

'Intermediality, Artillery and the Politics of the Post-War Settlement in Picabia and Clair's *Entr'acte* (1924)'

This essay explores the transposition and transformation of motifs between media in the oeuvre of the French Dada artist Francis Picabia. Whilst most remembered and studied as a painter, Picabia created a substantial body of published writing and experimented with both film and stage performance. I argue that a critique of the pervasive 'war culture' in France that was a legacy of the First World War, which is already established in Picabia's painting, poetry and polemical writing in the early 1920s, is translated into new media in a collaboration with the composer Erik Satie and filmmaker René Clair on the ballet *Relâche* and the film *Entr'acte* (1924), which provided both intertitle and interval for the ballet. This project employed a number of Picabia's key artistic strategies: notably appropriation from popular culture and the work of other artists, with that material often undergoing bathetic inversion or distortion for critical ends. This was accompanied by Picabia's use within new media of motifs that he had already experimented with elsewhere, and challenges to the conventions of singular, stable authorship.ⁱ Both *Relâche* and *Entr'acte* regularly signal – albeit in an allusive and ludic manner – that they are concerned with the war that had finished six years earlier and the lasting political legacy of its commemoration.

The Swedish Ballet commissioned *Relâche* from Satie in late 1923. He had proposed a collaboration with the poet Blaise Cendrars, **under the title of *Après dîner: a production that was to include a film and, in Cendrars's words to be 'very up to date, very 1923'***. Cendrars had previously worked on the company's *The Creation of the World* (1923); **when he** abruptly left for Brazil in early 1924, Satie turned to Picabia through a mutual friend, the Dada poet Pierre de Massot. A very different project emerged: ~~though it retained Cendrars' title.~~ **the** emphasis on joint authorship and the inter-relationship of ballet and film is apparent from the start of the filmic prelude: not only do the two artists responsible for the ballet appear, Satie reworked for the opening bars of the sequence an ostinato that he had already composed for a scene in the second

act of the ballet.ⁱⁱ The initial outline for *Relâche* that Picabia presented to Rolf de Mare, director of the Swedish Ballet, credited it as a collaboration between himself, Satie, and Jean Börlin, the company's lead dancer and choreographer, even though there was no role for Börlin in the scenario at that point.ⁱⁱⁱ

The film was similarly collaborative: shot by the young René Clair (René-Lucien Chomette) and employing sophisticated editing techniques, Picabia clearly conceived it as an integral part of the project. Whilst the film is now widely understood as Clair's work, in 1924 it was recognised as originating with Picabia, with Clair's role limited to realising the *mise en scène*.^{iv} This was perhaps an unfair judgement, since the multiple and reverse printing, and the rapid cutting employed in the edit could only have been done by a trained filmmaker, and those effects are crucial to the symbolism of the film. At some points as many as three film strips are overlaid in the final print. However, both the disjunctive editing, with its refusal of causal relations between actions, and free-floating signs, and the ethos of the project, have much in common with Picabia's writing. De Massot saw *Entr'acte* as directly related to Picabia's poetry collection *Jesus-Christ Rastaquouère* (1920).^v Like that text, and much else in Picabia's oeuvre, the film employs characteristic Dadaist strategies of bathos, self-contradiction, and dialectical inversion, most notably in its use of the weapons of war to render risible the commemoration of war and the militarization of society. Both the contemporary responses of Desnos and de Massot, and the use of Dadaist aesthetics call into question the ease with which film studies scholars credit *Entr'acte* as solely being Clair's work, placing it outside both the historical context of its production and Picabia's oeuvre. Clair, after all, was not a Dadaist, and his subsequent films bear little resemblance to this work. We might do better to see it as a complex collaborative piece that responds both to Picabia's practices in other media and to the experiments of a broader group of vanguard filmmakers in 1920s Paris – including both Clair's elder brother Henri Chomette, especially in his film *Play of Reflections and Speed* (1924), which has striking similarities to parts of *Entr'acte*, and Picabia's friend Man Ray - as well as engaging with the ballet as conceived by Satie, Picabia and Börlin.

Multi-author collaborations characterised the Swedish Ballet's artistic policy: vanguard artists were regularly invited to collaborate with young composers, especially the group known as 'Les Six'. (The venerable Satie was given licence as the grumpy godfather to that generation.^{vi}) These collaborators often belonged to existing friendship networks within the avant-garde – for example in the partnership of Fernand Léger and Ricciotto Canudo on *Skating Rink* (1921) or Léger and Cendrars on *The Creation of the World*. In comparison to its chief competitor, the Russian Ballet, the Swedish Ballet's productions were generously funded.^{vii} The most profound differences, however, were conceptual: when the Russian Ballet employed leading artists, their contributions were usually limited to sets and costumes. Even on the rare occasions such as Satie and Cocteau's *Parade* (1916) where artists (Picasso) and writers (Cocteau) were vital to the conception of the production, their ideas were subordinated to the imperatives of choreography. Whilst the Swedish Ballet's repertory contained a number of relatively traditional works, the collaborations with artists explored wider preoccupations within modernist art at the expense of choreography.^{viii} The company's earlier *Man and his Desire* (Darius Milhaud, Paul Claudel and Audrey Parr, 1921) had explored the line between performance and painting.^{ix} *Relâche* challenged the categories of dance and film, together with the limits of the performance space – with the lead ballerina Edith von Bonsdorff and the male dancers moving between audience and stage.^x Indeed, *Relâche* was a ballet founded upon a conceptual premise that deliberately negated dancing: Picabia's initial scenario indicated that von Bonsdorff started to dance only when the music stopped; a later draft led to Börlin entering the stage in a motorized wheelchair.

George Baker sees in Picabia's work 'a...profound slippage between beings, a radical connection via resemblance, a new mode of *analogy* between disparate forms'.^{xi} Indeed, this is, in part, *Entr'acte's* mode of signification, not least because Picabia and Clair elide the linking 'syntax' that might allow us to quickly apprehend the causal relations between signs, and superimpose different temporal, as well as spatial registers.^{xii} The severance of ordering terms permits allusive, mobile signification along with the inversion of temporality and thus causality, so that on several

occasions we see events happen before we witness their cause. However, recent commentaries on Picabia's experiments with language and form have perhaps under-estimated the impact of the war and post-war politics as governing contexts for this practice. Yet in *Entr'acte* a 'soldier' is killed, given a funeral ceremony, and finally resurrected, wearing now the costume of a high state official, including the white cross of the Legion of Honor.^{xiii} Whilst paying scrupulous attention to the highly visible ballistics within *Entr'acte*, Baker elides any links between them and the historical context of the First World War, preferring instead to see them as a metaphor for a new rhetorical fluidity, an alternative 'symbolic economy'.^{xiv} Jennifer Wild similarly understands *Entr'acte* within 'the cinema of ballistics' as a conceptual category, without acknowledging any specificity in its deployment of artillery and rifles.^{xv} I use this essay to argue that in the *Relâche-Entr'acte* project, as well as in Picabia's wider oeuvre, an acerbic, politicized commentary on recent history and contemporary culture depends not only on this mutability *between* signs but also *within* them. However, my main goal is to re-historicize Picabia's post-war practice - and in particular *Relâche-Entr'acte* and its extra-cinematic supplements, such as the October 1924 issue of the journal *391* - by showing that this play within and around the sign allows the production of extended political critiques across diverse media. I attend in particular to *Entr'acte* - now known and seen separately in slightly truncated form - concentrating especially on its first, brief section which served as an introit to the ballet's first act. Quickly descending into typically Dadaist bathos, this sequence rearticulates a vitriolic critique of the French military and state establishment made in *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*.^{xvi} The appropriated motif of a wartime French artillery piece allows Picabia to establish an allusive relationship to a text where he has already branded French commanders as murderous frauds and charlatans. This introit exemplifies the linkages necessary to contextually sensitive readings of the contents of both *Relâche* and *Entr'acte* as they derive from Picabia's wider oeuvre.

