forest: the reigning right-wing politics of official Hungary, the left-liberal modernism of the periodical Nyugat (with which Kassák still had tenure, but collegial relations), the socially critical but also nationalist and sometimes anti-Semitic 'popularist' writers, and the ideologically ossifying Hungarian Communist Party. Kassák bravely faced head-on the increasingly conservative and repressive tendencies in the Soviet Union of the 1930s and was sharply critical of writers such as Ilya Ehrenburg, Maxim Gorky, Henri Barbusse, Anna Seghers, and André Gide for their connivance with Stalinist smear-campaigns and falsifications; he openly defended pariah-figures such as Leon Trotsky and Victor Serge. One of the most dramatic instances of Kassák's unflinching political honesty appeared in the November 1936 issue, in which he delivered a blistering denunciation of the silence of the French left-wing writers upon the execution of sixteen 'old Bolsheviks' on 25 August 1936 in the course of the Moscow Show Trials.

Contrastingly, this public address was the singular document of mourning and personal grief of Munkás 63, dedicated to Kassák's wife, the performer Jolán Simon, who committed suicide on 25 September 1938. The issue contained the tributes of friends and fellow writers to Simon, including Kassák's heart-wrenchingly unadorned expression of pain 'Halk kis ballada' (Pale Little Ballad) as well as a beautiful, playful earlier verse by Arvála József, who himself had committed suicide ten months before Simon:

Were there a collective craftsman's bench,
It would produce her winter shoes,
Were there a true-hearted billygoat,
It would haa ou her many virtues.47

47 "Ha volna kollektív ipartársa, | vagy cipőjét megsemmisít, | ha volna igazságtili kecske, | az ő décadertét megesné." Arvála József, 'Simon Jolán', Munkás, 63 (1938), 2179.

ROMANIA: 'WINDOWS TOWARD THE WEST': NEW FORMS AND THE 'POETRY OF TRUE LIFE'1

Revista celor l'alți (1908); Insula (1912); Chemarea (1912); Contimporanul (1922–32); 75 HP (1924); Punct (1924–5); Integral (1925–8); Urmuz (1925); and unu (1928–33)

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From the last decade of the nineteenth century until 1948, when the communist regime took over, the Romanian reading public had access to a lively modernist scene which produced a relatively large number of periodicals, mostly before the mid-1930s, both in the capital, Bucharest, and to a lesser, but still surprisingly large extent, in the provinces. Some of these were ephemeral, lasting no more than a single issue, others endured for years or even a decade. Some magazines were stamped graphically by iconic avant-garde features in layout, typography, drawings and illustrations, while others were more conventional.

Romanian modernism was part and parcel of the country's attempt to 'catch up' to a modernity that was perceived as Western. It played a role in the transformation of taste and in the political and cultural debates about the country's modern history and its future. Modernist literary and art periodicals doubled as venues of social and political critique, and articles on the new architecture also commented on urban squalor and were accompanied by blueprints of recently completed structures. Thus art and politics, life and literature, industry and photography, aesthetic theory and architectural practice were intertwined in the texts and visuals of the

1 'Fereastră spre Occident' ('Windows toward the West') is the title of B. Fundoiu's article in C., 11 (June 1922), 11–22. 'Poetry of True Life' ('poezie a viei adevarate') is a phrase from 'Poezia pe care vrem să o facet' (The Poetry That We Want to Make), Viaţa imediată (Immediate Life), 2 (1933), edited by Gabriela Duda (ed.), Literatura românească de avangarda (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1997), 90. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are the author's own.
Romanian modernist press and in the minds of many European avant-gardists more generally. When Filippo Tommaso Marinetti visited Romania in 1930, he rode in what he poetically called the 'automobile of the Romanian Futurists' ('automobilul futuristilor români'). The writers and artists of the Romanian avant-garde who hosted him took him to see the oil fields in Moreni, and he followed up his visit with an essay translated into Romanian for the review *Contemporanul* as 'Incendiul soarelui din Moreni' (The Moreni Oil Well Fire)—later there was a poem as well—about this site of industrial modernity. Marinetti described the well's 'spiral beauty' ('frunzea spirală'), akin to that of an impossibly tall ballerina dancing wildly, furiously in a 'shower of sparks' and 'growing her boiling hips' ('volutele șoldurilor ei ce fierb').

According to Steven Mansbach, morphologic similarities between Western and Eastern European modern artistic styles may be proof of important connections across the continent, but he points out that they have as often masked important dissimilarities in intention, function, references, reception, context, and meanings. Mansbach argues that 'What has long made the magnitude and merit of modern art from Eastern Europe remote is a general ignorance of the historical, political, and social conditions to which the respective modern movements were a creative response.'

Take the publication of Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto* in Romania (as *Manifestul Viitorului*) on 20 February 1919. This incendiary text was printed in Romania on the very same date on which it appeared in the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. In fact 20 February in Romania, which then observed the Julian calendar, came thirteen days later than in Paris. Thus this instance of seemingly perfect synchronization hides dissimilarities in chronology, context, and also in meaning. In Romania, the manifesto was first published in a rather salutarily entitled *Democrația: Revistă politică, economică și literară* (Democracy: Political, Economic, and Literary Magazine) printed not in the capital, but in the southern city of Craiova.

The Romanian version of the manifesto, with its daring, violent, high-strung language, was framed by several counter-elements that subverted its very intent and meaning. The headline in *Democrația*, 'O nouă școală literară' (A New Literary School) appeared above the group of texts, as well as in the table of contents on the review's cover, where F.T. Marinetti and M. Drăgănescu were listed as joint authors. Mihail Drăgănescu was a lawyer and the magazine's editor-in-chief. The descriptive textbook-like title did much to dampen the shock of the manifesto's imperatives. A portrait of Marinetti reproduced from *Il poeta Marinetti* stood at the top of page 3. It was followed by a brief introduction of Mr. F.T. Marinetti', and by a note (printed in italics to suggest written correspondence) 'signed' by Marinetti. The Italian futurist politely asked his correspondent to send him his 'opinion of and total or partial adherence' to Futurism. The text of the manifesto was thus sandwiched between this courteous front matter and Mihail Drăgănescu's symmetrically polite reply, again in the form of a collegial letter.

