Modernism Out of Synch

The Avant-garde Asides of H.D., Gertrude Stein and Antonin Artaud

Ruth Georgia Walker

This thesis is presented as full requirement for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English
School of English, Art History, Film and Media
The University of Sydney

March 2005

ABSTRACT

Negotiating various avant-garde and mass-cultural influences, H.D., Gertrude Stein and Antonin Artaud created texts that trouble the dividing lines often drawn in discussions of modernism between high and low, experimental and traditional, visual and aural, exclusive and popular mass-produced sounds, printed words and talking images. They experimented with film, radio and the projection of their own literary celebrity into the public domain during a period between the world wars when the mass communication media were crossing and extending their own technological boundaries. It has already been extensively argued that the encounter with new visual technologies affected writers' positions concerning their own media and, consequently, the act of modernist literary production itself. The introduction of sound to film, with its disquieting asynchronisation of aural and optic, was of a particular anxiety, as it provoked a re-conceptualisation of the field of perception offered by the new communications media. This thesis examines non-canonical projects of H.D., Stein and Artaud, choosing texts that invoke the 'out of synch' nexus of technological change, literary form and modernist aesthetic practice. While redirecting textual attention with distracted viewing, reading and listening practices, these authors used this nexus to inform not only their writing but also their experimentation with mass cultural forms and their own noisy self-projection.

Despite seemingly disparate careers, all three selected authors were part of a modernity that, far from disavowing either an anathematised mass culture or an elitist avant-garde, constructed and pursued multiple affiliations. It was through H.D.'s engagement with the epiphenomena of cinema — film reviews, film stills and publicity — that she was most adventurous in questioning the often awkward calibration of visual and acoustic influences opened up by the silent/sound debate framed in the film journal *Close Up* (1927-1933). H.D.'s photographic self-performance in film stills, for example, anticipated her exploration of the problems of self-representation for the woman writer, the cult of the avant-garde literary celebrity, and the amplification of her own critical voice. My original findings of H.D.'s film stills from the 'lost' and previously critically unexamined *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* (1927) offer a new perspective of the relationship between the avant-garde, modernism, and mass culture. I go on to argue that H.D.'s autobiographical reflections on the stubbornly silent film *Borderline* (1930) and her talking cure with Sigmund Freud in 1933 examine the implications of her silenced authorial voice as she rewinds, replays and samples the lost soundtrack of her experience. While Gertrude Stein insistently disavowed cinema's influence on her writing, I argue that her eyewitness account of adventures in the Parisian avant-garde and her subsequent much publicised lecture tour in America as a best-selling author strategically appropriate the medium of the talkie. By the time Stein appeared in the sound-film documentary *A GI Sees Paris* (1945), Stein had been thoroughly mediated — by fame, by the telephone conversations that continued her conversations from France to America, and by the radio broadcasts that amplified her experience of war. Antonin Artaud, in contrast, threw himself enthusiastically into a career as a silent film celebrity and noisy avant-garde *succès de scandale*. Troubled by the early corruptions of voice dubbing, Artaud nevertheless went on to experiment with new acoustic technologies such as sound-film and the commercial radio adaptation of *Fantômas* (1933) in a bid to project a peculiarly disquieting critical voice that would, eventually, be silenced for a decade by the medical and technological intervention of electroshock in the asylums. This thesis argues that all three authors slyly unfix the hegemony of the visual technologies' impact on representations of the body, memory and identity as they employ new linguistic and literary strategies to account for the side effects of audio and filmic technologies. Investigating the tensions or frictions between looking, hearing and speaking across a variety of media technologies, this thesis addresses the sometimes grating quality of H.D., Stein and Artaud's experimental and often self-promoting forays into the use of media technologies, as well as the ambivalence of their relationship to mass culture and the traditions of high modernism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a long time in the writing, and it would not have been possible without the staunch support of my mother, Christina Walker, who would never let me give up and encourages me to go further. I owe her more than I can say.

I'm grateful to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney for supporting my project and making the early years so enjoyable. I'd like to acknowledge and thank the supervisors from the Department of English who have helped me on my way to thesis completion: most recently, Dr Julian Murphet, who put this thesis on track, as well as Dr Melissa Hardie and Dr Bruce Gardiner. I'd also like to take this opportunity to thank Associate Professor Deirdre Coleman, whose kindness and generosity helped me through the postgraduate experience in ways that she is probably not aware, and Associate Professor Moira Gatens, whose passion for academic rigour and whose camaraderie inspired me to make the most of my time at the University.

My thanks are extended to all the librarians and archivist who have helped me gather material: Tara Wenger from the Harry Ransom Research Centre at Austin, Texas; Susan McGill at the Beinecke Library at Yale University; Richard Legrand at the Bibliothèque de Centre Pompidou; Madame Rouillade at the Bibliothèque à l'Hôpital St. Anne; the staff at the Musée de la Mode, Cinémathèque and Discothèque in Paris; and, of course, the interlibrary loan staff at Fisher Library at the University of Sydney. I only wish that I had been able to use all the bits and pieces I have picked up in my research over the years.

I'd also particularly like to thank Rick Gekoski for giving me the wonderful opportunity to work for him as a rare book and manuscript hunter in the Paris bookstores and auctions: he opened my eyes to the extraordinarily rich and busy market in early twentieth century literary ephemera, and made me value even more the work of librarians and archivists. I'd also like to thank Associate Professor Robin Walz of the University of Alaska for his interest and generous research suggestions for my work on Artaud's radio projects.

Many people have helped this project along the way. In Paris, the direction of Dr Catherine Coquio from l'Université Paris IV–Sorbonne, made a research year as an expatriate postgraduate out of the ordinary, while Dr Agathe Torti-Alcayaga from the Antenne Beauvais of l'Université Picardie-Jules Verne offered insight into the Paris theatre world and the distraction of a two-year teaching contract. I would also like to acknowledge my Paris friends for their support, intellectual or otherwise. I am indebted to my colleagues and friends in Sydney and the University of Wollongong for their encouragement and interest in the completion of my thesis – they keep me focused on the joys of academic work and study. I'm very grateful to both Sue Allen and Judith Egan for jumping in with editing suggestions to help me reach deadlines. Special thanks are also due to Rachel Jackson for her speedy translations, tireless bibliographic help and interest in my project, which comes from a shared passion for early twentieth century film and music. But most of all, I'd like to thank Kylie Brass who has over the long thesis writing years offered invaluable friendship, counsel and distraction whenever it was most needed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....iii
LIST OF IMAGES.....iv-v

Introduction
Chapter 1: The Soundtrack of Modernism.....1

H.D. Ready For Her *Close Up*
Chapter 2: Stills: 'the Image is itself the speech' 37
Chapter 3: Talkies: 'the flash of inspiration, the thing that clicked, that sounded: *this is it*'.....78

Listen to Me, Gertrude Stein
Chapter 4: Telephones: 'anything is an autobiography but this was a conversation'.....112
Chapter 5: Disconnected: 'a voice said attention attention attention'.....140

Shocking Antonin Artaud
Chapter 6: Tunes In: 'you can hear a scream from the extremities of the mind'.....169
Chapter 7: Unplugged: 'all words, once uttered, are dead'.....198

Conclusion
Chapter 8: Disarticulating the Avant-garde.....217

FILMOGRAPHY.....222
RADIOGRAPHY 225
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....226

LIST OF IMAGES

Figure 1 death scene film still for *Borderline* (1930) 48

Figure 2 Bryher and Machperhson in *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* (1927) 52

Figure 3 film still of film stills in *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* (1927) 54

Figure 4 poster for Musidora's *Les Vampyres* (1914-16) 55

Figure 5 nude H.D. photmontage from 'The Scrapbook' (circa 1927-8) 59

Figure 6 Claude Cahun *Aveux non avenues* (1930) 61

Figure 7 film still of H.D. in *Wing Beat* (1927) 65

Figure 8 Man Ray portrait photograph of H.D.(circa 1922) 68

Figure 9 film still of H.D.'s 'stare' in *Borderline* (1930) 70

Figure 10 film still of Greta Garbo in *Grand Hotel* (1932) 72

Figure 11 second death scene film still for *Borderline* (1930) 76

Figure 12 Freud recording a BBC radio broadcast (1938) 82

Figure 13 film still from Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1928) 91

Figure 14 photograph of hysteric from Charcot's *Iconographie*(1876-80) 98

Figure 15 film still from *Hôtel Salpêtrière*(1910-12) 99

Figure 16 film still of H.D.'s hysterical scene in *Borderline* (1930) 101

Figure 17 film still of H.D.'s scream in *Borderline* (1930) 104

Figure 18 film still of three monkeys in *Borderline* (1930) 105

Figure 19 Alice B. Toklas and Gertrude Stein in the spotlight (1933) 115

Figure 20 Gertrude Stein's telephone at rue Christine (circa 1937) 116

Figure 21 still from *Fours Saints in Three Acts* (1934) 123

Figure 22 publicity still for *A G.I. Sees Paris* (1945) 126

Figure 23 Gertrude Stein signing books in Chicago (1935) 138

Figure 24 Gertrude Stein in radio interview NBC(1934) 145

Figure 25 Gertrude Stein singing 'The Trail of the Lonesome Pine' (1937) 149

Figure 26 Gertrude Stein lecturing with microphone (1934-5) 153

Figure 27 Gertrude Stein chatting with American GIs(1944) 165

Figure 28 Gertrude Stein on Hitler's balcony (1945) 167

Figure 29 film still from *La Coquille et le clergyman* (1928) 171

Figure 30 poster for the Marx Brothers' *Animal Crackers* (1931).....175
Figure 31 Man Ray's photograph portrait of Antonin Artaud (c1927).....182
Figure 32 film still for Artaud in *La Passion de Jeanne D'arc* (1928).....184
Figure 33 Artaud overacting madness in *Le Croix de Bois* (1931).....188
Figure 34 poster for *Faubourg Montmartre* (1931).....189
Figure 35 Artaud recording a radio broadcast (1947).....201
Figure 36 publicity poster *Fantômas: Est-il ressuscite?* (1917).....205
Figure 37 *Hommage à Antonin Artaud* poster (1946) 212

1.

INTRODUCTION
THE SOUNDTRACK OF MODERNISM

For a photograph we need a wall. Star gazing. Photographs are small.
They reproduce well. I enlarge better.
Gertrude Stein, *Photograph: A Play in Five Acts* (1920)

We sank into light, into darkness; the cinema palace (we each have our favourite) became a sort of temple. We depended on light, on some sub-strata of warmth, some pulse or vibration, music on another plane too, also far enough removed from our real artistic consciousness to be treated as 'dope' rather than accepted in any way as spiritual or intellectual stimulus. We moved like moths in darkness, we were hypnotised by cross currents and interacting shades of light and darkness and maybe cigarette smoke... Too mechanical a perfection would serve only I fear to threaten that world of half light.
H.D., *The Cinema and The Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone* (1927)

I wrote a screenplay for a talking film which was distinguished by the fact that it contained only one spoken line around which the whole text was written.
Antonin Artaud, *Lettre au Secrétaire Général de l'Alliance Française* (1935)

A study of the shift in emphasis from silent to sound in the early twentieth century opens up a new perspective of the historical avant-garde and its relationship to media technologies and mass culture. It interrupts conventional readings of modernism by disrupting the hegemony of the visual with an invocation of the somewhat asynchronous encounter of perception, technological change and literary form. Gertrude Stein's declaration 'I enlarge better' in the quote above enacts this encounter by at once summarising and appropriating the expanded possibilities of the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. I would argue that Stein complicates the understanding of visual technologies by taking part in the reproductive processes of an otherwise 'still' photograph from within. She then triggers a series of speculations about technology's capacity to reproduce and articulate her own particular avant-garde aesthetic. By anticipating the 'star gazing' images that would 'need a wall', Stein apparently aligns herself with a particularly visual cinematic language, alludes to her own self-

presentation and cultural capital as a celebrity, and then makes claims for her expatiatory potential to amplify the constraints of genre and medium. Stein's claim to 'enlarge better', then, acknowledges the photographic negative from which it is produced, mobilises that still image to a moving picture, and then anticipates her own discursive genius as she talks it up. While Stein's literary praxis has previously been read through the influences of portraiture, paintings and silent cinema, in this thesis I will consider how the realignment triggered by sound-film disrupted, even if it did not entirely displace, such visual understandings of modernity. I will argue that an appreciation of the results of this realignment — an aural, visual and textual nexus — illuminates the relationship between avant-garde writing practices and the often dissonant experiences of modernity. Stein, for instance, employs an extended metaphoric of the aural parallel to her interest in the visual, traceable from the moment she hooked up to a network of avant-garde notoriety in her early engagement with the Parisian telephone exchange, though to her later experimentation with mass publicity and celebrity in talking pictures and radio broadcasts.

This thesis offers an alternate reading of the historical avant-garde's engagement with mass communications media, as it focuses on the frictions or tensions between looking, hearing and speaking across a variety of media technologies in the work of a small selection of avant-garde writers from the late 1920s and 30s, at the moment of a specific modernist encounter with acoustic technologies that impacted and hybridised what has been understood as the 'scopic regime' of the mass communications media.[1] The emergence of sound-film marked a period of great anxiety about the increasing internalisation of technological matrices of perception; Stein, for all her fascination with cinematic language, was to repudiate the experience of her enlargement to a moving and simultaneously speaking image in a 1934 Pathé newsreel,[2] positioning herself against the talkie as a perilous visual and verbal address that mixes up

[1] For more on the developing theoretical resistance to the apparent modernist privileging of the visual, see P. Adams Sitney, *Modernist Montage: The Obscurity of Vision in Cinema and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); David Michael Levin ed. *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Scott McQuire, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of Cinema* (London: Sage, 1998); Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001).

[2] This Pathé newsreel was a sound-film interview made in the first few days of Stein's arrival in New York for her lecture tour of the United States in 1934, following the best-selling success of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933).

'inside and outside'.[3] The other authors that I have chosen to study in this context — Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) and Antonin Artaud — come from very different though historically imprimatured avant-garde coteries. I trace common threads: they not only all contributed to or participated in the developing technologies of the mass media, with appearances and experimentations in film and radio at a time when sound was transforming the cinematic experience, they also theorised their own interventions, and then incorporated that experience into the fabric of their literary work. All three could all be described as marginalised from canonical modernism, self-consciously queering their position as 'high' modernists with their literary associates.[4] They also pursued concomitant careers in the mass media and were very much invested in their self-images and roles as formative mediatic figures outside their particular coteries. H.D., for example, credited as the catalyst for the influential modernist movement Imagism, was on the editorial team for the film journal *Close Up* in the late 1920s, when she appeared in several silent films, wrote film reviews and revelled in comparisons to international film stars such as Greta Garbo. Stein expatriated herself to France where she insisted on her influence as an American creative genius, participating in the projection of herself as a celebrity intellectual in a variety of film projects, lecture tours, newspaper interviews and radio programmes. And while Artaud, once the darling of Surrealism, was publicly reviled and thrown out of this coterie by André Breton, he somehow always remained in popular consciousness as their *cause célèbre.* After a period of prolific engagement with silent film, radio, audio-experiments in theatre and early sound-film, Artaud was silenced for years by the medical and institutional technologies of the asylums, emerging only at the end of World War II to complete his fatal radio transmission, *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947). In the chapters that follow I will explore how H.D., Stein and Artaud, similarly out-of-synch with their peers, each insisted on their own self-projection as the authoritative spokesperson of their particular aesthetic group. I would argue that all three of these writers, disparate as they are, found in their interactions with the as yet imperfect aural media

---

[3] This inside/outside trope was explored at length by Stein, who argued that 'you always have in your writing the resistance outside of you and inside of you, a shadow upon you, and the thing you must express'. See 'How Writing is Written' (1935), *The Gertrude Stein Reader*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York, NY: Cooper Square Press, 2002) p.442.

[4] Recall, for example, Stein's gleeful reaction to being snubbed by T.S. Eliot, after one of her stories was excluded from a literary journal, with his dismissive comment that her work was 'fine in its way, but not for us', *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (London and New York: Penguin, 1966) p.228. Eliot apparently went on to say of her writing, 'it is not improving, it is not amusing, it is not interesting, it is not good for one's mind. But its rhythms have a peculiar hypnotic power not met with before. It has a kinship with the saxophone.' Quoted in John Malcolm Brinnin, *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and her World* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1987) p.244.

something invaluable, if not fully articulate, for their very different avant-garde writing practices. The very lack of perfect synchronisation of voice to image in early sound-film mirrors their somewhat awkward position on the margins of high modernism.

It should be stated clearly at the outset that this thesis, while it draws on and contributes to the recent scholarly discussion of cinematic modernism, is not set up in opposition to the visual.[5] Nor is it intended as a straightforward historical study of sound in film, although it, acknowledges that H.D., Stein and Artaud's projects are best understood in their cultural and historical contexts.[6] Instead, while agreeing with Miriam Hansen's contention that cinema constitutes 'the single most expansive discursive horizon in which the effects of modernity were reflected, rejected or denied, transmuted or negotiated',[7] this thesis attempts to account for the seismic changes to the literary scene offered by the rapidly expanding media technologies. I pay particular attention to the moments when sound was yoked to the prolific images of the time, as acoustic media developed in a complex and at times awkward relation to the scopic, in and out of the cinema. Rather than accounting for talking pictures primarily in their relation to the earlier conventions of silent film production, I approach sound-film from the perspective of the wider range of aural media, such as telephones and radio, as they were developed and deployed alongside it. While the topic of sound in relation to the cinematic image is still, as John Ellis pointed out nearly two decades ago, 'relatively under-researched,

---

[5] For more on the impact of new cinematic modes of representation on the experience of modernism, see Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Shwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Michael Wood, 'Modernism and Film' in *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, ed. Michael Levenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Garrett Stewart, *Between Film and Screen: Modernism's Photosynthesis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also the forthcoming Susan McCabe, *Cinematic Modernism: Modernist Poetry and Film* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) still in press when this thesis was written.

[6] Such historical studies of sound in modernist film offer important insights into the rapid popularisation of acoustic technologies as well as the technical difficulties encountered by those who sought to experiment with them. See Alan Williams, 'Historical and Theoretical Issues in the Coming of Recorded Sound to the Cinema' in *Sound Theory, Sound Practice* ed. Rick Altman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992); Scott Eyman, *The Speed of Sound: Hollywood and the Talkie Revolution 1926-1930* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997); Donald Crafton, *The Talkies: American Cinema's Transition to Sound, 1926-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); James Lastra, *Sound Technology and the American Cinema: Perception, Representation, Modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Richard Abel and Rick Altman, eds *The Sounds of Early Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Michael North, 'International Modernism's Struggle with Sound', *Camera Works: Photography and the Twentieth-Century Word* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 83-108. There are other several other scholars who address the issue of sound in film, although this is not their emphasis: for example, see Richard Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Noël Carrol, 'Language in Cinema: Preliminary Notes for a Theory of Verbal Images', in *Theorising the Moving Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 187-211; and Friedrich A. Kittler, *Literature, Media, Information Systems*, ed. John Johnston (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishing Association, 1997)

[7] Miriam B. Hansen, 'America, Paris, the Alps: Kracauer and Benjamin on Cinema and Modernity' in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Shwartz, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) p.365.

both at the level of technological and filmic sophistication, and at the level of theoretical exploration',[8] the most interesting and thoughtful work on the impact of sound technology and the culture of listening remains to be found in film and media scholarship.[9] However, the absence of an aural dimension to literary or cultural studies of the early twentieth century is quite striking. This thesis therefore takes up and extends the literary studies that have tended to focus on the visual influence of cinema on modernist authors.[10] At the same time, I draw from the scholarship on twentieth-century sound to address crucial questions about the relationships between sound and avant-garde literary culture.[11] While some interesting work in this field has been devoted to the early history of radio,[12] there is an emerging community of scholars who focus on a diverse range of technological topics peripherally associated with literature, music and sound.[13] Building on these intersecting approaches, and in contrast to the predominantly visual orientation of many literary scholars in my chosen field of study, I focus on the asynchronisation of sight and sound and its repercussions on avant-garde writing practices. My thesis examines the disquiet felt by a relatively small but representative selection of avant-garde literary celebrities who were quite strikingly critical consumers of popular culture; they not only listened to and experimented with both aural and visual technologies, but they also became mediated commodities themselves. While I draw from past literary and cultural

---

[8] John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) p. 51.

[9] For a broader overview of the topic of sound in film, see in particular the essays collected by Rick Altman in *Sound Theory, Sound Practice* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992). See also Elisabeth Weis and John Belton, eds. *Film Sound: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) and Michael Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

[10] See Robert Richardson, *Literature and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); P. Adam Sitney, *Modernist Montage: The Obscurity of Vision in Cinema and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Susan Edmunds, *Out of Line: History, Psychoanalysis and Montage in H.D.'s Long Poems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Laurence Goldstein, *The American Poet at the Movies: A Critical History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Mikhail Iampolski, *The Memory of Tiresias: Intertextuality and Film*, trans. Harsha Ram (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[11] The relatively rare instances of literary studies that focus on the influence of the aural on modernist literature and culture include: Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead eds., *The Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992); Leonard Diepeveen *Changing Voices: The Modern Quoting Poem* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Adalaide Morris, *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Kristine Joelle Butler, *Hearing Voices: Audition and Artistic Identity in French Text and Film* (unpublished PhD University of Minnesota, 1998); and Douglas Kahn, *Noise Water Meat* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999).

[12] For some insightful studies on radio and sound theory, see Daniel Tiffany, *Radio Corpse: Imagism and the Cryptoaesthetic of Ezra Pound* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (New York: Times Books, 1999); David Morton, *Off the Record: The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

[13] See, for instance, Emily Thompson's account of the impact of acoustic technologies on interior architectural design, *The Soundscapes of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America 1900-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002) and Esther Leslie's study of animation and film scores in *Hollywood Flatlands: Animation, Critical Theory and the Avant-Garde* (London and New York: Verso, 2002). See also Avital Ronell's *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

studies of my primary authors and their work in each of the subsequent chapters, my focus is on their 'asides' — their relatively obscure, unpublished, or previously unexamined media projects. In this thesis I will attempt to reconstruct a synchronisation of sounds and images in an examination of the experimental work of H.D., Stein and Artaud. I will examine how these authors' aural, literary and visual projects — their radio, sound-film, talking cures, interviews, film reviews and public lectures — impacted on their image-making strategies and raised critical voices, redirecting textual attention to their distracted viewing, reading and, most particularly, listening practices.

I find that H.D., Gertrude Stein and Antonin Artaud negotiate a range of avant-garde prescriptions and mass-cultural influences to create texts that flirt with the dividing lines often drawn to such discussions of modernism between high and low, canonical and experimental; a traditionally masculine elite concerned with authorial control and a feminised culture of mass-produced sounds, printed words and talking images.[14] While these binaries have persisted in modernist scholarship following the popularity of Andreas Huyssen's 'great divide' thesis,[15] I follow Michael North's scepticism of the purported antipathy of modernism and mass culture.[16] I therefore resist arguing that my selected authors were simply more receptive to mass culture than their contemporaries. By focusing on their non-canonical projects, or work that has been relatively neglected by more visually oriented modernist scholars, I examine texts that do not simply illustrate the change in the field of perceptions offered by the developing technologies, but which are attuned to both aural and visual experiments in a way that recalibrates the purported 'divide' that simultaneously traversed these authors and their work. I read the asynchronous quality of early sound-film, then, as more than a modernist aesthetic form but as a theoretical and technological inroad into the textual poetics of modernism. The disquieting out-of-synch-ness of these authors, most particularly at the

[14] Of course, these dividing lines were already troubled, as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht enacts in his fascinating theoretical approach to the arrays, codes and collapsed boundaries that make up his scholarly study of just one year of this period. See Gumbrecht's *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[15] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

[16] Michael North argues that the common opposition of an ironic, aestheticised modernism to mass culture depends on a prior generalisation about mass culture that seriously oversimplifies it, pointing out that this opposition is 'more a matter of theoretical necessity than empirical fact', and railing against the repetition within modernist studies of Huyssen's model, as it effectively sets modernism in 'intellectual amber'. North suggests that this relationship is more complex because mass culture is more complex than many scholars choose to acknowledge. See *Reading 1922: A Return to the Sense of the Modern* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp.10-11 and p. 208.

moment of their involvement with mass media such as radio and film where they overtly strive to stretch perceptual and aesthetic boundaries, is evident in the difficulty in categorising them as either avant-garde or high modernist. In *The Faces of Modernity: Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch*, Matei Calinesu defined the avant-garde as a more radical or 'advanced' phase of modernism, distinguished by its ideological orientation from the more formal, aesthetically purist and 'subtly traditional' character of mainstream modernism.[17] Thus, while Artaud is easily accepted as an exemplary French historical avant-gardist, Stein and H.D. are more often than not placed in the 'high' modernist camp, no doubt because of their elite and exclusionary attitudes. The seeming imperviousness of their writing is also in line with a conventional understanding of high modernism's hermetic characteristic of *l'art pour l'art*. This thesis, however, opens up these categorisations as I accept each author's self-identification as avant-garde, complicated as this taxonomy has been by conflicting definitions and postmodernism's recent critical attention to the 'phony' distinctions between 'high' and 'low'.[18]

Many modernist authors and artists acknowledged that their direct inspiration was the developing technologies of the mass media, and that their art and aesthetics were influenced by its speed, innovation and dynamism; the avant-garde movements of Cubism, Futurism, Surrealism and Vorticism, for instance, are all understood directly in relation to technology. So it was that the Italian futurist F.T. Marinetti excitedly remarked the pervasive impact of early twentieth-century technological advances,

> Those who use the telephone today, the telegraph, the phonograph, the train, bicycle or automobile, the ocean liner, dirigible or airplane, the cinema or a great daily newspaper...do not dream that these diverse forms of communication, transportation and information exert such a decisive influence on their psyches.[19]

Statements like this illustrate how the twentieth-century cult of technology brought literature and art closer to mass culture. Indeed, according to Andreas Huyssen, 'no other single factor

---

[17] Matei Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity: Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (1977, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) p.96 and p.149.

[18] Esther Leslie, for example, argues convincingly that the war between high culture and popular or low culture was a combat played out in earlier contributions to the (ill)discipline of cultural studies, and that in fact modernist theorists were not as elitist as has been assumed, but were both deeply curious about the mass market of industrialised culture, and anxious to develop new vocabularies for technological and popular forms. See Esther Leslie, *Hollywood Flatlands: Animation, Critical Theory and the Avant*-Garde (London and New York: Verso, 2002) pp.v-vi.

[19] F.T. Marinetti, 'Destruction of Syntax-Wireless Imagination-Words in Freedom', *Lacerba* (1913) quoted in Douglas Kahn's 'Introduction: History of Sound Once Removed', *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992) p.7.

has influenced the emergence of the new avant-garde art as much as technology, which not only fuelled the artist's imagination ... but penetrated to the core of the work itself'.[20] It was with Clement Greenberg's 1939 essay 'Avant-garde and Kitsch' that a theoretical distinction was drawn between deliberately difficult modernist texts and the much more accessible but degraded products of mass culture, such as 'popular commercial literature with their chromeotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc etc'.[21] However, the overriding approach in the last decade of modernist critical studies has been to recuperate the mass cultural as a 'worthy' or authentic subject of analysis. John Docker, for instance, protests the common assumption that the pleasures of mass culture prevent the kind of critical thought that takes issue with the modern industrial world and mass culture itself.[22] Docker challenges the notion that it was the purpose of only a conscious minority or cultural elite, such as the avant-garde, to shock and rescue literature and culture from the contaminating effect of mass-entertainment media. In this he follows Peter Bürger and Andreas Huyssen, who had tried to shift the debate from high modernism versus mass culture to the distinction between modernism and the avant-garde: modernism, they say, is primarily characterised by a self-referential aestheticism, while avant-garde practices often incorporate elements of mass culture in an effort to blur the boundaries between art and life. Edgar Varèse's revolutionary *Ionisation* of 1931, for example, revealed to a surprised contemporary listening audience the aesthetic possibilities in what they had previously perceived as everyday noise. The avant-garde actually flourished in this generalised blurring of the categories of high and low and its simultaneous attack on traditional hierarchies.

Peter Bürger's seminal discussion, in his *Theory of the Avant-Garde,* identifies the point where the historical avant-garde confronts modernism, and the difference between the two is negotiated.[23] However, his attention to examples drawn from the plastic arts of Dada and

---

[20] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, p.9.

[21] Clement Greenberg, 'Avant-garde and Kitsch', *Partisan Review* 6.5 (1939) 34-49, p.39. Greenberg's influential essay uses the term 'avant-garde' to describe the kind of modern art opposed to traditional representation; this conception of 'avant-garde' is actually what I would describe as high modernism.

[22] The guiding assumptions of modernist mass culture study are listed by John Docker in *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 31-35. See also Raymond Williams on the dialectics of mass culture and high modernism in 'Culture and Technology', *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* ed. Tony Pinkley (London: Verso, 1989) 119-39.

[23] Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1974) trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

Surrealism rather than literary texts is criticised by Richard Murphy who points out that the avant-garde is a much more ambiguous and heterogeneous phenomenon than Bürger, with his narrow focus, would have us believe. Murphy argues that the avant-garde more typically operates as the cutting edge of the broader movement of modernism, from which it frequently appears to be trying to free itself. He points out that 'modernism and the avant-garde often seem to be locked into a dialectical relationship in which the avant-garde questions the blind spots and unreflected presuppositions of modernism',[24] while modernism itself reacts to this critique by absorbing into its own poetics some of the more spectacular failures and successes of the historical avant-garde.

More recent discussions have begun to question the received ideas about canonically 'high' modernism itself, as well as its presupposed relations with contemporary material culture. Michael North started questioning the assumption that modernism set itself off from commodity culture by a process of 'aestheticisation', as if the hallmark of modern commodity culture was not the fact that it itself became progressively aestheticised.[25] On a different tack, Juan Suàrez agrees that the avant-garde's identity is always wrapped up in the self-conscious and often critical activation of mass culture,[26] but he goes on to read T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* through the dissonant articulations of the gramophone, placing the poem's jazz soundbites against more traditional readings of the classical allusions.[27] Suàrez finds that *The Waste Land* actually resists many of the traits routinely ascribed to high modernism, such as an imperviousness to mass culture and everyday practice, and a predilection for psychoanalytic subtext. Sara Danius goes further to challenge the widely held assumption that there is a gap between a merely technological culture and that which has been seen as a more properly aesthetic one. She traces the question of perception, notably sight and hearing, as it is configured by canonical high modernist authors such as Marcel Proust and James Joyce, charting what she interprets as an ever-closer relationship between the technological and the

---

[24] Richard Murphy, *Theorising the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism and the Problem of Postmodernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p.3.
[25] Michael North, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Sense of the Modern*, p.207.
[26] Juan Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens and Superstars: Avant-garde, Mass Culture and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996) p.xii.
[27] Juan Suárez, 'T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, the Gramophone and the Modernist Discourse Network', *New Literary History* 32.3 (2001) 747-768.

sensuous.[28] I will attune my readings of H.D., Stein and Artaud's avant-garde projects to such critical approaches, in an attempt to move beyond the peripheral vision and selected audition so common to the modernist field of study.

This thesis, then, is not simply about the problematics of the impact, influence and inscription of acoustic technologies, but examines the literary avant-garde's response to their clash with the perceived (and until recently widely accepted) hegemony of the scopic. It has already extensively been argued that the communications media inaugurated an eminently visual culture.[29] Suàrez quotes the American poet and film theorist Vachel Lindsay describing the 'hieroglyphic civilisation' of 1915, at a time when 'the eye is invading the province of the ear and in which pictures are crowding all literature to the wall'.[30] He goes on to point out that the fascination and influence of the innovations of photography and film in the early days of modernism as reflected in the prevalence of visually oriented concepts such as *flânerie*, panoramic perception, spectacle and spectatorship in critical writings that attempt to define and assess the experience of modernity (765). However, recent investigations into the relations between literary modernism and the visual culture of modernity have begun to define the origins of the 'modernist drift' with an increasing scepticism about both the potential and the desire for visual mastery.[31] As modernist commentators have relatively recently explored, the accession of marginalised others to the position of author and the increasing dominance of mass reproduced images at the turn of the century led not only artists but also writers to challenge a persistent Cartesian perspective which meant a monopoly of the visual.[32] In such a formulation, sight is the privileged sense, with the scene of viewing constructed as the gaze of a disembodied eye on an object whose function is to underscore the observer's delusion of control. In implicit challenge to this account, modernism begins to investigate the way in which other perceptions interrupt, as scenes of viewing in the modernist text come to take

---

[28] Sara Danius, *The Senses of Modernism: Technology, Perception and Aesthetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
[29] It is however noteworthy that the 'new' communication media of the telegraph, radio, gramophone, telephone, and typewriter all originated with the aural expression of language. Film stands in contrast to the others, but although it was originally silent and based on image, it was quickly synchronised with sound. Friedrich Kittler significantly insists on the key role of the aural when reviewing the history of mass media, technology and literature. See *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
[30] Vachel Lindsay, *The Progress and Poetry of the Movies* ed. Myron Lounsbury (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995) p.182, quoted in Suárez's 'T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, the Gramophone, and the Modernist Discourse Network', p.765. Further references in text.
[31] Leo Charney, *Empty Moments Cinema, Modernity, and Drift* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).
[32] See particularly Martin Jay's chapter 'The Dominant Scopic Regime in the Modern Era' in *Downcast Eyes*, pp.69-70.

'increasing cognisance of the body...behind the neutral lens of the observer'.[33] Walter Benjamin, so often cited as the messianic authority on visual and cinematic modernity,[34] plays out this underlying distrust of the scopic regime when he says, 'It was the inhospitable, blinding age of big-scale industrialism. In shutting out this experience the eye perceives an experience of a complementary nature in the form of its spontaneous afterimage, as it were.'[35] I wish to draw attention to Benjamin's involuntarily 'shutting' of his eye to modernity, finding that by so doing, he opens up other complimentary perceptual possibilities beyond that of the neutral gaze, capable of receiving afterimages and other more noisy interference. I take up an understanding of Benjamin's project as one intended to restore human perception; according to Susan Buck-Morss he tries to '*undo* the alienation of the corporeal sensorium' not by 'avoiding the new technologies, but by *passing through* them'.[36] In place of the traditional strategies of disembodied contemplation, Benjamin then celebrates the aesthetic practices of the Surrealists to engage with unexpected images that induce a more direct, or 'bodily' form of reception.

While film and media studies provided early models for the approach to the theorisation of sound by literary scholars,[37] the last decade has seen a bourgeoning interest in the history and theory of sound within the avant-garde and experimental arts.[38] However, the continued dominance of the visual, even at the historical moment of its repudiation in early twentieth-century technological and theoretical development, has meant an ongoing downplay of modernity's sonic dimension. Even while arguing for an anti-visual countertendency, the focus on resistance to the centrality of the eye and the purity of the visual actually serves to

---

[33] Karen Jacobs, *The Eye's Mind: Literary Modernism and Visual Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) p.2.

[34] Recall Walter Benjamin's famous comment that 'film has enriched our field of perceptions...it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action', from 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproductions', *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (Hammersmith, London: Fontana, 1973) 211-244, pp.228-229.

[35] 'Walter Benjamin, 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire', *Illuminations*, p.154.

[36] Susan Buck-Morss, 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered', *October* 62 (1992) 3-41, p.3 (her italics).

[37] The earliest models offered by film and media studies can be traced through the Cinema/Sound special edition of *Yale French Studies*, vol. 60 (1980); Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) Michel Chion *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Rick Altman *Sound Theory, Sound Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[38] Some important theorisations of sound that influenced this trend can be found in: Don Ihde, *Listening and Voice: A Phenomenology of Sound* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976); Christian Metz, 'Aural Objects', *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980) pp.24-32; Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* trans, Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985); Steven Connor, 'The Modern Auditory I', *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London: New York: Routledge, 1997) pp.203-223; and Michael Bull and Les Back eds., *The Auditory Culture Reader* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003)

reassert the ocularcentrism of the discussion. What had been widely accepted as the 'modernist fetishisation of sight'[39] has therefore meant that while high modernism has been read and looked at in detail, it has been only rarely or inattentively heard. This is most likely due to the elusive nature of sound, which is harder to bring into critical focus than image, than any clear theoretical prejudice. Douglas Kahn, in *Noise Water Meat,* points out also that the technical difficulties of preserving sound texts indubitably led to this marked historiographical stutter. Although there were great advances in recording techniques, early twentieth-century phonography was busy recording things other than the auditive output of the avant-garde authors: consequently, as Kahn puts it, 'the record of recording is thin'.[40] Nevertheless, some early twentieth-century theorists did appreciate and explore the disquieting potential of the aural. Rudolf Arnheim, in his groundbreaking study *Radio: An Art of Sound* of 1936, notes that with the disappearance of the visual,

> an acoustic bridge arises between all sounds: voices, whether connected with a stage scene or not, are now of the same flesh as recitation, discussion, song and music. What hitherto could exist only separately now fits organically together: the human being in the corporeal world talks with disembodied spirits, music meets speech on equal terms.[41]

The mere existence of the early recordings, whether or not they have survived in auditive form, produced a new status for hearing. Modernism, as it produced more sounds, also produced a greater emphasis on listening to things, and on hearing differently. Douglas Kahn points out that the early phonographic technology did not just record voices, it heard everything, wrenching the voice from its cultural pre-eminence and equalising it with all other sounds. This accidental capability inspired a celebration of noise, correlating it to other transgressive tactics within the avant-garde. Some of the most provocative imaginings of sound occurred during the halcyon days of the early avant-garde, when sound technology was fairly primitive, because artists were not held back by the practical limitations of technological realisation. The Italian Futurist Luigi Russolo, for example, celebrated the entire breadth of

---

[39] See Rosalind Krauss, 'Antivision', *October* 36 (Spring 1986) 147-154, p.147.
[40] Douglas Kahn, *Noise Water Meat,* p.5.
[41] Rudolph Arnheim, *Radio: An Art of Sound* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936) p.195.

sound in the *Art of Noise*,[42] while Antonin Artaud experimented with the amplification of recorded industrial noises in the innovative theatrical sound-effects for his ambitious theatre of cruelty projects. It was only in the latter half of the 1920s that an audio revolution meant a notable sophistication of radio, sound-film, microphony, amplification and phonography. During this period, however, sound-film was confronted with particular technological difficulties that meant that efforts to calibrate a film's soundtrack, dialogue, music and background noise resulted in an indiscriminate recording that captured every insignificant sound. In the early days, directors attempted to capture an actor's dialogue by scattering multiple microphones on the set, even while retaining a single fixed camera; this had the perceptual dissonance of a single eye accompanied by up to eight ears. In the meantime, some directors of the period, reluctant to take on what they considered to be a short-term fad from the talkies, refused the newly accessible sound technology and continued to insist on making silent films; *Borderline* (1930), a film made by the editorial team of *Close Up* as an elegy to the silent medium, will be discussed in detail in the first section of this thesis, 'H.D. Ready for her Close Up'. Still other directors, ambitious to achieve box-office success with the popular sound-film, but wary of its technological shortcomings and international distributive potential, made both silent and sound versions of the same film. Eventual developments in microphony and sound editing cut down on extraneous, irrelevant noise during sound-takes. Sound engineers finetuned the process so that instead of producing an indiscriminate recording, they constructed a 'noise and distraction free soundtrack which assigned priorities to the voice and other sounds'.[43] Nonetheless, the early days of sound-film are notable for a marked reduction in the legibility of film, which had previously relied on the spectators' skills in reading intertitles and montage of silent images. This decrease in legibility of a previously border-crossing medium was made even more apparent by the sudden revelation of different languages, as the international flavour inherent to image-based film was suddenly localised to national audiences with a common tongue. On the whole, however, the exciting capacity of sound to expand the experience of modernity meant that directors were eager to experiment and audiences were prepared to put up with any early awkwardness of synchronisation.

---

[42] Innovations in sound technologies meant mankind was enriched with 'a new unsuspected voluptuousness', Luigi Russolo, *The Art of Noise* (1911), in *Futurist Performance*, eds. Michael Kirby and Victoria Kirby (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986) p.171.

[43] Donald Crafton, *The Talkies: American Cinema's Transition to Sound, 1926-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) p.235.

Avant-gardists were particularly interested in the cinema, of all the new mass media, finding in its early awkwardness the possibility for a distinctive fusion of movement, technology and everyday life. Fernand Léger, author and director of *Ballet méchanique* (1924), celebrated movies from an egalitarian perspective in 1933, saying:

> Cinema is thirty years old; it is young, modern, free, and has no traditions. That is its strength. It sprouts in every corner of the district, like the brats of the poor, like the bistros; it is on an equal footing with the street, with life, it is in shirt-sleeves. Mass produced, ready made, it is collective.[44]

Silent film was identified with radically new potentials in perception, and quickly became a privileged point of encounter for the avant-garde's fascination with non-traditional modes of representation. It was anticipated that advances in acoustic technology carried similar utopic possibilities, but in practice sound actually caused film to regress to a state where the available technology did not live up to its theoretical hype. This re-ignited the debate about film's value; as Laura Marcus argues, the silent-sound transition actually meant that in effect, film history had to be told twice and/or doubles back on itself.[45] Donald Crafton points out how the literary world which followed film reacted with horror to the advent of sound-film, as it came 'just when critics were elevating the silent cinema to an "art", and it was difficult for them to conceive how talking was conducive to the kind of film-making they revered'.[46] For instance, the second quote at the beginning of this Introduction, taken from H.D.'s *Close Up* article 'The Mask and the Movietone', expresses a hostility to the advent of the talkie that was shared by many avant-garde film-makers and critics, who feared that sound would detract from the experimental possibilities of silent film. In the early modernist period, the cinematic work and theoretical writings of such film-makers as Germaine Dulac, René Clair, Abel Gance, Luis Buñuel and Marcel l'Herbier had depended on an aesthetic of perception that revolved around the importance of finding a new optical language and a highly attuned spectator. Such a

---

[44] Fernand Léger, 'Speaking of Cinema', *The Function of Painting* (1933) ed. Edward Fry, trans. Alexandra Anderson (New York: Viking, 1973) p.100.

[45] See Laura Marcus, 'How Newness Enters the World: The Birth of Cinema and the Origins of Man', *Literature and Visual Technologies: Writing After Cinema*, eds. Julian Murphet and Lydia Rainford, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) pp.29-45.

[46] Donald Crafton, *The Talkies: American Cinema's Transition to Sound, 1926-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) p.448.

spectator, capable of hearing 'music on another plane'[47] beyond the play of silent images, was intriguingly eulogized by H.D., as is discussed in the following chapter, 'H.D. Stills: the Image is itself the speech'.

The difficulty with sound-film was that its clumsy asynchronicity seemed to take film itself back to a primitive state. As Antonin Artaud bemoaned, 'one continually hears that the cinema is in its infancy and that we are only hearing its first babblings'.[48] Artaud's surprisingly wide-ranging film career covered the period between silent to sound, and he remained steadfastly resistant to the development of the talkies, particularly the technique of dubbing, which he felt robbed the actor of their authentic voice and disturbed the integrity of both film and the body. This hostility did not stop him from exploring the commercial opportunities opened up by the international sound-film industry. As I will discuss in 'Shocking Antonin Artaud', the third section of this thesis, Artaud actively pursued film roles with famous directors, wrote a range of silent and sound screenplays and even considered starting up his own sound-film company. I go on to examine how the unwieldy calibration of aural and visual technologies in sound-film, previously separated into distinct fields, had an impact on Artaud's conception of a radio 'body without organs',[49] arguing that the avant-garde's overt resistance to sound-film was due to more than just its threat to the pleasures of the scopic. The advent of sound to motion pictures inaugurated a disquieting and unruly yoking of the 'real' to the 'phantasmatic', with a technological perfection that was no longer represented and controlled by the artist, as the voice had previously been in literature. As H.D. protested,

> Is there any more damaging revelation than art revealed? Art is cut open, dissected so to speak, by this odd instrument. Movietone creates and recreates until we feel that nothing can remain hidden, no slightest flaw of movement or voice or personality undetected'.[50]

---

[47] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', *Close Up* 1.5 (November 1927) 18-31, p23.
[48] Antonin Artaud, 'Sorcellerie et le cinéma' (1927), *Oeuvres complètes* Vol..III (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978) 65-67, p.65.
[49] The 'wireless imagination', with its technologised body, had been optimistically conceived by F.T, Marinetti in 'Destruction of Syntax-Wireless Imagination-Words in Freedom', reproduced in Kahn and Whitehead's *Wireless Imagination*, pp.7-9.
[50] H.D., 'The Mask and the Movietone', p.29.

Sound-film was considered dangerously close to representing the body too completely, or of making it too legible, threatening to trigger the 'modernist pathologisation of reading and writing'.[51]

The brilliance of cinematic rhetoric from the period in which the two modes of silent and sound worked concurrently was undoubtedly provoked by the unevenness of the sound-film experience itself; Tom Conley points out that some of the most innovative theorisation of film occurred in the period between 1927 and 1932.[52] H.D. contributed to the debate about sound-film as part of the editorial team for the elite avant-garde film journal *Close Up*, one of the earliest and most articulate forums for discussion about the emergence of the talkies, with a publication run that spanned this period. International contributors to the journal included respected film theorists and practitioners like Sergei Eisenstein and G.W. Pabst, as well as such literary celebrities as Gertrude Stein and Dorothy Richardson. They were all, in various ways, concerned with negotiating the possibilities of the new technical discovery of sound-film, of the 'dumb thing that has learnt to speak', in the words of Eisenstein, Pudovkin and Alexandroff.[53] In their joint article presenting the Soviet perspective to sound innovations, these filmmakers argued that the only hope for 'film as an art' not to be subsumed by the new technical 'blind alley', was for sound to be utilised in counterpoint relation to the piece of visual mounting: 'the first experiments with sound must be directed towards its pronounced non-coincidence with the visual images'(12). Thus they insist on a film-viewing that shocks, that draws attention to the difference between the visual and the aural, rather than insisting on a complete objectified whole and seamless narrative. H.D. was particularly distressed by the threatened loss of her own interpretive agency as a self-styled 'film adept' due to the advent of sound-film: 'isn't cinema art a matter (or hasn't it been) of interaction?'[54] Her concern, quoted at the beginning of this Introduction, was that too 'mechanical a perfection' of this new medium would insist on an unthinking mass consumption, one that imperilled avant-garde aesthetics.

---

[51] Mark Seltzer, *Bodies and Machines* (New York: Routledge, 1992) p.202.
[52] Tom Conley, 'The Talkie: Early Cinematic Conversation', *Talk Talk Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation* ed. S.I. Salamensky (New York and London: Routledge, 2001) p.86.
[53] S.M. Eisenstein, W.I. Pudovkin and G.V. Alexandroff, 'The Sound-film: A Statement From the USSR', *Close Up* 4.1 (October 1928) 10-13, p.13. Further references in text.
[54] H.D., 'Cinema and the Classics: Beauty', *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927) 22-33, p.22.

The avant-garde coterie behind *Close Up* were seriously disturbed by the menace of the cultural power and hegemony of Hollywood, concerned that sound-film, with its revelation through the accented voices of actors from different language backgrounds of the local and chauvinist nature of film production, would inhibit international distribution and character of cinematographic art. Illustrating the conflicting concerns of the period, Walter Benjamin argues that the high costs of sound technology actually worked to enforce wider distribution, as studios were forced to hyper-market their product in order to meet production costs.[55] This in turn would be a threat to film art, by insisting on film's status as a commodity with an increasing pressure for internationalisation. Benjamin goes on to explore contemporary concerns about the Fascist threat suddenly revealed by acoustic technologies, pointing out that 'since the innovations of camera and recording equipment make it possible for the orator to become audible and visible to an unlimited number of persons, the presentation of them and of politics before camera and recording equipment become paramount' (237). Newsreels gathered a propagandist resonance with the addition of the voice, resulting in a new economy of fame and notoriety, with 'a selection before equipment from which the star and the dictator emerge victorious' (240). I will pursue a reading of the particular political repercussions of sound technologies in my discussion in the second section of this thesis 'Listen to Me, Gertrude Stein', where I discuss Stein's problematic writings on the broadcast speeches of Maréchal Pétain during the occupation of France. Throughout this thesis I draw attention to the particularly modern network of fame and celebrity that is reliant on the new acoustic media — such as sound-film, telephones and radio — for its mediation.

The chapters that follow will explore the activities of the selected avant-garde *causes célèbres* both in and out of their coteries as they experiment with, subvert and resist assumptions about the dominance of the visual by activating an aural-visual-textual nexus in their various aesthetic practices. Each section has two chapters, with the first focusing on the visual projects of the selected authors, and the second on the more overtly acoustic perspective. It should be noted that there is considerable slippage between the two, however. For instance, in both Chapter Four and Five, I will discuss the development of Stein's writing style with her

[55] Walter Benjamin, 'Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, p.237n7. Further references in text.

interventions and experimentations in the mass media domain, particularly that of sound-film. With a change from her earlier more explanatory work, the 1936 lecture 'What Are Masterpieces and Why Are There So Few of Them' reveals Stein's new appreciation of language and the significant influence of mechanical reproduction: 'The painter can no longer say what he does is as the world looks to him because he cannot look at the world any more, it has been photographed too much and he has to say that he does something else'.[56] The mass mediated perceptual experience is over-present and excessive in visual, print and acoustic technologies: 'radios cinemas newspapers biographies autobiographies'(497). Stein's shock at her own speaking image seemed to inform her decision to focus instead on 'the thing in itself folded itself up inside itself like you might fold a thing up to be another thing which is that thing inside in that thing'.[57] In the first chapter of the third section, Artaud locates something similarly elusive in the Marx Brothers' sound-film *Animal Crackers* (1930): something 'which slips in behind it, like the revelation of a dreadful illness on a profile of absolute beauty.'[58] Yet both Stein and Artaud's self-promotion as genius and avant-garde celebrities continued to depend on their shrewd use of the mass media, as is particularly evident in their radio broadcasts and self-advertising strategies, which become the focus of the second chapters in each section. The analogies all three authors made throughout their work between formal literary experiments and cinematic technology reveal how important a role that mass media played in their conceptions of language and subjectivity. This thesis explores the sometimes grating moments when the aural, the visual and the textual rattle against each other, and illustrates this by bleeding alternate aural and visual perspectives across the chapters in their discrete sections.

That the various avant-gardes set themselves up in heroic resistance to mainstream bourgeois culture is widely understood. The interesting questions occur when an avant-garde writer or coterie, conventionally positioned as elite and antagonistic to the accessibility of mass culture, actively flirts with media exposure, or indeed relies on it for mediation. The idea that an 'authentic' culture is somehow outside media and commerce is a resilient one, and the

---

[56] Gertrude Stein, 'What Are Masterpieces and Why Are There So Few of Them' (1936), *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) p.497. Further references in text.

[57] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition' (1934-5), *Lectures in America* (London: Virago, 1988) p.200.

[58] Antonin Artaud, 'Les Frères Marx' (1932), *Oeuvres complètes* Vol . IV (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978) 133-35, p.133.

controversy surrounding sound-film seems to amplify the conflicts within the avant-garde about its relationship to popular culture more generally. Typically, the historical avant-garde was concerned not only to surpass tradition or the canon but also to one-up other avant-garde projects or trends. Indeed, because avant-gardes in art are customarily portrayed as succeeding one another, the art world is equated with fashion, in which styles also rapidly change and succeed one another.[59] This concern with the projection of an avant-garde style can be traced in the ubiquitous Man Ray photographs of avant-garde artists and writers of the early twentieth century, which never lost their cachet, even as he became commercially successful in the fashion industry. H.D., Stein and Artaud all had portrait-photographs taken by Man Ray, which in many ways served to authenticate their participation in the avant-garde. 'Style' is itself effectively one of the most readable, if self-absorbing, features of the avant-garde. Stein, for example, even in *The Making of Americans* of 1905, developed what would subsequently become her most notorious device: linguistic repetition. This style became the dominant feature of her writing, with the repetition of key words and phrases emphasised more than other more conventional elements, such as theme, character, subject or narrative.[60] Dick Hebdige stresses the underlying ambiguity of style, arguing that it is neither resistance nor conformity, but the means by which an otherwise marginalised group can be located, observed or incorporated by the mainstream; the shock effect of subcultural style becomes a posture, or a kind of subversive insubordination in itself.[61] This formulation allows for the avant-garde incorporation of mass media filtration, even as the conventional reading would have subcultures as antagonistic to the mass media, against which they would define themselves, and which threatens to release their codes to others.[62] Thus, despite their elitist agendas, H.D., Stein and Artaud were fascinated with the popular tastes and fashions and yet retained their style and 'authentic' cultural status on the avant-garde fringe. I argue that their tactics of

---

[59] There is a slippage between the avant-garde and fashion, although the latter relates to the sociology of lucrative taste and avant-garde art to history of art. Richard Kostelanetz argues, however, that 'In practice, avant-garde activity has a dialectical relationship with fashion, for the emerging remunerative fashions can usually be characterised as a synthesis of advanced art (whose purposes are antithetical to those of fashion) with more familiar stuff. When fashion appears to echo advanced art, a closer look reveals the governing models as art actually of a period recently past', Richard Kostelanetz, *A Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes* (New York: Schirmer Books, 2000) p.xxi.

[60] See the emphasis on this repetitive linguistic style in the entry for Stein in Richard Kostelanetz, *A Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes* p.580.

[61] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979) p.106.

[62] Sarah Thornton explores the conflict between the subcultural and mass media in her discussion of the contemporary music underground in *Club Cultures: Music Media and Subcultural Capital* (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 1996) p.117.

name-dropping, networking, gossip, cameo appearances and the build-up of their own particular 'star' quality, relies on the negotiation of contemporary trends and popular tastes. For instance, Stein and H.D. list their favourite celebrities, trying to fit themselves into the panoply of stardom, with Stein eager for the filming of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* in Hollywood, and H.D challenging Greta Garbo and Louise Brooks in their iconic roles as *femme fatales*. In Chapters Six and Seven, I go on to trace Artaud's ill-fated, violent and above all, noisy self-projection though radio, film and print media. Although he aspired to create consequential avant-garde art, it is as the cult personality of the insane artist that he is most remembered, becoming the French avant-garde's *succès de scandale* and from there being embedded in the theoretical works of an impressive range of twentieth-century philosophers and theorists, such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, and Gilles Deleuze.

By drawing a distinction, in the introductory quote, between the persistence of vision and of sound in the memory left behind by the public orator who 'enlarges better', Stein portrays the human sensorium not as a whole continuum but as a set of autonomous channels. I follow Freidrich Kittler's argument that the separation of the media parallelling the fragmentation of the modernist body in the discourses of the early twentieth century, reflected a breaking down of identity and a delirium of the senses that had the effect of opening up an interdisciplinary location for avant-garde intervention. The new acoustical and optical worlds propelled by technological change expand the realms of representation that could lend themselves to artistic experiments, as technological transformation helped articulate new perceptual domains, charging the modernist call to make the world new.[63] So Walter Benjamin, in *The Arcades Project,* wonders at the early experiments conducted by psychologists for 'hearing colour or seeing sounds',[64] and Marshall McLuhan later glosses the impact of communications media:

---

[63] It has been generally agreed that perception within European societies changed in the era of mechanical reproduction, following Walter Benjamin's thesis that the expansion of industrial capital trained the human sensorium to internalise the shocks of urban life, and led to a 'distracted' apprehension of the modern world. However, David Bordwell has critiqued the assumptions of this history-of-vision doctrine, or what he calls the 'modernity thesis', by arguing for the implausibility of perception itself adapting to suit modern life, rather than skills or habits contextualised by technologies. Bordwell goes on to point out that film scholars appropriation of Benjamin's claims overlook the flawed assumptions inherited from film scholars about key features of film, notably that editing produced a modern splintered and 'mobile gaze'. See Bordwell, *On the History of Film Style* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997) pp.141-44. Ben Singer in rejoinder has tried to make the modernity thesis stronger by limiting and sharpening it, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). See also Sara Danius for more on the change in nexus of senses and technology in modernism in *The Senses of Modernism: Technology, Perception, Aesthetics*, p.17.

[64] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1999) p.397.

'the effect of radio is visual, the effect of the photo is auditory. Each new impact shifts the ratios among all the senses'.[65] Writing at a time when technologies were overlapping their boundaries, the commentators debating sound-film in the pages of *Close Up* and elsewhere intensified the 'crisis of perception' articulated by Benjamin at the turn of the century. Their conclusion was that it was the role of the avant-garde to restore perceptibility through shock: it was no longer a question of simply training the ear to hear music, but to give it back hearing. This concentration on one sense — eye or ear — paradoxically produced a concentration that opened up a different listening or viewing practice, as demonstrated by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic practice. For similar reasons H.D. at least preferred silent to sound films, and Freud advised the analyst to place himself behind and out of the field of sight of the analysand. Using the metaphor of acoustical technology to elaborate this recommendation, Freud argued that the analyst, deprived of sight clues,

> turns his own unconscious like a receptive organ towards the transmitting unconscious of the patient...adjust(ing) himself to the patient as a telephone receiver is adjusted to the transmitting microphone. Just as the receiver converts back into sound-waves the electric oscillations in the telephone line which were set up by sound-waves, so the doctor's unconscious is able, from the derivatives of the unconsciousness which are communicated to him, to reconstruct the unconscious, which has determined the patient's free associations. [66]

While I expand in Chapter Three on Freud's distracted listening practice in the psychoanalytic talking cure as itself a modern technology, Kittler offers a more technologically precise description of the psychic apparatus. He points out that Freud's psychoanalytic model merely reflects the operating standards of information machines and technical media, saying that 'Freud's materialism reasoned only as far as the information machines of his epoch — no more no less'.[67] However, Freud's apparatus serves here as an influential example of Seltzer's understanding of 'machine culture' at the beginning of the twentieth century which charts the dizzying profusion of 'relays' between bodies and machines.[68] Such a materialist appreciation

---

[65] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet, 1964) p.64.
[66] Sigmund Freud, 'Recommendations to Physicians Practicing Psycho-analysis' (1912), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey et al (London: Hogarth Press, 1955-64) Vol. XII, p.365.
[67] Friedrich Kittler, *Literature, Media, Information Systems* ed. and trans. John Johnston (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishing Association, 1997) p.134.
[68] Mark Seltzer, 'The Postal Unconscious', *The Henry James Review*, 21 (2000) 197-206, p.202.

of the pervasive 'erosion of the boundaries that divide persons and things'[69] prepares an understanding of the conditions and inspirations of the modernist moment, and the ambitious but ungainly synchronisation of the visual and aural.

Walter Benjamin's reading of the purely visual technologies of photography and film in the 1930s is often cited for its particularly 'modern' understanding of the influences on subjectivity and conceptions of the self. His work is considered crucial by modernist scholars, articulating as they do key metaphors for conceptualising memory with an insistence on the imagistic character of representation. However, this reading stifles the often overlooked aural dimension of Benjamin's larger project: writing at a time of enormous technological change, Benjamin refers to acoustic technologies tellingly, if only fleetingly. For instance, in his introduction to *The Arcade Project,* he describes the nineteenth-century panoramas as preparing the way 'not only for photography but for film and sound-film'.[70] By placing sound-film at the end of this short list, Benjamin positions it as the most recent and extreme of the modernist technologies that sought to produce deceptively realistic representations of nature. In 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Benjamin goes further to reflect that the most remarkable development happened when photography and film actually kept pace with the speaking voice: 'the process of pictorial reproduction was accelerated so enormously that it could keep pace with speech. A film operator shooting a scene in the studio captures the images at the speed of an actor's speech'.[71] It turns out that Benjamin's seminal 'A Small History of Photography' and early fragments of *The Arcades Project* were composed in the midst of his engagement and experiments with radio. I would argue, then, that Benjamin's radio scripts of the 1930s were the training ground for his theoretical interest in the scopic field.

Benjamin showed considerable interest in acoustic technologies, reflecting on the role and character of the radio in a wide range of writings.[72] Between 1927 and 1933 – a period that

---

[69] Mark Seltzer, *Bodies and Machines*, p.21.
[70] Walter Benjamin, 'Paris Capital of the Nineteenth-Century: Exposé of 1935', *The Arcades Project*, p.5.
[71] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, p.213.
[72] The most well-known piece is 'Theatre and Radio', but Benjamin also wrote 'Reflections on Radio' *Selected Writings* Vol.. II, eds. Marcus Bullock, Michael Jennings et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 583-6 and 543-4. Benjamin's other notable writings on radio include: 'Gespräch mit Ernst Schoen' of 1929; 'Hörmodelle' of 1930-31; and

coincidentally frames the production of both the film journal *Close Up* and the assimilation of sound to film – he planned, wrote and presented around ninety radio broadcasts. These included plays, book reviews, interviews, literary discussions and dialogues. The most remarkable of his broadcasts are the thirty scripts for a children's radio programme, which covered such sensational topics as witch hunts, fires, train and car crashes.[73] Unfortunately, there are no surviving recordings of these broadcasts, and the history of the scripts themselves is somewhat sensational. Graeme Gilloch traces their path to Paris following Benjamin's exile from Berlin in 1933. Forced to abandon them when he fled in the face of the German occupation of France, the scripts were seized and filed by the Gestapo, and were not rediscovered in the late 1960s.[74] Many of Benjamin's contemporaries also dabbled in radio; as Schiller-Lerg uncovers, Adorno, Brecht, Kracauer and his wife Dora all worked in the field.[75] At the time Benjamin dismissed his work with radio as an economic necessity, with little or no technical merit, so that when asked by colleagues for copies of his scripts, he replied that his 'countless talks' are 'of no interest except in financial terms'.[76] In contrast to the elegiac efforts of the avant-garde to recuperate film as an art form, this apologetic attitude when called to account for their involvement with acoustic media was fairly common for the period. Artaud, for example, was despised by his Surrealist peers for his experimental and commercial forays into radio and sound-film in 1932-33 — a rejection that will be further explored in Chapter Six, 'Artaud Tunes In'. I would argue, however, that Benjamin's experience with a medium whose expanding possibilities seemed limitless, would infuse his developing dialectical theory and practice. Benjamin wrote, for instance, in 'Reflections on Radio', that:

> The crucial failing of this institution has been to perpetuate the fundamental separation between practitioners and the public, a separation that is at odds with its technological basis. A child can see that it is in the spirit of radio to put as many people as possible in front of a microphone on every possible occasion; the public has to be turned into the witnesses of interviews and conversations in which now this person and now that one has the opportunity to make himself heard.[77]

'Zweierlei Volkstümlichkeit' of 1932 (*Gesammelte Shriften* vol. IV eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974) 548-51, p.628 and pp.671-3.

