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Internationalization through the Lens: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Art Periodicals and Decentred Circulation

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ABSTRACT

Periodicals are an exceptional source for the study of artistic and cultural internationalization. Their content, traditional for occasional research, allows us to reconstruct the chronicle of events and artistic debates of an era, a milieu or a metropolis. However, periodicals are also available as commensurable sources, at an international scale and in the long term. As such, art magazines in particular offer a global perspective on artistic internationalization in the contemporary era. This article proposes a new reading of the history of the internationalization of modern art and the avant-garde through the prism of art periodicals, from the 1860s to the end of the 1960s. We combine three interrelated and complementary levels: the microhistory of transfers between journals, the median approach of social history, and the distant point of view of cartographic study and network analysis. The result is a dynamic and decentralized idea of world geopolitics for the arts, far from the canonical narrative that turns certain centres into the dominant producers of innovation, where peripheries are supposed to remain mere imitators.

KEYWORDS

Modernism, art magazines, avant-garde, 'little magazines', transnational history, history of art, centres and peripheries, periodicals

RÉSUMÉ

Les périodiques sont une source exceptionnelle pour l'étude de l'internationalisation artistique et culturelle. Leur contenu, traditionnellement utilisé pour des recherches ponctuelles, permet de reconstituer la chronique des événements et des débats artistiques d'une époque, d'un milieu ou d'une métropole. Cependant les périodiques constituent aussi des sources commensurables, à l'échelle internationale et sur la longue période. À ce titre, les revues d'art en particulier offrent une perspective globale sur l'internationalisation artistique à l'ère contemporaine. Cet article propose de relire l'histoire de l'internationalisation de l'art moderne et de l'avant-garde au prisme des périodiques d'art, des années 1860 à la fin des années 1960. Trois échelles complémentaires sont articulées: la micro-histoire des transferts entre revues, l'approche médiane de l'histoire sociale, et le point de vue lointain de l'étude cartographique et de l'analyse des réseaux. Il en résulte une idée dynamique et décentrée de la géopolitique mondiale des arts, loin du récit canonique qui fait de certains centres les producteurs dominants de l'innovation tandis que les périphéries n'auraient été qu'imitatrices.

MOTS-CLÉS

Modernisme, revues d'art, avant-garde, 'petites revues', histoire transnationale, histoire de l'art, centres et périphéries, périodiques

When Édouard Manet painted Émile Zola's portrait in 1868, he included in his painting a brochure featuring an article recently published in *L'Artiste* in which the author had come to his defence.¹ On the wall of Zola's study hang reproductions, Bacchus (likely an engraving by Velazquez) and *Olympia* with two Japanese prints. Such references to magazines and printed matter allude to new conditions in international circulation of images, styles, and reputations. Until the 1960s, circulation was the most effective regime by which to vector the international triumph of modernism's symbolic revolution.

As chronicles of art events and era debates that mark and shape milieus, periodicals are essential to the history of art. Long-standing, readily comparable sources, and available internationally, they are worth analysing through serial and transnational studies. From one title to the next, we find the same texts, names, ideas, and patterns; we see images circulate as prints, photographs, and illustrations of all kinds. The material or referential presence of images, artists, authors, theories and aesthetics express social positions, coalitions, rivalries, and evolving alliances between groups and generations. To this extent, magazines allow us to study art internationalization as a field — a hypothesis rooted in a broader project researching the transnational history of avant-gardes.² 'Art field' denotes here more than Howard Becker's 'world of art':³ it is a social space structured and polarized, with rivalry and cooperation logics, whose agents share common values, be they even competitors.⁴ As for 'internationalization', the term refers in this article to the extra-national circulation of people, ideas and artefacts, without necessarily implying that this phenomenon be also global. Until the 1950s, artistic internationalization mostly concerned the Northern hemisphere.

Periodicals are an exceptional resource for the study of artistic and cultural internationalization. Their contents already chronicle art events, debates of an era, milieus or metropolises; moreover, as commensurable sources over an extended period internationally, they provide serially comprehensive perspectives on contemporary artistic internationalization. This paper proposes to review that process in modern art and the avant-garde with more specific focus on art periodicals from the 1860s to the late 1960s. It articulates three complementary scales: microhistory of transfers between journals, median approaches to social history, and a distant point of view, that of cartographic study and network analysis. The result is dynamic and decentres the world geopolitical idea for the arts, far from the canonical narrative that turns certain centres into the dominant producers of innovation, where peripheries are supposed to remain mere imitators. Art periodicals let us analyse how an international field of modern art gradually emerged and evolved, how artists and their collaborators adapted to the field, and how the symbolic hierarchies between groups and cultural centres could take shape from the 1860s to the late 1960s.

- 1 Édouard Manet (1832–83), *Émile Zola*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 146.5 x 114 cm. Paris, musée d'Orsay. See https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/works-in-focus/search/commentaire_id/emile-zola-313.html [consulted 13 December 2019]. According to Zola in his *Édouard Manet: Étude biographique et critique* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1867), the article would have been published in *La Revue du XIX^e siècle* (1 January 1867), but actually came out in *L'Artiste, revue du XIX^e siècle* (ed. by Arsène Houssaye).
- 2 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Les Avant-gardes artistiques: Une histoire transnationale*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 2016, 2017: I (1848–1918), II (1918–45)). And *Naissance de l'art contemporain: Une histoire mondiale* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, forthcoming 2020).
- 3 Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).
- 4 Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992).

The Role of *Fin-de-Siècle* Periodicals in the Construction of an International Field of Modern Art

Art magazines proliferated from the 1880s onwards, helping constitute the field and an international market for modern art, from Europe to the Americas and far-flung Japan. The factors of this internationalization are well known: a magazine circulates, reproduces images, diffuses styles and names. Articles, including biographies, critical discourses and aesthetics complete the picture, as do advertisements. But a microhistorical history of transfers between journals must also explore through magazines the economic, political and aesthetic logics underlying this internationalization. It begs a more distant analysis of their social consequences.

Logistics of Internationalization

Art journals help us see the logic specific to nineteenth-century art internationalization from a microhistorical point of view. In magazines it first proceeded along political and editorial lines. As early as the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, European elites turned all forms of progress — be they industrial, economic, hygienic, educational or cultural — to the advantage of their respective nations, and journals were the forum to unfold a relevant political discourse.⁵ From 1855, Universal Exhibitions would also feature art, inaugurating the notion that it ought to represent the nation, by definition and use of national subjects and styles.⁶

The creation of art magazines participated in this effort. A new semi-professional group, previously relegated to the margins of the literary and art markets, suddenly found a new vocation: art critics. In London, the *Art Journal* was founded in 1849, and published illustrated guides to international exhibitions.⁷ A ‘journal of German art’, *Die Dioskuren*, created in 1856, aimed to foster a dialogue with foreign countries.⁸ The year 1859 saw the first edition of Adolphe Siret’s *Journal des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature* in Brussels, while the Parisian *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* aimed at ‘keeping France up to date with what is going on abroad, and those abroad with what is going on in France.’⁹ As they travelled, art critics began to compare art scenes within a ‘national cosmopolitanism’. Vehicled by the cultural press,¹⁰ art internationalization was therefore fostered by a need for comparison and construction of the national identity, a need to which the newly born artistic press was keen to respond.