The severance of syntax that Mimi White identified in the film was scarcely a novel strategy by 1924: it characterizes Dadaist and Futurist writing in the 1910s, though only in the Dadaist text does such removal challenge the ontological security of the object - in Futurism it

might be seen to reinforce it.^{xvii} Picabia's poetry and painting certainly became more cryptic in the wake of his encounter with the 1912 stage adaptation of Raymond Roussel's *Impressions of Africa* (1910), which offered the artist, along with his friends Duchamp and Apollinaire, a new model of syntagmatic displacement.^{xviii} In examining *Entr'acte* and related artworks, therefore, we should not expect meaning to emerge directly from any one sign, nor expect it to halt at the limits of one medium. Nor should we anticipate that such meanings remain stable - least of all in the juxtaposition of characters within the narrative or the relationship between film, ballet and magazine. Signification in *Relâche-Entr'acte* is not contained within the work of art, whether dance or film or even the two in combination, but also emerges in the relationships of texts and images created before and after the project. The sliding of motifs between one medium and another within Picabia's oeuvre became commonplace after 1912. For example, the trope of 'the daughter born without a mother' was appropriated from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, via its citation in the original Latin in the *Larousse* encyclopædia. It is first of all found as text within a painting: accompanying one of Picabia's mechanomorphs that is itself stolen from an engineering drawing. However, 'the daughter' then shifts medium, becoming the basis of the poetry collection *Poems and drawings of the daughter born without a mother* (1918).^{xix} Here the poems are interspersed with drawings of impossible mechanisms, made by Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, that the texts 'explain'. Similarly, Picabia's figure of 'the rastaquouère' was also presented as a painting, now lost, shown in the Autumn Salon of 1920, even as it permeated a poetic text and eventually, as de Massot acknowledged, a film and a ballet.^{xx} Furthermore, just as Picabia collaborated with Ribemont-Dessaignes to create images for his texts, here he collaborates with Clair to create them. The almost untranslatable term *rastaquouère* was used by Huysmans and Daudet to describe exotic foreigners with suspect wealth and taste.^{xxi} However, it is likely that Picabia appropriated the word from the Dadaist Walter Serner, who used it in a manifesto of 1920, defining the rastaquouère as 'Prophet, Artist, Anarchist, Statesman etc.': that is, in much the same terms as Picabia employed but showed to be fraudulent.^{xxii} In *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* references are made to the widespread complicity of the avant-garde and particular individuals within it with the aesthetic and political retrenchment of the wartime 'call-to-order' (*rappel à l'ordre*) and the war's

subsequent commemoration. In the opening minutes of *Relâche* the mutability within and between signs allows Picabia to translate into film his attack on the contemporary celebration of martial valour within French history and to continue a critique of artists within the Parisian avant-garde, and those public figures whom Picabia saw as benefiting from the slaughter within the post-war political and cultural settlement. These were allusions that, reiterated and modified in *Relâche-Entr'acte*, could still be understood by an informed Parisian audience, however displaced and open the symbolism.

At the beginning of the introit we see the two principal collaborators on *Relâche* prancing on the roof of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Between Satie and Picabia is a mock-up of a cannon, that has in the opening seconds already performed its own brief solo. And if a cannon that seems to move of its own volition is comedic - recalling the autonomous inanimate objects of early trick-cinema and thus reducing a weapon of war to a figure of fun - that it continues to move, independent of any gun crew, might also suggest that the war, or its aftermath, has gathered a life of its own and no longer needs human agency to propel it. This cannon becomes the object of the men's attention as they inspect and then insert a dummy shell into its breech and pretend to fire it at the audience. If that might imply giving the civilians in the audience an imaginary experience of the battlefield, for most of the men in the theatre it would recall an all-too-familiar experience, because they had fought in the trenches. Baker suggests that Satie and Picabia smell the shell in disgust, and links this and its expulsion from the cannon to the metaphors of violent excretion implicit in the ballet's title.^{xxiii} Artillery shells, however, do not smell of excrement; in the early twentieth century they smelled of cordite, and to a very large part of *Entr'acte*'s audience in 1924, which had fought in the First World War, that smell would have been as awfully familiar as the smell of human excrement that helped give the trenches their unique aroma. Indeed, former combatants would have understood that one was often responsible for the other: soldiers under shell-fire would sometimes foul themselves out of fear; similarly, bodies in death often relax their bowels (one meaning of *relâche*), whilst bodies dismembered by shell fragments spray not only blood and bone but all other contents. Yet, as

Picabia shows in *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* with specific reference to artillery bombardment, one of the tricks of the *rastaquouère* is to make such deaths seem heroic, so that they may be repeated.

Whilst Baker's reading suggests we should not treat objects in Picabia's oeuvre as ontologically secure – the disordering of modernity's ground-plan, or at least its machine drawings and parts, in his mechanomorphs and works such as *Alarm clock* (1919) makes that plain – to read signifiers such as a cannon as altogether detached from history is to ignore the circumstances that frame their creation. Indeed, the mechanomorphs are often read as attacking the historical processes of human instrumentalization, and Dada had, of course, been founded in a spirit of historical critique directed, through irrationality and ridicule, at the rational, bourgeois society responsible for the insane carnage of global warfare. Even as they offer ludic opportunities, neither an artillery piece, or a wheelchair, on a French screen or stage, in 1924, is therefore innocent – and both appeared in *Relâche/Entr'acte*; their meanings would have resonated with the men in the audience who had been under fire, and a post-war society where amputees were a commonplace. The moment in *Entr'acte* where a legless peasant is either miraculously cured or revealed as a fraud, in rising from an improvised cart and running after the coffin, would have been deeply offensive to an audience, given the sanctity accorded to the war-wounded. As Marc Ferro observes:

the war gave rise to a new hierarchy of merit which society accepted without a murmur of protest. At the head of this new elite of victims (second only to the dead) were the blinded veterans, followed by the gassed, the amputees, and those whose faces had been disfigured. The lads of the trenches came next, with survivors of the nightmares of Verdun, the Somme and the Champagne ranking higher than veterans of the Dardanelles or of other fronts.^{xxiv}

Given Picabia's established strategies of appropriation and re-articulation, the presence of a cannon in *Entr'acte* might lead us to ask where else artillery pieces feature in his oeuvre, and what their meanings might be there? How might their appearance in text, or painting, relate to film? And, what then are the wider associations of artillery to Picabia's broad range of targets in contemporary culture and politics? The assault promised by the opening of *Relâche* is thus more

than merely aesthetic, more than an exercise in irreverence, more than a solipsistic play with one's own excrement, or shocking the haute bourgeoisie in the audience by saying '*vous êtes merde*'. Such readings of pure play risk returning to a nihilistic infantilism that recent histories of Dada have done their best to challenge. Rather the shock value of the introit is political: for if we mobilise the latent meanings of the cannon we see that the film alludes to specific aspects of France's conduct during, and subsequent commemoration of, the recently ended World War.

Few commentators have acknowledged the politicised nature of Picabia's response to the war, whether during the conflict or its commemoration. Exceptions are the analysis of the poem 'Soldiers' by Nancy Ring and more generally the work of Arnauld Pierre.^{xxv} Michel Sanouillet even suggested that 'Picabia lived in a world in which the world war did not exist'.^{xxvi} However, Amelia Jones sees Picabia as addressing the war through an aetiology of the pathological society that was waging it.

