, "L'Imprimerie nationale," 158. The three printers who took over l'Imprimerie nationale were Louis-Guillaume Debock, his son Georges, and André Alavoine, who previously was on the editorial committee of the anarchist journal *Le Révolté* in Geneva—to be renamed *La Révolte* later on.

127. Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 138.

128. There is a larger argument to be made about the avant-garde in general and the origins of its ethos, its practices of sociability, and its print culture in the Paris Commune. For the brief period of its existence, the Commune offered an organizational model of artistic social and professional life and of the symbolic value and function of artistic creation that would be reproduced in the symbolist circles of the 1880s, and later on in the avant-garde. The importance of the group and of communal creation, the proliferating small presses and small journals, and the flood of written declarations, manifestoes, and petitions were some of the elements of this model. But it was chiefly the conception of literature as an integral part of negotiating a conflict and not just a metaphor of the conflict, and as the signifier of a radical break with the past and with history, that the Commune brought forth. We can think of the symbolist moment in the late 1880s as the response on the cultural scene to the political radicalization of the Commune that ten years earlier had created a practical road map, and also the imaginary potential, the symbolic space, for such a conception of culture. And we can think of the historical avant-garde as a continuation and radicalization of the symbolist project.

129. Ben Harker, "Communism's Print Culture," *Twentieth Century Communism* 12, no. 12 (April 2017): 5–14, 6.

130. See also Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals," 118.

131. Drucker, *The Visible Word*, 94–97.

132. Drucker, *The Visible Word*, 103.

133. See Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals."

134. This groundbreaking issue for the magazine was produced in two versions, one international, with many contributions from German Dadaists, which were published in German; and one French, with only texts in French. The issue was also produced in a deluxe and a regular edition. All comments here are based on the regular, French edition. See Hage, "New York and European Dada Art Journals," 161–74.

135. Jean Arp's artwork was placed on the first cover of the magazine, under the title "Anthologie Dada" and over the inscription "Parait sous la direction de TRISTAN TZARA MOUVEMENT DADA." It was a woodcut print of organic forms, characteristic of this period in Arp's work.

136. Quoted in Ralph Ubl, *Prehistoric Future: Max Ernst and the Return of Painting between the Wars*, trans. Elizabeth Tucker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 26.

137. See also Adrian Sudhalter, "War, Exile, and the Machine," in *Francis Picabia: Our Heads Are Round So That Our Thoughts Can Change Direction*, ed. Anne Umland and Catherine Hug (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016), 66–75, 67.

138. David Joselit, *Infinite Regress: Marcel Duchamp 1910–1914* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 150.

139. Juri Steiner, "I Am Feeling Somewhat Better," in *Francis Picabia*: *Our Heads Are Round So That Our Thoughts Can Change Direction*, ed. Anne Umland and Catherine Hug (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016), 76–119, 78.

140. George Baker, *The Artwork Caught by the Tail: Francis Picabia and Dada in Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 29.

141. Matthew Gale, "Francis Picabia, *Alarm Clock 1919*," object description on Tate Gallery website, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/picabia-alarm-clock-t13345.

142. See also Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 19, on the indexical, Duchamp, and Picabia.

143. Depending on the edition and the issue, this "bleeding" may vary.

144. This disturbed periodicity of the magazine was also denoted in the following issues, which bear different titles than *Dada*, "Bulletin Dada" for no. 6, and "Dadaphone" for no. 7.

145. *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 1 (December 1924): 17. See also a similar composition around René Magritte's painting, *Je ne vois pas la femme cachée dans la forêt*, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 12 (December 1929): 73. On these group portraits, see Sascha Bru, "The Genealogy-Complex History beyond the Avant-Garde Myth of Originality," *Filozofski vestnik* 35, no. 2 (2014): 13–28.

146. On the proper name as a delicate balance between index and icon, see Pierre Thibaud, "Peirce on Proper Names and Individuation," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 23, no. 4 (Fall 1987): 521–38.

147. The names included in this vertical space are, from bottom to top: Ingres, Corot, Rodin, Renoir, Cézanne, Vollard, Seurat, Mallarmé, Matisse, Max Jacob, Derain, Metzinger, Gleizes, Marie Laurencin, Alice Bailly, Varèse, Eric Satie, Braque, Archipenko, Delaunay, Picasso, Kandinsky, Brancusi, Picabia, Guillaume Apollinaire, Arensberg.

148. The names included, starting from the 12 o'clock position and going clockwise, are: G. Buffet, M. Duchamp, J. Villon, de Zayas, Stieglitz, Juliette Roche, Léger, Janco, Crotti, H. Arp, Tr. Tzara, Rib. Dessaigne.

149. John Elderfield, *The Modern Drawing: 100 Works on Paper from the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1983), 116.

150. Anthony Grafton and Daniel Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2013), 224.

151. A similar, but this time horizontal, timeline with names, moving from the left (past) to the right (future), was published in *Littérature*, New Series, no. 11/12 (October 1923): 24–25, with the title "Erutarettil" ("Littérature" written backwards).

152. Much like Moholy-Nagy's 1930 collage diagram for the evolution of architecture as the frontispiece of Georg Gustav Wieszner's *Pulsschlag deutscher Stilgeschichte* (Bru, "The Genealogy-Complex History," 22). László Moholy-Nagy, *Stilrhythmik nach Dr. Georg Wieszner*, photomontage as frontispiece in Georg Gustav Wieszner, *Pulsschlag deutscher Stilgeschichte,* part 1: *Von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Dr. Fritz Wedekind, 1930).

153. Priestley would repeat this organization later in his *New Chart of History* (1769), which became the model for the invention of the statistical graph by William Playfair, which also deployed a grid. On Priestley, see Daniel Rosenberg, "Joseph Priestley and the Graphic Invention of Modern Time," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 36 (2007): 55–103.

154. Grafton and Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time*, 221. Sudhalter describes this as "the opening gambit of demonstrative quantification." Sudhalter, "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 32.

155. See also Bru, "The Genealogy-Complex History," 20–21.

156. See also Sudhalter's passing comment on this in "How to Make a Dada Anthology," 31; and Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," 284.

157. David Joselit, "Dada Diagrams," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 222–39, 223

158. Joselit, "Dada Diagrams," 232.

159. Quoted in Joselit, "Dada Diagrams," 235, from Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 142.

160. Joselit, "Dada Diagrams," 235.

161. *291*, no. 5–6, New York (July–August 1915).

162. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 22.

163. Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," 284.

164. Michel Sanouillet, *Francis Picabia et 391*, 2 vols. (Paris: Eric Losfeld, 1966), 2:89.

165. From top to bottom and from left to right, the following are included in the grid: "Roses, Camera Work, Gabrielle Buffet, Blind Man, Cartes, Soirées de Paris, Dada, Walter Conrad Arensberg, Alfred Stieglitz, Pharamousse, Crotti, Marius de Zayas, Tristan Tzara, 391, 291, Loué, Varèse, Marcel Duchamp, Aisen, Guillaume Apollinaire, Francis Picabia, Ribemont-Dessaigne."

166. Sanouillet, *Francis Picabia et 391*, 2:89.

167. Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," 283.

168. Bru, "The Genealogy-Complex History," 24.

169. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 50.

170. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 51.

171. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 52.

172. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 52.

173. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 55.

174. Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, 55.

175. Deleuze and Guattari, "Introduction: Rhizome," in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 7.

176. William Rankin, *After the Map: Cartography, Navigation, and the Transformation of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 121.

177. Rankin, *After the Map*, 123.

178. Rankin, *After the Map*, 123.

179. Rankin, *After the Map*, 123.

180. Rankin, *After the Map*, 139.

181. The Armistice is commemorated on the back cover of the issue: *Pharmousse* (*sic*), "New York, Paris, Zurich, Barcelone," *391*, no. 8 (1919): back cover.

182. According to a letter from André Breton to Picabia, dated February 15, 1920, the work was probably created—at least in some version—as early as 1920; quoted in Sanouillet, *Picabia et 391*, 427. George Baker argues that a version of the work was staged in the Soirée de la Maison de l'Oeuvre, in March 1920. See Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 58–60.

183. Carole Boulbès, *Picabia: Le Saint masqué: Essai sur la peinture érotique de Francis Picharabia* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1998), 46.

184. Boulbès, *Picabia,* 34.

185. Georges Charbonnier, *Le Monologue du peintre* (Paris: Juillard, 1959), 136, quoted in Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 52.

186. See also Sudhalter, "War, Exile, and the Machine," 75.

187. Anne Umland and Catherine Hug, eds., *Francis Picabia: Our Heads Are Round So That Our Thoughts Can Change Direction* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016), 19.

188. Umland and Hug, *Francis Picabia: Our Heads Are Round*. See also Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 52 and 62.

189. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 64.

190. George Baker, "Dada Drawing," in *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 31–93.

191. This is Umland and Hug's take in *Francis Picabia: Our Heads Are Round*, 19.

192. The work was first displayed in a Dada soirée at the Maison de l'Oeuvre in Paris, without a title other than what was inscribed already in the work, before it was published in *Cannibale*, no. 1 (1920).

193. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 102.

194. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 102.

195. Francis Picabia, "The Cacodylic Eye," in *I Am a Beautiful Monster: Poetry, Prose, and Provocation*, trans. Marc Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 277–78, 277: "The painter makes a choice, then imitates his choice, whose deformation constitutes Art, why not simply sign this choice instead of monkeying about in front of it?" For the original, see Francis Picabia, "L'Oeil cacodylate," *Comoedia* (November 23, 1921): 2.

196. On Duchamp's ocular vs. optical, see Dalia Judovitz, *Drawing on Art: Duchamp and Company* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 7–23.

197. Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 8–22, 9.

198. The names on the outside of the frame read: "Rachilde, Henri de Régnier, Paul Bourget, Henry Bataille, A. Suarès, J.-J. Tharaud, Roland Dorgelès, Paul Souday, Pierre Benoit, Henri Barbusse, Marcel Proust, Paul Claudel, Georges Duhamel, Pierre Hamp, Marcel Boulanger, Colette, André Gide, M. Barrès."

199. The names in the frame are: "Jean Cocteau, Huelsenbeck, Varèse, Aragon, Rigaud, Stieglitz, Schad, Pierre de Massot, Suzanne Duchamp, Arensberg, Christian, Pansaers, Serner, Pablo Picasso, Marguerite Buffet, Schwartz, Jean Crotti, Vitrac, Aisen, Céline Arnaud, Stravinsky, André Breton, Ezra Pound, Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, Brancusi, Paul Dermée, Gabrielle Buffet, Jean Lecomte Du Nouÿ." The inclusion of this last name seems strange: an orientalist and historical painter whose aesthetic had nothing to do with that of the group, his name appears at the bottom of the frame, and horizontally in parallel with the frame. Is it perhaps used here as an ironic signature of the "group portrait" performed above, with the names darting in whichever direction, like bodies in a harem?