The correspondence between Marinetti and Drăgănescu may be understood as part of Marinetti's campaign to launch Futurism. A number of Romanian writers and periodicals subscribed to *Poesia*, the international literary review that Marinetti edited in Milan. *Poesia*, in turn, featured the translated texts of Romanian writers and poets. Marinetti had sent the Manifesto to Drăgănescu, and to other *Poesia* subscribers around the world before its publication in Paris, thus making possible the coincidence of its appearance on (almost) the same date in 1919 at the two ends of Europe. Futurism and Marinetti's manifesto were also objects of discussion in other Romanian periodicals in 1919, including the official Liberal Party newspaper *Viitorul* (The Future)—yet another coincidence, where the symbolist poet Ion Minulescu (who also published a translation of the Manifesto later in 1919) was an editor.

In his response to Marinetti, *Democrația*'s editor took issue with several of the extravagant suggestions hurled by the manifesto. Addressing Marinetti with the cordial salutation 'Dear brother' ('scump confrânt'), which Marinetti had also employed, Drăgănescu nevertheless questioned the 'rather curious points' of the 'inflammable manifesto', which, he said, prevented 'us from wholly agreeing.'


4 Mădălina Lascu was the first to question this synchronicity. See 'Craiova, poarta de intrare a avantgardiei europene pe teritoriul românesc' Noi pesetări privind prinăderile futurismului în România (Craiova: A Possible Gateway for the European Avant-Garde in Romania? New Clarifications as to the Penetration of Futurism in Romania), paper presented at the Society for Romanian Studies conference 'Europeanization and Globalization: Romanians in Their Region and the World', Sibiu, Romania, 2–4 July, 2012.


7 'pairea D-voastră asupra Manifestului Viitorului și alegerea D-voastră totală sau parțială'. *Democrația*, 1:19 (20 Feb. 1919), 3. According to Lascu, this was a circular letter. See her 'Craiova, poarta de intrare', op. cit.


10 'Trenzi fiind puncte derul de curioase în manifestul Viitorului pe cari poeia în general—că nu ne putem uni în total cu ideile cuprinse din incontenabilul voastri manifest'. *Democrația*, 1:19 (20 Feb. 1919), 6.
addressed himself particularly to the furious verbal attack Marinetti unleashed on bourgeois cultural institutions and professionals. 'We will destroy the museums, libraries, academies of every kind', item 10 of the Manifesto read. It continued:

For too long has Italy been a dealer in secondhand clothes. We mean to free her from the numberless museums that cover her like so many graveyards.

Museums: cemeteries... Identical, surely, in the sinister promiscuity of so many bodies unknown to one another... So let them come the gay incendiaries with charred fingers! Here they are... Come on! set fire to the library shelves! Turn aside the canals to flood the museums!

... Take up your pickaxes, your axes and hammers, and wreck, wreck the venerable cities, pitilessly!

Drăgănescu chided Marinetti for not appreciating the cultural riches in which Westerners revelled, and contrasted this plenty with the poverty he saw at home:

You're become bored with your many museums, libraries and antiquities, but we Romansians have almost no museum, almost no library. You have too many professors, too many archeologists, museum guides and antiquities. We, alas, have almost none, we are a poor young country. Only yesterday rid of the Ottoman and Phanariot yoke, we are [in the process of] taking shape today and we have no art of our own momentous enough to amaze in distant Western countries. Our few brilliant great men journey to your enlightened Western countries... because here they are regarded with vulgar envy and disinterest.

We don't have museumcemeteries [sic] because there was nothing for us to bury... Of course, underground may lie many ignored, lost, dispersed historical sources, buried in the darkness of time, which cannot be visited even once a year... so that we may get to know our ancestors and their actions in the cultural, political, and social domain, while you [Westerners] have had enough because you see them too much daily in your museums.13

The 'Old Kingdom' becomes 'Greater Romania': islands, symbols, and a call to arms

After the Second Balkan War, in 1913, Romania gained southern Dobrudja, a sliver of land west of the Black Sea and south of the Danube seeded by Turks, Tatars, Bulgarians, and Romanians, that had belonged to Bulgaria. With the outbreak of the Great War, Romanian politicians pondered the benefits of neutrality or engagement. Despite the Kingdom's Hohenzollern monarch and its traditional German alliance, in 1916 the Romanian Kingdom joined the Entente in exchange for secret

13 'Nu vrem lucrări de durere, vrem energie şi independenţă... vrem şi noi a căzută, mărcătore spre a vă urma, căci noi latinii orientali, suferem de un sânge cu voi latinii occidentali, origina neastră pomenite din Roma, ne lăsum neamul căci lăsum patriotismul.' Ibid.
promises of territorial gains in adjacent parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should the Allies prevail. Since they won the war, Romania obtained the promised lands of Transylvania and Bukovina; the country also benefited territorially from the Russian Revolution and the red scare that traversed Europe. In an attempt to stem the revolutionary tide, the Great Powers allowed Romania to claim the province of Bessarabia, which had been under Russian control since 1812 but had a large Romanian-speaking population. Thus between 1913 and 1918 Romania more than doubled in size and its population grew by almost as much. This territorial and demographic expansion made Romania more cosmopolitan and it stimulated economic and urban growth. The population of Bucharest in particular increased at a galloping pace from 382,000 inhabitants in 1918 to 700,000 in 1939.  

Even before the Great War, modernism was in the air, not only in discussions of Futurist ideas, but also as a Romanian version of Symbolism became the first important literary dissident movement. Revista celor trei fântâni (The Magazine of the Others; 1908) and Insula (The Island; 1912) were both edited by the Symbolist poet Ion Minulescu, who had briefly studied law in Paris in 1900 before abandoning academia for literary bohemia and journalism. In the first issue of Revista celor trei fântâni in March 1908, Minulescu signed the manifesto ‘Aprinderea torței’ (Light up the Torches), which explained the magazine’s title, and the literary movement he envisioned:

Light up the torches to shine light on the literary present! The literary present? . . . Here it is. A few youth who speak and read Romanian just like the others, but who wish to write in a different way than the others, [and] have the courage to plant a flag in the middle of the road at high noon, and, addressing the others, to say: ‘Up to this point this has been your road: from now on it is ours.’

The article was written in a dignified, moderately militant tone. The torches, the flag, the challenge to ‘other’ youths, and the word ‘courage’ all signalled an open struggle between rival groups for official recognition. The final paragraph also alluded to a generational ‘passing of torches’: ‘Enter the temple of literature through the main gate, not through the side doors. Prostrate yourselves before the dead near

the entrance. That’s all . . . On their graves there are candles burning . . . [while] you are bearing torches in your hands.’