Rejecting Arp's rather romantic stated aim to 'save men from the curious madness' of war, Picabia produced outrageous poems and images that could be viewed as attempted purgatives. Picabia's work is acerbic rather than healing, subversive rather than aspiring, vicious (and very funny) rather than ameliorative.^{xxvii}

To be more direct could be dangerous. Of all the major participants in World War I, France had the least developed networks of pacifism and resistance. Military service was widely understood as an obligation within the Republican tradition: 'both the badge and the moral consequence of citizenship'.^{xxviii} The refusal of conscription and subsequent desertion fell well below government estimates, perhaps because there was no legal recourse to conscientious objection.^{xxix} There were acts of resistance as the war dragged on, and eventually there were 300 French peace societies, with a membership of about 300,000.^{xxx} However, the nation's leading intellectual opponent of the conflict, the Nobel prize winner Romain Rolland, wisely spent the entire war in Switzerland. It is perhaps unsurprising that the objections of artists such as Picabia, Duchamp, Pierre-Henri Roché, and Albert Gliezes – all of whom managed to evade service for all or most of the war – were manifested obliquely. It was only with the end of the war, and the prolongation of its culture into a governing sentiment of sacrifice, that Picabia made his reflections more pertinent.

That we might think of Picabia as a political artist necessitates seeing him from a fresh perspective. Dada in Paris – with its nouveau-riche bourgeois audience and aristocratic patronage – often stands condemned by an older school of scholarship in the terms provided by the communist critic Paul Achard after the opening night of *Relâche*: ‘the avant-garde is above all a formula of the rich’.^{xxxvi} This reading has been challenged in the work of Theresa Papanikolas, who demonstrates how Dada artists, including Picabia, engaged with the legacies of early twentieth century anarchist thought to produce political critiques of post-war culture.^{xxxvii} The modernist project in pre-war Paris was profoundly influenced by strains of anarchist thought and practice, as Patricia Leighton and other commentators have shown.^{xxxviii} Picabia came of age as an artist at a time when anarchism, through its links to symbolism, Futurism and Cubism, was a potent cultural force. His sympathies were manifest by 1911, when he attended Alexander Mercereau’s regular Sunday salons at Puteaux. Mercereau had been a member of the short-lived commune at the Abbaye de Créteil in 1906-7, an enterprise that linked symbolist art and anarchist thought with the developing practices of cubism.^{xxxix} Duchamp had read the libertarian theorist Max Stirner’s *The Ego and its Own* (1844) in July 1912, and soon after introduced Picabia to its ideas.^{xl} Herbert Schuldt suggests that the provocative, yet self-deprecating trickster figures that Picabia conceived in the early 1920s, including the *rastaquouère*, are indebted to Stirner’s work.^{xli} Papanikolas shows how the ‘literary’ anarchism of pre-war French avant-garde circles was already revolutionary strategy targeted at culture; it did not abruptly cease with the *union sacré* of 1914, but was rearticulated in the context of contemporary events including both the war and the Russian Revolution. Whilst in New York in 1915-16, Picabia encountered the expatriate Austrian Hippolyte Havel, along with Hutchins Hapgood, and Emma Goldman: three of the leading anarchist agitators in North America.^{xlii} Furthermore, Man Ray, who became a close friend of Picabia and Duchamp during this period, was then ‘an avowed anarchist’.^{xliiii} After the war Picabia promulgated his views in contributions to the anarchist journals *Les Humbles* and *La Forge*.^{xliiii} Whilst Picabia had no formal affiliations to left-wing groupings, Dada’s politics never depended on such affiliations. Even in Berlin, often deemed the most politically active of Dadaist

centres, there was a separation between artists' practices and their political associations.^{xi} Picabia was political, because the anarcho-individualistic person, reasserting the human in an instrumentalized, administered society, was political. The call-to-order demanded conformity to the norms of bourgeois morality, politics and aesthetics, sheltered within appeals to sanctify self-sacrifice on behalf of a state that had only gained power over the individual as a consequence of the war. The growing reach of modern state power was anathematic to Picabia's beliefs, from the earliest days of his practice.

Whilst the post-war pressure upon vanguard artists to conform to those conservative prescriptions was perhaps never as consistent, nor as pervasive, as was once suggested, in the early 1920s it remained far-reaching.^{xii} Yet, as Kenneth Silver notes, with his publication of Ribemont-Dessaignes' attack on Marshal Foch in the November 1919 issue of *391* - made in the context of a review of the Autumn Salon - Picabia showed that 'As far as one French artist was concerned...French art was nothing more than the wartime regime perpetuated'.^{xiii} Arnauld Pierre has demonstrated how Picabia's painting challenged the politicised uses of tradition that resulted from the call-to-order.^{xiiii} We see this in his parodies of Ingres, the model for the new classicism and successful post-war painters such as Léger. Picabia rendered these in the 'base' material of the household paint Ripolin rather than the traditional oils of the studio. Picabia included targets in a few paintings, for example *Spanish Night* (1922), where the female figure cites Ingres's *The Spring* (1820-56) – an appropriation simultaneously from pre-war Orphist painting, the identification roundels of warplanes, and the wider history of ballistics. In some works he made it appear as though he had shot at the canvas, painting imitation bullet holes. Pierre comments that, 'A certain artistic norm, for which Ingres serves as a posthumous guarantor is attacked here, very literally attacked'.^{xliv} With *Entr'acte*, along with these works, we might see Picabia not as pacifist – which he probably never was – but symbolically turning the weapons of state-sanctioned war back on the state and its governing morality.

There is a complex intermedial relationship between these paintings and the shooting scene in *Entr'acte*, where Börlin first of all fires at wooden ‘ostrich eggs’ in front of targets and then is shot by Picabia himself. Jean-Jacques Lebel has recently proposed that the huntsman symbolises Picabia.^{xlv} However, Börlin wore a costume taken from the stock of Jean Cocteau’s Swedish Ballet production, *The Newly-Weds on the Eiffel Tower* (*Les Mariés de la tour Eiffel*) (1921). [Figs. 1&2] Given the budgets of Swedish Ballet productions this re-use was surely a deliberate choice rather than a cost-saving measure. The opening night of *Les Mariés* had been disrupted by the Dadaists, including Picabia. He then published a scathing ‘post-scriptum’ on the ballet, written by de Massot, which with its ‘Adieu, mon cher ami’ – addressed to ‘Zizi’ – banished Cocteau from the ranks of the avant-garde, leaving him as a purveyor of empty spectacle for the demi-monde.^{xlvi} The provenance of the costume – coupled with other symbols in the film and comments in Picabia, Satie and de Massot’s correspondence – suggests that Cocteau was one of Picabia’s targets in *Entr'acte*.^{xlvii} After all, here was a man who had worn a special uniform designed by the couturier Paul Poiret during his brief service with an ambulance unit in 1914.^{xlviii} He had later, very briefly, served in the 13th Regiment of Field Artillery without seeing combat.^{xlix} Cocteau was one of the prime movers of the post-war cultural retrenchment. Whilst his *Le Rappel à l'ordre* would not appear until 1926, it gathered essays written between 1918 and 1923 that did much to influence post-war art in ways antithetical to Picabia’s politics and practice. From its conception *Relâche* can be understood as a project ‘against’ Cocteau, with whom Satie had decisively split in early 1924. In the letter to Picabia by which the collaboration with Satie was proposed, de Massot wrote ‘For the first time, the Champs-Élysées theater will see perhaps a true revolution that has nothing in common with the staging of the *Mariés*’.¹ During the orchestration of the ballet in October 1924, Satie wrote that ‘With *Relâche* we are entering into a new period...Picabia is cracking the egg, & we shall set out “forward”, leaving the Cocteaus and other “blinkered” people behind us’.^{li}

