



Journal of European Periodical Studies

an online journal by ESPRit, European Society for Periodical Research

Advertisements in French and Belgian 'Little Reviews', 1890–1930: Visual Techniques and Design

Hélène Védrine

Journal of European Periodical Studies, 1.2 (Winter 2016)

ISSN 2506-6587

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21825/jeps.v1i2.2648>

Content is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence

The *Journal of European Periodical Studies* is hosted by Ghent University

Website: ojs.ugent.be/jeps

To cite this article: Hélène Védrine, 'Advertisements in French and Belgian "Little Reviews", 1890–1930: Visual Techniques and Design', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.2 (Winter 2016), 87–112

Advertisements in French and Belgian ‘Little Reviews’, 1890–1930: Visual Techniques and Design

HÉLÈNE VÉDRINE
University of Paris–Sorbonne

ABSTRACT

Between the 1880s and the 1920s advertising proved fundamental to art and literature reviews since it fostered a new link between visual and consumerist culture. This article is based on fin-de-siècle and avant-garde magazines read in dialogue. It samples French and Belgian magazines illustrating innovations to 1880s periodicals and 1920s modernist magazines. The paper highlights the use of visual techniques in advertisements (page design, typography, etc.) that strengthen aesthetic and political stances. Advertising rhetoric masks aesthetic manifestos but also social and political agendas, revealed by visual displays of text. Publicity is also an important medium for poetic experimentation, embedded in ordinary advertising design already in the 1890s. Its subversive use informs new means of artistic expression, considered avant-garde innovations (*collage*, *cadavre exquis*, or typographic combinations). Advertising later represents new modernist stances within avant-garde magazines. Surrealism and Dada exploited publicity to promote their revolutionary aesthetic. In the 1920s, advertising being increasingly professionalized, specific designers used new visual means, strengthened artistic exchanges, and gradually erased the division between art and commercial culture in magazines. Thus modernism became part of a visual culture resonant with consumer commodities. Advertising ultimately exemplifies an interesting change in periodicals’ patterns, across literature and art reviews to the mainstream press, through posters, and decorative or architectural designs.

KEYWORDS

advertising, art and literature review, avant-garde magazine, commercial culture, little review, manifesto, modernist magazine design, poetic experimentation, visual culture—visual techniques

As a number of studies have shown, there is a close relationship between advertising and mass retailing.¹ On the one hand, mass culture is as dependent on mass journalism as fostering and promoting it.² On the other, modernist literature and art reviews seem incompatible with all that advertising stands for: mass culture, commerce, industry, consumerist society, and so on. The argument that 'little magazines' deliberately turned their backs on trade and populist publics was put forward by Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich and characterizes the 'Great Divide' between high and mass culture according to unconditional critical distinctions, as debated by Andreas Huyssen.³ In their foreword to *Littérature et publicité*, Laurence Guellec and Françoise Hache-Bissette recently stated: 'Once advertising appears to express, albeit humorously, the directives of almighty capitalism, [...] culture, that other culture, of which literature and art are the major aesthetic expressions, looms like an ethical bastion.'⁴ Nineteenth-century observers were already aware of this. In a readership poll conducted by Henry Bérenger on 'La responsabilité de la presse contemporaine' [The Responsibility of the Contemporary Press], Jean Jaurès wrote, in the 4 December 1897 issue of the *Revue bleue*, that advertisements help transform mainstream newspapers and magazines into 'des outils aux mains du capital' [tools in the hands of capital], while on 25 December 1897, Georges Renard advocated 'reléguer l'annonce en des pages spéciales' [relegating advertisements to special pages].⁵ Although Jaurès and Renard both criticized advertising in periodicals as hard evidence of underperforming economic influence, they both admitted that small magazines could not survive without such financial backing and needed commercial advertisements. Even the very elitist *La Vogue* I discuss later, leased its inside back cover to a bank: 'Banque, Change, Escompte | E. Giron'.⁶ Such commercial announcements may have been managed by the editorial board, or by an agency, bearing witness to the development of advertising in the review's financial and editorial policy. Sometimes a deal was struck between the review and its printer, as was probably the case for *La Revue indépendante* (Paris, 1884–95) which, between 1891 and 1895, dedicated its last nine pages entirely to railway timetables, an important activity for its printer, Charles Hérissé.

The state of affairs is, however, not so simple. Advertising proves to be a very complex tool in the hands of review editors in addressing economic issues constrained by the need to offset publishing costs. In fact, 'little reviews' commonly integrated

- 1 See Marc Martin, *Trois siècles de publicité en France* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1992); Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); 'A New Era of Shopping', in *The Nineteenth Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 151–64; Marc Martin, 'La Publicité', and Arina Makarova, 'Le Carnet et les petites annonces', in *La Civilisation du journal*, ed. by Dominique Kalifa and others (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2011), pp. 1041–58.
- 2 See, for instance, Jean-Yves Mollier, Jean-François Sirinelli, and François Valloton, eds, *Culture de masse et culture médiatique en Europe et dans les Amériques, 1860–1940* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) to name but one collective volume with reference to Europe.
- 3 Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946); Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- 4 'Dès lors que la publicité semble formuler, même si c'est avec humour, les injonctions du tout-puissant capitalisme, [...] la culture, l'autre culture, dont la littérature est, avec l'art, l'expression esthétique majeure, apparaît comme un rempart éthique.' Laurence Guellec and Françoise Hache-Bissette, 'Avant-propos', in *Littérature et publicité: De Balzac à Beigbeder*, ed. by Laurence Guellec and Françoise Hache-Bissette (Marseille: Éditions Gaussen, 2014), pp. 11–19 (p. 17).
- 5 'Lettre de M. Jean Jaurès, député et publiciste', *Revue politique et littéraire*, 8.23 (4 December 1897), p. 712; 'Lettre de M. George Renard', *Revue bleue: Revue politique et littéraire*, 8.26 (25 December 1897), p. 805.
- 6 *La Vogue*, 3rd series, no. 2 (August 1889).

advertising.⁷ As Andrew Thacker has argued: 'It is relatively rare to find instances of modernist periodicals that do *not* contain advertising of some form.'⁸ Moreover, modernist magazines used the same advertising strategies as the mass market press. In his 1997 paper 'Marketing British Modernity', Mark Morrisson underlined 'the close, if brief, contact between modern commodity-advertising tactics and the modernists'.⁹ He showed how modernist magazines adopted mass-publicity techniques to broaden their readership and were aesthetically influenced by the vitality of advertising. I would like to add that what is true for British modernism is also relevant to French and Belgian magazines between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1920s.

Still, such facts pass almost unnoticed, sometimes due to academic cecity, which disregards what is not construed as legitimate content, sometimes for practical reasons, frequently related to production processes and archival conservation: if many mainstream newspapers and magazines integrate advertisements into their editorial pages, literature and art reviews relegate them to additional pages or reduce them to free-standing inserts, their papers, rarely preserved, differing at times in colour and quality.

In this article, I demonstrate how fundamental advertising is to art and literature reviews since it fosters a new link between visual and consumerist culture. My research started with the French fin-de-siècle so-called 'little reviews' *La Revue indépendante* (1886–89), *La Vogue* (1886–89), *La Plume* (1889–1914), *L'Ermitage* (1890–1906), *Mercure de France* (1890–1965), and, most importantly, *La Revue blanche* (1889–1903). Linguistic and artistic connections between France and Belgium being intense — *La Revue blanche* itself was born in Liège — it seemed necessary to extend the inquiry to both areas, all the more so since the Belgian literary field (according to Bourdieu) is less institutionalized than the French one.¹⁰ This raises the additional question of cultural uses in the centre versus the periphery and may or may not lead to distinctions.

In this investigation I follow a periodization embracing pre- and post-Great War phases, validated by both *L'Europe des revues, 1880–1920* (2008) and the volume *Europe* (2013) of the *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*.¹¹ Such an option allows us to show how fin-de-siècle periodicals foreshadowed innovations characterizing modernist magazines of the 1920s. I thus take account of fin-de-siècle and avant-garde magazines read in dialogue by sampling French and Belgian magazines that best illustrate such negotiation. This will also allow me to question the widespread historiographical stance picturing the 1914–18 period as a dramatic and definite aesthetic fracture, a split also proclaimed by avant-garde movements.

Far from being a mere tool 'in the hands of capital', advertisements helped shape periodicals' aesthetics regarding both ideas and materiality. This only became possible once the spread of visual culture had started erasing distinctions between visual, textual, and media hierarchies well into the twentieth century. Precisely *L'Europe des revues* set the grounds for such investigation in 2008 by drawing attention to both materiality

7 See Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, no. 121 (March 2006), 517–31 (pp. 520–21).

8 'Il est relativement rare de trouver des exemples de périodiques modernistes qui *ne* contiennent *pas* de publicité sous une forme ou une autre.' Andrew Thacker, 'Les Goûts modernes: La Culture publicitaire visuelle et verbale dans les revues modernistes', in *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations*, ed. by Evangelia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008), pp. 375–93 (p. 378).

9 Mark Morrisson, 'Marketing British Modernism: *The Egoist* and Counter-Public Spheres', *Twentieth-Century Literature*, no. 43 (1997), 439–69 (p. 440).

10 See the special issue 'L'Étude des revues littéraires en Belgique', ed. by Francis Mus and others, *COntEXTES*, no. 4 (2008), <https://contextes.revues.org/2983> [accessed 10 December 2016].

11 *L'Europe des revues* researched the period 1880–1920, while *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III, *Europe, 1880–1940*, ed. by Peter Brooker and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) took into consideration an even larger period (1880–1940).

and the many parts played by images in periodicals. Andrew Thacker himself analysed the blurring of images between art and advertisement in *Rhythm* in this very context.¹²

In this paper, I will not, however, address the question of artistic images. I will instead highlight the use of visual techniques in advertisements, referring to George Bornstein's 'politics of the page', and Jerome McGann's 'bibliographic code', such as page layout, general design, and typeface.¹³ This will underscore how, on the pretext of promotional goals, advertisements help strengthen political and aesthetic stances. In fin-de-siècle reviews these are first veiled by visual advertising rhetoric: aesthetic manifestos, political ideas, and poetic experimentations are embedded in ordinary advertising design. Later on, the role of advertising fulfils new stances of modernity within avant-garde magazines. Further, when fostered by professional designers, advertising promotes a global conception of modernism in relation to consumerist culture.

Advertising and Hidden Manifestos

Most advertisements in the fin-de-siècle periodicals I have studied concern cultural products. They promote artistic and cultural institutions such as theatres, galleries, publishing houses, or bookshops that help sell a periodical, or other periodicals, in which their own contributors also participate. Across national and international aesthetics and intellectual networks, advertising testifies thus to the organisation of artistic and literary life, as well as to the evolution of group strategies, oppositions, and alliances between artistic groups and movements. Advertisements for contemporary theatres in *La Revue blanche* and *La Vogue* are enlightening in this sense.