[73] See Graeme Gilloch's description of these children's broadcasts in *Walter Benjamin: Critical Constellations* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell, 2002) pp.165-173.

[74] They were finally republished in the publication of Benjamin's *Gesammelte Schriften* in 1989.

[75] Sabine Schiller-Lerg, *Walter Benjamin und der Rundfunk* (Munich: K.G. Verlag, 1984) p.48.

[76] Walter Benjamin, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, eds. Gershom Scholem and Theodor Adorno, trans. Manfred Jacobson and Evelyn Jacobson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994) pp.403-4.

[77] Walter Benjamin, 'Reflections on Radio', *Selected Writings*, p.543.

The possibility of dialogue, or conversation, between the invisible, technologically relayed voices and the unseen mass audience interested Benjamin, who began to theorise radio as an experimental pedagogical tool. As much as radio plays on states of attention and distraction in the listening audience, it also fosters expertise and critical reaction: in his own early broadcasts, therefore, children were encouraged to interrupt and question the radio sounds and noises.[78] Benjamin may well have downplayed the importance of his audio experiments, but they offer a privileged insight into his thinking. Tellingly, Benjamin informed Scholem in 1930 that 'I no longer write out most of the things that must be considered as work done simply to earn a living, whether for periodicals or the radio. Instead, I simply dictate things like that'.[79] Jeffrey Mehlman claims that the radio scripts, then, as artless artefacts, are 'as close to the transcript of a psychoanalysis of Walter Benjamin as we are likely to see'.[80] Mehlman goes on to argue that Benjamin's radio scripts for children 'are at times as analytically forceful as anything in what one hesitates to call his "adult" writing'(2). Rather than interpreting the scripts as experiments in pedagogy, Mehlman encourages a reading of them as theoretical 'toy-texts'(5), miniature models of Benjamin's most important philosophical and historical themes and motifs. Gilloch expands this claim to read the radio broadcasts as not 'enlightenment for children' but rather 'fairy tales for dialeticians'[81] and therefore of great methodological, theoretical and aesthetic (if playful) importance for an understanding of Benjamin's wider project.

In this thesis about modernist aesthetics and the interruptions and interference across visual and aural mass communication media, it of course is imperative to account for the lost 'aura' of Walter Benjamin, which has been described as 'the broken heart of modernity'.[82] To illustrate his aura, Benjamin focuses on cultural blind spots and silences: the aura then defines not only the fault lines in studies on technology and modernism, but also in Benjamin's own oeuvre. Benjamin characterised the central task of his complex and resonant masterpiece, *The*

---

[78] The program notes for one of the radio plays makes clear the expectation that audience critique the sound performance clear: 'The children are asked to guess what the ensuing noises mean and to share their opinions with Südwestfunk', quoted in Schiller-Lerg, *Walter Benjamin und der Rundfunk*, p.255.

[79] Walter Benjamin, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, p.361.

[80] Jeffrey Mehlman, *Walter Benjamin for Children: An Essay on his Radio Years* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993) p.3. Further references in text.

[81] Graeme Gilloch, *Walter Benjamin: Critical Constellations*, p.173, quoting Benjamin's *Illuminations*, p.117.

[82] Carsten Strathausen, 'Benjamin's Aura and the Broken Heart of Modernity', *Benjamin's Blind Spot: Walter Benjamin and the Premature Death of Aura*, ed. Lise Patt (Topanga, CA: Institute of Cultural Inquiry, 2001) p.2.

Arcades Project, as one that attempts 'to retain an image of history in the most insignificant fixations of existence, in its dregs, as it were'.[83] Adorno had commented of an early draft of Benjamin's opus, that 'as things lose their use-value, they are hollowed out in their alienation and as coded ciphers, take on significance'.[84] Benjamin echoes and elaborates on this comment at the heart of *The Arcades Project*, adding that 'in the nineteenth century the number of these "hollowed-out" things increases at a pace previously unknown, because technological progress is continually putting more objects of use out of circulation'.[85] In the hollowed state of modernity, the competing or rapidly outmoded and updated visual and aural data rattle against each other. The aura then is an enigmatic concept, never fully present or fully absent around an artwork, and yet somehow it is always in danger of imminent dissipation. As an ephemeral spectre, it undergoes a series of transformations in the trajectory of Benjamin's thought, from his essays and Hashish protocols of the late 1920s through to his meditations on technological reproducibility in photography and film in the 1930s. On the one hand Benjamin mourns the decaying aura, which seems to describe a particularly uncanny state of human perception and reception rather than any material object. On the other, he reflects repeatedly on the status of cultural detritus, the objects that have survived fashion, and yet retain a reliquary status.[86] Benjamin's use of that which he identified as dregs of culture is given a ritualistic power in *The Arcades Project,* where he describes his interpretive methodology as 'What for others are deviations are, for me, the data which determine my course'.[87] He says that his overarching project is that 'which aims to characterise and to preserve the intervals of reflection, the distances lying between the most essential parts of this work, which are turned most intensively to the outside'(456). But if *The Arcades Project's* aim was to realise indirectly, through the refuse or detritus of history, the half-concealed traces of daily life, then a 'profane illumination' was needed to pierce the veil of 'phantasmagoria',[88] the mobile and estranged

---

[83] Walter Benjamin, 'Letter of August 8, 1935', from *Gesammelte Schriften* vol 5, quoted in Alexander Gelley, 'The Contexts of Aesthetic in Walter Benjamin', *MLN*, 114.5 (December, 1999) 933-961, p.948.

[84] Theodor Adorno's letter of August 5, 1935, quoted by Alexander Gelley, p.948.

[85] Walter Benjamin, 'Convolute N', *The Arcades Project,* p.466.

[86] For more on the aura, see Richard Wolin's review 'Walter Benjamin's Failed Messianism: One-Way Street', *The New Republic* (January 24, 2000) pp.33-35.

[87] Walter Benjamin, 'Convolute N', *The Arcades Project* p.456. Further references in text.

[88] Benjamin used this term as a critical category, describing the 1897 Paris Exhibition as a 'phantasmagoria of capitalist culture' as it 'opened up a phantasmagoria into which people entered to be distracted' in 'Paris-Capital of the Nineteenth-century', *The Arcades Project* p.165. Phantasmagoria also, of course, refers to the earlier illusionistic screen entertainments that manufactured phantoms out of projected light. See Terry Castle, 'Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie', *Critical Inquiry*, 15.1 (1988) 26-61.

ephemera of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although this phantasmagoria of modernity is usually conceived as a primarily visual phenomenon, I would argue that the 'profane illumination' that Benjamin unleashes has its inception in the aural: 'it is (to speak with the Surrealists) the noises that interrupt our dreams and that we interpret as we awaken' (456).

The Arcades Project has been considered Benjamin's great incomplete project, with its composition of quotations and citations distracting the reader into an enactment of the role of the *flâneur* though its pages, encouraging a reading akin to window-shopping. Benjamin develops a technique borrowed from the Surrealists which he calls 'literary montage'; incorporating citations and quotations to heighten a graphic, kaleidoscopic quality. Benjamin did not use theoretical exposition in *The Arcades Project*, it is rather an unglossed construction of citations, empirical observations, sayings, culled excerpts and thousands of suggestive quotes, structured only with the underlying rationale that 'the work should be merely "assembled"; that is, compiled from citations, such that the theory leaps forth without having to apprehend it as interpretation'.[89] Susan Buck- Morss observes in *The Dialectics of Seeing* that the thirty-six convolutes framing nine hundred pages of fragments provide 'insufficient evidence as to the overall conception that guided Benjamin's research'[90]. She concludes, then, that *The Arcades Project* 'itself does not exist', but is itself hollowed out by Benjamin, who once declared the worthlessness of 'any theory that cannot deduce the nature of the absolute from reading coffee grounds'. At one point Benjamin summarises his methodology: 'Method of this project: literary montage. I needn't *say* anything. Merely show'.[91] I would argue that this emphasis on not 'saying' anything actually works to draw attention to what he actually says and how, amongst the soundbites and culled textual excerpts of others, he says it. When Benjamin states that his work 'is intimately related to that of montage' with its development of 'the art of citing without quotation marks' (458), I would, perhaps tendentiously, argue that he is unleashing a kind of aural *flânerie,* with the proliferation of punctuation marking the recording of borrowed words and prompting the voices of those he would cite as authorities.

---

[89] *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, quote found in a Letter from Adorno to Scholem (January 1932) p.321.
[90] Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991) p.16.
[91] Walter Benjamin, 'Convolute N', *The Arcades Project* p.460. Further references in text.

According to Marjorie Garber, the quotation resides somewhere in the territory between the aphorism and the echo, taking authority and re-instating it in the voice of the author or speaker.[92] While the traditional definition of citation limits quotation to the purpose of illustration or ornamentation, Claudette Sartillot argues this approach is 'inadequate and outmoded'.[93] For modernist writers, quotation meant 'a definite break with the tradition as well as the means of questioning the nature of the literary text' (20). Indeed, as Susan Stewart points out, the quotation lends both integrity and limit to the utterance by means of its 'marks'. By detaching the utterance from its context of origin, the quotation marks and then textualises that utterance, opening it up to interpretation; Stewart notes that 'the quotation appears as a severed head, a voice whose authority is grounded in itself, and therein lies its power and its limit'.[94] Although the quotation speaks with a voice of authority, it has been severed from the original context that gave it authenticity. Yet, as Thyrza Nichols Goodeve compellingly argues, 'To quote is to converse, not to be spoken for'.[95] Agreeing with Benjamin's famous dictum that all 'writing consists largely of quotations', Goodeve finds that quotations are instances where 'bemused and epiphanic conversations occur between readers, histories, and texts' (9). In my reading, then, *The Arcades Project* disconnects the visual from the aural by playing the background noises, soundbites, dialectic conversations and the transmitted static of the late nineteenth-century against the phantasmagoria of modernity. As Benjamin says at the centre of *The Arcades Project,* 'Knowledge comes only in lightning flashes. The text is the long roll of thunder that follows' (456).

Benjamin, in this reading, finds access to that elusive and prized 'profane illumination' in the aural, just as much as in the visual. In his innovative *The Arcades Project*, he quotes Valèry saying that the 'new' is one of those 'poisonous stimulants which end up becoming more necessary than any food; drugs which, once they get a hold on us, need to be taken in

---

[92] Marjorie Garber, *Quotation Marks* (New York/London: Routledge, 2003) p.20.
[93] Claudette Sartillot, *Citation and Modernity: Derrida, Joyce and Brecht* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) p.3. She points out that many modernist writers abandoned the typographical separation of the quotation from the 'main' text, questioning 'the concept of text as an autonomous entity' that is replaced by more unbounded 'discourse', p.20. Further references in text.
[94] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1984) p.19.
[95] Thyrza Nichols Goodeve, 'Lipschtick Traces', *Art Forum International* 35.2 (October 1996) 9-10, p.9.

progressively larger doses until they are fatal'.[96] He then comments that it is 'a curious habit — growing thus attached to that perishable part of things in which precisely their novelty consists' (560). The popular media's suppression of critical thought and activity meant that it was often treated warily by avant-garde theorists, and sound technologies were particularly new, rapidly pervasive and strangely addictive. Sound media were treated with particular hostility by the avant-garde, not only because they were becoming culturally pervasive and yet remained difficult to pin down (due no doubt to the ephemeral nature of sound itself), but because they were addictive. Benjamin's profane illumination, which awakens critical consciousness, is a 'materialistic, anthropological inspiration, to which hashish, opium, or whatever else can give an introductory lesson'.[97] Benjamin himself experimented with drugs in an attempt to open himself up to this profane illumination, most significantly while listening to jazz. He describes in his essay 'Hashish in Marseille' drifting through the inner-city streets before stopping at a nightclub. Once there, still uncertain of the drug's effect, Benjamin is struck by how 'the intensity of the acoustic impressions blotted out all others in the little bar'.[98] The irritating background noises of the street and of a child crying are subsumed by the sounds of a raucous, dialect-speaking crowd:

> The music that meanwhile keeps rising and falling, I called the 'rush switches of jazz'. I have forgotten on what grounds I permitted myself to mark the beat with my foot. This is against my education, and it did not happen without inner disputation. (144)

After taking hashish to obtain a trancelike intimacy with the phantasmagoric world, Benjamin is surprised to find himself not only reacting to it, but absorbed in the music. Against all his 'education', the lure of aural is irresistible. In conflict with his training and presumed aesthetic superiority, the music draws him back into his immediate bodily experience so that he is compelled 'to mark the beat' with his foot. Benjamin here explicitly links drug taking and music with the 'rush' of modernity, making it possible to draw a parallel between addiction and the acoustic technologies represented by jazz, that most flagrantly 'modern' of music

---

[96] Walter Benjamin quotes Paul Valéry, *Choses tués* (1930) in 'Convolute S, Painting-Jugendstil-Novelty', *The Arcades Project*, p.560. Further references in text.

[97] Walter Benjamin, 'Surrealism' (1929) *Reflections, Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978) 170-184, p.179 (his italics).

[98] Walter Benjamin, 'Hashish in Marseilles' (1932) *Reflections, Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, 137-45, p.144. Further references in text.

forms. In this account, jazz moves out of its designation as a seductive mass cultural noise in the soporific soundtrack of modernity to act as a kind of profane illumination in and of itself.

The dangerously addictive and contaminatory potential of popular music is perhaps most strikingly exemplified by the history of the song 'Gloomy Sunday', still widely recognised through Billie Holiday's interpretation. This song was first popularised in Hungary in 1933 where it gained cult status as a 'suicide song', apparently inspiring listeners to kill themselves.[99] It was quickly translated and disseminated across the world, where it was just as rapidly censored, following a wave of suicides in Budapest, Berlin, London, Rome and New York. The B.B.C. felt it necessary to suppress 'Gloomy Sunday' in any but instrumental form, and the U.S. networks quickly followed suit, as its fatally infectious appeal was confirmed when a jitterbug version led to an urban legend that teenagers were inspired to drive cars, equipped with gramophones playing the song on the back seat, off American bridges.[100] A French radio station even reportedly brought in psychic experts to study the effects of 'Gloomy Sunday', although this had no effect on the rumoured climbing suicide-rate. Intriguingly, in light of the threads I am attempting to draw across the avant-garde and visual and aural media culture during the modernist period, Paul Robeson, who had acted a leading role in the *Close Up* group's avant-garde film project *Borderline* (1930), went on to record a version of 'Gloomy Sunday' in 1936. In retrospect, it is quite curious that Robeson was ever solicited for the stubbornly silent film *Borderline*, which I will go on to discuss in greater depth in Chapter Three, given that his international reputation owed much to his identity as a popular singer rather than as an avant-garde practitioner. As Laura Marcus points out, however, Robeson's celebrity as a singer worked to bring a peculiarly aural presence to *Borderline*, although he was necessarily voiceless in the silent film, as Robeson's 'voice is his presence'.[101]

---

[99] D.P. MacDonald catalogues the suicides surrounding the song, an extensive list which indicates how 'Gloomy Sunday's' effects rapidly became the stuff of urban legend: for instance, London policemen were reportedly alerted to suicides after hearing the song played on repeat, which in turn lead to the BBC censorship in the late 1930s. The stories surrounding 'Gloomy Sunday' undoubtedly fed its ongoing popularity; other interpretations have been recorded by, among many others, Artie Shaw, Woody Herman and Sarah Vaughan. See D.P. MacDonald, 'Gloomy Sunday: Overture to Death', *Cincinatti Journal of Ceremonial Majick*, 1.1 (1976) republished on *phespirit* http://phespirit.info/gloomysunday (downloaded 18.12.2003).

[100] This was reported, although unsubstantiated, in the documentary film *Gloomy Sunday: The Suicide's Anthem*, dir. Rolf Scheubel, screened in Australia on SBS, May 30th 2003, 10.30pm.

[101] Laura Marcus, 'How Newness Entered the World', p.43.

The curiously contaminating effects of popular visual and aural media is a trope often used in conjunction with an understanding of mass culture as 'dope': a suppressant with toxic potential.[102] Susan Buck-Morss argues that in the nineteenth century, 'a narcotic was made out of reality itself'[103] and adopts Benjamin's term 'phantasmagoria' to describe the appearance of new modern technologies that trick the senses through technical manipulation, not by numbing but by flooding them. She points out,

> These stimulated sensoria alter consciousness, much like a drug, but they do so through sensory distraction rather than chemical alteration, and – most significantly – their effects are experienced collectively rather than individually. Everyone sees the same altered world, experiences the same total environment. As a result, unlike with drugs, the phantasmagoria assumes the position of objective fact. (22-23)

Artaud paid considerable attention to drugs in his work on technologies and the body, coming right out with the observation that 'the cinema is a remarkable stimulant. It acts directly on the grey matter of the brain'.[104] A more fine-tuned distinction between the concentration of the cultural elite and the narcoticised mass cultural practices of distraction was argued in the pages of *Close Up*, amplifying the high/low modernist debate. Cinema, more than any other media, was considered to have a threateningly addictive potential, whether experienced as a stimulant (as a shock or a rush) or suppressant (as dope). Bryher echoes a concern of H.D. when she addresses this narcotic quality of film in her article 'Dope or Stimulus', describing the general attitude of cinema-goers as:

> That of the drug-taker achieving a state of intoxication that has nothing to do with what they watch.... but is built up by association of long ago events. They hypnotise themselves into an expectation that a given star or theatre or idea will produce a given result. They surrender to this, all logical faculties in abeyance, and achieve complete gratification whatever the material set in front of them provided it is presented in an expected and familiar manner.[105]

---

[102] Paul Virilio wrote in 'The Third Interval' that everything he 'had said about technology can be applied to drugs: acceleration, speed, inertia, the third interval'. Quoted by Avital Ronell, 'Our Narcotic Modernity', *Rethinking Technologies*, ed. Verena Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993) p.67.

[103] Susan Buck-Morss charts the growth of anaesthetics in the late nineteenth-century, describing the abrupt increase in the use of drugs and therapeutic practices from opium, ether and cocaine to hypnosis, hydrotherapy and electric shock, in 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered', *October* 62 (1992) 3-41, p.22.

[104] Antonin Artaud, 'Réponse à une enquéte' (1924-5) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III, 79-81, p.82.

[105] Bryher, 'Dope or Stimulus', *Close Up*, 3.3 (September 1928) 59-61, p.59.

She goes on to compare the cinema goer or pop-song listening public to the addict or drunkard who lose their capacity to derive direct stimulus from their pleasure, and have to continually increase the dose until a certain staleness sets in and they are incapable of reacting to anything, rather transforming into 'a mechanical robot without the stability that a robot would have'(60). She compares two kinds of spectatorship: one that is critical and uses the increasingly rare film-going experience to be stimulated and the other as soporific. Bryher's concern is that 'to watch may be a vital way to life. But to watch hypnotically something which has become a habit and which is not recorded as it happens by the brain, differs little from the drug-taker's point of view, and is destructive because it is used as a cover to prevent real considerations of problems, artistic or sociological' (61). Similarly H.D., in her essay contributions to *Close Up*, worrying about the particular technological development of sound to film, found the shock of the voice welded to the body as far too stimulating: 'I lose my own clue, become sated and lost and tired. Isn't that the danger — satiety?'[106] On the other hand, Artaud, in another critical avant-garde forum, was remarkable for not ascribing negative qualities to addiction. Until his death (allegedly by an overdose of hydro-chloride) he was vocal in his advocacy for the legalisation of drugs, and earlier made the point that even if cinema *was* a narcotic, that this was its virtue: 'the cinema has the power of a poison that is harmless and direct, a subcutaneous injection of morphine'.[107] The shock-value of Artaud's claim for a narcotic cinematic experience reminds us that the debate at the time did not take into account the many kinds of drugs — both stimulant and depressant — that could simultaneously, and without paradox, express the condition of modernity. This contradictory attitude to mass culture by avant-gardists reflects the conflict within itself about its own practices: to shock the ordinary spectator, or to be 'understood' by the elite contemporary *cognoscenti*; to distract or to encourage close attention. However, a narcotic modernity is concerned less about particular types of drugs and the suppressed or stimulated experience that they trigger than with the location of the technical possibility of the individual to repeat the act of drug consumption or exchange, in repetitions of the techno-economical transformations of the marketplace. Jacques Derrida takes this line up to note that the mass production and repetition of modernity meant

[106] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics II: Restraint', *Close Up*, 1.2 (August 1927) 30-39, p.34.
[107] Antonin Artaud, 'Réponse à une enquéte', p.81.

that, inevitably, 'electronic circuitry got hooked up in the argot of drugs and the addict got wired'.[108]

However, the notion of mass culture as 'dope' has persevered as something of a cliché of anti-modern modernism, favoured by conservatives and Marxists alike.[109] While Benjamin's analysis of an expanded modernity ran parallel to his analysis (and utilisation) of popular media and cultural forms —that included the radical potential offered by visual, aural and textual mass media — his radical advocacy of radio and film sat somewhat uneasily with his contemporaries' critique of mass culture in the 1930s, such as that developed in Theodor Adorno's later denunciation of the 'culture industry'. Adorno reinscribed the elitist and negative perspective of addiction as a threat in his essay 'The Schema of Mass Culture',[110] in which he condemns the way imagination has been replaced by the relentless control mechanisms of the mass media. He saw great danger in the entertainment complex's fusion of waking to dream life, finding that the elimination of a distinction between imagination and reality presaged 'a reduction of the work of art to empirical reason capable of turning to overt lunacy at any moment' (56). Adorno cites Orson Welles' 1938 radio-play *The War of the Worlds* as an example of the dangerous and contaminatory potential of media. This notorious broadcast came across as so realistic that it remains one of the most widely known mass-media delusions in the United States, resulting in such a pervasive belief in the immediate threat of an alien invasion, from panicked listeners caused traffic jams as they tried to escape major cities, to a Princeton academic who set off with a shovel to pick up the meteorites 'reported' to have fallen to earth. In the aftershock following the broadcast, Welles said that his intention had indeed been to disrupt the growing complacency of the average modern radio listener. Of course, it cannot be said that the deplored mass audience had been drugged or distracted by Welles' radio broadcast — it seems that they were so attentive that they reacted immediately without reflection to the deliberately constructed fantasy. However they were responding without reflection, without using their interpretive agency, and so fell into the trap so feared

---

[108] Jacques Derrida, 'The Rhetoric of Drugs: an Interview', trans. Michael Israel, *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* (Spring 1993) 5.1, p.3.

[109] See, for instance, Jonathan Crary's seminal 'Techniques of the Observer' October, 45 (1988) pp.3-35 and and Francis Mulhern. *Culture/Metaculture* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[110] Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays*, ed. J.M. Bernstein (New York: Routledge, 1992). Further references in text.

by the more adept, skilled spectator or listener, as formulated by H.D. When Benjamin set up a paradigm of high and low consumption in modernity, he defined 'distraction' and 'concentration' as follows: 'a man who concentrates before a work of art is absorbed by it. He enters into this work or art...In contrast, the distracted mass absorbs the work of art'.[111] By absorbing the work of art, the cultural consumer acts much like the passive 'dopers' despised by Adorno, whose most telling point was to link mass media to fascism in the rhetorical and psychological continuum from the 'everyday' products of the culture industry, such as astrology columns or radio broadcasts, arguing that their repetitive formulae paralleled the fascist program to erode individual will by at once meeting and manipulating dependency needs. Adorno located the rhetoric of dependency of mass culture, particularly evident in radio, in its fetishistic and ritual elements: 'the prospective fascist follower craves this rigid repetition, just as the jitterbug craves the standard pattern of popular song'.[112]

Debates about the vices and virtues of mass media continue to be framed by Benjamin's dispute with Adorno about the radical possibilities opened up by mass media. However, even Benjamin warned that literature should beware of adopting technology as a formal analogy for its own praxis — as philosophy and science had — but rather to use it as an inducement to a different kind of interpretation which is necessary to awaken the individual consciousness otherwise sedated by the narcotic phantasmagoria of modernity. Such a profane illumination enacts the logic of Jacques Derrida's pharmakon, a charming yet perfidious substance that both remembers and forgets, sedates and stimulates, distracts and concentrates, and was first described by Homer, with Penelope's drugging of her suitors to provoke them into oral storytelling exhibitions.[113] Derrida links the problematic of the pharmakon and writing to the disconcerting logic of repetition, which I have argued is embedded in the conditions of the mass production of a simultaneous aural and visual media, and in the pattern of addiction traced from the Futurist's early ecstatic exultation of the potential of technologies and the mass media (which were eventually subsumed by Fascism). When Derrida refers to the

---

[111] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', p.233.
[112] Theodor.W Adorno, *The Stars Fell Down and Other Essays on the Irrational in Culture*, ed. Stephen Crook (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p.227. Adorno compares the evangalist Martin Luther Thomas' radio broadcasts with Hitler's recorded speeches to list forty clichés of fascist radio, ranting and rabblerousing.
[113] Jacques Derrida, 'Plato's Pharmacy', *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) p.91.

appearance of the pharmakon in the real world, he emphasises its pervasive and deceptive nature, the same qualities of the phantasmagoria which flood the senses of modernity. Benjamin had previously made the link between the worrying overflow of the new media technologies and the threat of modernity when he talks of the decay of the aura, contaminated by reproductive technologies leading to the 'far reaching liquefaction' of culture by modernity.[114] He quotes Valéry: 'Just as water, gas and electricity are brought into our houses from far off to satisfy our needs in response to a minimal effort, so we shall be supplied with visual or auditory images, which will appear and disappear at a simple movement of the hand, hardly more than a sign' (213). Film and photography are understood to be Benjamin's most powerful agents for the liquefaction of traditional values of cultural heritage, but I would argue that sound technologies perhaps even better enact this particularly pervasive and disturbing quality. As the radio theorist Gregory Whitehead says, 'the radio body cannot give a straight answer, but it challenges the audience to cross and recross the obscure boundaries that separate radio dreamland from radio ghostland, living from dead, utopia from oblivion'.[115] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari's question 'How do you make yourself a body without organs?' can then be answered with reference to the implications beyond Artaud's avant-garde radio project: 'experimentation not only radiophonic but also biological and political, incurring censorship and repression'.[116] The transmitted radio body, then, leaks across the borders and boundaries of its technology, which are never fully sealed. Whitehead recognises that the danger of the invisible radio body lies in its ability to cross boundaries and to fracture cohesiveness, saying that 'the radiobody is a composite of opposites: speaking to everyone abstractly and no one in particular; ubiquitous but fading without a trace; forever crossing boundaries but with uncertain destination; capable of the most intimate communion and the most sudden destruction'(256). It was this particular 'leaking' quality that made radio attractive to many of the avant-gardists, such as the Futurists who delighted in radio's ability to 'abolish' 'the unity of action',[117] and Antonin Artaud, whose radio play *Pour en finir avec le judgement de dieu* (1947) sought to teach the listener 'to dance wrong side out'.[118]

---

[114] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', p.229. Further references in text.
[115] Gregory Whitehead, 'Out of the Dark: Notes on the Nobodies of Radio Art', *Wireless Imagination*, p.256. Further references in text.
[116] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (The Athlone Press: London, 1992) p.150.
[117] F.T. Marinetti and Pino Masnata, 'La Radia' (1933) quoted in Kahn and Whitehead's *Wireless Imagination*, p. 267.
[118] Antonin Artaud, *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. XIII: 67-104, p.104.

Throughout this thesis, I will examine the moments of resistance to the increasing pervasiveness of the mass media and popular cultural forms: H.D., Stein and Artaud were in different ways distressed and inspired by all the technical difficulties (the noise, interruptions and interference) triggered by the attempted synchronisation of visual and acoustic media. The chapters that follow pay close attention to the moment of distortion or distraction where the circuitry of visual modernism is broken down. I will examine in particular the calibration of the avant-garde writing subject through the trajectory of the disembodied voice, as early twentieth-century sound recording separates the voice from the body and then reanimates it through mechanical reproduction in a sometimes awkward calibration with the visual. I wish to explore the location of the voice at the articulation of body and discourse, arguing that the proliferation of technological extensions of the self and the senses enabled identity to become partial, permeable and highly cryptographic. Unfortunately, not all the sound-texts that I refer to in the chapters that follow have been preserved in an auditive form; they are most likely to have survived in a transcribed state. The early broadcasts of Antonin Artaud for *Radio-Information,* for example, only exist in the footnotes of contemporary reports. Of course, the recording techniques of script and print rely, in their turn, on implied extraneous readings and performance for their 'soundfulness'. These early texts, played back only in written form, mark how the circuit of utterance and audition in the early twentieth century has effectively been silenced. Somewhat ironically, given a line of argument which attempts to rethink the dominance of the visual in modernist scholarship, I have included a fairly large number of film stills and photographic reproductions to illustrate this period marked by the awkward welding of image and sound. My intention in analysing the epiphenomenon produced by and around the asynchonisation of silent and sound film is not simply to draw attention to the literary avant-garde's experiments with aural technologies, but to the repercussions that this had on the more 'purely' visual dimension of modernism: for instance, the following chapter will focus on H.D.'s identification of a curiously aural dimension to her film stills, with original findings that illuminate my critical discussion of modernism drawn from a previously 'lost' film *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* (1927).

The aim of this thesis, then, is not quite so wide-ranging as to hope to account for the impact of developing sound technologies on the breadth of modernism, nor quite so narrow as to simply describe the particular experiments in sound media by a selection of avant-garde writers. I do not focus simply on the avant-garde texts that enact or use acoustic technology in competition with a monopoly of the visual. Instead, I make links between high modernist aesthetics and the technologies of perception, offering soundbites at the nexus of technological change and literary form with the disquieting asynchronisation of aural and optic that was highlighted by all the technical and aesthetic difficulties that sprang from the attempt to match image and sound tracks in early sound film. In the following chapters, I will examine in detail a few select and previously unexamined projects by avant-garde writers who used this nexus to inform not only their writing but also their experimentation with mass cultural forms and their own noisy self-projection. The key to my thesis is in the phrase 'out of synch': this term stands for the tensions or frictions between looking, hearing and speaking across a variety of media technologies, rather than a displacement of the visual by the aural. 'Out of synch' also captures the existential restlessness of H.D., Stein and Artaud, the sometimes grating quality of their experimental and often self-promoting forays into the use of media technologies, and the ambivalence of their relationship to mass culture and the traditions of high modernism.

2.

H.D. STILLS

'THE IMAGE IS ITSELF THE SPEECH'

I want to be alone.
Greta Garbo, *Grand Hotel* (1932)

Light takes new attribute
and yet his old
glory enchants;
not this,
not this, they say
H.D., 'Projector' (1927)

In 1928, H.D. went to Berlin to join her lover Kenneth Macpherson and his wife Bryher, who was also her long-term lover and who financed this intimate group's film and publishing projects.[1] As editors of the international avant-garde film journal *Close Up,* and amateur film practitioners themselves, they were all warmly received into the vibrant film milieu of Weimar Germany between the wars. This was a time when innovations in film technique and sound-technology were being explored with both wariness and excitement, while international dialogue amongst film practitioners, theorists and devotees was enthusiastically pursued. In one of her several articles for *Close Up*, H.D. describes meeting the German director G.W. Pabst, who was filming *Pandora's Box* (1928) with Louise Brooks, for a casual interview at a fashionable restaurant. H.D. recounts her thrill at being in the much admired Pabst's company; she describes him as a 'magician' who 'holds, as it were, the clue' to an international appreciation of film, standing as the 'keystone to the vast aesthetic structure we call now unquestionably the Art of the Film'.[2] Deeply impressed by his earlier film *Joyless Street* (1925) starring Greta Garbo, H.D. writes in her article 'An Appreciation' that this silent film was her 'never-to-be-forgotten

[1] Bryher (Winifred Ellerman, the heiress to the 'White Star' shipping line fortune) entered into marriages of convenience with Robert McCalmon and Kenneth Macpherson in order to pursue her literary and publishing ambitions, although she was in a committed relationship with H.D. from 1927 onward. The *Close Up* team also ran Pool Productions, a company financed by Bryher, which published books from their avant-garde coterie and experimented with film, producing *Wing Beat* (1927), *Monkey's Moon* (1928), *Foothills* (1929), and *Borderline* (1930). Only *Borderline* survives as a complete film, although fragments of *Wing Beat* and *Foothills* are archived at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. However, stills from all of these films appear in various issues of *Close Up*.

[2] H.D., 'An Appreciation', *Close Up* 4.4 (April 1929) 56-68, p.62. Further references in text.

première to the whole art of the screen'(62). Over the dinner interview, then, while Macpherson engaged in '"professional" converse'(56) with Pabst, and others at the table gossiped about Louise Brooks' latest quirky behaviour on set, H.D. recollects a detail that had troubled her about his earlier film:

> I have not taken part in the conversation that has been going on. I have not even been listening. (You will remember we are seated in a warm corner of a Berlin restaurant just before Christmas.) There is some little stir and probably we must be going. I must say just one thing. 'Mr Pabst, I must ask you one thing' – he turned courteously from weightier matter – 'about, if you don't mind, *Joyless Street*.'
>
> I had seen a still of a dead body, a very beautiful still of the figure of the mundane lady who, you will recall, is killed in the 'house' she went to with her lover. 'I wanted to know about the body of Madame — ...I was wondering about it.' Mr Pabst did not wait for me to explain fully, he burst into a torrent of wailing and apology. 'O, a dead body ... a dead body ... there is no such thing as a dead body on the screen...'(66-7)

Underscoring its elusiveness, H.D.'s article is not accompanied by the mysterious still in question, although *Close Up* was remarkable, amongst the other film journals of the time, for its inclusion of an impressive range of images from the films under discussion. In such a context — as an accompaniment to the review — the still would act metonymically for its film. However, H.D. is troubled by the peculiarly 'beautiful' but disconcerting inconsistency of a promotional still that did not seem to 'match up with the cinema scene itself'(68) in a film she had seen and admired. H.D. wants to identify this still of a woman's corpse as a static or frozen moment that would stand out from the play of images in the larger narrative flow. As an attentive spectator, attuned to questions of representation in film and the problematics of visual montage, and H.D. is hesitant to over-interpret Pabst's intentions for including this particularly enigmatic image. Nevertheless she is shocked by his outburst that 'there is no such thing as a dead body on the screen'. In her article, H.D. immediately puts this curious statement of Pabst's into political and social perspective, recounting an anecdote he often repeated about some friends who died unnecessarily in an internment camp after armistice was declared at the end of World War I. From such a perspective, it is implied, film corpses would indeed be ridiculous and trivial (if not literally impossible). However, H.D. describes Pabst's retelling of this war story as itself 'a somewhat grim and ironical performance'(67) in and of itself, for Pabst apparently could not help but infuse his anecdote with cinematic drama, making 'more than a movie set' (67) of the description of internment camp conditions.

What, then, is to be made of the dead body on the screen, the single frozen still that stutters the narrative flow of *Joyless Street*? It is now axiomatic to read the photographic shot as a sign of passing time and inexorable mortality, following Roland Barthes' train of thought in *Camera Lucida* that the photograph, despite surreptitiously inducing belief that it is 'alive' by capturing the subject in a posed moment of life, shifts reality to the past, to the 'this-has-been', and in so doing 'suggests that it is already dead'.[3] The congealed photographic shot is then both death-like and charged with the constitution of a fetish in its replicative and distributive potential.[4] It has become equally axiomatic that women are particularly vulnerable to photography as a technology of abduction and violent bodily dismemberment, following the understanding that the female is object rather than subject of the gaze in classic narrative cinema.[5] But if a photographic portrait acts as a death mask, trapped in a technologically framed moment that stifles movement and sensation, coffin-like, then what of film itself? Although it might be tempting to imagine film as the animation of an otherwise static photograph, film in reality consists of innumerable individual frozen stills that flicker past, rather than flowing as a continuous whole. Garrett Stewart points out that if photography is death in replica, cinema could be understood as death in serial. He goes on, 'whereas photography engraves the death it resembles, cinema defers the death whose escape it simulates. The isolated photo or photogram is the still work of death; cinema is death always still at work.'[6] This notion of a filmic death-still-in-progress illuminates Pabst's repudiation of the representation of dead bodies on the screen, but does not quite explain the film still within the film that so troubled H.D., unhinged as it seems from its cinematic context. A film still, as it apparently inhabits the space between a photograph and a film, complicates an understanding of the trapped time and stasis of the photographic pose even as it depends on its cinematic context.[7] Most

---

[3] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) p.79.

[4] Of course, modern portrait photography developed as a mode of representation from the death mask and daguerreotype, confirming the link between photography and death, or, more specifically, the desire to forestall death through visual commemoration. See Cathy Davidson, 'Photographs of the Dead: Sherman, Daguerre, Hawthorne', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 89 (Fall 1990) 667-701. See also Amelia Jones, 'The "Eternal Return": Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (2002) 27.4, 947-978.

[5] This line of argument, triggered by Laura Mulvey's discussion of the 'to-be-looked-at-ness' of the female subject, continues to infuse feminist discussions of spectatorship, encompassing both possibilities of a passive decorative body on display and an unruly disruptive femininity. See 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' *Screen* 16.3 (1975) 6-18.

[6] Garrett Stewart, *Between Film and Screen: Modernism's Photo Synthesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) p.xi.

[7] It is understood that publicised film stills were rarely 'frames' from the film itself, but were taken by a stills photographer for what John Ellis has termed a 'narrative image' – that is, an image that condenses or encapsulates the narrative logic of the film in question. As such, film stills are not literally 'extracts' from a film, but are supplementary, to be promoted as the cinema industry's anticipatory reply to the question 'what is this film like?', and circulated outside of the actual perfomance of the film in the cinema. See John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) p.30.

commonly employed as an anticipatory publicity gesture for a film not yet seen, or as a trigger to memory of a film under review, it could be argued that the film still is most like a photograph in its 'instantaneous abduction', according to Christian Metz's formulation, 'of the object out of the world into another world, into another kind of time'.[8] Following this, David Wills argues that the film still is inextricably linked to questions of inclusion and exclusion, 'the boundaries between what remains and what is discarded, with the facts and functions of the cut-off or fragment'.[9] As such, it acts as a prosthetic fragment, a cut amputated from the animated body of the film in motion. For the film still, as for the photograph, the reminder of the dismembered and disarticulated body is always already present.

In the face of Pabst's disavowal of the image of the dead woman, H.D continues her cross-questioning, a little more insistently. She tells him,

> 'I saw *Joyless Street* a second time. It was only last year. Then I did make a point of looking for the dead body and *did* see it. The first time I was so enchanted with light filtering through those shutters in that half-darkened room, I was so interested in the mass effect you got with the man's thick shoulders and blocked in shapes...is it possible that in the earliest version the shots showing the dead woman on the floor were for some reason deleted?'
> 'Ah,' interrupted Mr Pabst delightedly. 'I did not *mean* you to see the body of the murdered woman on the floor.' (68)

The essay 'An Appreciation' ends on this perplexing note. Pabst, despite his earlier renunciation of the representation of death in cinema, now agrees that there was indeed a corpse. It seems that it was, however, deliberately hidden by the director, secret to all but the most attentive of spectators. H.D.'s artless question about an explanatory scene that was 'for some reason deleted' is interrupted by Pabst, perhaps still sensitive about the controversy surrounding *Joyless Street* that led to its re-editing within a year of its original release in 1925. Censors, ostensibly objecting to the narrative of moral corruption, which follows the story of young women drawn from the struggle to survive in post-war Germany into prostitution, had slashed Pabst's film.[10] They were, it seems, disquieted by the murder scene resulting from a jealous rage that seemed to implicate the women in a suspiciously passionate friendship. Andrea Weiss has described the impact of the sexual

---

[8] Christian Metz, 'Photography and the Fetish' *October* 34 (1985) 81-90, p.84.
[9] David Wills, *Prosthesis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) p.38.
[10] The German Film Censorship Board cut scenes from *Joyless Street* on the grounds that they would 'demoralise' female spectators, particularly susceptible to contamination by the plot of women who 'are forced to sell their moral honour' in exchange for money. Quoted in Patrice Petro, 'Film Censorship and the Female Spectator: The Joyless Street', *The Films of G.W. Pabst*,ed. Eric Rentschler (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990) p.38.

ambiguity in roles played by stars like Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich on the emerging queer subculture of the early 1930s, arguing that these film performances were the most visible and influential component of the elite international lesbian set.[11] Yet while films like *Joyless Street* and the later *The Blue Angel* (1930) and *Queen Christina* (1933) are read as illustrations of the permissiveness and erotic liberation of the German cultural scene between the wars, their provocative representation of female desire was not uncomplicated. Bryher reported the international reaction to *Joyless Street*, writing to her fellow *Close Up* editors and Pabst-enthusiasts that entire scenes were cut from the film in Vienna, while 'somewhere else, in Russia, I think, they made the bourgeois the murderer instead of the girl. In France they cut the whole street out and the figures on it. In Germany one year after it was showing the censorship tried to forbid it'.[12] Bryher goes on to say that Pabst tried to get work for the young Greta Garbo, but the backlash in Europe following *Joyless Street* was such that nobody would cast her, and it was only in desperation she went to the States, and so on to become a Hollywood celebrity.

So why a chapter focusing on film stills in a thesis about 'modernism out of synch'? I have already pointed out that as sound technologies interrupted the silence of the cinematic experience, they opened up other indeterminate spaces, before and apart from any dialogue or noise on the soundtrack. The shift in emphasis from the visual to sound meant a realignment that allows for a different perspective on the relationships between the avant-garde, modernism and mass culture. I argue that the stills reproduced in *Close Up,* which self-consciously framed the period marking the contentious shift from silent to sound, interrupted the silent discussion of the reviews within its pages. Insisting on an attitude of decoding or 'listening' attentively, film stills incite discussion across mass culture and the avant-garde, with their popular appeal and provocation to critical interpretation. And even if not directly acoustic in itself, film stills can be understood as expressive utterances, as they are understood to 'speak' for their film, irrespective of whether that film is a talkie or not. While the theoretical silence about film stills is in itself somewhat deafening, they are deployed in this chapter to illuminate the ways in which the asynchronisation attributed to the period's experimentations with sound-film opened up questions of identity and representation. Drawing attention to the nexus of visual, aural and textual literacies and

[11] Andrea Weiss, 'A Queer Feeling When I Look at You: Hollywood Stars and Lesbian Spectatorship in the 1930s', *Stardom: Industry of Desire* ed. Christine Gledhill (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) p.291.
[12] Letter from Bryher (c.1927), quoted by H.D.'s biographer Barbara Guest in *Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World* (London: Collins, 1985) p.192.

avant-garde aesthetic practice, this chapter focuses on the visual side of the tension between looking, hearing and speaking, while the following chapter will audit a more overtly acoustic perspective.

H.D., enamoured by both Pabst's direction and Greta Garbo's performance, of which she was to write about at length in her other cinema essays, saw *Joyless Street* twice. A suitably attentive spectator, she was undoubtedly attuned to the coded queer reading, the secret suppressed by the film's censor. At the same time, H.D.'s film essays continually refer to watching film as a traumatic experience, prefiguring the violence that was to emerge as the hallmark of spectatorship theory. The ubiquity of the woman made vulnerable to violence in film is stressed, for H.D., by her identificatory dilemma as a modernist film spectator, actor and reviewer. H.D.'s iteration and textualisation of the *femme fatale* — Helen of Troy, Iphegenia, Joan of Arc, Greta Garbo, her character Astrid in *Borderline*, to name but a few — attest to her developing insistence on the reciprocity of cinema and writing, of spectatorship and subjectivity, of cultural and personal fantasy. In this context, Pabst's misleading comment 'there is no such thing as a dead body on the screen' amplifies H.D.'s ongoing anxieties which were already stressed by the resistance of silent film to the perceived threat of sound: the suppression of woman's 'unspeakable' desires; the disquieting spectacle of the *femme fatale*; and, most particularly, the interrogation of the suffering woman's image as it bleeds across the screen, is disarticulated into film stills and then rearticulated with a critical voice in her experimental film reviews.

Despite H.D.'s distraction (recall her earlier claim that 'I had not even been listening' as she was sidetracked by gossip at the table, the arrival of food, the celebrities who kept 'passing, coming, going'[13]), Pabst was both delighted and disconcerted by her insightful dissection of the surface of his film text, of what he 'did not *mean*' for her to see. Great friends with the *Close Up* coterie, Pabst enthusiastically encouraged them in visits to Germany with protestations of full professional and personal disclosure: 'my cars, the studios, my films, my thoughts are all at your disposal'.[14] Macpherson responded by imitating Pabst's film techniques in his own amateur film experiments, while H.D. was heavily influenced by his silent film aesthetics. That H.D participated in a number of

[13] H.D., 'An Appreciation', p.58.
[14] Brhyer quoting Pabst in a letter cited by Barbara Guest in *Herself Defined*, p.192.

discourses within modernist visual culture is now widely accepted, with evidence found in her autobiographical fiction and poetry, her participation in the Pool group's silent film experiments, and her critical essays and editing work for *Close Up*.[15] Attracting and soliciting contributions from such celebrated film makers, theorists and avant-gardists as Man Ray, Sergei Eisenstein, René Clair, Paul Allegret, Paul Rotha and Pabst himself, the film journal *Close Up* was originally conceived of as a forum for modernist writers to discuss the cinema. Its literary credentials were emphasised in the early issues with advertised contributions from internationally acclaimed authors such as Marianne Moore, Gertrude Stein, André Gide, Virginia Woolf, and, of course, H.D., revealing its initial insecurities about being 'The Only Magazine Devoted to Films as an Art'.[16] The need for external legitimisation from the literary world was gradually overcome in later issues, as the journal gained a reputation for providing a crucial textual space for a politicised, analytic and interdisciplinary discourse on the cinema at a period of crisis for film, with the arrival of sound technologies. Focusing on conceptual and philosophical issues, the journal was both a film review magazine and an attempt — as its editors claimed, the very first attempt — to theorise the cinema.[17] The surprising variety of contributions published in *Close Up*'s relatively brief printing history reflect the fluid boundaries between criticism and other forms of twentieth-century aesthetic production at this period of tension, marked, as I have stressed, by the attempts at synchronisation of sound to image in film. However, although it started out 'against' the talkies, *Close Up*'s position gradually, if reluctantly, became less antagonistic as it became increasingly elegiac of silent film.

H.D.'s idiosyncratic film reviewing style, which will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter, allows her to set up a reciprocal relation to the films that she analyses.

---

[15]For more details on H.D. and her involvement with cinema, see Laura Marcus, 'The Contribution of H.D.: Introduction' in *Close Up 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Freidberg and Laura Marcus (London: Cassell, 1998) 96-104. See also Rebecca Egger, *Reading By Half-Light: Cinematic Spectatorship in Modernist Women's Writing*, unpublished Phd thesis (Cornell University, 1995); 'A Filmography for H.D.' *H.D. Newsletter* 2.1 (1988) 19-24, as well as Anne Friedberg's, 'On H.D.: Woman, History, Recognition' *Wide Angle* 5.2 (1982) 26-31; 'Approaching Borderline' Michael King (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1986) 369-390; and 'The Pool Films' *H.D. Newsletter* 1.1 (1987) 10-11. Other critical examinations of the interrelationships between H.D.'s writings and film include Charlotte Mandel's four articles 'Magical Lenses: Poet's Vision Beyond the Naked Eye', in *H.D.: Woman and Poet* ed. Michael King (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1986) 301-17; 'Garbo/Helen: The Self Projection of Beauty by H.D.',in *Women's Studies* 7.1-2 (1980) 127-35; 'The Redirected Image: Cinematic Dynamics in the Style of H.D.', in *Literature/Film Quarterly* 9.1 (1983) 36-45; and 'H.D.'s Projector II and *Chang*, a Film of the Jungle', in *H.D. Newsletter*1.2 (1987) 42-45.

[16] This catchphrase appears as the subtitle to the issue of *Close Up* 3.4 (October 1928) and was reiterated on the cover of a later issue that dealt with *Borderline*, *Close Up* 7.1 (July 1930).

[17] For an extended discussion of the historical, cultural and interpersonal context of *Close Up*, see Anne Friedberg, *Writing About Cinema: Close Up 1927-33*, unpublished Phd thesis (New York University, 1983). Friedberg points out that some of these authors did not actually write articles, despite early advertisements and solicitations by the editors. Virginia Woolf, for instance, declined to write on the cinema for *Close Up*, pp.13-14n47.

In adapting cinematic grammar, such as the techniques of close up, montage and dissolve, H.D.'s *Close Up* essays are remarkable for the way they obliquely articulate her aesthetic demands for both literature and film, advocating for avant-garde and, above all, silent film. Most importantly, H.D.'s reviews illustrate the receptive and transmissive links between film and the viewing subject. For instance, in her review of the doom-laden Russian film *Expiation* (1926) H.D. outlines her interpretative role as a spectator, insisting that 'someone, something "intended" that I should grasp this, get this, that some mind should receive this series of uncanny and almost psychic sensations in order to transmute them elsewhere in order to translate them'.[18] Communicating a visual picture without reference to any accompanying film still, H.D. describes the screen presence of the female protagonist of the film: 'the gestures of this woman are angular, bird-like, claw-like, skeleton-like and hideous. She has a way of standing against a sky-line that makes a hieroglyph, that spells almost visible some message of cryptic symbolism'(42). Most notably, the disturbingly 'hieroglyphic' images of the silent *Expiation* seem 'to vibrate', according to H.D., 'almost audibly' (42). It is behind or beyond the silent images, curiously enough, that H.D. struggles to hear that which would provoke her spectatorial interaction. In an earlier article, H.D. exalts silent film for its seemingly paradoxical capacity to express 'some pulse or vibration, music on another plane too'.[19] This is the elusive and enigmatic aural trace that I pursue through the chapters on H.D. in this thesis on the asynchronous soundtrack of modernism, lending an ear to its resonance in film stills, film reviews and, eventually, its amplification in the Pool production team's silent film project *Borderline* (1930).

H.D.'s immediate and conversational film reviewing in *Close Up* pre-empts Roland Barthes' assumption, most clearly expressed in an essay about his collection of stills from a Sergei Eisenstein film, that cinema cannot be critically grasped 'in its natural state',[20] that is, in movement, as images are animated during screening. Barthes takes for granted film stills' conventional deployment as visual quotations of the films from which they are extracted. In practice, however, a film still's metonymic role is often lost, for although film stills are evocative, they are just as often misleading, offering extracts out of the context of the film's larger narrative and constraints of sequence or filmic time. Nevertheless,

---

[18] H.D., 'Expiation', *Close Up* 2.5 (May 1928) 38-49, p.40. Further references in text.
[19] H.D., 'The Cinema and The Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', *Close Up* 1.5 (November 1927) 18-31, p.23.
[20] Roland Barthes, 'The Third Meaning: Research Notes on Some Eisenstein Stills', *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana Press,1977) p.65. Further references in text.

Barthes' comments are significant as they address the allure and popular consumption of film stills. He reminisces, 'For a long time I have been intrigued by the phenomenon of being interested and even fascinated by photos from a film'(65) which he finds posted as publicity outside a cinema or in the pages of film journals. However, when actually seeing the film in question, he forgets to look for the still that lured him into the theatre in the first place; he is conscious of 'losing everything of those photos'(66). The disjunction between frozen extract and animated body of the film is the explanation, Barthes suggests, for the common opinion that film stills are the 'remote sub-product of the film, a sample, a means of drawing in custom, a pornographic extract and, technically, a reduction of the work by the immobilization of what is taken to be the sacred essence of cinema – the movement of its images'(66). Barthes finds, however, that the innovation offered by the still is actually in its quality as a filmic substitute, as it is '*doubled* by another text, the film'(66n1). The immobilised images are not only re-animated through their reproduction, replication and dissemination in the publicity machine of cinema advertisements, postcards, posters and magazines, but they offer an 'inarticulable third meaning'(67), which Barthes argues is closely aligned to Eisenstein's theories regarding 'the new possibilities of audio-visual montage'(67). While film stills cannot be said to have any literal or tangible acoustic component, Barthes likes Eisenstein's formula because it offers a 'vertical' reading of the articulation between film and filmic quotation, arguing that it was the reading of something akin to the film still that 'Eisenstein called for when he said that a film is not simply to be seen and heard but to be scrutinised and listened to attentively'(68). This seeing and hearing of the 'veritable mutation' — that is, silent film which has been opened up by the expanded possibilities of sound-film — was a crucial problem for Eisenstein and his contemporary film practitioners and theorists.[21]

Barthes goes on to read three sets of codes when looking at film stills. The first is informational (the costumes, setting and characters), while the second is symbolic (finding signification through psychoanalysis, dramaturgy or economy). The third is more obscure, and Barthes struggles to define it. Significantly, he points out in a footnote to this 'third meaning' that, in the classical paradigm of the senses, the third sense is 'hearing'. He remarks,

[21] See Sergei Eisenstein's article for *Close Up*, 'The Sound-film: A Statement From the USSR', co-authored with Pudovkin and Alexandroff, *Close Up* 4.1 (October, 1928) 10-13.

> this is a happy coincidence, since what is here in question is indeed *listening*: firstly, because the remarks by Eisenstein to which reference will be made are taken from a consideration of the coming of sound in film; second, because listening ... bears with it that metaphor best suited to the 'textual': orchestration, counterpoint, stereophony. (53)

Looking at a film still, then, takes place at a divide, at a point where the perception of the image is in the process of being transformed. The 'music on another plane'[22] heard by H.D.'s attuned film adept is clearly aligned to Barthes' elusive 'third meaning', which amplifies and articulates the otherwise silent image trapped in a still visual moment.

H.D.'s curious insistence on an explanation for the film still of the stabbed woman and her missing corpse in her interview with Pabst about *Joyless Street* is put into troubling perspective with the discovery that she had joined Kenneth Macpherson and Bryher on their networking jaunt to Berlin in order to undergo an abortion.[23] Such an emotional and psychological focus on a photographic image is, intriguingly enough for this context, perceived of as a *punctum* by Barthes in his *Camera Lucida* project exploring the details that open themselves to the viewer's subjectivity by 'pricking' memory.[24] Making a distinction between 'photographic shock' and the *punctum*, Barthes focuses on the random point of sudden and strong emotion that can occur when looking at a technologically reproduced and archived image; the 'sting, speck, cut, little hole — and also a cast of the dice. A photograph's *punctum* is that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)'(47). The *punctum* is different for each subjective viewer, and is the effect of coincidence, the accidental or distracted encounter with a detail in a photograph that is held in anticipation by the still image. In other words, whereas the psychoanalytic notion of trauma is tied to the past, that which Barthes identifies as the *punctum* of the technologically reproduced image is still in the future. Christian Metz follows this to say that the part of the photograph which entails the somewhat uncanny feeling of off-frame space, 'depends more on the reader than on the photograph itself'.[25] Celia Lury, however, goes on to point out that Barthes' perception of the *punctum's* power to provoke 'tiny

---

[22] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', p.23.

[23] Barbara Guest recounts H.D.'s realisation of her pregnancy, to Macpherson, while alone in London. Bryher and Macpherson encouraged her to join them in Berlin to have the abortion, placing her in a pension to recover when they went on to Switzerland on business for *Close Up*. H.D.'s interview with Pabst would have taken place while she was recuperating from the operation, *Herself Defined*, pp.193-94. See also Donna Hollenberg's 'Abortion, Identity Formation and the Expatriate Woman Writer: H.D. and Kay Boyle', *Twentieth Century Literature* 40.4 (Winter 1994) 499-517.

[24] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections in Photograph*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981). Further references in text.

[25] Christian Metz, 'Photography and Fetish', *October* 34 (Fall 1985) 81-90, p.87.

jubilations, as if they referred to a stilled centre, a [buried] erotic or lacerating value', has often been dismissed as wishful thinking, as a subjective desire for his dead mother triggered while browsing through his family photographic album.[26]

It is tempting, though disquieting, to read H.D.'s fascination with the still of the punished *femme fatale* in *Joyless Street* and its surreptitiously elided corpse against this conception of the *punctum*. In any case, Barthes' *punctum* is of interest as it disturbs the conventional references to what he calls the *studium* of the image: in film stills, the *studium* is clearly linked to the conventions of the increasingly commercialised cinema and the mass-media fetishisation of women's bodies in the marketing of consumer culture. The *punctum*, then, seems to utter a truth that goes beyond the *studium*, however intricately coded that may be, and this appears to be what H.D. attunes herself to in the deployment of film stills in her own cinematic projects. For Barthes the *punctum*, which can only be a tiny detail, 'has more or less potentiality, a power of expansion'.[27] This expansion occurs because, in contrast to the deliberation of the framed close up (which can be either aural or visual in the expanded field of media technologies[28]) the photographer cannot ' *not* photograph the part object at the same time as the total object'(47). Barthes goes on to say, 'I experience the photograph and the world in which it participates according to two regions: on one side the Images, on the other my photographs, on one side, unconcern, shifting, noise, the inessential (even if I am abusively deafened by it), on the other, the burning, the wounded'(98). For H.D. the noisy distractions that hover around and behind the close up of the film still are actually the 'wounded' moments that most attract her attention and which provide access to her prescient version of the 'third meaning'; the provocation to interaction or decoding by the attentive listener or spectator in an exacting avant-garde film aesthetic.

---

[26] Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) p.16.
[27] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p.45. Further references in text.
[28] Alan Williams argues that in sound recording, as in image recording, the apparatus performs a significant perceptual work for us by isolating, intensifying or analysing sonic and visual material. He finds the best analysis of this in the 1916 discussion of early photoplays, where Hugo Munsterberg anticipates cinema's capacity to give pseudo-perceptions: 'We say that whatever attracts our attention in the sphere of any sense, sight, or sound, touch, or smell, surely becomes more vivid and more clear in our consciousness...If on the stage the hand movements of the actor catch our interest, we no longer look at the whole large scene, we only see the fingers of the hero clutching the revolver with which he is to commit his crime....it is as if this one hand were during this pulse beat of events the whole scene, and everything else had faded away.' Hugo Munsterberg *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (1916) as quoted by Alan Williams, 'Is Sound Recording a Language?' *Yale French Studies*, Cinema/Sound 60 (1980) 51-66, p.59.

Having argued that the film stills' stutter interrupts the silence between the pages of *Close Up*, I now want to draw attention to a still of H.D. herself from *Borderline* (1930), the final film project of the *Close Up* editorial team. This film was stubbornly silent in the period of expanding possibilities in sound technologies, and the following still is offered as something of a preview to the next chapter, where I will discuss *Borderline* in more depth, exploring the more directly acoustic side of the silent/sound debate framed by the journal *Close Up,* with an examination of the cinematographical *mise-en-scène* of psychoanalysis through H.D.'s critical voice in her talking cure and film reviews. This still, reproduced below, samples a moment within the narrative of *Borderline* when H.D.'s character Astrid — the 'star' of the film — is accidentally stabbed by her lover when she attacks him with a knife in a nervous frenzy after listening to a gramophone record; a vivid if too literal *punctum* if ever there was one. The still was accompanied in the pages of *Close Up* with the captioned comment, 'Helga Doorn below gives her interpretation of those little deaths we die'.[29] I argue that this still is significant because of the peculiarly cryptographic

Fig. 1: death scene film still for *Borderline* (1930)

[29] The still and its caption appears on an unnumbered page of *Close Up* 7.1 (July 1930) amongst a collection of other *Borderline* film stills, mainly a series of close ups of Paul Robeson. The 'little deaths we die' caption no doubt alludes to the French usage of '*petit mort*', and is tempting to speculate that it was one of Bryher's jokes.

quality that marks its deployment in the publicity within *Close Up* and other journals.[30] I argue further that H.D. positions herself in this film still, which seems uncannily to evoke the one that had so troubled her from *Joyless Street,* in a moment of cinematic performance that opens up new ways of thinking about film subjects. Its self-conscious codes play out a destabilisation of the still from within, a move that slyly unfixes it as static image.

The first secret the film still discloses is that 'Helga Doorn', listed as the actress playing Astrid in *Borderline*, is actually the screen pseudonym for H.D. She had used this name in the earlier *Wing Beat* (1927), although the pre-publicity in *Close Up* for this film clearly acknowledged H.D.'s identity as a well-known poet. H.D.'s persistence in using this pseudonym in the later *Borderline*, then, indicates less a desire for anonymity than a playful exploration of the construction of on-screen identities. The second secret disclosed to the knowing viewer is that the still does not, in fact, depict H.D.'s character Astrid's murdered body. Rather, it represents a scene immediately preceding the stabbing, when Astrid is only 'playing dead'. Thus H.D.'s character in *Borderline*'s diegesis poses as a corpse in order to fool her lover, while H.D. arrays herself across the cinematic field as both a silenced film object and a disruptive *femme fatale*, who as Mary Ann Doane theorises, embodies 'an articulation of fears surrounding the loss of stability and centrality of the self, the "I", the ego'.[31] Within the motif of the *femme fatale*, Doane argues that 'woman, illicit sexuality, and death display an affinity' so that the woman 'is guaranteed her position as the very figure of catastrophe'(148). H.D.'s exaggerated reiteration of the performance of cinematic death in the film still shows how the *femme fatale* herself is a fabricated and transgressive construct, and so empties of significance the death-in-progress of the female subject performed by the film.

---

[30] This film still of H.D.'s character's death scene accompanies the review by Oswell Blakeston (Mecurius) in his column 'Art Fact and Abstraction', *The Architectural Review* (1930) 68, p.258. Blakeston was a regular contributor to *Close Up*, before which he had established a reputation as an abstract film director. See Paul Rotha, *The Film Till Now* (London: Vision Press, 1949) p.115 and p.342.

