

The Avant-Garde as Repetition: *Les Réverbères, Le cheval de 4, and Surrealism's Alternative History*

Effie Rentzou

In the summer of 1940, when Paris was already under German occupation and the *exode* of Parisians fleeing the Germans had left the city empty, a striking, hand-made publication came out of Henri Bernard's print shop on the Île Saint-Louis: *Le cheval de 4* (fig. 1), a run of only thirty-two copies, containing twelve pages of precise and impressive color prints combined with text.¹ Edited by Michel Tapié, Henri Bernard, Aline Gagnaire, and Jean Jausion, the publication featured work by Noël Arnaud, Simon Bry, Jean Marembert, Loys Masson, and Adrienne Peyrot. Almost all of these editors and contributors had been involved in *Les Réverbères*, a group which, from 1938 to 1940, had published a short-lived homonymous journal and organized a series of events and performances during and shortly after this same period, providing a breeding ground for the clandestine surrealist group *La Main à plume* that would come together in 1941. *Le cheval de 4* was followed a few months later by what can be described as a second installment, edited by more or less the same group and printed in twenty-eight copies, with a new title: *Deda L-E* (fig. 2).² In the spring of 1941, a third realization of similar format came out, *Huit poèmes pour Cécile*, but this time as a two-way collaboration between Tapié

¹ I would like to thank Julie Mellby for her assistance with bibliographical information on this publication. *Le cheval de 4*, 18 pages, color relief (woodcuts and linocuts) with stencil and letterpress text; various colored paper, 1940. Dimensions: 37x25.5 cm. From the back cover of *Le cheval de 4*, "tirage limité à 26 ex. hors commerce et 6 ex. de luxe" 'edition limited to 26 copies off trade and 6 luxury copies.'

² *Deda L-E*, 16 p.; color relief (woodcuts and linocuts) with stencil and letterpress; music; various colored paper, 1940. Dimensions: 37x25.5 cm. From the back cover of *Deda L-E*, "tirage limité à 28 ex. hors commerce et 3 ex. de luxe." There are very few extant copies of these publications. For this article I worked with the copy held in the Collection of Graphic Arts of the Firestone Library at Princeton University; this copy of *Le cheval de 4* is marked as no. 19, the *Deda L-E* is not marked. I have also consulted the Bibliothèque Kandinsky digitized version of their copy, which is slightly different from the Princeton holding. The Kandinsky copy of *Le cheval de 4* has the distinction of "papier de Hollande no IV/V" and *Deda L-E* is marked as "ex. No 4."

and Aline Gagnaire. A fourth installment would be published later, in 1944, with the title *Expédition Tapié*, and, as its name suggests, this was a one-man task with Tapié as the only editor.



Figure 1 (left): *Le cheval de 4*, cover, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

Figure 2 (right): *Deda L-E*, cover, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

In the rare moments that it has been considered in scholarship, *Le cheval de 4* is referred to as an appendix to the Réverbères group and publication with no further explanation or qualification.³ References to its generic identity vary: an album, or a “plaquette,” a ‘brochure,’ but sometimes a “revue,” this print object seems to have had, despite its four apparent installments, a meteoric existence.⁴ Not quite

³ I know of very few such references, in Michel Fauré, *Histoire du surréalisme sous l'Occupation*, and the unpublished PhD Dissertation of Juliette Evezard, “Un art autre: le rêve de Michel Tapié de Céleyran, il profeta de l'art informel, (1937-1987): Une nouvelle forme du système marchand-critique. In both of these cases *Le cheval de 4* is referred to in passing.

⁴ In Fauré (50), it is referred to as an “album” or a “plaquette,” with a detailed bibliographical notice (443-44); in Evezard there is a passing reference to *Le cheval de 4* as an “album” (55), while elsewhere the publication is referred to as a “revue,” p. 80. In Laurence Bertrand

just an album, as there seems to be a systematicity and even a program behind its composition, but not quite a magazine either, as it has no periodicity, even no page numbers, *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* in particular appear as enigmatic optical treats at the threshold year of 1940, the beginning of the Occupation for France but also the end of an era for the French avant-garde when the new horizon for art and experimentation was still foggy. The aesthetic appeal of this publication, the pivotal timing of its apparition, its unexplored relation with the Réverbères' aesthetics, publications, and activities, and the latter's marginal position in the narrative of surrealism and its permutations in the late 1930s, all incite closer scrutiny. In this article, I will look closely at this publication, specifically at the two first installments, *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, as they seem to form a unit, unlike the last two, which are more personal creations than collective endeavors. By connecting the visual and poetic vocabulary of the 1940s publications with the theoretical orientation of the Réverbères group, I will trace the dynamics of the French avant-garde, its structures, practices, and aesthetic orientations as they appeared at the end of the decade. Deliberately positioned on the outside of surrealism, throughout its short life and limited activity the Réverbères group developed a vision of the path not taken by the avant-garde in France and did so by returning to Dada. I will thereby try to situate the constellation of these publications in their context as a reflection on and of the avant-garde in France, a reading that might also help think through such categories as the historical avant-garde and neo-avant-garde.

Les Réverbères: Against Surrealism

The Réverbères group was formed in late 1937. Spearheaded by Michel Tapié and Jean Marembert, it brought together many very young students who had been reared in the glow of the dominant surrealist movement, but who felt that surrealism had already run its course.⁵ The name came from the ending of Tristan Tzara's *La première aventure céleste de Mr Antipyrine*: "Nous sommes devenus des réverbères, des réverbères, des réverbères, des réverbères . . ." "We have become streetlamps, streetlamps, streetlamps" with the word "réverbères" repeated ten times. Already in its choice of the name, the group announced its allegiance to Dada. The first issue of their journal *Les Réverbères*, which came out in April 1938, stated another aspect of their orientation: their disillusionment with surrealism. The front page of this inaugural issue prominently featured an "Open letter to

Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat, France 1940-1944*, there is another reference to the publication as "a few deluxe albums of color engravings" (302). Finally, the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Kandinsky refers to it as a "revue."

⁵ Michel Tapié de Céleyran would have an illustrious and influential career as an art critic and theorist, founder of the Compagnie de l'Art Brut, and inventor of the term "art informel" (see Evezard). Jean Marembert was a painter, the oldest of the group, born in 1900; little is known about him; see the recent monograph by Axel de Heeckeren.

André Breton," signed by Jacques Bureau,⁶ which started with the following quote from *L'amour fou*, in which Breton describes the work of art as a crystal:

L'œuvre d'art, au même titre d'ailleurs que tel fragment de la vie humaine considérée dans sa signification la plus grave, me paraît dénuée de valeur si elle ne présente pas la dureté, la rigidité, le lustre sur toutes ses faces extérieures et intérieures, du cristal. . . . La maison que j'habite, ma vie, ce que j'écris: je rêve que cela apparaît de loin comme apparaissent de près ces cubes de sel gemme ("Lettre ouverte" 1).

The work of art, just like any fragment of human life considered in its deepest meaning, seems to me devoid of value if it does not offer the hardness, the rigidity, the regularity, the luster on every interior and exterior facet, of the crystal. . . . The house where I live, my life, what I write: I dream that all that might look from far off like these cubes of rock salt look from close up. (Breton, *Mad Love* 11)

This poetic description of the work of art and of the relation of one's life and one's art as a transparent crystal, in which outside and inside, seen and unseen, private and public coincide, all coming together in the gleaming metaphor of the glass house, incites the editor of the letter to "dream" about people who go to this glass house in which Breton lives, look at it, and knock on its walls, "anxieux du son nouveau qu'elle va peut-être rendre" 'anxious about the new sound that they will perhaps emit.' Bureau then concludes:

Je vous souhaite, Breton, de ne pas vous réveiller une nuit au fracas du verre brisé, hagard parmi les décombres de votre maison de glaces, tous mirages perdus, et évanouie l'image de vous-même qu'à l'infini ces glaces vous renvoyaient, toujours plus belle.

I hope, Breton, that you do not wake one night to the crash of shattering glass, haggard among the ruins of your glass house, all mirages lost, and vanished the self-image that these mirrors reflected infinitely back to you, ever more beautiful.⁷

The image of the shattered glass all around Breton is an apt representation of the positions of the group and the magazine: surrealism is falling apart like a glass house, along with its own illusions. This antagonistic, even hostile, stance against surrealism is further spelled out in the other text that shared the first page of this

⁶ Jacques Bureau was a jazz enthusiast and connoisseur, founder of the "Hot Club de France," and together with Charles Delaunay (the son of Robert and Sonia) and Hugues Panassié in 1935, one of the founders of the magazine *Jazz Hot*, one of the oldest, ongoing magazines on jazz in the world; he would later join *La Main à plume*; see Michael Dregni (75 and after).

⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. I would like to thank Austin Hancock for his help with the translations.

first issue, also signed by Bureau and titled "Poisson d'avril" (April Fool): *Les Réverbères* would be "un asile" 'a refuge' for all those who have something authentic to offer, now that the best times of surrealism are in the past:

Les meilleurs temps de la splendide intransigeance, du parti pris magnifique — ceux de la *Révolution Surréaliste*, la revue la plus scandaleuse du monde — ne sont plus. Possibles, lorsqu'ils s'appuyaient sur un groupe solide, comme l'a été, un temps, le groupe surréaliste, réalisant, idéologiquement, l'union dans la force, ce parti-pris, cette intransigeance, qui ne pourraient plus aujourd'hui être cultivés que par les quelques individualités que la tourmente n'a pas emportées, tout en restant la position vers laquelle il est nécessaire de tendre, ne sont plus de mise.

The best days of a splendid intransigence, of a magnificent stance — those of the *Révolution Surréaliste*, the world's most scandalous magazine — are over. This stance, this intransigence were possible when they were stemming from a solid group, as the surrealist group was once, which ideologically materialized then strength through unity; now, they could only be cultivated by a few individuals who have not been swept away by torment, and, although they remain the positions towards which one must strain, they are no longer in order. (1)

The group thus positioned itself from the very beginning as an anti-surrealism. Breton had proved to be a sell-out — "vous qui saviez mieux que quiconque la triste abjection de l'argent, vous avez tout perdu en voulant trop GAGNER" 'you, who knew better than anyone the sad abjection of money, you have lost everything in your desire to get too much' ("Lettre ouverte" 2) — the subversive surrealist experience had now been replaced by surrealist experimentations in "tenue de soirée" 'evening formal wear' and by an "académisme de la révolte" ("Lettre ouverte" 2).⁸ Against this "academism of revolt," the *Réverbères* were looking to restore genuine experimentation and called for their members to engage in all creative endeavors, except maybe literature, and above all to delve into music, an anathema for Breton ("Poisson d'avril" 7).

Indeed, music, as Michel Fauré argues in one of the few existing accounts of the activities of the *Réverbères*, was at the first line of attack: Breton notoriously rejected music, therefore the new group was founded by young people who were ferociously dedicated to music, especially jazz, Jacques Bureau and Michel Tapié being first among them (16-17). Concerts of jazz with dance organized by the group became a symbolic slap in the face of the old surrealism, a performative undoing of Breton's "glass house." Initially held on Wednesday evenings in the

⁸ The "tenue de soirée" mentioned by Bureau is perhaps a reference to the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme that had just ended in the very chic Galerie des Beaux Arts, which indeed asked for "tenue de soirée" on its invitations.

salle Champollion with illustrious musicians like Django Reinhardt, the dance concerts moved to the bigger Caveau Camille Desmoulins at the Palais Royal where they began featuring the Réverbères' own jazz orchestra (Fauré 18). These musical soirées would soon evolve to include revivals of Dada works, with the first one on 5 April 1938, the same month as the publication of the first issue of *Les Réverbères*. This first "Homage à Dada" included a performance of Tristan Tzara's *La première aventure céleste de Mr Antipyrine*, as well as Ribemont-Dessaigne's *Le serin muet*, and poems put to music by Apollinaire, Cocteau, Honegger, Poulenc, and Satie (Fauré 18-20).