200. The invitation for this soirée found its place in another work by Picabia, *Chapeau de paille*.

201. Thierry Lefebvre, "Picabia et le cacodylate de soude," *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacologie*, no. 338 (2003) : 304.

202. Lefebvre, "Picabia et le cacodylate," 300–304.

203. Picabia was treated for "drug addiction, alcoholism, accelerated heartbeat, pathological fear of solitude, and claustrophobia." Steiner, "I Am Feeling Somewhat Better," 78.

204. Francis Picabia, "Cacodylate," in *I Am a Beautiful Monster: Poetry, Prose, and Provocation*, trans. Marc Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 79. Original cited in Francis Picabia, "Cacodylate," in *Francis Picabia: Écrits,* vol. 1: *Poèmes* (Paris: Mémoire du Livre, 2002), 92. See also Aurélie Verdier, "Ego Scriptor: Francis Picabia's Writing Practice," in *Catalogue Raisonné Francis Picabia*, ed. William Camfield, vol. 2 (Brussels: Mercartorfonds, 2016), 188. Verdier claims that Picabia was treated with cacodylic acid at this point for shingles, of which the 1921 eye crisis was a relapse.

205. Aurélie Verdier, "Picabia's Quasi-Name," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 63–64 (Spring/Autumn 2013): 215–28, 221.

206. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 143.

207. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 96.

208. See also Verdier, "Ego Scriptor."

209. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 146.

CHAPTER 3

1. Louis Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, trans. Simon Watson Taylor (Boston: Exact Change, 1994), 20–21. Original cited in Louis Aragon, *Le Paysan de Paris* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 29.

2. "Un avertissement qui ne fut pas écouté," *La Croix*, July 9, 1915, 1. The *La Croix* article is citing from Paul de Saint-Victor, "Chronique," *La Liberté*, January 23, 1871.

3. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

4. Rebecca Walkowitz discerns three different domains of thought in the contemporary usage of “cosmopolitanism”: a philosophical tradition of transnational or global community, an anthropological tradition of multiple attachments to flexible communities, and a “vernacular” tradition of consumer culture and urban mobility. See Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style*, 9.

5. For a concise reconstruction of this now “canonical” narrative for the term, see David Inglis, “Alternative Histories of Cosmopolitanism: Reconfiguring Classical Legacies,” in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), 11–24.

6. Homi Bhabha’s “minoritarian perspective” of a “vernacular cosmopolitanism” is crucial in this respect; see Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

7. Kwame Anthony Appiah’s “rooted cosmopolitanism” which counteracts the “rootless cosmopolitanism” of yore is central to this approach; see Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 91–114.

8. Bruce Robbins, “Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1–19, 1. Robbins is quoting Paul Rabinow, “Representations Are Social Facts,” in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 258.

9. Laurent De Sutter, “Le Cosmopolitisme est un anti-juridisme,” *Dissensus: Revue de Philosophie Politique de l’Université de Liège*, no. 1 (December 2008): 48–60, 48.

10. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bernandin de Saint Pierre mentioned insects as the most cosmopolitan species of all; see David Bellos, “The Cosmopolitanism of Romain Gary,” *Darbai ir Dienos* (Vilnius) 51 (2009): 63–69.

11. See Anthony A. Long, “The Concept of the Cosmopolitan in Greek & Roman Thought,” *Daedalus* 137, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 50–58. The incident with Diogenes and his neologism “κοσμοπολίτης” is attested in his biography by Diogenes Laertius, in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, book 6, section 63: “ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, “κοσμοπολίτης,” ἔφη.”

12. Quoted in French in Emmanuel Mattiato, “Introduction,” in *Cosmopolitisme et réaction: Le Triangle Allemagne-France-Italie dans l’entre-deux-guerres,* ed. Ute Lemke, Massimo Lucarelli, and Emmanuel Mattiato (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2014), 15–42, 32.

13. Translation cited in the Pennsylvania Electronic edition of Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, ed. Stuart Gurran. Original cited in Louis-Charles Fougeret de Monbron, *Le Cosmopolite, ou le citoyen du monde* (1750), ed. Édouard Langille (Cambridge: MHRA, 2010), 1.

14. This metaphor of the world as a book to be read is often falsely attributed to Saint Augustine.

15. Translation cited in Mary Helen McMurran, "The New Cosmopolitanism and the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 47, no. 1 (2013): 19–38, 32. Original cited in Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Cosmopolitain," in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, des métiers, etc.*, as cited in the University of Chicago's ARTFL Encyclopédie project, ed. Robert Morrisey (Autumn 2017 edition), 4:297, https://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/.

16. Translation cited in Helena Rosenblatt, "Rousseau, the Anticosmopolitan?" *Daedalus* 137, no. 3 (2008): 59–67, 59. Original cited in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l'éducation*, vol. 1 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1872), 9.

17. Immanuel Kant, "To Perpetual Peace," in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1983), 107–44.

18. Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, trans. Richard A. Lebrun (London, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 97. Original cited in Joseph de Maistre, "Considérations sur la France," in *Oeuvres complètes, Tome premier* (Lyon: Librairie Générale Catholique et Classique, 1891), 74.

19. Peter Coulmas details the debates about cosmopolitanism at the turn of the nineteenth century in Germany in *Les Citoyens du monde: Histoire du cosmopolitisme*, trans. Jeanne Étoré (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995), 251.

20. Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," 85–126, 93.

21. Alejandro Colás, "Putting Cosmopolitanism into Practice: The Case of Socialist Internationalism," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23, no. 3 (March 1994): 513–34, 518.

22. Colás, "Putting Cosmopolitanism into Practice," 517.

23. Colás, "Putting Cosmopolitanism into Practice," 531.

24. Charles Blanc, "Introduction," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1, 1859.

25. Gérard Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme, et racisme en France* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 76.

26. Louis Bamberger, "La Colonie allemande," in *Paris Guide par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, vol. 2: *La Vie* (Paris: A. Lacroix, 1867), 1017–42. Quoted in Noiriel, *Immigration*, 76.

27. Noiriel, *Immigration*, 154.

28. Noiriel, *Immigration*, 215–216. Drumont created the equation between Jew and German, and from there with foreign spy.

29. Noiriel, *Immigration*, 259.

30. See Christy Wampole, *Rootedness: The Ramifications of a Metaphor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 113 and after.

31. Maurice Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* (Paris: Félix Juven, 1902), 76.

32. Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines*, 434. See also Sarah Hammerschiag, *The Figural Jew: Politics and Identity in Postwar French Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 31 and after.

33. Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines*, 63. Translation cited in Lewis, *Modernism, Nationalism, and the Novel*, 83.

34. See Pascal Ory and Jean-François Sirinelli, *Les Intellectuels en France: De l'affaire Dreyfus à nos jours* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1986), 9. Ory and Sirinelli are referring to Barrès's article "La Protestation des intellectuels!" published on February 1, 1898, in *Le Journal*.

35. Maurice Barrès, *Les Déracinés* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1898), 19. The original reads: "tout abstrait."

36. See also Emily Apter, *Continental Drift: From National Characters to Virtual Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 25–38; and Ihor Junyk, *Foreign Modernism: Cosmopolitanism, Identity, and Style in Paris* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 16.

37. Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines*, 56.

38. Charles Maurras, "L'Hospitalité," *L'Action française*, July 6, 1912, quoted in Pierre Birnbaum, *La France aux Français: Histoire des haines nationalistes* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), 51.

39. René Maizeroy, *La Fin de Paris* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1886), 56, quoted in Jean Pierre Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta et le rejet du cosmopolitisme," in *La Vie parisienne: Actes du IIIe Congrès de la SERD*, ed. Aude Déruelle and José-Luis Diaz, 2008, online, https://serd.hypotheses.org/files/2018/08/Ricard.pdf.

40. Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta."

41. Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta."

42. Published in the satirical newspaper *Le Rire*, January 6, 1900. Quoted in Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta."

43. Jules Guérin and Paul Ginisty, *Les Rastaquouères: Étude parisienne* (Paris: Rouveyre et Blond, 1883), ix.

44. From an 1898 article in *Le Mémorial des Pyrénées*, quoted in Sophie Basch, *Rastaquarium: Marcel Proust et le "Modern Style"* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 171.

45. Editorial in *Cosmopolis*, 1897, quoted in Laurence Davies, "'Don't You Think I Am a Lost Soul?' Conrad's Early Stories and the Magazines," *Conradiana* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 7–28, 19.

46. Paul Bourget, *Cosmopolis*, trans. Cleveland Moffett (New York: Current Literature, 1923), 1–2. Original cited in Paul Bourget, *Cosmopolis* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1893), 10–11.

47. André Maurel, "Cosmopolis par Paul Bourget," *Le Figaro*, *Supplément Littéraire de Dimanche*, March 22, 1890, 17.

48. See also Paul Delsemme, *Téodor de Wyzewa et le cosmopolitisme littéraire en France à l'époque du symbolisme* (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1967), 209.

49. Maurice Lavaillant, "Lectures françaises: Le Roman cosmopolite," *Le Figaro, Supplément Littéraire de Dimanche*, September 29, 1923.

50. Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta."

51. Quoted in Yves Lequin, *Histoire des étrangers et de l'immigration en France* (Paris: Larousse, 1987), 344.

52. Montaudran, "Notre page musicale," *Le Figaro*, February 24, 1923 (no. 203), 4.

53. "Cosmopolitisme artistique," *La Croix*, November 16, 1913, 1.

54. Louise Faure-Favier, *Blanche et noir* (Paris: J. Ferenczi et fils, 1928). Quoted in Ralph Schor, "Le Paris des libertés," in *Le Paris des étrangers depuis un siècle*, ed. André Kaspi and Antoine Marès (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1989), 28.

55. Jean-José Frappa, *A Paris sous l'oeil des metèques* (1926), quoted in *Le Paris des étrangers depuis un siècle*, ed. André Kaspi and Antoine Marès (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1989), 29.

56. Lequin, *Histoire des étrangers*, 281.

57. Kaspi and Marès, *Le Paris des étrangers*, 14. See also Noiriel, *Immigration*, 305.

58. In the journal *Bifur* in 1929, quoted in Junyk, *Foreign Modernism*, 14.

59. Léon-Paul Fargue, "Montparnasse," in *Paris 1937, textes et gravures par de nombreux écrivains et artistes contemporains* (Paris: Gallimard, 1939), 247.

60. Paul Lafargue, "Réduction des loyers," *L'Humanité*, February 13, 1909, 1.

61. Hubert Lagardelle, "La France vue par un étranger," *L'Humanité*, October 22, 1913.

62. Jules Romains "Voyages," *L'Humanité*, October 2, 1920, 2.

63. Stefan Zweig, "Internationalisme ou Cosmopolitisme?" *L'Humanité*, August 8, 1926, 5.

64. On all economic, political, and intellectual activities aiming at a United Europe during the 1920s, see Lemke et al., *Cosmopolitisme et réaction*, 59–60.