[31] Mary Anne Doane, *Femme Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1991) p.2. Further references in text. H.D.'s role as *femme fatale* in *Borderline* has been discussed by Susan McCabe, 'Borderline Modernism: Paul Robeson and the Femme Fatale', *Callaloo* 25.2 (2002) 639-53; Jean Gallagher, 'H.D.'s Distractions: Cinematic Stasis and Lesbian Desire', *Modernism/Modernity* 9.3 (2002) 407-422; Jean Walton, 'Nightmare of the Uncoordinated White Folk': Race, Psychoanalysis and *Borderline*', *Discourse* 19.2 (1997) 88-109. See in particular McCabe's intriguing displacement of the role of the *femme fatale* onto Paul Robeson. As an aside, I find it interesting that the montaged poster for *Borderline* carefully places the cut out figure of the lover, played by Macpherson, between the lips of the enlarged face of Robeson, directly enacting the coded homoerotic tension of his direction that McCabe explores with such relish.

H.D.'s self-conscious projection in the film also plays with the attentive spectator's complicity and knowingness about *Borderline's* interruption of a real-life melodrama off set: that is, the queer *ménage à trois* and the intimate entanglement of director, actors and friends in the film's production. There is some scholarly confusion about who, in the *Close Up* coterie, did exactly what for the Pool film, but the consensus is that H.D. and Bryher actually did more editing for *Borderline* than they were immediately credited with, as well as dealing with the publicity, review writing and distribution of the film.[32] The uncertainty about the extent of H.D.'s participation for Pool Productions is due, in part, to H.D.'s practice of writing about herself in the third person, particularly in the early publicity for her films in *Close Up*. That she chose to do this extra work, however, suggests its implication in the development of her avant-garde aesthetics. H.D. clearly wanted to be more than a film star; her active engagement with the journal *Close Up* as a prolific film reviewer paralleled the appropriation of cinematic language into her writing. I argue that the cinematic language she used was not necessarily rooted in the silent (although she favoured silent films) but echoes the asynchronisation that was dividing the film world. The 'sonic waiver'[33] identified in H.D.'s writing was inextricably linked to the dialogue within the pages of *Close Up* about sound in film and was crucial to the development of her critical voice. *Borderline* itself may have been silent but the debate about sound played out around and within the film can be heard if listened to or decoded attentively. For instance, as pointed out in my introductory chapter, Paul Robeson's celebrity as a singer brought with it an aural dimension, although he was rendered voiceless by the film itself.

I find that H.D. was sufficiently invested in the production of *Borderline* and its epiphenomena — the script, libretto, editing, publicity and reviews — to argue that she controlled to a large extent the creation of her role as Astrid, the neurotic aging *femme fatale*, and its attendant images.[34] By so doing, she created a performative 'self-portrait', in the sense that the film stills convey to the reader or viewer the very subject responsible for

---

[32] Although H.D. was publicly generous with praise of Macpherson's skill as a director, in her unpublished 'Autobiographical Notes' she claims that 'K. develops a bad throat and Bryher and I work over the strips, doing the montage'. Quoted in Anne Friedberg's 'Approaching *Borderline*', p.381.

[33] This term is used by Garrett Stewart to identify the verbal instress peculiar to the writing of modernists such as H.D., James Joyce and Virginia Woolf. See 'Modernism's Sonic Waiver: Literary Writing and the Filmic Difference', *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies* ed. Adalaide Morris (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 237-273.

[34] In this context it is interesting to consider the photographic series of 'Untitled Film Stills' by the late twentieth-century photographer Cindy Sherman, images 'taken' from films that never existed. With their focus on women's response to an anticipated narrative of danger, this series works as a representation of the feminine response to the threat of being 'taken'. See Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture* p.104.

staging the pose, although she did not actually 'take' the photo herself.[35] I would argue that H.D. engaged in a complex performance of self-portraiture that calls attention to the calculated disjunction of images and film in a move that echoes the avant-garde's deliberate emphasis on asynchronisation of image and sound. René Clair, for example, concerned that sound would disrupt the poetic dimension inherent to silent film, drew attention to asynchronisation in *A Nous la liberté* (1931), when a woman who appears to be singing from a window is revealed, as the camera moves in for an interior shot, to be miming to a gramophone record. In the case of the film still of a woman's dead body, I would then argue that H.D. was drawing attention to the asynchronisation of her own animated and autonomous critical voice and the silencing of the female subject implicit to the death-in-progress of film.

The amplification of a critical voice through film stills is evident in one of the earliest projects of the *Close Up* coterie and their friends, the silent film *I Do Like to be Beside the Seaside* (1927), made in the same year that their film journal was launched. This film has never been critically addressed, no doubt because it exists only in its surviving film stills, a two-page synopsis, and a short review by 'Mercurius'[36] (the *nom-de-plume* of the director himself, Oswell Blakeston, who was one of the regular *Close Up* contributors). The film was apparently intended as a spoof of contemporary avant-garde film techniques, with parodies of the distinctive styles of directors such as Man Ray, Germaine Dulac, Sergei Eisenstein and Carl Dreyer. Blakeston, who had earlier co-directed the critically acclaimed abstract *Light Rhythms* with Francis Bruguière, said that with this later project, he had planned 'a film to shock the avant-garde. When it was shown in Paris, an infuriated cinéaste hurled his chair through the screen – real success!'[37] Blakeston's notes to the film's unpublished synopsis claimed to have invented a new kind of film criticism saying that 'just as pictorial journalism is shown in news-reels, I wanted to outline a future for pictorial film criticism.' He went on to note that his film 'exposes, by a constant reduction to absurdity, more clearly than learned disquisition or exact analysis, the merits, the

[35] It can be argued that these images constitute a 'self-portrait', following the line of argument that accepts the images of the Countess de Castiglione, nominally taken by a nineteenth-century photographic firm, as clearly choreographed by the Countess herself, the subject responsible for staging the image. For more on these performative 'self-portraits', see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, 'The Legs of the Countess', *October* 39 (1986) 65-108.

[36] Mecurius (Oswell Blakeston), 'I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside', *The Architectural Review* 67 Jan-June 1930, 341-342. Further references in text.

[37] Oswell Blakeston, unpublished synopsis to *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* (1927) found folded and tucked into the inside cover of the *Scrapbook 4* (1929-30), Harry Ransom Research Centre, University of Texas, Austin. The notes indicate that the film was shown at Diamant Studios in Paris in 1927, pp.1-2.

defects, and the potentialities and the dangers'[38] of film experimentation. Such 'exposure' was achieved through parody of recognisably avant-garde film tropes — an 'epic posterior shot', for example, and 'more and more cigarettes to make the avant-garde bearable'.[39] The review does not indicate if the film was, in fact, ever publicly screened outside Paris; indeed, the review repudiates the need for any further screening, insisting that the film's effect is 'sufficiently indicated by the few extracts given on these pages'(341). *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside*, then, is significant in that it seems to be intended to be best viewed as a series of film stills, in discrete static images that cumulatively reveal a parodic framing narrative. This is supported by the way the review itself is organised around eleven film stills that track the 'light and airy thread of a story'(341). For example, the accompanying images 8 and 9 of Blakeston's review show Bryher getting a haircut from Kenneth Macpherson, parodying the notoriously brutal and 'real time' cropping of the actress Renée Falconetti's hair in Carl Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1927), just before she is burnt at the stake in the presence of a character played by Antonin Artaud. A still of this scene from Dreyer's original film is actually reproduced in a later issue of *Close Up*, captioned with the comment that it was from the 'personal collection of Carl Dreyer',[40] underscoring yet again the intimate network of exchange, represented most immediately by the circulation of film stills and gossip, that existed in the avant-garde film

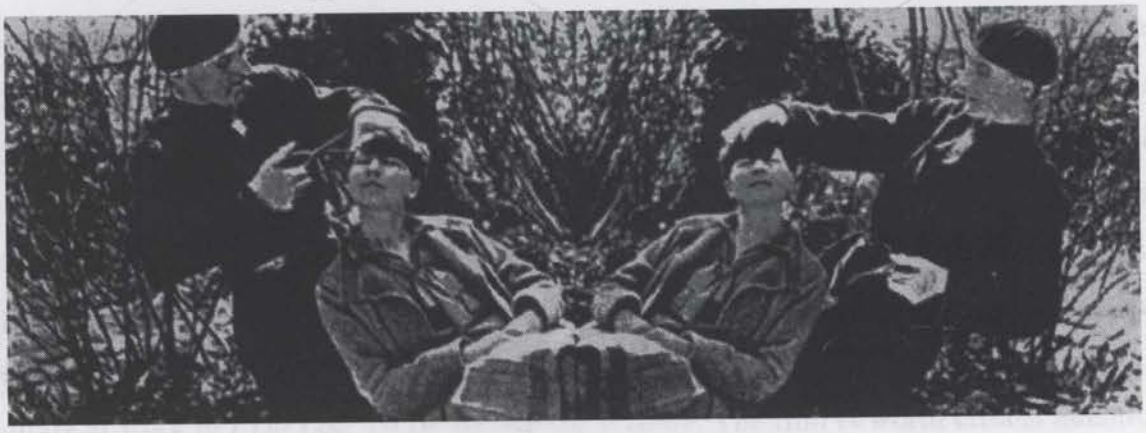


Fig. 2: Bryher and Macpherson in *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* (1927)

world of this period and was fostered by the international agenda of *Close Up*. Blakeston's comment, in the review that accompanies the still below, that 'the constant alternation of figures seen "close up" and taken from below and on a

[38] Oswell Blakeston, 'I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside', *The Architectural Review*, p.341.
[39] Unpublished synopsis of *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside*, p.2.
[40] Film still of *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1928) dir. Carl Dreyer, reproduced in *Close Up* 2.5 (May 1928) p.33.

slant, with similar figures on an opposite slant, gradually creates the kind of emotional oppression which, in Dreyer's case, is the keynote of the film'.[41] Close attention is paid to the original film techniques, and the parody is leavened by some homage to the experimental and idiosyncratic style of the directors under attack.

The slight plot of *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* follows a typist, apparently and parodically afflicted with a case of Dulac's psychoanalytic symbolism, as she covers her typewriter with her negligée when she leaves her office. A central scene has the typist (most likely played by Bryher herself) going to the cinema. The film still that illustrates this is accompanied with the commentary:

> *Fig 4.* The relation of the ordinary audience to the cinema lies in the identification of the spectator with the actors in the film. Men do brave deeds, women make conquests. The popularity of the cinema depends very largely, to put it psychologically, on a compensatory illusion. In this scene, Mr Blakeston has pointed the fact by a reversal of the usual order. The actors in the film dissociate themselves from the audience and leave the cinema in disgust! (341)

The still accompanying this outline shows the typist in the theatre foyer where other film stills have been posted. Although she is now a cinema spectator, she is depicted with a sly smile, her eyes covered by her cloche hat. This smile draws attention to her refusal to 'look', breaking the conventional diegetic absorption of narrative film, a rupture matched by the scene at the movie theatre where, according to the review's annotations, the actors were so disgusted with their spectators that they abandoned their own cinematic performance. This double resistance to the recurring look of the spectator and the presumed oppressive gaze of the camera apparatus indicates the film's self-conscious appropriation and distortion of the conventional 'attractions' of cinema. That the still below itself features film stills showcased on the theatre wall highlights the intertextual parody at work in *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside*. The film is worth critical attention because it does not simply spoof avant-garde films of the time, it also justifies such parody with a sophisticated theoretical analysis, indicating that the individual participants, drawn from a network of friends and acquaintances interested in film, were self-consciously doing the same. I find the film particularly significant for the enlargement and

[41] Mecurius (Oswell Blakeston), 'I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside', p.342. Further references in text.

amplification of its own film stills by the critical reading of the *Close Up* group.[42] I would argue further that the participants of this early experimental film took their finely-tuned critical approach into their other projects, which, of course, would include the journal *Close Up* and the other Pool films, most notably the silent *Borderline*.

Fig. 3: film still of film stills from *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* (1927)

With the various roles in *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* performed by Bryher, H.D., Macpherson and a motley collection of their friends and acquaintances, the film is also remarkable for evoking, relatively early in the history of cinema, the concept of 'celebrity intertextuality'. According to Dan Harris, this is 'a filmic situation where the presence of a film or tv star or celebrity intellectual evokes a genre or cultural milieu'.[43] The milieu invoked in *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* is particularly evocative, including as it does the silent film actress Sybille Schmidz,[44] better known for her performance as a suicide in Pabst's *Diary of a Lost Girl* (1929) and, more significantly, Dreyer's *Vampyr*

[42] Blakeston went on to outline the importance of film stills for 'lone wolf' filmmakers, arguing that stills have a role beyond that of promotion or publicity: they force cinematographers to pay attention to the individual framing of each shot, which would otherwise be lost in an undifferentiated and often indifferent flow of moving images. See *Film Stills For Amateur Filmmakers*, an unpublished manuscript, co-written with John Arnold, *Scrapbook 4*, Harry Ransom Research Centre (circa 1929-30).

[43] Dan Harris, *Film Parody* (London: British Film Institute, 2000) p.200. An element of *I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside* that would have been especially resonant to this reading was the accompanying score composed by Edmund Meisel, well known for having written the music for a variety of avant-garde films, such as *Potemkin, Ten Days* and *The Magic Mountain*.

[44] Although Sybille Schmitsz was a silent film actress in the 1920s, she went on to have a career in the talkies, becoming one of Goebbel's favourite actresses. Her post-war decline was the inspiration for Fassbinder's *Die Sehnsucht der Veronika Voss*.

(1932), a film that was originally silent and then, eerily and awkwardly, half-dubbed.[45] Unfortunately no record of Schmidz's interaction with the Pool group survives beyond the written comment on the back of a film still listing her name among members of the cast;[46] one can only speculate how much H.D. owed her performance in *Borderline* to contact with this silent film actress, whose fame rested on the peculiarly enigmatic quality of her signature role as a *femme fatale*. The increasing popularity of the vampiric *femme fatale* owed much to an earlier silent star Musidora's seminal performance in Louis Feuillade's *Les Vampyres* (1914-16), a serial which enjoyed considerable popular success in Europe and the United States, and which particularly delighted the surrealists. This serial's subversive representation of an unambiguously 'evil' female mastermind led to resistance from the censors and is credited with the origin of the term 'vamp' (Musidora's on screen character's name, Irma Vep, was an anagram of 'vampire').

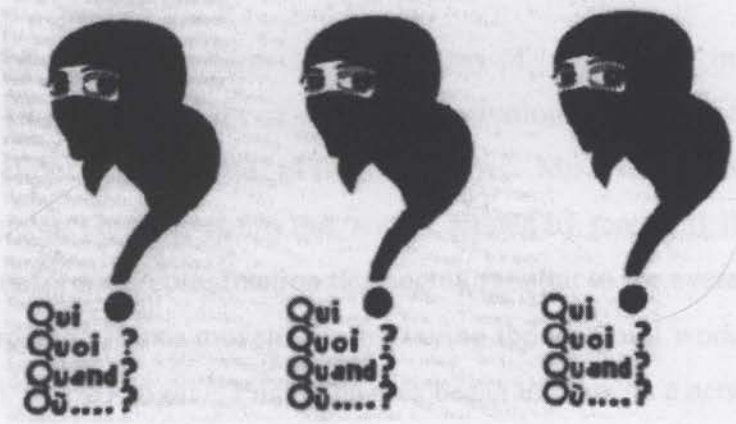


Fig. 4: poster for Musidora's *Les Vampyres* (1914-16)

The uncanny quality of the *femme fatale* was established with *Les Vampyres'* original advertising campaign, which featured posters asking oblique questions — 'Who? What? When? Where?' — in triplicate. By reducing Musidora's silent film performance to an interrogative point, the poster above stresses the reiterative affect of film in general, and the persistence of the role of the *femme fatale* in particular. Despite the disruptive quality of Musidora's roles, Vicki Callahan points out that the films, with their emphasis on what

[45] *Vampyr* was always designed to be a sound film, but was shot silent in such a way that the studio-created soundtrack (in three different languages) could be matched to the image track in postproduction. In fact, Carl Dreyer was pro-sound - *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* was silent only because sound became too expensive.
[46] Loose film stills from *Scrapbook 4*, Blakeston files, Harry Ransom Research Centre in Austin, Texas.

was both revealed and concealed by the infamous *maillot de soie* (a see-through body stocking), invite a 'surveyed' and contained female body.[47] Within the diegesis of the serial, which had a markedly repetitive narrative, a familiar pattern emerged: the crimes of femininity and their punishment. Musidora, however, famously took control of her own identity as star and its attendant publicity with a highly developed self-awareness concerning the construction of her public image and an understanding of the restrictive aspects of the cinematic juggernaut.[48] She went on to start up her own film company where, as H.D. did later, she insisted on involvement in all aspects of the film making process.[49] *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* then invites speculation about the influence of iconic silent film stars' disruption of the pressure of containment by cinematic mediation on H.D.'s appropriation of the complexes of performativity. Notably, as with the film celebrities' refusal to be looked at within the diegesis of *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside,* the ironic and iconic female star takes control of the conditions of spectatorship.

In this reading, following Tom Gunning's taxonomy of 'attractions' in early twentieth-century cinema, film stills can act as a direct solicitation of the spectator, working to 'rupture a self enclosed fiction world' of the silent film.[50] Much of the fascination with the earliest film events, as Gunning points out, was generated by screening the projection of a still photograph (a form of representation thoroughly familiar to the average spectator) and subsequently propelling it into movement, displaying the temporal work of the apparatus as a spectacle in its own right.[51] Film stills thus began to draw on a network of self-conscious viewers, even as they anticipate, summarise or capture a film. Intimately allied with the problems of temporality, stills anticipate a larger cinematic movement that is paradoxically already contained by the completed film, and so draw attention to modernity's ongoing anxieties about technologies of representation. However, in their individual small gesture to a larger film they can be understood, as Susan Stewart observes of miniatures in general, to be 'a diminutive, and thereby manipulable, version of

---

[47] Vicki A. Callahan, 'Zones of Anxiety: Movement, Musidora, and the Crime Serials of Louis Feuillade', *The Velvet Light Trap,* 37 (1996) 37-50, p.39.

[48] Musidora was influential in a well-publicised industrial dispute with the studio Gaumont, who were considering removing actors' credits from their films. She wrote to the studios: 'I defend my publicity, which is to say, my future. If you don't put up my name, I will be called Irma Vep, and later I won't be able to be anything but Irma Vep. I insist absolutely on the name Musidora' (a name which, of course, was already a pseudonym). Quoted in 'La Vie d'une vamp' (no author) *Ciné Mondial* 47 (July 1947) p. 172 (my translation).

[49] See Patrick Cazal, *Musidora: la dixième muse.* (Nancy: Editions Henry Veyrier, 1978) for a complete filmography.

[50] Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle: A Film Quarterly of Theory, Criticism, and Practice,* 8.3-4 (1986) 63-70, p.64.

[51] Tom Gunning, 'The Aesthetics of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)credulous Spectator', *Art and Text* 34 (Spring 1989) 31-45, p.35.

experience, a version which is domesticated and protected from contamination'.[52] Following Stewart, a film still then acts as a charm against the very system that proliferates it; like the microscopic domain of the dollhouse, it creates 'a tension or dialectic between inside and outside, between private and public property, between the space of the subject and the space of the social'(68).

Film stills and photographic portraits were also used as a form of coded communication between H.D and members of her intimate circle. Walter Benjamin's 'A Short History of Photography' points to the increasingly intimate exchange of images at the beginning of the twentieth century, due in part to the scale of the camera itself, which became a more accessible technology even as it was 'getting smaller and smaller, ever readier to capture the fleeting and secret moments whose images paralyse the associative mechanisms of the beholder'.[53] The Pool film projects, now mostly visible only in surviving film stills, produced images which were eagerly shown to directors like Pabst and circulated amongst the *Close Up* contributors. At the same time, Macpherson brought his pictorial enthusiasms for film and photography to the photomontages that have survived in the H.D. 'Scrapbook' found at the Beinecke library in Yale, along with boxes filled with snapshots of family, friends, art postcards, museum photographs and film stills. These fleeting moments were collected and exchanged by the *Close Up* coterie in what Diana Collecot reads as 'semantic units of a private language'.[54] The Scrapbook, for instance, is notable for the series of nude photographs of H.D overlaid with photomontages of classical sculpture and architecture cut out from museum postcards and explained by short captions. These nudes give the impression that they are constructed as a complex message, to be properly read by those with access to a private code. Significantly enough for my reading of film stills in this chapter, even in these private photomontages created by H.D., Bryher and Macpherson, H.D. is deployed as the 'star' attraction.

It appears that the photographs were taken and arranged in montages for the Scrapbook just before and immediately after the Pool Production's most intense involvement with film, from 1927 to 1930, a period that also was marked by the furious debate about, and

[52] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Durham University Press, 1993) p.69. Further references in text.
[53] Walter Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography' (1931) in *One Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1979) p.256.
[54] Diana Collecott, 'Images at the Crossroads', p.156.

resistance to, the increased dissemination of sound-film technologies. Collecot identifies a modernity implicit to the Scrapbook in that it does not distinguish between images of different origin or date, and that photographs were multiplied, reproduced and recycled. Thus, in Susan Sontag's terms, the Scrapbook is filled with 'images of real things [that] are interlayed with images of images'.[55] Here, then, the photographs are shards of objective descriptive record, sometimes original, sometimes appropriated from media or advertisements for museums, becoming not ends in themselves but the building blocks for larger conceptual and visual statements.[56] The question of authorship which muddies the waters of many of the *Close Up* projects, is raised here too, for although it appears that Macpherson pieced together the photomontages, it was Bryher, Guest reports, who had an almost 'masculine taste for pornography'[57] and took the original nude photos of H.D. when they were on holiday in the south of France. However, it seems that H.D. arranged her own poses, performing for the camera and inspiring the group to focus on classical motifs, a recurring trope in her writing. It is important to note that these seemingly formal photomontages were not for public distribution, rather they were carefully constructed for private pleasure.

The intimate nature of the photographs, capturing H.D. in poses of full-frontal nudity, although cloaked in classical allusion, expose the dynamics of the relationship shared by H.D., Bryher and Macpherson. Elizabeth Grosz remarks on the lure to intimacy and proximity of photographs like these, 'where nakedness is automatically coupled with the desire, possibly even the imperative, to look, and with the pleasure of looking'.[58] She argues that the nude pose enhances nakedness through idealisation, and authorises the spectator to watch, or look, without the overwhelming obligation of intimacy imposed by the raw naked body. Grosz complains that psychological discourse reduces the various modalities of looking to only two possibilities, both of which turn out to be the active and passive variants of scopophilia: the look of the voyeur (reduced in feminist discourse to 'the gaze') and the desire to be looked at (exhibitionism) (218). She points out that

---

[55] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Delta Books, 1977) p.175.

[56] The Soviet critic Sergei Tretyakov, writing in the 1930s, proposed that 'the photomontage begins whenever there is a conscious attempt of the obvious first sense of a photograph – by combining two or more images, by joining drawing and graphic shapes to the photograph, by adding a significant spot of colour, or by adding a written text. All these techniques serve to direct the photograph from what it naturally seems to say and to underscore the need for the viewer's active "reading"'. Quoted by F. Philip, 'Introduction', *Matisse and Modern Life 1919-1942* (Cambridge and Boston: MIT Press, 1992) p.14.

[57] Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined*, p.210, and Diane Collecot, 'Images at the Crossroads', p.175.

[58] Elizabeth Grosz, 'Naked', *Impossible Presences: Surface and Screen in the Photographic Era*, ed. Terry Smith (Sydney: Power Publications, 2001) p.214. Further references in text.

voyeurism is not, in fact, the only modality of looking, for beyond the gaze there are many ways to see: seductive fleeting glance, slow inspection, blink, wink or sweeping survey, and so on (219). Grosz then calls for a new topology of looking, a mode of thinking about spectatorship that does not rely on the apparatus of projection, identification, fetishism and unconscious process that psychoanalysis offered film theory. I would argue that H.D. was attempting such a recalibration of perception in her experiments with cinematic images, portrait photography and photomontage, as she questions the limitations of the kinds of looking available to women by insisting on a plurality of ways of looking. I track this freeing of vision to the 'unfixing' of her own image within the film stills from her own cinematic projects, disrupting the hegemony of the visual from within.

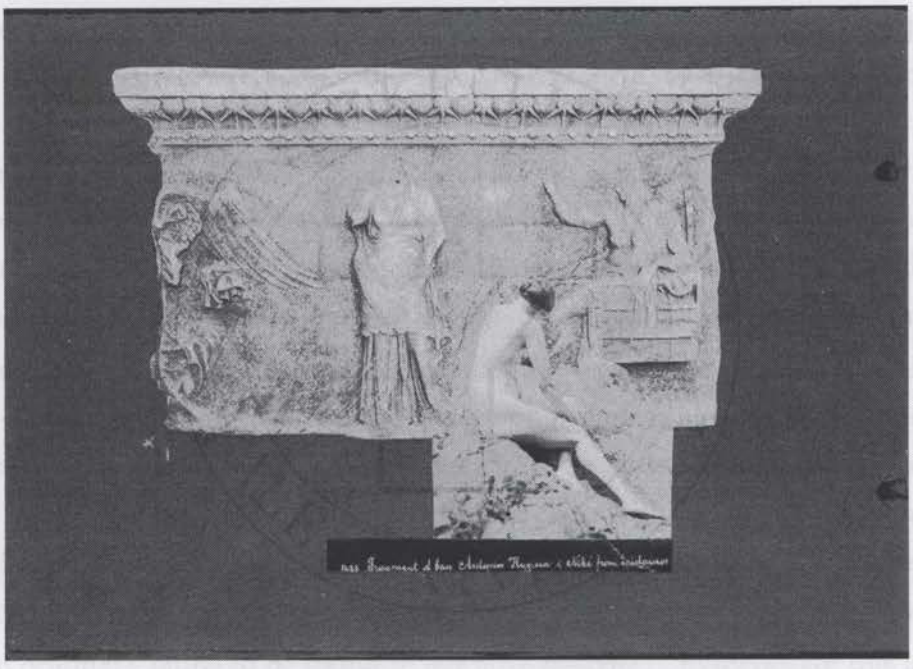


Fig. 5: Nude H.D. from *The Scrapbook* (circa 1927-28)

This is particularly evident in the image reproduced above where a naked H.D. poses on a rock with her back to the viewer, looking at a sculptural frieze of Nike. Collecot points out that the seated figure in this photomontage could well be at the pictures, watching projections on a screen at her eye level.[59] H.D. is thus apparently positioned in the act of spectatorship, so that we look at an image of her looking at an image which appears to be organised cinematically, as if it were a film strip. Questions of authorship, performance and, most particularly, of the 'pose' infuse these curious representations of the cinematic

[59] Diane Collecot, 'Images at the Crossroad', p.172-3.

experience. The photomontages of H.D. open up the issue of 'looking' and, I would argue, illuminate the way this looking is unfixed by the film still, which itself sits uneasily between a moving cinematic image and a static photograph. The H.D. photomontages seem to wrestle with control of the subject through the pose, although not as aggressively as her later film stills, in which she arrays herself in the cinematic field as the disruptive and disarticulated *femme fatale*. While the pose could be read as a defensive manoeuvre against the increasing penetration of the public gaze into the private sphere that characterised the early twentieth-century mass media, Dick Hebdige points out that 'to strike a pose is to pose a threat', so that posing 'transformed the act of surveillance into the pleasure of being watched'.[60] From a different perspective (the fad of ' voguing' as a dance style) Becquer and Gattis argue that the pose invokes the concept of citation, in either an articulation or an interruption of discrete categories.[61] Following this, when H.D. presents herself in a pose where she is looking at herself, the images work reciprocally to articulate body and subject across the interpretive bridges that connect them. Such complex codes of self-projection recall the work undertaken by H.D.'s French contemporary, the avant-gardist Claude Cahun, who explored new ways to think about photography and the representation of a racially, sexually and gender-identified subject through an elaborate series of queer and intimate 'autoportraits'. Claude Cahun's first book *Aveux non avenus* (1930) contains the only self-portraits published in Cahun's lifetime, and is ironically characterized by Cahun as her 'invisible adventure'.[62] The montaged photos that intercut her autobiographic and aphoristic text come from an earlier series of self-portraits, taken during the 1920s. In these, Cahun posed in a variety of guises: in 'stills' of characters from theatrical and cinematic performances, as a Japanese puppet, a body builder, a sulky dandy, a shelved marionette, a corpse, a coquette, and so on. Critics have said that the bewildering variety of poses mean that, cumulatively, 'there is no original Claude to be found in her *mise-en-scène*'.[63] Evidence for this is found in the last photomontage of the book, which shows a monstrous neck supporting eleven visages, all of them Cahun, enclosed by her scrawled comment, 'beneath this mask, another mask. I will never be done taking off all these faces' (405). Laurie Monhanon says that 'Cahun takes on her own subjectivity as the means of revealing the impossibility of fixing the self: her texts and images speak of its dissolution, fragmentation and the

---

[60] Dick Hebdige discusses the pose of punk women's strategies of self-display in 'Posing...Threats, Striking...Poses: Youth Surveillance and Display', *SubStance* 37/38 (1983) p.86.

[61] Marcos Becquer and José Gattis,'Elements of Vogue' (1991) *The Subcultures Reader*, eds. Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 445-453.

[62] Prologue to Claude Cahun's *Aveux non avenues* (1930) reproduced in *Ecrits*, ed. François Leperlier (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2002) p.177. Further references in text.

[63] David Bate, 'The Mise-en-Scène of Desire', *Mise en scène* ed. François Leperlier (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1997) p.9.

transformation as biography itself becomes suspect, another mask among so many'.[64] However, it has been argued by Katy Kline that these masks do not deflect so much as reflect, that 'the artist and the individual are present within each disguise'[65] in a complex strategy of masquerade that allows for an authentic identity to be found in multiple versions of the self-portrait, demonstrating Joan Rivière's influential 1929 essay which argued that the strategy of masquerade cannot be distinguished from woman herself.[66] Claude Cahun's self-portraits then work as the reiteration of her own image flickering past in different guises and with different masks; the repetition of images and multiple personalities seem to insist on an unstable, dissolute and fragmented identity.

Fig. 6: Claude Cahun's *Aveux non avenus* (1930)

H.D.'s own self-projections on and off the screen — the interplay between the two is constitutive of the 'star' persona — make up the reiteration that, for Judith Butler, characterises the inflection and subversion of gender.[67] H.D.'s stills and poses can then be read as reiterations of femininity, as reiteration itself is a 'performative' act, in the sense

[64] Laurie Monhanon, 'Radical Transformations: Claude Cahun and the Masquerade of Womanliness', *Inside the Visible* ed M.Catherine de Zegher (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996) p.128.
[65] Katy Kline, 'In or Out of the Picture: Claude Cahun and Cindy Sherman', *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism and Self-Representation* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998) p.68.
[66] Joan Rivière, 'Womanliness as Masquerade' (1929) in *Formations of Fantasy*, eds. Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan (New York: Methuen & Co, 1986) 35-44.
[67] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990) p.112.

that it is a 'citational practice by which discourse produces the effects it names'.[68] Performance, variously marked also as 'parody' or 'masquerade',[69] has become the privileged signifier for the notion of gender as action, but in the gender theoretical context, 'performance' taken in the bodily or theatrical sense, stands in a complex relation to 'performativity'. Perfomative acts can be understood as forms of an authoritative speech:[70] in its linguistic sense, performativity clearly depends on an outside system of constraints and conventions. As Derrida asks, 'could a performative succeed if its formulation did not repeat a "coded" or iterable utterance...if it were not identifiable in some way as "citation"?'[71] A central section of Cahun's *Aveux non avenus,* for instance, is captioned with the comment 'Myself (my fault): the siren succumbs to her own voice'.[72] The danger for Cahun is that, in the delirium of narcissistic self-representation and the hypnotising flicker-effect of her multiple images, she is trapped in a citational loop that muffles her voice. Refusing to risk a similar loss of her own critical voice, H.D.'s self-projections may flaunt a series of masks but nevertheless insist on her authority and authenticity as an avant-garde writer and literary celebrity. I would claim, then, that H.D. is not so much engaged in questioning gender and sexuality in her experimentation with new ways of looking and of being seen, as with issues to do with femininity and authorship of her critical voice. She relies on the attentive spectator who will take her instruction to tune in to something behind the images, which I argue relates back to Eisenstein's call for the viewer to 'listen attentively' to the cinematic image.[73]

When Macpherson first met Pabst, in his role as editor for *Close Up*, they exchanged photographs and film stills. He wrote to H.D. of Pabst's reactions to these stills and to a screening of the early Pool film *Wing Beat*:

> what he reeeeally liked about the film was that YOU showed up the utter futility of the Hollywood tradition, and that beauty was something quite different. And I am wondering if he still wants Louise Brooks for Lulu. [74]

---

[68] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993) p.2.
[69] For more on performativity, gender and cinematic identity, see Keith Reader '"Mon cul est intersexual?': Arletty's Performance of Gender', *Gender and French Cinema*, eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2000) pp.63-76.
[70] The sense in which J.L. Austin deploys the term in respect of speech acts that bring about a situation rather than merely describing one ('I now declare you husband and wife'). J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
[71] Jacques Derrida, 'Signature, Event, Context', *A Derrida Reader*, trans. and ed. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991) p.103.
[72] Claude Cahun, *Aveux non avenues* (1930), p.203 (my translation).
[73] Recall discussion in pages 40-41 of this chapter of Roland Barthes on Sergei Eisenstein's 'The Third Meaning' in *Image Music Text*, p. 65.
[74] Letter from Macpherson to H.D. (27 October 1927) quoted in Susan McCabe, 'Borderline Modernism', p.646.

Pabst was apparently equally rapturous about H.D.'s performance in *Foothills*, with Bryher reporting back that his 'one enthusiasm was *you*. You were strong, you showed up the fallacy of young American girls, you could act, look, in fact if possible he would like to go to bed with you, so to speak, tomorrow'.[75] H.D. could therefore celebrate her first performances on screen as a success. Pabst's reported directorial desire underlines the exchange of intimate and erotic accessibility and it was that which defined this elite and theoretically inclined coterie. The celebrated director Pabst was, in turn, quickly integrated into the exclusive *Close Up* group, and received homage in film reviews over the journal's publication run — an approval rating no doubt sanctioned by his strategic admiration for the coterie's 'star' turn, before he had even met her. Affectionately mocking Pabst in an early letter to H.D., Bryher mimics him talking about *Close Up*:

> Ah how my friends and I have discussed *Close Up*. It is so funny, so furchtbar funny, you permit that an Englishman should have written it ...ha...ha...ha and tell me who *is* H.D.? Who writes under those initials? Ah how he has understood *Joyless Street*. And poor little Greta Garbo. Ah so sad. Ah, how funny that an Englishman should have started *Close Up*...and who exactly is H.D.? (192)

Who 'exactly is H.D.' was a pertinent question. H.D.'s reputation as a successful 'high' modernist poet was wielded strategically within the pages of *Close Up* to attract contributions from other writers. The linking of her reputation as an Imagist poet was stressed with the publication of the poem 'Projector', quoted at the beginning of this chapter, in an early issue of *Close Up*. This poem reiterates many of the basic goals of the new journal, establishing film as an art that overcomes its status as a novelty and depicting film as a part of a history of desire. Focusing on light cast by a projector, spectatorial contact with a 'divine' transcendent ideal is conceived by H.D. as a visionary experience, so that 'light takes new attribute' and,

> vision returns
> and with new vision
> fresh hope
> to the impotent[76]

The silent film celebrated by poem does not rely on a passive spectatorship or silent appreciation, however, as the personification of light insists on interaction:

> he says to us,
> be glad

---

[75] Letter from Bryher to H.D. (1927) quoted in Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World*, p.192. Further references in text.

[76] H.D., 'Projector' (1927) in *H.D., Collected Poems:1912-1944*, ed. Louise L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1983) pp.349 and 352. Further references in text.

and laugh,
be gay (351)

Unseparated by punctuation or quotation marks, the borders separating the 'light' image and the storytelling voice in this poem are not distinct. Rather, they are reciprocal, so that light itself 'speaks'. The sequel to this poem, 'Projector II (Chang)', published in *Close Up* three months later, more clearly defines the implications of the cinematic image with a seemingly literal reference to narrative film: 'your souls on the screen/ live lives that might have been/ live lives that ever are'.[77] This second poem aligns film with psychoanalysis, an early evocation of an interest that would be pursued by H.D. into her analysis with Freud:

we sleep and are awake
we dream and are not here
our spirits walk elsewhere
with shadow folk
and ghost-beast,
we speak a shadow speech (353)

The cinematic experience in this last poem also significantly insists on the attentive spectator's decoding of the enigmatic acoustic element hidden behind the play of silent images, the 'net of light on overlight' (356), as it resonates 'on the listening air'(357).

Along with the Projector poem, the very first issue of *Close Up* also advertised the Pool film *Wing Beat* with a number of stills featuring H.D. These were accompanied by the caption:

> This is H.D.'s debut in films and her many admirers will welcome this opportunity to see her. The same clear genius in her acting that sets her so high among contemporary poets and authors. Works by H.D. appear in this issue.[78]

While her reputation as 'The Perfect Imagiste',[79] the foremost poet and embodiment of the imagist movement, gave literary gravitas to *Close Up*, this reputation was already somewhat restricting for H.D., infamously imprimatured as it was by her ex-fiancé Ezra Pound's gesture of signing her name on the manuscript of her original poems.[80] The Imagist movement was innovative for its objective stance, and was renowned for Ezra

[77] H.D., 'Projector II: (Chang)' (1927) in *H.D., Collected Poems:1912-1944*, p.358. Further references in text.
[78] Caption for *Wing Beat* film still, *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927).
[79] May Sinclair, 'The Poems of H.D.', *The Dial* 72 (1922) p.203.
[80] This signatory event is recounted in H.D.'s *End to Torment: A Memoir of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1979) p.18.

Pound's negative proscriptions;[81] the most significant of which is the negation of the personal, the poet's 'voice'. From that time on, H.D. was regarded as a 'proud and secret' poet,[82] with various early critics writing in praise of her poetry identifying her as intellectually aloof. Harriet Monroe, for instance, wrote, 'She is, in a sense, one of the most civilised, most ultra-refined, of poets; and yet never was a poet more unaware of civilisation, more independent of its thralls'.[83] While the ongoing influence of Imagism on H.D.'s film work is often noted by critics,[84] Georgina Taylor takes issue with the argument that H.D.'s career is evidence of literary 'high' modernism's withdrawal from the public sphere, since the practice of publishing in small, inaccessible private editions and circulating unpublished collections in manuscript form meant that they never entered the realm of public exchange.[85] While H.D.'s privileged literary life, may, at first glance, seem far removed from the pressures of mass culture, Taylor draws attention to H.D.'s public engagement as a literary critic, book reviewer, feminist theorist, magazine editor and correspondent. Her move into film would indicate an even greater interest in dialogue and discussion of popular culture forms than has been previously acknowledged.

Fig. 7: film still of H.D. in *Wing Beat* (1927)

[81] These early poems of H.D. accompanied the first imagist manifesto, where the 'objective' end attributed to Imagism relied on concrete images and drastic self-detachment. Ezra Pound, 'A Few Don'ts By an Imagist', *Literary Essays*, ed. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber, 1954) p.203.

[82] Marjorie Seiffert, 'Glacial Bloom', *Poetry* 25 (1924) 160-164, p.162.

[83] Harriet Monroe, 'H.D.', *Poetry* 26 (1925) 268-275, p.268.

[84] Laura Marcus, for instance, says that 'a number of the tenets expressed in the "Cinema and the Classics" pieces echo the "imagist" aesthetics with which H.D.'s early poetry is associated'. From 'Introduction: The Contributions of H.D'., *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, p.96.

[85] Georgina Taylor, *H.D. and the Public Sphere of Modernist Women Writers, 1913-1946* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) p.130.

The reviews of H.D.'s early work insisted on its cold remove: 'If you dwell on the poetry of H.D. you will feel this loneliness more and more...It is the loneliness of a poet who will accept nothing that has not come to her direct, that has not sprung immediately out of her own contemplation'.[86] However, this presumption of 'loneliness' seems to read H.D.'s poetry against her expressed desire to involve herself in intimate groups or coteries intent on showcasing her talent. For instance, the often quoted questionnaire sent out by Margaret Anderson to literary celebrities in 1929 for her expatriate journal *The Little Review*, asked H.D. what she, as an already iconic Imagist poet, wanted to do next. H.D. responded:

> Just at this moment I am involved with pictures. We have almost finished a light lyrical four reel little drama, done in and about the village here with some of the village people and English friends. The work has been enchanting, never anything such fun and I myself have learned to use the small projector and spend literally hours alone in my apartment making the mountains and village streets and my own acquaintances reel past me in the light and light and light. At the moment I want to go on in this medium working with and around pure types, pure artists, pure people, experimenting with faces and shadows and corners.[87]

H.D. describes herself as attracted to the 'pure types' of an avant-garde elite, seeking out the margins or 'corners' rather than the mainstream. However, even this avant-garde elite was constructed through networks of communication that relied on mediation, either through publication or public exposure, for fame. Their ideal audience would be a group like that of Pabst's German peers, who picked up on *Close Up*'s brief to 'promote discussion', in its 'diffused salon'.[88] Preferring such an elite audience — an 'in' crowd — H.D. was fascinated by, though wary of, the more mainstream public's reaction to her work. In a review for *Close Up* of Noel Coward's play *Sirocco* (1928), she opens with a discussion of the critics' and audience's immediate reactions to the play: '"They boo him." "Do they?" "They are boo-ing him." "Are they?" "They will boo him." "Will they?"'[89] Dwelling on the gossip that arose out of this vociferous 'boo-ing', she is dismissive of the ongoing 'Chatter, chatter, chatter, talk, talk, talk, talk'(42). On the other hand, H.D.

---

[86] F.S. Flint, 'The Poetry of H.D.', *The Egoist* 2 (1915) 72-73, p.73.

[87] H.D., 'Confessions-Questionnaire', *The Little Review* 12 (1929) 38-40, p.38.

[88] Anne Friedberg used this term to characterise the *Close Up* coterie, which included far-flung correspondents, interested writers, directors, actors and readers. See *Writing About Cinema: Close Up 1927-1933*, unpublished Phd thesis (New York University 1983).

[89] H.D., 'Boo (Sirocco and the Screen)', *Close Up* 2 (January 1928) 38-50, p.38. Further references in text. This play was received with remarkable critical hostility, and the opening night was interrupted by incessant catcalls. Coward reports it as 'the angriest uproar I have ever heard in a theatre. They yelled abuse at me, booed, made what is known in theatrical terms as "raspberries", hissed and shrieked. People stood up in the stalls and shouted protests, and altogether the din was indescribable.' Noel Coward, *Present Indicative* (London: Evergreen Books, 1940) p.241.

expressed a desire to overhear the audience's reaction as they were viewing one of her films: in an unpublished manuscript about the silent film *Wing Beat* she wrote, 'If only I could be present at some crowded, at some conventional arena and hear comment, see this lyric *Wing Beat* beating its way, like a wild-bird in a barn, across a more or less conventionally minded and set atmosphere'.[90] H.D., desiring that her early film projects be released into the mainstream cinematic world, wanted to be recognised, even as she knew that such wider recognition involved vulnerability to public opinion; potentially becoming subject, like Louise Brooks, to discussion and gossip about her public and private life, on and off set.

Close Up's film stills may have been silent objects, but they solicited and encouraged discussion and dialogue, both amongst the avant-garde crowd, and across the public arena. The increasing interest in the public and private circulation of film stills and portrait photographs in the early twentieth century meant that they were inextricably linked to the rise of the cult of the celebrity, which was paralleled by the developing cult of the avant-garde artist, who was acquiring a concomitant mediated fame. The impact of technological reproductions was expanded in the 1920s and 1930s through the cinema, as the fantasy worlds on screen were supported by publicity and magazine images of recognisable film actors, who were also then deployed in international marketing and advertising strategies. I argue that H.D. inserts herself into this burgeoning economy of celebrity by tapping into what turned out to be a major development in film studies: the emergence of the 'star' as a figure of at least equivalent importance to that of the director, whose auteristic glamour was stressed in theoretical film journals such as *Close Up*. There were a number of reasons for this phenomenon, prominent among them an increased emphasis on filmmaking as a collaborative process, and a greater interest in cinema as a popular cultural form and as an industry, whose major 'products' were, increasingly, its stars. Significantly, Man Ray's iconic photographic portraits of literary and artistic celebrities attest to the reciprocal nature of this economy of fame in the literary and artistic world. While Man Ray enjoyed considerable commercial popularity, and was commissioned by *Vogue, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Vanity Fair*, his success owed much to the notoriety he gained from his early photographic and filmic experiments with the avant-garde fringe of Paris, notably the Surrealists. His photographs of Andre Breton, Marcel Duchamp, Antonin Artaud and their

[90] H.D., 'Wing Beat', unpublished manuscript (n.d.) H.D. Papers, Yale University, YCALmss 24 box 43 folder 11021.

colleagues fixed this coterie in the public mind. Man Ray often proudly 'claimed to have "taken" virtually everyone of note in Paris or passing through'.[91] He was introduced by Sylvia Beach to James Joyce, and the photos he took of famous expatriate identities covered the walls of Shakespeare & Co., with portraits of Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, T.S. Eliot, Robert McAlmon, Ernest Hemingway, Djuna Barnes and, of course, H.D. herself. To have a Man Ray portrait taken gave authenticity to avant-garde artists, but then, as these portraits were published in popular journals, the 'pure' artists depicted became imbricated in the advertising strategies of modernity.[92] Man Ray's photographs are therefore remarkable for the way they acted as both publicity and authentification for the literary and artistic world, while at the same time managing to remain in fashion by insisting on a closed coterie, a self-consciously elite group of subjects.

Fig. 8: Man Ray portrait photograph of H.D. (circa 1922)

Man Ray's easy dialogue across the avant-garde and the mass media is evident in his manipulation of the *mise-en-scène* of the 'pose'. Robert Penrose described a session with Man Ray as follows: 'it was as quick and casual as bantering with him in a café. All he used to say was "Show your teeth". He didn't fiddle forever with the lens or the lights'.[93] H.D., in her article 'An Appreciation', describes another kind of dialogue that comes with mediated fame; the gossip that surrounds celebrities and fascinates a public intent on

[91] Neil Baldwin, *Man Ray, an American Artist* (New York: Da Capo 2000) p.102.

[92] *Vanity Fair*, as the first magazine to publish Man Ray's Paris portraits, had a profound influence on the expectations of celebrity portraiture. For a period in the early 1920s every issue of *Vanity Fair* featured artists or writers in a section headed 'We Nominate for the Hall of Fame': thanks to Man Ray, the magazine featured Tristan Tzara (June 1922), Pablo Picasso (July 1922), James Joyce (July 1922), Gertrude Stein (August 1922), and so on. See Emmanuelle de l'Ecoctais, 'Art and Portraiture' in *Man Ray: Photography and Its Double*, ed. Alan Sayag (Corte Madera, Cal.: Gingko Press, 1998) p.113.

[93] Robert Penrose, quoted in Neil Baldwin's *Man Ray*, p.101.

consuming all the details surrounding their stars, even beyond the studio-authorised construction. Waiting to interview Pabst, H.D. distractedly records an overheard conversation from two unidentified female fans obsessing about the minor actions of their favourite star off the film set:

> 'What did Louise Brooks say today'... 'O she didn't say much. She was too busy complaining that the hen was a grandfather'... 'What hen?'... 'Why, the lunch hen. She said it was a grandfather.'... 'Did they get her another hen?'... 'Certainly not. They didn't understand what she was saying. Besides, she had eaten it.' (56)

Celebrity amplifies seemingly irrelevant details, and even the scraps overheard by an attentive public who 'didn't understand' are given currency in the circuit of everyday and popular gossip about cinema. The journal *Close Up* was therefore going against the trend when it promised 'Theory and Analysis — No Gossip!' in its cover blurb for 1928.[94] However, this same cover also advertised 'interesting and exclusive illustrations' of films, highlighting *Close Up's* emphasis on a privileged circulation of stills, promised as an integral part of the dialogue between contributors and subscribers. Intriguingly enough, as the battle for silent film was lost against the onrush of talkies, these film stills and images became less frequent in *Close Up*, while advertisements for past copies of the journal became more prolific. This emphasises the shift from an immediate and urgent dialogue about film to a more self-reflective emphasis on the archiving of film history. However, despite its early and boisterous disclaimer of gossip, *Close Up* relied on conversations about film amongst an 'in' group, who were markedly self-conscious about the calibrations of their fame in the bourgeoning network of celebrity. H.D.'s film reviews make this clear, as she insists on an exclusive coterie filled with knowing film adepts, while at the same time, as Mandel points out, 'she writes conversationally, openly expressing feelings of admiration, puzzlement or distaste' of the films under discussion.[95] H.D.'s 'conversational' and anectdotal reviews then mirror her preoccupation with an intimate, coded form of address, and she reveals her pleasure that her own idiosyncratic interviewing style skilfully elicits soundbites from the famous Pabst: 'no amount of compelling clap-trap "interview" journalese would draw just that fine phrase from him'.[96]

H.D.'s first essay for *Close Up*, subtitled 'Beauty', lauds the silent image of Garbo on the moving screen as a performance of subversive femininity, key to her own development and

---

[94] The subtitle or blurb for the cover of *Close Up* 3.4 (October 1928).
[95] Charlotte Mandel, 'Garbo/Helen: The Self-Projection of Beauty by H.D.', p.128.
[96] H.D., 'An Appreciation', p.60.

self-projection as a mediated poet and literary celebrity. Often asking colleagues for film stills of the actress to add to her private collection,[97] she acknowledged that 'Greta Garbo as I saw her, gave me a clue, a new angle, and a new sense of elation'.[98] H.D.'s fascination continued even when the actress succumbed to the lure of Hollywood and, necessarily, commercial sound-films. Garbo's silent iconic presence has been traced in H.D.'s own performances on screen and in film stills, as well as in the Helen figure of her epic poem, *Helen in Egypt*.[99] Significantly, a central scene in *Borderline* has H.D.'s character staring directly into the camera for an extended (and somewhat uncomfortable) period of time. Anticipating Barthes' celebration of Garbo as 'face-object',[100] H.D. appropriates the 'capturing' of the face of the *femme fatale* in close up in film stills, by drawing attention to a paradoxically frozen cinematic moment and challenging audience expectations with a refusal to 'make faces', or otherwise to change her expression.[101]

Fig. 9: H.D.'s stare in *Borderline* (1930)

H.D. writes of Garbo and her model of mediated femininity as vulnerable to a contaminating and violent representational culture. Protesting against the Hollywood influence that made the actress 'simper', as well as against the wigs and false eyelashes that 'almost eclipsed' the straight stare of the earlier Garbo,[102] H.D. is self-consciously aware of the dangers of an increasingly vulgarised film industry:

---

[97] Footnoted in Diana Collecot, 'Images at the Crossroads: H.D.'s Scrapbook', p.76n4.
[98] H.D., 'Classics and the Cinema I: Beauty', *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927) 22-33, p.28. Further references in text.
[99] For more on the links between Garbo and H.D., see Charlotte Mandel's 'Garbo/Helen: The Self-Projection of Beauty by H.D.', 127-35.
[100] Roland Barthes,'The Face of Garbo'(1955) *Roland Barthes: Selected Writings*, ed. Susan Sontag (Oxford: Fontana,1983) p.82.
[101] See Jean Gallagher for more on the relentlessness of H.D.'s fixed stare and the implications of the narcissistic machinery of the camera on modernist visual culture, in 'H.D.'s Distractions: Cinematic Stasis and Lesbian Desire', *Modernism/Modernity*, 9.3 (2002) 407-22.
[102] H.D., 'Classics and the Cinema I: Beauty', p.33.

> Beauty brings a curse, a blessing, a responsibility. Is that why your Ogre, the Censor, is so intent on disguising it, on dishing it up as vamp charm, as stale, Nice-carnival beauty-as-we-get-it-in-a-beauty-contest? Greta Garbo remains Greta Garbo. Let us hope she takes it into her stupid, magic head to rise and rend those who have so defamed her. (33)

Rebecca Egger suggests that H.D.'s kind of cinematic spectatorship offered H.D. the image of herself walking 'scatheless' through the minefield of representational culture, emerging untarnished. H.D.'s call to save Garbo is therefore, for Egger, a prescription to save her own integrity in the domain of popular culture, to remain isolated and pure.[103] Unlike Claude Cahun, H.D. does not want to lose her poetic voice in the delirium of representational opportunities offered by developing technologies. Just as 'Garbo remains Greta Garbo', H.D., despite her play with screen pseudonyms and *noms de plumes*, retains her integrity. Her involvement with the *Close Up* group strengthened her control of her own celebrity — as poet, film star and critical reviewer — wresting back the identity which had earlier been appropriated by Pound's infamously Svengali-like gesture of naming her 'H.D.'

H.D.'s simultaneous drive to enter into dialogue with an intimate group of *cognoscenti* and to reach a wider public audience is brought into sharp relief with comparison to her role model Greta Garbo's signature declaration, 'I want to be alone'.[104] Such a comparison turns on their head the assumptions about a remote intellectual avant-garde poet and a fame-hungry career actress. Leo Baudry, in his history of fame in western culture, wrote that America, through the motion picture industry, pioneered 'the implicit democratic and modern assumption that everyone could and should be looked at'.[105] The stardom that came with cinema was, according to Baudry, not so much about 'alone-ness', privilege and scarcity, as about proliferation and promiscuity. Both vamped and amped up in commercial sound-films, Garbo rejects the exposure and inversion of the public/private divide. Her insistence on an erotic inaccessibility, 'I want to be alone', then, shifts its meaning in the context of the promiscuous connections that make up her celebrity. The film that best showcases this curiously fame-resistant Garbo, *Grand Hotel* (1932), opens

---

[103] Rebecca Egger, *Reading by Half-Light: Cinematic Spectatorship in Modernist Women's Writing*, unpublished PhD thesis (Cornell University, 1995) 155-157.

[104] Garbo said of her withdrawal from the public sphere, 'to defend my achievement, I choose as a weapon complete silence. You can use this weapon very successfully if you have enough money to maintain absolute privacy'. In Antoni Gronowisz, *Garbo: Her Life Story* (New York, Verso, 1990) p.209.

[105] Leo Baudry, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) sums up the period of modernity as participating in a 'democratisation of fame', p.506.

with a quickly paced montage of telephone calls that trigger a babble of different languages in chattering dialogue. The channels of communication represented by the telephone network are then linked as early as the opening credits of the film to the ostentatious display of stardom and cameo appearances. Mark Gobel, whose insightful work on cameo appearances and mediated modernism has inspired this reading,[106] refers to the caption beneath a film still of Garbo on the phone in *Grand Hotel* in an official MGM biography. The caption reads: 'She related to objects so magically that leading men were often not missed. In *Grand Hotel*, Garbo's best love scene was played to a telephone'.[107]

Fig. 10: film still of Greta Garbo in *Grand Hotel* (1932)

This promotional still refers to a scene where Garbo dominates the screen, repeatedly dialling through to her lover who cannot answer the phone because he has been murdered (ironically enough after being beaten to death with his own telephone receiver). The crime is 'witnessed' by the switchboard operator who overhears it on an open line. This central scene, with its attendant film still, is a reminder that the voyeuristic nature of cinema was inflected, with the coming of sound, by a potentially violent overhearing.

[106] Mark Gobel, 'Cameo appearances; or, when Gertrude Stein checks into Grand Hotel', *Modern Language Quarterly* 62.2 (June 2001) 117-163, p.144.
[107] Alexander Walker, *Garbo: A Portrait, Authorised by Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, 1980) p.129, quoted by Gobel, p.165.

H.D.'s ongoing ambivalence about the emergence of sound in film is most directly expressed in her essay, 'The Mask and the Movietone', written after attending one of the first sound-film productions in 1927, a Movietone film that featured the dancing and singing actress, Raquel Mellor.[108] In the essay, H.D exclaims, 'wonder of wonders, the doll actually lifts its eyes, it breathes, it speaks — it *speaks*. This is no mechanical voice off, it is the vision itself, the screen image actually singing with accuracy and acumen, with clear voice and beautiful intonation'(20). The surprisingly audible actress in the Movietone film is positioned by H.D. as a condensation of the ideological and technological fate of film. More recently, Linda Williams notes that such early experiments in photography and film were based on 'an increasing tendency to think of the body itself as a mechanism', a tendency whose ultimate result is 'a technology that produces this body in its own image'.[109] Mainstream cinema's insistence on the linking of the voice to the female body is therefore described by Kaja Silverman in *The Acoustic Mirror* as a 'corporealisation of the female voice' within the competing image and sound tracks of film.[110] H.D., with her early focus on the female singer, insistently casts the problem of technological development in terms of this technology's investment in the female body as a paradigm of feminine charm, where technology and gender work in concert. Advances in sound therefore meant, for H.D., an increasing reliance on the representation of conventional gender identities, as 'our old doll became replaced by a wonder-doll, singing, with musical insides, with strings that one may pull, with excellent wired joints'.[111] H.D. is here anxious at the depiction of a woman who is both visible and audible, phenomenologically complete, more like 'real life'(19) than the woman of silent film.

H.D., in her critique of this early sound film, recalls the accompanying publicity blurb distributed in a promotional package: '"Speaks for itself" reads the slogan on the folder'(22). This claim highlighted for H.D. the problematics of cinematic articulation in a number of ways. Firstly, and perhaps most significantly, the emphasis on the film's autonomy to 'speak for itself' glosses over the impossibility of a truly representative film

---

[108] Movietone was one of several sound-film techniques marketed in the late 1920s, in competition with phonofilm and vitaphone. David Cook identifies the first Movietone production, the one which H.D. reviews, as 'a short series of canned performances by a Spanish singer, followed by the silent feature *What Price Glory*?' See David Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* (New York: Norton, 1981) p.241.

[109] Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 38-39.

[110] Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) p.61.

[111] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', p.21. Further references in text.

still from a sound-film. While there is always an edge and an outside to the frame of vision on the screen, Steven Connor points out that 'there is no "framing" of sound: no way to put sound into a frame and overhear it'.[112] He goes on,

> Cinematic sight folds things together in the way that one shapes or a folds a sheet of paper, bringing edges and planes together so they touch specific points and faces. Cinematic sound folds things together in the way that one shapes or folds what is already a three dimensional substance: as one folds an egg into a meringue mixture, for example.(5)

Impossible to pin down in place, and asynchronous by nature, the advent of sound-film ruptured the 'music on another plane', the almost audible 'pulse or vibration'[113] from which H.D. drew inspiration, unleashed by silent film and its attendant stills.

Secondly, the sound-film's burgeoning capacity to speak 'for itself' challenged H.D.'s interpretative role; she claims that she goes to the movies 'to help to add imagination to a mask' rather than 'to have everything done for me'(22). Puzzling over her disappointment with the innovative combination of sonic and optic technologies, H.D. reflects,

> Each alone would have left us to our dreams. The two together proved too much. The screen image, a mask, a sort of doll or marionette was somehow mechanised and robbed of the thing behind the thing that has grown to matter so much to the picture adept. (21)

H.D. has attuned herself to this 'thing behind the thing,' as a knowing and attentively listening 'picture adept'. H.D. finds, in the mechanical complexity of sound-film figures something that is peculiarly susceptible: the singing 'dolls' of the sound era are more vulnerable to 'critical poking' than their two-dimensional iconic predecessors, like Greta Garbo.[114] The attempts to perfect the synchronisation of voice and face in the Movietone film resulted in an even wider gap in representation and reception:

> Voice follows face, face follows voice, face and voice with all their subtle blending are accurately and mechanically welded. They are *welded* – that is the catch. The catch is that the excellent actress with all her beauty and her finished acting had a voice as beautifully finished as her screen image but it was (wasn't it?) *welded* to that image. Her voice and herself moving with so finished artistry were welded not (and this seemed some odd catastrophe) *wedded*. (20)

---

[112] Steven Connor, 'Sounding Out Film', unpublished paper for *Film, Literature and Modernity* conference (Institute of English Studies: London, January 2000) Retrieved 1st June 2003 from http://www.bbk.ac.uk/eh/eng/skc/soundingout/ (p. 5 of 1-7). Further references in text.

[113] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics: The Mask and The Movietone', p.23.

[114] For more on the H.D's consideration of the critical investigation available to the female spectator, see Rebecca Egger *Reading By Half-Light*, pp.202-03.

The out-of-synch acoustic and visual dimensions, artificially 'welded' together to produce the sound-film, stresses their uneasy connection. Egger points out that while welding, with its overtly mechanical connotations, suggests the way in which all film is industrially constructed, the 'wedded' object connotes a more natural and impenetrable whole. When images are welded to a soundtrack, the film becomes critically vulnerable and porous. Sound-film, particularly as it is metonymically represented by the singing and dancing woman, is a performative mask of an 'unnatural' femininity and is therefore more susceptible to a critical gaze.

However, H.D. was not so much arguing against sound-film because it too perfectly represents the female body with its technological attributes, as protesting the idea that such a realistic representation is the film's ideal. She points out in 'The Mask and the Movietone' that sound-film is not 'real' life, but just 'another set of boxes'(19) that might wrongly trick people into a belief in a direct representation of reality. Recognising the achievements of sound technologies, H.D. stresses that 'Here is art, high art, but is it our *own* art? Isn't cinema art a matter (or hasn't it been) of inter-action?' (22). The danger for film adepts like H.D. and her avant-garde coterie is that sound-film, with its too 'perfect' and overwhelming cinematic experience, would threaten their capacity for critical and creative interaction. With sound, then, H.D warns that 'Art is cut open and dissected'(29). In this formulation, it is art that is vulnerable and in danger of being violated, rather than the technological visible and audible female body. Her stressing of this period as the 'Art, art, ahrt and arrrt and AHRT age'(26) emphasises the particular dangers of acoustic technologies and enacts, with the play on multiple pronunciations of 'arrrt', the way reproduction and amplification unfixes 'art' from its original meaning.