Circulation of periodicals increased after 1880, as printing techniques and management strategies became more sophisticated. Another factor of artistic internationalization, combining text and images satisfied a larger readership, also allowing parts to be recycled as books, as Evangelhia Stead has shown for the *Revue*

5 Michael Leapman, *The World for a Shilling: How the Great Exhibition of 1851 Shaped a Nation* (London: Headline Books, 2001).

6 Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (Princeton, NJ: Yale University Press, 1987); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La Création des identités nationales: Europe XVIII^e–XX^e siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999), pp. 67–82; Udo Kultermann, ‘Histoire de l’art et identité nationale’, in *Histoire de l’histoire de l’art, II: XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles*, ed. by Édouard Pommier (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1997), II, pp. 223–54.

7 For instance *‘The Art Journal’ Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of All Nations, 1851* (London: George Virtue, 1851); *Illustrated Catalogue of the Universal Exhibition*, published with *‘The Art Journal’* (London: George Virtue, 1868); or *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition, 1878* (London: George Virtue, 1878).

8 *Die Dioskuren: Deutsche Kunstzeitung* (Berlin: Hauptorgan d. dt. Kunstvereine, 1856–75).

9 Charles Blanc, ‘Introduction’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 1 (1 January 1859), 10.

10 Thiesse.

illustrée.¹¹ Editorial teams purchased images in an international market supplied by inexpensive artists and foreign periodicals. Evanghelia Stead locates similar images in the *Westminster Budget* (London, 1893–1904), *Hispania* (Barcelona, January 1899–December 1902), and even the Canadian *Revue des Deux Frances* (1897–99). *The Studio* (1893–1964), a magazine founded in London and dedicated to the arts, took advantage of technical progress in photomechanical gravure and the internationalization of paper and illustration and reduced its costs.¹² In 1897, its American version, the *International Studio*, was published in New York, followed in 1898 by a French version.¹³ The magazine’s ‘Studio Talks’ section long served as a chronicle of art goings-on in capitals around the world: London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Glasgow, Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Stockholm, Vienna, Munich, Berlin, New York, Sydney, and even Moscow and Calcutta. By 1900, art periodicals had structured an international market for illustration, while keeping their readers informed of international art news.

Market logistics also encouraged art internationalization via periodicals. From the 1880s, certain magazines even organized exhibitions in their offices.¹⁴ Many soon began to increase their budgets by selling works of art worldwide. In 1893, *La Revue Blanche* (Liège, 1889, Paris, 1891–1903) began to publish an artist’s print per issue.¹⁵ In the 1890s, some art magazines sought to open galleries or organize Salons, a phenomenon which would continue until the advent of surrealism. In 1894, *La Plume* opened the yearly Salon des Cent, run in the magazine’s rue Bonaparte offices.¹⁶ A German critic, Julius Meier-Graefe, previous collaborator of Siegfried Bing’s Art Nouveau venture, opened the ‘Maison Moderne’ in 1899 in rue Pergolèse in Paris, having launched the Franco-German magazine *Dekorative Kunst / L’Art Décoratif* the previous year.

Magazines quickly integrated advertisements for Salons and galleries (as with the *Studio* and its ‘In the Galleries’ section), as well as reproduced images submitted by art dealers. Gallerists also targeted audiences through inserts in international luxury magazines, as did Samuel Bing through *Pan*, *Dekorative Kunst*, the *Studio*, and *L’Art Décoratif*. Evident collusion between the art market and international art magazines did not necessarily raise ethical issues. It was part and parcel of an efficient economic model, to which most artists and art critics were accustomed.

A Selective Internationalization

Illustrated magazines soon forged specific alliances between art groups, in the competitive international circulation of images, names, and aesthetics. This set of alliances was itself a response to competitive evolution within the international art market and its increasing selectivity. By the end of the 1890s, any self-respecting avant-garde had to have a magazine of its own, a tool as indispensable as the secessionist Salon. In Saint

11 Evanghelia Stead, ‘The Economics of Illustration: The *Revue illustrée* in the 1890s’, *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.2 (2016), 65–85.

12 See *The Studio: A Bibliography, The First Fifty Years, 1893–1943*, with an Introduction by Bryan Holme (London: Sims and Reed, 1978).

13 Marine Rigeade, ‘“Passé le Détroit”: Le périodique *The Studio* et la modernité française’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, École nationale des Chartes, 2010).

14 *La Vie Moderne* exhibited in its offices Renoir, Monet, Manet and Sisley in 1879 and 1880, and reproduced impressionist works among its pages. Republican newspapers such as *Le Voltaire* and *Le Gaulois* also exhibited innovative artworks.

15 Fritz Hermann, ‘“Die Revue blanche” und die Nabis’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Zürich Universität, 1959). Clément Dessy, ‘*La Revue blanche* et les Nabis: Une esthétique de la fragmentation’, *TRANS-*, no. 8 (2009).

16 ‘*La Plume*, 1889–1899, une revue ‘pour l’art’, ed. by Jean-Michel Nectoux, Grégoire Tonnet, and Nicholas-Henri Zmely (Paris: INHA, 2007), and *Les Affiches du Salon des Cent: Bonnard, Ensor, Grasset, Ibels, Mucha, Toulouse-Lautrec*, ed. by Helen Bieri-Thomson (Gingins: Fondation Neumann, 2000).

Petersburg, the World of Art group began by publishing *Mir Iskusstva* (1898), which circulated internationally, before going on to organize a local Salon. The magazine published articles on major figures in modern art, with luxurious presentations modelled on European art periodicals. It featured engravings by Aubrey Beardsley, Edward Burne-Jones and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (Great Britain), Henry Van de Velde (Belgium), Josef Maria Olbrich (Austria), as well as Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, and Degas (France). An international magazine proved even more vital a tool for artists situated in so-called 'peripheral' regions, whether *PAN* in Berlin (1895–1900) or *Jugend* in Munich (1896–1940), *Ver Sacrum* in Vienna (1898–1903), *Battaglia per l'Arte* in Milan (1892–93), and *Taarntet* in Denmark (1893–94). Regular Salon exhibitions added a further dimension to their efforts. For artists, they demonstrated links to this or that avant-garde or city, a means of gaining legitimacy through foreign alliances.