65. See Jean-Luc Chabot, *Aux origines intellectuelles de l'Union Européenne: L'Idée de l'Europe entre 1919 et 1939* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2005). On Coudenhove-Kalergi, see Lionel Gossman, "The Idea of Europe," *Common Knowledge* 16, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 197–222, 205.

66. Zweig, "Internationalisme ou Cosmopolitisme?" 5.

67. Zweig, "Internationalisme ou Cosmopolitisme?" 5.

68. Richard Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*, ed. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 42–47, 42.

69. Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," in *Georg Simmel*: *On Individuality and Social Forms, Selected Writings*, ed. Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 143–49.

70. Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," 42.

71. "Aulètes" in the original, perhaps referring to the "Aulerques," or Aulerci, another Gallic tribe.

72. Quoted in Robert Jouanny, *Singularités francophones, ou choisir d'écrire en français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), 14.

73. Jules Huret, *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire: Conversations avec MM.* Renan, de Goncourt, 1891 edition (Paris: Hachette, 2012), 159.

74. All quoted in Delsemme, *Téodor de Wyzewa*, 213.

75. S. Basch, *Rastaquarium*, 154–72.

76. Élyette Guiol-Benassaya, *La Presse face au surréalisme de 1925 à 1938* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982), 112–15.

77. Apollinaire, "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," 946.

78. Francis Picabia, "To Madame Rachilde," in *I Am a Beautiful Monster: Poetry, Prose, and Provocation*, trans. Marc Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 209. Original cited in Francis Picabia, "A Madame Rachilde, femme de lettres et bonne patriote," *Cannibale* no. 1 (April 1920): 4.

79. Hentea, "Federating the Modern Spirit," 45.

80. For the use of these terms, see Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme*, 433. The original reads: "l'étranger, comme un parasite, nous empoisonne"; see also Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta."

81. For one of the few articles dedicated to this text, see Sarah Hayden, "*Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*: Francis Picabia's Anti-Art Anti-Christ," *Irish Journal of French Studies* 13 (2013): 41–67. Baker also refers briefly to the text, mainly in relation to the collage *Tableau Rastadada* (1920); see Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 345.

82. See Picabia, *I Am a Beautiful Monster*, 223.

83. Baker, *Artwork Caught by the Tail*. See also Simon Marginson, "The Blood of France: Joan of Arc and Francis Picabia's La Sainte-Vierge," *Dada/Surrealism* 22, no. 1 (2018): 10.

84. See Verdier, "Picabia's Quasi-Name," 224. See also the reference to Picabia as "Jésus Picabia" in *Manomètre*, August 4, 1923, in *Manomètre*, ed. Emile Malesphine (Paris: J. M. Place, 1977), 74. Henri Meschonnic's 1966 review of Michel Sanouillet's book *Francis Picabia* has the very telling title "Picabia Rastaquouère," *Europe* 44, no. 449 (September 1966): 228–31.

85. Gabrielle Buffet, "Introduction" to Francis Picabia, *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* (Paris: Collection Dada, 1920), 9. This is the partial translation from Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 157.

86. Francis Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, in *I Am a Beautiful Monster: Poetry, Prose, and Provocation*, trans. Marc Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 224–51, 227.

87. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 228.

88. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 229.

89. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 229–30.

90. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 245.

91. The book is dedicated to "young girls everywhere," Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 224; "toutes les jeunes filles," Picabia, *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* (Paris, 1920), 6.

92. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 238–39.

93. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 241.

94. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 245.

95. Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, "Manifeste selon St. Jean Clysompompe," *391*, no. 13 (1920): 2.

96. Picabia, *Jesus Christ Rastaquouère*, trans. Lowenthal, 245.

97. See Tristan Tzara, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 715.

98. Picabia, *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* (Paris, 1920), 53–54. The text is identical in Lowenthal's translation, 245. Tzara first published the poem in the *Dada Almanach* (Berlin: Erich Reiss, 1920), 51–52, as "Maori Toto-Vaca." Picabia does not copy the poem accurately. As it was published in the *Dada Almanach*, the fourth line reads as "té moho," lines 5–9 are not following line 4, and they come from a different part of the text, and line 9 reads as "ta kou ta kapou."

99. See Béhar and Dufour, *Dada, circuit total*, 477–79.

100. See John Wall and Dafydd Jones, "The Body of the Voice: Corporeal Poetics in Dada," in *Dada Culture*, ed. Dafydd Jones (Leiden, Neth.: Brill/Rodopi,

2006), 66–86; Andreas Kramer, "Speaking Dada: The Politics of Language," in *Dada and Beyond,* vol. 1, ed. Klaus Beekman (Leiden, Neth.: Brill/Rodopi, 2006), 201–13; and Demos, "Circulations: In and Around Zurich Dada."

101. Leonard Forster, *The Poets' Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 82.

102. Francis Picabia, "Coeur de Jésus," *Cannibale*, no. 1 (April 1920): 6.

103. Quoted by Stephen Forcer, "Before They Were Famous: Tristan Tzara, Nationhood, and Poetry," in *Paris-Bucharest, Bucharest-Paris: Francophone Writers from Romania*, ed. Anne Quinney (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 71–94, 75.

104. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, trans. G. M. Goshgarian (New York: Verso, 2014), 232–72, 264.

105. Jacques Rancière, "Politics, Identification, and Subjectivization," *October* 61 (Summer 1992): 58–64, 61.

106. Rancière, "Politics, Identification," 60.

107. Rancière, "Politics, Identification," 60.

108. Rancière, "Politics, Identification," 61.

109. Rancière, "Politics, Identification," 62.

110. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 132.

111. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 133.

112. Sections of the book had been published almost serially in *La Revue européenne* from 1924 to 1925: the "Préface," "Le Passage de l'Opéra," and "Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont."

113. Walter Benjamin, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 1910–1940*, trans. Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 438. Vaclav Paris explains the strong influence of Aragon on Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk*, noting that, among everything else, the title *Das Passagen-Werk* is almost a reprise of the title "Le Passage de l'Opéra," given that the Latin root for "opera," "opus," actually means work. See Vaclav Paris, "Uncreative Influence: Louis Aragon's *Paysan de Paris* and Walter Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk*," *Journal of Modern Literature* 37, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 21–39, 23. For a detailed discussion of Benjamin and Aragon, see Johanna Malt, "Archaeology and Mythology: Benjamin and *Le Paysan de Paris*," in *Obscure Objects of Desire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41 and after.

114. Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, 1927–1930*, ed. Michael Jennings, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1999), 207–21, 210.

115. Benjamin, "Surrealism," 211.

116. The bibliography on surrealism and Paris is very long. Margaret Cohen's *Profane Illumination: Walter Benjamin and the Paris of Surrealist Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) and Hal Foster's *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993) provided readings of surrealism's representation of Paris. These two books' interpretations are inflected by Benjamin's political reading, and they have set the tone for subsequent studies on surrealism and the city.

117. Gavin Parkinson, "Emotional Fusion with the Animal Kingdom: Notes toward a Natural History of Surrealism," in *The Art of Evolution: Darwin, Darwinisms, and Visual Culture*, ed. Barbara Larson and Fae Brauer (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 264.

118. Parkinson, "Emotional Fusion," 268.

119. Again, the bibliography on the city and modernism is vast. The formative power of Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) cannot be overstated. The same is true of Marshall Berman's *All That Is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Verso, 1982) for establishing the city, and specifically Paris, as modernism's "primal scene." The inclusion of a chapter on the city in any compendium on modernism over the last forty years, from Bradbury's and McFarlane's classic *Modernism* (New York: Penguin, 1978) to *The Cambridge History of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), and the parallel absence of any consideration of the "countryside" or the "rural," is characteristic in this respect. In critical approaches to "peripheral" or postcolonial modernisms and avant-gardes, these associations erode, as references to nature and the rural are integrated in these modernist projects, thus duplicating the position of nationalism within modernism, discussed in chapter 1.

120. Évelyne Cohen, "Charme campagnard et très grande ville," in *Paris dans l'imaginaire national de l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2000), 233–309.

121. Léon Daudet, *Paris vécu* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 913.

122. Fargue, "Montparnasse," 247.

123. Eugène Dabit, *L'Hôtel du Nord* (Paris: Denoël, 1929).

124. Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Plon, 1941).

125. And Philippe Souppault, *Les Dernières Nuits de Paris* (Paris: Gallimard, 1928), 188.

126. Roger Caillois, *The Edge of Surrealism: A Roger Caillois Reader*, ed. Claudine Frank, trans. Claudine Frank and Camille Naish (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 173–89, 177. Original cited in Roger Caillois, "Paris, mythe moderne," *Nouvelle Revue française* 25, no. 284 (May 1937): 682–99, 684 and 690.

127. Joseph Delteil, *Les Chats de Paris, présenté par Louis Nucera* (Paris: Éditions de Montaigne, 1930), 118–19.

128. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style*, 9. Walkowitz's use of the term differs from Homi Bhabba's use of "vernacular cosmopolitanism," the cosmopolitanism of the margins which opposes the cosmopolitanism of the elite. See Homi Bhabha, "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, ed. Laura Garcia-Morena and Peter C. Pfeifer (London: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.

129. Malt, "Archaeology and Mythology."

130. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 14.

131. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 133.

132. See Ulf Strohmayer, "Urban Design and Civic Spaces: Nature at the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont in Paris," *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 4 (2006): 557–76.

133. Strohmayer, "Urban Design and Civic Spaces," 559.

134. Strohmayer, "Urban Design and Civic Spaces," 561. See also Abigail Susik, "Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris* and the Buried History of Buttes-Chaumont Park," *Thresholds*, no. 36 (2009): 64–71.

135. Susik, "Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris*," 68.

136. See also Elizabeth K. Meyer, "The Public Park as Avant-Garde (Landscape) Architecture: A Comparative Interpretation of Two Parisian Parks, Parc de la Villette (1983–1990) and Parc des Buttes-Chaumont (1864–1867)," *Landscape Journal* 10, no. 1 (1991): 16–26, 19–20.

137. Strohmayer, "Urban Design and Civic Spaces," 565.

138. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 143.

139. Louise Wyman, "Landscape Architecture: The Dialogue between Society and Ideological Vision," *Architecture + Urbanism*, no. 312 (1996): 123, quoted in Strohmayer, "Urban Design and Civic Spaces," 576.

140. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 122.

141. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 123.

142. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 123.

143. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 125. "Thus, *feeling for nature* is simply another term for mythical sense."

144. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 123–24.

145. Haim Finkelstein, *The Screen in Surrealist Art and Thought* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 65 and after. See also Eliane Kotler, "Sens et sensations: Regards sur les collages et la typographie dans *Le Paysan de Paris*," *Les Mots la vie*, no. 5 (1987): 69–80.

146. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 137.

147. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 136.

148. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 159.

149. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 136.

150. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 162.

151. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 165.

152. See Raymond Spiteri, "Surrealism and the Irrational Embellishment of Paris," in *Surrealism and Architecture*, ed. Thomas Mical (London: Routledge, 2004), 191–208, 195.

153. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 150.

154. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 180.

155. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 180.

156. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 180.

157. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 183.

158. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 188.

159. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 205.

160. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 185.

161. Claudine Raynaud, "The Residual Rural: The Town's Nostalgia for the Countryside and the Peasant's Gaze," *L'Esprit Créateur* 41, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 37–51, 44.

162. Pierre Bourdieu, "Une classe objet," in "La Paysannerie, une classe objet," *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 17–18 (November 1977): 2–5, 3–4.

163. See Williams, *The Country and the City*.

164. Like in Balzac's *Les Paysans* (1844) or later on in Zola's *La Terre* (1887) or the quintessentially Parisian *Bel Ami* (1885) by Maupassant, in which the new Parisian wife of the eponymous hero abhors his paesant parents in their non-picturesque reality.

165. Pierre Barral, "Note historique sur l'emploi du terme 'paysan,'" *Études rurales*, no. 21 (April–June 1966): 72–80, 74.

166. Quoted in Barral, "Note historique," 75.

167. Barral, "Note historique," 75.

168. See Gérard de Puygène, *Chauvin, le soldat-laboureur: Contribution à l'étude des nationalismes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 236–39.

169. Quoted in Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 29.

170. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 475–77.

171. Shanny Peer, *France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World Fair* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 105.

172. Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 52.

173. Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia*, 44.

174. See Peer, *France on Display*, 100–102.

175. Bourdieu, "Une classe objet," 3; see also Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia*, 46.

176. Bourdieu, "Une classe objet," 4–5.

177. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 189.

178. See Emmanuel Rubio, "Hegel, l'amour et *Le Paysan de Paris*," in *L'Atelier d'un écrivain: Le XIXe Siècle d'Aragon*, ed. Edouard Béguin and Suzanne Ravis (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2003), 55–69.

179. See, for instance, Juliette Lamber, "Les Paysans à Paris," in *Paris Guide par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France,* vol. 2: *La Vie* (Paris: A. Lacroix, 1867), 1009–13.

180. Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," 91.

181. Martha C. Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," in *For the Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon, 1996), 2–17, 15.

182. It should be noted here that one of the official surrealist publications was bilingual: the *Bulletin international du surréalisme*, no. 1, published in Prague, April 1945, in Czech and French; no. 2, published in Santa Cruz de Tenerife in October 1935, in Spanish and French; and no. 4, published in London, September 1936, in English and French. No. 3 was published in Brussels and was entirely in French.

183. This is T. J. Demos's argument; see Demos, "Zürich Dada: The Aesthetics of Exile," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 7–29.

184. "Dadaisme," *Libération*, May 19, 1920, 2.

185. "Un incident dans les bureaux d'un journal littéraire," *L'Action française*, May 26, 1926.

186. René de Planhol, “La Conversion du surréalisme,” *L’Action française*, June 6, 1929, 3.

187. Philibert Audebrand (pseud. of Henri Plassan), “Un homme fatal,” *Gazette de Paris*, August 16, 1857, quoted in André Guyaux, *Baudelaire: Un demi siècle de lectures des Fleurs du mal, 1855–1905* (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2007), 187.

188. Paul Souday, “Du côté de chez Swan,” *Le Temps*, December 10, 1913, quoted in André Benhaïm, “Proust’s Singhalese Song (A Strange Little Story),” in *The Strange Mr. Proust*, ed. André Benhaïm (New York: MHRA and Routledge, 2009), 67.

189. Marcel Proust, “Letter to Mme Straus,” in *Selected Letters II: 1904–1909*, ed. Philip Kolb, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 408–9. Original cited in Benhaïm, *The Strange Mr. Proust*, 68.

190. Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Pierre-Alexandre Du Peyrou, April 12, 1765, translation cited in Jürgen Oelkers, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau,* Bloomsbury Library of Educational Thought (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 157. Original cited in *Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence*, ed. Robert Mcnamee et al., University of Oxford (Winter 2018 edition), https://www.e-enlightenment.com/index.html.

191. Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 4–5.

192. Forcer, “Before They Were Famous,” 75. Raymond Williams makes a general argument about modernism and the melting pot of the metropolis which imposes non-native languages on immigrants, thus making them see language as a material, objective entity. See Williams, “The Metropolis and Modernism,” in *Unreal City: Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art*, ed. Edward Timms and David Kelley (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1985), 13–24, 21–22.

193. See Forster, *The Poets’ Tongues*, 9–48.

194. Rainer Grutman, “Le Moment biculturel de la littérature française,” in *Paradoxes du plurilinguisme littéraire 1900: Réflexions théoriques et études des cas,* ed. Britta Benert (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2015), 125–42, 129.

195. Forster, *The Poets’ Tongues*, 54.

196. Quoted in Jules Huret, ed., *Enquête sur l’évolution littéraire* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1891), 159.

197. Quoted in Delsemme, *Téodor de Wyzewa*, 224–25.

198. See, for instance, Paul Ricoeur, *Sur la traduction* (Paris: Bayard, 2004), 17.

199. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style,* 38 and onward.

200. The English translation cannot convey the connotations of the “errors” in the French original; instead of trying to approximate them, I have provided a straightforward translation side by side with the original.

201. Quoted in Daniel Abadi, “L’Exposition internationale du surréalisme, Paris 1938,” in *Paris-Paris, 1937–1957, créations en France* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981), 72.

202. Haakon M. Chevalier, translator’s note, in Salvador Dalí, *The Secret Life of Dalí*, trans. Haakon M. Chevalier (New York: Dover Fine Art, 1993), 74.

203. See Jack Spector's preface to Salvador Dalí, *La Vie secrète de Salvador Dalí: Suis-je un génie? Édition critique établie par Frédérique Joseph-Lowery* (Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 2006), 8.

204. Frédérique Joseph-Lowery, "La Mise en secret de *La Vie secrète de Salvador Dalí*," in *La Vie secrète de Salvador Dalí: Suis-je un génie?* by Salvador Dalí (Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 2006), 21.

205. Joseph-Lowery, "La Mise en secret," 29.

206. Joseph-Lowery, "La Mise en secret," 40.

207. Salvador Dalí, "Interprétation paranoïaque-critique de l'image obsédante 'L'Angélus' de Millet," *Minotaure*, no. 1 (1933): 65–67.

208. On Carrington, see Susan Aberth, *Leonora Carrington: Surrealism, Alchemy, and Art* (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2004); Jonathan Eburne and Catriona McAra, *Leonora Carrington and the International Avant-Garde* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2017); and Katharine Conley, "Beyond the Border: Leonora Carrington's Terrible Journey," in *Automatic Woman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 49–78.

209. Leonora Carrington, *The House of Fear: Notes from Down Below*, trans. Katherine Talbot and Marina Warner (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988) 25. Original cited in Carrington, *La Maison de la peur*, préface and illustrations by Max Ernst (Paris: Henri Parisot, 1938).

210. Carrington, *The House of Fear*, 26.

211. All citations are from Renée Riese Hubert, *Surrealism and the Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 70.

212. Andrea Oberhuber, "Qui a peur d'entrer dans *La Maison de la Peur* de Leonora Carrington?" *Le Livre surréaliste au féminin*, Conseil de Recherches en Sciences Humaines du Canada, http://lisaf.org/project/carrington-leonora-maison-de-peur/.

213. Carrington, *The House of Fear*, 31–32.

214. Carrington, *La Maison de la peur*, 12.

215. See also Oberhuber, "Qui a peur."

216. This is Oberhuber's argument, "Qui a peur."

217. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 10.

218. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 10.

219. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 81.

220. On Nicolas Calas, see Effie Rentzou, "Stranger in the City: Self and Urban Space in the Work of Nicolas Calas," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26, no. 2 (October 2008): 283–309; Effie Rentzou, "Dossier on Nicolas Calas," *Pleine Marge*, no. 45 (June 2007): 35–86; and Lena Hoff, *Nicolas Calas and the Challenge of Surrealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

221. Calas published his polemical essays under the pen name M. Spieros.

222. André Breton, "Prière d'insérer pour *Foyers d'incendie* de Nicolas Calas," in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988), 1221–22, 1222.

223. James Laughlin, *New Directions in Prose and Poetry* (New Haven, CT: New Directions, 1940), 385.

224. Calas's American bibliography is completed by *Art in the Age of Risk* (1968), *Icons and Images of the Sixties* (cowritten with Elena Calas, 1971),

Surrealism: Pro and Con (1973), and *Transfigurations: Art Critical Essays in the Modern Period* (with four essays by Elena Calas, 1985).

225. "An Oral History Interview with Nicolas Calas," interview by Paul Cummings, January 26, 1978, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

226. Andreas Karandonis, "Ενας Υπερμοντέρνος λόγιος," *Ιδέα*, no. 8 (August 1933): 120–26.

227. Raymond Queneau, "Minautorisme et monogamie," in *Voyage en Grèce* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 156–61; first published in *Volontés*, no. 15 (March 1939).

228. Edouard Roditi, "Nicolas Calas: *Confound the Wise*," *Journal of Aesthetics of Art and Criticism* 2, no. 8 (Fall 1943): 93–94, 93.

229. The poem was published in *Pleine Marge*, no. 45 (June 2007): 50. As for the Dalí sign, the English translation does not convey the "errors" and their meaning in French.

230. In October 1922, Marcel Duchamp published his own punning poems with the title "Rrose Sélavy." Robert Desnos then followed suit in December of that same year. See also Katharine Conley, "Rrose Sélavy's Ghosts: Life, Death, and Desnos," *French Review* 83, no. 5 (2010): 964–75.

231. Jacques Derrida, *Monolinguism of the Other, or the Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 10.

232. Gilles Deleuze, "He Stuttered," in *Gilles Deleuze: Essays Critical and Clinical*, trans. Daniel W. Smith and Micheal A. Greco (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 107–14.

233. Deleuze, "He Stuttered," 109.

CHAPTER 4

1. Paul Éluard, *Lettres à Gala 1924–1948*, ed. Pierre Dreyfus (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 202–3.

2. For a complete history of the surrealist power struggles within the magazine, see Danièle Schneider-Berry, "*Minotaure*: Une revue surréaliste?" *Mélusine* no. 10, "Amour-Humour" (1988): 227–38.

3. "Le Monde au temps des surréalistes," *Variétés: Revue mensuelle illustrée de l'esprit contemporain*, (June 1929): 26–27.

4. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 134.

5. Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 147.