Critical of cinema's insistent conflation of knowledge and corporality, H.D. then indicts sound-film as a technology of 'dissection': as an 'odd instrument', 'Movietone creates and recreates until we feel that nothing can remain hidden, no slightest flaw of movement or voice or personality undetected'(29). Sound-film, for H.D., reveals too much and suggests too little. The term 'dissection', which also appears in H.D.'s later writing on *Borderline*, underlines not only the violation and violence that accompanies spectatorial exploration, but reinforces the call for skilled 'picture adepts' to approach the cinema as Benjamin's thoroughly theorised spectators, 'armed', as Egger comments, 'with a variety of

psychoanalytic, aesthetic and cultural hypotheses'.[115] Connoting violation as much as it does discovery, dissection underscores an element of violence that seems to accompany such spectatorial exploration.

This returns us to the film still of H.D.'s character's death in *Borderline*, discussed earlier in this chapter, where the *femme fatale*, in her attempt to take control of a knife within the storyline, is herself 'cut open and dissected'(29) by the film, just as the film still is itself cut out of the film's narrative. H.D. playing dead in this still enacts photography's capacity to mark the death of the subject. However, published in *Close Up* as promotion for a film yet to be screened, the still also opens up the possibility of future spectatorial engagements. Effectively, the still refuses to stay still, just as the woman's corpse refuses death and stasis. This peculiar characteristic is highlighted by yet another film still that accompanies H.D.'s 'death scene' in *Borderline*. This second still depicts H.D.'s character's jerk back to

Fig.11: second death scene film still for *Borderline* (1930)

life to taunt her mourning lover, who then 'really' kills her (though not for 'real' since, as Pabst had insisted, there 'are no dead bodies on the screen'). Like Cahun in her photographic. 'autoportraits', H.D 'poses' in film stills in a way that draws attention to they way she has arranged herself in an exaggerated self-performance. This very exaggeration means, according to Amelia Jones, that the 'self-portrait photograph is eminently performative and so life-giving,' as the artistic subject poses and prepares

[115] Rebecca Egger, *Reading by Half Light*, p.106.

herself for future interpretative acts.[116] In this way H.D. plays with the understanding of photograph's capacity to stop time and subject dead: the performative in the film stills places her in a pose that will effectively bring her back to life.

Writing at the moment when film was acquiring sound, H.D. produced a variety of theoretical and literary texts which comprise a sustained meditation on the modernist conception of the body. But it was through her engagement with the epiphenomena of cinema — film reviews, film stills and publicity — that H.D. was most adventurous in her challenging of the ways in which identity is altered by the intervention of the cinema. In the film stills particularly, H.D. experiments with photographic self-performance and the problems of representation for the woman writer in an exploration of the cult of the avant-garde literary celebrity. The *Borderline* film still of H.D. as a corpse draws attention to itself as a pose as it plays out an exaggerated cinematic moment. And while the effect of a still or photograph may well be contingent on its public, on who views or engages with it, H.D. takes control of her own self-representation. The ambiguity implicit in H.D.'s film stills' anticipation of future viewing and concomitant trapping of time in a photographic pose of death incites a moment of hesitation in the spectator. I argue that it is precisely this hesitation that persuades the film adept to enact Eisenstein's call to 'listen attentively' to the silent cinematic image, to hear what H.D. described as an 'almost audible' vibration behind the pose that articulates a complex recalibration of the question of cinematic representations of identity and the avant-garde poet.

[116] Amelia Jones, 'The Eternal Return: Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (2002) 27.4, 947-978, p.949.

3.

H.D. TALKIES

'THE FLASH OF INSPIRATION, THAT THING THAT CLICKED, THAT SOUNDED... *THIS IS IT*'

The case history itself was only committed to writing from memory after the treatment was at an end,
but while my recollection of the case was still fresh and was heightened by my interest in its publication.
Thus the record is not absolutely – phonographically – exact, but it can claim to possess a high degree of trustworthiness.
Sigmund Freud, *Fragment of an Analysis* (1905)

The Professor said to me today, when I entered the consulting room, 'I was thinking about what you said, about its not being worthwhile to love an old man of seventy-seven.'
I had said no such thing and told him so. He smiled his ironical crooked smile. I said, 'I did not say it was not worthwhile, I said I was *afraid*.' But he confused me. He said, 'In analysis, the person is dead after the analysis is over.' Which person?
H.D., *Tribute to Freud* (1944)

H.D. went into analysis with Sigmund Freud in 1933, the same year that *Close Up* folded. The journal's resistance to the advent of sound-film technologies had reached its peak a few years earlier with the implacably silent *Borderline* (1930), a film which did not receive the critical attention hoped for by the editorial team who had written, produced and starred in it. Having abandoned her acting career as well as her repudiation of the 'talkies', H.D. was elated at the prospect of participating in a 'talking cure' with the internationally celebrated psychoanalyst. On hearing of H.D.'s acceptance, Kenneth Macpherson wrote, 'Oh that awful Kat. She has got in, hasn't she? She'll be unbearable. A pupil of Freud. She'll live on that til she dies'.[1] Being accepted by Freud was understood to mean more

[1] Letter from Kenneth Macpherson to Bryher (March 1933) quoted in Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World* (London: Collins, 1985) p.207. H.D. was familiar with the methods of psychoanalysis, having previously undergone analysis with Mary Chadwick in 1931, and knew the London-based psychoanalyst, Hans Sachs, another *Close Up* contributor. Bryher, had been friendly with the Freuds since 1927, organised and funded H.D.'s analysis.

than just access to the latest therapeutic treatment; it meant admission into an inner circle, 'a cultural legend of its own',[2] with its attendant publicity.

Tribute to Freud (1956), written in sections between 1944 and 1948 after Freud's death, is H.D.'s recollection of their sessions. This text is remarkable for being the only record of a Freudian case-study from the point of view of the patient, although never written up by Freud himself. It includes the originally published memoir 'Writing on the Wall', as well as the later 'Advent', which consisted of journal entries 'taken direct from the old notebooks'[3] kept by H.D. against Freud's explicit instructions during her analysis with him in Vienna from 1933-1934. *Tribute to Freud* is remarkably accessible to my reading of the visual and acoustic asynchronisation of modernism, playing out as it does the talking cure against the silent film tropes of psychoanalysis. Sampling, rewinding and then playing back H.D.'s recollections of her analysis, the two overlapping texts within *Tribute to Freud* open up questions about both psychoanalysis and film, problematising assumptions about the patient's positioning as both an image or script to be deciphered and as a passive spectator in the *mise en scène* of analysis. I would argue that the critical voice developed by H.D. in her earlier film articles for *Close Up* and the experimental *Borderline* is further amplified as she applies her film reviewing techniques to the psychoanalytic apparatus activated within the talking cure.

H.D. had earlier declared that cinema was supremely able to render 'psychic manifestations done with intricate but simple fade-outs or super-imposed impressions. Here the camera has it over all other mediums.'[4] However, believing that the cinematic text lost its illusion of wholeness with sound, she rejected the talkies because they were 'too' realistic, and therefore not open to her critical and creative interpretation. H.D.'s interest in silent film's receptiveness to psychoanalytic interpretation owed much to the lively debate on the subject in the pages of *Close Up*.[5] The suitability of the screen as the projection site for the inner workings of the psyche had been much discussed by theorists of the 1920s and 1930s, who eagerly explored the parallels between the mechanism of film

---

[2] Katherine Arens, 'H.D.'s Post-Freudian Cultural Analysis' *American Imago* 52.4 (1995) 359-404, p.360.
[3] H.D., *Tribute to Freud* (1956, Boston, Mass.: David R. Godine, 1974) p.xiv.
[4] H.D., 'Cinema and the Classics II: Restraint', *Close Up* 1.2 (August 1927) 30-39, p.35.
[5] Close Up's attention to psychoanalysis is evident in the range of published articles on the subject. See, for example, L.Saalschutz, 'Film and its relation to the unconscious' *Close Up* 5.1 (1929) 31-37; Oswell Blaskeston, 'Freud on the Films', *Close Up* 5.1 (1929) pp.399-402; and Hans Sachs, 'Film Psychology', *Close Up*, 3.5 (1928) 8-15.

and the unconscious.[6] As Anne Friedberg points out, all the *Close Up* editorial team's films were concerned to some degree with psychoanalytic concepts:[7] *Wing Beat*, for instance, was promoted in *Close Up* as a film about telepathy, 'of minds and spirits' at 'the very edge of dimensions in dimensions'.[8] The feature-length *Borderline* was, however, 'an unprecedented liaison between cinematic and psychoanalytic theory',[9] acting as a sort of cinematic accompaniment to the journal's theorising of film's potential for rendering unconscious processes. Instead of reflecting unconscious fantasy (the Surrealists' game) the film attempts to reveal processes of thought. Macpherson's directorial intentions for a film of 'subconscious reasoning' lead the spectator 'into the labyrinth of the human mind, with its queer impulses and tricks, its unreliability, its stresses and obsessions, its half-formed deductions, its glibness, its occasional amnesia, its fantasy, suppressions and desires'.[10] The result is a peculiarly obscure film, notable for the racial violence and anxiety that inflect its psychoanalytic narrative and experimental montage: Jean Walton calls this a 'nightmare of uncoordinated white folk'.[11] *Close Up*'s theoretical commitment had kept the film silent although it was not altogether deaf to sound; references to the aural work their way into the film text and commentary, even if they are not overt. Macpherson said, for instance, that the much criticised obscurity and disorder of the film was deliberate, and that 'over this chaos rings and reverberates one pure, loud, sullen note'.[12] At the time he had no specific name for it, but in critical reflection he called it 'overtone'(296). Its avant-garde contemporaries *L'Age d'or* (1930) and *Le Sang d'un poète* (1930) were more successful, however, and without sound or dialogue *Borderline* very quickly appeared out of synch with its times, when feature filmmaking was being revolutionised by advances in acoustic technologies.

[6] The birth of film closely coincided with that of psychoanalysis, forging early links between the two fields: 'Studies on Hysteria' by Joseph Breuer and Sigmund Freud first appeared in the same year that the Lumière brothers invented the first film projector, in 1895. And by 1931 Hollywood was popularly referred to as a 'dream factory'.

[7] Anne Friedberg, *Writing About Cinema: Close Up 1927-1933*, unpublished Phd thesis (New York University,1983) pp.149-50.

[8] Kenneth Macpherson, advertisement for *Wing Beat* in *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927) p.294.

[9] Anne Friedberg, 'Introduction to Borderline and the Pool films' in *Close up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. Anne Friedberg, James Donald and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) p.218. Friedberg is particularly interested in *Borderline* as an attempt to give formal expression to psychological states and their psychoanalytic formulations, and also gives an overview of the personal and historical forces shaping the production of the film.

[10] Kenneth Macpherson 'As Is', *Close Up* 7.5 (November 1930) 293-298, p.297.

[11] Jean Walton, '"Nightmare of the Uncoordinated White Folk": Race, Psychoanalysis, and Borderline', *Discourse*, 19.2 (1997) 88-109.

[12] Keneth Macpherson, 'As Is', p.296. Further references in text.

If *Borderline* was conceived as a cutting-edge experiment about the processes of the unconscious mind, its lacklustre reception was a signal disappointment for the *Close Up* coterie, most particularly for its 'star'. H.D. was then eager to experiment with a more direct experience of psychoanalysis as offered by Freud's talking cure. Freud's early research on aphasia triggered his interest in acoustic matters,[13] and his therapeutic dialogue is understood as a scenic reproduction or performance of patients' verbal self representations.[14] This talking cure is deployed against a flow of autobiographical images seen or hallucinated by a patient; Freud compared an hysteric's methodical progress through a series of pictorial memories to her 'reading a lengthy book of pictures, whose pages were being turned over before her eyes'.[15] The analysand who 'reads' these images aloud dissolves them: 'the patient is, as it were, getting rid of it by turning it into words'(280). After the memories have been verbalised, 'the picture vanishes, like a ghost that has been laid'(281) — the 'cure' essentially consists of putting into words the visual images or their effects, thereby erasing them. Expressions such as *absprechen* and *aussprechen* (to talk away by denying or speaking out) are therefore frequent in Freud's case studies, and disorderly talk in the form of verbal free-associations is considered as the primary raw material of his talking cure. At times, however, the patient's body itself would do the 'talking' — through paralysis, ticks, aches, pains, or other sensations — while the patient sat in silence. For Freud, it was these random verbal and bodily free associations that allowed insight into the underlying flow of unconscious processes, through gaps in memory, unsuspected connections, or inflections of the patient's voice.[16] At times the uneasy play in psychoanalysis between aural and visual — the visible dreams or symptoms and their verbalisation — is particularly evident. In the case study of Katherina, for instance, Freud's analysis tellingly mixes up the acoustic and visual elements of the talking cure. Suggesting to Katherina, 'you must have seen or heard something that very much embarrassed you, and that you'd much rather not have seen,'[17] Freud interrupts the case-study to reflect that the task of psychoanalysis is often to uncover the moments when

---

[13] Sigmund Freud, *On Aphasia: A Critical Study* (1891) ed. E. Stengel (London: Imago, 1953). It was, however, Joseph Breuer's patient Anna O. who first called this treatment the 'talking cure'. See Sigmund Freud and Joseph Breuer, *Studies in Hysteria* (1895) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey et al. (London: Hogarth Press, 1955-64) p.280.

[14] See Dianne F. Sardoff for more on the patient's self-representation in the scenic reproduction of hysteria, in *Sciences of the Flesh: Representing Body in Psychoanalysis* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998) p.232-4.

[15] Sigmund Freud, 'Studies in Hysteria', p.153. Further references in text.

[16] See Nicholas Rand 'The Talking Cure: The Origins of Psychoanalysis', in *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. Salamenksi (New York and London: Routledge, 2001) p.190n7.

[17] Sigmund Freud, 'Case Study IV: Katherina' (1894) *The Standard Edition* Vol.II, 125-134, p.129. Further references in text.

patients, as children, 'came to hear' things that 'opened their eyes'(130). This pivotal conflation of visual and aural by Freud authorises Slavoj Zizek's more recent anamorphic deployment of psychoanalytic film analysis: 'To the insides of the ear belong those who have a sight of internal hearing. That's the nocturnal look, the listening eye.'[18]

Walter Benjamin's conclusion, that of all the modern technologies photography is the most closely aligned to psychoanalysis, has been widely accepted following his argument that 'the camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses'.[19] However, Friedrich Kittler has pointed out that the talking cure was actually more directly in competition with contemporary sound technologies, arguing that the 'enemy or image' of psychoanalysis is in fact the phonograph.[20] Although the visual and cinematic implications of Freud's work have been thoroughly and theoretically explored,[21] Freud himself did not encourage parallels, never mentioning film directly in his writing.[22]

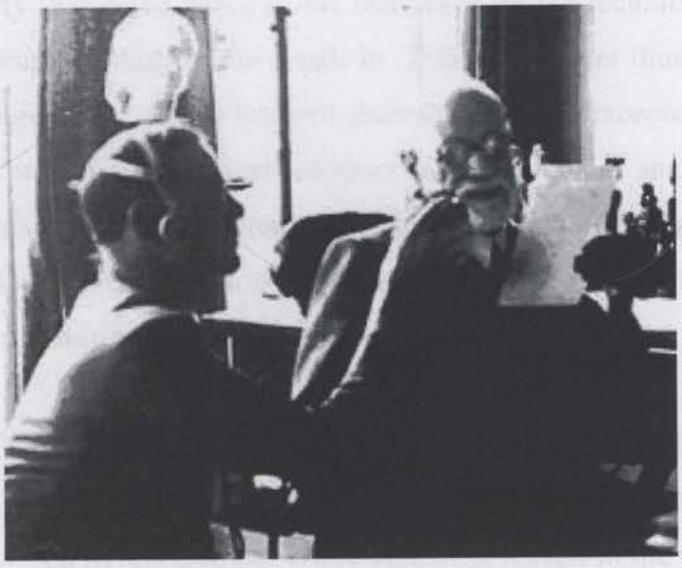


Fig. 12: Freud recording a BBC radio broadcast (1938)

---

[18] Slavoj Zizek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991) p.90.

[19] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Fontana, 1973) p.230.

[20] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) p.89.

[21] See, among others, Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); E. Ann Kaplan, ed., *Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Mary Ann Doane, 'Temporality, Storage, Legibility: Freud, Marey, and the Cinema', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1996), 313-45; Glen O. Gabbard and Krin Gabbard, *Psychiatry and the Cinema* (Washington, DC.: American Psychiatric Press, 1999); Stephen Heath, *Endless Night: Cinema and Psychoanalysis, Parallel Histories*, ed. Janet Bergstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). See also, for an account of the visibility of both psychoanalysis and film, Vivian Sobchack, *The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience* (Princeton: University of Princeton, 1992).

[22] Of course, while Freud does not refer directly to cinema, in his 1919 essay on the Uncanny he cites Rank's work on the 'double', which does discuss the film *The Student of Prague* (1926).

His indifference to cinema was evident, for example, in his quick dismissal of Samuel Goldwyn's offer of $100,000 to 'consult' on a Hollywood film about famous love stories in history.[23] Significantly, however, Freud happily recorded a reading of his work for a BBC broadcast, and, following the modern trend, had a telephone installed in his study.[24] Subsequently he described the work that went on in his consulting room in terms of telephony, as if his 'psychic apparatus' were to be taken literally. In this way Freud's earlier analogy with the phonograph is brought up to date with current developments in acoustic technology and he can now instruct the psychoanalyst to:

> turn his own unconscious like a receptive organ towards the transmitting unconscious of the patient. He must adjust himself to the patient as a telephone receiver is adjusted to the transmitting microphone.[25]

While the telephone insists on entering into dialogue, in the way it implies a speaking and listening subject at either end of the apparatus, Freud's bold claim for a 'phonographic' exactness to his analytic practice implies that he located his authority in a carefully calibrated objectivity that owed much to his insistence on the technical precision of the 'mechanism of the cure'.[26] Many of the details in *Tribute to Freud* illustrate the fallacy of Freud's supposed objectivity, as this account shows how Freud excepted himself from his own proscriptions concerning the proper conduct and technique of analysts. For instance, H.D. records that his office was littered with personal artefacts, antiquities, books, and papers, that he made his presence known by thumping on the back of the couch, and that he chatted or told jokes during sessions.[27]

The rivalry in the field of psychoanalysis amongst the permutations of looking, speaking and listening is played out in *Tribute to Freud* with H.D.'s account of her first meeting with the world-renowned psychoanalyst. While preparing herself in the waiting room, H.D. was reassured by the 'framed photographs of celebrities, some known personally to me; Dr Havelock Ellis and Dr Hans Sachs gaze at me, familiar but a little distorted in their frames

---

[23] The *New York Times* trumpeted the headline, 'Freud Rebuffs Goldwyn: Viennese Psychoanalyst Is Not Interested In Motion Picture Offer' (24th January 1925) quoted in B. Sklarew, 'Freud in Film: Encounters in the *weltgeist*', *Journal of American Psychoanalyst Association*, 47 (1999) 1239-1247, p.1244.

[24] A recording of this BBC broadcast was played back on a loop at the Library of Congress Exhibition, *Freud: Culture and Conflict* (Washington D.C, Oct.1998-Jan1999). Rare snippets from home movies featuring Freud and his family on holiday were also screened during this exhibition.

[25] Sigmund Freud, 'Recommendations to Physicians Practicing Psychoanalysis'(1912) *The Standard Edition,* Vol. XII: 109-120, pp.115-16.

[26] Sigmund Freud, 'The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis' (1895) *The Standard Edition* Vol.II: 362-365, p.362.

[27] Recollections by other patients tell of Freud autographing photographs and even falling asleep during the consultations. See François Roustang, *Psychoanalysis Never Lets Go*, trans. Ned Lukacker (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1983) p.62.

under the reflecting glass'.[28] Nervously anticipating entering into an elite circle of private patients, she was comforted by this familiar discourse of celebrity. This exchange was carefully staged by Freud who was himself not unaware of the power of name-dropping. After some delay, she was ushered into the inner sanctum with a somewhat theatrical flourish:

> although I know this and have been preparing for some months for this ordeal, I am, nonetheless, taken aback, surprised, shocked even, when the door opens. It seems to me, after my time of waiting, that he appears too suddenly. Automatically, I walk through the door. It closes. Sigmund Freud does not speak. He is waiting for me to say something. I cannot speak. I look around the room. (96)

Thrown off balance by the ensuing awkward silence, H.D. looked around for more visual cues, and was surprised when Freud picked up on her distraction: 'waiting and finding that I would not or could not speak, he uttered. What he said – and I thought a little sadly, was, "You are the only person who has ever come into this room and looked at the things before looking at me"'(98). H.D.'s expectation and assumptions about her engagement with psychoanalysis were immediately shaken. Years later, her defensive explanation in *Tribute to Freud* about whether she would not or could not speak attests to the impact of this troubling and awkward stutter between visual and aural cues when patient and analyst are immediately projected into a competition of gaze and voice, audience and reception and, eventually, critical and creative agency.

This seeming asynchronisation continued during the next year of sessions, with H.D. often confused about who (analyst or analysand) should speak or listen. Her hours frequently degenerated into gossip about shared acquaintances as H.D., struggling to engage Freud in a collaborative dialogue, resisted either being assigned to the role of 'patient' or dismissed as 'poet'. While Freud complimented H.D. on her verbal facility — 'Ah you tell this all so beautifully'(129) — she often felt that he was an irritatingly inattentive listener. Towards the end of her first period of analysis in 1933, for example, H.D. was disconcerted when Freud 'seemed rather professional and aloof after using half my session yesterday in gossip'(180). Taken aback, she persevered:

> I tell him last night's dream: hotel, stranger, dark (or in-the-dark) young man in the hall, he passes the open door and sees me. I wear a rose-coloured picture-gown or ball-gown. I am pleased that he sees me and pose or sway as if forward to a dance.

[28] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.96. Further references in text.

> In a moment, he has caught me, I am lost (found?), we sway together like butterflies. He says, 'You *do* know how to dance.'
>
> Now we go out together but I am in evening-dress, that is, I wear clothes like his. (I had been looking at some new pictures of Marlene Dietrich in one of the café picture-papers.) I am not quite comfortable, not quite myself, my trouser-band does not fit very well; I realise that I have on, underneath the trousers, my ordinary underclothes, or rather I was wearing the long party-slip that apparently belonged to the ball-gown. (180-181)

Unlike her other dreams filled with more classical themes and allusions, this 'underwear' sequence seems designed to capture Freud's distracted attention; earlier, H.D. had felt 'limp and frustrated' as Freud was diverted by his pug-dog Yofi wandering in and out and the sound of laughing in the waiting room.[29] When not in sessions with Freud, H.D. spent her time alone in Vienna reading, writing up her notes (against Freud's explicit injunctions), and going to the cinema. Intriguingly enough, the apparent inspiration for the above dream was her ongoing passion for the film stills of celebrities, in this case the famously androgynous Dietrich. Although it is difficult to identify an ironic edge to H.D.'s writing, this dream sequence seems suspiciously similar to the avant-garde psychoanalytic film tropes parodied so sharply by the *Close Up* group's earlier *I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside* (1927), even down to its displaced underwear. Both the dream and the retelling of it end 'on a note of frustration and bewilderment'(181). Unsurprisingly, H.D. became irritated by Freud's expression of mild disbelief when she mentioned a much younger admirer who had recently 'courted' her, and who she thought had influenced the dream: 'the Professor said, "Was that *only* two years ago," as if at my age I should be well over that sort of trifling' (181). Put out, H.D. concludes that Freud was responding in a specific way; 'Perhaps, this was some technical mannerism, or *façon de parler*'(181). She realised that for more successful interactions within Freud's finely tuned 'mechanism of the cure', she must redirect her attention to the analyst's 'talk' rather than her own and determine to attune herself to his *façon de parler*. Freud's own aural presence in analysis is thus the focus of much of *Tribute to Freud,* a pervasive acoustic dimension that is reinforced by scattered references to the 'music everywhere in Vienna'(88), a city famous for its playlist of Beethoven, Mozart, Schumann and Schubert. H.D. notes that 'about the Professor, there was music certainly; there was music in every syllable he uttered and there was music implicit in his name, the *Sieg-mund*, the victorious voice or utterance' (105). She goes on

[29] Freud was to disconcert Bryher and H.D. once again when he offered them, both avowed cat-lovers, one of Yofi's puppies: they were surprised at his inattention to their preferences, and carefully refused.

to celebrate him as 'the master-musician' who 'would harmonize the whole human spirit' (105-6).

At the same time, there is an intriguing conflation of the scene of analysis and the condition of spectatorship in H.D.'s *Tribute to Freud* as Freud's consulting room is turned into a theatre for reproducing and working through fantasies and unconscious desires, helping to stage and shape H.D.'s most illuminating visions.[30] She values the dreams and visions that she brought to her sessions as 'the hieroglyph of the unconscious'[31] and presents them to Freud as a script to be deciphered, using the key filmic concepts of projection and spectatorship.[32] Explicitly linking film and the unconscious, H.D. presents herself as once again sitting back on the Freudian couch, immobilised in the darkened theatre of her memory, watching with him the projection of imaginary images that un-reel as if from a psychic projector. The dreams that H.D. screens in her analysis are exposed to Freud's particularly penetrating gaze: 'The Professor's explanations were too illuminating, it sometimes seemed; my bat-like thought-wings would beat painfully in that sudden searchlight' (30). Adalaide Morris has argued that the concept of projection described in these scenes freed H.D.'s creative energy, and resulted in a new poetics. She reads *Tribute to Freud* as a document that recounts a respectful collaboration of poet and analyst: 'In the analysis of her dreams, H.D. and Freud are colleagues who heed, adjust and validate each other's interpretations'.[33] However, Freud disconcerted H.D. when he dismissed as a 'dangerous symptom'.[34] the protracted hallucinations that she had experienced years before while on holiday with Bryher in Corfu and which she valued highly. Calling these hallucinations 'writings on the wall'(51,169), H.D. had associated them with the light writing of the silent cinema, and referenced them as a catalyst for her aesthetic experience.

---

[30] For more on Freud's scene of analysis and the dream state, see Joseph Riddel, 'H.D.'s Scene of Analysis - Poetry as (and) Analysis', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 12.1 (1979) pp.41-59. See also Joanna Spiro, 'Weighed in the Balance: H.D.'s Resistance to Freud in "Writing on the Wall"', *American Imago*, 2.2 (2001) 597-621.

[31] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.93.

[32] See Diane Chisolm on 'cinemo-bio-graphy' in *H.D.'s Freudian Poetics: Psychoanalysis in Translation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) pp.91-100; and Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Hieroglyphic Voices' in *Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) pp.50-69. For a more general account of cinematic and hieroglyphic images, see Tom Conley's *Film Hieroglyphs: Ruptures in Classical Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

[33] Adalaide Morris, 'The Concept of Projection: H.D.'s Visionary Powers', *Contemporary Literature*, 25.6 (1984) 411-36 p.427. She also points out that H.D. and Freud understood the 'projected pictures' very differently: Freud understood them as the exteriorisation of unconscious material, while for H.D. they opened up boundaries of the poetic self to a new and transcendent plane, p.429.

[34] H.D.'s Tribute to Freud, p.41. Futhur references in text.

Although resistant to Freud's diagnosis, H.D. agrees that, 'as the Professor picked on the writing-on-the-wall as the most dangerous or the only actually dangerous "symptom", we will review it here'(41). Trained to be a critical reviewer by her engagement with *Close Up*, H.D. differentiates among the different types of dreams she experiences in the *mise en scène* of analysis:

> With the Professor, I discussed a few real dreams, some intermediate dreams that contained real imagery or whose 'hieroglyph' linked with authentic images, and some quaint, trivial, mocking dreams that danced, as it were, like masquerading sweep and May queens round the Maypole. (36)

H.D. here compares the intensity and significance of her dreams as she would compare the different genres of film in her reviews. As a delayed review of the scene of dream screening in her analysis, *Tribute to Freud* therefore reveals H.D.'s desire for interpretative agency rather than spectatorial passivity. In doing so, it echoes her earlier insistence, repeated in the *Close Up* essays, for interaction with the films under review. Just as she had earlier resisted sound-film for its 'too mechanical perfection',[35] H.D. would come to develop an increasing wariness about her role in the 'mechanism of cure' set into play by Freud's analysis, and its reliance on a watertight technological objectivity. H.D. had expected to do more than simply talk for the record, realising that talking did not necessarily equate with an acquisition of psychoanalytic knowledge.[36] This desire for a more involved interaction with Freud is evident in H.D.'s original understanding that she was going into analysis as Freud's 'pupil' or disciple, rather than patient. This assumption was nourished by the build-up given by her friends at the commencement of her analysis, when Freud wrote to Bryher that 'he has no exciting patients'[37] apart from H.D. and the Dutchman, a patient who took the hour immediately preceding H.D.'s. As Bryher reports, Freud added 'that seldom if ever had he come into contact with a mind so fine, a spirit so pure, as that of our esteemed Kat and he hoped that after a summer rest, she would return to resume an analysis of months, of weeks, or even years as she so desires and she would have preference over others'(388). Encouraged by Bryher and her *Close Up* colleagues to

---

[35] H.D. 'Cinema and the Classics III: Mask and the Movietone' *Close Up* 1.5 (November 1927) 18-31, p.31.

[36] It is worth noting here how J-B. Pontalis mourns the therapeutic failure of the patient in whom talk, rather than aiding cure, functions as a disease. He warns of the analysand who is expert 'at coding and decoding, prolific with word, dream and interpretation games, skilled at all kinds of combination', who dazzles then bores the analyst with endless talky displacements, and is 'prevented from reaching "cure" precisely by those brilliant insights'. J-B. Pontalis, *Frontiers in Psychoanalysis: Between the Dream and Psychic Pain*, trans. Catherine Cullen and Philip Cullen (London: Hogarth Press, 1981) p.163.

[37] Letter from Bryher to Macpherson (November 1933) quoted in Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life For Our Times* (New York and London: Norton, 1988) p.388. Further references in text.

be a passionate advocate of psychoanalysis, H.D. felt some rivalry with other patients: she was particularly jealous of Marie Bonaparte, the Greek princess and psychoanalytic colleague who was eventually responsible for Freud's family's last-minute pre-war escape from Vienna to London.

In *Tribute to Freud* H.D. presents herself as an uncommon participant in the analysis, indicating that she felt herself to be collaborating in an unprecedented dialogue of poetic and scientific minds. This assumption would seem to be supported by Freud's comments during their sessions. For instance, H.D. reports Freud solemnly saying,

> My discoveries are a basis for a very grave philosophy. There are very few who understand this, *there are very few capable of understanding this*...You discovered for yourself what I discovered for the race.[38]

H.D. felt that she came to the sessions with access to a poetic insight that would inspire Freud, and help with his grave philosophical project, just as he would help her: 'We have only just begun our researches, our "studies", the old Professor and I'(100). The potential for an intellectual exchange was jealously guarded by H.D. She dwelt in her memoirs on the occasions in their 'talks together'(76) when Freud made complimentary asides:

> 'Of course, you understand' is the offhand way in which he offers me, from time to time, some rare discovery, some priceless finding, or 'Perhaps you may feel differently,' as if my feelings, my discoveries, were on a par with his own. (86)

This scene of extraordinary collaboration has been emphasised by H.D. scholars who find that, as she both creates and analyses her own dreams in the sessions with Freud, H.D. effectively 'turns herself from analysand to analyst'.[39] For instance, Susan Stanford Friedman believes that H.D. took Freud's work and developed it in antithetical ways, while Dianne Chisolm stresses that H.D. '*becomes* Freud' in order to successfully cure herself of writer's block.[40] For many scholars, then, it is Freud who becomes H.D.'s collaborator for *Tribute to Freud*, with the record of their proximity in analysis authorising her oeuvre with his cultural gravitas.

---

[38] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.18. Further references in text.
[39] Katherine Arens, 'H.D.'s Post-Freudian Cultural Analysis: Nike Versus Oedipus', *American Imago*,52.4 (1995) 359-404, p.362.
[40] See Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Against Discipleship: Intimacy and Collaboration in H.D.'s Analysis with Freud', *Literature and Psychology*, 33 (1987) 89-108; and Dianne Chisolm, *H.D.'s Freudian Poetics: Psychoanalysis in Translation*, p.4.

However, while Freud offered H.D. occasional recognition as an intellectual equal, he just as frequently humoured her as an overly enthusiastic poet. There were also awkward moments of misinterpretation or mishearing, such as the occasion where he accuses 'you do not think it worth your while to love me'.[41] H.D.'s inflated expectation of respectful collaboration is most notably punctured in a crucial scene at the heart of *Tribute to Freud*, where she relates Freud's insistence on her absolute submission to an unexpected request. H.D. recollects his stopping the analysis mid-flow to tell her something 'very seriously':

> 'I am asking only one thing of you,' he said. Even as I write the words, I have the same sense of anxiety, of tension, of imminent responsibility that I had at that moment. What can he possibly be going to say? What can he ask me to do? Or not to do? More likely a shalt not than a demand for some specific course of action. His manner was serious yet kindly. Yet in spite of that or because of that I felt like a child, summoned to my father's study ... Stop thief! what had I done? What was I going to do? 'I ask only one thing of you children' – my mother's very words.
>
> The Professor is standing in his study. The Professor is asking only one thing of me. I was right in my premonition, it is a shalt not. He is asking something of me, confiding in me, treating me in his courteous, subtle way as an intellectual equal. He is firm about this, however, and he is patiently explaining to me, He does not lay down the law, only this once – this one law. He says, 'Please never – I mean, never, at any time, in any circumstances, endeavour to defend me, if and when you hear abusive remarks made about me and my work.' (85- 86)

While Freud went on to 'carefully explain' his injunction, it was immediately apparent to H.D. that Freud was not protecting her from gossip, rather he was making an effort to ensure her future silence. Julia Borossa and Caroline Rooney surmise that Freud was fearful of the implications of his new science being defended by the embarrassing over-enthusiasm of a converted poet-mystic.[42] Freud's references to precise and objective modern technologies can be understood as part of a strategy to distinguish psychoanalysis from the contemporaneous interests in mystic or occult phenomena. H.D., however, took this injunction of silence to heart; in contrast to the earlier expectation by her friends that she would 'live off' her contact with Freud, she was now told to distance herself from him in public. Effectively shut up, H.D. waited until Freud was dead and no longer able to silence her before publishing the write-up of her notes that are contained within *Tribute to Freud*. The resonances of this scene of excommunication can be traced in the 'The Master', a poem which clearly shows H.D.'s anger with Freud for simultaneously silencing

---

[41] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.16. Further references in text.

[42] Julia Barossa and Caroline Rooney, 'The Poet and the Psychoanalyst: Mediums of Transmission', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 3.3 (1998) 167-176, p.172.

her and under-rating her as either defender or disciple. H.D. descibes in this poem Freud's refusal to pass on secrets revealed by his years of psychoanalytic research:

> he did not say
> 'stay,
> my disciple,'
> he did not say,
> 'write,
> each word I say is sacred,'
> he did not say, 'teach'
> he did not say,
> 'heal
> or seal
> documents in my name,'
> no,
> he was rather casual,
> 'we won't argue about that'
> (he said)
> 'you are a poet'[43]

Freud's refusal to let H.D. speak publicly or even 'argue' about her engagement with psychoanalysis, or more specifically about Freud himself, indicated that a truly equal interaction was neither possible nor permissable. H.D is positioned by this injunction as a passive spectator in her own analysis, rather than as a participatory collaborator. The ensuing frustration with the implications of her analysis in *Tribute to Freud* echoes the frustration she felt at the lack of interaction available in the technological perfection promised by sound-film. However, her response to Freud's *mise en scène* is, I would argue, intriguingly perhaps closest to her objection to the 'perfect' silent film discussed her most striking film review for *Close Up*. H.D. anxiously analysed an 'odd sort of two-edged feeling'[44] in her ambivalent review of Carl Dreyer's silent classic, *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1927) which she announced was 'a film that has caused me more unrest, more spiritual forebodings, more intellectual rackings, more emotional torment than any I have yet seen'(15). Her extended analysis of the film appeared in several articles for *Close Up*; she refers to it again in 'An Appreciation', the article that recounts her interview with Pabst, who praised the film as one of the greatest cinematic achievements.[45] This surprised H.D. and made her question the reasons for her earlier dislike:

---

[43] H.D., 'The Master', *Collected Poems 1912-1944*, ed. Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1983) 451-461, p.458

[44] H.D., 'Joan of Arc', *Close Up* 3.1 (July 1928) 15-23, p.15. Further references in text.

[45] H.D., 'An Appreciation', *Close Up* 4.3 (March 1929) 56-68, p.59.

> Now, I have written about *Jeanne D'Arc* a little spitefully and a little unharmoniously. *Jeanne D'Arc* (see, if you must, some *Close Up* or other, some twelve months back) set me out of key. It positively bullied me as no film has yet done. I was forced to pity, pity, pity. My affections and credulity were hammered. I was kicked. I was throttled. I was laid upon a torture rack. Quite solemnly I was burned at the stake and lifting eyes to heaven I had forgiven my malefactors. Yes, the magnificent technique of Dreyer did that for me. But was I moved? Was I inspired or touched? (59-60)

The narrative of this 'perfect' silent film follows the last day of Joan of Arc's life. The central scene is a protracted interrogation, a court procedural of question and answer, challenging the visionary's claim to have heard the voices of angels. It is curious that for such a relentlessly silent film, the central narrative is driven by the demand to verbally confess, or to speak up. The play of question and answer is implied in the montage of close ups and facial expressions. Dreyer's use of the close up as an effect of torture is an open solicitation to spectatorial responses of identification as an extension of the technique of the trial: 'the result of the close-ups was that the spectator was [as] shocked as Jeanne was receiving the questions, tortured by them. And, in fact, it was my intention to get this result'.[46] One of Dreyer's assistant directors noted 'we were not making a film, we were

Fig. 13: film still from Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1928)

[46] Carl Dreyer, quoted in Q. Sarris, 'Dreyer's Textual Realism', in *Carl Th. Dreyer* (Museum of Modern Art: New York, 1998) p.65.

living Jeanne's drama, and we often wanted to intervene to save her'.[47] Infamously, the actress Renée Falconetti's blood was really drawn during the filming of the sickbed sequence, her hair was actually shorn and her real exhausted tears shed, with contemporary critics wondering what would have happened had Dreyer been allowed to film the torture scene he originally wrote in his screenplay.

I have argued elsewhere that H.D. was less concerned about the issue of identification (the 'victimisation' of *Jeanne D'Arc*) than anxious about the diminishment of her own interpretative skills in her 'bullied' spectatorial role.[48] Drawing a parallel between the states of marginalisation of the female spectator and the spectacle itself, complaining that 'we are left pinned and helpless like some senseless animal, impaled as she is impaled by agony'.[49] H.D. goes on to describe

> Jeanne already dead and numb, gazes dead and numb at accuser and fumbles in her dazed hypnotised manner toward some solution of her claustrophobia. I am shut in here. I want to get out. I want to get out. (19)

H.D. here overtly equates her own cinematic experience in the darkened theatre with Jeanne, trapped in the text that holds her, imprisoned in her filmic cell, the 'dazed hypnotised' spectator of her own suffering.

It has been noted that H.D. as a film reviewer does not 'tell us about the film: instead, she places us within her own perception, so that we re-enact her experiences as she perceives them and simultaneously her thoughts as she watches those images'.[50] While impressionistically examining her response to a specific film and meditating on the dilemma of her own spectatorial 'suffering', H.D. questions the degree to which the female spectator is involuntarily seduced and initiated into the secret pleasures of abjection, being forced to take up the burden of complicity and be caught 'staring guiltily', or to identify with female martyrdom. H.D. goes on to ask,

---

[47] Richard Abel, *The French Cinema: The First Wave 1915-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) p.488.

[48] See my article on H.D.'s agonised response to the film, through the discourse on masochism and the spectator's over-identification to gendered violence, in 'Dissecting Agony: La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc', *Masochism: Disciplines of Desire, Politics of Power*, eds. Natalya Lusty and Ruth Walker (Sydney: PGARC Publications, University of Sydney, 1998) 111-126.

[49] H.D., 'Joan of Arc', pp.19-20. Further references in text.

[50] Charlotte Mandel, 'The Redirected Image: Cinematic Dynamics in the Style of H.D.(Hilda Doolittle)', *Literature/Film Quarterly*, 11.1 (1983) 35-45, p.38. Mandel investigates H.D.'s use of cinematic techniques (particularly montage, close-ups and dissolve) which create in her essays the episodic nature of cinema itself, and the impression that film and the processes of thought unreel in similar ways. See also: Freidberg's *Writing about Cinema: Close Up 1927-1933*; and Jayne E. Marek, *Women Editing Modernism: 'Little' Magazines & Literary History*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

> Why is it that my hands inevitably clench at the memory of those pictures, at the casual poster that I pass daily...? Is it necessary to be put on guard? Must I be made to feel on the defence this way and why? Also why must my hands feel that they are numb and raw and bleeding, clenched fists tightened, bleeding as if beating at those very impenetrable medieval church doors?[51]

This clenching of fists emerges not simply as a sign of H.D.'s involuntary identification with Jeanne's suffering, but as an expression of her defiant resistance to such an identification in the first place, anticipating Laura Mulvey's critique of the pleasure and unpleasure offered by narrative film, and the resistance to visual styles and narrative structures which trap 'woman' into the position of 'to-be-looked-at-ness', of passive exhibitionism.[52] Faulting *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* for its ability to engage her and thus contain her spectatorial powers, H.D. points out that for all Dreyer's technical and artistic skill, 'being let into the very heart, the very secret of the matter, we are left out of...something'. She concludes, 'there is a gap somewhere'(23). This 'gap' is what stops a film from moving or touching H.D., and is identified through an acoustic analogy: she resolves that the problem with *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* is that 'the cry that sang towards Orleans is in no way even remotely indicated'(17). The viewer's resistance to the enforced passive spectatorship occurs as 'a sort of bugle note rises and with it our own defiance'(19). For H.D., the central deficit of this otherwise perfect silent film is that 'Jeanne d'Arc talked openly with angels and in this square on square of Danish protestant interior, this trial room, this torture room, this cell, there was no hint of angels'(22). Remarkably, for my discussion in this thesis about the impact of the asynchronisation of sound and silence in film, H.D.'s most striking film review is therefore about the interrogation of someone who hears inappropriately, and who will not be kept quiet about it.

When presented with a such a 'perfect' cinematic representation (so 'perfect' that it precludes a spectator's interpretative participation), H.D.'s criticism is directed not so much at the literal silence for the film, or even the narrative of violence and 'vicitimisation', as at the loss of her own conceptual agency. H.D. writes, 'I don't mind

---

[51] H.D., 'Joan of Arc', p.16. Further references in text.

[52] Laura Mulvey's pioneering essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' established the grounds of the feminist enquiry into sexual difference in relation to cinematic pleasure. Mulvey's drastic sexing of the look as masculine points to a disturbance in the filmic text, as the dilemma of the female spectator provokes the anxiety that it is intended to contain. See Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Film Theory and Criticism*, eds. G. Mast, M. Cohen and L. Braudy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 746-757.

crying (although I do mind crying). I do mind standing aside and watching and watching and watching and being able to do nothing'(20). In her reviews she explores cinematic spectatorship as a pleasurable and critical activity by which viewers might transcend or supersede their subjective positions. H.D. says in another cinema essay, 'I want to help to add imagination to a mask, a half finished image, not to have everything done for me. Isn't cinema art (or hasn't it been) a matter of interaction?'[53] She offers a different vision of cinematic perception, one where the viewer is transformed by their participation. Thus H.D.'s early claim for an intellectual, collaborative and intertextual relationship with the overlapping and complex discourses of cinema and psychoanalysis forestalls a reading of her own dispersed image and texts as merely 'symptomatic', as subject to a clinical or otherwise objective eye. The review essays in *Close Up* become, I would argue, an act of display, an uncanny previewing of her critical engagement with psychoanalysis, pursued in her subsequent writings on the scene of her analysis with Freud. As both participant and critical spectator, H.D. reviews from a position that disrupts: her acts of analysis offer her a concomitant pleasure of resistance to these still nascent modernist technologies.

Wary of the even greater perfection promised by sound-film technologies, H.D. insists on her preference for the interpretative allure of the mysterious object of silent film. As I have argued in the previous chapter, this was best captured in the film stills collected for her private viewing pleasure. In condemnation of the elaboration of synchronisation techniques like Movietone, H.D. had asked what would be her most urgent question about sound-film: 'can we whisper our devotion to this creature?'[54] With a series of interrogative statements involving the reader in a discussion about the damage sound did to film, H.D. anxiously questions the fate of qualities specific to silent film which were lost to an appetite for 'more vivid, more vital' developments in cinematic representation:

> are they to be discarded, are we going to discard them for another set of boxes, containing such intricate machinery, such suave sophistication of life that we wonder if we really want them? ... Don't we really want what we know, what we see, what intellectually we can aptly 'play' with? Don't we? Or do we? ... Do we really want to discard our little stage sets and all the appliances that we have grown so used to for something more like 'real' life? Well, do we or don't we? Please answer me. I am at my wit's end (19)

[53] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics I: Beauty', *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927) 22-33, p.22.
[54] H.D., 'The Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', p.21 Further references in text.

Even as she protests the disruption of silent film by sound, her own critical voice becomes interrogative and shrill. Demanding an answer from both the spectator and the reader, she insists, 'Well that is for you to say and you to say and you to say'(22), textually enacting *Close Up*'s avowed intention to 'provoke discussion' of film.[55] In this essay H.D.'s critical voice is raised stridently against the talkies, anxious and increasingly hysterical, until at last she declares 'I want to scream'(22).

However, in her later analysis with Freud, H.D.'s critical resistance took the form of silence. When she disagreed with him, she carefully notes 'I did not argue with the Professor'.[56] Instead, she retained control of her critical voice by keeping up her notebook commentary. Although Freud was insistent that she not write during her analysis, *Tribute to Freud* is littered with references to her both hearing and ignoring his instructions: the text is constructed from the notes she took immediately after her sessions, complete with dates and times. She faithfully records,

> Again, the Professor asked me if I 'prepared' for my sessions with him. I said I had been writing letters up to the last...The Professor repeated that he wanted the work to be done spontaneously. He does not encourage me to take notes, in fact, would rather I did not. (185)

Despite Macpherson calling her a 'recording angel' (117) H.D. did not make claims for 'phonographical' exactness of the written record of her recollections of the sessions, as Freud had done for his case studies of hysteria. She admits, 'I cannot classify the living content of our talks together by recounting them in a logical or textbook manner'(137). Further, H.D. recalls the awkwardness that arose from her insistence on writing up her thoughts:

> Now having my early tea, I remember how the Professor asked me why I was so happy to have the hour 5pm for my sessions. I told him how I had associated my happiest memories of early London with the inevitable four o'clock or five o'clock tea and that here I could dream over my note-book, preparing myself for the happiness of talking with him afterwards. He said again that he did not want me to prepare. I could not explain adequately that I did not. He does not, apparently, want me to take notes, but I must do that. (165)

---

[55] This claim is found in many advertisements for *Close Up*, most particularly for those about the film *Borderline*. One advertisement reads, for example, 'Even if they don't like Borderline they seem to want to see it. Borderline promotes discussion, thought, and (among the initiated) admiration', *Close Up* 8.1 (March 1931) p.77.

[56] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.101. Further references in text.

In this way, H.D.'s account of her analysis and her relationship with Freud disregards the proprieties of the case history in favour of its own notations.[57] The problem with H.D.'s practice of writing down her immediate impressions after her sessions with Freud, and thereby reviewing her own analysis, is that psychoanalysis habitually refuses the hysterical patient any such autonomy. Patients may babble as long as they stick to ordinary speech, but it is the analyst's job to make sense of their utterances.[58] As Friedrich Kittler summarises, the 'storage medium of writing fails once it is utilised by the patient and not by the analyst'.[59] Turning speech flows into syllable puzzles remains 'the monopoly of the scientist sitting in his chair' and patients face the wrath of their analyst if they challenge 'the discrete textual recording of contractually arranged indiscretions' (90). Hysterical patients in particular are figured in this scenario as incapable of accurate recording or understanding, as their memories are inherently untrustworthy. As Elaine Showalter outlines, Freud's most influential contribution to the field of psychoanalysis is in the way he drew attention to the fragmentary and discontinuous nature of the hysteric's narrative and to the physician's responsibility for reorganising it into a coherent whole.[60]

On the other hand, in her record of their conversation, H.D. keeps Freud alive and talking in the present continuous. Despite Freud's ominous pronouncement that 'in analysis the person is dead after the analysis is over',[61] quoted in the epigraph to this chapter, H.D.'s text will not let him escape their collaboration. In marked contrast to the way that his case studies silenced the hysteric's narrative, *Tribute to Freud* is in effect reanimating and rearticulating the Professor, dead at the time of publication. This pursuit of an unsatisfactory or unfinished conversation is underscored by the repetition of the dialogue in the two sections that make up the memoir. These sections repeat, echo, and reinterpret the scenes in the analysis and the conversations between Freud and H.D., which she recorded without permission in her Vienna notebooks and letters to friends. The existence of these notes reveals that, along with her decision to keep writing, H.D. had reached a

---

[57] See Barosso and Rooney for more on the regulation of the relationship between doctor and patient, 'The Poet and the Psychoanalyst', p.171.

[58] Freud notes that it would be a mistake to let patients write down their own dreams: 'For even if the text of a dream is in this way laboriously rescued from oblivion, it is easy enough to convince oneself that nothing thereby has been achieved for the patient. Associations will not come to the text, and the result is the same as if the dream had not been preserved.' 'The Handling of Dream-Interpretation in Psychoanalysis'(1912), *The Standard Edition* Vol. XII, p.96.

[59] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 1999) p.90. Further references in text.

[60] Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (London: Picador, 1997) p.11. Showalter points out that 'to see hysteria as a form of silencing makes clinical and historical sense', p.87.

[61] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.141. Further references in text.

compromise within herself: her desire for collaboration with Freud and her willingness to carry the torch of psychoanalysis may have been dismissed, but she would continue spectatorial engagement with him, watching and reviewing the unfolding of her dreams and fantasies. Attuning herself to Freud's *façon de parler* and resisting his attempts to silence her, she recognises that the point where she can retain control is in the choosing of what to tell or not tell:

> Here is the catch. It is easy enough to discard out-moded fashions. The critical faculty can guide and direct us but it is not easy to be critical and at the same time recapture the flame that glowed with unreserved abandon.
> The glow returns in the dream. I am happy reviewing my dreams and making notes of them…I say, 'Nothing I remember matters now except in relation to my telling it or not telling it to Freud.' (151)

Embedded within *Tribute to Freud* are H.D.'s strategies of resistance that attempt to regain control of her critical voice, her 'talking' in Freud's 'mechanism of the cure'. H.D.'s continued reflection on the cinematic text of her memory, her struggle for authorship and creative intervention, is illustrated in a curious but central passage where H.D. recalls her earlier speculations about the inspiration for Freud's groundbreaking theories of hysteria and her suspicions about his claim to scientific objectivity. Here H.D. returns Freud's diagnostic gaze to speculatively re-dramatise the origin of psychoanalysis:

> I wanted to know at what exact moment, and in what manner, there came that flash of inspiration, that thing that clicked, that sounded, that shouted in the inner Freud mind, heart, or soul, *this is it*.
>
> But things don't happen like that. Or do they? At least we are free to wonder. We ourselves are free to imagine, to reconstruct, to *see* even, as in a play or film, those characters, in their precise setting, the Paris of the period, 1885. Dr Charcot was concerned with hysteria and neurotics this side of the border-line. That border-line, it is true, was of necessity but vaguely indicated; there were hysterics, neurotics on this side and the actual insane on the other but there was a wide gap, for all that, an unexplored waste-land, a no-man's-land between them. (77)

The passage goes on to re-enact Freud's processes of thought when confronted by the visual expression of hysteria in the symptoms of patients at Charcot's asylum at Salpêtrière, and illustrates H.D.'s technique of projecting memory in her delayed analysis. The 'flash of inspiration, the thing that clicked' is mobilised as both the flashback, the involuntary tracing of a specific episode in memory, and the 'flash', the mechanics of visual technology. Significantly, this flash is accompanied by an acoustic

dimension. In H.D.'s formulation, inspiration 'sounded' for Freud and was thus distinguishable from Charcot's early imbrication of psychoanalysis and the technologies of vision which had a substantial impact on the development of modern aesthetic expression in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Surrealists, most notably, claimed that hysteria was 'the greatest poetic discovery of the end of the nineteenth century' and circulated photographs of Charcot's hysterics, such as the one reproduced below, in their journal *La Revolution Surréaliste* as inspiration for their aesthetic strategy of convulsive beauty.[62]

Fig. 14: photograph from Charcot's Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière (1876-80) reproduced in La Revolution Surréaliste (1928)

The shared origins of psychoanalysis and technologies of vision can be traced in Charcot's *Iconographie de Salpêtrière,* a project which Freud himself went on to review in his obituary to the great neurologist.[63] This enormous photographic collection was the culmination of Charcot's drive to categorise and label hysteria, a pathology which was considered peculiarly mobile and unstable. Charcot had reasoned,

> Everyone knows that it is a common thing, particularly in cases of hysteria, for patients to lie, sometimes for no reason, simply out of a kind of devotion to art for

[62] Louis Aragon and André Breton, 'Le Cinquantenaire de l'hystéric', *La Revolution Surréaliste* (15 March 1928) p.22.
[63] Sigmund Freud, 'The Origin and Development of Psycho-analysis', *The Standard Edition* Vol.II: 362-365.

art's sake, at other times to create a sensation, elicit pity etc. This is a phenomenon that we encounter at every turn when observing this neurosis.[64]

Hysteria was therefore a pathology that was explicitly associated with deception, histrionics and imitation, an association that Charcot exploited with his theatrical public presentation of his patients to the medical and artistic community during his notorious *Leçons du Mardi* in the hospital ampitheatre.[65] Charcot thought that photographing his hysterical patients resulted in a trustworthy documentation of their symptoms. He believed that an inherent veracity was to be found in these technologically produced images as distinct from the 'incessant babbling' of the hysterics' '*délire de paroles*'.[66] The clinic's photographic studio collected, narrated and documented its research subjects using the new technologies that would influence the development of cinema, such as chronophotography, to archive the hysterical patients as 'stars' of a living pathological theatre of sexual acts,

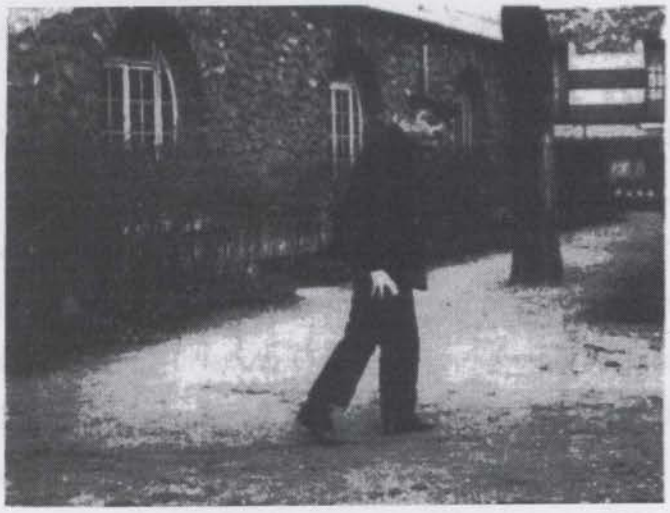


Fig. 15: film still from *Hôpital Salpêtrière* (1910-12)

pantomimes and tableaux. Hysteria quickly became a pervasive aesthetic inspiration at the end of the nineteenth century, as is peculiarly evident in early cinema's emphasis on movement, sensation, visual pathologies and the unconscious.[67] Rae Beth Gordon

---

[64] Jean-Marie Charcot, *Nouvelle Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (Paris, 1889) Vol. III, p.17.

[65] These teaching sessions were upgraded with floodlights that illuminated the stage and intensified the drama of the patient's presentation of their symptoms. Charcot also costumed his patients: for example, those with tremors wore hats covered with trembling ostrich feathers to theatrically exaggerate their symptoms. See Rhona Justice-Malloy, 'Charcot and the Theatre of Hysteria', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28.4 (1995) pp.133-38 and Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p.379.

[66] Jean-Marie Charcot, *Nouvelle Iconographie photographique*, Vol. II, p.148.

[67] Tom Gunning draws attention to the link between the photographs of grimaces in Charcot's *Iconographie* and the grimaces in early cinema. See Tom Gunning, 'In Your Face: Physiognomy, Photography and the Gnostic Mission of Early Film', *Modernism/Modernity* 4 (Jan. 1997) 1-29.

identifies the relationship between early cinema and the corporeal pathologies related to hysteria in the way that they similarly staged movement in contractures, tics, catalepsy and convulsive motion.[68] She compares Charlie Chaplin's gait to that of the psychiatric patients filmed at the Salpêtrière between 1910-1912 and, by so doing, draws attention to the overlap between the performance codes of film and pathology as they were read and transmitted to the modern spectator.

There was something inherently cinematic about the woman hysteric in particular. Elaine Showalter refers to Cixous and Clement's findings that the invention of cinema in the 1890s was significant as it occurred at the same time that the hysterical woman became a cultural icon.[69] They see the ' insitutionalisation of hysteria' in the 'expressive, expressionistic women of the silent films, their mouths open wide in unformulated cries which florid subtitles repeat.'[70] H.D. invokes this cinematic quality of the hysteric in the pivotal passage from *Tribute to Freud* that I quoted a few pages earlier, when she calls the reader to not just imagine the origins of psychoanalysis but to '*see*', as in a film. Further, she invokes a link between psychoanalysis, film and the silenced woman with her embedded reference to the film *Borderline*, where a central character, the 'white demented' Astrid, 'whose intemperate fury has lashed her almost to dementia', is played by H.D. as 'seething with mental turmoil and psychic discord'.[71] Astrid's histrionic posing draped in a large white silk shawl is, in its turn, strikingly evocative of the often reproduced photographic images of the sheet-draped performatives of the hysteric subject within Charcot's *Iconographie*. While the film *Borderline* enacts a modernism on the margins — to borrow Susan Stanford Freidman's phrase[72] — H.D. stresses that Astrid 'is the woman of the drama, of the screen': she 'is borderline'(221). H.D. here clearly anticipates her reading in *Tribute to Freud* of the cinematic 'border-lines' that mark out her speculations about the origins of Freud's psychoanalysis.

---

[68] Rae Beth Gordon, 'From Charcot to Charlot: Unconscious Imitation and Spectatorship in French Cabaret and Early Cinema', *Critical Inquiry* 27 (Spring 2001) 515-549, p.516.
[69] Elaine Showalter, *Hystories*, p.109.
[70] Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clement, *The Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975) p.13.
[71] H.D., 'The Borderline Essay' (1930) reproduced in *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) 221-236, p.233.
[72] Susan Stanford Friedman, 'H.D.', *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990) p. 89.

H.D.'s hysterical convulsion in *Borderline* occurs in a pivotal scene that significantly showcases the experimental clatter montage sequences for which the film had been praised, a scene reproduced in film stills and discussed in the previous chapter. The montage that

Fig.16: H.D.'s hysterical scene in *Borderline* (1930)

constructs this scene is evidently an attempt to portray the febrile, disjunctive quality of Astrid's memory. After a rapid montage of images that seem to play out the associative patterns of her mind, Astrid collapses on the floor in a convulsive fit, eyes open and unseeing in an uncanny previewing of her death. She then snaps back to life and appears to review the episode before her fit in a fragmentary sequence which again uses montage. While the montage here seems to re-enact the hysterical syndrome, the chronology of this scene suggests that it was in fact the clatter montage that acted as a trigger by slyly suggesting that the site of neurosis resides inside the cinematic apparatus. H.D. uses the term 'flash' to emphasise the tension in the film text, the hysterical repetition which occurs without conscious control: 'there is no actual acute moment of crisis in a series of lightning like "flashes" where each, from the moment of Astrid's frenzied entrance... is equally in crisis'.[73]

Earlier, Charcot's patients acquired symptoms that related back to the technologies used in their 'cure', in what was diagnosed as hysterical conversion. For example, a young seamstress named Hortense J. in the *Iconographie* suffered from photophobia, a rare hypersensitivity to light experienced in one eye accompanied by a paralysis of the muscles

[73] H.D., 'The Borderline Essay' (1930), p.234.

of the corresponding eyelid. The more famous Augustine, whose Lolita-like image is reproduced above in Figure 14, developed similar symptoms, suffering from tunnel vision and periodic loss of visual colour differentiation. Ulrich Baer argues that these symptoms did not simply allegorise the process of photography, but more directly the photographic apparatus itself, with Hortense's squint mimicking the single lens of the camera or cameraman.[74] Such a direct imitation by the hysterical patient would correspond to an understanding of the body in relation to the camera confronting and capturing her. This understanding is picked up by H.D. in the 'Borderline Essay' when she describes her director and lover, Kenneth Macpherson in inhuman mechanistic terms; he is 'a hard-boiled mechanic, as if he himself were all camera, bone and sinew and steel-glint of rapacious grey eyes'.[75] This, in turn, would seem to evoke Freud's claim for a machine-like phonographic exactness, where the talking cure animated an acoustic dimension that follows Charcot's famous statement of objectivity, 'but in truth, I am absolutely nothing but a photographer: I inscribe what I see'.[76]

However, the focus of the machine-like director or analyst on the visual distracts attention from the suppressed acoustic dimension that H.D. audits in the origins of psychoanalysis; the 'the flash of inspiration, that thing that clicked, that sounded, that shouted'.[77] Didi-Huberman points out that the 'scopic drive' of Charcot, evident in the extensive photographic project of the *Iconographie,* silences the hysterics' '*cri*' as they protested or participated in their own treatment.[78] The photographic images also ignores the acoustic experiments and techniques, such as sudden noises from gongs or tuning forks to trigger convulsions or hysterical conversions, that were often used by doctors working with Charcot at Salpêtrière. Tellingly enough, one of these doctors was Gilles de Tourette, eponymous father of the syndrome involving inappropriate and uncontrolled utterance. Notably, the convulsive fit experienced by Astrid in *Borderline* comes immediately after a scene where she plays a gramophone record, suggesting just such an acoustic trigger to her pathology. This is not such a leap: H.D.'s earlier Pool film *Wing Beat* (1927) explores the effect of aural irritations on processes of thought, with a surviving fragment of the silent

---

[74] Ulrich Baer, 'Photography and Hysteria: Toward a Poetics of the Flash', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*,7.1 (1994) 41-77, p.67.
[75] H.D., 'The Borderline Essay' (1930) p.226.
[76] Jean-Marie Charcot, *L'Hystérie Féminine*, quoted in *L'Hystérie: Textes Choisis*, ed. E.Trillat (Toulouse: Privat, 1971) p.121.
[77] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.77.
[78] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of Salpêtrière*, trans. Alisa Hartz (Cambridge Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 2003) p.14.

film showing a sequence of three shots in cumulative superimposition: Macpherson reading a book (rather heavy-handedly titled 'Talking Book'); a young man frenetically dancing a jitterbug; and a close-up of a spinning phonograph disk. Superimposed, these shots render in visual terms Macpherson's increasing irritation with the disturbances of the musics' volume.[79]

While H.D.'s 'Borderline Essay' reflects the experimental montage technique of the film with repeated references to flashes and flickers, it also draws attention to her own silenced voice. At the first screenings of *Borderline* in 1930, the *Close Up* group distributed a short synopsis of the storyline, calling it the film's 'Libretto', a term which suggests that the film was intended to appear in part as a visual though silent operatic performance.[80] H.D.'s longer manifesto, the 'Borderline Essay', published anonymously in the same year the film was first screened, works as a soundtrack to the film, as the articulation of both a critical vision and a textually ambitious haunting that inevitably leads to questions about which is the 'original', the film or the review essay that makes sense of it? The tension between the cinematic experience and the literary mode of production is curiously disturbing, given the tension between the narrative of the film and the narrative of the review. H.D.'s essay effectively competes with Macpherson's defensive editorial comment, printed in *Close Up* after the first unsuccessful screenings. While H.D. writes that 'the film as Macpherson directs it, seems almost just some process of "remembering"'(233), it is actually she who remembers *Borderline*. By remembering and rewriting the *mise en scène* of the film's production, she is effectively transposing her authorship onto its images. Once subject to the clinical eye of the director, H.D. now takes on the analytic project in her cinematic writing, and revises her neurotic image by displacing the notion of the film 'auteur'. In review, she re-enacts her earlier seduction by the cinematic apparatus, with an overly passionate celebration of her director and lover. However, when she asks of potential critics 'have any of you writers invented personal secret script, written mind and soul secrets in that?' (225), she is not only drawing attention to the scene of writing, but hinting at her own silenced authorial voice.