Cultivating foreign alliances allowed avant-garde groups to construct — at least symbolically — carefully chosen international affinities. Thus, illustrated periodicals contributed to an elitist, increasingly exclusive conception of modern art.

In the 1890s, certain art magazines first acted as international launch pads for a new generation. *La Revue Blanche*, for example, launched the Nabis in Belgium, Norway and Germany. However, by the end of the century, most international art magazines had stopped promoting new names in the international modern art scene. *The Studio* mixed academic art and safe modern choices; *L'Art Moderne* (Brussels, 1881–1914) promoted a small elite; *PAN* promoted already successful Parisian avant-gardes; *Jugend* and *Ver Sacrum* meanwhile dedicated copious column inches to a modernist elite that engineered the occasional scandal but which was nonetheless supported by a rich, liberal elite and recognized links to foreign groups. These magazines sustained the careers of artists linked to major galleries in thrall to international Salons of modern art. A distant, prosopography study of these Salons completes the impression of social ostracism that comes from closely reading modern art periodicals.¹⁷ It reveals a gradual closure in social terms: after 1900, an artist from a petit-bourgeois background (like Matisse or Picasso) had almost no chance of being promoted on the modern art scene.¹⁸

The cosmopolitan modern elite came to be supported by a handful of dealers, in turn associated with a few magazines popular amongst European elites in control of the secessionist Salons. In Berlin, for example, the Schulte, Cassirer and Keller-und-Reiner galleries dominated the market at the start of the twentieth century. Paul Cassirer, who with his cousin Bruno had opened their gallery in 1898, was also the secretary of the Berlin Secession. In 1902, Bruno Cassirer founded the journal *Kunst und Künstler*.¹⁹ The same symbiosis was at work in Vienna, between the Miethke gallery and *Ver Sacrum*.²⁰ A visual comparison of art periodicals from this period reveals striking homogeneity in terms of artworks' illustrations: a restrained, light colour palette, slightly blurred, privileging interior portraits and urban or coastal landscapes (London, Venice, Dieppe). The artists responsible for these pictures enjoyed top billing at the Secessions of Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, at the Société nationale des beaux-arts in Paris, in the Libre

17 On distant and close reading, see Franco Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature', *New Left Review*, no. 1 (January–February 2000), 54–68.

18 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Apports, questions et limites de la prosopographie en histoire de l'art: L'exemple de l'élite moderniste européenne au tournant des XIX^e–XX^e siècles', in *La prosopographie au service des sciences sociales*, ed. by Bernadette Cabouret and François Demotz (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2014), pp. 339–57.

19 *Ein Fest der Künste: Paul Cassirer, der Kunstbändler als Verleger*, ed. by Rahel E. Feilchenfeldt and Thomas Raff (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2006).

20 '*Ver Sacrum*': *Die Zeitschrift der Wiener Secession, 1898–1903*, ed. by Robert Waissenberger (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1982); *Die Galerie Miethke: Eine Kunsthandlung im Zentrum der Moderne*, ed. by Tobias G. Natter (Vienna: Jüdisches Museum, 2003).

Esthétique Salon in Brussels, the Carnegie International Exhibition in Pittsburgh, or the World of Art in Moscow. The same figures appeared in various foreign committees of the modern Salons: Carolus-Duran, Albert Besnard, Émile Claus, Jacques-Émile Blanche, Eugène Carrière, Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, Léon Frédéric, Bernard Boutet de Montvel, Alfred Roll, Constantin Meunier, Edmond Aman-Jean, Lucien Simon, Gaston Latouche, Charles Cottet, Fritz Thaulow, and so on. The makeup of these committees remained unchanged for years meaning that the international elite of modern art was no longer accessible to younger generations.

In order to receive best coverage from major magazines, artists needed a good network; and access to the most favourable networks was increasingly limited. Among the most socially endowed artists, for example, painter Jean-François Raffaëlli regularly corresponded with Gabriel Mourey who directed the French version of the *Studio* from 1898 onwards.²¹ Some artists managed not only to place illustrations but also articles in major magazines. The most capable French artists in this domain were Albert Besnard, Odilon Redon, Émile Bernard, and Maurice Denis. The first volume of the *Studio* (1893) even featured several letters from Besnard, translated into English by painter William Rothenstein, in which he presented his vision of English art. The same letters had previously appeared in *L'Indépendance Belge*.²²

International magazines thus acted as editorial and literary emanations of the elites of modern art and the galleries that supported them. They lent legitimacy to the exclusive logic according to which they operated. They associated modern painting with a sophisticated lifestyle, placing images in visual contexts related to elites (for instance 'Decorations for a Library', 1898, Fig. 1).

Modern art periodicals also developed a legitimizing discourse for a kind of painting whose legend excluded success. Freedom in terms of tone enjoyed by contributors added to the innovative reputation of modern art. This choice also steered a path between national and cosmopolitan concerns—a perfect discourse for European elites who straddled precisely these two identities. In Brussels, for example, a delicate balance of alliances was struck with Paris, London, and Vienna,²³ with the Libre Esthétique group rallying to support the English pre-Raphaelites in order to offset French influence.²⁴ Such politically correct discourses enabled elites to cement their symbolic domination over a broader audience, represented by the readership of illustrated art magazines.

After 1900, illustrated art periodicals thus helped police the entrance points to an increasingly exclusive modern art world. The phenomenon helps explain the proliferation around 1905–06 of new groups seeking to break with international modernism — French fauves and German expressionists in particular — whose aesthetic choices went against everything promoted by modern magazines: elitism, landscapes, 'national' conceptions of art, civilized and sensitive approaches to art, interest in detail, and cosmopolitanism. Amongst the first measures taken by these new groups was the creation of little magazines close to poetry milieus, published alongside collective and collaborative editions. Most importantly, this new international generation sought national recognition and coverage not from illustrated magazines but rather from the mainstream press, and from a broad, popular audience. A new field of avant-gardes

21 Seventeen letters (1898–1908), file 6, Raffaëlli archive, Getty Institute.

22 Albert Besnard, 'The Exhibition of the Royal Academy', *The Studio*, no. 1 (1893), 75–77, 110–14.

23 *Vienne-Bruxelles: Les Années Sécession*, ed. by Maurice Culot and Anne-Marie Pirlot (Bruxelles: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 2007).

24 Laurence Brogniez, 'L'exemple préraphaélite en Belgique: barbares, primitifs et... modernes', in *France-Belgique (1848–1914): Affinités-Ambiguïtés*, ed. by Marc Quaghebeur and Nicole Savy (Bruxelles: Labor, 1997), pp. 188–210.