6. Katharine Conley, "Modernist Primitivism in 1933: Brassaï's 'Involuntary Sculptures' in *Minotaure*," *Modernism/modernity* 10, no. 1 (2003): 130.

7. Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 145.

8. Kurt Seligmann, "Entretien avec un Tsimshian," *Minotaure* no. 12–13 (May 1939): 66–69.

9. See Louise Tythacott, *Surrealism and the Exotic* (London: Routledge 2003), 167–68; and Thomas E. Crow, *The Intelligence of Art* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 51.

10. Michel Leiris, "Letter to Zette," September 19, 1931, cited in Michel Leiris, *Phantom Africa*, trans. Brent Hayes Edwards (London: Seagull Books, 2017), 163. Original cited in Leiris, *Miroir de l'Afrique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 204.

11. Seligmann, "Entretien avec un Tsimshian," 66.

12. Seligmann, "Entretien avec un Tsimshian," 66–67. This comment recalls the tract "Premier bilan de l'exposition coloniale," which was published in reaction to the International Colonial Exposition of Paris in 1931 and signed by the leading surrealists, in which the role of missionaries in mutilating tribal fetishes while promoting the creation of Christian symbols is emphasized. In José Pierre, *Tracts surréalistes et déclarations collectives*, vol. 1: *1922–1939* (Paris: Terrain Vague, 1980), 198–200.

13. For a succinct discussion of the difference between ethnology and ethnography, see Daniel J. Sherman, "'Peoples Ethnographic': Objects, Museums, and the Colonial Inheritance of French Ethnography," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 669–703.

14. From the website of the Musée de l'Homme; this declaration appears in English in Paul Rivet, "Organization of an Ethnological Museum," *Museum International* 1, no. 1-2 (1948): 113.

15. Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 140 and 145.

16. *Minotaure*'s *numéro spécial* dedicated to "La Mission ethnographique et linguistique Dakar-Djibouti" was actually conceived as the printed version of the new Salle d'Afrique of the Musée d'Ethnographie, which comprised the collections and documents brought to France from Africa. One reads in the introduction to this issue that "nous avons tenu à mettre en œuvre cet esprit collectif . . . , esprit dont Marcel Griaule et ses collaborateurs se réclament," while the presentation of the material has a clear pedagogical purpose: "Estimant qu'il est aujourd'hui plus que jamais nécessaire de ne pas séparer la science de la vie, nous nous sommes efforcés de donner au lecteur tous les éléments qui lui permettront de situer les documents publiés dans leur juste atmosphère, l'imaginer leurs racines réelles telles qu'elles se comportent naturellement" (*Minotaure* no. 2 [1933], n.p.). The magazine then becomes a space in which collective knowledge is presented in a comprehensive way that permits one to know and imagine the world. On periodicals and museums, and especially on museum journals as "printed museums," see Chantal Georgel, "The Museum as Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, ed. Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 113–22.

17. *Minotaure* also played with texture in some issues using different types of paper to differentiate content: in issue no. 6, for example, light blue paper marks new literary texts by the surrealists and thicker paper marks other literary texts.

18. The artists and covers: Pablo Picasso, issue no. 1 (1933); Gaston-Louis Roux, issue no. 2 (1933); André Derain, double issue no. 3-4 (1933); Francisco Bóres, issue no. 5 (1934); Marcel Duchamp, issue no. 6 (1935); Joan Miró, issue no. 7 (1935); Salvador Dalí, issue no. 8 (1936); Henri Matisse, issue no. 9 (1936); René Magritte, issue no. 10 (1937); Max Ernst, issue no. 11 (1938);

André Masson, front and back covers of double issue no. 12-13 (1939); and Diego Rivera, an extra cover within this last double issue for André Breton's article "Souvenir du Mexique."

19. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 6 (1935): n.p.

20. Brassaï, *Picasso and Company*, trans. Francis Price (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 12. Original cited in Brassaï, *Conversations avec Picasso* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), 21.

21. Tristan Tzara, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5, ed. Henri Béhar (Paris: Flammarion, 1982), 393 and 693.

22. *La Révolution surréaliste* had an initial print run of 1,000 copies; see Norbert Bandier, *Sociologie du surréalisme, 1924–1929* (Paris: La Dispute, 1999), 139. *Littérature* had a print run of 1,500 copies; see Raymond Spiteri, "'What Can the Surrealists Do?' *Littérature* (1919–24), *La Révolution surréaliste* (1924–29), and *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* (1929–33)," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines,* vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 223. Spiteri also mentions that by its last issue in 1929, *La Révolution surréaliste* had augmented its print run to 3,000 copies.

23. See José Pierre, "André Breton et/ou Minotaure," in *Regards sur Minotaure*: *La Revue à tête de bête*, ed. Claude Gaume (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1987), 95.

24. An exception to the critical consensus on the apolitical orientation of *Minotaure* is the approach of Jonathan Eburne, "Surrealism Noir," in *Surrealism, Politics, and Culture*, ed. Raymond Spiteri and Donald LaCoss (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 91–110.

25. See André Breton, "Question/Réponse," *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* no. 1 (July 1930): 1.

26. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): n.p.

27. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): n.p.

28. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): n.p.

29. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 6 (1935): n.p.

30. "Editorial," *Minotaure* no. 9 (1936): n.p.

31. Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, trans. Stephen Clucas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), xv.

32. Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 134.

33. Antonin Artaud, "The Activity of the Surrealist Research Bureau," in *Antonin Artaud: Selected Writings*, ed. Susan Sontag (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 105. Original cited in Antonin Artaud, "L'Activité du bureau des recherches surréalistes," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 3 (April 1925): 31.

34. Artaud, "Activity of the Surrealist Research Bureau," 107.

35. See Jeanne-Marie Baude, "L'Image de l'Europe dans *La Révolution surréaliste*," *Mélusine* no. 14, "L'Europe surréaliste" (1992): 51–62; Viviane Barry-Couillard, "L'Image de l'Orient, antidote de l'image de l'Europe," *Mélusine* no. 14, "L'Europe surréaliste" (1992): 63–72; and Elza Adamowicz, *Ceci n'est pas un tableau: Les Écrits surréalistes sur l'art* (Paris: L'Âge d'Homme, 2004), 113–20.

36. Alan Rose, *Surrealism and Communism: The Early Years*, American University Studies Series IX, vol. 96 (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 200. Original cited in "Europe," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 6 (March 1926): 28.

37. André Breton, "Revolution Now and Forever (excerpts)," in André Breton, *What Is Surrealism? Selected Writings*, ed. Franklin Rosemont (New York: Monad, 1978), 318–20, 318–19. Original cited in "La Révolution d'abord et toujours," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 5 (October 1925): 31.

38. Breton, *What Is Surrealism?* 319. Original cited in André Breton, "Lettre aux voyantes," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 5 (October 1925): 21. On surrealism and the Orient, see also Sophie Leclercq, *La Rançon du colonialisme: Les Surréalistes face aux mythes de la France coloniale* (Dijon: Presses du Réel, 2010), 119–31.

39. Robert Desnos, "Pamphlet against Jerusalem," trans. Mark Abidor, Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/history/france/surrealists/1925/desnos-jerusalem.html. Original cited in "Pamphlet contre Jérusalem," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 3 (April 1925): 8.

40. Breton, "Revolution Now and Forever (excerpts)."

41. Denis Hollier, "Surrealism and Its Discontents," *Papers of Surrealism* 7 (2007): 4.

42. André Breton, "Legitimate Defense," in *What Is Surrealism? Selected Writings*, ed. Franklin Rosemont (New York: Monad, 1978), 31–42, 40. Original cited in Breton, "Légitime défense," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 8 (December 1926): 35.

43. Robert Desnos, "Description d'une révolte prochaine," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 3 (April 1925): 25.

44. See Jonathan Eburne, "Antihumanism and Terror: Surrealism, Theory, and the Postwar Left," in *Yale French Studies* 109, *Surrealism and Its Others* (2006): 39–51, for an account of similar positions and their reception after the Second World War.

45. It is characteristic that Frantz Fanon in *Les Damnés de la terre* (Paris: Maspero, 1961), 304–5, a fundamental book for both anticolonial theory and struggle, calls for a thought that would bypass Europe, in terms not too dissimilar from those used by the surrealists thirty-five years earlier. I would like to thank Gavin Arnall for bringing this passage to my attention.

46. *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 1 (December 1924): cover. The sentence belongs to Louis Aragon and appeared first in his text "Une vague de rêves," *Commerce* 2 (October 1924): 89–122.

47. On surrealism and the French Revolution, see Simon Baker, *Surrealism, History, and Revolution* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 65–106.

48. André Breton, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Philippe Bernier, Marguerite Bonnet, Marie-Claire Dumas, et al., vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1999), 492.

49. Robert Desnos, *Liberty or Love!* trans. Terry Hale (London: Atlas, 1993), 69. Original cited in Robert Desnos, "La Baie de la faim," *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 4 (July 1925): 18.

50. Desnos, *Liberty or Love!* 70.

51. Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, 16.

52. Roland Barthes, "The Surrealists Overlooked the Body," in *The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962–1980*, trans. Linda Coverdale (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009), 244.

53. Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, 123.

54. Nick Nesbitt, *Universal Emancipation: The Haitian Revolution and the Radical Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 101.

55. Nesbitt, *Universal Emancipation*, 101.

56. André Breton, "La Grande Actualité poétique," *Minotaure* no. 6 (1934): 61.

57. As the editors of the Pléiade edition of André Breton, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 1639, point out, one would have expected the word "politique" instead of "poétique" in the title of the article.

58. Breton, "La Grande Actualité poétique," 61.

59. Translation cited in André Breton, "Political Position of Today's Art," in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), 212–34, 227. Original cited in Breton, "La Grande Actualité poétique," 62.

60. Breton, "Political Position of Today's Art," 229.

61. Breton, "Political Position of Today's Art," 229.

62. Breton "La Grande Actualité poétique," 62.

63. Breton, "Political Position of Today's Art," 240.

64. Breton, "Political Position of Today's Art," 240.

65. Gisèle Prassinos, "Tragic Fanaticism," in *The Arthritic Grasshopper; Collected Stories, 1934–1944*, trans. Henry Vale and Bonnie Ruberg (Cambridge, MA: Wakefield, 2017), 57–62, 58–60. Original cited in Prassinos, "Tragique fanatisme," *Minotaure* no. 6 (1934): 63.

66. See also Hans Bellmer, quoted in Alyce Mahon, "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics," in *Surrealism, Politics, and Culture*, ed. Raymond Spiteri and Donald LaCoss (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), 246: "the body is like a sentence that incites us to rearrange it, so that its real meaning becomes clear through a series of endless anagrams. I wanted to reveal what is usually kept hidden."