---

[79] For more on *Wing Beat*, see Anne Friedberg, 'Introduction: Borderline and the Pool Films', *Close Up 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, p.212.

[80] The 'Libretto' was distributed with the printed program given out during the screening of *Borderline*, and is reproduced in Anne Friedberg's *Writing About Cinema: Close Up 1927-1933*, p.150.

Fig. 17: film still of H.D's scream in *Borderline* (1930)

H.D.'s voice in this essay then becomes integral to the silent film's soundtrack, a delayed voice printed in the original film's absence. Reminders of *Borderline's* status as a silent film at the moment of crisis with the introduction of sound to cinema are embedded in both the film and the essay that accompanies it. They both juxtapose the visual 'flash' with the absent 'click' that sounds, as in H.D.'s formula in *Tribute to Freud*, as a key to interpretation. Like other silent films, *Borderline* incorporates into its rhetoric the advent and presence of sound, with allusions to the aural visible in the image-field. For instance, that the film opens with telephones ringing and the intertitle 'Pete? It's Astrid on the phone' stresses the film's silence, while reminding viewers of the increasing availability of acoustic technologies.[81] While intertitles in silent film were originally intended to be agents of oral language, they were increasingly used as elements of rhythm and syncopation that punctuate the continuity of a particular film's image track. Spectators were decreasingly dependent on them for understanding meaning, as they became more adept at interpretive strategies such as lip-reading. According to Tom Conley, intertitles were most effective as they 'reminded viewers then — and they continue to remind us — that speech *was not there*'.[82] There is a visible network of repetitions in *Borderline* beyond these intertitles, as it is littered with objects of psychoanalytic import (bubbling coffee percolators, daggers, stuffed birds, spilt goldfish, exploding bottles) and texts within texts (playing cards, film

[81] Roland Cosandey points out that of there are 26 intertitles in *Borderline*, and of those, 23 were of direct dialogue. See 'Autour de Borderline', *Les Cahiers de la cinemathèque*, 49 (1988) 51-65, p.54.

[82] Tom Conley, 'The Talkie: Early Cinematic Conversation', *Talk Talk Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamensky (New York and London: Routledge, 2003) p.85 (his italics).

stills, photographs). The linguistic texture of the film is reinforced by these repetitions, which are open to interpretation by the spectator skilled in psychoanalysis and the language of silent cinema.

In *Borderline,* a silent film at the cusp of the technological divide between silent and sound, there is a tension between looking and the refused possibilities of hearing and speaking in the 'talkies'. This tension is self-consciously evident in a particular visual cue: the three-monkeys knick-knack hanging from a wall in Astrid's room, captured in the film still reproduced in Figure 18 below. The head scratching of Bryher's character on entering this room reinforces the 'key' meaning this knick-knack holds for the film, and sends the

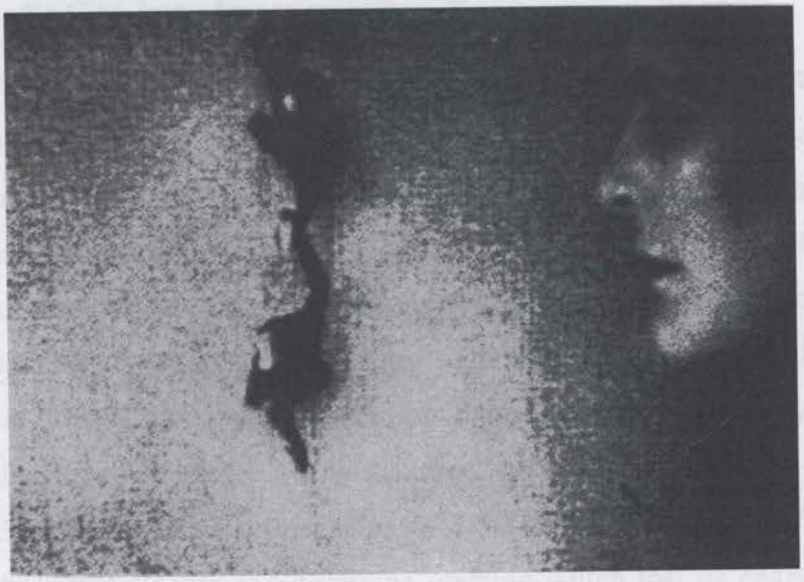


Fig.18: three monkeys wall-hanging from *Borderline* (1930)

spectator searching for more cues of not looking, not speaking or not hearing. The 'noisiness' or deliberate confusion of *Borderline* comes from this kind of insistence on a creative intervention by the critical spectator. Misreadings are therefore deliberately inscribed into the film. For instance, the credits list Astrid as played not by H.D. but by 'Helga Doorne', while her character's unfaithful lover is billed as 'her husband', in contradiction to the explanation of a looser relationship given in the accompanying essay; presumably this was a political strategy to get the sexually transgressive film past the increasingly conservative British censors. Cumulatively, *Borderline*'s silencing, elisions and imperfections highlight its struggle to negotiate the crisis provoked in cinema by the introduction of sound technologies. These are further complicated by the struggle for

authorial voice between the film's direction and the essay that was to make sense of it and which acts as the film's textual soundtrack.

In search of a wider audience, H.D., was eventually persuaded by the recording potential of acoustic media, despite her earlier insistence on silent visual technologies. By the 1930s, advances in sound technologies made it possible for a single voice to be heard by an international audience, a quality that Ezra Pound exploited with his fascist radio broadcasts during World War II.[83] H.D. first appreciated radio's potential to access an immediate and global audience for her work when, on a visit to New York in 1937, she was called to the telephone. She recounted to Norman Holmes Pearson in a letter:

> 'Your islands were on the air,' I was informed, 'and read beautifully.' 'Where?' I asked. 'Radio City, just a few minutes ago.'[84]

Later, in 1955, H.D. recorded portions of one of her works-in-progress at a studio in Zurich, and reflects on this event as a disconcerting yet stimulating experience, 'instead of confiding my tale, my song, my saga, confidentially to the few...I seemed to be lecturing a multitude'.[85] The epic narrative poem she chose to record, *Helen in Egypt,* has received scholarly attention for its deployment of hieroglyphs, which are characteristically used by H.D. to evoke the seductive capacity of images to destabilise and multiply both identity and interpretation. Elizabeth Hirsh has pointed out that the very term 'hieroglyph' inscribes an uncertainty about its own nature, for this picture writing is associated as much with a script of 'silent,' purely decorative images as with the art of interpretation.[86] Noting that H.D. regarded the silent cinema as a feminine medium which lost its character when it began to 'talk', Hirsh argues that H.D.'s hieroglyphic texts reinterpret the image in the light of psychoanalysis. *Helen in Egypt*, then, acts as a mode of hermeneutic veiling which restores the centrality of reading, simultaneously suggesting 'a decorative or "silent" picture writing that prefers pleasurable illusion of a feminine presence over the desire for knowledge'(447).

---

[83] For more on Pound's broadcasts, see Daniel Tiffany, *Radio Corpse: Imagism and the Cryptoaesthetic of Ezra Pound* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[84] Letter from H.D. to Norman Holmes Pearson (12 December 1937), Beinecke Library, Yale University, YCALmss24 Box 13 Folders 451. The broadcast poem was 'The Islands' (1921), H.D.'s *Collected Poems 1912-1944*, ed. Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1983) 124-128.

[85] Letter from H.D. to Norman Holmes Pearson (3 February 1955), Beineck Library, Yale University, YCALmss24 Box 13 Folders 451.

[86] Elisabeth Hirsh, 'Imaginary Images', *Signets: Reading H.D.*, eds. Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990) p.447. Further references in text.

Helen in Egypt is most remarkable for its uncharacteristic stress of sound over the image, for its acoustic track. Indeed, as Adalaide Morris points out, H.D.'s studio recording of several sections of *Helen in Egypt* quite significantly altered the course of composition of the poem. Morris notes that the recording process itself, with its auditing of technological possibilities, influenced H.D. to insert prefaces to each section of the epic poem. Thus the last stage of taping in the studios functions as a kind of voice-over, with the addition of head-notes acting as a guide through the mix of the sounds to come.[87] The recording of the poem opens with a meditation on the theme of disembodied presences that, like voices on the air, 'are not shadows', while the written Helen says 'I hear their voices'.[88] As the mythic characters in both recorded and published versions of the poem uncannily haunt each other, the epic takes its form as a kind of Eisensteinian montage for the ear: an acoustical collage with a blending and overlapping of sounds and voices. With *Helen in Egypt* H.D. seems to be directly attempting what the sound theorist Gregory Whitehead would more recently claim for the broadcast text: 'it challenges the audience to cross and recross the obscure boundaries that separate radio dreamland from radio ghostland, living from dead, utopia from oblivion'.[89]

While the influence of acoustic technologies on avant-garde poetics have begun to engage the attention of critics, Marjorie Perloff points out that 'we have yet to understand the interplay between lyric poetry, generally regarded as the most conservative, the most intransigent of the "high" arts, and the electronic media',[90] as represented by telephones, radios and tape recorders. Adalaide Morris pursues this, asking why sound is paid so little attention in the discussion of the modernist epic: she concludes that the shifting and insidious nature of sound means that critics find it easier to focus on a more stable set of visual analogues and antecedents.[91] She also finds that the brief resurgence of the epic poem by high modernists — most notably Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land,* and H.D.'s *Trilogies* and *Helen in Egypt* — is best understood in conjunction with contemporary acoustic technologies, and points out the recurring references to tapping

---

[87] Adalaide Morris, 'Sound Technologies and the Modernist Epic: H.D. on the Air' in *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies*, ed. Adalaide Morris (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press,1997)32-55, pp.45-6.

[88] There are quite significant differences to H.D.'s recording of *Helen in Egypt* in 1955 and the later published text of *Helen in Egypt* (Manchester: Carcenet Press, 1985) p.2. For more details, see Adalaide Morris.

[89] Gregory Whitehead, 'Out of the Dark: Notes on the Nobodies of Radio Art', *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, ed. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994) p.256.

[90] Marjorie Perloff, *Radical Artifice: Writing Poetry in the Age of Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) p.xii.

[91] Adalaide Morris,'Sound Technologies and the Modernist Epic', p.34. Further references in text.

into phone lines or trolling across radio stations. In *The Waste Land*, for instance, the soundbites from popular songs are montaged by Eliot as he samples the experience of modern life from overlapping perspectives:

> She smooths her hair with automatic hand
> and puts a record on the gramophone.[92]

Arguing that the 'waiver of orality in any text is what licenses its multiple overhearings', Garrett Stewart points out the forgotten 'verbal instress' peculiar to texts by modernists like H.D.[93] Modernist epic poems have an aural opulence that produces, according to Stewart, not just 'semantic excess' but 'somatic excess'.[94] Readers of the poems — an assumed silent audience — process sound somatically, as the act of reading sets in motion not just sight but also the organs of vocal production, such as the diaphragm, throat, mouth and tongue. Epic poets in this sense produce an articulatory stream of sound, a 'phonotext', which takes place in the body of the reader. Developing sound technologies further tune the ear of an audience that had learned to conceptualise poetry as a silent inner event: in Walter J. Ong's terms, a 'primary orality'.[95] For Ong, the insistently mediated and amplified sounds of telephones, radios, loudspeakers and tape recorders went on to create a new 'secondary orality' for the modern sophisticated acoustic audience. This secondary orality 'preserves much of the mind-set of primary orality'(11), but can never quite re-create preliterate conditions. Instead, the new acoustical technologies energised an insistent connection between the written and spoken word. H.D. plays with this tension between written and spoken word with her references to the 'silent script' of the hieroglyphs and the competition between recorded and printed texts of *Helen in Egypt*. In the written version Helen self-consciously asks,

> do you hear me? do I whisper?
> there is a voice within me
> listen – let it speak for me. (175)

Morris argues that the 'separation of hearing from seeing in H.D.'s epic is as startling and powerful as the separation of seeing from hearing in silent film'.[96] Such a dramatic sense

---

[92] T.S. Eliot, 'The Waste Land', *Collected Poems: 1909-1962* (London and Boston: Faber & Faber, 1963) p.67 and p.72.
[93] Garrett Stewart, 'Modernism's Sonic Waiver: Literary Writing and the Filmic Difference', *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies*, ed. Adalaide Morris (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) p.237.
[94] Garrett Stewart, *Reading Voices: Literature and the Phonotext* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) p.2. Further references in text.
[95] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982) p.11. Further references in text.
[96] Adalaide Morris,'Sound Technologies and the Modernist Epic', p.46.

alteration produces an eerie impact, which Morris reminds us led H.D. to prefer silent film to sound-film. Silent film's 'seeing', and radio's 'hearing', concentrate attention so that an audience is projected out of everyday perception and into a 'super-normal or sub-normal layer of consciousness'.[97] Concentration on one sense — eye or ear — has the potential to engage the more profound layer of the psyche receptive to myth, dream and the unconscious.

War is central to the 'recorded drama'(234) of *Helen in Egypt*, as is read and reviewed as a cultural proscription: 'the players have no choice in the matter of the already-written drama or script' (230). Helen performs as a wearily dutiful orator, with the narrative voice pointing out that her recounting of Greek history functions as a re-enactment of her own implication in its scenario of violence: 'So Helen remembers her part in the greatest drama of Greece and of all time. She seems almost to speak by rote, she has grown into her part. But she breaks off, as it were, from the recorded drama to remind us of the unrecorded' (234). This 'unrecorded' drama hides the secret, silenced events suppressed by the larger narrative of war, which H.D. goes on to amplify in her epic poem. Earlier, in *Tribute to Freud,* H.D. confesses the 'impossibility' of talking about the horrors of war, even as it impacted on her experience of analysis: on one occasion, she found swastikas chalked onto the pavement leading to Freud's house. She was aware, as an expatriate in an atmosphere marked by 'continued rumours',[98] of the soundtrack of the encroaching war. During her talking cure, however, where she was encouraged to speak out about her most pressing concerns, she writes, 'I have been leafing over papers in the café, there are fresh atrocities stories. I cannot talk about the thing that actually concerns me, I cannot talk to Sigmund Freud in Vienna, 1933, about Jewish atrocities in Berlin'(134-5). Hidden within *Tribute to Freud* is an ominous silence.

The recollection of conversations of her analysis, *Tribute to Freud* was written years later, as H.D. struggled to overcome her writer's block while she waited out the blitz in London. At one point in the memoir, the soundtrack of war triggers a memory of its past alarms. Aware of the increasingly urgent need to escape Vienna, Freud had mentioned the Nazis' dramatic burning of his books. H.D. recalls his saying:

---

[97] H.D., 'Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', p.23.
[98] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.134. Further references in text.

> 'At least, they have not burnt me at the stake.' Did the Professor say that of himself or did someone else say it of him? I think he himself said it. But it was a near miss...even literally ... and last night, here in London, there were the familiar siren-shrieks, the alerts, each followed by its even more ear-piercing and soul-shattering 'all-clear', which coming as a sort of aftermath or after-birth of the actual terror is more devastating. Released from the threat of actual danger, we have time to think about it. And the 'alerts' and the 'all-clears' are punctuated by sound of near or far explosions. (103)

The inherent violence and instability of the noise of war is stressed so that even the 'all-clears' are just as devastating as an actual bombing. H.D.'s anxieties about tapping into this threatening and uncontrollable acoustic dimension are not helped by Freud's occasional outbursts in the midst of the talking cure: 'he beat on my pillow or the head-piece of the old couch I lie on. He was annoyed with me.'(117). However, once she had started listening in, H.D. realised the impossibility of deafening herself again. In the unpublished manuscript 'Dream of a Book' she recounts the way she refused to block out the sounds of gun-fire, even though the government was distributing wax ear-plugs: 'one ear started to bleed, after one of the blitz nights, but even so, I could not bear to shut out sound'.[99] Finally she did use the plugs, but only because the noisy irritations of daily life prevented her from concentrating on writing:

> the people downstairs turn on the radio the radio-gram with a series of somewhat out of date American swing records. Their little dog yaps and they shout to one another through the rooms. Bee in the other bedroom.(1)

Blocking out these everyday noises with the plugs paradoxically gave her access to 'that soft *sound* of silence'(2) and thereby, to H.D.'s relief, unblocked her writing.

In another unpublished manuscript from this period, H.D. describes going to the cinema to distract herself from the realities of war-torn London. However, the sound-film she chose, *Escape* (1941), an anti-Nazi drama about concentration camps, became tangled in her recollection with the news-reel footage immediately preceding it: the subject was so 'familiar' that the 'news-reels become fictitious' and the daily dreadful reality became 'Hollywood horrors'.[100] Leaving the theatre, with her eyes still 'adjusted to the film sequence', H.D. was dumbfounded to 'walk into a film-set'(2). London was being bombed that night, but her perceptions had been realigned by her recent cinematic experience:

---

[99] H.D., 'Dream of a Book' (January 1941) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, YCALmm24 box 38 folder 489, 1-4, p.1. Further references in text.
[100] H.D., 'Escape' (January 1941) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, YCALmm24, box38 folder 991, 1-3, p.1.

> It is not just that the talk and laughter of people is a little different, against the background of soft snow and that the cab wheels are muffled in the snow; individual voices are clearer, more like sound-effects because the rumble of the traffic is softened. But there is another sound, real movie-sound, war-sound. It is as if the news-reel had got mixed up with the romance, that we were listening to sound-effects in another studio, not meant for us. Or are they meant for us? (2)

A group of fellow cinema-goers near the box-office of the theatre laugh, adding to the cinematic illusion of entertaining spectacle. The most disturbing part of this immediately dangerous and yet somehow remote experience is that 'this unreal scene has its very real sound going on'(2). As H.D. records, without further warning,

> here was this news-reel gun-fire going on so very near, above or in the thick blanket of snow, and the snow fell just the same; obviously a mistake was being made. 'Snow-fall' was being misread by some somewhat groggy stage-manager for 'gun-fire' (2-3).

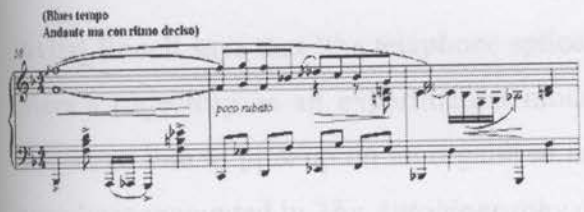
The 'dreadful' familiarity of war may have contaminated the entertainment to be found in the safe zone of the cinema, but the soundtrack also bleeds back into the street and muffles its urgent reality.

Sound and violence are similarly inextricably linked in *Tribute to Freud,* written as it was against the sirens and gun-fire of the blitz. While H.D. used the psychoanalytic talking cure as a training ground for her critical practice, borrowing from the techniques she learned as a film reviewer for *Close Up*, she later realised that the problems with the articulation of her own critical voice were unresolved by modernist technologies. She acknowledged the dangers of a competition between visual and aural in her ongoing dialogue with Freud: her final unanswered question 'are we dead?'[101] attempts a resolution to Freud's worrying and enigmatic statement, quoted at the epigraph to this chapter, that 'in analysis the person is dead after the analysis is over'. The talking cure opened up unresolvable questions for H.D., whose recollections of Freud were uneasy: 'The thought of him bashes against my forehead, like a death-head moth. No wonder I am frightened. I let death in at the window. If I do not let ice-thin window glass intellect protect my soul or my emotions, I let death in'(116-117). The violence of the soundtrack in which H.D. found herself embedded seems to amplify her earlier unease with the indeterminate and threatening spaces opened up by sound-film and the acoustic mechanisms of modernism.

---

[101] H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p.187. Further references in text.

4.

GERTRUDE STEIN TELEPHONES
'ANYTHING IS AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY BUT THIS WAS A CONVERSATION'

George Gershwin, *An American in Paris* (1928)

> I had to have a telephone put in first at twenty-seven rue de Fleurus and then here at Bilignin. I had always before that not had a telephone but now that I was going to be an author whose agent could place something I had of course to have a telephone.
> Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography* (1938)

'Language reflects', Peter Burke says in *The Art of Conversation*, an 'individual's place in society',[1] and a great deal is revealed about a particular group if attention is paid to who is talking, who is listening, and who responds. Gertrude Stein's ongoing conversation in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1932) and *Everybody's Autobiography* (1937) is a coordination of sounds, images and quotations from a cacophony of voices. This recorded conversation strategically places Stein in a dialogue first with an image-based avant-garde coterie, and then against the anticipated public reception and consumption of her 'genius'. She was in demand throughout her career for interviews and speaking engagements and this reflects the allure of Stein's testimony as an active avant-garde artist, with the promise of insider gossip. I will argue that Stein's eyewitness accounts effectively appropriate the medium of the 'talkie', the developing film genre in which words, detached from what they were said to designate, began to move across the field of the image.[2] Stein's everyday conversations with 'anybody' who is 'somebody' are amplified for the listening ear,

[1] Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993) p.23.
[2] See Tom Conley, 'The Talkie: Early Cinematic Conversations', in *Talk Talk Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamensky, (New York: Routledge, 2001) p.84.

articulating and avowing her celebrity in the public domain through the medium of mass communication while uneasily negotiating the troubling divide between public and private reception. A close study of Stein's fiction, poetry and lectures gives an intriguing perspective of the avant-garde experience of early media and mass culture, illuminating the ways in which the concept of the acoustic afterimage on the soundtrack of modernism was a source of inspiration for widely different forms of early twentieth-century literary praxis.

Avital Ronell says that 'the telephone splices a party line stretching through history',[3] and Stein's trajectory as an experimental modernist is marked by her appropriation of the telephone line to pick up on an organised network of celebrity and success. One of many anecdotes recounted in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* tells of an early unsuccessful public telephoning between Stein, Picasso, and his lover Fernande: communication between the Parisian avant-garde coterie customarily relied on the network of the salon, with its promiscuous exchange of insider gossip, word of mouth, hearsay and anecdote. The frustrating absence of the telephone in Stein's Paris reminded her of the expanding possibilities of an expatriate modernity:

> Just then there was a violent noise at the door of the cafe and Fernande appeared very large, very excited and very angry. Felix Potin [the caterer], said she, has not sent the dinner. Everybody seemed overcome at these awful tidings but I, in my american way said to Fernande, come quickly, let us telephone. In those days in Paris one did not telephone and never went to a provision store. But Fernande consented and off we went. Everywhere we went there was either no telephone or it was not working, finally we got one that worked but Felix Potin was closed or closing and it was deaf to our appeals.[4]

Eventually, both Stein's legendary salon at 27 rue de Fleurus and the house at Bilignin were modernised with telephones in the early 1930s, adding another media dimension to a world already criss-crossed with letters, telegrams and the exchange of photographs. Mark Gobel points out that the telephone in this period represents a system of communication that reflects a larger network of exchange, making each transmission a commercialisation of mediated language.[5] For Gobel, then, the telephone is a symbolic technology in several senses: 'it is not only a means of communication but also a metonymic figure for deeper historical and economic remakings of Stein's world'(119). In *The Autobiography of Alice*

---

[3] Avital Ronell, *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989) p.219.
[4] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, (London and New York: Penguin, 1966) p.114.
[5] Mark Gobel, 'Cameo Appearances; or, When Gertrude Stein Checks Into Grand Hotel', *Modern Language Quarterly* 62.2 (June 2001) 117-164, p.117. Further references in text.

B. Toklas the ventriloquised narrator describes efforts to publish and promote Stein's writing: 'I believed in the larger public. Gertrude Stein too believes in a larger public but the way has always been barred'(270). The avant-garde coterie, with its complex of little magazines, journals, editing groups, patronage and literary salons, was no longer enough to contain Stein, whose world was opened up by the communicative possibilities that arrived with the publication and reception of her bestseller. And indeed, with the acclamation and serialisation of *The Autobiography,* the telephones start ringing off the hook. At the outset of *Everybody's Autobiography*, which self-promotes Stein as an avant-garde media magnet, the telephone is offered as a particularly telling apparatus of her new celebrity.[6] Installing a telephone primarily to keep in contact with her new agent, Stein recalls:

> And so Mr Bradley telephoned every morning and they gradually decided about everything and slowly everything changed inside me. Yes of course it did, because suddenly it was all different, what I did had a value that made people ready to pay, up to that time everything I did had a value because no body was ready to pay. It is funny about money. And it is funny about identity. You are you because your little dog knows you, but when your public knows you and does not want to pay for you, and when your public knows you and does want to pay for you, you are not the same you.[7]

The economy of fame was to become one of Stein's primary concerns, with much of her subsequent writing reflecting the struggle to maintain equilibrium between the 'modern' identity constructed in her own work and given authority by her place among the Parisian avant-garde, and the marketing of that identity through the publicity machine of modernism. Value-added through her experience in the public domain, Stein returns from her acclaimed lecture tour in America and immediately picks up the phone:

> When we came back and with everything that has happened in between we are here now, the first thing I did was to telephone to Pablo Picasso and tell him what I had done. (1)

Picasso, now on call himself with a newly installed line, says 'I want to hear it', and so the recounting of Stein's trajectory into the spotlight begins.

---

[6] Mark Gobel argues that the ringing telephone places Stein in closer communication with Hollywood cinema than to any other cultural discourse of the period. He points out that the telephone was an essential emblem of class status and modernity, as is reflected in the role of the telephone in modernist Hollywood set design. See 'Cameo Appearances', p.163n20. See also Gobel's *Beautiful Circuits: The Mediated Life in America, 1900-1940* unpublished PhD thesis (Stanford University, 2002) for an expanded reading of Stein's mediated celebrity through the trope of cameo appearances.

[7] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography* (London: Virago, 1937) p.32. Further references in text.

Fig. 19: Alice B. Toklas and Gertrude Stein in the spotlight for Man Ray (1933)

Everybody's Autobiography continues the anecdotal style popularised by *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. Stein may have been famous for her impenetrable and elliptic writing style, but her more chatty conversational accounts of an avant-garde lifestyle struck a chord with her reading public. In *The Autobiography,* Stein described the interactions amongst an impressive mix of French and expatriate personalities – authors, artists and filmmakers – who met, exchanged ideas, were inspired and squabbled. Stein's unauthorised communication of this dialogue to the American public takes the form not of a recounting or a report, but an immediate conversation about them and their ongoing 'everyday' habits and experiences. That it was based on gossip, hearsay and reported conversations is evident in the way it was quickly countered by the 'Testimony Against Gertrude Stein'.[8] This written repudiation of Stein's success was a response by a group of disgruntled avant-gardists featured in *The Autobiography* to her perceived claim to have 'invented' avant-garde movements such as Cubism. Taking offence at what they saw as Stein's egregious misquoting and misattribution, the writers of the 'Testimony' endeavoured to make corrections about who, in the 'real' French avant-garde, painted, said or wrote what and accused her of self-marketing in an attempted to redress the balance by

[8] 'Testimony against Gertrude Stein' by Georges Braque, Eugene Jolas, Maria Jolas, Henri Matisse, André Salmon and Tristan Tzara, *transition* (February 1935 supplement) 1-14.

reclaiming their own autonomy and 'historical authenticity'(2). The list of grievances and petty corrections serves in many ways to highlight Stein's active involvement in the avant-garde and to amplify her success (the text they were responding to was a French translation of her bestseller, but they had heard all the buzz that followed its enthusiastic reception). Further, their response turned the tables on them, as they did not quite 'get' the autobiography's central joke about its auto/biographer and thus did not appreciate its avant-gardist edge.[9] Matisse, reprimanding the author for misrepresenting him and his paintings, wrote that 'If Miss Toklas had spoken of Gertrude Stein's life with the same *sans gêne* and irresponsibility that she did the lives of others, her book might have been by its sincerity, a very interesting human document and probably as picturesque as their own two personal identities'(7). Tzara takes this further to rail against the inauthentic construction of *The Autobiography*, whose fame-hungry authors, as he sees it, 'tell of the infinite pain they took to lure [us] to their house, where their collection of canvases constituted an irresistible bait'(15).

Fig. 20: Stein's telephone at rue Christine (1937)

[9] Stein's pleasure in those who did appreciate her sense of humour is evident in her hoarding of fan letters, such as the one that gushed 'You're Autobiography...was fun! Thanks for the experience and for all the gossip about the other artists too.' Found in the Gertrude Stein Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, YCAL mss76, box 105, folder 2091.

Tzara goes on,

> Far be it from me to throw any doubt upon the fact that Miss Stein is a genius... We have seen plenty of those. Nor that Miss Toklas is convinced of it. To tell the truth, all this would have no importance if it took place in the family circle between two maiden ladies greedy for fame and publicity. But the immense apparatus which has been put in motion in order to arrive at this by which the aforementioned maiden ladies thought they had the right to quote names and tales indiscriminately, thus accounting for the fact that, among others, my name is associated with what they so candidly call their memoirs. (15-16)

It apparently came as a shock to the French avant-gardists that the intimate conversations, hearsay, innuendo and insider gossip of the salon had been exposed by the 'apparatus' of Stein's text which opened up a party line direct to an avid American public.

While Stein's oeuvre has most recently been explored by critics for its insight into a purely visual modernity,[10] this chapter examines how exposure to and appropriation of the modern acoustic technology of the telephone opened up an indeterminate space in Stein's work, which was to be further complicated by the talkies' asynchronous coordination of sounds and images that disquietingly connect 'inside' and 'outside'. A famously indefatigable 'talker' herself, Stein's interest in the aural is evident in her repeated reflections on seeing, talking and listening. It should not be forgotten that Stein's unexpected 1933 success in America was due as much to the unexpectedly popular reception of her opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* as to the bestseller status of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Tolkas*. Reviews of the première of *Four Saints* were excited and confused: an article in a medical journal suggested that Stein was the victim of palilalia (a form of speech disorder in which a patient frequently repeats a word, a phrase, or a sentence which he has just spoken) while the music critic Lawrence Gilman reportedly remarked that a PhD thesis or a wine list would have made just as good a libretto.[11] In her American lecture 'Portraits and Repetition'(1935), Stein recalls her earlier *Tender Buttons* (1914), when she 'began to wonder...just what one saw when one looked at anything really looked at anything. Did one see sound, and what was the relation between colour and sound, did it make itself by description by a word that meant it or did it make itself by a word in itself.'[12] She

---

[10] For an account of the influence of silent cinema on Stein's visual modernity, see Julian Murphet, 'Gertrude Stein's Machinery of Perception', *Literature and Visual Technologies: Writing After Cinema*, eds. Julian Murphet and Lydia Rainford (Hampshire and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 67-81; Susan McCabe, '"A Delight in Dislocation": The Cinematic Modernism of Stein, Chaplin and Man Ray', *Modernism/ Modernity* 8.3 (2001) 429-53; and Jean Gallagher, *World Wars Through the Female Gaze* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998).

[11] Quoted in John Malcolm Brinnin, *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and Her World* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1987) p.326.

[12] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition', *Lectures in America* (London: Virago, 1988) p.191.

elaborates, 'I began consciously to listen to what anybody was saying and what they did say while they were saying what they were saying' (169). Stein's interest in the mechanics of conversation, a dialogue increasingly mediated by acoustic technologies like the telephone, is evident throughout her early work. For instance, in her 'Ladies Voices' (1916) the sound of voices turn and twist as 'abstractions of the audible aspects of experience',[13] while 'Studies in Conversation' (1927) begins with a musical dialogue as exact as piano scales being practiced to a metronome. By the time she arrived in New York for her lecture tour of 1934-5, Stein's predilection for talking was well known. However, Toklas recounts that while newspaper reporters swarmed around, demanding interviews (including a ship-to-shore radio interview and a newsreel film), Stein responded to the question of whether she had returned in order to instruct America, by saying 'Never, no, I have come to see and hear as well as to talk'.[14] She evidently wanted to be more than just a talking head in a one-way dialogue with her avid public.

Stein's interest in this period was with the construction of 'identity' through seeing, listening and talking, and how it was dispersed through the mechanisms of success, which took the form of public telephoning, solicitation for newspaper interviews, recordings of lectures, and appearances in silent and sound films. While I go on in the next chapter to explore Stein's refinement of her distracted listening and hearing practices with radio broadcasts, the question I wish to ask in this chapter is, why does Stein persistently disavow her cinematic debt in her lectures during her American tour? She says, for example, 'I of course did not think of it in terms of cinema in fact I doubt whether at that time I had even seen a cinema'.[15] This disavowal is curious. Despite repeatedly denying in her American lectures that she had ever 'seen a cinema', there are many signs throughout Gertrude Stein's work that indicate she understood her experimental literary practice to be integrally related to film. The appropriation of the cinematic avant-garde into her writing is evident in the parallel investigations into the effect of mechanical reproduction on perception, the possibility of representing reality, and the shared concern about an increasingly mechanised society. But more to the point, Stein actually appeared in

[13] Robert Haas, *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein* (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1973) p.63.
[14] Alice B. Toklas *What is Remembered* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963) quoted in *Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder* ed. Edward Burns and Ulla E. Dydo (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996) p. 338.
[15] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition' p.177. Further references in text.

at least four films: a silent home movie made by her brother Julian Stein in 1927;[16] another showing her walking her two dogs with Alice in the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris;[17] the third, a sound newsreel on arriving in New York for her lecture tour in 1934,[18] for which she prepared a short script;[19] and finally a U.S. Army sound documentary made at the end of World War II.[20] At least some of Stein's theoretical discussion about writing is based on the disjunction occasioned by sound-film. As she herself stresses,

> I cannot repeat this too often, any one of us is of one's period and this our period was undoubtedly the period of the cinema and series production. And each of us in our own way are bound to express what the world in which we are living is doing.[21]

Stein had produced a number of short poems and plays whose modernity was expressed through visual technologies before the success that followed *The Autobiography*. At least two of these were screenplays explicitly written for film: *A Movie* (1920) and *Film: Deux soeurs qui ne sont pas soeurs* (1929). Although neither script made it to the screen, the second was quickly published as a music score by Virgil Thomson in 1930. These screenplays demonstrate Stein's early awareness of and interest in cinema while also revealing that she was knowledgeable about different film forms, from the French avant-garde developments to early silent slapstick. As Beth Hutchinson points out,

> Reflecting the ten years between them, Stein's scenarios differ from each other in technique, use of space, plot, temporal structure and exploitation of the nature of film...*Movie* presents a story of spying and heroism in World War I, complete with a car chase, a parade under the Arc de Triomphe, and a partnership between an American painter and his French domestic servant. *Film* is a meditation on appearance and difference, reality and photography that is ultimately a philosophical examination of the nature of film itself.[22]

Anticipating Walter Benjamin's assertion that the innovation of 'mechanical reproduction' had profoundly changed the modern visual work of art,[23] Stein believed that the cinema, with its inherent repetition, continuous present and reproductive ability, would transform writing and thinking, and potentially reshape the cultural landscape of the early twentieth

---

[16] Silent home movie (c1927) dir. Julian Stein, with Stein and Alice B. Toklas at the Hotel Pernollet in Belley, France.
[17] Silent film footage of Stein dog-walking in Paris (circa1927-9) in *Paris Was a Woman* (1996) dir. Greta Schiller and Andre Weiss, (Zeitgeist Studios: San Francisco, 1996).
[18] *Pathé Newsreel (*1934) with Gertrude Stein in an interview about her upcoming lecture tour, reading an extract from *Four Saints*, 'Pigeons on the Grass Alas'.
[19] Gertrude Stein, 'Pathé 1934' (1934) reproduced in *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder*, ed. Edward Burns and Ulla E. Dydo (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996) 351-353.
[20] *A G.I. Sees Paris* (1945) dir. Norman Rockwell, U.S Army Information and Education Film.
[21] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition', p.177. Further references in text.
[22] Beth Hutchinson, 'Gertrude Stein's Film Scenarios', *Literature/Film Quarterly* 17.1 (1989) p.35.
[23] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936) *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Fontana, 1973) 211-244.

century. She shared this interest with other avant-garde artists such as Laszlo Maholy-Nagy, who affirmed in *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925) that, 'Repetition as a space-time organisational motif...could be achieved only by means of the technical, industrialised system or reproduction characteristic of our time'.[24] Photographs and doublings are often repeated in Stein's screenplay *Film: Deux soeurs qui ne sont pas soeurs*: two washerwomen, two women in a car, two poodles in the photograph, two appearances of the photograph, two sequences with a young woman and man, two parcels, and one live dog (an apparent duplicate of Stein's poodle Basket[25]). However, as the screenplay itself indicates, the live dog on film is scarcely different from the photograph of the dog on film, as both are copies, despite the illusion of reality and movement created by the 'live' dog in the script. As Stein would later write in her lecture 'Plays', 'there is yet the trouble with the cinema that is after all a photograph and a photograph continues to be a photograph and yet it can become something else. Perhaps it can be but that is a whole other question. If it can then some one will have to feel that about it'.[26]

I further suggest that Stein deliberately explores the expanding possibilities of sound in modernity and series productions by releasing this screenplay into the hands of Virgil Thompson, later celebrated as the composer and musical director of Stein's opera *Four Saints in Three Acts*, and responsible, in large part, for the acclamation of Stein as an avant-garde celebrity in America. By converting her screenplay *Film* into a libretto, Stein is drawing attention to the asynchronous transition of the visual to the aural that was currently playing out in the avant-garde film world. Cinema was caught up in the everyday life of the period and was invoked for its capacity to enact in instant replay its 'inanities':[27] even if it was originally speechless, it was nonetheless talked about, and was closely aligned to worlds where conversation was amply present in the chatty spaces of the café and cabaret within a bustling cityscape. Tom Conley, in an essay on the 'silent din' of the pre-talkie years, argues that the audible conversations of people going to the movies had, in an immediate and crucial effect of ideology, 'to be reproduced in silence in order, after the films were seen, to be reanimated in life'.[28] Meanwhile, Katherine Biers points out that

---

[24] Laszlo Maholy-Nagy *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925) trans. Janet Seligman (Cambridge MA.: MIT Press, 1987) p.51.
[25] When Stein's dog died, she would replace him with a near identical dog that shared the same name, Basket II.
[26] Gertrude Stein, 'Plays', *Lectures in America* (London: Virago, 1988) 93-131, p.117.
[27] See Margaret Cohen's 'Panoramic Literature and the Invention of Everyday Life' in *Cinema and the Invention of Everyday Life*, eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). See also Leo Charney's *Empty Moments: Cinema, Modernity and Drift* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).
[28] Tom Conley, 'The Talkie: Early Cinematic Conversations', p.84.

Stein's puzzling literary technique is analogous to silent film even as it calls on talking and listening, but shows Stein subtly positioning herself against the talkie as a simultaneous visual and verbal address that mixes up 'inside and outside'.[29] When Stein, in her lectures, repudiates the experience of seeing talkies, although having actually acted in one herself, her disavowal opens up a space for a more rigorous reading of the already perceptible trace of sound-film influence in her theoretical writings. What is particularly remarkable about this misleading denial of the early influence of cinema on her aesthetic practice is Stein's appropriation of the problems that cinema faced with the advent of the talkies: 'as a matter of fact the thing which has induced a person like myself to constantly think about the theatre from the standpoint of sight and sound' is the 'inevitable experiments made by the cinema'.[30] Stein goes on to link sound-film and her own writing practice more directly when she says that 'there is the same impulse to solve the problem of the relation of seeing and hearing in the one case as in the other' (104). Even in her disavowals Stein emphasises the relationship between the cinema and her writing, alluding to the problematics that face avant-garde cinema with the developments in acoustic technologies.

Stein's contemporaries clearly recognised her affinity with film. Kenneth Macpherson, one of the editors of the avant-garde film journal *Close Up* previously discussed in the H.D. section of this thesis, promised to print anything that Stein sent him, telling her in a letter that 'the kind of thing you write is so exactly the kind of thing that should be translated to the screen'.[31] This letter reflects *Close Up's* aspirations to encourage a select group of modernist writers to engage with the cinema. Macpherson's solicitation, written in June 1927, was sent with copies of his recent book *Poolreflection* and the first issue of *Close Up*, which Macpherson carefully points out included H.D.'s poem 'Projector'. He writes that the journal's intent is 'to form a kind of debating ground for distinguished minds, and to go on from there'(14) to discussion and dialogue between well-known avant-garde practitioners and 'the most modern' of writers. Anne Friedberg suggests that such a solicitation of Stein's work says much about the editorial team's desire for legitimation in the literary as well as filmic world.[32] This desire for cultural gravitas is evident in the pages

---

[29] Katherine Biers, *Afterimages of the Feminine: The Emergence of Modernist Mass Culture*, unpublished PhD (Cornell University, 2002) p.119.
[30] Gertrude Stein, 'Plays', p.104. Further references in text.
[31] Letter from Kenneth Macpherson to Gertrude Stein (24 June 1927) reproduced in *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) p.14. Further references in text.
[32] Anne Friedberg, 'Introduction: Reading Close Up', *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) 1-27, p.15. Further references in text.

of *Close Up* even after it had a well established critical foothold and is particularly visible in the journal's insistent advertisements for back copies and reminders of ongoing projects and publications by the editors. Indisputably, Stein would lend a much desired avant-garde gloss to the journal, and Macpherson's inclusion of a poem by the 'star' of a competing avant-garde coterie could be read as something of a challenge to Stein. However, if H.D.'s 'Projector' was intended to provoke a competitive response from Stein, it backfired when Stein sent short stories that can only elliptically be read as relating to film. Despite their opacity, critics have been drawn to great lengths to tease out the references to the cinema, with Friedberg only reluctantly conceding that to interpret these texts to be literally about cinema may well 'be forcing meanings on Stein's intentionally slippery polysemic play'(15). Stein's two contributions to *Close Up* —'Mrs Emerson' (August 1927) and 'Three Sitting Here' (October 1927) — were published in the same year that the world's first feature-length sound-film, *The Jazz Singer* (1927) was released. As previously noted, the editorial team of the new journal started out stridently against the principles of sync-sound as practised by Hollywood that year, and it could well be that the widely influential arguments of Eisenstein, who was quickly associated with *Close Up*, may have been an influence on Stein's avowed dislike of the talkies. If they were, then it becomes possible to read 'Mrs Emerson' as resistant to the new sound technology: the story describes a visit to a complex of 'new houses' where 'there are not windows for ventilation' but for 'kindly amazing lights'.[33] It is in this arguably cinematic space that film is 'neglecting hazards' and 'suffering extra changes' by 'submitting to extraordinary celebrations' (25). Stein's narrator resists the linking of image and voice: 'I resolve to silence confusions I shall believe no pointed singularities I cannot see why a dog is black and a voice is necessary. I cannot see why a voice is necessary' (25-6). She goes on to protest: 'I do not wish to hear it again. Oh well not now anyway. You do say it. Oh cannot you see that the price is allowed that the complete wrecking of louder sounds' (25). It seems that for Stein, as for H.D., sound-film not only destroyed the aesthetic provocation of silent film images but proves particularly stressful: 'Really I am getting rather anxious. The way to show shapes is to realise rightly that mentionings are abominable' (28-9).

Further correspondence with *Close Up* had Stein critiquing Macpherson's book *Poolreflection*, telegramming urgently for the return of the original manscript of 'Mrs Emerson', and suggesting material for future publication in the journal. It is possible that

[33] Gertrude Stein, 'Mrs Emerson', *Close Up*, 1.2 (August 1927) 23-29. Further references in text.

Stein had taken literally Macpherson's original offer that 'anything' she wrote could and would be interpreted cinematically, and submitted 'Mrs Emerson' simply for the guaranteed fee, her later letters certainly indicate that she was more strategically interested in pursuing an alliance with the film journal coterie. She urged in an unpublished letter of July 1927 that the story 'Three Sitting Here' was 'right for *Close Up*',[34] being appropriately about film (the title certainly suggests that it was concerned with the issue of spectatorship) but felt it was perhaps too long, and proposed that it be 'continued in serial numbers'(1). In this way she both ensured a forum for publication and appropriated the imperatives of the cinematic experience, seriality and repetition of performance. Stein's anticipation of future dialogue with the editorial team and her pleasure in the acceptance of her writing for publication is evident when she writes 'I am very pleased that things are beginning well it was an awfully good beginning' (2).

In fact, the *Close Up* trio kept in contact with Stein, and Macpherson and Bryher were coincidentally present at 27 rue de Fleurus when the photographic stills of the first unexpectedly well received New York première of *Four Saints in Three Acts* arrived by

Fig. 21: still from *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934)

[34] Letter from Gertrude Stein to Kenneth Macpherson (July 1927), Beinecke Library, Yale University Gen MSS 97 series VIII Box 170 Folder 5670, pp.1-2. Further references in text.

post.[35] A letter from Stein recounts the visit, saying that Bryher and Macpherson had arrived at the same time as the package and were immensely taken with the photographs of the all black cast, poring over them with interest. One can only speculate at their response to the success of *Four Saints*, given the relative failure of their grand project, the silent film *Borderline* (1930) that had attempted to exploit the 'Negro problem' to similarly provocative avant-garde ends.[36] Stein does not refer either to their film or to the stills of Paul and Eslanda Robeson which had been reproduced prolifically in *Close Up*, characteristically blind to the reactions of those in competition with her. Instead, she remembers the event of looking at the stills as 'the first time that photographs are rich things instead of poor things'.[37] She goes on in this letter to Carl van Vechten to report that 'everyone thinks they are the most wonderful photographs speaking photographically that they have ever seen'(306), and that she had agreed to have them reproduced in *Figaro*. This episode is particularly poignant when it is realised that *Close Up* had folded the year before, after *Borderline* had met with critical hostility. Of course, it is only speculation to insist that some reference to the film would surely have been made in the conversation that day at rue de Fleurus.[38] If there was, Stein keeps quiet about it.

Stein is only rarely associated with French cinema and film theory of the 1920s as critics are more interested in tracing her debt to Hollywood. However, Susan McCabe points out that the juxtapositioning of Stein's 'Mrs Emerson' with Man Ray's article about his first feature-length film *Emak Bakia* (1926) draws attention to a relationship between the apparently distinct aesthetic discourses of high modernist poetry and cinema.[39] McCabe goes on to argue that Stein's defiance of syntax and grammar in favour of linguistic rearrangement can be read as similar in approach to Eisenstein's dialectical montage in

---

[35] While in New York Bryher had seen the première, later writing 'The evening remains for me one of the most triumphant nights that I have ever spent watching the stage…Gertrude's text soared out magnificently and with it her, and our, rebellion against outworn art'. Quoted in Andreas Weiss, *Paris Was a Woman: Portraits from the Left Bank* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995) p.49.

[36] *Close Up* had a special issue on 'the negro' and cinema in 1929, fashionably recognising the contributions of black writer and artists to the culture of modernity. James Donald points out that Macpherson's editorial comments, while 'shocking' to the contemporary reader for their racialised discourse, implicitly aligned sound cinema with black culture against silent film art and white European culture, so that '*Close Up*'s understanding of black film is thus inextricably and problematically linked to the aesthetics and politics of the transition from silent to sound cinema'. See James Donald, 'Introduction: Enthusiasms and Execrations' *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) 28-35, p.34.

[37] Letter from Gertrude Stein to Carl van Vechten (11 April 1934) *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten: Vol. 1*, ed. Edward Burns, (New York: Colombia University Press, 1986) p.306. Further references in text.

[38] Stein was also 'interested' in Paul Robeson, who played a central character in *Borderline*, and who visited her at 27 rue de Fleurus. See *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, pp. 256-7.

[39] Susan McCabe 'A Delight in Dislocation', p.429. Further references in text.

film (431). In reinforcing the link between her writing and the developing technologies of film, Stein's theorisation is imbricated in the origins of early avant-garde film theory, with the screenplay *Film: Deux soeurs qui ne sont pas soeurs*, 'the only thing she has ever written in French',[40] published in the *Revue Européanne* along with translations of her other writings. Sara Bay-Cheng goes further to stress the link between Stein's writing and avant-garde film by pointing out that at the time when Stein's literary and artistic salon reached its high point of fame, so did French avant-garde cinema.[41] The possibilities of a reciprocal influence are evident in the visits by film-makers such as Man Ray and Luis Buñuel to Stein's salon at 27 rue de Fleurus, along with avant-garde celebrities such as Marcel Duchamp, André Breton, Francis Picabia and Tristan Tzara.[42] Beyond the evident relation between her cinematic writing and the current film theories (reinforced of course by her correspondence with the *Close Up* film journal), Bay-Cheng argues that it is difficult to imagine that they did not discuss the latest filmic projects in Stein's salon, given the impact that their performances had on the public and that Stein knew nearly all the participants of the films personally. Further, she argues that Stein's writing for both stage and screen adheres to Antonin Artaud's controversial theory of avant-garde cinema: namely, that the impact of the language and the images come not from linear, coherent narratives, but from the contiguity of word and image.[43] In his turn, Artaud seems to invoke a Stein-inspired approach when he wrote that his scenario for *La Coquille et le clergyman* (1927) 'surreptitiously breaks away from the images and emerges from their association, their vibration and their impact, not from their logical, connected meaning'.[44]

An examination of avant-garde cinema illuminates Stein's strategies of representation and embodiment. For instance, Stein's writing, like many of the avant-garde films of the time, questions the relationship between reality and cinematographical representation. Cinema was an ideal form for representing the fragmentation, multiplicity, and simultaneity of

---

[40] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.269. The screenplay was published in the same journal that printed Bernard Fay's article about Stein's work in 1929.

[41] Sarah Bay-Cheng's insightful reading examines Stein's appropriation of avant-garde cinematic tropes through the lens of queer identity. See 'An Illogical Stab of Doubt: Avant-garde Drama, Cinema and Queerness', *Studies in the Humanities* (June-Dec 2001) 82-95.

[42] Man Ray at least credited Stein as a major influence on his work. In a letter from July 1933, he wrote to inform Stein of the imminent publication of his first book-length collection of images: 'it will be beautifully printed and bound, and have several pages of text interspersed, by Tzara, Breton, Eluard, "Rrose Sélvay", and myself. I am keen on having a word of you in it, as you are an important part of my development, and I want to include every phase of my activity.' Letter from Man Ray to Gertrude Stein, Gertrude Stein Papers, Correspondence and Manuscript Notebooks, Gen MSS 97 series VIII Box 170 Folder 5670, Beinecke Library, Yale University, pp.1-2.

[43] Sarah Bay-Cheng, *Mama Dada: Gertrude Stein, Cinema, Queerness and Avant-garde Drama*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Michigan, 2001) p. 41.

[44] Antonin Artaud, 'Cinéma et réalité', *Oeuvres complètes* Vol III (Paris: Editions Gallimard 1978)18-20, p. 19.

modernity, and the technical innovations of the Parisian avant-garde cinema and theatrical performance seem to have strongly influenced Stein's verbal collages, multiple names for characters, disembodied voices, puns and non-sequiturs. The strongest reinforcement of the link between Stein and the avant-garde film world comes with her later appearance in a documentary. This sound-film, a U.S. Army movie called *A G.I. Sees Paris* (1945), was made just after the liberation of Paris as part of a 'U.S. Army Information and Education course for G.I.s studying the French cinema'.[45] Evidently Gertrude Stein was interviewed for the film not just as a pivotal avant-garde figure herself, but as an expert witness to the French cinema. Her inclusion indicates that she was popularly recognised both for her

Fig. 22: publicity still of the making of *A G.I. Sees Paris* (1945)

appropriation of an avant-garde cinematic style in her writing and for her impact on the early twentieth-century cultural scene. And despite her early repudiation of sound in film in 'Mrs Emerson' as 'abominable',[46] in the documentary *A G.I. Sees Paris* Stein figures as more than a mere witness to sound-film: she is an active participant solicited for her spoken testimony on the subject of cinema itself.

Even before writing her film scripts, and well before her actual and problematic appearance in talkies, Stein had begun experimenting with cinematic elements in her writing. Her interest in cinema was based on her approach to language at the sentence

---

[45] An annotated film still for this documentary is reproduced in Renate Stendhal, ed. *Gertrude Stein in Words and Pictures: A Photobiography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995) p. 254. See Figure 22 above.
[46] Gertrude Stein, 'Mrs Emerson', p.24.

level, as a form of series production where seemingly repetitive individual elements — 'a rose is a rose is a rose' — accumulate to generate meaning. Katherine Biers suggests that Stein's early character portraits, sentences and even individual words in her fiction and poetry particularly function like 'cinematic afterimages'.[47] Biers finds that Stein's first references to cinema would seem to appear in relation to her early textual portraits, short prose poems written about her friends and similar in style to the *Close Up* 'Mrs Emerson'. In later theorisation about her writing, Stein claimed that she called these short essays 'portraits' because she was attempting to capture the essence of a person in language, rather than in the medium of oil.[48] It is also possible that she developed her written portraits in order to compete with the visual artists who surrounded her; Picasso, for instance, at one point trespassed into her literary territory by publishing poetry.[49] Stein's linguistic recording in these prose portraits invites a close comparison to cinema, particularly to the possibilities opened by the development of sound-film. This comparison is made explicit in the lecture 'Portraits and Repetition', where Stein spoke most directly about her attempts to record the image of a person in portraits:

> Funnily enough the cinema has offered a solution to this thing. By a continuously moving picture of any one there is no memory of any other thing and there is that thing existing, it is in a way if you like one portrait of anything not a number of them. (176)

As Stein refined her dramatic style, she developed an understanding of repetition as an inherited cinematic technique. In the lecture 'How Writing is Written', Stein says that 'there is no such thing as repetition'.[50] She goes on,

> Every time you tell the story it is told slightly differently. All my early work was a careful listening to all the people telling their story, and I conceived the idea, which is, funnily enough, the same as the idea of the cinema. The cinema goes on the same principle: each picture is just infinitesimally different than the one before.(448)

Each film frame so closely resembles the one immediately before and after, that it is possible to see these stills as identical repetitions of each other. In fact, each one is incrementally different, but when moved quickly before the eye, the splices fade and the image is perceived as one of unity in motion. Stein recognised that the eye has no memory

---

[47] Katherine Laura Biers, *Afterimages of the Feminine*, p.115.
[48] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition', pp.188-189.
[49] He was apparently a terrible poet. Stein recounts how she was forced to bail him up until he renounced his literary pretensions: 'your poetry it is more offensive than just bad poetry…don't go on trying to make me tell you it is poetry and I shook him again', *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 26.
[50] Gertrude Stein, 'How Writing is Written', *The Gertrude Stein Reader*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York N.Y.: Cooper Square Press, 2002) 438-449, p.447. Further references in text.

of the individual frame in film, seeing only the frames run together in movement. Based on this effect of cinema, Stein concluded in 'Portraits and Repetition' that, cumulatively, 'there was no repetition' just as 'in a cinema picture no two pictures are exactly alike each one is just that much different from the one before'(177). Stein's sense that she outstripped cinema even as she appropriated its techniques is evident in her aside, at the conclusion of 'How Writing is Written', that 'I used three or four words instead of making a cinema about it' (448).

While in America, Stein was particularly concerned about the rift caused by the shift in visual media to include the aural. She asks in 'Plays': 'does the thing heard replace the thing seen does it help or does it interfere with it. Does the thing seen replace the thing heard or does it interfere with it'.[51] Stein finds possible answers to these central questions in the implications of the combination of visual and aural elements in cinema:

> I suppose one might have gotten to know a good deal about these things from the cinema and how it changed from sight to sound, and how much before there was real sound how much of the sight was sound or how much was not. In other words the cinema undoubtedly has a new way of understanding sight and sound in relation to emotion and time. (103-104)

However, the competing roles of sight and sound in the public arena continued to trouble her, and led to questions about the relations amongst the various visual and aural elements of performance, a concern that carried over into the pedagogical and publicity experiments of Stein's American lectures, which then led, as I will argue in the following chapter, to the development of her radio aesthetics on her return to France. For instance, a sequence in *Everybody's Autobiography* describes Stein and Toklas taking up an invitation, while passing through Chicago on the well-publicised lecture tour, to go on night patrol in a 'homicidal squad car'.[52] The sound elements of this experience are recounted as a series of unexpected disappointments: they were disheartened not only by the lack of violence that night but also by the surprisingly unexciting quality of the police radio. Despite overhearing the capture of the notorious Baby Face Nelson — 'they were having messages all the time about that' (178) — it was only 'pleasantly interesting but not except it was the first time we had heard the radio in a police car not too exciting' (179). Toward morning Stein and Toklas were taken by the police to witness a spectacle in a public hall, the tail

---

[51] Gertrude Stein, 'Plays', p.103. Further references in text.
[52] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.178. Further references in text.

end of a dance marathon, which by the time they saw it had been reduced to a shuffle, or what Stein called a 'walking marathon'(180). This event both fascinated and disturbed Stein greatly:

> They had been six weeks without sleeping and some no longer had another one with them they were moving and dropping alone but when there were two of them one was more clinging than moving and the other one was supporting and moving. There was plenty of light and a little noise. (180)

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this tortured choreography was that despite the large crowd in the dance hall there was only 'a little noise' and no reported music. Unusually, Stein, collector of photographic opportunities *par excellence*, refused to be photographed with the dancers:

> The sergeant and we were standing and the manager of the place came and said would we like them to be photographed with us but we would not have liked them to be photographed with us or we to be photographed with them. (180)

Stein immediately goes on,

> Jacques Viot who discovered the surrealists when they were discovering surrealism that was some time ago met me day before yesterday again. I had not seen him in between. We were talking about the cinema, he is now doing film stories for the French films and he said you have to remember in writing film stories that it is not like writing for the theatre the film audience is not an audience that is awake it is an audience that is dreaming, it is not asleep but it is always dreaming. The walking marathon was more that than any film, I have never seen it again. (180-181)

Stein clearly makes a connection between the strangely silent marathon and cinema by 'montaging' the narrative onto a remembered discussion of surrealist film with the director Jacques Viot. At this stage of her experimentation with mass media, Stein rejects the vision of movement without sound, revealing her acclimatisation to sound-film. Stein's unease can also be read as a discomfort with the arresting or mass production of movement for a still moment in a photograph. Such a meaningless and painful display of the struggle for public recognition, exemplified by the contemporary fad for endurance competitions, is revealed as a nightmare of popular culture with its abstraction into an unthinking and non-interpretative dream state. It is perhaps at this stage that Stein most clearly realises that she was less interested in participating in the struggle for celebrity in the public arena because being mediated into popular culture meant offering herself up as a mere spectacle for an

audience that is peculiarly trapped in the mediated present: 'it is not asleep but it is always dreaming'.

In the 'Narration'(1935) lecture given at the University of Chicago, Stein considers the importance of an alert and appreciative audience, pursuing her statement in *The Making of Americans* that 'I write for myself and strangers'.[53] While she does not, unlike H.D., call for any particular critical interaction, she insists 'there is of course there is an audience'.[54] Its role is to 'recognise' the achievements of the writer; it 'must be at one with the recognition, must have nothing of knowing anything before or after the recognition'(52). The audience has a fairly passive role; it does not require a communicative exchange initiated by the speaker but is wholly self-contained in its function of recognition. Kirk Curnutt disagrees with Stein scholars who have compared Stein's understanding of audience reception to various reader-response theories, and who argue that Stein ascribes so much interpretative authority to the readers that they function as *de facto* collaborators. According to Curnutt, Stein was more concerned that the audience refrain from contaminating a piece of writing by projecting extrinsic assumptions about its author's identity.[55] This reading makes more sense of Stein's insistence on the pivotal role of the writer. In the lecture 'Portraits and Repetitions' she recounts arriving at the revelation that,

> Nothing makes any difference as long as someone is listening while they are talking. If the same person does the telling and the listening why so much the better there is just so much the greater concentration one may really indeed say that that is the essence of genius, of being most intensely alive. That is being one who is at the same time telling and listening.[56]

In a later lecture, 'What are Masterpieces', Stein goes on to make a distinction between talking and writing: 'I talk a lot I like to talk and I talk ever more than that I may say I talk most of the time and I listen a fair amount too and as I have said the essence of being a genius is to be able to talk and listen and to listen while talking and talk while listening'.[57] Marjorie Perloff queries Stein's qualification of her particular kind of genius — talking

---

[53] Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans* (1925) quoted in *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) 259-326, p.261.