The group described these evenings as moments of freedom: "Nos soirées de DANSE et de musique HOT le mercredi au Caveau Camille DESMOULINS ont réuni une foule de vrais jeunes capables de se mouvoir en liberté." 'Our soirées of DANCING and HOT music on Wednesdays at the Caveau Camille DESMOULINS have brought together a crowd of real young people able to move freely' ("Club des Réverbères" 7). It is worth noting that this new group that defied Breton and surrealism also chose to forsake the surrealists' traditional meeting place, the café, in favor of the cabaret, where music and dancing were paired with a revival of Dada. Echoing the ground zero of Dada, the Cabaret Voltaire and its notorious performances, the Parisian venue of the Réverbères even replicated the revolutionary implication of the Zurich setting: from "Voltaire" to "Camille Desmoulins," the aura of the French Revolution surrounds Dada and Dada revival activities alike.⁹ From Dada to surrealism, references to the French Revolution switched from such vague and symbolic background to concrete foregrounding, as the first issue of *La révolution surréaliste* (the most scandalous magazine in the world, according to *Les Réverbères*) had these words on its cover: "Il faut aboutir à une nouvelle déclaration des droits de l'homme" 'We have to come up with a new declaration of the rights of man.' Surrealism's imperative for a revolt based on a

⁹ The Revolutionary journalist Camille Desmoulins was known for his 1789 brochure "Discours de la lanterne aux Parisiens," which earned him the nickname of the "Procureur général de la lanterne"; this was a defense of the public execution of the enemies of the revolution by the people, symbolized by "la lanterne," functioning as makeshift gallows. Interestingly, during the same period of the Réverbères' activities, the Caveau Camille Desmoulins was also the chosen venue for the performances of a German émigré cabaret, "Die Laterne," an anti-fascist group that organized Franco-German soirées from 1936-1939. French and German visitors were attracted to the performances of the Caveau, openly criticizing Hitler; see Badia, *Les bannis de Hitler* (375-377). The "lanterne" was also famously included in the sans-culottes version of the revolutionary song "Ça ira": "Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, / les aristocrates à la lanterne! / Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, / les aristocrates on les pendra!" 'Ah! It will be fine, fine, fine, / the aristocrats at the lampposts! / It will be fine, fine, fine, / the aristocrats we will hang! (Brécy 287). A fortuitous and temptingly coincidental confluence of "lampposts" in the small cabaret of Palais Royal attests to a resistance to different kinds and degrees of oppressive situations: from Desmoulins' 1789 "à la lanterne" to the German anti-fascist "Die Laterne" to the French Réverbères.

direct reference to the French Revolution becomes an oblique reflection in the case of the Réverbères when the Camille Desmoulins is established as the site of free expression of exuberant movement while nodding to the performative origins of Dada in a similarly named cabaret thirty years earlier.

The new consideration of what a “revolution” is would be further elaborated in a series of articles published in the following three issues of *Les Réverbères*. A collective declaration,¹⁰ “Démobilisation de la poésie” in the second issue of the magazine is clear:

La révolution surréaliste est faite.

Nous démobilisons la poésie.

.....

La poésie est libre, immorale, gratuite et le jeu commence.

.....

LA POÉSIE PARTOUT

La pressante réalité, la dure nécessité des incidences politiques, la misère des hommes condamnent les attitudes du suicide.

Notre position est prise : Ici, dans la boue, nous luttons où chacun de nous croit pouvoir lutter. (Marembert, “Démobilisation”)

The surrealist revolution is done.

We are demobilizing poetry.

.....

Poetry is free, immoral and gratuitous, and the game begins.

.....

¹⁰ “Démobilisation de la poésie” was a collective declaration signed by Jean Marembert, Noël Arnaud, Henri Bernard, Jacques Bureau, Aline Gagnaire, Jean Jausion, Marcel Laloë, Geneviève Lahaye, Olga Luçhaire, Pierre Minne, Marc Patin, Marc Piguët, Jean Remaudière, Roger Sby, Michel Tapié, and Louis Laxer.

Poetry everywhere.

The pressing reality, the bitter necessity of political incidents, the misery of humankind condemn suicidal attitudes.

We have staked our position: here, in the mud, we fight where each of us believes we can fight.

This “demobilization” of poetry speaks precisely to the Réverbères’ perception of art having been subjugated to a military-like cause by surrealism. By contrast, the group is seeking to free poetry and find sites of struggle in the present political turmoil, as best one can. This unyielding position for total freedom, be it from surrealist orthodoxy and militancy or any other oppression, would culminate in the next installment of the journal, with the publication of the article “Entartete Kunst,” signed by a very young Jean-François Chabrun.¹¹ This account was a scathing critique of the homonymous Nazi-organized exhibition of degenerate art in Munich, in which Chabrun saw an utmost threat to liberty and art:

Il n’est que temps d’organiser la révolte. Demain peut-être il sera trop tard. . . . Nous sommes décidés à la lutte parce que nous savons que si l’artiste est d’abord une sorte de baromètre social, il est aussi inséparable du mouvement historique vers la libération d’une justice fondamentale. . . . A l’heure actuelle, dans la débâcle réactionnaire des valeurs, l’art se dresse comme un signal: nous exigeons qu’il soit aussi un cri de liberté et s’il le faut, une arme. . . . Le fait qu’au vingtième siècle on puisse promener dans un état une exposition de l’art dégénéré, semble aussi grave que la répression de Spartacus dans ce même pays. . . . Nous demandons à tous ceux qui sont jeunes et ont conscience du péril actuel de venir s’unir à nous pour lutter contre les nouveaux systèmes idéologiques qui menacent l’art et, d’un même coup, l’humanité dont il est l’expression la plus palpable.

It is high time to organize the revolt. Tomorrow it might be too late. . . . We have decided to fight because we know that if the artist is first of all a sort of social barometer, he is also inseparable from the historical movement towards the liberation of a fundamental justice. . . . At the moment, within the reactionary collapse of values, art stands as a beacon: we demand that it also be a cry of freedom and, if necessary, a weapon. . . . The fact that in the twentieth century one can visit in one country an exhibition of degenerate art, seems just as serious as the repression of the Spartacist revolt in the same country. . . . We call upon all those who are

¹¹ Chabrun would go on to actively participate in the resistance, found *La Main à plume*, and later have a career as an art critic, journalist, and poet.

young and aware of the current peril to come join us in our struggle against the new ideological systems which threaten art and, by the same token, humanity of which art is the most palpable expression. (2)

To which he adds as an afterthought at the end of the piece:

Notre génération n'a rien de commun avec celle dite d'après-guerre, qu'elle soit caractérisée par Cocteau ou par Giraudoux. Nous ne pouvons en effet parler le même langage que les hommes, coupables ou inconscients qui nous ont acculés à la ruine: les révolutions ne s'achètent pas aux marchés aux puces.

Our generation has nothing in common with the so-called post-war generation, be it represented by Cocteau or by Giraudoux. Indeed, we cannot speak the same language as the men, guilty or oblivious, who have pushed us to ruin: you cannot buy revolution at the flea market.

The jab here might again be directed at André Breton and his persistent heuristic habit of frequenting flea markets for objects that would stir some kind of revelation. The revolution cannot happen through objects materializing unconscious desires, but only in the specific political arena of the now. With this article *Les Réverbères* cemented their ardent belief that art in 1938 should actively fight for absolute freedom, since suppressing art in fact means the obliteration of the human.

Despite his dismissal of surrealism, soon after the publication of this article Chabrun would find affinities with Breton's initiative for a *Fédération internationale pour un art révolutionnaire indépendant*, which would incite him, along with Jean-Claude Diamant, to send a letter of "resignation" from the *Réverbères* (Fauré 33).¹² Marking a rift within the group, the letter from Chabrun and Diamant "*Aux Réverbères*" was published in the March 1939 issue of the magazine, followed by a collective response from the group, "*La révolution perpétuelle*" (*The Perpetual Revolution*). This declaration again proclaimed the principles that were the foundation of the *Réverbères*, that is, total independence, the restoration of play in art and poetry, and the refusal to engage in militant group action. With careful wording, the signatories refused to be labeled as apolitical, maintaining that their political action was to be determined by each of them individually and outside of the atelier, the work of art. The conclusion gives another twist to their rivalry with surrealism:

Le poète n'est pas au service de la révolution et la révolution n'est pas au service du poète.

Lui accomplit sa révolution perpétuelle, comme le soleil.

¹² Jean-Claude Diamant-Berger had a very short career as a poet, joined the resistance and *La Main à plume*, and died in combat in 1944.

The poet is not in the service of the revolution and the revolution is not in the service of the poet.

The poet accomplishes his perpetual revolution, like the sun. (“La révolution perpétuelle”)

The word revolution is again prominent here; the reference to the magazine *Le surréalisme au service de la révolution* is obvious, but the meaning of “revolution” is displaced: from the domain of violent and sudden change or evolution to its signification of rotation. The poet is revolutionary not because he revolts but because he revolves, in a continuous rebirth and luminous reinvention. This different approach to revolution, hinted at already in the choice of Camille Desmoulins, is now spelled out.

Repetition and the Avant-Garde

Les Réverbères would publish only one more issue in July 1939 and a planned sixth issue never came to be. The main direction, as mentioned in the last issue of the magazine, remained a staunch anti-surrealism:

Souvenons-nous que nous avons été surréalistes.

Souvenons-nous que nous ne pouvons plus être surréalistes.

Let us remember that we have been surrealists.

Let us remember that we can no longer be surrealists. (Remaudière)

Despite the folding of the journal, the group’s various activities persisted along the lines of this principle: we were surrealists, but we are surrealists no more. This opposition was marked by the refusal to engage collectively, as a group, in a predetermined political position and action, and to instead allow art and poetry to perform their own revolution. In this respect, the *Réverbères’* dedication to a revival of Dada is key. Along with jazz music, the group’s performances were largely restagings of Dada “classics,” and the connection between jazz and Dada was already made explicit in the second issue of the magazine, in an article by Michel Perrin titled “Dada”:¹³

Il ne s’agit pas ici de ressusciter Dada. Dada n’est jamais mort. Il s’est passé pour Dada la même chose que pour le jazz: on s’en est moqué, puis entiché, on l’a pillé, et quand il est devenu gênant, quelques critiques “autorisés” ont signé son acte de décès. . . . Dada lui, on l’a bel et bien enterré vivant. Quelques-uns de ses plus chauds adeptes . . . ont été ses plus zélés fossoyeurs. . . . On l’a couvert du catafalque surréaliste. . . . La

¹³ Michel Perrin was another jazz amateur who had a career as a journalist; see the recent biography by his son, Remi Perrin.

question de savoir si cette revue est une revue Dada, organe d'un groupe Dada, est complètement ridicule. L'idée d'un "groupe Dada" est aussi absurde que celle d'un "parti anarchiste." . . . le surréalisme, en tant que croque-mort n° 1 de Dada, aura droit à notre considération méfiante et distinguée. Et d'ailleurs, on s'en fout.

It is not a question of bringing Dada back to life. Dada never died. The same thing happened to Dada that happened to jazz: it was mocked, then loved, it was pillaged, and when it grew bothersome, a few "authorized" critics signed its death certificate. . . . As for Dada, it was in fact buried alive. Some of its most ardent followers . . . became its most zealous gravediggers. . . . They covered it with the surrealist catafalque. . . . The question of whether this magazine is a Dada magazine, an organ of the Dada group, is completely ridiculous. The idea of a "Dada group" is as absurd as that of an "anarchist party." . . . surrealism, as Dada's undertaker, will have the right to our meticulous and distrustful consideration. And by the way, we don't care.

Both jazz and Dada seem to have been killed, the latter by surrealism, which appropriated Dada, obliterating its autonomous resonance. The Réverbères wanted to reignite the power that Dada had before it was cannibalized by the surrealists, but without labeling themselves as "Dada." This was explained as a necessity in the declaration accompanying "Hommage à Dada": "Nous avons prouvé que l'HOMMAGE A DADA s'imposait. Il fallait abolir un instant les années noires et montrer à nos aînés le spectacle magnifique de leur jeunesse." "We proved that the HOMAGE TO DADA was imperative. It was necessary to momentarily abolish the dark years and show our elders the magnificent spectacle of their youth" ("Club des Réverbères" 7).

The revival of Dada plays, by Tzara and Ribemont-Dessaignes, but also Guillaume Apollinaire, was thus central in their activities. A list included in several issues of *Les Réverbères* shows the group's scrupulous attention to produce a historical archive of Dada for a new generation, enumerating performances, publications of *Réverbères* "classics," Dada texts, and even discs with music and recitations of Tzara and Apollinaire.¹⁴ The choice of *Les mamelles de Tirésias* is especially revealing for the intentions and the direction of the group. Apollinaire's

¹⁴ The text reads : "Disques des Réverbères En souscription: Eric Satie — *La mort de Socrate*, chantée par Olga Luchaire; Claude Dubosq — *Monodie*, chanté par Olga Luchaire; Tristan Tzara — *La première aventure céleste de Monsieur Antipyrine*; Guillaume Apollinaire — Poèmes dits par lui même; *Le Pélican*, fox-trot, par le Dada Jazz Band" "Discs of the Réverbères On sale: Erik Satie — *La mort de Socrate*, sung by Olga Luchaire; Claude Dubosq — *Monodie*, sung by Olga Luchaire; Tristan Tzara — *La première aventure céleste de Monsieur Antipyrine*; Guillaume Apollinaire — Poems recited by the poet; *Le Pélican*, foxtrot, by the Dada Jazz Band" (7).

Les mamelles de Tirésias was performed at the Camille Desmoulins in July 1938 for the first time since its premier in 1917.¹⁵ This event was so successful, that a second set of performances was organized for later that same month. Apollinaire's wife Jacqueline was present, as well as André Billy, Pierre Albert-Birot (who staged the first performance in 1917), Jean Cocteau, André Derain, Serge Férat (who made the original decors), Pablo Picasso, André Rouveyre, and André Salmon, among others (Fauré 28). We should recall that Apollinaire had added to the title *Les mamelles de Tirésias* a subtitle, *Drame surréaliste* (Surrealist Drama), and that this was one of the first appearances of the term that he invented.¹⁶ After his death, Apollinaire was understood to be the patriarch of the French avant-garde, and his work, poetic and theoretical, proved to be the matrix of different perceptions and practices of the "new," instigating groupings and coalescences which sought to unify and express the modern spirit.¹⁷ Appropriating Apollinaire's legacy also

¹⁵ A passage in "Club des Réverbères" explains the group's interest in Apollinaire as follows: "L'HOMMAGE A GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE fut organisé au caveau (6 et 7 juillet) avec les MAMELLES DE TIRESIAS. Nous voulions reprendre d'abord la musique et les décors cubistes de 1917. Mais les circonstances et le tempérament des acteurs nous ont amené à rechercher ce que pouvait être la poésie d'Apollinaire 'à l'état naissant.' Nous redonnons, le 23 et le 24, les *Mamelles de Tirésias* avec les mêmes décors, costumes, masques et carcasses." "THE HOMMAGE TO GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE was organized at the caveau (July 6 and 7) with the MAMMIES OF TIRESIAS. At first, we wanted to revive the music and the cubist sets from 1917. But the circumstances and temperaments of the actors led us to look for what could be called the poetry of Apollinaire at its "nascent state." We will stage the *Mammaries of Tirésias* again on the 23rd and 24th, with the same sets, costumes, masks, and carcasses' (7).

¹⁶ The first appearance of the word "sur-réalisme" is in Apollinaire's essay "Parade et l'Esprit Nouveau" in the program of the ballet *Parade*, performed in May 1917 at the Théâtre de Châtelet by the Ballets Russes, with a libretto by Jean Cocteau, music by Eric Satie, choreography by Léonide Massine, and decor and costumes by Pablo Picasso, first published in the illustrated daily *L'excelsior*. See "[Parade]" 365.

¹⁷ The legacy of the "esprit nouveau" as first theorized in Apollinaire's hugely influential 1917 essay "L'esprit nouveau et les poètes" is an example of Apollinaire's influence on different branches of the French avant-garde. During the first years of the 1920s, André Breton and the budding surrealist group sought to appropriate it, but also reclaim it from any kind of residual conservatism, through such initiatives as organizing the failed "Congrès international pour la détermination des directives et de la défense de *l'esprit moderne*." The term was finally taken over by a different group, the purists, who named their magazine after it: *L'esprit nouveau* was edited between 1920 and 1925 by Paul Dermée and Michel Seuphor, to be joined by Le Corbusier and Amédée Ozenfant. The "esprit nouveau," originally synonymous with "surrealism," was left to the purists who drew up their own brand of modernism, building on Apollinaire's emphasis on clarity, the synthesis of all arts, and the continuity between technology and art, while Breton and his group finally coalesced around the other term, "surréalisme," emphasizing different elements in Apollinaire's text, such as imagination, surprise, and freedom.

meant appropriating his clout and influential position. The meaning of the term “surréaliste,” which Apollinaire used as a shorthand for a realism that would not be imitative, changed significantly and was then “patented” and completely appropriated by the newly minted surrealist group through the triple salvo of 1924: the publication of the *Manifeste du surréalisme*, the first issue of *La révolution surréaliste*, and the opening of the Bureau des recherches surréalistes. This re-signification marked the originality and autonomy of the new avant-garde group as it created both a link with and a distance from Apollinaire.

But the retooling of the term “surrealism” also had to do with the fact that *Les mamelles de Tirésias*, the first work to be called “surréaliste,” was intensely disliked by most soon-to-be surrealists. Attended at its 1917 premier by all the then-young avant-gardists, or as one journalist noted, by “futuristes, cubistes, orphistes, fauvistes, dentistes, enfin toute la ménagerie littéraire” “futurists, cubists, Orphists, fauvists, dentists, in a word, the entirely literary menagerie” (qtd. in Read 195), the play was almost unanimously thought to be a flop. It was deemed too frivolous, a “fantaisie,” a silly and weak performance.¹⁸ Breton himself confirmed as much in his 1952 radio interview with André Parinaud, in which he described the famous scene of almost mythical stature of Jacques Vaché, in uniform, taking his revolver out among the spectators of the performance:

La pièce avait commencé avec un retard de près de deux heures sur l’horaire. Assez décevante par elle-même, elle était en outre médiocrement interprétée et les spectateurs, déjà énervés par l’attente, avaient accueilli le premier acte par des clameurs. Une recrudescence d’agitation en un point précis de l’orchestre ne tarda pas pour moi à s’expliquer : c’était Jacques Vaché qui venait d’entrer, en uniforme d’officier anglais : pour se mettre immédiatement au diapason, il avait dégainé son revolver et paraissait d’humeur à s’en servir. Je le calmai de mon mieux et réussis à lui faire endurer, non sans grande impatience, la fin de la représentation. Jamais comme ce soir-là je n’avais encore mesuré la profondeur du fossé qui allait séparer la nouvelle génération de celle qui la précédait. Vaché, qu’exaspéraient en l’occurrence autant le ton lyrique assez bon marché de la pièce que le ressassage cubiste des décors et costumes, Vaché en posture de défi devant le public à la fois blasé et frelaté de ces sortes de manifestation, fait, à ce moment, figure de révélateur. Entre les deux modes de pensée qui entrent ici en opposition, encore quelques années, trois ou quatre, et la rupture sera consommée.

The play had begun almost two hours late. Disappointing enough in itself, it was furthermore poorly acted, and the audience, already annoyed by the delay, had greeted the first act with shouts of protest. The

¹⁸ On the reception of the play, see “Le dossier de presse des *Mamelles de Tirésias*”; see also my article, “ ‘Partout et nulle-part’ : Apollinaire’s Body after the War.”

reason for a new outburst in one part of the orchestra seats soon became clear: it was Jacques Vaché who had just entered, wearing the uniform of a British officer. To put himself immediately in tune with the situation, he had unholstered his revolver and appeared to be of a mind to use it. I calmed him down the best I could and managed to make him endure the rest of the show, not without great impatience. Never before, as I did on that evening, had I measured the depth of the gap that would separate the new generation from the one preceding it. Vaché — who as it turned out was exasperated both by the poor-man's lyricism of the play and by the hackneyed Cubism of the sets and costumes — Vaché, standing defiantly before an audience that was at once used to and tainted by this kind of performance, cut the figure of an enlightener. A few more years would pass — maybe three or four — before the break between these two conflicting modes of thought would be complete. (*Entretiens* 27-28; *Conversations* 18-19)

Les mamelles de Tirésias thus became a big moment of rupture: between older and younger generations, between the innocuous “poor-man’s lyricism” of mainstream avant-gardism expressed through cubism and Apollinaire and the violently performative conception of the surrealist poetry to come that was represented by Vaché; but also between a “good” Apollinaire, dominant figure for the formation of the French avant-garde, and a “bad” Apollinaire, who was trite, conformist, and removed from the social and political context that made the existence of the avant-garde relevant. Ultimately the divide was between an Apollinaire whose use-value for surrealism was enormous, and an Apollinaire whose value was negative, even a liability for the surrealist project. The play thus became the terrain of a power struggle along the lines that Breton explained in the interview: it became the signifier of a deep chasm between competing avant-garde generations, the moment of the symbolic “death” of Apollinaire as a great poet, but also the moment of symbolic “birth” of surrealism through Vaché’s theatrical move of pulling out his gun in a crowded theater — a scene that would find its way into the Second Manifesto of surrealism as “l’acte surréaliste le plus simple consiste, revolvers aux poings, à descendre dans la rue et à tirer au hasard, tant qu’on peut, dans la foule” ‘the simplest Surrealist act consists of dashing down into the street, pistol in hand, and firing blindly, as fast as you can pull the trigger, into the crowd.’ (“Second manifeste” 782-83; “Second Manifesto” 125). In the narrative of surrealism’s own genesis, Apollinaire’s play became a primal scene of sorts that triggered the change of guard in the French avant-garde.

The Réverbères’ choice to restage *Les mamelles de Tirésias* at this particular historical moment thus appears to be a deliberate reenactment, and perhaps reversal of the birth of surrealism. Replaying the play, repeating the primal scene of engendering surrealism, becomes a way for the new generation to stage their rapturous moment of dissent from the older generation, now the surrealists. By restaging the play they also resignified it: from a flop, condemned by the

surrealists, to a success, embraced by the Réverbères, who saw the subversive value of play and exuberance in Apollinaire's work that the surrealists failed to see. Their overall return to Dada in general works in a similar way: the Réverbères repeat Dada's works and gestures as a way to bypass surrealism and its legacy. This repetition goes back to the "source" from which surrealism sprouted and traces out an alternative path not taken. Restaging Dada seems to ask: how would Dada have evolved if its irreverent, iconoclastic, fun-loving, socially disturbing exuberance had not been siphoned away by what the Réverbères perceived as the surrealist catafalque of Dada, a shrine and a funeral for Dada through its instrumentalization and its subjugation to a militant politicization? What would the French avant-garde look like if the playful and improvisational nature of Dada — much like jazz — had been nurtured in 1924 and not thwarted?

The Réverbères' activities thus revolved around a principle of repeating Dada, which is of course embedded first and foremost in the name chosen for the group and the magazine. "Réverbères" was a repetition of Tzara's final word in *L'aventure céleste de Mr Antipyrine*, which was itself repeated many times in the play, while the word itself signifies a reflecting device of light or sound. "Réverbères" implies an echo, a repetition by reflection, a reflection that should be understood both ways, as mirroring and contemplation. Like for the word "revolution," seen as incendiary because of its cyclical, and thus repetitive, signification, the group's very name already engages in repetition as a signifying process for the avant-garde.

This strategy of repetition, of going back to Dada and replicating it, maps out already in 1938-1940 a logic that will be operative in the postwar neo-avant-garde. Hal Foster has influentially theorized this repetition, especially in 1960s' neo-Dada's turn towards historical Dada, as a creative and not just an imitative and derivative move. Far from discounting such gestures as ossified and toothless replications of a "first," an "original," and thus effective and subversive avant-garde, as Peter Bürger would have it (61-63), Foster sees the historical avant-garde and the neo-avant-garde, with Dada as their pivotal moment, as a system that continuously re-signifies itself: "historical and neo-avant-gardes are constituted in a similar way, as a continual process of protension and retension, a complex relay of reconstructed past and anticipated future — in short, in a deferred action that throws over any simple scheme of before and after, cause and effect, origin and repetition." To which he adds: "On this analogy the avant-garde work is never historically effective or fully significant in its initial moments. It cannot be because it is traumatic: a hole in the symbolic order of its time that is not prepared for it, that cannot receive it, at least not immediately, not without structural change" (30). In his reading, it is the neo-avant-garde that realizes the full potential of the historical avant-garde precisely because it interprets it correctly and productively, unlike its historical moment of emergence when the shock was too violent for a public to fully absorb its implications. The group of the Réverbères declared as much when they talked about Dada as being misunderstood at the moment of its

occurrence and claimed that it was Dada's subsequent restructuring and "taming" by the surrealists that finally integrated it into the self-conceptualization of the French avant-garde. Their quest was to restate Dada in its initial non-categorizable potential and, by so doing, to point out the disturbance that it constituted in the first place.

Foster's analysis of the neo-avant-garde as a repetition of the historical one is predicated on his reading of Foucault's idea of periodic return to originary texts by Marx or Freud as a way to illuminate their signifying structure: "the stake of the return is the *structure* of the discourse stripped of additions: not so much what Marxism or psychoanalysis means as how it acts and signifies — and how it has transformed our concepts of action and signification" (6). Transposing this principle onto the relation between the Réverbères and Dada, their return to Dada and their insistence on various forms of repetition, might reveal how Dada signified and how it transformed our concept of signification in the first place: by repetition. Repetition as a structural element of Dada's originality, a repetition already embedded in its name's doubled syllable, is neither an oxymoron nor a new interpretation (Ball 63).¹⁹ Dada works repeat,²⁰ replicate,²¹ double, and thematize repetition.²² As Ann Umland puts it, Dada objects are "repeatedly challenging us to respond to Dada's radical proposition that repetition, reproduction, and replication, whether of ideas, objects, or images, can be used to create something original, something entirely new" (37). Disturbing the categorical distinction and axiological distribution of originality and reproduction,²³ of newness and repetitiveness, Dada called attention to the validity of these categories themselves, as well as of their foundational value to the art institution. What I want to propose, then, as a reading of the operations of the Réverbères and their neo-Dada orientation, is that like the later neo-avant-gardes, they constitute an early revisiting of the historical avant-garde. In this revisiting, there is a clear historiographical project aiming at surrealism and its prominent position within the French avant-garde scene, as they try to at least symbolically bypass it and construct an alternative history for the avant-garde. But this return to the historical avant-garde not only reveals the important structural elements of signification and originality in Dada — the elements of repetition; it also performs and adapts this core structure, repetition, to a new context. While restaging key

¹⁹ On repetition and originality, see the seminal essay by Rosalind Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde." There are many studies on the repetitive aesthetics of Dada; on Parisian Dada specifically and its poetics of repetition, see Cheng.

²⁰ Especially in texts, Cheng provides a series of such examples of textual repetition.

²¹ See for instance Joselit.

²² As does Marcel Duchamp's *La mariée mise à nu par ces célibataires, même*.

²³ Surrealism will also duel in this domain, especially by pursuing the concept of simulation as an alternative to mimesis. The importance of the unconscious and its role in repetition is paramount for surrealism, while for Dada the unconscious element is not at all in focus.

Dada plays and repeating certain gestures, like the use of the cabaret, might resemble a simple reprise, repetition as an aesthetic principle takes a different direction with *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, as they point to a return to Dada adapted to a new artistic landscape that will fully unfold after the war.

Le cheval de 4 and Deda L-E

By 1940 the publication of the official magazine of the group, *Les Réverbères*, had stopped; *Le cheval de 4* and then *Deda L-E* took over where the journal left off, and they would be the last collective publication of what remained from the Réverbères group. The last event organized by the group would be an exhibition-performance, held in Paris in the summer of 1941 where it was subject to the mandatory presence of the German censorship authority, the Propaganda-Staffel. The exhibition, as Laurence Bertrand Dorléac describes it, was “met with a reception that educated its authors for good about the impact of their strategy” while “the atmosphere of *Les réverbères*’s [sic] meeting at the Café de Flore just after the show was freighted with failure.” Noël Arnaud in particular became “aware of the ineffectiveness a neodadaist action whose burlesque destroyed all its political charge” (304). The group would thereafter disperse and give way to the clandestine *La Main à plume* which had a very concerted anti-fascist action. While performances of the pre-war type seemed to fall flat during the Occupation as other forms of action were called for, it remains to be seen what the neo-Dada aesthetic signified when materialized in a publication and framed within the historical context of the summer and fall of 1940. To understand the position and the dynamics of *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* within the Réverbères’ activities, considering their exact timing is important.

Dorléac’s description of *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* might prove to be too hasty: “in summer 1940, *Les réverbères* [sic], untroubled by the political qualms of their former friends, published a few deluxe albums of color engravings that retained the pre-1940 spirit” (302). During the summer of 1940, just immediately after the armistice and the occupation of Paris by the Germans, the fact that there was any publication activity at all is already remarkable.²⁴ In the chaotic situation after 16 June 1940, with publishers and newspapers fleeing Paris for the South (Fouché 45+), with the censorship mechanism being put in place already to be fully enforced by the fall (Dorléac 46-47), and with the press under special scrutiny (Davis 354), the publication of a periodical, an object falling under the category of press, was not possible without a direct authorization by the occupying forces.²⁵

²⁴ I want to thank Robert Paxton and Philip Nord for all the information they provided about this early period of censorship in Paris under French Occupation.

²⁵ Natalie Davis asserts that “To resume publishing in 1940-41 every periodical had to ask permission from the German authorities in the occupied zone and from the Vichy authorities

With almost no publishing activity in Paris during that summer, and at least self-censorship imposed for the few remaining journals, publishing anything during this period could not be an “untroubled” operation (Fouché 46-48).²⁶ The hand press of Henri Bernard made this spectacular publication possible, and the avoidance of any generic identity as a “revue” or “magazine” was perhaps indispensable for its existence. The cover of *Le cheval de 4* might give us some clue (fig. 1). It featured an image, signed by A. P.,²⁷ with the title “Le jugement de Paris,” picturing three women figures on one side and one, presumably male, on the other, which may reconstitute the famous mythological origin of the Trojan war, the fatal judgment of Paris. The spelling “Paris” instead of the correct in French “Pâris,” however, introduces the idea that this is about the judgement of Paris, the city, now under German Occupation: Paris is at stake. The publication might be signaling that freedom, the main aesthetic and political belief which the group professed throughout its existence, a radical freedom to be found in Dada and not in surrealism, was also to be pursued in the newly occupied Paris in any manner possible. The publication may be thus read as a concealed judgement or sentence for a now neutralized Paris; will it survive; will it perish?

In this respect, the strong thematic direction of the publication pointing to Greek antiquity might not be unrelated to a perception of radical freedom. In both installments we find references to the Trojan war and to the Cretan mythological circle present in the title “Dédale,” along with several pages which feature the enigmatic repetition of the word “Peloponese” [sic] followed by a number. A mythic name can also be found on nearly every page: Narcissus, Calypso, Penelope, Diana, Orestes, Ulysses, Eolus, Lyda, Ajax. Among the most impressive occurrences of a mythical Greece, there is a complete rewriting of Theseus’s venture into the labyrinth with the imaginative title “T.S.F.,” which instead of the expected “Télégraphie Sans Fil” ‘Wireless telegraphy’ implies “Thésée Sans Fil” ‘Wireless Theseus’ or ‘Theseus without a thread’ (fig. 3).

in the unoccupied zone; information on the ‘racial’ origin of the editors was required. Those allowed to publish might then be looked at by French or German censors to see whether prohibited authors or prohibited references and attitudes had found their way into the contents” (354).

²⁶ On Bernard Grasset’s initiative, Fouché quotes *Le Figaro* from 19 September 1940, p. 48: “L’édition parisienne demeure dans l’expectative: dans quelle mesure pourra-t-on éditer à Paris? A la quand la rentrée? Son sort parisien est lié à un problème de politique générale” ‘Parisian publishing is in waiting: to what extent will publishing be possible in Paris? When will it return? Its Parisian fate is tied to a general political problem.’

²⁷ A. P. stands probably for “Adrienne Peyrot” whose name appears fully under the poem “Nemeo Diana” in *Le cheval de 4*. Many texts and images (approximately eight) are signed by “A. P.,” including this cover. No information could be found about this person which leads me to believe, based on image style, that this is a pseudonym for Michel Tapié.

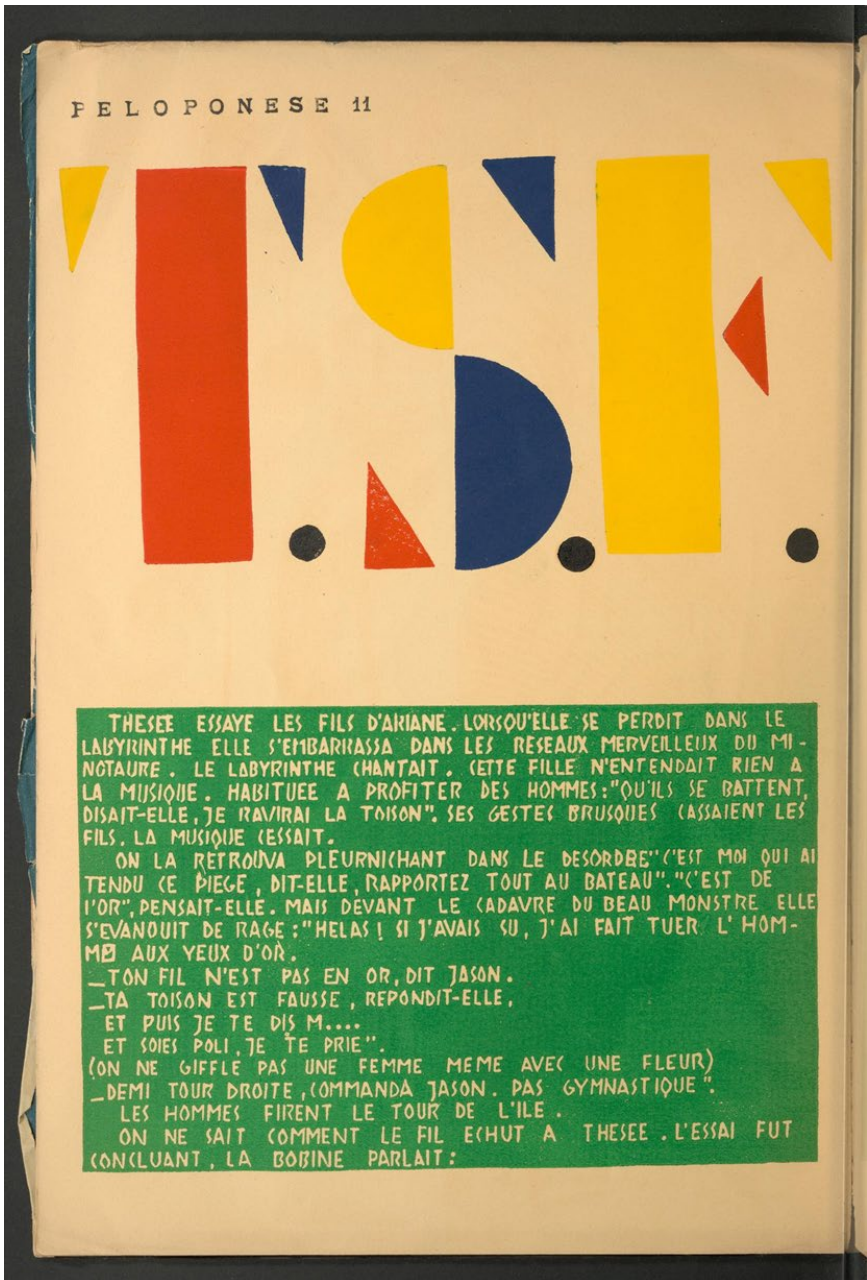


Figure 3: "T.S.F.," page from *Le cheval de 4*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

In this version of the myth from *Deda L-E*, signed by A. P. with illustrations probably done by Tapié, it is Ariadne who inadvertently kills the Minotaur; Theseus never gets the thread, while in the narrative he is duplicated by Jason, as the quest for the golden fleece and the hunt of the Minotaur merge. Here and elsewhere in the publication, Greek antiquity is rendered almost unrecognizable, scattered in fragmentary and concealed references whose significance recedes behind endless word plays and abstract images. I have shown elsewhere how the surrealist reimagining of Greek antiquity in the late 1930s, mainly through its mythologically-titled magazine *Minotaure*, was a direct confrontation of contemporary Nazi and fascist appropriations of classical antiquity as an aesthetic validation of totalitarianism.²⁸ In these two neo-Dada publications something similar might be in place. The Greek theme lends a “safe” cover to the content, while it becomes the terrain for endless free-play and formal experimentation. Like a Trojan horse, the Greek theme aims to pass under the nose of the enemy, and, as the editors said, hides an anarchic praise of freedom.

Indeed, it is this Greek gift that is hiding in plain sight in the mysterious title, *Le cheval de 4*. The title seems to be a pun on the expression “Cheval de Troie,” the Trojan horse, in which “Troie,” Troy, homonym of “trois,” the number 3, is replaced by the number immediately after it, 4. This transformation capitalizes on the idea of sequence and succession, something that is reinforced by the fact that “dada” in French also means “hobby-horse” or “horsy” in baby language. 1916 Dada becomes Cheval in 1940. *Le cheval de 4* is thus a cryptographic reiteration of “Dada” in a more “adult” version. The title *Le cheval de 4* gives the tone for the whole publication: it is delving into wordplay, much like Dada; it returns to Dada by changing it and concealing it, and it insists on succession, on what comes after. The title *Le cheval de 4* thus performs in its materiality what the polemic texts in *Les Réverbères* declared, a repetition of Dada that is not a replication and raises questions on issues of succession. This is an overt and concealed message, much like the mythological Trojan horse in question, and much in concordance with the ongoing war and its coding and cryptographic imperatives.

A similar mechanism is at play with the title of the second installment, *Deda L-E*. Read simply as “Dédale,” the title seems only to innocuously comply to the general Greek antiquity theme that punctuates the publication and is imposed by the eponymous Trojan horse. If we look closely at the typography of the title, however, we see that its red capital letters are distributed in a way that reads as “DEDA” on one side and “L-E” on the other (fig. 2). The form and red color of the fonts closely reproduce the title of Tristan Tzara’s magazine *Dada* and especially the issue 4-5 from May 1919 (fig. 4), which was of historical significance as it marked the first close collaboration between Francis Picabia and Tzara in Zurich.

²⁸ See Rentzou, “Tête de Grec” and “Minotaur.”

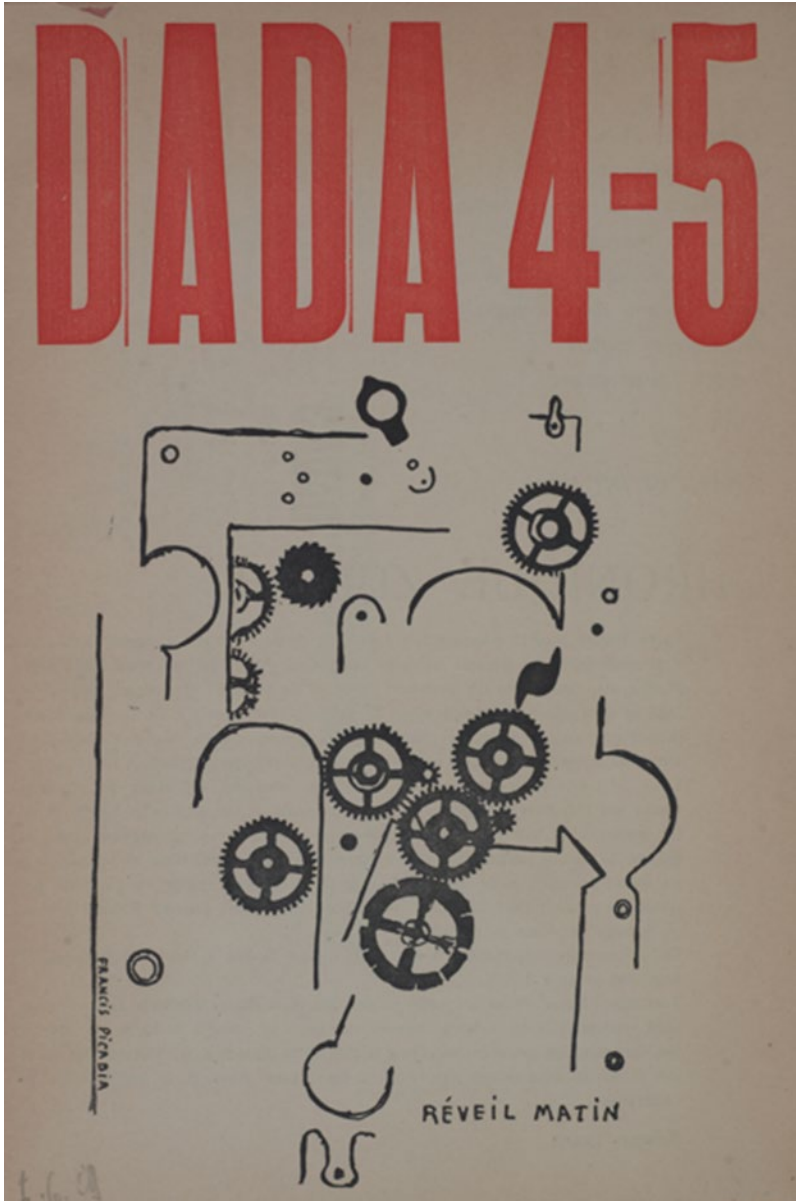


Figure 4: Francis Picabia, *Réveil matin*, *Dada*, no 4-5, Zurich, 1919, cover. © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris; International Dada Archive, Special Collections and Archives, University of Iowa Libraries.

While the same fonts and color were used for the title *Le cheval de 4*,²⁹ it is in the second title that this similarity really jumps out. In yet another transformation, the *Dada* of 1919 now becomes the *Deda* of 1940, while the periodicity of the earlier journal included in the title, 4-5, becomes *L-E*. If we were to push the interpretation of succession, played out in *Le cheval de 4* as a succession from 3 (Troie/trois) to 4, we can imagine that in conformity with the Greco-Roman mythological theme developed in the publication, the “L” in *Deda L-E* might stand for the Roman numeral 500 and the “E” for the Greek numeral 5. *Deda L-E* thus reads as a version of “Dada 500-5,” a logical succession after 4. Michel Tapié, who was largely responsible for the aesthetic and many texts and images of the publication, would later show his knack for using such successive numbers as a way to reflect on historical process, when, in 1949, he imagined and published a catalogue with a newspaper format entitled 491 for Francis Picabia’s first retrospective exhibition at the Galerie René Drouin, “Cinquante ans de plaisirs” ‘Fifty Years of Fun’ (Sanouillet 173).³⁰ The title is of course a reference to Picabia’s Dada magazine 391 (1917-1924), itself seen by its creator as a successor to Alfred Stieglitz’s magazine 291 (1915-1916). In this case, the numerical sequence was already embedded in Picabia’s publication, conceived as a continuation of the New York avant-garde scene during World War I. Tapié seized this serial logic from 291, to 391, to propose 491 as the fitting title for a retrospective, and thus a holistic, historical overview of Picabia’s work. This rationale of succession and repetition had already been established in 1940 by the programmatic titles of *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, and we have also seen that it was at the core of the more theoretical positions of *Les Réverbères*.

The return to Dada was understood by the group not as a simple replication, but rather as a revolutionary advance. This much is said by a page in *Deda L-E* where a text signed by Henri Bernard is featured under the heading “Hippologie”³¹ — a made-up word, punning on “apologie” as vindication, while implying a theoretical discourse on horses, “hippo” Greek for horse, thus again a discourse on “dada/deda,” a “dadalogie”: “Nos aînés découvrent leurs classiques sous Louis-Philippe. C’est bien. Nous, nous trouvons nos classiques en 1920. C’est ennuyeux pour Les aînés parce qu’ils s’étaient donné du mal pour déménager une grande époque et installer leur petites dévotions. LE COMBLE : ils prennent notre avance pour un retard” ‘Our elders discover their classics in the reign of Louis-Philippe. That’s fine. As for us, we find our classics in 1920. That bothers the elders because they worked so hard to oust a grand era and install their little cult there. THE CATCH: they take our advance for a delay.’ This 1940 vindication of 1920

²⁹ With the exception of “le” and “de” which are written in smaller, black fonts.

³⁰ Picabia himself would publish a poetry collection in 1952 with the title 591.

³¹ “Hippology” as well as the words “Cubisme” and the date “1940,” all in bold capitals, appear only on the copy of the Bibliothèque Kandinsky. The Princeton copy does not include these bold inter-titles.

Dada is not a retrograde move, they claim, or a mere repetition, but rather a way to move forward.

We see that already the titles of the publications exemplify the main logic of the Réverbères: repetition. It is a repetition, however, that is not a replication of past Dada strategies, but rather a structural element that foreshadows aesthetic shifts which would dominate French art from the mid-1940s onward. Again, what was kept from Dada was its anarchic playfulness. Quoting a 1923 speech by Jean Cocteau, the page “Banalité” in *Le cheval de 4* reiterates this dedication to what is identified already in *Les Réverbères* as dadaist anarchy:

“Le poncif du scandale empêche encore d’admettre qu’à notre époque l’anarchie se présente sous forme d’une colombe” a dit le poète en 1923.

— Et alors, de 1923 à 1940... ?

- ...⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ N. D. L. R. c’est un arc-en-ciel de colombes que nous voulons.³²

“The cliché of scandal still prevents us from admitting that in our era anarchy appears in the form of a dove” said the poet in 1923.

— So, from 1923 to 1940...?

- ...⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Editor’s note: It’s a rainbow of doves that we want.

This “rainbow of doves” emerges in *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* in colorful prints, hovering between abstraction and figuration. Text and image intertwine in ways that sometimes make it difficult to categorize a given page as a poem or as a visual work. Take for instance pages in *Deda L-E* featuring a poem by Noël Arnaud,³³ organized in the grid of a yellow-brown square (fig. 5), or a text signed by André Poujet printed on a red, articulated, vaguely organic shape (fig. 6): are they to be read as poems or rather approached as images? While intense interaction of text and image comes directly out of the Dada playbook, the extensive use of color and of dense handwriting verging on visual abstraction, recall later, post-war practices — around the CoBrA group, like the magazines *Cobra* and *Le Petit Cobra*,³⁴ or even such publications as the war time

³² The quote is from Jean Cocteau’s speech “D’un ordre considéré comme une anarchie” (220).

³³ Noël Arnaud would have a long itinerary in the French avant-garde after the Réverbères, in *La Main à plume*, then within the *Suréalisme révolutionnaire* (germane to *Cobra*), the *Internationale Situationniste*, the *Collège de Pataphysique* and then the *Oulipo* — of which he was a founding member and the president from 1984-2003.

³⁴ I would like to thank Vanessa Theodoropoulou who pointed out these similarities to me.

Danish avant-garde magazine *Helhesten*, another horse, the “Hell-Horse” this time, whose contributors in fact joined CoBrA after the war (Greaves et al.).

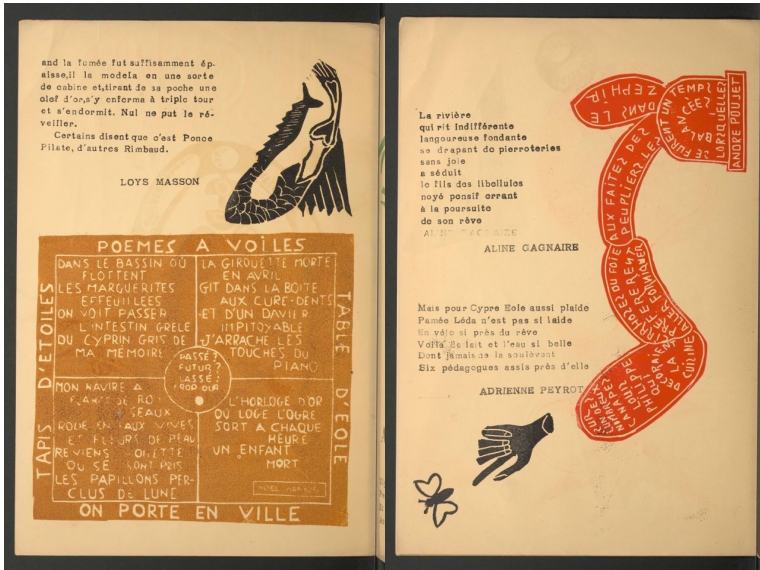


Figure 5 (left): Noël Arnaud, “Poèmes à voiles,” *Deda L-E*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family. With permission from Alain Millet. Figure 6 (right): Page in *Deda L-E*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family. © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris

Along with the use of primary colors, the pseudo-naïf aesthetic, the altered figuration, and the pledge to total artistic freedom which connect *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* with CoBrA, the use of text and image beyond calligrammatic iterations in the 1940 publication shows the path to the later “peinture-mot” or “logogrammes” of Christian Dotremont and Asger Jorn.

One such characteristic example is a cluster of pages published in both *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*. The ones composed by H. B., presumably Henri Bernard,³⁵ and Michel Tapié are handwritten and type-set texts against a blue background that take textual art into the domain of the manifesto. The page composed by Henri Bernard is dominated by the title “Manifeste deus ex machina ou la chevalerie furieuse” (Manifesto Deus ex Machina or the Furious Chivalry). The prominent position of the word “chevalerie,” divided as “cheval-erie” and with the first part

³⁵ Henri Bernard was another jazz enthusiast and apparently owner of the printing press used for the publication (Evezard 44 n141).

“cheval” in the typographical fonts of the title, *Le cheval de 4*, imply that this is the manifesto of the publication, of this new “dada/cheval.” The text is a biting and profane attack on the literary canon, from Cervantes and Rabelais — “nous en . . . ons [nous enculons] d’abord Cervantes et Rabelais” ‘we first of all screw Cervantes and Rabelais up the ass’ — to Molière, Voltaire, and Racine. The attack concludes with a hand-written and almost diagrammed call, “pissons, pissons en chœur” ‘let’s piss, piss in chorus’ written out in different directions and fonds, and the declaration “seul le merveilleux existe” ‘only the marvelous exists.’ This last surrealist twist is amplified in the second part of the same page, in which attacks on the classics continue, while poetry is praised: “Pour le poète, toutes ailes au ciel, il s’agit de créer, non pas hors du monde, mais contre le monde” ‘For the poet, all wings to the sky, it is about creating, not outside of the world, but against the world.’

The page signed by Tapié (fig. 7) is a spiraling, handwritten text with the title “Le fils de Narcisse” (The son of Narcissus).³⁶ The composition is remarkable, as the direction of the writing changes and meanders, creating blocks and motifs and making reading extremely difficult. The title, along with the Greek theme, again suggests a genealogy; and indeed, the content of this convoluted text narrates the story of “Narcisse,” which reads as the story of the avant-garde. Narcissus broke the mirror reflecting his image, only to reconstruct his self-portrait through the fragments:

Les morceaux tenaient encore dans le cadre et il se voyait à peu près comme Apollinaire dans un portrait cubiste. Après il y eut l’autoportrait de Picabia dans l’Unique Eunuque. La glace était décrochée et Narcisse regardait le mur auto-allucinant [sic] de Léonard de Vinci.

The fragments still held within the frame and he saw himself a bit like Apollinaire would in a cubist portrait. After that there was the self-portrait of Picabia in l’Unique Eunuque. The mirror was taken down and Narcissus looked at the self-allucinating wall of Leonardo da Vinci.

The references to Apollinaire’s championing of cubism, to Picabia’s linear and abstract self-portrait in his 1920 book *L’unique eunuque*, and indirectly to Max Ernst who referred to Leonardo’s wall as his own inspiration for painting in *Au-delà de la peinture*, all sketch out a lineage of the French avant-garde from 1913 to the late 1930s, stretching from cubism, through Dada, to surrealism. The narrative continues and Narcissus drowns, and Tapié then asserts “il y a la génération suivante, et c’est autre chose, n’est-ce pas, et ce sera encore autre chose, et pas dans le même sens” ‘there’s the next generation, and it is a different thing, is it not, and it will be a still different thing, and not in the same sense.’

³⁶ According to Evezard, Narcisse was Tapié’s pseudonym at the time (52).

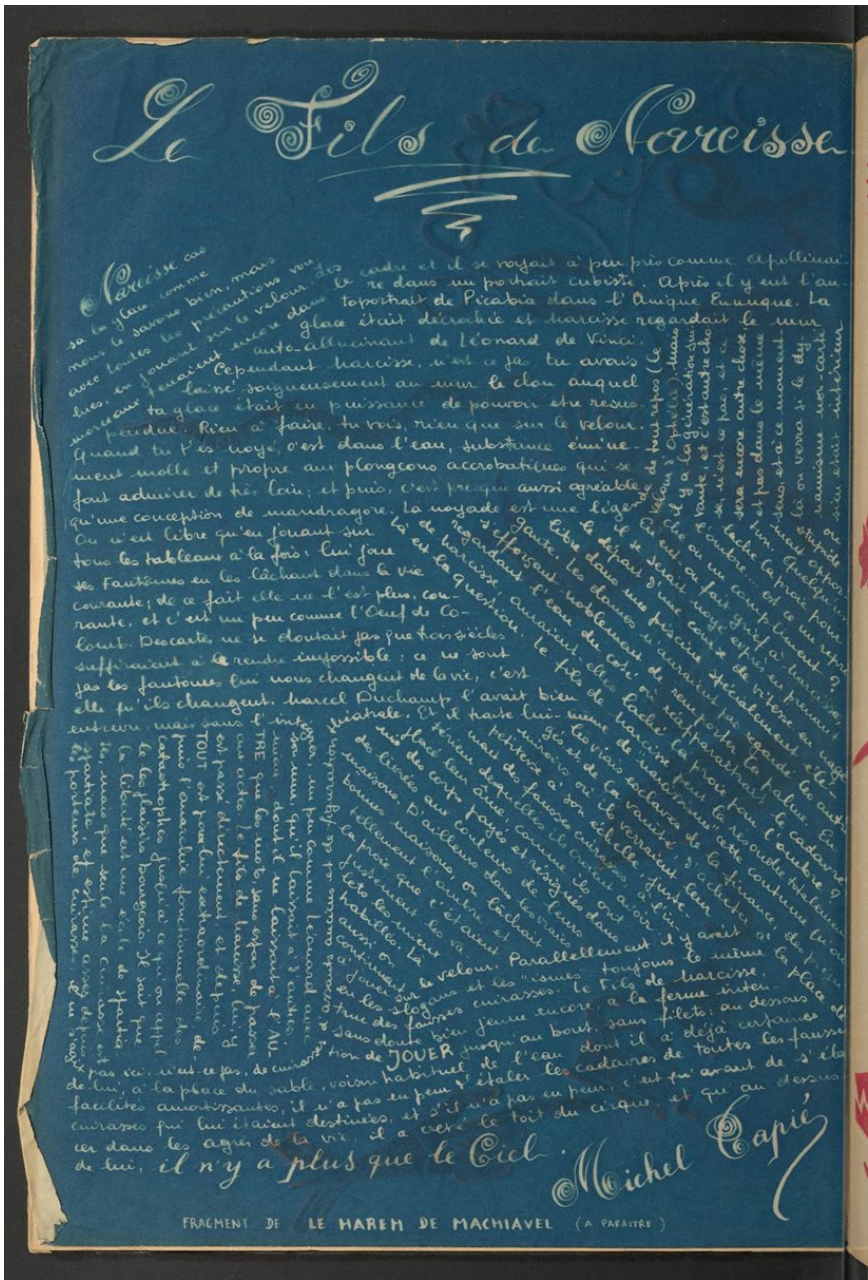


Figure 7: Michel Tapié, "Le Fils de Narcisse," Deda L-E, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

The death of Narcissus signals the death of that part of the avant-garde, while the new generation is the son of Narcissus, who is “a different thing,” “not in the same sense.” Indeed, the continuously changing directionality of the writing visually represents this “pas dans le même sens,” also understood as ‘not in the same direction,’ which characterizes the new generation. The son of Narcissus does not leave “la proie pour l’ombre,” ‘the prey for its shadow’:

Lui joue ses Fantômes en les lâchant dans la vie courante; de ce fait elle ne l’est plus, courante, et c’est un peu comme l’Œuf de Colombe. Descartes ne se doutait pas que trois siècles suffiraient à le rendre impossible: ce ne sont pas les fantômes qui nous changent de la vie, c’est elle qu’ils changent. Marcel Duchamp l’avait bien entrevu, mais sans l’intégrer, un peu comme Léonard avec son mur, qu’il laissait à d’autres, mieux, dont il ne laissait à l’AUTRE que les mots, sans espoir de passer aux actes. Le fils de Narcisse, lui, y est passé directement, et depuis TOUT est pour lui extraordinaire, depuis l’anarchie fonctionnelle des catastrophes jusqu’à ce qu’on appelle les plaisirs bourgeois. . . . Le fils de Narcisse, sans doute bien jeune encore, a la ferme intention de JOUER jusqu’au bout, sans filets.

He plays his Ghosts by releasing them into everyday life; because of this, life is no longer everyday, and it’s a little like the Egg of Columbus. Descartes did not suspect that it would only take three centuries to make him impossible: it is not ghosts that change us from our lives, it is life that they change. Marcel Duchamp had certainly glimpsed this, but without integrating it, a bit like Leonardo and his wall, which he would leave to others, better still, of which he would only leave the OTHER with words, without hoping to take action. The son of Narcissus, on the other hand, proceeded directly to it, and ever since EVERYTHING is extraordinary to him, from the functional anarchy of catastrophe to that which we call the bourgeois pleasures. . . . The son of Narcissus, no doubt still young, is determined to PLAY to the end, without a net.

The new generation then, the heirs of the Narcissus/avant-garde, take their cue from what Duchamp realized but only indicated in words rather than completing in action. What this was exactly is unclear. The liberation of one’s “fantômes” ‘ghosts’ or ‘phantasies’ into the everyday sounds like a Freudian utopia. The reference to Duchamp as the one who knew but, like Leonardo, indicated the method without creating the work, might reference the intensely conceptual aspect of Duchamp’s work which undermines visual representation or his predilection for wordplay. The ghosts that the son of Narcissus releases in an endless game that ultimately changes life, are perhaps this Duchampian tap into linguistic potential that destroys original meaning and unleashes an anarchic proliferation of signs and significations.

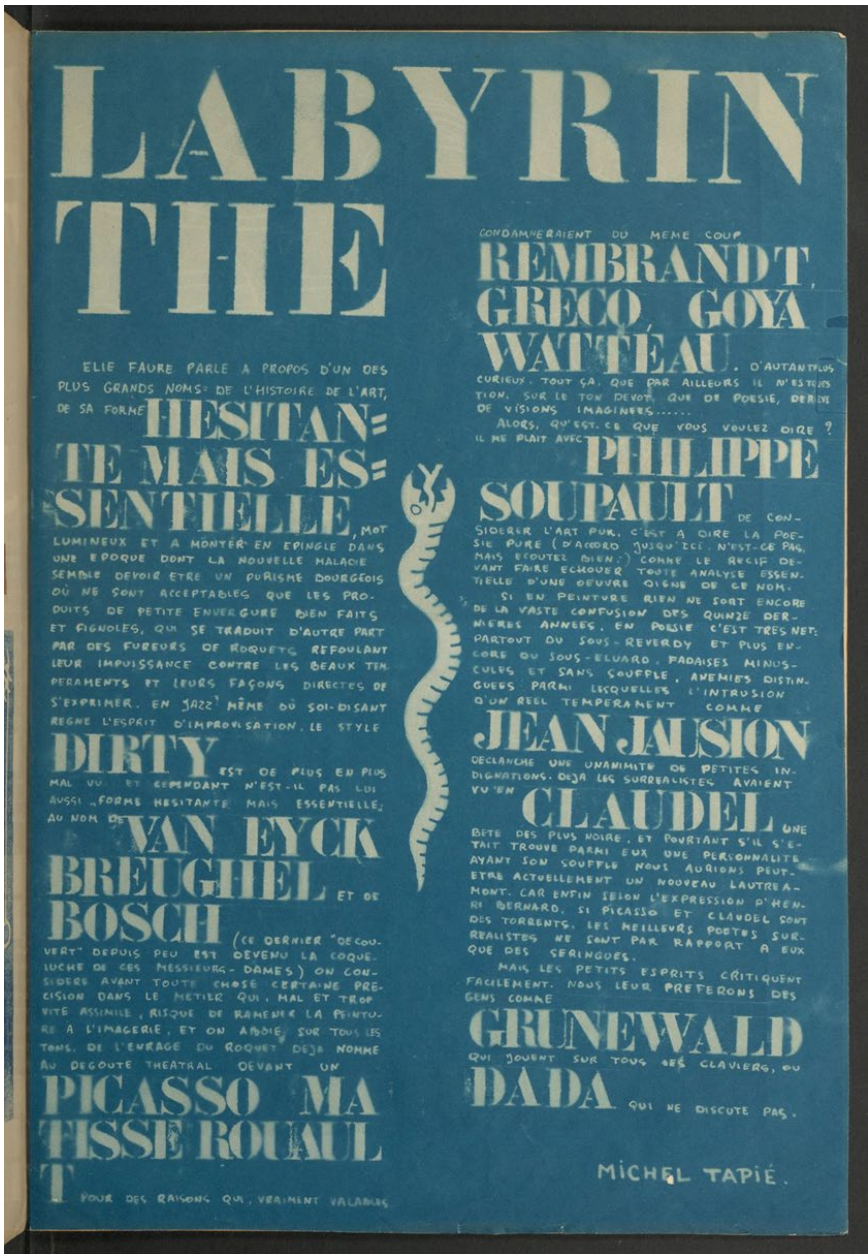


Figure 8: Michel Tapié, "Labyrinthe," *Le cheval de 4*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

Another blue page, also composed by Tapié, with the title “Labyrinthe,” hones in on a similar message (fig. 8). “Labyrinthe” contemplates the state of contemporary art and poetry, to conclude:

Car enfin selon l’expression d’Henri Bernard, si Picasso et Claudel sont des torrents, les meilleurs poètes surréalistes ne sont par rapport à eux que de seringues. . . . Mais les petits esprits critiquent facilement. Nous leur préférons des gens comme GRUNEWALD qui jouent sur tous les claviers, ou DADA qui ne discute pas.

After all, in the words of Henri Bernard, if Picasso and Claudel are torrents, the best surrealist poets are but syringes in comparison. . . . Yet little minds are quick to criticize. We prefer people like GRUNEWALD who play on all the keyboards, or DADA which does not discuss.

The appearance of the German Renaissance painter Grunewald, paired with Dada, is heavy with symbolic meaning at this particular historical juncture. At the beginning of the century, Grunewald was theorized by German nationalist art criticism as the quintessential German painter, and his Isenheim Altarpiece near Colmar in Alsace had, since the Franco-Prussian War, become the marker for Germanness in art and a point of contention between France and Germany.³⁷ Grunewald was associated with modernism by the 1930s via the German expressionists, who found inspiration in his work, and subsequently rejected by the Nazis along with all degenerate modern art. Using Grunewald as a point of reference at this specific moment, might be read as a small act of defiance towards the German occupants, which is then amplified by Dada’s iconoclasm. Together these three blue pages unfold the position of the group towards tradition, contemporary art, and aesthetics, and ensure a continuity and coherence with the positions of *Les Réverbères*, as well as within the publication. This internal continuity is further enhanced by the iconography of the snake that appears in white against the blue background. The snake might stand for the old tradition on which the group invites to “pissons en chœur” ‘piss in chorus’ an interpretation which is backed by another page in *Dada L-E*, which features an image of a knight, “Meliadus,” on his horse, “Dada,” slaying a multiheaded dragon, each head a luminary of tradition: Descartes, Voltaire, Molière, Cervantes, August Comte, Rabelais (fig. 9).

All these pages together read as an extensive manifesto of the neo-Dada group that insists on its own position as both a succession to Dada (repetition) and as a realization of Dada’s potential (return). This elaboration is made through a myth that thematizes the double, Narcissus and his reflection, while by giving him a son, succession is also introduced.

³⁷ On the reception of Grunewald and the appropriation of his work by ideology, see Moxey, “Impossible distance.”

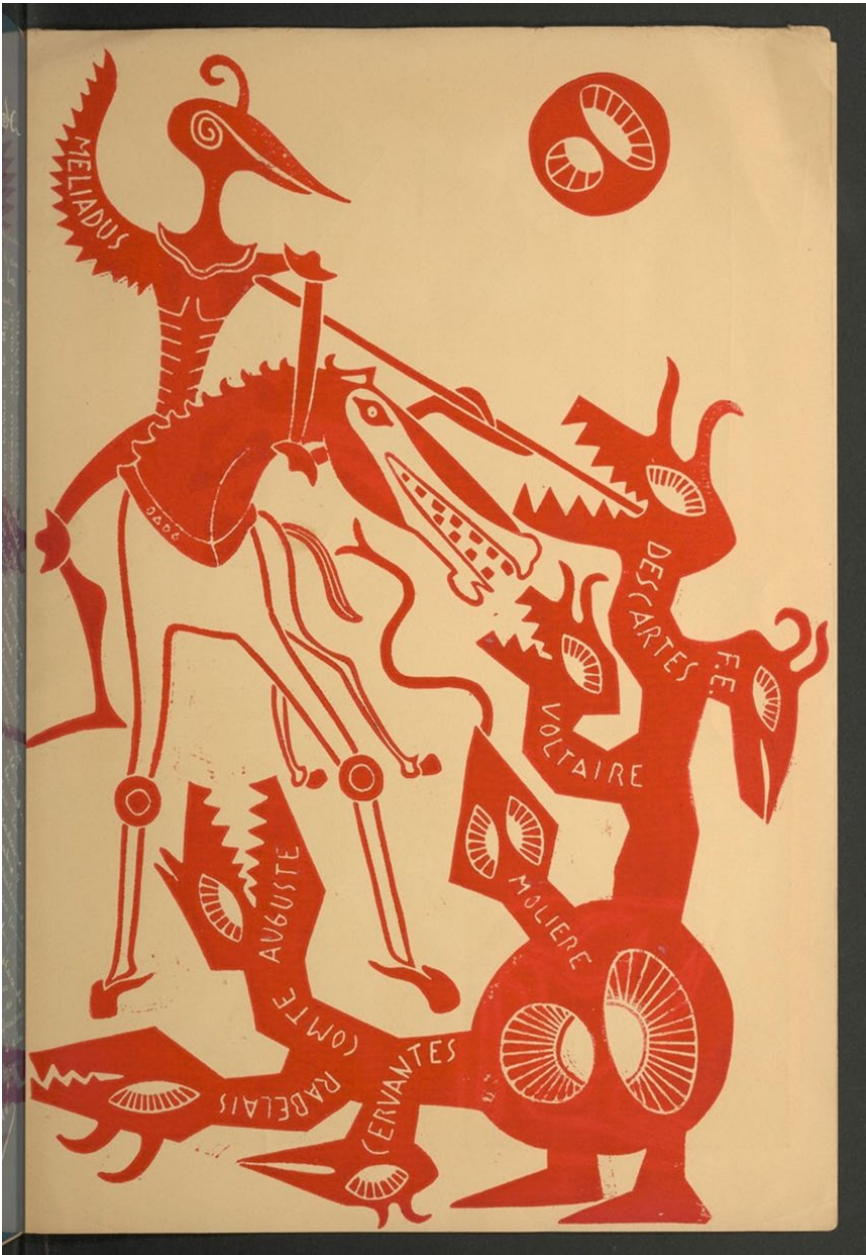



Figure 9: Page in *Dada L-E*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

The densely written pages, especially in “Le fils de Narcisse,” use directionality of writing to create an abstract visual effect saturating the page, which becomes almost illegible and shifts into an image, anticipating later CoBrA word-image experimentations or Lettriste compositions by Isidore Isou. But as previously mentioned, the meandering writing and its transformation into an image also visualizes this different, oblique direction that the publication represents. The deployment of images in these manifesto-like writings, and especially of animals in a fantastic bestiary of sorts, brings the pages dispersed in the two installments close to CoBrA’s aesthetics, for which animals — starting of course with their snake-sounding name — held an important position. As the 1948 CoBrA manifesto declared, “[a] painting is not a composition of color and line, but an animal, a night, a scream, a human being, all of these together” (Nieuwenhuys). In 1950, Christian Dotremont and Jean-Michel Atlan would create the artist’s book *Les transformés*, an interpretation of the almost namesake cobra in its bright-colored images, text, and even material organization as a serpentine accordion, which seems almost like the afterlife of *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, pointing thus to these publications’ futurity. In *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, text and image, typography and color compose a dense, complex, and performative representation of the theoretical positions of the Réverbères as an avant-garde on the cusp of the old and the new.

The cluster of these four blue pages forms thus an extensive manifesto showing the aesthetic and thematic continuity of the publications; their formal coherence is most prominently assured, however, by wordplay, the ghosts of Duchamp finally meeting their full potential. Faithful to the “Trojan Horse” title, it is almost as if each text hides another, as the written word becomes just a token for a chain of phonetic paronomasias, homonyms, and metagrams that reveal other significations. The result is a dizzying labyrinth, echoing its second title, “Dedalus,” which disorients the reader with texts that are unstable and treacherous. Some of them are easy to crack, for instance the poem “Oracle” signed by A. P. in *Le cheval de 4* (fig. 10):

L’ABBE CEDAIT ET EFF..: GEAIT A CHIJIKA
ELLE AIME ET NOS PAIES QU’EUT HIER ESTEVE
EXIGERAIENT QUE CEDE L’ABBESSE
DEESSE J’AI LE CHIC A HELENE
HOPI ECUYERE QU’EST-CE QUE TU FAIS ICI ?
 RESEDA³⁸

³⁸ Given the intense phonetic element of wordplay of these poems, I am not providing a translation.

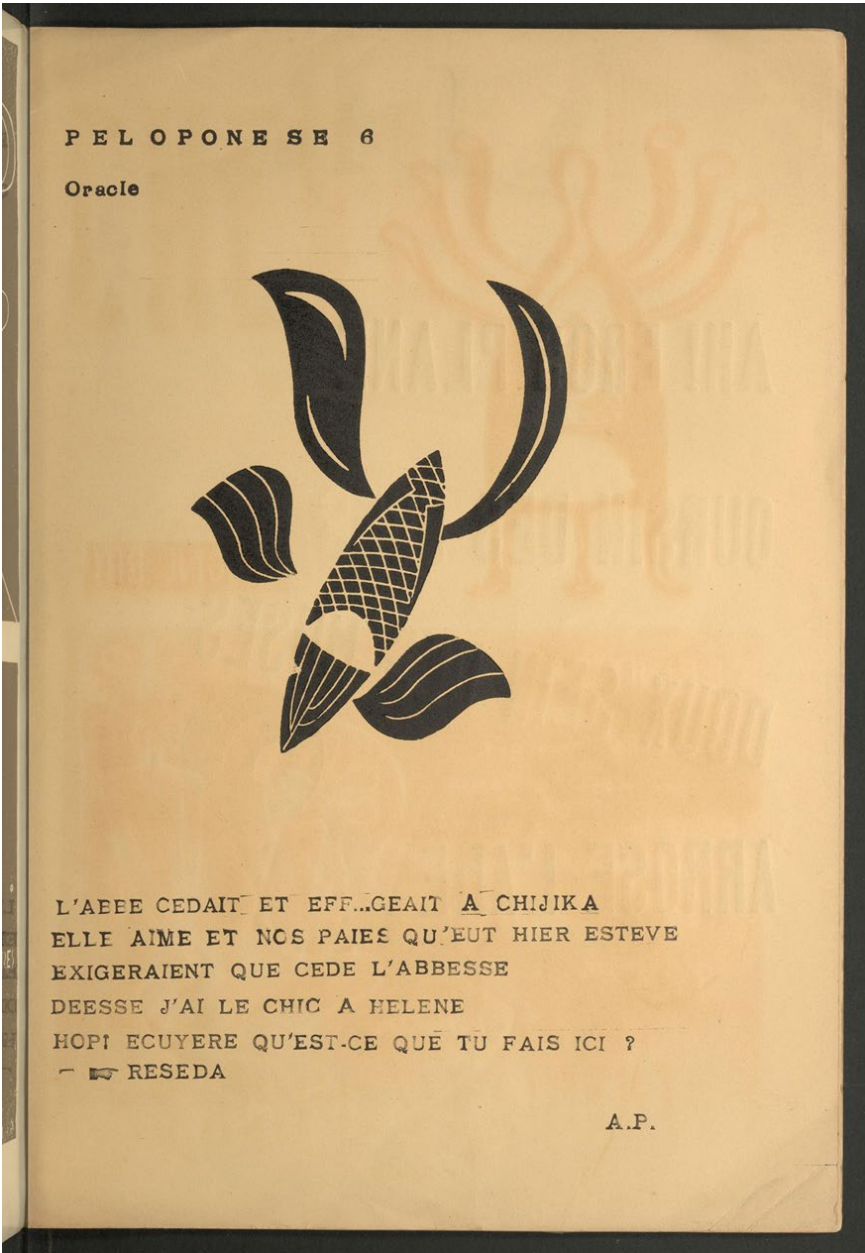


Figure 10: Page in *Le cheval de 4*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

At least the beginning of this text is a phonetic rendering of the alphabet in French ("L'ABBE" gives "a" and "b," "CEDAIT" gives "c" and "d," "ET EFF" gives "e" and "f," "GEAIT" gives "g," "ACHIJKA" gives "h," "i," "j," "k," etc.). The alphabet then becomes an oracle, a recreation of language by refashioning its basic unit: the letter. Marcel Duchamp had some similar ideas, when he was imagining a new alphabet made out of "prime words" in his notes for *The Green Box*:

The search for "prime words" ("divisible" only by themselves and by unity).

Take a Larousse dict. And copy all the so-called "abstract" words. i.e., those which have no concrete reference.

Compose a schematic sign designating each of these words. (this sign can be composed with the standard stops)

These signs must be thought of as the letters of a new alphabet. (31)

The implementation in *Le cheval de 4* is different, but the aspiration is similar: resignify existing language and create a new one. In the case of the 1940 publication, this process of resignification is often very obscure. A poem with the telling title "Métamorphose," also signed by A. P., for instance, is difficult to decipher (fig. 11):

Est-ce toi chair et lys
Auge ours ta froideur eux
Que péniche oie Lucie elle
Quitte rente âme Eve œufs

Laval heure natte à tempe à
Laine ombre déjà nées
Qu'Eve ourlait fou sylphe y
Qu'on détroit qu'île morue³⁹

³⁹ Given the intense phonetic element of wordplay of these poems, I am not providing a translation.

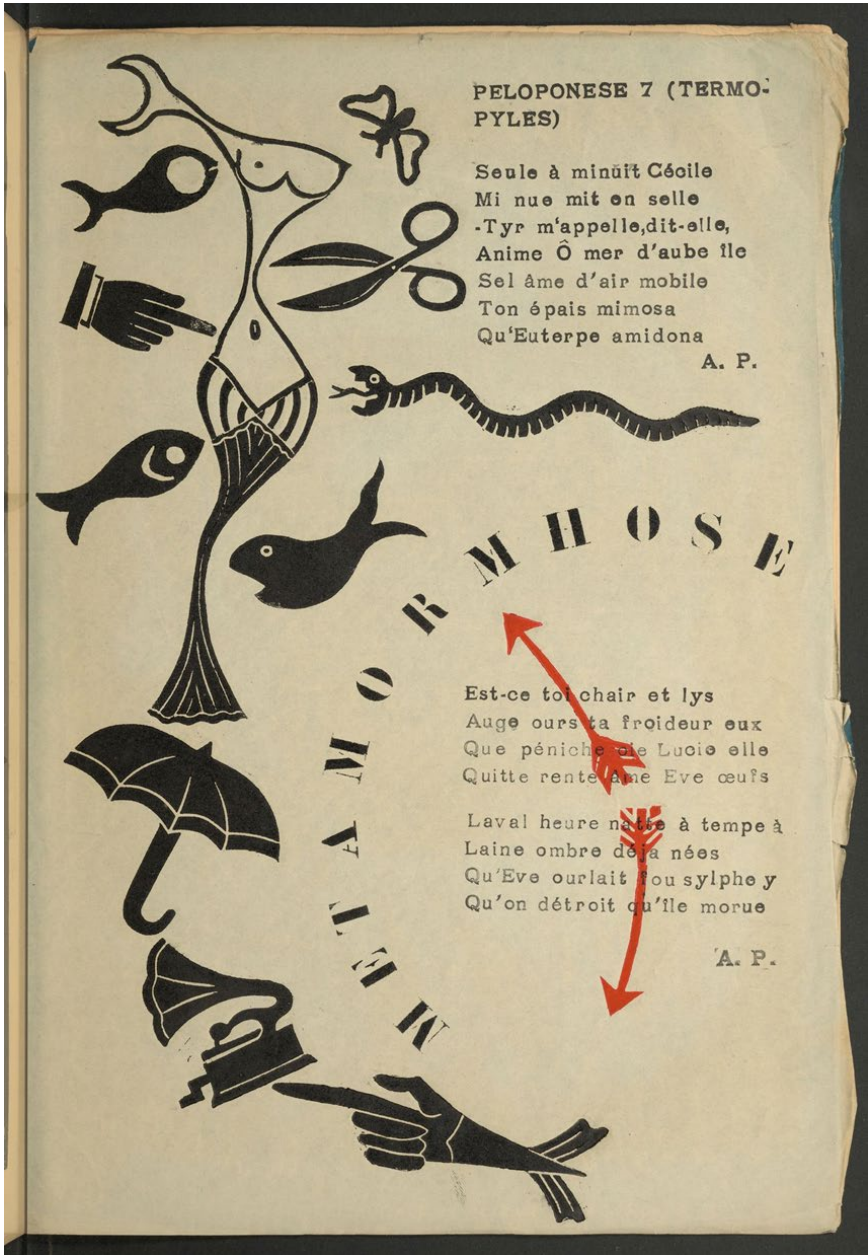


Figure 11: Page in *Dada L-E*, Paris, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library, Special Collections. With permission from the Michel Tapié family.

We can break through and read some hidden phrases, for instance the first two lines of the second stanza read phonetically as “La valeur n’attend pas le nombre des années” ‘Valor does not await at the passing of years,’ a slight variation of Corneille’s now-proverbial line. But what about the rest? Fragments of phrases shine through, but the meaning stays obscure. The result is a text that seems to endlessly reflect itself and destabilize common language through this doubling repetition. Michel Foucault eloquently described similar processes in the work of Raymond Roussel, the master of this constant resignification and an important influence on Duchamp and Picabia:

And the simplest, most conventional everyday language, a rigorously flat language which has the function of repeating with exactitude objects and the past for everyone, on entering into the play of infinite multiplication of reflections, is captured, without escape, in the depth of a mirror. The way out goes deeper into an empty labyrinthian space, empty because it loses itself there. When the language rejoins itself, it is shown that the same things are not the same, not here, but other and elsewhere. And this game can always begin again. (*Death and the Labyrinth* 24-25)

Foucault identifies repetition as the basic mechanism of Roussel’s work: “From the original prose of a language haphazardly discovered to the duplicate prose not yet articulated, there’s a profound repetition. It is not the lateral one of things said again, but the radical one which has gone beyond nonbeing and, because it has come through this void, is poetry, even if on the level of style it remains the flattest of prose” (46). The texts in *Le cheval de 4* and in *Deda L-E*, as programmatically dictated by the titles of the publication, repeat language in order to recreate it, reproducing the lateral repetition that defined the action and orientation of the Réverbères group at this structural and, as Foucault would have it, radical level.

Le cheval de 4 and *Deda L-E* thus aesthetically materialize the principle of repetition, the core strategy of the Réverbères for assessing the trajectory of the avant-garde in France and for defining their own position within this frame. Complementary to *Les Réverbères*, *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* should be read as albums or “plaquettes” in name only, as they replicate many of the functions of a magazine for the group: they reinstate its collective identity while refining and visualizing its aesthetic principles. It might be difficult to maintain that the publications had an overt element of resistance to the German occupying forces; however, their appearance at this pivotal moment of suspension of creative activity in France and the group’s strong stance on defending freedom in art indicate that these publications were meant as a performance of the radical freedom that first sprang from the World War I activities of the Zurich Dada. In a way, the Second World War that had just reached Paris provided the backdrop for a reenactment of the “primal scene” of Dada, which emerged as a playful and sacrilegious reaction to the previous war. The ineffectiveness of the neo-Dada

performances a year later may show that *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* were sort of unfinished gestures towards the kind of politically charged but militantly disengaged freedom that their creators were aiming at. These unfinished gestures would be taken over at the end of the war by other groups, CoBrA, Surréalisme Révolutionnaire, Lettrisme, who would revive many aesthetic principles of the Réverbères in different ways.

The logic and aesthetic of repetition that defined the action and theory of the Réverbères which was concretely materialized in *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E* was not a simple replication or pastiche of Dada; reconnecting with Dada was a way to disconnect from the immediate, non-functioning context of surrealism. This return to Dada was meant as a disruption of the continuity of the avant-garde in France, the shattering of Narcissus's mirror, which sought to underline the lost freedom of avant-garde practice. But rather than just "a historical supplement that would come to fix itself upon the primary discursivity and redouble it in the form of an ornament," this was also a critical return (Foucault, *Language* 135). Through a critical consideration and a creative interpretation of Dada's main radical strategy, repetition, the Réverbères and their activities, especially *Le cheval de 4* and *Deda L-E*, deployed in 1940 the kind of reflexivity that would be fully operative in the postwar neo-avant-garde. The group's critical engagement with the avant-garde as a historical phenomenon, their role in "curating" and producing it for a new generation and a new historical moment, shows their own self-conscious entanglement in the process of the avant-garde. The Réverbères' liminal case, at the historiographical threshold of the historical avant-garde, their posture as repetition, continuation, and rupture of this historical process, thus raises questions: Can we neatly distinguish the historical avant-garde from the neo-avant-garde? What is the value of the war as a *terminus ante* and *post quem* for describing the avant-garde? And, finally, is repetition and return only a characteristic feature of the neo-avant-garde, or is it already embedded in the avant-garde project that continuously folds upon itself?

Works Cited

- Apollinaire, Guillaume. "[Parade]." *Œuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 2, Gallimard, 1991, pp. 865-67. Originally published as "Les spectacles modernistes des Ballets russes: Parade et l'esprit nouveau," *L'Excelsior*, 11 May 1917.
- Badia, Gilbert. *Les bannis de Hitler: Accueil et luttes des exilés allemands en France (1933-1939)*. Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1984.

- Ball, Hugo. *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary*. Edited by John Elderfield, translated by Ann Raines, U of California P, 1974.
- Brécy, Robert. "La chanson révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1799." *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, vol. 53, no. 244, Apr.-June 1981, pp. 279-303.
- Breton, André. *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism*. With André Parinaud et al., translated by Mark Polizzotti, Paragon House, 1993.
- . *Entretiens 1913-1952*. With André Parinaud et al., Gallimard, 1969.
- . *Mad Love*. Translated by Mary Ann Caws, U of Nebraska P, 1987.
- . "Second manifeste du surréalisme." *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 1, Gallimard, 1988, pp. 775-828.
- . "Second Manifesto of Surrealism." *Manifestoes of Surrealism*. Translated by Richard Seaver and Helen Lane, U of Michigan P, 1969, pp. 117-94.
- Bureau, Jacques. "Lettre ouverte à André Breton." *Les Réverbères*, no. 1, Apr. 1938, pp. 1-3.
- . "Poisson d'avril." *Les Réverbères*, no. 1, Apr. 1938, pp. 1+.
- Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Translated by Michael Shaw, U of Minnesota P, 1984.
- Chabrun, Jean-François. "Entartete Kunst." *Les Réverbères*, no. 3, Nov. 1938, pp. 1-2.
- , and Jean-Claude Diamant-Berger. "Aux Réverbères." *Les Réverbères*, no. 4, Mar. 1939, p. 1. Letter published as part of the article "La révolution perpétuelle."
- Cheng, Joyce Suechun. "Paris Dada and the Transfiguration of Boredom." *Modernism/Modernity*, vol. 24, no. 3, Sept. 2017, pp. 599-627.
- "Club des Réverbères, Bilan et but." *Les Réverbères*, no. 3, Nov. 1938, pp. 7-8.
- Cocteau, Jean. "D'un ordre considéré comme une anarchie: Allocution prononcée au Collège de France, jeudi 2 mai 1923." *Œuvres complètes de Jean Cocteau*, vol. 9, Marguerat, 1950, pp. 205-26.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Censorship, Silence and Resistance: The 'Annales' during the German Occupation of France." *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, vol. 24, no. 2, summer 1998, pp. 351-74.
- Dorléac, Laurence Bertrand. *Art of the Defeat: France 1940-1944*. Getty Research Institute, 2008.
- "Le dossier de presse des Mamelles de Tirésias." *Que Vlo-Ve?* vol. 1, no. 20, Apr. 1979, pp. 7-30.
- Dotremont, Christian, and Jean-Michel Atlan. *Les transformés*. 1950.
- Dregni, Michael. *Django: The Life and Music of a Gypsy Legend*. Oxford UP, 2004.
- Duchamp, Marcel. "The Green Box." Translated by George Heard Hamilton, *Salt Seller: The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, edited by Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson, Oxford UP, 1973, pp. 26-71. Translation of *La mariée mis à nu par ses célibataires, même*, 1934.

- Evezard, Juliette. "Un art autre": *Le rêve de Michel Tapié de Céleyran, il profeta de l'art informel, (1937-1987): Une nouvelle forme du système marchand-critique*. 2015. Université Paris-Ouest, PhD Dissertation.
- Fauré, Michel. *Histoire du surréalisme sous l'Occupation*. Table Ronde, 1982.
- Foster, Hal. "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?" *The Duchamp Effect*, special issue of *October*, no. 70, fall 1994, pp. 5-32.
- Foucault, Michel. *Death and the Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*. Translated by Charles Ruas, U of California P, 1987.
- . *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, edited by Donald F. Bouchard, Cornell UP, 1980.
- Fouché, Pascal. *L'édition française sous l'Occupation, 1940-1944*. Bibliothèque de littérature française contemporaine de l'Université Paris 7, 1987.
- Greaves, Kerry, et al. *War Horses: Helhesten and the Danish Avant-Garde During World War II*, Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, 2015.
- Heeckeren, Axel de. *Jean-Auguste Marembert: L'envouteur envouté*. Leinart, 2019.
- Joselit, David. *Infinite Regress: Marcel Duchamp, 1910-1941*. MIT Press, 1998.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "The Originality of the Avant-Garde." *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, MIT Press, 1986, pp. 151-70.
- Marembert, Jean, et al. "Démobilisation de la poésie." *Les Réverbères*, no. 2, June 1938, p. 1.
- . "La révolution perpétuelle." *Les Réverbères*, no. 4, Mar. 1939, p. 1.
- Moxey, Keith. "Impossible Distance: Past and Present in the Study of Dürer and Grünewald." *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, no. 4, Dec. 2004, pp. 750-63.
- Nieuwenhuys, Constant. "Manifesto." *Reflex*, no. 1, Sept./Oct. 1948. <https://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/presitu/manifesto.html>
- Perrin, Michel. "Dada." *Les Réverbères*, no. 2, June 1938, p. 3.
- Perrin, Remi. *Michel Perrin, gentilhomme des lettres*. Via Romana, 2020.
- Read, Peter. *Apollinaire et Les mamelles de Tirésias: la revanche d'Éros*. PU de Rennes, 2000.
- Remaudière, Jean. "Manifeste du merveilleux." *Les Réverbères*, no. 5, July 1939, p. 2.
- Rentzou, Effie. "Minotaure." *Liquid Antiquity*, edited by B. Holmes, DESTE Foundation of Contemporary Art, 2017, pp. 124-27.
- . "'Partout et Nulle-Part': Apollinaire's Body after the War." *The Avant-Garde at War*, special issue of *Criticism*, edited by Jonathan P. Eburne, vol. 57, no. 4, fall, 2015, pp. 557-79.
- . "Tête de Grec: La revue *Minotaure* et la recherche d'un nouvel homme universel." *Paris-Athènes 1919-1939: Le double voyage*, edited by P. Kosmadaki & L. Arnoux-Farnoux, École française d'Athènes/Benaki Museum, 2018, pp. 137-47.
- La révolution surréaliste*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1 Dec. 1924.
- Sanouillet, Michel. *Francis Picabia et 391*, vol. 2, Eric Losfeld, 1966.
- Tapié, Michel, editor. *Expédition Tapié*. 1944.

- Tapié, Michel, and Aline Gagnaire, editors. *Huit poèmes pour Cécile*. 1941.
- Tapié, Michel, et al., editors. *Le cheval de 4*. 1940.
- . *Déda L-E*. 1940.
- Tzara, Tristan. *The First Celestial Adventure of Mister Benzadrine*. Translated by Elmer Peterson. Press at Colorado, 1996.
- . *La première aventure céleste de M Antipyrine*. Julius Heuberger, 1916.
- Umland, Anne. "Dada in the Collection: A Permanent Paradox." *Dada in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*, edited by Anne Umland and Adrian Sudhalter, The Museum of Modern Art, 2004, pp. 14-41.

Copyright © 2023 Effie Rentzou