67. Salvador Dalí, "Apparitions aérodynamiques des 'Etres-Objets,'" *Minotaure* no. 6 (1934): 33–34.

68. See Malt, *Obscure Objects of Desire*, 76–112.

69. Translation cited in Jed Rasula, "Dangerous Games and New Mythologies," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 265–88, 282.

70. André Breton, "Gisèle Prassinos," in *Anthology of Black Humor*, trans. Mark Polizotti (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997), 341. Original cited in André Breton, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 1167.

71. Breton, "Gisèle Prassinos," 341.

72. Paul Éluard, "Juste milieu," *Minotaure* no. 11 (1939): 45–46.

73. Man Ray, "Dances-Horizons," in *Man Ray: Writings on Art*, ed. Jennifer Mundy (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 110. Original cited in Man Ray, "Danses-Horizons," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): 27–29.

74. Georges Hugnet, "Petite rêverie du grand veneur," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): 30.

75. Lotte Wolff, "Les Révélations psychiques de la main," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): 30.

76. André Breton, "Picasso dans son élément," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): 9–29.

77. Pablo Picasso, "Une anatomie: Dessins de Pablo Picasso," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): 33–37.

78. Maurice Raynal, "Variété du corps humain," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): 41–44.

79. André Masson, "Massacres," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): 57–61.

80. Respectively, Salvador Dalí, "Le Phénomène de l'extase," *Minotaure* no. 3–4 (1933): 76–77; Albert Béguin, "L'Androgyne," *Minotaure* no. 11 (1938): 10–13; "L'Homme anatomique" taken from *Les Très riches heures du Duc de Berry*, *Minotaure* no. 6 (1934): n.p.; Raoul Ubac, "Le Triomphe de la stérilité," *Minotaure* no. 10 (1937). To these can be added Maurice Heine, "Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclassique," *Minotaure* no. 8 (1936): 41–45; and Maurice Heine, "Martyre en taille douce," *Minotaure* no. 9 (1936): 51–53.

81. Jean Jamin, "De l'humaine condition de *Minotaure*," in *Regards sur Minotaure: La Revue à tête de bête*, ed. Claude Gaume (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1987), 82 and 83.

82. Hal Foster, *Prosthetic Gods* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 10.

83. Devin Fore, *Realism after Modernism: The Rehumanization of Art and Literature* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 3–4.

84. The mechanical is not absent from *Minotaure*; see, for instance, in issue no. 3–4, 1933, Benjamin Péret, "Au paradis des fantômes," 35. However, this figuration of the human is rare in the magazine.

85. Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, 148.

86. Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, 153.

87. See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, *Duchamp in Context: Science and Technology in the Large Glass and Related Works* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), chapter 14; Jessica Helfand, *Reinventing the Wheel* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 141; and Rhonda Roland Shearer and Stephen Jay Gould, "Of Two Minds and One Nature," *Science* 286, no. 5442 (1999): 1093–94.

88. Gabrielle Buffet, "Coeurs volants," *Cahiers d'art*, no. 1–2 (1936): 34–43, 34.

89. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 175.

90. Antonin Artaud, "Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu," O*euvres* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 1654.

91. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 177.

92. "Éternité de *Minotaure*," *Minotaure* no. 12 (1939): n.p.

93. Desnos, "Description d'une révolte prochaine," 26. The fantasy of headlessness cuts across the surrealist imaginary: in Louis Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris* with the decapitation and ascent to the stars of what is probably the figure of the peasant, in Max Ernst's *La Femme 100 têtes*, and in Michel Leiris's obsession with the "coup coupé" in Cranach paintings in *L'Age d'homme*.

94. Jean Starobinski, "Face diurne et face nocturne," in *Regards sur Minotaure: La Revue à tête de bête*, ed. Claude Gaume (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1987), 31.

95. José Pierre, "André Breton et/ou *Minotaure*," in *Regards sur Minotaure: La Revue à tête de bête*, ed. Claude Gaume (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1987), 97–98.

96. Paul Morand, "La Crète," *La Revue des voyages*, no. 39, (1960), quoted in Sophie Basch, *Le Mirage grec: La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française depuis la création de l'École d'Athènes jusqu'à la guerre civile grecque (1846–1946)* (Paris: Hatier, 1995), 339.

97. For the influence of the Knossos excavations, the reconstruction of the site, and subsequent publications, see Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). See also Theodore Ziolkowski, *Minos and the Moderns: Cretan Myth in Twentieth Century Literature and Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Gerald Cadogan, "The Minoan Distance: The Impact of Knossos upon the Twentieth Century," in *Knossos: Palace, City, State*, British School of Athens Studies, no. 12 (2004), 537–45.

98. *Cahiers d'art* repeatedy published findings from the excavations: "Fresques de Cnossos," 9 (1926): 244–45; "Cnossos, figurines de faïence," 2 (1927): 64; Spyridon Marinatos, "Les Origines de l'art minoen," 3 (193): 132–43; Spyridon Marinatos, "Le Développement de l'art minoen et son influence aux bords de la Méditerranée," 6–7 (1932): 270–76 and 5–6 (1933): 224–29.

99. Jeffrey Schnapp, Michael Shanks, and Matthew Tiews, eds., introduction to "Archaeologies of the Modern," special issue of *Modernism/modernity* 11, no. 1 (2004): 4.

100. Schnapp, Shanks, and Tiews, introduction to "Archaeologies of the Modern," 4.

101. Response of Roger Vitrac to a survey on the influence of Greek thought in *Le Voyage en Grèce* 5 (Summer 1936): 19.

102. See John B. Vickery, *The Literary Impact of the Golden Bough* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973).

103. Georges-Henri Rivière, "Archaeologisms," trans. Matthew Tiews, *Modernism/modernity* 11, no. 1 (January 2004): 179. Original cited in Georges-Henri Rivière, "Archéologismes," *Cahiers d'art* 7 (1926): 177.

104. Jean Cassou, "Les Grèces," *Le Voyage en Grèce* 4 (Spring 1936): 9.

105. Yannis Hamilakis and Nicoletta Momigliano, "Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the Minoans," *Creta Antica* 7 (2006): 27.

106. M[ax] R[aphaël]., "A propos du fronton de Corfou," *Minotaure* no. 1 (1933): 6. These lines are also echoed in Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 1.

107. This is also the direction in which a comment by Pierre Mabille, in another article, points: "Ce sont les vieilles couches gréco-asiatiques qui reparaissent après un long séjour dans l'inconscient." He adds in the form of a footnote: "Il y a certainement des phénomènes d'hérédité encore plus éloignée, qui remontent le cours des âges. Ressortent actuellement des tendances et des formes datant de l'homme avant l'ère historique. Signalons qu'on n'écrit pas au hasard dans *Minotaure*. Ce nom même est assez caractéristique." Pierre Mabille, "Préface à l'éloge des préjugés populaires," *Minotaure* no. 6 (1934): 3.

108. Lisa Florman, *Myth and Metamorphosis: Picasso's Classical Prints of the 1930s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 193.

109. These names appear on the cover of the first issue of *Acéphale*, of June 24, 1936.

110. These two names appear on the cover of the second issue of *Acéphale*, January 21, 1937.

111. The last two names appear on issue 3–4 of *Acéphale*, dated July 1937.

112. Michel Camus, "L'Acéphalité, ou la religion de la mort," preface to the facsimile edition of *Acéphale* (Paris: Jean Michel Place, 1995), i–vi.

113. Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, trans. Betsy Wing (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 64.

114. Georges Bataille, "The Sacred Conspiracy," in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927–1939*, trans. Allan Stoekl (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 178–82, 181. Original cited in *Acéphale* 1 (June 1936): 3.

115. Florman, *Myth and Metamorphosis*, 230, note 7, sees the headless man as "the natural outgrowth—or, better, ingrowth—of the bull-headed Minotaur."

116. Translation cited in Julia Kristeva, *The Severed Head: Capital Visions*, trans. Jody Gladding (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 129.

117. Georges Bataille, "Nietzsche and the Fascists," in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927–1939*, trans. Allan Stoekl (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 182–96, 194. Original cited in Bataille, "Nietzsche et les fascistes," special issue, *Nietzsche et les fascistes, une réparation*: *Acéphale* 2 (January 1937): 11–12.

118. Georges Bataille, "Chronique nietzshéenne," special issue, *Dionysos*: *Acéphale* 3 (July 1937): 15–23.

119. André Masson, "Dionysos," *Acéphale* 3 (July 1937): 1.

120. André Masson, "L'Univers dionysiaque," *Acéphale* 3 (July 1937): 7.

121. Ariadne, who helped Theseus kill the Minotaur, was abandoned by the former on the island of Naxos, where she was found by Dionysus, who married her.

122. André Masson, "La Grèce tragique," *Acéphale* 3 (July 1937): 5.

123. Alan Stoeckl, introduction to Georges Bataille, *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927–1939*, trans. Allan Stoekl (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), xx.

124. On this, see Jean-Luc Nancy and Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, "The Nazi Myth," *Critical Inquiry* 16, no. 2 (Winter 1990): 291–312; and George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 170.

125. Michael Mackenzie, "From Athens to Berlin: The 1936 Olympics and Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*," *Critical Inquir*y 28, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 319 and 313, a quote from Hilmar Hoffman, *Mythos Olympia: Autonomie und Unterwerfung von Sport und Kultur* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1993), 32: "The [use of] classical formal vocabulary is . . . essentially a recording, an authoritarian appropriation of a 'world language' in which the fascistic is defined more generally, more functionally, and more multivalently than simply German-national, cultural and regional-tribal, namely, it is defined as fundamental, racist, and global-Darwinist."

126. See Stefanos Geroulanos, *An Atheism That Is Not Humanist Emerges in French Thought* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

127. Malraux speaks of the "death of man" already in 1926, in *La Tentation de l'Occident* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1926).

128. Breton, "Picasso dans son élément," 9–29.

129. Michel Leiris, "Le Taureau de Seyfou Tchenger," *Minotaure* no. 2 (1933): 75–82.

130. Roger Caillois, "La Mante religieuse: De la biologie à la psychanalyse," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): 23–26.

131. Jean Lévy, "King Kong," *Minotaure* no. 5 (1934): 5.

132. Armand Petitjean, "Analyse spectrale du singe," *Minotaure* no. 7 (1935): 58–59.

133. Jacques Delamain, "Oiseaux de nuit: Chouettes et hiboux," *Minotaure* no. 7 (1935): 42–47.

134. Photographs by Brassaï, *Minotaure* no. 7 (1935): 27–29.

135. Photograph by Man Ray, *Minotaure* no. 7 (1935): n.p.

136. Benjamin Péret, "Entre chien et loup," *Minotaure* no. 8 (1936): 19–24.

137. Mabille, "Préface à l'éloge," 2.

138. Jacques Lacan, "Motives of Paranoid Crime: The Crime of the Papin Sisters," trans. Paul Crichton and Christopher Cordess, *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry* 6, no. 3 (1995): 564–75, 571. Original cited in Jacques Lacan, "Moteur du crime paranoïaque: Le Crime des soeurs Papin," *Minotaure* no. 2 (1933): 28.