[54] Gertrude Stein, 'Lecture 4', *Narration: Four Lectures*, intro. Thornton Wilder (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935) p.53.

[55] Kirk Curnutt, 'Inside and Outside: Gertrude Stein on Identity, Celebrity and Authenticity', *Journal of Modern Literature* 23.2 (1999) 291-308, p.300. Curnutt is disparaging of readings like that of Harriet Scott Chessman who argues that Stein defines the implied audience as 'equal' lovers or intimate acquaintances, separate but always open to the possibility of 'coming together'. See Chessman's *The Public is Invited to Dance: Representation, the Body, and Dialogue in Gertrude Stein* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989) p.8 and p.11.

[56] Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition', p.170.

[57] Gertrude Stein, 'What are Masterpieces' (1936) *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990) 495-501, p.496. Further references in text.

and listening at the same time — when Stein says 'this is very important very important indeed talking has nothing to do with creation'(496). Perloff concludes that Stein understands talking as related to identity while writing is related to creation, and that a concern with identity would then be at odds with the very process of artistic creation.[58] Following her enthusiastic public reception during the American lecture tour, Stein reflects that 'The thing one gradually comes to find out is that one has no identity that is when one is in the act of doing anything. Identity is recognition, you know who you are because you and others remember anything about yourself but essentially you are not that when you are doing anything'.[59] Too much talking and public recognition threatens identity and leads to a diminishment of 'masterpieces'. The result, as Stein puts it, is that 'nowadays everybody all day long knows what is happening and so what is happening is not really interesting, one knows it by radios cinemas newspapers biographies autobiographies until what is happening does not really thrill anyone'(497).

Sound-film is therefore deployed by Stein as a metaphor for the complications arising from an investigation into listening and talking practices through the vicissitudes of public recognition. As part of the initial publicity for her tour, Stein had become the subject of a Pathé newsreel distributed widely in American movie theatres. In an article commissioned by the magazine *Cosmopolitan* she recollects her arrival in New York from France, describing this event while once again disavowing any knowledge of the cinema, despite concurrently discussing it during her lecture program. She ingenuously recalls,

> The first thing that happened was what they called a newsreel. I know it is very hard for anybody to believe and I had never thought about it, but I had never seen a talking cinema, never. You see, I have as you see got into the habit of talking to anybody so I am writing as if I am talking…I just never had seen a talking cinema, and when they said to me will you make one, it was just to me like nothing at all.[60]

Stein took her participation in this talkie for granted, as 'nothing at all', just part of the flurry of publicity, with journalists competing for interviews and photographs. Given her previous experience as the subject of painted and photographic portraits, as well as her appearance in her brother's silent home movie in 1927, it is not surprising that she was quite comfortable performing for the cinema camera, and complacently described its

---

[58] Marjorie Perloff, *21st-Century Modernism: The 'New' Poetics* (Malden, Mass. and London: Blackwell Publications, 2002) p.48.
[59] Gertrude Stein, 'What are Masterpieces', p.496. Further references in text.
[60] Gertrude Stein, 'I Came and Here I Am', *Cosmopolitan* (February 1935) reproduced in *How Writing Is Written*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1974) 67-72, p.68.

popularity in *Everybody's Autobiography* as it was shown in 'cinema theatres everywhere and everybody liked it'.[61] It is therefore extremely curious that Stein avoided seeing the film, given that she and Toklas were notoriously avid collectors of photographs and newspaper clippings; it was only toward the end of her lecture circuit, when Stein and Toklas visited California, that Stein finally took the opportunity to see the film herself, when pressed to view it at a private showing on the Warner Brothers studio lot. She describes her reaction:

> We went to their place and there it was and when I saw myself almost as large and moving around and talking I did not like it particularly the talking, it gave me a funny feeling and I did not like that funny feeling. I suppose if I had seen it often it would have been like anything you can get used to anything if it happens often but that time I certainly did not like it and when the Warners asked us to come and lunch we did not go. (243)

Stein's appalled reaction to the enlarged vision of herself 'moving around talking' on the cinema screen led her to immediately avoid a lunch engagement at Warners, which, given her enthusiasm for popular American culture throughout this trip, and her delight in taking up the privileges offered to a celebrity figure, is surprising. Stein was evidently shocked by the sound-film vision of herself; this is remarkable considering the effort she invested in the public performance of her celebrity, and indeed, how accustomed she had become to seeing herself reproduced in photographs. There was something peculiar to sound-film that made her uneasy, a disquiet oddly familiar to the 'shock' she reported experiencing when she first saw her name in lights.[62] Although she says 'I did not like it, particularly the talking', it was not just the technological reproduction of her talking that made her uneasy, as she happily allowed a recording of her lectures for Colombia University and the National Council of Teachers, and also arranged what she called 'A Listening' to this recording during the last fortnight of her American tour with a selection of friends and other public figures.[63]

---

[61] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.243. Further references in text.

[62] On their arrival in New York, Stein and Toklas were delighted to be greeted by ordinary members of the public. However, Stein was alarmed to see her name on a electric sign, saying that the shock of seeing one's name in print 'is one of the things most worrying in the subject of identity', *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.150.

[63] Stein recorded excerpts from *The Making of Americans*, 'Madame Recamier', 'A Valentine to Sherwood Anderson', 'If I Told Him' and 'Matisse' at Milbank Hall, Colombia University on the 30th January 1935. She also recorded the same pieces for the National Council of Teachers of English at Erpi Studios in New York. This second recording was played during her 'A Listening' event on the 24th April 1935.

During the filming for the newsreel, Stein apparently equated the experience with the media interest surrounding the arrival of an avant-garde identity in New York, publicity which she had carefully generated and controlled as part of the self-marketing of her surprisingly successful lecture tour. Her discomfort at the Pathé film was perhaps due to the sudden realisation that, as subject of such a film, she had become an object, subsumed into the imperatives of the mass media. As Walter Benjamin points out, a film 'preserves not the unique aura of the person but the "spell of personality", the phony spell of a commodity'.[64] Unlike Benjamin's film actor, who, when facing the camera, knows that 'ultimately he will face the public, the consumers who constitute the market' (224), Stein did not have time to take into account the new anxiety generated by the 'shrivelling of the aura with an artificial build-up of "personality" outside the studio' (224). It horrified Stein that she had given over control of her identity and perhaps with that horror came the realisation that her lecturing success was not intrinsic to her own 'genius', but rather the product of that early film which 'everyone' had liked but she had never seen. Her immediate reaction seems to have been to shut down and to deny talkies.

Stein's disavowal of the sound-film could also be interpreted as a delayed concern over her self-crafting as a mass-produced icon during the lecture tour. The few Stein scholars who have addressed this film[65] have accepted Stein's account in *Everybody's Autobiography* that she was simply reading out material from a sequence within the opera *Four Saints*: 'I did make an actuality of reading Pigeons on the Grass and taking off my glasses and putting them on again while I was doing that thing'.[66] However, the script that she hastily put together and edited, presumably just before the filming of the newsreel, discloses that she was asked to give an overview of her projected lecture series as well as read out short extracts from her work.[67] Her original Pathé manuscript is actually quite a few pages long, although it was reduced down to one minute and ten seconds of playing time on the surviving film clip. She evidently had not anticipated being depicted simply reading from her writing; Stein's original understanding was that the sound-film would be of her talking about her talking, in the lectures, *about* her writing. The lectures themselves had been

---

[64] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', p. 224.
[65] See Katherine Biers, *Afterimages of the Feminine: The Emergence of Modernist Mass Culture*, unpublished PhD thesis (Cornell University, 2002) pp.135-136; and Susan McCabe, 'Delight in Dislocation: The Cinematic Modernism of Stein, Chaplin and Man Ray', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 8.3 (2001) pp.429-53.
[66] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.243.
[67] Entitled 'Pathé: 1934' in Stein's notes, this manuscript was first published as an appendix for *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder*, ed. Edward Burns and Ulla E. Dydo (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996) 351-353.

envisaged by Stein as an opportunity to confront the perception that she was better or easier read about than read.[68] Conrad Bryce points out that 'rather than simply putting herself on display, [Stein] would attempt to introduce her newly-won audience to the texts on which she wanted her reputation to rest'.[69] The Pathé newsreel, however, presented her as an avant-garde oddity reading a characteristically impenetrable and repetitive piece. The realisation that the film had been edited down to this brief sequence, and that her self-constructed identity was therefore at the mercy of not only the Warner studios but the appreciatively consuming public, threatened Stein with a wider breach between author and oeuvre: as Curnutt neatly summarises, 'the more media attention devoted to her personality the more her writing became a mere adjunct to it'.[70]

In the *Cosmopolitan* article Stein elaborates further on her discomfort at finally seeing the edited version of her script animated in the talking film:

> They told me it was successful and they asked me to go to see it. And I did. It was a strange thing that happened to me. One never gets quite used to unexpectedly seeing one's name in print no matter how often it happens to you to be that one; it always gives you a shock of a slightly mixed-up feeling, are you or are you not one. No matter how often it happens there is always this thing, but what is that, imagine what is that compared to never having heard anybody's voice speaking while a picture is doing something, and that voice and that person is yourself, if you could really and truly be that one. It upset me very much when that happened to me, there is not doubt about that, if there can really not be any doubt about anything.[71]

Susan McCabe suggests that the 'upset' that Stein felt when confronted with her talking image came from seeing herself as a whole, animated body in a reproduction that 'did not match her sense of dislocated corporeality'.[72] It does seem that Stein struggles when presented with a technologically exact reproduction of herself as a simultaneously talking and moving image, as a phenomenologically complete identity, questioning 'are you or are you not one'. Rather than celebrating the experience of being filmed in a talkie, Stein's linguistic puzzlement, as she shifts pronouns in the account of 'my', 'one', and 'your' identity, reproduces the 'shock' felt on realising that 'the voice and that person is yourself'. Katherine Biers' understanding is that Stein, with her characteristic linguistic 'error' of

---

[68] This perception is evident in the of newspaper articles following her first interviews, for instance, 'Gertrude Stein Arrives and Baffles Reporters by Making Herself Clear', *New York Times* (25 October 1934) p.25 and 'Gerty Gerty Stein Stein is Back Home Home Back', *New York Herald Tribune* (26 October 1934) p.17.

[69] Bryce Conrad, 'Gertrude Stein and the American Marketplace', *Journal of Modern Literature* 19 (1995) 215-233, p.228.

[70] Kurt Curnutt, 'Inside and Outside', p.298.

[71] Gertrude Stein, 'I Came and Here I Am', p.68.

[72] Susan McCabe, 'A Delight in Dislocation', p.432.

coupling plural subject with singular object, imitates the uneasy synchronisation of sound-film itself. Stein implies that the talkie is at fault because it offers falsely joined pieces of voice and image in place of her original wholeness and singularity. Biers offers an explanation for Stein's shock: 'the newsreel offers not so much a representation of Stein, which would suggest a reassuring standard against which its fidelity or truth might be measured, as a threatening double'.[73] Stein refuses to engage with the talking film because it too successfully articulates and embodies her own theory. Tellingly, when confronted with herself in a sound-film, Stein's mimicry of a distracted identity or consciousness protests the loss of identity instead of celebrating its dissolution. Ironically, the newsreel was made in response to the attention generated by the popular success of Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and the public's interest in her as the 'real' author rather than the deceptive 'I' of the ostensible narrator. The 'shock of a slightly mixed-up feeling, are you or are you not one'(69) that Stein describes experiencing when viewing the talkie parallels the confusion generated by her slippery literary construction, where the absence of Stein as speaking voice in the autobiographical text is an integral part of her self-marketing as avant-garde identity.

Stein's dissatisfaction after seeing the Pathé talkie with both sound-film and her self-projection into celebrity found an alert audience at a dinner party in Hollywood. On meeting Charlie Chaplin, her favourite silent film star, she says 'we naturally talked about cinema'.[74] Stein was particularly interested in soliciting Chaplin's opinion of the introduction of sound to film following her own experience:

> He said naturally it was disappointing he had known the silent films and in that they could do something that the theatre had not done they could change the rhythm but if you had a voice accompanying naturally after that you could never change the rhythm you were always held by the rhythm that the voice gave them. (245)

Stein summarised the animated discussion that followed: 'he wanted the sentiment of movement invented by himself and I wanted the sentiment of doing nothing invented by myself, anyway, we both liked talking but each one had to stop to be polite and let the other one say something'(246). She was flattered when, after the dinner, other actors gathered around to ask her opinion about cinema: 'I told them what I had been telling Charlie Chaplin'(246). This did not seem to satisfy them: 'at last I found out what was

---

[73] Katherine Biers, *Afterimages of the Feminine*, p.119.
[74] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.245. Further references in text.

bothering them they wanted to know how I had succeeded in getting so much publicity'(246). The actors' interest in Stein is quickly revealed not to be about her or her writing, or even about her opinion about the film industry and their profession (which she was more than happy to give at length). Their avidity was actually directed at the media attention she had managed to garner with relative ease on her lecture tour. Unable to satisfy the consuming curiosity of these publicity junkies in search of ever-wider audiences, Stein was again confronted with the realisation that publicity was dangerously addictive and threatened, eventually, to subsume her writing persona.

'It is very nice being a celebrity,' Stein had gleefully written at the beginning of *Everybody's Autobiography*, 'a real celebrity who can decide who they want to meet and say so and they come or do not come as you want them' (2). With celebrity came a networking potential, that operates through a pattern of telephone calls and telegrams. However, after her experiences in Hollywood seeing herself in a sound-film and negotiating the jealous attention of other film actors, Stein was forcefully reminded of her power as a celebrity and the meaninglessness of celebrity as a commodity. Stopping at a hotel while driving around California with Toklas, Stein was obsequiously made welcome by the hotel director: 'then he wanted to know what celebrities I wanted to meet, any celebrity can choose whom he wants to meet and that is a pleasure and he mentioned several and I said no, no, no' (250). Disdaining most of names presented on this celebrity 'menu', Stein was pleased to meet the author of *Merton of the Movies*, significantly enough a parody of Hollywood star-making factory and its dangers for the inadvertent film actor.[75] The meeting was organised successfully: 'and the director telephoned to him and asked him if he wanted to meet me as I wanted to meet him. He said yes with pleasure. So we went and it was a pleasure'(250). *Everybody's Autobiography* is a construct of such sequences: Mark Gobel convincingly argues that it competes with *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*'s seemingly naïve strategy of dropping more than four hundred names in order to support her narrative about her successful reception in America. This 'dazzling assembly of cameo appearances' is, in Gobel's formulation, evidence of Stein's growing imbrication into the economy of celebrity, 'on who knows who', that gives authenticity to Stein's claim for her genius and centrality to modern literature.[76] The famous people become an elaborate iconography of modernity at the intersection of private lives and

[75] Stein intriguingly described Leon Wilson's *Merton of the Movies* (1922) as 'the best description of America that has ever been done', *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.250.
[76] Mark Gobel, 'Cameo Appearances; or, When Gertrude Stein Checks into Grand Hotel', p.119.

public spheres in early twentieth-century media culture. For Gobel, the celebrities who give 'face time' to Stein — from Mary Pickford to Eleanor Roosevelt — constitute a whole category of extravagantly mediated personhood, a species of 'star' at home in the artificial worlds of publicity that surround the media technologies of film, advertising and radio, all of which amplified fame and its effects out of all proportion. That this exchange of celebrity was often mediated by the extravagant use of the telephone is evidence of the increasing conflation of acoustic technology and celebrity. This is most striking in Stein's laboriously detailed account of her acceptance of a dinner party invitation offered by an eager American hostess at the outset of *Everybody's Autobiography*, where telephones were used to pimp for celebrities who could meet Stein's exacting tastes:

> So Alice Toklas rang up Mrs. Ehrman and said we wanted to meet Dashiell Hammett.
> She said yes what is his name. Dashiell Hammett said Miss Toklas. And how do you spell it. Alice Toklas spelt it. Yes and where does he live. Ah that said Alice Toklas we do not know, we asked in New York and his Knopf editor said he could not give his address. Ah yes said Mrs. Ehrman now what is he. Dashiell Hammett you know The Thin Man said Alice Toklas. Oh yes said Mrs. Ehrman yes and they both hung up.
> We went to dinner that evening and there was Dashiell Hammett and we had an interesting talk about autobiography, but first how did he get there I mean at Mrs. Ehrman's for dinner. Between them they told it.
> Mrs. Ehrman called up an office he had at Hollywood and asked for his address, she was told he was in San Francisco, then she called up the producer of The Thin Man he said Hammett was in New York. So said Mrs. Ehrman to herself he must be in Hollywood. So she called up the man who wanted to produce The Thin Man and had failed to get it and he had Hammett's address. Mrs. Ehrman telegraphed to Hammett saying would he come that evening to dine with her to meet Gertrude Stein. It was April Fool's Day and he did nothing and then he looked up Ehrman and it was a furrier and no Mrs. Ehrman and then he asked everybody and heard that it was all true and telegraphed and said if he might bring who was to be his hostess he could come and Mrs. Ehrman said of course come and they came. His hostess but all that will come when the dinner happens later. (2-3)

This circular anecdote is most striking in its play-by-play of the networking of celebrity and media communication. The confusion of iterated telephone calls and telegrams underscores the emptiness of such mediation, and gestures toward an appreciation of the fantasy space opened up by the performatives of telephone exchange. Amy Flowers points out that the telephone's indirect quality of communication creates a disembodiment, a distance between communication and self that strangely makes all things possible.[77] In a

[77] Amy Flowers, *The Fantasy Factory: An Insiders View of the Phone Sex Industry* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1998) p.1. Flowers finds that phone-sex work amplifies the problematics of telephone communications by drawing attention to questions about authenticity, individuality and personal integrity, p.58. For more

similar vein, Homi Bhabha explores the relationships mediated by telephone conversations, insisting that 'we can be circumspect but we can also be shameless on the telephone'.[78] The telephone's disembodiment of intimacy crosses boundaries of race and class by communicating directly, transcending notions of the self as a single, central identity. However, the difficulty comes in successfully identifying an authentic persona versus an imagined or constructed persona at the other end of the line. Bhabha argues that while 'we want to have the motility and the mobility... we want the other thing to be fixed and we want it to be looking at us, as it were, straight in the eye while we dodge around'(9). Stein's revelations about the untrustworthiness of the talking cinema mirrors what is revealed by the celebrity pimping that constructed her lecture tour: that the seemingly intimate and whole persona presented by the media 'is not one'. This in turn recalls the uneasy premise on which Stein's popular success as a celebrity author rested; her unstable autobiographical identity as expatriated doyenne of the French avant-garde.

Fig. 23: Gertrude Stein signing books with telephone (1935)

on the illicit sexual performative of the telephone, see Ellis Hanson, 'The Telephone and Its Queerness', *Cruising the Performative: Interventions into the Representations of Ethnicity, Nationality, and Sexuality*, eds. Sue-Ellen Case, Philip Brett and Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) 34-38. See also Avital Ronell, *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech* (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

[78] Homi Bhabha and Sander L. Gilman, 'Just Talking: Tête-à-Tête', *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamenksi (New York and London: Routledge, 2001) 2-14, p.9. Further references in text.

The iteration of telephone calls and name-dropping that occurs throughout Stein's account of her acclaimed lecture tour incrementally discloses the threateningly addictive force of celebrity and the vulnerability of the author tangled up in the fame game. This entanglement is strikingly captured in the photograph reproduced above of Stein posing for the camera in a Chicago bookstore while signing copies of her bestseller, under the collective gaze of competing celebrity authors and within easy reach of the telephone line that synchronized her trajectory across both America and the public consciousness.

The ongoing solicitation of Stein for interviews is significant as it underscores the influence on her writing of her own exploitation of famous faces and names in her photograph and portrait collections, her excitement at the moving and repetitive image-making possibilities of silent film, and, of course, the simultaneous appropriation and repudiation of sound-film with its problematic 'listening and talking' potential. The worrisome untrustworthiness of acoustic media, as represented by the telephone and the talkie, is underscored in Stein's prologue to *Everybody's Autobiography* with a telling aside:

> just the other day they thought well anyway America thought that there was going to be a war again in Europe and they called me up on the telephone to ask me what I thought about it. I said that I do not believe that there is going to be another European war just now but as I am most generally always wrong perhaps there is.(27)

She was indeed proved wrong, and by the time she appeared in the sound-film *A G.I. Sees America* in 1945, Stein was to be even more thoroughly mediated: by fame, by the telephone calls that continued her conversations from France to America, and by the radio broadcasts that were to amplify her own experience of war.

5.

GERTRUDE STEIN DISCONNECTED
'A VOICE SAID ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION'

Veuillez écouter maintenant quelques messages personnels:
Clémentine peut se curer les dents - nous repétons - Clémentine peut se curer les dents.

BBC broadcast to the French Resistance, *Ici Londres* (1939)

In this part of the world they have another thing, they say taisez-vous, or shut up, or shut it, and they say it as they are talking, they are talking along about something and they say, oh shut it, and it is not to themselves, nor to you, it is of the facts of which they are speaking, sometimes they say taisez-vous, taisez-vous, and the sentence goes on, it is rather delightful, I do not quite know why, they may say and the war is long and the Germans might be coming this way again oh shut up oh shut up and do you think it is possible that they will.

Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen* (1945)

Despite the warm reception and surprising popular success of her American lecture tour, at the outset of the second world war Gertrude Stein chose to retreat to her country house in the foothills of the French Alps, first in Bilignin par Belley, then to the nearby village of Culoz. Not realising how prolonged the war was to be, or how isolated and out of contact she and Alice B. Toklas would become, Stein returned years later to the public arena as the journalists who accompanied advancing American forces competed for the story of her 'liberation'. Although strongly advised to return to the States at the start of the war, Stein had hesitated to do so, saying that 'it would be awfully uncomfortable and I am fussy about my food'.[1] She eventually decided that 'we are alright just staying here, I have had a radio put in and I get America on it,'[2] little imagining how remote America was to become, with only intermittent contact by telephone and radio.

---

[1] Linda Wagner-Martin, *Favoured Strangers: Gertrude Stein and her Family* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995) p.238.

[2] Gertrude Stein, 'The Winner Loses: A Picture of Occupied France' (November, 1940) reproduced as an appendix to *Wars I Have Seen* (London: Batsford, 1945) 176-191, p.181.

Stein's experience during this period is traced through *Wars I Have Seen* (1945), an extraordinary account of everyday life in occupied France that was cautiously maintained in her famously illegible handwriting, in order to discouage any curious but potentially hostile readers. Her narrative is striking for the banality of the details recounted, with often confusing and unexplained digressions and anecdotes building a picture of local discomforts and disconnections: 'it is a queer state living as we are all doing, you have no news except for the radio because there are no newspapers any more and no trains no mail no telephone'.[3] When the political activity in the area surrounding the village did heat up, Stein parallels her neighbours' avid interest in the wider political scene and their nostalgia for spectatorial engagement with inaccessible modern communications media: 'everybody is waiting, they say it goes so fast it makes them feel as if they were at the cinema'(154). Stein's distinctive style of writing has often been aligned with the cinema; as one early critic put it, 'Miss Stein could turn the artist into a recording mechanism, a camera that somehow utters words rather than pictures'.[4] But while emphasis is often placed on cinematic visuality in Stein's writing, I argue that her work is actually quite remarkable for its attention to acoustic communication technologies. With this in mind, this chapter will analyse Stein's preoccupation with an intermittently disconnected telephone line as it is superseded by the increasingly ubiquitous radio, leaving her protagonists to interpret unreliable soundbites that often seemed unsynchronised with the experience they interrupted. This acoustic soundtrack is most notably emphasised in Stein's later writing, in particular *Wars I Have Seen*, which concludes with an account of Stein's triumphant and euphoric radio speech which was broadcast within days of her having been sighted by American G.I.s.

It is only fairly recently that scholarly consideration has been given to Stein's war writing, as previous attention has been focused on an evaluation of her political position, centring around the uneasy question of how she, as an expatriated American Jewish lesbian, survived under the Nazi-sympathetic Vichy regime that controlled occupied France. Critics have been divided on this issue, with some convinced that Stein's own political opinions were 'ludicrous, illogical, specious and inconsistent'.[5] Shari Benstock goes so far as to suggest that it was Stein's conflicted 'self-hatred' that allowed her, without being overtly

---

[3] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.131. Further references in text.
[4] B.L. Reid, *Art by Abstraction: A Dissenting Opinion of Gertrude Stein* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958) p.168.
[5] Bettina L. Knapp, *Gertrude Stein* (New York: Continuum, 1990) p.173.

sympathetic to Nazi politics, to 'turn a blind eye' to what was happening to other Jews in Europe,[6] although she acknowledges that 'it remains unclear whether [Stein] ever understood what was at stake in this war, what had led to it, or what her own position was in it' (342). Wanda Van Dusen's discovery and analysis of Stein's 'Introduction' to the broadcast speeches of Maréchal Pétain which had been hidden away by her disconcerted American publishers, reanimated the recent lively discussion of Stein's politics.[7] This unpublished manuscript of Stein's translation of Pétain's pro-Vichy radio propaganda was discovered annotated with a comment handwritten by her publisher: 'For the records. This disgusting piece was mailed from Belley on Jan. 19, 1942'.[8] Van Dusen points out that the piece raises both ethical and theoretical questions: the first addresses Stein's apparent collaboration, while the second whether her apparent 'political conservatism' cancels out the critical celebration of her 'anti-patriarchal' style by undermining the deconstructive tendencies of her earlier experimental writing (70). However, Van Dusen goes on to suggest that Stein's recounting of Pétain's 'moving' story in the Introduction could actually be interpreted as a strategy designed to protect herself and Toklas in an increasingly uncomfortable political situation; in this reading, the 'Introduction' acts as 'a redemptive fetishistic ritual'(71) even as it denies the existence of racism in the so-called *zone libre* administered by Pétain while obscuring the policies that would reveal him as antagonistic to sexual minorities and an enemy of the United States. Stein's disquieting celebration of Pétain as a political saviour is then intriguingly read by Van Dusen as a manifestation of the intoxication that is a by-product of fetishisation. This is, as I will go on to point out in the second half of this chapter, actually a crucial characteristic of fascist radio propaganda.

Pheobe Stein Davis attempts to redeem Stein's apparently compromised political leanings by arguing that the text of her most extensive war writing, *Wars I Have Seen*, is focused on storytelling strategies,[9] and draws attention to Stein's repeated asides, that 'there are so

---

[6] Shari Benstock, 'Paris Lesbianism and the Politics of Reaction, 1900-1940', *Hidden from History*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vinicus and George Chauncey, (New York: New American Library, 1989) 332-46, p.338. Further references in text.

[7] Wanda Van Dusen, 'Portrait of a National Fetish: Gertrude Stein's Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain' *Modernism/ Modernity* 3.3 (1996) 69-92. Further references in text.

[8] This handwritten comment from Stein's publisher Bennett Cerf is quoted by Wanda Van Dusen in 'Portrait of a National Fetish', p.70. She uncovered the four page manuscript in the Random House Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Columbia University. Stein's 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain has since been published in *Modernism/Modernity*, 3.3. (1996) 93-96.

[9] Phoebe Stein Davis, 'Even Cake Gets to Have Another Meaning: History, Narrative and "Daily Living" in Gertrude Stein's World War II Writings', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 44.3 (1998) 568-607.

many stories so many stories and so much confusion'.[10] John Whittier Ferguson also goes beyond discussions of the historical questions of collaboration to an appreciation that war, for Stein, was a manifestation of modernity, and therefore her record of 'these excitements and horrors are as much aesthetic and ontological as they were socio-political and military'.[11] He also argues that Stein's *Wars I Have Seen* is more concerned with the often confusing and ambiguous stories of everyday life, than in any attempt to recount an objective history of World War II. Jean Gallagher pursues a similar line of argument, pointing out that *Wars I Have Seen* is remarkable for its inscription and participation in the conflicting and changing discourses of French public opinion, with its equivocation between collaboration and resistance.[12] Gallagher goes on to argue that, in its gradual turn from occupation to liberation, Stein's text shifts from the deferral of interpretive certainty about visual evidence concerning political activity, to the fragmentation of both political subjectivity and the possibility of the unified subject. In Gallagher's reading, *Wars I Have Seen* 'problematises the notion of the unified seeing subject of war and the specular promise of completely achievable wartime visual perception'(127), even as it enacts the way occupation itself suspended interpretation. But by concentrating on a narrowing of the visual field during this period, Gallagher neglects the aural: Stein's controversial 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain' was, after all, triggered by his radio propaganda on the French *Radio Nationale*,[13] and while Stein may well have been frustrated throughout her 'eyewitness' account of the war, the multiple voices and viewpoints in *Wars I Have Seen* would seem to be more directly modelled on the heard broadcasts, interrupted telephone conversations, gossip and rumour-mongering that framed her experience during World War II. Sarah Wilson picks up on this omission, recalling Frantz Fanon's request that his readers 'conceive of the radio not as an instrument but "as a technique"',[14] and she argues that radio in particular acted as a powerful model for Stein's later writing.

---

[10] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p. 170.

[11] John Whittier-Ferguson, 'The Liberation of Gertrude Stein: War and Writing', *Modernism/Modernity* 8.3 (2001) 405-428, p.405-6.

[12] Jean Gallagher's *The World Wars Through the Female Gaze* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998) p.120. Further references in text.

[13] Pétain delivered over sixty radio broadcasts, collected in *Paroles aux Français: Messages et ecrits* (Lyon: H. Lardanchet, 1941). It was for Stein's own translation of these collected speeches that she wrote the controversial 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain'.

[14] Ian Baucom's emphasis in 'Frantz Fanon's Radio: Solidarity, Diaspora and the Tactics of Listening', *Contemporary Literature* (Spring 2001) p.25, cited in Sarah Wilson, 'Gertrude Stein and the Radio', *Modernism/Modernity*, 7.2 (2004) 261-278, p.267 ftn. 1

I would argue, however, that Stein did not simply adapt techniques learnt from radio in her writing, but had been so profoundly shaken by her experience with the talkies during her American lecture tour as to foreground modern demands on 'listening' and 'hearing', which had triggered her unease about the disintegration of her identity in the public spotlight. Certainly, the ambivalence that Stein felt about the loss of her own discursive power is evident in the ambiguities and disavowals that frame her many references to acoustic communications media, such as sound-film and radio. In the early stages of the war, for instance, Stein notes her increasing disconnection to the outside world: 'It is the third time that we have been deprived of the telephones but this time fortunately they have left us electricity and the radio, which is a pleasure'.[15] However, the disorientation brought about by a reliance on politicised radio broadcasts quickly became frustrating. For example, Stein describes what she and Alice Toklas overheard when they went into a nearby village,

> We had the habit of going to Chambéry to do our shopping once a week; we always went on Tuesdays because that suited us best in every way, and so it was Tuesday and nobody was very cheerful. We had a drink in a café, Vichy for me and pineapple juice for Alice Toklas, and we heard the radio going. 'What's the news?' we asked mechanically. 'Amiens has fallen,' said the girl.
> 'Let's not believe it,' I said; 'you know they never hear it straight.' So we went to the news bulletin, and there it was not written up, and we said to the girl in charge, 'You know, they are putting out false news in the town; they told us Amiens was taken.' 'No,' she said, 'but I will go and ask.' She came back; she said, 'Yes, it is true'.
> We did not continue shopping, we just hurried home.
> And then began the series of Tuesdays in which Paul Reynaud in a tragic voice told that he had something grave to announce.
> That was that Tuesday.
> And the next Tuesday it was the treason of the Belgian king.
> And he always announced it the same way, and always in the same voice.
> I have never listened to the radio since.[16]

This claim, to 'never' again listen to the radio, is strikingly similar to her repeated repudiation of cinema in the earlier American lectures. It is also similarly contradicted in the text of both 'The Winner Loses' and *Wars I Have Seen*. Stein goes on to insist, in her record of the outbreak of war, 'I said I would not hear any more news — Alice Toklas could listen to the wireless, but as for me I was going to cut box hedges and forget the war'(181). However, a great deal of the war experience described in *Wars I Have Seen* reveals Stein's obsessive radio listening. For instance, Alice B. Toklas recalled, in a later

[15] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.128.
[16] Gertrude Stein, 'The Winner Loses: A Picture of Occupied France', pp. 178-79. Further references in text.

letter to a friend, Stein's insistence on being updated with even the broadcasts she had missed while she was in the bath or asleep:

> We were right near the Swiss frontier though the Occupation....And there was the Swiss radio which was the only one to give us all the news and unbiased news at that — it was the only thing that gave us any comfort — though the news was unbiased their feelings were really not neutral and how we loved them for that. And so I am grateful to your wife's country — particularly now when there's enough *recul* — and the memory of GS at the radio at a quarter of twelve and a quarter of seven saying — Hush here it comes. She was never down for the morning one — so I wrote it down and slipped the paper under the door for when she woke up.[17]

Although disavowals and hesitations mark the history of Stein's experience with acoustic technologies, her first engagement with radio was an unalloyed success. In the earlier *Cosmopolitan* article 'I Came and Here I Am'(1935) Stein had shifted from a discussion of her unease with her simultaneous speaking and moving appearance in a sound-film to her excitement with her first experience of radio in a broadcast interview with William Lundell of NBC, recorded on 12th November 1934. This broadcast had been organised by her publisher, concerned that she was only getting local publicity as she went from state to state during her lecture circuit. The broadcast was popularly received, with Stein at one point comparing her writing to football in a way that strategically linked her appeal to the contemporary pleasures of all-American entertainment, such as the radio program itself.[18]

Fig. 24: Gertrude Stein in radio interview with William Lundell of NBC (1934)

---

[17] Letter from Alice B. Toklas to William Whitehead (31 July 1948) reproduced in *Staying on Alone: Letters of Alice B. Toklas*, ed. Edward Burns (London: Angus and Robertson, 1974) p.132.

[18] At one stage, a journalist wrote up his article about one of Stein's University speeches as if he were reviewing a boxing match. This got him fired, although his levity delighted Stein, who thought that he had pretty well captured her message.

Curiously, however, her protestations of unfamiliarity with radio in the article that followed — 'Tonight I did the last thing that I never did before'[19] — echoes her odd and contradictory disavowal of cinema, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. In the *Cosmopolitan* article, Stein insisted that not only had she never before participated in a radio broadcast, she had never heard one either:

> It is difficult to believe but it is true, I had never heard a broadcasting; that is I had never listened to one and I certainly had never thought of doing one, and this is the way the thing that I like best of all things I have never done before, was done. (71)

Notwithstanding her protestations of complete inexperience with the technologies of radio, Stein's enthusiasm for this 'new' form of communication is evident in her recollections of the process:

> Then we sat down one on either side of the little thing that was between us and I said something and they said that is all, and then suddenly it was all going on. It was it was really all going on, and it was, it really was, as if you were saying what you were saying and you knew, you really knew, not by what you knew but by what you felt, that everybody was listening. It is a very wonderful thing to do, I almost stopped and said it, I was so filled with it. And then it was over and I never had liked anything as I had liked it. (72)

Stein's evident delight in broadcasting possibilities exemplifies the exhilaration felt by many during this period with the seemingly unlimited experimental possibilities of radio. As the radio theorist Rudolph Arnheim commented in 1936,

> Broadcasting has constituted a new experience for the artist, his audience, and the theoretician: for the first time it makes use of the aural only, without the almost invariable accompaniment of the visual which we find in nature as well as in art. The results of even the first few years of experiments with this new form of expression can only be called sensational. An alluring, exciting world has been revealed containing not only the most potent sensuous delights known to man – those of musical sounds, rhythm and harmony – but capable also of reproducing actuality.[20]

It is worth noting, however, that Stein's 1934 radio broadcast was not quite an 'actuality', nor a purely auditory experience, as she recalls that 'the first thing they did was to photograph me doing it, not doing it but make believe doing it. This was easily done. There was nothing natural or unnatural about that'.[21] The resulting photographs remain as the

---

[19] Gertrude Stein, 'I Came and Here I Am', *Cosmopolitan* (February, 1934) reproduced in *How Writing Is Written*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas (Los Angeles: Black Arrow Press, 1974) 67-72, p.71. Further references in text.
[20] Rudolph Arnheim, *Radio: An Art of Sound* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936) p.14
[21] Gertrude Stein, 'I Came and Here I Am', p.71.

most direct 'evidence' that this radio event occurred, as the auditory track of the broadcast exists only in transcribed form. And this transcription is itself curiously indirect, for Stein's responses, like the questions she was asked, were apparently written out prior to the broadcast.[22] Although the radio broadcast was structured as an interview with an exchange of information, in the form of questions and answers, it was significantly unlike the telephone conversations that engaged Stein during the same period throughout her lecture tour: in the telephone 'format', the *mise en scène* of talk requires one of the protagonists to accept a passive position, as subjects are limited to a discontinuous sequential organisation of alternating dialogue in short, elliptic and often disconnected sentences.[23] In the broadcast, Stein discovered that she did not have to accept a passive position herself, and was delighted to realise that 'everybody was listening'.[24]

'I Came and Here I Am' also attributes Stein's writer's block from lecturing as a problem of talking in her new public voice: 'I have as you see got into the habit of talking to anybody so I am writing as if I am talking'(68). Broadcasting allowed a more direct incorporation of 'talking' into her work, and acted as a conduit for mass mediated perceptual experience to her audience, although interestingly it did not entirely cancel out the visual register. Stein's claim that communication, or 'talking', both destabilised her sense of selfhood and opened up a new phase in her writing highlights the profound ambivalence about her own loss of discursive power, evident in the ambiguities and disavowals found in Stein's numerous references to mass media and mass culture in her lectures and public writing in the 1930s. Katherine Biers argues that Stein, when she says she is 'so filled with it', links her sense of artistic self-possession directly to the medium of mechanical reproduction, suggesting that broadcasting, unlike sound-film, played a supporting role to Stein's sense of wholeness or fullness of identity as a writer.[25] Biers points out that broadcasting is then a more perfect version of silent film and photography, none of which replace Stein but which all serve as mirrors wherein she sees herself as she likes to be seen (143). Interestingly, the language that Biers falls back on to describe Stein's uneasiness with the mechanical reproduction of her public image is still only

---

[22] See Stephen Meyer's introduction to the publication of this transcript, 'A Radio Interview: Gertrude Stein and William Lundell' (12 November, 1934)', *Paris Review*, 32 (1990) 85-97, p. 87.

[23] For more on the telephone's sequencing of talk, see Chantal de Gournay, 'Pretence of Intimacy in France', *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 193-205, p.202.

[24] Gertrude Stein, 'I Came and Here I Am', p.72. Further references in text.

[25] Katherine Biers, *Afterimages of the Feminine: The Emergence of Modernist Mass Culture*, unpublished PhD (Cornell University, 2002) p. 137.

framed in terms of the visual. As I have argued, this often elided acoustic element is actually fertile ground for an analysis of Stein's provocative experimentations. More particularly, Stein's concerns were successfully amplified in the NBC radio broadcast. This delighted Stein because it allowed her, after her horror at the 'loss' of her identity in the talkie, to reassert discursive mastery over her public framing.

At the same time, apparently more pleasure was found listening to Stein rather than reading her work, with at least one journalist during the lecture tour reporting that:

> To hear Miss Stein read her own work is to understand it — I speak for myself — for the first time…you see why she writes as she does; you see how from sentence to sentence, which seem so much alike, she introduces differences of tone, or perhaps of accent. And then when you think she has been saying the same thing four or five times, you suddenly know that she has carefully, link by link, been leading you to a new thing.[26]

However, in the radio broadcast, Stein was put out by the interviewer's suggestion that her writing was understandable only by intellectuals and that she did not keep up with the common readership, or contemporary ways of speech. She responded, 'Oh don't I. How do you know I do not. And what makes you think I only talk to literary circles. I talk to and listen to anybody'(93). She concludes the interview with a rebuke: 'if you enjoy it you understand it. If you did not enjoy it why do you make a fuss about it? There is the real answer'(97). A change was evident in Stein's attitude to modern communications media: from never having listened to a radio before, Stein recalls in *Everybody's Autobiography* that during her tour across the United States she 'had taken it for granted that every room in any hotel would have a radio in it and that the radio would be going every minute and that even if the one in our rooms was not going we would hear all the others'.[27] It had become clear to Stein that modernity came with a constant stream of noise, and that the acoustic technologies were easily incorporated into the background of everyday life. When she said of her work in the radio broadcast, 'if you enjoy it you understand it', she was also marking her ongoing interest in sound's impact on theories of attention and distraction. This interest did not preclude her own enjoyment of what might be considered pure 'noise'. Stein, although notoriously tone deaf and unable to read music or sing, loved to improvise on the piano. This was much to the horror of Virgil Thompson, who would quickly cut short his visits, and presumably of Alice B. Toklas, who had received a serious

---

[26] Gladys Baker, *Birmingham News Age Herald* (November 1934) quoted in Stephen Meyer's introduction to 'Gertrude Stein: A Radio Interview', p. 86.
[27] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.213. Further references in text.

musical education in preparation for a career as a concert pianist.[28] Stein's aptitude for noise-making is evident in her anecdote about a meeting with some 'pleasant' people in a Cleveland hotel during her lecture tour, one of whom was searching for an entertaining distraction. 'Why not improvise on the piano', Stein suggested. When asked, 'what do you do'(198), she replied:

> you never want to use anything but white keys black keys are too harmonious and you never want to do a chord chords are too emotional, you want to use white keys and play two hands together but not bother which direction either hand takes not at all you want to make it like a diagram and always looking and you will have a good time. (198)

Rather faintly, the new acquaintance said 'she would try but any one perhaps not every one can do it and enjoy it', to which Stein replied, rather complacently, 'I do'.

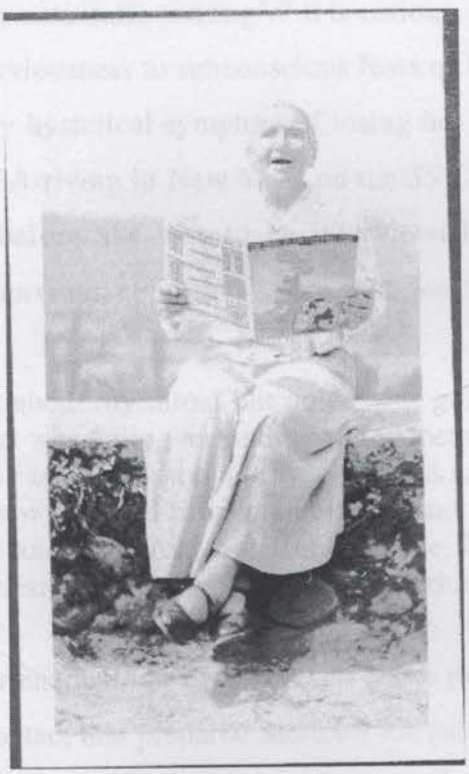


Fig.25: Gertrude Stein singing 'The Trail of the Lonesome Pine' (1937)

Stein's early interests, while still a medical student at Harvard in the 1890s, linked her questions about writing, attention and distraction to the aural. While scholars have stressed the correlations between Stein's automatic writing experiments with contemporaneous

[28] Virgil Thomson paid a tribute to Stein's 'evanescent art' with his Third Piano Sonata written for white keys for Stein 'to improvise at the pianoforte.' See John Herber Gill, 'The Music of Gertrude Stein', Program Notes for the 1983 concert *Gertrude Stein: Words and Music'* (1983) available online at <http://www.gertrude-stein.com> (accessed 10th December 2003)

scientific discourses on attention and cinema,[29] pointing out that these studies took place in the laboratory of Hugo Münsterberg (whose treatise on film was to become the most substantial early work on film),[30] they tend to ignore the acoustic connections. Intriguingly, however, the first experiments devised by Stein and her collaborator Leon Solomons were with tuning forks. Eventually, however, Stein admitted that 'neither of us had a very good ear for music that is for notes' and so the experiments were given up.[31] They then concocted the infamous experiments in which undergraduates were to write or take dictation while simultaneously attending to another stimulus, such as reading a novel, with the result that the subjects wrote without being aware of their writing, and particularly without remembering what they wrote. The conclusion of the study was that in most instances conscious attention could not override unconscious, with the one exception to the rule being Stein herself, who later said that she 'never had subconscious reactions, nor was she a successful subject for automatic writing'.[32] It is curious, therefore, that for one so complacent about her imperviousness to subconscious fears or influences, Stein did in fact succumb to the suspiciously hysterical symptom of losing her voice at the moment when she had to speak publicly. Arriving in New York on the *SS Champion* at the start of her American tour, and just before she was to be interviewed, recorded and filmed by journalists, Stein became anxious about her voice, but was reassured by a ship-board encounter:

> I had never thought about my throat but now I was going to lecture I at once was certain that my throat was failing me and meeting Doctor Wood [a throat specialist] was perfect because I could tell him all my symptoms and he could console me. He did but even so I knew it would happen and it did, and when I was to give my first lecture I had a cold and my throat was troubling me, he had said I might and we telephoned to him, hearing his voice was already soothing.[33]

While talking to the doctor enabled her own voice to come back, it was significantly the consolation of telephone contact that prepared Stein for the more public communication of lectures.

---

[29] For recent readings of Stein's automatic writing experiments, see Susan McCabe, '"Delight in Dislocation": The Cinematic Modernism of Stein, Chaplin and Man Ray', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 8.3 (2001) 429-53; Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2001) p.62; and Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 197-211.

[30] Hugo Münsterberg, *The Film: A Psychological Study* (1916) ed. Richard Griffith (Harvard University Press, New York, 1970). He wrote to Stein to praise her at length as his 'ideal student', as quoted in Richard Bridgman. *Gertrude Stein in Pieces* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) p.22.

[31] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.230.

[32] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.79.

[33] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 174.

Whatever conclusions could be made about Stein's exploitation of subconscious impulses in her writing,[34] the early automatic experiments were initially based on the premise that 'Miss Stein has a strong auditory consciousness, and sounds usually determine the direction of her attention'.[35] Listening, conscious and selective, has long been contrasted to hearing, which is understood to be indiscriminate and automatic, but early twentieth century studies in attention, hypnotism and hysterical deafness weakened the polarity of these traditional opposites, as it became evident that the ear, with its relentless and unselective hearing, could also be an attentive listener. Listening for telegraph and telephone operators, for instance, became indiscriminate and automatic, while hearing might well be specific and voluntary, as with hypnotic commands, only some of which would be 'heard' and acted upon.[36] The model of the telephone contributed most substantially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the conflation of hearing and listening, overhearing and 'listening in'.

Stein explored this newly defined characteristic of 'listening' at length in her writings around the period of her greatest public success with *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*(1933) when, suddenly a celebrity, she was inundated with uninvited guests, phone calls, and letters from well-wishers. Suffering from writers' block, Stein was convinced that 'so many people know me I was no longer I and for the first time since I had begun to write I could not write and what was worse...I began to think about how my writing would sound to others'.[37] She worked through this block by writing *Blood on the Dining Room Floor*(1933), a kind of detective novel which is peculiarly obsessed with listening and hearing, and which, I would argue, marks the beginnings of Stein's unease with the untrustworthiness of telephones. This concern would come to the forefront during the war years in occupied France, when Stein's telephone lines were to be continually interrupted, and she would be obliged to rely heavily on radio for contact with the outside world. Jane Detweiler has argued that Stein engages her readers in a continual 'conversation'[38] as *Blood on the Dining Room Floor* explores the autobiographical mysteries of an 'unnatural'

---

[34] B.F. Skinner suggested that Stein's famously elliptic writing style was the result of this automatic writing experimentation rather than any 'literary genius'. See 'Has Gertrude Stein a Secret?' *Atlantic Monthly* (1934) 50-57

[35] Leon Solomons and Gertrude Stein, 'Normal Motor Automatism', *Harvard Psychological Laboratory* (1896) 492-512, p.500. For more on the experiments, see also Solomons and Stein's, 'Cultivated Motor Automatism: A Study of Character in Relation to Attention', *Psychological Review* (1898) 295-306.

[36] See Hillel Schwartz, 'The Indefensible Ear', *The Auditory Culture Reader*, eds. Michael Bull and Les Back (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003) 487-502, p.488.

[37] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.6.

[38] Jane A. Detweiler, 'A Piano in the Margin: Gertrude Stein "Detected" in Blood on the Dining-Room Floor', *Kentucky Philological Review* 7 (1992) 12-16.

summer of 1933 which unsettled Stein and Toklas, with its series of strange encounters with hostile servants, the inexplicable death of a local Frenchwoman, the suicide of a neighbouring Englishwoman, and odd acts of sabotage to telephones and cars. With constant queries and asides, the narrator of the novel draws the reader into the villagers' inconclusive discussion, rumour and suspicion, where everybody anxiously listens: 'She listened, she listened about everything and helped him to hear it. She helped him to hear everything. She heard everything.'[39] Although the narrator intimates that something suspicious has happened, there is no progress towards any solution of the implied 'crimes'. The repeated admonitions to 'listen carefully'(3) and 'listen while I tell you all the time'(72) result in a puzzling silence with no satisfactory conclusion or response to the narrator's increasingly plaintive demands 'Are you listening? Do you remember?'(34). Stein complains of the one-way listening conditions, which lead to the frustration of conversational possibilities: 'And now when can I ask when I am answered' (71). The stumbling and hesitant dialogues of *Blood on the Dining Room Floor* themselves make the reader listen 'badly'. Roland Barthes theorises, in *Le Plaisir du texte*, that it is precisely by this kind of indirect or 'unruly listening' that a piece of writing works best:

> The text...produces in me the best pleasure if it manages to make itself heard indirectly: if, reading it, I am led to look up often, to listen to something else. I am not necessarily captivated by the text of pleasure; it can be an act that is slight, complex, tenuous, *presque étourdi*: a sudden movement of the head like a bird who understands nothing of what we hear, who hears what we do not understand.[40]

Barthes performs the pleasure he describes, so that the reader is obliged to listen awry, in an almost auditory anamorphosis, to his definition of '*presque étourdi'*, which can mean variously 'scatterbrained', 'twisted' or 'deafened'. I would argue that Stein, in *Blood on the Dining Room Floor,* similarly constructs a hermeneutics of listening, so that her detective novel assumes 'an attitude of decoding what is obscure, blurred or mute, in order to make available to consciousness the "underside" of meaning.'[41]

Stein had struggled to account for this kind of unruly listening in her early experiments at Harvard. She argued, 'I do not think that any university student is likely certainly not under observation is likely to be able do genuinely automatic writing',[42] because they were

---

[39] Gertrude Stein, *Blood on the Dining Room Floor* (1933) (London: Virago, 1985) p. 24. Further references in text.
[40] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975) pp. 24-5.
[41] Roland Barthes, 'Listening', *The Responsibility of Forms*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985) p.249.
[42] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.231.

precisely too attentive in that setting to allow for an objective study of distraction and the writing process. Jacques Derrida has described students in a university turning themselves into high-fidelity receivers, like 'the dog of the phonograph',[43] connecting them to the academic institution primarily by their ears: 'the student listens', occasionally 'writes as he listens', while the universities themselves are 'acoustic or acroamatic machines' (247). He goes on to describe the academic apparatus as reducible to 'one speaking mouth, with many ears and half as many writing hands'(249). While Derrida was primarily discussing the 'perversion' of Nietzsche's writing in the context of Nazi theories of culture, it is intriguing that Stein's growing uneasiness with her performance in lectures before an academic crowd led her to describe a similarly peculiar constitution of new sensorium in the speaking and listening context:

> I never really did care very much about hearing any one lecture. My eyes always have told me more than my ears. Anything you hear gets to be a noise, but a thing you see, well of course it has some sound but not the sound of a noise.[44]

Fig. 26: Gertrude Stein lecturing with microphone (1934-35)

[43] Jacques Derrida, 'All Ears: Nietzsche's Otobiography', trans. Avital Ronell, *Yale French Studies*, 63 (1982) 245-250, p.247.
[44] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 89. Further references in text.

Stein went on to pin her desire for recognition and acceptance not on the students, academics or reporters who listened attentively to her lectures, and with whom she loved to chat, but on the photographers who followed her on her press tour of America, claiming that their preoccupation with the purely visual field made them the only ones who might truly understand her:

> I was talking there were two or three [journalists] and a photographer with them and I said you know it is funny but the photographer is the one of the lot of you who looks as if he were intelligent and was listening now why is that, you do I said to the photographer you do understand what I am talking about don't you. Of course I do he said you see I can listen to what you say because I don't have to remember what you are saying, they can't listen because they have got to remember. (188).

Everybody's Autobiography ultimately treats lecturing and even 'real life' conversations as a problematic of multiple signals which not only interfere with one another but which also move at different speeds. Stein suggests that confusion will occur if her audience — much like the undergraduate subjects in her experiments in automatic writing — is forced to pay attention to all the different speeds at once. At such moments, the visuals alone are preferable because they make fewer constraining demands on the attention than sound:

> But speaking voices always go at a different tempo than when you listen to them and that bothers me, things seen might too but then you do not have to look at them, but things said have to be heard, and they always go on at the wrong tempo. I suppose really that is the trouble with politics and school teaching, everybody hears to much with their ears and it never makes anything come together, something is always ahead of another or behind, it does not even make any bother but it does nothing either but make a noise and a noise is always a confusion, and if you are confused well if you look at anything you are really not confused but if you hear anything then you really are confused. (69)

The danger with the calibration of sight and sound is that it would lead to 'confusion' and disconnection from what was really going on. This disconnection, which for Stein seemed to be paradoxically provoked by the development of acoustic communication techniques, is the concern of *Listen to Me: A Play* (1936), written on her return from the year of public appearances criss-crossing the American states. The central premise of this play is the investigation of public performance and the simultaneous disintegration of identity, with Stein meditating on the question 'What happened when the earth was covered all over which it is'[45] with people who are 'nobodies':

---

[45] Gertrude Stein, *Listen to Me. A Play* (1936) in *Last Operas and Plays* ed. Carl van Vechten (New York: Vintage, 1975) 387-421, p. 403. Further references in text.

> What happens is this none of the characters have met they have not met yet if they have not met yet none of the characters have met none of the Acts have met none of the Characters and Acts have met yet they have not met none of the Characters have met none of the Acts have met and if they have not met they have not met yet. (420)

She concludes that 'if the earth is everywhere covered all over with people nobody sees them all' (412). The question of the consequences of fame is once more linked to Stein's ongoing concern about the developing mass media: individual characters are unrecognised and separated as the spread of communication technologies results in a society that is disconnected from itself. The announcement 'suddenly there is a war'(405) in *Listen to Me* appears the result of this increasing isolation as the technology that links the growing network of humanity paradoxically creates an artificial distance which, in its turn, leads to war and the further disintegration of community.

At the conclusion of *Listen to Me*, words are separated out on the page, suggesting that Stein's trajectory into the public spotlight came with its own disconnection and disorientation:

> Acts
> Curtain
> Characters
> Curtain
> Acts
> There is no one and one
> Nobody has met any one
> Curtain can come. (421)

While Stein placed great emphasis on who she knew, who wanted to meet her, and who she had met in both her salon and her travels through the modernist landscape of the early twentieth century, if no-one really meets, then the excitement generated by the exchange of celebrity and fame described in Stein's earlier work becomes pointless. The play *Listen to Me* therefore clarifies not only Stein's ambivalence to her unexpected popularity, as the public spotlight threatened her own self-image, but also the change in her attitude to a public and diffused listening audience. This shift is marked by Stein's movement away from a friendly or 'conversational' style of writing and to one that is wary of her listening public, as is particularly evident in the aside in another text from 1936, Stein's

Geographical History of America, where she worries, 'when a great many hear you that is an audience and if a great many hear you what difference does it make'.[46]

Dr Faustus Lights the Lights (1938), Stein's next major play, was first written as an opera libretto on the eve of World War II and has therefore been interpreted as a response to rumours of the coming war, and an uncanny presaging of human evil remodelled in the figure of the German authoritarian Faust.[47] It has also popularly been read as an example of Stein's anxiety about emerging technologies' diffusion of her identity, following her experience in America of seeing her name in lights on electric billboards.[48] Richard Bridgman argued that American technology and the threat of success to Stein's personal identity 'coalesced for her in the phenomenon of electric lights to make Doctor Faustus a disgruntled Edison'.[49] Bridgeman went on, 'electric lights stood for the sometimes useful but never ultimately satisfying, true, or illuminating function of reason'(209). Thus although the pivotal character Faust is enchanted with electric light and agrees to sell his soul for it, at its first appearance he seems to have nothing but contempt for what he has created: 'what after all is the use of light, you can see just as well without it'.[50] Hell is presented as an unrelenting and indiscriminate technological glare: 'any light is just a light and now there is nothing more either by day or by night just a light'(598). However, in their focus on Stein through the lens of the visual and cinematic, critics once again overlook her increasing interest in the acoustic field, and forget that she was particularly troubled while in America not with her experience with film, but by her participation in the rapidly popularised technologies of sound-film that hybridised, too perfectly, sound and image. The last line of the final *Dr Faustus Lights the Lights*, as characters sink into the darkness and obscurity of a threatening war, is in fact a particularly telling repetition of Stein's anxious refrain: 'Listen to me'(624).

Isolated in a small village in the so-called 'free zone' of occupied France, Stein may well have queried who would listen to her, as her opportunities for celebrity networking were

---

[46] Gertrude Stein, *Geographical History of America* (New York: Random House, 1936) p.72.
[47] Linda Wagner-Martin, *Favoured Strangers: Gertrude Stein and her Family*, p.234.
[48] See James F. Schaefer, 'An Examination of Language as Gesture in a Play by Gertrude Stein', *Literature in Performance* 3 (1982) 1-14; Shirley Neuman, 'Would a Viper have stung her if she had only had one name?: Dr Faustus Lights the Lights' in *Gertrude Stein and the Making of Literature*, eds. Ira Nadel and Shirley Neuman (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1988) 168-193; and David Savran, 'Whistling in the Dark', *Performing Arts Journal* 15 (January, 1993) 25-27.
[49] Richard Bridgman, *Gertrude Stein in Pieces* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) p.209. Further references in text.
[50] Gertrude Stein, *Dr Faustus Lights the Lights* (1938) *A Stein Reader*, ed. Ulla E. Dydo (Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1993) 595-624, p. 597. Further references in text.

curtailed when communications became progressively limited: her mail was censored, cables stopped completely and telephones lines were constantly interrupted. Therese Bonney offered a rare eyewitness account of Stein during war, in an article published in *Vogue* in 1942, which describes Stein's precarious position cut off from friends, part of the village but somehow still apart. Bonney adds, 'She is completely detached from the ephemeral politics of France today'.[51] This assertion of Stein's neutrality or indifference was presaged by an earlier comment in which Stein presents herself as impervious to the danger she and Toklas were in: 'Writers only think they are interested in politics, they are not really, it gives them a chance to talk and writers like to talk but really no real writer is really interested in politics.'[52] Stein's wilful or involuntary blindness is most evident in *Wars I Have Seen* with the advice she gave to the young men of the village, whose mothers consulted her about whether their sons should go as ordered to the work camps in Germany, or evade capture and hide in the mountains with the Maquis. Stein's advice to go where directed by the occupying force was optimistic and non-confrontational but, in retrospect, distressingly naive: 'try to study them and learn their language and get to know their literature, think of yourselves as a tourist and not as a prisoner'.[53] Michael Davidson's conclusion to Van Dusen's unfinished paper[54] suggests that Stein, in her later writings about occupied France, seems to violate her early prescriptions about seeing as intensely as possible. He points out that 'now in order to see clearly she must avert her gaze, avoid seeing an occupying force as operatives of Fascism'.[55] Jean Gallagher similarly argues that Stein's war time writing actively undermined interpretation of visual and verbal evidence in response to the difficult and dangerous political situation Stein found herself, in a strategy of deferment that promoted the state of *attentisme* — the political attitude of 'wait and see' — common among French citizens during the Occupation.[56]

Despite the assertions by scholars that Stein had isolated herself during the war years,she was not completely disconnected from the political landscape. At the same time that she

---

[51] Therese Bonney, 'Gertrude Stein in France', *Vogue* (1 July 1942) reproduced in *Gertrude Stein Remembered*, ed. Linda Simon (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1994) p.177.
[52] Gertrude Stein, 'The Winner Loses', p. 178.
[53] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.25.
[54] Van Dusen committed suicide before finishing and publishing her doctorate, from which the article 'Portrait of a National Fetish' was published by Michael Davidson, her supervisor. Curiously enough for my research for this thesis about odd acoustic asides, when Van Dusen's archives and papers were cleared out after her death, an extensive collection of audio cassettes was found. These contained her own recorded voice reading the papers, essays and articles of her most admired critics and theorists: she would play them back while driving to and from her work at the University of California.
[55] Michael Davidson, conclusion to Wanda Van Dusen's 'Portrait of a National Fetish', p.87.
[56] Jean Gallagher, *The World Wars Through the Female Gaze*, pp.116-117.

wrote the pro-Fascist piece supporting Maréchal Pétain, she was apparently also contributing to several subversive little magazines, which were circulated surreptitiously. In 1942, for example, a piece by Stein appeared in the monthly magazine *Confluences*,[57] just as it was officially denounced by a collaborationist daily paper in Paris: 'the literary magazines of the southern zone have always manifested, more or less slyly, the greatest tenderness for the defunct Third Republic, its Jews, pederasts and freemasons.'[58] Stein herself was directly targeted in the denunciation against *Confluences*: 'to write for this magazine it is sufficient to be an American Jewess, without talent, like Gertrude Stein'(248). Her contribution had been published in an issue of *Confluences* alongside those of Albert Camus, Robert Desnos, Jean-Paul Sartre, Claude Moyan and Jacques Debu-Bridel, all key members of the intellectual resistance. Wagner-Martin argues that Stein's links to this group were not incidental, and were reinforced by her ongoing friendship with the journal's editor, René Tavernier. This was despite some awkwardness in negotiating the timing of his visits to Stein, given that she was still maintaining her relationship with the collaborator Bernard Fäy, who had translated *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* to French and was also a frequent visitor. His political connections with the Vichy regime undoubtedly helped Stein survive her precarious position in the so-called 'free zone'. Wagner-Martin points out that this equivocal negotiation of acquaintances and occupation was not atypical, citing how Simone de Beauvois worked for Pétain's *Radio Nationale* in Paris while simultaneously and without contradiction claiming after the war that 'everybody resisted'(249). Following this argument, Stein's own experiences should therefore not be used to judge Stein as either particularly strategic or naïve.