Pierre observes that Picabia’s attacks on ‘war culture’ are ‘targeted with a remarkable accuracy against the patriotic and nationalist rhetoric of the time’.^{lii} At its most scurrilous this

opposition takes the form of a 'pornographic scenario' mocking the occultation of the war dead and the victorious generals.^{liii} A text in *Littérature* includes the comment "The woman who is beside me at the moment caresses her breasts, the nipples are red. On each breast there is a portrait, on the left Foch, on the right the Unknown Soldier".^{liv} Here Picabia deploys in a sexual encounter two of the widely available mass-cultural motifs by which the war was commemorated. A similar articulation between the heroic leader and the noble dead is to be found on a sheet that Picabia distributed outside the Autumn Salon in 1921: here a marginal text reads 'Men covered with crosses remind one of a cemetery'.^{lv} This yoking of state awards - in particular the Legion of Honour - and the mass graveyards of the western front is brought to the fore in *Entr'acte*.

Both film and ballet may continue these attacks on the cult of the Unknown Soldier as much as they parody the wider cult of 'the glorious dead' and the repatriation of some 300,000 French war dead to their home towns in 1921-23.^{lvi} The extended 'coffin chase' sequence in *Entr'acte* may allude to the procession of the coffin of the Unknown Soldier through the streets of Paris to its final resting place. During that procession, the coffin was carried on the carriage of a 75mm artillery piece. The first two countries to perform these interments were Britain and France, at the same time on 11 November 1920, in ceremonies loaded with profoundly conservative meaning. The single corpse was a synecdoche of each nation's dispersed war dead: as such, it assumed precisely those symbolic values that had been borne by the singular body of the dead monarch in pre-modern times - the British body was even interred 'amongst kings' in Westminster Abbey. The dead body also carried with it the promise of 'resurrection' or royal succession: made explicit in Britain through the creation of the Cenotaph - *the empty tomb*.^{lvii} That trope - because « *Le roi ne meurt jamais* » - occurred in royal funerals as early as the thirteenth century.^{lviii} Subsequently the ostension of the monarch's effigy gave visible expression to the individual body as symbol of a sempiternal, ruling institution of state, whilst accompanying the corpse as expression of the ruler's corporeal fallibility. Though it was initially proposed that it be interred in the Panthéon - like a leading figure of the state - the *Soldat inconnu* was ultimately placed beneath the Arc de triomphe, waiting, as it were, to be picked up as spiritual

reinforcement by the next venture of French arms to pass by. However, the *Soldat inconnu* was given the honor of a full state funeral, as if the body were that of a President of the Republic. Resurrected at the end of *Entr'acte*, Jean Börlin not only wore a swathe of medals, including a white Maltese cross clearly meant to be the Legion of Honour, his costume of black tailcoat and white silk stockings closely resembled the formal apparel of high officials on state occasions. Börlin appears, then, as the *Soldat inconnu* might have looked had he returned from his tomb, his body perfected in resurrection not as a humble *poilu* in 'horizon blue' uniform but as an agent of the nationalist ideology that had first sought, then promoted war and which now endeavored to perpetuate its values. Picabia had already recognized this politicization and sanctification of the war dead in a text published more than a year before: "They've just created an order for the dead. Every ten years a commission will open the coffins and the corpses best preserved against maggots will be decorated with the white cross. They'll pin it in place of their nose".^{lix} Given Picabia's sustained polemic in other media against the ideologically determined commemoration of the recent war, what is perhaps most surprising about *Relâche* and *Entr'acte* is not that they lack a similar critique, but that commentators have so far mostly overlooked its presence in the play of symbols.

As a detailed example of how this critique moves between media, I attend directly to the filmic introit to *Relâche*. The motif of the cannon is appropriated from a popular culture that sentimentalised and mythified the World War. As with his polemic against Foch and the *Soldat inconnu*, Picabia employs the iconography of postcards. We see a common strategy with Picabia's earlier writing and painting; the borrowing of motifs and texts, and the symbolic displacement and inversion of their values.^{lx} Picabia often worked directly from postcards: his double sketch that converged the boxer and fighter-pilot Georges Carpentier and Marcel Duchamp – media promoted war hero and artist who had dodged the war – on the cover of the final issue of *391* began with a promotional card of the boxer. (Figs.) It is clear that his painting *First meeting* (c. 1925-26) is based on a film publicity postcard.^{lxi} Other paintings in the 'Monsters' series may have similarly identifiable sources.

Whilst the cannon's appearance, with its large, wooden spoked wheels, is like something from the Napoleonic era, it closely resembles a 75mm cannon, 1897 model (Fig.). This was the standard equipment of French field artillery regiments throughout the First World War, with more than 4,000 being in service in 1914 and some 17,000 produced in the next four years.^{lxiii} It was specifically designed as a mobile, rapid-fire weapon for the scenarios conceived by the French military in the late nineteenth century as likely to characterise modern conflict, accompanying fast-moving troops in open country.^{lxiii} Two distinguishing characteristics of the weapon's wartime service link it closely to both *Entr'acte* and passages in *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère*. The first of these was its role in the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, when the German advance into France was halted just short of Paris. Whilst the 'miracle of the Marne' was credited to the strategy of General Joseph Joffre, the artillery was understood to have played a particularly significant part in that victory. The '75 became celebrated as 'Our Glorious '75' and it was immediately commemorated in ephemeral cultural forms. (Figs.) Yet, the promotion of the '75 as emblem of France's salvation was essentially fraudulent. Its success on the Marne was inadvertent: the French divisional and corps artillery dominated that battlefield only because the speed of the German advance meant that the infantry units had outstripped their tactical support. Prior to this, in the 'Battle of the Frontiers', the '75 batteries had been all too easily suppressed by heavier German guns.^{lxiv} The emergence of trench warfare as the reality of modern combat made plain the deficiencies of French military planning and provision. The '75 proved itself to be an unreliable weapon: poor quality of manufacture and inadequate maintenance in combat conditions led to a high number of barrel failures. On the first day of the Champagne offensive in 1915, ten percent of the '75s deployed eliminated themselves without German assistance. To prevent barrel degradation, and conserve scarce ammunition, the guns, supposedly capable of fifteen rounds a minute, in 1915 were limited to four, for no more than ten minutes at a time.^{lxv}

It is clear from the postcards that any resemblance to the actual weapon was often token. For example, some of the guns have ten spokes in their wheels, some as many as twenty-two,

while the '75 actually had fourteen; scales vary wildly, with some cannon being little bigger than a heavy machine gun and sometimes, like the weapon in *Entr'acte*, lacking the shield designed to screen crews from shrapnel and small arms fire. We should note, however, that the cannon on the theatre roof is both to the correct scale of a '75 and considerably more substantial than most that appear in the postcards; it has a mock-up of a recoil carriage, more significantly it has a functioning breech mechanism. [Fig.] It is hard to imagine a working breech being fashioned for theatrical performance, unless its creators wanted to specifically evoke a rifled, breech-loading cannon such as the '75. Given the weapons shortages of 1914-15 on the allied side, it was not uncommon for artillery training to begin with dummy weapons, so that crews could learn the habits of moving the gun and even loading it, before moving on to the real thing. It is quite likely that Clair's assistants obtained a now-redundant dummy '75 from a training school, where a breech mechanism would have been required. Thus, if the artilleryman in the postcards often lays his schematic weapon in defence of his wife or mistress as soft-focused, sensual embodiment of the homeland, Satie and Picabia are able to take a close model of the gun that supposedly saved France and turn it upon all the things that, with the post-war settlement, it has come to represent as well as protect. They assume the simultaneously devotional and carnal poses adopted before various avatars of 'Marianne' by the model soldiers of the propaganda postcards; they prance around this token of military prowess with all the glee of the militant non-combatant, especially the politician, given the chance to play with weapons of war as if they were no more than toys.