139. Delamain, "Oiseaux de nuit: Chouettes et hiboux." Jacques Delamain (1874–1953) was an amateur ornithologist who wrote popular books on birds, including *Pourquoi les oiseaux chantent* (Paris: Librairie Stock, Delamain & Boutelleau, 1928; reprinted 1990), translated into English by Ruth and Anna Sarason as *Why Birds Sing* (New York: Coward-McCann) in 1931. He was very influential for Olivier Messiaen, who stayed in Delamain's country house while the latter helped him recognize the bird-songs that became fundamental elements of his music.

140. On Petitjean and his sinuous political and ideological path seen within the frame of an ecological turn, see Claudine Frank-Elster, "Les Retournements petitjeaniens," *Modernism/modernity* 3, no. 1 (1996): 87–116.

141. Petitjean, "Analyse spectrale du singe," 58.

142. Petitjean, "Analyse spectrale du singe," 59.

143. On Lacan and Petitjean, see Frank-Elster, "Les Retournements," 96–97.

144. Roger Caillois, "The Praying Mantis: From Biology to Psychoanalysis," in *The Edge of Surrealism: A Roger Caillois Reader*, ed. Claudine Frank, trans. Claudine Frank and Camille Naish (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 66–81, 69.

145. Caillois, "The Praying Mantis," 81.

146. Mabille, "Préface à l'éloge," 1.

147. For the history of ethology, see Richard Wellington Burkhardt, *Patterns of Behavior: Konrad Lorenz, Niko Tinbergen, and the Founding of Ethology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

148. See Dominique Lestel, "Ethology and Ethnology: The Coming Synthesis," *Social Science Information* 45 (2006): 147–53.

149. Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich, "Multispecies Ethnography," *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 4 (November 2010): 551.

150. Kirksey and Helmreich, "Multispecies Ethnography," 545–46.

151. Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 80.

152. Agamben, *The Open*, 92.

153. Agamben, *The Open*, 33 and after.

154. Agamben, *The Open*, 16.

155. See André Breton, *Prolégomènes à un troisième manifeste du surréalisme ou non: Manifestes du surréalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 161: "L'homme n'est peut-être pas le centre, le *point de mire* de l'univers."

156. See Malcolm Turvey, "Dada between Heaven and Hell: Abstraction and Universal Language in the *Rhythm* Films of Hans Richter," *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 13–36.

157. Étienne Balibar, "Sub specie universitatis," *Topoi* 25 (2006): 5.

158. Étienne Balibar, *Politics and the Other Scene*, trans. Christine Jones, James Swenson, and Chris Turner (London: Verso, 2002), 146.

CHAPTER 5

1. Raymond Lécuyer, "Une charge d'atelier," *Le Figaro*, January 22, 1938, 7.

2. The museum was closed between 1937 and 1967; see Nélia Dias, "Le Corps en vitrine: Éléments pour une recherche sur les collections médicales," *Terrain* 18 (March 1992): 72–79.

3. *Bulletin international du surréalisme, avril 1935–septembre 1936* (Lausanne: Editions L'Age d'Homme, 2009).

4. See Lewis Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous: Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 10.

5. Two exhibitions with international aspirations that included surrealism intervened around the time of the exhibitions in London in 1936 and Paris in 1938: one in Copenhagen in 1935, and the big show at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," in 1936. Although in the first there was some input by the surrealists, these two exhibitions were not organized by the surrealists themselves.

6. See *Exposicion Internacional del Surrealismo, Enero–Febrero 1940* (Mexico City: Galería de Arte Mexicano, 1940), a bilingual catalog (Spanish-English) with a checklist of works and images and introductory texts by César Moro and Wolfgang Paalen.

7. The performative element was already present in the London 1936 exhibition, where Salvador Dalí delivered a lecture dressed in a diving suit that almost suffocated him. See Dalí, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, trans. Haakon M. Chevalier (New York: Dover Fine Art, 1993), 344–45.

8. See Alyce Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros, 1938–1968* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005), chapter 4: "Embattled Eros."

9. See Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Kachur, *Displaying the*

Marvelous; Bruce Altshuler, *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition: New Art in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Abrams, 1994); Mahon, *Politics of Eros*; Elena Filipovic, "Surrealism in 1938: The Exhibition at War," in *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, ed. Raymond Spiteri and Donald LaCoss (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991); James Herbert, *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); Ian Dunlop, *The Shock of the New: Seven Historic Exhibitions of Modern Art* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

10. Notably Mahon, Filipovic, and Herbert.

11. Respectively in the Galerie Charles Ratton, May 22–29, 1936; in the Galerie Pierre Loeb, November 1925; and in the Galerie Le Sacre du Printemps, April 1928.

12. For a detailed description of the exhibition, see Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous,* 31–88. My description of the exhibition is based on Kachur's account, as well as on that of Altshuler in *Making It New*; Dunlop in *The Shock of the New*; Man Ray's photographs in *Résurrection des mannequins* (Paris: Jean Petithory, 1966), and extant photographs by Raoul Ubac, Denise Bellon, Man Ray, and Josef Breitenbach.

13. Man Ray, *Self Portrait* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), 288.

14. See Georges Hugnet, *Pleins et déliés* (La Chapelle-sur-Loire: Guy Authier, 1972), 46.

15. Jean Fraysse, "Pour le surréalisme—Un art d'insolite grandeur," *Le Figaro littéraire*, January 29, 1938, 7.

16. Hugnet, *Pleins et déliés*, 41.

17. Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 131–33. The catalog of "Le Surréalisme en 1947" also includes the notice "pays représentés" and lists twenty-four countries.

18. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 100.

19. See Shearer West, "National Desires and Regional Realities in the Venice Biennale, 1895–1914," *Art History* 18, no. 3 (September 1985): 404–34; and Lawrence Alloway, *The Venice Biennale* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

20. Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 4.

21. The 1928 Paris International Convention regulated periodicity, criteria, and nomenclature for these kind of commercial fairs.

22. On the competing ideologies around the concept of the international in the period leading up to the Second World War, see Mazower, *Governing the World*, 154–88.

23. See Mary Anne Staniszwski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 134–35.

24. Staniszwski, *The Power of Display*, 139.

25. See, for instance, the caricatures in *Paris-Midi*, "Exposition surréaliste," January 28, 1938, and "L'Exemple," January 27, 1938.

26. Along with many articles attesting to this lasting impression, a letter by Raymond Cogniat to Kurt Seligmann, dated February 10, 1938, and referring to the company that had rented out the mannequins for the exhibition and

their decision to pull them earlier than agreed, speaks to the public's attraction: "Vous n'ignorez pas, d'autre part, que l'Exposition, privée de ses mannequins, perd pour le grand public une large partie de son attrait." Raymond Cogniat, letter of February 10, 1938, to Kurt Seligmann, Gallerie Wildenstein Archives, Paris.

27. Fraysse, "Pour le surréalisme," 7.

28. From the Left and the Right: see Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 85 and after.

29. Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 83.

30. Raymond Lécuyer, "Treize cents chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français," *Le Figaro littéraire*, July 31, 1937, 7. Translation cited in Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 87.

31. Lécuyer, "Une charge d'atelier."

32. Lécuyer, "Treize cents chefs-d'oeuvre." See also Christopher Green, *Art in France: 1900–1940* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

33. Louis Brunet, "Du surréalisme," *La Croix*, January 20, 1938, quoted in Guiol-Benassaya, *La Presse face au surréalisme*, 225.

34. Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 430.

35. Filipovic, "Surrealism in 1938," 199.

36. Lécuyer, "Une charge d'atelier."

37. Hugnet, *Pleins et déliés*, 335, 339.

38. Dias, "Le Corps en vitrine," 73.

39. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 30, mentions the Belgian group put together by Mesens, the Copenhagen group, and the London group.

40. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 100–101, referring to people reacting to the exhibition: "One snidely described the opening as packed with Czechs, German, Japanese, and 'even a few Parisians,' while another stereotyped the crowd as 'pretty American women, German Jewish men, and wary old English.'"

41. Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

42. Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (New York: Routledge, 1994), 283.

43. Carol Duncan, "From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery, London," in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 256–58.

44. Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," 284.

45. Duncan, "From the Princely Gallery," 358.

46. A.W., "Les Surréalistes vont faire de nouveau parler d'eux," *Le Figaro*, January 7, 1938, 5: "sous trois mille kilos de charbon jouant le rôle de véritable épée de Damoclès."

47. Elena Filipovic, "A Museum That Is Not," *e-flux* 4 (March 2009), http://www.e-flux.com/journal/view/50.

48. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 72, following O'Doherty in *Inside the White Cube*.

49. See O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*.

50. Filipovic, "Exhibition at War," 181.

51. André Breton, "Before the Curtain," in *Free Rein*, trans. Michel Parmentier and Jacqueline D'Amboise (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 80–88, 81. Original cited from André Breton, "Devant le rideau," in *Le Surréalisme en 1947* (Paris: Pierre à Feu, Maeght, 1947), 14.

52. It is this kind of interpretation that prompted the curators of the exhibition at the Musée de l'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, "L'Art en Guerre: France 1938–1947" (October 2012–February 2013), to place a reproduction of the Duchamp ceiling in the entry hall of the exhibit, with the label stating: "This introduction re-creates the atmosphere of the event that appears now as a strange premonition just before the Munich Agreement. The artists are more politicized than their average contemporaries and are aware that, since the end of the Great War of 1914–1918, everything can turn overnight into violence."

53. Breton, "Before the Curtain," 80–81.

54. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 73, quoting Henri Hérault, "Lettre de Paris: Surréalisme," *Marseille Libre*, February 6, 1938.

55. André Rolland de Renéville, "Le Surréalisme en 1938," *Nouvelle Revue française* 299 (August 1938): 306.

56. See Duncan, "From the Princely Gallery," 256–58.

57. Hubert Damisch, *A Theory of /Cloud/: Toward a History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 1.

58. See Guy Crouzet, "Actualité du surréalisme," *La Grande revue* (February 1938): 488.

59. Filipovic, "Exhibition at War," 200.

60. See A.W., "Les Surréalistes vont de nouveau faire parler d'eux," 5.

61. This was also the case in the third room, for which we know that Hugnet had installed a trompe l'oeil window from which a trompe l'oeil sky could be seen. Here the reference to older practices of painting trompe l'oeil skies on the ceiling is obvious, although slightly subverted by the presence of the framing device of the window which breaks the illusionistic effect of the open sky.

62. Hugnet, *Pleins et déliés*, 330.

63. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 75.

64. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 86.