The 1912 weekly Insula similarly described the aesthetic difference between itself and ‘them’, between a ‘strange and enigmatic island’ and the ‘dead ocean of advertising’ surrounding it. (Insula stranie și enigmatice pe oceanul morți și cotidian al reclamei). A contrast was also invoked between the island and the continent of bad taste:

We are in truth the islanders disgust by and in revolt against the dry and impertinent noise of those on the continent . . . An unknown island, we have appeared, scorned by any literary geography, on whose maps we don’t even figure as a possibility . . . We’re therefore not obliged to take account of any of the canons of this geography.

Between 1908 and 1912 the tone of literary rebellion had turned haughtier and more categorical.

Romania’s first avant-gardists were extremely young heirs to Symbolism. The revue Simbolul (The Symbol), edited by the high school students S. Samyro (that is Samuel Rosenthal, whose more enduring pen name would be Tristan Tzara) and E. Iovanki (later known as Ion Vinea), appeared only four times in 1912. Their classmate Marcel Iancu (later known abroad as Jancó) financed Simbolul and was responsible for layout and graphics. Yet, established, more mature symbolists like Macedonski, Maniu, and Minulescu were among its collaborators.

In 1915, Iovanki and Rosenthalock adopted their lasting pen names of Ion Vinea and Tristan Tzara, which appeared on the front cover of another short-lived review, Cheamarea (The Call), edited by Vinea. Paul Cernat describes it as a primarily political and civic anti-war publication. Yet it was also the first periodical to bring a modernist visual style to its covers. The first issue featured ‘L’Onésie’ (The Downpour), a 1901 woodcut by the Swiss-born Félix Vallotton, which depicts a chaotic

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15. Aprinderea torței să lumineze prezența literară. Revista celor trei fântâni, 1:1-1. Căci-va tinere care vorbește și creeze rozățițe e la fel cu cei alți, dar care vocea să scrie într-un stil de care ei, au curajul ca a mai adăuga mai multă flăcăcă în mijlocul drumului un fanion și adesea-archical de cei alți să-l spună:

"Până aici, este drumul veșnic, de ace încolo, al nostru.

Revista celor trei fântâni, 1 (10 Mar. 1908), 1.
urban street scene in which a bourgeois crowd stands against a gusty wind. The second (and final) cover of *Chernarea* featured another Valloton woodcut, one dating from 1893, entitled ‘Les baigneuses surprises par l’orage’ (Bathers Surprised by the Storm), part of the artist’s ‘Les petites baigneuses’ (Little Bathers) series. Though very different from *l’Ondée*, since the foreground image here focuses intimately, however, on two little girls, the theme conveyed by both woodcuts chosen for these covers was that of stormy weather, alluding perhaps to the wartime turbulence, the loss of control and of tranquillity. Both Valloton prints made repeat appearances on *Contemporanul* covers seven years later, establishing a visual link between the 1915 *Chernarea* and its younger, but more long-lived sibling. Vinea edited both periodicals.

The ‘Avanti!’ (Prologue), which inaugurated *Chernarea*, acknowledged a crowded field of reviews that Vinea compared to a noisy amusement park, in which this additional sheet could hardly be justified. He sketched a societ of cheating, danger, and depression before calling on his readers and collaborators ‘to step out...with heavy armour under our vest, to exchange the maps in editorial offices for arsenals at the ready, to carry asphyxiating bombs in hand-baskets, and pencils with blades’, adding, ‘now is the turn of the young, of those called up if need be to fight, to ask themselves where they’ll be sent. Our magazine is a question [posed by] a group of writers, journalists and students, addressed to everyone.’

Several articles in *Chernarea* struggled with the seductions of war and nationalism. Although the review was critical of jingoism, of Romania’s holding out for the best territorial offer, and of the possibility of redrawning boundaries according to the impractical principles of nationalism, a ‘kingdom or an empire that would have as its frontiers the Dniester and the Tisa [rivers] and [reach] beyond Bukovina, a country [that was] in the dreams of all Romanians’ was held out as an undoubtedly attractive ideal. The ‘wonderful dream’ [about] these lands, godly in their beauty’

23 Maxime Valloton and Charles Coquer, Félix Vallotton: catalogue raisonné de l’oeuvre gravé et lithographié (Geneva: Les Éditions de berner S.A., 1973), 225, 227. Image available at Wikimedia public domain. *l’Ondée* was part of the artist’s series on the 1900 Paris World’s Fair and had been reproduced in 1901 in the Berlin review *Die Kunst*. This may be where *Chernarea*’s editors had found *l’Ondée*.

24 *Chernarea*, 21 and 211.

25 See *Contemporanul*, 112 (16 Sept. 1912), and 113 (1 Oct. 1912).

26 ‘Sâ își învăță...cu piețe povătorite sub voce. Să îndoiască hârtiile din redacții cu panoplii la îndemână, să avene bombe asfixiante prin coșuri, și crețeace cu șe...[A]cum...e zorul celor tinere și chimpi, la nevoie, să se întrebe unde vor fi vinși. Revista noastră e o întrebare, a unui grup de scriitori, sărbătoriți și studenți adresată noastră’. *Chernarea* 117 (Oct. 1915), 1–2. The article is signed ‘I. Vinea’, on p. 3.

was unfortunately being ‘dirtied’ by the political scheming employed in their acquisition, wrote Ernest Poldi. In the second issue Vinca satirized the country’s neutrality and cowardice, and the political calculations involved in choosing sides: ‘And we won’t go into Transylvania now...but at the end; Transylvania or Bessarabia, according to circumstance,—but only at the end’ (‘Și în Ardeal nu vom intra acum...ci la sfârșit. În Ardeal, sau în Basarabia, după împrejurări,—dar numai la urma’). In another article Theodor Solocu lampooned the ‘auction of patriotic (?) beliefs’ and ‘the noise of nationalist drums and cudgeles!’ (‘licițația crezinelor (?) patriotice se șine la câte o răspândire de stradă, în gmoatrul tobelor și cîmpeniților naționalistici de toate sunetele și toate culorile’). Tristan Tzara contributed the anti-war poem, ‘Furtuna și cîntecul dezertorului’ (The Storm and the Song of the Deserter). Perhaps it was the storm in this poem that the Valloton woodcut on the cover had been chosen for.

Close to the time of this publication, in autumn 1915, Tristan Tzara left Bucharest for Zurich and met Marcel Janco, who had gone there to study the year before. Janco and Tzara (and Janco’s two brothers who also studied in Zurich) helped produce the Cabaret Voltaire happenings and the Dada movement (see Chapter 49). As the war wound down, the two friends—by then estranged—moved to France in late 1919 to early 1920, and Tzara settled in Paris for the rest of his life, excepting the war years when he went into hiding in the south. Janco, however, returned to Romania in 1921 and lived in Bucharest for the next two decades; he became a prolific and successful architect, and continued as a visual artist and modernist theoretician. He also pursued a rich editorial and curatorial career editing magazines and organizing exhibits.