Fig. 1 Gerald Moira and F. Lynn Jenkins, ‘Some Decorations for a Library’, *The Studio*, 14.66 (September 1898), 241

had formed, which by 1910 had its own networks, galleries and careers—and its own periodicals.

Avant-Garde Art Magazines as an International Field

‘Little’ art magazines came to play an essential role for avant-garde groups, as the coverage these artists enjoyed in the mainstream press no longer sufficed. These magazines became a grail for the symbolic struggle between avant-gardes in an international market where competition was no longer between moderns and academics, but rather between equals.

An Overview of the Field of Magazines: Artists’ Perspectives

Avant-garde artists made intensive use of illustrated art magazines that could provide more information on international art production than the cultural sections of daily newspapers. The reproductions these magazines published were closely scrutinized and extensively discussed: in their correspondence of the 1910s, the futurists were hungry for news of the latest art innovations abroad.²⁵ Michel Seuphor, a prolific magazine editor, attested to the role of such periodicals also in the 1920s:

25 Fanette Roche-Pézard, *L’Aventure futuriste* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1983); Giovanni Lista, *Qu’est-ce que le futurisme?* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015).

Information circulated very rapidly in magazines such as *Praesens* and *Block* in Poland, by *Disk* in Czechoslovakia, through the actions of Kassák [...] and *MA*, the magazine he edited in Vienna. Europe was a small world at that time. In Europe, the network connected several nodes which communicated with one another through these magazines' issues. It was a small affair, with a very small readership. Each one had a print run of no more than a few hundred, sometimes a few dozen. They were immediately dispatched in exchange for others as in a 'network' which kept us all informed of the only things of interest to us.²⁶

From one magazine to another, readers could compare the avant-garde credentials of each periodical. *L'Esprit Nouveau* featured a list of its favourite magazines in issue 22, April 1924, which included the Hungarian *MA* published in Vienna. *MA* mentioned *L'Esprit Nouveau*, in a kind of reciprocal act structuring this network of references and preferences. In *De Stijl*, Theo van Doesburg suggested that his subscribers read certain magazines, ranking them according to how interesting and how close to his own movement they were.²⁷

The more distanced from the centres of modernity artists felt, the more they would rely on magazines to stay up to date. A geography of the still intact collections of foreign magazines kept in various locations would be very instructive. In 1921, Theo van Doesburg, then living in Germany, wrote to Tristan Tzara:²⁸

In my atelier, I have set up a table with all the avant-garde and dada magazines for the friends of the modern state of mind. In the middle, the most revolutionary: Statliches [*sic*] Bauhaus, Weimar. There is a special periodicals room for students there. So send some publications to this address.²⁹

Thirty years later in Japan, Yoshihara Jiro, leader of the Gutai group, circulated amongst his friends copies of *Art d'Aujourd'hui*, *Cimaise*, *Art*, *Artforum*, *ARTnews*, *Art in America* as well as *Deutsche Kunst*, *Das Kunstwerk*, and *Quadrum*.³⁰ He also sent copies of *Gutai* to France and the United States. North American art milieus were equally avid readers of European magazines. The impact of the *Cahiers d'Art* in New York studios in the 1920s and 1930s was such that, even in the 1960s, when it had become fashionable to reject Parisian influences outright, the magazine's importance was still acknowledged by the American city's artists. The former abstract expressionist George McNeill (1908–95) said as late as 1968 that:

a very important influence in this period has to do with the *Cahiers d'Art*. We already knew what was going on in Paris because we used to get this magazine [...] We knew as much about it as the people in Paris did. [...] André] Masson was surely reproduced in *Cahiers d'Art*, so we knew about him.³¹

26 Michel Seuphor, *Une vie à angle droit* (Paris: La Différence, 1988), p. 29; Yves Chevretil Desbiolles, *Les Revues d'art à Paris* (Paris: Entr'revues, 1993), p. 90.

27 *De Stijl*, 6.8 (1924), 413–14.

28 Quoted in Krisztina Passuth, 'De Stijl and the East-West Avant-Garde: Magazines and the Formation of International Networks', in *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde*, ed. by Gladys Fabre and Doris Wintgens Hötte (Paris: Hazan, 2009), p. 20.

29 Theo van Doesburg, *Qu'est-ce que Dada? Theo van Doesburg, Dr Doesburg, Mr Bonset et le petit chien dada*, ed. by Marc Dachy (Paris: L'Échoppe, 1992), pp. 44–45.

30 Ming Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 21.

31 Oral history interview with George McNeil, 9 January–21 May 1968, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution (AAA).

Since they were aware of their dependence on periodicals, artists were all the more inclined to experiment with this medium. The Dadaist vogue for collage parallels the growth of avant-garde journals founded by European artists. The phenomenon is not only a response to the development of the press, whose history was older and still continued. The Dadaist fashion of collage marks an almost compulsive need to distance oneself from the artistic press and from the modernist field.³²

Taking Up Positions through Magazines

Artists not only had to get to know the field, they had to carve out a position within it. And they used periodicals for this positioning. The strategies of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti to this end suggest that magazines were even more important than the mainstream press. The 1910 'technical manifesto of futurist painting' allowed his movement to immediately break into the international scene, whereas the first 1909 futurist manifesto, published in mainstream newspapers, had elicited only contempt from Parisian elites.³³ The technical manifesto was published first in *Poesia*, the magazine that Marinetti edited in Milan. It immediately came to the attention of the Parisian cubist and neosymbolist milieus around Paul Fort, director of *Vers et Prose* (1905–28), who would read *Poesia* at the Closerie des Lilas. The technical manifesto was then reprinted on 18 May 1910 in *Comoedia*, a title widely read across Paris. Talk thus spread amongst figures and circles decisive for art opinion, and futurism gained a legitimacy that its 1909 manifesto, printed in the mainstream press, had failed to procure.

Art magazines were so decisive for vanguard careers that many painters, including Picasso, Braque, Juan Gris, Amadeo de Souza Cardoso, and Chagall, acknowledged their links to magazines and newspapers in their works after 1911, as well as Joan Miró and Salvador Dalí after the First World War (Fig. 2).

Press cuttings proved of great consequence for artists. Founded in 1878 by the director of the *Moniteur des arts*, Alfred Chérié, the firm Argus de la Presse set up shop in 1888 at 157 rue Montmartre in Paris, midway between the press and the art districts.³⁴ The usefulness of press cuttings was underlined by art critic Georges Turpin in his 1929 book *La Stratégie artistique*. This book is to be found in the archives of a painter and Argus de la Presse subscriber, Pierre Girieud, who exhibited in the same gallery as Picasso early on in his career.³⁵ A chapter of Turpin's book entitled 'Des moyens de propagande' ('Means of Propaganda', p. 113) underlines the necessity of an international profile for an artist's reputation. Most effective is 'the circulation of magazine articles' (p. 115), as Turpin puts it:

magazines can be sent to editors and art dealers abroad. They are an essential propaganda tool, because they broaden the field of prospection and lay the groundwork for the opening of new markets.