65. Stewart, *On Longing*, 71.

66. See, for instance, Clifton C. Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

67. Raymond Cogniat, preface to *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, quoted in Guiol-Benassaya, *La Presse face au surréalisme*, 211. On these previous exhibitions, see Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 22–23.

68. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 23.

69. Green, *Art in France*, 12–13.

70. Green, *Art in France*, 13.

71. Tract of August 1937 concerning the exhibition in the Jeu de Paume, "Origines et Développement de l'Art Indépendant International," and addressed

to the president of the Ministerial Council, Camille Chautemps, the minister of national education and fine arts Jean Zay, and the director general of fine arts, Georges Huisman. In the tract, the surrealists complain about the exclusion of certain foreign artists and the problems for the didactic character of the exhibition implied by this omission. See José Pierre, *Tracts surréalistes*, 311–12.

72. Green, *Art in France*, 14.

73. See de Renéville, "Le Surréalisme en 1938."

74. The titles are anthologized by Breton in "Devant le rideau," 13.

75. The work in question was Max Ernst's *The Elephant Celebes*, cited in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 25.

76. The Americans Joseph Cornell and Anne Clark, the Chilean Roberto Matta, and the Japanese Taro Okamoto; however, the last three lived in Paris at that time.

77. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 179.

78. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 292.

79. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 430.

80. On universal exhibitions, see John Allwood, *The Great Exhibition* (London: Studio Vista, 1977); Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (Berkeley, CA: Scolar, 1983); Philippe Bouin and Christophe-Philippe Chamut, *Histoire française des foires et des expositions universelles* (Paris: Badouin, 1980); Marie Odile Caussin, *1937: Exposition internationale des arts et techniques* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1979); Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Penelope Harmon, *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition* (London: Routledge, 1996); Lieven de Cauter, "The Panoramic Ecstasy: On World Exhibitions and the Disintegration of Experience," *Theory Culture Society* 10, no. 1 (November 1993): 1–24; and Sharon Macdonald, ed., *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997).

81. Peer, *France on Display*, 5.

82. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 67.

83. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 81–82.

84. Jacques Morane, "Comment on fait une exposition," *Revue des sciences politiques* 6 (February 1938), quoted in Peer, *France on Display*, 7.

85. The shift to national pavilions as opposed to international halls occurred between the Parisian exhibitions of 1889 and 1900; see Peer, *France on Display*, 6, and Henri Loyrette, "Du pavillon isolé à la ville dans la ville (1851–1900)," in *Le Livre des expositions universelles, 1851–1989* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1983).

86. de Cauter, "Panoramic Ecstasy," 8.

87. Edmond Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale des arts et techniques de la vie moderne* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1938), 2:14.

88. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 2:36.

89. "Promenade dans le monde" and "L'Univers dans Paris," quoted in Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 14 and note 1. The 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris actually offered a building of "Le tour du monde" as a collage of exotic architectural styles; see de Cauter, "Panoramic Ecstasy," 14–15.

90. Green, *Art in France*, 3.

91. Quoted in Peer, *France on Display*, 6.

92. See Loyrette, "Du pavillon isolé."

93. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 2:36.

94. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 2:36.

95. Although there was no French pavilion, there were technological and cultural pavilions that were French, such as "Le Pavillon d'aéronautique," "Le Pavillon de la Marine Marchande," "Le Palais de la lumière et de l'électricité," and so on.

96. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 2:37.

97. Quoted in Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 23.

98. On the panorama of the 1937 exhibition, see Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 23–28.

99. See Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exhibition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 102–3. See also Janine Mileaf, "Body to Politics: Surrealist Exhibition of the Tribal and the Modern at the Anti-Imperialist Exhibition and the Galerie Charles Ratton," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (Autumn 2001): 247, quoting from "L'Exposition anti-impérialiste: La Vérité sur les colonies," Document 461, Reel 69, Archives BMP, 3. "Par une opposition ironique et frappante sont exposés dans la même salle ce qu'on pourrait appeler les fétiches européens. D'abord tout l'attirail de propagande de l'Eglise, des innombrables images de piété en couleur, puis les ingénieuses adaptations du christianisme pour chaque race: un enfant Jésus et des vierges noires. D'amusantes photos reproduisant les sculpteurs d'une église construite par un gros exploiteur de Java et où les saintes et tous les personnages sacrés sont du plus par type asiatique et présentent des faces et des profiles de Bouddha."

100. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 36.

101. See also Filipovic, "Exhibition at War," 191.

102. See Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, 101–22, 128–30.

103. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 44 and after.

104. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 37 and after.

105. See, for instance, Julien Benda, "A propos de l'exposition surréaliste," *Nouvelle Revue française* 294 (March 1938): 515, which describes one mannequin as "une espèce de putain."

106. Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 191.

107. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 47.

108. Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 61. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 44, interprets the cylinder as a mark of her being a "shop mannequin, just arrived from the manufacturer and awaiting clothing for her perfect body."

109. According to Engels, from whom the title is presumably taken, "Ce qui manque à tous ces messieurs c'est la dialectique"—a statement reproduced in capitals on the cover of *La Révolution surréaliste* no. 8 (December 1926). According to Arturo Schwarz, Man Ray told him: "Actually, I had in mind 'imagination,' not dialectics, what we all lack is imagination." See Arturo Schwarz, *Man Ray: The Rigour of Imagination* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 209.

110. Kim Knowles, *A Cinematic Artist: The Films of Man Ray* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 269 and on.

111. Edwin Hill, "*Adieu Madras, Adieu Foulard:* Musical Origins and the *Doudou*'s Colonial Plaint," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 16, no. 1 (June 2007): 19–43. Frantz Fanon mentions the song prominently in the first chapter of his *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1952).

112. I thank Brent Hayes Edwards for this reference.

113. Herbert comes to the same conclusion from a very different path, *Paris 1937*, 150–51.

114. Lécuyer, "Une charge d'atelier," 7.

115. André Breton and Paul Éluard, *L'Immaculée Conception*.

116. Léon Geraud, "Overseas France," *Exposition Paris 1937,* Official Magazine Published by the General Committee, no. 2 (June 1936): 7.

117. Henry Berenger, "Overseas France at the Exposition of 1937," *Exposition Paris 1937,* no. 3 (July 1936): 12.

118. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 52.

119. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 50–55.

120. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 2:46.

121. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 55.

122. Mahon, *Politics of Eros*, 55. Filipovic draws similar conclusions about the hysterical, feminine character of the exhibition as its politically subversive message in "Exhibition at War," 194–98.

123. Tristan Tzara, "D'un certain automatisme du goût," *Minotaure* no. 3 (1933): 81–84; Roberto Matta "Mathématique sensible—Architecture du temps," *Minotaure* no. 11 (1938): 43.

124. Tzara, "D'un certain automatisme," 84.

125. Anthony Vidler, "Fantasy, the Uncanny, and Surrealist Theories of Architecture," *Papers of Surrealism* 1 (Winter 2003): 8.

126. Matta, "Mathématique sensible," 43.

127. T. J. Demos, "Duchamp's Labyrinth: 'First Papers of Surrealism, 1942,'" *October* 97 (Summer 2001): 95–96. Demos repeats Susan Rubin Suleiman's often-quoted catchphrase "Between the Street and the Salon: The Dilemmas of Surrealist Politics in the 1930s," *Visual Anthropology Review* 7, no. 1 (March 1991): 39–50.

128. Demos, "Duchamp's Labyrinth," 98.

129. Tzara, "D'un certain automatisme," 84.

130. Tzara, "D'un certain automatisme," 84.

131. On the connection between anatomy and geographical maps, see Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (New York: Verso, 2002), 210.

132. See the detailed description in Elza Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage in Text and Image: Dissecting the Exquisite Corpse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 174–75.

133. The list of wired mannequins includes the ones by Espinoza, Dalí, Henry, Dominguez, Tanguy, Mossé, Duchamp, and Masson. Ernst's mannequin had a light bulb in lieu of genitals, but this was removed at Breton's wishes (Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 53); Seligmann's doll integrated candles instead of bulbs; Miro's mannequin was probably wired, but it is unclear from the existing evidence.

134. From the website of the Musée de l'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris.

135. Marcel Duchamp's initial idea of installing "magic eyes" in the surrealist exhibition that would automatically turn the light on "as soon as the spectator had broken an invisible ray when passing in front of the paintings" was materialized in the commercial exhibition: a photoelectric eye registered the number of visitors at the entry to the 1937 commercial fair. The lower-tech Mazda flashlights would fulfill a similar function as the one imagined by Duchamp in the surrealist exhibit, and their rapid disappearance was a measure of the public's frenzy at the opening night. Labbé, *Rapport général de l'exposition internationale*, 6:92.

136. *Exposition universelle, arts et techniques, Paris 1937, où aller que voir* (Paris, 1937), 4.

137. See de Cauter, "Panoramic Ecstasy," 3.

138. Benjamin, "Surrealism," 216.

139. As Mahon claims (*Politics of Eros*, 58), and initially Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 124.

140. For an analysis of the function of simulation in this specific poem, see Effie Rentzou, *Littérature malgré elle*: *Le Surréalisme et la transformation du littéraire* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 2010), 214–20.

141. Salvador Dalí, *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dalí,* ed. Haim Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 223. Original cited in Salvador Dalí, "L'Âne pourri," *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* no. 1 (July 1930): 9.

142. Michel Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, ed. and trans. James Harkness (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 50.

143. Gilles Deleuze, "Plato and the Simulacrum," *October* 27 (Winter 1983): 47 and 48: "the copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the simulacrum is an image without resemblance."

144. Deleuze, "Plato and the Simulacrum," 49.

145. Deleuze, "Plato and the Simulacrum," 52.

146. David Lomas, "Simulacra and the Order of Mimesis in Dalí and Glenn Brown," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift / Journal of Art History* 80, no. 1 (2011): 41.

147. Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense*, trans. Marc Lester and Charles Stivale (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 2.

148. Plato, *The Sophist*, 236 a-d.

149. Studies starting with Rosalind Krauss's "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," *October* 19 (Winter 1981): 3–34, have paid attention to the term "mimicry" as it appears both in surrealist works and those close to surrealism, focusing mainly on the work of Roger Caillois. I consider "mimicry" a term that is correlative to "simulation."

150. This is the position held by Breton and Dalí. See Malt, *Obscure Objects of Desire*, 86–87.

151. Jean Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 169–87.

152. Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations," 175; this comment describes Disneyland.

153. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 18.

154. Breton and Éluard, *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, 20; it is in the definition of "Painting."

155. Herbert, *Paris 1937*, 159.

156. See also Deleuze's analysis of Michel Tournier's Robinson in *The Logic of Sense*, 342: "Must we conclude that sexuality is the only fantastic principle able to bring about the deviation of the world from the rigorous economic order assigned by the origin?"

157. Benjamin, "Surrealism," 217–18.

158. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 41.

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