27 ‘Principiul naționalistilor’: ‘Cu toate aceste ținută, ne înflăcăresc de zăra timp un regat sau al țării României care să aibă drept triumfării Nistrului și Tisă și cinciile de Bucovina, o țară visată de toți Românii...și deodată vezi întreg vinul unui, pământului acestuia dumnezeiasce de frumoase supus maschiului politicismului dela noi’. Ernest Poldi, ibid. 15. Poldi was the pen name of Leopold Chapira, a high school friend of Vinea’s. See Cernea, *Aneurădia*, 100.


29 Theodor Solocu, ‘Impresii de larmoare’ (Impressions from the Fair), ibid. 29.

30 Ibid. 66–7.

31 Harry Severson, Marcel Janco: Denkarte—Zeitgenössische wohltätige morgenländischer Konstruktionen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 30.

Contemporanul and its circle

On 3 June 1922, Iancu and his friend Ion Vinea launched Contemporanul: Organ al Constructivistului românesc (The Contemporary: Organ of Romanian Constructivism). Iancu financed the review and was its artistic director and theoretician as well as the organizer of the group that gathered around the publication.38 The more bohemian Ion Vinea served as the review’s official editor. Lasting until 1932, Contemporanul was the longest running of Romania’s interwar modernist periodicals. In all, 102 issues were published, although in fact there were fewer, since double and triple issues were frequent in the review’s later years. Contemporanul was much more than a review, however: Iancu and his collaborators organized art exhibits and other ‘syncretic’ events, and a ‘Contemporanul group’ was a recognizable if shifting formation in Bucharest.39

Paul Cernat has noted three distinct phases in the life of Contemporanul.40 During the first which lasted until July 1923 it appeared fairly punctually once a week and was dominated by political and social concerns which were on everyone’s mind after the wartime upheaval and as Romanian society embarked on the project of assimilating vast new territories and multilingual, multireligious populations.41 This first period was followed by a hiatus of nine months after which Contemporanul re-emerged, in April 1924, as a periodical of the artistic avant-garde. It then appeared less frequently and less regularly.

In this second phase, politics gave way to predominately aesthetic preoccupations. The review’s third period was one of growing eclecticism; it began after yet another hiatus—from 1928 to 1929—and lasted until 1932. Collaborators known for contributing also to periodicals affiliated with Romania’s new right were visible—never dominant—in the pages of Contemporanul in this last phase. Conversely, Ion Vinea was also writing for Cuvantul (The Word)—an independent paper of the ‘new generation’ that after 1934 became a fascist mouthpiece, and he was elected MP on the National Peasant Party list.42 This increased openness to diverse ideologies, aesthetic theories, and mainstream politics laid the groundwork for a backlash from a newer and more radical avant-garde.

Contemporanul took its title from a much earlier semi-monthly periodical of the same name sponsored by the Naţional Socialist Club in 1881–97.43 The founders of Contemporanul in 1922 seem to have made this choice to suggest ideological continuity with socialism. Thus, the programmatic article printed in italics in the first issue of the 1922 magazine, entitled ‘Bun sosit!’ (Welcome to you) and signed by Dr N. Lupu, an older politician with ties to the socialist movement, recalls that earlier publication:

My generation and the one before mine owe much of their spiritual culture and intellectual polish to the great socialist magazine that, thirty years ago, bore the same name.

I wish my younger compatriots and the new magazine (Contemporanul) the same success in civilizing the Romanian intellect and life at the beginning of this century and in this new and rare human epoch as its ‘grandmother’ (Contemporanul) had at the end of the last century.

This first issue included no illustrations, and the lettering of the title was conventional. Contemporanul then looked like a normal, wordy periodical, although it was very much left of centre. In the very next issue, however, all this changed: the title was now rendered in attractively uneven, hand-drawn all-cap letters; the initial ‘C’ drawn in such a way as to suggest an upside-down sickle. Soon cover pages began featuring illustrations—mostly political cartoons that accompanied sharp political editorials criticizing the National Liberal Party (NLP) then in power, the Brătianu family which dominated the party, Romania’s foreign relations, the new constitution, censorship, and policies towards ethnic and religious minorities. Italian fascism, labour struggles, the Turkish–Greek conflict, the oil industry, and the Soviet famine were all grist for journalists at Contemporanul. Cover drawings were attributed to A. Dragoș, Brusu Hanes, Luc, and increasingly to Marcel Iancu.44

40 Cernat, Anuarada, 532–3; and Paul Cernat, ‘Contemporanul: izvoruri unei reviste de avant-gardă’ (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2005), 19, 63, and Seivores, Marcel Iancu: Dadască, 143, 175, 283.
41 Cernat, Anuarada, 10–13, 10–2, 109–74. Cernat identifies the review as a monthly in this period (ibid. 12) but Contemporanul appeared on a weekly basis in 1922 and 1923.
42 Cernat, Anuarada, 169–74.
covers also offered surprises; there were the 're-runs' of the two Vallotton woodcuts that had appeared in the 1913 *Chemarea*, as well as reproductions of works Iancu had created for posters in his Swiss days. These visual 'echoes' drew attention to the editors' former lives and to the world beyond Romania's frontiers. Iancu and Vinea may also have been playing with ideas for the future while riffing on the past.

Despite the heavily political orientation of the early *Contemporanal*, indications of broader cultural, intellectual, and aesthetic leanings abounded from the very beginning. B. Fundoianu's column 'Ferestre spre Occident' (Windows toward the West) in the first issue compared 'the old continent', i.e., post-war Europe, to a decrepit hotel whose 'doors no longer closed [properly], with all the life inside the rooms spilled as by a phonograph into the hallways' ('Bătrânilor continent trăiește astfel ca un hotel cu curândă părută... cu ușile care nu se mai închid, cu toată viața din adânci răspândită, ca într-un fonograf pe coridoare'). He applauded the new possibilities for cosmopolitan intercourse among books and ideas written and expressed in different languages, and used the occasion to point out that 'a young Romanian decadent' ('un tânăr decadent român')—an allusion to Tristan Tzara—had succeeded in 'creating for all of new Europe a strange aesthetic' ('a izburi să creeze pentru toată Europa nouă, o scolare estetică'). The 24 June issue of *Contemporanal* featured the column 'Note de pictură' (Notes on Painting) probably attributable to Iancu. The author defined 'abstractionism' as 'the liberation of painting from visual signs and exterior signs'. The politics of culture was also a topos in these early days of the review, as evidenced in 'Scritorul bugetitor' (The Budgetwore Writer) about the Society of Romanian Writers' mistaken policy of seeking state subsidies.