This is perverse, given Satie's and Picabia's non-participation in the war. Satie's politics turned sharply to the left from August 1914. He joined the Socialist Party the day after the assassination of its anti-war leader Jean Jaurès on 31 July, and then the Communist Party in December 1921. The anti-authoritarian Picabia was a reluctant soldier, being employed as a driver for 'a general' in autumn 1914.^{lxvi} In early 1915 Picabia's family ties and excellent Spanish led to him being sent on a trade mission to Cuba; however, rather than expediting this he effectively deserted, belatedly carrying out the mission in late 1915 then staying in New York until the summer of 1916. He then moved to Barcelona, living amongst the community of

emigres and refuseniks that included Arthur Cravan and Robert Delaunay, before briefly returning to New York and finishing the war in a Swiss sanatorium, being treated for drug and alcohol abuse. By contrast, many of the former combatants in the audience at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées would have known about Picabia's 'shirking', and would not have thought highly of it.

The cannon would have surely recalled for that audience a former combatant and friend who was not amongst them. Guillaume Apollinaire had died in 1918, having been seriously wounded in the head by shell fire during in 1916. The leading French modernist poet and art critic had been one of Picabia's closest friends before the war and, for his role in the conflict, the subject of several sharp critiques after it. If Picabia's dedication of the poetry collection *Platonic False Teeth* (1918) to Apollinaire was sentimental, what followed was rather more scathing. Picabia in January 1919 would describe Apollinaire as a 'Parisian hero'.^{lxvii} As Marc Lowenthal notes "Parisian" is typically a pejorative term for Picabia'.^{lxviii} In *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* Picabia addresses Apollinaire and Cravan as differing examples of the 'rastaquouère', with specific reference to the latter's use of staged boxing matches in Spain, the USA and Mexico to fund his escape from conscription.

Faker = Guillaume Apollinaire

I much prefer Arthur Cravan who toured the world during the war, perpetually obliged to change nationality in order to escape from human stupidity. Arthur Cravan disguised himself as a soldier in order not to be a soldier, he did as all our friends do who disguise themselves as honest men in order not to be honest men.^{lxix}

This comparison is perhaps extended in a scene in *Entr'acte* where white boxing gloves are superimposed over shots of Paris, alluding not only to Cravan's success (and fraudulence) as an amateur boxer whilst trying to raise money to escape to the USA, but also to the more widespread fondness for boxing in the pre-war avant-garde. This craze had been supported by articles on the sport in Apollinaire's journal *Les Soirées de Paris*.

The relationship between Apollinaire and the ‘canon de ’75’ was even more specific. He had joined in August 1914 the 38th Regiment of Field Artillery, which was equipped with the weapon.^{lxx} By September 1915 he was the officer in command of the number 4 gun in the 45th battery of the unit. Part of Picabia’s complaint against his old friend was that he chose to do this. As late as 1921, in a text primarily directed at Cocteau, Picabia, under his pseudonym “Funny Guy”, would write: “I am stunned with obscene despair when I see my friends turn into artillery officers”.^{lxxi} Apollinaire was not a French citizen: he was not required by law to defend the republic, as Picabia and Duchamp were. War service was in fact a route to French citizenship, and like many non-French members of the Parisian avant-garde he volunteered. Picasso, who was in a similar situation and remained a non-combatant, sent his old friend a sketch of the improbable scenario. [Fig.] That image includes a crudely stylised “canon de ’75” in the background, and Silver sees a wider affinity between this drawing and the celebration of the war in French popular culture: ‘Instead of trying to wedge a bit of nationalist sentiment into his Cubist style, Picasso here adopts the simple and crude drawing of the images d’Epinal...’.^{lxxii} Made since the sixteenth century, the widely-circulated Epinal productions experienced a prompt renaissance during the war years, with the factory concentrating on patriotic subjects. In constructing the scene with the cannon on the roof, Picabia, Satie and Clair made a similar reference to the celebratory imagery that is built around the ’75 in the circulation of postcards. Whilst the appropriation was a bathetic gesture, mocking military prowess, Picabia could also use it to invoke Apollinaire through distanced allusion.

However, it is through the military tactics governing the use of the ’75, and their failure once trench warfare began, that the cannon in *Entr’acte* engages directly with historical circumstance and contemporary politics, and rearticulates Picabia’s established critique. In *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* Picabia included a long, sarcastic section on the role of specific generals in the war, and the role of the artillery in recent French history as well as in certain historical narratives concerning great figures of the past.

Analyze the blood of a hero and that of a coward, you will see that they are exactly the same, your impartiality makes you prefer the hero, only because you are snobs,

the courage to be a coward is in my opinion infinitely more sympathetic ; the art that I love is the art of cowards. The Cormons, the Besnards, these Marshals of painting, were made to paint Joffre, Mangin or Lyautey. Regarding Lyautey, who just made his victorious entry into the Académie Française, I want to quote this very beautiful passage from his inaugural speech:

“I have said that one figure dominated this entire part of Houssaye’s works, that of the Emperor.

“There is one other, the soldier

“Amongst all those that he animated, there are none to whom he gave a greater sense of real and intense life than Napoleon’s soldiers, both old and young. The old are the “grumblers”, those who followed him in Egypt, in Russia, for whom he is a god, who believe in no one but him.

“As for the young, I leave the floor to M. Henry Houssaye:

“They were called the “Marie-Louises”, those young soldiers suddenly torn from **class-rooms** and thrown after a few days training into the furnace of battle. They inscribed the name “Marie-Louise” with their blood on a great page of history...

“It was the “Marie-Louises”, those Voltigeurs of the Young Guard who, at Craonne, stood for three hours on the crest of the plateau under the enemy batteries whose shrapnel mowed down 650 men out of 920!”

Poor souls have fallen in hundreds for the glory of a ventriloquist! And to say that this is still the way things are! The men who lead the world make use of the vilest and emptiest passions; Napoleon is the perfect example of the conjunctive cell...Excuse me for talking about such stupid things.^{lxxiii}

Here Picabia employed his strategy of appropriation to talk critically about three of the war’s leading figures: Joseph Joffre was Commander in Chief of the French Army on the Western Front from August 1914 to the end of 1916 (the period of the worst French losses); Louis-Hubert Lyautey was one of the leading colonial generals, responsible for forces in North Africa, before being made Minister of War in early 1917; Charles Mangin made his military reputation as a division commander on the Western Front in the early years of the war and commanded the Sixth Army by 1917. Picabia announces that he is citing Lyautey’s inaugural speech to the Academie Française in 1912 – a speech that in turn cited the nineteenth century French historian Henry Houssaye. However, Picabia subverts these texts to define the subject they celebrate - Napoleon Bonaparte - as a model of the ‘rastaquouère’, a paradigm for which Christ is the original. For the veterans of Napoleon’s campaigns their leader was a god, and they believed in no one but him. Yet Picabia suggests that this god is nothing more than a ventriloquist, a trickster for whom the

innocent die in their hundreds. And the cannon in *Entr'acte* might perhaps carry the reminder that Napoleon the arch-fraudster began his career as an artillery officer.