Founded in Belgium in 1889, by the brothers Thadée, Alfred, and Alexandre Natanson, *La Revue blanche* moved to Paris in 1891 and played an important part in the intellectual, artistic as well as political life at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ It was strongly connected to the symbolist movement, and regularly advertised the repertoires of the symbolist Théâtre de l'Œuvre directed by Lugné-Poe between 1893 and 1899.¹⁵ In such cases, advertisements do not in fact procure financial support. Since they are published for free, they testify to mutual sponsorship: *La Revue blanche* inserts the Théâtre de l'Œuvre's repertory into its issues; similarly, the Théâtre de l'Œuvre hosts advertisements for *La Revue blanche* within its programmes.¹⁶ More so than critical articles in editorial pages, this kind of advert, hardly devoid of exchanges and compensations, highlights the 'strong ties' and gives due measure to 'the strength of weak ties'.¹⁷

Nevertheless, advertisements bring more to the reader's attention than a network's consistency. They disclose, behind the advertising message, aesthetic stakes. In the third series of *La Vogue*, a provocative advert for the Théâtre Antoine, the Grand Guignol,

12 Thacker, pp. 375–93.

13 See George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

14 See Henri Bourrelier, *La Revue blanche: Une génération dans l'engagement, 1890–1905* (Paris: Fayard, 2007) for a full analysis, and also Elisa Grilli and Evangelia Stead, 'Between Symbolism and Avant-garde Poetics: *La Plume* (1889–1905); *L'Ermitage* (1890–1906); and *La Revue blanche* (1889–1903)', in Brooker and others, pp. 75–100.

15 See, for instance, an advertisement for the 1895–96 season, *La Revue blanche* (15 July 1895).

16 For instance, the programme designed by Édouard Vuillard for the plays *Une nuit d'avril à Céos* and *L'Image* includes the advertisement 'Lisez *La Revue blanche*' ['Read *La Revue blanche*'], 1894, lithography. For an analysis of *La Revue blanche* advertisements — not only in the periodical itself — see Cécile Barraud, '*La Revue blanche* ou l'art de la publicité', in Guellec and Hache-Bissette, eds, pp. 139–47.

17 See Mark Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78.6 (May 1973), 1360–80.

and the Athénée, mingling avant-garde, popular, and bourgeois theatrical genres, sits on the same page as an advertisement for 'Les appareils photographiques OPSI'. In five lines, this maps the three main drama activities in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century without polarising oppositions as one might expect: 'BE OFF TO | Théâtre Antoine | Le Grand Guignol | L'Athénée | Paris' Genuine Art Theatres.'¹⁸

The first inclinations (1886–87) of *La Vogue* were deeply symbolist due to the influence of Gustave Kahn and Félix Fénéon. The third series (1899–1900), directed by Tristan Klingsor and Henri Degron, advocated greater eclecticism. In such a context, the advertising page took on the meaning of a real manifesto. The phrase 'Les Véritables Théâtres d'Art de Paris' can indeed be read as a disguised attack on the origins of symbolist theatre, i.e. the Théâtre d'Art founded in 1889 by Paul Fort and Lugné-Poe, to become the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in 1893. To praise naturalist, popular, and bourgeois theatre over the symbolist, at the very moment when the Théâtre de l'Œuvre shut down, foreshadows the provocative avant-garde manifestos and their curt slogan style, underlining the crisis of symbolist values at the end of the century.¹⁹ Advertising can thus cover over aesthetic debates. It can also disguise social and political intentions revealed only by visual displays of text.

The Veiled Display of Politics

A specific layout may create quite meaningful effects, as in a *La Revue blanche* advertisement for *Paris-Vélo* (Fig. 1), a daily devoted to cycling and later to motor sport, co-directed by Pierre Lafitte, the well-known founder of mass-consumption magazines such as *Femina* (1901–54), *Je sais tout* (1905–39), and later *Excelsior* (1910–40). The advertisement is surrounded by titles from the anarchist press: *Sur le trimard* (1895–98), *Les Temps nouveaux* (1895–1914), and *La Sociale*, the temporary title of *Le Père Peinard* (1889–1902) between 1895 and 1896. Since the paid-for commercial advertisements figure larger than the free ones, pushed to the sides, should we interpret this arrangement as a victory of capital over political and aesthetic ideals? Or, on the contrary, does such a layout stage the all-out assault on popular dailies by the anarchist press — 'le petit rose' [little pinky] versus 'black print'?²⁰

In reality, neither interpretation is valid. On the one hand, such an amalgamation bears witness to genuine links between the broad or popular press, the political reviews, and the art and literature periodicals, which we have come to think of as elitist and isolated from mass culture. On the other, the page layout highlights a complex political context. The innocuous advertisement for a sports and entertainment daily shows a backstage return of the anarchist press to the podium following a ban between 1893 and 1894 enacted by 'les lois scélérates' [the villainous laws]. These laws were enacted in December 1893 after a wave of bomb attacks from 1892 that reached a peak with the assassination of the French President Sadi Carnot in June 1894. Francis de Pressensé, Émile Pouget, and Léon Blum published *Les Lois scélérates de 1893 et 1894* with Les Éditions de *La Revue blanche* in 1899.

The connection between *La Revue blanche* and the anarchist press is well known, especially the involvement of one of its contributors, Félix Fénéon, who had been arrested

18 'Allez | Au Théâtre Antoine | Au Grand Guignol | À l'Athénée | Les Véritables Théâtres d'Art de Paris.' *La Vogue*, 3rd series, no. 23 (15 December 1900).

19 The phrase mirrors Michel Décaudin's title, *La Crise des valeurs symbolistes: Vingt ans de poésie française, 1895–1914* (Toulouse: Privat, 1960), one of the most important studies on the symbolist movement and 'little reviews'.

20 *Paris-Vélo* was printed on pink paper.

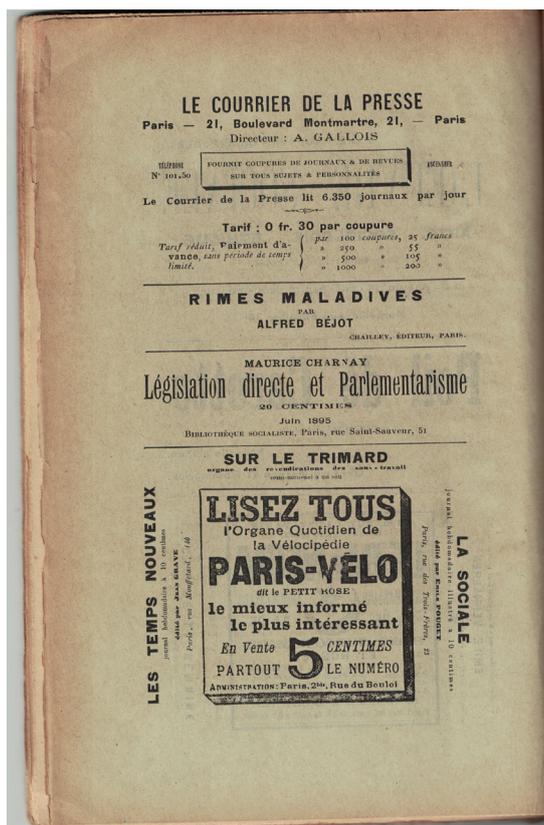


Fig. 1 *La Revue blanche*, 9.50 (1 July 1895), between p. 48 and the end of the issue.

in April 1894 for criminal conspiracy.²¹ Once acquitted, Fénéon became subeditor of *La Revue blanche* at the end of 1894, in strict secrecy. As Thadée Natanson stated, Fénéon ‘was not only subeditor, he was *La Revue blanche*’.²² Could he have been the author of this advertisement, which visualised the marginal presence of the anarchist press but also the threat it still represented?

Advertising can thus be a strong ideological and critical tool promoting social opinion. In the first *NIB* — a *Revue blanche* supplement whose title, based on slang and meaning ‘nothing’, may also refer to the English word ‘nib’ through association of texts and images within a same medium — social criticism masquerades as comedy. An advert by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec for the chocolate brand Potin (Fig. 2), playing with the name of a famous clown duet, Footit and Chocolat, runs thus:

Would you f... off... bloody nigger.... You are not Chocolat[e].... There is only one Chocolat[e]... Chocolate POTIN²³

However, as Evanghelia Stead has shown, the monkey-like face of the black clown and the expression ‘nigger’ betray a deep-seated racism, as if advertising could deprave a simple clown act and unveil society’s vilest roots. According to Stead, this image could

21 See Bourrelier, pp. 392–415.

22 ‘Il ne fut pas seulement le secrétaire de la rédaction, il fut *La Revue blanche*.’ Quoted in Bourrelier, p. 199.

23 ‘Voulez-vous f... le camp ... sâle [sic] nègre ... Vous n’êtes pas Chocolat ... Il n’y a qu’un Chocolat ... C’est le Chocolat POTIN.’ ‘Chocolat Potin’, *NIB*, no. 1, *La Revue blanche*, 8.1 (January 1895), free-standing insert.

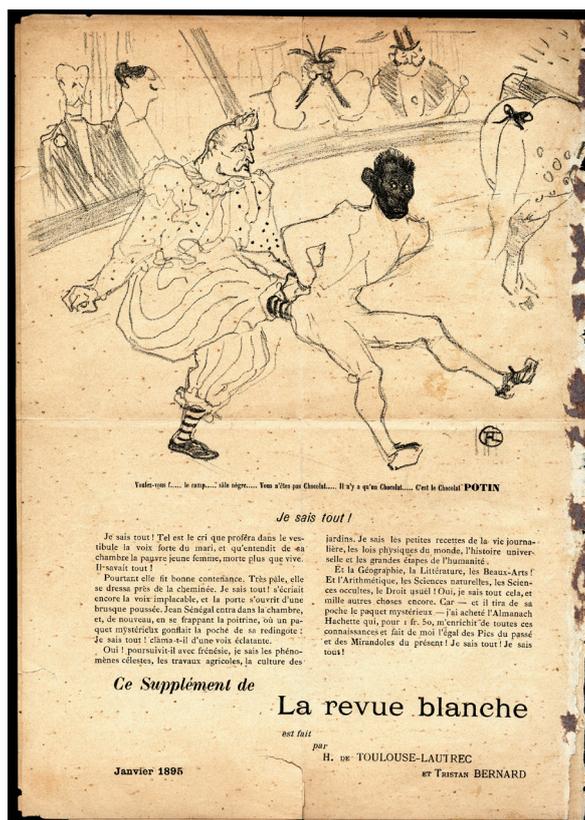


Fig. 2 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 'Chocolat Potin', *NIB*, no. 1, *La Revue blanche*, 8.1 (January 1895), free-standing insert.

also well be an allusion to the political context of the Dahomey expedition commented in the issue.²⁴

Such examples show that the relation between advertising and 'little magazines' is quite ambiguous: absolutely necessary for commercial viability, otherwise poorly supported by sole subscription revenue, advertising is also distorted in an ideological way, denouncing the tools of mass-culture while still using them. Irony and the subversion of marketing techniques can be seen as an answer to the 'anxiety of contamination' that defines, according to Andreas Huyssen, the bonds between writers and the advertising industry.²⁵ In other words, it is a way to deploy a strategy and use marketing techniques, albeit with detachment and in defence of accusations of commercialism. Indirect manifestos and political connections carried forward by such indirect strategies can then be particularly devious but efficiently hidden ways to make a point.