By the end of 1922 *Contemporanal* had taken a visual turn toward abstraction. Its covers were no longer consistently either political or cartoonish. The 4 November issue featured Iancu's 'Dansul Negilor' (Negro Dance), a graphic composition he had drawn as a poster for the Zurich 'Chant nègre' (Negro Song) soirée on 31 March 1916; he had used it a second time as publicity for a *Der Sturm* exhibit in 1917. The last issue of 1922, on 30 December, featured an engraving identified simply as 'Desen'.

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43 *Contemporanal*, 113 (3 June 1922), 11–12. See also Cecina, *Contemporanal*, 113.
44 *Contemporanal*, 113 (3 June 1922), 12.
46 *Contemporanal*, 115 (17 June 1922), 12–13.
47 *Contemporanal*, 116 (4 Nov. 1922). In fact the date printed on the *Contemporanal* cover was 4 Nov. 1916 [sic]. It seems more than likely that this apparent typographical error was intentional, a kind of visual joke, since the cover reproduced the poster Iancu had made in 1916. The engraving is identified as 'invitation à une soirée Dada, 1916' in J.-M. Paimbe, *Articles rediscoveries: Le mouvement Dada 2/3 Dada à Zurich naissance du mouvement'. Accessed online at http://stabioz.uniblog. fr/evol2/12/le-mouvement-dada-2-7. It is identified as 'Affiche pour le Chant nègre', Cabaret Voltaire, 1916, 73 x 55; Image reprinted in the affiche de la Sturm-Ausstellung [sic]. II. Serie (oeuvres de Albert.
(Drawing) by Marcel Iancu while the cover of the next issue (6 January 1923) presented his Cubist self-portrait. Like the ‘Negro Dance’ poster, and the ‘Drawing’ in the 30 December 1922 issue, Iancu’s self-portrait was unrelated to any specific article in the magazine. Together these covers by Iancu signalled his increasingly central role in the production of the magazine and the aesthetic turn that the editors were contemplating: art for art’s sake instead of art in the service of politics.

Beginning with 13 January 1923 Contemporanul had a whole new look. In large format, each issue consisted of only four pages. The lettering of the title lost the uneven, artisanal quality. Thick, bold, all-cap italics—either in red or in plain black—gave the new Contemporanul title a determined and dynamic feel. In the new format cover illustrations amounted to a far smaller proportion of the page. Many of the pictures were identified as original woodcuts by Marcel Iancu with or without specific titles. Still, the magazine continued to carry articles about domestic and international politics, be it the new constitution, pogroms in north-eastern Romania, demonstrations by nationalistic students who were demanding the introduction of _numerus clausus_ in Romanian universities, the question of ethnic minorities in Greater Romania, the anniversary of Marx’s death, and the situation in Soviet Russia among other topics.

Appearing again after a long absence in spring 1924, Contemporanul threw itself into the politics of aesthetics. _Însemnări de artă_ (Art Notes) of April 1924 began with the thesis that ‘Beauty in art is a prejudice’, Iancu contested artistic conventions of virtuosity and technique, and applauded the authenticity, intensity, and expressiveness of children’s art, folk art, primitive art, and the art produced by the mentally ill. _Manifestul activist către tinerime_ (Activist Manifesto to the Young) written by Vinea appeared in the very next issue bearing all the rhetorical marks of high avant-gardism. Divided into three parts, the manifesto began by insulting conventional art, society, and politics. Part two declared in a single synthetic sentence what the collective ‘we’ ‘WANT’ (‘VREM’), while part three starting with ‘THUS’ (DECI) laid out more prosaically an ambitious programme encompassing art, society, the economy, and industry. The following are excerpts from the three sections of the manifesto:

Down with Art
‘cause it has prostituted itself!
Poetry is nothing but a press to wring the tear gland of girls of any age;

BLOCH, Fritz BAUMANN, Max ERNST, Lyonel FEINGER, Johannes ITTEN, KANDINSKY,
Paul KLEE, Oskar KOSCHEHA, Otakar KUBIN, Georg MÜCHLE, Maria UHDENI) i la Galerie
DADA de Zurich, le 14 avril 1917. See Documentes Dada accessed at <http://dadasaur.blogspotpo-
cum/2010/05/blog-post_5373.html> and Seiwer, Marcel Jancu, 82.

Rivals and allies of Contemporanul: heroics and foreign relations

The years 1924 and 1925 represent the high tide of Romania’s modernist avant-garde. Both 75 HP and Punct (Point or Period) made their appearance in October 1924, the former also for the last time (Fig. 49.2). Its seemingly enigmatic title referred to the 75 Horse Power of a modern automobile engine and the editors

WE WANT
the miracle of the new word in full;
the rigorous and speedy visual expression of a Morse telegraph

THUS (we want)
The death of the epic and of the psychological novel

We want the theatre of pure emotion, theatre as new existence freed from the washed out díchés of bourgeois life [and] from the obsession with meaning and orientation.

We want visual arts free of sentimentalism, of literature and of anecdote; they should be the expression of pure forms and colours in relation to themselves.

Romania is being built today.
In spite of the stumped political parties, we are breaking through into the great activist industrial phase.

**Rivals and allies of Contemporanul: heroics and foreign relations**

The years 1924 and 1925 represent the high tide of Romania’s modernist avant-garde. Both 75 HP and Punct (Point or Period) made their appearance in October 1924, the former also for the last time (Fig. 49.2). Its seemingly enigmatic title referred to the 75 Horse Power of a modern automobile engine and the editors...
Brauner' from 26 October to 15 November. Romanian, French, and some Italian and German were used at times in the same unrhymed paragraphs. Domestic and foreign subscriptions were available in Romanian lei and in French francs for regular and deluxe editions.33

A month after 75 HP's explosive appearance, many of the same contributors launched the monthly Punct subtitled Revista de literatură și artă constructivistă (Review of Constructivist Literature and Art), later Revistă de artă constructivistă internațională (Review of International Constructivist Art) and then Revistă de artă constructivistă (Review of Constructivist Art). Punct's 'director', or editor-in-chief, was Scarlat Callimachi but Victor Brauner and then Ştefan Rădu, in succession were credited as the actual editors on Punct's back page until the last few issues.