French artists have a clear and significant interest in making their names known abroad. The surest means of achieving this is to appear in magazines, and in particular those that publish illustrated articles and reproductions.

32 On this question see Joyeux-Prunel, *Les avant-gardes artistiques*, II, part II.

33 See Roche-Pézarid. See also Maria Drudi Gambillo and Teresa Fiori, *Archivi del Futurismo* (Rome: De Luca, 1958), I.

34 Boris Dänzer-Kantof and Sophie Nanot, *De Mata Hari à Internet: Le roman vrai de l'Argus de la presse* (Paris: Hervas, 2000). In 1908 the Argus moved to 37 rue Bergère in the 9th arrondissement until 1966.

35 Georges Turpin, *La Stratégie artistique, précis documentaire et pratique suivi d'opinions recueillies parmi les personnalités du monde des arts et de la critique* (Paris: Éditions de l'Épi, 1929).



Fig. 2 Juan Gris (1887–1927), *Bottle of Rhum and Newspaper*, 1913–14, oil on canvas, 460 x 370 mm. London, Tate Gallery

Turpin encouraged artists to ‘spread articles promoting one’s work, working, if necessary, with translators’ in ‘the foreign centres most sought after by modern artists from all countries’ — namely Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, Sweden, Norway, Warsaw, Vienna, Liège, and Brussels, Amsterdam, Leningrad and Moscow, Romania, Prague, Rome and Venice, Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona, Geneva, London, Edinburgh, Tokyo, and in America, the ‘field’ extending from ‘New York, Saint Louis, Chicago, Boston’ to Cincinnati, without neglecting ‘the South American republics and the countries of central America [...] very interesting territories for (French) artists as they have long been primed for their arrival by French literature.’³⁶

As such, the construction of reputation was a virtual, media-related activity rather than one anchored in a given metropolis. Artists who did not invest in international magazines of modern art had no chance of breaking through even though Parisian. To approach art magazines as an international field breaks with the art historical notion of

36 Turpin, pp. 115–16.

art capitals and their influence in favour of a more transnational, social and polycentric approach.

Shaking Up the Field: Avant-Gardes and Dealers' Strategies

By founding their own magazines, artists could access the international avant-garde debate directly. They could make their own mark upon it, and perhaps even change its rules. New magazines proliferated during periods when old avant-gardes were consolidating their power: between 1910 and 1914 for example, impressionism and symbolism had been widely accepted for a long time, and fauvism was enjoying commercial success; in the 1920s, cubism had become an international norm; in the 1950s, lyrical abstraction achieved international dominance, and towards the end of the 1960s, the entire system of contemporary art was being questioned and challenged.³⁷

Amongst advantages in creating one's own magazine was the opportunity it offered for establishing reciprocal links with other avant-gardes, as extensive correspondence of magazine editors with their international peers illustrates. One such correspondence is between Lajos Kassák, editor of *MA*, and Tristan Tzara, to whom he had suggested an exchange of magazines in 1921. Kassák also offered to exchange texts by Tzara and Picabia for translation.³⁸ Around the same time, Theo van Doesburg also proposed an exchange of magazines with Tzara.³⁹ Tzara himself meanwhile kept a methodically updated list of his friends and enemies.⁴⁰

After 1920, art dealers had begun to create their own magazines to gain international reach. As contracts became the norm, they ensured that their investment in artists' revenue was profitable by promoting their team of artists, and securing their breakthroughs. In this context, magazines allowed for economies of scale and information circulation. When publishing a magazine, it was no longer necessary to send photographs of the artists' works to potential buyers. An art journal allowed a dealer to act further than interpersonal relationships and to better broadcast their artists' reputation. Moreover, the works for sale would be anchored in a valorising discourse.

Paris offers the best-known examples of this phenomenon.⁴¹ Léonce Rosenberg promoted his gallery through *Le Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* (1924–27), while from 1920 onwards Bernheim-Jeune published the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, whose editor, Félix Fénéon, was the former director of the gallery's modern section and former editor of *La Revue Blanche*; Paul Guillaume published *Les Arts à Paris* from 1918, the Vavin gallery's *Arts Plastiques* materialized in 1925, and so on. In Berlin, Sturm Verlag published books, artists' folios, catalogues and postcards. Düsseldorf and Berlin dealer Alfred Flechtheim established the magazine *Der Querschnitt* in 1921 (which ran until his exile in 1932) and published a number of books alongside his periodical. In Munich, Hans Goltz financed *Der Ararat* (1918–21). In Italy, Mario Broglio published a series as well as *Valori Plastici* (1918–22) and was part of an international network of dealers.⁴² Though Broglio's magazine appeared in Italian and French, it was also of interest to

37 Joyeux-Prunel, *Les Avant-gardes artistiques*, 1–III.

38 Krisztina Passuth, *Les Avant-gardes de l'Europe centrale* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), p. 103.

39 Quoted by Passuth, 'De Stijl', p. 20.

40 Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 2005), Tristan Tzara–Francis Picabia Correspondance, pp. 445–86; and François Buot, *Tristan Tzara, l'homme qui inventa la révolution dada* (Paris: Grasset, 2002), p. 55.

41 Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981).

42 Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Valori Plastici: Eine Zeitschrift, ein Verlag, eine Künstlergruppe und der europäische Ordnungsruf', in *Mythos Italien: Wintermärchen Deutschland*, exhibition catalogue, ed. by Carla Schultz-Hoffmann in collaboration with Germano Celant (Munich: Prestel, 1988), pp. 59–64.

figures in other European cities: Broglio recruited Theodor Däubler, critic, poet and friend of dada artists, as his German correspondent, and had Munich art dealer Hans Goltz distribute his magazine in Germany.

Dealers' magazines, where the tone of connoisseurship was privileged over critical debate, allowed dealers to present their own versions of art developments to their readers. The November 1924 edition of *Arts à Paris* was entirely dedicated to US collector Albert Barnes and to Paul Guillaume's role in the constitution of his collection.⁴³ Gallerists' magazines also allowed for an emphasis on artists' international reputations, which was in fact a means of *enriching* the works for sale: the more a work circulated, the greater its value.⁴⁴ An art magazine could contribute to this phenomenon by linking works with names, objects, and places that already enjoyed a degree of prestige.