Handling Visual Rhetoric

Nevertheless, advertising may also represent another kind of tool, as it is no more the enemy of art but its ally. Page design and visual techniques substantiate the role of advertisements in expressing modernity. Advertising testifies to the complex relationship between fine and applied arts from 1890 onwards, and to a general questioning of

24 Evaghelia Stead and Hélène Védrine, 'L'Image comme instrument critique dans les revues fin-de-siècle', *Poétique*, no. 168 (2011), 467–92 (pp. 478–80).

25 Huyssen, p. vii.

traditional distinctions between high and low culture at the turn of the nineteenth century. Interesting in this case is the effect of blending cultural and commercial advertisements in the context of artistic and literary magazines that adapted advertising practices to their own ends. Commercial subscriptions invaded advertising space, connecting art with consumer commodities.

In its 15 December 1895 issue, for instance, *La Revue blanche* (Fig. 3) placed cheek by jowl foreign periodicals, industrial features such as railways, and a crafted object like the lamp in wrought iron. The whole page is singing the praises of iron ('fer'): a lamp and a railway ('chemin de fer') operator. Advertisements for arts-and-crafts objects or railway companies are frequent in the general press and in magazines as they testify to the characteristics of technological progress that contribute to creating a new age of paper and mass culture, i.e. the development of industrialized means of transport, especially railways. In France, Hachette's 1853 series known as 'Bibliothèque des chemins de fer', since sold in railway stations, symbolically associated paper with iron, book with rail, culture with technology, and combined news ways of production, consumption, and communication for the expansion of mass-culture. The term 'fer' also harked back to a major monument of modern architecture, the Eiffel Tower, known as 'la Dame de fer' [the Iron Lady]. This page thus broadly outlines, thanks to visual juxtaposition, a sketchy portrait of nineteenth-century modernity.

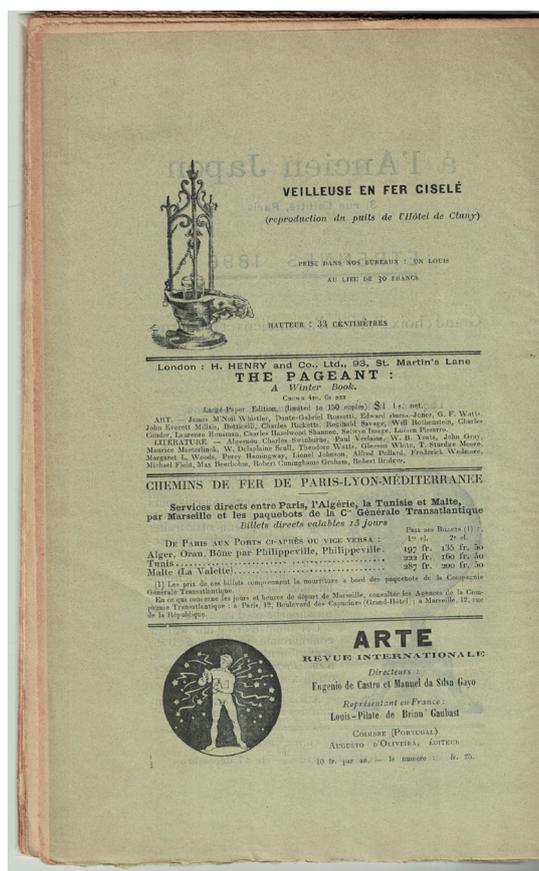


Fig. 3 *La Revue blanche*, 9.61 (15 December 1895), between p. 576 and the end of the issue.

Moreover, advertising is a medium for graphic and poetic experimentation. In *The Book as Instrument*, Ana Arnar shows how Stéphane Mallarmé's *Un coup de dés jamais*

n'abolira le hasard, published in May 1897 in the review *Cosmopolis*, was influenced by the 'creative potentials of the newspaper', especially the advertising pages, which were 'more overtly visual, as the product name or slogan was set off in boldface type or stacked in repeating rows'. She concludes that advertisements 'shared fundamental qualities with experimental free verse'.²⁶ The birth of the prose poem in the daily press has been already studied and the importance of the publishing context of the poem, mixed with articles and advertisements, has been recently recalled.²⁷ In fact, since the end of the nineteenth century, stylistic and visual links between advertising and modern poetry — through rhetoric, typography, or layout — should be underlined.²⁸

'Le Chasseur de chevelures' [The Scalp Hunter], a satirical supplement to the 1893 *Revue blanche*, directed by Tristan Bernard and Pierre Veber, uses advertising rhetoric to subvert the lines of French poets, including Charles Baudelaire, in such fashion:

*We shall have beds full of subtle perfumes, Divans as deep as graves ... and what else? a polished walnut table, a sideboard of the same, six chairs and two oriental door curtains, all for 600 francs at the Saint-Antoine furniture depository, 247 rue Saint-Antoine, Paris.*²⁹

Blending the poem's and the advert's layouts, parodies such as these are not levelled at literature but at the way consumerist society abuses and depreciates language. In another way, they foreshadow writers dedicating their pens and nibs to promotional texts and 'réclames' in the general press, as they had done with 'romans-feuilletons' [serialized novels]. The rank of 'réclamiers', or writers for advertisements, would always remain ambiguous, even in the 1920s, when such writers as Jean Cocteau, Colette, Jean Anouilh, Paul Valéry, Paul Claudel, and Jean Giono, worked on promotional texts. Late nineteenth-century 'affichomanie', and major works by Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Alphonse Mucha, among others, show that in the artistic field advertising won its spurs sooner than in the literary field.³⁰

However, the poetic potential of adverts does not lie only in their subversive use, but also in the combinational possibilities they may offer to readers. A page from the November 1894 issue of *La Revue blanche* (Fig. 4) seems an obvious promotion of books by associated authors or publishers. Still, it can be read in two ways. Firstly, as tracing and mapping the review's literary and publishing networks, both in France and in

26 Ana Arnar, *The Book as Instrument: Stéphane Mallarmé, the Artist's Book and the Transformation of Print Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 230.

27 See Antoine Compagnon's chapter 'Un poète journaliste', in *Baudelaire l'irréductible* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014), pp. 41–88 and pp. 53–54, note 1, and, previously, Alain Vaillant, 'Le Journal: creuset de l'invention poétique'; Jean-Pierre Bertrand, 'Une lecture médiatique du *Spleen de Paris*'; Pascal Durand, 'De "l'universel reportage" au poème univers: l'hybridation mallarméenne du livre et du journal', and Patrick Suter, 'Presse et invention littéraire: Mallarmé et ses "héritiers futuristes", Dada et surréalistes', in *Presse et plumes: Journalisme et littérature au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Marie-Ève Thérénty and Alain Vaillant (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2004), pp. 317–66; see also Vaillant, pp. 11–22.

28 See the pioneer issue on poets and advertising 'Les Poètes et la publicité', ed. by Marie Letourneur, *Poésie 1* (December 1983), pp. 112–14, and the ANR Project 'LittéPub', launched in 2014, ed. by Myriam Boucharenc, which aims to study relations between poetry and advertising.

29 'Nous aurons des lits pleins d'odeurs légères, Des divans profonds comme des tombeaux ... et quoi d'autre? une table en noyer ciré, un buffet de même, six chaises et deux portières orientales, le tout pour 600 frs au garde-meuble Saint-Antoine, 247 rue Saint-Antoine, Paris.' 'Petites annonces', 'Le Chasseur de chevelures', *La Revue blanche* (March 1893), p. 240. These parodies also echo the devious use of advertising in fin-de-siècle poetry. See Catherine Dousteysier-Khoze, 'Notes sur un dispositif fin de siècle: Pub, parodie et poésie', in *Penser la représentation II: Discours, image, dispositif*, ed. by Philippe Ortel (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 221–32.

30 See the special issue on literature and advertising, 'Littérature et réclame: Le Cru et le cri', ed. by Philippe Hamon, *Romantisme*, no. 155 (2012), particularly Hamon's introduction (3–10); see also Guellec and Hache-Bissette, eds; and the ANR Project 'LittéPub'.

Belgium; secondly, as revelling in juxtaposition of titles that can be strangely combined, creating the kind of poem Mallarmé would achieve with *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard*. Different typefaces set in larger size attract the reader's attention. They can work as the poem within the advertisement page: the parts of text in larger type can be associated with new meanings. Maurice Barrès's title (*Du sang, de la volupté et de la mort*) can thus combine with Gustave Geffroy's one (*Le Cœur et l'esprit*), placed immediately afterwards, and create a surprising reconciliation of body and soul, reading in a line: 'Of Blood, Pleasure and Death, Heart and Spirit'. Or, to take but a different example, a strange erotic inconsistency may arise from mixing Eugène Morel's (*Artificielle*) and Paul Adam's (*La Parade amoureuse*) titles, as in 'The Artificial Courtship Display'. Or, again, a pastoral and autumnal picture may be drawn when reading successively *Le Vigneron dans sa vigne* and *Sonatines d'automne*: 'The Vintner in his Vineyard, Autumn Sonatinas'.

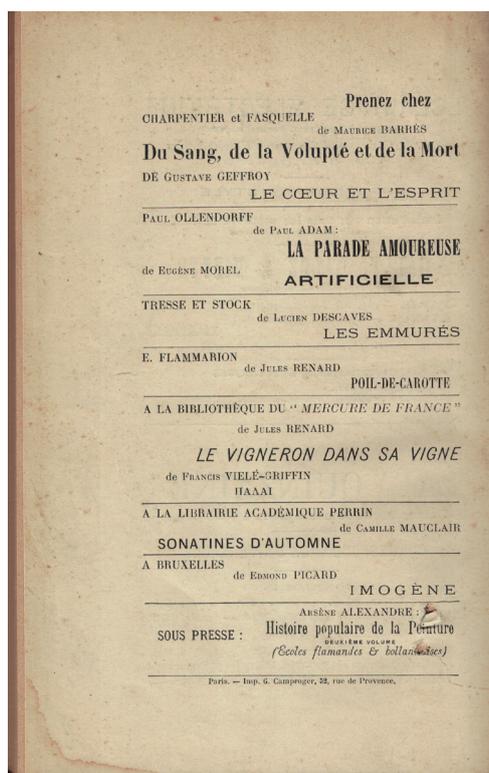


Fig. 4 *La Revue blanche*, 7.37 (November 1894), end of the issue.