What I am more interested in considering is Stein's response to the silencing of her public voice. Throughout the war years she regularly updated the journal-like entries to her manuscript *Wars I Have Seen,* a text that is unusually preoccupied with interrupted conversations and frustrated storytelling. I would argue that Stein's silenced state in the war years is comparable to that which Emanuel Schlegoff, in his discourse analysis of telephone conversations, refers to as 'a continuing state of incipient talk'.[59] According to Schlegoff, silences or interruptions are created by gaps of topic or sequence boundaries,

---

[57] Gertrude Stein, 'Les Mois' (1942) *Confluences* vol 7, 18-22.
[58] Quoted by Linda Wagner-Martin in *Favoured Strangers: Gertrude Stein and her Family*, p.248. Further references in text.
[59] Emanuel A. Schlegoff, 'Beginning in the Telephone', in *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 284-300. p.284

and do not necessarily indicate to the participants that a conversation is over. The duration of these silences is marked out by contextual contingencies, such as the departure and arrival times that bracket extended periods of silence in conversations during long car rides. Following this model, Stein's war years were framed by her refrain 'Listen to me' in the work following her success in America, and the radio broadcast she was persuaded to give within days of her liberation at the end of the Second World War. In the meantime, *Wars I Have Seen* traces Stein's negotiation of local gossip, rumour and denunciation, in such a way that her reliance on modern technologies was gradually and inextricably entangled with the condition of 'incipient talk'. Despite her earlier disavowal that she 'never listened to the radio again',[60] Stein underscores the broadcasts' increasingly pivotal role in the village:

> We are in the very thick of it now, rumours and rumours but some of them are true, they have suppressed the use of the telephone and all through the region, nobody can go anywhere...we have the terror of the Germans all about us, we have no telephone, we hear stories and do not know whether they are true, we do not know what is happening to our friends in Belley, except for the life of this village of Culoz we seem separated from everything, we have our dog, we have the radio, we have electricity, we have plenty to eat, and are comfortable but we are completely isolated and rumour follows rumour. (94-95)

The kind of listening Stein describes here is no longer the 'mechanical'(128) listening she and Toklas engaged in when hearing the broadcast of the fall of Amiens. Radio is not to be trusted, indeed as 'rumour follows rumour', it replicates and even supersedes the unreliable acoustic media. The incoming radio voices were available to all, although not local, and while they absorbed attention, they were not necessarily to be believed. While radio called for a diffused mechanical audience, this was a role that Stein and her neighbours were no longer prepared to perform. The diverted or divided consciousness invited by the communications technologies, where one is physically present but absorbed by a technologically mediated world of elsewhere,[61] no longer seemed relevant to the cultural life of the isolated and harried villagers. Instead, gossip replicated the missing technology:

> what makes it so extraordinary, everybody listens to the radio, they listen all day long because almost everyone has one and if not there is their neighbour's and they listen to the voice from any country and yet what they really believe is not what they hear but the rumours in the town, by word of mouth is always the most

---

[60] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.128. Further references in text.

[61] For more on the domain of the divided consciousness and technology, see Kenneth J. Gergson, 'The Challenge of the Absent Presence' in *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. James E Katz, and Mark A. Aakhus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 227-241.

> convincing, they do not believe the newspapers nor the radio but they do believe what they tell each other and that is natural enough, all official news is so deceiving, so why not believe all the rumours, and even when they know they are not true they believe them, at any rate they have a chance of being true rumours have but official news has no chance of being true none at all of course not.[62]

While gossip, as an exchange of points of view, is not necessarily about accurate information, it is curious that the villagers chose to 'believe what they tell each other' and not the official communiqués. While Barthes considers gossip negatively (in *A Lover's Discourse*, he describes it as 'murder' by language, with an anecdote about a dying man 'nibbled up by others' words, dissolved in the ether of Gossip'[63]), Patricia Meyer Spacks argues that as gossip insists on a plot or narrative, it effectively calls attention to all the interpretations and ambiguities of talk. She points out, 'when information comes by means of gossip, one can hardly avoid noting that it has been filtered through multiple consciousness'.[64] In Bakhtinian terms of dialogue, gossip takes into account the listener, in 'an active understanding' that 'works in both directions'.[65] Stein's poetics of dialogue shares certain assumptions with Bakhtin's concept of language: living language 'is never unitary' (288) but richly multiple and polyphonic, and the novel as a form embodies this 'heteroglossia', as a many-voiced and many-tongued discourse. Dialogic communication technologies, like Stein's suppressed telephone, normally would facilitate the flow of interactive movement in meaning, but monologic technologies like the radio, which speaks but is not directly spoken to, cannot be questioned directly. Stein's 'poetics of indeterminacy', according to Marjorie Perloff, are the 'verbal configurations set up precisely to manifest the arbitrariness of discourse, the impossibility of arriving at "the meaning" even as countless possible meanings present themselves to our attention'.[66]

From a dialogic form of communication, where 'we all talked and we all explained so much and we all talked to anybody',[67] developments in the war saw a change for Stein. The danger of telling too much to the wrong person was brought home as the local men risked deportation and denunciations ran rife through the village. Collaborating French authorities were arresting their fellow Frenchmen, and 'everybody is ashamed, everybody is crying,

---

[62] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p. 105.
[63] Roland Barthes, *A Lover's Discourse: Fragments*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978) p. 196.
[64] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (New York: Alfred Knop, 1985) p.9.
[65] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986) pp. 280 and 282. Further references in text.
[66] Marjorie Perloff, 'Poetry as Word System: The Art of Gertrude Stein', *American Poetry Review* 8.5 (1979) 33-35, p.34.
[67] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.57. Further references in text.

everybody is listening to everything'(93). Kenneth Gergson points out how a focus on 'absent' monologic technologies like radio can lead to just such a curtailing of local meaning: 'when we are listening to voices from afar we are no longer building the realities and moralities of the local together'.[68] While new clusters of meaning from these distant sources may be compatible, they may also function independently or antagonistically to the local, and this leads to the breakdown of communal trust: 'friendship, intimacy, family and neighbours cease to be the primary sources of meaning, and become the objects of deliberation from another domain of reality'(232). While Gergson was meditating on the inherent dangers of the current cyber-community, his theory of 'absent presence' is peculiarly applicable to the situation of the French radio listening public under occupation, who were conscious of the wider war, but whose community ethics were compromised by conflicting claims of collaboration or resistance. Similarly, it could be argued that Stein's attention to the local conditions of war was distracted by an imagined conversation with her American public, regularly updated in the manuscript of *Wars I Have Seen*.

The idiosyncratic language tick of Stein's village, with its conversational aside of 'taisez vous' or 'shut up'(97) quoted at the beginning of this chapter, then became an apposite and urgent proscription to counter the excessive storytelling about the war. People learnt to guard their tongues:

> There was nothing to say and nobody said it, and then the Germans took Sudan. That gave us all so bad a turn that nobody said anything: they just said how do you do, and talked about the weather, and that was all — there was nothing to say.[69]

As the action in the region heated up, and the military presence became more conspicuous, the local villagers attempted to maintain a fantasy of distance and disconnection, treating the war and the Germans as if they were remote and artificial: Stein notes, for example, that 'the younger generation made a cult of not knowing that there were any Germans existing',[70] ignoring them on the street and treating them as if they were ghosts or film characters who were 'exactly like their photographs'(187). Stein draws attention to the contradictory pressures that were in circulation with an unsatisfactorily explained story about what seems an abortive attempt to implicate her in surreptitious information exchange. This strange anecdote is striking for the way it is unpursued in the text of *Wars I*

---

[68] Kenneth Gergson, 'The Challenge of Absent Presence', p.232. Further references in text.
[69] Gertrude Stein, 'The Winner Loses', p.178.
[70] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.122. Further references in text.

Have Seen, and so presents to the reader the local tensions that led to the shutting down of conversation in order to survive the war:

> We had a friend whose name was Gilbert and he was gone away and his wife followed him and the little girl Christine was left behind with some neighbours, we did not know them and one day a red-haired and active young fellow asked for me and I saw him and I said what and he said I have a message to you from Gilbert, ah I said is the little girl not well, oh yes he said she is all right she is staying with us, ah yes I said, do you need anything for her, I said and he said no she was all right and he was fiddling with a match box and I said well and he said the message is in here and I said you had better go, and he said are you afraid of me and I said no and you had better go and don't you want the message he said and I said no you had better go and he said I will go and he had tears in his eyes and he went out and told the servant that we had not received his message and a friend said were you not curious and I said no not.
> There are so many ends to stories these days so many ends that it is not like it was there is nothing to be curious about except small things, food and the weather. (65)

Stein shows here how she has moved from telling 'everything' to doing nothing but listening and repressing conversation that might eventually implicate her. Stein's renunciation of speculation is intriguing not only for the way that elides her decision to take a side in the war, as either pro-collaborationist or sympathetic to the Resistance, but for the way it reveals her adherence to the villages proscription to 'shut up'. In another anecdote in *Wars I Have Seen*, Stein's delight at decoding clues indicating that the allies were approaching is tempered by her awareness of possible technological surveillance 'listening in'. She recalls that one day on the radio,

> we heard Eisenhower tell us he was here they were here and just yesterday a man sold us a ten packages of Camel cigarettes, glory be, and we are singing glory hallelujah, and feeling very nicely, and everybody has been telephoning to us congratulatory messages upon my birthday which it isn't but we know what they mean. And I said in return I hoped their hair was curling nicely. (127)

Although the telephone lines were back up, Stein and her friends were careful to encrypt their delight at the news of approaching Americans. Interestingly enough, the coded response chosen by Stein may well reveal her carefully equivocal politics. What sounds like a surrealist comment, 'I hoped their hair was curling nicely', can be deciphered as a rather pointed pro-Resistance aspiration, as she later recounts the punishment meted out to the local women who overtly liaised with the Germans was that their curls were shaven off in what Stein mocks as 'the coiffeur of 1944'(160).

Silence was used by the Resistance in a striking historical incident to combat the pervasive monologic pressures of the radio propaganda: Charles de Gaulle, exiled in Britain but exhorting the French public by radio, notably in conjunction with the *Ici Londres* BBC broadcasts of coded 'personal' messages to Resistance operatives, staged a remote-control demonstration by suggesting in his radio broadcast that people leave their houses between 2pm and 4pm and 'reoccupy' — in total silence — their public spaces. Alice Kaplan insists that such silence was both a political necessity for the demonstrators and a symbolic blow against the reigning enemy 'voice'.[71] During World War II radio was used across the board — for propaganda purposes by the fascist aggressors and as part of the Resistance's limited arsenal — as part of the contemporary fascination with the transmission of voices: Kaplan quotes the fascist radio journalist Lucien Rabatet describing the Free French broadcasts, not simply as something forbidden and therefore necessarily listened to in secret, but as a Jewish drug through which the French people kept in touch with their depravities, 'their behinds in an armchair, their door prudently closed'.[72] The tension between the radio experience as either private or public is at the heart of radio ideology. As Kaplan points out, the radio and telephone were the first 'personal appliances' to become 'part of the furniture'(136). Radio gave people a sense of intimacy and control over technology; at the same time, radio's wirelessness, the invisibility of its method, made it a subject of greater mystification.

Stein had earlier recognised radio's potential for mystification. Following the success of *Four Saints* in America in the 1930s, she commented:

> Anybody can like saints, I was pleased when somebody wrote to me and told me they had never known what saints were before.
> But this is really not true all the things they listen to over the radio that is the one they listen to and believe in is a saint. All the dictators all the spell binders over the radio are in a way saints. They have the qualities of saints they are inspired and they converse and they have a halo and one cannot see them, for naturally everybody is interested in saints.[73]

The danger was in the development of an uncritical social fascination with the transmission of the voice so that anybody with proficiency in the mysteries of broadcasting could potentially become invested with saint-like qualities. A few years earlier, Theodor Adorno

---

[71] Alice Yaeger Kaplan, *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) p.139. Further references in text
[72] Lucien Rabatet, *Les Memoires d'un Fasciste: les décombres* (Denoël: Paris, 1942) p.646, quoted by Alice Kaplan, p.139.
[73] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.93.

had associated the worst tendencies of mass culture with the 'radio generation'.[74] He went on to point out that successful radio propaganda functioned as a kind of wish fulfilment; it works best as listeners are 'let in, they are supposedly getting the inside dope, taken into confidence, treated as one of the elite who deserve to know the lurid mysteries hidden from outsiders.'[75] Arguing that Fascism was built into the very fabric of capitalist modernity, Adorno saw the commodified American culture of mass consumption — movies, jazz and radio — as putting into play the same basic psycho-dynamic principles that formed the basis of Fascism: psychological dependence and social conformism. He was struck by the 'amazing stereotypy of all the fascist propaganda material known to us', breaking it down into thirty clichéd formulae, with rigid repetitions designed to psychologically hook the listener in the same way that the repetitive music of the jitterbug seizes the dancer (222). Stein was critical of the propaganda she heard on her radio, reporting that it seemed childish and repetitive: 'and so he goes on and so they go on, and all the radio stations interfere so that nobody can hear any one and in the midst of all the misery it is not childish but very small boyish'.[76] However, despite her wariness and her avowed dislike of the repetitions diffused over the radio — 'I did not like his way of saying I Philippe Pétain, that bothered me'(56) — Stein became like 'everyone' when she succumbed to this particular pro-fascist's broadcast charm. While the 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain' can be read as a strange kind of documentation of Stein's accumulated intoxication with the medium of radio and the unrelenting propaganda she was exposed to, it is interesting to consider Adorno's listing of the fetish slogan 'listen to your leader' as one of the primary fascist clichés, that was as empty of principle as an advertising slogan. In Stein's writings of the 1930s, her refrain 'Listen to me' seems to play with a shockingly similar formula of repetition.

When France was finally liberated by the allies, Stein and Toklas were excited at the prospect of 'seeing' another American. It appears that the liberation unblocked Stein's carefully silenced public voice, as after driving around the countryside in search of an elusive group of American soldiers, Stein finally triumphs:

---

[74] Theodor Adorno 'On Jazz' (1931) *Discourse: Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, 12.1 (1989-90) 38-69, p,40. Further references in text.
[75] Theodor Adorno, *The Stars Fell Down and Other Essays on the Irrational in Culture*, ed. Stephen Crook (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p.220.
[76] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen*, p.79. Further references in text.

> there was a large group of them and I told them who I was thinking some one of them might have heard of me but lots of them had and they crowded around and we talked and we talked. (165)

It was slightly disconcerting, but nonetheless enormously flattering, for Stein to realise that the American G.I.s were just as keen to meet with her, many having studied her writing at school recognised her as a literary celebrity. Even though it had been out of currency over the war years, the commodification of her celebrity was quickly apparent when she offered to sign autographs 'and they gave me pieces of money to write on'(165). The epilogue of *Wars I Have Seen* has Stein recounting her many conversations with the American soldiers. Stein was particularly 'struck with the poise and the conversation of this army'(168) compared to that of the first World War and wrote that 'it talked, it listened, whereas the older Americans always told stories that was about all there was to their talking but these don't tell stories they converse and what they say is interesting and what they hear interests them and that does make them different'.[77] Upon asking for an explanation of this from the men that she spoke to, Stein was told by the French that cinema has taught them to be 'men of the world'(169). The American soldiers, however, thought differently, 'some of them said the radio had a lot to do with it, they got into the habit of listening to information, and then the quizzes that the radio used to give kind of made them feel that there was no use being just ignorant'(169). It appeared that radio, even as it framed Stein's experience of war, was also developing the characteristics of America's new generation.

Fig.27: Gertrude Stein chatting with American G.I.s (1944)

[77] Gertrude Stein, *Brewsie and Willie*, (New York: Random House, 1946) p. 38.

Coming out of her enforced isolation during the war, Stein was thrust back into the public arena as suddenly as she had been after *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* was first published in 1933. This time, moreover, her first public event was a radio broadcast, quickly organised by journalists who had heard rumours of her survival from the American G.I.s. Eric Severied, a war correspondent for CBS and part of a group of embedded journalists who had landed with the allied forces, had previously met Stein in 1938, when he was a reporter in Paris for the international edition of *New York Herald Tribune*. He and a colleague, Frank Gervasi from *Colliers Weekly*, tracked down Stein, who had not been seen out of the village of Culoz for two years and who had lost touch with even her closest friends. Stein happily agreed to do a radio broadcast for Severied and gave Gervasi the freshly typed manuscript of *Wars I Have Seen* on the spot.[78] Stein was then driven to Voiron where she made a broadcast to America. Although this recording is lost, Severied transcribed at least part of Stein's euphoric speech in his autobiography:

> What a day is today that is what a day it was day before yesterday, what a day! I can tell everybody that none of you know what this native land business is until you have been cut off from that same native land completely for years. This native land business get you alright...First we saw three Americans in a military car and we said are you Americans and they said yes and we choked and we talked...And then four newspaper men turned up, naturally you don't count newspaper men but how they and we talked we and the and they asked me to come to Voiron with them to broadcast and here I am.[79]

This broadcast was fairly widely disseminated and her friends in America were amazed to hear her voice for the first time in years: Thornton Wilder for instance, immediately telegrammed her after hearing of the broadcast, while another of Stein's long-time correspondents described to her the unexpected intimacy of hearing her again, writing 'we heard you very plainly for a couple of minutes and I wanted to interrupt and say hello'.[80]

While Stein noted in an aside during this radio speech that 'naturally you don't count newspaper men', it was their role as representatives of the media technologies that served as the apparatus of war that made true the rumour of Stein's liberation. By broadcasting her story under the army's aegis, Stein had effectively let herself become not only a symbol of liberation, but also part of the propaganda machine. She would not have been unconscious of this effect; as John Whittier Ferguson points out, Stein 'measures that

[78] *Colliers Weekly* did not publish it, but Gervasi passed it to a friend from Random House. For more on this encounter, see Linda Wagner-Martin, *Favoured Strangers: Gertrude Stein and her Family*, p.224.
[79] Eric Severeid, *Not So Wild a Dream* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946) p.54.
[80] William G. Rogers, 'Letter to Gertrude Stein' (November, 1934) Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MSS 76, Series II, Box 121, Folder 2611.

publicity and the consequences of victory every bit as thoughtfully as she weighed the success and the effects of her own prose in the mid-1930s'.[81] Stein's article 'Off We All Went To See Germany', published in *Life* magazine in August 1945,[82] presents Stein in an even more emphatic return to her mass audience as an official witness of the allied victory. This article, and the photographs that accompanied it, marked Stein's return to her concern with the visual, and a break with her enforced preoccupation with acoustic technologies of communication. The most striking image is that of Stein, accompanied by American soldiers, visiting Hitler's retreat in the Alpine town of Berchtesgaden, where 'we all got together and pointed as Hitler had pointed'(57) in a pose that seems to mime the Sieg Heil salute, one of the most powerful iconographic gestures of the twentieth century.

Fig. 28: Gertrude Stein on Hitler's balcony (1945)

The frisson generated by this pose owes much to Stein's presence; as a Jewish lesbian expatriate American reviled by the Nazi regime, it was incredible that she would eventually play tourist in Hitler's stronghold. Jean Gallagher argues that this gesture displays 'an impulse toward mimetic and iconographic outrage'[83] towards the defeated Nazis, but adds that, even as Stein aligns herself visually with the victorious American soldiers, and the 'stance of victory', her own eye-witness account 'is effectively absorbed into the trajectory of the military gaze'(147). The photograph thus represents the moment

[81] John Whittier Ferguson, 'Stein in Time: History, Manuscripts, and Memory', p. 146.
[82] Gertrude Stein, 'Off We All Went to See Germany', *Life* 19 (6 August 1945) 54-58. Further references in text.
[83] Jean Gallagher, *The World Wars Through The Female Gaze*, p.147. Further references in text.

that Stein's experiences of war, with her shifting, conflicted political stance and her preoccupation with the aural, have apparently been absorbed and resolved by the unified, victorious military gaze.

Stein had been disconnected from her network of celebrity, particularly as her access to communication media was constricted in the late 1930s. However, despite the failure of visual cues, Stein continued her interrupted conversation by attuning herself to the soundtrack of war. Like Antonin Artaud, who will be discussed in the following chapters, Stein endured an enforced isolation during World War II. Unlike Artaud, who suffered so much from the medical technologies of the institutions that detained him that he emerged screaming but almost unrecognisable from his decade-long retreat, Stein's experience is remarkable for its everyday account of her discomforts and privations, even as she negotiated Pétain's conservative social agenda, with its surveillance of the civilian population, persecution and deportation of ethnic minorities. While her most problematic writing from this period, the 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain', has been read as offensively right-wing, Stein's appearance back in the public spotlight was nevertheless publicly received as a iconic visual and acoustic sign of liberation. Her most detailed account of the war years, *Wars I Have Seen*, tracked the vacillations and equivocations typical of the French living under the Occupation. Accordingly, it has been argued that Stein took on the pervasive media of radio, with its relentless and intoxicating propaganda and its various channels and competing discourses, as a model for her writing. While H.D. had to block her ears to the air sirens and gunfire in order to work through her writers' block, Stein tapped into the soundtrack of war. Although hostile to the different kind of listening triggered by her experience with talkies in America, Stein's preoccupation with the impact of acoustic technologies on listening, hearing, attention and distraction was given free reign when she was forced to depend on unreliable telephones and radio during the war. It is hardly surprising that attentive listening became a character in its own right in Stein's post-war play *Yes Is For A Very Young Man* (1944-5), where action and dialogue revolves around listening to radio broadcasts in a French household during the Occupation, and culminates in the familiar and evocative quote:

> attention, attention, attention, Paris is free
> attention attention Paris is free'.[84]

---

[84] Gertrude Stein, *Yes Is For A Very Young Man* (1944-5) *Last Operas and Plays*, ed. Carl van Vechten (New York: Vintage, 1975) 3-51, p.42.

6.

ANTONIN ARTAUD TUNES IN 'YOU CAN HEAR A SCREAM FROM THE EXTREMITIES OF THE MIND'

Just think of those shocks you've got
And those knocks you've got
And those blues you've got
From those news you've got
And those pains you've got
(If any brains you've got)
From those little radios.
Good authors too
Who once knew better words
Now only use four letter words
Writing prose:
Anything Goes

Cole Porter, *Anything Goes* (1934)

> This man is an actor. He is on the point of becoming famous, or at the very least very well known...He has been stricken with a bizarre malady...The necessary words desert him, they no longer answer his summons, he is reduced to watching a procession of images, an enormous number of contradictory images without very much connection from one to the next...Suddenly there is a knock on the door. Some cops come in. They seize him and put him in a straightjacket: he is taken to the madhouse. He goes mad.
>
> Antonin Artaud, *Les Dix-huit secondes*, screenplay (1925-6)

Antonin Artaud's public role as the restless *enfant terrible* of the avant-garde found its perfect expression in the eruption of controversy and violence during the 1928 première of *La Coquille et le clergyman*. Briefly back in the Surrealist fold, after being publicly ejected only the year before, Artaud's dissatisfaction with Germaine Dulac's cinematographical interpretation of his screenplay was unexpectedly supported by his ex-peers, with the instigation of a riot during its first screening variously attributed to Robert Desnos, Louis Aragon and André Breton. The première, according to contemporary accounts, was accompanied by screamed insults to Dulac and ended in violence, with at least three confused eyewitness reports circulating about Artaud's own involvement in the uproar. Such speculation was no doubt due to Artaud's already well-established notoriety as the disruptive and disquietingly influential figure at the heart of the Parisian avant-garde scene, and was further fuelled by more recent claims he had made for his screenplay of *La*

Coquille et le clergyman as the vehicle for a 'cinéma intègrale' that would 'destroy reality'.[1] Widely reprinted as the essay 'Cinéma et réalité', this preface to Artaud's original screenplay was first published in 1927, before any actual filming commenced. In it, Artaud anticipates the film he had wanted to both act in and direct as a purely visual cinema, a silent 'shock designed for the eyes' which would be the means, paradoxically enough, for the spectator to finally 'hear a scream from the extremities of the mind'(152).

Cultural and critical commentators of avant-garde film agree not only that this brawl took place, but that it marked an important moment in cinematic history.[2] It may have been a silent film, but it is best remembered for the voices it raised. However, in one account of the première, while the Surrealists yelled obscenities and threw objects at the screen, Artaud merely sat quietly with his mother and said only a single word: 'enough'.[3] Another report has Artaud running wild through the theatre, shattering the mirrors in the lobby, crying out, amidst obscenities, '*goulou! goulou!*'[4] A third more famously recounts his voice loudly interrupting the film's screening in derisive dialogue:

> 'Who made this film?'
> 'Why, Madame Germaine Dulac!'
> 'And what is this Madame Dulac?'
> 'She is a cow.'[5]

Sandy Flitterman-Lewis impatiently brushes off this famous and famously misunderstood '*bagarre coquille*', recounted in numerous texts on Surrèalisme and the cinema, as 'a rather quixotic myth'[6] that grew out of a confusion of memories (those Surrealists and their party drugs!) and a largely misconstrued clash of personalities, on top of the film's own revolutionary poetics. The contradictions found in contemporary testimony are perhaps

---

[1] The preface to the screenplay was first published in *Nouvelle Revue Française*, no. 170 (November, 1927); reprinted in Antonin Artaud, *Oeuvres complètes Vol III* (Paris: Editions Gallimard 1978) 18-20. Further references in text. All the following Artaud quotes in this chapter are my translations, cross-checked with the translations found in *Antonin Artaud: Selected Writings* ed. Susan Sontag (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

[2] For an account of the Dulac/Artaud controversy, see, among others: Richard Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave 1915-1929* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984); Inez Hughes, *Languages of Revolt: Dada and Surréaliste Literature and Film* (Durham N.C: Duke University Press, 1983); P. Adam Sitney, *The Avant-Garde Film: A Reader of Theory and Practice* (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1978); Sandy Flitterman-Lewis *To Desire Differently: Feminism and the French Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Elza Adamowicz 'Bodies Cut and Dissolved: Dada and Surrealist Film', *Gender and French Cinema* eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2001) 19-34.

[3] See Stephen Barber's account of the première in *Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs* (London: Faber, 1993) pp.31-2.

[4] Untranslatable, closest, phonetically, to 'greedy! greedy!', or perhaps 'drunk! drunk!'

[5] A journalist recorded the event in *Le Charivari*, February 18, 1928, which can be found reprinted, along with gleeful correspondence about the film screening, in *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 326-327. The voices are widely supposed to be those of Artaud and Robert Desnos.

[6] Sandy Flitterman-Lewis, 'The Image and the Spark: Dulac and Artaud Reviewed', *Dada and Surrealist Film*, ed. Rudolf E. Kuenzli (New York: Willis, Locker and Owens, 1987) pp.110 and 124n2; see also, *To Desire Differently: Feminism and the French Cinema*, pp.62-3.

best illuminated by George Sadoul's embarrassed about-face: his own enthusiastic participation in the riot turned out to be the result of a misunderstanding, as he confessed to Alain Virmaux thirty-five years later, he thought the protest was actually directed against Artaud rather than Dulac.[7] However, Flitterman-Lewis's contention that 'too much' has been made of Artaud's discontent with the cinematic direction at the expense of an appreciation of the debate surrounding the feminist implications of *La Coquille et le clergyman* and Dulac's own unique contribution to film language, misses the point somewhat. Artaud's conception for the film — or indeed *any* film — was doomed to the same failure that arguably marked every single one of his projects, and yet the riot itself

Fig. 29: film still from *La Coquille et le clergyman* (1928)

perfectly enacted Artaud's own predilection for violently noisy manifestations while disrupting assumptions about gender, subjectivity, and technological control. Most importantly, the incident amplified a voice that had otherwise been silenced by, variously, the possible misreading of Artaud's authorial intention in the screenplay, his involuntary exclusion from both this particular film's production and more generally the elite and culturally authoritative avant-garde network of the Surrealists, as well, of course, by the medium of silent film itself.

---

[7] Georges Sadoul, 'Souvenirs d'un témoin', *Études cinématographiques*, 38/39 (1965) 9-28, p.19. This is also recounted in Alain Virmaux's 'Artaud and Film', *Tulane Drama Review* 11.1 (1966) p.156.

I argue that this pervasive *malentendu* — at once a 'misunderstanding' and a 'mishearing' — is at the centre of critical accounts of Artaud's oeuvre, as it crosses and expands disciplinary boundaries. Artaud's ongoing fear of being silenced, misheard or misunderstood can be traced through his struggle to find the perfect medium for his aesthetic expression. Tellingly, *La Coquille et le clergyman* was refused distribution by the British Board of Film Censors, with the justification that 'the film is so cryptic as to be meaningless. If there is a meaning, it is doubtless objectionable'.[8] Such censorship would dog Artaud's projects, culminating in the devastating suppression of his final radio broadcast, *Pour en finir avec le judgment de dieu* (1947), which will be discussed in the following Chapter Seven, 'Antonin Artaud Unplugged'. Despite its famously contentious première, *La Coquille et le clergyman* has reappeared only erratically in art-house screenings and festivals. Although Artaud himself tried to recuperate the film in later writing, its impact was overshadowed by Luis Buñuel's *Un Chien andalou* (1929) and Jean Cocteau's *Le Sang d'un poète* (1930), both celebrated as pivotal Surrealist films. Artaud would claim, three years later, that these directors had pirated the elements of hallucinatory imagery, as well as the strategy of using sudden transitions of time and space, from the film whose scenario he had written. Indeed, knowing that Buñuel attended the disrupted première while preparing his own film, it is tempting to trace the influence of Artaud's aesthetics of violence and infuriated invective in Buñuel's dismissal of those who praised the 'success' of *Un Chien andalou* as 'that crowd of imbeciles who find the film beautiful or poetic when it is fundamentally a desperate and passionate call to murder'.[9]

Artaud's impossible cinematic project was first, if tentatively, articulated in his reply to a questionnaire on cinema circulated by René Clair. This 'Réponse à une enquête' was not published during Artaud's lifetime, but was written late 1924 or early 1925 when Artaud was still a member of the Surrealist movement. To the questions 'what kind of films do you like?' and 'what kind of films would you like to see made?', Artaud answered:

> I like *the cinema.*
> I like any kind of films.
> But all kinds of film have yet to be created.
> I believe that the cinema can only allow a certain kind of films
> …

---

[8] Quoted by Paul Rotha, *The Film Till Now: A Survey of World Cinema* (London: Vision Press, 1949) p.86.
[9] Luis Buñuel's comment from *La Révolution Surrèaliste* (15 January, 1929) quoted in Greil Marcus' *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989) p.8.

So I demand phantasmagorical films, films that are *poetic* in the accurate, philosophical meaning of the word, psychic films.
Which excludes neither psychology, nor love, nor the display of any of the human feelings.
But films in which there is a pulverising, a recombining of the things of the heart and the mind in order to give them a cinematographical quality *which is yet to be found*.
The cinema calls for extravagant subjects and a detailed psychology. It requires speed, but above all it requires repetition, insistence, recapitulation. The human soul in all its aspects. In the cinema we are all _____ and cruel.[10]

The blank space in the last sentence appears in the original manuscript, left, it seems, as Artaud struggled to find words to express the possibilities of cinema for the spectator, the film actor, the script writer and the director. This speculative stutter seems, cruelly, to mirror the blank screen that marks the insubstantial, unrealisable corpus of Artaud's film project, what he was to call a 'cinéma intègrale', despite his earlier hopeful comment 'that all sorts of films have yet to be created'. I argue that his ongoing struggle to find a language to express his ideas is inextricably tied to the developing mass media's recalibration of the body, identity and texts, particularly to the imperfections and possibilities evident in early sound technologies. As Artaud stated: 'one continually hears that the cinema is in its infancy and that we are only hearing its first babblings'.[11] The best films would be 'understood like music', with images that are integrated to relate to a kind of intellectual background music'.[12] It is both fascinating and frustrating to track Artaud's involuntary paranoid reaction to the possibilities expanded by sound-film, the 'bad seed' of modernity, inflecting and infecting his writing activities. For instance, the potentially contaminating effect of such technological deficiency is evident even in *Le Pèse-Nerfs* of 1925, when Artaud explains that 'at each of the stages of my thinking mechanisms there are gaps, halts',[13] like a nerve metre, marking out time, space and the limits of the body. Concomitantly, throughout Artaud's theorizing there is a pathological corporealising of the filmic process; in the essay 'Cinèma and réalité,' he writes of 'The human skin of things, the epidermis of reality: this is the primary raw material of cinema'.[14] All of Artaud's scenarios project an atmosphere of darkness, blood, and shock existing on the peripheral

---

[10] Antonin Artaud, 'Réponse à une enquête', *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 63-64, p.64.
[11] Antonin Artaud, 'Sorcellerie et le cinéma' *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 65-67, p.65.
[12] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Jean Paulhun' (22 January 1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 257-262, p.259. David Bordwell discusses the reference to music common to avant-garde French film criticism before the arrival of sound-film, arguing that it presaged a move to semiotic readings of film: 'The Musical Analogy', *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980) 141-56.
[13] Antonin Artaud, *Le Pèse-Nerfs*, *Oeuvres complète* Vol. I: 99-123, p.107.
[14] Antonin Artaud, 'Cinéma and réalité', *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 18-20, p.23.

juncture between the points of technology and the body. They seem to bleed across lines that would otherwise mark autobiography and fiction, theory and practice, entertainment and danger. Andrew Gargett, in his article 'Cinema of Cruelty', points out how Artaud's film writings inhabit cross-textual borderlines and chart the trajectory of what he called 'the simple impact of objects, forms, repulsions, attractions'.[15] In such a collapsing of borders, Gargett finds that Artaud's film texts move inexorably towards catastrophe, towards that which cannot be realized. His theory of cinema is then to be found in the frustrated intersection of imagined images in his scenarios and the often inarticulate language that describes them. I pursue this to argue for an Artaud trapped at another intersection, in the mediated realm between image and sound, in an assumed public role calibrated to articulation and yet ultimately disarticulated, as much by the developing aural technologies as by the social, cultural and medical pressures that constructed and eventually fatally constricted him.

Despite the opacity of his film project, Artaud had little patience when designated a devotee of abstract cinema, or categorised as a practitioner of 'film art'; he aspired to have a popular and pervasive impact on his public. On first approach, it does seem that Artaud aligned himself with what has been categorised as the 'high modernist' side of experimental cinema: abstract filmmakers who pursued representation of perception and consciousness and distanced themselves from contemporary popular culture.[16] However, Artaud's celebration of a 'raw cinema' was much more in tune with the avant-garde experimentation that took delight in references to popular culture, quoting Hollywood motifs, billboard images and advertisements.[17] Artaud himself was an enthusiastic, if initially reluctant, aficionado of Hollywood, as is particularly evident in his celebratory reviews of the Marx Brothers' films *Animal Crackers*(1930) and *Monkey Business*(1931),[18] marketed internationally in Paramount posters as 'the maddest comics of them all'. Artaud admired the intoxication, 'both visual and auditory', of their antic and anarchic physicality, impressed by 'the liberation by means of the screen of a special magic which the customary relationships between words and images do not usually reveal'.[19] Of course, one

---

[15] Andrew Gargett 'Cinema of Cruelty', *Bright Lights Film Journal* Issue 39 (2003) retrieved 20th January 2004 from http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/39/artaud1.htm, quoting Artaud's 'Cinèma and réalité', p.20.
[16] For example, Dulac's abstract film projects where she attempts to represent music in images.
[17] Such as the Dada and Surrealist films *Ballet mécanique* (1924) *Etoile de mer*(1924) and *Entr'Acte* (1924), not to mention the Soviet futurist Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1927).
[18] Antonin Artaud, 'Les Frères Marx au cinema du Panthéon', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, no. 220 (1 January 1932) and 'Animal Crackers', co-authored with Salvador Dali, *Les Cahiers de la Cinémathèque*, no. 25 (1931).
[19] Antonin Artaud, 'Les Frères Marx' (1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol IV: 133-35, p.133.

can only speculate about how much Artaud really understood of the films, as he was not fluent in English, and they were 'talkies' *par excellence*. A large part of the Marx Brothers' performance depends on the heteroglossic comedy of subversive wordplay, with

Fig.30: poster for *Animal Crackers* (1930)

its constant shifting and hijacking of language and meaning. Alternatively, as Stanley Cavell has observed, audiences who focus only on the 'one-liner' genius of Groucho Marx, with his characteristic punning, spontaneous ad-libbing and extemporary comments off script, are distracted from the *texture* of his talk, and so miss the proximity to 'madness, or hysteria, of so much of what he has to say, to the sheer range of reference of his uncontrollable thoughts'.[20] This loss of control puts into sharp relief the proximity of 'nonsense' and 'anarchy', characteristic of both the Marx Brothers and Artaud's work. Eminently quotable, the Marx Brothers cannot be pinned down to their words, while their words cannot expressly be pinned to them.[21] Artaud is himself not often quoted in snippets, soundbites or one-liners, although when he is, the texture of any individual quotation is

[20] Stanley Cavell, 'Nothing Goes Without Saying: The Marx Brother's Immigrant Talk' in *Talk Talk Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I, Salamensky (New York / London: Routledge, 2001) p.99.

[21] Stanley Cavell goes on to describe the problematic history of the now published scripts of the Marx Brothers films, which are largely unattributable to a single author following the erratic history of the script from theatre to film. The brothers were also notoriously uncontrollable, ad-libbing and playing practical jokes while filming – so much so that their director constructed a jail cell for them on set. See Stanley Cavell, 'Nothing Goes Without Saying', p. 100.

immediately recognisable, usually from its quality of demented invective. Artaud did however, show an ironic awareness of the power of the one-liner: 'I wrote a screenplay for a talking film which was distinguished by the fact that it contained only one spoken line around which the whole text was written'.[22] Unfortunately, I can't quote it here.[23]

Ultimately, Artaud's 'cinéma intègrale' is purely theory and written images, with no extant film. Gargett argues that this very lack of materiality is, in itself, bizarrely appropriate, because then Artaud's cinema must be imagined, if not hallucinated, 'thus neatly circumventing Artaud's own horror of direct mediation or representation'.[24] With the exception of Artaud's projects, no other theory of cinema developed among the writers associated with the Surrealist movement at the time. On the other hand, there was a lot of enthusiasm for cinema, with encouragement from Breton to attend different popular film screenings in rapid succession in order to induce a kind of visual delirium or overload in the spectator: 'For us, and us alone, the Lumière brothers invented the cinema. There we were at home. Its darkness was like that of our bedrooms before we went to sleep. The screen, we thought, might be the equal to our dreams'.[25] Many critics have noted the Surrealists passion for the 'primitive' era of silent film,[26] particularly for the silent serialised crime thriller, with its motifs of displaced identities, endless detours, uncanny objects and sublime horror.[27] Their affinity for the cinema, which had been scorned in earlier decades by mainstream art and literary critics, rested in its perceived power to alter the meaning of everyday life though the phantasy logic of dream. Artaud was to become impatient with this reading, understanding innately something that Linda Williams more recently found it necessary to insist: the assumption that movies are fundamentally 'dream-like' is no more or less true than the assertion that any film is essentially 'realistic'.[28]

---

[22] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre au Secrétaire Général de l'Alliance Française' (Paris,14 December 1935) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. VIII: 349-352, p.349.

[23] It is lost, not rude.

[24] Andrew Gargett, 'Cinema of Cruelty', p.22.

[25] Robert Desnos, 'Fantômas, Les Vampyres, Les Mystères de New York', *Le Soir* (27 February 1927) p.18.

[26] The dawn of cinema, like the emergence of Surréalisme, occurred during an age of cultural experimentation, technological innovation and revolutionary proclamations. See Ado Kyrou, *Le surréalisme au cinéma* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1963); Yves Kovacs ed. 'Surréalisme et cinema' 1, a special issue of *Etudes cinématographiques*, no 38/9 (1965); J.H. Matthews *Surréalisme and Film* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971); Linda Williams, *Figures of Desire: A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Richard Abel, 'Exploring the Discursive field of the Surrealist Film Scenario Text', in Rudulf W. Kuenzli ed., *Dada and Surrealist Film* (New York: Willis Locker & Owens 1987) 58-71; Steven Kovács, 'The Poets Dream of Movies' in Sidra Stich, *Anxious Visions, Surrealist Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990) 223-31.

[27] Robin Walz, 'Serial Killings: Fantômas, Feuillade, and the Mass-Culture Genealogy of Surréalisme', *The Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film and Television*, no 37 (March 1996) 51-57.

[28] Linda Williams, *Figures of Desire: A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Films* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) p.xiii.

Artaud found film compelling because it seemed to him to open up radically different means of articulating an avant-garde aesthetic of violence; the silent moving images could both contain and express something for which his language failed.

Man Ray emphasised his avant-garde credentials, aligning himself particularly with the Surrealists and their interest in 'automatic' writing, when he claimed that 'All the films I made were improvisations. I did not write scenarios. It was automatic cinema'.[29] For instance, in 1921 he and Marcel Duchamp shot a short film in which Duchamp shaves the pubic hair of Baronness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, an eccentric New York dadaist and street performer. The film was lost during processing, Duchamp having apparently tried to develop it in the lid of a rubbish bin.[30] Not many of the Surrealists got even that far in developing their film projects. However, as Georges Neveux recalls, 'the poets of that era were not satisfied by the (often involuntary) poetry of silent films; they themselves wrote scenarios, most of them unfilmable — oneiric confessions projected onto an imaginary screen'.[31] Several Surrealists, notably Robert Desnos and Benjamin Peret in addition to Antonin Artaud, had written scenarios and published them as literary texts. These unfilmed scenarios were hybrid textual forms that appeared in the ten year period that straddled the late silent and early sound cinema, a period framed for the Surrealists by special issues of *Les Cahiers du mois* (1925) and *Les Cahiers jaune* (1933) devoted exclusively to the publication of such scenarios. Richard Abel describes how, despite their small numbers in comparison to the contemporary deluge of *films raconté*, *ciné-romans* and *découpages* available in news kiosks and bookshops at the time, the Surrealist scenario texts had a unique significance, constituting an important front in the Surrealist project to revolutionise perception and representation. Abel interrogates the broader cultural practices that constituted for the scenario text a 'horizon of utterance'.[32] He points out that the cinema seemed to offer a means of producing a discourse analogous to that of dream-work or unconscious processes so crucial to the Surrealists, whether on actual cinema screens or on an imaginary screen constructed in the written script. At the change-over to sound-films or 'talkies' in 1929-30, independent film production in France had become severely restricted; [33] Abel argues that even if writers could not get access to the

---

[29] Man Ray quoted in R.E. Kuenzli (ed.) *Dada and Surrealist Film*, p.3.
[30] See Elza Adamowicz, 'Bodies Cut and Dissolved: Dada and Surrealist Film', p.19.
[31] Georges Neveux, 'De Judex à L'Etoile de mer,' *Etudes cinématographiques* 38-39 (Spring 1965) p.47.
[32] Richard Abel, 'Exploring the Discursive Field of the Surrealist Film Scenario Text', *Dada and Surrealist Film*, p.58.
[33] For a summary of the change over to sound film in France, see Abel's *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929*, pp.59-65 and 272-73. Further references in text.

seductively modern and popular art of film, they used it to 'revolutionise' the forms and conventions of literature itself (64).

With the instigation of a riot at its première and his early disavowal of the Dulac's interpretation, Artaud had effectively sabotaged the only one of his fifteen scripts to make it to the screen.[34] The tenuous survival of *La Coquille et le clergyman* was thus in large part the ironic result of his own critical terrorism as he protested the theoretical abyss between the film script and the realisation of the film itself. The ostensible 'dialogue' between aggrieved writer and the defensive director has worked to keep the film alive in the public domain. Although Dulac had tried to follow Artaud's scenario scrupulously, she neutralised his vision by giving interviews, against his protests, in which she claimed to have successfully found a filmic equivalent of a dream, and, even worse, by including the phrase 'a dream' in the film's opening titles. This particularly annoyed Artaud, who had an intricate theoretical concern with the working of dream images. He also objected to the way in which the film version sutured together the raw and disjunctive images of his scenario so that it flowed more easily for the spectator, ignoring the deliberate illogicality of his narrative, as Dulac attempted to find cinematic equivalents for Artaud's elusive written images. Infuriated, Artaud felt that his script had been distorted and betrayed, although he insisted on his continual engagement through essays, critical commentary, and reviews published simultaneously to the film's production.[35] Moreover, an unpublished text, probably written by Artaud as a draft advertisement or review, makes reference to an ongoing 'intrigue' that pursued *La Coquille et le clergyman*, preventing its screening and distribution. Apparently, directors of a number of studios and cinema theatres, on receiving a variety of 'highly obscure, or maybe over-precise, threats' concerning the film, had, 'after some timid attempts and vaguely shady deals',[36] refused to show it. Artaud was outraged that these tactics worked, and perhaps also stung by the realisation that, for all his theoretical claims, the 'shock' effects anticipated by his scenario were ultimately less sharp

---

[34] He wrote and planned 15 scenarios altogether, including an autobiographical scenario about his relationship with the actress Genica Athanasiou, *Dix-huit secondes*, which ends with the male character's suicide. Other striking scenarios include a commercial project about airplanes entitled *Vols*, an adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae* 1929 that included instructions for sound effects: 'If necessary a sound-track of the Master's speech in the desert can be added, with his voice echoing in the solitude' , *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 46-53: p.52. He also wrote a horror film about a mass murderer, *Le 32* which he tried to market to the German Expressionists and their Hollywood connections. Andrew Gargett analyses the particularly bloody and violent scenario for *La Revolt du boucher* in his article 'Cinema and Cruelty'.

[35] Germaine Dulac apparently took care to time the shooting for when Artaud was working on Carl Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc*, to fend off the immediate irritation of his involvement. See Bettina Knapp, 'Artaud, A New Kind of Magic', *Yale French Studies*, 31 (1964) 87-98, p.95.

[36] Antonin Artaud, 'Distinction entre avant-garde de fond et de forme', *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III, p.70.

than the scandals eddying around the film's distribution and screening. This outrage, justifiable or otherwise, bled into Artaud's later writing, which expose a growing conviction that his other film projects were subject to an ongoing conspiracy of sabotage.[37]

He was to be further betrayed by his Surrealist peers, who later excised mention of *La Coquille et le clergyman* or any other of Artaud's many film projects from their filmography in the appendix to *La Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme,*[38] one of their rubrics of noteworthy films. The Surrealists' listings fluctuated over the years, determined primarily by disputes and strategies of provocation. This pointed exclusion was largely due to the polemic that Artaud continued against the Surrealists in response to their pamphlet 'Au Grand jour', in which Artaud's exclusion was humiliatingly made public. Artaud had become the scapegoat for division within the group, which was to be distracted as much by petty squabbles as by a political makeover, as Breton attempted to align the group to Communism. Defensive of their depiction of himself as a 'deluded noisemaker', he published a pamphlet in response, 'A la Grande nuit ou le Bluff Surréaliste',[39] exposing the 'dirty tricks' and conspiracies that he claimed both pirated his original work and contaminated the original Surrealist ethos, leaving him as the one 'true' Surrealist practitioner. The pervasive *malentendu* that envelopes Artaud's work was in this case a two-way street, as Artaud, at this point deep within the Surrealist coterie, to the extent of being the primary editor of the third *Revolution Surréaliste* and director of the Bureau de Recherches, seemed actively to provoke discord, calling them 'toilet-paper revolutionaries'.[40] As Andrew Gargett elegantly concludes, Artaud's own position within the lineage of Surrealist cinema is one that parallels its interrogative resistance: he was the one who spoke up, criticised the movement and asked the hard questions about the compromises that they had made. At one point, he went so far as to speak in their voices, by attributing his edition of their journal to their names, filled with insulting letters to public figures, such as the Dalai Lama and the Pope. Disrupting what has been called the Surrealists more 'complacent' subversion, it is no wonder that they attempted to shut him up.

---

[37] For instance, while researching estimates of costs for producing his scenario for *Le Maitre de Ballantrae*, Artaud wrote 'I have now been advised against Franco-films, Ciné Romans etc, and I have been advised to go to Albatros as the only company with no interest in sabotaging the film before it is over. Apparently sabotages are performed everywhere. A pretty business', 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (21 April, 1929) *Oeuvres complétes* Vol III: 151-154.

[38] Andre Bréton and Paul Eluard, *La Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme* (Amsterdam: French and European Publications, Inc, 1938) p.201.

[39] Antonin Artaud, 'Á la Grande nuit' *Oeuvres complètes* Vol I tome 2: 59-68, p.59.

[40] Antonin Artaud, 'Manifeste pour un théâtre avorté', *Oeuvres complétes* Vol II: 21-26, p.24.

Although he was not particularly liked or even strikingly successful, Artaud proved himself to be both inextricably tangled up in the avant-garde network of coteries and acquaintances and thoroughly mediated, keeping up-to-date with new technologies and developments in the entertainment industry. For example, despite his theoretical predilection for silent film, Artaud showed himself receptive to reinvention with the sound movement, as part of a genuine attempt to make his projects more viable. He wrote to Yvonne Allendy of his attempts to recuperate his theoretical integrity in face of commercial reality:

> I have decided to introduce sound effects and even talking scenes into my scenarios, because there is such a drive towards the talking pictures that nobody will want any more silent films for a year or two. It is tragic, but that is how it is and one must be able to live and not go under in the meantime. But people like us, who still feel for pure and true cinema, must show up the absurdity and uselessness of the non-silent film, leave words as food for the beasts, and maintain the *identity* of the other cinema, of which we may be the sole heirs. By not losing anything we may save something! At the moment the situation is compromised, believe me, I who live in that world, hear worse news every day. Everybody is turning to the talking picture.[41]

Unlike Gertrude Stein and H.D., Artaud did not particularly litter his correspondence and writings with name-dropping references to other famous artists, writers or otherwise celebrated figures.[42] This was perhaps because Artaud had so quickly become a distinctive figure himself, often cited in the margins or footnotes of descriptions of the avant-garde scene. On his arrival in Paris, Artaud had integrated with ease into the Surrealist coterie — that of Breton, Aragon, Eluard and Crevel among others — who traded on the impact of their insolent good looks and who were so often photographed, most notably by Man Ray. According to Andreas Huyssen, the historical avant-garde's goal of attaining a kind of 'psycho-physical unity of human life' led artists to aim for an art 'of objects and attitudes, of living and dressing, of speaking and writing'[43] — in short, a distinctive 'style'. This style, the most visible trait of avant-garde aesthetes, had the subcultural function of expressing their difference from the mainstream. Dick Hebdige stresses style's ambiguity: it is neither resistance nor conformity, but the means by which an otherwise

---

[41] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (Nice, 19 April, 1929) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 150-151, p.151.
[42] Recall Bryher and Kenneth McPherson's eye-rolling exasperation at H.D. acceptance into sessions with Freud: 'she will be *unbearable*'. Letter from Kenneth Macpherson to Bryher (March 1933) quoted in Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined*, p.207.
[43] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, p.13.

disenfranchised group can be seen, located, and observed.[44] Hebdige understands the Surrealists as incorporating style and posture as a kind of 'insubordination', enacting Breton's encouragement of a 'perturbation and deformation' of the syntax of everyday life (105). In this reading, style is an epiphenomenon of art, an example of what Bernard Gendron has called 'ancillary aesthetic production'.[45] This is opposed to 'primary artistic products', which Gendron defines as 'what the practitioners and/or the art institutions construe as the *real* work — paintings, novels, poems, composed scores and the like'(6). Such an 'ancillary production' encompasses recognisable behaviour and clothing styles, as well as activities such as 'outrageous public acts, manifestos and public entertainment by artists'(6). Artaud's own style quickly subtended that of the Surrealists, with his ongoing project to rid art itself of its ancillary status as a mere imitation of life. His reputation as a poet and writer was concomitant with his career as an actor, and he reveals himself to be aware of the construction of his own peculiar avant-garde career as a work-in-progress from an early stage: tellingly, in *Le Pèse-Nerfs*, he warns 'I know myself because I watch myself, I watch Antonin Artaud'.[46]

Artaud's iconography is remarkable for being the largest and most varied of all the Surrealists, particularly between 1924 and 1935, the period that frames his involvement in cinema. After that, with the exception of a few photos between his voyages to Mexico and Ireland, there is a marked gap. One of the reasons for the relative paucity of images of Artaud during this period was his own reported refusal to circulate visual reproductions of himself: Anais Nin noted in her diary that he had told her that he feared '*evoûtements*', or voodoo curses, and believed that harm would come to him if pins were used to stick his picture to a wall.[47] The photographs reappeared only after his transfer in 1943 from the asylums to the hospital at Rodez, and the later images are eloquent of Artaud's decay, in shocking contrast to the earlier photographs, film stills and publicity shots. Artaud's striking presence in those early images, his compelling 'star quality', is underscored by contemporary descriptions of his 'alarmingly beautiful' dark eyes, prominent cheekbones and lips purpled from the laudanum to which he was addicted.[48] Alain Virmaux directs attention to the preponderance of close-ups of Artaud's face, in the early years, and the

---

[44] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979) pp.101-4. Further references in text.
[45] Bernard Gendron, 'Jamming at Le Boeuf: Jazz and the Paris Avant-Garde' *Discourse* 12.1 (1989-90) 3-27, p.7. Further references in text.
[46] Antonin Artaud, *Le Pese-Nerfs, Oeuvres complètes* Vol I: 99-123, p.88.
[47] Anais Nin, *The Journals of Anais Nin, 1931-1934*, ed Gunther Stuhlmann (London: Peter Owen, 1966) p.350.
[48] Stephen Barber, *Artaud: Blows and Bombs*, p.17.

conflicting accounts of his overall appearance: on the one hand his contemporaries commented '*il était très dandy*', noting his narcissism and the fetishisation evident in his appearance, yet on the other, 'if one stopped looking at his face, which was not easy, one saw that he was very badly dressed' and often covered in stains. [49] He was, of course, photographed by the fashionable and fashion-making Man Ray; as Sylvia Beach said, 'to be "done" by Man Ray...meant that you rated as *somebody*'.[50] This often-reproduced portrait photograph is unusual in that it positions the subject looking over his shoulder, a fairly uncommon pose for Man Ray. I find that Artaud's state of paranoid dread is beautifully captured in this retromantic image, and it is tempting to read into it Artaud's uneasy consciousness of his own perilous position on the margins of the avant-garde scene, having turned his back on the critical approval of the elite Surrealist coterie.

Fig. 31: 'Antonin Artaud' photograph portrait by Man Ray (circa 1927)

The survival, or later recuperation, of Artaud's early writing is in large part the result of the scandal associated with the ongoing suppression of his work. His later extravagant writings and public lectures on the conceptions of a theatre of cruelty established him as an exemplary figure in the rebellion of the avant-garde against prevailing culture, while his

[49] Jacques Prevel, *En compagnie d'Antonin Artaud* (Paris: Flammarion, 1974) 28-29 (my translation).
[50] Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1959) p.112.

eventual emergence from a decade of psychiatric internment turned him into something of a mascot for visionary subcultural insurrection. Overlaid with the knowledge of what he went on to endure in psychiatric prisons and asylums, his work stands as a kind of 'authentic' testimony to the suffering artist.[51] And yet, while Artaud took delight in his early notoriety as the trouble-making voice of the avant-garde, he quickly tired of being the victim of their internecine squabbles. Breton himself thrived on the ethos of elitism, which was reinforced by the apparent exclusivity of the parameters of the Surrealist project. He organised another interruption in 1928, this time of Artaud's theatrical production of Strindberg's *Dream Play*, claiming that it was too — the ultimate insult for an avant-gardist — *bourgeois*. Artaud was incensed at the thought of another disruption, and threatened to call in the police on his erstwhile colleague and mentor: 'my mind is made up to break with Breton the moment he comes to sabotage the play. There is no doubt about this. The performance will take place in spite of him, and against him, if this is the meaning he wishes to attribute to it'.[52] Public advocates of revolution, it seems that neither Breton nor Artaud responded well to the disruption of their own commercial or artistic projects. Artaud, however, continued to bank on his reputation as a scandal-mongerer and realised the cultural and commercial capital of such notoriety. His knee-jerk reaction to Breton's interference is particularly ironic in light of his attendant glee at the shocked response of his audiences, whose bewilderment was evident in negative newspaper coverage of his theatrical performances and productions. This cynicism is never more apparent than in a congratulatory letter Artaud wrote to the director Louis Jouvet about his upcoming theatrical program: 'I think it very smart to be revolutionary these days: it is the only way to become commercial!!!'[53]

Artaud had arrived in Paris as a poet eager to get involved in avant-garde writing scene, but he also had every intention of becoming a film star. Encouragingly, he was fairly rapidly given parts in some silent films: *Fait divers* (1924), *Napoléon* (1927) and then *La Passion de Jean D'Arc* (1928). Making an impression, he was interviewed by cinematic magazines, such as *Cinémonde* and *Pour vous*. He went on to figure in a surprisingly large number of both silent and sound films with such well-known directors as L'Herbier, G.W.

---

[51] See Michel Foucault for the first and most striking recuperation of Artaud as suffering artist and uncanny genius, particularly *Folie et déraison* (Paris: Plon, 1961).
[52] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (Paris,7 June 1928) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III, p.135.
[53] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (Paris, 27 April 1931) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III, pp.199-200.

Fig. 32: Artaud as Massieu in Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* (1928)

Pabst, Fritz Lang, Abel Gance and Raymond Bernard — albeit without the flattering attention that accompanied his early screen appearances. Over time he was offered shorter and shorter roles; Virmaux suggests that this is because his name had begun to inspire *'inquiétude'*, following his reputation for eccentricity.[54] That he cultivated such a reputation is evident in a letter he sent to the director Abel Gance demanding a central part in his upcoming film version of Poe's *The Fall of the House of Usher*: 'If I don't have this character in my bones, *no one in the world does*. I am not telling you that I'm interested in this part, I'm telling you that I demand it.'[55] Artaud goes on to claim that:

> there is a *quality* of nervous suffering which the greatest actor in the world cannot *project on the screen* unless he has experienced it himself. I have experienced it. I think like Usher. All my writings prove it – I won't even mention my professional experience to you. (144)

At this stage, Artaud's construction of his persona in eccentric film roles was inextricably linked to his authority as an avant-garde writer, but gradually the situation reversed: though Artaud was first typecast as an intellectual, more and more frequently he was cast as a madman. The question is irresistible: did his acceptance and relish of these roles make it easier for his colleagues, peers and friends to accept Artaud's subsequent internment, or perhaps even justify the role he was to be forced to play — that of an insane inmate — for nearly a decade?

---

[54] Alain et Odette Virmaux, *Antonin Artaud: Qui etes vous*? (Lyon: Editions La Manufacture, 1996) p.30.
[55] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Abel Gance' (November 27, 1927) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 129-130 (his italics). Further references in text.

Between 1924 and 1935, Artaud acted in more than twenty films. In his first film, *Fait divers* directed by Claude Autant-Lara (1924), he played a peripheral role as 'Monsieur II'. In *Masthusulum* by Jean Painlevé and René Sti (1926) he simply appeared as the second officer. It was with *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc* by Carl Dreyer (1927) that he took the role of the impassioned priest Jean Massieu to widespread critical acclaim, notably including H.D.'s *Close Up* review of 1928. His international reputation was further enhanced by his performance as Marat in Abel Gance's *Napoléon Bonaparte*, filmed between 1925 and 1927. Following this was the role of the secretary Mazaud in *L'Argent* by Marcel Herbier (1928) and the young gypsy Sascha in *Tarakanova* by Raymond Bernard (1929). By 1930, Artaud was looking for more exotic international opportunities to expand his cinematic acting career, and he was interested in exploiting his subcultural status, which at this stage was still largely the result of the scandals around his on-again off-again association with the Surrealists. A letter instructing a friend to approach the Italian futurist F.T. Marinetti on his behalf indicates how widely he cast his net in search of recognition and employment in the film industry, and how high were his ambitions. The letter is reproduced in full below:

Dear Friend,
I have just spent the whole afternoon going around in the hope of finding work. I was very badly received at the first place I went to and better received elsewhere. I must admit that this was when I knew the people personally. Here is what I think you might say to Marinetti:

> 'Some time ago I mentioned a friend of ours, Antonin Artaud, some of whose rather Surréalistic literary efforts you have read, including *The Umbilicus of Limbo*.
>
> 'I don't know whether I told you that Mr Artaud is also an actor in the cinema and the theatre. I think that you must have seen in Italy Abel Gance's *Napoleon*, in which Mr Artaud played the part of Marat, and perhaps Carl Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc*, in which Mr Artaud played Massieu, the young monk who defends Joan of Arc. He also played the part of the intellectual in Léon Poirier's *Verdun*, and other parts in numerous films, including Marcel L'Herbier's *L'Argent*, Raymond Bernard's *Tarakanova* etc.
>
> 'I know that Italy is making great efforts right now in the field of cinema and that the Pittaluga Company, among others, has just refurbished its Studios in order to produce talking and sound films in several languages. I would like to suggest that for the French versions of its films it might be advisable for Pittaluga to use actors who are already well known for their performances here. Mr Artaud is one of this group. You know that, in addition to his gifts as a writer, he has experimented with theatrical production, and since 1927 his Alfred Jarry Theatre has presented four plays.
>
> 'I enclose some photographic documents that will give you an idea of the stark and forceful style that he introduced into his work in staging, whose effect is

sometimes agonising, compelling, and very contemporary. Some of these photographs illustrate his attempts to make a short experimental film based on the English Gothic novel *The Monk* by Matthew Gregory Lewis. I need not go into the difficulties Mr Artaud has encountered here in Paris in introducing his ideas. Dr Allendy and myself would be grateful for anything you could do to enable Mr Artaud to play any unusual character parts in the French versions of films to be made in Rome in the near future. Once he is there, Mr Artaud could personally tell you his ideas regarding the talking or sound film. And perhaps it would be possible to arrange to have him make a few short films of his own, which will have an acute and compact interest.

'I am, etc.