To the extent that access to international information was mainly through periodicals, they became the clearest materialization of the international artistic arena for actors within the art world — artists and art critics as well as merchants and collectors. It was in the art magazines that artists existed — and where you had to exist to be a recognized artist; or that you promoted to make the artists you supported exist as such. This link between art journals and the creation of avant-gardes persisted until the early 1960s, hardly later. Whereas the Zero, Azimut, or Situationist groups still created their periodicals at the end of the 1950s, the New Realists, the Neo-Dada or the Pop artists did not, yet could make a career after 1960. The few artists who attempted a journal after that time, such as Fluxus and the Viennese actionists, lived in a peripheral position, far from the hot spots of contemporary art; they had probably not seen that the time was no longer ripe for art journals. These groups generally gave up quite quickly on their journal. The economic geopolitical balance of the international art world had changed. Art magazines were no longer carried by artists; they were not the decisive makers anymore. International success was primarily due to conjugated action and rivalry between dealers and museums.⁴⁵

Centres and Peripheries: What Hierarchies?

In this geopolitical and commercial exchange, art periodicals had played out their role. They remain an exceptional resource for the famed international field of avant-gardes, and tracing its evolution. Two periods are particularly interesting, which descriptions using art periodicals reveal in a very new light: the interwar period, hallowed in collective memory as dominated by Paris and surrealism, and the post-war period, when New York supposedly 'stole' the show from Paris, just as the USA had supposedly replaced Europe as the dominant cultural powerhouse.

Polycentric Interwar Period

For the interwar period, the creation timeline of magazines deemed modernist, when coupled with their cartography, goes some way to demonstrating the manner in which the spread of the avant-gardist model was decentred. Sourcing the many compilations published since the 1990s by researchers, over 350 avant-garde magazines between 1914 and 1945 can be identified in Europe, Latin America, Japan and the United

43 Gee, p. 117.

44 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Circulation and the Art Market', *Journal for Art Market Studies*, 1.2 (2017).

45 Raymonde Moulin, 'Le marché et le musée: La constitution des valeurs artistiques contemporaines', *Revue française de sociologie*, 27.3 (1986), 369–95.

States (Fig. 3).⁴⁶ Amongst them, roughly one half — 190 — were founded in the 1920s, with a further 45 appearing between 1930 and 1939. Successive geographies of these magazines' creation raise questions as to the processes through which centres of activity other than Paris emerged, and the links between their respective avant-garde groups.

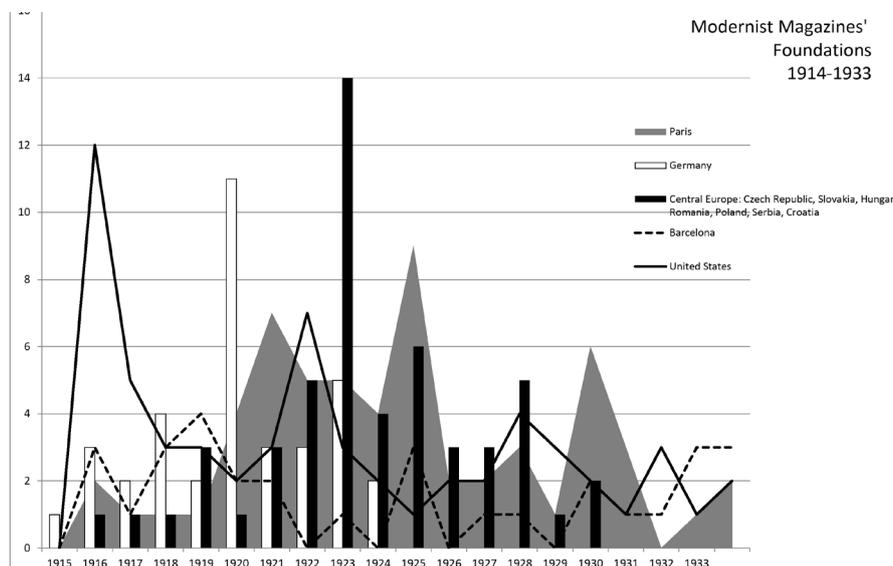


Fig. 3 The Foundations of Modernist Periodicals, 1914–33. Sources: see note 46

Intergroup alliances can be studied through the commonalities of magazines; we can look, for example, at the number of authors and artists that magazines share with one another during a given period. The relationships highlighted in this way can be represented by network analysis, a digital visualization whose advantage is to highlight journals that are closer or further apart, depending on the number of artists and authors they share. Having published these visualizations and cartographies elsewhere, I will only illustrate them with one single graphic (Fig. 4),⁴⁷ and expose the questions they open.⁴⁸

Between 1924 and 1926, a period in which many avant-garde magazines were founded, constructivist magazines in central Europe were in fact closer to one another than they were to French titles (long considered as the most important organs) despite being turned towards Paris. In Paris, Ozenfant and Le Corbusier's *L'Esprit Nouveau*

46 The collection of data was made with the following sources: Henri Béhar and Catherine Dufour, *Dada, circuit total* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 2005); Passuth; Gladys C. Fabre and others, *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde: Constructing A New World* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009); Yves Chevretil Desbiolles, *Les Revues d'art à Paris, 1905–1940* (Paris: Ent'revues, 1993); Brigitte Léal and Bernadette Caille, *Paris-Barcelone: de Gaudí à Miró* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001); Jacqueline Chénieux-Gendron, Françoise Le Roux, and Maïté Vienne, *Inventaire analytique de revues surréalistes ou apparentées: Le surréalisme autour du monde 1929–1947* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1994). The following websites were also consulted: <http://www.dada-companion.com/journals/index.php> and <http://sites.davidson.edu/littlemagazines/>. More details in: Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Provincializing Paris: The Center-Periphery Narrative of Modern Art in Light of Quantitative and Transnational Approaches', *Artl@s Bulletin*, 4.1 (2015), pp. 51–52.

47 Manual collection of data from the following periodicals: *75HP* (Bucarest); *Blok* (Warsaw); *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* (Paris); *Cahiers d'Art* (Paris); *De Stijl* (Leiden); *Der Querschnitt* (Frankfurt am Main); *Der Sturm* (Berlin); *G. Material zur elementaren Gestaltung* (Berlin); *Integral* (Bucarest); *La Révolution Surréaliste* (Paris); *L'Amic de les Arts* (Barcelona); *L'Art d'Aujourd'hui* (Paris); *Le Mouvement Accélééré*, *Organe Accélérateur de la Révolution Artistique et Littéraire* (Paris); *L'Esprit Nouveau* (Paris); *Littérature* (Paris); *MA* (Budapest); *Manomètre* (Lyon); *Merz* (Hannover); *Noi, Rivista d'Arte Futurista* (Roma); *Pasmo* (Brno); *Praesens* (Warsaw); *Punct* (Bucarest); *The Little Review* (New York); *The Transatlantic Review* (Paris); *Zenit* (Belgrade).