On the cover of Punct's first issue its readership was treated to read both 75 HP and Contemporanul. On the continuum between modernism and avant-gardism Punct was closer to the latter than Contemporanul, even if some of Punct's most intransigent contributors, for example, Iancu, were closely associated with Contemporanul. In March 1925 Punct fused with Contemporanul. Just before this, Contemporanul announced (in French) that the two publications were the 'only organs of the Romanian avant-garde' ('les seuls organs de l'avantgarde roumaine'). The merger was noted in Contemporanul no. 55–8 as an effort to unite propaganda forces. A similar announcement (in French) appeared prominently in the last issue of Punct (16 March 1925). Like other interwar avant-garde magazines, Punct published articles and poems by local authors in foreign languages as well as the work of foreign-language authors such as Philippe Soupault, Hélène Kra, Kurt Schwitters, Herwarth Walden, Theo Van Doesburg, and Pierre Bourgeois in French and German. But unlike Contemporanul, Punct, did not include reproductions of graphic work by foreign artists such as Hans Arp, L. Kassák, Braque, Picasso, or Sidney Hunt. All of this suggests a sustained effort to link with foreign colleagues and audiences, although each publication did this in its own way.34

By the mid-1920s the group around Contemporanul was well established and it had become somewhat proprietorial about the development of the avant-garde in Romania for which it assumed full credit. A somewhat paternalistic note in the October 1924 (3:48) issue of Contemporanul described 75 HP's graphics as derivative

33 For a full discussion of 75 HP see Dragomir, Influențe ale futurismului, 185–205.
34 Examples include Ioan Vineas, 'Victorie en bleu', Punct, 2 (11 Nov, 1924), 1; Dida Solomon, 'Pensées de nuit', Punct, 5–7 (1 Jan, 1925); 5 and Marcel Iancu, 'T.S.P. Dialogue entre le bourgeois mort et l'âme de la vie nouvelle', Punct, 21 (1 Jan, 1925). 3. See also Dragomir, Influențe, 152–5, 154–5. Integral devoted a whole special issue, no. 13–14 (June–July 1929), to French poetry featuring Ribemont-Dessaignes, Max Jacob, Roger Vitrac, Tzara, Céline Arnauld, Paul Dermée, Reverdy, Fondane, and Seuphor. For graphic work by Kassák, Plecas, Braque, Hunt, and Arp see Contemporanul 3:74 (Sept. 1924), 534 (Feb. 1925), 535 (June 1925), 570 (Nov. 1925), and 571 (Dec. 1926).
of earlier heroic Dadaist and Futurist publications and while applauding its courage, it also qualified it as juvenile."

The Bucharest avant-garde presence was by no means limited to its periodicals publications but there were the universal vehicle for publicizing their other events and activities, as well as many avant-garde performances and publications outside Romania. *Contemporanal* and its kindred periodicals regularly announced and reviewed the books of poetry, fiction, and essays published by the writers who contributed to these periodicals and whose volumes were most often published as imprints of these same periodicals. Similarly, as indicated, Victor Brauner's first one-man show, which opened at the Fine Arts Syndicate in October 1924, was announced on the back page of *Contemporanal*. This event was followed in 30 November–30 December of the same year by the first international exhibition organized by *Contemporanal*. It showed works by twenty-four foreign and local artists and *Contemporanal* (3:50–1) devoted a double issue to the exhibit catalogue (Fig. 49:3). The February 1925 issue carried a long article in French *L'Exposition internationale du "Contemporanal"* (The International Exhibition of *Contemporanal*), listing the participants by country. The lead paragraph drew attention to the importance of the show:

This is the first modern [art] exhibit in which Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Hungary, Poland, Serbia, and Romania [all] participated. It is a demonstration of the real existence of a new current which... traverses our epoch lending its own style. The phenomenon manifests itself everywhere simultaneously and in all spheres of spiritual activity.... The new art is an abstract art that does not imitate nature except... [by virtue of being] a product of creation."

Given that the exhibition had already closed, and that the anonymous article was in French, it seems that it was written to remind avant-gardists outside Romania of the show's significance, and, since it had been organized by *Contemporanal*, the glory reflected on the review. The article identified the participants as countries—particular states were said to be represented by this or that artist—despite the fact that it stressed the universality of the modernist style. Taking the national point of view further, the article also pointed, without false modesty, that such an important international exhibition had taken place in Romania first, before anywhere else. Similar efforts in "foreign relations" and in network building across Europe were on display when Romanian avant-garde publications referred to kindred foreign ones or to performances and art shows taking place abroad, or when they noted that a compatriot had earned a foreign distinction—for example the acquisition by a Berlin museum of a painting Arthur Segal had entered at the annual Jury-free show in Berlin in 1924. Foreign echoes of Romanian happenings were also proudly noted; thus *unu* signalled that *Paris-Soir* had publicized the exhibit of grupal "Arta noua" (the New Art group) at the Academy of Decorative Art in Bucharest; *unu* itself gave the show a detailed review in the same issue (unu, 2:7/3, May 1929).

**Revolt against *Contemporanal***

In the avant-garde landscape that gradually became more complex and diverse *Contemporanal's* voice toned down to more moderate artistic and literary decibels cultivating, Cernat suggests, a more tolerant, non-dogmatic, and unceremonious modernism. Some bylines now belonged to authors who were not part of the avant-garde at all, and of these, some were associated with the spiritualist right, and were

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54 See Cernat on *Contemporanal's* assumed role as ultimate judge of avant-garde value *Animagura*, 145.
55 Two such series were published by *Integral* and *unu*.
56 "C'est la première exposition moderne à laquelle participent la Belgique, l'Allemagne, la Suède, l'Hongrie, la Pologne, la Serbie et la Roumanie. C'est une démonstration de l'existence réelle d'un nouveau courant, qui... traverse l'Époque lui prêtant son propre style. Le Phénomène [sic] se manifeste simultanément partout et dans tous les domaines de l'activité spirituelle.... L'art nouveau est un art abstrait qui n'influence que dans le procès de création." *Contemporanal*, 4:153–4 (Feb. 1925).
57 See also Panic, *Cronica*, 179–4. Panic tallies the foreign expositors as Teresa Zarnowska and Mieczysław Szczuka from Poland, L. Kasák from Hungary, Marc Darmont and Lempereur Haut from Belgium, Jörd Pecers from Flanders, Karel Telge from Czechoslovakia, Víking Egging from Sweden, and Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, Paul Klee, Hans Richter, C. Bubola, E. R. Vogt, and Mrs. A. Segal from Germany. The Romanians included Iancu, Mico, Marius-Teutsch, Brăjor, Belecușă, Mihăilescu Pătrașcu, and Dica Solomon. Panic counts the Romanian-born Arthur Segal, who lived in Berlin at the time, as German, while including Belecușă, who lived in Paris, with the Romanians.
A crossing of an era. Classes are going down, new economies are being built. The proletariat are imposing forms. New psycho-physiologies are growing.