Picabia's example of such delusional slaughter comes from Houssaye's description of the battle of Craonne in March 1814. This was one of a series of battles fought by the outnumbered French army against invading Austrian, Russian and Prussian forces bent on forcing Napoleon from power. The "Marie-Louises" was the cohort of conscripts called early into the army in 1812-13 to replace its catastrophic losses during Napoleon's Russian campaign. The Empress Marie-Louise is said to have signed the necessary documents, since the Emperor himself was still abroad, but the nickname also plays on the extreme youth of both the conscripts and the Empress. Picabia follows the distinction drawn by Houssaye (and thus by Lyautey) between the "grumblers" (*groggnards*) - the nickname of the elite veterans of the Imperial Guard regiments, known as the Old Guard - and the soldiers of the Young Guard, whose recruitment started in 1810 from the most physically able conscripts and volunteers of that year's cohort and thus included the best of the Marie Louises. However, for Picabia both young and old are prey to the same fraud. Picabia's appropriated description of the destruction of a battalion of Light Infantry (*Voltigeurs*) of the Young Guard by Russian batteries at Craonne resurfaces through intermedial relationship between text and film in the cannon on the roof-top.

In *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* the slaughter at Craonne is drawn into the register of contemporary politics by Picabia's clever articulation between the celebration of Napoleonic history and the recent war. This is achieved initially through Lyautey's citation of Houssaye's account. Furthermore, it is worth noting that - as with much of *Entr'acte*'s narrative - causality is reversed: in the text we see the historical outcome of 'rastaquouèrism', Lyautey's elevation to the Académie Française, before we see the trick that the rastaquouère plays. Rather as a film may, Picabia inverts temporal registers, and in so doing uses the Napoleonic wars to talk about the World War, and the role of specific French commanders as contemporary models of fraudulent power, whose deceit is endorsed by, and reinforced through state-sanctioned cultural agencies,

whether the Académie Française or the portraits rendered by establishment artists such as Fernand Cormon and Paul-Albert Besnard.

Craonne in 1814 provides a direct connection to both Mangin and Lyautey in 1917. It was a village on the ‘Chemin des Dames’ ridge in the Aisne valley, and was the site of a second, later battle. That engagement is present through the reference to Charles Mangin before ever the reader gets to the Napoleonic encounter. Craonne was utterly destroyed during the French offensive in the Second Battle of the Aisne in April 1917: an attack preceded by five days of artillery bombardment. The shell-fire failed to degrade the German defences and in a month the French suffered 187,000 casualties, including 40,000 on the first day of the attack. The men who were killed and wounded were from a new generation of “Marie Louises”. To replace the horrendous losses of the first year of conflict under Joffre’s command – 590,000 killed, 411,000 missing, 960,000 wounded by the end of 1915 - the French called up early the cohorts of 1916 and 1917, effectively lowering the age of conscription to 18, and reduced the physical standards necessary for military service.^{lxxiv} Mangin commanded the Sixth Army during the Aisne offensive, and lived up to his soldiers’ nickname of ‘the butcher’. The catastrophic assault, with its misplaced faith in the power of artillery to destroy well-fortified positions, had been conceived by the new French commander-in-chief, Robert Nivelle. However, the strategy was approved and its planning overseen by the Minister of War, Lyautey, until his sudden resignation on a separate issue in March 1917. Much of this would have been familiar to Picabia’s readers: most would have known of Mangin and Lyautey’s roles in the offensive; Houssaye’s history of the 1814 campaigns, which is the text that Lyautey cited, was a hugely popular book in France, running through multiple editions before 1914.^{lxxv} Picabia uses appropriation of these texts, and intermedial association between his own writing and film able to align contemporary ‘rastaquouèrism’ with its historical precedents, and show how myths of military glory are perpetuated in establishment culture.

A cannon on a Parisian roof-top, therefore, cannot in 1924 be regarded as an innocent symbol with which to begin an exercise in Dadaist frivolity. Nor is the weapon simply there as

part of a play with new forms of fluid symbolism. Rather it is a symbol that is historically and politically resonant, through the inversion of meaning that this fluidity allows. It addresses through bathos and parody the celebration of supposed military success in both popular and establishment cultures – celebrations that masked a series of fundamental failures. These were first of all failures of policy - there were the wrong sort of guns, because the French military imagined that modern warfare would be something other than it was; then of industrial planning - because French industry could not build enough weapons; and finally of industrial design and manufacture - because ‘our glorious ’75’ was an unreliable and inadequate weapon. The cannon at the same time establishes an intermedial association to Picabia’s existing literary works where he singles out specific, fraudulent, individuals, to condemn their roles in the war and their subsequent exploitation of their status as cult figures. These are individuals are not only generals and politicians: Lyautey, Mangin, Foch et al. They are ordinary, dead, soldiers whose mortal remains are endowed with sacred sentiment – the *soldats inconnu*. They are celebrities – Cocteau, Carpentier, and they are avant-garde poets - Apollinaire. They are shown as belonging to a fraudulent historical lineage in which the projection of charisma in the pursuit of power over others has fatal consequences for those deluded masses.

ⁱ Aurélie Verdier, ‘[Sic] Picabia: Ego, Reaction, Reuse’, *October*, 157 (summer 2016): 63-89, provides a compelling account of Picabia’s strategies of appropriation.

ⁱⁱ The related scene in the ballet is ‘The dancer places a garland on the head of a female spectator’; unusually Satie employs the same key, F major, rather than transposing it, as he commonly does within the essentially palindromic structure of *Relâche*. Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 179-184.

ⁱⁱⁱ Francis Picabia, ‘Relâche’, undated, typed sheet (c. February/March 1924), Ballets Suédois Archives, Dansmuseet, Stockholm.

^{iv} Robert Desnos, ‘Cinéma: *Entr’acte* par Francis Picabia, mise en scène de René Clair’, *Le Journal littéraire*, 34 (December 13, 1924): 15.

^v Pierre de Massot, ‘Un film « Nouveau », *L’Ere nouvelle*, October 2, 1924. ‘Je noterai pourtant que j’ai retrouvé sur l’écran le philosophie de « Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère » le livre plus important de Picabia’. The date suggests that de Massot attended the screening of the final cut of *Entr’acte* arranged for Satie, so that he could fit his score to the film. In general I have throughout this paper translated French titles to English: however, to do so with *Jésus-Christ Rastaquouère* (perhaps *Jesus Christ, Charlatan*) loses the complex layers of meaning bound up in the word *rastaquouère*; *Relâche* is, as we shall see, similarly ambivalent.

^{vi} Alan M. Gillmor, ‘Erik Satie and the Concept of the Avant-Garde’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 69, 1 (winter 1983): 104.

- vii Lynn Garafola, 'Rivals for the New: The Ballets Suédois and the Ballets Russes' in *Paris Modern: The Swedish Ballet, 1920-1925*, ed. Nancy Van Norman Baer (San Francisco: Fine Art Museums of San Francisco, 1995), 68.
- viii For the full repertory, see Mathias Auclair and Frank Claustrat, 'Le Répertoire' in *Les Ballets Suédois: Une compagnie d'avant-garde (1920-1925)*, ed. Mathias Auclair, Frank Claustrat and Inès Plovesan (Paris: Opera National de Paris, 2014), 72-125.
- ix Alex Trott, 'Dynamism and Design in the Ballets Suédois's *L'Homme et son désir*' in *Across the Great Divide: Modernism's Intermedialities, from Futurism to Fluxus*, ed. Christopher Townsend, Alex Trott and Rhys Davies (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2014), 48-65.
- x Carole Boulbès, 'Relâche and the Music Hall' in *Francis Picabia: Our heads are round so our thoughts can change direction*, ed. Anne Umland and Cathérine Hug (Zürich: Kunsthau Zürich, 2016), 134-135.
- xi George Baker, *The Artwork Caught by the Tail: Francis Picabia and Dada in Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 304.
- xii Mimi White, 'Two French Dada Films: *Entr'acte* and *Emak Bakia*', *Dada/Surrealism*, 13 (1984): 37-47.
- xiii Börlin wears the costume of a huntsman or *chasseur*, that term was used to describe a particular branch of French light infantry from the late 18th century onwards, and in the First World War the *Chasseurs Alpins* were widely promoted for their valour and *esprit de combat*.
- xiv Baker, *The Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 289-331.
- xv Jennifer Wild, *The Parisian Avant-Garde in the Age of Cinema, 1900-1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 214-215.
- xvi Sara Crangle, 'Dada IS Bathos! Or: Of the Hobbyhorse Endlessly Rocking' in *On Bathos: Literature, Art, Music*, ed. Sara Crangle and Peter Nicholls (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 27-48.
- xvii See, inter alia, Richard Sheppard, 'Modernism, Language and Experimental Poetry' in *Modernism-Dada-Postmodernism* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 101-144; John J. White, *Literary Futurism: Aspects of the first avant-garde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 215-287.
- xviii Katia Samaltanos, *Apollinaire. Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia, and Duchamp. Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, No. 45* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 64-75. Adrian Hicken, *Apollinaire, Cubism and Orphism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 88.
- xix Francis Picabia, *Poèmes et dessins de la fille née sans mère* (Lausanne: Imprimeries Réunies, 1918).
- xx William Camfield, *Francis Picabia: His Art, Life and Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 154-155, fig. 190.
- xxi Ralph Schor, 'Des marginaux de luxe: les rastaquouères sur la Côte d'Azur au début du XX^e siècle', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 69 (2004): 2-9, records the word being used in the 1910s to describe gigolos. Cited in Adrian Sudhalter, 'How to make a Dada anthology' in *Dadaglobe Reconstructed* (Zürich: Kunsthau Zürich, 2016), 53, n. 100.
- xxii Elke Orth, *Das dichterische Werk von Francis Picabia (1917-1920)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 126, citing Walter Serer, 'manifest dada' in *Letzte Lockerung* (Hannover, 1920), and reproduced in *Literatur-Revolution zwischen 1910-1920, Dokumente, Manifeste, Programme, Vol. II*, ed. Paul Pörtner (Berlin, 1961), 495. Picabia would "borrow" his identity in 'Carnet du Docteur Serer', 391, no. 11 (February 1920), 4, and for small texts in 391, no. 14.
- xxiii Baker, *The Artwork Caught by the Tail*, 290, 294.
- xxiv Marc Ferro, 'Cultural Life in France, 1914-1918' in *European Culture in the Great War: The arts, entertainment, and propaganda, 1914-1918*, eds. Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 306-307.
- xxv Nancy Ring, "New York Dada and the Crisis of Masculinity: Man Ray, Francis Picabia and Marcel Duchamp in the United States, 1913-1921." PhD diss, Northwestern University, 1991, 21-22; Arnaud Pierre, "Dada Stands its Ground: Francis Picabia versus the Return to Order" trans. Elmer Peterson, in *Paris Dada: The Barbarians Storm the Gates. Crisis and the Arts: The History of Dada, Volume VI*, ed. Elmer Peterson (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 2001), 132-156.
- xxvi Michel Sanouillet, *Francis Picabia et 391, Tome II* (Paris: Losfeld, 1966), 33. 'Picabia vivait dans un monde où la guerre n'existait pas'.
- xxvii Amelia Jones, *Irrational Modernism: A Neurasthenic History of New York Dada* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 62.
- xxviii Richard Challener, *The French Theory of the Nation in Arms, 1866-1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 4.
- xxix Anthony Clayton, *Paths of Glory: The French Army 1914-18* (London: Cassell, 2003), 43.
- xxx Theresa Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada. Art and Criticism, 1919-1924* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 28.
- xxxi Richard Sheppard, 'Dada and Politics' in *Modernism-Dada-Postmodernism* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 341. Paul Achard, 'Relâche', *Siècle*, December 1924. The opening night audience included the couturier Jacques Doucet, one of the principal backers of Dada projects, and the Comtesse de la Rocca, along with Picasso, Léger, Baroness Henri de Rothschild, and the celebrity ballerina Napierkowska.
- xxxii Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, passim.
- xxxiii See the essays in the special issue of *Avant-Garde: Revue interdisciplinaire et internationale, arts et littératures au XX^{me} siècle. No. 3, 'Anarchia'* ed. Fernand Drijkonigen and Dick Gevers (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1989), and also Richard Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in fin de siècle France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Patricia Leighton, *Reordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Patricia Leighton, *The Liberation of Painting: Modernism and Anarchism in Avant-Guerre Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
- xxxiv Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Art, Politics and the First American Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 169; Christian Sénéchal, *L'Abbaye de Créteil* (Paris: Delpeuch, 1930), Daniel Robbins, 'From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye de Créteil', *Art Journal*, 23, 2 (Winter 1963-64): 111-116, Guy Taillade, 'Unanimisme, Futurisme, Abbaye de Créteil', *Bulletin des Amis de Jules Romains*, 7, 23 (March 1981), 15-25.
- xxxv *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 8; Kathy E. Ferguson, 'Why Anarchists Need Stirner' in *Max: Stirner*, ed. Saul Newman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 178.