48 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Provincializing Paris'. The article is open access.

to Germany or the United States. Paris's moment of glory came only later, and lasted just a few years between 1934 and 1939 as artists fled persecution in the East and other artists were drawn to the city by the market and social prestige of Dalí's brand of surrealism.⁵⁰ Suddenly, peripheral artists from Japan, northern Europe, Spain and Latin America could reorient their academic training, create scandals and symbolically attach themselves to Paris, simply by imitating Dalí. The surrealist label was readily conferred upon them by André Breton's group, which was looking for proponents and receptive scenes abroad.⁵¹

New York, World Art Centre since 1945?

The centres and peripheries of the international avant-garde must therefore be treated with a degree of circumspection. A distant analysis of magazines quickly challenges canonical hierarchies. A similar study for the period 1945–70 is also revealing.

In general, New York's dominance is considered as dating from 1945–46, a view based on the writings of a handful of critics based there — Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg in particular — who trumpeted the city's post-war triumph over Paris. Serge Guilbaut's much cited book, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, is often quoted to show how this symbolic domination was supposedly attained through the organization of federally sponsored travelling exhibitions of 'American' art in Europe during the Cold War.⁵² However, the sources Guilbaut uses are far from representative: 90% are from New York, with the remaining 10% from Paris. Is this really sufficient for the history of a global domination? Neither the content nor the reception of exhibitions dispatched abroad are studied. Nor is the broader panorama of international journals of the time. Such points of view have long dominated historiography of post-1945 art, far from a perspective that treats sources as equal, and further still from a connected or transnational view of history. This biased point of view can be challenged by a study of the works sent by the US administration to Europe. Catherine Dossin has shown that they were far from innovative and stuck closely to European tastes — hence their positive, if far from enthusiastic, reception.⁵³ In reality, USA art was of little interest in Europe until the 1960s and the advent of Pop Art. Were the supposedly triumphant New Yorkers nursing illusions of success? Whatever the case, they were far from being the only art elites to do so. Sources from other countries also show that, after 1945, Mexican and Argentine elites also considered that Europe had been laid low, and hailed a similar symbolic victory as they vied to become the driving forces of artistic modernity.⁵⁴

The transnational and serial study of art periodicals can help us treat another blind spot: New York critics and artists of the 1940s drew on a limited sample of global art production, leading them (and art historians who read their texts) to conclude that it had been superseded by the output of North American artists. Only periodicals could give these art critics and artists access to recent reproductions of foreign art. The recent painting artworks on show in New York during the Second World War were, for the most part, local. European dealers would not manage to send works to the USA until

50 See Joyeux-Prunel, *Les Avant-gardes artistiques*, II, chapters 1–3 and 11.

51 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Peripheral Circulations, Transient Centralities: The International Geography of the Avant-Gardes in the Interwar Period (1918–1940)', *Visual Resources: An International Journal on Images and their Uses*, 34.3 (2018), special issue on 'Peripheries', 295–322.

52 Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985).

53 Catherine Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s: A Geopolitics of Western Art Worlds* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

54 Joyeux-Prunel, *Naissance de l'art contemporain*.

1950.⁵⁵ And the acquisitions and exhibitions of MoMA, which served as a showcase for European art, had favoured a classic and Parisian version of modern art, as we discover when we look at the catalogues and magazines published by museums during this period.

What of the reproductions that might have reached the USA in magazines? In the immediate post-war period, until the 1950s, no 'fresh' magazines from abroad reached New York. Parisian magazines were slow to recover from the war. The first robust publications to circulate internationally were not illustrated, and until 1949, most illustrated and poetry magazines were short-lived. This gave New York's modernist art critics the pretext to affirm that there was simply nothing going on in Paris. *Le Spectateur des Arts*, published by the René Drouin gallery in December 1944, lasted for only one issue and did not circulate outside France.⁵⁶ The surrealist *Les Quatre Vents* was published between 1945 and 1947, followed in January 1948 by *Neon*, a publication of just five issues whose shoddy typesetting betrays its lack of means.⁵⁷ Magazines that lasted only a few issues were far from rare,⁵⁸ while *L'Amour de l'Art* was reissued in 1945 only to close shop in 1951. *Derrière le miroir*, financed by the Maeght gallery (1946–82), eventually began to feature lithographic or photographic reproductions — in black and white, at first — whilst giving regular updates on the gallery's activities.⁵⁹ Yet the magazine is absent from North American archives.⁶⁰ If we look at abstraction, *Art d'Aujourd'hui*, printed from 1949 by the Denise René gallery, benefited from the recovery of the art market. Its success was modest, and far from the hopes of Hungarian Victor Vasarely who dreamed of new possibilities of distribution: 'This magazine means spreading our names and our work across the world. A single issue (5 000 copies) will serve more than three years' worth of propaganda for 124 [rue La Boétie, the gallery's address].'⁶¹ Towards the end of 1952, the editorial team of *Cahiers d'Art* was still struggling to circulate the magazine, soliciting New York galleries one by one in order to sell them a special issue or an advertising insert.⁶² Only the special issues on Picasso published after 1947 appear in the archives of the Smithsonian Institution.⁶³

New York thus accessed most news of international art from local titles — which were not immune to the arrogant nationalist bias that characterized the Cold War era.⁶⁴ In the 1950s, the few European artists to receive attention in the form of *ARTnews* monographs were of significant interest to a new generation, almost surprised by breaths of fresh air represented by the likes of Alberto Burri, Jean Dubuffet, and Georges Mathieu who were actually getting recognition in Europe, after having been vanguardist ten years earlier on the old continent.

55 Joyeux-Prunel, *Naissance de l'art contemporain*, chapter 1.

56 Today this periodical can only be found in French libraries and in Neuchâtel (according to Worldcat).

57 *Neon* (ed. by Sarane Alexandrian, Henri [Jindrich] Heisler, Véra Hérold, Stanislas Rodanski, and Claude Tarnaud), Paris, Librairie La Hune, 1–5 (January 1948–April 1949).

58 *Art en province* (1947–48); *L'Art brut* (1947); *Art présent* (1945–50); and *Arts de France* (1945–51).

59 Julie Verlaine, *Les Galeries d'art contemporain à Paris: Une histoire culturelle du marché de l'art, 1944–1970* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012), pp. 57–58.

60 Except for an issue that listed the gallery's activities in 1956, *Derrière le miroir: 10 ans d'éditions*, 1956. Galerie Chalette records, 1916–99, bulk 1939–94, Series 4: Printed Materials, 1931–96, Box 25, Folder 2.

61 Victor Vasarely, *Plasticien* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1979), p. 118, quoted by Verlaine, p. 174.

62 *Cahiers d'Art* to Germain Seligman, 6 April 1951, and to Jacques Seligmann & Cie, 13 November 1952. AAA, Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904–78, bulk 1913–74, Correspondence, Box 20, Folder 2: *Cahiers d'Art*, 1936–54.