Integraf had outposts in Paris and in Italy staffed by contributors with one foot in Romania—Benjamin Fondane (Fundoianu’s French pen-name), Ilarie Vorona, Hans Marts-Chirsc, and Mihail Cosma. Fondane’s articles in French dealt with international subjects like Pirandello’s Six Characters in Search of an Author playing in New York, Paris, Berlin, and Rome, or an encounter with Jean Cocteau. Fondane signed ‘Fundoianu’ for pieces he wrote in Romanian. Constantin Brâncuşi and Tristan Tzara also contributed from Paris, writing in French.

Like Contemporanul before it, Integraf also involved itself in ventures beyond the review. In its very first issue for instance Integraf announced the staging of André Gide’s play ‘Saul’ with sets and costumes designed by Maxy. The next issue carried a long article ‘Regia scenica—Decor—Costum’ (Staging—Sets—Costumes) written by Maxy and illustrated with his set and costume drawings for ‘Saul’. He argued that modern art was exerting a major influence on theatre and wrote mainly about stage experiments in Russia and Germany.

Also in its inaugural issue in March 1925 Integraf advertised three forthcoming volumes illustrated by Maxy that were to come out the same month with its own publishing house. In June and July boxed advertisements again announced that the books would appear ‘soon’. Integraf carried other publicity on a dedicated ‘advertisements page’. Grocery stores here shared space with artists’ supply outfitters, attorneys, and photo shops. Avant-garde reviews like Peripitea from the Transylvanian city of Arad also appeared here, and Integraf publicized its own applied art workshop that designed posters, interiors, carpeters, furniture, ceramics, theatre sets, and costumes, and the exhibitions and courses at the Decorative Arts Academy (Academia Artelor Decorative) founded and directed by Maxy.

The ageing Contemporanul’s more and more evident eclecticism, the synthetic aspirations of Integraf—that may have seemed like another face of eclecticism—as well as Integraf’s growing irregularity, made some impatient readers of avant-garde periodicals like Saşa Pană and his friends ask themselves: why not bring out our own magazine? A magazine that won’t make concessions to good taste, one that will publish

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*For example, ‘Provincie’, *Integraf*, 3 (1 May 1925), 13.
*See *Integral*, 4 (1 June 1925).
*Integral*, 1 (1 Mar. 1925) and 3 (1 June 1925).
*The eighth issue of *Integral* was dated Nov.–Dec. 1925. The next issue, no. 9, was dated Dec. 1926. See also Pop, *Avangarda în literatura română*, 165, 180.
only a few writers, namely those encountered in the pages of the avant-garde periodicals of those years whose names were Voronca, Rol, Călugărul, [and] Bogza.78

This rhetorical question and those posing it produced the review unu (one). A similar impulse may have been responsible for Urmuz. The careers of Urmuz and unu are closely intertwined. Both began in provincial towns and both on principle refused to publish anything approaching the mainstream in art, politics, or literature. Bogza’s style has been described as ‘violent, stentive [and] daring in content and vocabulary’ (‘Păgânilor scris de Bogza erau...-violente, stentive, îndrăzneite în conținut și în vocabular’).79 A sample from the manifesto in the inaugural issue of Urmuz illustrates Bogza’s extremism:

The soul’s tussle throbbing outward, liberation and reaching toward Him moaning from the hard bow of brutialty.

...Working in the dark corner, while we warmed ourselves still by the light of a false sun, He opened the faucets of cold that now envelops everyone.

The sun until today asked in all of its uselessness.

The cold grows inimitably reproachful of our superfluousness. Those with thick-skinned souls not noticing this event continue to worship the old orb.

But we feel the cold penetrating us sharply; need for reaction. And then: movement, much movement. The birth of constructivism, surrealism and the other dynamic arts, necessary to our life threatened by freezing.79

Bogza conceived of Urmuz as following in the footsteps of 75 HP.80 But the choice of ‘Urmuz’ for the review’s title is not unimportant. Bogza was invoking Urmuz, the founder of Romanian absurdist literature, and a precursor of the avant-garde.81

78 ‘Ce-ai să scoată noi o revistă? O revistă care să nu fie concenită tunului jurt, care să publice numai pe eleva scriitori și anume pe cel pe care îl întâlnim în paginile revistelelor de avantgardă din acea an...Voronca, Rol, Călugărul, Bogza.’ Pară, Născut, 225.
79 Ibid. 224.
82 Ibid. 229.
83 ‘Manifest’, unu, 1 (Apr. 1928). Monica Voiculescu translates this same phrase in two different ways: ‘debug’ and ‘disinfect’, in Benson and Forgacs (eds), Between Worlds, 335 and 708.
84 *Manifest*, ibid. The phrase ‘arde maculatură bibliotecilor’ is synonomously ambiguous. It could be translated as both a description—the printed matter of libraries is burning—and as a vocative—burn the printed matter of libraries.
85 Pară, Avangarda în literatură română, 182, and see unu, 352 (Nov. 1929), the Urmuz issue.
86 Pară, Avangarda în literatură română, 182.
against Contrimoradului's wavering. In the conclusion Pană added that Constructivism, which Contrimoradului had championed from its beginnings, was alien to amu's own evolving views.