Advertising pages in *La Revue blanche* frequently fix titles together or invite do-it-yourself pasting. *La Revue blanche* editors made such poems by playfully juxtaposing different historical fonts (from old to modern ones such as didone, mechanistic, and lineal), different type sizes, and bold lettering, to creative effect (Fig. 5). Combining titles from the daily press, books, and public lectures creates a kind of surrealist 'cadavre exquis' [exquisite corpse]. This can also become a political manifesto using poetic and typographic means. As such, it extends by visual techniques the subversive discourse of the *Revue blanche* 'Passim' column, i.e. news in brief written by Victor Barrucand and Félix Fénéon placed just before the advertising pages. Barrucand's title, *Le Pain gratuit* [*Bread for Free*], sits at the centre of this visual set. When faced with the contemporary social 'horreur' [horror] affecting 'le mystère des foules' [the mystery of the masses], the only answer would be socialist and communist: 'le pain gratuit' [free keep] provided for the people, as Barrucand advocated, and unselfish action undertaken by all in favour of

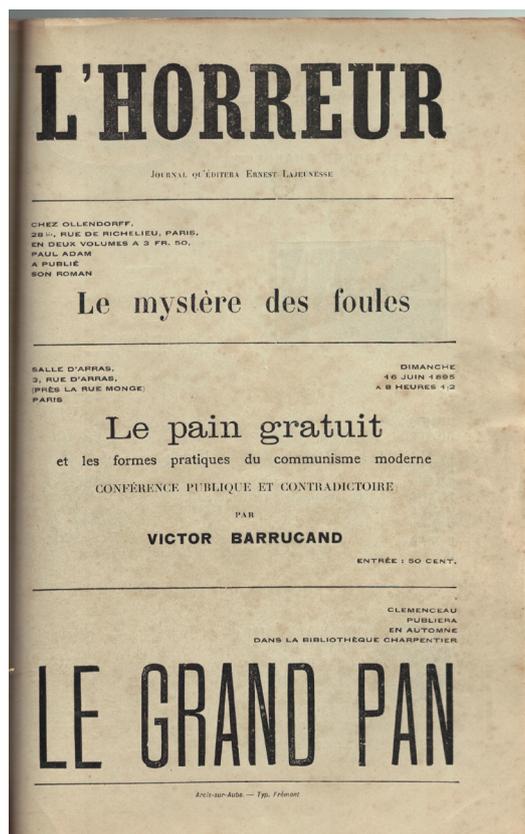


Fig. 5 *La Revue blanche*, 8.49 (15 June 1895), end of the issue, inside back cover.

everybody as Georges Clémenceau argued in *Le Grand Pan* [‘The Great pan’ meaning also ‘The Great All’]. Advertising emphasizes thus that art and literature should have a public function and a social significance, and that commercial advertising, as a symbol of public discourse, needs to be re-oriented. Art and literature are no more isolated from other social and cultural expressions, and advertising has become both the symptom and the means of this return to real life.

The page promoting Constantin Guÿs’s and other painters’ exhibitions, as well as *Gog*, a novel by Catulle Mendès, is even more spectacular (Fig. 6). Here, the awareness of typographic effects echoes ‘L’esthétique des formes’ [The Aesthetics of Forms], an article by Charles Henry in the February 1895 issue of this very *Revue blanche*, which analyses the importance of typefaces (Fig. 7). Both through the typographic variation and alliteration of the sound ‘G’, this page creates strong visual and resonant effects, like the echo of a very violent slogan, aiming, far beyond their promotional purpose, at the magazine’s social ideology. Besides combining mathematical analysis of the visual efficiency of lettering and the crying hawker tradition that had been so important during the nineteenth century,³¹ the advertisement associates highbrow and lowbrow culture on a single page, just as it uses the means of both visual and oral poetry.

Here, it is obvious the advertisement is not only inserted for financial reasons or group strategies. It is written, designed, in a word *published*, just like any other text or image in the periodical, with a perfect awareness of ‘the politics of the page’ that contribute to the rise of a new visual culture. The ‘designer’ is presumably Félix Fénéon,

31 See Jean-Yves Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue: Politique et démocratie au tournant des XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

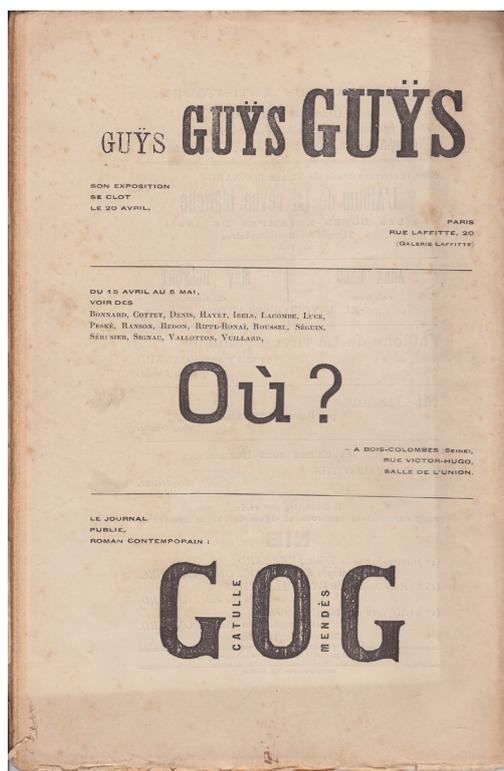


Fig. 6 *La Revue blanche*, 8.45 (15 April 1895), between p. 384 and the end of the issue.

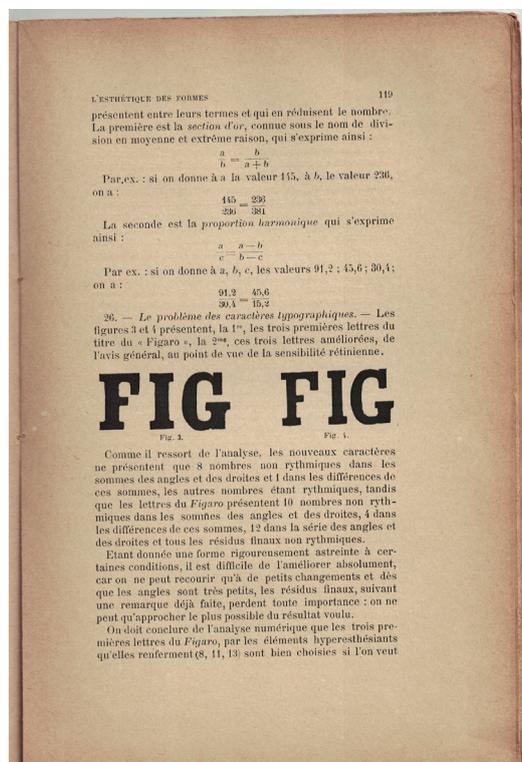


Fig. 7 Charles Henry, 'L'Esthétique des formes', *La Revue blanche*, 8.40 (1 February 1895), p. 119.

who used short forms as a subversive weapon for political and aesthetic revolution in 'Passim' or, later, in *Nouvelles en trois lignes*, a title that plays on the double meaning of *nouvelle*, i.e. 'short story' and 'news'. This column, authored by Fénéon in the daily *Le Matin* from May to November 1906, was edited in book form by Jean Paulhan only in 1948. Guillaume Apollinaire commented: 'He [Fénéon] had more or less invented, in his immortal three-line news in *Le Matin*, the *words in freedom* adopted by futurists.'³² Given such data, it would be advisable to reconsider the inventiveness of the historical avant-gardes regarding *collage*, *cadavre exquis*, typographic games, or even the use of the advertising in art and literature.

Modernity's New Scenes

Contrary to the modernity of Baudelaire, who criticizes advertising and the press but puts up with it at the same time, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the new conception of modernity integrated poetry into everyday life, thanks to the dailies and their advertisements, as Guillaume Apollinaire's well-known poem 'Zone' (1913) proclaimed:

You read flyers catalogues posters which sing abreast
That's poetry this morning and for prose there is the press.³³

It is also well known that several pages from the daily press ambiguously inspired surrealism, futurism, or Dada.³⁴ Blaise Cendrars warned poets: 'Amis, la publicité est votre domaine' [Friends, advertising is your field].³⁵ André Breton, in *Le Manifeste du surréalisme* (1924), suggested making poems by pasting together newspaper headlines:

One may even entitle POEM what is obtained by as gratuitous an assemblage possible (let us respect, if you concede, the syntax) of titles or parts of titles snipped from the newspapers.³⁶

In fact, the passage following this assertion shows that Breton specifically borrowed rhetoric and visual effects from advertisements. Each line of the poem uses different fonts, sizes, or typefaces (which cannot be replicated here) to give the text a new semantic value:

Coffee
has its own axe to grind
THE DAILY SUPPLIER OF YOUR BEAUTY

32 'Il avait pour ainsi dire inventé, dans ses immortelles nouvelles en 3 lignes du *Matin*, les *mots en liberté* qu'ont adoptés les futuristes'. Guillaume Apollinaire, 'La Vie anecdotique — M. Félix Fénéon', *Mercur de France*, no. 402 (16 March 1914), 429–33 (p. 431).

33 'Tu lis les prospectus les catalogues les affiches qui chantent tout haut | Voilà la poésie ce matin et pour la prose il y a les journaux.' Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Zone' (1913), *Alcools*, in *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. by Marcel Adhéma and Michel Décaudin (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), pp. 39–44 (p. 39).

34 See Suter, pp. 351–64; and Eddie Breuil, 'Nul n'est censé ignorer Dada', in Guellec and Hache-Bissette, eds, pp. 111–21.

35 Blaise Cendrars, 'Publicité = Poésie' (1927), in *Aujourd'hui*, ed. by Claude Leroy (Paris: Denoël, 2005), p. 118.

36 'Il est même permis d'intituler POÈME ce qu'on obtient par l'assemblage aussi gratuit que possible (observons, si vous voulez, la syntaxe) de titres et de fragments de titres découpés dans les journaux.' André Breton, *Manifeste du surréalisme* (1924), in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Marguerite Bonnet, 4 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1988–2008), I (1988), p. 341.

MADAM,
 A pair
Of silk stockings
 Is not

A leap into the void

A DEER³⁷

Before Breton, Arthur Rimbaud built his poem 'Paris', the second of his 'Conneries' [Fool-arse jokes] for the *Album zutique* (c. 1871), from a similarly motley blend of brand names and poster slogans.³⁸ In 'Ce qu'on dit au poète à propos des fleurs' [To the Poet on the Subject of Flowers], he addressed his subject quite ironically: 'Que tes Strophes soient des réclames' [Let your Stanzas be ads].³⁹

However, as advertising became a pattern for poetry and influenced all kind of artistic activities, advertisements themselves were less present in avant-garde magazines, even in Apollinaire's or Breton's own periodicals. In *Le Festin d'Ésope* (1903) or *Les Soirées de Paris* (1912–14), founded by Apollinaire, the usual advertisements for railway timetables or other periodicals neither receive particular attention nor form the subject of visual emphasizing. Breton regrets the absence of advertisements in his review *La Révolution surréaliste* (1924–29): 'And as usual (but this time most regrettably) no advertisements, no exquisite advertising'.⁴⁰ Some magazines restricted advertising to cultural and artistic circles, thus excluding business concerns. Of course, this resulted more from their lack of influence than from ideological choice, since they proved unable to attract announcements with financial impact. Nevertheless, the reason is also the absolute necessity to create a solidarity network. In this sense, advertising is a way to succeed in strengthening a group strategy. For instance, *Littérature* (Paris, 1919–21), directed by Louis Aragon, André Breton, and Philippe Soupault, opened its pages to advertisements for booksellers and publishers close to the surrealist group (Au Sans-Pareil) or for other magazines (*Dada*, *Le Crapouillot*, *Mercur de France*, *L'Effort moderne*). Similarly, in all three issues published, *Le Grand jeu*, founded by René Daumal, Roger Vailland, Roger Gilbert-Lecomte, and Robert Meyrat (Paris, 1928–30), advertised other periodicals with which special issues were planned (*Orbes*, *Le Rouge et le noir*, *Les Cahiers du sud*, *Les Cahiers de l'étoile*, *Variétés*, *transition*). It also promoted publishers, either close to the group, such as Éditions Kra, Au Sans-Pareil, and Edward Titus, or to writers the group wanted to reach. Likewise, it mentioned the 'Éditions de la NRF' in tribute to Louis Aragon's *Traité du style* and André Breton's *Nadja*, which did not prevent the split between Vailland and Breton in 1929. Preoccupied by the increasing importance of *Le Grand jeu* and the group founded by René Daumal, Roger Vailland, Roger Gilbert-Lecomte, and Robert Meyrat, André Breton took issue with Roger Vailland's 'anti-revolutionary' paper praising Prefect Jean Chiappe (*Paris-Midi*,

37 'Le café | prêche pour son saint | L'ARTISAN QUOTIDIEN DE VOTRE BEAUTÉ | MADAME, | une paire | de bas de soie | n'est pas | Un saut dans le vide | UN CERF.' Breton, p. 342.