63 AAA, Hans Hofmann papers, [ca. 1904]–2011, bulk 1945–2000; Charles Green Shaw papers, 1686, 1833–1979, bulk 1909–74 (issues of 1933, 1944[?], 1946); Lillian and Frederick Kiesler papers, [ca. 1910]–2003, bulk 1958–2000 (*Cahiers d'Art*, 1947).

64 Peter J. Schneemann, *Von der Apologie zur Theoriebildung: Die Geschichtsschreibung des Abstrakten Expressionismus* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003).

Until the international art trade started again in the post-war period, after 1952,⁶⁵ North American critics gleaned their information on innovative groups exclusively from magazines, as networks of European dealers remained too weak to exhibit their artists on the other side of the Atlantic. Yet the United States was out of touch with the international constellation of surrealist groups that had re-emerged, from Europe to Latin America since 1945. Following in the footsteps of titles like *Rixes* and *Cobra*, published by a small post-surrealist avant-garde group between 1949 and 1951, this network gravitated around magazines such as Édouard Jaguer's *Phases*, published from 1954 onwards.⁶⁶ *Phases* was linked with titles in a dozen or so countries including *Salamander*, *Kalejdoskop*, and *Dunganon* in Sweden; *Il Gesto*, *l'esperienza moderna* and *Documento Sud* in Italy; *Edda* in Belgium; *Melmoth* and *Chrome* in England; *Sarabeus* and *L'Œuf Philosophique* in Canada; *Droomschaar* in the Netherlands; *Ellébore* in France; *Boa* in Argentina; and *META* in Germany.

Another glaring blind spot for North America was the activity of the network that emerged after 1956 through magazines, exhibitions and meetings between Nouveau Réalisme in Paris; ZERO group in Düsseldorf; Azimut in Milan; the Nul group in Belgium; and the Institute for Contemporary Art in London. *Azimuth*, a Milanese magazine founded by Piero Manzoni, sought to federate this international avant-garde.⁶⁷ Its first issue is close in many ways to the German magazine ZERO⁶⁸ and *Il Gesto*, magazine of the group Movimento Nucleare, whose third issue Manzoni and his friends had edited. *Azimuth* discussed a shared international tendency that positioned itself against the gesture: from Yves Klein, to ZERO, to the Azimut group. The magazine also featured reproductions of works by Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, two New York based artists who were beginning to enjoy a degree of success in their city, but whose European networks were summarily ignored by *ARTnews*.

This article can hardly render comprehensively the international network of connections between art magazines from 1945 to 1970, as we have for the 1920s.⁶⁹ There is still much to do, to further visualize the links between art periodicals, and to study the circulations and non-circulations of ideas, images, and names over time and places, at a transnational scale and from a distant point of view. The project is in progress, as part of a global study of the circulation of images in illustrated periodicals, from the 1890s to the 1990s. It articulates new methods of deep learning applied to mass images, and classical historical-critical study.⁷⁰ The isolation of the New York scene and its incapacity to open up to European art activity after 1945 should come as no surprise. More interestingly, such visualization ought to highlight peripheral networks of circulation hitherto missed or neglected by historians working on cultural globalization. The study of this other history of the international geopolitics of images in illustrated periodicals will further contribute to the decentring of the prevalent art historical

65 Julie Verlaine's analysis of the Parisian art market makes it possible to make a link between the recovery in the growth of the art market in Paris in 1952 and the return of American buyers. Verlaine, p. 99.

66 *Phases: Cahiers internationaux de documentation: Plastique*, ed. by Édouard Jaguer (Paris: Paul Facchetti éditeur, 1954–61). On Jaguer and his international network, see Martin Schieder, *Im Blick des anderen: Die deutsch-französischen Kunstbeziehungen, 1945–1959* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), and Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

67 *Azimuth*, ed. by Enrico Castellani and Piero Manzoni, Milan, 1959 (reprinted by London: Gagolian Gallery London and Fondazione Piero Manzoni, 2011).

68 ZERO, 1–3, ed. by Heinz Mack and Otto Piene (reprinted by Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1973).

69 See note 46.

70 VISUALCONTAGIONS is a project supported by the university of Geneva, the Jean Monnet Excellence Center IMAGO at the École normale supérieure, Paris, the École universitaire de recherche Translitterae, Paris Sciences Lettres University, in collaboration with the project EnHerit (Enhancing Heritage Image Databases) supported by Agence nationale pour la Recherche (ANR-Jeunes) at École nationale des Ponts et chaussées (ENPC Paris Tech), LIGM Lab.

canon, from which we cannot hope to escape without exploiting new methodologies on complete and global sources such as periodicals.

Conclusion

By analysing large corpuses of magazines on an international scale, the internationalization of art can be studied through a combination of the 'distant reading' afforded by digital tools, the detailed analysis of texts and images, and the historical and social study of actors and contexts. The result is a decentred idea of the international geopolitics of the arts, which opens new questions as to the directions and geographies of art and images' circulation over time and places. Art journals reflect, when taken from a distant point of view, an international configuration very different from the monocentric landscape into which the canon of art history has long led its disciples. Paris as centre before 1945, and New York as the dominant artistic capital after that, give way to a polycentric configuration, where so-called peripheries are much more connected than the centres, particularly through the circulation of periodicals.

From a medium scale of analysis, artistic periodicals now appear as a very interesting concretization of what Pierre Bourdieu called the 'field of art', an arena where artists evolved and took position in relation to their peers, to develop their alliances and their own social trajectories.

The combination of these scales of analysis encourages us to better select and contextualize our case studies, to better identify historical gaps and silences, and to interrogate the absence of sources in some regions, compared to their importance in other regions. In the twentieth century, journals were a fundamental vector for the circulation of images, styles and reputations. Their non-circulation makes it possible to explain the development of independent paths in art history, as well as to better illuminate the birth of the autonomist narrative of American art, and its relative character.

These results encourage us to move beyond the canonical narrative of the centres and peripheries in art history. They encourage researchers to explore sources from often marginalized geographical areas; it also incites them to combine transnational methods and the sociological study of cultural fields with the history of art and the history of ideas in order to understand how art circulated, or failed to do so, as well as the nature of the social, artistic and political consequences of these phenomena. While this hybrid approach clearly draws inspiration from the *École des Annales*, it can only be deployed through the use of significant digital collections. It depends on quantitative and cartographic methods, which, just ten years ago, were hardly accessible. Despite progress in this arena, these methods still require a level of investment unusual for the humanities, as well as an exhaustiveness of sources difficult to attain. Such endeavour requires a degree of humility with regard to the limits of our corpuses, whilst acknowledging the fundamental importance of group work.

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