'P.S. The enclosed documents will already give you an idea of the movement he would be able to introduce to a film and of certain lighting techniques of his own which tend to give the movement and the general ambiance a kind of psychic value that reveals all the secrets of the unconscious."

There, dear friend, is a rough version of what I think you might say. I enclose the documents, but am very anxious that this letter be mailed tonight special delivery.[56]

This letter reveals Artaud's ceaseless networking in the economy of friendship and connections, and is revelatory of his desperate self-construction as avant-garde celebrity: as writer, artist, film actor, and potential director. He takes care to establish his avant-garde credentials with the self-conscious insinuation of notoriety; 'I need not go into the difficulties Mr Artaud has encountered here'. Of note is his use of film stills as calling cards, or markers of authenticity, capturing the tension between experimental technologies and his elusive performative. However, his postscript muddies the waters of his otherwise straightforward plea for work, as he gives in to an irresistible compulsion to explain his theory. Artaud inadvertently reveals the impossibility of his project, directing attention to the photographic stills to find more than an illustration, an expression of 'movement' that somehow traps, contains and makes static that elusive component of 'psychic value'. Most notably, however, this letter reveals Artaud's willingness to broach the sound-film market, recognising an opportunity to promote his career.

Although Marinetti did not respond to Artaud's advances, he did find work that year in Berlin, where sound technology had taken hold of the film industry with a vengeance. In 1930, he had roles in *L'Opéra de quat'sous* by Pabst, *Die Königin einer Nacht* by l'Herbier and *Schuss im Morgengrauen* by Poligny-Zeisler. Artaud said of Pabst's *L'Opéra de*

[56] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (5 June 1930) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 180-182. Artaud did not succeed in making the film version of *The Monk*, though the photographic film stills or tableaux vivants that Artaud composed to illustrate selected scenes were used to interest a producer in backing the film, and one was used as cover for his translation of the novel, published in 1931.

quat'sous that 'for once, I was passionate about the role. I played a real beggar who a street syndicate made play a role in a miserable, lamentable scam, and I had a superb scene in front of a mirror, while I practiced my fake gestures'.[57] This scene was accompanied by Artaud's increasingly trademark bursts of manic, or 'satanic', laughter. Between films, he wrote to a wide range of friends, acquaintances and colleagues, trying to drum up more roles, shamelessly trading on his looks, his unhappy medical history, his scandalous reputation as a writer, and often harping back to his Surrealist cachet. For instance, he asked Dr Allendy to approach G.W. Pabst, the famous German director of *Joyless Street*, about a potentially well-paying role in a popular detective series:

> Tell him of the profundity of my character, my career as a writer, my temperament, and the physical suffering I have endured, that, still more than my physical appearance, makes me particularly qualified for certain anguishing parts and give me, I believe, special rights to them. It is not fair that some young star who has never seen the hard side of life should be chosen instead of me.[58]

When he returned to Paris he picked up some small parts in French talkies directed by Raymond Bernard, Léon Poirer, Abel Gance and Henry Wulshluger. Although he was beginning to say in interviews that cinema acting was 'a terrible profession',[59] he continued to haunt the film world, to the extent that he made plans for a project to start a company to make short films. In an advertisement in *Nouvelle Revue Française*, the journal for which he was to become a film critic, he also announced that he was planning to give 'a course in dramatic and cinematographical art'.[60] These projects were eventually unsuccessful. It was also apparent that, despite the surprising scope of his film experience, the roles he ended up playing were far from the 'cinema intègrale' he had anticipated in his earlier theory. However, the pattern emerging from his roles — eccentric intellectual, histrionic mendicant, fevered religious maniac, madman — is of significance.

Increasing competition for parts in the economy of stardom in the developing film industry had meant, according to Barry King, an 'emphasis on what is unique to the actor, displacing emphasis on what an actor can do *qua* actor onto what the actor *qua* person or biographical entity is'.[61] This meant a shift in emphasis from performance to

---

[57] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (20 October 1930) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 185-186
[58] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (3 January 1931) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 190-191.
[59] Interview with *Cinemonde (*1 August 1929) reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 305-307, p.307.
[60] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (23 September1931) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. IV: 223-224, p.223.
[61] Barry King, 'Articulating Stardom', *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) p.178. Further references in text.

personification, carrying the implications of the actor's persona into everyday life. King says that actors seeking stardom, in a strategy of performance, begin 'to conduct themselves in public as though there is an unmediated existential connection between their person and their image' (178). Their persona then becomes a character in its own right, one that transcends placement or containment in a particular narrative and exists in cinematic rather than filmic time and space.[62] Shaped by the discursive practices of publicity, make-overs, and celebrity hagiography, such a persona then solidifies in the public mind.[63] Artaud himself slowly began to realise that his active solicitation of character roles meant a contradictory loss of autonomy; he had constructed a subversive persona that, paradoxically, began to rely on the cinematic apparatus for validation of his presence. Despite reservations, Artaud accepted a part in Raymond Bernard's *Le Croix de bois* (1931), in which he was required to play a soldier overcome by madness, shouting insanities on the front line: '*on vous emmerde!*' Virmaux notes that such lines were not that far removed from Artaud's everyday habit of invective.[64]

Fig. 33: Artaud overacting madness in *Le Croix de bois* (1931)

---

[62] See Christian Metz, *Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (London: Macmillan, 1982) p.67.

[63] Barry King uses the example of Larry Hagman, quoting him saying 'I find the character of JR keeps taking me over in real life. Not that I get that mean, I hope, but I do find the Texas accent drifting in and out. People I meet really want me to be JR, so it's hard to disappoint them', 'Articulating Stardom', pp.179-80.

[64] Similarly, in *Lucrèce Borgia* (1935) directed by Abel Gance, Artaud played the fanatic monk Savonarole, who raves sound remarkably like Artaud's own published or reported anti-religion diatribes. Virmaux notes that Artaud was later to be embarrassed by the number of his roles that were religious fanatics or priests, p.234.

Artaud's next cameo appearance in the same year in Bernard's *Faubourg Montmartre* is of particularly interest, because this was finally a commercial film about the problems of sound, exploring the seductive sound-scape of the urban cabaret world. The film traces the treacherous terrain of the café-musicales of Montmartre, with the heroine risking prostitution, drug addiction and the asylum in her efforts to negotiate a career in the developing modern music industry.[65] Café-concerts and nightclubs often attracted the attention of the avant-gardists, as they showcased oppositional subversive practice through performance and song. Indeed, Dadaism started as a cabaret act, and Louis Aragon describes how 'the persecuted Surréalistes will be found in *cafés-chantant* taking advantage of the confusion to peddle formulas for infecting images'.[66] So unsettling was the potential of these urban music spaces that they often drew the attention of French arbiters of public decency: lyrics were closely monitored for immoral or politically subversive content. The film *Faubourg Montmartre*, then, is filled with stock- characters of the Parisian underworld — pimps, prostitutes, poverty-stricken poets and street singers. Yet the film's primary fascination is with the noisy city streets, from its opening images of traffic to its final sequence, which emphasises the allure of the aural phantasmagoria: the

Fig. 34: blocking city sounds in poster for *Faubourg Montmartre* (1931)

[65] See Kelly Conway, 'Diva in the Spotlight', in *Gender and French Cinema*, eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001) p.44.
[66] Louis Aragon, *Le Paysan de Paris* (1926) trans. Simon W. Taylor (London: Cape 1971) p.79.

heroine, Ginette, exiled to the country, calls her aunt, who owns a chocolate shop, asking her to extend the telephone receiver out to the rue du Faubourg Montmartre. The film ends on this tempting demonstration of its own aural texture. Artaud, once again typecast raising his voice, cameos as the leader of a street riot. His voice was apparently quite distinctive, even in the noisy urban landscape of Paris, as is evident in a newspaper article which recounts a journalist's frustrated search for Artaud through salons, theatres and studios.[67] Significantly, the interviewer for a well-regarded film journal finally tracks him down by cocking an ear to the streets, rather than though more visual clues:

> When the editors of Cinémonde gave me the assignment of interviewing Antonin Artaud, I began looking for him at once. It was not easy, Antonin Artaud was not to be found. Wherever I asked for him, I was told that he had not been seen in a long time…I had almost given up hope of meeting him when one day, in a bar near Place Clichy, I heard behind me a voice that sounded familiar. I turned around: it was Antonin Artaud. You can imagine my delight.
> 'You! I don't believe it!' I exclaimed, very surprised. 'My dear friend, I have you and I won't let you go until you give me an interview.'[68]

Evidently Artaud's oral style was particularly distinctive, as this report of aural recognition predated the diffusion of his voice through sound-film and radio broadcasts. His vocal style was to become more widely recognised after he, like many other struggling film actors, started to accept and perform in radio plays or events from the early 1930s. Artaud's later radio performances, particularly in Robert Desnos' *Fantômas* (1933) and the suppressed radio broadcast *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947) will be analysed in the following chapter, 'Artaud Unplugged'.

In the meantime, Artaud's career as a cinema actor began to weigh on him, tied as it was to the rise of sound-film. In a letter to Louis Jouvet he spoke of the 'métier, lacking any personal initiative, of the cinema actor',[69] and was later to describe the film industry as 'rotten to the bone'.[70] He had earlier expressed his distaste for the talkies, writing that he thought the Americans were making a mistake investing in new technology because 'the

---

[67] Anais Nin recorded in her diary of the same year that Artaud was 'a lean, ghostly figure who haunts the cafés but who is never seen at the counter, drinking or sitting among people laughing…the surrealist whom the surrealists disavowed', *The Journals of Anais Nin, 1931-1934*, ed Gunther Stuhlmann (London: Peter Owen, 1966) p.186.
[68] *Cinémonde* interview (1 August 1929) reproduced in Antonin Artaud, *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. II: 305-307, p.305.
[69] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (26 June, 1931) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 212-213, p.212.
[70] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (22 January 1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 257-262, p.261.

talking cinema is a piece of folly, an absurdity. Indeed, it is the very negation of Cinema'.[71] Following a lecture that he had given at *Studio 28* in 1929, 'Sur les possibilities et les impossibilities du film parlant', Artaud published the article 'La Veillesse précoce du cinéma' about the 'premature aging' of cinema. He wrote,

> Since the talking film, the elucidations of speech arrest the unconscious and spontaneous poetry of images; the illustration and completion of the meaning of an image by speech show the limitations of the cinema. The so-called mechanical magic of a constant drone of images has not survived the onslaught of speech, which has made this mechanical magic appear as the result of a purely physiological surprise attack on the senses. We have quickly tired of the accidental beauties of the cinema.[72]

The practice of dubbing, which predated true synchronisation of sound and image, was pursued primarily in order to expand the potential distribution of foreign language films. The advent of sound in practice was to mean a marked decrease in non-Hollywood celebrities, as truly international stardom through the exportation of heavily accented European talent became less likely. Dubbing was one solution to the problem of world-wide acceptance of foreign films, but it came with its own problematics. For Artaud, already heavily invested in the economy of the image with his own circulation of film stills, photographs and *tableaux vivants,* the voice was something of immense value, to be protected. The dubbing of voices into film was the very worst of practices, as it meant a horrifying loss of agency for the on-screen actors, whose personality, Artaud thought, was appropriated along with their voice. But even worse than this was the effect of dubbing on the actors doing the voice substitutes, who were called in to 'put French voices into Marlene Deitrich's heavy mouth, Joan Crawford's pulpy mouth, Greta Garbo's equine mouth'.[73] Artaud considered it a tremendous sacrifice, if not a perversion of their calling, for actors to end up doing voice-over. It was particularly humiliating for 'a woman used to acting with her body, for an actress who thinks and feels with her whole body as well as with her head or her voice, for whom physique charm and sex-appeal are everything' (87). In an article on the voice in cinema, Mary Anne Doane discusses how cinematic sound technology and practices like dubbing or the synchronisation of sound artificially reconstitute body which is not actually present but articulated through technologies; this

---

[71] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (26 March 1929) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III:144-145, p.144.
[72] Antonin Artaud, 'La Veillesse précoce du cinéma' (1933) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 81-84, p.83.
[73] Antonin Artaud, 'Les souffrances de dubbing' (1933) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 85-87, p.87. Further references in text.

'phantasmatic' body maintains an illusion of unity, despite the fact it masks an absence. According to Doane, technological advances, most especially those in sound, help to conceal the work of the cinematic apparatus by 'reducing the distance perceived between object and representation'[74] and thereby ensuring a greater presence to the cinematic phantasmatic body. She explores the implications in film of the female body which, disarticulated by the camera's gaze, becomes threateningly whole when articulated with a synchronised voice. Such a tension between seeing and speaking, or performance and reproductability, was earlier developed in Artaud's writing about silent and sound-film, and informed all of his later projects, including his work on theatre with 'La Théâtre de la crualte'(1932). These theatrical experiments reveal him as ready to engage with technological challenges: in *Les Cenci* he planned to do away with the illusions of theatre itself, to replace it with a non-illusory experience. For this he positioned loudspeakers to diffuse the first pre-recorded sound effects in theatre, sourced from industrial work at the cathedral at Amiens, creating 'a public bath of sound, a diffused storm as terrible as the sound of an natural storm'.[75] Sound had rapidly become aligned for Artaud with the disturbance he wished to 'force on the spectator'(351).

Artaud quickly tired of the factory-like process of the German serial films, with roles that failed to stretch him and which made use of the threatening practice of dubbing. His increasing disillusion with technologically advanced and commercially viable cinema no doubt inspired the bitter letter sent from Berlin while on set in 1932:

> Dear Friend,
> I am even more than ever convinced that the cinema is and will remain an art of the past. One cannot work in it without feeling ashamed.
> Ever yours,
> Antonin Artaud.[76]

Indeed, the Surrealists despised Artaud for his dependence on commercial film-acting to make his living.[77] This was ironic, for despite a good start in his early film career, he was never commercially acceptable, being marked by the stigma of deviance for his having actively pursued 'unwholesome connotations' (27). Of course, this is the very hallmark of

---

[74] Mary Anne Doane, 'The Voice in the Cinema: The Articulation of Body and Space', *Yale French Studies*, 60 (1980) 33-50, pp.35-36.
[75] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre au Secrétaire Général de l'Alliance Française' (14 December 1935) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. VIII, p.350. Further references in text.
[76] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (20 May 1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III, p.283.
[77] Stephen Barber, *Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs*, p.27. Further references in text.

subcultural style, or style in revolt, according to Dick Hebdige. By ejecting Artaud on the grounds that he was 'too commercial', the Surrealists would seem to be positioning their subcultural capital in the face of the supposedly obscene accessibility of mass culture. The idea that authentic culture is somehow located beyond media and commerce is a resilient one, and is accepted as the prescription for a true avant-garde movement. However, Hebdige, in his genealogy of punk, finds that inevitably 'each subculture moves through a cycle of resistance and diffusion, so that deviance is simultaneously rendered 'explicable' and meaningless'.[78] Even Surrealism was susceptible to this irresistible pressure to become fit for public consumption, and Hebdige quotes André Masson's description of how that process contributed to the decline of this movement:

> This meeting of an umbrella and a sewing machine on the operating table happened only once. Traced, repeated over and over again, mechanised, the unusual vulgarises itself...a painful 'fantasy' can be seen in street shop windows. (130)

It is shocking, though not unprecedented, when a subculture or iconic subcultural figure such as Artaud actively flirts with media exposure, or becomes a phenomenon of the media. Artaud's distaste for commercialism may have been evident in his early writings; for instance he once said, extravagantly, that 'if I were to write a commercial scenario I would destroy myself'.[79] Nevertheless, his active pursuit of a film career was about establishing a celebrity persona as much as it was about making money to live on. In any case, concern about appearing too commercial had not worried the Futurists, who ventured into the realm of fashion, food, perfume, and interior design. Gertrude Stein, too, incorporated commercialism into her self-construction as avant-garde arbiter of style and fame, appearing in Ford car advertisements, and ecstatic on her arrival in New York in 1934 to find her name in lights on billboards and in shop windows.

Cultism is a recurrent phenomenon in avant-garde tradition, and, according to Juan Suàrez in his book on avant-garde, mass culture and gay identities, has had a long standing fascination with products of mass culture.[80] The film writing of the Surrealists, for example, is actually full of cultist tributes to their screen idols, in an *amour fou* for predominantly Hollywood movie stars and directors, such as Charlie Chaplin, Buster

---

[78] Dick Hebdidge, 'Ok, It's Culture, But Is It Art?' *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, p.130. Further references in text.
[79] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (26 March, 1929) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. III: 144-145, p.145.
[80] Juan Suàrez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996) p.120.

Keaton, Pearl White, and Mack Sennett. The fusion of reality, or real-personhood and phantasmatic screen presence proved extremely suggestive for many Surrealists: Suàrez offers the example of Luis Buñuel's cultist homage, in 'Variations of the Moustache of Menjou'.[81] For Buñuel, Adolph Menjou's moustache outshone all the other elements of his films; this particular part of the actor's anatomy ultimately becomes disarticulated into a category for perceiving the world, as Buñuel went on to classify Parisian cafés by the number of 'Menjou's moustaches' he could find when scanning the room. In avant-garde culture, and particularly in the Surrealist subculture,[82] fastidiousness and connoisseurship informed the consumption of specific cultural products. However, when such an anti-mainstream coterie became obsessed with dandy-like objects, which themselves are revealed to be analogous to the rejected vulgar materialism, a problematic ensues.[83]

Although Artaud aspired to create avant-garde art of some consequence, it is as an artistic 'personality' and a theorist and that he is most remembered.[84] Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze, Julia Kristeva and Maurice Blanchot, with their painstaking theoretical attention to Artaud's textual attempts to document his increasing disconnection, laid the groundwork for doing more than simply gawking at the spectacle of Artaud as avant-garde aesthete, madman, or visionary, as he was commonly perceived by his contemporaries. In focusing on his media performances and involvement, I would argue that Artaud was at his most inventive and disquieting when enacting his own particular brand of 'experiential collage' or 'performative montage', terms I have borrowed from David Craven's article 'The Aesthetics of Disturbance'.[85] For example, in his memoir about Artaud, Jacques Prével recounts an incident in which Artaud, in the middle of a conversation, broke into screams and threw himself on the floor. Picking up a knife, he compelled the terrified Prével to do the same. The histrionic moment past, Artaud calmly got up and informed Prével, with some critical dispassion, that had they been on a stage their performance would have been judged admirable. This anecdote reveals Artaud's generally acknowledged tendency to blur life and art, with his performance of madness

[81] See 'Appendix: Buñuel's Film Criticism' in Francisco Aranda, *Luis Buñuel: A Critical Biography*, trans. David Robinson (New York: Da Capo, 1976) 271-72; quoted in Juan Suàrez, *Bike Boys*, p.121.
[82] For the connection between the dandy and surrealism, see Alain and Odette Virmaux, 'L'Heritage du dandisme et le gout de la provocation', *Les Surréalistes et le cinema* (Paris: Seghers, 1976).
[83] Juan Suárez refers to George Grosz's autobiographical recounting of the Berlin dadaists predilection for American clothes, whose looser fit connoted the new continent's freedom and signalled their alienation from European values, p.43.
[84] See, for example the entry in Richard Kostelanetz, *Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes* (New York: Schirmer Books, 2000) p.34.
[85] David Craven, *The Aesthetics of Disturbance: Anti-Art in Avant-Garde Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995) p.219.

bleeding across his screen appearances and into his own construction of his avant-garde persona. Peggy Phelan argues that such a performative properly belongs to the present: 'To the degree that performance attempts to enter the economy of reproduction it betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology'.[86] Phelan locates the essence of performance in its 'irreproducible' traceless textuality: she says 'performance honours the idea that a limited number of people in a specific time/space frame can have an experience of value which leaves no visible trace afterwards'(148). Remarkable in Prével's outraged anecdote is Artaud's instant aesthetic judgement and immediate framing of the experience, as is his self-awareness as an artist. The story confirms the impression Artaud's writing gives of an aesthetic vigilance over his own actions and a judgement of himself. Earlier in the *Le Pèse-Nerfs* in 1925 he wrote: 'I am the witness, the only witness of myself. This crust of words, these imperceptible whispered transformations of my thought, of that small part of my thought which I claim has already been formulated, and which miscarries'.[87] Artaud's ceaseless struggle between his own biography and his oeuvre is paralleled in his struggle between the image (displayed in his writing, theatrical gestures, film appearances, photographs and later interest in drawing and portraits) and sound (diffused in occasions of public oratory, angry invective, dubbed film sound-tracks, radio broadcasts and glossolalia).

In his autobiographical and uncannily prescient screenplay, *Les Dix-huit secondes*, quoted in the epigraph to this chapter, the hero dreams of being an orator: 'yes, capable of doing anything, to be an orator, painter, actor, yes, but was he not already an actor? Yes, he is an actor.'[88] Despite his quick celebrity and gift for film-acting, Artaud moved away from a career in a profession in which he was to become the medium for another's words; Nancy Barr argues that Artaud's 'clear preference was to make himself heard in the live performance of his texts'.[89] The documented occasions of Artaud's public speaking mark the progression of his career: from his Sorbonne lectures and his public appearance at the Vieux-Colombier theatre through to his notorious and final radio broadcasts. Yet he always seems to write with a listening audience in mind, and always seems acutely conscious of

[86] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993) pp.148-53. Further references in text.
[87] Antonin Artaud, *Les Pèse-nerfs*, p.81.
[88] Antonin Artaud, *Les Dix-huit secondes*, p.12. Further references in text.
[89] Nancy Barr, *Artaud as Orator*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of California, Berkeley, 1997) p.2. Further references in text.

his own performance. Like the actor in the film script for *Les Dix-huit secondes*, 'he listens and he sees himself at the same time'(15-16). Ominously, however,

> The necessary words abandon him, they no longer answer his summons, he is reduced to watching a procession of images, an enormous number of contradictory images without much connection from one to the next. This means he is incapable of participating in the lives of others, or of focusing on any particular activity. (11)

In *Les Dix-huit secondes* the protagonist, horrified at the flow of both images and sound contracted into a short eighteen second rendering of his life, 'takes one last look at his miserable destiny. Then, without hesitation or the slightest emotion, he takes a revolver out of his pocket and puts a bullet in his head' (16).

Leo Baudry has traced how the increasing number and sophistication of information and entertainment technologies enormously expanded the ways of being known, and how, in the process, the concept of fame has been grotesquely distended, so that the line between public achievement and private pathology has grown dimmer.[90] Donald Kuspit picks up this notion in *The Cult of the Avant-Garde Artist*, pointing out that the claim to fame grows more intense the more endangered and pathological the subject becomes. He says that information, or mass media technologies, are the instruments of the desperate desire to be famous, but do not actually explain it'.[91] Unlike the famous, who are recognised for doing something unusual, but who remain 'true' to themselves and their particular reality, celebrities are heralded for falsifying the self to the point at which it seems pathologically unreal, or even psychotic, at its core. In Kuspit's formula, it is not necessary for celebrities to cope with reality, 'since the real is unreal, that is, a theatrical illusion'(73). Celebrity, then, endlessly narcissistic and trapped in an increasingly demented performance that overlaps the real with the unreal, triggers its own delirium.

While Artaud's reputation as a 'noisy troublemaker' continued to haunt him, overshadowing his legitimate efforts to realise a variety of theatre, radio and writing projects, this notoriety and near-cult status was to become his major selling point. For instance, in the advance advertising for a lecture Artaud was to give in Brussels in 1937, the organiser prepared the audience,

---

[90] Leo Baudry, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) p.3.
[91] Donald B. Kuspit, *The Cult of the Avant-Garde Artist* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.170n32.

> He wants to scream at everyone, without consideration for any social, ethical or political standards. I don't hesitate to say that this event will be one of the most impassioned that we have ever attempted, and we that will really miss out … if we refuse to take part in Antonin Artaud's dramatic testimony.[92]

The anticipation of outrageous behaviour and shocking language obscures the actual topic of the lecture Artaud eventually gave in Brussels, in another of his self-figurations, this time as a public intellectual, although eyewitness accounts agree on its provocative edge. But however creatively marketed or fetishised as the disquieting avant-garde *succès de scandale,* within a few months of this event Artaud was to be dragged kicking and screaming out of the public arena and into a straightjacket.

---

[92] Robert Poulet, *La Nation Belge*, reproduced in Antonin Artaud, *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. VII, p.438 (my translation).

7.

ANTONIN ARTAUD UNPLUGGED

'ALL WORDS, ONCE UTTERED, ARE DEAD'

The Voice of Oz: Silence!
You dare to come to me for a heart, do you?
You clinking, clanking, clattering collection of caliginous junk!
Tin Man: Ohhhh yes...yes, sir –Y-Yes, your Honour. You see, a while back, we were walking down the yellow brick road, and -
The Voice of Oz: Quiet!
The Wizard of Oz (1939)

When you will have made him a body without organs,
then you will have delivered him from all his automatisms and
restored him to his true freedom.
Then you will teach him again to dance wrong side out
as in the frenzy of our accordion dances
and this wrong side out will be his real place.
Artaud, *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947)

Listening to a playback of Antonin Artaud's final and fatal radio piece *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947) several decades after its recording, the actress Maria Cesarès did not recognise her own voice. Although it was suggested that the quality of the soundtrack had suffered over time, Cesarès recalled that she had had exactly the same impression when she first heard it after the rehearsals of the original performance. As a young and ambitious actress, she had found herself cast by chance in the radio-play for Artaud, who continually corrected her reading of his script. Requesting her to 'sing' her lines,[1] rather than read them as poetry, Artaud performed a few lines of the play's glossolalia for her. The unrecognisable needle-sharp and wavery recitation that survives is due, Cesarès says, to her faithful mimicking of Artaud's idiosyncratic performative voice, which was like that of 'an old child'(145). When recording a different section with Roger Blin, another of the small group of actors, she recalls that they agreed to attempt to remain

[1] Maria Cesarès, 'Entretien de 1968', *Antonin Artaud: Qui êtes-vous?* Alain and Odette Virmaux (Lyon: Editions La Manufacture, 1996) 143-147, p.145 (my translation). Further references in text.

distanced from the violent text they were called on to perform, and that they quickly realised the impossibility of maintaining their equilibrium, as their lines were 'so charged that they dragged us in against our will'(146). Artaud himself was twice overcome during the recording, at one point collapsing abruptly to the studio floor. Cesarès was reluctant to discuss the experience, afterwards describing it as intolerable, and recalling how eager she was to get away from Artaud. She insisted that her discomfort was not due to his shockingly deteriorated physical appearance, ravaged after nearly a decade spent in medical institutions, nor to his alarming behaviour as he twitched and drooled throughout the rehearsals, but was caused by his disquieting aural presence. She recalled how, just before recording commenced,

> Artaud started to let out screams. He began to talk like a dog or a rooster, and Blin responded to him imperturbably in the same language. All of this should have made the studio assistants laugh. However, not a single technician smiled. They were all frozen. In a corner, a woman cried. (144)

What is most extraordinary about Artaud's projects is the way that their violent noisiness actually shut down response from the listening audience. *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* was no exception: the recording was only publicly heard in two closed auditions, and a broadcast thirty years later, after having been cancelled on the eve of its original broadcast by the radio station that had originally commissioned it. Cesarès was not surprised that the recording had been banned, and even the group of famous public figures and artists who had been outraged on Artaud's behalf were shocked into an uneasy silence on hearing it at a jury organised at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier. Being censored in itself was not an undesirable event; curiously, the first play ever written for French radio in 1922 was banned because the state authorities anticipated a potential for panic in the listening public with its too-realistic story.[2] Of course, as has been shown time after time, banning is one of the most reliable ways to gain 'an underground smash hit'.[3] Gertrude Stein had earlier pointed out, in an aside that covers the consequences of both fame and censorship for the avant-garde artist,

> for a long time everybody refuses and then almost without a pause almost everybody accepts. In the history of the refused in the arts and literature the rapidity of the change is always startling. When the acceptance comes, by that acceptance

---

[2] This radio play about the shipwreck of a passenger liner similar to the Titanic was recorded more than a decade before Orson Welles' notorious *War of the Worlds* (1938). See Ian Rodger, *Radio Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1982) p.115.
[3] For more on the censorship of recordings and their subsequent potential for underground success, see Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music Media and Subcultural Capital* (Hanover, NH: University of New England, 1996) pp.129-130.

> the thing created becomes a classic. It is a natural phenomenon, a rather extraordinary natural phenomenon that the thing accepted becomes a classic.[4]

Previously, any hint of censorship of Artaud's work had him revelling in proof that he had transgressed; the banning acted as both publicity and expert testimony to his violation of mainstream sensibilities. Artaud's earlier writings and performances had established him as an exemplary figure in the avant-garde resistance against the prevailing culture, while his eventual emergence from a decade of psychiatric internment recuperated him as something of a Surrealist mascot, despite his ongoing hostility to this coterie. The suppression of his last major work, *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*, however, appears to have exhausted his capacity for outrage, and after a few weeks of vehement public comments, he died of an overdose of hydrochloride.[5]

It is perhaps a mistake to think of Artaud's apparently lunatic pronouncements as somehow made explicable or authentic because of his internment in the asylums, as many of his contemporaries and critics have been tempted to do.[6] Douglas Kahn responds to this trend by pointing out that Artaud's screams after his release from Rodez may have been a 'reasonable' and appropriate response, but that a difficulty arises when these mad screams are mapped back to any point in Artaud's career and when their 'perceived authenticity silences more localised attention'.[7] Lesley Stern goes further to acknowledge the ugliness and discomfort that accompanies much of Artaud's work:

> When Artaud opens his mouth words pour out, words that declaim, exhort, upbraid, accuse, insult, incite. Incendiary words and slimy words: words like bits of meat – flesh and gristle – are chewed over, regurgitated, spat out, passed out as faeces transferred to the page.[8]

Although the link between uncontrollable vocal utterances and writing is a recurring motif throughout Artaud's work, Stern points out that the texts which survive in the many volumes that make up Artaud's collected works are not simply a transcription of his direct

---

[4] Gertrude Stein, 'Composition as Explanation' (1926) *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten (New York: Vintage, 1990) 511-524, p.515.

[5] Commentators are divided about whether he committed suicide, or whether his death followed treatment for the final stages of an inoperable rectal cancer. The former theory is supported by Artaud's many writings on suicide, most notably 'Van Gogh le suicidé de la société (1947) *Oeuvres complètes* ed. Paule Thévenin (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978) Vol. XXXIII: 9-64 (my translation).

[6] For example, Michel Foucault's thesis, *Folie et déraison* (Paris: Plon, 1961) received an ambivalent scholarly response, most particularly as it was perceived as expressing 'a certain "valorisation" of the experience of madness in the light of cases like that of Antonin Artaud', quoted by James Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (London: Harper Collings, 1993) p.104.

[7] Douglas Kahn, *Noise, Water, Meat: A History of Sound in the Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) pp.348-9.

[8] Lesley Stern, 'All Writing is Pigshit', *One Hundred Years of Cruelty: Essays on Artaud*, ed. Edward Scheer (Sydney: Power Publications, Artspace, 2000) 75-82, p. 75.

speech: although he dictated much of his later material post-asylum to Paule Thévenin, he carefully went over each manuscript, adding a plethora of explanatory comments that are painstakingly accounted for by Thévenin in the often confusing abundance of glosses that accompany the *Oeuvres complètes*. For Stern, Artaud's violent insults are not the result of his disappointment with the failure of words and frustration with the limitations of speech. Instead, his 'diarrhoeic streams of invective attest to an addiction to language, but not as a palliative, rather as a medium of contestation, as the mobilisation of an impossible but absolutely essential encounter'(80-81). Artaud's overarching project may well have been fuelled by a desire to insist on being heard, made even more urgent after the state authorised silencing of his voice. He had earlier stated, 'I close the eyes of my intelligence and open my mouth to the speech of the unspoken',[9] in an apparent prioritising of the aural register over the visual.

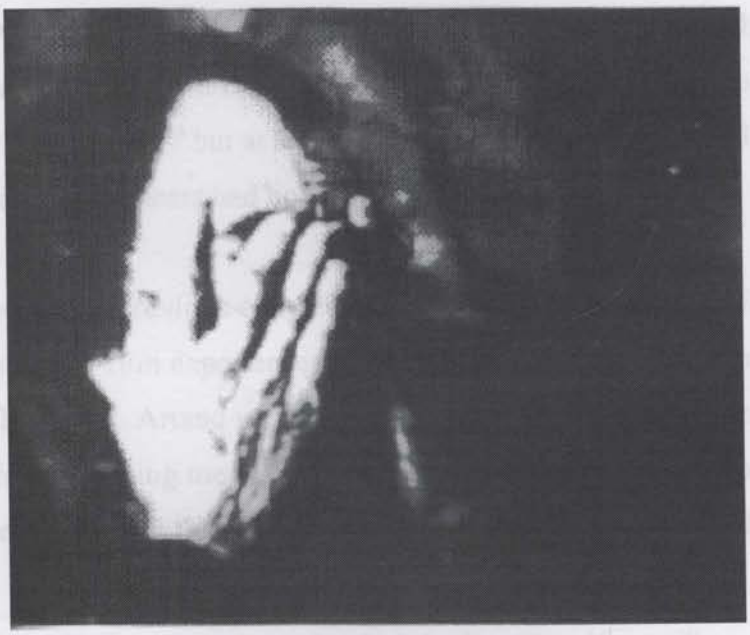


Fig. 35: Artaud at the recording of *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947)

Artaud's claim to have a visceral creative drive may seem to be a rejection of theatrical or professional 'technique' in his public performances, but he certainly was not unmediated. The furious voices and screams that make up the rough and asynchronous soundtrack of *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* were all meticulously scripted and rigorously rehearsed, with Artaud paying careful attention to the technical exigencies that would

[9] Antonin Artaud, 'Fragments d'un journal d'enfer' (1925) *Oeuvres completes* Vol. I: 133-44, p.137.

affect the quality of the recording. For example, at one point Artaud stepped back from the studio into a stairwell in order to avoid 'over-modulation' and to add the impression of a void to the soundtrack.[10] It has been argued that the shock effect of carefully calibrated auditory '*bruitage*' or noise-effects within the radio-play was intended as a counter to the electricshock treatment that had forcibly convulsed Artaud.[11] He had explored in earlier writings the effect of technology on the senses, setting up a logic that used technology as a prosthetic from within his own body and the body of his writing: in this early work he reduced himself to a paradoxically mechanised and sensitised 'nerve metre', complaining of a 'powerlessness to crystallise unconsciously the broken point of the mechanism to any degree at all'.[12] Eventually this broken mechanism was misdiagnosed as creative void by Jacques Lacan, who dismissed him in 1939 as '*fixé*': static, frozen or trapped by his pathology and unlikely ever to write again.[13] Notwithstanding this diagnosis, even in the asylums Artaud produced disturbing and powerful work that can only be read in the context of his experience of medical pharmacological, bureaucratic and electroshock interventions. During his decade in the asylums, Artaud had been subject to the first primitive experimentations with electroshock, undergoing at least fifty separate sessions within a period of two years,[14] but at least he had avoided being processed through World War II, which many of his peers had not survived.[15]

As I have argued in the previous chapter, Artaud's 'theatre of cruelty' found its clearest expression in his sound-film experiences in relation to shock and the everyday experience of modernity.[16] However, Artaud was deeply interested in the alignment of movement and sound in all of the developing media technologies. Thus, in his theorisation of the 'Theatre of Cruelty' project, he notes that 'the triumph of all this is in the kind of exaltation, both

---

[10] For a few more details of the recording process, see Douglas Kahn, *Noise Water Meat*, p.350.
[11] See Allen Weiss, 'Radio, Death and the Devil: Artaud's *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu'*, in *The Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992) 269-308, p.271.
[12] Antonin Artaud, *Le Pèse-Nerfs* (1925) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. I: 99-123, p.110.
[13] Jacques Lacan's diagnosis - 'Il est fixé; il vivra jusqua'à 80 ans, il n'écrira plus une ligne, il est fixé' – is attributed to him by Roger Blin, from the period when Lacan was chief of service in 1939 at the Hospital Henri-Roussell. Quoted in *Artaud vivant* by Odette and Alain Virmaux (Paris: Néo, 1980) p.321. Lacan's own reported repetition of 'fixé' brings into question the inherent repetitions and reproductions of pathology within psychoanalysis.
[14] While Arrtaud's physician Dr. Gaston Ferdière, pioneered the use of electroshock therapy, he also experimented with their duration and effects: Artaud lists the comas that followed treatment in 'Histoire vécue d'Artaud Môma', *Oeuvres completes*, Vol. XXVI, p.154.
[15] For more on the bureaucratic machine that serviced WWII, see Edwin Black's account of the number-crunching that went on to maintain the camps: *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*, (London: Little, & Co, 2001).
[16] See also Andrew Gargett on Artaud and cinema in 'Cinema of Cruelty', *Bright Lights Film Journal*, Issue 39 (February, 2003) retrieved 18 November 2003 from: http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/39/artaud1.htm,

visual and auditory, that all these events acquire in the half light, in the degree of vibration they achieve and in the kind of powerful disturbance that their total effect ultimately produces in the mind.'[17] He draws attention to the erosion of boundaries between the senses and media by playing back an unsynchronised soundtrack which 'uses the nervous magnetism of man to transgress the ordinary limits of art and speech'(110). *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* extended this project to purely auditory media, but it was not Artaud's first experiment with radio broadcasting. He had earlier been commissioned to record the short piece 'Les Malades et les medécins' for the program *Club d'Essai* within a fortnight of leaving the psychiatric ward at Rodez, and followed that work a month later with 'Alienation et magie noire', both successfully broadcast the day after they were recorded.[18] Although scholars tend to concentrate on Artaud's last radio-play, there were actually two other periods when he worked as a professional in the radio industry. As Artaud himself pointed out in 1947, 'I did a lot of radio before the war with Paul Deharme at *Radio-Information'*.[19] In this middle period, although he rejected Robert Desnos' offer of a film part, he reflected that 'radio would be another thing'.[20] In this way he indicated his determination to turn from his previous film experimentation, following his distaste for the addition of dubbed voices in the new sound-films, to the 'purer' technology of radio. This pre-war period of radio work is less well known, but it was framed by Artaud's return to Paris from Mexico and his departure for Ireland in 1936-37, after which he was detained and lost for years to the medical and institutional technologies of the asylums. But Artaud had started working in the radio industry even earlier than this, when, like other impoverished avant-garde writers and film actors in the early 1930s, he had picked up small jobs for quick cash in the rapidly expanding radio industry.[21] Although very little has been written about this period of Artaud's career,[22] he not only worked for the program *Information et Publicité* with his old friend Paul Deharme, but, more significantly, voiced

---

[17] Antonin Artaud, 'Le Théâtre de la cruauté: premier manifeste' (1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. IV: 106-19, p. 111. Further references in text.

[18] Antonin Artaud, 'Les Malades et les medécins' (9 June 1946) *Oeuvres completes* Vol XXII: 67-69, and 'Alienation et magie noire' (16 July 1946) *Oeuvres completes* Vol.XII: 57-60. Both were written and performed by Antonin Artaud for *Club d'Essai*, Audio-visual Archive, Bibliothèque Baty, Paris.

[19] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Fernand Pouey' (11 December 1947) *Oeuvres completes* Vol XIII: p.124.

[20] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Robert Desnos' (15 March 1937) *Oeuvres completes* Vol. VII: 206-207, p.206. Further references in text.

[21] For example, Artaud had a small part in the radio-play *Christophe Colomb* (1933) and later voiced and directed *Marie Stuart* (1934) both for Radio Luxembourg.

[22] Alain Virmaux offers an overview of Artaud's radio work, but points out that further investigation into this period is called for. See *Artaud vivant*, pp.249-56. Subsequent critics have focused on *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*, for example Allen Weiss, 'Radio, Death and the Devil: Artaud's 'Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu', in *The Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992) 269-308; and Stephen Barber, *Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993).

the central part of 'Fantômas' in Robert Desnos' famous avant-garde radio-play *La Complainte de Fantômas* (1933), which he also directed.[23] Previously, no critical attention has been paid to Artaud's early radio work on Fantômas, but I will argue that this peculiarly ephemeral popular cultural figure foreshadowed Artaud's terrorising of society, the avant-garde élite and the popular communications media.

The recording of this radio-play has not survived, but the radio broadcast was apparently a popular success in both France and Belgium, with Desnos' scenario made up of a twenty-six stanza poem, accompanied with music composed by Kurt Weill. According to Daniel Gerould, it was 'a monumental production with a cast of over one hundred, including cabaret and music hall artists, buskers, accordionists, whistlers, and clowns, as well as opera singers and recitalists'.[24] The radio-play had been commissioned by the spreadsheet *Le Petit Journal* to publicise the paper's new serial by Marcel Allain, one of the original authors of the wildly popular and long-running *Fantômas* series.[25] Describing these phenomenally successful novels as 'Belle Époque schlock',[26] Robin Walz recounts how they were quickly appropriated by the cinema: from the thirty two Fantômas novels, Louis Feuillade directed five Fantômas films for the Gaumont studios, and other directors soon picked up the serial with their own adaptations.[27] As early as 1914, Guillaume Apollinaire had reviewed *Fantômas* for the literary journal *Le Mercure de France*, pointing out that the craze was fuelled by the peculiar suitability of this series for tapping into the reciprocal influences of cinema and the narrative drive of the novel.[28] During the inter-war period Surrealists and avant-garde aesthetes frequently incorporated Fantômas imagery and iconography into their own work; for example, eye-masks became a familiar sub-textual reference to Fantômas, apparent in René Magritte's painting *Le Barbare* (1927) and Man Ray's *Etoile de mer* (1928). The radio broadcast devised by Desnos followed on from the avant-garde's fascination with the serial; Walz produces a surprisingly long list of painters,

---

[23] *La Complainte de Fantômas*, scenario by Robert Desnos and directed by Antonin Artaud, was broadcast on the 3rd November 1933, by Radio-Paris, Radio-Luxembourg, Radio-Toulouse, Radio-Normandie, Radio-Agen and Radio-Lyon.
[24] Daniel Gerould, *Guillotine: Its Legend and Lore* (New York: Blast Books, 1992) p.112 (my translation).
[25] Background information about Deharme and Desnos' collaboration producing 'La Complainte' can be found in Paul Deharme, 'Fantômas à la Radio', *Le Petit Journal* November 1933, in conjunction with the radio broadcast. This article was reproduced in Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain's *Fantômas* Vol.II 'bouquins' series (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1988) 1221-1224.
[26] Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000) p. 43.
[27] The series also became popular in the United States, resulting in a total of forty four books, sixteen films, five comic books, seventeen illustrated novels, three theatre productions and of, course, at least one radio broadcast. See the bibliography for Francis Lacassin's *Fantômas* (Paris: Laffont, 1989)
[28] Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Fantômas', *Mercure de France* (16 July 1914) 422-23.

writers and poets who made reference to Fantômas in their work, including Louis Aragon, Blaise Cendras, Jean Cocteau, Colette, Max Jacob (who co-founded the 'Societé des Amis de Fantômas' with Apollonaire), René Magritte, Pablo Picasso and Phillipe Soupault.[29] The radio broadcast *La Complainte de Fantômas* in a significant way overcame the avant-gardes' occasional contempt for the more 'commercial' aspects of popular media events with their passion for the Fantômas series, with Youki Desnos reflecting that this broadcast was a success precisely because it appealed to all listeners. She wrote, 'the public wasn't disappointed: this was well and truly a poetic event. Intellectuals were also agreeably surprised; finally, radio was good for something besides weather reports'.[30]

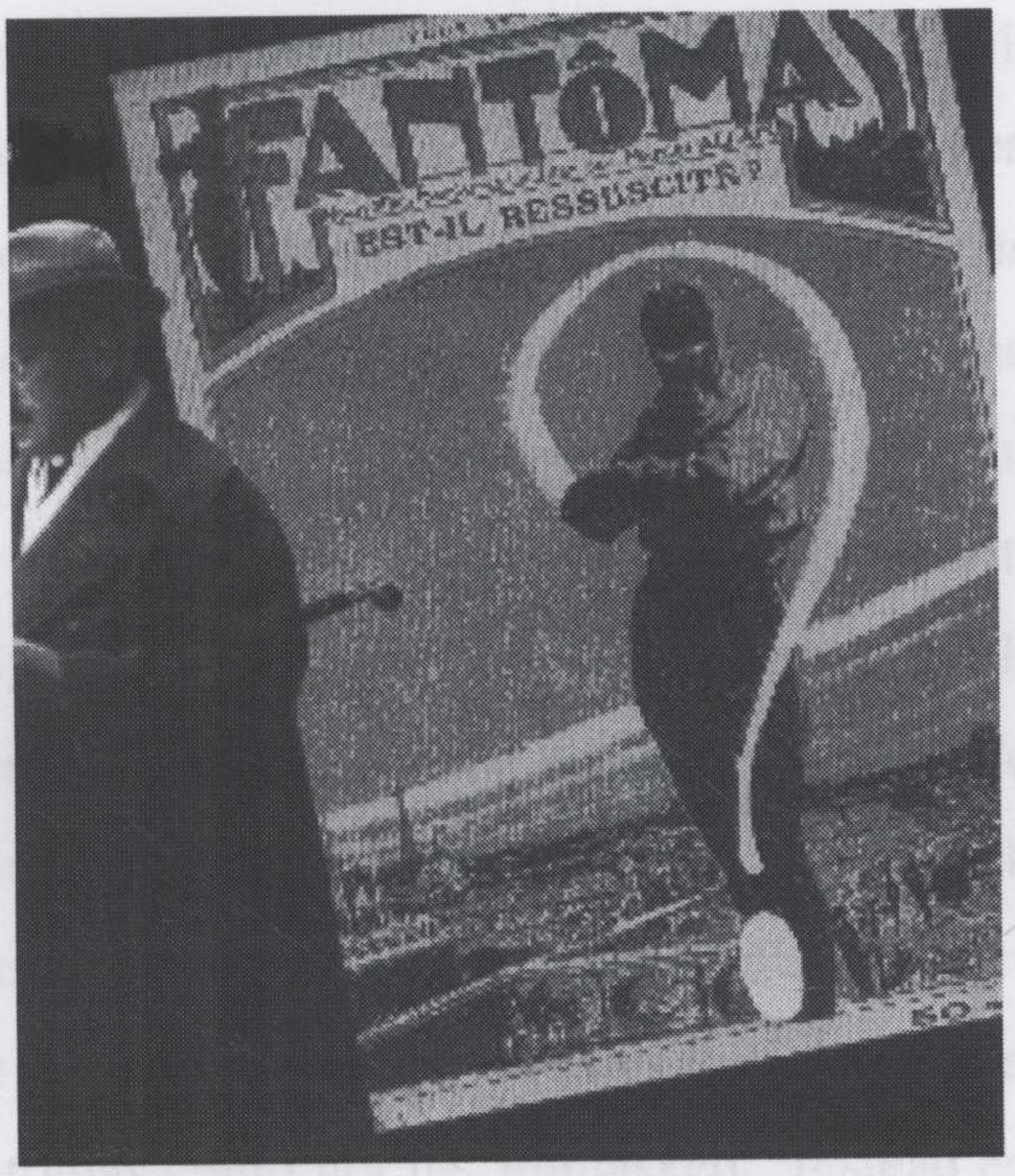


Fig.36: publicity poster *Fantômas: Est-il ressuscite?* (1917)

The avant-garde was therefore deeply attached to the iconic Fantômas, so much so that the Surrealists included the novels in their 'genealogy' of 'erutaréttil', or literature spelled backwards.[31] Walz stresses, however, that Fantômas was not an actually image created by the Surrealists, 'rather it was a dark spectacle viewed by them'.[32] He goes on to argue that the mysterious and shadowy figure of Fantômas, even in the early books' never-ending stories of elusive criminals and unstoppable crimes, was aligned to a peculiarly

---

[29] Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism*, p.45.
[30] Youki Desnos, *Les Confidences de Youki*, (Paris: Fayard, 1957) p.41 (my translation).
[31] Fantômas was in close proximity in this genealogy with Lautrémont, Rimbaud and Lewis Caroll. This list appeared in *Littérature, nouvelle série* (1921) no.11-12, 24-25.
[32] Robin Walz, 'Serial Killings: Fantômas, Feuillade, and the Mass-Culture Genealogy of Surrealism', *The Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film and Television*, no. 37 (March 1996) 51-57.

cinematographic imaginary. Desnos' radio-play can then be understood as making an effort to defamiliarise the 'spectacle' of Fantômas. His script draws immediate attention, from its opening stanza, to the absence of a visual field in his version:

> Listen up —silence please—
> For the unhappy retelling
> Of all the nameless acts
> The tortures, the violence
> Always unpunished, alas!
> Of the criminal Fantômas.[33]

The fascination felt by the avant-garde with the Fantômas series is focused on the central character whose identity and appearance were peculiarly elusive: there had been no 'unmasking' of Fantômas in either the books or the films, because there was nothing behind the mask, and so he could never be called to account for his 'unpunished' crimes. Another particularly modern aspect of Fantômas lay in the fact that his criminal identities were interchangeable. While Phillipe Azoury would claim Fantômas as the perfect dandy —'*mais c'est l'homme moderne!*'[34] — Linda Williams points out that the Fantômas character surrealistically functions as a 'figure of desire'.[35] When he was not being presented lurking faceless in the shadows, he assumed another identity and thus, as Walz argues, 'oscillates between being a figure of condensation, in which all crimes and murders are committed by the same Fantômas, and a figure of displacement, as the actual identity of Fantômas continually slides from one mysterious personage to another'.[36] Of course, in Desnos' radio-play, Fantômas could not be 'unmasked', instead emphasis is placed on the telling of brief, elliptic stories of his crimes, concluding that the 'very whisper' of Fantômas' name 'causes all to tremble for miles around',[37] an allusion to the far-reaching and mysterious vibrations that carried radio transmissions.

One of the most widely quoted passages from the series became something of a publicity slogan, and is notable for the way it presents rumour, or word-of-mouth, as the best vehicle for spreading the message of the Fantômas' terrible effects:

---

[33] Robert Desnos, 'La Complainte de Fantômas', transcribed in *Fortunes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945)101-109,stanza 1 p.101 (my translation).
[34] Philippe Azoury and Jean-Marc Lalanne, 'Fantômas le dandy', *Fantomîas: style moderne* (Paris: Editions Centre Pompidou, 2002) 13-21, p.21.
[35] Linda Williams, *Figures of Desire: A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Film*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) p.214.
[36] Robin Walz, 'Serial Killings', p.55.
[37] Robert Desnos, 'La Complainte de Fantômas', stanza 25, p.109.

'Fantômas!'
'What did you say?'
'I said —Fantômas!'
'And what does that mean?'
'Nothing...and everything!'
'But what is it?'
'Nobody...and yet somehow...somebody!'
'Come on, what does this somebody do?'
'He spreads terror!!!!'[38]

However, Fantômas was also thoroughly acoustically mediated, and the books and films are filled with telephones, crossed wires, telegrams, and primitive versions of the walkie-talkie that furthered his elaborate criminal activities. In fact, Fantômas' methodical destabilising of the media infrastructure for his own ends seems to have inaugurated the modern terrorism of communications. The serial's popularity was analysed by Francis Lacassin, who found that its appeal lay, above all, in its 'insolent challenge to aesthetic and social taboos'.[39] It is this last aspect in particular that would have drawn Artaud's attention: the Fantômas narratives were drenched in dread, fear, anxiety and perverse sexuality and could be argued to have presaged the popular conception of Artaud's 'theatre of cruelty'. Certainly the dark humour combined with violent theatricality seem strangely familiar, as increasingly fantastical *mise en scènes* are set up in Fantômas' technologically dangerous world, where telephone switchboard operators are knocked unconscious by bombs filled with blood and bone fragments to create the illusion of carnage, while other more complicated contraptions, such as a booby trapped peep-hole that sucked out eyeballs with a pneumatic pump, are recurring motifs.[40]

The books themselves were remarkable for what has been called their 'pastiche of orality',[41] or predominance of dialogue over description, and so it was actually quite odd that they were so quickly adapted to silent film, with its reliance on action speaking for itself. Curiously, while Fantômas seemed triumphantly elusive in his silent years, it was sound that came closest to betraying him. In Paul Fejos' 1932 sound-film version of the

---

[38] Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *Fantomîas*, Vol. II,'Bouquins' series (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1988) p.23. (My translation.)
[39] Francis Lacassin, 'Fantômas, ou l'énéide des temps moderne,' in Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *Fantômas*, Vol.1 'Bouquins' series (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1987) 7-30, p.12 (my translation).
[40] Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *La Mort de Juve*, (Paris: Robert Laffont 1962) p.122.
[41] Marc Angenot, *Le Roman populaire: recherches en paralittérature* (Montreal: Presses l'Université du Quebec, 1975) 103-104, quoted in Walz's *Pulp Surrealism*, p.48.

series, screened the year before the radio-play *La Complainte du Fantômas* was broadcast, Fantômas is almost undone when somebody recognises his voice. In an extraordinary moment that dramatises the startling dissociation of sound and image in cinema, the famously masked man is nearly unmasked and his elusive image matched to his 'true' identity by the sound of his voice, heard for the first time by the listening and watching cinema audience.[42] However, Fejos' Fantômas resists this public exposure, and in his turn silences the tale-telling witness just at the moment when he was to reveal who it was whose voice he had recognised, ironically enough with a gun equipped with a silencer. Within a year, in Fritz Lang's *Le Testament du Docteur Mabuse* (1933), the master criminal had domesticated cinematic sound technology, with a pivotal scene revealing that a mysterious voice behind a curtain was emitted from a mannequin with a magnetophone, a discovery that foreshadows a similar scene in Hollywood's *Wizard of Oz* (1939). Detachable from the body, the added voice in these popular commercial sound-films became a pointless aside or distraction, and the body in cinema is paradoxically and often violently disarticulated.

The final question in the last stanza of Desnos' radio-play was remarkably apposite. Artaud himself would have read out these hauntingly self-revelatory last lines:

> Who is this spectre with steel eyes
> Who erupts out of silence?[43]

It is evident in much of Artaud's own writing that he was profoundly concerned with the notion of a fragmented identity. I argue that this is particularly evident when he was torn between his early celebrity in silent film and his obscurity as an avant-garde artist struggling against misinterpretation and censorship to reach a wider audience. I would also argue that Artaud's ongoing concern with the disquieting and brutal disjunction between voice and image, which led to the conception of his extraordinary and influential 'body without organs',[44] is strangely evocative of the violently mediated character he gave voice to in Desnos' radio version of *La Complainte du Fantômas*. Uncannily, one of the last things that Artaud ever wrote was the unrecorded postscript to *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*:

---

[42] See an analysis of Paul Fejos' *Fantômas* (1932) in Philippe Azoury and Jean-Marc Lalanne, *Fantomîas: style moderne* (Paris: Editions Centre Pompidou, 2002) p.64-65.
[43] Robert Desnos, 'La Complainte du Fantômas', stanza 26, p.109.
[44] The 'body without organs' is picked up and extended by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari's *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: The Athlone Press, 1992).

Who am I?
Where do I come from?
I am Antonin Artaud
and if I say it
as I know how to say it
immediately
you will see my present body
explode into pieces
and under ten thousand
notorious aspects
a new body
will be assembled
in which you will never again
be able to forget me.[45]

Like Fantômas, Artaud's shadowy influence was to pervade the cultural landscape of the early twentieth century and on his return from his enforced retreat of nearly a decade, the astonished but intensely curious public reception by the post-war Parisian avant-garde attested to his disturbing yet peculiarly fascinating public presence.

Artaud's early career as an actor in silent film was quickly superseded by his more memorable work in radio, particularly his last broadcast, where he once again 'erupted' out of silence, not just in a movement from silent film to sound experimentation, but also as an outcry after the suppression of his public voice. In his later writings it is evident that he had moved steadily away from his early profession where he was the medium for others' words, although he was always interested in speaking to a listening public, clearly preferring to make himself heard in the live performance of his texts. In a letter sent to Anaïs Nin in the same year that *La Complainte de Fantômas* was broadcast, Artaud wrote,

> You understand, I am sure, but I will explain better speaking to you out loud. With these details that the written voice doesn't support, I mean to say that it is *incapable* of understanding, of being precise, of elucidating, of putting into relief.[46]

He added the postscript: 'I must talk to you about this letter, out loud'(181). In the same year, Artaud gave a now notorious lecture at the Sorbonne, 'Le Théâtre et la peste'.[47] At this public speaking engagement, Artaud, rather than completing his advertised theoretical lecture about the theatre and plague, gave up his notes and gradually started to act out the symptoms of a plague victim, writhing and screaming at the lectern. Anais Nin recounted

---

[45] Antonin Artaud, 'Postscript: *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu'* (1947) *Oeuvres completes* Vol.XIII, p.118.
[46] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Anais Nin' (April 1933) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol VII: 180-181, p.181.
[47] This lecture was held the 6th April 1933 at the Sorbonne, published in *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise* in 1934, then in Artaud's *Le Théâtre et son double* (1931-36) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol.IV: 1-168.

this extraordinary event in her diary, writing that it was difficult to describe in words what Artaud acted out on the platform of the Sorbonne:

> He forgot about his conference, the theatre, his ideas, Dr. Allendy sitting there, the public, the young students, professors, and directors. His face was contorted with anguish, one could see the perspiration dampening his hair. His eyes dilated, his muscles became cramped, his fingers struggled to retain their flexibility. He made one feel the parched and burning throat, the pains, the fear, the fire in the guts.
> He was in agony. He was screaming. He was delirious. He was enacting his own death. His own crucifixion.
> At first people gasped. And then they began to laugh.
> Everyone was laughing.
> They hissed. Then one by one, they began to leave, noisily, talking, protesting. They banged the door as they left.[48]

Artaud continued his 'lecture' to the bitter end, finishing curled up and gasping on the stage to a nearly empty auditorium. Although frustrated by the audience's reaction, he quickly began to review the relative 'success' of his lecture, complaining to friends and colleagues that they did not appreciate his intent to shock them out of their complacent expectation of passivity as an audience. According to Nin, he commented that 'they want to hear an objective conference on the Theatre and the Plague, and I want to give them the experience itself, the plague itself, so they will be terrified, and awaken. I want to awaken them. They do not realise they are dead'(351). Of course, the audience's reaction, even as it was mocking and resentful, had done exactly this and the lecture could be counted as a *succès de scandale*.

The letters that make up Artaud's *Oeuvres complètes* during the early 1930s are scattered with telephone numbers and comments about the frustrations of communicating with his peers and colleagues. He repeatedly notes ' I telephoned but in vain', and 'They musn't have passed on my telephone message or it was too late. It is nevertheless very urgent'.[49] The discord that marked much of Artaud's early career left little permanent trace and, as with all performance, no record of its brief existence or content, other than what can be read into his biographical history. Artaud's lecture performances were not recorded, and no matter that they were published after the event in essay form, were ephemeral. As with his increasingly bizarre and eccentric behaviour on the streets of Paris — he reportedly declaimed poetry at demolition sites and harangued passers-by in Montparnasse, striking

---

[48] Anais Nin, *The Journal of Anais Nin* (1931-34) ed. Gunther Stuhlmann (London: Peter Owens, 1966) p.350. Further references in text.
[49] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Marcel Darlio' (29 June 1932) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. V: 94-97, p.94.

them with his 'magic' cane — his performances at public lectures were assimilated, ingested and rehashed among his peers, who ventriloquised his agonised voice in their own memoirs, recapturing and to some extent taming his subversive performance. As Peggy Phelan observes, performance in a strict ontological sense is 'non-reproductive', [50] as it 'cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does, it becomes something other than performance'(146) She goes on to point out that it is this quality that makes performance the 'runt of the litter of contemporary art'(190). In its own way, the ephemeral nature of Artaud's public lecture performance is the perfect and at the same time impossible expression of his theorisations on a theatre of cruelty. As he wrote in 1933,

> Let us leave textual criticism to graduate students and recognise that what has been said is not still to be said: that an expression does not have the same value twice, does not live two lives; that all words, once spoken, are dead, that a form, once it has served, cannot be used again and asks only to be replaced with another, and that theatre is the only place in the world where gesture, once made, can never be made the same way twice.[51]

Having said this, it is all the more curious that Artaud was ready to take on another mass media technology; his radio broadcasts were never 'live', but carefully rehearsed, recorded and then meticulously edited and re-recorded. Indeed, the seemingly inexhaustible multi-volumed collections of his writings are owed in some way to radio as he first met his devoted editor and archivist, Paule Thévenin, during his negotiations for his 1946 radio broadcasts. Thévenin gained Artaud's trust when she performed to his explicit instructions in the broadcast *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu.*

Unsurprisingly, Artaud resented the fact that he was not invited to speak at a benefit held on his behalf to mark his re-emergence into the public scene in June 1946. Instead, others were cast to read his work in the 'Hommage à Antonin Artaud', with André Breton headlining the event, a bitter blow.[52] In response to this galling event, Artaud organised another lecture at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, which was to be his last public appearance. He performed to an overflowing audience curious about one of the most enigmatic figures of the pre-war avant-garde. There are no photographs or recordings of

---

[50] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp.148 . Further references in text.
[51] Antonin Artaud, 'En Finir avec les chefs-d'oeuvres' (1933) *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. IV: 154-64, p.157.
[52] 'Homage à Antonin Artaud' was held at the Sarah Bernhardt theatre on the 7th June 1946 to a full house.

Fig.37: poster advertising André Breton's benefit for Artaud (1946)

this lecture, which he called 'Tête-à-tête',[53] but accounts of the event are recorded in the memoirs of several of his peers, most notably André Gide, who reported on the 'authenticité totale' of the performance.[54] Nobody knew what to expect as Artaud had not appeared in public since 1935 when he had announced his plans to create a new kind of drama, or theatrical performance, designed to spark convulsions in spectators, as if by contagion.

This last lecture saw some of Artaud's improbable plans for a 'theatre of cruelty' come disturbingly to life; Thévenin recalled that he gave the 'impression of intense suffering at each word that he spat out'.[55] It was apparently difficult for even his closest friends to understand his hermetic and strange incantations, read from three manuscripts he carried with him, in which he attacked the stunned audience with frantic repetitions of 'saliva', 'piss' and 'electroshock'. