



ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN ART HISTORY

FORM AND MEANING IN AVANT-GARDE COLLAGE AND MONTAGE

MAGDA DRAGU



Form and Meaning in Avant-Garde Collage and Montage

This book uses intermedial theories to study collage and montage, tracing the transformation of visual collage into photomontage in the early avant-garde period.

Magda Dragu distinguishes between the concepts of collage and montage, as defined across several media (fine arts, literature, music, film, photography), based on the type of artistic meaning they generate, rather than the mechanical procedures involved. The book applies theories of intermediality to collage and montage, which is crucial for understanding collage as a form of cultural production. Throughout, the author considers the political implications, as collages and montages were often used for propagandistic purposes.

This book combines research methods used in several areas of inquiry: art history, literary criticism, analytical philosophy, musicology, and aesthetics.

Magda Dragu is Visiting Scholar in the Department of Comparative Literature at Indiana University Bloomington, USA.

Cover image: László Moholy-Nagy, *Liebe deinen Nächsten: Mord auf den Schienen* (*Love Your Neighbor: Murder on the Railway*), 1925. Photomontage (pasted photographs cut from newspapers, graphite on paper), 47 × 31 cm (18½ × 12⅛ in.). Hattula Moholy-Nagy Collection. © 2019 Estate of László Moholy-Nagy / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

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Magda Dragu

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Acknowledgments

This book is a celebration of avant-garde art and artists, of the careless free spirit these artists promoted at the beginning of the past century, which completely changed our artistic and nonartistic lives. This is a book about passion, irony, and trust in values such as intelligence, humor, and humanity. The lesson of the twentieth-century early avant-gardes is that future generations will continuously regenerate art and open ways of artistic creation we cannot yet fathom.

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This book is dedicated to my grandmother who taught me the meaning of culture in both etymological senses of the word. My mother Mariana Mogoş supported this project through all its phases. Thank you!

Introduction

This volume is a key contribution to the study of collage and montage, two artistic techniques that shaped the artistic and cultural history of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to a large extent. Unlike most critics writing on the topic, I propose to distinguish between the concepts collage and montage, as defined across several media – fine arts, literature, music, film, photography – based on the type of artistic meaning they generate, heterogeneous and homogeneous, respectively, and not on the mechanical procedures they entail, “papery procedures” for collage, and technological and photographic for montage. My approach combines research methods used in several areas of inquiry: art history, literary criticism, analytical philosophy, musicology, and aesthetics and relies extensively on the intermedial theories of Irina Rajewsky, Werner Wolf, and Lars Elleström. Intermediality, as conceived by these scholars, aims to map the nature of transformations, transpositions, and adaptations of techniques across media, as well as their combination and fusion. This particular theory of intermediality has a formalist component, tracing its origins to the late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century formalist theories of the arts. Approaching the study of collage and montage through this transformational theory of intermediality allowed me to map the metamorphosis of visual collage into photomontage under certain conditions in the early avant-garde.

Thus, in my text, I show how visual collage was transformed into a new technique, photomontage, around 1919–1920, because of the ‘transparent’ nature of the photograph used in these incipient “photocollages,” which subsequently became true “photomontages.” When Dada artists such as Hannah Höch and Raoul Hausmann, or John Heartfield and George Grosz, started using photographs in their collages, they gave birth to a new form of artistic expression. By closely reading their statements regarding photomontage and with the help of the arguments advanced by analytical philosophers regarding the nature of the photograph, I give a detailed account of this transformation of one technique into the other.

The other key element that helped convert the innocuous, humorous, and witty Cubist collage into a dangerous weapon of mass manipulation in the form of the Russian agit-prop photomontage, was the subsequent interest of photomontage artists, both in the East and in the West, to manipulate the photographs they used in their photomontages so that they can express clear and most often tendentious meaning. If the movies of Sergei Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov and their concept of montage could achieve this, I detail with plenty of evidence how the Russian photomontage artists such as Gustav Klutsis or El Lissitzky tried to attain similar effects of ‘meaning-control’ in their own visual works.

Once I establish that the main difference between the artistic principles and techniques of collage and montage is the way they articulate meaning, I outline how these techniques manifest themselves in other verbal or non-verbal, visual or non-visual media. Thus, the verbal collages of Guillaume Apollinaire or Kurt Schwitters display the same qualities of meaning subversion outlined in the visual works of the Cubist and Futurist visual artists. This first transposition of the technique of visual collage into the verbal medium outlines the fact that one does not need to be accustomed with visual collages to understand the verbal ones. I have called the techniques exhibiting these characteristics ‘non-medium-specific,’ distinguishing them from medium-specific techniques, such as the musical form of the fugue. Collage and montage are types of techniques that require a few technical operations both in the originating as well as in the target medium, relying instead on operations of thinking and meaning formation.

Musical collage, a term put in circulation in the 1970s by Zofia Lissa and a few other musicologists, raises additional problems in tracing the transformations of collage across media. In most musical cases possibly affected by collage, it became clear that musical collage is a metaphor used by musicologists and music theorists to refer to certain techniques of abrupt juxtapositions of musical phrases and motifs (in the music of Igor Stravinsky, Charles Ives), and the only direct intention of transposing a visual collage into a visual one is Erik Satie’s *Parade* (1917), mainly because Satie collaborated directly with Picasso in the fall of 1916 when he was composing the music for the piece. But thinking of musical collage as displaying confusion of meaning raises a lot of new problems regarding the issue of musical meaning. The idea that musical collage creates “associative meaning,” as J. Peter Burkholder put it, by giving the listener the illusion that he can grasp the conceptual meaning of the respective musical composition based on the familiarity he has with the songs incorporated in the musical collage, is undermined by the fact that the meaning is supplied by the audience and it is not inscribed in the piece itself.

The birth of photomontage is a key moment in the history of modernist art processes. By using photographs in their collages, artists initiated the arduous process of trying to exert tight control on the way the artworks signify and create precise meaning intended by the artist.¹ The photographs used in photomontages allowed them to connect their artwork to a real person, thing, and situation, and in the passage from heterogeneous to homogeneous photomontage around 1925 under the influence of film montage, we see another re-statement of the experimental nature of the modernist and avant-garde art. Controlling the work’s meaning in photomontages and film montages, by rigorous operations of positioning and arrangement of the materials on the page or on the film reel, is as precise as the experiments run by François Delaunay and František Kupka who were testing the laws of optics in their paintings.

The connections between static and moving images have been studied extensively in recent scholarship, and an impressive bibliography testifies to the interest of scholars in this topic.² However, my argument – with the exception of Alexander Rodchenko’s photomontages – does not concern the comparability of the moving and the static image with regard to their spatio-sensorial features, but, with respect to the semantic level, the key element of Sergei Eisenstein’s and Dziga Vertov’s film montages. I argue that Russian photomontage artists, working alongside these film directors, took the challenge of transposing in their photomontages the same clarity of meaning that characterizes Eisenstein’s intellectual montage. Similar propagandistic purposes are

at the basis of both static and moving montages, but the analysis of László Moholy-Nagy's photomontages (or photoplastics as he called them) proves that rendering clear meaning by means of manipulating static images is not only done for propagandistic purposes, but also in order to be able to "tell a clear story," as Moholy-Nagy put it.

The transformation of heterogeneous into homogeneous photomontage beyond 1925 is ascribed by most art historians to the increased demands of the Russian state propaganda that required new means of mass manipulation and education in the communist spirit. However, as my analyses show, the passage to "factography," – as Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and select critics called the increased propagandistic message and reduced creativity of the Russian art beyond 1925³ – is better understood as a further experiment undertaken by Russian photomontage artists under the influence of film montage, and not as a return to the order and cease of the experiment that the doctrine of Socialist Realism brought at the beginning of the third decade of the past century.

Literary montage, especially as apparent in the novels, has been a term abused by literary scholars who applied it indiscriminately to novels that had some reference to film, such as Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (*Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story of Franz Biberkopf*, 1929) and John Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) or *U.S.A.* trilogy (1930–1936). Similarly, literary scholars of the 1970s and 1980s labeled many novels as musical novels, without performing specific and pertinent analyses to prove such musical characteristics of the texts themselves.⁴ One of the greatest achievements of intermedial theory within the context of literary studies, attributed to Werner Wolf, is the idea that one needs clear contextual and textual evidence to prove the presence of a foreign medium within a (literary) text. In other words, one cannot talk about a filmic novel or a literary montage if the author did not intend to build his novel according to these techniques. Thus, by following the path indicated by Wolf, I minutely delve into the historical data regarding Dos Passos's and Döblin's involvement with cinema, proving that only Dos Passos's novels are built according to filmic procedures, while Döblin's novel has much more in common with the principles of collage, as the manuscript of his novel proves. Literary montage creates the same type of clear meaning apparent in the case of Eisenstein's juxtaposed filmic shots, by replacing the film sequence with the narrative fragment.

The last part of my research, dedicated to musical montage, looks forward toward the music of the early 1950s, when true musical montage emerged in the works of Pierre Schaeffer and Karlheinz Stockhausen. It is characteristic of musical montage to use samples of pre-recorded music subsequently incorporated into new musical pieces. The issue of the clarity of meaning in a musical montage is subverted by the a-conceptual nature of music. However, the pre-recorded fragments, the sounds of trains and locomotives from Pierre Schaeffer's *Étude aux chemins de fer* (1948), or the singing of Bible verses from *Gesang der Jünglinge* (*Song of the Youths*, 1955–1956) by Karlheinz Stockhausen define the meaning of the emerging piece differently, as I will outline in the relevant sections.

In view of this extensive research across the various media of the avant-garde and modernism (mainly Charles Ives and John Dos Passos), it is safe to advance the argument that there is a key distinction between collage and montage in all the arts affected by them in view of their significance and the meaning they create. However, one cannot talk of complete confusion and obfuscation of meaning in all visual collages or

all heterogeneous photomontages (for example, the political reference to Hindenburg and Wilhelm II is quite clear in Hannah Höch's famous photomontage, albeit this is only a part of the photomontage), but the general tendency of these artistic techniques in the documented period is to navigate toward these two types of meaning formation: heterogeneous in collages and homogeneous in photomontages. The pressure of creating clear meaning in homogeneous photomontages does not have only a political underpinning, but also emerged from the artists' endeavors of manipulating the photographic image in order to tell a story, like in László Moholy-Nagy's photomontages.

The term 'heterogeneous,' applied to the understanding of collage and montage, shows up in almost all scholarly texts related to collage/montage, because it captures very well the combination of the most unexpected elements within the picture plane of a collage or a montage. In my argument, I am following a different filiation of this term, related mainly to the history of photomontage and its two stages of evolution that the artists and their contemporaries (Raoul Hausmann, Curt Glaser), as well as art historians (Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Devin Fore, Anne Bénichou) alike, have identified. According to these critics, the early Dada photomontage displays chaotic juxtaposition of disparate elements (i.e., heterogeneity), while later political (agit-prop) and advertising photomontages are characterized by the clarity of meaning (i.e., homogeneity). The opposition heterogeneous–homogeneous relates not only to formal organization, but also to meaning formation, outlining unclear versus clear meaning, respectively.

When I refer to the meaning of artistic, literary, musical, filmic, or photographic works, built (or purported to be built) by means of collage and montage, I understand this meaning to be the interpretation we give to these works.⁵ Intermediality and its various types of transpositions of techniques across media deal with particular types of 'hybrid' meaning formation at the crossings of arts and media. My aim is to describe how "work meaning" is created from the intersections of these different media and techniques. In my approach, I also rely on seminal theories of visual, literary, musical, and cinematic works and refer to them when necessary.

The terms 'techniques' and 'processes' are understood in this book within the context of intermedial categories, and they refer to specific forms that appear in certain arts/media and are then transposed into other arts. Since intermediality studies the transposition of techniques across media, such techniques originating in particular arts came into focus. Examples of such forms are sonata, fugue, or rondo forms in music. Collage is a technique characteristic of avant-garde visual arts. Eisenstein's technique of film montage differs from Vertov's technique of film montage. Techniques are thus artistic procedures employed by artists in all arts/media in their works.

The terms 'medium-specific' and 'non-medium-specific,' as I understand them in this volume, aim to classify the simple or more complex techniques that artists transfer between the arts/media. For example, a French-Romanian novelist who experimented with the transposition of the form of the fugue into his novels (Dumitru Tsepeneag, *Vain Art of the Fugue*)⁶ also tried – being a professional chess player – to transpose the ending of a chess game into a novel, but he confessed to me that he gave up because it was too complicated. Similarly, Paul Klee was engaged with a very complex musical form, the fugue, when he designed probably the first musical graph from the history of music visualization before he painted *Fuge in Rot (Fugue in Red, 1921)*.⁷ Transposing techniques across media is not an easy task the artists set themselves, and it is our duty as critics to theorize their endeavors in order to understand these artistic processes and

more broadly the arts. Unlike the rules of the game of chess or the formal restrictions of the musical form of the fugue, the main techniques discussed in this volume, collage and montage, do not have many formal restrictions; instead, they resemble “figures of thought.”⁸ When Apollinaire transposed the technique of visual collage he had seen in Picasso’s studio into his poems, he found a parallelism in the verbal medium to the idea of conflicting opposites and subverting discursive meaning. The distinction between “trope” and “figure” from traditional rhetorics is also comparable to the distinction I propose to draw between medium-specific and non-medium-specific techniques. Collage and montage resemble “tropes” in that they concern semantics or the metaphor, while “figures” rely on syntactic order, repetitions, like musical fugues do.

Visual collages and photomontages were a preferred technique for the later avant-garde movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and performance acts and happenings seem to have taken the combination of art and reality specific of a visual collage to a new dimension. If the conventional artistic space of the first visual collages allowed within its area a small utilitarian object, such as a packet of cigarettes, pins, or playing cards, in addition to the conventional artistic means of oils and paints, the performance acts transformed reality itself into a conventional medium for art.⁹

Nowadays, the illusionary nature of digital photomontages, also based on the ‘transparent’ nature of the photograph, delights the travelers into the American West, when naive tourists are confronted with the conundrum if an animal such as the jackalope, a combination of a rabbit and an antelope, is real or not (Figure 0.1). Stories of this mythological creature are part of American folklore, but the postcard on sale in the gift shops in South Dakota, with the photomontage showing the rabbit with the horns of the antelope, also contains a verbal story confirming the existence of such a creature, caught in the accompanying photomontage in his natural habitat, on the grass. It is in virtue of the ‘transparent’ nature of the photograph, a key element of my argument, that allows the joke to be effective and possibly even trick the unsuspecting viewer.

Currently, there are many artists who continue to make photomontages, in the understanding that I give to the term, aiming to express their own obsessions, dreams, and fantasies by means of photographs, and thus creating clear meaning, but the term ‘collage’ is being applied to these art works.¹⁰ Even Hannah Höch’s photomontages are sometimes called collages,¹¹ and the artist herself – who witnessed the invention

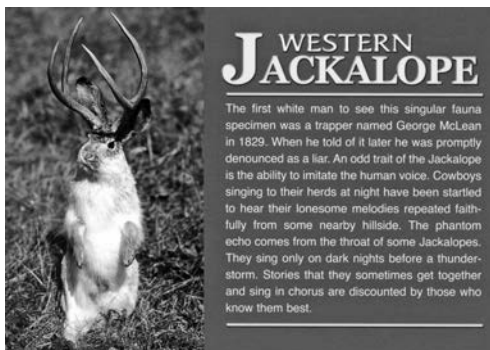


Figure 0.1 The Jackalope postcard, front. Photo: Don Moffet. Curt Teich Postcard Collection, ca. 1992. © John Hinde Curteich Inc.

of photomontage in the works of Raoul Hausmann, her partner at the time, while they were vacationing on the Baltic Sea in 1918 – wrote in 1971 in the catalogue of a retrospective exhibition of her works in Berlin: “The wide range of uses for photographs led to a new form of compressed utterance. Photomontage. This term was later subsumed to ‘collage.’”¹²

However, the types of meaning formation characteristic of collage and montage, as I present them in this volume – from the heterogeneity of the first Cubist collages, to the realization by its practitioners that collaging with photographs yields different aesthetic and semiotic results, to the artists’ decision of controlling this meaning for various purposes (political purposes, advertisements, or simply to tell a clear story like in Moholy-Nagy’s case) – is characteristic only of avant-garde collage and montage. The collages and photomontages preceding Cubist collage have purely pictorial purposes, aiming for iconic representation,¹³ and do not engage with the witty play between illusionary drawing and objects like in Picasso’s collages, or the manifest intent of expressing concepts and discursive meaning by means of photographs, as the later photomontage artists do. I discuss some of these collages and photomontages preceding the avant-garde and their pictorial nature based on iconic representation in the relevant sections.

Collage and montage are pervasive terms in the everyday life of the modern man, but their origins are in the first two decades of the past century, when the creative impetus of the avant-garde artists changed the face of the modern world. It is our duty to understand these transformations and prepare the field for the new artistic endeavors of the future centuries.

In Part I, “Theories of intermediality: form and meaning,” I provide an introduction to the history and theory of interarts studies from antiquity to the present theory of intermediality. I outline how comparative thinking about the arts first emerged within the strict confines of mimetic theory of the arts, as defined by Aristotle in his *Poetics* and *Politics*, and was subsequently changed by medieval and Renaissance scholars, up to the eighteenth century. The quarrel between “the old” and “the new” theories of the arts during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France culminated in the victory of the modernists who toppled the mimetic theory of the arts during the nineteenth century. In this introductory section, I also introduce select formalist theories of the arts, which were the base for the modern theory of intermediality as presented in the works of three main theorists Irina Rajewsky, Werner Wolf, and Lars Elleström. The key terms of the intermedial theory I operate with – intermedial transposition, intermedial reference, media combination, transmediality – are derived from the works of previous generations of scholars, which displayed formalist concerns in their comparative analyses of the arts, such as Oskar Walzel’s influential volume *Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste* (*The Mutual Illumination of the Arts*, 1913). The terms of intermedial theory are useful research tools, which allow for tracing the history and the transformation of collage and montage across avant-garde arts. Intermedial transposition (or *Medienwechsel*) consists of the “reconstruction” of a work of art in another medium. In intermedial reference one medial configuration (e.g., a work of art) points to another medium by direct or indirect means. The reference may be to a single work of art or to a system *qua* system. A core concept of this category is the formal intermedial imitation by structural analogies to a certain technique originating in another medium. Musicalized fictions, musicalized paintings, and other formal techniques transposed between media belong to this class. Dick Higgins’s

theorization of intermedia (1966, 1985) was appended to the theory of intermediality. For Higgins, in intermedia works, such as concrete poems, the two or more media involved are fused and cannot be separated. In mixed media, another class of objects created by Higgins, which includes opera and songs, the media involved, the words, and the music, can be easily separated. Transmediality refers to characteristics/techniques that appear in several media, without originating in any specific medium. It also designates the comparative analysis of the same phenomenon across media. Thus, my comparative analysis of collage and montage displays the transmedial approach.

In the same introductory section, I evaluate the nature of the concepts of intermediality and identify their weak points: their ‘blindness’ to the nature and the characteristics of media, such as spatial versus temporal media, figurative versus nonfigurative, conceptual versus a-conceptual media. I choose to operate with the modalities Lars Elleström proposed when he defined a medium as a complex construct made up of several modalities: material, sensorial, spatio-temporal, and semiotic. The material modality describes “the latent corporeal interface of the medium” exemplified by human bodies or other demarcated and non-demarcated materialities. The sensorial modality refers to the perception of the work through sense qualities: seeing, hearing, feeling, and tasting. The spatio-temporal modality concerns the “structuring of the sensorial perception . . . into experience and conceptions of space and time.” The semiotic modality, according to C. S. Peirce’s semiotics, defines the media product as a symbolic, iconic, or indexical sign.¹⁴

I claim that the semiotic level of the artwork resulting from an intermedial transposition or displaying intermedial reference is highly dependent on the nature of the techniques and contents transferred across media. Thus, I propose to distinguish between medium-specific techniques (i.e., complex structures such as musical fugues, which cannot be easily transposed into another medium) and non-medium-specific techniques (relatively simple structures such as collage and montage, which can be easily replicated in other media). My hypothesis is that if transposed across media, the medium-specific techniques may trigger both active and passive intermedial reference to the originating medium, depending on the nature of the media put in contact, while non-medium-specific techniques trigger just passive intermedial reference to the originating medium, respectively. The passive–active distinction draws on the idea that understanding a work of art employing a non-medium-specific technique transposed from a different medium, such as a musical collage or a verbal one, does not require familiarity with the technique in the originating medium, i.e., the visual collage. On the other hand, a work of art accurately employing a medium-specific technique, such as a musical fugue transposed in Klee’s picture *Fugue in Red* (1921), requires from the part of the viewer familiarity with the originating technique in its source medium to allow for the comprehension of the painting. In other words, one who knows what a musical fugue is will be able to understand the references Klee made to this musical form in his painting called *Fugue in Red*. I further refine the distinction between active–passive intermedial reference in virtue of the nature of media put in contact, such as conceptual ones (language or figurative painting) or a-conceptual (instrumental music), and the affinities they share. The distinction between temporal and spatial media further adds to this theoretical and discriminating model.

In Chapter 3, “A heterogeneous articulation of meaning: avant-garde visual and verbal collage,” I study the earliest collages by Pablo Picasso, outlining the heterogeneity they display, manifested through the fooling not only of spatial vision, but also of

thinking itself, following a famous statement of the artist. If the other early avant-garde artists who used the technique of collage subordinated the collaged pieces to illusionary vision, Max Ernst's *romans-collages* redefined the concept of logical narratives, proving that narratives may still exist in the absence of logical consistency. Verbal collages turn out to be a direct transposition of the technique from the visual medium, like in Apollinaire's and Schwitters's poems, while others, deemed to be collages, such as Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's free-word poster poems belong to the broader avant-garde experiments with nonsense and quasi-nonsensical expression. The collage principle, as it manifested itself in the visual and verbal media, exhibits characteristics of rupture of meaning, which disorient the viewer or reader, making collage a highly heterogeneous art form, as far as both form and meaning are concerned.

In Chapter 4, "The whole shebang!": musical collage and meaning," I evaluate select musical examples that musicologists and music theorists (Zofia Lissa, Catherine Losada, J. Peter Burkholder, among others) have dubbed musical collage. I read these musical pieces and the works of these critics within the context of the current theories of musical meaning, formalist or culturally informed. As a formalist critic myself, I show how the borrowed musical tunes transmit cultural information by analyzing select examples from Charles Ives's compositions: *The Fourth of July* (1920), *Washington's Birthday* (1909), *Symphony No. Four* (1919–1920). I advance the argument that Ives's musical collages are not indebted to the visual model. Instead, I claim that the combination of 'high' and 'low' aesthetics, characteristic of visual collage, which Ives first experimented with in the *Concord Sonata* (1911–1915) – which is not a musical collage – may be the originating source of the first musical collages he composed. Critics have also employed the term 'collage' to refer to Stravinsky's music, with a plethora of significations. First, collage may designate Stravinsky's use of Russian tunes, secondly, it may refer to the "building blocks" that harmonize apparent dissonant sounds, or it may describe the subsequent addition of tunes to a self-sufficient composition. I conclude that only Erik Satie's musical collage from *Parade: ballet réaliste* (1917) is an intermedial transposition of the visual collage into the musical medium, mainly due to the close collaboration between Satie and Picasso during the composition of the piece.

In the last part of the volume, I study the transformation of collage into photomontage and document the montage techniques in film, literature (novels), and music. In Chapter 5, "'Transparent' replacements: visual collage and heterogeneous photomontage," I show how the principles of visual collage were transposed into the medium of photography (formal intermedial transposition). Around 1919, visual artists started to use photographs in their collages to make more or less precise statements with regards to the people represented in the photographs they used. Photomontage as a technique was born when artists noticed and aimed to use the 'transparent' and indexical nature of the photograph included in their photomontages. I rely on the definition of the photograph as a 'transparent' sign currently in use and theorized by analytical philosophers such as Kendal Walton (1984), Gregory Currie (1999), Mikael Pettersson (2011), and Dan Cavedon-Taylor (2015). I also offer a broader context of the current scholarship on photography, especially culturally informed approaches, which use the photograph as a document able to investigate various aspects of the political and cultural life, such as race and gender. I highlight that in its first heterogeneous phase, photomontage is very similar to visual collages.

In Chapter 6, "Intermedial models: film montage and homogeneous photomontage," I read Sergei Eisenstein's intellectual photomontage as an example of "semiotic

intermodality,” a new category I propose to add to the theory of intermediality, and explain how clear meaning emerges from his manipulation of the moving image. I highlight the static and pictorial nature of Dziga Vertov’s film montages (implicit intermedial reference to pictures/photomontages).

I demonstrate how photomontage artists who also experimented with film started working with homogeneous photomontage directly (developed mainly beyond 1925), by skipping or compressing the heterogeneous phase (Moholy-Nagy and John Heartfield), because they aimed to transpose the clear articulation of meaning characteristic of the moving image into the static medium of photomontage. I contradict the claims of most art critics who supported the argument that Russian photomontage beyond 1925 displayed less artistic characteristics, and defined it as illustrating the principles of “factography” (Benjamin Buchloh, Devin Fore). Instead, I show that Russian photomontage artists such as Gustav Klutis, Rodchenko, and El Lissitzky continued to experiment with the application of film techniques into their photomontages beyond 1925. I read Moholy-Nagy’s photoplastics as a prime example of homogeneous photomontage, shaped under the influence of his experiments contained in his influential volume *Painting Photography Film* (1925) and his film script *Dynamic of the Metropolis*, which displays incipient principles of intellectual montage. Similarly, John Heartfield first experimented with the juxtaposition and fusion of concepts in his early propagandistic movies, a technique he later employed in his political photomontage.

In Chapter 7, “Chasing the ‘greased pig’ of meaning: musical and literary montage,” I comparatively analyze literary and musical montage, and highlight the fact that the nature of media, conceptual versus a-conceptual, determines the nature of the meaning generated. Although literary critics read both Alfred Döblin’s *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story of Franz Biberkopf* (1929) and John Dos Passos’s *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) as verbal montages, I prove that only Dos Passos’s *Manhattan Transfer* was influenced by D. W. Griffith’s parallel montage, while *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is constructed as a collage novel. By closely evaluating the manuscripts of the novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* and Döblin’s articles written in connection to *Der Sturm* exhibition he saw in Berlin in 1920 – which featured many of Schwitters’s collages – it becomes apparent that the collage principle played an important part in shaping Döblin’s literary aesthetics. I argue that in order to be read as a montage novel, a fictional text must exhibit both explicit intermedial reference to the film medium and generate clear meaning through operations of cutting and juxtaposition. These requirements are satisfied by Dos Passos’s *U.S.A.* trilogy (1930–1936), through the alternation of narrative modes, some pointing directly to cinema, such as “Newsreel” and “Camera Eye.” In addition to the intellectual montage identified by literary critics in *U.S.A.* trilogy (Pizer 1988, 2013; David Seed 2009; Michael North 2005; Carol Shloss 1987; Lisa Nannay 1998), I show that the Newsreel section may imitate Eisenstein’s rhythmic montage, a variation of metric montage.

Recently recovered avant-garde musical recordings of Paul Hindemith’s and Ernst Toch’s, included in their *Grammophonmusik* experiments from 1930, are partially related to the techniques used in film montage, since they involve the pre-recording of different instruments belonging to a musical composition, subsequently played simultaneously and assembled into the full work. However, such procedures were stalled by the lack of recording techniques, which really emerged with the invention of magnetic tape. The first true musical montages, Pierre Schaeffer’s *Étude aux chemins de fer* (1948) and later Karlheinz Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955–1956) employ

pre-recorded sounds and songs, respectively, embedded into an emerging musical composition generated mostly by electronic means. If instrumental (and also electronic) sounds alone do not allow for the fixation of clear meaning, given the a-conceptual nature of instrumental music, sampling techniques of words allows for the expression of clear meaning like in Stockhausen's religious piece.

I close by reviewing my contribution to the development of the theory of intermediality based on this case study, and emphasize the important distinction that has to be drawn between medium-specific and non-medium-specific techniques, as well as the spatio-sensorial and semiotic properties of media involved in such intermedial transpositions. The early avant-garde and modernism emerge as a period characterized by an intensive activity of interarts transfers across traditional media, as well as new media (photography and cinema). I conclude that meaning is differently articulated by distinct media (e.g., film montage versus photomontage) and reiterate that the way different media articulate meaning affects the diverse techniques they generate. This tri-partite distinction should be a prime aspect to be taken into account when evaluating the transposition of techniques across media. I propose the following triad of parameters to be evaluated by the scholar of intermediality/interarts studies: (1) the nature of the media (temporal versus spatial), (2) the type of technique involved in the transfer between media (medium-specific versus non-medium-specific techniques), and (3) the type of meaning articulated by that specific technique (discursive versus non-discursive media, such as conceptual language versus a-conceptual music).

As an avid reader of Wittgenstein's philosophy – who repeatedly claimed that one should try to solve aesthetic and philosophical problems – I would like to think that I have solved the problem concerning the distinction between avant-garde and modernist collage and montage successfully. According to my schema, it is now possible to distinguish between these two terms in view of the type of meaning they create, heterogeneous or homogeneous, with all the indicated parameters and coordinates for each art/medium. When intentionally transposed across media by artists, these techniques raised similar or different artistic problems to those posed in the originating medium, based on the comparability of the media (two temporal media are in agreement such as film and fiction, a spatial or a temporal one are in disagreement, a conceptual and an a-conceptual one are opposed). The relatively easy application and transfer of these two techniques across media rely on their non-medium specificity, or what I called their 'trope-behavior.' This feature challenges the nature and the materials of the target medium, as well as its ability to replicate/duplicate such paradoxical operations of meaning formation, subversion, and displacement, characteristic of both techniques, yet differently employed.

This study highlights that formal experiments are at the core of avant-garde artistic practices and thus disposes with the idea promoted by Peter Bürger in his influential study *Theory of the Avant-Garde* that avant-garde art destroys the artwork. Instead, complex formal experiments concerning meaning and meaning formation by means of hybrid media are at play in the creation of the avant-garde artwork, justifying thus the approach of these two techniques as a testing ground for formalist theories of arts in all media (fine arts, music, and literature), the next book project I am currently engaged in.

The other issue to whose solving I hope to have contributed, in addition to the development of the intermedial theory, is the idea that art history and aesthetics or analytic philosophy are not and should not be divorced. Understanding the artistic

processes artists employ may be achieved only at a theoretical level, and if the minute and extensive analyses of art historians are imbued with the theoretical spirit of the arguments advanced by analytical philosophers working on aesthetics problems, our understanding of the arts will be much advanced.

Notes

- 1 I do not intend to refer here to the ongoing intentionalist/institutionalist debate of analytical philosophers regarding the interpretation of the work's meaning. Instead, I am concerned with the way avant-garde visual artists used and engaged with the materials of their art or of foreign media in experimental ways – the true characteristic of most avant-garde art – and the manner in which they were able to ‘control’ the work's emergent meaning, given the hybrid nature of the materials they operated with, such as photographs, playing cards, dice, sand, etc., all the paraphernalia of the visual collage. For a defense of intentionalism (i.e., the meaning of a work is the one intended by the artist) see Paisley Livingston, *Art and Intention: A Philosophical Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); for institutionalist theories (the meaning of a work is given by the interpreters/critics) see George Dickie, *Art and the Aesthetic. An Institutional Analysis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974) and Jerrold Levinson, “Defining Art Historically,” in *Music, Art and Metaphysics: Essays in Philosophical Aesthetics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 3–25.
- 2 See Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon, eds., *Between Still and Moving Images* (New Barnet, Herts: John Libbey Publishing Ltd., 2012); David Green and Joanna Lowry, eds., *Stillness and Time: Photography and the Moving Image* (Brighton: Photoworks and Photoforum, 2006); David Campany, *Photography and Cinema* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008); Karen Beckman and Jean Ma, eds., *Still Moving: Between Cinema and Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); François Albera, Marta Braun, and André Gaudreault, eds., *Arrêt sur image, fragmentation du temps/Stop Motion, Fragmentation of Time* (Lausanne: Editions Payot Lausanne), 2002; Alexander Streitberger, “The Still and the Moving Image,” in *The Routledge Companion to Photography and Visual Culture*, ed. Moritz Neumüller (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 221–28.
- 3 Buchloh, “From Faktura to Factography,” *October* 30 (Autumn 1984): 82–119.
- 4 Such as William Freedman, *Laurence Sterne and the Origins of the Musical Novel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978) or some chapters of Alex Aronson, *Music and the Novel: A Study in Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1980).
- 5 On the topic of interpretation see Robert Stecker, “Interpretation,” in *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, ed. Berys Gaut and Dominic McIver Lopes, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 309–19.
- 6 See Magda Dragu, “Vain Art of the Fugue by Dumitru Tsepeneag: A Subversive Musicalized Fiction,” *Music and Society in Eastern Europe* 8 (2013): 71–83.
- 7 See Magda Dragu, “Avant-Garde Musicalized Pictures: Klee's *Fugue in Red* (1921) and Kandinsky's *Small Worlds* (1922) – The Intermedial Perspective,” in *Adaptation and Convergence of Media: 'High' Culture Intermediality versus Popular Culture Intermediality*, ed. Lily Díaz, Magda Dragu, and Leena Eilittä (Aalto: Aalto ARTS Books, 2019), 124–46.
- 8 See Martianus Capella: “The difference between a figure of thought and a figure of speech is that the figure of thought remains even if the order of the words is changed, whereas a figure of speech cannot remain if the word order is changed, although it can often happen that a figure of thought is in conjunction with a figure of speech.” *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts: The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, ed. William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E. L. Burge, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 199.
- 9 See, for example, James M. Harding, *Cutting Performances: Collage Events, Feminist Artists, and the American Avant-Garde* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).
- 10 See Dennis Busch, Hendrik Hellige, and Robert Klanten, eds., *The Age of Collage: Contemporary Collage in Modern Art* (Berlin: Gestalten, 2013). The artists' declarations regarding their uses of collage (i.e., photomontages in my definition) vary from topics such as American politics, feminist themes, and explorations of life and death.

- 11 See the exhibition catalogue of a recent Hannah Höch retrospective at the Whitechapel Gallery: Whitechapel Gallery, *Hannah Höch* (Munich: Prestel, 2014), with articles by Daniel F. Herrmann, Dawn Ades *et al.*, making a case for the application of the term collage to Höch's photomontage. I return to the issue in Chapter 6, endnote 91.
- 12 Herta Elisabeth Killy and Barbara Volkmann, eds., *Hannah Höch: Collagen aus den Jahren 1916–1971* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1971), 18–19. Texts by Hannah Höch and Eberhard Roters.
- 13 For good reproductions and analyses of Victorian photocollages, made by the ladies from the English high society, see Elizabeth Siegel, ed., *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2009). Marjorie Perloff also draws the distinction between avant-garde collage and collage pre-1912 with regards to the semiotic capacities of the former and the purely pictorial purposes of the latter. See Perloff, "The Invention of Collage," in *Collage*, ed. Jeanine Parisier Plottel, New York Literary Forum 10–11 (1983): 5–47. However, Perloff uses the terms 'collage' and 'photomontage' interchangeably and bases many of her analyses on the photomontage her daughters made for their father on his birthday, and employs that as an exemplary collage in her analysis.
- 14 Lars Elleström, "The Modalities of Media: A Model for Understanding Intermedial Relations," in *Media Borders, Multimodality, and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (London: Palgrave, 2010), 17–24.



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Part I

Theories of intermediality: form and meaning



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1 The history

Comparative arts, interarts studies, and intermediality

The theory of intermediality I operate with in this volume is restricted to a research tradition continuing formalist analyses of the arts, which began at the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth-century mainly in the works of Heinrich Wölfflin¹ in the fine arts, and of Eduard Hanslick² in music. The theoretical apparatus of intermediality I use, shaped in the works of Werner Wolf³ and Irina Rajewsky,⁴ draws on the interarts theories of a previous generation of scholars active in the musico-literary field (Steven Paul Scher⁵) or the visual-literary one (Ulrich Weisstein⁶), whose arguments point back to the formalist theories of Hanslick and Wölfflin.

Currently, the theory of intermediality applied in this book consists of a delimited number of theoretical phenomena derived from concrete analyses of literary works in their relations with other media, mostly musical or visual media. Thus, my understanding of intermediality does not relate to media and film intermediality, as defined by scholars working in film and media studies departments.⁷

The concept of intermediality that I use and further develop has more in common with aesthetics as a branch of philosophy, and derives from certain aesthetical writings, which observed and discussed the concrete manifestation and behavior of arts/media.

The formalisms of Hanslick and Wölfflin dealt a deadly blow to the content-oriented and expressionist theories of music and the visual arts, respectively, putting an end to a tradition of emotional responses to the arts, at least in the thought tradition that I follow.

Hanslick's influential and no less controversial *On the Musically Beautiful* (*Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*) indicated with clarity that instrumental music does not contain and does not raise emotions, or at least not real cause-related emotions, and that music consists of “tonally moving forms” [“tönend bewegten Formen”].⁸ Hanslick distinguished between emotions, which are rationally caused, and sensations, which are fleeting and pertain to the senses. Music does not trigger emotions, but it is defined by the perception of sound through the senses, argued Hanslick.⁹ Hanslick's distinction between feeling and sensations echoes in Nick Zangwill's formalist approach to the issue, who claimed that music may trigger in the listener moods, which lack “an intentional object” and are “contentless emotions.”¹⁰ Hanslick's insight regarding the a-causal nature of the sensations triggered by music is also confirmed by recent research on music and emotions. The editors of *Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications* pointed out that “affect” would be a more appropriate term

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to describe the emotional response to music, which does not resemble at all the nature of everyday emotions, as Nico Frijda further emphasized in the “Foreword” to the volume.¹¹ Furthermore, because instrumental music does not operate with concepts, music cannot tell a story, describe feelings, or anything outside itself. Instead, it develops melody and harmony in a rhythmic fashion, claimed Hanslick. The pleasure of the music listener, according to Hanslick, is to follow the rapid changes of the musical tones, which may be slow, strong, weak, rising, falling.¹² The idea that music contains or raises emotions in the listener had been the stock interpretation of music aesthetics since the eighteenth century when the discussion on the nature of the arts was kindled by the philosophical developments of the time.

One cannot really think of the eighteenth-century debate regarding musical expression and mimesis in England without John Locke’s *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* of 1690, a first statement of empiricist philosophies, concerned with the way sensations, feelings, and ideas are formed in the human mind and conscience, shaping our knowledge of the external world, of ourselves, and of our senses.¹³

Almost half a century after the publication of Locke’s volume, the polemic on the nature of artistic perception has taken the world of the London intelligentsia by storm. Hildebrand Jacob’s hugely influential but small treatise *Of the Sister Arts* (1734)¹⁴ opened up the discussion on modern aesthetic theories in England. The bold ideas expressed in this book kindled the debate on the mimetic theory of the arts, the only theory of the arts available at the time. Not only did Jacob notice that some arts can be forged while others not,¹⁵ an insight that lies at the basis of Nelson Goodman’s distinction between autographic and allographic works of art,¹⁶ but Jacob also pointed out that music does not have concepts.¹⁷ Ideas such as these raised a conundrum for the thinkers of the time operating with the mimetic ideal of the arts. If all literature and music obviously imitate something that exists in real life, what does music imitate?

In order to accommodate Jacob’s inconvenient thoughts about music within the context of mimetic theory, in his book published ten years later, James Harris reorganized the theory of mimesis as Aristotle proposed it, to prove that music imitates through “natural media or mere sounds” (i.e., a-conceptual means), these being the sounds found in nature.¹⁸ In the first part of the second treatise of his book, the one dedicated to the mimetic theory of the arts, Harris first compared all the arts from the point of view of their ability to imitate sounds and natural media devoid of concepts, providing hierarchies among the arts from this point of view. In the second part of the same treatise, he dealt with imitations by “word significant” or conceptual imitations. In addition to imitating sounds of nature, music can imitate sounds that have meaning, or “sounds significant” as Harris named them, which are sounds expressive of emotions, such as grief, happiness, sorrow. However, these “sounds significant” cannot express concepts.¹⁹

Jacob’s and Harris’s volumes immediately echoed in the small society of the London thinkers about the arts and volumes supporting the expressive nature of music within the context of mimetic theory continued to gather, almost immediately in the work of Charles Avison, who built on the observations of both Jacob and Harris in his theory regarding the nature of musical expression published in 1752–1753.²⁰ Writings endorsing the idea that music imitates and expresses emotions were published throughout the rest of the eighteenth-century England.²¹

The eighteenth-century discussion on music, mimesis, and emotion in England comes within the context of a vogue of the writings on emotions, which really peaked in England during the previous century, as Claude V. Palisca pointed out.²² Thus, it was convenient for the writers on mimesis in the arts to frame musical mimesis as expressive of feelings, since the topic of emotions was very popular in the London society at the time, rather than open up new ways of approaching musical meaning outside the Aristotelian model. It took another century and further developments in the sciences, especially physiology of sound perception through the works of Hermann von Helmholtz,²³ to pave the way for Hanslick's bold claims he made at the end of the nineteenth century.

Harris's book and the subsequent tradition of writing on the arts reek mimetic theory in an Aristotelian way. Harris's understanding of the expressive content of music, as being able to raise emotions in the listener, is not very remote from the current discourse of the Cultural Musicologists or New Musicology. According to the representatives of this recent trend in musicology, instrumental music does not only raise emotions but can tell stories, and provide descriptions. However, eighteenth-century thinkers were working within the strict confines of a rudimentary aesthetic theory, or Aristotelian mimesis, without having access to the subsequent developments of science and philosophy.

Aristotle's mimetic theory of the arts, also named representational theory,²⁴ which developed from Plato's previous theorizations,²⁵ has at its core the emotional impact representations have on the spectator. It is the essence of tragedy, the only type of mimesis fully discussed by Aristotle in his *Poetics*, to cause fear and pity when the actions on stage display recognition [ἀναγνώρισις] and reversal of situations [περιπέτεια]. Aristotle's text is very precise about the moment when mimesis is achieved: "But the kind most integral to the plot and action is the one described: *such a joint recognition and reversal will yield either pity of fear, just the type of actions of which tragedy is taken to be a mimesis* [emphasis mine]."²⁶ The most famous example of such a sudden change of events is the recognition of Oedipus that he killed his father and married his mother, followed by the reversal of status, from being the king of Thebes to the most despised of its citizens in Sophocles's play *Oedipus King*. The strong surprise the audience experienced within these key moments of the representation was for Aristotle the essence of mimesis. Although at the very beginning of his treatise, Aristotle indicated that all arts achieve mimesis by different means, such as color and shapes (painting), rhythm, language, and melody (music and poetry),²⁷ the text of *Poetics* gave a detailed account only of literary mimesis, as manifest in tragedy.

Aristotle discussed the effects of music in Book Eight and last of his *Politics* from the point of view of its educational component, leading to amusement and relaxation, and emphasized its strong impact on the soul. He wrote: "So it is clear from this that music has the power to produce a certain quality in the character of the souls" [ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων φανερόν ὅτι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθος ἢ μουσικὴ παρασκευάζειν].²⁸ "δύναται ποιόν," translated as "a certain quality" is more accurately translated as "create a strong impact." The rest of the passage goes on to emphasize the force of music, called "motion" [τῆς κινήσεως] in one instance.²⁹ Music is described as having power, motion, strength, while emotions such as religious ecstasy, may appear in people who are more likely to feel the ecstasy, and not in everyone, claimed Aristotle in the same passage.³⁰ Although only just sketched here, my argument is that Aristotle is not

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writing that music triggers emotions, but on the contrary, he describes the medium of music as having a forceful impact on the senses. This interpretation is also considered in view of the preference of medieval authors for “sensus” versus “affectio” when describing the effects of music.³¹ However, in the last lines of the book, the word παθητικός (subject to feeling, capable of feeling) is used, to describe two musical modes, the Dorian and the Phrygian, and not music in general: “for both [modes] have to do with religious ecstasy and emotions” [ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικά καὶ παθητικά].³² Aristotle repeatedly used the word παθητικά in his *De generatione et corruptione* (*Coming-to-Be and Passing Away*) in tandem with the verb *poiein* (to create, active) with the meaning of “passive.”³³ Thus, it is correct to argue Aristotle’s reception of the music is defined in terms of passivity in front of the musical force, rather than feeling in the modern acceptance of the term.

Furthermore, in Book Eight of his *Politics*, Aristotle discusses music as a means of educating the people, for entertainment and relaxation purposes, and not with regard to its mimetic potential. Instead, eighteenth-century thinkers who wrote about the emotional component of musical mimesis extrapolated Aristotle’s theory of literary mimesis to musical mimesis. Aristotle did not write extensively about musical mimesis, with the exception of the brief reference at the beginning of *Poetics*, regarding its means, melody, and rhythm. For eighteenth-century writers on the topic, the power of literary mimesis did not reside in its emotional impact on the reader/audience, like it was for Aristotle through the key terms ‘pity’ and ‘fear.’ Instead they evaluated literary mimesis from the point of view of its potential of expressing ideas, complex thoughts, and reflect events. Aristotle also mentioned these aspects, but they were not the climax of the mimesis, they were just the composing elements that prepared and facilitated it, taking the audience toward the epiphanic moment of the mimesis (recognition and reversal). The adaptation of the Aristotelian model of literary mimesis to eighteenth-century aesthetics should be attributed to the development of new modern literary genres, much remote from the essence of ancient Greek tragedy.

The great debate between the moderns and the classics took many forms during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. In the early eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau put forth the idea that music imitates language,³⁴ which is no less flawed, but which has continued to find supporters even during the twentieth century.³⁵ If it were a language, purely instrumental music could easily express specific concepts. During the eighteenth century, Rousseau and Jean-Philippe Rameau debated whether the essence of music lies in melody or harmony, the former supporting the expressive potential of melody³⁶ and the latter the technicalities and the complexities of the musical modulations.³⁷

Making comparisons and establishing hierarchies between the arts from the point of view of their mimetic potential were prevalent in the texts of the eighteenth-century writers on the arts, and probably the most famous was Lessing’s dictum that poetry has duration, while painting consists of just a single moment.³⁸ However, this was not his original observation, as similar comments on the static versus temporal nature of the arts circulated intensely in the writings of the other thinkers of the arts. For example, Harris distinguished in his treatise between “successive arts” (such as a tune and a dance) and “co-existent arts” (statues whose arms, body, and head “subsist together in one individual instant,”) and further classified them as “energies” versus “works,”

respectively. Harris implicitly commented on the performative aspect of the energies, when he stated that they “exist with the creator” (i.e., the performer).³⁹

Eighteenth-century authors were writing under the theoretical constraints of mimesis, more powerful than a religious dogma, and the only area that disobeyed the mimetic principle was the ornament. Thus, it is not surprising that Hildebrand Jacob was the first who mentioned that the ornament is not mimetic in his small study.⁴⁰ Later, Hanslick compared the perception of music with the perception of the ornament. When we perceive music it is as if we perceive an architectural ornament, claimed Hanslick.⁴¹ And lastly, Alois Riegl, a key figure of nineteenth-century formalism, investigated the patterns of the ancient and early medieval ornament.⁴² The history of the ornament,⁴³ alongside experimental visions in anamorphosis and other types of ‘underground’ visual experiments, represent the visual arts not affected by mimesis.⁴⁴

Aristotle’s mimetic ideal had not been the dominant theoretical model of thinking about the arts in the middle ages. Plato’s mathematical model of music, as represented in the music of the spheres, was the prime theoretical system used during the early middle ages. The switch toward Aristotle’s model of music took place around 1300 with the advent of *Musica Nova*, which consisted of a new way of dividing the musical interval. Jason Stoessel, and Constant J. Mews with Carol J. Williams, have recently described the gradual departure from the Platonic model of the music of the spheres to an Aristotelian humanistic understanding of music in the early middle ages.⁴⁵ According to Claude V. Palisca, writings on music and emotion really came into fashion during the sixteenth century and continued through the Baroque period. This process was triggered by the revival of classical rhetorical theory, argued Palisca⁴⁶ and others. Within the context of the Reformation and Neo-Reformation, writers appealed to the potential of music and its expressive power through emotions to convince the audience of religious tenets. Thus, reviving the emotional component of music under the pressure of the aesthetic model of mimesis during the eighteenth century has a precedence in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries society, when the Aristotelian idea that music triggers and contains emotions was revived for different rhetorical purposes.

Contemporary scholars writing on eighteenth-century aesthetics talk about a gradual freeing of the music from the power of the words during the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ On the contrary, I do not think there is a freeing of instrumental music from the power of the word, because medieval musical treatises probed into the nature of musical sound divorced from words, and musical fugues, completely instrumental, were a highly regarded compositional form during the middle ages and the Renaissance. Furthermore, the emotional interpretation of music is mainly a sixteenth-seventeenth century development, seen as a revival of the Aristotelian music, as Palisca demonstrated.

The mimetic ideal of the arts was gradually forsaken during the eighteenth century and replaced with the Romantic ideal of art as expression. The title of M. H. Abram’s book, *The Mirror and the Lamp*,⁴⁸ captures the essence of the switch from the reflective mimesis to the expressive ideal of the Romantics. John Neubauer subsequently documented with plenty of examples the *Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics*, as the subtitle of his influential volume indicates.⁴⁹ Music seen as expressive of emotions served well to support both these aesthetic ideals – the mimesis redesigned

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by eighteenth-century thinkers and the Romantic ideals – but scientific research into the nature of music picked up only during the second part of the nineteenth century.

Wölfflin's formalism as applied to the fine arts distinguished between Renaissance and Baroque art based on the structural elements of paintings. Thus, if Renaissance paintings displayed qualities such as the linear, plane, closed form, multiplicity, and clearness, Baroque art displayed features such as painterly, recession, open form, unity, and unclearness.⁵⁰ These terms immediately interested one of the pioneers of the current discourse of interarts studies, Oskar Walzel, the author of the influential book *Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste* (*Mutual Illumination of the Arts*, 1913),⁵¹ who transferred them to the literary field. First, Walzel applied Wölfflin's pairs of terms to justify why Shakespeare is a Baroque writer and not a Renaissance one.⁵² However, it was the most abstract of the pairs of terms that interested Walzel, who emphasized the openness of Shakespeare's plays as opposed to the genuine Renaissance playwrights, such as Pierre Corneille and Molière, whose plays displayed closed form. In *Wechselseitige*, Walzel farther expanded the application of Wölfflin's terms to lyric poetry of the seventeenth century, while in the later volume *Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerks des Dichters*,⁵³ he continued to develop a formalist theory of literature and the arts, by taking over theories from the *Gestalt* psychology this time. However, Wölfflin's pairs of terms derived from the extensive number of visual artworks he surveyed, and the reader of his volume can easily recognize them in the reproductions of Renaissance and Baroque artworks Wölfflin included in his book. Instead, Walzel retroactively applied Wölfflin's terms to the literary field, without performing an analysis on the literary corpus. Literary formalism is not visual formalism transposed to the literary field.

With Walzel and other early to mid-twentieth-century writers about the arts, the discourse on comparative arts switched to a *Geistesgeschichte* (spirit of the age), no less remote from an objective analysis of the arts, because this approach apriorically stated that all the arts belonging to the same historical period share the same artistic traits. This is the period of the large volumes dedicated to specific artistic currents studied, and their literature, art, and music, which according to these authors share similar principles across all the arts (see Wylie Sypher⁵⁴ and Mario Praz⁵⁵). Closely related to this approach, writers from the 1950s through 1970s described the historical periods and the characteristics displayed by each art, such as Thomas Munro's⁵⁶ and H. James Jensen's⁵⁷ studies.

The next period in the history of intermediality within a literary context belongs to writers such as Calvin S. Brown, Ulrich Weisstein, as well as Steven Paul Scher, active from the 1950s to the early 1990s, who engaged in minute analyses and classifications of the works of art and their interaction and influences. This period largely corresponds to the interarts studies period. Instead of defining large historical periods in terms of their similar aesthetics, and retroactively imposing terms from one art to the other like Walzel did, these authors analyzed specific artworks and classified the types of interactions they observed in the works from different media, keeping literature as the main term for comparison. This empirical shift of the interarts discourse toward analysis and observation was a breakthrough of the formalist analyses of the arts, which ultimately led to the current theory of intermediality as discussed by select critics. Finally, this specific field of interarts studies was renamed intermediality around the early 2000s with Irina Rajewsky's and Werner Wolf's volumes on various aspects

of intermedia phenomena, synthesizing its main theoretical terms and building on the work of previous scholars, as discussed below. The change in naming the field was also triggered by the popularity of the term within media studies and their accompanying publications.

Word and image versus word and music

Within the formalist theoretical trend I follow, there has been a clear separation between the study of literature and the visual arts on the one hand, and of literature and music on the other since the early 1950s. In the 1970s and 1980s, Weisstein was the major voice in the US and Germany theorizing the former area of inquiry, while Scher continued Calvin S. Brown's work, begun in the late 1940s, of developing the latter. These critics worked within the paradigm of New Criticism and started from the concrete analysis of works that drew on several arts in their creation. Weisstein cataloged the connections between text and image without efforts of systematization and generalization, while Brown and Scher synthesized the intellectual processes at play in the interarts phenomena they encountered.

In 1982, Scher coined the terms "word music" and "verbal music" by building on Brown's previous theorizations from his book *Tones into Words* (1953). Among the possible types of interactions he identified between music and literature, Brown had pointed to two types of interaction: "poetry trying to imitate music by various elements of poetic art to create the effects of similar elements in music" [emphasis mine] and "poetry, without having a musical accompaniment or seeking to reproduce the sound effects of music, may take music as its subject and proceed to describe, analyze, or interpret it by means of words" [emphasis mine].⁵⁸ In view of Brown's distinctions, Scher defined "word music" as "the imitation in words of the acoustic quality of music," achieved mainly through onomatopoeic devices or other devices of repetition (e.g., alliteration) to suggest musical effects, such as rhythm, stress, pitch, and timbre (tone color), and "verbal music" as "any literary presentation (whether in poetry or prose) of existing or fictitious musical compositions: any poetic texture that has a piece of music as its 'theme.'"⁵⁹ Verbal music also included "the characterization of a musical performance," which offered a "subjective response to music."⁶⁰

Scher created a third class, which referred to the "borrowing/adaptation of larger musical structures" by literature, such as the application of the fugue or sonata form to literary fictions, and noticed that the process relied on an "interart transfer."⁶¹ He divided the possible interactions between word and music into three large classes: "music in literature" (word music, verbal music, and the borrowing/adaptation of larger musical structures), "literature in music" (program music), and "music and literature" (the combination of the two media in the opera, the lied, the oratorio).⁶²

In 1984, Brown reshaped his previous theoretical observations in view of Scher's terms and distinguished between four main areas of interactions in the field of word and music studies: "Combination" [*Kombination*], "Replacement" [*Ersetzen*], "Influence" [*Einfluss*], and "Parallel or Analogy" [*Parallele oder Analogie*], aiming thus at a synthesis between the theoretical terms used in the field of music and literature (Combination and Replacement) and literature and the visual arts (Influence, Parallel, and Analogy), as they had been theorized by Weisstein.⁶³ Brown's intention of having a single pair of terms applicable to the comparative study of both literature

and music, and literature and the visual arts, is very perceptive and pioneering, but this will be achieved only within the context of the theory of intermediality beyond 2000.

Wolf shaped his theory of intermediality in close connection to the concept of the musicalization of fiction he theorized in his book *The Musicalization of Fiction: A Study in the Theory and History of Intermediality* (1999).⁶⁴ Wolf based his theory on Scher's terms ("word music," "verbal music," "borrowing/adaptation of musical structures," "music in literature," "literature in music," and "literature and music"), but reorganized them according to different principles, in an effort at constructing a rigid systematic schema. "Literature in music" (program music) and "music in literature" (novels shaped as musical fugues or sonatas) illustrated the category of "covert intermediality" (the signifiers of the dominant medium are present; the signified of the nondominant medium may be present in certain cases); "music and literature" became "overt intermediality" (the signifiers of both media are present).⁶⁵

For Wolf, covert intermediality was both a process and a state: "in covert or indirect musico-literary intermediality ... music as a non-dominant medium is *transformed into* or *appears in* literature."⁶⁶ Wolf admitted that covert intermediality was the result of a process of transposition, but did not consider that such a genetic process had any repercussions on the final reference.⁶⁷

Wolf distinguished between "general intermedial reference" in which "music ... may be referred to in a general way" and "specific, quasi-intertextual reference" in which reference is made to "specific existing or 'imagined' works of music ... or to particular musical genres."⁶⁸ He further classified intermedial reference into "explicit thematization" – which does not require the presence of the musical signifieds within the literary text – and "implicit imitation" – when the signifieds of the secondary medium (music) are present in the literary text. In this case, one has the illusion that one is listening to music while reading the literary text; this is achieved by various means: either music may be described, or larger structural analogies are achieved.

In an essay published in 2002, "Intermediality Revisited," Wolf revised the categories of his theory of intermediality and distinguished between two forms: intracompositional intermediality (which manifests itself within the limits of a single medium) and extracompositional intermediality (which implies the transgression of media borders).⁶⁹ Irina Rajewsky had previously referred to issues concerning the crossing of media borders and their impact on intermedial categories in her book *Intermedialität* (2002), and in this article Wolf reacted to Rajewsky's previous distinctions. Wolf further classified extracompositional intermediality into two sub-classes: transmediality and intermedial transposition. Transmediality refers to "ahistorical formal devices, including elements which occur in more than one medium, such as motivic repetition, thematic variation, or to a certain extent even narrativity."⁷⁰ Transmediality may affect both the "formal and content level of several media in given periods, such as the pathetic expressivity characteristic of eighteenth-century sensibility," or it may manifest itself only at the level of content when it reflects "conflicts between generations and genders ... which can be observed in verbal texts, the visual arts, film, the opera."⁷¹ Intermedial transposition may be content-oriented, referring to the adaptation of films into novels or plays into operas, or form-oriented, including the transposition of "formal devices" such as the transposition of a narrator from prose to film or drama.⁷²

Under "intracompositional intermediality" Wolf grouped both overt and covert intermediality. "Overt intermediality" ("music and literature") became "plurimediality,"

and covert intermediality (“music in literature” and “literature in music”), “intermedial reference.”⁷³ Intermedial reference may be explicit (thematization; previously called “explicit thematization”) or implicit (intermedial imitation, previously called “implicit imitation”). At this point, Wolf also reviewed his position regarding the nature of the intermedial reference and claimed, following Rajewsky’s proposal, that intermedial reference is the result of an intermedial transposition. Still, Wolf made certain distinctions between two types of intermedial transpositions, a form-oriented (partial) transposition, which results in intermedial reference, and a content-oriented (total) transposition, which he labeled “imitation.” His argument is that in intermedial transposition emphasis lies on the meaning, the signifieds of the work transposed into a different medium (i.e., the main outline of a story is transposed across media), while in intermedial reference, which is also the result of an intermedial transposition, the artist making the transposition is interested in rendering “the nature and structure of the signifiers of the source work or medium,” and their preservation is the main concern of the artist engaged in the respective intermedial reference, claimed Wolf.⁷⁴ For example, a film director who transposes a short story into a movie is less interested in preserving the literary form of the story, while an intermedial reference within a movie to a picture will emphasize the form of the picture, such as the *tableaux vivants* included in movies.⁷⁵

Although literature and the visual arts have been viewed as the sister arts ever since the emergence of the ideal of the *ut pictura poesis* [“a poem is like a picture”] in Latin antiquity,⁷⁶ twentieth-century writings on poetry and the visual images have not contributed to the theoretical discourse of intermediality presented in this book. This happened because the majority of the studies dedicated to various aspects engaging the verbal and literary fields laid emphasis on the representational content of both images and words (prose, poems) put in contact, ignoring broader issues of artistic processes and generalizations.⁷⁷ This is particularly true of adaptation studies, one of the earliest fields of word-image connections, based mostly on the analysis of literary works across media.⁷⁸

Currently, the connections between word and image can be understood and described with the help of the terminology of intermediality, as they gradually emerged from specific research on music and literature, as shown above. In his 1982 essay, “Literature and the Other Arts,” Weisstein synthesized the relations that may establish themselves between text and image from a thematological, historical, and psychological perspective and classified these possible combinations into 16 descriptive categories.⁷⁹ But rather than pointing to ways of analyzing the connections specific to each category, the schema had purely descriptive purposes.

Although she engaged with word–(moving)image relations, Rajewsky developed her theory of intermediality by extensively relying on Wolf’s system. In her 2002 volume *Intermedialität*, she applied the core concepts Wolf developed in *The Musicalization of Fiction* (1999) to specific examples of Italian short-stories from the 1960s and 1970s, which made extensive references to cinema. Rajewsky developed and added new categories to Wolf’s basic categories of intermediality, and also used certain theoretical observations Franz Penzenstadler had made in his essay on intertextual systemic reference.⁸⁰

Rajewsky’s first major emendation of Wolf’s system was to rename his concept of covert intermediality *intermediale Bezüge* [“intermedial reference”], which has become the authority term in the field ever since. She also renamed Wolf’s concept of

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explicit thematization *explizite Systemerwähnung* [“explicit system reference”], and illustrated it with specific literary references to television or to characters watching television.⁸¹

In Wolf’s theory, implicit imitation (covert intermediality) had three sub-classes: word music, verbal music, and structural analogies to music. Rajewsky’s category of implicit imitation is also a tri-partite construction. She renamed Wolf’s system imitation *Systemerwähnung qua Transposition* [“system reference as transposition”] with three sub-classes: *evozierende Systemerwähnung* [“system reference as evocation”], *simulierende Systemerwähnung* [“system reference as simulation”], and *(teil)-reproduzierende Systemerwähnung* [“system reference by (partial) reproduction”].

Evozierende Systemerwähnung [“system reference as evocation”] is similar to Wolf’s concept of verbal music, pointing to the musicality of a text or to its filmicity.⁸² *Simulierende Systemerwähnung* [“system reference as simulation”] is very similar to word music and structural analogies from Wolf’s theory. Onomatopoeia like “tac! tac!” pointing to the succession of filmic shots or of the film reel illustrate the class. *(Teil)-reproduzierende Systemerwähnung* [“system reference by (partial) reproduction”] is a more complex type of reference and constitutes Rajewsky’s original contribution to the categories of intermedial reference; it is a category that survived in the later theories of intermediality and affects only multimedia objects. When a character in a literary text sings the words of a song, the reference is implicit to the accompanying music.⁸³ But it is unclear how the respective melodic line affects the intermedial text and contributes to its overall meaning.

Rajewsky created a second class of system reference and called it *Systemkontamination* [“system contamination”]. She created this class under the influence of Penzenstadler’s concept of *Systemaktualisierung* [“system actualization”]. For Penzenstadler, system actualization consisted of the quantitative and extensive application of certain constructive elements characteristic of Petrarch’s poetry by other poets.⁸⁴ Rajewsky took over these principles concerning the intensity of the intermedial reference and applied them to her new class. The class did not survive in the later theory of intermediality because variations in the intensity of the imitation of the foreign system are very well covered by the category of intermedial reference.

In 2005, Rajewsky restated her theory of intermediality and gave up some of the terms she had previously used. She restricted the definition of intermedial transposition to the “way in which a media product comes into being.” In media combination, media “are each present in their own materiality and contribute to the constitution and signification of the entire product in their own specific way,” the connections between them ranging from “contiguity” to “integration.”⁸⁵ Intermedial reference is a mono-medial category in which only one medium is present and points to other media in various ways; the category may manifest itself as thematization, evocation, or imitation.⁸⁶ A text may illustrate several classes simultaneously, depending on the perspective from which it is viewed. A movie may be viewed as a combination of different media because it combines script and performance; the same movie may be the result of an intermedial transposition, if it was based on a book. If the movie makes references back to the originating text, it may also illustrate the category of intermedial reference.⁸⁷

Rajewsky’s book *Intermedialität* and her follow-up essay synthesized the most important categories of intermediality and helped create a common basis for the ongoing discussion and debate. This was achieved especially in her 2005 essay, in which

she gave up some of the more confusing terms she had previously used based on Penzenstandler's essay, and embraced the prevalent terms, intermedial reference, and intermedial transposition.

Word, music, and the image – conceptual/a-conceptual, spatial/temporal

Derived from a centuries-long history of comparative thinking about the arts, fueled by the formalisms of Hanslick and Wölfflin, the current theory of intermediality and its key terms still have many blind spots that need to be filled in, in view of new research conducted in different areas of intersection between arts/media. Probably the most obvious weakness of the current theory of intermediality is that its key terms ignore media qualities, such as conceptual/a-conceptual, spatial/temporal. Recent scholarship by Lars Elleström and his theorization of media modalities aim to fill in some of these gaps, as I will show in the next more theoretical chapter. Also, the theory of intermediality seems to be blind to the thinking about the arts outside the narrow field of its terms, intermedial transposition and intermedial reference. Purely formal, the terms of intermediality need to absorb the scholarship conducted outside its domain, in the relevant fields, in order to help advance the understanding of the intermedial phenomena, and lead to a further refinement of the intermediality terms themselves.

That instrumental music is a-conceptual was a hard-proven truth, despite the continued efforts of the representatives of New Musicology to imbue instrumental music with conceptual meaning. As I have shown above, the continued interest in music as expressive and arousing of emotions should be understood within the context of the outdated mimetic theory of the eighteenth century or in view of rigorous scientific studies, like those conducted in Juslin and Sloboda's volume. However, it is a current practice among the representatives of New Musicology to identify with precision the actions depicted by and in music.

Started in the 1980s, through the works of Susan McClary and Lawrence Kramer mainly, New Musicology opened up the musicological research to extra-musical interpretations, such as feminism and queer studies, and cultural studies. These approaches, if properly conducted, may tell us more about the extra-musical conditions of music, in line with the emerging field of the history of ideas, but they err with regard to the analysis of the music itself. Probably the most questionable tenet of the representatives of New Musicology is related to the idea that music points to real-life activities. In his analysis of Ludwig van Beethoven's overture *The Ruins of Athens*, Op. 113, Lawrence Kramer traces the exact 'story' that is being told in the instrumental piece: the goddess Minerva awakes, she realizes that Athens is conquered by the Ottomans, and then she is welcomed by the modern Europe, each section clearly depicted by specific instruments, as Kramer shows in his analysis.⁸⁸ In addition to emphasizing the narrative potential of music, able to tell clear stories, representatives of New Musicology are also interested in its emotional content, claiming that music contains or raises emotions in the audience.⁸⁹

Instead, intermediality research points out to the relevance of the formalist theories of music, since twentieth-century writers and painters transposed musical form across media, and not the purported feelings instrumental music contains. Thus, it was the form of the musical fugue that interested the visual artists of the avant-garde, and Peter Vergo tried to explain the interest of the modernist painters into this Baroque art

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form, apparently so remote from the modernist sensibility.⁹⁰ The endeavor of the early avant-garde artists, as presented in this volume, illustrates various types of experiments with collage and montage across arts and media. Also Picasso, the inventor of the visual collage, repeatedly claimed that he is interested in form and not in the subject of a painting: “Je n’atache aucune importance au sujet, mais je tiens a l’objet. Respectez l’objet.” [“I do not assign any importance to the subject, but I care for the object. Respect the object.”]⁹¹ Devoid of concepts, instrumental music cannot express anything outside itself, not even in the most extreme experiments with musical meaning, like in Charles Ives’s musical collages discussed in Chapter 4.

Thus, in this volume I support a formalist theory of musical meaning, upholding Hanslick’s tenets, that music consists of tonally moving forms, and the subsequent formalist developments in the works of Heinrich Schenker and neo-Riemannian theorists, proposing structuralist and generativists analyses of music, respectively. The meaning of music is not just its perception, but also its underlying structure, as probed into by these formalist approaches. It is perhaps time to release the eighteenth-century model of music as expressive of emotions, just like the mimetic theory of the arts was overcome, and replaced by new modern theories trying to keep up with the new challenging ways of creating art. In his book *Musical Meaning and Expression*,⁹² Stephen Davies takes for granted the idea that music makes one sad, and inquiries into the reason why people would listen to sad music. His discourse echoes the inquiry into the negative emotions of fear and pity, as triggered by the mimesis of Greek tragedy, according to Aristotle. If music is supposed to express and relate to affects in any way, these should be studied outside the Aristotelian model of mimesis, which Davies mirrors in his article. Davies’s approach parallels the contemporary critics’ inquiry into why catharsis (purification) is achieved through pity and fear, expanding the discourse on negative emotions to another area of arts perception. However, even Aristotle warned in Book Eight of his *Politics* that only some people who are more sensitive are likely to become emotional when they listen to music, and not just everyone. So Davies seems to follow the precepts of the eighteenth-century aesthetics of feelings and emotions of music, as they redefined and reinterpreted the Aristotelian model of musical mimesis.

The theory of the arts created 2,500 years ago changed simply because the arts have changed, and striving to fit a modern theory of musical expression into the Procrustean bed of Aristotle’s mimesis is a questionable practice. Arthur Danto’s writings on the philosophy of art prove the case in point, since his volumes help explain the nature of Pop and Minimalist art of the 1960s and 1970s when some academics thought that Pop art is kitsch. In his influential article “The Artworld,” Danto engaged with Plato’s concepts in creative modernist ways, overcoming Plato’s tri-partite system of ideas, to explain why the first of Robert Rauschenberg’s combines, entitled *Bed* (1955), is a work of art and not a simple bed hanging on the wall.⁹³

Understanding musical collage and montage within this formalist paradigm allows me to define these concepts across the arts and observe the way the musical medium reacts to and embodies phenomena derived from the visual arts or created independently by purely musical means.

If instrumental music does not operate with concepts, figurative paintings traditionally could tell stories, either in series of pictures like in medieval art, or in a single frame, like most Renaissance art. That is why eighteenth-century writers on mimesis ranked painting higher than music and closer to poetry because of its ability to depict

reality and express ideas, despite the fact that it could not attain the complexity of the ideas expressed by poetical means. By establishing such hierarchies among the arts in virtue of their potential of expressing ideas, and placing music on the last place, eighteenth-century writers implicitly supported the a-conceptual nature of music that is so fiercely questioned by the representatives of New Musicology nowadays. The time factor is essential in establishing the conceptual potential of a medium/art, and it is thus useful to evaluate how the temporal dimension helps or hinders the formation of concepts or not.

The opposition between the spatial and temporal arts, mainly credited to Lessing and his *Laokoon*, was common knowledge among the eighteenth-century thinkers, and Harris already made this distinction in his treatise. This binary model of the arts was further developed by E. H. Gombrich, who, as early as 1964, noticed that the distinction between the arts of time and arts of space is “barren and misleading,” and remarked that the perception of a picture is not an instantaneous process, and that time is required to ‘read’ a picture too.⁹⁴ Gombrich’s observation is widely accepted now, and his distinction entered the writings of analytical philosophers who added a third dimension to arts perception, which refers to the temporal properties of what the work represents. Thus for Gregory Currie,⁹⁵ Jerrold Levinson, and Philip Alperson,⁹⁶ there are three types of arts temporality. There is (1) the time contained by the work of art (Lessing’s emphasis on the physical properties of the work), (2) the temporal properties of the viewer’s perception of the work of art (Gombrich’s addition), and (3) the temporal properties of what the work represents. If the temporality of movies and literature in the second acceptance is predetermined to a larger degree, the temporality of the viewer’s perception of the art work depends entirely on the viewer, the only one who can decide if he can spend hours in front of a painting or just a few seconds.

The third type of temporality is more obvious in novels or films, which may present actions spanning a few centuries, to a few hours, or even less than that. Picture-temporality in this sense is somehow metaphorical, since even if a picture depicts a battle scene, a confrontation between characters, a still life, these are all projected/suggested temporalities, limited by the first type of temporality.

Also, this third type of temporality, as apparent in the visual works, seems to relate mainly to figurative painting, since at least at first sight, the quasi-abstract modern art does not appear to represent any such narrative, at least not in the traditional understanding of the term. William Rubin made this claim when he argued that the emergence of Picasso’s Cubist style between the years 1905 and 1909 brought about the death of the narrativity of pictures, which stopped developing horizontally (from left to right) and extended vertically instead, in a square and still iconic format, a characteristic of Cubist and modern art at large, claimed the author.⁹⁷ Using the three layers of narrativity of pictures mentioned above, James Elkins replied to Rubin’s claims, by emphasizing the fact that the narrativity of modernist figurative pictures actually have different expressive and symbolic purposes.⁹⁸ However, what happens in the case of quasi-abstract pictures or visual collages, the topic of this book, which Elkins disregarded from the beginning of his article as being noncompliant to the topic? Do visual collages still narrate something?

I would like to suggest, which will become clear in Chapter 3 on visual collage, that visual collages, and especially Picasso’s, still contain a narrative and display meaning, but it is a narrative effected through the synthesis of several competing layers of

sensorial perception, which have higher ontological purposes. The narrative a collage tells, seen within the context of traditional linear narrative, remains completely obscured, as the conflicting readings of the collages by the critics prove. Instead, a visual collage conjures and confronts the viewer's ontological conceptions of space, time, and perception. The perceptive layers of picture-temporality are 'intellectualized' in the perception of a collage, since the subject of the collage is a challenge to human perception itself and a dialogue between art versus reality. The implications of Picasso's statements regarding the "fooling the spirit" through collages, and the analysis of the collages themselves, will illuminate the debate. The quasi-abstract nature of collage is a statement of nonfigurative and nonmimetic art, which becomes, just like the ornament discussed above, autospeculative. All paintings tell a story, create meaning, and it is important to keep in mind this general ideal of pictures, as I discuss the differences between collage and montage. There are mathematical systems outside the Euclidean one, where one plus one equals three. And this is still math. There is narrativity in collages, even if it escapes traditional logic. And this is still narrativity.

The emphasis on the narrative dimension of a visual collage is particularly important, also because there is a tendency to refuse collage access to meaning and "dialectical" operations. Recently, Martino Stierli, who also distinguished between collage and montage based on the meaning they create – relying on partial and inexact readings of Weisstein and Peter Bürger – claimed that although both collage and montage display heterogeneity of form, only montage is concerned with meaning formation (or dialectical juxtaposition), while collage lacks such meaning formation.⁹⁹ Any work of art creates meaning, and even nonsense or quasi-nonsense are categories of meaning. Refusing collage the access to meaning suggests a superficial evaluation of the extensive and problematic scholarship regarding the nature of collage.

Seen within the formalist context of musical meaning I uphold, the purported "narrativity" of instrumental music, as I view it, should be understood as being made up of changes and variations of tempo, rhythm, since music is not capable of rendering the complex intellectual operations Kramer identified in Beethoven's overture. Unlike the distorted narrativity of a visual collage, which is liminal to language, since words become part of the picture plane, purely instrumental music cannot break the barrier of language, not even in the case of the most extraordinary experiments, like in Ives's musical collages analyzed in Chapter 4.

Seen diachronically, the theory of intermediality I operate with derives from a long history of thinking about the arts. The theory has its weak points, as I have outlined above, and I will look further into the theory's 'blind spots' in the next more theoretical chapter.

Notes

- 1 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915). [English edition: *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Early Modern Art*, ed. Evonne Levy and Tristan Weddigen, trans. Jonathan Blower (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015)].
- 2 Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1854). [English edition: *On the Musically Beautiful: A Contribution towards the Revision of the Aesthetics of Music*, trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986)].

- 3 Werner Wolf, *The Musicalization of Fiction: A Study in the Theory and History of Intermediality* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999); "Intermediality Revisited: Reflections on Word and Music Relations in the Context of a General Typology of Intermediality," in *Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage*, ed. Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, and Walter Bernhart, *Word and Music Studies* 4 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 13–34; "Intermediality," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, ed. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan (London: Routledge, 2005), 252–56; "Literature and Music: Theory," in *Handbook of Intermediality: Literature – Image – Sound – Music*, ed. Gabriele Rippl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 459–75.
- 4 Irina Rajewsky, *Intermedialität* (Tübingen: Francke, 2002); "Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality," *Intermedialités/ Intermedialities* 6 (2005): 43–64; "Border Talks: The Problematic Status of Media Borders in the Current Debate about Intermediality," in Elleström, *Media Borders, Multimodality, and Intermediality*, 51–69.
- 5 Steven Paul Scher, "Comparing Literature and Music: Current Trends and Prospects in Critical Theory and Methodology," in *Literature and the Other Arts: Proceedings of the IXth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, vol. 3, ed. Zoran Constantinović, Steven Paul Scher, and Ulrich Weisstein (Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1981), 215–21; "Literature and Music," in *Interrelations of Literature*, ed. Jean-Pierre Barricelli and Joseph Gibaldi (New York: MLA, 1982), 225–49; "Einleitung: Literatur und Musik – Entwicklung und Stand der Forschung," in *Literatur und Musik: Ein Handbuch zur Theorie und Praxis eines komparatistischen Grenzgebietes*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Berlin: Schmidt, 1984), 9–25.
- 6 Ulrich Weisstein, "Exkurs: Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste," in *Einführung in die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968), 184–97; "Collage, Montage, and Related Terms: Their Literal and Figurative Use in and Application to Techniques and Forms in Various Arts," *Comparative Literature Studies* 15 (1978): 124–39; "Einleitung: Literatur und bildende Kunst: Geschichte, Systematik, Methoden," in *Literatur und Bildende Kunst: Ein Handbuch zur Theorie und Praxis eines komparatistischen Grenzgebietes*, ed. Ulrich Weisstein (Berlin: Schmidt, 1992), 11–31; "Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste," *Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft: Erster Bericht: 1968–1977. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 2 (1981): 170–91. Reihe C. Forschungsberichte, "Literature and the Visual Arts," in Barricelli and Gibaldi, *Interrelations of Literature*, 251–77.
- 7 See Peter V. Zima, ed., *Literatur Intermedial: Musik – Malerei – Photographie – Film* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995); Jörg Helbig, ed., *Intermedialität: Theorie und Praxis eines interdisziplinären Forschungsgebiets* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1998); Jens Schröter and Joachim Paech, eds., *Intermedialität analog/digital: Theorien, Modelle, Analysen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008); Jürgen E. Müller, *Media Encounters and Media Theories* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1996/2008).
- 8 Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 29.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 10 Nick Zangwill, "Against Emotion: Hanslick Was Right About Music," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 44, no. 1 (January 2004): 36.
- 11 See Patrick N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda, eds., *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9–11, v.
- 12 Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 11.
- 13 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). See also Matthew Priselac, *Locke's Science of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
- 14 Hildebrand Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts* (London: William Lewis, 1734; rpt. Garland Publishing Inc, New York, 1970).
- 15 "[P]oetry and music have this advantage over painting, that as many copies may be taken of them as the printer or transcriber pleases, and that all of them shall be equally perfect with the original," Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, 7.

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- 16 Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*. 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1976), 112–23.
- 17 “Music is a great and very sudden mover of the passions; its operations are intense; but as it consists only of sounds, to which no other ideas are annexed, its impressions are soon and easily defaced,” Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, 7.
- 18 James Harris, *Three Treatises: The First Concerning Art, the Second Concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry, the Third Concerning Happiness* (London: H. Woodfall, 1744), 75, 90.
- 19 James Harris, *Three Treatises*, 82.
- 20 Charles Avison, *Essay on Music Expression: With Related Writings by William Hyes and Charles Avison*, ed. Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- 21 I list the most significant in chronological order, following Avison’s volume: John Brown, *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1763; rpt. Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1971); Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London: J. Dodsley, 1769; rpt. Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1970); James Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music as They Affect the Mind* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1776), quarto and folio editions, 3rd ed. 1779; rpt. *Essays: On Poetry and Music*, ed. Roger J. Robinson (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996). According to the note Beattie wrote in the first quarto and folio editions, he first composed the essay in 1762 and read the first part to a philosophical society the same year. See Beattie, *Essays*, ed. Robinson, p. v.; Thomas Twining, *Aristotle’s Treatise on Poetry Translated with Notes on the Translations, and on the Original and Two Dissertations on Poetical, and Musical Imitation* (London: Payne and Son, 1789); Anselm Bayly, *The Alliance of Music, Poetry and Oratory* (London: John Stockdale, 1789; rpt. Garland Publishing Inc., New York, 1970). Even Adam Smith wrote an essay on the imitative arts probably around 1780, “Of the Nature of That Imitation Which Takes Place in What Are Called the Imitative Arts,” published posthumously in London in 1795 in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1795). See Adam Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, ed. W. P. Wightman and J. C. Bryce, with Dugald Stewart’s *Account of Adam Smith*, ed. I. S. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 171–75.
- 22 Claude V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 198, see especially chapter 10: “Theories of the Affections and Imitations.”
- 23 Hermann von Helmholtz, *Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* (1863). [English edition: *The Sensations of Tone, as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, trans. Alexander J. Ellis 1885 (New York: Dover Publications, 1954)].
- 24 From the many translations of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, Stephen Halliwell’s 1995 translation does justice to the Aristotelian text and to its contemporary reception by employing the word “mimesis” [μιμήσεις] everytime the Greek word shows up. Other translators have opted for “representation.” Mimesis is a representation, but of a special kind. See Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. and trans. Stephen Halliwell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). Compare to Aristotle, *The Poetics*, ed. and trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1923).
- 25 Plato’s views on mimesis are presented more systematically in Books Three and Eight of *The Republic*. For a thorough interpretation of the relevant passages from Plato’s texts, see Stephen Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), Part I, chapters One through Four, 37–147.
- 26 Aristotle, *Poetics* (ed. Halliwell), 1452a–b, 67. “ἀλλ’ ἡ μάλιστα τοῦ μύθου καὶ ἡ μάλιστα τῆς πράξεως ἡ εἰρημένη ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη ἀναγνώρισις καὶ περιπέτεια ἢ ἔλεον ἔξει ἢ φόβον (οἷων πράξεων ἢ τραγωδία μίμησις ὑπόκειται,” in Aristotle, *Aristotelis de arte poetica liber*, ed. R. Kassel [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965; rpt. 1968 (of 1966 corr. ed.)]: 1452a–b, in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/browser.jsp#doc=tlg&aid=0086&wid=034&ct=~y%221452b%22z17&rt=y&cl=20&td=greek&links=tlg>).
- 27 “Epic poetry, then, and the poetry of tragic drama, and, moreover, comedy and dithyrambic poetry, and most flute-playing and harp-playing, speaking generally, may be said to be ‘mimesis.’ But they differ from one another in three ways: either in using means generically

- different or in representing different objects or in representing objects not in the same way but in a different manner.” Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. Halliwell, 1447a.
- 28 Aristotle, *Politics: Books VII and VIII*, trans. with a commentary by Richard Kraus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 1340b10, pp. 43–44. [Greek original: W. D. Ross, *Aristotelis politica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957 (rpt. 1964)), 1340b10. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/browser.jsp#doc=tlg&aid=0086&wid=035&st=489834&cp=end&td=greek&l=20&links=tlg.>]
 - 29 Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. Kraus, 1342a1, p. 47, and *Aristotelis politica*, ed. Ross, 1342a1.
 - 30 “And there are some who are apt to become possessed because of this motion, and under the influence of sacred melodies, when they make use of those melodies that induce in their souls a religious ecstasy.” Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. Kraus, 1342a5, p. 47.
 - 31 I have run a search in the database Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum (TML) from Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University Bloomington, which contains Latin texts of music theory from the late antiquity to the seventeenth century, for both terms, “sensus” which refers to sense perception, and “affectio,” feeling and emotion. “Sensus” yielded 181 separate title matches, and “affectio” only 12 title matches. Search within these individual texts shows a predominance of “sensus” over “affectio.” Accessed July 20, 2019. <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/>.
 - 32 Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. Kraus, 1342b, p. 48, and *Aristotelis politica*, ed. Ross, 1342b3. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/browser.jsp#doc=tlg&aid=0086&wid=035&st=500628&pp=end&l=20&links=tlg.>
 - 33 Aristotle, *On Sophistical Refutations: On Coming-to-Be and Passing Away: On the Cosmos*, trans. E. S. Forster and D. J. Furley, Loeb Classical Library 400 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 270–71, 329a.
 - 34 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, ed. and trans. John T. Scott, vol. 7 of 12, *Essay on the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998). Rousseau’s *Essai sur l’origine des langues, où il est parlé de la mélodie et de l’imitation musicale* was published posthumously in 1781.
 - 35 See Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
 - 36 Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*.
 - 37 Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, trans. with an introd. and notes Philip Gossett (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1971). [Original French edition: Rameau, *Traité de l’harmonie*, Paris, 1722].
 - 38 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Paintings and Poetry*, trans. with introd. and notes Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 78. [Original German edition was published in 1766]; See Lessing, *Laokoon oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, ed. Friedrich Vollhardt (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2012). A recent volume of collected papers re-evaluates the modernity and actuality of Lessing’s treatise. See Avi Lifschitz and Michael Squire, eds., *Rethinking Lessing’s Laocoon: Antiquity, Enlightenment, and the “Limits” of Painting and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
 - 39 James Harris, *Three Treatises*, 32.
 - 40 Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, 17–21.
 - 41 Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 29.
 - 42 Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* 1893, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt & Co., 1923). [English edition: Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. Evelyn Kain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992)].
 - 43 See Loretta Vandi, ed., *Ornament and European Modernism: From Art Practice to Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2018).
 - 44 There are volumes that investigate this parallel history of the visual representations, which disobeyed and ignored the mimetic ideal. See Jean-Hubert Martin, ed., *Une image peut en cacher une autre: Arcimboldo, Dali, Raetz* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2009); Laurent Mannoni, Werner Nekes, and Marina Warner, eds., *Eyes, Lies and Illusions* (London: Hayward Galleries, 2004); Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelettier, *Anamorphosis: An Annotated Bibliography: With Special Reference to Architectural Representation* (Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1995).

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- 45 For specific examples see Jason Stoessel, "Climbing Mont Ventoux: The Contest/Context of Scholasticism and Humanism in Early Fifteenth-Century Paduan Music Theory and Practice," *Intellectual History Review* 27, no. 3 (2017): 317–32 and Constant J. Mews and Carol J. Williams, "Ancients and Moderns in Medieval Musical Theory: From Guido of Arezzo to Jacobus," *Intellectual History Review* 27, no. 3 (2017): 299–315.
- 46 Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 179–80.
- 47 Pierre Dubois, in the introduction to his edition of Avison's *Essay on Music Expression*, claims that Avison's theorization of music expression as being opposed to mimesis facilitated the passage toward the autonomy of music. See Avison, *Essay on Music Expression*, xxv.
- 48 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and Critical Tradition* (New York: Norton, 1958).
- 49 John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986).
- 50 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe and Principles of Art History*. The volume was first translated into English in 1932 by Marie D. Hottinger. The 2015 translation by Jonathan Blower is also more complete and takes as its basis the first 1915 edition, see p. vi of the volume.
- 51 Oskar Walzel, *Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste: Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung kunstgeschichtlicher Begriffe* (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1917).
- 52 Oskar Walzel, "Shakespeares dramatische Baukunst," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* 25 (1916): 25–36.
- 53 Oskar Walzel, *Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters* (Berlin: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1923).
- 54 Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style: Transformations in Art and Literature 1400–1700* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1955) and *Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature* (New York: Random House, 1960).
- 55 Mario Praz, *Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- 56 Thomas Munro, *The Arts and Their Interrelations* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1950).
- 57 H. James Jensen, *The Muses' Concord: Literature, Music, and the Visual Arts in the Baroque Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
- 58 C. S. Brown, *Tones into Words: Musical Compositions as Subjects of Poetry* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1953), 1.
- 59 Steven Paul Scher, "Literature and Music," in Barricelli and Gibaldi, *Interrelations of Literature*, 230.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 234–35.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 231.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 237.
- 63 Calvin S. Brown, "Theoretische Grundlagen zum Studium der Wechselverhältnisse zwischen Literatur und Musik," in *Literatur und Musik: Ein Handbuch zur Theorie und Praxis eines komparatistischen Grenzgebietes*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1984), 33–39.
- 64 Werner Wolf, *The Musicalization of Fiction*. The term 'musicalization of fiction' was first used and defined by Aldous Huxley in his novel *Point Counter Point*, through his character Philip Quarles, a fictitious novelist and main character of the novel, who plans to write a musical novel. Huxley's novel, with its musical title pointing explicitly to the musical fugue, is one of the most discussed novels within the context of the musicalized fictions of the twentieth century. See Aldous Huxley, *Point Counter Point* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1928), 349–50.
- 65 Wolf, *Musicalization of Fiction*, 50.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 56–57.
- 69 Werner Wolf, "Intermediality Revisited," 13–34.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 19.

- 72 Ibid., 19–20.
- 73 Ibid., 21.
- 74 Ibid., 25.
- 75 Formal imitation of paintings in movies is not a new phenomenon, and it was exquisitely illustrated by Derek Jarman's film *Caravaggio* (1986) and more recently and to a lesser extent by certain scenes from Peter Greenaway's film *Prospero's Books* (1991). The filmic *tableaux vivants* are imitated both as form and in content, due to the shared visual nature of media put in contact. This points out to the 'blindness' of the current theory of intermediality, which does not take into account the nature of media. I will return to this issue in the Chapter 2.
- 76 Horace, *Q. Horati Flacci Epistula ad Pisones (Ars Poetica)*, in *Epistles Book II and Epistle to the Pisones ("Ars Poetica")*, ed. Niall Rudd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) line 361, p. 70.
- 77 Jean Hagstrum's *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) and W. J. T. Mitchell's *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) are still the authorities in the field, while the number of publications on the topic has raised exponentially during the twentieth century.
- 78 For a comprehensive survey of the most important approaches to the topic of adaptation see Dennis Cutchins, Katja Krebs, and Eckart Voigts, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2018).
- 79 Ulrich Weisstein, "Einleitung: Literatur und bildende Kunst: Geschichte, Systematik, Methoden," in Weisstein, *Literatur und Bildende Kunst*, 11–31.
- 80 Franz Penzenstadler, "Elegie und Petrarkismus. Alternativität der literarischen Referenzsysteme," in *Der petrarkistische Diskurs: Spielräume und Grenzen*, ed. K. W. Hempfer and G. Regn (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 77–114.
- 81 Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, 79–83.
- 82 Ibid., 159.
- 83 Ibid., 109–10.
- 84 Penzenstadler, "Elegie und Petrarkismus," 82.
- 85 Irina O. Rajewsky, "Intermediality, Intertextuality," 51–52.
- 86 Ibid., 52.
- 87 Ibid., 53.
- 88 Lawrence Kramer, "Music, Historical Knowledge, and Critical Inquiry: Three Variations on *The Ruins of Athens*," *Critical Inquiry* 32 (2005): 61–76.
- 89 See, for example, the collection of essays *Music and Meaning*, ed. Jenefer Robinson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), with chapters divided into two large sections: "Music as Story-Telling: The Literary Analogy" and "Experiencing Music Emotionally." A staunch supporter of the expressive potential of music, Robinson further developed the topic in her book *Deeper Than Reason: Emotion and Its Role in Literature, Music, and Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).
- 90 Peter Vergo, *The Music of Painting: Music, Modernism and the Visual Arts from the Romantics to John Cage* (London: Phaidon, 2010), 205–6. See also Friedrich Teja Bach, "Johann Sebastian Bach in der klassischen Moderne," in *Vom Klang der Bilder: Die Musik in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Karin von Maur (Munich: Prestel, 1985), 328–35.
- 91 Quoted from Picasso's article "Lettre sur l'art" from 1926, published in Russian in the journal *Ogoniok* and translated for the French public in 1930 in *Formes* 2 (February 1930): 4, trans. C. Motchoulsky.
- 92 Stephen Davies, "Why Would We Listen to Music If It Makes Us Feel Sad?" in *Musical Meaning and Expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 307–20.
- 93 Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," *The Journal of Philosophy* 61, no. 19 (1964): 571–84. Republished in Steven Henry Madoff, *Pop Art: A Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 269–78.
- 94 E. H. Gombrich, "Moment and Movement in Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 300–301. In this essay, Gombrich also noticed that the distinction between the arts of time and arts of space, mainly credited to Lessing, was also previously made by Harris in his *Discourse on Music, Painting and Poetry*, p. 294.

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- 95 Gregory Currie, *Image and Mind: Film, Philosophy and Cognitive Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 92–93.
- 96 Jerrold Levinson and Philip Alperson, “What Is a Temporal Art?” *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 16 (1991): 439–50.
- 97 William Rubin, “From ‘Narrative’ to ‘Iconic,’ in Picasso: The Buried Allegory in *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* and the Role of *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*,” *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 4 (1983): 626–27.
- 98 See J. Elkins, “On the Impossibility of Stories: The Anti-Narrative and Non-Narrative Impulse in Modern Painting,” *Word and Image* 7, no. 4 (January 1, 1991): 348–64.
- 99 Martino Stierli, *Montage and the Metropolis: Architecture, Modernity, and the Representation of Space* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 18–19, 56–57.

2 The theory

Seen from the perspective of an illustrious tradition of comparative thinking about the arts, the current theory of intermediality and its main terms, intermedial transposition and intermedial reference, seem rather modest and simplistic. This happens mainly because these terms are still in their infancy, and they will need to be further developed, a task that I have set myself in this volume. Despite their apparent simplicity, these terms have two big merits: first, they point out that in order to say that one art ‘imitates’/‘looks like’ another, there has to be a concrete influence between them, a clear point of contact that can be fully documented. This translates first into the artist’s intention of transposing a technique or artistic form from one art form into the other. This breakthrough of the theory is owed to Wolf’s minute work on intermediality as outlined in his study on musicalized fiction. Second, in place of Walzel’s hasty application of Wölfflin’s terms to Shakespeare’s plays, the scholar of intermediality has now available a set of terms which, applied to new research phenomena that consist of the arts interactions and intersections, will furnish operational data analysis and conclusions used to further refine the system.

If the theory of intermediality is built mainly from the study of phenomena apparent at the intersection of literature and the moving image (Rajewsky), or of literature and instrumental music (Wolf), in this volume, I have expanded the sphere of the applicability of these terms, by including also pictures, through the visual collages and photomontages I document, in addition to literature, music, and film.

The risk apparent when the terms of intermediality are applied to new research phenomena is that they may become too general when they are supposed to account for so many types of intersections between the arts, and thus they may lose their illuminating power over the phenomena under survey. I think I have avoided this generalization of the terms, by refining them in view of the parameters I introduced in Chapter 1, the conceptual/a-conceptual nature of media, as well as the complex operational concept of media temporality, seen as a tri-partite construct.

Intermedial transposition or content under scrutiny

Intermedial transposition (or *Medienwechsel* [media change] as Rajewsky labeled it¹) consists of the “reconstruction” of a work of art in another medium.² For Rajewsky, intermedial transposition refers to “the way in which a media product comes into being,”³ including all kinds of adaptations of works across media. Probably the oldest and the most popular form of media transposition is the adaptation of a book into a movie. Writings on this topic are soaring in current scholarship, illustrating the most

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innovative transpositions, from ‘high’ opera to ‘low’ musical, like in the very successful musical *Rent* by Jonathan Larson (1996). There are also adaptations of movies to computer games, or even geocaching games may be built on a story originating in another artistic medium.

In intermedial transposition, two works of art are put in contact and the emerging one does not eliminate the source, even if in the final product of the transposition only the signifiers of the target medium are present. All writers on intermedial phenomena operate with the basic tenets of the semiotic sign as created by C. S. Peirce: the signifier is the work as a material whole, while its signified is its meaning. The referent is the object in reality that is indicated through the union between the signifier and the signified. According to Peirce, there are symbolic, iconic, or indexical signs.⁴ In the case of the symbolic sign, such as words, the connection between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, since a concept or a signified can be expressed in many different languages, having thus thousands of signifiers, i.e., the different words that refer to that signified/concept. The iconic sign, such as a figurative picture, implies that the signifier and the signified are similar: the drawing of a man is the same in all languages of the word. The last class, indexical signs, function as warning signs of situations: a knock on the door announces that somebody is at the door; smoke (signifier) is a sign of fire (signified). Thus, a movie adapting a book does not replace it, but transposes its story into a different medium, and the viewer will only see the signifiers of film, i.e., the reel, and not words, the signifiers of the novel. Instead, the movie and the book are connected at the level of their signifieds, their meaning. Wolf emphasized the relative autonomy of the source and the target involved in the intermedial transposition, and pointed out that the resulting work is a “relatively independent unit.”⁵

For Wolf, intermedial transposition affects content first, form being secondary, since in the transpositional process, the artist is not interested in preserving the form of the originating artwork, but its content. If aspects pertaining to form are preserved, this is an “accidental” phenomenon, argued Wolf.⁶ However, this claim needs to be further nuanced. This does not mean that the form of the resulting work is not important in intermedial transposition, as it may become more complex or more imbricated than the initial one, commenting on and referring to the form of the source work, in addition to transposing its content into a different medium. The acclaimed movie *The Hours*, directed by Stephen Daldry (2002), proves the case in point. The movie is not only an adaptation of Virginia Woolf’s novel *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), but its parallel montage structure, made up of three different narrative threads, reciprocates Woolf’s complex and difficult writing style.

Formal intermedial transposition is the first step necessary to trigger the activation of the intermedial reference, the second important class of intermedial theory. As Rajewsky made clear in 2005, intermedial transposition results in intermedial reference.⁷ This is a necessary proviso to intermedial theory, because it implies that a medium cannot point to a different one extensively, unless there was a previous intentional transposition of either form or content between the two, effected by the author of the target text.

Furthermore, the connections between the source and the target of the intermedial transposition may become very complex in virtue of the nature of media put in contact, conceptual versus a-conceptual, and the different temporalities they involve. Therefore, since transposition aims for content first, when a-conceptual instrumental

music is involved on any side of the process, the emphasis on content lessens and requires a further redefinition of the intermedial category, in view of media properties. Siglind Bruhn has extensively theorized the phenomenon of musical ekphrasis, or musical works that aim to describe paintings composed during the twentieth century.⁸ In this situation, the source medium, the painting, is figurative and expressive by quasi-conceptual means, while instrumental music cannot employ concepts. Then, what is the nature of the connection between the two media, which are both removed from the possibility of employing concepts to different extents? Bruhn goes to large lengths to explain how three different musical compositions related to Klee's painting *Die Zwitschermaschine* (*The Twittering Machine*, 1922) by Peter Maxwell Davies, Gunther Schuller, or Gisbert Klebe, describe the simultaneous or individual twittering of the birds depicted in Klee's picture.⁹ Built on the concept of verbal ekphrasis, musical ekphrasis cannot exist because music is not a language. What we can listen to in these pieces named after Klee's painting may be viewed as the inspiration that triggered the piece. The musical pieces may be understood only with regard to the form they extend, and as analogous to the painting they evoke, but not in view of the conceptual meaning implied by the word ekphrasis, i.e., description. However, in her theorization of musical ekphrasis, Bruhn pointed out that there was a "transformation" or a "transmutation" involved in the process, which connects the picture with the music.¹⁰ Currently, theorists of intermediality classify ekphrasis under the class of evocation as a form of implicit intermedial reference, ignoring the transposition that takes place in the process.¹¹ Although there is a transformation in the case of these instrumental pieces bearing the title of Klee's work, the composer did not and could not recreate the singing of the birds in their works. Evocation/ekphrasis as imitation of a foreign medium appears only when the target medium is language.

Next to adaptations of texts across media, ekphrasis is one of the earliest fields that has been documented during the twentieth century by authors writing on interarts topics.¹² It is defined as the description of a nonverbal work of art in words, either verse or prose.¹³ This type of art description with artistic purposes and not just for art historical reasons – like in Adam von Bartsch's *Le peintre-graveur* (1803–1821)¹⁴ – has been a constant presence in world literature starting from the famous description of Achilles's shield in Book Ten of Homer's *Iliad*.

Wolf classified the categories of intermediality according to extra- versus intracompositional intermediality, and separated intermedial transposition and intermedial reference into two different classes, extracompositional and intracompositional intermediality, respectively.¹⁵ Instead, if one follows the whole process of the intermedial transposition and of the ensuing intermedial reference, one can observe the behavior of media put in contact, and learn more about their limits and what can be achieved in each medium. The reference to and imitation of another medium cannot exist unless there was a transposition of content and form from one art into the other. A poet who describes and evokes a painting will be able to reference in his verbal texts only things that are permissible in the verbal medium. Marianne Moore's ekphrastic poem *Nine Nectarines* was inspired by the Chinese Qing vases and dishes decorated with peaches she saw in the New York museums in the 1930s.¹⁶ Peaches are a symbol of longevity in the Chinese culture, but the title of Moore's poem and the text itself point out that the peaches depicted on the vase have no fuzz, and thus she calls them nectarines, in a humorous tone.¹⁷ The medium of the enameled porcelain, which depicts the peaches,

cut short the main quality of the peaches, their fuzziness. Thus, the poem is about the specific work of art that does not depict peaches properly. Ekphrasis appears in virtue of the conceptual qualities of language, and the so-called “musical ekphrasis” is deprived of such capacity. Therefore, there is a selection process that determines the nature of the ekphrasis, in virtue of media characteristics, conceptual/a-conceptual, temporal in the tripartite sense, and a transposition process that unifies a specific work of art and its verbal representation that needs to be acknowledged.

Wolf cautioned that intermedial transposition may also affect “formal devices” such as the transposition of a narrator into film or drama as a voice-over in film, or as a presenter character in epic drama.¹⁸ The techniques of collage and montage I study in this book have also been transposed to a certain extent between various media by early avant-garde artists, based on the familiarity the artists had with these techniques.

In view of the research I have conducted in this volume and elsewhere with regard to the transposition of forms across media, I have noticed that the nature of the techniques being transferred between media and the nature of the media put in contact defines, limits, and determines the essential aspects of the intermedial transposition and of the ensuing intermedial reference, in addition to the aesthetic choices the artist/writer makes.

Thus, by comparatively studying the transposition of the form of the fugue from music into the visual arts¹⁹ and then into the novel,²⁰ and subsequently of the technique of collage across avant-garde media conducted in this volume, it has become apparent that one should distinguish between the forms that are transposed between media. Thus a musical fugue consists of very precise formal rules that need to be respected in order to replicate and approximate a fugue in another medium, like Klee did in his painting *Fugue in Red* (1921), while the technique of collage implies experiments with meaning and meaning formation across media, as it will become apparent in this study.

Thus I propose a further emendation to the key pair of intermedial terms, intermedial transposition, and intermedial reference, by first emphasizing the importance of the nature of the technique being transposed, and second the conceptual/a-conceptual nature of the media put in contact. Thus, I have dubbed medium-specific techniques as those that relate to formal aspects and are strictly defined by the originating medium, and thus their transposition across media requires the replication of strictly formal elements and rules. Instead, collage and montage are techniques that emphasize the formation and subversion of meaning through certain operations involving crossing media borders, and do not consist of rigorous formal requirements, such as the repetition of material, like in the form of the fugue. The fugue and other formal techniques are similar to figures of speech, while techniques like collage and montage resemble figures of thought, as I have pointed out above.

The terms that I propose to use to distinguish between these different artistic techniques that are being transposed between media, medium-specific, and non-medium-specific techniques, do not relate to what is largely called medium-specificity in art history or to the specificity discussed in the case of transmediality, another category related to or subsumed to intermediality depending on the understanding given to the term. The medium-specificity of transmediality, as understood within the theory of intermediality developed by Wolf and Rajewsky, does not involve transposition of techniques, like my medium-specific and non-medium-specific techniques, which

are classified based on their potential for harder or easier transposition across media. Thus, my terms are meant to explain only phenomena that become apparent when transpositions of techniques across media take place. My terms could be also called “formal techniques” (medium-specific techniques) versus “thought techniques” (non-medium-specific techniques), but the idea of medium-specificity adds a more nuanced understanding, in that each respective technique that is the subject of a transposition is defined and shaped by the medium in which it originated. Therefore, from this point of view, there are connections with the concept of medium-specificity in art, but they are not synonymous with that. Unlike the medium-specificity discussed within the field of art history, my understanding of medium-specificity of techniques refers to a narrow field of artistic techniques that are being generated by a medium and transferred to other media, and they do not refer to media qualities *in extenso*, such as paint, gouache, or pencil, as the theoreticians of medium-specificity make clear in their writings.²¹ I am interested in the nature of the techniques generated by that respective medium and not the possibilities of expression of a medium in virtue of its material characteristics. A technique is a type of meaning articulation. The very endeavor undertaken in this book, to study ‘foreign’ techniques applied to new media, goes against the idea that a medium can signify only in the virtue of its basic material characteristics (visual image, static or moving, paint, words, etc.), since avant-garde artists experimented with copying and imitating foreign media, as it will become apparent in subsequent chapters. Thus, the whole idea of medium-specificity viewed as limited by material characteristics alone goes out the window. But rather than argue, like some critics, that the hybridity of a medium denies medium-specificity,²² the borrowing and adaptations of artistic forms across media require a redefinition of medium-specificity in virtue of parameters related to larger form/patterns and their ensuing meaning.²³

As I view it, any artistic technique is a form endowed with meaning. A form is significant not only in virtue of the content it has, but also intrinsically, by virtue of its constitution. Louis Hjelmslev’s theorizations on the idea of meaningful form in language give me a helping hand on the topic. For Hjelmslev, any form has both content and expression, which singly justify the existence of content-substance and expression-substance.²⁴ The same vowel (expression-form) has different meanings if it is once long and another time short (content form). The information is carried by form alone, triggering thus the comment on meaningful form.

Thus, in my analysis of the transpositions of these forms generated by specific media, I will be able to understand media behavior and artistic meaning. The topic is hugely important and may shed new light on the work of the artists who work in multiple fields, for example. Being able to compare the works multiple-talented artists create in different media, and the way they transpose form or other artistic features across media, may furnish important empirical data for the field of neuroscience, for example, giving us access into the minds of the multiple-talented artists (*Döppelbegabung*). It is in the accidents and the departure from the norms, i.e., the unusual adaptations of artistic techniques across media, that may lead to new observations and data.²⁵

My claim is that the nature of these techniques that are being transferred between media determines the degree of closeness and agreement versus opposition between the source and the target. A medium-specific technique requires a close connection between source and target (like in Klee’s visual fugue), while the collages or montages used across media have relative independence, not requiring knowledge of a visual

collage to understand a verbal one. The authors themselves pointed to the medium-specific techniques they aim to employ by referencing them in the titles of their works: all avant-garde visual art works purported to imitate a visual fugue to some extent are entitled “fugues.” On the contrary, none of Apollinaire’s poems displaying the characteristics of visual collage are titled “collages,” although he intentionally transposed Picasso’s visual collages into verbal ones, as it will become apparent in Chapter 3.

Although intermedial transposition is a class of intermediality mostly illustrated by adaptations of content across media, most famously by books turned into movies, one should be cautioned that the transposition of form is also an important representative of this class, either subsumed to the content that it supports, like in Virginia Woolf’s book *Mrs. Dalloway* adapted into a modernist movie, *The Hours*, or as independent form whose meaning is the form itself, like in the case of the techniques discussed above, the form of the fugue, or the techniques of collage and montage.

Intermedial reference or the primacy of form

Intermedial reference is another key concept of the theory of intermediality. As Rajewsky pointed out, it follows and derives *de facto* from an intermedial transposition.²⁶ Unlike intermedial transposition, which lays emphasis on the content of the source, intermedial reference defines mainly formal experiments, according to the two theorists of intermediality. Wolf first theorized it as covert intermediality in 1999,²⁷ and Rajewsky re-named it intermedial reference [*intermediale Bezüge*] in 2002,²⁸ and the category has been known under the latter name ever since. As the term employed by Wolf suggests, the reference to another medium is hidden in most cases, and it requires research and analysis to prove that such a connection is made between works belonging to different media, followed by an analysis of what the contact implies.

Both critics agreed that in intermedial reference one medial configuration (e.g., a work of art) points to another medium by direct or indirect means. The reference may be to a single work of art or to a system *qua* system.²⁹ Thus, the title of Leo Tolstoy’s novella *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1889) exhibits single reference to Beethoven’s *Violin Sonata No. 9*, also called *Kreutzer Sonata*, while Klee’s painting called *Fugue in Red* (1921) does not point to any particular fugue, but to the generic musical form. Sometimes border forms are encountered, like in the case of the famous “Vinteuil sonata” from Proust’s novella *Un amour de Swann* (*Swann in Love*, 1919), where the critics still could not find out if a specific sonata by Camille Saint-Saëns, César Franck, Claude Debussy, or Gabriel Fauré, all proposed to identify with the fictitious composer Vinteuil, is described in Proust’s novel,³⁰ or the reference should be understood as a description of the sonata as a genre and form, with two competing themes that are reworked throughout the piece.

According to Wolf, intermedial reference may be explicit or implicit.³¹ Explicit reference or intermedial thematization affects only the signifiers of the target text. It appears in a literary text when music is described or when painters or musicians appear as characters in a novel. Such explicit thematizations function as warning signs that more complex experimentations with a different medium may be at play in the respective text.

Following Rajewsky’s idea that intermedial reference results in intermedial reference, I have outlined above the types of techniques, medium-specific and

non-medium-specific, that can be transposed between media and their effects. When evaluating this transformational process from the point of the resulting intermedial reference, it became apparent that media have different capacities for reference to other media, based on the affinities the media put in contact share in virtue of the conceptual/a-conceptual distinction, and the different temporalities involved in the process.

The “implicit – or hidden – (intermedial) reference,” as defined by the two theorists, currently has three sub-classes according to the two theorists: (1) partial quotation or “reproduction,” (2) “evocation,” and (3) “formal intermedial imitation.”³² Implicit reference becomes apparent when the illusion that one experiences a different medium was created, claimed Wolf. Implicit reference is the core concept of intermedial reference because it allows for the most interesting experiments with form, structure, and meaning.

Implicit reference by partial quotation or reproduction was the latest category added to the classes of implicit intermedial reference, and derives from Rajewsky’s research on Italian short-stories of the 1970s and their intermedial references to movies. In this case, reference is made to only one medium involved in a mixed media work. Wolf also cautioned on the a-conceptual nature of music, which can reference language only indirectly. Thus, he exemplifies, an instrumental musical piece may quote an aria from an opera, suggesting the words accompanying the respective aria to the listener.³³ Charles Ives’s musical collages in which the borrowed popular tunes were stripped bare by their words are a similar case. But it is unclear how the target text is enriched by such a reference, especially when the reference involves a non-conceptual text, such as a piece of instrumental music. I will evaluate this class more closely in the analysis of Ives’s musical collages.

Evocation “imitates the effects of another medium or heteromedial artifact by purely monomedial means.”³⁴ Evocation appeals to the reader’s imagination and manifests itself in literature when “novels evoke a specific musical composition in the reader’s mind by describing its effects on certain character.”³⁵ The concept builds on Scher’s concepts of “verbal music” and “word music” in the musico-literary field. Ekphrasis is also a category of this class, according to Wolf, but as I pointed out above, its nature depends on the intermedial transposition, which precedes it and the nature of the media put in contact.

Formal intermedial imitation consists of the development and extensive application of certain structural devices taken over from the source medium and applied to the target medium through a previous process of intermedial transposition. Such formal intermedial imitations are the musicalization of fiction, the filmicization of novels, the literarization of music (program music), or the musicalization of painting.³⁶ Wolf has extensively theorized the musicalization of fiction, Rajewsky the filmicization of novels. I have written elsewhere on the topic of musicalization of pictures.³⁷

Although all forms of implicit reference relate to and evoke the source medium in different ways, the most spectacular and most interesting is the formal intermedial imitation, which allows for the most audacious experiments with artistic form in the passage from one medium to another. In this case, the intermedial reference depends to a large extent on the specific and subjective interpretation the artist gives to the form he aims to transpose, in addition to the nature of the technique that has been chosen, medium-specific or non-medium-specific.

The decisions the artists make influence the nature of the intermedial reference, but these decisions are also limited by the nature of the media and of the technique involved in the transposition. For example, when an artist aims to transpose a musical fugue into the verbal medium, his choices are limited by a specific set of elements characteristic of the musical fugue that can be transposed into the verbal medium. This set of specific elements is different if an artist tries to transpose the musical fugue into the visual medium. The potentialities of the source text are limited by the nature of the target text (visual, musical, etc.). The artist's understanding of the form he intends to transpose shapes the configuration and the effectiveness of the intermedial transposition and of the emerging intermedial reference.

If the changes operated on the target medium by the transposition of a non-medium-specific technique are less numerous, those required by the transposition of a highly medium-specific technique are very numerous and sometimes very difficult to achieve. And that is why artists may try several times before they manage to find the right artistic equivalents to the technique they intend to transpose.

By comparatively analyzing the transposition of medium-specific and non-medium-specific forms across media, it became clear that the reference apparent in the target medium is shaped by the nature of both the source and the target medium. The very demanding medium-specific techniques require a close connection between the source and the target, pointing to what I would call active intermedial reference. Instead, when the transposition of a non-medium-specific technique or of a "figure of thought," then we can speak of a passive intermedial reference. In this latter case, the source and the target works are not directly related and one does not need to experience a visual collage first to appreciate and understand Apollinaire's poem "Lettre-Océan," for example, shaped after the model of the visual collage.

Even in the case of a highly medium-specific technique that artists aim to translate, not all transpositions are successful. Dumitru Tsepeneag who transposed the form of a fugue into his novel *Vain Art of the Fugue* is also a professional chess player, and he aimed to transpose the end of a chess game into a novel. But because it was too complicated, he gave up.³⁸

Even more, when one thinks of Klee's painting called *Fugue in Red* in virtue of the musical graph Klee designed to aid the transposition – probably the first graph in the history of music visualization –³⁹ one understands the scientific nature and required precision that characterize the idea of transposing form from one medium into another. On the contrary, Kupka's painting called fugue, *Amorpha: Fugue in Two Colors* (1912), does not rely on such precise experiments like Klee's musical graphs. Kupka's visual *Fugue* is a more general approximation of the two voices of a fugue and their winding within the picture plane, also because the artist did not have extensive knowledge of musical form, like Klee did.

The reference to and the representation of the musical fugue contained in Klee's picture is based on rigorously designed forms, triggering what I would call "active intermedial reference," while Kupka's piece related more vaguely and generally with the musical form, triggers "passive intermedial reference" to suggest that the musical fugue is not closely embedded in the structure of the target piece, but impressionistically designed.

The intention of evoking a different medium may result in the pasting of real images within the texts, such as the icons of the Berlin municipal services Alfred Döblin

included in his novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. The medium of language may evoke visual elements, but it also allows to paste them physically in the text, leading to mixed media constructs. A visual collage may appropriate objects from the outside world directly and make them part of the work of art. But such quoting is not possible in the performance of music. Music cannot represent a writer at work or a person listening to music, the typical examples of intermedial references present in literature, let alone the real objects themselves.

Although such appropriations conduct to mixed media products, where the signifiers of two media are apparent, the transposition ultimately led also to an appropriation of form, too, characteristic of intermedial reference. Picasso experimented with both forms of borrowing and appropriations in his art. In his collages from the years of 1912–1914, the topic of Chapter 3, real objects were pasted on the picture plane, but throughout the 1930s in the etchings belonging to the Vollard suite, he replicated prints by Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn and Francisco Goya and recreated them in his style.⁴⁰ However, the latter type of borrowing functions still within the visual medium, so it can be called a form of intertextuality that does not imply the crossing of media borders, but it is important to emphasize the idea that the principle of borrowing that interests an artist may take many forms, spanning across many classes of intermedial theory.⁴¹

If two visual media are put in contact, different only in virtue of the temporality they display, such as movies and pictures, then the medium film may re-enact a picture in the traditional *tableaux vivants* by incorporation. In intermedial discourse, the *tableaux vivants* re-enacted in a movie represent an implicit intermedial reference (by confusion, I would say, understood with the etymological Latin meaning of *con* “ready, completely; with” and *fundō, -ere* “to pour, let go, emit”⁴²) to the medium of pictures, paintings. The technique is used by many avant-garde film makers, most famously and extensively by Derek Jarman in his biopic *Caravaggio* (1986), in which tens of Caravaggio’s paintings are re-enacted by the sitters/actors and included in the narrative of the movie. In Peter Greenaway’s movie *Prospero’s Books*, Renaissance paintings are re-enacted and introduced into the movie, where Prospero’s cell is designed after the Renaissance paintings, or the character of young Ariel is shaped after Renaissance *putti*. In this case, one may talk of intermedial reference by incorporation since the media are very similar.

If music cannot represent people, actions, events, it has the ability to imitate sounds found in nature by musical means or even “cut and paste” them like in the musical montages, in which new recording techniques allowed for such experiments. This points to the idea that the concepts of intermediality have also a diachronic and historical dimension, an issue raised by Elleström, as seen below. Media change according to the technologies, and similarly the terms of intermedial theory will have to evolve to explain such changes too.

Media combination as intermedia and mixed media

Media combination defines works of art made up of two or more discrete or fused media, whose signifiers are perceived at the same time. Although the class was not created within the context of intermedial theory I operate with, it has been appended to the discourse on intermediality for several decades. In 1981 and previously in 1965,

Dick Higgins noticed that concrete poetry, as well as sound poetry, fuse two media, word and image, or word and sound, respectively, and these media cannot be separated without losing the meaning of the poem. He called this phenomenon and the objects illustrating it “intermedia,” and defined it as displaying “conceptual fusion.”⁴³ Higgins created a second class of art objects, that he called “mixed media,” – different from the art historical term that refers to the mixing of oil and tempera – exemplified by opera, art song, poems with pictures. Unlike intermedia, the object classified under the category of mixed media allows for the clear separation between the media involved in the respective product, argued Higgins.

Higgins’s distinction between separable media contained by mixed media and the inseparability and fusion of intermedia objects was taken over by literary scholars, who added a third class to Higgins’s pioneering theorizations. In the 1990s, Peter Frank,⁴⁴ Claus Clüver,⁴⁵ Leo H. Hoek,⁴⁶ and Eric Vos⁴⁷ suggested a distinction between mixed media and a new class they called multimedia because, they argued, not all media combined in Dick Higgins’s mixed media can be separated without losing the meaning of the work.

These critics divided Higgins’s class of mixed media into two subclasses based on the type of meaning they create. Thus, they argued that there should be a new class called “multimedia” configurations (basically Higgins’s mixed media i.e., song with lyrics), in which media display coherent and self-sufficient meaning when separated. Their new class called “mixed-media” (also covered by Higgins’s mixed media), included posters and comic strips. The elements of the latter class, the words and the images of posters and comic strips, could be separated but they were not individually self-sufficient, argued these critics. Thus, if we read only the blurbs of the comic strips, without seeing the images, we would not be able to understand what the words mean, they claimed.

The new class and the discrimination it implies is a parasite of Higgins’s major distinction between intermedia and mixed media, because it grafts and expands Higgins’s observation regarding the inseparability of media characteristic of intermedia, onto the separability of the media Higgins attributed to mixed media. The spatial and temporal dimensions of words and images found in the comic strips and posters are responsible for this phenomenon, and this does not justify the creation of a new class. The words and music of opera and songs seem to retain their presumed self-sufficiency and coherence when separated, simply because instrumental music did not operate with concepts in the first place, and thus it cannot lose the presupposed additional meaning it had when it was combined with words.

In this volume, I operate with Higgins’s terms ‘intermedia’ and ‘mixed media,’ and nuance them in virtue of the conceptual/a-conceptual or temporal nature of the media put in contact.

Transmediality in the narrow sense

Transmediality refers to “phenomena that are not specific to individual media,” and they can manifest themselves in several media in the absence of a transposition between them, pointed out Wolf.⁴⁸ Transmediality is somehow seen outside the field of intermediality, because it is more of an approach rather than an intermedial phenomenon itself. For example, in this volume, I look at avant-garde phenomena called

avant-garde collage and montage from a transmedial point of view in order to decide whether there was an influence between the artistic products belonging to different media called collages or montages, testifying thus to an intermedial transposition followed by intermedial reference, or if there is no influence at all, and thus one talks of just a transmedial analogy, implying the labels collage and montage were applied to genetically unrelated phenomena.

Transmediality may affect the levels of both form and content. Motivic repetition, thematic variation, or narrativity across media may be documented from a transmedial perspective.⁴⁹ “Pathetic expressivity” or the “conflict between generations and genders” are all examples of content-oriented transmediality according to Wolf.⁵⁰ Transmedial research has recently gained momentum, and volumes of collected papers approached the same concepts and techniques – such as description,⁵¹ framing,⁵² metareference,⁵³ or self-reference,⁵⁴ – across several arts and media.

Rajewsky exemplified the category with regard to parody, which although it is foremost a literary genre, it appears in other media too, and argued that the treatment of Biblical scenes in different media (e.g., films, plays) may also qualify as an example of transmediality.⁵⁵

Transmediality documents both similarities and differences between media in the different instantiations of the same concept. For example, musical, literary, or pictorial rhythm designates very different phenomena. But by analyzing rhythm from a transmedial point of view, one can observe and describe the differences that establish themselves between the media that illustrate this phenomenon. From the analysis of these differences and similarities, a better understanding of the nature of media emerges.

The concept of transmediality circulates in other scholarly works with the acceptance of “intermedial transposition,” as defined in the present study. For these scholars, the prefix “trans” is viewed as a crossing of borders, while in the transmedial approach I operate with, it defines the nature of the approach, defining the research carried across media borders from the point of view of a single phenomenon, concept, or general aspect. Lars Elleström uses the term in this other acceptance, as a transfer between media, in his 2014 volume.⁵⁶

Redeeming the ‘blind’ spots of a theory: the modalities of media and beyond

The theory of intermediality as presented by Wolf and Rajewsky was further nuanced by Lars Elleström who pointed out that not all media affected by intermediality are similar. Drawing on recent approaches to multimodality, intermediality, and semiotics, Elleström argued that any medium is a complex construct made up of several modalities: the material, sensorial, spatiotemporal, and semiotic. These parameters define a medium from the direct basic “corporeal interface” of demarcated and non-demarcated materialities, as seen in the material modality, to the very meaning of an art work, or its semiotic modality, understood in view of Peirce’s classification of signs into symbolic, iconic, or indexical. In between these two extremes, the sensorial modality determines the human perception of the work through the sense qualities of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, while the spatiotemporal modality relates to the way in which the perceived structures are organized by sensorial perception into spatial or temporal events.⁵⁷ If the material and semiotic modalities are more straightforward,

the sensorial and spatiotemporal modalities are further reflected in the discussion on the types of temporal arts from Chapter 1, dealing with the psychological dimension of art perception, constitutive of Gombrich's whole endeavor.

Elleström's modalities provide a useful shift of perspective of the discourse of intermediality because it allows to the 'blind' terms of intermediality, intermedial transposition, and intermedial reference, to be refined and redefined in virtue of the different modalities that characterize the individual media. I will return to Elleström's modalities throughout the volume, and especially in the analysis of Eisenstein's intellectual montage, which poses problems at the semiotic level.

Elleström further promoted his agenda of endowing intermediality with 'memory', by proposing new parameters that should be added to the theory. He talked of "qualified media" or the works of art, which are opposed to "basic media" seen as the entities of the world at large, including artworks, defined in virtue of the sense that is being involved, seeing, hearing, touching, leading thus to a multiplicity of combinations.⁵⁸

Also Elleström's "contextual qualifying aspect," and "operational qualifying aspect" provide useful coordinates for my research. The former points out that the arts belonging to specific cultural and historical periods share certain technical similarities, while the latter indicates that unique conventions and styles characterize individual works belonging to this larger historical context.⁵⁹ Thus, the preoccupation of early avant-garde poets to make verbal collages under the influence of the visual version refers to the contextual qualifying aspects, while the different ways in which they apply the principles of visual collage to the verbal medium highlights the operational qualifying aspects. Furthermore, the available technology of an age defines the contextual qualifying aspect of a phenomenon, and this context delayed the emergence of musical montage in the late 1940s and early 1950s due to the slow development of recording techniques, not available in the early avant-garde.

The interface of media is a key aspect of media inquiry,⁶⁰ and Elleström drew attention to it through his concept of "technical media," which consist of the elements that constitute the work, such as oil on canvas, ink on paper, the computer screen, the video camera, and the flute, which generate and subtend the media.⁶¹ Closely connected to the idea of technical medium or interface, the concept of "remediation" is also vital for the study of intermedia relations. Theorized by Jay David Bolter and Grusin,⁶² and also annexed by the theorists of intermediality discussed in this volume, "remediation" refers to the reproduction of a work of art across different supports, either electronic (such as screens and TVs) or material, books, newspapers, posters, etc. The concept points back to Walter Benjamin's warning regarding the infinite reproducibility of the work of art in the mechanical age.⁶³ But rather than destroying a work's aura, the electronic reproduction allows for multiple experiments with digital and life media. It is a common practice nowadays in opera and dance performances to have art clips projected behind and around the dancers, framing the action and adding meaning to the ballet itself. However, there are works meant to be reproduced, such as the photomontages discussed in this volume, while others are changed in virtue of the remediation they undergo on the pages of art albums and other reproductions. This is the case of the visual collages whose aesthetic qualities are destroyed by remediation. As it will become clear in Chapter 3, Picasso's collages depend on the space created between the pasted elements and those that are pinned to the surface of the picture plane, for example.

Rather than being presented scholastically as separate in frozen classes and categories, the concepts of the theory of intermediality should be used in a fluid way, allowing to engage their diverse facets to highlight artistic phenomena spanning several arts. The conceptual/a-conceptual nature of media, their tri-partite temporality, as well as the inquiry into the form that is being transposed allow one to evaluate artistic phenomena and highlight new perspectives thereon, as well as to further develop the terms of intermediality themselves.

Based on this model of intermediality, with the refinements that I have proposed, to center the inquiry on the process of transposition and on the ensuing intermedial reference, and by attentively examining “what” type of form is being transposed and between what media, I next proceed to highlight in the remaining part of the book how the technique of collage first emerged in the Cubist works of Picasso and Braque, and then spread across different media during the first and the second decade of the past century, to be transformed into photomontage around 1919–1920, triggering thus an aesthetic shift and giving birth to the technique of montage.

Notes

- 1 Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, 22–25.
- 2 Rajewsky, “Intermediality, Intertextuality,” 51.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, ed. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, vol. 2, *Elements of Logic*, sections 92, 230, 247, 276 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 51–52, 136–37, 143–44, 157; and vol. 5, *Pragmatism and Pragmaticism*, sections 73–76, pp. 50–52. Peirce’s system of logic and semiotics is much more complex than the basic theory of the sign that I have outlined above. By mixing traditional logic and theories of signification, he created the discipline of pragmatics, and also effected the passage to twentieth-century formal logic.
- 5 Wolf, “Intermediality Revisited,” 20.
- 6 Ibid., 25.
- 7 Rajewsky, “Intermediality, Intertextuality,” 53.
- 8 Siglind Bruhn, *Musical Ekphrasis: Composers Responding to Poetry and Painting* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 35–49, 361–83.
- 9 Bruhn, *Musical Ekphrasis*, 361–80.
- 10 Ibid., 35.
- 11 Wolf, “Intermediality,” 255; Rajewsky, “Intermediality, Intertextuality,” 52–53.
- 12 James A. W. Heffernan’s *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) is still the reference volume in the field.
- 13 See Tamar Yacobi’s “Verbal Frame and Ekphrastic Figuration,” in *Interart Poetics: Essays on the Interrelations of the Arts and Media*, ed. Ulla-Britta Lagerroth, Hans Lund, and Erik Hedling (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 35–46.
- 14 See Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, Isabelle de Ramaix, and Miriam West, vols. 1–166 (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–).
- 15 Wolf, “Intermediality Revisited,” 17–23; “Literature and Music: Theory,” 459–66.
- 16 Zhaoming Qian, *The Modernist Response to Chinese Art: Pound, Moore, Stevens* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 113. Zhaoming Qian collects a lot of data from Moore’s correspondence and related writings to show that Moore actually saw the vases and not just their reproduction in printed albums as the text of the poem seems to imply.
- 17 For the text of Moore’s poem see Marianne Moore, *The Poems of Marianne Moore*, ed. Grace Schulman (New York: Viking, 2003), 208–9. In his analysis of the poem, Qian does not explain what is the significance of the nectarines as I do, but he extensively points out

- that the poem takes into account the material characteristics of the Qing vases and dishes he identifies as being the source of the poem, see Qian, *The Modernist*, 111–16.
- 18 Wolf, “Intermediality Revisited,” 19–20.
 - 19 Dragu, “Avant-Garde Musicalized Pictures,” 124–46.
 - 20 Dragu, “*Vain Art of the Fugue*,” 71–83.
 - 21 Medium-specificity varies according to the writers on the topic. For a general survey of the subject in art theory with an emphasis on depiction see Andrew Harrison, “Medium,” in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, ed. Michael Kelly, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 294–96. For author interpretations see Rosalind Krauss, “A *Voyage on the North Sea*: Art in the Age of the Post-Medium Condition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999). For medium-specificity in film and a rejection of it see Noël Carroll, “Defining the Moving Image,” in *Theorizing the Moving Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 49–74. See also Mary Ann Doane, “The Indexical and the Concept of Medium Specificity,” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 18, no. 1 (2007): 128–53.
 - 22 See Jan Baetens and Heidi Peeters, “Hybridity: The Reverse of Photographic Medium Specificity?” *History of Photography* 31, no. 1 (2007): 3–10.
 - 23 Shannon Brownlee and Malcolm Cook with Max Sexton engage with issues of adaptation and fidelity to the source, and adaptation and technology, respectively, giving a comprehensive outline of the writers on medium-specificity and adaptation studies in view of these two aspects. However, their analyses do not concern the form, but the content of the work that is being transposed from one medium into another. See Shannon Brownlee, “Fidelity, Medium Specificity, (In)determinacy,” in Cutchins, Krebs, and Voigts, *The Routledge Companion to Adaptation*, 157–68; Malcolm Cook and Max Sexton, “Adaptation as a Function of Technology and Its Role in the Definition of Medium Specificity,” in Cutchins, Krebs, and Voigts, *The Routledge Companion to Adaptation*, 361–71.
 - 24 Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, trans. Francis J. Whitfield (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 47–60.
 - 25 Although not fully developed, I have conducted research on the works of avant-garde artists working in multiple media. Partial results of my research are forthcoming in two volumes of collected papers.
 - 26 Rajewsky, “Intermediality, Intertextuality,” 53.
 - 27 Wolf, *Musicalization of Fiction*, 41–46.
 - 28 Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, 70–77.
 - 29 Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, 72–73; and Wolf, *Musicalization of Fiction*, 46–47. In his volume, Wolf also points out that he borrowed the terms *Einzelreferenz* (single reference) and *Systemreferenz* (system reference) from the discourse on intertextuality, more specifically from Ulrich Broich, “Bezugsfelder der Intertextualität: Zur Einzeltextreferenz,” in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. Ulrich Broich and Manfred Pfister (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 48–52; and Manfred Pfister, “Bezugsfelder der Intertextualität: Zur Systemreferenz,” in Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 52–58.
 - 30 On the topic of music in Proust’s cycle *À la recherche du temps perdu* (*In Search of Lost Time*, 1913–1927), see Joseph Acquisto, *Proust, Music, and Meaning: Theories and Practices of Listening in the Recherche* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
 - 31 Wolf, “Intermediality,” 255.
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 Ibid.
 - 34 Wolf, “Literature and Music: Theory,” 466.
 - 35 Ibid.
 - 36 Wolf, “Intermediality,” 255.
 - 37 Dragu, “Avant-Garde Musicalized Pictures,” 124–46.
 - 38 The novel is still in manuscript, and I did not get a chance to consult it properly at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest where the manuscript is repositied.
 - 39 See Dragu, “Avant-Garde Musicalized Pictures,” 131–34.
 - 40 Stephen Coppel, *Picasso Prints: The Vollard Suite* (London: British Museum Press, 2012). Although not illustrated in the exhibition catalog, the 2012 exhibition at the British Museum displayed side by side original etchings and prints by Rembrandt and Goya next

- to Picasso's prints, as well as the Greek vases that inspired the style and the topics of Picasso's prints.
- 41 Similarly, Roy Lichtenstein transposed the form of many of Picasso's paintings in the style of Pop art, reproducing their form accurately. See Michael FitzGerald, *Picasso and American Art* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 2006), chapter 5 (1958–2003). "I think Picasso would have thrown up if he'd seen my versions. Maybe not, though. Maybe he would have fallen in love with them and then destroyed all his other work," 239–315.
 - 42 Michiel de Vann, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and Other Italic Languages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 128, 249.
 - 43 Dick Higgins, *Horizons: The Poetics and Theory of the Intermedia* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 24–25.
 - 44 Peter Frank, "Postwar Performance and Intermedia: The Technological Impetus and the Musical Paradigm," in *Technology*, ed. Leigh Landy (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 9–40.
 - 45 Claus Clüver, "Interarts Studies: An Introduction," in *Media inter Media: Essays in Honor of Claus Clüver*, ed. Stephanie Glaser (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 497–526. [Originally published as "Interartiella studier: en inledning" in *I musernas tjänst: Studier i konstarnas interrelationer*, ed. Ulla-Britta Lagerroth, Hans Lund, Peter Luthersson, and Anders Mortenson (Stockholm: Symposium, 1993), 17–47.]
 - 46 Leo H. Hoek, "La transposition intersémiotique: Pour une classification pragmatique," in *Rhétorique et image: Textes en hommage à A. Kibédi Varga*, ed. Leo H. Hoek and Kees Meerhoff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 65–80.
 - 47 Eric Vos, "The Eternal Network. Mail Art, Intermedia Semiotics, Interarts Studies," in Lagerroth, Lund, and Hedling, *Interart Poetics*, 325–36.
 - 48 Wolf, "Intermediality Revisited," 18.
 - 49 Ibid.
 - 50 Ibid., 19.
 - 51 Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart, eds., *Description in Literature and Other Media* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).
 - 52 Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart, eds., *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006).
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 - 56 Lars Elleström, *Media Transformation: The Transfer of Media Characteristics among Media* (Houndsmills, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
 - 57 Elleström, "The Modalities of Media," 17–24.
 - 58 Ibid., 27.
 - 59 Ibid., 24–26.
 - 60 See, for example, Lily Díaz, "History, Memory, and the Senses: The Interface as Negotiator between Intermedia and New Media," in Díaz, Dragu, and Eilittä, *Adaptation and Convergence*, 256–73.
 - 61 Elleström, "The Modalities of Media," 16–17.
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 - 63 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility" (Second Version)/"Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," 1935–1936, in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, vol. 3 of 4, 1935–1938, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Harry Zohn (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 101–33.



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Part II

Collage



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3 A heterogeneous articulation of meaning

Avant-garde visual and verbal collage

The term ‘collage’ has had a rich history in the popular arts before the twentieth century, but it entered ‘high’ art in 1912–1913, when Picasso and Braque started pasting pieces of wallpaper, newspaper, sheet music, as well as sand and pins, to a pictorial composition. Subsequently, other early avant-garde artistic movements started using the collage technique, and varied the type of elements that could be part of the collage.

The term has also been applied to certain literary texts and musical compositions that seem to display characteristics similar to those of the visual corresponding technique. By evaluating precise historical data, I will establish whether the verbal and musical collages were transposed from the visual arts, or the use of the term by the critics illustrates a transmedial phenomenon (no influence can be identified between the two).

Collage is *par excellence* a mixed-medium product, not only with regard to the materials used, in an art-historical sense, but also in light of the intermedial theory, because it combines conventional and nonconventional media, seen in light of the semiotic media, words, images, sounds, put in contact. From the mixture of such conflicting elements emerges the essence of collage as a “figure of thought,” not only seen as a metaphor,¹ but also as a figure that undermines the logical categories of space and time, and their perception. The heterogeneity that any visual collage displays does not trigger the disappearance of meaning,² but on the contrary, opens the work of art to new forms of art perception. It is not wrong to claim that collage has turned into the performance acts of the 1960s and 1970s, where the intersection of art and life subsumes larger spheres than the picture plane of a collage.

As mentioned above, a collage is not the work reproduced on the pages of the art albums or other forms of remediation across media.³ The real-life collages that museums rarely bring out because they are very delicate and frail and probably also because they are not considered to be the most representative works by the respective artist, have a spatial dimension that is annulled in their various reproductions across media. Picasso pinned pieces of papers to the canvas and let the materials stay looser or tighter, or glued them, as the artistic mind requested. Similarly, the spatial dimension is a key feature of Ives’s musical collages, as apparent in his *Symphony No. 4*, where Ives goes as far as splitting the orchestra into two parts to make emerge the difference in spatial perception for the audience.

Richard Wollheim’s warning that we should analyze only the pictures we have seen in real life proves very beneficial for the study of the frail collages.⁴ Furthermore, what is called fine nuances of shading we see in the reproduction of a collage or of any painting at large, are not shading in Picasso’s collages, but they are obtained by exploiting

the shape of matter, such as the oilcloth from Picasso's *Still Life with Chair Caning* (1912), the first visual collage.

Picasso's collages or how to "*trompe l'esprit*"

None of Picasso's collages he made through 1912–1914 present identical spatial relations. In each collage the interaction between pasted matter (mostly newspaper, wall-paper, or various types of industrial paper) and illusionary drawing creates a visual work of art that challenges the viewer in different ways. These relations do not aim to create the aesthetic illusion, but study it and refer to it by various means, creating an anatomy of vision. Seeing is thinking for Picasso – or more accurately seeing differently means thinking differently. More significantly, for Picasso, a collage is a way of "fooling the spirit" ("*trompe l'esprit*"), as Françoise Gilot recorded in her memoirs about her life with Picasso.⁵

"The fooling of the spirit" is generated by the subversion of clear-meaning articulation through a particular association of drawing, pieces of papers and newspapers, and materials of various kinds. The three Picasso collages chosen for this analysis display various forms of interactions between pasted papers and illusionary drawings, which may be encountered in other collages too.⁶

The first type of collage, as represented by *Feuille de musique et guitare* (*Music Sheet and Guitar*, 1912) (Figure 3.1), creates the esthetic illusion almost exclusively by nonconventional means, i.e., pieces of paper, newspaper, and scores. On the background made up of bluish paper, various pieces of grey, brown, and white paper create the illusion of the guitar. The elements of painting, such as the line, the point, the circle, are generated exclusively by exploiting the properties of the actual pieces of papers. A curving line suggesting the winding contour of the violin in the lower part of the picture is traced by the winding white-paper cutting, and enhanced by the contrast it generates with the greyish paper underneath it. The only drawing apparent, the heavy charcoal drawing on the white rectangle paper from the center of the picture, suggests the strings of the guitar and the sound hole in the central area. The pin attaches the white paper rectangle to the canvas, creating thus the dimension of real spatial depth. Retracing the interaction between paper and drawing in a Picasso collage is a complicated endeavor,⁷ but in this one it is relatively easy to trace the order in which the pieces of paper were laid on top of the other.

In *Guitare, verre, bouteille de vieux marc* (*Guitar, Glass, and Bottle of Old Marc*, spring–summer 1913) (Figure 3.2), the illusion is jointly generated by extended drawing and the discrete pieces of paper and wallpaper, flanking all sides of the picture plane. In perceiving the guitar, the viewer joins the illusionary drawing of the tablature and of the sound hole with the winding shape of the white paper pasted on the upper part. The illusion is generated, but a new 'syntax' of the image emerges, as compared to the previous collage. Line, circle, and point, the elements of painting, as Wassily Kandinsky theorized them in a famous essay, are jointly created by traditional means, the charcoal drawing, and by the shape of the paper cuttings. In this image, paper and illusionary drawing work together to create in the mind of the viewer illusionary perception. The bottle on the right-hand side of the picture plane is formed from illusionistic drawing and pasted black paper. However, on top of the black pasted paper, Picasso has drawn some white lines to suggest the shading of the bottle. The transparent glass in front of the bottle is made up of illusionistic depth as well as real, solid

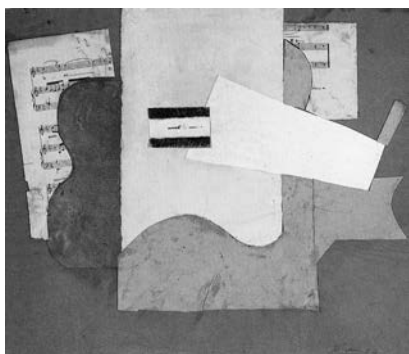


Figure 3.1 Pablo Picasso, *Feuille de musique et guitare* (*Music Sheet and Guitar*), 1912. Collage (charcoal and cut-out papers, pasted or pinned on paper), 41.5 × 48 cm (16½ × 18½ in.). Centre Pompidou, Paris. © 2019 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

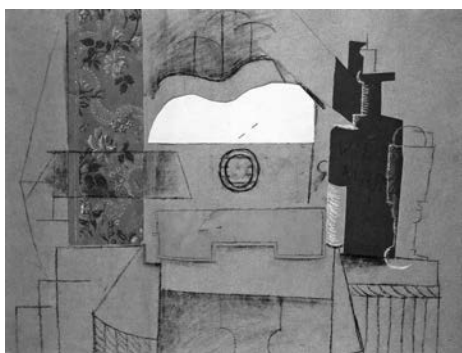


Figure 3.2 Pablo Picasso, *Guitare, verre, bouteille de vieux marc* (*Guitar, Glass, and Bottle of Old Marc*), spring-summer 1913, Céret. Collage (white and colored laid paper and wallpaper with floral motifs, cut-out, pasted or pinned, on blue laid paper, thick charcoal, shading, and white chalk, 47.2 × 61.8 cm [18½ × 61½ in.]). Musée Picasso, Paris. © 2019 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

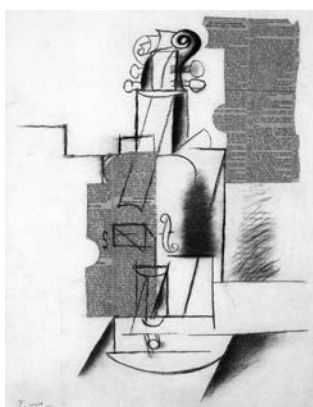


Figure 3.3 Pablo Picasso, *Violon* (*Violin*), winter 1912. Collage (charcoal and pasted paper on paper), 62 × 47 cm (24¾ × 18½ in.). Centre Pompidou, Paris. © 2019 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

paper. The collaged pieces of paper used in this collage have holes in them, suggesting that Picasso probably tried several arrangements before deciding on their exact positioning within the picture plane.

The third collage chosen for this comparative analysis, *Violon* (*Violin*, winter 1912) (Figure 3.3) displays yet another type of interaction between the illusionary drawing and the pasted matter. In this situation, the two media, the drawing, and the pasted matter, work against one another, creating logically and visually impossible situations. In *Violon*, the two fragments of pasted newspapers ‘annul’ the illusionary drawing. Clement Greenberg, in his formalist analysis of Cubist collages, claimed that the pasted paper affirmed the reality of the picture plane.⁸ We see this principle illustrated in the *Violin* collage, since the two pasted pieces of newspaper assert material flatness as they lie perfectly glued to the surface of the canvas. Unlike the black paper used to generate the black bottle in the previous collage, which surreptitiously blended into the picture, these newspaper cuttings have clearly delimited contours and are not used to depict an object.⁹ Instead, the charcoal drawing of the violin, both ‘on top’ and ‘below’ the surface plane, creates a visual conundrum: where is the violin? Is it on top or below the canvas surface? If we are to imagine the reality of the violin in relation to the surface plane, this should exist both below and on top of the picture plane. The two newspaper cuttings assert that in between them there is no real violin, only the illusion of seeing one. Furthermore, Picasso’s guitar constructions he started making at the end of 1913 expand the spatial principles debated in collages.¹⁰

These three collages illustrate various types of intersection between the illusionary drawing and the pasted matter, from the creation of illusion exclusively by material means in *Music Sheet and Guitar* (Figure 3.1), to the harmonious combination between drawing and pasted matter like in *Guitar, Glass, and Bottle of Old Marc* (Figure 3.2), to the visual impossibility of illusion and matter like in the *Violin* collage (Figure 3.3). However, I do not think one may talk of the victory of the flatness (table) against the illusion (tableau) in Picasso’s collages, as Christine Poggi claimed¹¹ – who built on the terms employed by the French critic André L  the in his analysis of Picasso and Braque collages. Instead Picasso’s collages display an infinite play of the imagination and the negotiation between the illusion and the pasted matter, raising questions and investigating the nature of artistic vision and visual representation. The materials used by Picasso in his collages are important not only in virtue of their significance outside the picture plane,¹² but also with regard to their positioning within the picture plane. It is important to establish whether the collaged materials are perfectly glued to the surface, like the two rectangles of newspapers in the *Violin* collage, or let loose and pinned to the picture surface, because then they fulfill different functions within the picture plane. If one thinks of the way Picasso displayed these collages in his studio from Boulevard Raspail, as testified by the three surviving photographs he took of these arrangements in December 1912, one next to and on top of another, one may see the importance and relevance of this arrangement in view of the readings of the collages I have proposed.¹³ Rather than being displayed as work in progress, as Anne Baldassari claimed,¹⁴ each Picasso collage creates a new form of interaction between pasted matter and drawing, and the combinatorial possibilities are endless. By displaying side by side plain drawings and drawings with pasted newspapers, with the construction of the violin on top of each of these arrangements, we may view these panels as an experimental board, where one may contemplate the way pasted newspaper on a drawing changes, distorts, and also opens new ways of perceiving a picture.

Also, Picasso had traced the form of some of his collages in the drawings preceding 1912, when he got engaged with the technique of collage. The form of his first collage *Still Life with Chair Caning* (Spring 1912) is already constructed in a drawing from 1911 called *Oval Composition* (1911),¹⁵ and the collage *La bouteille de vieux marc* (spring 1913)¹⁶ is built on the drypoint *Nature morte, bouteille* (*Still Life with Bottle of Marc*, 1911).¹⁷ We may thus retrace the creative process and see that the collaged element, an artistic technique that Picasso purportedly took over from Braque, allowed for new formal changes and experiments within the traditional mode of visual representation. Greenberg claimed that the invention of collage effected the change from Analytical to Synthetic Cubism,¹⁸ but rather than seeing collage as a catalyst of the change as Greenberg did, collages created new types of forms of vision, different from both Synthetic and Analytical paintings, effected exclusively by pictorial means. Furthermore, the principle of appropriating real-life matter, like in collages, or the style and composition of other paintings, like the drawings and etchings from the later Vollard suite, were a continuous interest in Picasso's artistic life. Thus, rather than appending the brief period of collages between 1912 and 1914 to Picasso's paintings and drawings, one should view the element of collage as an independent artistic technique, which has its own reasons and meanings and does not justify the emergence of another style.

The three selected collages also bring into question the issue of quantifiable/unquantifiable matter. Plain paper and wallpaper (to a certain extent) are unquantifiable matter. They do not have shape, form, and are multifunctional. They can easily be shaped into whatever form desired. Newspaper and scores are quantifiable in that they are a discrete entity with predetermined spatial and functional coordinates, meant to be read or performed. Newspapers and scores are recognizable as such, even if we see a small piece of them on the picture plane. Thus, the black bottle in *Guitar, Glass, and Bottle of Old Marc* (Figure 3.2) was easily shaped by cutting the black paper in the desired form, but the newspaper used to suggest the body of the violin in *Violin* (Figure 3.3), does not have the same descriptive abilities like the black paper that was easily made to take the shape of a bottle. The newspaper in the *Violin* does not depict the violin figuratively, like the black paper depicts the bottle. The cuttings in the newspaper may suggest the roundness of the sound hole, but the connection between them is loose and not descriptive. Even when we see a bottle entirely made up of newspaper, like the syphon bottle in *Siphon, Glass, Newspaper, Violin* (Fall 1912),¹⁹ we know that that is a convention. We may think that a bottle is wrapped in newspaper but newspaper is not an unquantifiable matter like the black wrapping paper used to literally depict the black bottle. Rosalind Krauss compared Cubist collages with the symbolic sign, in that the relation between signifier and the signified is loose and arbitrary.²⁰ Although I do not agree with her limiting theory,²¹ one must acknowledge that Picasso's collages play with form, meaning, and signification of matter, beyond simply illustrating and replicating the behavior of the symbolic sign in the visual medium as Krauss had claimed.

Put differently, any piece of paper may easily be made to look like anything else, while a newspaper cutting or a score, both of which appear frequently in Picasso's collages, remain a score and a newspaper. Much later, René Magritte's collages making use of scores will play upon the topic by cutting the page of the score to look exactly like certain objects, a glass or a bilboquet, in *L'esprit et la forme* (c. 1928).²² In Magritte's collage, the score is so fragmented that it makes the reading of the melody impossible, but in Picasso's collages, newspaper fragments are not extremely and unrecognizably cut. In Picasso's collages, the newspaper cuttings always seem to be placed so that certain words

and titles are emphasized and can be immediately seen by the viewer. Even in the syphon made of newspaper, the journal column is perfectly preserved in the cutting. Unlike Picasso's syphon bottle made of newspaper, Magritte's bottle-like constructions are part of an imaginative world, shown on imaginary stages where a fish is flying in the air.

The newspaper cuttings have also been extensively debated by the critics who claimed that the words, phrases, and stories contained in the pasted newspaper cuttings should be applied to the understanding of the collage itself. The topic generated extensive scholarship, and it originates in Robert Rosenblum's content-oriented interpretations of Cubism from the late 1950s,²³ in reaction to Greenberg's formalist analyses. However, I would contend that the question is irrelevant and not correctly formulated. Picasso's newspaper cuttings are definitely meant to be read because the fragments are relatively large – as compared to Magritte's similar cuttings of scores – and their shape is still large enough to look like newspapers. However, even if we read them, this still does not help us understand the meaning of the visual collage. Critics have gone to long lengths to prove that Picasso's *Still Life: Au bon marché* collage replicates the body of a woman.²⁴ But just like the supporters of the Cultural Musicology do, the art critics add too much information that is not in the picture they are meant to analyze. It is excellent to know that *Le Bon Marché*, the first French supermarket, still exists, and peruse the newspapers that were used as the source of the cuttings, but the meaning of the collage should be established purely from within the picture, in virtue of the spatial and pictorial connections created therein. If we limit the collage to telling us a plain narrative, we miss the true significance and semiotic experiments apparent within the picture plane.

Anne Baldassari has documented the extensive involvement of Picasso with newspapers, from the first caricatures he drew on the pages of newspapers to the actual pastings of newspapers within the picture plane.²⁵ As her two volumes prove, this has been a constant engagement for Picasso, from the early Spanish years to the late collages and beyond. The placement of newspaper on the picture plane suggests that although drawings and words are both signs and perceived visually, they carry different meanings. A verbal text cannot create the complex intellectual relations between the reality displayed in the newspaper and the illusionary reality of the charcoal drawing conjoined in Picasso's collages, as outlined above, in an artistic manner.

The meaning of a collage such as *Verre, bouteille de vin, paquet de tabac, journal* (*Glass, Bottle of Wine, Packet of Cigarettes, and Newspaper*, 1914), whose pieces of papers were literally glued to the surface during a defective restoration,²⁶ escapes us and will forever do so, because the spatial relations apparent in the original work were destroyed. When we see the original flat and bland, it is as if we see a reproduction of it.

But probably more than any other collage, the collage entitled *Tête* (*Head*, Paris–Céret, 1913) (Figure 3.4) plays upon the fooling of the spirit Picasso talked about at the intersection between illusion and pasted matter. On a piece of velin black calendered paper, a type of wrapping paper processed at high temperatures to make it smooth, glossy, and thick, Picasso mixed illusionary and logically impossible depth and flatness within the same drawing. In the lower part of the black rectangle paper, three intersecting lines suggest an illusionary corner, while the vertical line that extends upward ends in a small circle and segment that cancel the depth suggested below. Seen independently, the upper horizontal segment ending in the circle affirms illusionary flatness, while the drawing in the lower corner generates illusionary depth. Placed within the context of depicting a head, this collage seems to be self-reflective about the visual thinking and pictorial depiction in general. As Picasso confessed, he was not interested in the subject of painting, but the object, which is a direct expression of matter and form.²⁷

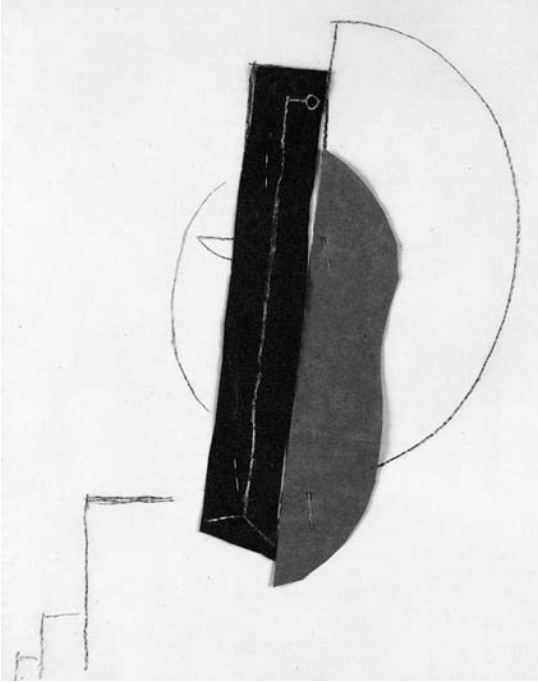


Figure 3.4 Pablo Picasso, *Tête (Head)*, spring–summer 2013. Collage (velin calendered packing paper, black and brown, cut-out, pasted and pinned on white laid paper filigranné “Ingres 1871,” oiled charcoal, and white chalk), 61.8 × 47 cm (24½ × 18½ in.). Musée Picasso, Paris. © 2019 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Returning to the topic of the “narrativity” of modernist picture as debated by William Rubin and James Elkins (see Chapter 1), it is important to notice that Picasso’s collages contain a narration understood in the most extensive way. They do not contain a figurative story, but a story of sense perception.

Picasso’s spatial experiments with form and meaning formation in his collages from 1912 to 1914 are unique in the avant-garde. He returned to the topic of appropriating style in some of the drawings contained in the Vollard suite, which replicate famous etchings and prints by Rembrandt and Goya in a modern idiom. The exploration of the combinations between form and matter, illusion and pasted surface, are not apparent in Braque’s collages, for example, who uses the collage for more descriptive purposes. The other avant-garde artists who employed the technique did not explore the interaction of the two media, drawing and pasted matter, but used objects in more “literalist” ways. I will investigate the collage as used by other avant-garde artists in the next section. It was Max Ernst who redefined the technique and probed into further issues of material function and meaning formation in his collages and *romans-collages* from the early 1920s and beyond. Thus, it is wrong to assume that anyone can make a collage, including untrained children, like Marjorie Perloff did in her once influential article on the topic.²⁸ Collage does not mean just pasting objects on a board, it creates complex forms of space–meaning interactions within a pictorial tradition and a pictorial space, as seen in Picasso’s collages. If we fail to understand the aesthetic dimension and artistic training involved in the making of collages and of the all apparently ‘easy’ arts, then we may claim that everyone can create sculptures like Carl Andre’s *Equivalent VIII* (1966), just because we can all arrange some bricks on the floor.

Collage in the early avant-garde movements – theme and variations

Although artists from almost all early avant-garde movements, with the exception of the Expressionists, used the technique of collage, the complex spatial dimensions and the intersection between illusion and pasted matter as displayed in Picasso's collages disappeared from the works of these artists. Instead, some of them aimed to transform the materiality of the collaged object by painterly means in order to obtain illusionary effects. The objects were used literally and artists sought to metamorphose their material characteristics in order to suggest, by means of paint, different spatial and perceptive identities. This is most visible in Kurt Schwitters's Dada collages, in which he diversified the materials that could be used in collages, but at the same time he re-worked them intensely in his studio so that they become artistic.²⁹ Schwitters's *Merzbild 10A: Konstruktion für edle Frauen* (*Merzpicture 10 A: Construction for Noble Ladies*, 1919) (Figure 3.5) creates an exquisite combination of colors and fine nuances of shading, reminiscent of the great Renaissance colorists, by fusing and imbuing objects with paints.³⁰ Fragments of a wheel, a whole wheel, two planks intersecting at the center of the picture, a funnel protruding outside the picture plane, a children's train slanted on the right-hand side, create an assemblage of detritus of the everyday life. A fragment from a German newspaper on the left-hand side of the picture is partially covered with green and red paint. Rather than exploiting the discrete spatial coordinates of the pasted object, these artists disguised them by means of paint and exploited the surprise element and the shock of discovering in the picture plane objects traditionally foreign to the fine arts of painting.

The first to accuse and complain of the literalist use of the collaged pieces in the works of the Italian Futurists, different from the creative use of the technique in Picasso's works, was Giovanni Papini in the polemic he had with Umberto Boccioni in the winter–spring of 1914, in the pages of the Futurist paper *Lacerba*. In his article, Papini pointed out that Picasso did not use wood to represent wood, or a street poster to suggest the atmosphere on a street.³¹ Papini's observation captures the essence of the Futurist collages, since Gino Severini added sequins to the dress of the painted



Figure 3.5 Kurt Schwitters, *Merzbild 10A: Konstruktion für edle Frauen* (*Merzpicture 10 A: Construction for Noble Ladies*), 1919. Collage (assemblage of wood, metal, tin funnel, leather, cork, paper, oil, and gouache on paper on wood), 108 × 83.4 cm (39¾ × 32⅞ in.). Los Angeles County Museum of Modern Art. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Ballerina blu (*Blue Dancer*, 1912), while Boccioni pasted newspaper cuttings about the war to support the visual representation of the attack of the cavalry in *Carica di lancieri* (*Charge of the Lancers*, 1915).

In addition to this direction, there has been another one, derived from Picasso's works, which consisted of creating collages from pieces of paper to the almost complete exclusion of paint. This technique appears across several avant-garde movements, such as in Olga Rozanova's Constructivist collages from the series *Universal War* (1916), the Dada collages of Jean Arp, such as *Geometric Collage* (1916), and Kurt Schwitters's *Mz 600 Leiden* (1923) among others. But unlike Picasso's *Guitar* discussed above, in which paper was employed for realistic purposes, to depict a guitar and to create illusionary lines by exploiting the material properties of the pasted object, paper is used abstractly in the collages of these other avant-garde artists. More specifically, Jean Arp's *Untitled (Collage with Squares Arranged According to the Laws of Chance)*, 1916–1917, consists of white and blue pieces of paper arranged on a grey paper. The abstraction of this collage differs from the abstraction obtained by painterly means because it appeals to the spatiotemporal modality differently than a painted version of it would. The rugged margins of the papers indicate an act of tearing, which does not compare to tracing an illusionary zig-zag line on paper. The larger blue papers dominate the smaller ones, so there is a pre-selection with pictorial and compositional purposes, indicating the intention of making objects seem illusionistic. We may see in this collage a further enhancement of the formalist theories of abstraction, in opposition to the more fashionable claims that abstraction relates to expression and spirituality, as supported by John Golding.³² This collage does not express anything apart from the interaction between the larger and smaller forms and the rugged lines 'traced' on paper. That art does not have to express something to be art is the lesson we later learned from the mid-century American Minimalist artists.³³

The use of paper for abstract nonrepresentational purposes is in harmony with the nature of paper, which is uncountable matter. Seen from the point of view of the larger debate on medium specificity mentioned above, we may observe that going against the most obvious features of the medium, the abstractness of colored paper, like in Picasso's *Music Sheet and Guitar* (Figure 3.1), leads to a more creative output. Thus, the idea that a medium is limited to certain qualities of expression³⁴ is undermined from the bottom, because experimenting with techniques foreign to the medium enlarges the expressive possibilities of the respective medium, beyond the obvious.

Some of the Italian Futurists employed paper to make quasi-representational collages, like in Gino Severini's *Still Life with Fruit Bowl*, 1913,³⁵ but the agglomeration of shapes and forms does not suggest that the purpose was to make lines, circles, or points by means of paper, like in Picasso's *Music Sheet and Guitar* (Figure 3.1) discussed above. Picasso parodied the style of the Futurist still-life collages in his collage *Purgativo: Still Life with Lacerba* from 1914, in which he replicated the typical Futurist arrangement of newspaper and objects on a table, in the absence of any engagement with the interaction between illusionary drawing and pasted matter.

Photographs were also used in the early collages, but artists were not interested in the way a photograph represents and relates to reality. The change in the perception of the photograph and the possibilities for artistic expressions it opened took place only around 1919–1920, with the works of Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch, John Heartfield and George Grosz, as well as of the Russians Gustav Klutsis, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and El Lissitzky.

It has been the norm since Herta Wescher's 1955 article,³⁶ subsequently enlarged in her volume on the topic,³⁷ to treat collage across the early avant-garde movements, with the photomontage included, and highlight how collage supported the artistic

message of all these avant-garde movements.³⁸ Instead, I would like to propose that the technique of collage used by the avant-garde movements differs extensively from Picasso's collages, in that most avant-garde artists treated the collaged piece in virtue of its materiality with the main purpose of transforming it by traditional painterly means. These collages have the merit of experimenting with the variety of types of matter and objects that can be pasted onto the picture surface, subsuming them however to the illusionistic drawing. Picasso's formal experiments are unique among these works of the early avant-garde artists employing collage, and the technique will be redefined across new coordinates in the collages of Max Ernst, and especially in his *romans-collages*. Also, rather than seeing photomontage as part of the collage techniques, like these critics do, in my view, the nature of the photograph determines new possibilities of expression, setting aside collage and photomontage, as two separate techniques, at least for the period under survey.

When words are used in the collage works of the early avant-garde artists, they are meant to depict the reality outside itself, like in Carlo Carrà's *Manifestazione interventista (Festa patriottica – dipinto parolibero)* (*Interventionist Demonstration [Patriotic Holiday – Free-Word Painting]*, 1914) collage (Figure 3.6), in which words such as “STRADA,” “RUMORI,” “MUSIC,” “canzoni,” “pedoni su Piazza,” cut from newspapers, mainly the Futurist journal *Lacerba*, show up on the picture plane to suggest the parties and mass celebrations on the street. This collage illustrates the principle theorized by Marinetti of freeing the language from syntax and using words independently,³⁹ but also their use within the picture plane has a significance within a strictly art-historical context. The newspaper cuttings from this collage are so fragmentary, that they stop representing a newspaper, they are just printed words. As seen above, the



Figure 3.6 Carlo Carrà, *Manifestazione interventista (Festa patriottica – dipinto parolibero)* (*Interventionist Demonstration [Patriotic Holiday – Freedom Painting]*), July 1914. Collage (tempera, pen, mica powder, paper glued on cardboard), 38.5 × 30 cm (15 $\frac{1}{10}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Peggy Guggenheim Collection, collection Gianni Mattioli, Venice. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / SIAE, Rome.

newspaper cutting was for Picasso an object in itself, with clearly defined properties, shape, length, and width, not being extremely cut so as to destroy the properties that made it a newspaper. This different treatment of the newspaper cutting has different consequences on the words pasted on the picture plane: the words pasted on Picasso's collages are part of an object that gives them a contextual meaning, while Carrà's cut-out words from newspapers are a direct reference to reality, contributing to the meaning of the painting in more content-oriented ways than the words in Picasso's newspaper.⁴⁰

Like Schwitters's collage discussed above, Carrà's collage affirms the illusionistic handling of the concrete properties of matter, because the shape of the newspapers is completely destroyed. Thus, the small snippets of newspaper contribute to the representation of the huge vortex, which some critics related to the shape of Apollinaire's poem "Lettre-Océan" discussed below. However, if Carrà was inspired by the shape of Apollinaire's poem is irrelevant, since this collage is outstanding not only through the thorough transformation of the newspaper cuttings, but also through the energy that it suggests, 'absorbing' everything toward the center of the picture plane, and creating the illusion of depth through the black painted area from the top of the vortex at the center of the picture. The elements of painting, such as line, circle, point, are suggested by fragments of paper, but these objects are no longer identified as newspapers, like in Picasso's collages where newspaper fragments were made up of extensive articles distributed in several columns. They become instead uncountable, their identity was effaced by the extensive dismemberment of the constitutive elements of a newspaper, a certain format, shape, length, and width. Because of these compositional elements, this fascinating collage is an intermedia text par excellence, as words and drawing rely on each other to create the visual vortex, which suggests the city riots or the city noises that fascinated the Futurists.

In 1919, Hannah Höch made collages such as *Schwarze Form (Das Negativ)* (*Black Form [The Negative]*)⁴¹ by pasting paper and magazine cuttings in abstract shapes. She developed similar geometrical forms in her drawings of the time, such as *Rot Dominierend (Dominant Red)*⁴² also from 1919. Another collage from 1919, *Spaziergang (Promenade)* is representational, as the artist used cut-out colored papers and added drawing on top to represent a woman and a man walking on the street.⁴³ Höch's encounter with the photograph, and its application to the collage technique – under the influence or at the same time with Hausmann – determined the genesis of a different type of art, photomontage, to be discussed extensively in Chapters 5 and 6. Raoul Hausmann started making paper collages as early as 1918, as he himself confessed.⁴⁴ These were made up exclusively of newspaper cuttings, like the cover he designed for the journal *Der Dada* no. 2, or colored ones, by mixing newspaper cuttings and oil painting drawing in *Abstract Composition* (1918).

Moholy-Nagy's collages of 1919–1920 and beyond, such as *Perpe* (1919), *Untitled* (1920),⁴⁵ display the same subordination of the collaged element, usually colored paper, to the geometrically abstract pictorial composition of Constructivist descent. A collage like *Red Collage* (1921),⁴⁶ made up of three discrete rectangles of various dimensions pasted on a white background create the type of indeterminate white space, which is a staple of Moholy-Nagy's photomontages of the 1920s.

In the Constructivist *Proun 19D* (ca. 1922) by El Lissitzky, the pieces of paper get lost among the other painted surfaces. Just like in Picasso's collages, in Lissitzky's *Proun 19D* it is hard to say when paint and pasted paper intersect, especially in a reproduction. But this aspect does not involve experiments with form too like in Picasso's collages, since Lissitzky pasted a piece of rectangular black paper to an assigned area, which does not interact spatially with the other elements of the illusionary drawing. This discrete rectangle of paper is used to suggest the depth of the shape it creates.⁴⁷

The collages of Höch, Hausmann, Moholy-Nagy, and Lissitzky, from around the years 1919–1920, point out their familiarity with the technique of collage of paper, newspaper, sand, etc. The shift toward the new technique of photomontage is triggered by the realization that the photograph, as a ‘trace’ or reality, allows for different types of meaning associations and different artistic possibilities. Photomontage is not just a collage of photographs, as it is largely assumed, but a new artistic technique that exploits the possibilities of expression the photograph holds.

In the hands of the Surrealists, collage raised new problems of representation. How can one use the materiality of the real-life object and still represent the dream? Just like in the dream, the real-life object was used to confirm and enhance the sense of the real, although the logical context was abstruse and absurd. However, most Surrealists using collaged objects, such as Salvador Dali who used sand in his collage pictures or Joan Miró, in his “*peinture-poésie*,” also explored the concrete and primary materiality of objects without engaging with larger narratives of sense and meaning formation, like Ernst did in his *romans-collages*.

Les romans-collages of Max Ernst or how to subvert visual narrative⁴⁸

Max Ernst’s three *romans-collages*, *La femme 100 têtes* (*The Hundred Headless Woman*, 1929), *Rêve d’une petite fille qui voulut entrer au Carmel* (*A Little Girl Dreams of Taking the Veil*, 1930), *Une semaine de bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux* (*A Week of Kindness or the Seven Deadly Elements*, 1934) use the collage technique in narrative series, which subvert the very idea of a coherent narrative. Although they proclaim to tell a story, they leave the reader of the visual novel perplexed as to what was the exact story that is being told. Unlike the visual novels that articulate a story in clear-cut images, Ernst’s collages in the *romans-collages* series imitate just the formal principles of (visual) novels but resist the formation of clear meaning. For his *romans-collages*, Ernst cut and seamlessly reassembled nineteenth-century illustrations of mystery novels published in feuilleton in the French journals or in individual volumes. These were cheap newspaper reproductions of engravings, a technique that had become very popular in France during the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ Nineteenth-century mystery novels have a stock schema, which presupposes a mix of crime and love intrigue, murders, extraordinary escapes, and abrupt reversals of situations, exploiting the reader’s sense of excitement for the extraordinary.⁵⁰ Therefore, their illustrations were no less spectacular.

The newspaper engravings Ernst used for the last of his collage-novel, *Une semaine de Bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux* (*A Week of Kindness or the Seven Deadly Elements Novel*),⁵¹ come from the collection of the journal *La République illustrée: journal hebdomadaire* published between 1880 and 1895,⁵² which published in 1881 the novel *Mémoires de Monsieur Claude* by Antoine-France Claude, which furnished many original engravings,⁵³ or *Le Petit Parisien: journal quotidien du soir*, which published *Les damnées de Paris* by Jules Mary in 1880, a novel from which Ernst used many engravings too.⁵⁴ Other feuilleton novels whose illustrations Ernst used for this *roman-collage* are *Martyre!* by Adolphe Philippe D’Ennery,⁵⁵ *Mam’zelle Misère* (1892) by Pierre Decourcelles,⁵⁶ and *Les trois majors* by Lucien Huard.⁵⁷

By perusing Ernst’s last visual novel, one gets the feeling that one is following a story, since we recognize the same character, such as the lion that shows up in each of the collages from “Premier cahier Dimanche. Élément: La Boue. Exemple: Le lion

de Belfort” (“First Book Sunday Element: Mud Example: The Lion of Belfort”), the first book of *Une semaine de Bonté*, without being able to say what is the meaning of that story. In the three collages selected from this first section of the volume, the one dedicated to the adventures of the lion, we see the lion introduced as a ‘character’ in the very first collage (Untitled, Illustration 1, Figure 3.7) posing as a military leader, looking toward the image of Napoleon, the epitome of the fearless ruler, whose image is pasted to the upper right of the collage. In the next image chosen for the comparative analysis (Untitled, Illustration 9, Figure 3.8) we see the lion disguised as an errant beggar, with a heavy load on his back. Two figures of women, one on the lower side of the collage and the other hidden behind the figure of the lion, point to the possible cause of this adventure, which, like in the cloak-and-dagger and mystery novels, must involve some amorous intrigue. Looking forward to the next image selected (Untitled, Illustration 17, Figure 3.9) we recognize the lion with a very different identity, in a position of power and dressed as a rich individual. He travels on a train and is involved in the kidnapping of two people, the man tied and seated between the two authoritarian figures, while the woman lies hopeless on the floor. The story continues, as the lion is involved in a decapitation, runs away free through a cemetery at night, plays the clarinet for a belly dancer, dances a quadrille dressed as a soldier, poses as a great financier, or shoots a woman. The final image of this first book, when usually the reader wants to find out the denouement of the story or of the particular narrative thread, consists of a series of lion statues, on a pedestal with the clarifying words written underneath “Laudate Pueri Dominum!” (“Children, praise the Lord!”), while the head of a calf is lying on a plate in the distance.

Typically for any novel, a new narrative thread is introduced in the next book/chapter, “Deuxième cahier Lundi. Élément: L’eau Exemple: L’eau” (“Second Book Monday Element: Water Example: Water”), whose main character is water. This new character acts as the background for more amorous stories, this time involving women scantily dressed and men engaged in dangerous adventures. The dragon is the protagonist of the third book, Tuesday, and Oedip the bird is at the center of the fourth book, Wednesday. The last notebook, comprising three days, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, has a more rapid pace as it switches abruptly between the cock and the statues in Easter Island (Thursday). The book for Friday is made up of three visible poems, with no character represented other than “the vision.” Saturday, the last book, promises to give a “key of the songs,” but the key is a fake quote from Petrus Borel, entitled “Was-ist-das” (“What Is This”), consisting of four lines of dots, as well as more women in spectacular poses, flying through the air.⁵⁸

The novel is over, the reader was presented with several narrative plots, different characters, but no synthesis emerges. If one is to give a summary of the novel, one is unable to give this account. However, the act of reading Ernst’s novel is no less rewarding, as one appreciates the variety of form, the thrilling actions, in the absence of a coherent story. If the original images from the newspapers illustrated a verbal narrative, supporting and emphasizing central moments and characters of the story, in Ernst’s *romans-collages* the ‘prepared’ images tell a visual story independent of language, resembling the comics. The French comics published in the newspapers during the nineteenth century probably fueled the idea of the *romans-collages*, through the continuous narrative they contained rendered by means of images.⁵⁹ These comic strips, like contemporary graphic novels, also had words and were related to comic topics such as brawls and misunderstandings, and relied on drawing the same



Figure 3.7 Max Ernst, Untitled, Illustration 1, 18.8 × 15.2 cm (7½ × 6 in.), in the book *Une semaine de Bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux, Premier cahier Dimanche. Élément: La Boue. Exemple: Le lion de Belfort*. Paris: Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.



Figure 3.8 Max Ernst, Untitled, Illustration 9, 19 × 13 cm (7¾ × 5⅓ in.), in the book *Une semaine de Bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux, Premier cahier Dimanche. Élément: La Boue. Exemple: Le lion de Belfort*. Paris: Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.



Figure 3.9 Max Ernst, Untitled, Illustration 17, 19 × 13.5 cm (7½ × 5⅓ in.), in the book *Une semaine de Bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux, Premier cahier Dimanche. Élément: La Boue. Exemple: Le lion de Belfort*. Paris: Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

characters repeatedly through all the scenes of the sketch. For example, the front page of the journal *L'Ouvrière* from January 1, 1907,⁶⁰ (Figure 3.10) shows a fake merchant of straw-brooms, trying to ingratiate himself with the female customer who promptly beats him in response to his sexual advances and innuendoes. But unlike the comics, which are the direct expression of the style of the artist, Ernst appropriates foreign images and rearranges them formally, changing their meaning by visual operations. So the effect is a parody of the mystery novels and their cheap appeal to people's phantasy, displacing the mundane.

Apart from the enjoyment the reading of the *roman-collage* brings, therein are comprised many intellectual comments performed by means of collage. These relate first to the idea of narratives by means of pictures, second to a further broadening of the artistic possibilities of collage as a technique, as well as implicit comments on the nature of narrative as a structure with form and (coherent or not coherent) meaning.

The three *romans-collages* by Ernst open new possibilities of expression and further inquire into the ontological status of the most basic features of human perception of art, space, and time. The idea of a narrative, the basic feature of all Mediterranean civilization since Mesopotamian times of Uruk and Gilgamesh, gets redesigned by means of collage in Ernst's three *romans-collages*. The collage element consists of cutting nineteenth-century illustrated magazines assembled to make up impossible stories. These images are seamlessly interwoven and the processes through which they were obtained quite complicated.⁶¹ Not only that several narrative threads are interwoven in the *roman-collage*, belonging to different stories, but also Ernst's collages do no respect the order in which these images were reproduced in the original. Ernst did not essentially alter the main composition of these illustrations he extensively appropriated, but added snippets of paper and details extracted from other reproductions. Thus, in the original illustration used for Figure 3.8, the only things he added are the two figures of the women and the wings in the basket. All the other elements are present in the original image, such as the long stick, as well as the lantern used to light the road.⁶²

Unlike the independent collages Ernst made through the 1920s, the collages in narrative series explore the interaction between word and image in more nuanced ways, since



Figure 3.10 Haye, “En voulez-vous des balais”; front page of *L'Ouvrière: journal illustré*, no. 106 (January 1, 1907). BnF.

the narrative series they are embedded into adds to their individual meaning. As early as 1922, Ernst made the collage-illustrations for two volumes of poetry by Paul Éluard, *Répétitions* (1922) and *Les malheurs des immortels* (1922).⁶³ The collages Ernst made for Éluard's volumes of poetry display the same surreal imagination in which bodies of people and heads of birds intermingle and are combined in impossible associations. Ernst overpainted the illustrations he appropriated, unlike the collages from the *romans-collages* series, which are exclusively obtained by means of paper, without any drawing added.⁶⁴ The illustrations of the *romans-collages* and the drawings from the two volumes by Éluard display similarities at the level of form as well as subject. For example, the drawing Ernst made for the prose "Rencontre de deux sourires" ("Meeting of Two Smiles") shows a seated woman with the head of a butterfly attended by an elegant gentleman with the head of a bird.⁶⁵ Mixing human and animal parts is a procedure that shows up repeatedly in Ernst's *romans-collages*. Thus, the principle of associating mismatched bodily parts, the staple of the *romans-collages*, was already alive in 1922 when these two volumes came out. The illogical narrative that ties the recurrent images in the *romans-collages* develops the collage beyond its pictorial nature, in virtue of the potential narrative it subverts, by directly exposing and questioning the nature of the formal elements of the narrative, such as plot and characters.

Ernst's collages display the same artistic preoccupation of the early avant-garde artists engaged with the technique, to subordinate newspaper and paper to the illusionary construction. Ernst engaged with foreign images in various ways, from literally appropriating an image like in the *romans-collages*, to borrowing a structure only to paint over it (with physical contact between the images), to using an image as model and inspiration to replicate it in another medium.⁶⁶ The last technique relates Picasso's works from the Vollard suite, but unlike the famous Renaissance etchings and prints Picasso replicated, Ernst used a technical drawing or a photograph from the periodicals of the time as model and inspiration for his paintings.⁶⁷ However, for the purposes of this book, I define as collages only those works by Ernst that imply cutting and assembling newspaper and papers, with the text and images engraved on them, but not photographs. I will treat Ernst's collages of photographs, i.e., photomontages, in Chapter 5.

Ernst's *romans-collages* probe into the notion of chronological and logical narrative that is so ingrained in the human spirit. Coming out in a century when the traditional notions of space and times perception were challenged by science and physics, Ernst's art from his *romans-collages* challenge us in a different way, pointing out that coherent narrative is not the only possible narrative. Also, his *romans-collages* reinforce the idea expressed in his writings, that it is not glue that makes the collage.⁶⁸ Instead, collage emerges in Ernst's works as a means of subverting the traditional notions of narrative, time, and perception. The nature of the collaged material determines and shapes the artistic experiment implied in each collage, as the cheap and exciting reproductions of *feuilletons* re-embark on aesthetic paths by formal means of cutting and pasting, which shape the fantastic worlds of the Surrealist imagination.

Words and images: quasi-nonsensical verbal collage (Apollinaire, Marinetti, Schwitters *et al.*)

The popular understanding of the term 'collage,' which presupposes a mix of the most disparate elements, affected the definition of the concept of verbal collage. For contemporary audiences verbal collage refers to a mix and match of unrelated verbal pieces.

However, beyond this popular use of the term, verbal collage designates a particular form of (mostly) visual poetry that first flourished during the first two decades of the past century and was shaped by the comparable visual phenomenon, the visual collages of Picasso and Braque, and later by those of the Futurists painters and beyond.

From all the potential intermedial transpositions of techniques across media studied in this volume, verbal collage is the clearest case of such a transposition, from the visual arts into the verbal medium, documented by the avowed intentions of the authors of verbal collages to create such forms, or their familiarity with the visual collages from the European avant-garde circles. Apollinaire's close friendship with Picasso first allowed for such transfers across media.⁶⁹ Not only that Apollinaire described the technique of visual collage in his volume [*Méditations esthétiques*]: *Les peintres cubistes* (*Aesthetic Meditations: The Cubist Painters*) published in March 1913,⁷⁰ but he also owned a Picasso collage, a gift from Picasso.⁷¹ Later on, Tzara indicated in the "Note pour le bourgeois" accompanying the poem "L'amiral cherche une maison à louer: Poème simultan par R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara" ("The Admiral is Looking for a House to Rent: Simultaneous Poem by R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara," 1916) that the simultaneity apparent in the Cubist works triggered the interest to achieve similar effects in poetry.⁷²

There are two main types of early avant-garde verbal collage-poems: there are first those with an overt visual dimension that displace words from syntax by placing them in visual relations within the spatial plane, like in Apollinaire's visual poems or Carrà's Futurist poem, and second there are the poems that indirectly enact and evoke the acts of cutting and pasting characteristics of collage, like in Schwitters's poems and prose, which rely less (or not at all) on the spatial dimension of a visual collage.

These collage poems have a quasi-nonsensical meaning, not in the tradition of the abstruse meaning as represented by Stéphane Mallarmé and going back to the Baroque *conceitti*. Instead, avant-garde verbal collages relate to and appropriate street language or familiar conversations and arrange them in quasi-nonsensical frames, by mixing unrelated systems of signification, such as the visual and the verbal, associating them in semantically divorced contexts. Nonsense in avant-garde art and literature is not only the result of verbal-collage experiments, but comes from a long tradition of nonsense literature and other avant-garde verbal experiments outside the purview of the collage technique.⁷³ In this section, I am concerned only with the poems that exhibit an intermedial transposition of the technique of collage from the visual medium into the literary one, in virtue of the direct and causal connection between the visual instantiation of the technique and the preoccupation of transposing it into the visual medium. Thus, although they are quasi-nonsensical, these collage-poems are only a species of the larger genus of nonsense literature, both avant-garde and preceding it.

Critics have gone to great lengths to propose coherent readings of the collage-poems of Apollinaire and Marinetti, by reconstructing the emerging contexts of the unrelated words, letters, and symbols displayed on a page and integrating them into logical stories.⁷⁴ This endeavor is comparable to some of the content-oriented readings of Picasso's collages discussed above. However, if these poems are reduced to this unique chronological narrative, they are devoid of their aesthetic value. Instead, the collage-arrangement that characterizes these poems resists the clear articulation of coherent narratives.

For example, Apollinaire's poem "Lettre-Océan" ("Ocean Letter," 1914),⁷⁵ (Figure 3.11) has been interpreted by critics as telling the story of the poet who is walking through Paris, around the Seine and the Eiffel tower, identified as being represented

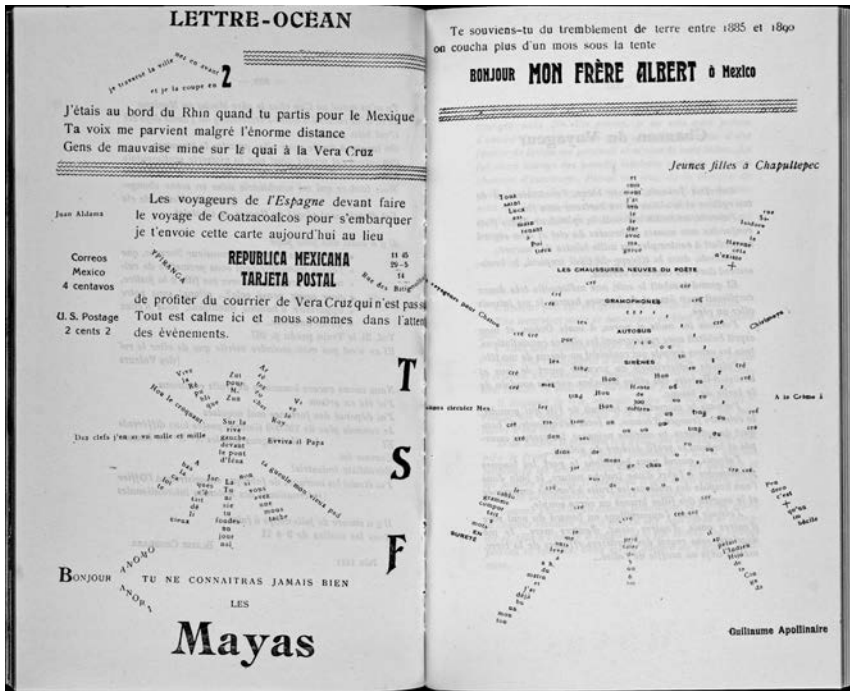


Figure 3.11 Guillaume Apollinaire, “Lettre-Océan” (“Ocean Letter”) in *Les Soirées de Paris*, no. 25 (June 1914), spread of pages 340–41. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

in the center of the circle from the second part of the poem and being “Haute de 300 mètre” (“300 meters high”).⁷⁶ From the top of the Eiffel tower telegrams are sent (TSF stands for “telephone sans fil” wireless telegraphy) and the spokes radiating from the center contain the text of these unrelated telegrams. Also it has been pointed out that other sections of the poems contain postcards and from the poet’s brother who left for Mexico.⁷⁷ However, the artistry of this poem does not consist in this plain narrative, reconstructed from the fragments present in the text, but in the way the poem is conceived and arranged formally on the page. Assembling disparate fragments into this coherent narrative contradicts the very collage structure of the poem, which resists and subverts the formation of meaning, just like the comparable visual collage by Picasso.

The first clue that we are facing a verbal collage, is the direct reference to the reproduction of American and Mexican stamps and their price in the first part of the poem, “U.S. Postage 2 cents 2,” [“Correos Mexico 4 centavos.”]⁷⁸ Apollinaire literally pasted the fragment of a postcard onto the manuscript of one of his poems, but such direct inclusion of stamps cannot be reproduced in the published version.⁷⁹ However, the illusionary representation of a stamp shifts the perspective of the poem, because it has a direct effect on the disappearance of the poetic ego, leading to its estrangement. Similarly, on the upper right-hand side of the poem, there is another telegram, and another circular drawing beneath it. Thus, the structure of the poem consists of the spatial arrangements of the two telegrams, and the circular shapes underneath them. The topic of the poem is not its content, the walk through Paris, but the abstract form it displays and the interaction between the suggested material objects and the poetic verses. The design of the postcard(s) with its numerous stamps conflicts with the audio-visual map of Paris, turning the space of the

poem into an impossible background, which resembles more the spatial organization of a visual collage. Also the initials TSF written in between the two large circular spheres add yet another logic dimension of a new type of representational space, that of a potential advertisement, in conflict with the previous two systems of visual representation.

Apollinaire's visual poems displaying collage effects graft on the tradition of the visual poem, which has had a rich history from the first *technopaignia* of the Greek poets to the most recent visual explorations of Mallarmé. The verbal collage in "Lettre-Océan" replicates the principle of mixing incongruent art and life media characteristic of the visual collage, into the verbal medium, but at the same time builds on the tradition of the visual poems.

It is well documented that there was a competition between the poets and visual artists using collage techniques, with regard to the presence and usage of words in them. But probably Carrà's poem "Rapporto di un nottambulo milanese" ("The Rapport of a Noctambulist from Milan," 1914) (Figure 3.12), which closely resembles the structure of Apollinaire's "Lettre-Océan" – with the distinction that the poet is now seated in a cafe, recording the conversations going on around him⁸⁰ – highlights even further the close connections between the visual and verbal collages. In "Rapporto di un nottambulo milanese," Carrà reiterates the shape of his painting *Festa patriottica* he made the same year within a predominantly verbal context. Unlike *Festa patriottica*, which relied extensively on newspaper cuttings and color, the verbal collage aims to discombobulate meaning and stories. However, the pasted score on the upper right-hand side of Carrà's poem, as well as the imitation of a stamp from Apollinaire's poem, create an unsettled spatial frame at the intersection of several semiotic systems.

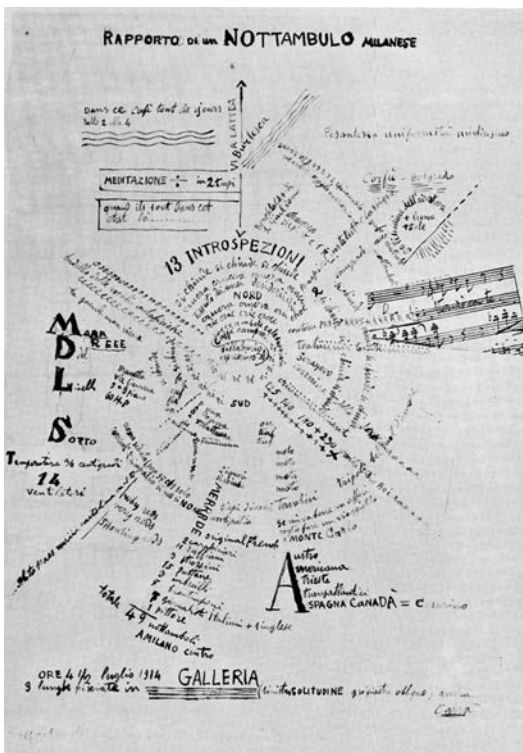


Figure 3.12 Carlo Carrà, "Rapporto di un nottambulo milanese" ("The Rapport of a Noctambulist from Milan"), 1914. Poster poem (ink and collage on paper), 37.4 × 28 cm (14 ¾ × 11 in.). Private collection. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / SIAE, Rome.

These verbal collages replicate the essential tenets of the visual collage, in that the most important rules of the medium of poetry are contested, such as the disappearance of the poetic ego or the ‘pasting’ of everyday conversations into the poem. The snippets of everyday conversations share the same mundane characteristics of the borrowed material from the visual collages.⁸¹ But if in visual collage the quoted piece was a unique individual object, the quotations from everyday language are not unique.⁸² Also such appropriation of everyday language is of course mimed and invented by the poet, based on the aesthetic idea. So the “containment” and “reference,” which Nelson Goodman identifies as the key elements of borrowings across several semiotic systems, function differently in the case of the verbal collages as compared to the visual ones.⁸³ The reference in the visual collage is the object itself, while the reference in the case of borrowed language is always outside itself. Certain Surrealist poems, such as André Breton’s “Poème” from 1924, are made up entirely of newspaper cuttings and they contain indeed the reference in the text, but these words, just like musical notes from Magritte’s collages discussed above, completely efface the object as newspaper.⁸⁴

If Apollinaire’s and Carrà’s collage poems rely on the absurdity and the breaking of the conventions of the poetic art in broader operations of meaning formation related to the visual technique of collage, Marinetti used to a larger extent linguistic nonsense, in line with his theory of free-words poetry,⁸⁵ as illustrated in the very title of his volume of poetry *Zang Tumb Tumb* (1914). Marinetti’s three major manifestos do not convey any preoccupations for transposing visual techniques into the verbal medium, but the nonsense of his literature is created exclusively by verbal means. Although, Poggi read his *tavola* poems (poster poems) as verbal collage, I would argue that they represent more nonsense literature born within the confines of language alone. “Après la Marne, Joffre visita le front en auto” (“After the Battle of the Marne, Joffre Visited the Front in an Auto”, 1919) (Figure 3.13) describes the visit of the French general to his army represented by mixing visual and verbal symbols, but at play in this poem is the fusion between the linguistic sign and geometrical segments. The letters M, S, N, H, U, are they really letters or just shapes and segments? It is impossible to say this based on the context. Also, the nonsensical words placed on the right-hand side, as well as the numbers, play more thoroughly upon linguistic nonsense. So, it may be argued that Marinetti’s poems are not really visual collages, but they belong to the larger genre of nonsensical literature, a favorite genre of avant-garde poets, best represented by Hausmann’s famous “Fmsbwtözäu” poster poem from 1918, which Schwitters used/appropriated as a refrain for his *Ursonate*, provoking Hausmann’s discontentment.

The second type of verbal collages, with a lessened visual dimension or even absent, appears in Kurt Schwitters’s work who developed it both in poetry and in prose. We see the actual visual representation of the act of cutting inherent in any visual collage in his poem, “p p p p p p p p p p pornographises i-Gedicht” (“p p p p p p p p p p pornographic i-Poem,” 1923) (Figure 3.14),⁸⁶ in which the black horizontal lines stand for the cutting line operated with the scissors through a children’s book. The poem describes the cutting act itself, but also appropriates quotes from the children’s book. This association of such unrelated fragments reveals the quasi-nonsensical nature of collage poetry, especially because nonsense is traditionally connected with children’s nursery rimes.⁸⁷ But rather than aiming to turn the page into a collage, the technique of literary collage Schwitters employed consists of describing visual collage in his texts. We recognize in Schwitters’s verbal collages the lesser preoccupation for formal constraints that characterizes the technique of collage, a non-medium-specific technique, in its intermedial transposition into a different medium. A similar method is referenced in Schwitters’s



Figure 3.13 F. T. Marinetti, “Après la Marne, Joffre visita le front en auto” (“After the Battle of the Marne, Joffre Visited the Front in an Auto”), 1919.



Figure 3.14 Kurt Schwitters, “ppppppppp pornographisches i-Gedicht” (“ppppppppp ppp pornographic i-Poem”) in *Merz*, no. 2, April 1923, page 20. Photo: Courtesy International Dada Archive, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries.

short prose *Die Zwiebel: Merzgedicht 8 (The Onion: Merzpoem 8, 1919)*,⁸⁸ which tells an absurd story of dismemberment and re-assembling of a character who is in the service of the king, and who records all the acts performed on him by the butcher without feeling any pain. Schwitters's poems and prose take collage as the subject, describing the collage technique, and also employ it directly, especially since Schwitters used it extensively in his Merz-pictures.⁸⁹

Tzara's simultaneous poem "L'amiral cherche une maison à louer: Poème simultané par R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara" ("The Admiral Is Looking for a House to Rent: Simultaneous Poem by R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara," 1916) (Figure 3.15) employs the layering and spatiality of the visual collage differently, since the poem consists of three overlapping and unrelated poems, in different languages.⁹⁰ When performed, it is impossible to follow each voice individually, creating thus a performative verbal collage. There are collage elements within the poems as well, since, for example, Tzara's poem reuses snippets from his previous poems.⁹¹ Henri Béhar, the editor of Tzara's texts, pointed out that Tzara used the technique of collage, i.e., borrowing fragments from his previous works and assembling them into a new one that lacks coherent meaning, in other texts too, both in poetry and in prose.⁹² Thus, verbal collage consists of quotations from either everyday language or literary sources assembled in such a way that they resist the articulation of clear meaning. Instead, if the borrowed material is harmoniously integrated in the target text, one cannot talk of a verbal collage.⁹³

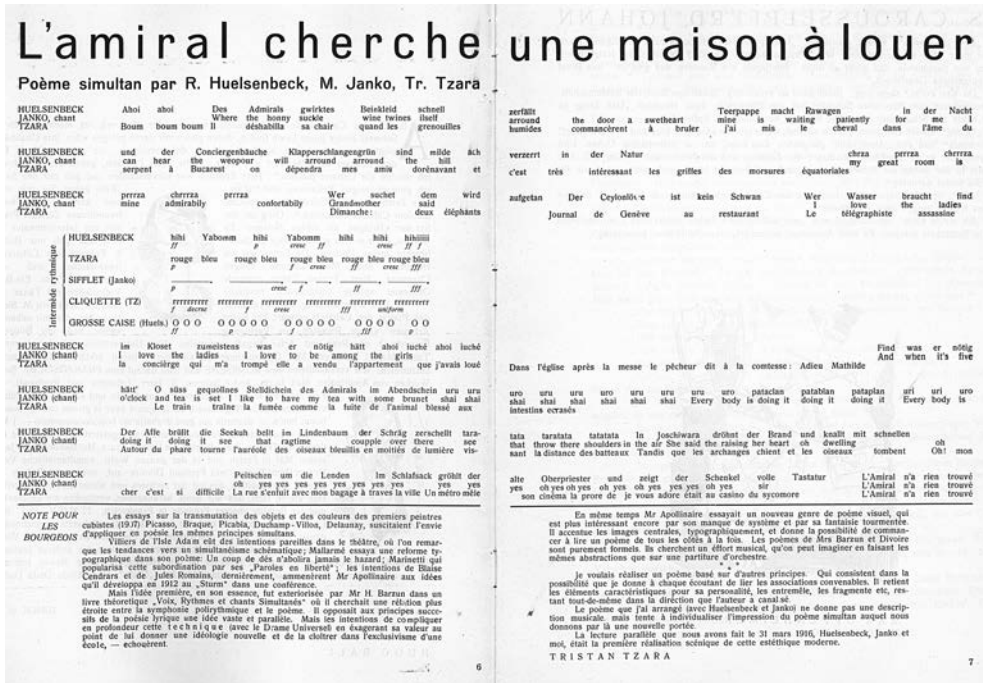


Figure 3.15 "L'amiral cherche une maison à louer: Poème simultané par R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara" ("The Admiral is Looking for a House to Rent: Simultaneous Poem by R. Huelsenbeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara") in *Cabaret Voltaire*, 1916, no. 1, spread of pages 6–7. Photo: Courtesy International Dada Archive, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries.

Verbal collage is a form of quasi-nonsensical poetry, with a predominant visual dimension documented through the direct relation of its creators with the visual collages (Apollinaire, Carrà, Schwitters, Tzara), which resists clear-meaning formation by exploiting the conflicting meaning emergent from the confrontation of pieces assembled from various sources. Collage poetry exhibits thus a wish for pushing the limits of language, leading to the philosophical questioning of the nature of language itself.⁹⁴

Form, heterogeneous meaning, and intermediality

Emerged from Picasso's experiments with pictorial and a-pictorial means of expression, collage became quickly a staple technique of the early avant-gardes, as shown above. Its main objective is to tease pictorial expression and play upon what was traditionally considered 'high' art. One cannot imagine the subsequent history of modern and contemporary art without Picasso's pictorial experiments from 1912 to 1914. We recognize in collage a formalistic technique, which plays with the properties of the pasted matter, papers, newspapers, objects themselves, to obtain different effects. It is this mix and match of objects that gave birth to photomontage, a technique with different effects in virtue of the 'transparent' nature of the photograph, a topic that will be discussed extensively in Chapters 5 and 6.

Collage is heterogeneous not only by virtue of the real-life objects used, but also because of the way the objects and drawings are arranged by the artists. If words are used in visual collages, they are not meant to clarify its meaning, but further confuse and add to the variety of semiotic systems at play in the picture. Some critics claimed that collage as a technique in itself is both verbal and visual.⁹⁵ I do not agree with this because Picasso stenciled words on the picture plane before making collages. Collage is first and foremost a visual experiment, not against painting, to echo the title of Aragon's essay from the Galerie Goemans exhibition catalog in Paris,⁹⁶ which inspired many subsequent scholars, but as a form of enriching the painting and opening it to a different spatial dimension, the real spatial depth and not the illusionary one. Picasso's spatial experiments with illusionary depth and real depth paved the way for Ernst's visual collages, who in his *romans-collages* made the collage technique to imitate paintings, in that the collaged pieces are so seamlessly assembled that one has the impression that they are etchings/engravings. In Ernst's *romans-collages*, the collage works as an artistic means, which changes the meaning of engravings, a painterly medium par excellence. It has been claimed by Aragon, and also supported by some critics, that Ernst's collages are much different from Picasso's *papiers-collés*, and that Ernst invented a new technique. However, Aragon's claims should be understood within the context of the competition between the avant-garde movements, since Aragon was the master Surrealist. If Ernst's collages renew the technique, as shown above, this is in virtue of the fact that it was first invented by Picasso in 1912–1920 and cultivated by the other avant-garde artists engaged with the technique. What we see in Ernst's collages is just a further development of the technique of collage as invented by Picasso. Similarly when photographs are used in visual collages, a new technique is born based on the inherent characteristics of the collage technique that implies experimenting with the property of matter and of the collaged elements.

Closely sharing some features with the avant-garde artistic preoccupations for nonsense, verbal collage, the most immediate transposition of the technique into another medium distinguishes itself as a conceptual play upon the means of artistic expression,

in virtue of the non-medium-specific (conceptual nature) or the technique of collage. But unlike the category of nonsense literature, which interested the avant-gardes extensively, verbal collage should be applied only to the poems and proses whose authors were knowledgeable of the visual collage and were interested in making such transpositions, like Apollinaire in virtue of his artistic friendship with Picasso, or Carrà and Schwitters as artists using the visual collage. Instead Marinetti's poster poems display an interest in exploring linguistic nonsense by linguistic means alone.

The application of the terms collage to any/all the compositions that display some heterogeneity of form needs to be probed into by means of intermedial discourse, which documents genuine intermedial transpositions of techniques between media, based on the avowed intention and interest of the artist to create such forms. Alternatively, in the absence of textual and contextual evidence, we face a simple metaphorical use of the term, or possibly a comparable phenomenon emerging in a different art without a direct influence between the two. I will next inquire into what musicologists and music theorists have called musical collage in order to try to give an answer to these questions with regard to the phenomenon of musical collage.

Notes

- 1 See Jon D. Green, "Picasso's Visual Metaphors," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 61–76.
- 2 Stierli, *Montage and the Metropolis*, 18–19, 56–57.
- 3 This chapter, and especially the section on Picasso's collages, will be particularly relevant for the readers who have seen these (or any early avant-garde) collages in art museums and temporary exhibitions. My analysis relies on collages I have seen in the Cubism exhibition held at Centre Pompidou in late 2018 early 2019, as well as in private viewing of collages at Musée Picasso in Paris (1919) and MoMA in (2017).
- 4 Actually, Wollheim's proviso is even more restrictive because he imposed himself not to speak extensively about paintings he had not seen within the previous three years. See the preface of the Andrew M. Mellon Lectures in Fine Arts he gave at the National Gallery of Art in Washington in November–December 1984, published as *Painting as an Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 8.
- 5 Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Vivre avec Picasso* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1965), 69–70. Asked about the meaning of *papiers-collés*, Picasso replied to his lover: "Le but du papier collé était de montrer que des matériaux différents pouvaient entre en composition pour devenir, dans le tableau, une réalité en compétition avec la nature. Nous avons essayé de nous débarrasser du trompe l'œil pour trouver le 'trompe d'esprit.'" [English edition: Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, 77): "The purpose of the papier collé was to give the idea that different textures can enter into composition to become the reality in the painting that competes with the reality in nature. We tried to get rid of *trompe-l'oeil* to find a *trompe l'esprit*."] Despite being a second-hand account, as written by Picasso's mistress, the idea shows up in the volume later on, so the source may be considered reliable. See Gilot and Lake, *Vivre*, 293, and *Life with Picasso*, 321.
- 6 These three collages were exhibited at Centre Pompidou in the winter 2018–2019 in the Cubism exhibition held from October 17, 2018, to February 25, 2019. See the exhibition catalog: Brigitte Leal, Christian Briand, and Ariane Coulondre, eds., *Le cubisme* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2018). Being displayed side by side, as well as the perusal of other collages held in the archives of Musée Picasso, Paris, allowed for and prompted these thoughts.
- 7 See, for example, the famous *The Guitar (El Diluvio)*, Céret, Spring 1913, which exhibits a complex interaction between line and drawing, impossible to detangle. Repository MoMA, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

- 8 Clement Greenberg, "The Pasted-Paper Revolution," *Art News* 57, no. 5 (September 1958): 47–48.
- 9 I use the word "depiction" in its traditional meaning of figurative representation.
- 10 See Anne Umland, *Picasso Guitars: 1912–1914* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011).
- 11 Christine Poggi, "Frames of Reference. 'Table' and 'Tableau' in Picasso's Collages and Constructions," *Art Journal* 47, no. 4 (1988): 311–22. The article was later reproduced as chapter Three in her influential volume *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism, and the Invention of Collage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 58–90. Poggi claims that *Picasso's Still Life with Chair Caning* (1912) displays table-like vision, where all the elements are placed on an imaginary table seen from above, "conflating the literal object with the table that it represents" (p. 313), and embraces Jean Laude's argument, presented in his book, *Braque, le cubisme fin 1907–1914* (Paris: Maeght, 1982), that a collage like *Violin and Newspaper* (Fall 1912, private collection) displays illusionary vision through a window, i.e., tableau-vision (p. 314).
- 12 Elizabeth Cowling emphasized the role the wallpapers Picasso used in his collage had for the French society from the end of the nineteenth century, being a sign of cheap and tacky taste in "What the Wallpapers Say: Picasso's Papiers Collés of 1912–14," *The Burlington Magazine* 155, no. 1326 (September 2013): 594–601, while David Cottington talked of the political events referenced in the newspapers Picasso pasted in his collages, see David Cottington, "What the Papers Say: Politics and Ideology in Picasso's Collages of 1912," *Art Journal* (Winter 1988): 350–59. Both the newspapers and the wallpapers contain meaningful information, although the wallpaper is an uncountable, while the newspaper is countable (see discussion below).
- 13 For reproductions of the three photographs and descriptions of the works in each see Anne Baldassari, *Picasso: Papiers journaux* (Paris: Tallandier, 2003), 73–82.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 73–74, 80.
- 15 A reproduction of the drawing is available in Jan Krugier Gallery, *Picasso: Picasso Works from the Marina Picasso Collection* (New York: Jan Krugier Gallery, 1987), Ill. 28.
- 16 Illustration in Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 28, *Supplément aux années 1910–1913* (Paris: Cahiers d'art, 1974), Ill. 356.
- 17 A reproduction of the drawing is available in Jan Krugier Gallery, *Picasso: Picasso Works*, Ill. 54.
- 18 Greenberg, "The Pasted-Paper," 48–49.
- 19 Reproduced in Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 2 part 2, *Oeuvres de 1912 à 1917* (Paris: Cahiers d'art, 1942), Ill. 405. As recorded by Françoise Gilot, Picasso himself pointed out that he never used a newspaper literally to represent a newspaper, but to represent something else, and when newspaper was used to become a bottle, "that gives us something to think about in connection with both newspapers and bottles, too," in Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, 77 (Original French version: Gilot and Lake, *Vivre*, 70: "Si un morceau de journal peut devenir une bouteille, cela donne à réfléchir sur le compte des journaux, aussi bien que des bouteilles.")
- 20 Rosalind Krauss, "The Circulation of the Sign," in *The Picasso Papers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 23–85.
- 21 Jason Gaiger also refuted Krauss's claims based on the fact that collages are still a form of representation and not completely arbitrary like in the case of the verbal sign, the symbolic sign *par excellence*. See Jason Gaiger, *Aesthetics and Painting* (London: Continuum, 2008), 88–89.
- 22 See an analysis and a reproduction of Magritte's collage in Elza Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage in Text and Image*, 59–62.
- 23 Robert Rosenblum, *Cubism and Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1959/1976), 67, 70–72.
- 24 See Christine Poggi, "Mallarmé, Picasso, and the Newspaper as Commodity," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 133–51. Reprinted in *Collage: Critical Views*, ed. Katherine Hoffman (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 180–83. Also included fragmentarily in Poggi, *In Defiance*, in chapter 5, "Cubist Collage, the Public, and the Culture of Commodities," 148, 152. In her interpretation of the *Au bon marché* collage, Poggi

- builds on Rosenblum's reading from "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism," in *Picasso in Retrospect*, ed. Sir Roland Penrose and John Golding (New York: Icon Editions, 1980), 49–76, rpt. also in Hoffman, *Collage*, 91–120.
- 25 Baldassari, *Picasso: Papiers journaux* is the exhibition catalog of the exhibition *Picasso, papiers journaux*, organized by Musée Picasso in 2003. It was preceded by the exhibition *Picasso Working on Paper* organized by Picasso Museum and the Irish Museum of Modern Art in Dublin in 2000. The exhibition catalog was also written by Baldassari. See Baldassari, *Picasso Working on Paper*, trans. George Collins (London: Merrell Hoberton, 2000).
 - 26 Reproduced in Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 2 part 2, *Oeuvres de 1912 à 1917*, Ill. 457. This information has been given to me by Ms. Emilia Philippot, the collage curator at Musée Picasso, Paris, in January 2019, during a private viewing of select Picasso collages.
 - 27 Picasso, "Lettre sur l'art, 4: 'Je n'attache aucune importance au sujet, mais je tiens énormément à l'objet. Respectez l'objet!'"
 - 28 Perloff, "The Invention of Collage," 6–12.
 - 29 Charlotte Weidler saw Schwitters at work, preparing his materials, and she pointed out that he passed the pieces of paper through flour and water, adding and removing color from the soaking objects as desired. See Charlotte Weidler quoted from a personal interview in Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh, *Collage: Personalities, Concepts, Techniques* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1967), 83. This declaration triggered a similar comment from Isabel Schulz who indicated that Schwitters saw collage as a technique subordinated to painting, see Isabel Schulz, "Kurt Schwitters: Color and Collage," in *Kurt Schwitters: Color and Collage*, ed. Isabel Schulz (New Haven: The Menil Collection, Yale University Press, 2010), 55.
 - 30 Although this is identified as an assemblage, because of the children's train, the planks, and the funnel that emphasize the depth, these elements are pasted on a traditional canvas and painterly means predominate.
 - 31 Giovanni Papini, "Cerchi aperti," in *Archivi del Futurismo*, ed. Maria Drudi Gambillo and Teresa Fiori (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1958), 195. Originally published in *Lacerba* no. 6 (15 March 1914): 3–5. As Papini confessed in the article, it was Picasso who showed him the photographs he took of his collages in his studio. Poggi also noticed that materials are much more "manipulated and disguised" in Futurist collages than in Cubist ones, see Poggi, *In Defiance of Painting*, 21.
 - 32 See John Golding, *The Path to the Absolute* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). The editors and contributors to the more recent volume *Meanings of Abstract Art: Between Nature and Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2012), Paul Crowther and Isabel Wünsche propose a content-oriented interpretation of abstraction, seeing biological nature as the model and inspiration for art abstraction. Their claim connects loosely to the comparable studies of the mathematician Matila Ghyka who also found analogies between the geometry of organic and anorganic matter and the geometry of pictorial shape. See Matila Ghyka, *The Geometry of Art and Life* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977). However, art resembles math in that it does not have to be explained through any other system outside itself, but they are both self-sufficient.
 - 33 See Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1968), 116–47. Fried's concept of "theatricality," as applied to Donald Judd's "specific objects," displays a formalist take on the content-oriented theatricality Jeffrey S. Weiss identified as the source of Picasso's collages. See Jeffrey S. Weiss, "Picasso, Collage and the Music Hall," in *Modern Art and Popular Culture: Readings in High and Low*, ed. Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1990), 82–115. Minimalist art and Picasso's collages share, *mutatis mutandis*, a common quality, that of being formal experiments.
 - 34 In his 1940 article on medium purity across the arts, Greenberg sees in the avant-garde the predominance of form over ideas, and claims that the purity of the avant-garde visual arts rely on specific "limitations of each medium." The idea that a medium has limitations holds some truth and I have discussed this aspect in the historical and theoretical sections, but not in the acceptance Greenberg gave to the term. The avant-garde arts did not assert their purity by being self-sufficient and isolated, as Greenberg claimed, on the contrary we

- see a lot of transfers of techniques between the arts of the avant-gardes arts and movements, some of which will be highlighted in this book. See Clement Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoon," *Partisan Review* 7, no. 4 (July–August 1940): 305.
- 35 A reproduction of this collage is available in Herta Wescher, *Collage*, trans. Robert E. Wolf (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1968), 63.
- 36 Herta Wescher, "Les collages cubistes," "Collages futuristes," "Collages dadaïstes et surréalistes," "Premiers collages non-figuratifs," *Art d'Aujourd'hui* 2–3 (April 1954): 4–21.
- 37 Herta Wescher, *Collage*, 1968.
- 38 This approach is generalized in the subsequent monographs dedicated to collage in the twentieth century, from Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh, *Collage: Personalities, Concepts, Techniques*, 1967, to Eddie Wolfram, *History of Collage: An Anthology of Collage, Assemblage and Event Structures* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), Diane Waldman, *Collage, Assemblage and the Found Object* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), and Brandon Taylor, *Collage: The Making of Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004).
- 39 Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "Destruction of Syntax – Imagination without Strings – Words-In-Freedom 1913," in Umbro Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos*, trans. R. W. Flint (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 105–6.
- 40 It was Carrà's ideal to create musical paintings, "paintings of sound," which combined all the sounds of the city, promoted conflicting acute angles, zig-zag lines, all represented in the *Festa patriotica*. See Carlo Carrà, "The Painting of Sounds, Noises and Smells," in *The Art of Noise: Destruction of Music by Futurist Machines*, ed. Candice Black (n.pl.: Sun Vision Press, 2012), 116–19. Originally published in Carrà, "La pittura dei suoni, rumori e odori," *Lacerba* no. 17 (September 1, 1913): 1–3. For different approaches to the topic of words in avant-garde pictures see David Lomas, "'New in art, they are already soaked in humanity:' Word and Image, 1900–1945," in *Art, Word and Image: Two Thousand Years of Visual/Textual Interaction*, ed. John Dixon Hunt, David Lomas, and Michael Corris (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 111–77; Simon Morley, *Writing on the Wall: Word and Image in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Michel Butor, *Les mots dans la peinture* (Geneva: Skira, 1969).
- 41 See a reproduction in Helen Serger, la boetie, inc., *Hannah Höch 1889–1978: Oil Paintings and Works on Paper: October 15 through December 1983* (New York: Helen Serger, la boetie, inc., 1983), Ill. 10, p. 9.
- 42 *Ibid.*, Ill. 11, p. 11.
- 43 Reproduced on the cover of Helen Serger, la boetie, inc., *Hannah Höch 1889–1978: Oil Paintings*.
- 44 Raoul Hausmann, "Peinture nouvelle et photomontage," in *Courrier Dada* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1958), 41.
- 45 See reproductions of these collages in Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, eds., *Retrospective László Moholy-Nagy* (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 2009), 9–10.
- 46 For a reproduction of this collage see Matthew S. Witkovsky, Carol S. Eliel, and Karole P. B. Vail, eds., *Moholy-Nagy Future Present* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2016), Ill. 022, p. 46.
- 47 This collage is in MoMA collection, object number 172.1953.
- 48 The current confusion that exists between collage and (photo)montage among scholars from all humanistic disciplines involved (art history, literary criticism) affected deeply the works of Max Ernst. In this volume, I will treat Max Ernst's collages using photographs in the section of photomontage, see Chapter 5.
- 49 The engraving/etching was a preferred medium not only for the illustrators of popular novels, but also for acclaimed artists such as Gustave Doré whose illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, or the Bible have added to these classic texts a spectacular dimension. See Aida Audeh, "Gustave Doré's Illustrations for Dante's *Divine Comedy*: Innovations, Influence, and Reception," in *Defining Medievalism(s)*, ed. Karl Fugelso (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), 125–63. Ernst also used some of Doré's illustrations, cutting the wings of the angels from Doré's illustrations to Milton's *Paradise Lost* for the third book "La cour du dragon" ("The Court of the Dragon") from *Une semaine de bonté*, see Werner Spies, ed., *Max Ernst: Une semaine de bonté: Die Originalcollagen* (Vienna: DuMont, 2008), 36–37. See also Janine Bailly-Herzberg, *L'eau-forte de peintre au dix-neuvième*

- siècle: La Société des Aquafortistes*, 1862–1867, 2 vols. (Paris: Léonce Laget, 1972); Victor Carlson and John W. Ittman, eds., *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984); and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Etching Renaissance in France: 1850–1880* (Utah: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1971).
- 50 For the history of the popular crime novels and feuilleton novels in France during the nineteenth century see Marc Angenot, “La littérature populaire au dix-neuvième siècle,” in *Les dehors de la littérature: Du roman populaire à la science-fiction* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2013), 57–99; Ellen Constans and Jean-Claude Vareille, eds., *Crime et châtement dans le roman populaire de langue française du XIXe siècle: Actes du colloque international de mai 1992 à Limoges* (Limoges: PULIM, Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 1994); Jean-Claude Vareille, *Le roman populaire français (1789–1914): Idéologies et pratiques: Le Trompette de la Bérésina* (Limoges: PULIM, 1994); Ellen Constans, “Le roman populaire, définition et histoire: De quelques questions théoriques et pratiques sur le roman populaire,” *Belphégor: Littérature populaire et culture médiatique* 8, no. 2 (2009): [no pagination]. For the history of the illustrated press in France during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see M. Jean Watelet, *La presse illustrée en France 1814–1914*, 2 vols. (Cédex: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999).
- 51 Max Ernst, *Une semaine de Bonté ou les sept éléments capitaux* (Paris: Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934). [English edition: Max Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté: A Surrealistic Novel in Collage*, trans. Dorothea Tanning (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976)].
- 52 See *La République illustrée: journal hebdomadaire*, Paris, no. 1 (July 14, 1880) to no. 762 (March 31, 1895); 17 years. For a short history of *La République illustrée*, see Watelet, *La presse illustrée en France*, vol. 1, 310–11.
- 53 Claiming to contain the memoirs of the chief of the police Antoine-France Claude during the 1848 Revolution in France and beyond, the novel was actually written by Théodore Labourieu. A copy is available on Gallica, in 10 volumes, but without the original engravings: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6488018j.texteImage>.
- 54 Daniel Compère, “Mary Jules,” in *Dictionnaire du roman populaire francophone*, ed. Daniel Compère (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2007), 279–80.
- 55 See Lise Dumasy-Queffélec, “Dennery, puis D’Ennery Adolphe Philippe dit (1811–1899),” in Compère, *Dictionnaire*, 122–23. The novel with the original engravings is available on Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5710828s?rk=21459;2>.
- 56 See Daniel Compère, “Decourcelle Pierre (1856 1926),” in Compère, *Dictionnaire*, 118. The novel with the original engravings is available on Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5823812c?rk=21459;2>.
- 57 See Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Une semaine de bonté: Die Originalcollagen*, 30–31.
- 58 Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté: A Surrealistic Novel*, 198. Ines Lindner identified the source of the five collages showing women floating through the air as being wood engravings made after photographs of women in different phases of hysteria attacks, reflecting the work of the great psychiatrist Charcot at Salpêtrière hospital. See Ines Lindner, “Économie technique et effets surréels: stratégies de montage dans *Une semaine de bonté*,” in *Max Ernst, l’imagier des poètes*, ed. Julia Drost, Ursula Moureau-Martini, and Nicolas Devigne (Paris: Presses de l’université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), 135–39. However, in the original engravings the women have spatiality, so the floating is the artistic element Ernst added probably under the influence of the flying angels from Doré’s illustrations to Milton’s *Paradise Lost* or to Dante’s *Inferno*, fragments of which resurfaced in other sections of Ernst’s *Une semaine*.
- 59 In addition to newspaper reproductions of such visual narratives, whole volumes of comic strips were published during the nineteenth century, most significantly by the Swiss Rodolphe Töpffer, the inventor of the genre in modern times. Töpffer’s earliest comics are *Monsieur Jabot*, Geneva, 1833; *Vieux Bois* and *Crépin*, both published in 1835. See David Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 38–39. See also David Kunzle, ed. and trans., *Rodolphe Töpffer: The Complete Comic Strips* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007). For a brief survey of the political French comics of the nineteenth century see Joel E. Vessels, “Stirring up Passions: Politics, Bande Dessinée, and Images in the Nineteenth Century and the Late Third Republic,” in *Drawing France: French Comics and the Republic* (Jackson: University

- Press of Mississippi, 2010), 17–37, and Mark McKinney, “French and Belgian Comics,” in *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, ed. Frank Bramlett, Roy T. Cook, and Aaron Meskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 53–54. For more in-depth analyses of French comics see Ann Miller and Bart Beaty, eds., *The French Comics Theory Reader* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014). For twentieth-century French comics see Philippe Marion, *Traces en cases: Travail graphique, figuration narrative et participation du lecteur* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia Erasme, 1993). For broader approaches to comics see *The Graphic Novel*, ed. Jan Baetens, Hugo Frey, and Stephen E. Tabachnick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Gombrich’s essay from 1963 “The Cartoonist’s Armoury” is still a staple in the field, see Gombrich, “The Cartoonist’s Armoury,” in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London: Phaidon, 1963), 127–42, while Neil Cohn attempts to expose the logical mechanisms involved in the perception of narrative images, see Neil Cohn, *The Visual Language of Comics: Introduction to the Structure and Cognition of Sequential Images* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- 60 Part of the collection of *L’Ouvrière: journal illustré* no. 16 (March 19, 1898) to no. 98 (January 7, 1905) and no. 106 (January 1907) to no. 196 (July 1914) is available on Gallica <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5052408p>. See especially no. 106 (January 1, 1907), which had on its cover the comic story selected.
- 61 See Werner Spies, “The Collage Novels,” chapter Six, in *Max Ernst Collages: The Invention of the Surrealist Universe*, trans. John William Gabriel (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 209–48. [Original German edition: Werner Spies, *Max Ernst – Collagen: Inventar und Widerspruch*, 1974, ed. Götz Adriani (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1988).]
- 62 For a reproduction of the original image Ernst used for this collage see Spies, *Max Ernst – Collagen*, Ill. 697. Spies also noticed that some of Ernst’s collages are just snippets and fragments of images added to a large image that functions as a background and he called these “analytic” collages, opposed to the “synthetic” ones, which are made up of many unrelated fragments. See Spies, *Max Ernst Collages: The Invention*, 105.
- 63 For a historical analysis of the collaboration between Ernst and Paul Éluard for these volumes see Spies, *Max Ernst Collages: The Invention*, 105–14.
- 64 Before Spies’s rigorous work in *Collagen: Inventar und Widerspruch*, Louis Aragon, the great supporter of Ernst’s collages in the competition with Picasso, first emphasized the various procedures used by Ernst – from drawing over the borrowed drawing, like in the illustration from *Les malheurs des Immortels* to using exclusively borrowed images without any drawing added in *La Femme 100 têtes* – in the preface to exhibition catalog for the collage exhibition at Galerie Goemans in March 1930, entitled “La peinture au défi.” Reprinted in Louis Aragon, *Les collages* (Paris: Hermann, 1965), 63. Just like in Ernst’s exhibition from Au Sans Pareil from 1920, in the Goemans collage exhibition there were exhibited both collages and photomontages according to the definition of the terms in this volume.
- 65 Reproduced in Werner Spies, ed., *Max Ernst: Oeuvre-Katalog*, vol. 2 (Houston, TX: Menil Foundation, 1975), Ill. 477, p. 246. The source of the image is an engraving reproduced in Spies, *Max Ernst – Collagen*, Ill. 576.
- 66 Werner Spies identified 200 of the source-images Ernst used in his collages and drawings in his volume from 1974, see Spies, “Dokumentationsbilder,” in *Max Ernst – Collagen*, pp. 449–50, see illustrations 557–757, and gave an outline of the variety of borrowings observed. In the English version of this volume, the illustrations were numbered differently. Spies operates with a broader concept of collage, which includes also borrowing of an image without contact. This was probably the first enunciation of the “collage principle” which many critics agree that Ernst’s work illustrate. See Renée Riese Hubert, “Max Ernst: The Displacement of the Visual and the Verbal,” *New Literary History* 15, no. 3 (1984): 575–606. Instead, the formalist definition of collage I operate with, implying direct physical contact and literal borrowing, may shed more light on the effects the nature of the borrowed material has on the emergent meaning of the resulting artwork.
- 67 Both paintings, *L’Éléphant célèbes* (*The Elephant of the Celebes*, oil on canvas, 1921, Spies, *Oeuvre-Katalog* 2, Ill. 466, p. 240) and *Oedipus Rex* (oil on canvas, 1922, Spies *Oeuvre-Katalog* 2, Ill. 496, p. 257), were inspired by the photograph of an unusual mound of earth published in the newspaper and the close-up drawing from a physics book, regarding

- a practical model of testing elasticity by pressing the thumb against the raised top of a walnut, respectively. For the original photographs identified by Spies see Spies, *Max Ernst – Collagen*, Ill. 571 and Ill. 570, respectively.
- 68 Ernst's famous dictum: "Si ce sont les plumes qui font le plumage, ce n'est pas la colle qui fait le collage." ["If it is the plumes that make the plumage, it is not the glue that makes the collage"] first appeared in his article "Au delà de la peinture" published in *Cahiers d'Art*, no. 6–7, 1936, [no pagination], reproduced in Max Ernst, *Écritures avec cent vingt illustrations extraites de l'œuvre de l'auteur* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 256 [English translation in Max Ernst, *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting: And Other Writings by the Artist and His Friends* (New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1948), 13.]
- 69 For a comprehensive documentation of the artistic friendship between the two avant-garde artists see Peter Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire: The Persistence of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
- 70 Guillaume Apollinaire, [*Méditations esthétiques*]: *Les peintres cubistes* (Paris: Eugène Figuière et Cie, 1913), 38. [English edition: Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters*, ed. and trans. Peter Read (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 39: "You can paint with whatever you like, with pipes, postage stamps, postcards, playing-cards, candlebrases, pieces of oilcloth, shirt-collars, wallpaper or newspaper."]
- 71 See Picasso's letter to Apollinaire from May 29, 1913, in Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel, eds., *Picasso/Apollinaire: Correspondence* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), p. 106, a reproduction of the collage in question is also included.
- 72 Tristan Tzara, "Note pour le bourgeois," in "L'amiral cherche une maison à louer: Poème simultan par R. Huelsenkeck, M. Janko, Tr. Tzara," *Cabaret Voltaire* no. 1 (1916): 6–7. Not only that Tzara used the technique of collage in some of his poems, but he also collected Picasso collages, according to Henry Béhar, and wrote about these in an article from 1935, see Tristan Tzara, "Les papiers collés de Picasso," in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 4 (1947–1963), ed. Henri Béhar (Paris: Flammarion, 1980), 361–63, see also pp. 659–60 for Béhar's notes on the article.
- 73 Up till now there is no comprehensive study on the early avant-garde art, poetry, and the category of nonsense. Writers on the broader categories of nonsense briefly discuss Dada nonsense, see Peter Christian Lang, *Literarischer Unsinn im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982), 114–21, while others claim that Surrealism does not promote genuine nonsense because they aimed to entirely suppress logic, and nonsense operates within the margins of logical rules, claimed Elizabeth Sewell, *The Field of Nonsense* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1952), 5. In her literary analysis of nonsense, Susan Stewart pointed out that the main logical operations nonsense presupposes derive from the play with various forms of infinite repetitions or simultaneity, among others. See Susan Stewart, *Nonsense: Aspects of Intertextuality and Folklore and Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 116–97. In his recent study on sound nonsense, Richard Elliott has a chapter on "Cutting and Plundering," i.e., forms of collage borrowing/sampling in music, but the author does not distinguish between collage and nonsense. See Richard Elliott, *The Sound of Nonsense* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 58–66. Jean-Jacques Lecercle's and Irving Massey's volumes dedicated to the topic, written 24 years apart, share a more scientific and philosophical approach. Lecercle points out to the connections between nonsense and the philosophy of language, while Massey goes beyond language, looking for its underpinnings in history, neurology, and psychology. See Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Philosophy of Nonsense: The Intuitions of Victorian Nonsense Literature* (London: Routledge, 1994) and Irving Massey, *Necessary Nonsense: Aesthetics, History, Neurology, Psychology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2018). It is my conviction that nonsense language or literature should be placed within the context of nineteenth-century departure from Aristotelian logic and move toward the modern formal and symbolic logic systems.
- 74 For Apollinaire see Willard Bohn, *The Aesthetics of Visual Poetry 1914–1928* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 17–24; for Marinetti see Poggi, *In Defiance*, 201–26. In an article from 2009, Bohn analyzed the category of nonsense in some of Apollinaire poems, *Banalités (Whatnots)* written between 1914 and 1915, see Willard Bohn, "Apollinaire and the *Whatnots*," in *Nonsense and Other Senses: Regulated Absurdity in*

- Literature*, ed. Elisabetta Tarantino and Carlo Caruso (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 181–90.
- 75 First published in *Les Soirées de Paris*, no. 25 (June 1914): 340–41, it was later included in Apollinaire's volume of poetry *Calligrammes* (1918), which contained other "ideographic poems" (i.e., visual poems), as Apollinaire called them. See Apollinaire's letter to Picasso from July 4, 1914, in Caizergues and Seckel, *Picasso/Apollinaire: Correspondence*, 114–20.
- 76 Bohn, *The Aesthetics*, 21, builds on similar interpretations by Margaret Davies, *Apollinaire* (London: Oliver and Boys, 1964), 240. See also Johanna Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 159–65, who emphasizes the collage element of the poems understood as a mix and match of unrelated elements. See the text of the poem in Guillaume Apollinaire, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Marcel Adéma and Michel Décaudin (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), 184. [English translation: Guillaume Apollinaire, *Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. Anne Hyde Greet and S. I. Lockerbie, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004)], 65.
- 77 Bohn, *The Aesthetics*, 19–20.
- 78 Apollinaire, *Calligrammes*, 58.
- 79 The poem is "Carte postale" ("Postcard") in Apollinaire, *Calligrammes*, 154–55. The original with the appropriated postcard is reproduced in Claude Debon, *Calligrammes dans tous ses états* (Paris: Calliopées, 2008), 165. Debon also pointed out that the writing found on the postcard does not belong to Apollinaire, see Debon, *Calligrammes dans tous ses*, 182.
- 80 Bohn, *The Aesthetics*, 30–36; Poggi, *In Defiance*, 221–22.
- 81 In her essay on "Collage and Poetry" from the *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, vol. 2, ed. Michael Kelly, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 81–84, Marjorie Perloff discusses exclusively the purported verbal collages of T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, who borrowed fragments from literary sources, ignoring the artists' familiarity with the technique itself. Abstruse meaning does not necessarily mean verbal collage, so more research is needed to assess the exact knowledge the two imagist poets had of the visual collages. Indeed, the earliest forms of verbal collage discussed above, almost simultaneous with the emergence of the visual one, should be set side by side with the experiments of the 'high' modernist in their comparable techniques. Can we distinguish between avant-garde and modernist writers based on the way they differently engaged with the other arts? Other scholars follow a similar research orientation of including under the umbrella of collage texts that display ruptures of meaning, difficult juxtapositions. See Rona Cran, *Collage in Twentieth-Century Art, Literature and Culture: Joseph Cornell, William Burroughs, Frank O'Hara, and Bob Dylan* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014) and more recently Scarlett Higgins, *Collage and Literature: The Persistence of Vision* (New York: Routledge, 2019) on later twentieth-century American poetry.
- 82 This observation expands on Nelson Goodman's comments regarding quotation in paintings versus language [Nelson Goodman, "Some Questions Concerning Quotation," chapter Three in *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1978)], 48, and is a consequence of his broader distinction between autographic, or what I would call material arts, such as paintings, and allographic, or immaterial ones, such as music and literature (which exist in a myriad of copies and also can be performed). In his essay, Goodman is mainly concerned with traditional borrowings within the same medium of painting, language, or music, and more specifically with their possibility of exhibiting direct quotation by visible quotation marks. That is why for the system he develops in this small section, music cannot display quotation marks, but it can quote other music by means of "sound cues" argued Goodman. See Goodman, "Some Questions Concerning Quotation," 52.
- 83 Goodman, "Some Questions Concerning Quotation," 43.
- 84 For a reproduction and analysis of this poem see Adamowicz, *Surrealist Colage in Text and Image*, 50–54. I would not include these Surrealist experiments in the area of collage poetry, because rather than illustrating and transposing the technique from the visual arts, they illustrate chance, a key concept of Surrealism related to Dadaist nonsense. See also Judi Freeman, ed. *The Dada and Surrealist Word-Image* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles

- County Museum of Art, 1989), a volume that also views words as an integrant part of the Surrealist aesthetics.
- 85 Filippo Tommaso Marinetti published a series of manifestos regarding the destruction of syntax and liberation of words from its constraints: “Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature,” in *Selected Poems and Related Prose*, ed. Luce Marinetti, trans. Elizabeth Napier and Barbara R. Studholme (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 77–78 [First published as “Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista” as a leaflet on March 11, 1912, see a reproduction of it in “Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista,” in *Ritratto di Marinetti*, ed. Gino di Maggio, Daniele Lombardi, and Achille Bonito Oliva (Milan: Fondazione Mudima, 2009), 77–80]; “Supplemento al Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista” from August 1912, which contained the free-word poem “Battaglia Peso + Odore.” The poem is included in Luce Marinetti, *Selected Poems*, 81–82. The text of the whole manifesto in original Italian is available in Maggio, Lombardi, Oliva, *Ritratto*, 82–86; and eventually the most renowned one “Destruction of Syntax – Imagination without Strings – Words-in-Freedom,” in Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos*, 95–106. [First published as “L’immaginazione senza fili e le parole in libertà,” *Lacerba* no. 12, June 15 (1913): 1–4; see a reproduction in Italian in Maggio, Lombardi, Oliva, *Ritratto*, 89–92.]
- 86 The poem was first published in *Merz*, no. 2 (April 1923): 20. Reproduced in Kurt Schwitters, *Das literarische Werk*, ed. Friedhelm Lach, vol. 1, *Lyrik* (Cologne: Verlag M DuMont Schauberg, 1973), 95. A translation is available in *p p p p p p: Poems Performances Pieces Prose Plays Poetics*, ed. and trans. Jerome Rothenberg and Pierre Joris (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993), 81.
- 87 See Celia Catlett Anderson and Marilyn Fain Apseloff, *Nonsense Literature for Children: Aesop to Seuss* (Hamden, CT: Library Professional Publications, 1989) and Elizabeth Sewell, “Nonsense Verse and the Child,” in *Explorations in the Field of Nonsense*, ed. Wim Tigges, DQR Studies in Literature 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), 135–48. Other authors wrote about the nonsense of Schwitters’s poems, especially his *Merz* poems, but did not see nonsense as a result of the verbal collage he employed like I do. See Michael White, “Sense and Nonsense in Kurt Schwitters,” in Hunt, Lomas, Corris, *Art, Word and Image*, 203–13; Julia Genz, “Nonsense, Ban, and Banality in Schwitters’s *Merz*,” in Tarantino and Caruso, *Nonsense and Other Senses*, 227–35.
- 88 First published in Schwitters, *Anna Blume: Dichtungen* (Hannover: P. Steegemann, 1919), 16–27. Reproduced in Schwitters, *Das literarische Werk*, ed. Friedhelm Lach, vol. 2, *Prosa 1918–1930* (Cologne: Verlag M DuMont Schauberg, 1974), 22–27. An English translation is available in Schwitters, *The Onion*, trans. Harriet Watts, *Assemblage* 1 (October 1986): 84–89.
- 89 For a different intermedial approach to the work of Kurt Schwitters, see Walter Delabar, Ursula Kocher, and Isabel Schulz, eds., *Transgression und Intermedialität: Die Texte von Kurt Schwitters* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag Bielefeld), 2016. In his essay included in the volume, Hubert van den Berg places Schwitters’s work and aesthetic theory within the larger context of European formalist thinking of the time: see Hubert van den Berg, “‘Worte gegen Worte’: ‘Entformeln’ als formale Methode? Kurt Schwitters’ Poetik und die formalistische Schule,” in Delabar, Kocher, Schulz, *Transgression und Intermedialität*, 93–117.
- 90 For a detailed analysis of all the three poems see David Gascoine, “Boomboom and Hullabaloo: Rhythm in the Zurich Dada Revolution,” *Paragraph: A Journal of Modern Critical Theory* 33, no. 2 (2010): 208–10. In his analysis of the poem, Stephen Forcer emphasizes the nonsense that relies on the simultaneous reading of the poems, but completely ignores and actually effaces the footnote Tzara wrote to the poem, indicating the visual sources of the poem. See Stephen Forcer, “‘Neither parallel nor slippers’: Dada, War, and the Meaning(lessness) of Meaning(lessness),” in Tarantino and Caruso, *Nonsense and Other Senses*, 192–95.
- 91 Gascoine, “Boomboom and Hullabaloo,” 209, 214, note 21.
- 92 See Henry Béhar’s notes for the prose “XXXIX: Beaucoup de possière pour rien” from Tzara’s volume *L’antitête* in Tzara, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Béhar, vol. 2, 1925–1933 (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), 455 (note for text on page 306), as well as Béhar’s article “Le pagure de la modernité,” *Cahiers du XXe siècle* 5 (1975): 43–68.

- 93 Critics such as H el ene Cazes claimed that all types of borrowings create a collage text in her analysis of the French genre of *centon*, which she equated with verbal collage, but in my understanding of the term, verbal collage emerges only when the borrowing subverts the meaning of the emerging text and is effected under the umpire of visual collage. See H el ene Cazes, "Centon et collage: l' criture cach ee," in *Montages/Collages: Actes du second colloque du Cicada 5, 6, 7 d ecembre 1991*, ed. Bertrand Roug e, Rh etoriques des Arts II (Pau: Publications de l'Universit e de Pau, 1993), 69–84.
- 94 See Lambert Wiesing, *Stil statt Wahrheit: Kurt Schwitters und Ludwig Wittgenstein  ber  sthetische Lebensformen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991).
- 95 G erard Dessons, "D erive du collage en th eorie de la litt erature," in Roug e, *Montages/Collages*, 15–24.
- 96 Aragon, "La peinture au d efi."

4 “The whole shebang!”¹

Musical collage and meaning

The application by musicologists of the term ‘collage’ to some musical compositions from the beginning of the twentieth century – most notably to the works by Charles Ives, Erik Satie, and Igor Stravinsky – needs to be evaluated with regard to the evolution of early visual avant-garde collage, as presented in the works of the visual artists discussed above. Are there any real causal connections between the visual model and what musicologists called musical collage? In other words, is musical collage in the works of these composers a transposition of the technique from the visual arts or was the application of the term to musical compositions metaphorical, describing musical phenomena that have few things in common with its visual counterpart? In order to achieve this, I will first define the current theories of musical collage and explain how these musicologists define musical collage based on the works of select composers.

The nature of media, conceptual (language) versus a-conceptual (music), restricts and defines the differences between the collage technique as defined across the arts. One important aspect to consider is how musical meaning is affected by the heterogeneity, the technique that musical collage presupposes, as shown in the previous chapters. The topic of musical meaning is one of the most stringent issues in contemporary debates on the nature of instrumental music, involving musicologists, music theorists, and philosophers. The competing sides are divided into two main groups, on the one hand those who support the idea that purely instrumental music may tell a story (embraced mainly by the representatives of New Musicology – based on cultural interpretations of music – such as Lawrence Kramer,² Jenefer Robinson,³ Susan McClary,⁴ etc.), and on the other hand the formalist critics, following the path opened by Eduard Hanslick,⁵ who claimed that the meaning of music is the perception of form (“tönend bewegten Formen,” “tonally moving forms”). Heinrich Schenker’s structuralist analyses⁶ further developed Hanslick’s theories and also influenced the subsequent neo-Riemannian approaches of David Lewin⁷ and Richard Cohn⁸ among others, or the generativist theories of Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff.⁹ Roger Scruton,¹⁰ Peter Kivy,¹¹ Malcolm Budd,¹² and other philosophers from the analytical tradition support formalist views too, although on different grounds than Hanslick or Schenker. I defend the formalist interpretations of music from an intermedial perspective, based on the structural analyses I have conducted regarding the transposition of musical forms into different media, verbal or visual, in which formalistic elements were the main concern for the artists/novelists involved in such transpositions.¹³ Also, since collage is a non-medium-specific technique, as I have outlined above, i.e., it requires operations of thinking and ontological conflict between the materials of the respective arts illustrating it, it will be necessary to determine how this characteristic affects the

potential instantiation of collage in music, which is *par excellence* non-conceptual, operating with musical form.

Next, I will evaluate select musical compositions by Ives, Satie, and Stravinsky in order to decide whether collage in their works is an intermedial transposition of the technique from the visual arts, which presupposes the composer's intention of creating such compositions under the visual model, and understand, from a transmedial point of view, what the similarities and differences are between the visual and musical works outlining the technique of collage.

For music scholars, the term 'collage' refers to certain compositional procedures that relate to the principles collage presupposes, such as disruption and fragmentation. Some critics, such as Brunhilde Sonntag, have operated with a loose definition of musical collage and dubbed collage as any form of musical borrowing, among them compositions by Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Hector Berlioz, and Franz Liszt.¹⁴ But the most rigorous definition of musical collage was given by J. Peter Burkholder, who classifies as musical collages only those compositions containing borrowings of short fragments that are not harmoniously integrated into the musical piece and have as their sources primarily popular music. Burkholder defined musical collage as

the juxtaposition of multiple quotations, styles or textures so that each element maintains its individuality and the elements are perceived as excerpted from many sources and arranged together, rather than sharing common origins. ... Elements in a collage often differ in key, timbre, texture, metre or tempo, and lack of fit is an important factor in preserving the individuality of each and conveying the impression of a diverse assemblage.¹⁵

Other music critics, such as Zofia Lissa, Glenn Watkins, and Nicholas Cook,¹⁶ talked of musical collage as a phenomenon connected to postmodern culture and defined it as a particular form of borrowing. Burkholder's definition has the merit of taking into account the historical invention of musical collage in the early avant-garde, while the loose definitions I have mentioned used the term 'collage' impressionistically, referring to many forms of musical borrowing that have characterized the history of musical compositions ever since the Renaissance.

Formal experiments: cumulative setting and spatial arrangements in Ives

Burkholder based his definition of the musical collage on his analyses of the musical compositions of Ives. One of the works that contains the clearest illustration of the principles of musical collage is Ives's *Fourth of July*, composed in 1912–1913 (revised in 1920) in connection with the celebration of the US Independence Day of July 4. This day is celebrated by fireworks, parades, marching bands, and other musical events in every American city. Ives's musical piece aims to recreate the atmosphere of these celebrations. *Fourth of July* is in its entirety composed as a musical collage. It is made up of a thematic development of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" and a main countermelody, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Burkholder has analyzed the piece in his book-length study of 1995 and shown that to this basic musical background Ives added patriotic songs, such as "Marching Through Georgia," dance tunes, such as "Sailor's Hornpipe," "Fisher's Hornpipe," "Garryowen" (mm. 82–83 and 86–88),

“Saint Patrick’s Day” (mm. 88–90 and 93–94), and patriotic parlor songs, such as “Katy Darling” (99–106).¹⁷

The pasted melodies are sometimes very short, such as two cuckoo-calls, or two military calls. Even if most of the pieces are military songs, composed in a rapid tempo meant to suggest advancement in battle, some of the songs do not directly connect to the theme of war. “Katy Darling” is an Irish ballad, written in a slower tempo, treating the theme of lost love. At Katie’s tomb the lover mourns her: “Oh! They tell me thou art dead Katy darling/That thy smile I may never behold!/Did they tell thee I was false, Katy Darling/Or my love for thee had e’er grown cold?”¹⁸ The tune is played in the piccolo from measures 99 to 109, overlapping with the final Trio.

In the Trio, the final part of the *Fourth of July*, both major themes of the piece, “Battle Hymn of the Republic” (in the clarinet) and “Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean” (in the trumpets) combine. “Battle Hymn” contrasts with the wistful atmosphere of “Katy Darling,” and the sentimental tune “Katy Darling” creates an even sharper contrast with “Yankee Doodle,” played in the xylophone from measure 99 onwards. The annotated score of bars 100–102 shows the overlapping of these tunes in a visual way¹⁹ (Figure 4.1). The history of the tune Yankee Doodle may contribute to the understanding of the musical collage. A British officer composed “Yankee Doodle” as a spoof of the disheveled attire of the Yankee soldiers, for whom a simple feather added to their hats was an extreme form of elegance, competing with the intricate forms of macaronic style, “macaroni” designating a form of extravagant attire: “Yankee Doodle went to town/Riding on a pony/He stuck a feather in his hat/And called it macaroni.” The Yankees adopted the song as their own, and in the celebrations there was nothing derisive. The listener familiar with “Katy Darling” and “Yankee Doodle” is shocked by their juxtaposition, and the cloying sentimentality of “Katy Darling” is relativized by the sharp irony of “Yankee Doodle.” Ives also used fragments from his own compositions, such as tunes from *Old Home Day* (1913) in measures 44–53, and *Overture and March “1776”* (1903) in the first version of the piece at measures 99–115, as Wayne Shirley contended,²⁰ to emphasize the patriotic content of music.

Ives’ score is a visual patchwork made up of tunes distributed to different instruments playing them simultaneously in order to evoke the street celebrations held on the national day. Ives recalled the composition process he used in the *Fourth of July*: “In the parts taking off explosions, I worked out combinations of tones and rhythms very carefully by kind of prescriptions, in the way a chemical compound makes explosions would make.”²¹ The musical layers constituting the collage allow the composer to re-live the festivities connected to *The Fourth of July* from his childhood. As Burkholder highlighted, some layers are played in the foreground, some in the background, suggesting through spatial distance the emotional involvement with the past of the grown-up who remembers the wonderful times of childhood. As Burkholder put it, the “half-heard and half-remembered tunes [are] a wonderfully true musical evocation of the way human memory works.”²²

Some of Ives’s musical collages – *The Fourth of July* and the Finale of *Symphony No. Four* – display a particular form that Burkholder theorized as “cumulative setting.” This form is an asymmetric musical form, invented by Ives, in which the theme is stated at the end of the piece, and not at the beginning.²³ The theme used in Ives’s compositions illustrating the cumulative setting, a musical form he developed between 1902 and 1920, is always a borrowed tune or is made up of several borrowed tunes

The image shows a page of a musical score for Charles Ives's 'The Fourth of July, Third Movement of A Symphony: New England Holidays'. The page is numbered 27 in the top right corner. The score is divided into five main sections, each with a title in a black box on the left:

- Katy Darling:** Includes staves for Piccolo (Pic.), Flute 1 (Fl. 1), and Oboe 2 (Ob. 2).
- Battle Hymn of the Republic:** Includes staves for Clarinet in B-flat 1 (Cl. (Bb) 1), Bassoon 1 (Bn. 1), Contrabassoon 2 (Cb. 2), and Horns in F (Hn. (F) 1, 2, 3, 4).
- Columbia the Gem of the Ocean:** Includes staves for Trumpet in C 1 (Tpt. (C) 1), Cornet in B-flat (Cnt. (Bb)), Trombone 1 (Tbn. 1), Trombone 2 (Tbn. 2), Tuba (Tba.), Timpani (Timp.), Snare Drum (S.D.), Cymbals (Cym., B.D.), and Bells (1, 2).
- Yankee Doodle:** Includes staves for Xylophone (Xylo.), Piano (Pno.), and a string section.

The string section includes staves for Violin 1 (Vln. 1 div. in T), Violin 2 (Vln. 2 div. in T), Viola (Via. div. in T), Violoncello (Vlc. div.), and Double Bass (Cb. div. in 3). The score contains various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'marcato sempre' and 'staccato'.

Figure 4.1 Bars 100–102 from Charles Ives's the *Fourth of July*, Third Movement of *A Symphony: New England Holidays*, ed. Wayne Shirley (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1992), p. 27 with my annotations of the borrowed tunes. Copyright © 1932 (Renewed) by Associated Music Publishers, Inc. (BMI) International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission.

combined with original material. Only fragments of this theme and other melodic material are heard throughout the piece until the complete statement of the theme toward the end of the piece.²⁴ Such a musical form, which eliminates the usual repetitions characteristic of the statement and developments of a theme, creates a different expectation in the listener who experiences a sense of “clarity” only in the end, when the coherent theme is stated. However, the apparent “clarity” implied by the statement of the theme toward the end of the piece, and which emerges in contrast to the preceding fragmentation,²⁵ does not characterize Ives’s musical collages too. In the final statement of the theme and its countermelody in the *Fourth of July*, other popular tunes are pasted on top of the two major ones, and any clarity effect disappears completely, as it is hard to distinguish between the individual tunes played simultaneously. Collage perception is a complex procedure of disentangling the various musical strands.²⁶ However, Ives’s musical collage is a particular and extreme case of musical borrowing that emerged from his earlier uses of existing music.

Various types of borrowings, both from popular tunes as well as from other classical composers, arranged in cumulative form, are pervasive in Ives’s musical works.²⁷ *Fourth of July* is the third movement of Ives’s *Holidays Symphony* (1904–1913), which also displays various forms of borrowings, including collages, especially in the first movement of the symphony, *Washington’s Birthday* (1909). In movements two and four of the symphony, *Decoration Day* (1913) and *Thanksgiving and Forefathers’ Day* (1904), popular and military tunes and hymn tunes are reminiscent of Ives’s childhood experiences.

The narrativity implied in these remembrances and contained in all parts of the *Holidays Symphonies* by means of the precise popular tunes employed, builds on the tradition of American culture and literature. To the program of *Washington’s Birthday*, Ives added quotations from Henry David Thoreau and John Greenleaf Whittier, which, as David Hertz pointed out, “describe the sense of winter Ives created in the music” and more precisely “the mood in the central portion of the text.”²⁸ Despite the fact that all three parts of *Washington’s Birthday* make use of borrowed tunes, only in the central section does Ives overlap them, creating thus the collage effect, as Burkholder claimed.²⁹ In this section, Ives evokes the popular dances he remembered from his childhood, and the abrupt change of rhythm and overlapping of melodies are procedures able to render the feeling one has when listening to multiple dance tunes played simultaneously. Ives described the program of the piece along these lines:

In some parts of the hall a group would be dancing a polka, while in another a waltz, with perhaps a quadrille or lancers going on in the middle. Some of the players in the band would, in an impromptu, pick up with the polka, some with the waltz or march. ... Sometimes the change in tempo and mixed rhythms would be caused by a fiddler who, after playing three or four hours steadily, was getting a little sleepy. ... I remember distinctly catching a kind of music that was natural and interesting.³⁰

Ives replaced the unique linear narrativity of music through collage principles of abrupt juxtapositions, creating parallel musical ‘stories’ unfolding simultaneously, which anchored his musical pieces in the context of American culture. Ives himself commented on the contradictory nature of his compositional procedure from the

Fourth of July, stating that the piece “It is pure program music – it is also pure abstract music.”³¹ Ives’s statement regarding the musical meaning generated in his musical pieces encapsulates the conflicting theories regarding the nature of musical meaning. The recognition of familiar music and tunes incorporated into a new piece may give the listener the impression of better understanding the new piece, because this compositional process creates an association with another known musical example. In other words, these tunes display formal intermedial reference by partial quotation (i.e., the words of the hymns and popular songs Ives used are also evoked in the mind of the listener). However, these associations are contextual and cultural and are not intrinsic to the music itself, which lacks a referent to allow for the analogy with language. Still, to some extent, as Burkholder rightfully claims, when artists quote previous music they may create all type of meaning in the process, expressing their admiration for that musical tradition or disproving of the politically engaged music.³² According to Burkholder, the listeners perform the same cognitive acts specific to understanding language. Similarly, irony and humor may be generated from the manipulation of previous music. In this situation, previous music becomes a form of ‘referent’ for the new music being created.

Ives’s musical collages are not only used to suggest the inner experience of the mind recalling street celebrations or dances, like in *Fourth of July* and the barn dances in *Washington’s Birthday*, but he also employed the technique to suggest more complex spiritual experiences contained in his *Fourth Symphony* (1910–1924).³³ The tunes used in this collage are gospel hymns, Civil War songs, marches, and Westminster Chimes, able to describe the “mystical experience,” “the spiritual journey” contained in this programmatic piece.³⁴

There are no statements by Ives that in these pieces, or in any of his other compositions that critics have considered as musical collages, he was consciously creating a musical collage resembling that of the work of contemporary visual artists. Still, one of his nephews recorded the fact that Ives was very interested in modern art, especially in the art of Picasso. The nephew, Brewster Ives, testified:

I know that he was interested in Picasso, Matisse, John Marin, and many other artists. And I remember spending many an evening with him discussing modern painters and their approach to painting. He was fascinated with a new approach to painting or a new approach to sculpture.³⁵

The spatial organization of music was important for Ives, and he addressed this issue in his “Conductor’s Note”³⁶ to the second movement, “Comedy” (composed 1919–1921, completed 1923–1925, published 1929), of his *Fourth Symphony*, a work displaying the use of musical collage.³⁷ Ives’s conductor’s note preceding the second movement in the published score contains precise information regarding the performance of the piece, which involved separating the orchestra into two sections, upper orchestra and lower orchestra, between measures 43 and 51, shown in Figure 4.2,³⁸ meant to play closer or more distantly from the audience in order to allow the listener to grasp the music’s “inner content.”³⁹ Surprisingly, in his analogy between painting and music included in this conductor’s note, Ives talks about the foreground and background of what seems to be figurative painting, and not the almost nonfigurative collages of the avant-garde painters. However, the spatial awareness Ives insisted upon

8 [Upper Orchestra:] Allegro (gradually faster) *

43 [see conductor's note]

Picc.

Beulah Land

Fl. 1 2

B♭ Cl. 1 2 3

Bass. 1 2

Nettleton

C Tpts. 1 2 3

Trpts. 1 2 3 4

Tuba

Primo

Secondo

Throw out The Life-line

High Bells

Temp. High Low

Indian Dr.

Snare Dr.

Bass Dr.

Om/Cym.

Gongs Light Heavy

Solo Piano

Nettleton

8 [Lower Orchestra:] Adagio continues *

43 [see conductor's note]

Vn. I

Sweet By and By

Vn. II

Va.

Vc.

Cb.

Figure 4.2 Bars 43–44 from the “Comedy” movement (2nd movement) of Ives’s *Symphony No. 4*, Critical Edition Full Score 2011, p. 20, with my annotations of the borrowed tunes. Ives introduced the “Conductor’s Note” just before the beginning of bar 43, explaining the significance of separating the orchestra in the upper orchestra and the lower orchestra. Copyright © 1956 (Renewed) by Associated Music Publishers, Inc. (BMI) International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission.

in this important part of the symphony, full of musical collages, emphasizes the formal properties and the perception of the music:

When one tries to use an analogy between the arts as an illustration, especially of some technical matter, he is liable to get in wrong. But the general aim of the plans under discussion is to bring various parts of the music to the ear in their relation to each other, as the perspective of a picture brings each object to the eye. The distant hills, in a landscape, range upon range, merge at length into the horizon; and there may be something corresponding to this in the presentation of music. Music seems too often all foreground, even if played by a master of dynamics.⁴⁰

However, the illusionary foreground and backgrounds of paintings Ives refers to are no longer important in the visual collages of Picasso and the other early avant-garde artists, because visual collages involve the annulment of illusionary spaces: in a visual collage the picture is made up of the conflicting materialities of the objects pasted and of the illusionary drawings.

In the absence of any specific bio-bibliographical information, Ives's musical collages cannot be considered a direct intermedial transposition of the visual collage technique into music. Ives's music is a form of exploration of the materials that can be used in music, which incorporates popular tunes altered at various degrees; surprise and conflict are generated from the clashing of melodies. Just like Schwitters processed his collaged pieces before assembling them in his Merz pictures, Ives also transformed these popular songs.

However, Ives's appropriation of musical tunes relates to visual collages in other ways too. Just like Schwitters appropriated a famous painting in one of his collages, Raphael Sanzio's *Sistine Madonna* (1512), used as the basis for his *Merzzeichnung Mz. 151 Wenzel Kind Madonna mit Pferd* (*Mz. 151 Wenzel Child Madonna with Horse*) (Figure 4.3), Ives appropriated Ludwig van Beethoven's famous four-note "fate motif" from the beginning of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* in his *Concord Sonata* (1911–1915). Although Ives's appropriation does not truly correspond to the definition of musical collage I operate with in this study, lacking the juxtaposition of conflicting



Figure 4.3 Kurt Schwitters, *Mz. 151 Wenzel Kind Madonna mit Pferd* (*Mz. 151 Wenzel Child Madonna with Horse*), 1921. Collage, paper on paper, 17.2 × 12.9 cm (6¾ × 5 in.). Sprengel Museum Hannover, Hannover. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

tunes, the similarities with Schwitters's collage are obvious: both artists used a famous painting/musical motif, which allowed easy recognition by the audience; thus, both artists expressed their admiration for the master whose work they appropriated; the repetition of the "fate motif" throughout *Concord Sonata* emphasizes its central role in the piece and suggests an artistic procedure comparable to Schwitters's appropriation of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*. However, the application of newspaper cuttings in Schwitters's collage suggests a humorous reinterpretation of Raphael masterpiece, while Ives revered Beethoven's motif that he used to create his own complex melody, which Ives himself called "the human-faith melody."⁴¹ For Ives, this borrowed musical motif captures the essence of the Transcendentalist writers (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bronson Alcott, and Henry David Thoreau), and it re-occurs frequently in each of the four parts of the musical piece named after these four Transcendentalist writers.⁴²

However, Ives also used popular and religious tunes in his *Concord Sonata* next to Beethoven's four-note "fate motif," both in his "human-faith melody" as well as in the other movements of the sonata.⁴³ In "Hawthorne," next to Beethoven's four-note motif, one recognizes the popular tunes "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean" or "Peter, Peter Pumpkin Eater."⁴⁴ Such juxtaposition of 'high' and 'low', classical symphonies and popular tunes, lies at the core of the principles of avant-garde visual collage. Picasso's use of newspapers, cheap wallpaper, packets of cards, and cigarettes, next to oils, watercolor, and charcoal, broke and redefined the elevated conventions of the fine arts. A similar phenomenon is encountered in Ives's *Concord Sonata*. Thus, even if *Concord Sonata* is not truly a collage in the full understanding of the concept, as defined by Burkholder, I would like to suggest that Ives gradually reached the form of musical collage based on the progressive development of techniques of conflicting borrowings of 'high' and 'low' tunes that he first experimented with in the *Concord Sonata*. The cumulative form with its asymmetrical structure assisted and infused this gradual process.

Just like in the case of verbal collage, the paraphrase of a musical source does not constitute the material of a musical collage. The borrowed material for collages in all media has to illustrate appropriation, i.e., the borrowed material undergoes minimal transformations. Ives also experimented with the combination of 'high' and 'low' music in his *Second Symphony*, but as Burkholder pointed out in his analysis of the musical piece, Ives incorporated American tunes into a European classical form, a process that implied paraphrasing these popular tunes (i.e., performing operations of "variation, ornamentation, omission, repetition, transposition, elision, and interpolation.")⁴⁵

Ives was also preoccupied with issues of form and content as his "Epilogue" to *Essays Before a Sonata* shows. There, he talks about the importance of the "substance" over "manner," the latter being inferior to the former. Substance is the "creative truth," the musical idea.⁴⁶ If in the *Second Symphony* "manner" is borrowed from the European Romantic composers, in his collage pieces, and mainly in the *Fourth Symphony*, the "manner" obeys the "substance," generating new symphonic forms.

A crucial element for scholars working on musical borrowings and Ives in particular is the issue of the recognizability of the referenced tunes contained in the piece displaying musical borrowings. Some of the references to the sources are more obvious than others, while some references/borrowings are so hidden and remote from the source that it is hard to say that they are borrowings at all, becoming paraphrases.

For Ives, placing the universally recognizable motif from the beginning of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* at the core of his *Concord Sonata* was a statement regarding its large appeal to the audiences. Thus, I would like to argue that the *Concord Sonata* contains *in nuce* the principle of music collage that Ives subsequently developed in his other works discussed above. Furthermore, Thomas M. Brodhead has established a direct filiation between the second movement of the *Concord*, "Hawthorne," and *Symphony No. Four*.⁴⁷ "Hawthorne," argued Brodhead, was the source for another piano piece of Ives, *The Celestial Railroad*,⁴⁸ which eventually turned into the "Comedy" movement of Ives's *Fourth Symphony*.⁴⁹ By closely analyzing Ives's manuscript score of *The Celestial Railroad* (MS) and Ives's 'score-sketch' of the second movement of *Symphony No. 4* (SS), Brodhead concludes that the second movement of *Symphony No. 4* is the later piece, based on the fact that "the top layer of the MS always corresponds to SS."⁵⁰ I would like to suggest that Ives reached his compositional model of collage based on this trajectory of mixing 'high' and 'low' aesthetics started in the *Concord*, the "Hawthorne" movement, and then fully developed it in the *Fourth Symphony*, because only a layered symphonic piece could allow creating the juxtaposition and interactions of musical planes.

The chronology of Ives's works displaying the technique of musical collage also supports the claim that the first work using musical collage was "The Comedy" of the *Fourth Symphony*. Although dating Ives's works has become a detectivistic work, with scholars dating Ives's handwriting style⁵¹ or considering the dates of his correspondence/envelopes,⁵² Ives's later additions and revisions may be due to the application of the collage technique. This applies mainly to the connection between *Fourth of July* and what Wayne Shirley called '*The Second of July*.'⁵³ Following the current proposed chronology by Burkholder *et al.*,⁵⁴ Ives wrote the second movement of the *Fourth Symphony* between 1919 and 1921, a period that coincides with the revisions of the other works using collage, such as the *Fourth of July*. It becomes thus apparent, the heightened importance of the "Conductor's Note" Ives placed before the printed score of the "Comedy" movement of the *Fourth Symphony*. Sectioning the orchestra in different parts, as Ives requested, allowed the listener to engage with the musical collage spatially. Similarly, the papers, newspapers, and the drawings contained in a visual collage are merged on the picture plane by means of real and not illusionary space. Despite the fact that probably Ives did not see a real visual collage before he invented the musical collage, the types of musical experiments he conducted closely resemble the concept of visual collage, justifying the musical application of the term and reinforcing the highly intermedial experiments of the early avant-garde and modernist artists.

Back in Europe: Picasso returns and a terminological conundrum (Satie and Stravinsky)

A different composition illustrating the characteristics of the musical collage is Satie's *Parade: ballet réaliste*, premiered by Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris in May 1917.⁵⁵ It was conceived as music for a ballet based on Jean Cocteau's scenario, with costumes, curtain, and décor designed by Picasso and choreographed by Léonide Massine, a young dancer and choreographer who succeeded Vaslav Nijinsky in Diaghilev's ballet company.⁵⁶ The premiere was received with negative reviews and the scandal was triggered by the syncopated music, as well

as by Picasso's Cubist costumes. As Christine Reynolds pointed out, Picasso influenced the whole production of the ballet and even the music itself, by introducing Satie to the principles of Cubist design while Satie was working on the piece in the fall of 1916.⁵⁷ These Cubist principles that influenced Satie's composition were clearly manifested in Picasso's costumes, such as the Manager's and the horse's costumes, which translated the principles of multiple points of view characteristic of Cubism to the three-dimensional world.⁵⁸ *Parade* is made up of Introduction: "Choral" and "Rideau rouge," Part One: "Prestidigitateur chinois," Part Two: "Petite fille americaine," Part Three: "Acrobates," Part Four: "Final," and "Suite au 'Prélude du Rideau rouge.'"⁵⁹ The scenario consists of a traveling circus act of several performers, such as a Chinese conjuror, an American girl, the acrobats, supervised by their corporate managers, who try to attract the audience to their show. The musical collage consists of "jazzy, fragmented melodies and rhythms," as Susan Calkins pointed out.⁶⁰ Critics have identified specific melodies that were borrowed, with minimal transformations, from popular music. One of such melodies is *Ragtime du paquebot*, which appears at the end of part two, "Petite fille americaine," and was based on Irving Berlin and Ted Snyder's 1911 hit song "That Mysterious Rag."⁶¹ As Orledge pointed out, based on Ornella Volta's discovery, Satie heard "That Mysterious Rag" in 1913 at the Moulin Rouge revue *Tais-toi, tu m'affoles* and published later that year by Editions Salabert.⁶² In a letter from October 25, 1916, to Valentine Gross, Satie called *The Ragtime du paquebot* a "Canevas-Rag" ("Canvas Rag"), highlighting thus the importance of the pictorial model on this composition.⁶³ Calkins also noticed that Satie borrowed themes from Stravinsky and Claude Debussy in the "cabaret melodies and circus music themes in the third movement," "Acrobates," and noted the "mocking inflection" these borrowings had.⁶⁴ Daniel Albright discussed *Parade's* "Cubist design, the piecing together of imaginary fields of reality through odd collages of ready-made objects."⁶⁵ In the music, he noticed the use of collage in the imitation of certain noises added on top of the melodic structure, without efforts of harmonious integration. These noises are the approximate sounds of a typewriter, a pistol, a high siren, a low siren, a lottery wheel, as well as "sound-puddles" obtained from dropping a cymbal on a hard floor.⁶⁶ On the whole, *Parade* is a musical collage, which is partially composed of fragmented melodies that are juxtaposed and interrupted by other such melodies. The realistic sounds imitated by artistic means increase the sense of this musical collage, because they suggest the presence of real-life elements, which is a characteristic of visual collages. *Parade* is a complex musical composition, which is part of a mixed-media performance combining music, ballet, costumes, scenery, dialogue, song, and acting. The scenario was composed first and then followed by the ballet; the music was created last to support the dance. The musical collage is just a component of this complex mixed-media production. The scenario and the ballet are characterized by an inherent fragmentary and juxtapositional nature, which triggered the fragmentary nature of the music.

Music scholars have also employed the term 'musical collage' to refer to some of Stravinsky's modernist compositional methods. For these critics, collage refers to at least three different procedures encountered in Stravinsky's music. First, collage is seen as a type of borrowing or pastiche that characterizes Stravinsky's early Russian period up until 1920 but also his neoclassical period from 1920 to 1951. The borrowing of Russian folksongs, as well as street songs and waltzes, during Stravinsky's early

Russian period is displayed in compositions such as *The Firebird* (1910), *Petrushka* (1911), *The Rite of Spring* (1913), and *Les Noces* (1917). *Petrushka* displays the most numerous borrowings, and the number of borrowed tunes decreases in the later pieces. Critics identified the sources of the songs contained in *Petrushka*, but these songs are not played against one another or juxtaposed, but rather adapted and distributed to several musical instruments.⁶⁷ For Watkins, some of the six folksongs included in *Petrushka* are not appropriate for the pre-Lent celebrations to which they relate in the ballet, and the musicologist identified some humorous intentions in their inclusion in *Petrushka*.⁶⁸ Just like Ives's patriotic tunes, the folksongs and waltzes evoke the public gathering of the people in the public market in *Petrushka*. Some of these tunes are the street song "Toward Evening in Rainy Autumn" by Nikolai Titov, introduced 12 bars after rehearsal no. 15, or the music hall tune "Elle avait un' jambe en bois" by Emile Spencer, introduced at rehearsal no. 13.⁶⁹ For this latter tune, Stravinsky paid a royalty each time *Petrushka* was performed, since the composer still had the copyright over the tune, according to Watkins.

In her analysis of Stravinsky's neoclassical period, Martha M. Hyde noticed the multiple borrowings and musical allusions to musical works contained in Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* (1951) and labeled them as 'collage'/pastiche, a crucial technique of postmodernism, characterized by "ambiguity, diversity and a historicism," which also characterize Stravinsky's style.⁷⁰

But probably the second understanding of the term 'collage,' as applied to Stravinsky's music, has raised the most critical debate. Musicologists employing the term 'collage' in this second acceptance of the term do not refer to the borrowing of tunes, but they use it to describe Stravinsky's main compositional procedures, which consist of "building blocks" as Gretchen Horlacher called them,⁷¹ or display an "overtly sectionalized" musical flow, in Jonathan Kramer's terms,⁷² displaying various forms of integration and disruption among the musical elements. Critics upholding the application of the term 'collage' to Stravinsky's compositional procedures, such as Joseph N. Straus⁷³ and Glenn Watkins,⁷⁴ see these "musical blocks" as independent of each other. After performing a close analysis of Stravinsky's compositional process, Straus concluded: "Stravinsky treated musical blocks as preformed elements in a kind of musical collage, to be moved, inserted, or deleted as necessary."⁷⁵ Critics who opposed the application of this term claim instead that the building block display elements of integration: "motifs are harmonically related: by retaining a background harmonic commonality while severing strong vertical connections," claimed Jonathan Cross in the conclusion of his analysis of *The Rite of Spring*.⁷⁶ Horlacher pointed out that "succession and order" characterize Stravinsky's building blocks and did not agree to name the procedure musical collage, "whose elements may be viewed from any number of angles and directions."⁷⁷

But probably the simplest and the less questionable application of the term 'collage' to Stravinsky's music involves those compositions in which Stravinsky added tunes to an otherwise self-standing composition, like in his *Symphonies of Wind Instruments* (1920, rev. 1947). Cross agreed that such compositional procedures involve "cut and paste" techniques and recommended the application of the term 'collage'.⁷⁸ This application of the term is restricted only to a few cases when the musical manuscript confirms the application of such a compositional procedure or the composer himself acknowledged this. Thus, according to Stravinsky's declaration and proved by the

analysis of the manuscript of this piece, the chorale section of the *Symphonies* was added after the piece was finished, making this a collage in the third acceptance of the term.⁷⁹

These three different applications of the term ‘collage’ to Stravinsky’s music point out the quotation of foreign materials, the disruptions, and the fragmentation and dissonances that characterize Stravinsky’s music. Even if Stravinsky’s music does not seem to illustrate all the principles requested by the current definition of musical collage, referring mainly to the numerous quotations from popular songs or classical tunes, their abrupt juxtaposition, and their independence from one another, according to Burkholder’s definition of the term, Stravinsky’s music seems to be best described by the term ‘collage,’ a concept drawn from art history, which allows musicologists to debate on the nature and behavior of the building blocks characteristic of Stravinsky’s music and their apparent fragmentary nature. As Cross put it in his analysis of *The Rite of Spring*, “[T]he breakdown of elements of connectedness does not necessarily result in disconnectedness” (i.e., collage), by pointing out how motifs in this groundbreaking piece, also purported to be read as a musical collage, are actually “harmonically related.”⁸⁰

The musical collages contained in Ives’s and Satie’s musical works are pioneering examples of an artistic phenomenon, which gained momentum in the postmodern period.⁸¹ Critics analyzing these pieces were right in identifying the juxtapositional nature of the musical collage, the presence of real-life sounds, and the overlapping of conflicting melodies. Pieces by Luigi Russolo and Edgar Varèse’s *Ionisation* (1929–1931) might seem to illustrate the technique of collage because of their use of real-life sounds. Varèse introduced the sounds of two sirens and approximated the roar of a lion produced by a drum head (membrane) through which a chord has been threaded in his composition. Russolo created his own noise-instruments, *intona rumori*, which approximated the sounds of the city, among other realistic sounds. To some extent one may consider these as examples of musical collage, if one operates with a loose definition of musical collage, as being characterized by the reproduction of realistic sounds. I would argue that in order to have a true musical collage one needs to have fragments of tunes that are integrated into a larger composition. The real-life sounds included in a composition may be a basic requirement, but other complex compositional procedures are responsible for the emergence of a true musical collage, at least in my understanding.

Musical collage, intermediality, and memory

Ives’s musical collage illustrates intermedial reference by partial reproduction, because the words of the songs included in the *Fourth of July*, *Washington’s Birthday*, and *Symphony No. Four* are indirectly referred to within the musical collage. In this instance, the intermedial reference to the absent words by their musical setting allows the composer to operate with precise ‘meaning’ and achieve the largest contrast between the overlapping tunes. In terms of media combination, this entails the reference to one absent medium, and theoreticians of intermediality created this new category of intermedial reference to classify the cases they encountered.⁸² Intermedial reference by partial reproduction complements the other types of intermediality encountered in the case of the visual and verbal collages: the mixed-media configurations present in certain cases of visual collages and the intermedia texts as apparent in

specific verbal collages. This proves the strong connections that exist between collage and intermediality, which becomes a theoretical category able to explain the intricate nature of collage transmedially. The fact that collage in different media illustrates various intermedial categories is also due to the specific medial nature of each medial configuration, according to their individual modalities, material, sensorial, spatiotemporal, and semiotic, as Elleström defined them.⁸³

Musical collage displays some of the same fundamental characteristics of its visual and verbal counterparts. It explores the materiality of music, it contains elements of surprise, and it connects musical and verbal signs. But at the same time, musical collage exhibits very different characteristics from its visual and verbal counterparts. It employs compositional procedures, which consist of abrupt sectioning and juxtaposition and superposition of certain musical motifs. The emergence of musical collage in the early avant-garde is also indebted to select compositional techniques inherent in classical music, which made use of quotation to a large extent. What distinguishes the examples of musical collage that I discussed is that the musical borrowing takes as its primary sources examples of popular music. The abrupt juxtaposition of musical fragments may have occurred under the influence of the avant-garde and modernist aesthetics of rupture and innovation.

Thus, the heterogeneity that characterizes both visual and verbal collages manifests itself in the musical ones too, by disrupting the continuity of musical idea and creating various forms of ruptures between the musical elements. The popular tunes ‘pasted’ in the musical compositions displaying characteristics of the collage are stripped of their words and point out metareferentially that musical meaning does not consist of concepts. In Ives’s words, [*The Fourth of July*] “it is both abstract and program music.” Paradoxically, musical collage indicates the limits of the cultural analysis of music promoted by the representatives of New Musicology: instrumental music cannot express concepts as language does, not even when familiar tunes, stripped of the familiar words, are used. Musical collage is the closest one can get to creating conceptual meaning for the audience, but the music itself subverts the very possibility of expressing such concepts.

But some of the most important distinctions between visual and verbal collages manifest themselves at the level of the spatiotemporal and sensorial modalities, as defined by Elleström,⁸⁴ involving the perception and the temporal dimensions of these collages in different media. If music is the temporal art par excellence, showing temporality at all levels identified by the critics – temporal properties of the work, temporal properties of the viewer’s perception of the work, and temporal properties of what the work represents⁸⁵ – painting is temporal only in the latter two senses.⁸⁶ The viewer perceiving a collage has to find his own way in the maze of the picture plane, while a certain temporal order is imposed on the listener of the musical collage in the way most allographic arts do.

However, issues of memory and perception play an important part in these distinctions between visual and musical collage. As David Hertz pointed out, memory is a key factor in musical perception and understanding, and it is characteristic for twentieth-century music, and Ives’s musical collages in particular, to subvert the listener’s expectations by means of modern musical forms, such as Ives’s cumulative form.⁸⁷ Memory fulfills a similar function for both musical and visual collages, because the principle of collage activates in the viewer/listener an extra-artistic memory, since the newspaper cuttings, labels, train tickets, or the popular tunes in Ives’s musical pieces belong to

the personal memory of the audience. Perception of these artworks by a twenty-first-century audience is completely different from that of the artists' contemporaries, since these objects or the tunes are no longer as popular as they used to be (the popular tunes) or have completely disappeared (newspapers, tickets, wallpapers, etc.).

Musical collages point to this extra-artistic memory in other ways too. Both Ives's and Satie's pieces aim to describe a real-life event, the celebration on the Fourth of July or the circus performance. The objectives and the effects of the two pieces are largely dependent on the historical context in which they were created. When he composed *Parade*, Satie was surrounded by visual artists, and he was familiar with the latest innovations in the arts, including the visual collage in Picasso's work. It may be suggested that his use of the musical collage is indebted to the artistic experiments of which he was a witness. This is not true for Ives, who composed his musical collage outside the European avant-garde milieu, but within the European tradition of classical music.

Just as visual and literary collages emerged from a previous tradition of constant innovations within the respective field, so did musical collage. With a questionable origin, half under the spell of visual collage, at least in Satie's case, and emerging independently from any visual sources, as in Ives's case, musical collage continued a centuries-long musical tradition of borrowing from other musical works. But what characterizes musical collage and circumscribes it to specific stylistic developments of the early twentieth century is the way the quotation is effected. Quotations used in collage are small musical themes, they are not harmoniously integrated into the larger melody, and usually they quote from popular tunes, a source that was not so frequently used in the works of previous composers, who mainly quoted or paraphrased folk tunes or religious melodies in their compositions.

Musical collage differs from musical montage because it does not operate with recorded music, which is then incorporated into a musical piece. Montage composers do not appropriate found musical fragments, but they create their own musical pieces, which are subsequently recorded. Musical collage is a compositional procedure, which lacks the technological component that characterizes musical montage.

Coda: collage – the transmedial perspective

Collage is not a medium-specific technique. It shares the same characteristics in its different medial instantiations: the overlapping of fragments coming from varied sources, such as images, texts, and tunes, mixed together to generate a hybrid form of art whose fragments in some instances retain their independence. It has referential/representational and nonreferential/nonrepresentational aspects, it is a form of exploration of the materiality of the respective media, it contains a surprise element, and it makes connections with other systems of representation. The materiality of each medium particularizes collage differently, but acts of cutting and pasting, as forms of quotation, both concrete and metaphorical, characterize collage in all media. Collage displays an increased degree of metareferentiality, creating medium awareness in the visual arts, but less so in literature or music. By bringing into the work of art elements foreign to its conventional organization, collage constitutes itself as a comment on the nature of the artistic means by which each medium manifests itself.

Seen from an intermedial and transmedial perspective, collage is an artistic phenomenon that raises numerous questions in the area of intermedial research. Collage

may first be seen as a mixed-media product in those visual collages, which combine traditional visual and extra-artistic technical media, as well as written media. Words may be included in the fragments of newspaper pasted into the picture plane, or they may be directly stenciled on the surface of the collage. Such mixed-media collages appear in all the avant-garde movements that used the technique. This constitutes also the most controversial type of visual collages, because critics still debate the relevance of the written words to the interpretation of the collages. Second, certain verbal collages with an increased spatial component, such as Apollinaire's *calligrammes*, may be seen as intermedia texts, because the elements representing the two media cannot be separated. The instances of musical collage analyzed in *The Fourth of July* and the other compositions by Ives highlight a case of intermediality by partial reproduction.

Literary collage and Satie's musical collage are examples of an intermedial transposition of a technique across media, which allows for a refining of the category of intermedial reference by taking into account the nature of the technique transposed. My research on visual, verbal, and musical media has proved that collage is a technique that may trigger only passive intermedial reference, because it is not medium-specific and can thus be easily transferred between media. Collage across the arts illustrates different categories of intermediality, and this fact is due mainly to the differences between media, as well as to the emergence and transfer of the technique across media.

As a consequence of the direct transposition of the collage technique from the visual arts into the literary medium, many literary collages contain a visual component, especially Apollinaire's *calligrammes*. The poets' objectives were similar to those of the visual artists: they tried to rejuvenate the artistic field, and the emergence of a new compositional method opened the way for further experimentation. In the case of the musical collage, one encounters a different situation. Satie composed his musical piece in collaboration with representatives of the visual and literary avant-gardes, and his musical collage is probably a transposition of the visual technique into the musical medium. Ives's case is totally different. He composed his musical collage independently, without any outside influences on his art. Satie had to illustrate a given scenario that was already very fragmented and then his music followed those steps, while Ives's music was composed independently of any programs.

In all its instantiations across media, early avant-garde and modernist collage referenced reality by various means: conventionally extra-artistic elements were included in the picture plane in a visual collage; fragments of conversations or street sounds were included in literary collages; Ives's musical collage evoked memories of street celebrations. Despite its constant reference to different aspects of "reality," collage subverted realistic representation and avoided mimetic effects in most of its instantiations, with a few notable exceptions such as Ives's music, which relied on contextual and cultural associations in the mind of the listener. Bürger insisted that avant-garde art aimed to "reintegrate art into the life process" and "organize a new life praxis from a basis in art," reconnecting and putting art in contact with life in unprecedented ways.⁸⁸ Bürger's theory is still an influential theory of the avant-garde, which affected critical discourse on the avant-garde since it was first published in 1974. He based his theory on the works of several philosophers who had written on the avant-garde (Jürgen Habermas, György Lukács, and Theodor W. Adorno), but relied mostly on the works of Karl Marx and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. In analogy with Hegel's theorization of Symbolic, Classical, and Romantic art, Bürger created a similar chronological development of literature and the arts. According to the "purpose or

function,” “production,” and “reception” he distinguished between Sacral, Courty, and Bourgeois art. He observed that an avant-garde work of art is nonorganic and illustrates principles such as chance and montage and used examples drawn from Dada and Surrealist art and literature, ignoring the other avant-garde groups. Critics have attacked many of his positions, but probably the most frequent observation is that he limited his analysis only to two avant-garde movements. Scheunemann wrote: “A major problem in presenting a comprehensive discussion of the historical avant-garde movement arises in Bürger’s theory from its restricted field of observations.”⁸⁹ Others contested Bürger’s claim that the avant-garde connected art and life. Hal Foster pointed out that Bürger misinterpreted the presence of the real-life objects in the works of the avant-garde artists. For Foster, the readymade is an “epistemological provocation,” a “perpetual testing of the conventions of both [art and life].”⁹⁰ Following Foster’s claim, I emphasize the fact that the presence of the elements of the real in the collages should not be interpreted *ad litteram*, but should be seen as a way of testing the expressive means of that art. My study of the visual, verbal, and musical collages contradicts Bürger’s claims. In many such cases the reference to reality is secondary and not a purpose in itself, because collage is an avant-garde and modernist method of investigation into artistic techniques across all media affected by it. Furthermore, the visual collage also displays a highly metareferential component, a characteristic not present in the verbal and musical versions of the technique, due to the materiality of the media.⁹¹ Neither music nor words and literature can literally appropriate a part of the ‘real’ – like visual collages do – and make that part of the artwork. Instead, they approximate the ‘real’ by quoting conversations or popular tunes, this being the closest literature and music may get to imitating the real world in an artistic production. The performative versus nonperformative nature of the arts, autographic, such as painting, visual arts, and allographic, such as literature and music, art may also be responsible for their ability to create or not medium awareness (metareferentiality) when they instantiate the technique of collage.

The transmedial approach I have taken in looking at collage across media relies on an objective analysis of the works of art without aiming to import the definition of the concept from one medium into another. It has become apparent that collage takes a variety of shapes across the different media it affects. It has also become apparent that collage does not represent such an abrupt break with the past as critics presumed, at least not in all the media I discussed. For example, the technique of visual collage was employed before the turn of the twentieth century in popular art, but for entirely different purposes and effects; on the other hand, musical collage is a particular form of musical borrowing, which emerged from a long-lasting tradition. I consider verbal collages to be the most innovative among all the collages, but they also rely on certain modernist tendencies that manifested themselves in the history of Western literature in the nineteenth century. Thus, I would like to suggest that the early avant-gardes do not represent such an abrupt rupture with the past as some critics proposed; on the contrary, the avant-garde may be seen as the climax of certain artistic developments, which had been underway for centuries in the arts of the Western world. The avant-garde artists just redefined these artistic practices according to new coordinates. What characterized the avant-garde as a movement was the rapidity with which terms and concepts migrated from one medium to another and fertilized each new medium they encountered. What is unique to the early avant-gardes as a movement is what I would call medium-permissiveness, which could be defined as a propensity of individual

artistic media to accept changes and take over techniques from the other media.⁹² The blurring of media genres seems to be the big invention of the early avant-gardes, highlighted by means of collage, which led to the subsequent developments in the avant-gardes of the 1960s with the emergence of new artistic genres, such as performance art, land art, or sound art, among others.

Notes

- 1 Michael Tilson Thomas and the San Francisco Symphony used this phrase to refer to bars 97–106 of Ives's the *Fourth of July* in their interactive score of the piece, available at <http://www.keepingsscore.org/interactive/pages/ives/score-piling>. I am using the very inspired title they applied to a fragment of Ives's piece to refer to the nature of musical collage as a phenomenon, in virtue of the whole series of problems related to musical meaning it poses, being both absolute music and program music, as Ives claimed; see the discussion regarding musical meaning below.
- 2 Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
- 3 Jenefer Robinson, *Music and Meaning*, and Robinson, *Deeper Than Reason*.
- 4 Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).
- 5 Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*.
- 6 Heinrich Schenker, *Der Tonwille: Pamphlets in Witness of the Immutable Laws of Music: Offered to a New Generation of Youth*, ed. William Drabkin, trans. Ian Bent (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); *The Art of Performance*, ed. Heribert Esser (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); *Free Composition (Der freie Satz): Volume III of New Musical Theories and Fantasies*, trans. and ed. Ernst Oster (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979–); *Five Graphic Music Analyses (Fünf Urlinie-Tafeln)*. With a new introduction and glossary by Felix Salzer (New York: Dover Publications, 1969).
- 7 David Lewin, "Cohn Functions," *Journal of Music Theory* 40, no. 2 (1996): 181–216; "A Formal Theory of Generalized Tonal Functions," *Journal of Music Theory* 26, no. 1 (1982): 23–60; "On Generalized Musical Intervals and Transformations," *Journal of Music Theory* 24, no. 2 (1980): 243–51.
- 8 Richard Cohn, "Introduction to Neo-Riemannian Theory: A Survey and Historical Perspective," *Journal of Music Theory* 42, no. 2 (1998): 167–80.
- 9 Fred Ler Dahl and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983); "Toward a Formal Theory of Tonal Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 21, no. 1 (1977): 111–71.
- 10 Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation* (London: Continuum, 2009).
- 11 Peter Kivy, *Music Alone: Philosophical Reflections on the Purely Musical Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
- 12 Malcolm Budd, *Aesthetic Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *Music and the Emotions: The Philosophical Theories* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).
- 13 See my articles "Vain Art of the Fugue by Dumitru Tsepeneag" and "Avant-Garde Musicalized Pictures."
- 14 Brunhilde Sonntag, *Untersuchungen zur Collagetechnik in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1977), 19–50.
- 15 Peter J. Burkholder, "Collage," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 6, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, vol. 6 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 110.
- 16 See Zofia Lissa, "Ästhetische Funktionen des musikalischen Zitats," *Die Musikforschung* 19 (October/December 1966): 364–78 and "Historical Awareness of Music and Its Role in Present-Day Musical Culture," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 4, no. 1 (June 1973): 17–33; Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage From Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap

- Press of Harvard University Press, 1994), see especially chapter 10 “Stravinsky and the Cubists,” 229–74; Nicholas Cook, “Uncanny Moments: Juxtaposition and the Collage Principle in Music,” in *Approaches to Meaning in Music*, ed. Byron Almén and Edward Pearsall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 107–34.
- 17 J. Peter Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 376–78.
- 18 Jesse Jarvis, “Katy, Darling. Duett,” in *A Series of Beautiful Duets*, ed. Jesse Jarvis (Philadelphia: Goud, 1858), 2. <http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/inharmony/detail.do?action=detail&fullItemID=/lilly/starr/LL-SSM-2-135-0079&queryNumber=1>.
- 19 Bars 100–102 with my annotations from Ives’s the *Fourth of July* score in *The Fourth of July*. Third Movement of *A Symphony: New England Holidays*, ed. Wayne D. Shirley (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1992), 27.
- 20 Wayne D. Shirley, “Introduction,” in Ives, *The Fourth of July*, iv.
- 21 Charles Ives, *Memos*, ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: Norton, 1972), 104.
- 22 Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 380.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 137–38.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 138.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 26 For the perception of musical collages see Jennifer Iverson, “Creating Space: Perception and Structure in Charles Ives’s Collages,” *Music Theory Online* 17, no. 2 (2011): 1–23.
- 27 For a bibliography of Ives’s musical borrowings, see Gayle Sherwood Magee, “Musical Quotation and Borrowing,” in *Charles Ives: A Research and Information Guide* (London: Routledge, 2010), 92–97.
- 28 David Michael Hertz, *Angels of Reality: Emersonian Unfoldings in Wright, Stevens and Ives* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 131.
- 29 Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 383–84.
- 30 Ives, *Memos*, 97.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 104.
- 32 For the concept of associative musical meaning see Burkholder, “A Simple Model for Associative Musical Meaning,” in Almén and Pearsall, *Approaches to Meaning in Music*, 93–97.
- 33 Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 389.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 409.
- 35 Brewster Ives quoted in *Charles Ives Remembered: An Oral History*, ed. Vivian Perlis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 79.
- 36 Ives, “Conductor’s Note,” in *Symphony No. 4.: Critical Edition Full Score/CD-ROM*, ed. James B. Sinclair, William Brooks, Kenneth Singleton, and Wayne D. Shirley (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 2011), xxviii.
- 37 Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 389–409.
- 38 Bars 43–44 from the “Comedy” movement (2nd movement) from Ives, *Symphony No. 4.*, 20, with my annotations. Ives introduced the “Conductor’s Note” just before the beginning of bar 43, explaining the significance of separating the orchestra in the upper orchestra and the lower orchestra. The first two tunes from top to bottom belong to the upper orchestra, and they are: “Beulah Land” in the flutes and “Nettleton” (“Come, Thou Fount of Ev’ry Blessing”) in the six trumpets. Tunes 3, 4, and 5 are played by the lower orchestra, and they are: “Throw out the Life-Line”/“Hello! Ma Baby” in the high bells, Nettleton (“Come, Thou Fount of Ev’ry Blessing”) in the first violins, and “Sweet By and By” also in the first violins. The tunes may be listened to at the Charles Ives Society website: www.charlesives.org.
- 39 Ives, “Conductor’s Note,” xxviii.
- 40 *Ibid.* Copyright © 1956 (Renewed) by Associated Music Publishers, Inc. (BMI) International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission.
- 41 Ives, *Essays before a Sonata and Other Writings*, ed. Howard Boatright (New York: Norton, 1962), 47–48.
- 42 For detailed analyses of *Concord Sonata* and Beethoven’s influence on Ives, see Hertz, “Ives’s *Concord Sonata* and the Texture of Music,” in *Charles Ives and His World*, ed. Burkholder (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 75–118; Geoffrey Block, “Ives and the ‘Sounds That Beethoven Didn’t Have,’” in *Charles Ives and the Classical*

- Tradition*, ed. J. Peter Burkholder and Geoffrey Block (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 34–50; and Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 195–200, 350–57.
- 43 For a complete list of the borrowed tunes in the *Concord* see Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, especially 198–99 (for an analysis of the human-faith melody) and Clayton W. Henderson, *The Charles Ives Tunebook*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 286.
- 44 Henderson, *The Tunebook*, 286.
- 45 Burkholder, “‘Quotation’ and Paraphrase in Ives’s *Second Symphony*,” *19th Century Music* 11, no. 1 (Summer 1987): 4.
- 46 Ives, *Essays before a Sonata*, 75.
- 47 Thomas M. Brodhead, “Ives’s *Celestial Railroad* and His *Fourth Symphony*,” *American Music* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 389–424.
- 48 Dating the *Celestial Railroad* is a complicated aspect, because Ives claimed that it was a later arrangement for piano of the second movement of the *Symphony No. 4*, but critics, including Brodhead, distrust Ives’s claims, see, for example, James B. Sinclair, “The Comedy” in Ives, *Symphony No. 4*, xxii. However, Brodhead’s tripartite comparison of the borrowings contained in each of these three pieces highlights the connections and overlappings between them, see Brodhead, “Ives’s *Celestial Railroad*,” 392–93.
- 49 The title of this movement, the “Comedy,” is reminiscent of Picasso’s definition of his own collages, when he called them a means of *trompe l’esprit* (fool the spirit), quoted in Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, 77.
- 50 Brodhead, “Ives’s *Celestial Railroad*,” 407.
- 51 See Carol K. Baron, “Dating Charles Ives’s Music: Facts and Fictions,” *Perspectives of New Music* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 20–56.
- 52 See Maynard Solomon, “Charles Ives: Some Questions of Veracity,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, no. 3 (Autumn 1987): 443–70.
- 53 Wayne Shirley, “‘The Second of July’: A Charles Ives Draft Considered as an Independent Work,” in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, ed. Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 391–403.
- 54 Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes*, 500, note 61.
- 55 The Ballets Russes was the most famous dance company from the beginning of the past century active in Europe and the Americas between 1909 and 1929 under its manager and founder Diaghilev. The tens of ballets Diaghilev oversaw were intermedial experiments, as Diaghilev commissioned pieces from numerous avant-garde visual artists and composers. For a comprehensive survey of the Ballets Russes under Diaghilev see Jane Pritchard, ed., *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes 1909–1929* (London: V&A, 2010).
- 56 Christine Reynolds, “Parade: ballet réaliste,” in *Erik Satie: Music, Art and Literature*, ed. Caroline Potter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 137.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 144–47.
- 58 For reproductions of the original costumes and Picasso’s sketches for *Parade*, as well as for a comprehensive analysis of the 1917 performance, see Deborah Menaker Rothschild, ed., *Picasso’s Parade: From Street to Stage* (New York: Sotheby, 1991).
- 59 Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 312.
- 60 Susan Calkins, “Modernism in Music and Erik Satie’s *Parade*,” *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 41, no. 1 (June 2010): 6.
- 61 See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 169.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 356.
- 63 Ornela Volta, ed., *Erik Satie: Correspondence presque complete* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 263.
- 64 Calkins, “Modernism in Music,” 11.
- 65 Daniel Albright, “Postmodern Interpretations of Satie’s *Parade*,” *Canadian University Music Review/Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 22, no. 1 (2001): 35.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 36–37.
- 67 See Kenneth Gloag, “Russian Rites: *Petrushka*, *The Rite of Spring* and *Les Noces*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 79–97; Pieter C. Van den Toorn, *The Music of Igor Stravinsky*

- (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 90–98; Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 624–29, 695–717; Frederik W. Sternfeld, “Some Russian Folk Songs in Stravinsky’s *Petrouchka*,” in Igor Stravinsky, *Petrouchka: An Authoritative Score of the Original Version: Backgrounds. Analysis, Essays, Views and Comments*, ed. Charles Hamm (New York: Norton, 1967), 203–15.
- 68 Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer, 1988), 206.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 206.
- 70 Marta M. Hyde, “Stravinsky’s Neoclassicism,” in Cross, *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, 134–35.
- 71 Gretchen Horlacher, *Building Blocks: Repetition and Continuity in the Music of Stravinsky* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27.
- 72 Jonathan Kramer, “Discontinuity and Proportion in the Music of Stravinsky,” in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, ed. Jann Pasler (Berkeley: University of California Press), 174.
- 73 Joseph N. Straus, *Stravinsky’s Late Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 74 Watkins, *Pyramids*, 234.
- 75 Straus, *Stravinsky’s Late Music*, 81.
- 76 Jonathan Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 99. See the first part of chapter three, pp. 81–104.
- 77 Horlacher, *Building Blocks*, 27.
- 78 Cross, *Stravinsky Legacy*, 20. Before his 2001 definition of musical collage, Burkholder had previously operated with a narrow definition of the term, identifying as musical collages only those pieces in which multiple tunes are added to a musical structure that would be coherent without them. See *All Made of Tunes* 370, 382.
- 79 Cross, *Stravinsky Legacy*, 20.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 99.
- 81 See Catherine Losada, “The Process of Modulation in Musical Collage,” *Music Analysis* 27, no. 2–3 (2008): 295–336.
- 82 Wolf, “Intermediality,” 255.
- 83 Elleström, “The Modalities of Media,” 36.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 85 Currie, *Image and Mind*, 92.
- 86 E. H. Gombrich, “Moment and Movement in Art,” 302–6.
- 87 David Hertz, “Memory in Musical Form: From Bach to Ives,” in *The Memory Process: Neuroscientific and Humanistic Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Nalbantian, Paul M. Matthews, and James L. McClelland (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 373–74.
- 88 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 45–50.
- 89 Dietrich Scheunemann, “Preface,” in *European Avant-Garde: New Perspectives: Avantgarde–Avantgardekritik Avantgardeforschung*, ed. Dietrich Scheunemann (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 7.
- 90 Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 15–16.
- 91 See Wolf, Bantleon, Thoss, *Metareference Across Media*, 2009.
- 92 For a discussion concerning Ives’s modernist aesthetics and his distancing from the avant-garde practices, see Burkholder, “Ives and the Nineteenth Century European Tradition,” in Burkholder and Block, *Charles Ives*, 11–33. This study does not aim to differentiate between avant-garde and modernism, although most examples are drawn from the historical avant-gardes when collage first emerged, with the notable exceptions of Ives and Dos Passos. However, I would contend that a main distinction between the historical avant-garde and modernism becomes apparent in the way they differently engage with the other arts. For the modernist artists and writers, other arts are secondary and artists use them to illuminate and enhance their primary mode of expression. Instead, avant-garde artists and

writers question the very nature of their arts by stretching the experimental mode to the very limits of what can be considered art. Thus, avant-garde artists' endeavors have a very 'scientific' and investigatory nature. See my conference presentation "Avant-Garde Versus Modernist Intermedial Experiments," British Association of Modernist Studies, London, 2014, or my panel proposal "Science in the Twentieth Century Avant-Gardes," IAWIS, Dundee Scotland, 2014.



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Part III

From collage to montage



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5 ‘Transparent’ replacements

Visual collage and heterogeneous photomontage

Critics agree that montage first manifested itself as “photomontage” in the works of Dada and Russian Constructivist artists around 1919. My main claim is that photomontage, in these initial stages, resembled the artistic technique of collage and was a later development of the principle of collage; more precisely, I view these early photomontages as an intermedial transposition of the technique of visual collage into the medium of photography.

Collage appeared in the fine arts in 1912, and was immediately transposed into literature and specific musical compositions, as I have shown in the previous chapters. The permissiveness regarding the use of media, which characterizes the avant-garde, went beyond the traditional media and allowed for collage to be transposed into the newer media of photography and film. When transposed into a new medium, the technique resembled its use in the originating source but also departed from it. First of all, collages incorporated various types of ready-mades (real objects, fragments of conversations, popular tunes), all of these products of nonconventional technical media. In its initial stages, photomontage artists used found photographs, and through the abrupt juxtaposition of photographs from varied sources they created a type of heterogeneous photomontage, both at the level of the artistic practices of rupture and at the level of meaning, as Benjamin H. D. Buchloh pointed out.¹ As critics and artists alike have noticed, this initial state of photomontage, called either “heterogeneous” or “free design” [*freier Gestaltung*] photomontage, as Curt Glaser referred to it,² expressed a general criticism of society in the Dada spirit, without a clearly identifiable message. Gradually, artists started to use their own photos (or commissioned them from photographers), and this process triggered a passage to what critics and artists alike have defined as “homogeneous” photomontage, characterized by “a dimension of narrative, communicative action, and instrumentalized logic within the structural dimension of montage aesthetics” in Buchloh’s terms.³ The passage to homogeneous photomontage was also facilitated by developments in film montage, mainly those by Eisenstein and Vertov, but also by the artists’ own engagement with various forms of film montage, as in the case of László Moholy-Nagy and Heartfield.

The emergence of photomontage as an artistic technique different from collage must be seen with regard to the type of visual representation photographs generate. As artists’ testimonies prove, such as Heartfield’s and Hausmann’s,⁴ Dada artists started experimenting with photographs because they were interested in the semiotic combinations allowed by the photographic image. Unlike ‘hand-made’ pictures, such as paintings, the photograph reflects reality and is not an illusionary reproduction of it.

The photograph: a 'transparent' medium

Ever since the invention of photography at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre in France and William Henry Fox Talbot in England, who independently created the daguerreotypes (fixing images on copper plates) and the calotypes (fixing images on sensitized paper) respectively, in January 1839,⁵ photography has generated a lot of critical, cultural, and philosophical discussions.

At present, there are several main directions of thought on photography. First, there are the cultural-studies writers, who follow a trend developed since the early twentieth century by thinkers such as Walter Benjamin,⁶ Susan Sontag,⁷ and Roland Barthes⁸ and their writings on photography, among others. Another direction of photography studies aims to define the very essence of photography from a philosophical perspective, as presented in the writings of contemporary analytical philosophers. The works of the latter are of particular interest to my present argument.

For some cultural-studies scholars, the photograph is a medium true to life, a document, a testimony of reality, which creates objective vision through the machine. Thus, the photograph allows them to investigate the culture, society, and collective memory of specific geographical and political areas. Nicole R. Fleetwood studies photographs as representations of and perceptions of blackness in contemporary American arts;⁹ Ariella Azoulay looks at violent images of street fights and manslaughter in Israel and Palestine.¹⁰ The film director Errol Morris experiments with and analyzes still and moving images representing war, violence, and torture in both his movies as well as in his theoretical writings.¹¹

However, it is some of the current theories advanced by the analytical philosophers on the image, and especially the 'transparency' theory, which will provide the missing link in understanding the transformation of the technique of (photo)collage into photomontage at the end of the second decade of the past century.

The current debate among the analytical philosophers consists mainly of the opposition between the realist view and the transparency (or by extension artistic) theory. The realist view, opposed by many artists and art historians as well as philosophers, is based on Roger Scruton's article on "Photography and Representation" from 1981.¹² There, he claims that photographs are direct copies of reality and that the causal link between the photograph and what it represents is unmediated and direct. Thus, concludes the controversial philosopher, the photograph cannot have aesthetic properties because artistic artifice must involve an artistic mind.

Following Scruton's theory, and as a criticism of it, Kendal Walton introduced the concept of the 'transparency' of the photographic image in 1984: "Photographs are transparent. We see the world through them."¹³ Gregory Currie went along similar lines when he claimed that photographs are 'traces' of reality, i.e., they depend on and reflect the actual state of events, they are not documents as Scruton had claimed.¹⁴ Mikael Pettersson added a psychological dimension to this discussion when he stated that *we believe* these images to be direct reflections of reality, but he also conceded that photographs are 'traces' of the things they represent.¹⁵ Dan Cavedon-Taylor's "cognitive-etiological" account of the photographic image best explains the function the photographic image had for the Dada and Constructivist avant-garde artists. His theory draws on the work of previous authors, but adds a new approach drawn from the burgeoning field of cognitive phenomenology. According to Cavedon-Taylor, the viewer "endorses the contents of such [photographic] experiences in a

psychologically-immediate, non-inferential manner.”¹⁶ In other words, we “assent” to the content of the photographic experience just as we assent to real-life perceptual experiences.¹⁷ The content of a photograph has a much stronger impact on the viewer than that of a ‘hand-made’ picture. We are more likely to be convinced by a photograph than by a painting referring to the same aspect of reality, these thinkers claim.

This unmediated connection with the mind of the viewer appealed to the avant-garde photomontage artists, since they intended to subvert, detract from, and sabotage the official state propaganda or generate objective social meaning by manipulating photographs. As Heartfield noticed,¹⁸ the manipulation of photographs in specific ways by the official propaganda allowed for the transmission of certain contents, either true to life or not. The artist engaged in a similar manipulation of the photographic image in order to counteract some of these deceptive uses of the photographs organized by the state. The film image and the photographic image share the same indexical nature, despite the different representations they propose, static in the case of the photograph and temporal and narrative in the moving image.

The claims regarding the realism of photography (and implicitly its plainness as an artistic medium) triggered a series of reaction by artists and art historians who have worked to prove the artistic (i.e., non-realistic) nature of the photographic art work, such as Andy Grundberg’s series of articles he wrote through the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁹ Most recently, Sabine T. Kriebel and Andrés Mario Zervigón’s collection of essays *Photography and Doubt* (2017) documents cases testifying to the anti-realistic nature of photography, from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, but the contributors do not engage theoretically with the ontological nature of photography. Instead, they choose to analyze examples in which photography is used in unrealistic ways, most significantly they evaluate cases that involve photographic abstraction.²⁰

However, it is my conviction, based on the actual evaluation of the early avant-garde photomontages, that the transparent nature of the photograph does not exclude its symbolical, creative value. Also, subsequent criticism of Scruton’s non-progressive approach corrected his biased reading of the photograph. Thus, any photograph, either documentary or artistic, has a referent, but the perspective, the particular angle from which a photograph is taken, and the way the sitter/scene is prepared by the photographer allow for the personal touch of the artist-photographer to become visible. The two main trends of avant-garde photography that manifested themselves during the 1920s, New Vision Photography and New Objectivity Photography, emphasize the pictorial nature of photographs, the former by exploring the hidden dimension of things and the latter by exacerbating the real.²¹ Currie put it differently when he claimed that “a photograph can be about things other than the things it is of,” “if photographs represent the fictional they are not photographs of fictional things.”²² In other words, the things we see in photographs exist or have existed in real life, but their meaning is different from what can be seen, and he exemplifies his argument with a photograph of Laurence Olivier in the role of Othello: it is a photograph of Othello, but since Othello does not exist, the photograph represents something else, Olivier dressed as the Moor Othello.

In this volume, I read the photograph first as a ‘mediated’ indexical sign and assume that the other functions of the photograph, as the iconic (pictorial) and the symbolic sign ((photo)montages), are part of the way in which the photograph is manipulated in virtue of its indexical nature. If the referent is a confabulation, such as an artificially composed thing or an artistic representation, like many of Cindy Sherman’s photographs for example, this artistic meaning depends on the indexical



Figure 5.1 Cindy Sherman, *Untitled # 204* (from the series *History Portraits*), 1989. Photograph (chromogenic print), 153.4 × 111.4 cm (60½ × 43¾ in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the artist and Metro Pictures, New York.



Figure 5.2 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Madame Moitessier, Seated*, 1856. Oil on canvas, 120 × 92.1 cm (47¼ × 36 ¼ in.). London, National Gallery.

nature of the photograph. If one looks at Sherman's series of photographs of history portraits, directly re-enacting famous art historical paintings of women, the connection between the indexical and the pictorial sign become apparent. The exact details of the famous art historical portraits of women are replicated in Sherman's photographs. Sherman's *Untitled # 204* (1989) from the *History Portraits* series (Figure 5.1) re-enacts Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres's painting of *Madame Moitessier, Seated* (1856) (Figure 5.2).²³ The meaning of Sherman's photograph is artistic, engaging with and commenting on the original painting, but the referent is a real person, the artist herself dressed accordingly and repeating the pose of the woman in Ingres's painting. The artistic work she performed was on herself and her body, and the photograph just recorded the real person dressed to look like the famous painting, from the angle chosen also by the artist. It is the changes Sherman operated on the originating image that generate the symbolic and interpretive meaning of the photograph.

It becomes thus apparent that the indexical, iconic, and symbolical nature of the photograph coexist and each artist/photographer may activate/emphasize any of these dimensions. The very fact that there is a 'trace,' a print of the photograph in real life, allows for these semiotic combinations of the photographic image, which are not possible for paintings and drawings and which depend exclusively on the imagination of the artist.

Simply put, the drawing of a jackalope, Figure 5.3, could never be used to fool anyone that such creatures exist. Instead, the photomontage of a rabbit with antelope's antlers, as shown in the photomontage from Figure 0.1, poses problems to the person who has never heard of this mythological animal.²⁴

A shift in vision: heterogeneous photomontage

In my view, this ability to generate meaning by manipulating faithful copies of reality²⁵ in order to create a specific artistic but persuasive comment (revealing thus the symbolic nature of the artistic photograph) in the mind of the viewer is at the core of



Figure 5.3 Cerise Zelenetz, *Jackalope Drawing*, 2019. Pen, 10 × 8 cm (4 × 3 in.). Personal collection.

the technique of visual montage, seen as both photomontage and film montage, as it emerged at the end of the second decade of the past century in the works of Dada and Constructivists artists. Thus, I propose to distinguish between collage and montage based on the different ways in which they articulate and generate meaning: it is characteristic of collage to create artistic and painterly representations subtending heterogeneous meaning, even when photographs are used as collaged material, while montage practices rely on the manipulation of the meaning contained by a photographic or filmic image to make a more or less precise statement about reality and convince the audience of the validity of a particular state of affairs.²⁶ Dawn Ades made a similar claim: “The name [photomontage] was chosen to distance the two activities, and Dada recognized a very different potential in the new technique.”²⁷

I base my interpretation of (photo)montage on observations made during research, especially by closely following the transfer of the technique of montage between various media, especially into photography and film. I rely on Buchloh’s distinctions between two types of photomontage, heterogeneous before 1925 and homogeneous, displaying clarity of meaning, after 1925, but I shall propose a different explanation from Buchloh’s concerning the passage from one stage to the other in the evolution of photomontage during the second decade of the past century. Buchloh described the characteristics of these two types of photomontage in two articles from the 1990s, “Warburg’s Paragon” (1998) and “Gerhard Richter’s *Atlas*” (1999). The brief claims regarding the passage toward homogeneous photomontage in East and West are based on his influential article “From Faktura to Factography” (1984) dedicated exclusively to Russian art.²⁸ According to Buchloh’s argument contained in these articles, up until 1925–1926, photomontage was a subversive art form, based on “shock and estrangement,”²⁹ which was replaced with an aesthetics of “communicative action and instrumentalized logic.”³⁰ This shift from one type of photomontage to the other, claimed Buchloh, was triggered by a change in the perception of the photographic image, which was seen beyond 1925 as an archive able to store and reflect reality. According to the critic, this change was informed by the preceding model of the “photographic collection” and was subsequently developed by the series of photographs used by New Objectivity photographers.³¹

Proposing 1925 as the year of the most intense influence of New Objectivity photography on photomontage, as Buchloh does, is contentious because – at least according to the chronology proposed by Olivier Lugon regarding the development of New Vision and New Objectivity Photography, the two most important photographic movements from the 1920s – New Objectivity Photography did not truly come into being until 1928 when Albert Renger-Patzsch published *Die Welt ist schön* (*The World Is Beautiful*). Furthermore, contends Lugon, “New Objectivity” photography developed under the influence of documentary movies after 1926 and replaced New Vision Photography. Instead, 1925 is the year when Moholy-Nagy’s book *Painting Photography Film* came out, which was the first theorization of New Vision Photography. It was characteristic for “New Vision” to ‘open’ and advance the human vision to never-before-seen images. That is why many of these photographs are of a scientific nature, proposing a vision through the machine, promoting abrupt and spectacular angles of vision.³²

I propose to distinguish between collage on the one hand, and photomontage and film montage on the other, based on the different types of reference, depiction, and artistic meaning they create, and not on the technical procedures involved, papery procedures for collage, and photographic and film medium for montage. Weisstein was the first to take steps toward a semiotic distinction between the two terms when he evaluated and distinguished between collage and montage based on the nature and implicitly the meaning of the borrowed materials. For him, a literary quotation (specific to montage) is different from a ready-made (specific to collage).³³ Like Weisstein, I view collage as a type of borrowing of found ready-mades. Unlike him, I claim that borrowings within the same medium, such as a literary borrowing from another literary text, may still generate a verbal collage in certain cases, if the borrowing satisfies certain requirements specific to the verbal collage: the quotation has to be short and disorient the reader who cannot comprehend the text according to traditional linear logic.

As I show in Chapter 7, “Chasing the ‘greased pig’ of meaning: musical and literary montage,” in my theory, verbal montage is a literary technique related to film montage. I define a verbal montage as a narrative text, which has to fulfill simultaneously two main functions: on the one hand, the literary text purported to be read as a verbal montage should contain explicit and implicit intermedial references to the medium of film, and also aim for the articulation of clear meaning through this type of juxtaposition. In that chapter, I also analyze the technique of musical montage and establish if it also displays the two characteristics of juxtaposition and clear meaning formation required of verbal montage, given the fact that instrumental music is an a-conceptual medium.

Looking forward: from heterogeneous to homogeneous photomontage

From an intermedial point of view, in its initial stages, photomontage is an intermedial transposition of the technique of visual collage into the medium of photography. This incipient stage corresponds to what Buchloh and certain artists broadly defined as a type of heterogeneous photomontage characterized by “arbitrary juxtapositions,”³⁴ corresponding also to a certain extent to Curt Glaser’s “free design” photomontage.

Photomontage differs both from the technique of collage and from photocollage. The transfer of the collage principles into the new medium of photography took place when artists became aware that photography directly reflects reality, and they aimed to change a photograph’s meanings by performing certain artistic procedures on it. Artists used photographs in their collages as early as 1914, when Kazimir Malevich

among others used photographs in collages such as *Lady at the Poster Column* (1914) (Figure 5.4) or *Soldier of the First Division* (1914). The artists who used photographs in their collages at this early stage did not intend to make a statement about the content of the photograph, like proper photomontages do. For example, the photograph of a man seen in *Lady at the Poster Column* definitely relates to the woman mentioned in the title of the collage, possibly as her partner, but the photograph is only one of the materials of the composition, alongside lines, colors, and textures. In his analysis of this photocollage, John E. Bowlt concluded that the use of the photograph is “illustrative and auxiliary.” He also noticed the use of “illogical elements and planes of color,” which “disrupt any normal semantic progression.”³⁵

My definition of photocollage closely follows Hausmann’s own definition of the term. For him, a photocollage is a collage of newspaper cuttings, which incorporates one or two photographs. The artist does not make a statement about the people represented in the photographs, but merely incorporates them into a heterogeneous painterly construction. Hausmann did not define the term when he wrote this essay in 1972, but exemplified it with two of his own works, *Gurk* (1919) (Figure 5.5) and *Porträt eines Dienstmannes: Dr. Anselm Ruest: Dr. Max Ruest* (*The Portrait of a Service Man: Dr. Anselm Ruest: Dr. Max Ruest* 1919) (Figure 5.6), which exhibit the characteristics mentioned above.³⁶ It is important to note that Dada artists themselves distinguished between photomontage, collage, and photocollage.

Just like twentieth-century fine arts collages were preceded by popular arts experiments with cutting and pasting of the most various objects for religious and entertainment purposes, the technique of photomontage has an ancestor in the nineteenth-century technique of combination printing, or “double printing,” which consisted of the overlapping of several negatives in the same image to create a new artistic configuration.³⁷ These “photomontages” *avant la lettre* did intend to generate “clear meaning” in that they created a realistic scene, but their meaning is purely of a pictorial nature, as they aim to suggest certain feelings. The famous *Fading Away* by Henry Peach Robinson (1858) suggests the sadness of the scene in which a girl is dying. Robinson juxtaposed the photograph of a dying girl with the photos of other people, but these experiments remain in the sphere of iconic representation. These photomontages do not resemble and do not aim to suggest symbolic and conceptual representations, which characterize Eisenstein’s film montage and avant-garde photomontages.

Since collage is not a medium-specific technique, photomontage triggers only passive intermedial reference to the visual collage. The idea that montage emerged from collage is not new and Hausmann himself, who is one of the initiators of the technique, pointed to it:

I started to make paintings with colored papers and fragments of journals and posters in the summer of 1918. But it was on the occasion of a summer trip to the seaside of the Baltic Sea, at Usedom, in the village Heidebrink, where I conceived the idea of photomontage. In almost all houses there was hanging on the wall a color lithograph representing an infantry soldier in front of some barracks. In order to make this memento more personal, it had been pasted in the place of the head, a photographic portrait of the soldier. I had a vision, I realized instantly, that one could make *pictures* entirely of cut-up photographs. When I returned to Berlin in September, I started to realize this new vision by using photographs from the press and the cinema.³⁸ [my trans.]

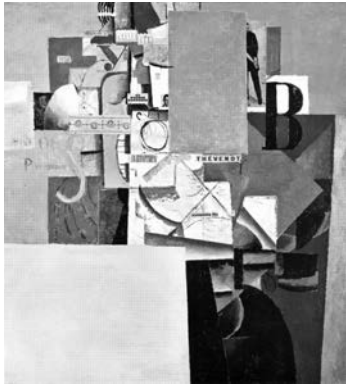


Figure 5.4 Kazimir Malevich, *Lady at the Poster Column*, 1914. Photocollage (oil on canvas and collage of newspaper and photographs), 71 × 64 cm (27 × 25 in.). Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum.

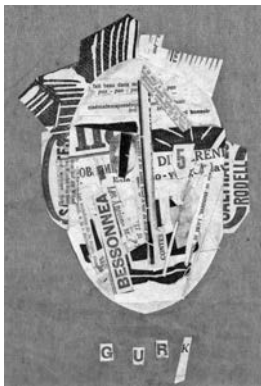


Figure 5.5 Raoul Hausmann, *Gurk*, 1919. Photocollage (collage on blue paper), 27 × 21.5 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Collection Peter Arntz, The Hague, Netherlands. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.



Figure 5.6 Raoul Hausmann, *Portrait eines Dienstmannes: Dr. Anselm Ruest: Dr. Max Ruest* (*The Portrait of a Service Man. Dr. Anselm Ruest. Dr. Max Ruest*), 1919. Photocollage (collage on wove paper), 26.5 × 21 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Collection Galerie Berinson, Berlin. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.

In his 1931 article on photomontage, Hausmann indicated the Cubist collage and the Dada simultaneous poem as being the origins of photomontage.³⁹ Patrizia McBride⁴⁰ has also referred to this relation between collage and photomontage, but it has never before been defined within intermedial discourse as the specific transposition of the technique of collage from the medium of painting to the medium of photography.

Photomontage is an artistic technique that consists of the cutting of photographs and the subsequent reassembling of the pieces into a new whole according to certain artistic purposes: for political and social criticism, to support a political cause, for commercial purposes, to illustrate a literary work, or for purely aesthetic purposes. Photomontage subverts the representational/referential purposes of photography and aims to render complex meaning by manipulating photographs. Some political photomontages also make use of words within the space of the photomontage, creating thus mixed-media works.

Artists defined the technique of photomontage as soon as they started using it. Heartfield confessed that among the many factors that made him start working with photomontages was a critical reaction to political manipulation by means of images:

I started making photomontages during the First World War. There are a lot of things that got me into working with photos. The main thing is that I saw both what was being said and not being said with photos in the newspapers. ... I found out how you can fool people with photos, really fool them. ... You can lie and tell the truth by putting the wrong title or wrong captions under them, that's exactly what was being done. ... Then we pasted, I pasted and quickly cut out a photo and then put one under another.⁴¹

Russian Constructivist photomontage emerged almost at the same time. It had a pronounced intermedial component because it placed typography and the image on an equal footing. For the Russian Constructivists photomontage had political and propagandistic purposes and helped them advance the cause of the Communist Revolution; but at the same time, it had painterly characteristics, as Stepanova testified: "Photography is the only medium that can provide [the artist] with the traditional method of drawing while allowing him to fix and record the reality around us."⁴²

Photomontages may be positive and negative, depending on the way in which they were made. Positive photomontage consists of the cutting and assembling of positive photographs, followed by their eventual multiplication for mass distribution. In the case of negative photomontages, negatives are combined in the dark room and may subsequently be turned into positives.⁴³ Both categories may be endlessly reproduced.

Unlike collages, only a few photomontages were intended to be displayed as unique works of art, such as those by Höch and Hausmann that were displayed at the Dada Berlin Fair in 1920. Most photomontages were meant to be printed in magazines, as posters, or advertisements. The originals have artistic characteristics (such as color), which disappear in the printed version of the montage.⁴⁴ Some authors even call the original artwork a photocollage/collage and its photographic reproduction a photomontage.⁴⁵

As Buchloh rightfully claimed, photomontage exhibited a rapid evolution in the 1920s, switching from heterogeneous to homogeneous photomontage. For Buchloh, heterogeneous Dada photomontage was a general and diffuse criticism of politics, while homogeneous photomontage emerged when artists wanted to send a clear

political message. Buchloh pointed out that homogeneous photomontage exhibited elements of “communicative action and instrumentalized logic”⁴⁶ and was based on the new perception of the photograph as archive. For Buchloh, heterogeneous and homogenous photomontages do not refer only to formal elements of cutting and pasting, but also to the different types of meanings (unclear or clear respectively) they generate. According to Buchloh:

the metonymic process of photomontage – especially with its continual emphasis on dissolution and fragmentation – includes, at least in its initial phase, one moment of resistance against the forced myths of unity and totality of experience propagated by the prevailing ideology and by advertisements. This revolution of poetic and semiotic impetus, which attempts to substantiate itself by means of visual shock and estrangement, is nevertheless short-lived. For, just as swiftly, the Dadaists began to question strategies of randomly juxtaposing found objects as well as the forced heterogeneity of the photographic material in the photomontage. For them, not only a potential revolutionary shock effect was produced by these strategies, but also the ‘depoliticizing’ effect of an affirmative possibility of social agreement on exclusive discontinuity.

By the early 1920s, a counter model of photomontage developed as a result of this critical reflection. It not only defines the function of the photographic image in a fundamentally different way, but springs from the almost didactic emphasis of a new historical precursor. In the tabular arrangement of the photographic collection, formal principles are introduced in order to articulate a new set of conditions for social participation. This criticism of photomontage stems from those artists who had originally introduced the principle of photomontage. These “inventors” (i.e., Heartfield, Klutis, Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko) were the first to criticize the detached quality [of] the bourgeois avant-garde and to insist on the re-establishment of communicative dimensions in the photographic image on its potential significance.

Thus, as early as 1925, we were able to observe an initially hesitant, then more radical, change in the aesthetics of photomontage in which the epistemology of the shock effect was replaced by the epistemology of archival order. This reversal takes its point of departure from a recently renewed trust in the variety of photographic functions, in reproduction fidelity and in the general emancipating character of photography [emphasis mine].⁴⁷

Buchloh’s differentiation between two types of photomontages echoes the distinctions Curt Glaser made between *freier Gestaltung* [free design] and *praktischer Verwendung* [practical application] photomontage in the exhibition catalog of the *Fotomontage* exhibition of 1931.⁴⁸ According to Glaser, “free design” photomontage is characterized by “fantasy” and “imagination,” is created through the “interplay between the real and the unreal” and is mainly illustrated by Dada photomontage. “Practical application” photomontage is illustrated through the political and commercial uses of photomontage on book jackets, posters, advertisements, and promotional brochures.⁴⁹ In his essay “Photomontage,” read at the opening of the Photomontage Exhibition, Hausmann also identified two different types of photomontages. At the beginning of his essay he acknowledged the fact that at that moment there were two types of photomontages, propagandistic and political; he then traced the evolution of photomontage

first used by Dada artists who “combined heterogeneous, often contradictory structures, into a new whole that was in effect a mirror image wrenched from the chaos of war and revolution.”⁵⁰ He next outlined the development of photomontage from the “playfulness” of Dada photomontage with “an explosion of viewpoints and a whirling confusion of picture planes” to political and advertising photomontages, which displayed “clarity,” “simplification,” “constructive evolution,” and “precision of plastic concepts.”⁵¹

I agree with Buchloh’s argument, based on the artists’ own comments, that the nature of photomontage changed around 1925, but unlike him, I claim that the emergence of film montage around 1925–1926, as well as the artists’ own experiments with film and film montage are responsible for the shift from heterogeneous to homogeneous photomontage in both Russia and Western Europe. Critics (Andrés Mario Zervigón⁵², Victor Margolin⁵³), as well as artists (Hausmann⁵⁴ and Domela-Nieuwenhuis⁵⁵) referred to the comparability of film and photomontage, but none understood this relation in the way I see it: the movies, either their own or those of contemporary directors, such as Eisenstein and Vertov, were for photomontage artists a model for articulating coherent meaning. These artists aimed to achieve similar purposes in their photomontages, and thus created homogeneous photomontage. The body of writing by art historians, based on minute archival documentation (mainly Zervigón in the case of Heartfield) concerning the intersection of cinema and photomontage, as well as my own investigation of the theoretical texts and photomontages of these artists (Moholy-Nagy, Klutsis, and El Lissitzky), allowed me to build my argument regarding the experiments in meaning and meaning formation these artists undertook in their photomontages under the influence of the medium of film and film montage.

In certain cases, the artists’ own engagement with various forms of film montage (Moholy-Nagy) or propagandistic animated films (Heartfield) led to the emergence of homogeneous/political photomontage in their works. Buchloh’s claim that the “renewed trust” in the photograph’s archival potential, which opened the way for “New Objectivity” photography, triggered this change suggests an affinity between the history of photography and that of photomontage. Instead, I contend that photomontage shares many more affinities with cinema and film montage than with the evolution of photography, as Buchloh’s argument implied. Artists themselves emphasized the affinity between photomontage and cinema in their own writings (Moholy-Nagy), through the photomontages made for film posters (such as Rodchenko’s photomontage for Vertov’s movie *Kino-Eye*) as well as through the very influential exhibition organized by Deutscher Werkbund in 1929, *Film und Foto (Fifo) (Film and Photo)*,⁵⁶ which displayed many photomontages by Heartfield, Moholy-Nagy, and Höch next to film still photomontages. The very successful exhibition was reflected in several publications, among them the catalog *Foto-Auge* edited by Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, which set side by side all types of homogeneous and heterogeneous photomontages with a “photomontage of film” drawn from Vertov’s movie *Man with the Movie Camera*⁵⁷ (Figure 5.7). The title of the exhibition catalog is an allusion to Vertov’s concept of kino-eye, the editors suggesting that a similar type of machine vision through the photographic camera parallels Vertov’s filmic vision, i.e., vision through the film camera.

Eisenstein’s and Vertov’s film montages had a strong impact on Constructivist photomontage artists such as Lissitzky, Rodchenko, and Klutsis and their photomontages



Figure 5.7 Dziga Vertov, photomontage of film from Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *Foto-Auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit/Eil et photo: 76 photographies de notre temps/Photo-Eye: 76 Photos [sic] of the Time*, Stuttgart: F. Wedekind, 1929. Plate 76. The Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

made after 1925. Eisenstein's montage relies on the principle that precise meaning can be rendered through the manipulation of moving images. Under the influence of Eisenstein's and Vertov's experiments with film montage, these visual artists aimed to achieve similar effects in the photographic medium and convey a clear political message, moving thus toward homogeneous photomontages. This process culminated with the taking of their own photographs, a practice that further allowed them to generate precise political meaning. The Russian political photomontage in its second, homogeneous instantiation marks a departure from Constructivist artistic principles, which characterized the early Russian photomontages but still remains a highly experimental technique.

The emergence of homogeneous photomontage in the works of Moholy-Nagy and Heartfield is indebted to their own experiments with film and film montage. Moholy-Nagy's photoplastics are straight examples of homogenous photomontages, which do not display propagandistic purposes, but aim to show that photographs themselves may be used to tell a clear, logical story. Unlike the other artists who were involved with both types of photomontages, Moholy-Nagy's photoplastics are homogeneous photomontages from the very beginning of his work with this medium in 1924. Moholy-Nagy's photoplastics make thus clear the fact that thematic elements (propagandistic or advertising purposes) are not the sole factors responsible for the emergence of the homogeneous photomontage. These artists perceived the 'transparent' and indexical nature of photographs and aimed to tell clear stories of all kinds through their manipulation of photographs. Unlike Moholy-Nagy, Heartfield first worked with heterogeneous photomontage but turned to homogeneous photomontage under the influence of his experiments with film montage.

New wine in (not so) old glasses: the beginnings of heterogeneous photomontage (Dada and Constructivist photomontage)

The differences that manifest themselves between the early heterogeneous photomontages and the later homogeneous ones become apparent at the level of their structural

elements. From an increased fragmentation of the picture plane made up of a multiplicity of incongruent images apparent in the early version, the later homogeneous ones outline the artists' effort in sending over and shaping a clear conceptual, and almost linguistic message. The visual analyses of individual photomontages illustrating both classes will make apparent the semiotic evolution between the two versions of the technique.

One of the earliest Dada photomontages illustrating heterogeneous principles characteristic of collage is Hannah Höch's *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* (*Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany*, 1919–1920) (Figure 5.8), which combines photographs of politicians, artists, dancers, and women writers as well as photograph reproduction of machine parts, such as wheels and cogs, a tractor, or several roller bearings. The political photographs cut and assembled in various manners undermine and subvert the authority of the politicians, while the machines may suggest precision, technological developments, and modernity, values that are represented by Dada. The intermediality manifests in many ways in this photomontage. First, there is the mixed-media nature of the combination of words and photographs that criticizes the Weimar Republic and its politics. For Patrizia McBride this photomontage accurately synthesizes the situation of the post-war German society, marked by the “dehumanizing treatment of war veterans, the moral ideological decay of the ruling elite, and the cravenness of the middle class.”⁵⁸ A photograph of the Emperor Wilhelm II, who abdicated in 1918 shortly before the new Weimar Republic was declared in January 1919, is pasted on the upper right-hand side of the photomontage. Höch pasted the bodies of two wrestlers as his mustache and on his shoulders stands an exotic dancer whose head was replaced with that of the General Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. The dancer tickles Wilhelm's chin with one hand, and her other hand rests on another general's shoulder. This visual representation of the two politicians may be a direct comment on the fact that the general Marshal von Hindenburg marginalized the Emperor Wilhelm II during the First World War and controlled the country as a dictator, making thus the agile movements of the dancer to achieve his political purposes, as this photomontage suggests.⁵⁹ In front of



Figure 5.8 Hannah Höch, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* (*Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany*), 1919–1920. Photomontage, 114 × 90 cm (44½ × 35¾ in.). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Wilhelm's portrait, Höch pasted a photograph showing people waiting in front of the Berlin employment office, which was meant to suggest the politicians' ineffectiveness in solving unemployment problems, as Maude Lavin pointed out.⁶⁰ Höch called this area of the photomontage "Die anti-Dadaistische Bewegung" ["The Anti-Dada Movement"] and pasted these words on the upper right-hand side part of the picture. Höch discredited the image of the high politicians by placing them in ridiculing poses and associating them with the frivolous arts of dance. She subverted the meaning of the images meant to celebrate power through their tendentious manipulation and achieved the opposite effects. Other parts of the photomontage have suggestive titles, such as "Die grosse Welt dada/Dadaisten" ["The Great dada World/Dadaists"] placed on lower right-hand side in which she pasted photographs of the Dada artists, Hausmann, Grosz, and Höch herself. Like other Dadaists, Höch associated Dada with science and progress and pasted Einstein's head next to the label "Legen Sie Ihr Geld in dada an!" ["Invest your money in Dada!"]. Lavin considered that this photomontage represented Dada as a "destabilizing force" of high politics and politicians.⁶¹ In addition to its political content, the work exhibits painterly characteristics such as line, color, composition, and balance, which are characteristics reminding one of the technique of collage. Photographs are abruptly cut and fragments are re-organized to form a new composition. Hanne Bergius saw in this photomontage the manifestation of mass media that changed the social connections between people replacing them with a "public system of communication,"⁶² while Maria Makela read it as a "political empowerment of the women, who would soon 'cut' through the male 'beer-belly' culture of Weimar Germany."⁶³ The agglomeration of people and scenes in this photomontage may remind one of Hieronymus Bosch's pictures, which incorporated dozens of characters involved in various scenes not related to each other. Höch works within the tradition of Western painting but deployed its conventions in a modern medium, that of photography. Also Carrà's collage *Festa patriotica* made use of extensive cutting and fragmentation of the pieces of papers included in his collage, most of them verbal snippets, so Höch's fragmented photomontage is not an isolated technique used among the avant-garde collage and montage artists, although she used mainly photographs. The title of the photomontage and the message it sends, that of violently cutting the 'belly' of the Weimar culture with the rudimentary kitchen knife, is a metaphor in itself and translates into the mixture of the most disparate elements combined in this photomontage. The photomontage was displayed at the Dada Fare in 1920. Höch's montage is unique among avant-garde photomontage through its extreme fragmentation, making it a fine example of heterogeneous photomontage: the cut-and-pasted photographs of politicians generate a kind of generalized critique of the political establishment, but a clear message does not emerge from it. Höch continued to work with heterogeneous photomontage throughout her career and never moved toward an increased political engagement most homogeneous photomontages presuppose.

In addition to pointing out that photomontage emerged from the techniques of collage, Raoul Hausmann also emphasized the connections between collage and photomontage through his own works. In his influential article from 1931, he wrote about Dada photomontage: "in its primitive form [photomontage] was an explosion of viewpoints and a whirling confusion of picture planes more radical in its complexity than futuristic painting."⁶⁴ In his photomontages, he made apparent such heterogeneous and painterly characteristics specific to collage by using gouache and watercolors. All of Hausmann's photomontages have painterly characteristics, which may be observed

in his early photomontage *Dada siegt* (*Dada Triumphs*, 1920) (Figure 5.9). In this photomontage, Dada is seen as an artistic movement associated with progress in the natural sciences (suggested by the photograph of the brain and of the inner organs), as well as with technical and scientific progress (typing machines, wheels, and industrial pipes). At the center of the photomontage Hausmann, dressed as a dandy, overlooks the great world Dada. The photographs are pasted on a painted background made up of the intersection of walls, floor, and ceiling. The angle of vision is unrealistic and the receding floor does not cohere with the lateral walls and the ceiling. This is also an example of a mixed-media photomontage, which contains words directly stenciled on the picture plane: “Dada siegt” or “feinere Naturkräfte” indicate that the picture belongs to the Dada movement. These words guide the reader toward a possible interpretation, but do not constitute a clear message intended for the viewer.

Hausmann continued to work with photomontage throughout the 1920s and started taking his own photographs but his style did not evolve toward political photomontage. Instead he developed a form of “free” photomontage, without political engagement, which displays homogeneity of form but not of meaning.⁶⁵

George Grosz and John Heartfield, the other Dada artists who were among the initiators of photomontage, created a series of heterogeneous photomontages during 1919 and 1920: *dada-merika* (1919) (Figure 5.10) or *Leben und Treiben im Universal-City, 12 Uhr 5 mittags* (*Hustle and Bustle in the Universal City, Five Past Noon*, 1920) (Figure 5.11), which display abrupt juxtapositions of photographs and newspaper cuttings to suggest the frantic pace of American city life in *dada-merika*, or the effervescence of its cinematic industry in *Leben und Treiben* as Zervigón pointed out.⁶⁶ Grosz claimed in 1928 that the two artists had invented photomontage several years before⁶⁷ when they sent subversive images to the soldiers on the front, some of them described by Wieland Herzfelde.⁶⁸ Both artists were anti-militarists and started to express their anti-war views in postcards sent to Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield’s brother who was on the front. These postcards were made of photographs, which denounced the cruelties of the war and its idealized representation by Germany war propaganda. In a radio interview from 1966, John Heartfield also acknowledged the existence of such postcards.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the postcards were lost and only their



Figure 5.9 Raoul Hausmann, *Dada siegt* (*Dada Triumphs*), 1920. Photomontage, 33.5 × 27.5 cm (13½ × 10¾ in.). Private collection. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.

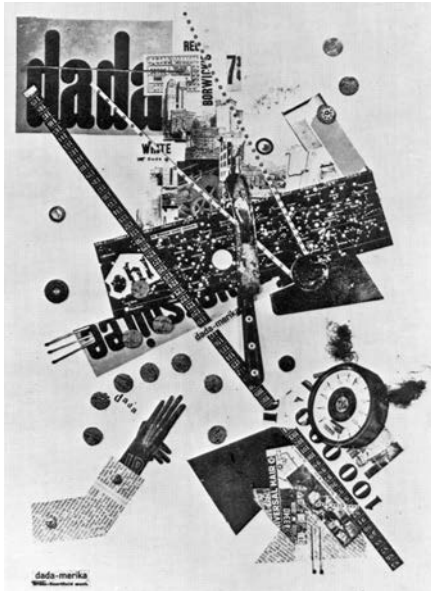


Figure 5.10 John Heartfield and George Grosz, *dada-merika*, 1919. Photomontage. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Kunstsammlung. © 2019 Estate of George Grosz / Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY; © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.



Figure 5.11 John Heartfield and George Grosz, *Leben und Treiben im Universal-City, 12 Uhr 5 mittags (Hustle and Bustle in the Universal City, Five Past Noon)*, 1920. Photomontage. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Kunstsammlung. © 2019 Estate of George Grosz / Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY; © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.

description survived.⁷⁰ Heartfield continued to develop his political photomontages, which quickly became homogeneous under the influence of his experiments with propagandistic film, as I show in Chapter 6, “Intermedial models: film montage and homogeneous photomontage.”

Hanne Bergius noticed that the combination of words and images in Dada photomontages played different functions. On the one hand, it continued the process of “lingualization of art” and “iconization” of language, which started to develop since early 1910, and on the other it reflected “the increased semiotization of urban streets by traffic signs, billboards, advertising pillars, newsstands.”⁷¹ Such processes were initiated by early twentieth-century collage, which made multimodality a constructive principle of the avant-garde works of art.

Russian Constructivist photomontage combined typography and image on equal footing and many of their photomontages are intermedia texts. Claude Leclanche-Boulé noticed that Constructivist photomontages displayed maximal contrast at the level of color, perspective, light, and darkness; they relied on the power of the photograph, which referenced reality directly, but at the same time remained a non-representational art form. They were characterized by a frontality of space and spatialization of text, illustrating oppositions of scale, color, light, and darkness, and displayed mosaic structure and geometrical cutting.⁷²

Most critics who engage with the evolution of Russian photomontage in the second decade of the past century briefly dismiss the artists’ early experiments from 1919 to 1924, the equivalent of heterogeneous photomontage, and concentrate on the political photomontage from 1924 onwards.⁷³ The period from 1919 to 1924, connected to Constructivist principles, is seen by these critics as a transitory period before photomontage became a political weapon in the hands of the artists (homogenous photomontage). The passage from Constructivism to Productivism, taking place around 1924 marks, according to these critics, the passage to true political photomontage. Both Buchloh and Christina Lodder explain the Russian avant-garde artists’ interest in photography solely in terms of the political advantages it brought with it, since it could reach a mass audience. Lodder goes as far to suggest that even the principles of Socialist Realism are apparent in these Productivist views.⁷⁴

These critics select only the artists’ direct comments on the nature and the power of the photograph and ignore their theoretical texts concerning their artistic experiments with the photographs and the moving image. In my analysis, I outline the experimental nature of both heterogeneous and homogeneous Russian photomontages of the second decade of the past century, and refute the claim that only functional and propagandistic purposes determined the nature of their artworks beyond 1925, as both Lodder and Buchloh claimed. During this decade, Russian artists were free to experiment with various art forms and techniques, including photograms (Lissitzky and Rodchenko), which are the most abstracted forms of photographic representation, as well as movie techniques transposed into their visual artworks (Klutsis, Lissitzky, Rodchenko). A strict political engagement and limitation of the artistic techniques characterize Socialist Realism, an artificial literary and artistic trend, which does not derive from the artistic developments of the Russian avant-garde works, but was artificially created by Stalin and his people in 1934.⁷⁵

The first Russian photomontage is Klutsis’ *Dynamic City* (1919–1921) (Figure 5.12). On a Suprematist construction made up of a black circle intersected by abrupt diagonals, Klutsis pasted the photographs of workers suspended on high scaffoldings and



Figure 5.12 Gustav Klutsis, *Dynamic City*, 1919–1921. Photomontage (cut-and-pasted photographs, paper, aluminum foil, gouache, and pencil on paper), 37.6 × 25.8 cm (14 $\frac{4}{5}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{10}$ in.). State Museum of Art, Riga, Latvia. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

of tall buildings. Through their juxtaposition, the artist suggested that Russian society was under construction and workers were actively involved in this development. In the photomontage *Electrification of the Entire Country* (1920) the scale between the photograph and the drawing changed. A photograph of Lenin carrying the electrification pillar is enlarged in contrast with the rest of the drawing. The black circle appears again, but unlike in the previous photomontage, in which it suggested a remote world floating in space, this time it is a solid surface on which Lenin steps. These photomontages display the characteristics of Constructivism, but they do not send a clear political agit-prop message, as Klutsis's later photomontages do.

Suprematism and Constructivism were the two main artistic directions of the early Russian avant-garde art. Suprematism, whose main representative was Malevich, cultivated geometrical abstraction and avoided engaging with the phenomenal representational world, which was inimical to the “absolute” creation.⁷⁶ Opposed to the Suprematist aesthetic ideal of pure art, the Constructivists were engaged artists taking an active part in agit-prop and revolutionary art. Vladimir Tatlin, broadly known for his architectural model *Project for a Monument to the Third International* (1920), which was never built, was its main representative. The opposition between Malevich and Tatlin was well known among the Russian avant-garde circles, and although both Lissitzky and Rodchenko were initially influenced by Malevich, they subsequently moved toward the principles of Constructivism and propagandistic art represented by Tatlin.

From all Russian photomontage artists, Rodchenko's involvement with cinema is the most prominent mainly because of his collaboration with Vertov on the intertitles of his documentaries *Kino-Pravda* (*Cine-Truth*) and on Vertov's other movies. Rodchenko's particular understanding of the connections between the moving and the static image shaped his photomontages before 1925, and his later work with photographic “sequences” beyond 1925. As a representative of the Constructivist aesthetics, Rodchenko gave up painting in 1921 and started working with photomontage. Hubertus Gassner even claimed that Vertov's cinema and especially his manifesto “We,” published in the first number of the journal *Kino-Fot* (*Cine-Photo*, 1922),⁷⁷

triggered Rodchenko's interest in photomontage who started making photomontages of movie stills published in the subsequent issues of *Kino-Fot*.⁷⁸ Such an interpretation is not valid because Rodchenko had previously made collages that gradually included photographs for Aleksei Kruchenykh's book *Gly-gly* (1918), as well as other independent photocollages such as those in the *Ticket* series (1919). If the people in these photographs were randomly chosen and their identity did not contribute to the understanding of the artwork, in his photomontage for Alexei Kruchenykh's book *Zoza* (*Tsotsa*, 1921), the photocollage contains the photograph of the woman referred to in the title of the poem.⁷⁹ It can thus be inferred that the artist gradually discovered and exploited the indexical nature of the photograph, first in photocollages and later in photomontages.⁸⁰

Victor Margolin and Hubertus Gassner, who analyzed Rodchenko's photomontages up to the year 1925, outlined the similarities between these artworks and some film techniques Vertov used in his movies.⁸¹ Following these interpretations and adding my own readings, I will suggest that Rodchenko did not experiment with homogeneous meaning formation across media, but his photomontages and later his photographs display an interest in the sensorial elements of the moving image: its repetitions, temporality, as well as an application of Vertov's principle of the interval.

In 1922, when he was appointed to work as an art designer for Aleksei Gan's journal *Kino-Fot*, Rodchenko met Vertov who soon asked him to design the intertitles for his short documentaries *Kino-Pravda* (*Kino-Truth*) starting with the thirteenth episode.⁸² As Nikolai Izvolov pointed out, Rodchenko's intertitles created a "visual rhythmical structure," suggesting dynamism as they combine words with graphic elements to create animated designs.⁸³ Such inherently intermedial procedures give us a glimpse into Rodchenko's artistic techniques and his work across multiple media, highlighting the way in which he adapted the static drawing to fit the cinematic medium.

Vertov's *Kino-Pravda* series from 1922 are plain documentaries that do not contain the types of complex visual photomontages within the shot, overimpositions and other split-screen procedures Vertov used in his later movies starting from 1926.⁸⁴ Instead they emphasized movement, one of the key elements Vertov theorized in his "We" manifesto. The suggestion of movement through the repetition of static images is also a recurrent feature of Rodchenko's photomontages up to 1925, as I will show below, and will resurface in a more direct form in his later photograph sequences from 1925 on. It can thus be inferred that Rodchenko took over the artistic preoccupation concerning the representation of movement by means of static images from his direct experimentation of Vertov's movies and the rhythmic intertitles he designed for the film director.

Margolis emphasized the cinematic component of the eight photomontages Rodchenko made for Vladimir Mayakovsky's love poem *Pro Eto: Ei i mne* (*About This: To Her and Me*, 1923).⁸⁵ *Pro Eto*⁸⁶ is a long love poem Mayakovsky wrote about Lily Brik, his lover from whom he was temporarily separated. The poem has a clear-cut story line emphasized in the photomontages, which connect in a continuous narrative and illustrate key images from the text. For example, the poet sees himself as a polar-bear, a poetic image replicated in the accompanying photomontage, in Illustration 4: Bridge, or "I paw my ears" (Figure 5.13). Margolin noticed the direct influence of Vertov's film techniques on these photomontage in the "visual pacing of events," "the variance of close-ups and distance shots," while "the movement from interior to exterior ... recalls the shifting perspective and the compression of time and space that Vertov advocated in his manifestos."⁸⁷ Rodchenko commissioned photographs



Figure 5.13 Aleksandr Rodchenko, Illustration 4: Bridge, or “I paw my ears,” for Vladimir Mayakovsky, *Pro Eto: Ei i mne (About This: To Her and Me)*, Moscow: State Publishing House, 1923. Photomontage (letterpress), 23 x 15 cm (9 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). © 2019 Estate of Alexander Rodchenko / UPRAVIS, Moscow / Artists Rights Society, NY.

of Mayakovsky and Lily Brik from photographers Abram Shterenberg, Kapustiansky, and Vassermann for this series of photomontages in order to particularize the imaginary story and connect it to real people. He also used newspaper cuttings.⁸⁸ For Peter Galassi, Vertov, and Rodchenko share a “playful engagement with the world, full of enthusiasm and optimism,”⁸⁹ characteristics that are apparent in the playfulness contained in the *Pro Eto* photomontages. The heterogeneity of photographs, newspaper cuttings arranged in a chaotic manner made critics talk of a Dada influence on these photomontages⁹⁰ and the lack of Constructivist principles.⁹¹

El Lissitzky also experimented with the technique of heterogeneous photomontage as early as 1922 when he pasted photographs in a photomontage included in the illustrations of Ilya Ehrenburg’s *Six Tales with Easy Endings* (1922), *Untitled (Tatlin at Work)* (Figure 5.14). By overlapping the man’s eye with a compass he might have



Figure 5.14 El Lissitzky, *Untitled (Tatlin at Work)*, for Ilya Ehrenburg’s *6 Tales with Easy Endings* (1922). Photomontage (photos, ink, pencil on cardboard), 29.2 x 29 cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Private collection. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

suggested the mathematical precision the artist displayed in his work. By including in the same photomontage the partial photograph of a woman with her mouth covered by a piece of paper makes the meaning of this artwork even more abstruse.

Lissitzky was the inventor of a technique consisting of overlapping of negatives and used it extensively in his later work. Critics called it “the sandwich-procedure,” and it consists of the overlapping of transparent negatives.⁹² Lissitzky first experimented with this technique in his famous photomontage *The Constructor: Self Portrait* (1924) (Figure 5.15) and two other photomontage portraits of Schwitters and Arp from 1924. In the *Constructor* photomontage, Lissitzky overlapped three negatives showing a hand, his own photograph, and a compass. The meaning of this photomontage is very controversial and critics have continued to read it in multiple ways. For Leah Dickerman the photomontage is both about “irrationality and rationality and as much about the body as the machine.”⁹³ Other critics read it as a symbol of a modernized God,⁹⁴ a symbol of “mathematical speculation and geometrical mysticism,”⁹⁵ a definition of the artist as a generalized person and not an individual.⁹⁶

In my view, in this photomontage the sandwich procedure determines the multiplicity of its meanings, because the overlapping of images in Lissitzky’s work does not necessarily mean equation of concepts, as some critics imply. Lissitzky’s sandwich procedure is an intellectual comment on the nature of the visual images. By fusing the “signifiers” of these photographs, the artist explored their semiotic potential. But no exact meaning emerged, making the sandwich procedure a type of heterogeneous photomontage from the point of view of its meaning, despite the simplicity of form. In his later political photomontages Lissitzky used the sandwich procedure differently, to make apparent a clear political meaning.

The early period of what critics and artists called heterogeneous photomontage is a period marked by the artists’ discovery of the photographic image, which allowed them to make visual ‘statements’ about themselves, to relate to the socio-political context of the day, or to illustrate poetry with the real photographs of the persons depicted. The degree of heterogeneity varies for the Dada and Constructivist photomontages, the former displaying an increased degree of heterogeneity, true to the Dadaistic beliefs in simultaneity, political opposition, as well as “the rejection of conventions in art and thought.”⁹⁷ Constructivist artists, taking a stance against

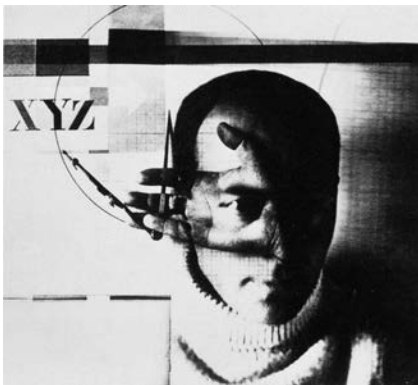


Figure 5.15 El Lissitzky, *The Constructor: Self-Portrait*, 1924. Photomontage (gelatin silver print), 10.7 × 11.8 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Victoria and Albert Museum. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

previous avant-garde movements, conceived of the artwork as a structure built from pieces put together by the artist turned “engineer [who] constructs” useful objects for the new society. For the Constructivists “efficacious existence” was “the highest beauty.”⁹⁸ Such goals translate into what Lodder defined as “precision, impersonality, a clear formal order, simplicity and economy of organization,” which characterize the Constructivist style.⁹⁹ Klutskis’s photomontage showing Lenin carrying a pillar suggests through clear and simple means the power of the ruler in making the country progress, but does not make any direct political statements, like his later photomontages will do. Instead, the chaos of heterogeneous Dada photomontage destroyed and ridiculed the political establishment and proposed the chaotic Dada artistic revolution. At this early stage, the political message is subdued in heterogeneous photomontage, but it will emerge with clarity in the later political photomontages of Rodchenko, Klutskis, or Lissitzky under the influence of the film montage of Vertov and Eisenstein or their own views on and direct experiments with film montage. In Germany, Moholy-Nagy’s and Heartfield’s engagement with cinema gave birth to homogeneous photomontage, either political (Heartfield) or a-political (Moholy-Nagy).

Surrealist photomontage: ‘a dream come true’

Surrealist photomontage capitalizes on the ‘transparent’ nature of the photograph differently. Being a direct copy of reality, the photograph, if manipulated and placed in the correct impossible contexts may increase the effect of the real, previously achieved only by means of paints and illusionary drawing. Surrealist photomontage stands outside the tradition of the heterogeneous/homogeneous evolution of photomontage because the Surrealists’ understanding and use of the photograph remains constant, subverting and toppling the reality effect the photograph inherently contains.

We see these objectives most eloquently illustrated in Max Ernst’s series of photomontages in which he used a series of photographs of fight-planes, falling bombs, and aerial photographs of land/targets, and other war paraphernalia he cut out from the book *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen* by Georg Paul Neumann published in 1917.¹⁰⁰ It is in this book that Ernst found the photographs he used in three of his most acclaimed photomontages: *c’est déjà la 22ème fois que Lohengrin ... (it is already the 22nd time that Lohengrin ...)*, 1920), *Die chinesische nachtigall (The Chinese Nightingale)*, 1920), and eventually *Hier ist noch alles in der Schwebe (Here Everything Is Still Floating)*, 1920) (Figure 5.16).¹⁰¹ Ernst employed the same types of spatial operations encountered in his *romans-collages*, toppling up original images or simply keeping the broader frame to which he adds a few images, like in the Lohengrin photomontage, where the engraving of a swan and the framed picture of *putti* are added on top of a photograph of an airplane in front of an air-shed.¹⁰² These operations display the most extreme changes of meaning, because the ominous bombs and air-war paraphernalia are turned into a peaceful, but otherwise otherworldly landscape. The bomb becomes a nightingale,¹⁰³ and the air-shed with the plane in front of it ready to fly out offer the swan and the *putti* a peaceful environment. Thus, the critics who interpreted these photomontages as signs of Ernst’s increasing worry in front of the war were correct. Unlike the engravings used in Ernst’s *romans-collages*, which belonged to several narratives, the photographs in Neumann’s book have descriptive and informative purposes for the public. So, by appropriating them, Ernst changes their meaning and context by effecting spatial operations of replacement and addition.

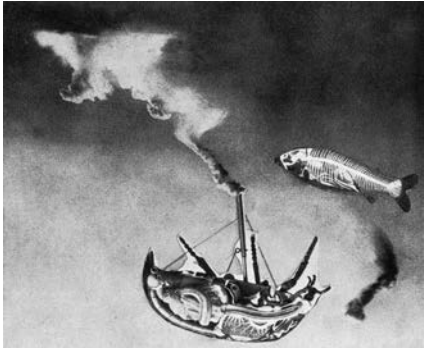


Figure 5.16 Max Ernst, *Hier ist noch alles in der Schweb* (*Here Everything is Still Floating*), 1920. Photomontage (cut-and-pasted printed paper and pencil on printed paper on cardstock, photo), 16.5 × 21 cm (6½ × 8¼ in.). MoMA, New York. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.



Figure 5.17 Georg Paul Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Velhagen and Klasings Volksbücher No. 138–39 (Bielefeld: Verlag von Velhagen and Klasings, 1917), p. 34.

The original photograph from Neumann's book (Figure 5.17)¹⁰⁴ that Ernst used for *Here Everything Is Still Floating* shows four phosphor gas bombs falling at different heights in the air. In Ernst's photomontage the image is reversed, and instead of falling down, the bombs remain suspended in the air. To this photograph, he added the cut-out cross-section of a beetle and a fish engraving, probably selected from many of the science and biology books he used in his collages. Humorously, the smoke of the bomb seems to be coming out from the smoke stack of a steamboat protruding from the beetle's belly. The humor is generated by the fact that the beetle seems to be simultaneously a beetle and a steamboat. Ernst shifted the meaning of the ominous bombs, as documented in the war photograph, and transformed the photograph into a small universe populated by an insect–steamboat and a fish, the most innocuous of the animals.¹⁰⁵

Just like in Hausmann's case, who included a photograph of himself in his *Dada siegt* photomontage, the first of Ernst's photomontages according to Spies, *The Punching Ball ou l'Immortalité de Buonarrotti* (*Max Ernst et Caesar Buonarrotti*, 1920), also contains Max Ernst's photograph.¹⁰⁶ The emphasis on the direct physical authorial presence in these artists' photomontages further supports the idea of a shift of vision between 'collage with photographs' to the new technique of photomontage based on the 'transparent' nature of photography. Rather than being a self-portrait created by means of oils and paint, as one of the most enduring genres in the history of the fine arts, the photograph adds the artists' unadulterated image to the photomontage. Thus, the photograph contextualizes the new type of self-portrait and changes its meaning, by pointing to these artists' visions and tenets, such as Ernst's vision of being as great as Buonarrotti, in the humorous note created by his photomontage.

If Surrealist photomontage allows for displacements and re-arrangements of pieces, Surrealists photographers exploited the 'transparent' nature of the photograph primarily by capturing reality from unusual angles, especially through the technique of

close-up, which creates the defamiliarization and disorientation of the viewer of the respective photographs.¹⁰⁷

Based on the nature and the significance of the materials used in collages versus photomontages I proposed in this chapter, it is thus possible to distinguish between Ernst's photomontages (which make use of real photographs) and his collages, which use exclusively engravings and other type of hand-drawn visual representations.

Notes

- 1 Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Warburg's Paragon? The End of Collage and Photomontage in Postwar Europe," in *Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing, and Archiving in Art*, ed. Ingrid Schaffner and Matthias Winzen (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 54, and "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*: The Anomic Archive," *October* 88 (Spring 1999): 6.
- 2 Curt Glaser, "Foreword," in Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars (1918–1939)*, trans. Ottawa Stockman (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 2012), 127–28.
- 3 Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*," 131. Buchloh and Hausmann, among others, defined the terms 'heterogeneous–homogeneous photomontage' in an unsystematic fashion, but Anne Bénichou was the one who coined the opposing pair 'heterogeneous–homogeneous photomontage' in her analysis of Buchloh's series of articles on avant-garde photomontage; see Anne Bénichou, "Temporal Montage in the Artistic Practices of the Archive," in *Maintenant: Images du temps présent. Now: Images of Present Time*, ed. Vincent Lavoie (Montréal: Vox, 2003), 73.
- 4 John Heartfield, from a conversation with Bengt Dahlbäck, Moderna Museet Stockholm, in *John Heartfield*, ed. Peter Pachnicke and Klaus Honnef (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 14, and Raoul Hausmann, *Am Anfang war Dada*, ed. Karl Riha and Günther Kämpf (Steinbach/Giessen: Kämpf, 1972), 49. I reproduce their statements below.
- 5 Diarmuid Costello, *On Photography: A Philosophical Inquiry* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 10–11. For nineteenth-century debates concerning the nature of the photographic image, see chapter One "Foundational intuitions and folk theory." See also Tanya Sheehan and Andrés Mario Zervigón, eds., *Photography and Its Origins* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
- 6 Walter Benjamin's main writings on photography are his 1931 article "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" ("Little History of Photography") and "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit" ("The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility," 1936–1939). The former and a few other articles about photography were published in Walter Benjamin, *On Photography*, ed. and trans. Esther Leslie (London: Reaktion Books, 2015).
- 7 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).
- 8 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, 1980, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1985). For a comparative study of the ideas of Benjamin and Barthes on photography see Kathrin Yacavone, *Benjamin, Barthes and the Singularity of Photography* (New York: Continuum, 2012). Barthes's understanding of the image sides with the 'transparency' theory (that I will introduce below), when he wrote: "each photograph is a piece of evidence of presence," for him a photograph is an indication that "This-has-been."
- 9 Nicole R. Fleetwood, *Troubling Visions: Performance, Visuality and Blackness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- 10 Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (London: Zone Books, 2008); "What Is a Photograph? What Is Photography?" *Philosophy of Photography* 1, no. 1 (2010): 9–13; *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, trans. Louise Bethlehem (London: Verso, 2012).
- 11 Errol Morris, *Believing Is Seeing: Observations on the Mysteries of Photography* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011).
- 12 Roger Scruton, "Photography and Representation," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 3 (Spring 1981): 577–603.

- 13 Kendall Walton, "Transparent Pictures: On the Nature of Photographic Realism," *Critical Inquiry* 11, no. 2 (1984): 251.
- 14 Gregory Currie, "Visible Traces: Documentary and the Contents of Photographs," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 57, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 289.
- 15 Mikael Pettersson, "Depictive Traces: On the Phenomenology of Photography," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 69, no. 2 (2011): 189, 192.
- 16 Dan Cavedon-Taylor, "Photographic Phenomenology as Cognitive Phenomenology," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 55, no. 1 (2015): 76.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 78.
- 18 Heartfield quoted in Pachnicke and Honnef, *John Heartfield*, 14.
- 19 Andy Grundberg, *Crisis of the Real: Writings on Photography, 1974–1989* (New York: Aperture, 1990).
- 20 Sabine T. Kriebel and Andrés Mario Zervigón, eds., *Photography and Doubt* (London: Routledge, 2017). See especially Susan Laxton's "Moholy's Doubt," pp. 141–61, on Moholy-Nagy's photographs, or Adrian Sudhalter's contribution "Max Ernst, Graceful Photographer," pp. 161–80.
- 21 See discussion below regarding the connections between New Vision and New Objectivity photography.
- 22 Currie, "Visible Traces," 288.
- 23 See Christa Döttinger, *Cindy Sherman: History Portraits: The Rebirth of the Painting after the End of Painting*, trans. Daniel Mufson (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2012), 21.
- 24 I myself was the 'victim' of such a tentative trick. Katherine Cashman, the academic secretary at the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, also on the IU Bloomington campus, brought the jackalope postcard I reproduced above from her trip to the American West. She then approached all her European colleagues in the department, asking them if the animal represented on the postcard is real or not. I enjoyed the trick thoroughly, and I thought it was worthwhile 'appropriating' it for my book.
- 25 I further emphasize the idea that by indexical sign I mean that something exactly like the 'token' represented in the photograph, to use Currie's term, exists in real life.
- 26 In his recent book on montage, *Montage and the Metropolis*, 18–20, Martino Stierli distinguished between collage and montage based on the meaning they generate too. He claims that montage displays "dialectical juxtaposition," in the hegelian understanding of the term, while collage is relegated to represent painterly and illusionist compositions, lacking "dialectical juxtapositions." In order to prove this claim, he engages partially with Bürger's discussion of montage. However, Bürger treated collage and montage interchangeably. For the other two differences he draws between collage and montage, Stierli invokes Weisstein's distinction between borrowings from within the same field (montage) or borrowings of real-life objects (collage). Stierli's definition of collage and montage does not account for photocollage, never mentioned in his book. However, Stierli's approach relates to mine in that he also emphasizes the fact that we should understand collage and montage with regard to the meaning generated and not just as illustrating papery and photographic procedures respectively, as most art historians do.
- 27 Dawn Ades, *Photomontage* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), 8.
- 28 Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," 82–119.
- 29 Buchloh, "Warburg's Paragon?" 54.
- 30 Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*," 31.
- 31 Buchloh, "Warburg's Paragon?" 54.
- 32 Olivier Lugon, *Le style documentaire: D'August Sander à Walker Evans 1920–1945* (Paris: Macula, 2001), 5, 36–45. According to Lugon, "New Objectivity" photography presents objects as they truly are, it is marked by "sobriety" and "simplicity," it aims to "describe the beauty of the world" and document its simplicity. The 1929 Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart, *Film und Foto (Fifo)*, marks the culmination of "New Vision" photography but also its decline under the new artistic precepts promoted by "New Objectivity" photography, claims Lugon, *Le Style*, 38–39.
- 33 Weisstein, "Collage, Montage," 136–37.
- 34 Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*," 131.

- 35 John Bowlt, “Alexandr Rodchenko as Photographer,” in *The Avant-Garde in Russia 1910–1930: New Perspectives*, ed. Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), 53.
- 36 Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, 45.
- 37 Alma Davenport, *The History of Photography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 164–65.
- 38 Hausmann, “Peinture nouvelle et photomontage,” in *Courrier Dada* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1958), 41–42: “Je commençais à faire des tableaux avec des coupures de papiers colorés et des coupures de journaux et d’affiches en été 1918. Mais c’est à l’occasion d’un séjour au bord de la mer baltique, à l’île d’Usedom, dans le petit hameau de Heidebrink, que je conçus l’idée du photomontage. Dans presque toutes les maisons se trouvait, accrochée au mur une lithographie en couleurs représentant sur un fond de caserne, l’image d’un grenadier. Pour rendre ce memento militaire plus personnel, on avait collé à la place de la tête un portrait photographique du soldat. Ce fut comme un éclair, on pourrait – je le vis instantanément – faire des *tableaux* entièrement composés de photos découpées. De retour en septembre à Berlin, je commençais à réaliser cette vision nouvelle en me servant de photos de presse et de cinéma.” [italics in the original]
- 39 Hausmann, “Photomontage,” in *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913–1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips, trans. Joel Agee (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 179.
- 40 Patrizia C. McBride, *The Chatter of the Visible: Montage and Narrative in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 14.
- 41 Heartfield quoted in Pachnicke and Honnef, *John Heartfield*, 14.
- 42 Stepanova, “Photomontage,” in Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, 236.
- 43 David Evans, rev. Anne Blecksmith, “Photomontage,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T067233>.
- 44 Recent exhibition catalogs reproduce side by side the original artwork (if available) and the photographed version for comparison. See David King and Ernst Volland, eds., *John Heartfield: Laughter Is a Devastating Weapon: His Original Photomontages and Printed Matter from the Akademie der Künste Berlin and the David King Collection at Tate Modern* (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 88–145. In addition to highlighting the colors of the original artworks, which change in the printed version, the originals show how the artist created these artworks by cutting and pasting photographs. The rims of the photos are visible in the originals but disappear from the seamless printed image.
- 45 See, for example, Oliver A. I. Botar, *Sensing the Future: Moholy-Nagy, Media and the Arts* (Zurich: Müller, 2014), 109; Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, eds., *László Moholy-Nagy Retrospective: Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt* (Munich: Prestel, 2009), 42; Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars*, 63, and most significantly Sarah Hermanson Meister, ed., *One and One Is Four: The Bauhaus Photocollages of Josef Albers* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016). See the discussion concerning this issue in Chapter 6.
- 46 Buchloh, “Gerhard Richter’s *Atlas*,” 131.
- 47 Buchloh, “Warburg’s Paragon?” 54. Reproduced by permission of the author.
- 48 See Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars (1918–1939)*, 128. *Photomontage between the Wars* reproduces a facsimile of the 1931 *Fotomontage* exhibition catalog, edited by Curt Glaser, César Domela-Nieuwenhuis and Gustav Klutis, English translation by Russell Stockman, 124–56.
- 49 Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars (1918–1939)*, 128.
- 50 Hausmann, “Photomontage,” in Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, trans. Joel Agee, 179.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 179–80.
- 52 Andrés Mario Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image: Photography, Persuasion, and the Rise of Avant-Garde Photomontage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 130–33, 204–33.
- 53 Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy 1917–1946* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 108–19.
- 54 Hausmann, “Photomontage,” in Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, 178–79.

- 55 Domela-Nieuwenhuis, "Photomontage," in Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars*, 130–31.
- 56 The *Film und Foto (Fifo)* (*Film and Photo*) exhibition was on view in Stuttgart between May 18 and July 7, 1929, and then travelled, with only a part of its exhibits to Zurich, Berlin, Vienna, Zagreb, and Japan. The exhibition was very popular and was visited by a record number of people and received favorable reviews in the media. Its main objective was to "domesticate the often-confusing developments in these media for large audiences of everyday viewers," as Zervigón claimed, see Zervigón, "The Peripatetic Viewer at Heartfield's *Film und Foto* Exhibition Room," *October* 150 (Fall 2014): 33.
- 57 Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, eds., *Foto-Auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit/Œil et photo: 76 photographies de notre temps/Photo-Eye: 76 Photoes [sic] of the Period* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag F. Wedekind, 1929), Plate 76.
- 58 McBride, *The Chatter of the Visible*, 16–18.
- 59 See Anna von der Goltz, *Hindenburg: Power, Myth, and the Rise of the Nazis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33–36.
- 60 Maude Lavin, "Photomontage, Mass Culture, and Modernity: Utopianism in the Circle of New Advertising Designers," in *Montage and Modern Life 1919–1942*, ed. Matthew Teitelbaum (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 19.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 62 Hanne Bergius, "Dada Triumphs!" *Dada Berlin, 1917–1923: Artistry of Polarities: Montages – Metamechanics – Manifestations*, trans. Brigitte Pichon (Farmington Hills: Hall, 2003), 166.
- 63 Maria Makela, "Exhibition Plates 1–25. The Dada Years," in *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, ed. Maria Makela and Peter Boswell (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1996), 25.
- 64 Hausmann, "Photomontage," in Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, 179.
- 65 Adrian Sudhalter, "The Self-Reflectivity of Photomontage: Writing on and Exhibiting the Medium, 1920–1931," in Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars*, 18.
- 66 Andrés Mario Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 129.
- 67 "When John Heartfield and I invented photomontage in my Südende studio at five o'clock one May morning in 1916, neither of us had the slightest idea of the tremendous possibilities or of the thorny but successful path that this discovery would take," quoted in Brigid Doherty, "Berlin," in *Dada: Zurich Berlin Hannover Cologne New York Paris*, ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 93.
- 68 "[H]aphazardly glued to a cardboard were advertisements for hernia belts, fraternal song books, and fortified dog food, labels from schnapps and wine bottles, photos from illustrated papers – all clipped at will and assembled absurdly," quoted in Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 40–41. As Zervigón pointed out in his analysis of these descriptions, the objects mentioned suggested the difficult times of starvation and physical neglect the soldiers had to face.
- 69 Doherty, "Berlin," 94.
- 70 Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 39–65.
- 71 Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 140–41.
- 72 Claude Leclanche-Boulé, *Le constructivisme russe: Typographies et photomontages* (Paris: Flammarion, 1991), 47, 56, 65.
- 73 Margarita Tupitsyn, *The Soviet Photograph 1924–1937* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 9–34; Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," 95; Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 181–204.
- 74 Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, 204, chapter 6, "Confinement: photomontage and the limited design task": "[A]s the 1920s progressed Constructivists became increasingly reliant upon it [graphic design] for their economic survival. This trend was intensified by the pressure of the cultural climate of the time towards Realism. ... At the same time, the use of photomontage and the photograph led them back to the real image, and thus to traditional concepts of art and its representational role." In her contribution to the 2014 exhibition catalog *Object: Photo*, Lodder radically changed her position regarding the engagement of the Constructivist artists with photomontage in the 1920s; see also discussion in end-note 117 in Chapter 6. Christina Lodder, "Revolutionary Photography," in *Object: Photo*:

- Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), [electronic version]. <https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Lodder.pdf>.
- 75 The idea that Russian avant-garde art contributed to the shaping of the doctrine of Socialist Realism is endorsed by most art historians working on the topic at various degrees. Although issues concerning the relations between the Russian avant-garde and the norms of Socialist Realism go beyond the scope of this volume, my analyses of the connections between cinema and photomontage beyond 1925 in the works of the Russian artists emphasize the experimental nature of the Russian avant-garde art shortly before the instatement of Socialist Realism at the beginning of the 1930s, which simplified and annulled the artistic discoveries and experiments of the avant-garde artists. A formalist approach is much more appropriate at explaining these connections, in order to avoid the subjectivity in the interpretation of data. In her review of Pamela Kachurin's *Making Modernism Soviet: The Russian Avant-Garde in the Early Soviet Era, 1918–1928* (Northwestern: Northwestern University Press, 2013), Lodder is conflicted over the fact that Kachurin used the same archival data first to prove that avant-garde artists were marginalized by the Communist State in the 1920s, in the dissertation version of her study, while in the book version Kachurin claimed the opposite, that avant-garde artists secured their positions and thrived in the Soviet state, see Lodder "Making Modernism Soviet: The Russian Avant-Garde in the Early Soviet Era, 1918–1928 by Pamela Kachurin," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 94, no. 1 (2016): 165–66.
- 76 Magdalena Dabrowski, "Malevich and Mondrian: Nonobjective Form as the Expression of the 'Absolute,'" in *Avant-Garde Frontier: Russia Meets the West, 1910–1930*, ed. Harrison Roman and Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 145–68.
- 77 Aleksei Gan was the director of the short-lived *Kino-Fot (Cine-Photo)*, 1922–1923, total six issues, a journal dedicated to the comparative analysis of film and photography. In the first number of *Kino-Fot*, 25–31 August, and on the first page of this issue, Gan published his own article "Cinematographer and Cinematography" ("Kinematograf i kinematografiia") and illustrated it with Rodchenko's painting *Non-Objective Composition no. 47* (1917). Tupitsyn claimed that by choosing this painting to illustrate his article, "Gan was communicating his view that the formal language of avant-garde cinema was indebted to the structural canons of modern art," see Tupitsyn, *Malevich and Film* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 28. The painting comprises a series of screens, resembling the agit-prop kiosks many avant-garde artists, including Rodchenko, designed in the 1920s. For agit-prop art see Szymon Bojko, "Agit-Prop Art: The Streets Were Their Theatre," in Barron and Tuchman, *The Avant-Garde in Russia 1910–1930: New Perspectives*, 72–77. Furthermore, in subsequent issues of the journal, Gan reproduced Rodchenko's actual agit-prop kiosk designs: no. 4, 1922, p. 1 and no. 5, 1922, p. 1. Among the many purposes agit-prop kiosks had was to project movies on the streets, highlighting thus the close connection between photomontages and movies in the Russian avant-garde. See the whole collection of *Kino-fot* at BrillOnline Primary Sources: <http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/soviet-cinema-online-periodicals-and-newspapers-19181942>. For a further documentation on Gan's activity with *Kino-Fot*, see Christina Lodder, "Extending Constructivism: *Kino-Fot*," in Aleksei Gan, *Constructivism*, trans. and introd. Christina Lodder (Barcelona: Tenov, 2013), xxxv–xli. See also Kristin Romberg, *Gan's Constructivism: Aesthetic Theory for an Embedded Modernism* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 170–75.
- 78 Hubertus Gassner, "Analytical Sequences: Alexander Rodchenko's Photographic Method," in *Alexander Rodchenko and the Arts of Revolutionary Russia*, ed. David Eliott (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1979), 108.
- 79 These rarely reproduced collages, photocollages, and the Tsotsa photomontage are published in Galerie Gmurzynska, *Von der Malerei zum Design: Russische konstruktivistische Kunst der zwanziger Jahre: Ausstellung Oktober – Dezember 1981 Galerie Gmurzynska Cologne/From Painting to Design: Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties: Exhibition October – December 1981 Galerie Gmurzynska Cologne* (Cologne: Galerie Gmurzynska, 1981), Chapter "From Collage to Photomontage," 214–20.

- 80 In later articles, Rodchenko even claimed that he was the first Russian artist to use the photomontage technique: “1921–1922. Photomontage, of which I can consider myself the founder in the USSR.” See Rodchenko, “Reconstructing the Artist,” in *Aleksandr Rodchenko: Experiments for the Future: Diaries, Essays, Letters and Other Writings*, ed. Alexander N. Lavrentiev, trans. Jamey Gambrell (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2005), 297.
- 81 Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, 109–119 and Hubertus Gassner, “Analytical Sequences,” 108–11.
- 82 Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, 104.
- 83 Nikolai Izvolov, “Dziga Vertov and Aleksandr Rodchenko: The Visible Word,” *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 10, no. 1 (2016): 2.
- 84 For an analysis of Vertov’s film montage, see Chapter 6.
- 85 The Russian critic Shklovsky made a similar claim: “The poem *About This . . .* – whose hero passes from one circle to another and undergoes various metamorphoses – [cannot] be understood without a knowledge of the cinematography of the time, without the awareness of what it meant then for artists to be violently confronted with fragments endowed with unified overall sense, revealed in a number of conflicts,” quoted in Wiktor Woroszyński, *The Life of Mayakovsky*, trans. Boleslaw Taborski (New York: Orion Press, 1971), 320.
- 86 The English translation available is Vladimir Mayakovsky and Alexander Rodchenko, *Pro Eto*, 1923, trans. Larisa Gureyeva and George Hyde (Todmorden, England: Arc, 2009).
- 87 Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, 108.
- 88 Mikhail Karasik, *The Soviet Photobook: 1920–1941*, ed. Manfred Heiting (Göttingen: Steidl, 2015), 64–65.
- 89 Peter Galassi, “Rodchenko and Photography’s Revolution,” in *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, ed. Magdalena Dabrowski, Leah Dickerman, and Peter Galassi (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 126.
- 90 Karasik, *The Soviet Photobook*, 65.
- 91 Christine Suzanne Schick, “Russian Constructivist Theory and Practice in the Visual and Verbal Forms of *Pro Eto*” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 75, <http://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/docview/1525999172?accountid=11620>.
- 92 Leclanche-Boulé, *Le constructivisme russe*, 76.
- 93 Leah Dickerman, “El Lissitzky’s Camera Corpus,” in *Situating El Lissitzky: Vitebsk, Berlin, Moscow*, ed. Nancy Perloff and Brian Reed (Getty: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 154.
- 94 Werner Hofmann, “Sur un auto-portrait de El Lissitzky,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 107 (1986): 39–44.
- 95 Tranggott Schalcher, “El Lissitzky, Moskau,” *Gebrauchsgraphik* 5, no. 12 (1928): 56.
- 96 Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, “El Lissitzky *Der Konstrukteur* (Selbstbildnis) von 1924: Künstlerbildnis zwischen Funktionalismus und Utopie,” *Pantheon: Internationale Jahresschrift für Kunst* 50 (1992): 125–34.
- 97 Dawn Ades and Matthew Gale, “Dada,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T021094>.
- 98 Naum Gabo and Antoine Pevsner, “The Realistic Manifesto,” 1920, in *The Tradition of Constructivism*, ed. Stephen Bann (New York: Viking, 1974), 7–9.
- 99 Christina Lodder, rev. Benjamin Benus, “Constructivism,” *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T019194>. For a comparative analysis of Dada and Constructivism see Annelly Juda Fine Art, *Dada – Constructivism: the Janus Face of the Twenties, 26 September–15 December 1984* (London: Annelly Juda Fine Art, 1984).
- 100 Georg Paul Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Velhagen und Klasings Volksbücher No. 138–39 (Bielefeld: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, 1917). An electronic version is available from HathiTrust: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015026680911&view=thumb&seq=21>.
- 101 For the lesser-known photomontage *Die Flamingi* (*The Flamingos*), also from 1920, Ernst used another photograph from Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Ill. 51, p. 57.

- 102 The photograph used for this photomontage is reproduced in Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Ill. 28, p. 29.
- 103 The photograph used for this photomontage is reproduced in Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Ill. 31, p. 32.
- 104 The photograph used for this photomontage is reproduced in Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Ill. 33, p. 34.
- 105 The photomontage is accompanied by a poem written by Arp, who also gave the title of the picture. These collaborations in which Ernst created the image and Arp the poetry were called *Fatagaga* (*Fabrication of Paintings Guaranteed Geometric, Fabrication de Tableaux Gasométriques Garantis*). For the text of Arp's poem see William A. Camfield, "Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism," *MoMA* 13 (1993): 10. On other Fatagagas see Karl Riha, "Fatagaga – Dada: Zur künstlerisch-literarischen Kooperation von Hans Arp und Max Ernst," in *Die Moderne im Rheinland: Ihre Förderung und Durchsetzung in Literatur, Theater, Musik, Architektur, angewandter und bildender Kunst 1900–1933*, ed. Dieter Breuer and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag 1994), 75–84.
- 106 See Spies, *Oeuvre-Katalog* 2, Ill. 372, p. 189, who lists it as Ernst's first photomontage.
- 107 See Dawn Ades, "Little Things: Close-up in Photo and Film 1839–1963," in *Close-Up: Proximity and Defamiliarization in Art, Film and Photography*, ed. Dawn Ades and Simon Baker (Edinburgh: The Fruitmaker Gallery, 2008), 9–60; Simon Baker, "Watch Out for Life: The Conceptual Close-Up 1920–2006," in Ades and Baker, *Close-Up*, 61–103. Their readings of Surrealist photography rely on Rosalind Krauss's influential essay from 1981, in which she had already pointed out that the objective nature of photography allows for the exploration of the bizarre and uncanny. See Rosalind Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," *October* 19 (1981): 3–34. See also Anna Deuze and Julia Kelly, eds., *Found Sculpture and Photography from Surrealism to Contemporary Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

6 Intermedial models

Film montage and homogeneous photomontage

Film montage is a basic technique of film editing, which consists of filming separate shots that are then arranged into a coherent structure. Film montage may refer to the simple editing of images, but it may also be applied to complex filmic and intellectual procedures certain early twentieth-century directors used in their movies. Avant-garde film has developed in parallel with the evolution of collage ever since 1912, especially through the manifestation of Cubist film, but Eisenstein and Vertov, among others, invented the complex procedure of clear meaning formation through their film montages from the mid-1920s. In this chapter, I argue that it was their film montages, especially Eisenstein's intellectual montage, that acted as models for the Russian photomontage artists who aimed to achieve similar effects of clear articulation of meaning in their photomontages beyond 1925.¹ I first define the nature of Eisenstein's and Vertov's film montages and then explain, with plenty of evidence, how their techniques influenced the Russian avant-garde photomontage artists after 1925 and through the end of the 1920s. Moholy-Nagy and Heartfield also reached the model of homogeneous meaning formation in their photomontages under the influence of the medium of film, mainly their own film experiments, as it will become apparent.

Enter Eisenstein or Prospero's cell

Eisenstein theorized his concept of montage extensively in his writings and illustrated it in his movies *The Strike* (1925), *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), and *October 1917* (1927) among others.

Eisenstein created his concept of film montage under the influence of certain artistic experiences, which helped crystallize this new way of manipulating filmic shots characteristic of his montage. These influences, identified by Eisenstein himself, were D. W. Griffith's parallel montage, Vsevolod Meyerhold's montage theater, and the concept of the Japanese ideograms Eisenstein was introduced to while he was taking classes of Japanese.²

Griffith used parallel narrative montage in *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), which was screened in the Soviet Union in 1919 and constituted a model for the Russian directors.³ Griffith's parallel montage consisted of filming sections belonging to two different episodes with the purpose of mutual enhancement of their expressive effects. Such episodes from *Birth of a Nation* are the interspersing of battle scenes from the war between North and South, showing the sufferings of the sons of the family, with family scenes in which the two brothers are being remembered by the other members of the family. By showing these scenes side by side a contrast is

created, which mutually enhances the emotional impact of both episodes.⁴ The use of parallel montage in *Intolerance* is more nuanced because it suggests logical analogies and contrasts between the different histories of intolerance across human history – the fall of Babylon, the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre, and Christ’s mythology – combined with scenes from a contemporary tragic story. The viewer makes connections and analogies between the stories based on their underlying assumptions regarding the overarching intolerance illustrated in these episodes.

Eisenstein discussed Griffith’s montage technique, but noticed that even though it created suspense and depicted an object, it failed in “creating sense and image by a juxtaposition of shots.”⁵ Eisenstein talked about “figurative montage fragments” in his analysis of Griffith’s movies, a concept significantly different from his own “montage juxtapositions.”⁶ According to Eisenstein, Griffith’s figurative montage is narrative and cannot express complex concepts by means of “generalization, metaphor and allegory.”⁷

As Bordwell pointed out, Russian montage developed in all the arts simultaneously at the beginning of the past century, since visual artists, directors, and writers collaborated and ideas and techniques circulated freely from one medium into another.⁸ According to Bordwell, Eisenstein was familiar with the artistic innovations of the art of his time, both Western European and Russian avant-gardes, and was an active member of the LEF group.⁹ The LEF group (the Left Front of the Arts), which published the *LEF* journal with covers designed by Rodchenko, was a group of Constructivist and Productivist artists with a political agenda for the education of the masses. They had collaborators from all the arts, literary theory (Viktor Shklovsky and Yury Tynyanov), theater, film, and fine arts (Rodchenko). Eisenstein’s collaboration with Meyerhold and his work at the Proletkult Theatre were instrumental in shaping his theory of the montage of attractions, claimed Bordwell.¹⁰ The techniques used in the plays he staged for Proletkult Theatre resembled those he later used in film montage, because instead of showing a continuous narration, Eisenstein and his collaborators cut the plays in several scenes and amalgamated the fragments, so that it was difficult for the audience to understand the story.¹¹

Eisenstein intended to render concepts and ideas by means of film montage. His technique of film montage consisted of the juxtaposition of conflicting shots, from which complex meaning emerged. His movies had propagandistic purposes, and he used the technique to render tendentious meaning to influence people’s emotions, as well as their political decisions. Eisenstein made three movies in the 1920s, each depicting the revolt of the proletarians against the bourgeoisie, presenting the uprising of the workers in the *Strike*, that of the sailors in *The Battleship Potemkin*, and the October revolution in *October 1917*.

Eisenstein created two main categories of montage, the montage of attractions and intellectual montage. The montage of attractions relates to principles of literary comparison, while intellectual montage is more closely connected to the principles of the metaphor. The montage of attractions appeals to the viewer’s emotions, while intellectual montage appeals to his thinking. The scenes combined in the montage of attractions should have a strong emotional impact on the viewer. Eisenstein defined an attraction as “any demonstrable fact (an action, an object, a phenomenon, a conscious combination and so on) that is known and proven to exercise a definite effect on the attention and emotions of the audience.”¹² When such an attraction combines with others it has the effect of “concentrating the audience’s emotions in any direction dictated by the production’s purpose.”¹³

The montage of attractions appears in the final scenes of the *Strike*, in which shots of soldiers firing guns at workers overlap with shots showing cows being slaughtered.¹⁴ By quickly alternating these shots, Eisenstein wanted to emphasize the cruel repression of the rebellion and make people revolt against the cruelties of the tsarist regime. Eisenstein defined the montage of attractions as a “tendentious selection of, and comparison between events, free from narrowly plot-related plans and moulding the audience in accordance with its purpose.”¹⁵

In intellectual montage, complex meaning is generated from the juxtaposition of shots. Eisenstein exemplified this process by analogy with the Japanese hieroglyphs, which juxtaposed two concrete objects in order to suggest a concept. In the Japanese hieroglyph, a dog and a mouth means to bark, and a mouth and a baby means to scream.¹⁶ Even if both objects, the dog and the mouth, are visually represented, the abstract concept they denote, the barking, “cannot be graphically represented.”¹⁷ For Eisenstein, the film shot is similar to the object represented in the Japanese hieroglyph, and montage is the technique that makes the shots collide and conflict with one another in order to generate the concept.¹⁸ In intellectual montage, the viewer has to supply the meaning that is missing from the independent shots. Intellectual montage is relatively short,¹⁹ while the montage of attractions is longer since it aims to increase its emotional impact on the viewer.

Eisenstein illustrated the category of intellectual montage with examples from his movies. One such example, generating “symbolic pictorial expression,”²⁰ appears in *Potemkin* and refers to the rising of the lion from the Odessa theatre²¹ (Figure 6.1). Three photographs of a lion sleeping, waking up, and finally enraged are shown at short intervals. This montage is very short, lasting for several seconds, and it suggests the awakening of the lion without representing actual movement.²² This montage comes after the scene of the massacre of the population on the Odessa steps by the tsarist army, concluding the section in which the sailors respond to the cruel sacrifice of the population by destroying the very symbols of the tsarist regime, the military, official, and cultural buildings of the oppressors. Eisenstein emphasized the close connection between the jumping-lion montage and its overlapping with the sailors’ bombarding



Figure 6.1 Sergei Eisenstein, the scene of the rising lions from the film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925). Reproduced from Sergei Eisenstein, “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form,” in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1949), 45–63, Ill. 8.

of the city: “The marble lion leaps up, surrounded by the thunder of *Potemkin’s* guns firing in protest against the bloodbath on the Odessa steps.”²³ Following Eisenstein’s comments on the scene, Bordwell interpreted this montage as suggesting “the Russian people, aroused by the massacre and reasserting themselves in the ship counterattack.”²⁴ In other instances of intellectual montage, Eisenstein alternatively shows the image of general Kerensky followed by that of a peacock, in order to suggest that the general is as vain as the beautiful bird.²⁵

Seen from the point of view of intermedial theory, Eisenstein’s montage raises new questions and challenges for this theory. If we accept that his movies are monomedial, containing just the technical medium of the film reel, how do these images create the discursive meaning characteristic of intellectual montage?

At this point, the use of the modalities, as defined by Elleström, may offer a good explanatory model. According to Elleström’s theoretical model (see Chapter 2),²⁶ each medium is composed of the material, sensorial, spatiotemporal, and semiotic modality. In the case of different media, these modalities are also different. Since Eisenstein’s visual medium creates an unusual type of meaning, it is worth investigating the semiotic modality of his films.

According to Elleström’s theory, the material modality of the filmic medium would be the image as presented through the filmic reel (technical medium), the sensorial modality refers to the temporal perception of the moving images, and the spatiotemporal modality involves the incorporation of these perceptions into a spatiotemporal experience. As far as the semiotic modality is concerned, it displays errant behavior, which has to account for the unusual way in which these images behave, since traditionally images cannot render inferential thinking. If two or more images lead to logical reasoning, this may suggest that the signifiers of the visual images behave in an unusual way.

I would like to propose that Eisenstein’s intellectual montage may be read as an example of (intramedial) semiotic intermodality. Although the two images that come in contact belong to the same medium, that of the film (and are thus intramedial), the way they connect to create new meaning describes a process of intermodality at the semiotic level alone. The two images that combine in the film like a “hieroglyph,” build into each other, collide, and fuse at the level of their significance so that a clear separation between the two is no longer possible. I will call (intramedial) semiotic intermodality that type of intramedia texts that have a ‘compounded’ semiotic modality, usually characteristic of intermedia texts, as defined by Higgins. In an intermedia text, such as a concrete poem, the media that come in contact (the visual image and the words) combine their signifiers to generate a signified, which does not coincide with the signifieds of the individual texts.

Such an example of (intramedia) semiotic intermodality is the famous episode “For God and Country.”²⁷ In this example, intellectual montage shows “a process of logical deduction” displaying a “gradual tendentious discrediting” of the idea of god.²⁸ As Eisenstein explained, Kornilov’s march had the slogan, “In the name of God and Country” and Eisenstein opened the montage section with the image of a Baroque statue of Christ followed by numerous non-Christian figures: Buddha, an Eskimo idol, and other African religious sculptures²⁹ (Figure 6.2). By manipulating the current understanding of these religious idols, Eisenstein shifted and deprecated the meaning of all religions and of such idolatrous practices. He himself explained this process in terms of shifting relationships between signifiers and signifieds: “whereas idea and



Figure 6.2 Sergei Eisenstein, the scene “For God and Country” from the film *October 1917* (1927): first column, top down: [Hindu goddess], Hindu god, Buddha; second column, top down: Chinese dragon, smiling Buddha, bird deity; third column, top down: animal-like deity (fox), and two Eskimo idols. Reproduced from Sergei Eisenstein, “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form,” in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1949), 45–63, Ill. 10.

image are completely synonymous in the first Baroque image, they grow further apart with each subsequent image. ... From this we are to draw anti-religious conclusions as to what the divine as such really is.”³⁰ But how does this succession of images come to undermine the very idea of religion? How do images become a predicate? What signification procedures are responsible for this shift of meaning? As Bordwell noticed, the God and Country montage makes visible the “conventional aspects of representation” or the “arbitrariness of the sign.”³¹ In the filmic combination, images are devoid of their denotative meaning and mean something different. At some moment in their visual signification, they come to represent a new concept, emerging as a semiotic intermodality.

The semiotic intermodality, seen as a particular form of meaning articulation, may be conceived at three levels, which Jacques Aumont identified in Eisenstein’s montage. The first level is that of the “frames,” which combine into “syntagms,” which further become part of a “syntax,” the last level that concerns meaning.³² According to the film critic, the frame is “the choosing, the selecting and the foregrounding of the significant elements alone”³³; syntagm refers to the “unit of composition,” which consists of creating meaning “by putting each fragment into relationship with those

that surround it”; and finally syntax affects the level of the filmic language, which as Aumont claimed is open-ended and not restricted by any analogies with language.³⁴ Based on Aumont’s tripartite structure, I view the semiotic intermodality of Eisenstein’s montage as a successive process, which starts at the level of the shot and moves through the syntagmatic and eventually the syntactic level.

Central to Eisenstein’s concept of montage, seen as a semiotic intermodality, is the idea that images interact in a discursive manner (syntax), which usually characterizes the interaction of words. Visual/filmic signs start to behave like linguistic signs, replacing the causal relation between its signifier and signified with the arbitrariness of the symbolic sign. From the conflict of the signifiers of the images that come in contact new signifieds are generated, which produce meaning just like language does. Eisenstein described the production of meaning in filmic montage by analogy with similar processes of signification in language:

When the elements of montage are selected from the filmed fragments in the course of the process of construction, of filming, and of giving things form, the peculiarities of the influence of cinema must not be forgotten. ... They define the concept of montage as the indispensable language, charged with meaning, and the only possible one of cinema, offering a perfect parallelism with the role of word in verbal material.”³⁵

The concept of semiotic intermodality refers to the particular way indexical (or iconic) signs combine in film montage. As Paula Quigley noticed, “in montage, cinematic signification is produced by the association of two or more signifiers rather than in the relation between signifier and signified.” According to Quigley, these iconic signifiers combine to create a symbolic signified.³⁶

The passage from the indexical to the symbolic significance cannot be accounted for in terms of visual images alone: at play is the idea of the hieroglyph (itself a complex visual configuration), which puts in contact two signifiers to create a new one. The two or more signifiers combined in Eisenstein’s montage-hieroglyph cohere in such a way that they cannot be separated, suggesting the analogy with the intermedia text. But rather than combining the signifiers of different media, such as words and images like in concrete poetry, the (intramedial) semiotic intermodality, as I defined it, operates with analogous principles at the level of the signifiers of the unique visual medium involved in the film montage. As Quigley put it, the signifiers of the two or more images combine in such a way to generate a signified, which does not coincide with the individual signifieds of the two media configurations that come in contact.³⁷

Eisenstein’s model of intellectual montage, seen as a specific way of meaning articulation, which allowed the artist to render clear meaning through images, is the artistic model that influenced Klutskis and El Lissitzky, who also aimed to spread the party ideology, but also experimented with various ways of meaning formation in the static photomontages after Eisenstein’s movies were shown in theaters across Russia.

Perfecting vision in Vertov’s kino-eye

Vertov’s technique of film montage is very different from that of Eisenstein.³⁸ For Eisenstein, montage emerged from the confrontation of two colliding shots, which were supposed to create clear meaning. Vertov’s montage is a complex process that

starts before the actual filming and ends with the editing of the shots. The first stage of editing is the “inventory of all documentary data directly or indirectly related to the assigned theme.” In the second stage of the montage “the human eye sums up the observations on the assigned theme” and creates “a shooting plan,” which relies on “the special properties of the machine eye, kino-eye.” Finally, there follows the third stage, “a numerical calculation of the montage groupings” and the “continuous shifting of the pieces until all are placed in a rhythmical order such that all links of meaning coincide with visual linkage.”³⁹

Kino-eye is a central concept of Vertov’s filming technique and refers to the filming camera, which aims to be a viewing apparatus more perfect than the eye: “Kino-eye = kino-seeing (I see through the camera) + kino-writing (I write on film with the camera) + kino-organization (I edit).”⁴⁰ Another key concept of Vertov’s montage is that of the intervals, which are “the transitions from one movement to another,” “the material, the elements of the art of movement, and by no means the movements themselves. It is they (the intervals) which draw the movement to a kinetic resolution.”⁴¹ For Vertov, the transition from one shot to another is a complex filmic process, which should take into account five levels of the filmic image: “the correlation of planes (close-up, long shot, etc.); the correlation of foreshortenings;⁴² the correlations of movements within the frame; the correlation of light and shadow; the correlation of recording speeds.”⁴³

Vertov gradually shaped his theory of film montage since the early 1920s through the articles he published, reflecting his cinema work together with the *kinoks*, his collaborators (the cameramen, editors, technicians).⁴⁴ His theories of film montage were fully expressed in his movie *The Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), belonging to the genre of “city-symphony,” a genre defined by Walter Ruttmann’s well-known movie *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Grosstadt* (*Berlin: Symphony of a Great City*, 1927). The movie opens with the image of the cameraman, Mikhail Kaufman, who places his movie camera on top of a tall building, which oversees the city. He is then shown moving about as he films various scenes of the city: empty streets and squares before people get up, trams and buses, people going to work as the day advances, people working. The movie ends with people’s leisure activities at the end of the day, practicing sports, going to the beach, to the pub, or to the city-fair. The cameraman films these scenes, but he is also filmed by another camera. The movie is also a ‘movie within a movie’, as a cinema audience watches parts of the movie we also watch.

The realistic features of Vertov’s silent movie are increased by the fact that he did not use actors, but filmed everyday scenes and people carefully selected to illustrate the principles of kino-eye (“machine eye”) and of the “shooting plan” defined in advance. The film is an experiment with new materials in cinema, which implies giving up traditional means of expression. Vertov commented on the modern filming techniques he used in *The Man with a Movie Camera*: “Indeed, the kino-eye group, following its renunciation of the film studio, of actors, sets, and the script, fought for a decisive cleaning up of film-language, for its complete separation from the language of theatre and literature.”⁴⁵

Trond Lundemo compared Eisenstein’s montage with that of Vertov from the point of view of their ability to render movement, and he noticed essential differences between the works of the two directors. He pointed out that Eisenstein’s concept of montage “uses static shots in the image” and “the juxtaposition of static frames stimulates the perception of movement.”⁴⁶ Vertov, on the other hand,

claimed Lundemo, aimed to “convey the integral movement within the shots of the sequence.”⁴⁷ Lundemo ascribes Eisenstein’s interest in the static shots to his involvement with paintings and his connoisseurship of art history but denied such an influence on Vertov’s technique of montage.⁴⁸ But not all of Vertov’s montages hinge on the idea of movement within the shot as Lundemo claimed; Vertov also used static images such as overimpositions and split-screens, which are different variants of montage within a shot (“spatial montages”), as Lev Manovich called them, to distinguish them from the temporal montage.⁴⁹ Vertov used the film camera in an unusual way, to produce still images; because they were produced by a movie camera, these “photomontages” have a temporal dimension absent from the photomontages created by means of the photographic camera, as the eye lingers on these images for tens of seconds, before new filmic images replace them.

The montages within a shot have affinities with the art of painting and even create intermedial reference to pictures in some instances. As Manovich noticed, these split-screens resemble photomontages and represent a temporal stopping of the film movement.⁵⁰ Vertov even compared his film technique with painting and concluded that the camera is “an instrument more perfect” than the brush, because the truth it creates is of a superior order than that of the painter. He noticed that his film technique resembled that of Mikhail Mikhailovich Prishvin, a painter who used the brush to “obtain not the reasons for phenomena but their images.”⁵¹ Although Vertov’s film technique is not usually associated with pictures, because pictorial analogies are missing from his theoretical works, the actual analysis of his movie *The Man with the Movie Camera* points out that painterly techniques are apparent.

Unlike the photomontages generated with the photographic camera, Vertov’s montages within a shot have duration and they are part of a continuous narrative. By incorporating them into the larger narrative, these static film montages create pauses in the flow of the movie. Within these larger narratives they fulfill a double function: on the one hand, they constitute an intermedial reference to the photomontages or pictures as a genre, but they also belong to a larger film narrative.

In the *Man with the Movie Camera* all types of montages within the shot are apparent: overimpositions as well as split-screen images. Vertov overlapped the eye with the camera lens (13.28.08) (Figure 6.3) as a metaphor for kino-eye, or a spinning wheel and a female worker (62.06.01) (Figure 6.4) to suggest “an icon of the new Soviet woman.”⁵² These images linger on the screen and may be read as visual photomontages, triggering the reference to the static visual medium. Although montage is a non-medium-specific technique, the reference to photomontage is active because one has the illusion that one is experiencing a photomontage when looking at these film montages. This type of intermedial transposition works by incorporating and re-enacting the source medium into the target medium, and can be achieved only in the connection between photomontage and film montage and particularly in Vertov’s film.⁵³ It seems that Vertov took over the technique of double exposure from El Lissitzky’s photomontages, which used similar artistic procedures in his “sandwich” procedure.⁵⁴ These images create meaning based on the general principle of equation and identification, which the process of overlapping implies: the eye is identical to the camera and their overimposition suggests the concept of kino-eye, while the spinning wheel overlapped with the image of the woman defines her main occupation. In contrast to Vertov’s overlappings, Lissitzky’s overimpositions are much more nuanced and controversial, avoiding such direct equations.



Figure 6.3 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), overimposition of eye and camera lens.



Figure 6.4 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), overimposition of spinning wheel and female worker.

The V-split or split-screens appear in many instances. In most cases, they involve images of streets (19.35.01) (Figure 6.5), trams (40.55.19) (Figure 6.6), the Bolshoi theatre (63.50.12) (Figure 6.7), or even three images such as a dancing girl, a piano, and a teacher (60.35.03). The split-screens put together images with different centers to form a composite whole. The idea of different perspectives over the same object



Figure 6.5 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), V-split of streets.

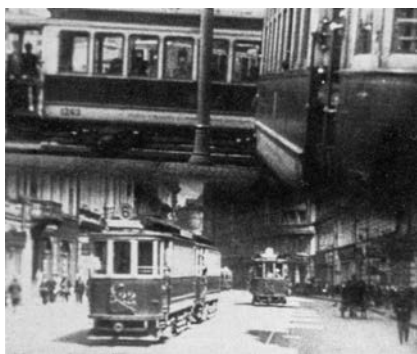


Figure 6.6 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), split-screens of trams.



Figure 6.7 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), V-split of Bolshoi theater.

resembles the technique of the Cubist painters as Graham Roberts argued,⁵⁵ making the split-screen images function as intermedial references to pictures. In one instance, Vertov overlaps three different perspectives on one object into a single shot (18.32.18). In short succession, he shows the shutters from the front, from the right and from the left.⁵⁶

Vertov included three movie posters in *The Man with the Movie Camera*. These posters advertise three real movies within the movie: *The Awakening of a Woman*, *Green Manuela*, and *The Sold Appetite*.⁵⁷ Vlada Petrić pointed out that these fictional movies contrast with the techniques used in Vertov's movie, which was inspired by reality and depicted "life-as-it-is." But Petrić failed to discuss the significance of these film posters within the movie. I would argue that these posters function as metareferential comments on the static picture; they warn the viewer that pictures – without acknowledged frames – may play an important part in this movie, suggesting thus the presence of an intermedial reference to the visual arts (photomontage). One scene is especially illuminating for this argument. In this scene, we see Kaufman walking with his camera toward a movie poster (14.00.01) (Figure 6.8). Vertov directly confronted here two techniques of representation, the static image of the poster with the moving image represented by the camera. Furthermore, even the images contained in the poster are arranged according to the techniques of montage, pointing directly to the techniques of montage employed in the movie. This movie poster relates to the movie not only

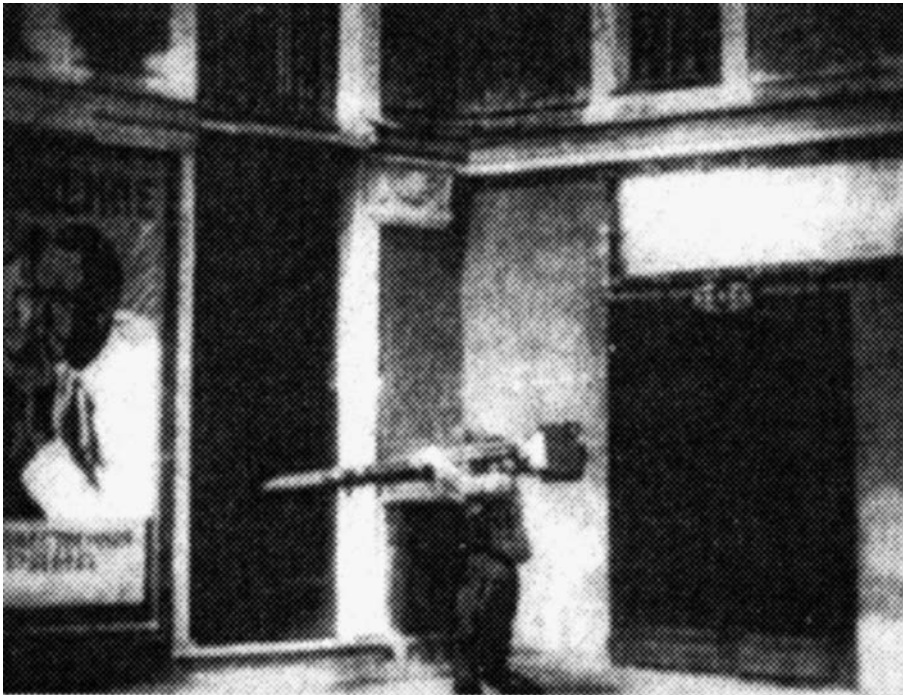


Figure 6.8 Dziga Vertov, film still from *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929), Kaufman and movie poster.

formally, but also from the point of view of its content. The poster used in this scene is that of the movie called *The Awakening of a Woman*, a title which reminds the viewer of the beginning of the movie *Man with the Movie Camera*, which shows a woman waking up. Interpreted metaphorically, the awakening may be a reference to the feminist movements and the emancipation of women.⁵⁸ The scene of the “workers wall newspaper” (44.53.01), which shows a worker arranging words, photographs, and articles on a board, constitutes itself a comment on the way in which photomontages come into being.

Vertov’s purpose was to create a vision machine more perfect than the eye, and he compared his camera with the painter’s brush. It is thus natural that Vertov experimented with different modes of seeing and artistic techniques used in the visual arts, such as the different points of view over the same element (Cubism) or the technique of photomontage. Vertov collaborated with Rodchenko and was familiar with his photomontages.⁵⁹ Bowlt noticed the influence of Rodchenko’s Constructivist techniques on Vertov’s “extreme camera angles,”⁶⁰ but critics failed to discuss the use of actual photomontages in Vertov’s movie.

Vertov also used temporal montages, characteristic to the art of film, and many of these montages refer to the building of the communist society. In certain montages he criticized the preoccupations of the women belonging to the bourgeoisie and compared them to those of the working classes, by successively showing the application of nail polish, splicing film, stitching, or sewing.⁶¹ Unlike Eisenstein’s montages that have a unique interpretation, Vertov’s montages are more open. The viewer has to supply a meaning from the successive display of several images, not from the collision of two shots. As critics noticed, Vertov operated subtle and minimal changes on the film shots. Through their simple juxtaposition the meaning of these shots became apparent, and that rendered intertitles superfluous. Noël Carroll called this process “cinematic ampliation,” which consisted of the passive influence between subsequent shots, in the absence of causal relations.⁶² The process of “cinematic ampliation” differs from Eisenstein’s film montage, because the efforts of rendering ideas and ideologies emerge naturally from the rapid narrative flow.

Although critics have ignored the painterly references contained in Vertov’s *Man with the Movie Camera*, by closely analyzing the film stills, the split-screens, and the superimposition of images, I have shown that these are techniques characteristic to the graphic arts, and more specifically to photomontage or Cubist painting. Vertov created an intermedial reference to static pictures by incorporation, based on the affinity between media.

Film montage and homogeneous photomontage

The emergence of the technique of film montage at the beginning of the past century should be understood within the context of avant-garde innovations in all the arts on the Russian arts scene. Both Eisenstein and Vertov created filmic techniques related to the art of the theater, in Eisenstein’s case, or to that of photomontage, for Vertov. The two film directors were aware of the artistic experiments with principles of montage in other arts, but their film montage technique emerged exclusively within the film medium. Griffith’s parallel montage does not belong to the European avant-garde, but it brings important innovations to the film techniques, which influenced Eisenstein’s concept of montage.

As Bordwell pointed out, montage appeared in the Russian avant-garde simultaneously in several media: photography, film, and theater.⁶³ Within the context of intermedial theory, this process is defined as the transmedial manifestation of the same artistic principle in several closely connected media, such as photography and film. There are similarities between the two artistic techniques, since both photomontage and film montage refer to acts of cutting and subsequent integrating of an image (static or moving) into a whole. Both photomontage and film montage aim to create coherent meaning, closely connected to the political message they aim to transmit.

In the analysis of Eisenstein's and Vertov's montages, it has become apparent that intermediality manifested itself in different ways in their movies. Eisenstein's film montage, and especially his intellectual montage, was read as a semiotic intermodality, a category I propose to add to the theory of intermediality, which identifies the fusion characteristic to intermedia texts at the level of the semiotic modality of a single medium. This new concept I proposed in the reading of Eisenstein's montage refers to the unusual ways of producing meaning identified in the fusion of the signifieds of images belonging to the same medium. Although the media of writing and conceptual thinking are not physically present in these montage images, they subtend the signification process at play in the production of Eisenstein's film montage. Eisenstein acknowledged the influence of syntactic formation and signification on his cinematic technique, as I have pointed out above, but the verbal medium acted remotely, as a model for the signification of images.

Although Vertov's film montage was not traditionally read in view of its connections with photomontage (with the notable exception of the mentions made by Küppers-Lissitzky in her essay),⁶⁴ I have shown that Vertov used actual photomontages in his cinematic film montage. The film stills (which Manovich called "spatial montages") appeared as split-screens or overimpositions and stopped the flow of the movie, requiring the viewer to contemplate the images as if they were pictures/photomontages. Based on this interpretation and Vertov's own comparison of his film technique with the art of painting, I propose to read these fragments as intermedial references to the art of photomontages. Unlike other types of intermedial reference, the intermedial reference between film and pictures works by incorporation, not by suggestive reference. Although photomontage is not a medium-specific technique, and it may lead only to passive intermedial reference when transposed between media, in this instance the transposition consists of an extreme case of imitation and recreation by incorporation. In this case, the integration and re-enactment by incorporation lead to active intermedial reference. Photography and film are closely related media to allow for such types of incorporation. Thus, the viewer has the illusion that he/she contemplates a static photomontage/picture while watching this movie.

As I have shown in the previous chapters, artists and writers of the avant-gardes experimented with techniques borrowed from other media in order to explore the expressive potential of their own art and possibly test its very limits. Eisenstein falls within this category because he drew on the concept of the Japanese hieroglyph and avant-garde theater. Eisenstein's movies are truly experimental and inclusive of the avant-garde practices characteristic of his time. Dietrich Scheunemann also emphasized the innovative character of Eisenstein's film montage and defined it as a "non-narrative non-illusionistic technique," which influenced Brecht's concept of the "epic theatre," was a model for Döblin's cinematic novels, and was a "pacemaker for the other arts" of the avant-garde.⁶⁵

The invention of film montage, a particular way of transmitting clear meaning by means of images, as I have just shown, had repercussions on the work of the photomontage artists and their work beyond 1925 both in the East and in the West. Dada photomontage of 1919–1920 resembled visual collage because it involved manual cutting and pasting of printed mass-media photographs arranged in such a manner as to generate heterogeneous contradictory meaning. After the Dada period, the technique of photomontage changed and emphasis was laid on the artists' preoccupations to render clear homogeneous meaning, most often used for propagandistic or advertising purposes. This process was accompanied by the development of new photographic and printing techniques. The heterogeneous Dada photomontage was replaced with a "seamless, composite" image obtained in the dark room, in the works of the Russian artists Alexander Rodchenko, El Lissitzky, and Gustav Klutsis, the German John Heartfield, and the Surrealists.⁶⁶

The passage from heterogeneous to homogenous photomontage around 1925 marks an important change in the way artists used photographs. If heterogeneous photomontage, like visual collage, did not aim to make a clear linguistic statement concerning reality, homogeneous montage reflected the stage when artists succeeded in generating clear conceptual statements. This trend was initiated by film montage, whose temporal development introduced the idea that clear discursive meaning may emerge from the manipulation of static or moving shots.⁶⁷ Both types of heterogeneous and homogenous photomontage are forms of experiments with meaning formation across media, involving photographs, artistic techniques of cutting and pasting visual materials, as well as words.

The films and photomontages of Moholy-Nagy and Heartfield: a firm grip on meaning

But not all homogeneous photomontages are political or were used for advertisements. Moholy-Nagy's photomontages, or photoplastics as he called them, to distinguish them from Dada photomontage, used the photographic images to create a clear logical story. Although such photoplastics could be used for political purposes and advertisements, Moholy-Nagy's photoplastics were able to fulfill many other purposes, they could be used:

for the scenic intensification of whole sequences in theater and film, plays and filmscripts can be condensed into a single picture. Another kind of use: the illustration of a concept or a feeling. As illustration for propaganda, advertisements, posters, as topical satire.⁶⁸

As it becomes apparent from this quotation, for Moholy-Nagy, photomontage and film montage share an organic relationship. For Moholy-Nagy, a photomontage/photoplastic may encapsulate the whole plot of a movie in a single static image, and many of his photoplastics illustrate this relation.

Moholy-Nagy's views of photomontages are indebted to his early experiments with film montage included in his "Sketch for the Film *Dynamic of the Metropolis*," published in his influential volume *Painting Photography Film* (1925).⁶⁹ In this volume, Moholy-Nagy briefly commented on the nature of photoplastics, and connected them to the technique of the movies. He claimed that photoplastics illustrate "simultaneous

representation,” “compressed interpenetration of visual and verbal wit, weird combinations of the most realistic, imitative means which pass into imaginary spheres,”⁷⁰ pointing thus to art’s productive values, a concept important for his artistic theories. But photoplastics may also tell a story (i.e., they may display “reproductive” qualities, the other key term of Moholy-Nagy’s artistic theories),⁷¹ and he pointed out that such innovative techniques were already used in film practices and techniques in “transillumination, one scene carried into the other, superimposition of different scenes.”⁷²

In an article from 1928,⁷³ Moholy-Nagy defined photoplastics as an “organized apparition” with a “well-defined meaning and a central idea,” having “unity,” which may have various effects such as “amusing, moving, despairing satirical.” They have “clear meaning” and display “moderate simultaneity,” different from Dada simultaneity, which overlapped too many events. In a photoplastic, vision is accompanied by “intellectual association of ideas” and the connections between ideas and images become “accessible in a moment if the effect is to be achieved.” A photoplastic “points to a given end, that of presentation of ideas.” Moholy-Nagy’s definition of the photoplastic resembles Eisenstein’s film montage, since Moholy-Nagy claimed that the meaning of the photoplastics resides only in the whole and not in the separate units: “As a result of this confidence and by the combination of photographic elements with lines and other supplements, one obtains unexpected tensions which reach far beyond the significance of the single parts.”⁷⁴

Moholy-Nagy’s homogeneous photomontage or photoplastics he started making in 1924–1925 may have been inspired by the actual script for the movie *Dynamic of the Metropolis*, which was never realized (Figures 6.9 and 6.10). The succession

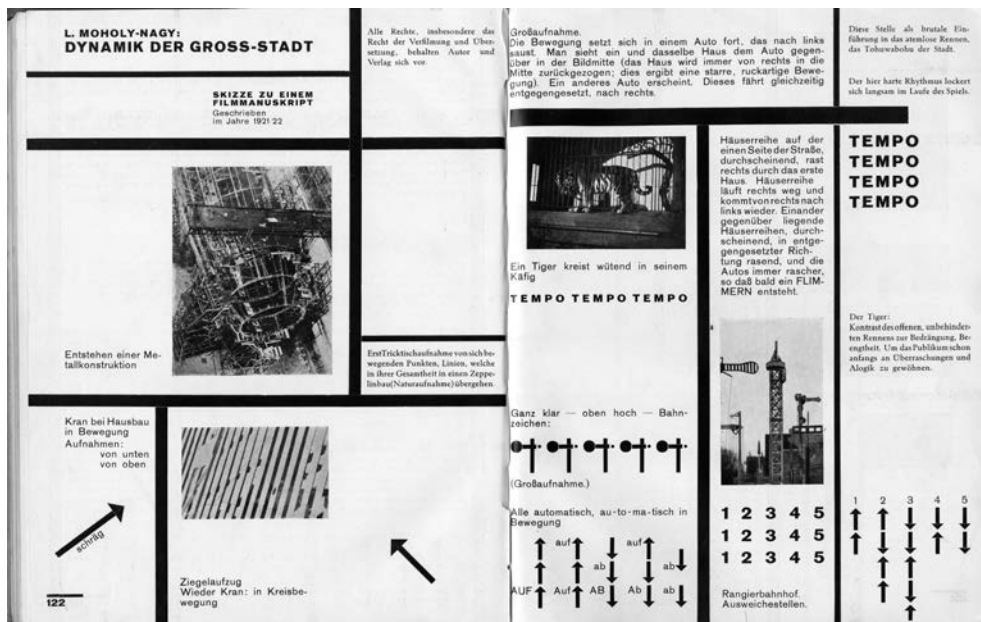


Figure 6.9 László Moholy-Nagy, spread of pages 122–23 of the movie script *Dynamic of the Metropolis* from the volume *Malerei Fotografie Film (Painting Photography Film)*, Bauhausbücher 1925, 2nd ed., 1927. © 2019 Estate of László Moholy-Nagy / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 6.10 László Moholy-Nagy, spread of pages 124–25 of the movie script *Dynamic of the Metropolis* from the volume *Malerei Fotografie Film (Painting Photography Film)*, Bauhausbücher, 1925, 2nd ed., 1927. © 2019 Estate of László Moholy-Nagy / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

of the images contained in this film script suggests a form of intellectual montage between the city and the animals. This montage plays a key role in the film; from the very beginning the script opposes images of high buildings and industrial machines with savage animals, such as a tiger, an angry lynx, while the final scenes take place at the zoo. The city versus animal/zoo montage may suggest either opposition (nature opposes technology) or analogy (new technological devices may be as savage as the animals themselves and they may elicit the same awe and admiration). Surprisingly, in his first film, *Berlin Stilleben (Berlin Still Life, 1931–1932)*, there are no animals and the movie consists exclusively of scenes showing architecture, people on the streets, filmed from abrupt Constructivist angles.⁷⁵ Just like in Vertov's movie *The Man with the Movie Camera (1929)*, in the movie script for *Dynamic of the Metropolis* there is a section on sports and people's entertainment but less extended than in Vertov's movie.

Although Moholy-Nagy pointed out that the meaning of these photoplastics is clear, deciphering them may be a complex process. *Eifersucht (Jealousy: The Fool, 1925)* is one of these intricate photoplastics (Figure 6.11). Elizabeth Otto interpreted this photomontage in cinematic terms, claiming that the two rectangular forms repeated at regular intervals suggest two “upended film screens.” She added that the repetition of the figures and the diagonal line tying the two screens together are other elements that suggest both the “melodramatic narrative” characteristic of films as well as the very medium of film. The photoplastic represents three male figures, one shown as a photographic negative, the second as a black figure, and the third a white silhouette with the legs cut and replaced with those of a woman. They are all based on a photograph



Figure 6.11 László Moholy-Nagy, *Eifersucht (Jealousy: The Fool)*, 1925. Photoplastic/ photomontage (pasted paper, pencil, and ink), 63.8 × 56.1 cm (25½ × 22¼ in.). George Eastman House, Rochester. © 2019 Estate of László Moholy-Nagy / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

of Moholy-Nagy. The woman in the white man silhouette's heart is connected through a line to the New Woman in bathing suit, which may be the cause of the jealousy suggested in the title, pointed out Otto.⁷⁶ Eleanor M. Hight went even further and read this photomontage as a comment on Moholy-Nagy's ending marriage with Lucia.⁷⁷ Compared to Dada and Russian photomontages of the time, this photomontage is homogenous both as far as form is concerned, because it cuts out several silhouettes against a white background, as well as content, since it tells a clear story of jealousy between the characters involved.

True to his program from 1928, when he claimed that a photoplastic may condense the subject of a movie, "plays and filmscripts can be condensed into a single picture (i.e., a photoplastic), Moholy-Nagy made the *Jealousy* photoplastic the topic of his *Do Not Disturb* movie from 1945, which tells the story of two couples and the jealousy it ensues.

But another photoplastic, also from 1925, highlights the causal connection between cinema and photomontage in even clearer terms. *Liebe deinen Nächsten: Mord auf den Shienen (Love Your Neighbor: Murder on the Railway)*, featured on the cover, bears clear resemblances with the schema for poly-cinema Moholy-Nagy included in his volume *Painting Photography Film*⁷⁸ (Figure 6.12). The bands A, B, and C designate different projection screens, which compose the poly-cinema as theorized by Moholy-Nagy in the section on "Simultaneous or Poly-Cinema."⁷⁹ Moholy-Nagy's vision was to design a circular screen on which three different stories start independently and converge in the hashed areas, to depart again individually. They converge not only formally, as displayed in the schema, but also in terms of content, the people in each of these stories interact, get married, and separate again.⁸⁰ But unlike traditional cinema screens that display a single image, on each of these band-screens composing the circular screen, each story should be represented simultaneously from the beginning to the end. Just like the *Dynamic of a Metropolis* film script, this project was never realized.⁸¹ However, the poly-cinema schema helps understand the *Murder on the Railway* photomontage, because it replicates the structure of the poly-cinema screen in the composed frame of the photomontage. Placed on two drawn circles, which suggest the idea of depth and distance, the photographs of a railway station taken from

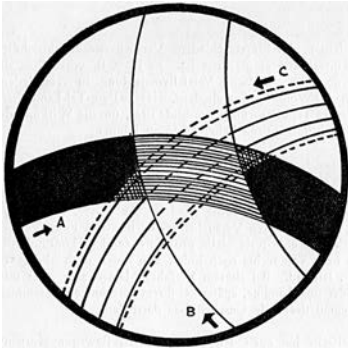


Figure 6.12 László Moholy-Nagy, “Simultaneous or poly-cinema” chart from the book *Malerei Fotografie Film*, p. 40, Bauhausbücher, 1925, 2nd ed., 1927. © 2019 Estate of László Moholy-Nagy / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

different angles of vision create the impression of movement through the empty halls. Although the circles with the pasted photographs generate the setting referenced in the title, the railway station, the two silhouettes are completely disconnected and placed in different narrative plots: one is the actual shooting of the woman with the rifle, and the second, outside the frame, displays a woman pleasantly engaged in sports activities. Whether the woman is the same or different is hard to say, but a narrative is encapsulated in this photoplastic. Apart from synthesizing the movie experience at the sensorial level through the snippets of photographs placed on the two circles, the scene seems to depict the climax of the intrigue of a movie when the final settling of the accounts takes place on the railway, an anonymous yet ominous place. The form of the initial circular screen for poly-cinema, supposed to tell a coherent story made up of several intermingling plots reverberates in the clear story of the photomontage.⁸²

It becomes thus apparent, that for Moholy-Nagy film and photomontage are related artistic techniques and his experiments with intellectual film montage may be responsible for the emergence of his homogeneous photoplastics. Unlike the other homogeneous political and advertising photomontages, Moholy-Nagy’s photoplastics emphasize the idea that clear meaning, of many other types, may emerge from the manipulation of photographs. Moholy-Nagy used thus the potential of both cinema and photographs as ‘transparent’ copies of reality to create what Buchloh called “the dimensions of narrative, communicative action, and instrumentalized logic within the structural organization of montage aesthetics.”⁸³ Photography and cinema share a ‘transparent’ nature and Moholy-Nagy commented on the indexical nature of cinema in *Painting Photography Film*: “The camera as a technical instrument and the most important productive factor in film-making copies the object in the world around us in a manner that is ‘true to nature.’”⁸⁴ In 1928, he described the effects of the photographs contained in photoplastics along similar lines: “One has confidence in the objectivity of photography of a type that does not seem to permit the subjective interpretation of an event.”⁸⁵ Such statements echo the declarations of the analytical philosophers for whom the power of the photograph consisted of its ability to instantly convince of the validity of the facts represented.

Such concerns for the generation of precise meaning are absent from the visual collages, whose main purposes were of a different nature, as they were meant to please

the audience as pictorial compositions subverting sense perception (Picasso), a clear narrative (Ernst), or aimed to shock the audience through the use of real-life objects pasted on the picture plane and subordinated to illusionary representation, like most avant-garde artists using collages did. Any references to reality in collages, such as the titles of newspaper articles the Cubists pasted in their pictures, were used ambiguously, to tease out a potentiality of meanings. These characteristics disappeared from the homogeneous photomontages because of the nature of the materials used, the photographic images, which are indexes of reality and engage it and refer to in direct, immediate ways.

The differences between collages and photomontages become thus even clearer and some art historians' tendency of calling collage or photocollage the originating photomontage used before its mechanical reproduction is misleading. For these art historians, the distinctions between collage and photomontage are drawn at the level of technical procedures involved. They relegate collage/photocollage to the original photomontage made up by cutting, pasting, and gluing photographs, while photomontage is used only to refer to the reproduction or remediation of these artworks to new media (journal covers, posters, etc.).⁸⁶ Not all editors proceed in this manner, and the Tate publishers of John Heartfield's photomontages, David King and Ernst Volland, call both the original artwork and the reproduction a photomontage.⁸⁷

The necessity of drawing clear distinctions between visual collage (including photocollage) and photomontage becomes imperative, as recent publications show. The absence of a clear conceptual difference between visual collage and photomontage led the MoMA editors of a recent catalog of Josef Albers' photomontages to label all his visual works "photocollages" based on the current understanding of these terms, despite the fact that these visual artworks are exclusively made of photographs.⁸⁸ Bauhaus artists and professors, and Albers was one of them, never used the term 'photocollage,' but only photomontage. This is how Elizabeth Otto, a critic who previously worked with Moholy-Nagy's photoplastics, explains the preference for the word photocollage instead of photomontage in Albers's case: "For clarity's sake, I use the current terms 'photocollage.' Members of the Bauhaus would have called these works *Klebebilder* ('glued pictures') or, by the mid-1920s, 'photomontages.'"⁸⁹ She then goes on to explain that during the interwar period, "photomontage" was applied indiscriminately to any assemblage of photo-based material. Today, Otto claims, photomontage has increasingly been limited to describing works with layered imagery either made from re-photographing original cut-and-pasted objects (thereby removing traces of their construction), or through multiple exposures (in camera or from sandwiched negatives). "Photocollage" describes objects comprising individual physical elements, such as second-generation reproductions from newspapers and magazines, possibly including text, and, as in the case of Albers's work in the medium, original photographic prints.⁹⁰

The idea of applying the current terminology to replace the terms the artists themselves used to designate their artworks is inherently flawed, because it levels two different artistic procedures, which had different conceptual meanings.⁹¹ But the current application of the terms "photomontage" and "photocollage," as defined by Otto, seems to be very arbitrary and hard to apply to the actual artworks. According to Otto, the fragmentary nature of the images used in photomontages opposes the less fragmented photographs from photocollages. But how can one establish the limits of the fragment in order to establish that one is a photocollage or a photomontage?

Most photomontages Hausmann made in the late 1920s closely resemble the “photocollages” included in Hermanson Meister’s catalog of Albers’s “photocollages.” The fragmentary principle used to distinguish between the two concepts as Otto suggests is very tenuous because it is impossible to decide on the limit between the cut-and-pasted image (photomontage) and the “individual physical elements” (photocollage). Otto concludes the passage by stating that Paul Citroen’s famous photomontage *Metropolis* is both a photomontage (when it’s reproduced and photographed) but the original artwork is a photocollage.⁹²

Calling an artwork both a photocollage and a photomontage at different stages of its reproduction is erroneous. Based on this principle we should call both Hausmann’s *Dada siegt* and Höch’s *Cut with the Kitchen Knife* photocollages. It would then be impossible to distinguish photomontage as a new artistic principle from the collages of the previous generation.

The distinction that Otto and other art historians propose between photocollage and photomontage concerns the level of the technical media and its remediation by other media, but these aspects alone are not enough to distinguish between two artistic techniques that have obvious differences. David Evans, in his *Grove Art Online* article on photomontage explained that the positive montages “are usually made by combining photographic prints or reproductions” and does not mention the idea that they are first photocollages, and if they are photographed and reproduced they become photomontages.⁹³ Therefore, the colored photomontage by Moholy-Nagy *Love Your Neighbor: Murder on the Railway*, which graces the cover of this volume, is a photomontage both before being photographed and after it was photographed in the black and white version.

Moholy-Nagy is not the only artist who started working with homogeneous photomontage in the mid-1920s under the influence of his experiments with cinema montage. Heartfield’s earliest photomontages, such as *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (*Everyone His Own Football*, 1919), already contained a different type of engagement with the photographic image, which created displacement of meanings characteristic of homogeneous photomontage. This very early form of homogeneous photomontage, as well as his later experiments with homogeneous political photomontage in the 1920s and 1930s, may have been triggered by certain artistic procedures he first experimented with in his films and film projects.

Between 1917 and 1918, Heartfield and George Grosz made three animated propagandistic films for the German Foreign Office.⁹⁴ These movies were *Sammy in Europe* (a satire of the 1917 American landing in France), *The Drawing Hand* (based on the week’s news, in which a drawn hand traces figures on the page that subsequently become animated), and *German Soldier Song* (a story that made use of puppets).⁹⁵ Despite the fact that these movies were lost, some descriptions thereof survive, including Heartfield’s own letter concerning the cinematic techniques he employed or intended to employ in his movies.⁹⁶ A close analysis of the statements he made in this letter suggests that Heartfield already explored in these movies, or in the movie scripts he planned to write, a form of intellectual montage, which contained, in relatively developed form, the model he used in his later homogenous political photomontages. There are not many scholarly articles written on Heartfield’s movies, but from this limited number of critics involved in this research, only Zervigón tried to demonstrate the connection between Heartfield’s movies and his photomontages. According to Zervigón, Heartfield’s movies influenced both his Dada heterogeneous photomontages

through “sensorial excess” and “sensorial provocations,” which characterize his animated movies (and he identified such characteristics in the photomontage *Hustle and Bustle*⁹⁷), but also the book covers Heartfield designed for Malik Verlag throughout the 1920s in which Heartfield, argued Zervigón, crystallized the form of political photomontage he is best known for.⁹⁸ According to Zervigón, Heartfield used film stills as a model for the book covers he designed for Malik Verlag throughout the 1920s. Zervigón further claimed that the format of the book cover and its artistic restrictions shaped the artistic model of propagandistic political photomontages Heartfield used throughout the 1930s on the cover of *AIZ Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* (*Workers’ Illustrated Magazine*).⁹⁹

Unlike Zervigón, I argue that the specific filming techniques Heartfield developed during his experience as a film director are responsible for the emergence of homogeneous political photomontage, a process much more complex than the stylistic evolution outlined in Zervigón’s argument. Despite the fact that Heartfield used animated films, and not feature films with real actors, his aim was to experiment with meaning formation across various art forms. The artistic challenges Heartfield faced were to render political ideology through images in an artistic manner. Making clear an ideological message to the audience is one of the most important characteristics of the homogeneous political photomontages, and according to one of the directors of the propaganda department Heartfield worked for, Count Harry Kessfeld, Heartfield’s animation movies did indeed succeed in making their political message apparent:

The parts of [*Sammy in Europe*] that I saw in Berlin were very successful and mean something completely new for the German film industry. ... Although what the film prophesied has actually become a fact, that the American help of France turns out to be an enormous bluff, propagandistically the features still *seem effective, correct and current* [emphasis mine].¹⁰⁰

It can be thus inferred that by making these movies, Heartfield first experimented with an artistic form able to render clear meaning by means of moving images. Thus, as I will prove below, the origin of Heartfield’s homogeneous political photomontage is to be found in these early animated films. Heartfield himself talked about the way ideology should be present in his movies and he envisaged to make: “[movies] of a thoroughly objective high quality, into which scarcely perceivable political intentions can be woven.”¹⁰¹

In my view, the decisive element that triggered the emergence of the homogeneous political montage in Heartfield’s work results from the specific treatment of the topics and of the techniques he used, or planned to use, in these movies. In his letter, Heartfield indicated that he intended to include literary German fairy tale characters in his propaganda movies. *Der Struwwelpeter* (*Stockheaded Peter*) is one of such characters he aimed to use in his movies. Struwwelpeter was supposed to fulfill “an unobtrusively political” role according to Heartfield. He also planned to use other nineteenth-century literary models for his propaganda movies, such as E. A. Poe’s *Masque of Red Death* set within the contemporary political situation of Germany. The purpose was to create “tricks and grotesques” accompanied by a clear political message.¹⁰²

The appropriation of outside models, patterns, or materials is one of the main characteristics of the collage technique, but when this appropriation involves the precise

and controlled incorporation of the cut fragments into a medial configuration with a clear political message, then the principle of montage/photomontage is born. It is characteristic of all types of full-fledged montages to put into contact very disparate elements with the sole purpose of generating a clear meaning and message for the audience. The random association of the most disparate fragments of the collages in all media is replaced in montage with the rational control of the message through the selection of materials that may generate precise conceptual content, beyond the heterogeneous pictorial enjoyments, or visual puns of the collages.

This type of association of literary and iconographic sources read against the current political situation, which characterize Heartfield's movies, used to generate clear, propagandistic meaning, is also a main characteristic of Heartfield's political photomontage he used throughout the 1930s. Heartfield's photomontages he made for the covers of AIZ draw on the tradition of the fables, replacing politicians with animals, like in *Der Fuchs und der Igel: Eine Tierfabel nach Lafontaine* (*The Fox and the Hedgehog: A Fable after La Fontaine*, AIZ no. 24/1938) (Figure 6.13) or *Die Lehre des Wolfes* (*The Teaching of the Wolf*, AIZ no. 47/1935) (Figure 6.14) and Christian



Figure 6.13 John Heartfield, *Der Fuchs und der Igel: Eine Tierfabel nach Lafontaine* (*The Fox and the Hedgehog: A Fable after La Fontaine*), published in AIZ no. 24/1938. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.



Figure 6.14 John Heartfield, *Die Lehre des Wolfes* (*The Teaching of the Wolf*), published in AIZ no. 47/1935. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.

iconography (representations of Christ on the cross in medieval church reliefs juxtaposed with the sign of the swastika in *Wie im Mittelalter ... So im Dritten Reich* (As It Was in the Middle Ages ... So It Is in the Third Reich, AIZ no. 22/1934). In other photomontages, Heartfield incorporated paintings by Eugene Delacroix, like in *Die Freiheit selbst kämpft in ihren Reihen* (Freedom Itself Fights amongst Them, *Die Volks-Illustrierte* no. 1/1936) (Figure 6.15), by Franz von Stuck in *Der Krieg* (War, AIZ no. 29/1933) (Figure 6.16), or even text and images drawn from famous authors and painters, such as *So würde Tell in unseren Tagen handeln* (This Is What Tell Would Do Nowadays, AIZ no. 47/1937) (Figure 6.17), which incorporates a quotation from Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) and Ferdinand Hodler's painting *Der Holzfäller* (The Woodcutter 1910). Heartfield also included references to literary tales, such as Grimm's fairy tales, in *Zu Grimms Märchen von der Katze und der Maus* (On Grimm's Fairytale of the Cat and the Mouse, AIZ no. 17/ 1936) (Figure 6.18). Heartfield's political photomontage consisted of the juxtaposition, fusion, and association of literary and iconological sources with the current political events. Words are also instrumental in making apparent a new meaning in these photomontages.



Figure 6.15 John Heartfield, *Die Freiheit selbst kämpft in ihren Reihen* (Freedom Itself Fights amongst Them), published in *Die Volks-Illustrierte* no. 1/1936. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.



Figure 6.16 John Heartfield, *Der Krieg* (War), published in AIZ no. 29/1933. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.



Figure 6.17 John Heartfield, *So würde Tell in unseren Tagen handeln* (*This Is What Tell Would Do Nowadays*), published in *AIZ* no. 47/1937. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.



Figure 6.18 John Heartfield, *Zu Grimms Märchen von der Katze und der Maus* (*On Grimm's Fairytale of the Cat and the Mouse*), published in *AIZ* no. 17/1936. Photomontage. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.

Partially, some of the displacements and reintegrations of political figures and symbols into a new whole may be attributed to the history of modern political cartoon. As Evans and Sylvia Gohl pointed out, by closely reading Gombrich's 1962 article "The Cartoonist's Armoury," Heartfield used in his political photomontages techniques specific to the visual tradition of caricature developed by Honoré Daumier in the nineteenth century, such as the "intellectual equation into a visual fusion" (e.g., the politician James Fox dressed as *sans-culotte*) or the use of fables to paint human foibles.¹⁰³ But Heartfield radicalized this tradition of juxtaposing disparate stories and symbols, because he appropriated whole stories or paintings that he incorporated into his photomontages. As Evans and Gohl pointed out, Heartfield's use of real-life photographs "conveys an enhanced sense of the 'real' which increases the power of the message."¹⁰⁴

I will propose that Heartfield experimented with such types of meaning formation by manipulating varied semiotic systems in order to create homogeneous political meaning in his movies first. Thus, it is not the format of the book, as Zervigón claimed, which suggested to Heartfield the type of dialogue between images and words characteristic of homogeneous photomontage, but the medium of film allowed Heartfield to first explore how different concepts and images may combine in order to generate a coherent meaning.

Heartfield's first true "agitational-propaganda" photomontage is *Nach zehn Jahren: Väter und Söhne* (*After Ten Years: Fathers and Sons* 1924) (Figure 6.19). The photomontage warned against Germany's militarist tendencies, which could lead to a new war. It aimed to shock the viewer through the strong contrast it created between the photograph of the young cadets led into battle by the old general and the skeletons of their fathers hanging above them. The photomontage portends an ominous future, which could be averted if people take action in time. Heartfield enlarged and displayed this photomontage in the window of Malik Verlag during the commemorations of ten years from the end of the First World War. It had an immediate impact on the people from the streets and police came to disperse the crowd, as Wieland Herzfelde testified.¹⁰⁵

Political photomontage aimed to trigger strong emotions in the viewer by confronting him with unjust situations and determining him to take action. Critics have puzzled over the clear message of Heartfield's *After Twenty Years* photomontage made six years before he perfected the technique for the cover of *AIZ*. Some critics even claimed that this was dated too early and pointed out that the photomontage belongs to Heartfield's mature political style from the 1930s when it was printed on



Figure 6.19 John Heartfield, *Nach zehn Jahren: Väter und Söhne* (*After Ten Years. Fathers and Sons*), 1924. Photomontage (gelatin silver print), 37.7 × 40.5 cm (14½ × 16 in.). Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Kunstsammlung. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2019.

the cover of *AIZ* (no. 37/1934).¹⁰⁶ The clear message of this photomontage should not be related to the style of Heartfield's photomontages he designed for the Malik book covers, as Zervigón claimed,¹⁰⁷ none of which convey such a clear message, but to Heartfield's experiments with propagandistic film. Similar techniques of displacement and reconfiguration of meaning by placing semiotic fragments into a new context characteristic of his film projects are visible in *After Twenty Years*: the ominous row of skeletons, suggesting simply death in their originating source, engages in complex causative narratives when placed next to the cadets and the general. Unlike his later photomontages, which rely extensively on the use of words, this one makes sense without the words.

King and Volland claimed, without bringing any proofs thereof, that Heartfield's political photomontage may have been influenced by Eisenstein's article "The Montage of Attraction" published in 1923.¹⁰⁸ Despite the fact that there may be similarities between Eisenstein's and Heartfield's use of caricature under the possible influence of Daumier's painting, as Devin Fore pointed out,¹⁰⁹ and both types of montages used by Heartfield and Eisenstein share principles of juxtaposition and fusion, as well as comparable homogeneous meaning formation, it has become clear from my research that Heartfield's political photomontage emerged under the influence of his own experiments with propagandistic film during 1917–1918. Both Eisenstein's and Heartfield's montages share a parodic and caricatural nature, but Heartfield's photomontages are much more diversified and much more anchored in the daily political events. Eisenstein's intellectual montage had to be incorporated into a larger narrative, while Heartfield's were original comments on the political events of the day. Still, it is true that Heartfield was aware of Eisenstein's movies, since he used a still from Eisenstein's *Potemkin* on the cover of F. Slang's historical book *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin: Der Matrosenaufstand vor Odessa 1905* (Malik 1926). The still is an almost abstract image, showing the smokestacks of the ship lost in the fog and it was used for atmospheric effects without any reference to Eisenstein's intellectual montage. In 1917–1918, when Heartfield shaped the principles of his homogeneous photomontage in his propagandistic movies, Eisenstein had not yet started his film experiments and was involved in the Russian Revolution as a soldier. His first experiments with theater montage started only after 1920 when he returned to Moscow.¹¹⁰

Klutsis, Lissitzky, and Rodchenko or when factography is not quite what it seems

Most critics who wrote about the evolution of Russian photomontage after the year 1925 understood it within the context of an increased politicization of the message and a manifestation of the concept of "factography," a concept generally defined as "a shift towards political instrumentalism and didacticism that breaks with an avant-garde model of practice."¹¹¹ This process was described as a change of paradigm from what Devin Fore called the "laboratory" preoccupations¹¹² of *faktura* ("the quasi-scientific, systematic manner in which the Constructivists pursued their investigation of pictorial and sculptural constructs" as Buchloh put it¹¹³), to an engaged art intended to convince the audience of a political message (factography). According to Buchloh's influential account of the process, a compositional change of the photomontage took place around 1925, which presupposed a shift in the understanding of the photograph seen from then on as an archive, a document needed to help build the new society.¹¹⁴ Most critics relate this phenomenon to what Christina Lodder first called in the 1980s

a “return to realism” in the years after 1925 in Russia,¹¹⁵ a phenomenon described by Devin Fore in his latest book.¹¹⁶ For Fore, the return to realism was a characteristic of the visual arts in the whole of Europe in the late 1920s.

I agree with these critics that the style of the photomontages of Klutsis, Lissitzky, and Rodchenko changed around 1925, but I will prove that these stylistic changes are to be attributed to their experiments with the moving image, film montage, and photomontage. The critics who talk about the ideologized nature of factography see it as an artistic recession and artistic simplification, which gradually announced the aesthetic of Socialist Realism, as Lodder,¹¹⁷ or an increased form of realism opposed to an “emergent model” of Socialist Realism, according to Leah Dickerman.¹¹⁸

Instead, I claim, and will prove with clear examples, that most Russian artists’ experiments with homogeneous photomontage after 1925 are innovative investigations into the nature of the moving and the static image (film montage and photomontage). If there is an evolution in the clarity of the propagandistic meaning as most critics claim (i.e., the emergence of homogeneous photomontage), this is to be attributed to the developments and the experiments with meaning and meaning formation in film montage and photomontage. Rather than announcing a simplification of artistic procedures under the pressure of the political message, these artists who experimented with photomontage and film montage techniques, and transferred them from one medium into the other, created complex artistic products, which do not relate to the simplistic artistic techniques used by Socialist Realism. Artists such as Klutsis and Lissitzky created intricate pictorial fields of vision in their photomontages, triggered by similar experiments with the moving image. The political message of the Russian photomontage after 1925 is characteristic of all revolutionary Russian avant-garde art, and does not relate to the norms of Socialist Realism. The years 1925–1929 contain an array of extraordinary experiments with static and moving image in the photomontages in the true spirit of the avant-garde.

Critics who theorize the politicized and goal-oriented factography cite the discourse of the propagandistic organs that helped define a politicized art form in the 1920s, as well as the artists’ own statements regarding the role of photomontage and of the photograph in changing the masses. These critics (Buchloh, Dickerman, Fore) partially quote the statements of these artists, who also described the experimental nature of their photomontage techniques. Such experimental techniques are of the purest artistic concerns and relate to the way in which the new medium of cinema influenced the static image of photomontage. In the very influential article by Klutsis, “Photomontage as a New Kind of Agitational Art” (1931), partially quoted by the proponents of the factography model, the artist also described the innovations used in the photomontage technique, as well as its connection to the art of the cinema:

The photomontage has inspired creative methods of photography. Sharp angles, photos shot from below or above, double and triple exposures – all these reflect the influence of photomontage which, by the very principle of its construction, demands different methods of photography.¹¹⁹

Klutsis continued in the same article from 1931:

The photomontage, which simultaneously organizes a number of formal elements – photo, color, slogan, line, surface – has a single purpose: to achieve the maximum power of expression. Photographic pictures are used as a visual art and, at

the same time, as a compositional part of a whole organism. The only other art to which the photomontage can be compared is cinema, which combines a multitude of frames into an integrated work.¹²⁰

As Margarita Tupitsyn noticed, Klutsis's interest in cinema and cinematic techniques increased after 1926 when he designed three covers for the journal *Kino-Front* (*Cine-Front*). For these journal covers Klutsis used film stills from contemporary movies, one of which Tupitsyn identified as Vertov's documentary movie *Sixth Part of the World* (1926) reproduced on the cover of *Kino-Front*, no. 7–8 (no. 4–5 double numbering), 1926¹²¹ (Figure 6.20). In *Sixth Part of the World*, Vertov already used overimpositions, split-screens, and dissolves, but for the *Kino-Front* cover Klutsis selected different stills from the movie and lined them up on a perforated film frame. The implicit suggestion is that the art of the movies is made up of static images. But the cover Klutsis designed for the *Kino-Front*, no. 4 (no. 1, double numbering), 1926 (Figure 6.21) shows that he was aware of Eisenstein's intellectual montage and first used it in this photomontage, as well as in later ones in more subtle manners. For the cover of *Kino-Front* no. 4,



Figure 6.20 Gustav Klutsis, photomontage cover for *Kino-Front*, no. 7–8, 1926. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 6.21 Gustav Klutsis, photomontage cover for *Kino-Front*, no. 4, 1926. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Klutsis used film stills from Abram Room's 1926 film *Predatel (The Traitor)*, selected and lined up on a perforated film frame.¹²² By juxtaposing photos of the traitor from the movie with that of a giant worm, Klutsis implies that the traitor is similar to a worm. This procedure echoes Eisenstein's intellectual montage from *October*, in which he showed the image of Kerensky next to a peacock to suggest that Kerensky is as vain as the beautiful bird.

Once exposed to the films of Vertov and Eisenstein and their innovative montages and artistic techniques, Klutsis transposed some of these in the photomontages he made after 1926. As Tupitsyn pointed out in her analysis of a photograph of the artist (Figure 6.22) and its subsequent use in the photomontage *Socialist Reconstruction* (1928) (Figure 6.23), Klutsis cut out the image of the tall suitcase he was holding in the original photograph and replaced it with the image of a tall building to suggest "the marriage between technology and modernism."¹²³ Klutsis also cut the photograph of himself in abrupt angles, eliminating part of his right arm and left elbow to create an unrealistic figure, remote from the realistic and documentary tendencies the supporters of the factography model identified in the Russian photomontage after 1925. Tupitsyn read this photomontage as an example of "montage-drawing," a technique specific to Eisenstein's montage, because Klutsis replaced the suitcase with a building in order to create new meaning by associating two unrelated concepts: the figure of the man holding the suitcase in his arms receives a different connotation in the photomontage because of the formal replacements effected. Klutsis and Valentina Kulagina, his partner, took many other photographs of themselves and pasted them in their photomontages, as anonymous people in the crowds, for example. Tupitsyn found that such a procedure is reminiscent of Vertov's "single-frame repetition."¹²⁴

Other photomontages Klutsis made throughout the late 1920s suggest the direct influence of the art of film montage. The poster *We Will Build Our New World* (1929)



Figure 6.22 Gustav Klutsis, *Self-Portrait with Kulagina for Socialist Reconstruction*, ca. 1926. Photograph, 11.7 × 8.9 cm (4½ × 3½ in.). SFMoMA, San Francisco. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 6.23 Gustav Klutsis, *Socialist Reconstruction*, 1928. Photomontage (Cut-and-paste photographs, paper, gouache, and varnish on paper), 31 × 23.9 cm (12½ × 9⅞ in.). State Museum of Art, Riga, Latvia. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

(Figure 6.24) juxtaposes the fused photographs of a boy and a girl, with a factory shot and another image showing the masses of people. Put together these photographs suggest social and economic progress, at both individual and society levels. The montage resembles the split-screens used by Vertov, as well as the overimposition procedure made famous by Lissitzky. Another form of intellectual montage characteristic of Eisenstein's works may be seen in *Let's Fulfill the Plan of the Great Projects* (1930) (Figure 6.25) in which, by overlapping numerous overdimensional hands with images of workers, Klutsis suggested that proletarians construct the future with their personal effort. This hyperbolic imagery playing upon the scales of the photographs does not have any documentary value reminiscent of factography, but it is a complex semiotic procedure that celebrates and projects the common effort of the people to build the socialist society.

Klutsis continued to make photomontage posters throughout the 1930s until his death in 1938 when he was executed at Stalin's orders, but his art throughout the 1930s was under the strict control of the state censorship, as Jared Ash pointed out.¹²⁵



Figure 6.24 Gustav Klutsis, *Design for We Will Build Our New World*, 1929. Photomontage (gelatin silver print), 57 × 46 cm (22 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Private collection. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 6.25 Gustav Klutsis, *Let's Fulfill the Plan of the Great Works*, 1930. Photomontage (lithograph), 118.4 × 83.8 cm (46 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 33 in.). MoMA, New York, Jan Tschichold Collections. © 2019 Estate of Gustav Klutsis / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

In 1931, the state issued the decree “O Plakatnoi literature” (“On Poster Literature”), which spelled out specific rules for the artists working with this art form, and named the Art Division of the State Publishing House the censorship organ of their work. As Ash pointed out, and Kulagina’s diary confirmed, throughout the 1930s, Klutskis had to redesign his posters repeatedly to fit the requirements of the propaganda office.¹²⁶ Probably that is why the number of his poster decreased in the 1930s since he was no longer allowed to experiment with new techniques. The doctrine of Socialist Realism required simplicity of form in all media, and the posters, meant to be reproduced at a large scale and displayed on the streets or on stadiums, had to obey these strict rules.

Lissitzky’s artistic evolution in the second decade of the past century spanned several styles and techniques. From the early influence of Marc Chagall and Malevich’s Suprematism and use of Jewish imagery in his book illustrations, he moved toward Tatlin’s Constructivist style and eventually toward a gradual release of abstract painting.¹²⁷

Lissitzky’s use of photographs fulfilled various functional purposes. First, he used photographs for commercial advertising since 1925 on, or for exhibition posters and exhibitions rooms he designed for the Russian exhibitions in the West. Architecture played an important part in his small-scale artworks, especially for his visual designs and *Prouns (Project for the Establishment of a New Art)*, as well as for the exhibitions rooms he designed for Russia abroad. The passage to homogeneous photomontage might be attributed to the functional purposes these photographic images had to fulfill, both advertising and propagandistic purposes.

Still, I would argue that Lissitzky’s passage toward homogeneous political photomontage is the expression of his broader theoretical works related to the connections between the moving (cinematic) and the static image. Within a decade, Lissitzky’s attitude toward the photograph changed dramatically, as Peter Nisbet pointed out, from conceiving of the photograph as a replacement of painting in 1921, to viewing it as a “means of influencing our consciousness” in 1929. His theoretical works on the nature of visions and the concept of “a-material materiality” are based on the connection between static bodies seen in motion and the way they create imaginary space, pointed out Nisbet.¹²⁸

The concept of “a-material materiality” Lissitzky described in the “A. and Pangeometry” essay from 1925 is a form of illusionary movement created by means of static images. Lissitzky drew on the effects of cinema, as illustrated by Viking Eggeling’s movies, which created imaginary space by showing “disconnected movements separated by periods shorter than 1/30 of a second.” Lissitzky documented other means of suggesting movement, such as the illusion produced by a material line able to suggest the whole body. For example, in the same article he noticed that the rotation of a line creates the illusion of an imaginary cylinder.¹²⁹

In a letter from 1924 addressed to Sophie Lissitzky, the artist mentions the cinema project he was engaged in at the time, which apparently involved the application of the rules of cinema to the static photomontage.¹³⁰ The task is daunting and requires a summoning of all his “powers of imagination,” but he was “defeated by the problems of space, which simply cannot be represented on one plane,” pointed out the artist.¹³¹ Although this particular project was never completed, as Sophie Lissitzky mentions, it is not wrong to assume that this preoccupation for applying the rules and effects of cinema to the static pictures resurface in his photomontages he made beyond 1925, a theory also confirmed by the visual techniques encountered in this

photomontages, which relate to comparable filmic procedures. Lissitzky's preoccupations for the connections between film and static pictures are constant, and Tupitsyn pointed out that Lissitzky planned to create an animated version of his Constructivist narrative contained in *About Two Squares in Six Constructions*, a project that was also never realized.¹³²

Thus, Lissitzky's homogeneous photomontages from the late 1920s display various formal experiments aiming to produce the effects of the moving image within the static plane.

First, there is the famous "sandwich-procedure" he experimented with in his earliest photomontages before 1924. If initially the meaning of the overlapping images did not cohere into a clear message, as I have shown in Chapter 5, in his later works the images selected for the overlapping allowed for the emergence of a clear political message. This is the case of the poster he designed for the Russian Exhibition at Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zurich, in 1929 (Figure 6.26). The words USSR are inscribed on the foreheads of the boy and the girl, whose photographs were modified in the dark room and changed to display similar features and then partially fused. The words "Russische Ausstellung" written *in raccourci* give vibrancy and dynamism to the picture. Words help identify the exact meaning of the photomontage meant to celebrate the Russian culture and its future developments, making this picture a mixed-media work. The two young people suggest the energy and the forces that serve the cause of the communist society. If the meaning was uncertain in the previous overlapped negatives, in this one, the selection of the negatives allows for the emergence of a clear homogeneous and political propagandistic meaning. Lissitzky met Vertov in 1929 with whom he collaborated on the selection of the artworks for the *Fifo* exhibition in Stuttgart. Lissitzky's double-faced photomontage influenced Vertov's work, who replicated it in his 1930 movie *Entuziazm or Simfoniya Donbassa (Enthusiasm or Symphony of Donbass)*.¹³³

A series of homogeneous photomontages from 1930 to 1931 make use of other filmic procedures, one in particular pointing directly to Eisenstein's intellectual montage. The cover Lissitzky designed for the journal *Brigade of Artists*, issue 4, 1931



Figure 6.26 El Lissitzky, poster for the USSR Russische Ausstellung (Russian Exhibition) at Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zurich, 1929. Photomontage (gravure), 124 × 89 cm (49 × 35¼ in.). The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York. Jan Tschichold Collection, Gift of Philip Johnson. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

(Figure 6.27), displays the juxtaposition between two holding hands in the foreground and a group of people pushing together to place what appears to be a heavy load in the furnace. The system of the hieroglyph Eisenstein used to explain the essence of his intellectual montage is easily apparent in this photomontage, since the holding hands in the foreground, suggesting collaboration, communal effort, and intensity of action, comment on the heavy physical labor of the workers from the background, pointing out that they are united and stronger working side by side. Seen independently, these two foci of the image would have simply depictive purposes, but put together their signification changes, the foreground feeding into the meaning of the background photograph and vice versa.

A photomontage from the previous year, the cover of the catalog of the *Soviet Section of the International Hygiene Exhibition* from 1930 (Figure 6.28) combines the Vertov-inspired filmic reel on the right-hand side of the picture, where photographs of young people from all the regions of the USSR are represented as if in a temporal filmic image, with the sandwich-procedure at the center of the photomontage,



Figure 6.27 El Lissitzky, Cover of the journal *Brigade of Artists*, issue no. 4, Moscow 1931. Tate Gallery, London. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

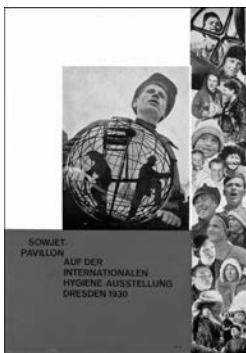


Figure 6.28 El Lissitzky, Cover of the catalog *UdSSR: Sowjet-Pavillon auf der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung* (Soviet Section of the International Hygiene Exhibition), Dresden, 1930. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

where the photograph of a man overlaps with the photo of an intricate globe-like construction showing people working on the scaffolds. The overlapping emerges again, but this time it is much more complex, suggesting that the inner organs of the boy – health being the topic of the exhibition – are a perfect construction of steel and glass.

Lissitzky also used other types of homogeneous photomontages which further emphasized their connection with the moving images. For example, the photofrieze he designed with Sergei Senkin for the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne in 1928, his first involvement with agit-prop photomontages, was read by the critics in cinematic terms. Ulrich Pohlmann identified in it the “optical rhythm” of Vertov’s montage and praised it for its “homogeneous design aesthetic” from which the political message emerged with clarity, such as the “increase in productivity in socialism or the alphabetization of the masses.”¹³⁴ But because these are large exhibition designs, real space could be used to create the cinematic effects the critics discuss. Instead, my interest was the comparative analysis of Lissitzky’s individual photomontages and the temporal montages of the movies.

Despite the fact that he was engaged with the technique of film montage from early on, Rodchenko’s photomontages after 1925 never aimed for using the intellectual operations of film montage into his photomontages. Instead his preoccupations for the perceptive qualities (or the spatiotemporal dimension) of both film and static pictures take center stage in his work beyond 1925. Rodchenko made several “conglomerate” photomontages after 1925 as I have shown above, but his main artistic interest was the “series of individual photographs” he started making after he bought his first camera in 1924.¹³⁵ However, the modernist photography techniques Rodchenko used in his series of photographs should be related to his engagement with film and the principle of the interval which Rodchenko learned about from Vertov. As Galassi pointed out, Rodchenko’s series of photographs from the late 1920s rely on the tradition of “serial portraiture,” which had emerged in Russia in the mid-1850s, but they also display abrupt angles, which remind one of Moholy-Nagy’s New Vision photography.¹³⁶ In these photographic series, be they portraiture, street scenes, or series of buildings, the temporal interval between the shots allows the viewer to connect them into a continuous narrative. Margolin also outlined the influence of film on Rodchenko’s series of photographs, but claimed that Rodchenko first learned about the concept of “narrative sequences” by working on film-titles on *Kino-Pravda*.¹³⁷ In my views, Rodchenko’s photographs do not display “how a new kind of narrative could be constructed from separate pieces of film, each comprising a different visual relation to a subject.”¹³⁸ Rodchenko’s series of photographs do not build film narratives as Margolin suggested, because the changes between these photographs are minimal and capture the slight movement of the characters in space. Also Rodchenko’s series of photographs do not tell a conceptual story like Klutskis’s homogeneous photomontages do, under the influence of Eisenstein’s intellectual montage. Instead, Vertov’s principle of the interval and the perception of movement inspired Rodchenko’s photographs through the late 1920s. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Rodchenko’s photographic style was repeatedly accused of “formalism” due to its experimental nature.¹³⁹ Once more, it becomes apparent that the simplistic style of Socialist Realism from the early 1930s put an abrupt end to the experimental nature of avant-garde arts (photography, photomontage, and film montage), which enjoyed freedom of expression through the NEP years and later through the first five-year plan.

Montage – a clear articulation of meaning

The passage from heterogeneous to homogenous photomontage in both East and West marked an evolution in the way artists used photographs. If heterogeneous photomontage, like visual collage, did not aim to make a clear linguistic statement concerning reality, homogeneous montage reflected the stage when artists succeeded in generating clear conceptual statements. This trend was initiated by the film montages of Eisenstein and Vertov, whose temporal development introduced the idea that clear discursive meaning may emerge from the manipulation of static or moving shots. Both forms of heterogeneous and homogenous photomontage are forms of experiments with meaning formation across media, involving photographs, artistic techniques of cutting and pasting visual materials as well as words. Both contain a narrative, without a clear meaning for the heterogeneous photomontage, but with a clear meaning for the homogeneous one.

By relying of the concepts on intermedial transposition and intermedial reference, the key terms of intermediality, and taking a transmedial approach, I have highlighted how visual collage was transposed into photomontage at the end of the second decade of the past century, when artists started making ‘collages’ of photographs to make a statement about the people, facts, and actions represented in the photographs. At that point, artists realized that the ‘transparent’ nature of the photograph allowed them to explore new forms of meaning formation when they used photographs in their photomontages to directly reflect the current social and political life. From these initial explorations in Dada and early Constructivist photomontage, artists learned that more precise meaning may be generated when they apply the discoveries of film montage into their own photomontages, as Heartfield, Moholy-Nagy, Klutssis, and El Lissitzky did in their homogenous photomontages. Because of its temporal dimension, avant-garde montage of film allowed diverse manipulations of meaning either by telling a story or by using complex forms of intellectual montage (Eisenstein). Various forms of intellectual film montage and theoretical concerns related to the transmission of complex concepts by means of static versus moving images influenced the visual works of Moholy-Nagy, Heartfield, Klutssis, and El Lissitzky and led to the emergence of their homogenous photomontage.

Although most homogeneous photomontages have a political nature, Moholy-Nagy’s photoplastics proved that by manipulating these photographic images in certain ways, one may generate precise meanings, which may be used for many purposes: to create clear narratives, to make complex comments on situations, to sell a product, as well as to make a political statement. By documenting the transfer of techniques from film montage into homogeneous photomontage in the works of Russian and German artists, the experimental techniques used in the photomontages of the 1920s have been outlined. Avant-garde artists did not prepare and did not contribute to the totalitarian state and its propagandistic art, as some critics claimed. The Russian avant-garde artists’ theoretical preoccupations were of a purely experimental nature in the early as well as the late 1920s, even if they also had a revolutionary agenda. These experimental techniques were brought to an end in Russia under the political control and censorship of the Stalinist state and the strict rules of Socialist Realism, as my formal analysis of homogeneous photomontage proved. Stalin and his people promoted the totalitarian state after 1930 by means of the homogeneous photomontage, a technique perfected by the avant-garde artists, but the strict rules of Socialist

Realism did not allow for any further artistic innovation. Mayakovsky's suicide in 1930 put a symbolic end to avant-garde and revolutionary art in Russia. From then on photomontage was used in simplistic ways, imitating the mannerisms of the great artists of the avant-garde.

In addition to being an intermedial transposition of the principle of collage into the photographic medium, photomontage itself illustrates intermedial categories. Many of the photomontages combine the medium of writing with the medium of photography, creating thus mixed-media texts. Unlike the words used in collages, which critics still debate if/how they should be applied to the understanding of the artwork, words used in photomontages are instrumental in making apparent a clear political message, as Heartfield's photomontages proved.

Collage is a non-medium-specific technique, and when it was transposed between media it generated only passive intermedial reference. I have dubbed passive intermedial reference those cases in which the transposition of a technique across media does not trigger and does not require the experience of the originating medium in the perception of the artwork resulted from or affected by that transfer. In other words, one may aesthetically appreciate photomontages without experiencing or knowing that they were indebted to visual collages. Definitely, the aesthetic appreciation of the photomontages is increased if the viewer was previously acquainted with the painterly avant-garde collages of the years leading to the invention of photomontage.

The rapid evolution from visual collage to heterogeneous photomontage and eventually to the homogeneous one is a fascinating transformation of artistic techniques and experiments with artistic meaning formation. Started as "an artistic joke" in the Cubist collage – Picasso called the collages "*trompe l'esprit*" – the collage principles of cutting, pasting, and re-assembling of diverse materials gradually evolved from being an exploration into the ways of visual representation (collage), to being a semiotic apparatus able to represent ideology and clear ideas conveyed by means of images. There is a shift in the evolution of an artistic technique, which changes its semiotic function, from an icon to a symbol, based on the use of the indexical nature of these signs, the photograph, and the cinematic image. One may even claim that ideological and political photomontage would not have existed without the visual collages of the previous decade.

The analysis of the technique of photomontage reinforced my partial conclusion regarding the medium permissiveness, which characterizes the early avant-garde as a movement that I outlined in Chapter 5. In the historical avant-garde, new artistic techniques rapidly migrated between media and affected traditional arts, such as literature or music, but they also migrated and fertilized relatively new media, such as the photographic medium and film.

The subsequent formal intermedial transposition of film montage into homogeneous photomontage raised theoretical issues concerning the way in which a particular medium shapes and defines a specific technique. Different from the medium-specific/non-medium-specific distinction that I previously proposed, I refer here to the way in which a technique relates to the modal features of a medium, to what they both can express (such as ideas, or clear stories for the medium film). Conveying concepts and telling stories are characteristics of the temporal medium of film montage, and artists working with the static photomontage aimed to achieve similar effects in their own medium. From such transpositions between media emerged a highly effective artistic technique, which could be used as a powerful political weapon – the political/homogeneous photomontage.

Notes

- 1 Unlike Jennifer Wild, who in her book *The Parisian Avant-Garde in the Age of Cinema, 1900–1923* (Oakland, California: California University Press, 2015), 1, makes the generic claim that “the early cinema not only shaped the culture and experience of urban modernity, but also played a significant role in the development of modern and avant-garde art,” including Cubism, I show with specific and formal examples how the cinema of Eisenstein and Vertov reflected on and influenced specific photomontages, with evidence drawn from the works themselves, and from the writings of the photomontage artists who were interested in film montage and its special form of meaning formation. The error Wild makes, following Jeffrey S. Weiss’s 1990 path-breaking article “Picasso, Collage, and the Music Hall,” in Varnedoe and Gopnik, *Modern Art and Popular Culture*, 82–116, is “to compare the canvas to a transparent screen.” See Wild, *The Parisian Avant-Garde*, 50. An art is never like another one, if we are to prove that there is an influence between the arts, this has to be documented with clear formal evidence from the works of art put in contact. Assuming the inherent similarity and equivalence of media, and thus we “compare the canvas to a transparent screen,” as part of what needs to be demonstrated, leads to the flawed reasoning of a circular argument (*petitio principii*, i.e., it’s similar because I myself assumed their similarity from the very beginning). I do not find Bernice B. Rose’s argument regarding the influence of cinema on Picasso’s and Braque’s paintings from the Analytical period more convincing, because in her comparative analysis of cinema and painting she chooses terms broad enough to belong to many arts, such as “repetition and variation.” See Bernice B. Rose, “Picasso, Braque, and Early Cubism,” in *Picasso, Braque and Early Film in Cubism*, ed. Bernice B. Rose (New York: PaceWildenstein, 2007), 89–107. For a good introduction to Cubist film see Standish D. Lawder, *The Cubist Cinema* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).
- 2 For the influence of theater on Eisenstein’s montage see his articles “The Montage of Attractions” (1923) and “The Montage of Film Attractions” (1924) in Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, ed. Richard Taylor, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 33–58; on the Japanese ideogram and its influence on Eisenstein’s montage see “Beyond the Shot” (1929) in *ibid.*, 138–50; for Griffith’s parallel montage see Eisenstein’s essay “Dickens, Griffith and ourselves” (1942), in Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, ed. Richard Taylor, vol. 3, *Writings, 1934–47*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. William Powell (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 193–238.
- 3 David Bordwell, “The Idea of Montage in Soviet Art and Film,” *Cinema Journal* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1972): 9.
- 4 Sam Rohdie, *Cinema Aesthetics S.: Montage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 58.
- 5 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, *Writings, 1934–47*, 228.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 Bordwell, “The Idea of Montage,” 14–15.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 13–14.
- 11 David Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 6–7.
- 12 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 40.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 14 Available on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWiDciPuSW4>. Accessed July 20, 2019.
- 15 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 41.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*, 144.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 172.
- 21 Eisenstein wrote the article “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form” in German in 1919. There are two manuscript versions of this article. The one dated Zurich November

- 2, 1929, is shorter and was published in the English film journal *Close up* 8, no. 3 (September 1931), 167–81. The longer version, including the theorization of “film-syntax” and “emotional dynamization,” was first published in 1949, in Jay Leyda’s translation. See Sergei Eisenstein, “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form,” in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1949), 45–63. The montage images of the rising lion and of the gods from the montage “In the Name of God” are reproduced from Leyda’s volume, Ill. 8 and Ill. 10, respectively, in the source. Richard Taylor’s translation from *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 161–80, gives the definitive and modern translation of this important article by Eisenstein.
- 22 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 174.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 173–74.
- 24 Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, 77.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 26 Lars Elleström, “The Modalities of Media,” 1–48.
- 27 Available on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1fff_6s93E8. Accessed July 20, 2019.
- 28 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 179–80.
- 29 The image is reproduced from Sergei Eisenstein, “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form,” in Leyda, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, 45–63, Ill. 10. The German version of the same article is illustrated with a montage including more gods from the film, among them a mask from the Japanese theater of *noh*, Ill. no 16 (most *noh* masks represent gods, as well as dead souls), but this one is a beneficial god since this is a smiling mask. See Sergei M. Eisenstein, “Dramaturgie der Film-Form (Der dialektische Zugang zur Film-Form),” in *Schriften*, vol. 3, ed. Hans-Joachim Schlegel (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1975), 200–225.
- 30 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 180.
- 31 Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, 93.
- 32 Jacques Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein*, trans. Lee Hildreth, Constance Penley, and Andrew Ross (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 34–38.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 37.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 35 Eisenstein quoted in Aumont, *Montage*, 34. Although he does not discuss Eisenstein’s intellectual montage, Christian Metz’s *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, 1968, trans. Michael Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), is still the main resource on the topic of film and language. See also Noël Carroll, “Language and Cinema: Preliminary Notes for a Theory of Verbal Images,” in *Theorizing the Moving Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 187–212.
- 36 Paula Quigley, “Eisenstein, Montage and ‘Filmic Writing,’” in *The Montage Principle: Eisenstein in New Cultural and Critical Contexts*, ed. Jean Antoine-Dunne and Paula Quigley (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 161.
- 37 The only other case of a possible semiotic intermodality theorized during modernism is Rosalind Krauss’s claim that in the case of the Cubist visual collages the iconic sign of the image is replaced with the symbolic sign of language, see Krauss, “The Circulation of the Sign,” in *The Picasso Papers*, 25–85. Although she did not address the issue of the combination between the two signifiers of the pasted and drawn objects, but concentrated instead on the relation between signifier and signified in each particular figural representation, hers is the only theorization that resembles what I called semiotic intermodality. But as Gaiger pointed out, the visual signs of the collage still roam within the area of figurative representation and do not rely on the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, refuting thus Krauss’s claim, see Gaiger, *Aesthetics and Painting*, 89. The only other case of a phenomenon comparable to semiotic intermodality preceding modernism are Giuseppe Arcimboldo’s (1527–1593) paintings: the signifiers of the fruits and vegetables represented combine to create a new signified, the portrait. The connection between the signifier and the signified of each vegetable/fruit represented is broken and replaced with that between multiple signifiers (the various fruits represented) connected to a single signified (the ensuing portrait). But the process does not aim to suggest conceptual, linguistic meaning, and uses the visual signifiers as patterns within a larger visual construct, remaining thus within one semiotic system, the visual one.

- 38 Eisenstein and Vertov disagreed on the nature of montage and engaged cinema. For their polemic and Eisenstein's attack on Vertov's concept of *Kino-eye* see Eisenstein's 1925 article "The Problem of the Materialist Approach to Form," in Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 59–64. For a critical discussion of their rivalry see Vlada Petrić, *Constructivism in Film: The Man with the Movie Camera: A Cinematic Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 48–60; Annette Michelson, "Introduction," in *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, ed. Annette Michelson, trans. Kevin O'Brien (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xlvii–viii, and P. Adams Sitney, "Introduction," in *The Avant-Garde Film: Theory and Criticism*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (New York: New York University Press, 1978), viii–x.
- 39 Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, 89–90.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 42 Foreshortenings are abrupt angles of vision, from below or above.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 90.
- 44 On the *kinoks* see Petrić, *Constructivism in Film*, 1–5.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 46 Trond Lundemo, "Quoting Motion: The Frame, The Shot, and Digital Video," in *Film, Art, New Media: Museum without Walls?*, ed. Angela Dalle Vacche (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2012), 101, 107.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 107.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 101–2.
- 49 Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 140.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 51 Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, 222.
- 52 Graham Roberts, *The Man with the Movie Camera* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 84. Roberts describes many of the scenes in the movie and gives a detailed chronology. I am using his descriptions and numbering of the individual scenes.
- 53 Any *tableau vivant* re-enacted in a movie will create similar effects of active intermedial reference.
- 54 Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, "Life and Letters," in *El Lissitzky: Life, Letters, Texts*, ed. Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1968), 88.
- 55 Roberts, *The Man with the Movie Camera*, 63.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 57 Petrić, *Constructivism in Film*, 86–91.
- 58 I am grateful to Jacob Emery for pointing out that the poster of the movie *The Awakening of a Woman*, as represented in this scene, connects to the movie in a content-oriented manner too, and not just formally, as I had pointed out.
- 59 Petrić, *Constructivism in Film*, 10–11.
- 60 John E. Bowlt, "Alexander Rodchenko as Photographer," in Barron and Tuchman, *The Avant-Garde in Russia*, 55.
- 61 Petrić, *Constructivism in Film*, 84.
- 62 Carroll, *Theorizing the Moving Image*, 174.
- 63 Bordwell, "The Idea of Montage," 14–15.
- 64 Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, 88.
- 65 Dietrich Scheunemann, "Montage in Theatre and Film: Observations on Eisenstein and Brecht," in *Avant-Garde: Interdisciplinary and International Review 5–6* (1991): 122.
- 66 Maria Makela and Peter Boswell, eds., "A Note on the Term 'Photomontage'," in Makela and Boswell, *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, 2.
- 67 The concept of meaning and signification in the movies shows up obsessively in recent scholarship on later twentieth-century movies. Most of these studies are dedicated to sound movies, while the issue of meaning in Eisenstein's and Vertov's montage is different since theirs were silent movies. See, for example, Daniel Barnett, *Movement as Meaning in Experimental Cinema: The Musical Poetry of Motion Pictures Revisited* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017); John Gibbs and Douglas Pye, eds., *Style and Meaning: Studies in the Detailed Analysis of Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). See also the 1969 path-breaking volume by Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*, 3rd enlarged ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972).

- 68 László Moholy-Nagy, "Photography Is Manipulation of Light," 1928, in *Bauhaus Photography*, ed. Edigio Marzona and Roswitha Fricke, trans. Frederic Samson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 128. Originally published as "Fotographie ist Lichtgestaltung," *Bauhaus 2* (1928): 2–9.
- 69 L. Moholy-Nagy, "Dynamik der Gross-Stadt: Skizze zu einem Filmmanuscript, Geschrieben im Jahre 1921/1922," in *Malerei Fotografie Film*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Albert Langen Verlag, 1927), 122–35. [English edition: Moholy-Nagy, "Dynamic of the Metropolis: Sketch of a Manuscript for a Film, Written in the Year 1921/1922," in *Painting Photography Film*, trans. Janet Seligman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967), 124–37.]
- 70 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 36.
- 71 For the terms 'productive' and 'reproductive' see Moholy-Nagy's article "Production – Reproduction," 1922, in *Moholy-Nagy*, ed. Kristina Passuth, trans. Mátyás Esterházy (London: Thames, 1985), 289–90. For a critical interpretation of the two concepts see Oliver A. I. Botar, *Sensing the Future: Moholy-Nagy, Media and the Arts* (Zurich: Müller, 2014), 41–58.
- 72 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 36.
- 73 Moholy-Nagy, "Photography Is Manipulation of Light," 128.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Many of Moholy-Nagy's movies became available on DVD through the Moholy-Nagy Foundation in 2008. See www.moholy-nagy.org. For a review of these DVDs see Oliver Botar, "Films by László Moholy-Nagy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 3 (2008): 460–62.
- 76 Elizabeth Otto, "A 'Schooling of the Senses': Post-Dada Visual Experiments in the Bauhaus Photomontages of László Moholy-Nagy and Marianne Brandt," *New German Critique* 107 (2009): 110.
- 77 Eleanor M. Hight, *Picturing Modernism: Moholy-Nagy and Photography in Weimar Germany* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 169.
- 78 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 42.
- 79 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 41–43.
- 80 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 41–42.
- 81 Noam M. Elcott connects Moholy-Nagy's projected poly-cinema screen with the *Light-Space Modulator* or *Light-Prop for and Electrical Stage* Moholy-Nagy designed in 1929, claiming that the openings of the modulator box are framed on the diagram of poly-cinema. See Noam M. Elcott, "Rooms of Our Time: László Moholy-Nagy and the Stillbirth of Multi-Media Museums," in *Screen/Space*, ed. Tamara Trodd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 40. Several Youtube videos are available showing the modulator in action. Indeed, just like the poly-cinema screen, the *Space Modulator* is another invention that creates new artistic experiences, but the circular opening Elcott references are just parts of the whole construction. For a short presentation of the space modulator see Jennifer King, "Back to the Present: Moholy-Nagy's Exhibition Designs," in Witkovsky, Eliel, and Vail, *Moholy-Nagy Future Present*, 145–47.
- 82 Other scholars who interpreted this photoplastic and its connection to the poly-cinema schema read the photomontage in a content-oriented way. For Hight it evokes an "a mood of isolation and impending violence," which relates to Moholy-Nagy's divorce from Lucia. See Hight, *Picturing Modernism*, 169.
- 83 Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*," 131.
- 84 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, 34.
- 85 Moholy-Nagy, "Photography Is Manipulation of Light," 128. Moholy-Nagy's engagement in the *Fifo* exhibition documented extensively by other scholars further emphasizes his simultaneous interest in movies and photography/photomontage. However, in this chapter I am interested in the connections that establish themselves between the static photomontage, which lacks the spatial dimension of an exhibition setting and film. For a thorough documentation of Moholy-Nagy's contribution to *Fifo* exhibition see Olivier Lugon, "Neues Sehen, neue Geschichte: László Moholy-Nagy, Sigfried Giedion und die Ausstellung *Film und Foto*," in *Sigfried Giedion und die Fotografie: Bildinszenierung der Moderne*, ed. Werner Oechslin and Gregor Harbusch (Zurich: GTA Verlag, 2010), 88–105.
- 86 See note 45 in Chapter 5 for specific examples.

- 87 King and Volland, *John Heartfield: Laughter Is a Devastating Weapon*, 88–145.
- 88 Meister, *One and One Is Four*, 11–25 and 111–21. The editors and contributors to this exhibition catalog point to other resources, which used the term ‘photocollage’ when referring to Albers work, see endnote 39 on p. 25. However, Albers’s “purported” photocollages, combing shots of the same person or scene taken at different intervals of time and slightly different angles, are very similar to the photomontage that accompanied Hausmann’s famous article on “Photomontage,” made by Hausmann himself and published on the cover of a *bis z: organ der gruppe progressiver künstler*, no. 2 (May 1931), 61, which shows the same face from different angles. A reproduction of the article and the accompanying “fotomontage,” identified as such in the title, may be found in Fundación Juan March, *Photomontage between the Wars*, 18.
- 89 Elizabeth Otto, “Fragments of the World Seen like This Photocollage at the Bauhaus,” in Meister, *One and One Is Four*, 112.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 112.
- 91 Makela and Boswell wrote an introductory note in their Walker Art Center exhibition catalog of Höch’s photomontages, justifying their preference for the word ‘photomontage’ in virtue of the fact that the artist herself referred to her artworks by that term. The necessity of such a note indicates the subsequent reception of the terms ‘collage’ and ‘photomontage’ after the moment of their invention, in which papery procedures are associated with collage and photomontage implies the use of technological devices, photography, etc. See Makela and Boswell, *Hannah Höch*, 2.
- 92 Otto, “Fragments of the World,” 115.
- 93 David Evans, rev. Anne Blecksmith, “Photomontage,” in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T067233>.
- 94 Andrés Mario Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image: Photography, Persuasion, and the Rise of Avant-Garde Photomontage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 101–4.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 111.
- 96 The full text of Heartfield’s letter is printed in Jeanpaul Goergen, “Ein wiederentdeckter Brief über expressionistische Filmpläne mit einer Vorbemerkung,” *KINtop* 8 (1999): 169–80.
- 97 Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 127–29.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 187–233.
- 99 *Ibid.* See also David Evans, *John Heartfield: Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung/Volks Illustrierte 1930–38*, ed. Anna Lundgren (New York: Kent Gallery, 1992).
- 100 Quoted in Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 112.
- 101 Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 105.
- 102 *Ibid.*, 105, 109.
- 103 David Evans and Sylvia Gohl, *Photomontage: A Political Weapon* (London: Fraser, 1986), 31.
- 104 Evans and Gohl, *Photomontage*, 32.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 106 Eckhard Siepmann, *Montage: John Heartfield vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1977), 80.
- 107 Zervigón, *John Heartfield*, 274.
- 108 King and Volland, *John Heartfield: Laughter Is a Devastating Weapon*, 14.
- 109 Devin Fore, *Realism after Modernism: The Rehumanization of Art and Literature* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 249–54.
- 110 Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, 2–3.
- 111 Leah Dickerman, “The Fact and the Photograph,” *October* 118 (Fall 2006): 135.
- 112 Devin Fore, “The Operative Word in Soviet Factography,” *October* 118 (2006): 100.
- 113 Buchloh, “From Faktura to Factography,” 87.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 98–99.
- 115 Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, 181, 204.
- 116 Fore, *Realism after Modernism*, see intro and chapters on select authors: Moholy-Nagy, Bertolt Brecht, Carl Einstein, John Heartfield, and Ernst Jünger.
- 117 Lodder, *Russian Costructivism*, 184–86, 204. If in her 1983 book, *Russian Constructivism*, Lodder claimed that Russian photomontage after 1925 announced a return to realism

- and naturalism closely connected to and announcing Socialist Realism, in her contribution to the 2014 MoMA online project *Object: Photo* she radically changed this position by recognizing the innovative nature of Rodchenko's and Klutssis work through the 1920s: "Rodchenko and Lissitzky's photographic works of the 1920s display a great degree of *experimentation and innovation but little political content*, although a socialist commitment is perhaps implicit in their use of the medium itself" [emphasis mine]. See Christina Lodder, "Revolutionary Photography," in *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs. The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 6. [electronic version]. <https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Lodder.pdf>. Her later views on Russian photomontage are in agreement with my own claims regarding the experimental nature of the avant-garde photomontage and photography, through both the early and the late 1920s.
- 118 Leah Dickerman, "The Fact and the Photograph," 138.
- 119 Gustav Klutssis, "The Photomontage as a New Kind of Agitation Art," in *Gustav Klutssis and Valentina Kulagina: Photography and Montage after Constructivism*, ed. Margarita Tupitsyn, trans. Cathy Young (New York: International Center of Photography, 2004), 239.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 238.
- 121 Tupitsyn, *Klutssis*, 38, 40–41.
- 122 Susan Pack, *Film Posters of the Russian Avant-Garde* (Cologne: Taschen, 1995), 98.
- 123 Tupitsyn, *Klutssis*, 39.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 39–40.
- 125 Jared Ash, "Gustav Klutssis: The Revolutionary Arsenal of Arms and Art," in *Avant-Garde Art in Every-Day Life: Early Twentieth-Century European Modernism*, ed. Matthew S. Witkovsky (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), 62.
- 126 *Ibid.*
- 127 Peter Nisbet, "Lissitzky and Photography," in *El Lissitzky, 1890–1941: Architect, Painter, Photographer, Typographer*, ed. Jan Debbaut (Eindhoven: Municipal Van Abbemuseum, 1990), 67.
- 128 *Ibid.*, 66–67.
- 129 El. Lissitzky, "A. and Pangeometry," in Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, 352–53.
- 130 The letter is dated March 21, 1924, and was written during his Lissitzky's stay in Italy, recovering after an illness. See Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, 46.
- 131 "I want to solve the problem using material, by methods which are entirely unhampered by any restrictions, and at the same time it must be very simple, elementary, 'self-evident.'" See Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky*, 46.
- 132 Margarita Tupitsyn, "Back to Moscow," in *El Lissitzky: Beyond the Abstract Cabinet: Photography, Design, Collaboration*, ed. Margarita Tupitsyn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 38.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 39–40.
- 134 See Ulrich Pohlmann, "El Lissitzky's Exhibition Designs: The Influence of His Work in Germany, Italy, and the United States, 1923–1943," in Tupitsyn, *El Lissitzky: Beyond the Abstract Cabinet*, 53–54.
- 135 Stepanova, "Photomontage," 236.
- 136 Peter Galassi, "Rodchenko and Photography's Revolution," in *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, ed. Magdalena Dabrowski, Leah Dickerman, and Peter Galassi (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 110–11, 113.
- 137 Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia*, 126.
- 138 *Ibid.*
- 139 Galassi, "Rodchenko and Photography's Revolution," 125–27.

7 Chasing the ‘greased pig’ of meaning

Literary and musical montage

Once it was defined as an important compositional and artistic process, able to create meaning through the juxtaposition of photographs and film scenes with specific connotation and physical properties, montage started to interest modernist novelists of the early avant-garde and some, such as John Dos Passos, even aimed to generate comparable effects of meaning formation in their fictional prose. Recently recovered avant-garde musical recordings of Paul Hindemith’s and Ernst Toch’s, included in their *Grammophonmusik* experiments from 1930, are partially related to the techniques used in film montage.¹

Despite the fact that both fiction and music share certain features, being both non-visual linear/temporal media, the nature of their modes and of their signifiers will satisfy different requirements of the montage technique, as defined in the previous chapters. According to my definition, literary montage should be closely related to the filmic procedures of constructing fragments, which are then assembled according to attentive procedures of clear meaning formation. My second requirement concerning verbal montage is that such compositional procedures will have to be based on the writer’s own interest in applying the filmic technique of montage to his own prose. These requirements are characteristics of the concept of intermedial reference. It is common for intermedial reference to exhibit explicit thematizations to the foreign medium when the categories of implicit reference become apparent (partial quotation or “reproduction” and evocation). But probably the most important element that determines the existence of the intermedial reference is the structural analogy to the medium of film (or what Wolf dubbed “formal intermedial imitation.”) If filmic techniques are transferred between media, one should be able to identify the exact type of film montage that was being used by the specific writer. Also, authorial statements regarding the application of such techniques (authorial thematizations) are crucial in establishing the intermedial reference to the medium of film. In the absence of such evidence regarding the authorial intention to construct such filmic narratives, one cannot call the simple juxtapositions of narrative fragments a “verbal montage.” My definition of verbal montage will allow researchers to eliminate the impressionistic uses of the concept “literary montage,” which has been applied too loosely to any innovative method of narrative composition.

If clear meaning can emerge in literary montage from the juxtaposition of narrative fragments, which replace the film shots, the ability to generate clear meaning does not apply to musical montage, due to the a-conceptual nature of the musical medium. I support the latter view and contend that musical montage of instrumental music alone cannot create clear meaning, like montages in other media do, because of the intrinsic

a-conceptual nature of instrumental music. Thus, musical montage satisfies only partially my defining requirements of the concept of montage. However, the addition of words through techniques of sampling may allow the fixation of meaning. I will further probe into the musical montages of Pierre Schaeffer and Karlheinz Stockhausen from the late 1940s to early 1950s in the last section of this chapter.

John Dos Passos goes to the movies: D. W. Griffith, Eisenstein, and Dos Passos's montage novels (*Manhattan Transfer* [1925] and *U.S.A.* trilogy [1930–1936])

At the time John Dos Passos wrote the novel *Manhattan Transfer* he was not aware of the complex intellectual montage of Eisenstein, because the Russian movies had not yet been projected in the US, but the novelist was familiar with the parallel montage of Griffith. The mutual illumination of disparate shots/stories, the essence of Griffith's parallel narrative montage, allowed the novelist to implicitly express his moral judgment of the events described without engaging in any direct authorial comments on narrative, characters, and their acts.

Dos Passos himself related the narrative techniques he used in *Manhattan Transfer* to those of film montage:

Direct snapshots of life. Rapportage was a great slogan. The artist must record the fleeting world the way a motion picture film recorded it. By contrast, juxtaposition, montage, he could build drama into his narrative. ... Fragmentation. Contrast. Montage. The result was *Manhattan Transfer*.²

In the early 1920s, Griffith's parallel montage was known in the USA and Dos Passos had already watched Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Griffith's parallel montage is foremost a narrative film technique, which consisted of the parallel narration of stories. To achieve similar effects in prose, Dos Passos replaced the film shots with narrative fragments. The manuscript of the novel brings more evidence that Dos Passos conceived this novel as a parallel montage, since he first created the major narratives independently and afterward spliced and intertwined them to achieve the desired effect of fragmentation and contrast, according to Townsend Ludington.³

Unlike Griffith's montage technique, which consisted of just a handful of intertwining plots, Dos Passos used a multitude of narrative plots in his literary montage, pointed out Donald Pizer.⁴ However, literary montage does not lose its logical consistency, because each story is continued chronologically from where it stopped in the previous section, followed up Pizer. Based on the lack of narrative discontinuity and disruption, Mario Sluگان did not read this novel as a literary montage at all.⁵ However, Dos Passos used an incipient type of film montage that did not presuppose disruption of meaning and does not disqualify this novel from displaying montage structuring.⁶ Griffith's montage is a narrative film technique in which parallel stories do not stop the narrative flow, as Eisenstein's or Vertov's film montage later did.

Manhattan Transfer follows the destinies of a handful of characters, from diverse social strata, over almost 25 years. The narrator chose essential fragments from their existence. All characters live in New York City, which – with its overlapping buildings and skyscrapers – helps visualize the architectonic of the novel, made up of abrupt

transitions from one narrative cell to another. At the center of the novel there is the love-story between Ellen Thatcher (future Oglethorpe) and Jimmy Herf. Their marriage ends, and Jimmy leaves the city in search of a new life at the end of the novel.

But are these fragmented narratives juxtaposed completely at random? Do the fragments share common themes? How does the narrator comment on the objective description? The narrator does not directly comment on any action or character, but meaning emerges from their juxtaposition. In the section "Tracks," there is an abrupt transition from the scene between Jimmy and Lily, his mother, in which he finds out about her terminal ailment,⁷ to the next scene that introduces Emile and Madame Rigaud.⁸ Emile is a French immigrant, who tries to secure his life by marrying older Madame Rigaud. By placing this scene after the one between mother and son, the author implied that Emile was looking for a mother who could feed him and offer him a safe life, and not for a wife, as he claimed. The narrator thus exposed Emile's immorality without uttering any moral comments. The reader of the literary montage must go back and forth and connect the two scenes. The meaning of the literary montage becomes apparent only when the reader connects the meaning of the two scenes: maternal love offers endless protection and happiness, and one suffers when one becomes an orphan (Jimmy) and hopes to regain that state again (Emile).

But the sequences of this montage do not end here. The next scene creates a new montage with the preceding one. The next episode depicts the meeting between George Baldwin and Nellie McNeill, who decide to end their love affair. George Baldwin was Gus McNeill's lawyer, but at the same time he had an affair with his wife, Nellie.⁹ George and Nellie had an immoral relationship behind Gus's back, but the narrator does not directly condemn their immorality. Instead, by placing this episode next to Madame Rigaud and Emile's section, the viciousness of their betrayal becomes apparent. Retroactively, this casts a better light on Madame Rigaud and Emile's sincere union of reciprocal help, in the absence of the real feeling of love.

The text moves rapidly to a new section, which presents Bud Korpenning and Laplander Matty going to the prostitutes,¹⁰ and this shows a further degradation of the feeling of love. This scene sheds new light on the previous episodes in which also financial considerations dictated the characters' amorous choices, as Emile sells himself to achieve material security, or George Baldwin earns money by using Gus McNeill's cause, but also seduced Nellie, his client's wife. The narrator seems to imply that their acts are no less vicious than those of the prostitutes, with the difference that they needed to display more manipulation and duplicity.

By means of literary montage, Dos Passos created complex psychologies and made implicit moral comments without using a didactic or paternalist tone, which had been a highly influential style in the American novel of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Georges-Albert Astre pointed out.¹¹ Dos Passos used literary montage to shape a moral instance in *Manhattan Transfer* but did not pronounce any moral judgments. The underlying premise of the novel is that city life and the quest for happiness are tainted by lower morals, and all the characters are doomed to unhappiness. Happiness seems to be possible only outside the city, and that is why Dos Passos has Jimmy Herf leave the city at the end of the novel.

The technique of film montage is a non-medium-specific technique, so it triggers only passive intermedial reference. This explains the fact that actual references to the medium film are absent, and with few exceptions the novelist does not explicitly

imitate the medium of film (formal intermedial imitation). There are some instances in which the medium of film seems to be suggested through the extreme attention to details, as if recorded by the camera. The scene in which Bud Korpenning jumps off the bridge is followed by an episode in which a boat captain, noticing a death and a wedding taking place at the same time, concludes: "God damn it to hell. A pretty thing to happen on a man's wedding day."¹² This comment, apart from its lack of compassion, is preceded by a detailed description of the gestures of the captain before he saw Bud Korpenning jumping off the bridge: "Captain McAvoy of the tugboat *Prudence* stood in the pilothouse with one hand on the wheel. In the other he held a piece of biscuit. ... He was about to put the piece of coffeesoaked biscuit into his mouth when something black dropped and hit the water."¹³ Just like a camera, the narrator simultaneously registered the acts of the captain and the tragedy unfolding in front of him. The captain is as cold as the camera eye, and this scene resembles the famous scene from Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting *The Fall of Icarus* (1560), in which the people in the picture, the sailors, the shepherd, and the fisher ignored Icarus's fall.

There are critics who question the connections between film montage and the structure of this novel. Jun Young Lee denies that such connections exist and supports his argument by quoting a statement Dos Passos made in an interview from 1960¹⁴:

At the time I did *Manhattan Transfer*, I'm not sure whether I had seen Eisenstein's films. The idea of montage had an influence on the development of this sort of writing. I may have seen *Potemkin*. Then, of course, I must have seen *The Birth of a Nation*, which was the first attempt at montage. Eisenstein considered it the origin of his method.¹⁵

Instead, I would argue that rather than denying any connections between film montage and his novel, Dos Passos confirms in this passage that he was aware of Griffith's film montage and pointed out the influence the film montage had on his literary montage.

Authorial comments regarding the montage structure of the novel, as well as similar experiments with film montage, help strengthen the argument for a filmicization of *Manhattan Transfer*, and an intermedial reference to the medium of film. Still, there are no references to cinema in the novel. Film montage is a non-medium-specific technique, which may trigger only passive intermedial reference, further dependent on the nature of the media put in contact. In this instance the reference to the medium of film is passive, and one does not need to experience the film medium while reading the novel. From the cases encountered so far referring to the transposition of a non-medium-specific technique, it may be inferred that a non-medium-specific technique is likely to illustrate active intermedial reference if the media put in contact are genetically similar (e.g., they are both visual media, like in homogeneous photomontages and film montages discussed in Chapter 6). When visual collage, a non-medium-specific technique, was transferred into the verbal medium it triggered passive intermedial reference, but because they do not share the same spatiotemporal coordinates, the reference does not work by inclusion like in the case of the still photomontages contained in Vertov's broader temporal montage of film.

Also a painter, Dos Passos was familiar with the European avant-garde movements. He attended the Armory Show in 1913 while he was a student at Harvard and wrote about it in 1936.¹⁶ Although Dos Passos did not comment on the Cubist technique at

all, Pizer assumed that Synthetic Cubism and collage, as well as T. S. Eliot's verbal collage, influenced the technique used in *Manhattan Transfer*.¹⁷ One cannot decide if Dos Passos saw actual visual collages, but as Pizer pointed out, T. S. Eliot's verbal collage may have influenced Dos Passos' style.¹⁸ In *Manhattan Transfer*, Dos Passos pasted quotations from newspapers into broader narratives. In order to suggest the rapid pace of city life reflected in the newspapers, Dos Passos had his characters constantly read newspapers, and he reproduced these fragments in the text of the novel. However, the insertion of such fragments did not affect the novel's logical consistency, because the reader had been warned about their origin, and the context was thus explained. Dos Passos even distinguished these newspaper quotations from the larger text by rendering them in capitals: "PARKER'S FRIENDS PROTECT" and "RELIEVE PORT ARTHUR IN FACE OF ENEMY."¹⁹ These articles refer to the trivia of everyday life: accidents, murders, catastrophes. Sometimes a piece of news from a newspaper may influence the plot, as in the case of George Baldwin, a lawyer who, after he read a newspaper announcement regarding a railways accident, decided to offer his services to the injured man.²⁰ Characters also read street signs and restaurant ads or sing popular songs: "LYDIA PINKERHAM'S VEGETABLE COMPOUND, BUDWEISER, RED HEN, BARKING DOG"²¹; "LOBSTERS ARRIVE DAILY, EAT CLAMS NOW, TRY OUR DELICIOUS FRENCH STYLE STEAMED MUSSELS (Recommended by the Department of Agriculture)"²²; "Just a birrd in a gelded cage/A beauteeful sight to see/You'd tink se vas 'appee/And free from all care/Se's not zo se seems to be."²³ Although they qualify as verbal collages in Pizer's interpretation, these quotations from newspapers and popular songs do not disrupt logical coherence, the chief trait that characterizes a verbal collage in my definition of the term.

If in literary collages the logical consistency of the text is disturbed, literary montages allow for rendering clear meaning by means of procedures of cutting and assembling narrative segments. As I have shown, Dos Passos was influenced by Griffith's parallel montage, which is essentially a narrative technique. In the dawn of the cinema age, parallel narration allowed Griffith to compare and contrast scenes and characters, and Dos Passos achieved similar effects in his novel. Dos Passos used Griffith's film montage creatively, because he made moral comments on the scenes and characters by means of juxtaposition. Dos Passos's literary montage is monomedial and creates passive intermedial reference to Griffith's film montage, a non-medium-specific technique.

After *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), Dos Passos continued to experiment with the application of film techniques to his novels, mainly in his *U.S.A.* trilogy (1930–1936). His preoccupation for filmic techniques and their applicability to the novel was fueled by his visit to Russia in 1928, where he met Eisenstein and other representatives of the Russian avant-garde.²⁴ Dos Passos recalled his meeting with Eisenstein in his memoirs: "Eisenstein had a curt aphoristic way of talking. We agreed thoroughly about the importance of montage."²⁵

The three novels of *U.S.A.* trilogy, *The 42 Parallel* (1930), *1919* (1932), *The Big Money* (1936) consistently combine four different narrative modes. "Newsreel," explicitly referencing the medium of film techniques, is made up of newspaper cuttings and popular songs, outlining the principles of collage through abrupt juxtapositions and heterogeneous meaning. Another major cinema-related mode, "Camera Eye," is openly alluding to Vertov's filmic concept Kino-Eye. This mode shares with Vertov's concept the objective representation of events based on filming techniques,

fully suppressing (or miming to suppress) any authorial intervention.²⁶ The fact that both sections are continuously numbered throughout the three volumes enhances the connections with the film idiom, in which numbering of the filmed scenes is crucial in the subsequent montage. However, Camera Eye sections contain the musings of an unnamed character, possibly Dos Passos himself as Lee claimed,²⁷ written in a style that most critics defined as stream of consciousness, undermining thus the objectivity Dos Passos claimed to have achieved in this section. Two more fictional modes complete the substance of the novels of the trilogy, the fictional stories, and the historical biographies.²⁸ Fictional characters are most often venal and unscrupulous individuals, such as J. Ward Moorehouse, Eleanor Stoddard, and Janey Williams, or generous and humane figures such as Mac, the main character of *The 42nd Parallel*. The fourth narrative mode identified by the critics contains biographies of American historical figures, some good heroes while others are representatives of mercantilist and base financial interests such as Eugene V. Debs, Luther Burbank, and Big Bill Haywood. The action takes place between 1900 and the 1930s on American soil and documents the political and social transformation of the country.

Although the constantly changing narrative modes and the apparently unconnected fragments seem to disorient the reader, Barry Maine pointed out that the underlying historical criticism the novel propounds manifests itself by means of montage.²⁹ Maine claimed that by depicting the fresco of the American life during the first two decades of the last century and by including some negative figures in the biographical modes, Dos Passos described the “collective moral failure” of the American people, unable to “see beyond their own selfish material interests,” to “accept responsibilities of freedom,” or to “respect and uphold the principles of equal opportunity and freedom.”³⁰ Historical causality and moral argument are embedded in the very structure of the montage, which associates the most disparate fragments without articulating any moral judgment on the represented events, but allows it to emerge from the nature of the juxtaposed fragments.³¹ Maine’s interpretation of montage builds on Astre’s reading of the montage from *Manhattan*,³² in which the juxtaposition of specific fragments engendered the moral comment. But rather than emerging from the parallel arrangement of certain scenes, as shown above for *Manhattan*, the montage of the trilogy is much more complex due to the length and complexity of the four modes. Unlike Eisenstein’s montage, which was applied to conflicting but clearly delimited images belonging to specific scenes, Dos Passos’s montage, according to Maine, emerges from the gradual construction of the whole narrative series and the similar treatment of repetitive irony in the “bad-people” biographies. The literary montage, with its ability to create precise meaning without a direct uttering of moral judgments, is built on a much larger scale in Dos Passos’s texts and encompasses all three novels of the trilogy, building up to 12 fictional narratives, 27 brief biographies of famous men, 69 Newsreels, and 51 Camera Eye sections, as Pizer highlighted.³³

Thus, the reader is constantly reminded of the cinematic references of the novel, while the critical content of some sections builds up the criticism of the “history written between the lines of the text” and “the montage that results from their ordering in the text.”³⁴ Other critics who wrote on Dos Passos’s *U.S.A.* trilogy agree that the implied political criticism resides in the techniques of montage and the juxtaposition of select fragments, which allow for the creation of clear meaning from the fusion of the individual fragments.³⁵

There are also other elements apparent at the level of the spatiotemporal modality, which further emphasize the cinematic narrative technique employed in these novels. The extensive explicit references to the movies by means of cinematic terms from the modes Camera Eye and Newsreel, as well as the constant changing of the rhythm between sections, trigger and point to the structural analogy to film montage, leading to the implicit intermedial imitation of cinema.

If *Manhattan Transfer* was divided into sections and chapters, *The 42nd Parallel* and the rest of the trilogy are a continuous succession of the four modes (Newsreel, Camera Eye, fictional stories, historical biographies), and no more than two consecutive sections are dedicated to the same character. The modes, which, as Pizer pointed out, based on the careful analysis of the manuscripts, were written separately and even had their own pagination before being incorporated in the montage narrative,³⁶ have all equal importance and replicate film shots within the verbal context. The rhythm of the movies, changing constantly between different characters and scenes, is recreated by verbal means with the help of the constantly shifting narrative modes. The obsessive repetition of the two main filmic modes, Camera Eye and Newsreels, reminds the reader that he is reading a book that should be perceived as a movie, creating a thus implicit intermedial reference to the medium of film.

If both movies and fiction are temporal media, thus allowing for the easy transposition of the film montage into fiction, the narrative medium lacks the experience of the visual rhythm created in the film, one of the most important spatiotemporal aspects of this medium. I refer here to the first two types of temporality Currie identified and discussed in Chapter 1, regarding the temporal properties of the work and the temporal properties of the observer's experiences.³⁷ The second type of temporality related to the observer's experiences is an important discriminating factor between the two media, since the perception of the rhythm of the film is different from the perception of textual rhythm. Film rhythm is unique and given and builds on crescendos and anticipations, while in a literary text the rhythm is most often decided by the reader.³⁸ Traditionally, fiction rhythm is not as important as film rhythm, but Dos Passos's succession of modes in *U.S.A.* trilogy builds on and imitates the rhythmic montage of cinema, one of the types of montage Eisenstein theorized. Therefore, in addition to the intellectual montage critics analyzed in the *U.S.A.* trilogy, the perceptual qualities of the text, through its spatiotemporal modality and the ensuing rhythm, enhance the montage structure of the novels and their connections with the medium of film, aiming to overcome the perceptual borders between the media too.

In his theoretical texts, Dos Passos emphasized that he had always been interested only in the formalist aspects of film montage. Asked by the interviewer in 1968 how Eisenstein's and Griffith's techniques affected his literary style, Dos Passos said, "Entirely technique. It had nothing to do with content."³⁹ He then pointed out that the interest of the fictional writers in cinematic techniques of the avant-garde owes a lot to the fact that film was a new medium.⁴⁰ Dos Passos also talked about film montage, which for him was a means of reaching "total objectivity by giving conflictual views,"⁴¹ and his aim was "to put across a complex state of mind, an atmosphere, a different dimension" using the type of contrasts Griffith and Eisenstein used in their movies.⁴²

Based on the importance Dos Passos ascribed to the formalistic aspects of film montage, seen as "technique" divorced from the content of the movies, it is useful

to probe deeper into the ways in which aspects related to film rhythm, a formalistic aspect par excellence, might have been applied to the construction of the *U.S.A.* trilogy. Among Eisenstein's most important montages, the montage of attractions and intellectual montage, the Russian film critic also theorized a few other types of film montages, such as metric and rhythmic montage, and defined them in his 1929 article "The Fourth Dimension of Cinema."⁴³ Metric and rhythmic montages describe the temporal variations within the montage, by evaluating the length of the shots and correlating the content of the shot with its length. Rhythmic montage represents a deviation from the balance of the metric montage, and it is best represented in the Odessa steps scene, in the relationship between the rhythm of the soldiers' tread and the rolling of the pram.⁴⁴ If metric montage was of a descriptive nature, by establishing a stable and repetitive pattern, the intersection of different shots in the rhythmic montage increases the conflictual content of the narrative.

It may be surmised that Dos Passos became familiar with these types of montages when he met Eisenstein in 1928, and probably applied some of these rhythmic characteristics to his own version of literary montage. Thus, it is characteristic of the Newsreel section to present contradictory snippets of news drawn from the journals of the time, such as the *Chicago Chronicle*, next to popular song lyrics,⁴⁵ like in *The 42nd Parallel*, increasing thus the rhythm of the text through the abrupt juxtapositions of conflicting topics. The two-page "Newsreel XI the government of the United States must insist" outlines the type of rhythmic variations and acceleration characteristic of rhythmic montage by pasting together snippets that come from the most diverse sources.⁴⁶ The first newspaper excerpt concerns the right of Americans taken prisoners under International law, and the second reproduces newspaper fragments announcing the sinking of the Titanic; the text also reproduces the original all-caps format of the newspaper titles and articles sections.⁴⁷ Next, comes a short section describing the wedding costumes for the bride and groom, probably extracted from a fashion magazine. Toward the end of this Newsreel section, it is reproduced an aria from Franz Léhar's operetta's *The Merry Widow* (1905), but most probably the filmic version of this operetta, *The Merry Widow* directed by Erich von Stroheim and released in 1925 by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer is the source of the quote. The last example mentioned is also an example of formal intermedial imitation by partial reproduction, where film image and sound are evoked by quoting only one of its constitutive media, the song lyrics.

The rhythm of this newsreel is abrupt, putting against one another tragedies and death, paired with weddings and frivolous music. The rhythmic literary montage Dos Passos created in this section builds on contrasting narrative tempos and topics, suggesting an acceleration and increase of the narrative rhythm. It is characteristic of rhythmic montage to be short and gradually increase its pace by opposing contradictory forces. Unlike the fragments of newspaper cuttings reproduced in *Manhattan Transfer* that the characters of the novel read, the unrelated fragments from this section resemble more literary collages, in that they are not causally related to the plot. However, the fact that these verbal collages are included in the Newsreel section of the novel, their association should be read as rapid shift in the camera angle that captures fragments of reality at a rapid pace.

According to Eisenstein, rhythmic montage is characterized by rapid shifts of scenes, while metric montage concentrates on a single major event, such as the relatively long dance from *October*, pointed out the film director. We recognize the same

rapid change of topics and fragments in Newsreel XI discussed above. Furthermore, all the other modes of Dos Passos' trilogy, the biographies of famous people, the fictional narratives, and Camera Eye sections, display the characteristics of metric montage, exhibiting a unique literary style in a continuous-paced rhythm, the main characteristic of metric montage.

It becomes thus apparent that Dos Passos used different types of montages theorized by Eisenstein, exploiting both the spatiotemporal qualities of the medium of film in the rhythm of his texts, as well as the intellectual montage in the overarching structure of the novels. The conflicting content of the intellectual montage is apparent through the general criticism leveled against American values, which tend to crush the innocent individuals, such as Mac, the main character of *The 42nd Parallel*.

Being a non-medium-specific technique, montage can trigger only passive intermedial imitation to the film medium, a relation further nuanced by the nature of the media put in contact. As shown in Chapter 6, photomontage and film montage, being both visual media relate by incorporation: the still photomontage may be (mis)taken for a film still from a movie. Instead, when the media put in contact share less elements at the sensorial level, like film and narrative, the visual nature of film montage is not shared by its literary instantiation, creating thus the passive intermedial reference to the medium of film. Furthermore, if the viewer is cognizant of Griffith's and Eisenstein's theorizations of film montage, this knowledge would enrich and complete the professional reading of these novels, but the novels may be read and understood by anyone without having prior knowledge of the techniques of film montage.

Started under the impetus of D. W. Griffith's parallel montage in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) and evolving under the influence of Eisenstein's intellectual, metric, and rhythmic montage in *U.S.A.* trilogy, Dos Passos's engagement with cinematic montage and its application to the literary texts points out to the avant-garde and modernist artists' interest in applying techniques across old and new media, in order to achieve similar or different effects than these techniques had in the originating medium.

Intellectual montage, as defined by Eisenstein, synthesizes the apparently disparate and contradictory stories contained in Dos Passos's *U.S.A.* trilogy, as Maine showed in his excellent analysis of the montage structure of the novel, but the explicit and recurrent references to the art of the movies, as well as the presence of modal and rhythmic montages, make the *U.S.A.* trilogy a text that can be rightfully defined as literary montage, in my understanding of the term. The type of literary montage present in the *U.S.A.* trilogy satisfies the two conditions I identified as essential for establishing the manifestation of any literary montage, the creation of clear meaning through the juxtaposition of conflicting parts, as well as the presence of explicit intermedial references to the medium of film.

What the manuscripts say: Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (1929) – collage and montage in question

Although for a long time, since the 1950s till the 1980s, critics read Döblin's novel as a literary montage shaped after the principles of film montage, scholars have recently started to question this claim. In the context of intermedial research, and with regard to my definition of the term 'verbal montage,' the application of the techniques of film

montage to a literary text implies close connections between the specific film technique and the literary text, identified through the intention of the writer of creating such a novel/prose, as well as through the actual empirical evidence found in the text itself. Most critics from this period who read *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a montage novel did not apply the intermedial approach, and their readings are based on impressionistic interpretations. However, historical and archival data prove that Döblin never wrote about the technique of film montage and never intended to apply it to his novels. Instead he was familiar with the technique of collage and described in his writings the visual collages he saw in exhibitions. Furthermore, the manuscript of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is an authentic visual collage, because Döblin pasted newspaper cuttings to the text (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). The extensive quotations from many sources, such as newspapers, legal papers, popular songs,⁴⁸ scientific books, and the way they are combined indicate that this novel is partially built according to the principles of verbal collage, transferred from the actual act of pasting newspaper fragments into the manuscript, to incorporating their content into the text of his novel.

Although some critics described the heterogeneous characteristics of the novel, which define a verbal collage in my definition of the term, they still identified the technique being used as that of montage. Von Hoff identified the montage of the novel in the snippets of advertisements, street songs, and ballads, as well as the quotes from

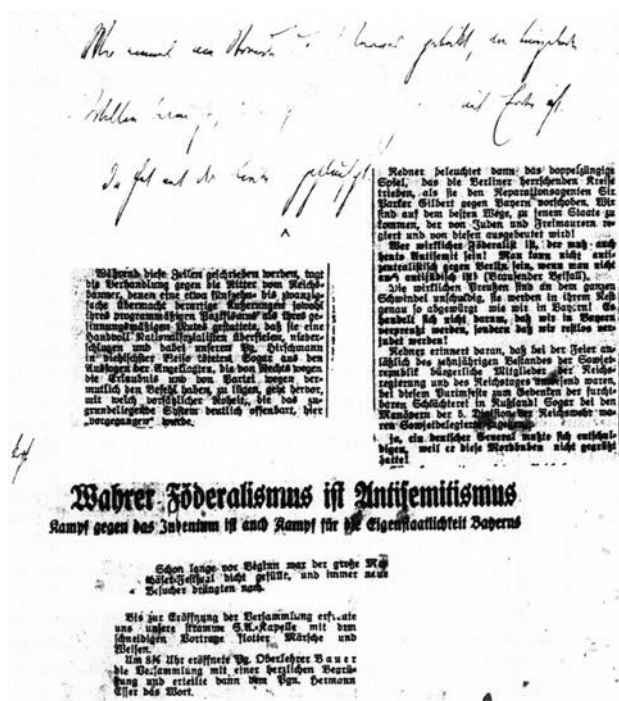


Figure 7.1 Page from the manuscript of *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (1929) by Alfred Döblin containing pasted newspaper article “Wahrer Föderalismus ist Antisemitismus” (“True Federalism Is Antisemitism”), repository Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. Courtesy Stephan Döblin and S. Fischer Verlag.

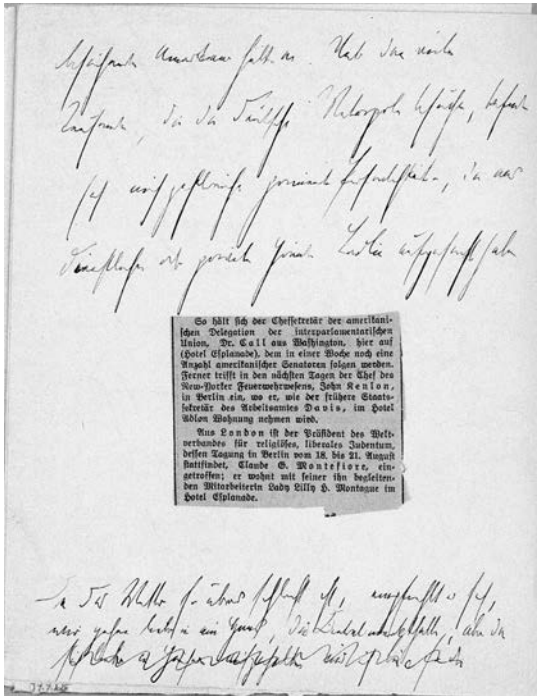


Figure 7.2 Page from the manuscript of *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (1929) by Alfred Döblin containing pasted newspaper article “So hält sich der Chefsekretär der amerikanischen Delegation ... im Hotel Esplanade,” repository Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. Courtesy Stephan Döblin and S. Fischer Verlag.

the Bible.⁴⁹ The general confusion between the terms ‘verbal collage’ and ‘montage’ is also responsible for this misreading of the technique. As I have shown in this volume, I distinguish between the techniques of collage and montage based on the different types of meaning they generate, heterogeneous versus homogeneous, with particular characteristics for each medium affected by these techniques.

David B. Dollenmayer, for example, pointed out that the montage technique of the novel consists of the association of unrelated stories, quotations from official and popular sources, mixed with the narrative technique, which displays an initial suspension followed by a gradual emergence of the voice of the narrator.⁵⁰ Ekkehard Kaemmerling instead referred only to the cinematic montage techniques employed, and ignored the quotations from other sources completely.⁵¹ Dagmar von Hoff,⁵² Hanno Möbius,⁵³ and Christian Siegf,⁵⁴ although they referred to the extensive quotations from other sources (what I call elements of verbal collage), and even conceded that the film influence on this novel is not that important, still called this text a montage novel. Based on my definition of the two terms, I consider it opportune to solely apply the term ‘verbal collage’ to this novel, in the absence of textual and para-textual proofs regarding the influence of film montage on this novel.

As McBride’s recent study on montage in Weimar Germany proved, montage was an important concept for Weimar Germany as it permeated all the levels of culture and

society. Montage was at the center of the theoretical discourses of the time, because, as she rightfully argued, it was perceived as a metaphor for those troubled times.⁵⁵ McBride uses the terms ‘collage’ and ‘montage’ interchangeably and generically adopts the term ‘montage’ to cover both artistic phenomena, not accounting for the evolution of montage from collage. However, it is within this larger historical context from the first two decades of the past century that one should understand Walter Benjamin’s reference to literary montage in his analysis of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. In his 1930 review of the novel, Benjamin was the first who used the term ‘montage’ in relation to this novel, opening thus the path for a critical approach, which lasted through the present. Benjamin wrote:

Stilprinzip dieses Buches ist die Montage. Kleinbürgerliche Drucksachen, Skandalgeschichten, Unglücksfälle, Sensationen von 28, Volkslieder, Inserate schneien in diesen Text. Die Montage sprengt den “Roman,” sprengt ihn im Aufbau wie auch stilistisch, und eröffnet neue, sehr epische Möglichkeiten. Im Formalen vor allem. Das Material der Montage ist ja durchaus kein beliebiges. Echte Montage beruht auf dem Dokument. Der Dadaismus hat sich in seinem fanatischen Kampf gegen das Kunstwerk durch sie das tägliche Leben zum Bundesgenossen gemacht. Er hat zuerst, wenn auch unsicher, die Alleinherrschaft des Authentischen proklamiert. Der Film in seinen besten Augenblicken machte Miene, uns an sie zu gewöhnen.⁵⁶

[The stylistic principle governing this book is that of montage. Petty-bourgeois printed matter, scandalmongering, stories of accidents, the sensational incidents of 1928, folk songs, and advertisements rain down in this text. The montage explodes the framework of the novel, bursts its limits both stylistically and structurally, and clears the way for the new, epic possibilities. Formally, above all. The material of montage is anything but arbitrary. Authentic montage is based on the document. In its fanatical struggle with the work of art, Dadaism used montage to turn daily life into its ally. It was the first to proclaim, somewhat uncertainly, the autocracy of the authentic. The film at its best moments made as if to accustom us to montage. Here, for the first time, it has been placed at the service of narrative.]⁵⁷

Benjamin wrote this text in 1930, at the end of the *Kino-Debatte*, which dominated the German cultural scene between 1909 and 1929.⁵⁸ By 1930, film had become an important part of German cultural discourse and writers and critics of the time referred to it, including Döblin. But Benjamin’s understanding of the montage nature of the novel closely relates to elements of collage writing, because the technique he described presupposes the incorporation of real-life sources such as newspaper articles and popular songs into the literary text. When later critics started to discuss the use of montage in Döblin’s novel, they identified it also in the narrative structure of the novel, and not only in the borrowing of foreign materials, as Benjamin did. Many of these critics (among them Dollenmyer) described the montage created by the voice of the narrator within the text of the novel. Benjamin referred to the voice of the narrator in his review of Döblin’s novel, but never interpreted it in terms of montage. Benjamin just claimed that “The texture of this montage is so dense that we have difficulty hearing the author’s voice. He has reserved for himself the street-ballad-like epigraphs to each chapter; otherwise he is in no great hurry to make his voice heard.”⁵⁹ In this

fragment, Benjamin noticed a characteristic of the literary collage as I defined it, the disappearance of the voice of the narrator when collage quotations are pasted within the literary text (see Chapter 3 on verbal collage).

Within this context, it is imperative to distinguish between the verbal collage techniques consisting of borrowing foreign materials, and film montage techniques. Recently, Slugan noticed that not all the narrative techniques theorists identified in the literary montage from *Berlin Alexanderplatz* should be attributed to cinema, because they existed well before cinema.⁶⁰ Although Slugan referred exclusively to the quotations from outside sources, which lead to “disruption and readymade,” he still labeled this narrative technique literary montage and acknowledged the influence of Russian cinema on Döblin’s novel.⁶¹ Todd W. Heidt observed that the novel is not “that dependent upon film as some scholars have claimed,” proposing instead to read the novel as “an exploration of the modes of collecting, editing and representation Weimar modernity thrived on” and as a sign of “Döblin’s persistent experimentation with epic literary aesthetic.”⁶²

Despite the generalized reading of Döblin’s novel as a literary montage, Erich Kleinschmidt, the editor of Döblin’s writings, argued that Döblin did not take cinema as a model for his writings, after a close reading of Döblin’s articles regarding cinema.⁶³ In the article “Theater der kleinen Leute” (“Theatre of the Little People,” 1909), Döblin commented on the social nature of the cinema and not on the medium of film, Kleinschmidt pointed out. Döblin did not even participate in the *Kino-Debatte*, which tried to establish the artistic value of the new medium, and he was not interested in the important movies that were being made at the time in Germany, pointed out Kleinschmidt.⁶⁴

Kleinschmidt dismantled the purported analogy between literary writing and *Kinostil* (cinema-style) Döblin was supposed to have made in his much-quoted essay from 1913, “An Romanautoren und ihre Kritiker” (“For Novelists and Their Critics”).⁶⁵ In this essay, Döblin introduced his concept of *Döblinismus*, which indicated that science and medicine should be taken as models for fiction. As Kleinschmidt pointed out, the analogy with *Kinostil* Döblin made is metaphorical and the writer used this term in order to explain his innovative model of the novel.⁶⁶ Instead, Döblin was interested in the “distanced representation of the world by the moving images of film.”⁶⁷ Similar effects of authorial estrangement are achieved by means of the excessive quotations Döblin employed. In certain instances, Döblin even criticized cinema, claiming that it was simplistic and destructive for the novel. In “Bemerkungen zum Roman” (1917),⁶⁸ Döblin noticed that the simplification of the contemporary novel is due to the superficial style promoted in newspapers and cinema concluded Kleinschmidt.⁶⁹

But if the style of the newspapers is simplistic, why did Döblin insert fragments of newspaper articles in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*? How did he engage with these new media in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, if he thought they had a negative influence on the novel? Döblin referred to both newspapers and cinema as media that belong to modern society, but did not aim to transfer their artistic techniques into his novels. He wanted to create a fresco of modern society, and of Berlin in particular, which, in order to be accurate, had to include these new media.

Recent scholarship on Döblin’s novel took an intermedial turn. Sabine Kyora discussed the intra-textual thematization of the novel to cinema. She applied the intermedial concept of unique reference (*Einzelreferenz*), and pointed out that there is a unique reference to the medium of film in the movie, in the scene in which Biberkopf

goes to the cinema.⁷⁰ Kyora claimed that further analogies between the medium of film and filmic writing in this novel are not possible because the medium of film is not extensively thematized in the text of the novel.⁷¹

In another intermedial approach to the novel, von Hoff proposed that one should compare Döblin's novel to Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927), which had appeared two years before the novel.⁷² This approach is useful and illuminating because it investigates the possible connections between the text of the novel and specific scenes from the movie. For example, argues von Hoff, in the movie there are scenes showing people going to work, and the camera focuses on their legs and the steps of the metro station. Von Hoff identified similar scenes in his novel, in which short descriptions of people walking emphasize the acoustic effect in order to suggest the medium of film: "Mit den Händchen klapp, klapp, mit den Füßchen trap"⁷³ ("with our little hands going clap, clap, our little feet going tap"⁷⁴); "Franz geht die Treppe runter. Ein Stude, noch eine Stufe, noch eine Stufe, ne Stufe, Stufe, vier Treppen, immer runter, runter, runter, noch runter"⁷⁵ ("Franz goes down the stairs. One step, another step, another step, step, step, step, four flights, always down, down, down, and still down"⁷⁶). Within intermedial discourse, such scenes function as imitations of the source medium. Another filmic quotation appears toward the end of the novel. The scene in which Mietze is killed is a rewriting of the final montage of Eisenstein's movie *Strike*.⁷⁷ These short intermedial quotations combined with the verbal quotations that I will discuss below constitute the collage nature of the novel.

Döblin quoted from many different sources, including newspaper articles, bills, official papers, and songs. In one instance, he even quoted the street signs, which referred to the municipal services (Figure 7.3). Biberkopf saw these signs when he entered Berlin. Such images are explicit thematizations of the visual medium, thus warning the reader that more complex visual procedures are at play in this novel. Some of these municipal services such as "Tiefbau" and "Verkehr" ("Underground Construction" and "Traffic") are subsequently referenced in the novel, playing an important part in Biberkopf's life, while others such as "Gaswerke" and "Finanz- und Steuerwesen"



Figure 7.3 Alfred Döblin, spread of pages 50–51 from the first edition of *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf*, by Alfred Döblin, Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1929, containing the visual representation for the municipal services. Courtesy Stephan Döblin and S. Fischer Verlag. Photo: Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

(“Gas Works” and “Finance and Tax Office”) are absent, as Dollenmayer pointed out in his analysis of the novel.⁷⁸ These are indexical signs combining visual imagery and words with functional purposes of orientation in space. Then follows a collage-section made up of extended quotations from an official document, regarding the building lot situated at *An der Spandauer Brücke* No.10.⁷⁹ These quotations are longer than those employed in the other avant-garde collages I previously discussed, but they are no less disorienting for the reader. The narrative flow concentrating on Biberkopf’s actions is frequently interrupted by these insertions, which fulfill different purposes in the narrative. In this instance, both types of quotations, the visual and the verbal, introduce the reader to the city ambience.

In the manuscript of the novel, Döblin pasted fragments of newspaper articles, making this text a true visual collage. The first text shown in Figure 7.1 was cut from an article published on November 19 in *Völkischen Beobachter*.⁸⁰ It is a text about anti-Semitism, and it was introduced to suggest Biberkopf’s anti-Semitic views, as von Hoff pointed out: “Wahrer Föderalismus is Antisemitismus, Kampf gegen das Judentum ist auch Kampf für die Eigenstaatlichkeit Bayerns”⁸¹ (“True Federalism is anti-semitism, the struggle against Jewry is also the struggle for the autonomy of Bavaria”⁸²). In another pasted section that Gabriele Sander identified, “So hält sich der Chefsekretar der amerikanischen Delegation. ... im Hotel Esplanade,”⁸³ Figure 7.2) a fragment from a newspaper article regarding the political assemblies held in Berlin surreptitiously surface in the middle of an original section on a similar topic by Döblin.⁸⁴ Döblin also cut other articles from newspapers and pasted them into his manuscript, but they were not introduced in the final version of the novel.⁸⁵ In these instances, Döblin built his text as a visual collage, which translates into a literary one. Although he never indicated that he wanted to write a collage novel, the technique he used in his novel is truly a verbal collage.

Döblin’s use of the technique of visual and verbal collages in this novel is not a fortuitous event. He was familiar with the technique of collage since 1919 when he saw Schwitters’s collages and the artist himself in Herwarth Walden’s Sturm Gallery. Döblin expressed his admiration for Schwitters’s collages in an article he published under the pseudonym Linke Poot in the journal *Die Neue Rundschau* later that year:

Ich war ergriffen. Das waren grosse und kleine, nicht Bilder, sondern Leinwandvierecke in Rahmen. Auf die Leinwand war gelegt etwa schräg von unten nach oben eine breite Latte. ... Dann war noch unten eine kaputte Kindereisenbahn drauf: also das Blech einer solchen Eisenbahn breitgezogen und aufgelebet. Ein Bild war zum Teil aus Bindfäden eines Netzes, eines zerissenen Fischernetzes, einer Markttasche hergestellt; unten klebten Spielkarten, Zettelchen mit Namen. Es gab einige Bilder, die bestanden aus Fragmenten von Rädern, Drähten, Bahnbilletten, Zeitungsausschnitten.⁸⁶

[I was amazed. There were small and big canvas rectangles, not pictures, in frames. On the canvas was placed a wide pole slanting from below to above. ... Then also below there was a broken children’s railway flattened and pasted on the canvas. A picture was partly made of the twists of a net, of a torn fishing net, or of a market bag; below there were pasted playing cards, pieces of paper with names. There were several pictures which were made up of fragments of wheels, cables, train tickets, pieces of newspapers.] [my trans.]

In this fragment, Döblin gave an accurate description of the collages he saw in the influential *Sturm* exhibition from 1919. He was amazed by the diverse nature of the objects that came together on the surface of the canvas and noticed their unusual combinations. He talked about these collages with admiration and praised them for their ability to represent the flow of life (“in ihnen und aus ihnen die Welt glüht”⁸⁷; “in them and through them the world vibrated”; my trans.). From the 42 collages and pictures included in the 1919 *Sturm* exhibition, Döblin seems to directly describe two of these collages. The one that contained the slanting pole, the wheels, and the broken children’s railway is Schwitters’s *Merzpicture 10 A: Construction for Noble Ladies* analyzed in Chapter 3 (1919, Figure 3.5). This collage also had a metal funnel sticking out from the surface of the picture plane, and numerous newspaper cuttings pasted on its surface. The other picture Döblin referred to is *L Merzbild L 3 (Das Merzbild) (L Merzpicture L 3 [The Merzpicture], 1919)* (Figure 7.4), which went missing after it was included in the Degenerate Art Exhibition in 1937.⁸⁸ In this second collage, one may identify the wireframe and the barbed wire Döblin mentioned in his analysis. Döblin also commented on the special effects of the collage technique, which made life “flow” through these pictures. Döblin seems to have achieved similar effects in his novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* because city life is “flowing” through this novel too, mainly because he cut and pasted many of its specific elements: street signs, songs, names of streets, and official papers. Unlike the other avant-garde collage artists I have previously discussed, Schwitters is the first who diversified the nature of the objects included in his collages, and this freedom in choosing the most unusual life objects translated into Döblin’s large palette of quotations coming from the most unexpected sources.

Although Döblin never wrote that he wanted to apply collage principles to his novels, he pasted (*klebt*) newspaper articles on the page of his *Berlin Alexanderplatz* manuscript, literally transferring such techniques into the literary field. As this text testifies, Döblin understood the innovative aspects of this artistic technique and the possibilities it opened to redefine the nature of the modernist visual work of art. His own theoretical efforts to redefine the genre of the novel along a modernist paradigm



Figure 7.4 Kurt Schwitters, *L Merzbild L 3 (Das Merzbild) (L Merzpicture L 3 [The Merzpicture])*, 1919. Collage (wireframe, barbed wire, collage, paper, watercolor). Missing. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

parallel such innovative techniques in the visual arts. Talking about the art of the novel, Döblin even used terms such as ‘layering’ and ‘piling up,’ which seem to derive from the area of visual collages: “Der Roman hat mit Handlung nichts zu tun. ... Vereinfachen, zurechtschlagen und -schneiden auf Handlung ist nicht Sache des Epikers. Im Roman heisst es schichten, häufen, wälzen, schieben; im Drama, dem jetzigen, auf die Handlung hin verarmten, Handlungsverbohrten: “voran!” Vorwärts ist niemals die Parole des Romans.”⁸⁹ (“The novel has nothing to do with narration. ... The novelist’s task is not to simplify, to correct or cut the text into shape to satisfy the requirements of the narration. The novel layers, piles up, turns over, pushes; the motto of today’s drama, which is just plot, is ‘Onward!’ The motto of the novel is never ‘forward.’” [my trans.]) From the concrete act of layering newspaper cuttings on the manuscript page, to the actual incorporation of quotations into a literary text, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is built as a collage novel with tens of quotations spanning the 500 pages of the novel, making this novel the most audacious experiment with verbal collage.

But not all the quotations Döblin used in this novel are verbal collages. The extensive paraphrases from the Bible do not qualify as verbal collages because of several reasons. Verbal collage, as I defined it in this study, mainly quotes popular sources, such as newspaper articles, popular songs, or official papers. Verbal collages proper do not paraphrase the source, but simply appropriate the text. From these points of view, the Bible paraphrases do not relate to the avant-garde practices of collage. Furthermore, such borrowings from the Bible are harmoniously integrated into the text, so there is no disruption in the narrative economy of the text. In one such Bible paraphrase, Döblin associates Biberkopf with the image of Isaac, rewriting the whole scene of Isaac’s sacrifice, in order to suggest the fact that Biberkopf is an innocent victim.⁹⁰

Although *Berlin Alexanderplatz* was read as a montage novel ever since Benjamin used the term in his review of the novel in 1930, I have shown that the novel can be read instead as a verbal collage due to the quotations from nonliterary sources and the way they are combined. Döblin quoted not only verbal sources but also cinematic ones, describing scenes that appeared in certain movies. Unlike the other literary genres, which used the technique of verbal collage, the collage novel requires much more complex procedures of quotation and integration of foreign materials, which fulfill more specific functions in the economy of the novel. Unlike the literary montages of Dos Passos, which constitute themselves as clear moral judgments of the corrupt culture and society, in Döblin’s novel moral values are relative and the philosophical nature of the novel becomes apparent through the heterogeneity of collage. Despite the fact that Biberkopf is the moral person in the corrupt circles of the thieves and murderers, he does not hesitate to act as a pimp for Mieke, the woman he loved. Also, the end of the novel suggests a tongue-in-cheek redemption. Biberkopf does not betray Reinhold in court for killing Mietze, despite the fact he had all the reasons to do so, since he had lost his arm because he was betrayed by the gangsters during a heist. However, Biberkopf is not a Raskolnikov who gets redeemed through love for his murder, but remains in limbo between the moral and a-moral, like the characters of another high modernist novel, Robert Musil’s *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (*The Man without Qualities*, 1930–1943). The collage structuring of the novel, with its heterogeneity and teasing out of meanings, provides the skeleton on which to build the ambivalence inherent in the modern psyche of Döblin’s characters.

Sampling, sound science, and meaning in the early musical montages of Pierre Schaeffer and Karlheinz Stockhausen

Certain avant-garde musical experiments of Hindemith and Toch recently uncovered by Katz⁹¹ resemble the principle of musical montage and also emerged in the milieu of the early European avant-gardes. Hindemith and Toch's musical experiments from 1930, as reconstructed by Katz, consisted of recording various instruments on different gramophones. Subsequently, the two composers played the gramophones simultaneously and recorded the resulting tune.

In the full instantiation of the term, musical montage consists of the recording of sounds, which are then re-assembled and processed in the studio and included in new musical material. Live musical material can rarely be added. Musical montage came into being with the experiments of Pierre Schaeffer and Karlheinz Stockhausen from the late 1940s and early 1950s. In the first piece of *musique concrete*, Pierre Schaeffer's *Étude aux chemins de fer* (1948), the composer recorded the sounds of trains and locomotives and subsequently reworked them in the studio. Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* (*Song of the Youths*; 1955–1956) used recordings of the voice of a boy soprano singing passages from the Bible. Musical montage consists of the “juxtaposition of prerecorded fragments” and relies on synthesizers, computers, and sound projectors, but it is only one of the techniques used in electronic music.⁹²

The musical montages of the late 1940s and early 1950s continued the experimental and quasi-scientific nature of the visual and filmic montages, seen as a form of inquiry into the formalistic properties of artistic matter and their effects. Schaeffer and Stockhausen conducted experiments into the nature and behavior of recorded sounds, and their musical montages came into being as a result of such experiments.

Schaeffer, the initiator of concrete music, was an electronic engineer who worked for the French television when he started his research into musical acoustics.⁹³ His first concrete piece, *Étude aux chemins de fer* consisted of the arrangement of the recorded sounds of six steam locomotives, trains accelerating, and wagons moving.⁹⁴ Schaeffer emphasized the dramatic element of the piece and pointed out that the sounds of the locomotives force us to imagine a possible scenario, departure, and arrivals of people in the train station.⁹⁵ However, he hoped that his audience would forget about the locomotives and hear instead “the interlacements of sound color, the changes of tempos, the secret life of percussions.”⁹⁶ Schaeffer wrote about the analogy music-language extensively in his influential volume from 1966, *Traité des objets musicaux*.⁹⁷ From his comparative analysis of the musical and verbal signs, drawing on the writings of the founders of semiotics, he emerges as a formalist who avows that in music there is nothing to comprehend beyond sound variations, in both traditional and electronic music.⁹⁸ Pure music, without instruments or traditional scores, emerges from the “combination of objects of value,”⁹⁹ the prerecorded musical sequences. Just like Picasso did in his collages, Schaeffer did not use the recorded sounds of trains to describe a train station, but to abstract them from descriptive purposes and turn them into pure music.

Stockhausen composed *Gesang* in order to “bring together into a single sound both sung notes and electronically produced ones,” as the composer himself described the piece.¹⁰⁰ The recorded sounds of the montage belong to a Bible text, “Song of the Youths in the Burning Fiery Furnace,” testifying to the miracle produced when these youths did not burn when thrown into the furnace due to their strong Christian faith.

Some of these words are recognizable and cohere into a full sentence, while others remain simple vocal exclamations or choral groups.¹⁰¹ The use of language in musical montage subsequently became a staple feature of the technique, better known as a form of sampling, and later used in hip-hop music.

Stockhausen's piece using poetry from the Bible expressed the profound religious spirit of the composer, allowing thus for the clear formation of meaning by verbal means. The recorded and electronic sounds combined in a montage point to the futurist ideal of creating new musical instruments, like in the early avant-garde experiments of Luigi Russolo and his *intona rumori* (noise instruments).

Since the electronic musical devices used by Schaeffer and Stockhausen in their musical montage were not available during the early avant-garde,¹⁰² Katz tried to reconstruct the compositional procedures Hindemith and Toch used for the music they played at the Neue Musik Berlin Festival in 1930. The performance, pointed out Katz, probably consisted of recording musical instruments at different speeds separately on phonographs and disks, one for each instrument (viola, xylophone, violin, and so on), and then they played all the phonographs together. The resulting sound was recorded by a new phonograph, which displayed the composition resulted from such montage procedures.¹⁰³

At the time of the experiments from *Grammophonmusik*, Hindemith was knowledgeable of the latest cinema techniques. Through the 1920s, he composed music for several German movies, most notably for Hans Richter's *Vormittagspuk* (*Ghosts Before Breakfast*, 1928), but almost all sound tracks were lost. He also collaborated with the German film director Arnold Fanck. In 1921, Hindemith spent several weeks at the film director's villa and assisted with the editing of the film *Im Kampf mit dem Bergel/In Sturm und Eis* (*Fighting with the Mountains/In Storm and Ice*) and also composed the music for this film.¹⁰⁴ The result of these compositional techniques was not very sophisticated, and its initiators gave up the technique. However, these early experiments point out to the interest of musicians in composing music by technical means, gramophones, or later magnetic tapes.

As Katz uncovered, John Cage was in the audience of the *Grammophonmusik* concert at the Neue Musik Berlin Festival in 1930, and this concert might have had reverberations on the American musician's compositional techniques, argued Katz.¹⁰⁵ This is a significant event, especially since many of Cage's happenings, such as *Musicircus* (1967) and *HPSCHD* (1967–1969) seem to resemble Hindemith's and Toch's musical experiments.¹⁰⁶ The main difference between the two compositional techniques is that Hindemith's and Toch's *Grammophonmusik* had an artistic intentionality and purpose in organizing the musical idea, something that is missing from Cage's two aleatoric musical happenings, which recorded several musical events developing independent of his control.

Another tendency among music scholars is to call musical montage the dissonant juxtapositions of musical themes in certain works by Gustav Mahler, Claude Debussy, Stravinsky, and Alban Berg,¹⁰⁷ but the use of the term in this instance is impressionistic and metaphoric, since one cannot speak of musical montage proper until the middle of the twentieth century and developments in electronic music.

Due to the a-conceptual nature of instrumental music, musical montage of instrumental music alone escapes the articulation of clear conceptual meaning, which I identified as a main characteristic of the montage principle. However, the use of words, like in the Stockhausen piece, as well as in the later usage of sampling technique, allows

for the fixation of clear meaning. Musical montage and concrete music restore one of the earliest ambition of the artists engaged in collage, that of reproducing the real-life element in their works. However, musical collage, as defined in Chapter 3, continued to flourish throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as a musical phenomenon independent of musical montage.¹⁰⁸ Instead, musical montage slowly developed from the montage techniques of avant-garde film and photography, and was assisted by technical and technological developments of recording techniques.

Verbal and musical montages create meaning differently, in virtue of the nature of the media involved, conceptual and a-conceptual, by juxtaposing prefabricated materials, either narrative fragments or prerecorded sounds. The conceptual nature of language allowed Dos Passos to generate clear meaning when applying the montage technique to literature, and this allowed for the author's indirect comments on the plot of the novel, characters, and their mores. In the absence of a direct authorial interest in applying filmic techniques to his novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, it has become apparent that Döblin's narrative technique is indebted instead to collage principles of pasting fragments of the most varied sorts into the narrative structure of his novel: songs, newspaper cuttings, scientific formulas, and so on. The close analysis of the manuscript of Döblin's novel, as well as his acquaintance with and description of Schwitters's collages pointed out that this novel is actually built as a collage novel rather than as a montage novel. The lack of the moralizing stance and its openness of meaning pinpoints to the collage principles of heterogeneity. Instead, the generalized use of the term 'montage' in Germany during the 1920s, as an artistic concept that incorporated the aesthetics of rupture characteristic of the collages, is responsible for the confusion that exists between the very distinct techniques of collage and montage.

The purely instrumental musical montage – as I have defined the concept for visual and verbal media – did not allow for the emergence of 'clear' meaning because of the nondiscursive nature of instrumental music. Thus, a musical montage, even in its most sophisticated uses of prerecorded materials from the 1950s on, although they may include life sounds, do not tell us a conceptual story in the way verbal or visual montages do. The sampling of words achieves the objective of montage, as a technique rendering conceptual meaning, in Stockhausen's *Gesang* only, or other compositions that employ words.

The comparative study of avant-garde verbal and musical montage further reinforces the idea that the theory of intermediality and its terms should take into consideration both the nature of the media put in contact, as well as the way meaning is articulated in each respective medium. If artists openly aimed to reciprocate techniques belonging to foreign media, like in Dos Passos's case, the type of meaning created is limited and determined by the nature of the media put in contact. Different media create slightly different forms of the same technique – whether they are medium-specific or non-medium-specific techniques – because the type of meaning they generate depends on the nature of media involved. Thus, the tri-partite model I proposed to work with, emerging from the current research, emphasizes three key aspects of intermedial research. These aspects relate to (1) the nature of the media put in contact (temporal versus spatial media), (2) the type of technique being transposed (medium-specific versus non-medium-specific), and (3) the type of meaning articulated by that specific technique (discursive/conceptual versus nondiscursive/a-conceptual).

Notes

- 1 Mark Katz, "Hindemith, Toch, and *Grammophonmusik*," *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2001): 161–80.
- 2 John Dos Passos, *The Major Nonfictional Prose*, ed. Donald Pizer (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 272.
- 3 Townsend Ludington, *John Dos Passos: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (New York: Dutton, 1980), 229. Ludington noted: "The notebooks in which he wrote his first tentative drafts of the novel indicate that early on he had the idea of breaking up the various narratives about characters into episodes and interlarding them with the other materials he had gathered, but before weaving the narratives together, he seems to have written them separately."
- 4 Donald Pizer, "John Dos Passos in the 1920s: The Development of a Modernist Style." *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 45, no. 4 (2012): 57.
- 5 Mario Sluga, *Montage as Perceptual Experience: Berlin Alexanderplatz from Döblin to Fassbinder* (Rochester: Camden House, 2017), 66–67.
- 6 Furthermore, because of the current confusion between collage and montage, Sluga's discrimination between literary collage and montage in his volume is not consistent.
- 7 John Dos Passos, *Manhattan Transfer* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 78–89.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 89–90.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 90–92.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 92–94.
- 11 Georges-Albert Astre, "John Dos Passos et le montage de *Manhattan Transfer*," *La revue de lettres modernes* 21 (March 1956): 333.
- 12 Dos Passos, *Manhattan Transfer*, 126.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 14 Jun Young Lee, *History and Utopian Disillusion: The Dialectical Politics in the Novels of John Dos Passos* (New York: Lang, 2008), 135–36.
- 15 Dos Passos, *Major Nonfictional*, 247.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 17 Pizer, "John Dos Passos in the 1920s," 56.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Dos Passos, *Manhattan Transfer*, 17.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 50–55.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 113.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 135.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 24 Pizer, "John Dos Passos in the 1920s," 57.
- 25 Dos Passos, *An Informal Memoir: The Best Times* (New York: New American Library, 1966), 180.
- 26 Dos Passos commented on the objectivity required in the "Camera Eye" sections in the same interview from 1960. See Dos Passos, *Major Nonfictional*, 247.
- 27 Lee, *History and Utopian Disillusion*, 180.
- 28 For an in-depth analysis of the four modes and their functions see Donald Pizer, *Dos Passos' U.S.A.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988), 56–95.
- 29 Barry Maine, "U.S.A.: Dos Passos and the Rhetoric of History," in *John Dos Passos's U.S.A. A Documentary Volume*, ed. Donald Pizer, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2003), 170–76.
- 30 Maine, "U.S.A.: Dos Passos and the Rhetoric," 175.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 176–77.
- 32 Astre, "John Dos Passos et le montage de *Manhattan Transfer*," 321–64.
- 33 Donald Pizer, *Toward a Modernist Style: John Dos Passos: A Collection of Essays* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 44.
- 34 Maine, "U.S.A.: Dos Passos and the Rhetoric," 175–76.
- 35 David Seed, *Cinematic Fictions* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 139–45; Michael North, *Camera Works: Photography and the Twentieth-Century Word* (Oxford:

- Oxford University Press, 2005), 140–43; Carol Shloss, *In Visible Light: Photography and the American Writer: 1840–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 143–75; and Lisa Nanney, *John Dos Passos* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 175–76, 198–99, emphasize the influence of Vertov’s film montage on Dos Passos’ literary montage rather than that of Eisenstein.
- 36 Pizer, *Dos Passos’ U.S.A.*, 87.
- 37 See Currie, *Image and Mind*, 92–102. The third type of temporality he identified, the temporal properties of what the work represents, is not relevant in this context.
- 38 Post-modernist novelists disrupted the continuous reading of the text, asking the reader to jump between sections in order to follow the story of the novel. See, for example, Julio Cortázar’s novel *Rayuela* (*Hopsotch: A Novel*, 1963).
- 39 Dos Passos, *Nonfictional Prose*, 288.
- 40 The history of early American movies before Griffith is well documented in specialized volumes, but with the emergence of the earliest forms of parallel montage (Griffith) and then intellectual montage (Eisenstein), film directors and the audiences (*y compris* the novelists) learned that the techniques used to edit and organize the moving images can be explored to achieve similar effects of meaning formation in other media. For the history of American cinema before Griffith see Charlie Keil, *Early American Cinema in Transition: Story, Style, and Filmmaking: 1907–1913* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). Other scholars have investigated the influence of American film on the fine arts. See Nancy Mowll Mathews and Charles Musser, eds., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film 1880–1910* (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press LLC, 2005), or more recently Katherine Manthorne, *Film and Modern American Art: The Dialogue between Cinema and Painting* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
- 41 Dos Passos, *Nonfictional Prose*, 247.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 283.
- 43 Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, *Writings, 1922–34*, 186–87.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 188.
- 45 Pizer, *Dos Passos’ U.S.A.*, 81.
- 46 John Dos Passos, *U.S.A. (The 42nd Paralell, 1919, The Big Money)* (New York: Library of America, 1996), 134–35.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 For an analysis of the popular songs Döblin used in this novel see Jean H. Leventhal, “Symphony of a Metropolis: Alfred Döblin’s *Berlin Alexanderplatz*,” in *Echoes in the Text: Musical Citation in German Narratives from Theodor Fontane to Martin Walser* (New York: Lang, 1995), 109–39.
- 49 Dagmar Von Hoff, “*Berlin Alexanderplatz*: Masse, Medien und Medialität bei Alfred Döblin,” in *Internationales Alfred-Döblin-Kolloquium: Berlin 2011: Massen und Medien bei Alfred Döblin*, ed. Stefan Keppler-Tasaki, *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik*. Reihe A Kongressberichte Band 107 (Bern: Lang, 2014), 294.
- 50 David B. Dollenmayer, *The Berlin Novels of Alfred Döblin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 69–71.
- 51 Ekkehard Kaemmerling, “Die filmische Schreibweise,” in *Materialien zu Alfred Döblin Berlin Alexanderplatz*, ed. Matthias Prangel (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975), 192–96. In this article, Kaemmerling identified very exact types of film montages present in the text of the novel, such as contrast montage, parallel montage, symbolic montage, and synchronous montage.
- 52 Hoff, “*Berlin Alexanderplatz*: Masse, Medien,” 289–311.
- 53 Hanno Möbius, *Montage und Collage* (Munich: Fink, 2000), 443–47.
- 54 Christian Sieg, *The Ordinary in the Novel of German Modernism* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2011), 94–130.
- 55 McBride, *The Chatter of the Visible*, 4.
- 56 Walter Benjamin, “Krisis des Romans. Zu Döblins *Berlin Alexanderplatz*,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, vol. 3, ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), 232–33.
- 57 Walter Benjamin, “The Crisis of the Novel,” in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, vol. 2 of 4, *1927–1934*, edited by Michael W. Jennings, Howard

- Eiland, and Gary Smith, translated by Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 299–304. Copyright © 1999 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- 58 For the complete list of authors involved in the Kino-Debatte and their texts see Anton Kaes, ed., *Kino-Debatte: Texte zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Film 1909–1929* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978). For a critical interpretation of the debate see Harro Segeberg, “Literarische Kino-Ästhetik: Ansichten der Kino-Debatte,” in *Mediengeschichte des Films*, ed. Harro Segeberg, Knut Hickethier, and Corinna Müller, vol. 2, *Die Modellierung des Kinofilms: Zur Geschichte des Kinoprogramms zwischen Kurzfilm und Langfilm 1905/06–1918*, ed. Corinna Müller and Harro Segeberg (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1996), 193–219.
- 59 Benjamin, “The Crisis of the Novel,” 301. Copyright © 1999 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- 60 Slugan, *Montage as Perceptual Experience*, 2–4.
- 61 See Slugan, *Montage as Perceptual Experience*, chapter Two “The Birth of Literary Montage from the Spirit of Contemporary Reviews in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*,” 65–107.
- 62 Todd W. Heidt, “Modernity in Word and Image: Narrative Literature and Film in Weimar Germany,” (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2010), 22, <https://proxyiub.uits.iu.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fsearch.proquest.com%2Fdocview%2F89211143%3Faccount>.
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- 64 Kleinschmidt, “Döblin’s Engagement,” 162–63.
- 65 Alfred Döblin, “An Romanautoren und ihre Kritiker: Berliner Programm,” in *Schriften zu Ästhetik, Poetik und Literatur* (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1989), 119–23.
- 66 Kleinschmidt, “Döblin’s Engagement,” 163.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Alfred Döblin, “Bemerkungen zum Roman,” in *Schriften zu Ästhetik*, 123–36.
- 69 Kleinschmidt, “Döblin’s Engagement,” 163.
- 70 Sabine Kyora, “(Massen-) Medien: Intermedialität und Subjektivität bei Alfred Döblin,” in Keppler-Tasaki, *Internationales Alfred-Döblin-Kolloquium*, 280–81.
- 71 Kyora, “(Massen-) Medien,” 281.
- 72 Hoff, “*Berlin Alexanderplatz*: Masse, Medien,” 304–308.
- 73 Alfred Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (Olten:Walter, 1964), 49.
- 74 Alfred Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story of Franz Biberkopf*, trans. Eugene Jolas (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1983), 50. Jolas’s translation of Döblin’s novel dates from 1961. A recent translation of the novel was made by Michael Hofmann in 2018. See Alfred Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, trans. Michael Hofmann (New York: New York Review of Books, 2018).
- 75 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 219.
- 76 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story*, 270.
- 77 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 386–87; *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story* 488–89. The scene seems to be a direct rewriting of the famous scene from the end of Eisenstein’s movie *Strike* (1925).
- 78 Dollenmayer, *The Berlin Novels*, 72.
- 79 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 51; *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story*, 52.
- 80 Hoff, “*Berlin Alexanderplatz*: Masse, Medien,” 295.
- 81 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 86.
- 82 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story*, 98.
- 83 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 334–35, and *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story*, 418–19.
- 84 Gabriele Sander, “*Tatsachenphantasie*” *Alfred Döblins Roman Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf* (Marbach: Schillergesellschaft, 2007), 82–83. See also the chapter “Ein Text aus Texten,” pp. 49–63 in which she identifies many of the journals and newspapers Döblin used as source for his cuttings. Previously, Jürgen Stenzel studied the manuscript of the novel. See Jürgen Stenzel, “Mit Kleister und Schere: Zur Handschrift

- von Berlin Alexanderplatz,” *Text und Kritik: Die Zeitschrift für Literatur* 13/14 (1966): 41–44.
- 85 Sander, “Tatsachenphantasie,” 38–39.
- 86 Linke Poot (pseud.), “Himmlisches und irdisches Theater,” *Neue Rundschau* 2 (1919): 1534. Rpt. in Alfred Döblin, “Himmlisches und irdisches Theater,” in *Der deutsche Maskenball von Linke Poot: Wissen und verändern!* (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1972), 63. Courtesy Stephan Döblin and S. Fischer Verlag. For a survey of Döblin’s engagement with the avant-garde movements see Sabina Becker, “Döblin und die literarische Moderne 1910–1933,” in *Döblin Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Sabina Becker (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2016), 330–40.
- 87 Döblin, “Himmlisches und irdisches Theater,” 63.
- 88 Karin Orchard and Isabel Schulz, eds., *Kurt Schwitters: Catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1, 1905–1922 (Hannover: Cantz, 2000), Ill. 436, p. 219.
- 89 Alfred Döblin, “Bemerkungen zum Roman,” *Neue Rundschau* 1 (1917): 410. Rpt. in *Schriften zu Ästhetik*, 124. Courtesy Stephan Döblin and S. Fischer Verlag.
- 90 Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte*, 313; *Berlin Alexanderplatz: The Story*, 392.
- 91 Katz, “Hindemith, Toch,” 163.
- 92 In his text “Esquisse d’un solfège concret,” published as the last section in his volume *À la recherche d’une musique concrète* [Paris: Seuil, 1952; English version Pierre Schaeffer, *In Search of a Concrete Music*, trans. Christine North and John Dack (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012)], Schaeffer identified 25 such techniques/“positions,” see Peter Manning, *Electronic and Computer Music*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 28–30. A live performance of Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* with Stockhausen himself is available from Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UmGIiBfWIOE>. Accessed July 20, 2019.
- 93 Peter Manning, *Electronic and Computer*, 20.
- 94 Ibid. For a documented history of the performances of the *Cinq études de bruits* (*Five Noise Studies*) in France, to which *Étude aux chemins de fer* belongs, see Esteban Buch, “La scène concrète,” in *Pierre Schaeffer: le constructions impatientes*, ed. by Martin Kaltenecker and Karin Le Bail (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2012), 153–63.
- 95 Schaeffer, *À la recherche d’une musique concrète*, 20–21.
- 96 Ibid., 22: “les enchaînements de couleur sonore, les changements de temps, la vie secrète des percussions.”
- 97 Pierre Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux: essai interdisciplines* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), chapter 17, “Structures comparées: musique et langage,” 294–313.
- 98 See especially the very straightforward comparative schemas he draws on pp. 307–8.
- 99 Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux*, 311.
- 100 Karlheinz Stockhausen, “Notes on the Works,” in *Stockhausen: Life and Work*, by Karl H. Wörner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 40–41.
- 101 There are many analyses of this complex piece. See Pascal Decroupet and Elena Ungeheuer, “Son pur – bruit – méditations: Matières, matériaux et formes dans *Gesang der Jünglinge* de Karlheinz Stockhausen,” *Genesis* 4, no. 1 (1993): 69–85; Michel Rigoni, *Karlheinz Stockhausen . . . un vaisseau lancé vers le ciel*, 2nd ed. (Lillebonne: Millénaire III Editions, 1998), 157–61.
- 102 A good documentation of the electronic equipment used in the late 1940s by Schaeffer is available in Daniel Teruggi, “Technology and *musique concrète*: The Technical Developments of the Groupe de Recherches Musicales and Their Implications in Music Composition,” *Organised Sound: An International Journal of Music Technology* 12, no. 3 (December 2007): 213–31.
- 103 Katz, “Hindemith, Toch,” 163.
- 104 See Andreas Münzmay, “Ausweitung der Machbarkeitszone: Ästhetisch-technische Modernitätskonzepte von Film und Partitur in Arnold Fancks und Paul Hindemiths *In Sturm und Eis* (1921),” in *Spiel (mit) der Maschine: Musikalische Medienpraxis in der Frühzeit von Phonographie, Selbstspielklavier, Film und Radio*, ed. Marion Saxer (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 317–45.
- 105 Katz, “Hindemith, Toch,” 176.

- 106 I thank Prof. J. Peter Burkholder for pointing out this analogy to me.
- 107 Jean-Paul Olive, *Musique et montage: Essai sur le matériau musical au début du XXème siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 173–273.
- 108 See Catherine Losada, “The Process of Modulation in Musical Collage,” 295–336. See also the database “Musical Borrowing and Reworking,” at the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature, Project Director J. Peter Burkholder, which contains an annotated bibliography of recent or older scholarship on musical borrowing. <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/borrowing/>. Accessed July 28, 2019.



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Conclusion

In this book I have traced the emergence and described the evolution of two artistic concepts, collage and montage, across several arts and media of the early avant-garde – visual arts, literature, film, and music – with the help of the theory of intermediality. Within the limit of two decades, 1900–1930, the visual technique of collage, which emerged in Picasso’s and Braque’s collages in 1912, became a powerful political weapon (agit-prop) in the East (Lissitzky, Rodchenko, Klutskis) and West (Heartfield). I have shown how a purely artistic technique, visual collage, seen by critics as an experiment into the nature of visual representation, became a highly political weapon used in homogeneous political photomontages mainly because of two artistic phenomena: the use of photographs in collages (i.e., photomontages) starting around 1919, and the influence of the film medium on photomontages beyond 1925. I have based my understanding of the larger transmedial concepts, collage and montage, across the other media on these core definitions of visual collage and photomontage.

In Chapter 1, I have traced a brief history of the theory of intermediality I operate with, as being derived from a long tradition of comparative thinking about the arts, and from comparative aesthetics. Although observations regarding the different types of arts were framed within the Aristotelian mimetic ideal, I have shown how gradually a formalist pattern emerged by the end of the nineteenth century. The current theory of intermediality relies on a formalist critical understanding of the arts, traced back to the formalisms of Hanslick or Wölfflin, the two great German-language thinkers from the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Chapter 2, I introduced the most important terms used in the theory of intermediality: intermedial transposition, intermedial reference, and transmediality, and I have identified their weaknesses, or what I have defined as medium ‘blindness.’ These terms, as defined by Rajewsky (2005; 2010) and Wolf (1999; 2002; 2005; 2015), ignore the nature of the media, such as temporal versus spatial (Lessing’s ages-old distinction), and conceptual (painting, literature, film) versus a-conceptual media (instrumental music). Elleström’s theoretical model of modalities, which defines perceptual and semiotic parameters for each medium, proposed a refinement of the theory, which proved very useful in the subsequent analyses, mainly mixed media and intermedia phenomena, and it also provided the conceptual frame for understanding Eisenstein’s intellectual montage within the context of intermediality theory as a type of semiotic intermodality.

In Chapter 3, I evaluated visual and verbal collages, by pointing out that visual collage is a complex procedure of vision, which creates not only visual confusions but also inquires into the nature and types of possible models of visual representation in

Picasso's collages from the years 1912 to 1914. If the other early avant-garde movements have explored the physical properties of the pasted objects, subsuming them to illusionistic representation, Max Ernst's *romans-collages* subverted the narrativity of pictures by changing the meanings of feuilleton illustrations through operations of displacement and rearrangement. The examples of verbal collages analyzed pointed to the broader category of literary nonsense characteristic of the avant-gardes. Due to the close connections between Picasso and Apollinaire, verbal collage is a prime example of intermedial transposition followed by passive intermedial reference due to the non-medium-specific nature of the technique of collage.

In Chapter 4, I have investigated the various uses of the term 'musical collage,' as it was applied to the musical works of certain avant-garde and modernist composers. I concluded that only Erik Satie's music for *Parade* was affected by the phenomenon of direct intermedial transposition, due to Satie's close collaboration with Picasso during the production of the ballet. Although regarded as a prime example of musical collage, certain compositions by Charles Ives did not have their sources into the visual correspondent. However, although not sharing the same origins, visual collage and the musical collages of Charles Ives developed the same aesthetic of mixing 'high' art and popular culture, as well as a pronounced interest in spatial arrangements involving illusionary and real depth like in Picasso's collages.

In Chapter 5, I have highlighted the second most visible transposition of the technique of collage into the medium of photography. Around 1919, visual artists started to use photographs in their collages to make more or less precise statements with regard to the people represented in the photographs. Photomontage as a technique was born when artists noticed and aimed to use the 'transparent' and indexical nature of the photograph included in their photomontages. In its first heterogeneous phase, photomontage is very similar to visual collages. Photomontage artists who also experimented with film started working with homogeneous photomontage directly, developed mainly beyond 1925, by skipping or compressing the heterogeneous phase (Moholy-Nagy and Heartfield) because they aimed to transpose the clear articulation of meaning characteristic of the moving image into the static medium of photomontage.

In my view, montage becomes a full-fledged artistic concept in the film montages of Eisenstein and Vertov, in which clarity of meaning is reached because of the temporal nature of the medium, able to support a tendentious and propagandistic message. In Chapter 6, I have proposed new readings of both Eisenstein's and Vertov's movies and montage techniques. I have read Eisenstein's intellectual photomontage as an example of "semiotic intermodality," a new category I proposed to add to the theory of intermediality. I have also highlighted the static and pictorial nature of Vertov's film montages (implicit intermedial reference to pictures/photomontages). By close analyses of the artworks themselves and relying on art historical evidence, I have shown that Klutis's, Rodchenko's, and Lissitzky's photomontages beyond 1925 display the influence of Vertov's and Eisenstein's movies. These photomontage artists tried to transpose some of the filmic techniques of their contemporaries into their static photomontages in order to achieve in the medium of photography the same powerful effects of film montage. Thus, I have emphasized the experimental nature of Russian photomontage beyond 1925, despite the claims of critics such as Buchloh, Fore, and Lodder that factography, a simplification of artistic techniques, characterizes the photomontage works of these artists beyond 1925.

Based on the comparative and transmedial analyses of collage and montage, I propose thus to distinguish between the two concepts based on the type of artistic meaning generated by the artworks displaying these characteristics. It is characteristic of collage in all media affected by it to generate heterogeneous meaning, while montage implies clear articulation of homogeneous meaning. This definition applies to all conceptual media (literature and visual arts), while musical collages and montage will satisfy the heterogeneity/homogeneity distinction only at a formal level of the materiality.

In view of this definition of montage, in Chapter 7, I have analyzed literary montage and incipient forms of musical montage. I have defined literary montage as a category displaying both clarity of meaning as well as intermedial reference to the medium film. Based on this definition, I have shown that despite the fact that critics have read Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929) as a montage novel, the structure of the novel is not truly indebted to the medium of film, but displays similarities with collage techniques. In contrast, Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) and *U.S.A.* trilogy (1930–1936) were built as verbal montages, displaying a direct intent on the part of the novelist to shape his novels as a filmic structure. These novels display both explicit and implicit (structural) reference to the film medium. Although musical montage emerged as a complex compositional procedure with the technological development of magnetic tapes and computer in the mid-1950s, certain forgotten compositional experiments unearthed by Katz display the characteristics of a musical montage. However, in Hindemith's and Toch's *Grammophon* music, the musical montage is rudimentary and literal, as it consists of individual recordings of instruments, which are subsequently played simultaneously and recorded anew. Unlike the proper musical montages of Schaeffer and Stockhausen, these recordings are not included in a new independent musical composition.

I have contributed to the development of the theory of intermediality by proposing to distinguish between medium-specific techniques (complex structures such as musical fugues, which cannot be easily transposed into another medium) and non-medium-specific techniques (relatively simple structures such as collage and montage), which can be easily replicated in other media.

The historical avant-garde emerges as an aesthetic attitude and as a period characterized by an intensive activity of interarts transfers across traditional media, as well as new media (photography, cinema). I also raise the issue that meaning is differently articulated by distinct media (e.g., film versus photomontage) and claim that meaning articulation through certain techniques, intrinsic to each medium, should be the prime aspect to be considered when evaluating the transposition of techniques across media. The nature of the media (conceptual versus a-conceptual) completes this relationship.

Finally, this volume assumes a formalistic approach to the arts, most visible in my claims regarding the a-conceptual nature of music in the line of Hanslick, Kivy, and Budd. A formalist approach also lies at the heart of the intermedial analyses of the artworks and the transpositions described between the different media. Most significantly, my main claim, lying at the core of this thesis, regarding the transformation of collage into montage based on the 'transparent' nature of the photographs pays tribute to a formalistic approach. My formalism distinguishes itself from twentieth-century formalistic endeavors, as well as those of the nineteenth-century predecessors (Robert Zimmermann, Riegl, Konrad Fiedler, or Wöllfflin) in that I place the issue of meaning and meaning articulation rather than artistic properties at the core of the analysis.

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