38 Arthur Rimbaud, 'Conneries II: Paris', *Album zutique*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by André Guyaux with Aurélia Cervoni (Paris: Gallimard, 2009), p. 174.

39 Arthur Rimbaud, 'Ce qu'on dit au poète à propos des fleurs' (1871), Guyaux and Cervoni, eds, p. 152. For an analysis of this poem from the point of view of advertising, see Philippe Hamon, *Imageries: Littérature et image au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: José Corti, 2001, republished 2007), pp. 157–60.

40 'Et comme d'habitude (mais cette fois plus regrettable), [...] pas d'annonces, pas de belle publicité.' Quoted in Birgit Wagner, 'L'Économie de la poésie: Un an de publicités dans *La Révolution surréaliste*', in *L'Année 1925: L'Esprit d'une époque*, ed. by Myriam Boucharenc and Claude Leroy (Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Ouest, 2012), pp. 135–48 (p. 137).

15 September 1928). On 11 March 1929, in a meeting on Trotsky's forced exile by Stalin, Breton asked for Vailland's exclusion from the review he contributed to create, which was refused. In the third issue in December 1930, as Vailland had himself put an end to his collaboration with the magazine, an advertisement for Librairie Corti testified to the need for promoting a larger group and a unified creative front: 'Toute la littérature et toutes les revues d'avant-garde | Demandez-nous l'envoi gratuit de notre catalogue illustré "Le Groupe surréaliste"' [To all avant-garde literature and magazines | Request free delivery of our illustrated catalogue "The Surrealist Group"]. This kind of advertisement corroborates Morrisson's analysis concerning the advertising strategies of modernist and avant-garde groups, and the need, at least in the beginning, for them to close ranks.

Nevertheless, besides group strategy, advertisements again play an important part to state a new conception of modernity. A double page display from *Le Disque vert* (Brussels, first series, 1922–25) promotes *La Nouvelle Revue française*, *La Revue européenne* 'succeeding to *Écrits nouveaux*', *Le Monde nouveau*, and *Les Nouvelles littéraires* (Fig. 8).

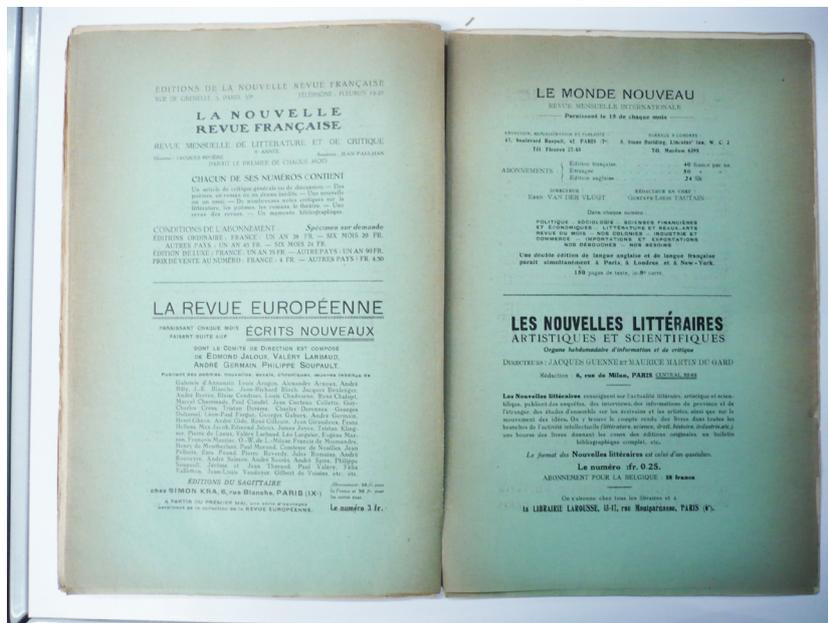


Fig. 8 *Le Disque vert*, no. 4–5–6 (February–March–April 1923), unpaginated.

This spread certainly enables us to reconstitute the network of *Le Disque vert*, the most important modernist magazine in Belgium, published both in Paris and Brussels. Directed by Franz Hellens, with a French editorial board (André Salmon, Jean Paulhan), it was close to *La Nouvelle Revue française* but of very irregular publication. It was first called *Signaux de France et de Belgique* (May–October 1921), became *Écrits du nord* between November 1922 and January 1923, and its purpose was to overcome polemics and open its pages to all new artistic movements. Hellens published here Henry Michaux's first text, 'Cas de folie circulaire' (no. 5, September 1922), and famed special issues were dedicated to Max Jacob (no. 2, November 1923) and Charlot (no. 4–5, January 1924). Its eclecticism is characteristic of Belgian magazines keen on aesthetic redefinitions in a feebly institutionalized literary field. The 1920s are still influenced by the symbolist movement in Belgium, as testifies the readership poll 'Le symbolisme a-t-il dit son dernier mot?' [Has symbolism said its last word?] (nos 4, 5,

6, February–April 1923). Conversely French writers from *Littérature* (Louis Aragon, Jacques Baron, André Breton, Jean Carrive, René Crevel, Robert Desnos, Max Ernst, Paul Eluard, Max Morisse, Roger Vitrac) ironically replied: 'En réponse à votre enquête "Le symbolisme est-il mort?", nous répondons: 1. — Nous n'avons pas l'habitude d'être dérangés pour des choses semblables' [In answer to your enquiry: 'Is symbolism dead?', we answer: 1. — We are not in the habit of being bothered with such things].

In such a context, the advertisements in Fig. 8 seem to correlate with the desire for revival, the magazine titles apparently having been chosen to create a world where everything looks new: '*Nouvelle*'/'*nouveaux*'/'*nouveau*'/'*Nouvelles*'. Obviously, advertising aims at encouraging consumers to buy new commodities. On this page, the promotional principle aligns with a certain idea of modernity. Partly rooted in 'la mode' [fashion], as Charles Baudelaire stated, it is based on the never-ending pursuit of the new, either 'nouveau' or 'neuf'.

Likewise, new aesthetic forms use advertising devices by abutting different graphic, typographic, visual and textual forms. This is the case, for instance, of the Dada tract-manifesto 'DADA soulève TOUT', dated 12 January 1921 and handed out three days later during Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's talk on 'tactilism' at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre. The alluring hawker's tone of the title uses equivocation, 'Dada lifts up everything' also meaning 'Dada stirs up everything'. Various avant-gardes use intensively the powerful efficiency of publicity to promote their own energy and sell their revolutionary aesthetic, nor even ironically or with political purpose as at the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, the material pattern of such avant-garde magazines is no longer literature and art reviews but the mainstream press, advertising tracts, and posters, i.e. mass culture and ephemera.

A good example of this is *Œsophage*, the Dadaist magazine created in Brussels in 1925 by René Magritte and E. L. T. Mesens, who contributed to *391*, Picabia's magazine (1917–24) which inspired them. They were both disappointed by Breton's conception of surrealism and constructivism. The self-promotional page of *Œsophage* employs the rhetoric and disposition typical of advertising (Fig. 9). 'Hop-là!! Hop-là!!' repeatedly interjects hawker-fashion an ambiguous and obscene 'hard sell' through phrases such as 'durcit | est ce qu'il te faut pour remplacer NESTOR' [harden-up | is what you need as stand in for NESTOR] or marketing exhortations 'ouvrez votre bourse | mettez l'paquet' [open up | and shed it]. In French slang, 'bourse' and 'paquet' also refer to the scrotum. Expressions such as 'harden-up' or 'stand in for NESTOR' confirm of course the sexual connotations linked to the image of the urinal as does the idea of innuendo in 'Hop-là vous présente ses arrière-pensées' [Hop-là presents you with its hidden agenda]. Of course, this page refers explicitly to Marcel Duchamp's *Fontaine* (1917). It concludes — vertically on the right — that 'La pureté n'est pas un vain mot' [Purity is not an empty word], as if to wash away any suspicion of compromise through advertising, yet knowing, as Duchamp did, that a new model of artistic and literary mediatization had emerged. The value of art was no more determined by the work *per se* but by modes of exhibition — even exhibitionism.⁴¹ Advertising is the art of self-exhibition itself and the ties between art, literature, and advertising as medium are definitively bonded.

Advertising, originally a tool of mass-media culture, had since been hijacked by surrealism. The purpose was not only to denounce consumerist attitudes but also to use visual and textual efficiency in subverting marketing through experimentation and aesthetic concerns.

41 See for instance Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1978), particularly chapter four, 'When is Art?', pp. 57–70.



Fig. 9 *Œsophage*, no. 1 (March 1925), last page.

Professionals in the Visual Arena

Nevertheless, during the 1920s, advertising became more and more professionalized and specific designers brought in new visual means, increasing artistic exchanges and erasing the division between art and commercial culture. The case of modernist magazines such as *Variétés* and *7 Arts* is significant.⁴² *Variétés* (Brussels, 1928–30) was launched in May 1928 by Paul-Gustave Van Hecke, who also owned an art gallery, Le Centaure, where René Magritte showed his paintings. From 1928 the magazine was close to French surrealists, more specifically Breton and Aragon. A polemical special issue was dedicated to 'Le surréalisme en 1929' (June 1929). *Variétés* comprised many advertisements (sixteen pages at the beginning, sixteen pages at the end of each issue, and also within the magazine itself) for galleries, publishers, theatres, music-halls, photographs, not to forget cars, record players, furniture stores, toothpaste, perfume, fashion designers, socks, hairdressers, in short everything that concerned upper-middle class cultural and social activities in the 1920s. The advertisement pages contrast strongly with the introductory paper 'Notre œil puéril' [Our Childlike Eye] by Henri Vandeputte: 'Eyes have seen that truth and beauty lie in ingenuity. The rich are returning, slowly, irresistibly, to a way of life that the poor, by necessity, have never left. [...] Money still corrupts so many things ...'⁴³

Declarations such as these mirror a constant dilemma between art and commercial culture in these periodicals. However, the corruption generated by the consumerist society and promoted by advertisements was perhaps transcended by the graphic

42 See Francis Mus and Hans Vandevoorde, 'Brussels, the avant-garde and internationalism', in Brooker and others, eds, III (2013), pp. 287–360 (pp. 354–60).