- xxxvi "Schuld", 'Le récupération d'un rastaquouère' in *Francis Picabia*, ed. Pontus Hulten (Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 1976), 27-28.
- xxxvii Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 99.
- xxxviii Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 73.
- xxxix Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 7-8.
- xl Hubert van den Berg, 'From a New Art to a New Life and a New Man. Avant-Garde Utopianism in dada' in *Avant-Garde Critical Studies. Vol. 19. The Invention of Politics in the European Avant-Garde (1906-1940)*, ed. Sascha Bru and Gunther Martens (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 140-141.
- xli Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1915-1925* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Christopher Green, "Humanisms: Picasso, Waldemar George and the Politics of 'Man'", *Comparative Criticism*, 23 (2001): 231-254; *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada*, 57-81.
- xlii Silver, *Esprit de corps*, 2.
- xliiii Pierre, 'Dada Stands its Ground', 132-156.
- xliv Pierre, 'Dada Stands its Ground', 137.
- xlv Jean-Jacques Lebel, 'A Rearrangement of the *Entr'acte* Rhizome' in *Francis Picabia: Our heads are round so our thoughts can change direction*, 145-159.
- xlvi Pierre de Massot, 'Post-scriptum aux *Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*', *Le Philaon-Thibaou*, 10 July, 1921: 14
- xlvii Further references to Cocteau and his work in the film may include the oversized heads on the puppets in the train carriage, alluding to the papier-maché heads on characters in the ballet *Le Boeuf sur le toit*, and the camel in the funeral procession. In a text addressed to Cocteau, Picabia makes the following remark: 'Society people, you see, are always going to resemble daguerreotypes in the way that Cyrano de Bergerac resembles jazz. Briefly, in a word, the principal difficulty about living is to always be accompanied by camels!', Francis Picabia, 'Chef-d'œuvre', *Le Philaon-Thibaou*, 10 July, 1921: 5.
- xlviii Francis Steegmuller, *Cocteau. A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1970), 124.
- xlix Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, 139. See also Appendix I, 503.
- ¹ Pierre de Massot to Francis Picabia, 22 January 1924. Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, scrapbook A(1) 1. 'Pour la 1^{re} fois, le Théâtre des Champs-Élysées verra peut-être une révolution véritable qui n'aura rien de commun avec les manifestations des Mariés'.
- ² Satie to Marcel Raval, c. 21 October 1924, in *Satie Seen Through His Letters*, ed. and trans. Ornella Volta (London: Marion Boyars, 1989), 196-197.
- ³ Arnauld Pierre, *Francis Picabia: la peinture sans aura* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), 177. 'Les attaques de Picabia ne sont en effet jamais gratuites mais ciblées avec une remarquable exactitude contre la rhétorique patriotique et nationaliste du temps'.
- ⁴ *Picabia: la peinture sans aura*, 177.
- ⁵ Francis Picabia, 'Dactylocoque', *Littérature*, 2^{me} série, 7 (1 December 1922): 10. 'La femme qui se trouve en ce moment près de moi caresse ses seins, les pointes sont rouges; sur chaque sein il y a un portrait, à gauche Foch, à droit le Soldat inconnu'. Field Marshall Ferdinand Foch was Allied Supreme Commander at the end of the war.
- ⁶ Francis Picabia, leaflet distributed at the Salon d'Automne, 1921. 'Les hommes couverts de croix font penser à un cimetière'.
- ⁷ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 26; Christopher Townsend, "The art I love is the art of cowards": Francis Picabia and René Clair's *Entr'acte* and the Politics of Death and Remembrance in France after World War One', *Science as Culture* 18, no. 3 (2009): 281-296.
- ⁸ Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), 79-104. See also Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997).
- ⁹ Elena Lourie, 'Jewish Participation in Royal Funerary Rites: An Early Use of Representation in Aragon', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 192-194.
- ¹⁰ Francis Picabia, [untitled] *Littérature*, 2^{me} série, 8 (1 January 1923). 'On vient de créer un ordre pour les morts. Tous les dix ans une commission ouvrira les cercueils, et les cadavres qui seront le mieux comportés contre les asticots seront décorés de la croix blanche. On la leur épinglera à la place du nez'. Translation from *I Am A Beautiful Monster. Poetry, Prose, and Provocation. Francis Picabia*, ed. and trans. Marc Lowenthal, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2007), 46.
- ¹¹ Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 125-161.
- ¹² Aurélie Verdier, 'Art=Sun=Destruction' in Umland and Hug, *Francis Picabia: Our heads are round so our thoughts can change direction*, 174.
- ¹³ Elizabeth Greenhalgh, *The French Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 35.
- ¹⁴ R.M. Ripperger, 'The Development of the French Artillery for the Offensive, 1890-1914', *The Journal of Military History*, 59, no. 4 (1995): 599-618; Jean-Gabriel Marie Rouquerol, trans. Sir Percy Rolfe de Blaquièr Radcliffe, *The Tactical Employment of Quick Firing Artillery* (London: Hugh Rees, 1903).
- ¹⁵ Ripperger, 'The Development of the French Artillery for the Offensive', 599.
- ¹⁶ Jonathan Krause, *Early Trench Tactics in the French Army. The Second Battle of Artois, May-June 1915* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 28.
- ¹⁷ Gabriel Buffet-Picabia, *Rencontres avec Picabia, Apollinaire, Cravan, Duchamp, Arp, Calder* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977), 48; Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 70, calls this General 'Boissons', but there does not seem to be such a general in the French army lists of 1914. However, the young Pierre Boisson (1894-1948) was an aide-du-camp to Joffre in 1914. Given Boisson's subsequent role in the Vichy government, where an early death prevented him from being tried, and

likely executed, as a Nazi collaborator, Buffet-Picabia might have been deliberately vague about who her husband had briefly served.

^{lxxvii} Francis Picabia, 'Poème', *Sic*, nos. 37-38-39 (30 January-15 February 1919): 299. 'Un héros Parisien'.

^{lxxviii} Lowenthal, *I Am A Beautiful Monster*, 46.

^{lxxix} Picabia, *Jésus Christ Rastaquouère*, 46. Piper = Guillaume Apollinaire. /J'aime mieux Arthur Cravan qui a fait le tour du monde pendant la guerre, perpétuellement obligé de changer de nationalité afin d'échapper à la bêtise humaine. Arthur Cravan s'est déguisé en soldat pour ne pas être soldat, il a fait comme tous nos amis qui se déguisent en honnête homme pour ne pas être honnête homme'.

^{lxxx} Laurence Campa, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 2013), 517.

^{lxxxi} "Funny Guy", "Chef-d'œuvre", *Le Philaou-Thibaou*, 10 July, 1921. Supplement to 391, no. 15.

^{lxxxii} Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 38.

^{lxxxiii} Picabia, *Jésus Christ Rastaquouère*, 58-60. Analysez le sang d'un héros et celui d'un lâche, vous verrez qu'ils sont exactement semblables, votre objectivité vous fait aimer davantage le héros, uniquement parce que vous êtes des snobs, le courage d'être lâche est à mon avis infiniment plus sympathique; l'art que j'aime est l'art des lâches. Les Cormon, les Besnard, ces maréchaux de la peinture, sont faits pour peindre Joffre, Mangin ou Lyautey. A propos de Lyautey, qui vient de faire son entrée victorieuse à l'Académie Française, je tiens à citer cette très belle période extraite de son discours de réception: / « J'ai dit qu'un figure dominait toute cette partie de l'œuvre de Houssaye, celle de l'Empereur. / « Il y en a une autre, le soldat. / « Entre tous ceux qu'il a fait mouvoir, il n'y en a pas qu'il ait animés d'une vie plus réelle et plus intense que les soldats de Napoléon, les vieux et les jeunes. Les vieux ce sont les « grognards », ceux qui l'ont suivi en Egypte, en Russie, dont il est le dieu, qui ne croient qu'en lui. / « Pour les jeunes, c'est à M. Henry Houssaye que je laisse la parole : « On les appelait les « Marie-Louise », ces petits soldats soudainement arrachés aux foyers et jetés quelques jours après l'incorporation, dans la fournaise des batailles. Ce nom de « Marie-Louise » ils l'ont inscrit avec leur sang sur un grand page de l'histoire...../ « C'étaient des « Marie-Louise », ces voltigeurs de la jeune garde qui, à Craonne, se maintirent trois heures sur la crête du plateau sous les batteries ennemies dont la mitraille faucha 650 hommes sur 920 ! »/ Pauvres êtres tombés par centaines pour la gloire d'un ventriloque ! Et dire que nous sommes encore là ! Les hommes qui mènent le monde se servent des passions plus viles ou les plus vides ; Napoléon est le type absolu de la cellule conjonctive..... Excusez-moi de vous parlez de choses aussi imbéciles.

^{lxxxiv} Greenhalgh, *The French Army and the First World War*, 126.

^{lxxxv} Henry Houssaye, 1814, *Histoire de la Campagne de France et la Chute de l'Empire* (Paris: Perrin et cie, 1888). Lyautey was citing pages 29-30.

Translations are my own except when otherwise specified. This paper was made possible in part by funding from the British Academy which allowed me to make use of the archives of the Swedish Ballet in the Dansmuseet, Stockholm and the Francis Picabia papers at the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet in Paris.