Representing a somewhat younger generation of Romanian-born avant-gardists, amu was taking a turn towards Surrealism, leaving Constructivism to architects and 'claiming a stance completely torn from reality' ('își revendică o conducță cu toții ruptă de realitate'), a creativity that basked in dreams and 'știrițezi' (half-sleep).\(^{33}\) Surrealism was already part of the roster of modern 'isms' available to Romanian writers and artists. Contrimoradului had signalled its arrival, publishing some early manifestoes and other texts, and even placing Ianu's portrait of André Breton on the cover of the May 1925 issue.\(^{36}\) Integral had acknowledged the new current but did not endorse it. Voronca wrote that Surrealism drew on Freudian theories and Dadaist experiments and it did not 'respond to the rhythm of the times'.\(^{37}\) But Bogza's Urmus had listed Surrealism among the 'dynamic isms' that could save the soul from freezing and amu was now increasingly drawn into the Surrealist orbit, acknowledging Constructivism as a stage it had left behind.

amu also distanced itself from Contrimoradului politically. Aware of the turmoil taking place in Surrealist circles in France, amu's editors considered their options. They felt that they had to be careful in order to avoid suppression, or even arrest. But increasingly their sympathies went with Breton's new review Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution (Surrealism in the Service of the Revolution, 1930–3), which had replaced La Révolution surréaliste (The Surrealist Revolution, 1924–9; see Chapter 10). They decided to express their political views discreetly, through illustrations and the brief notes and reviews under the rubric 'acusări' ('accusations') on the review's last page. Leading the leftward trend was the poet Ștefan Roll, but Pană followed.\(^{38}\)

In 1930 Contrimoradului hosted the by then overtly fascist Marinetti while amu was contemplating aligning itself with the materialist wing of the Surrealist movement. The amu collaborators refused to attend receptions for Marinetti, 'Musolinii's acadeştenii' ('academicians like Mussolini'), while Contrimoradului excised him and took him on excursions.\(^{39}\) True, Ianu's article published in Fucăi in May 1930, 'Futurismul nostru' (Our Own Futurism) suggests his own fairly tepid

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\(^{32}\) Pană, Năcot, 237, 237, 297.

\(^{33}\) Ibid. 230, 233, 248; and 112, Românica Asaugare, 77.

\(^{34}\) Pop, Atnugare la literatură română, 184.

\(^{35}\) 'Colivă lui Moș Vinea,' amu, 25 (Sept. 1936), cited in Gabriela Duda, Literatura, 78. Note that Duda attributes the article to Ștefan Pană, while Pop attributes it to Ilarie Voronca. Gabriela Ursachi and

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\(^{36}\) Duda, Literatura, 79.

\(^{37}\) Pop, Asaugare la literatură română, 177.

\(^{38}\) Ilarie Voronca, 'Surrealism și integralism,' Integral, 11 (Mar. 1935), 4–5; trans. by Julian Semillian and Sandra Agallit, in Benson and Fordges (eds), Between Worlds, 555–6.

\(^{39}\) Pană, Năcot, 300–5. This autobiographical account is confirmed by the secret police files on amu. See Ștefan Tanase (ed.), Asaugare română în arhiva Securității (Iasi: Polirom, 2008), 233–44.
his real name of Gheorghe Dinu. After ursa’s demise, Geo Bogza published a new review in December 1933 called Viata immediată (Immediate Life). Although it came out only once, both the title and its manifesto ‘Poetia pe care vrem să o facem’ (The Poetry That We Want to Make) marked a new direction for many of the avant-gardists. The article signed collectively by Bogza, Păstrîm, Luca, and Păun criticized the abstract, hermetic, intellectualized poetry written by people incapable of living close to life, ‘a barren poetry, which cannot bother anyone and which passes from their hands straight into nothingness’ (‘o poezie streâpă, care nu poate să supere pe nimeni şi trece din mâna lor de-a dreptul în gol’).7 The ‘knights of modernism’ (‘cabalerii moderniștilor’) were guilty in their scribbling of a kind of egoism that deserved only scorn. This was also certainly a self-criticism. The poetry these authors said they wanted to make now was ‘a poetry of our time’ (‘o poezie a timpului nostru’) accessible to the masses. In conclusion, they wrote, ‘we are beginning to write a poetry of true life, a poetry that can be read by one-hundred-thousand people’ (‘începem să scriem o poezie a vieţii adevărâte, o poezie care să poată fi citită de o sută de mii de oameni’).8

By 1933, emerging through a kaleidoscope of exuberant, impertinent, Constructivist, Surrealist, erotic, theoretical, and political reviews, Romanian modernist magazines had come full circle. After Symbolist beginnings, Contemporanul had started out by looking back to a militant socialist publication of the previous century bearing the same name. It was initially full of political editorials and caricatures, but it metamorphosed into an avant-garde art and literature review. Eventually it became, for some, unbearably soft and ideologically diverse, prompting younger colleagues to carry forward the torch of a more intransigent, if increasingly inaccessible style of modernism. With ursa and Alge, the avant-garde embraced Surrealism and an intense interest in a world in which dreams and the unconscious were as important and real as life. For the ‘unists’ and ‘algists’ of early days, literature and art were intentionally hermetic since only elitist revolutionary techniques could access that reality. But for some writers within Surrealist circles these experiments lost their aura. Under the pressure of domestic politics and the influence of literary, artistic, and political struggles elsewhere in Europe, the dream masters became propagandists. In this turn-about, World War II and the Stalinist regime that soon followed in Romania found former avant-gardists writing literature for the masses and serving as editors of communist magazines.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


Figure 30:1. cover of Der Blaue Reiter (1912) © ADAGE, Paris and DACS, 2011. Figure 30:2. Richard Seewald 'Revolution', woodcut for cover of Revolution, 1 (13 Oct. 1913), reproduced with permission of the Seewald Foundation © VG Bild-Kunst, 2011. Figure 30:3. cover of Der Weg (Jan. 1919), by F. Schaeffer, reproduced with permission of Christoph Schaeffer.

Figure 31:1. cover of Pan, 1:1 (Apr.–May. 1895), illustration by Franz von Stuck, © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Figure 31:4. cover of Das neue Pathos 1:1 (Mar. 1913), woodcut by Ludwig Meidner © Ludwig Meidner-Archiv, Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Frankfurt am Main.

Figures 32:1. cover of Der Sturm, 1:1 (3 Mar. 1910), and 32:4. 'Der Sturm Weltpressstelle' (The Sturm World Press Reading Room), 1917, reproduced courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sturm Archiv Zs. 1236/1: R. und Sturm Archiv Hdschr. 17845° unten. Figures 32:2. cover of Die Aktion, 28 (10 Apr. 1910); and 32:6. cover of Die Aktion, 8:45–46 (16 Nov. 1918), unattributed woodcut, reproduced courtesy of the Berlinische Galerie, Landesmuseum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur, Berlin. Figure 32:3. Oskar Kokoschka, 'Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen' (Murderer, Women's Hope), cover illustration for Der Sturm, 1:20 (14 July 1910), reproduced courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sturm Archiv Zs. 1236/1 R. © 2010 Fondation Oskar Kokoschka/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ProLitteris, Zurich. Figure 32:5. cover of Sturm-Bühne, 1:1 (1918), photo by John Blazieszewski, reproduced courtesy of the Marquand
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