43 'Les yeux ont vu que la vérité et la beauté étaient dans la naïveté [...]. On revient tout doucement, irrésistiblement, chez les riches, à une existence que les pauvres, par force, n'ont jamais quittée. [...] L'argent pourrait encore bien des choses...'. *Variétés*, no. 1 (15 May 1928), 1–2.

elegance of professional designers, as when the Belgian architect Yvan Obozinski advertised Eukalos toothpaste (Fig. 10). Moreover, comparable layouts and frameworks were used to advertise both a ladies' hairdresser and a magazine, *Sélection* (Fig. 11), erasing, thanks to similar visual techniques, distinctions between cultural artefacts and consumer commodities. The dilemma was solved in this case by blending different graphic practices on the same page. In fact, this periodical's 'politics of the page' are not inspired by surrealist or Dadaist magazines but by *Der Querschnitt* (Düsseldorf–Berlin, 1921–36), a very eclectic, international and elegant German magazine. *Variétés* imitates its characteristic layout — even its typefaces — and especially the strange combinations of texts, photographs, illustrations, and advertisements.



Fig. 10 *Variétés*, no. 1 (15 May 1928), pl. XXI. Reproduction of a poster by Yvan Obozinski, 1927, colour lithography.

Similarly, in *Variétés*, all images (reproductions of photographs and paintings, a drawing, and an advertisement for a hairdresser) resorted to the same visual device, blurring the boundaries between images of different status (Fig. 12). An advertisement used typefaces by Anton Kurvers, a Dutch designer, as an integral part of the layout and the editorial contents (Fig. 13).⁴⁴ Far from disrupting the layout, in using capital letters made by the same template, strongly interlinked and cemented, the advertisement offers an architectural basis for the text block. In fact, both the advertising pages and the overall magazine layout refer to architectural patterns and plans, not to book or press grids. This new pattern is also a way to keep gradually one's distance from 'les mots en liberté' and from the avant-garde typographic disorder.

44 See, for instance, the poster by Anton Kurvers, *Tentoonstelling op het Gebied van Stedebouw* [Exhibition of Urban Planning], <http://luc.devroye.org/AntonKurvers--TentoonstellingOpHetGebiedVanStedebouw-1923.jpg>, Sted Museum, Amsterdam, 20 October–14 November 1923.

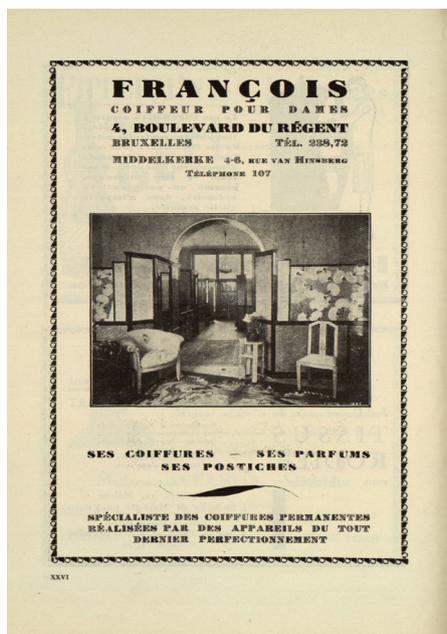
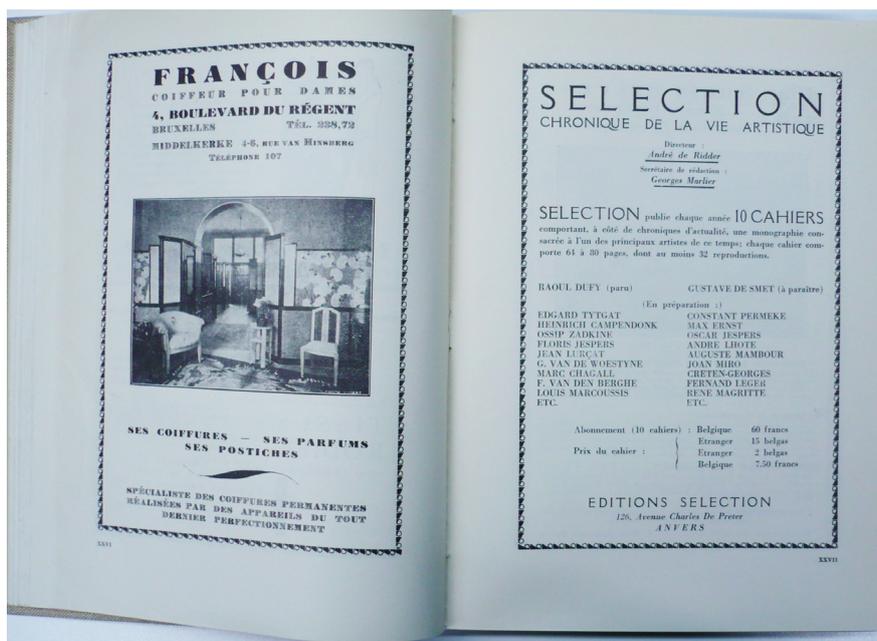


Fig.11 *Variétés*, no. 1 (15 May 1928), pl. XXVI–XVII.

More specific is the case of *7 Arts* (Brussels, 1922–28). Celebrating industry, arts and crafts, or even applied arts was one of the magazine’s goals. Architect and writer brothers Victor and Pierre Bourgeois as editors advocated the interaction between different art forms, and pitched constructivism against surrealism. In this respect, advertisements might derive from constructivist experiments and there was little apparent difference between an advertisement for the ‘charpente Omega’ [Omega frame] (Fig. 14) and paintings by constructivists like El Lissitzky’s ‘Prouns’. This particular advertisement moved through the review’s pages from one issue to another, illustrating a paper by Émile Henvaux on ‘The Modern Effort in Advertising’, in which the author underlined the ‘pressing need for order, clarity, concision. The “romantic” disarray of

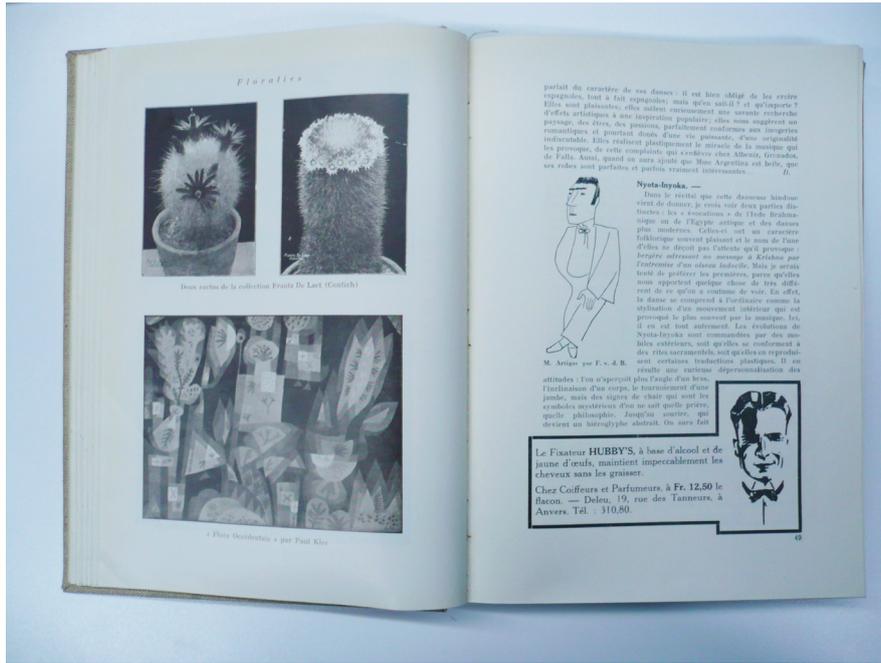


Fig. 12 *Variétés*, no. 1 (15 May 1928), 49.

et non comme un prétexte à mascarade, s'il accepte de préciser, d'accuser un peu ses effets. Il y a une optique spéciale à l'écran comme au théâtre : sans tomber dans les procédés purement mécaniques et extérieurs d'Harold Lloyd ou de Buster Keaton, il convient de ne pas oublier que le spectateur est un être amorphe qu'il faut saisir brutalement si l'on espère de lui une réaction.

La passion de Jeanne Ney (G. W. Pabst). — Alors qu'en Allemagne le mot d'ordre est d'imiter le film américain dans tous ses travers (ce qui nous vaut une jolie série d'opérettes qui ne sont pas moins nuisées pour être filmées), voici un film qui ne renie rien des défauts et des qualités auxquels nous ont habitués Lang, Wiene, Murnau et Lupu-Pick. Si certains passages rappellent von Stroheim, il semble qu'il y ait plutôt accord préexistant qu'influence. Nous retrouvons dans la dernière œuvre de Pabst, qui restait l'auteur de *La Rue sans joie*, le goût du meurtre, de la misère et de la veulerie qui nous manquait depuis bien longtemps. La technique seule s'est modernisée : cela nous vaut une très belle évocation de la Révolution russe et un mouvement un peu hâletant qui subsiste jusqu'aux dernières images.

Le film n'est d'ailleurs pas sans défauts. Son scénario est à la fois arbitraire et littéraire, mais il se prête par moments à d'heureuses trouvailles dont la meilleure est la rencontre des amants à Paris. L'interprétation n'est qu'honorable. Mlle Edith Jehanne a dit elle-même qu'elle n'avait pas su se plier aux méthodes de travail allemandes. Tant pis pour elle. Brigitte Helm s'est tirée non sans mal d'un rôle vraisemblablement ingrat. Mais le reproche principal que l'on peut faire à Pabst, c'est de rechercher continuellement l'effet; toutes les images sont tendues; on aboutit à quelque chose de semblable à ce terrible style théâtral où tous les mots sont à l'emporte-pièce et qui laisse si vite. Il faut dire bien vite que nous ne préférons pas l'écurante platitude de la production ordinaire.

Écrans multiples. — En 1927, M. Abel Gance a inventé le triple écran et l'a utilisé pour certains passages de *Napoléon*.

Mais l'une des attractions de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris (1900) était le « Cinéorama », dû à l'inventeur Raoul Grimoin-Sanson. Grâce à dix appareils synchronisés, disposés en étoile, et couvrant chacun un angle de 36°, tout l'horizon était d'abord cinématographié, ensuite projeté sur un écran circulaire de cent mètres de circonférence. Au centre, prenaient place les spectateurs, dans une nacelle et la partie inférieure d'un ballon sphérique servait de plafond, car ce film retraçait l'ascension d'un ballon qui, parti de Paris, devait atterrir ensuite à Bruxelles, Londres, Barcelone, Tunis.

L'INTERIEUR MODERNE
EST LA SEULE MAISON CAPABLE DE VOUS MEUBLER AVEC GOUT

Fig. 13. Advertisement for 'L'intérieur moderne', *Variétés*, no. 1 (15 May 1928), 43.

S'il est vrai que l'émotion puisse s'affiner parfois jusqu'à épouser certaines formes de spiritualité, la « balance du poète libre » y fait songer. Encore que, respectueusement, la lourdeur de plusieurs scènes laisse passer l'oreille pointée de — l'œuvre de l'homme — ce mille premier.

À n'en pas douter, le vrai Cretin est celui de certains merveilleux moments où la chair, grandie d'une surabondance nerveuse, s'écroule anéantie. Ces instants sont assez rares. De plus en plus, Cretin s'égaille — et glisse sur le miroir de ses telles vermines. Couvre-t-il en lui la réaction? N'est-il pas mélo?

Et dépassera-t-il ces instants d'harmonie sensible pour faire plus profond, plus dur?

En sa nature brutale et mondaine, sage et bête, entend-t-il assez?

Le temps passé? Le vrai appel à l'esprit qui peut-être, le mille n'a pas entièrement tenu.

FLOUQUET.

Notules Cinématographiques

Après avoir attendu, je crois, environ deux ans dans la réserve dédaignée des loueurs, le film allemand de Pabst : *La rue sans joie*, passe scruelleusement dans un cinéma du centre de la ville : l'Eden, rue Neuve. Au cinéma, un tel retard est souvent fâcheux qui met en évidence les défauts des œuvres par suite des épreuves passées de la production. Et *La Rue sans joie* n'échappe point à cette dévalorisation inévitable du temps. Certes, il serait injuste de méconnaître certaines hautes qualités photographiques : gros plans ou interprétations plastiques qui dénotent l'intervention d'un ingénieur expérimenté et de savoir-faire. Je songe notamment à quelques scènes : soupçon, chair et viande en la cave-bourgeoise, escalade des exactions par la dactylographe débauchée et certains panoramiques de la rue maudite au moment de l'agitation populaire. Mais, d'une façon générale, ce film qui tente une haute démonstration publique de la corruption par la

faim dans une capitale européenne, ne dépasse pas la relation de quelques anecdotes méthodiquement. Essai d'évocation « collective », « unanimement », qui tente cependant sur le plan individuel d'expériences naïves et grossières. Signalons, au surplus, la double contradiction qui rend pénible la compréhension de l'œuvre.

Certains dicteurs sont réalistes, d'autres symboliques. Parfois, nous voyons des ensembles exacts et vivants, tels que nos villes en effort, en pain, au contraire, le décor « décoratif » ambitieux et misérable, essaye de nous pousser du vrai à la symbolique. De même, certains acteurs, avec talent et poésie plus encore, il est vrai, nous proposent des interprétations caricaturales de leurs personnages, tandis que d'autres obéissent à la moderne loi de la délicate formule. Ainsi de brefs espoirs ou violents puis en longues déceptions, nous atteignons difficilement le dernier tableau du film.

P. B.

INVITATION — Le *Cercle d'Etude Humaine* invite les lecteurs de *7 Arts* à se permettre d'être au sein de la soirée du 20 décembre, à 20 h. 30, à la « *Brasserie Taverne* », 12, rue de Louvain, Bruxelles.

La Propagation du Modernisme

Au début de son prochain paraîtra le *Journal international de l'ESPRIT NOUVEAU* sous la direction de Dermis, Prampolin et Sraphos.

Non lecteurs se rappellent que notre compatriote, Paul Dermis, avait déjà fondé, avec Le Coq, le premier *ESPRIT NOUVEAU*.

Les lettres belges que ce nouveau organe international sont priés de s'adresser à P. Bourgeois, boulevard Lippold II, 271, Bruxelles.

Rectifications

Nos lecteurs ont remarqué que nous nous efforcions de présenter le maximum de matériel typographique avec le maximum d'élégance. Mais ce page serrée et originale. Ceci demande évidemment de nombreuses retouches... et parfois des lignes minuscules d'être si souvent déplacées, après les diverses corrections, décident d'occuper des endroits inconnus. Ainsi, dans notre numéro 5, la 2^e ligne de la première colonne de la 1^{re} page devrait se trouver à la 2^e de la troisième colonne de la seconde page et les 4 premières lignes de la seconde colonne de la 3^e page, à la même place de la première colonne.

7 ARTS publiera la semaine prochaine un article de E. HENVAUX sur la publicité.

MUSEE DU CINQUANTAIRE, Albert Victor De Couser, 48, rue de l'Indépendance, Bruxelles. VITRINES ANGLAISES

CHASSIS EN ACIER DE VRIES ROBBÉ, LA LÉCHAPREZ BRUXELLES 19 RUE DES CANNIÈRES

WOCO la porte des Modernistes

ETABLISSEMENTS E.-J. VAN DE VEN AGENTS GÉNÉRAUX

Imp. des Anc. Etabl. Aug. Pavrez, 44, Rue de l'Hôpital, Bruxelles (Belgique).

WOCO la porte qui Décore

Bureaux et Salles d'Exposition: 19, Rue Léopold, 19 BRUXELLES-CENTRE

Fig. 14 7 Arts, 5th series, no. 6 (19 December 1926), 4.

Advertising has been much praised. [...] Therefore the approach of modern technicians has been to reorganize that dishevelment'.⁴⁵

The use of 'modern technicians' or professional designers and the reference to an architectural pattern were a way to reorganize the disarray. In *7 Arts*, advertising the network of like-minded magazines assumed a geometric pattern that turned the advertisement into a constructivist aesthetic venture, of which this very review became the pivotal centre (Fig. 15). Similarly, another page in *7 Arts* (Fig. 16) used a typographic structure analogous to both architectural modular forms and new poetic experiments, such as Władysław Strzemiński's Polish constructivist design for *Z Ponad*, Julian Przyboś's book of poems published in 1930 (Fig. 17).

The same page may display a recurrent advertisement dedicated to 'WOCO la porte des Modernistes | la porte qui Décore' [WOCO the Modernists' door | the door that Decorates] (Fig. 18). The advertisement is drawn in thick graphics and uses

45 'impérieux besoin d'ordre, de clarté, de concision. On a beaucoup vanté le désordre "romantique" de la Publicité. [...] L'effort des techniciens modernes s'est donc porté vers une organisation de ce désordre.' Émile Henvaux, 'L'effort moderne en publicité', *7 Arts*, no. 7 (30 December 1926), pp. 2–3.

L'ART
D'AUJOURD'HUI

ZENT
BELGRADE
Oblastenava

L'EUROPE VIVANTE

DER STURM
BERLIN
Frankfurt

CONTEMPORANUL
BUCAREST
St. Trebits

BOUWEN
BRUXELLES
Architectes

DE STIJL
LEIDE
Utrecht

7 Arts

VIE des LETTRES ET DES ARTS
BRUXELLES
Rue de Charleroi

MONTPARNASSE
PARIS
Boulevard Montparnasse

MANOMETRE
PARIS
Cours Gambetta

DAS WERK
LIEGE
Middelstraat

BLOK
VIANNOVE
Via S. Pietro

BULLETTIN DE L'EFFORT MODERNE
PARIS
Rue de la Harpe

L'EFFORT MODERNE

Découpez et remplissez ce Bulletin!

ABONNEZ-VOUS A

7 ARTS

TROISIÈME SAISON 1924-1925 ... 25 NUMÉROS

Je souscris à

Abonnement ordinaire au prix de 15 fr. MOIS
Abonnement de luxe au prix de 30 fr. au 1^{er} DE FÉVRIER

7 ARTS SUPPORTERS CLUB : cotisation minimum 60 fr. DE FÉVRIER

15 fr. un roman de G. Rens "Madame De" ou à un bois original en un lot

30 fr. un bois original en deux couleurs

60 fr. DONNANT DROIT à un abonnement de luxe à 7 fr. un bois original en deux couleurs 30% de réduction sur les éditions OCCASIONNELLES

Fig. 15 7 Arts, 3d series, no. 18 (15 March 1925), 4.

Het Vlaamsch Volkstooneel te Brussel

Le dimanche 13 novembre, à 8 h. 30, sera donnée à Paris une reprise du grand succès du festival international d'opéra dramatique à Paris, l'opéra moderne de chef d'œuvre classique de Van der Straeten, consacré la science et la charité de l'homme.

Le mardi 29 novembre à 8 h. relation de Swaig dans destination instrument de voix abstrait (Erik Satie, Ravel, par Paul De Massé (l'œuvre de Roussel de Van Noyen, etc.). Comme titre de scène L'Université de Charleroi, d'Henri Ghéon.

La location pour ces deux spectacles est ouverte aux bureaux de Vlaamsch Volkstooneel, rue de Marché, 10, tous les jours de la semaine de 9 h. à 12 h. et de 2 à 5 h. (le samedi jusqu'à 4 heures). On peut aussi se faire adresser des billets en téléphonant au 15715 (Secrétariat Het Vlaamsch Volkstooneel).

Compagnie Industrielle du Ruyel
Bâtiment 101 bis, 8
Avenue de Paris, 51, Bruxelles - 176
Maîtres de Construction

BRUQUES
Bâtiment de l'Industrie de l'Éclairage et de Chauffage

CIMENT
Marque pour le Canal de l'État de l'Industrie de l'Éclairage et de Chauffage

PLÂTRE
Bâtiment de l'Industrie de l'Éclairage et de Chauffage

WOCO
la porte des Modernistes

WOCO
la porte qui Décore

ÉTABLISSEMENTS E.-J. VAN DE VEN
AGENTS GÉNÉRAUX

L'INTERIEUR MODERNE
19, RUE D'ARMBURG BRUXELLES

ARCHITECTES
ARBEZ-VOLZ, SODICQZ, NOTRE EFFORT
ACHÉTEZ CHEZ NOUS

UNE LIBRAIRIE-ÉDITION
LE CANARD SAUVAGE
393, CHAUSSÉE DE WAVE

LES ÉDITIONS D'ARTS
393, CHAUSSÉE DE WAVE

Le Photographie Industriel G. MARSY
13, Boulevard de la Woluwe - Tél. 3873

OMEGA
CHARPENTES - COUVERTURES OMEGA
S.A. de l'Industrie de l'Éclairage et de Chauffage

SIXIÈME SAISON 1927-1928 - 25 Numéros

de souscrire

7 ARTS

Abonnement, ordinaire au prix de 15 fr. MOIS
Abonnement de luxe au prix de 30 fr. au 1^{er} DE FÉVRIER

PRIMES

Fig. 16 7 Arts, 6th series, no. 2 (13 November 1927), 4.

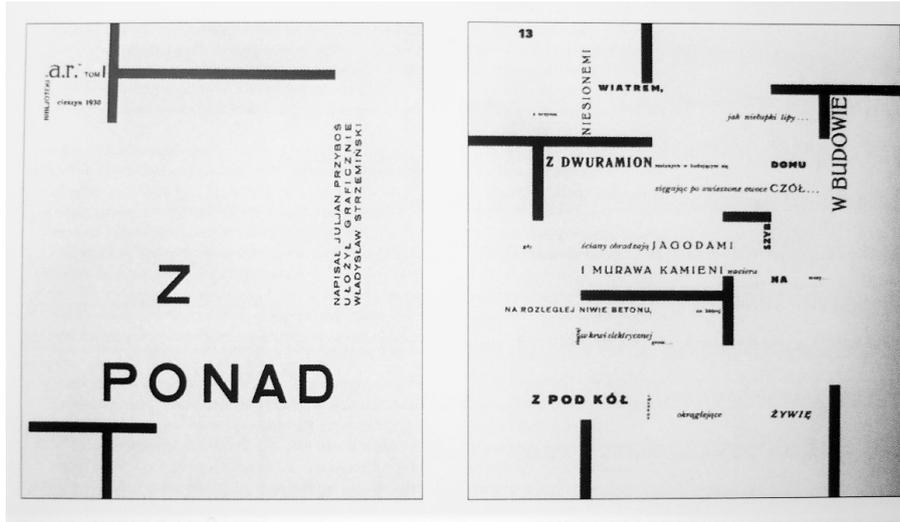


Fig. 17 Julian Przyboś, *Z Ponad* (1930), designed by Władysław Strzemiński, in Roxane Jubert, *Graphisme, typographie, histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005), p. 188, fig. 346.

Magasin à Paris
G. Gevrekian
Architecte

M. VAN ENST
Entreprises - Générales
Avenue Broustin, 100
BRUXELLES

WOCO
la porte des
Modernistes

E.-J. VAN DE VEN
AGENTS GÉNÉRAUX

Belvedere
GIROU — SONIA DELAUNAY — HEIM FURS
Maison d'habitation

Amis de 7 Arts faites de nouveaux abonnés à 7 ARTS
Voyez nos primes, propagez notre effort
Tout abonnement à 7 ARTS donne droit :
à un bon organisé en un tin ou à un livre choisi dans la liste publiée ci-dessous :
Edition d'Anthologie — L'Œuvre, Rue Xhénivron, Liège.
Georges Linx, Les Forces complètes.
Georges Linx, La France enroulée.
L'Édition, 24, Rue Grétry, Bruxelles.
C. Comandé, Poésie de l'Heure.
M. Deauville, Poèmes d'un Inconnu.

Fig. 18 *7 Arts*, 5th series, no. 1 (15 November 1926), 4, first occurrence of the advertisement.

a rhetoric of parallelism, like a modernist slogan in defence of a new conception of industry heralding decorative and artistic functionality. Applied and decorative arts, advertisements, and poetry thus shared the same aesthetic. Modernism had become a promotional argument. The way commercial advertisements used short-lived or long-lasting contemporary aesthetics in typography, design, art, and architecture, proves that modernism was part of a visual culture in which consumer commodities had great resonance and played a major role.

Conclusion

Modernist and avant-garde magazines are at the summit of an aesthetic evolution in advertising that needs to be set in perspective with respect to nineteenth-century visual experiments. Indeed, the modernist magazines do not represent a revolution. The inventions of the so-called fin-de-siècle 'little reviews' are to be stressed, as I have tried to do here. Once this is taken into account, the complex and altering relations between advertisements and magazines as editorial ventures can be traced more accurately.

Analysing the impact of advertising and mass visual culture in magazines between the 1880s and the 1920s, at a time when the consumerist society was expanding and notions such as 'modernity' and 'modernism' were emerging, shows the part played by 'little reviews' in the construction of a new visual culture, a part to highlight at the same period not only in French but also in Belgian periodicals. This brings attention to variation in debates focusing on centre versus periphery, especially concerning symbolism and surrealism. If Belgian magazines opened their pages to French patterns, Dutch, German and East-European culture was the other aesthetic pole advertising contributed to disseminate and permeate across Belgium.

Far from being on the side of art against commerce, fin-de-siècle magazines used advertising to structure their networks and strengthen aesthetic and political stances advertising rhetoric could visually represent in a hidden way. This subversive use of advertising created new means of artistic expression that can be considered as avant-garde innovations: *collage*, *cadavre exquis*, and typographic combinations were used as a disruptive force to benefit aesthetic regeneration. Advertisements in fin-de-siècle magazines thus prepared the use of advertising as a poetic art by the historical avant-gardes, while, later, in the 1920s, professional designers' new aesthetic languages and their amalgamation of layout and typography in modernist magazines blurred the boundaries between art and consumer commodities.

Advertising ultimately exemplifies an interesting change in periodicals' patterns, from literature and art reviews to the mainstream press, advertising posters, and decorative or architectural designs. Distinctions between editorial and advertising pages, between advertisement and poem, between the magazine and the city, are erased, so as to establish an overall conception of art that can no longer disregard consumerist culture.

Hélène Védrine is Lecturer in French Literature at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. Her current work bears on the history of the book and publishing, particularly the function of images in books and magazines, straddling the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She has co-edited two volumes on periodicals with Evangelina Stead: *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations* (2008) and *L'Europe des revues II (1860–1930): Réseaux et circulation des modèles* (2017).

Bibliography

- Apollinaire, Guillaume, 'La Vie anecdotique — M. Félix Fénéon', *Mercur de France*, no. 402 (16 March 1914), 429–33
- , 'Zone' (1913), *Alcools*, in *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. by Marcel Adhéma and Michel Décaudin (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), pp. 39–44
- Arnar, Ana, *The Book as Instrument: Stéphane Mallarmé, the Artist's Book and the Transformation of Print Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011)
- Barraud, Cécile, 'La Revue blanche ou l'art de la publicité', in *Littérature et publicité: De Balzac à Beigbeder*, ed. by Laurence Guellec and Françoise Hache-Bissette (Marseille: Éditions Gaussen, 2014), pp. 139–47
- Bertrand, Jean-Pierre, 'Une lecture médiatique du *Spleen de Paris*', in *Presse et plumes: Journalisme et littérature au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Marie-Ève Thérénty and Alain Vaillant (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2004), pp. 329–38
- Bornstein, George, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Bourrellet, Henri, *La Revue blanche: Une génération dans l'engagement, 1890–1905* (Paris: Fayard, 2007)
- Breton, André, *Manifeste du surréalisme* (1924), in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Marguerite Bonnet, 4 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1988–2008), I (1988), pp. 309–46
- Brooker, Peter, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker, and Christian Weikop, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III, *Europe, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Cendrars, Blaise, 'Publicité = Poésie' (1927), in *Aujourd'hui*, ed. by Claude Leroy (Paris: Denoël, 2005), p. 188
- Compagnon, Antoine, 'Un poète journaliste', in *Baudelaire l'irréductible* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014), pp. 41–88
- Décaudin, Michel, *La Crise des valeurs symbolistes: Vingt ans de poésie française, 1895–1914* (Toulouse: Privat, 1960)
- Dousteyssier-Khoze, Catherine, 'Notes sur un dispositif *fin de siècle*: Pub, parodie et poésie', in *Penser la représentation II: Discours, image, dispositif*, ed. by Philippe Ortel (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 221–32
- Durand, Pascal, 'De "l'universel reportage" au poème univers: L'Hybridation mallarméenne du livre et du journal', in Thérénty and Vaillant, eds, pp. 339–50
- Goodman, Nelson, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1978)
- Granovetter, Mark, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78.6 (May 1973), 1360–80
- Grilli, Elisa and Evangelhia Stead, 'Between Symbolism and Avant-garde Poetics: *La Plume* (1889–1905); *L'Ermitage* (1890–1906); and *La Revue blanche* (1889–1903)', in Brooker and others, eds, pp. 75–100
- Guellec, Laurence, and Françoise Hache-Bissette, eds, *Littérature et publicité: De Balzac à Beigbeder* (Marseille: Éditions Gaussen, 2014)
- Hamon, Philippe, *Imageries: Littérature et image au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: José Corti, 2001, republished 2007)
- , ed., 'Littérature et réclame: Le Cru et le cri', *Romantisme* (2012)
- Henvaux, Émile, 'L'Effort moderne en publicité', *7 Arts*, no. 7 (30 December 1926), 2–3
- Hoffman, Frederick J., Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946)
- Huyssen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- Jubert, Roxane, *Graphisme, typographie, histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005)

- Latham, Sean, and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, no. 121 (March 2006), 517–31
- Letourneur, Marie, ed., 'Les Poètes et la publicité', *Poésie 1* (December 1983), 112–14
- 'Lettre de M. George Renard', *Revue bleue: Revue politique et littéraire*, 8.26 (25 December 1897), 805
- 'Lettre de M. Jean Jaurès, député et publiciste', *Revue bleue: Revue politique et littéraire*, 8.23 (4 December 1897), 712
- 'L'Étude des revues littéraires en Belgique', ed. by Francis Mus and others, *COntEXTEs*, no. 4 (2008), special issue <https://contextes.revues.org/2983> [accessed 10 December 2016]
- Makarova, Arina, 'Le Carnet et les petites annonces', in *La Civilisation du journal*, ed. by Dominique Kalifa, Philippe Régnier, Marie-Ève Thérénty, and Alain Vaillant (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2011), pp. 1049–58
- Martin, Marc, 'La Publicité', in Kalifa and others, eds, pp. 1041–47
- , *Trois siècles de publicité en France* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1992)
- McGann, Jerome, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- Mollier, Jean-Yves, *Le Camelot et la rue: Politique et démocratie au tournant des XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2004)
- , Jean-François Sirinelli, and François Valloton, eds, *Culture de masse et culture médiatique en Europe et dans les Amériques, 1860–1940* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006)
- Mus, Francis, and Hans Vandevoorde, 'Brussels, the Avant-garde and Internationalism', in Brooker and others, eds, pp. 287–360
- Rappaport, Erika, 'A New Era of Shopping', in *The Nineteenth Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 151–64
- , *Shopping for Pleasure* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000)
- Rimbaud, Arthur, 'Conneries II: Paris', *Album zutique*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by André Guyaux with Aurélia Cervoni (Paris: Gallimard, 2009), p. 174
- Stead, Evangelhia, and Hélène Védrine, 'L'Image comme instrument critique dans les revues fin-de-siècle', *Poétique*, no. 168 (2011), 467–92
- Suter, Patrick, 'Presse et invention littéraire: Mallarmé et ses "héritiers futuristes", Dada et surréalistes', in Thérénty and Vaillant, eds, pp. 351–64
- Thacker, Andrew, 'Les Goûts modernes: La Culture publicitaire visuelle et verbale dans les revues modernistes', in *L'Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations*, ed. by Evangelhia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008), pp. 375–93
- Vaillant, Alain, 'Le Journal: Creuset de l'invention poétique', in Thérénty and Vaillant, eds, pp. 317–28
- , 'Invention littéraire et culture médiatique au XIX^e siècle', in Mollier and others, eds, pp. 11–22
- Wagner, Birgit, 'L'Économie de la poésie: Un an de publicités dans *La Révolution surréaliste*', in *L'Année 1925: L'Esprit d'une époque*, ed. by Myriam Boucharenc and Claude Leroy (Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Ouest, 2012), pp. 135–48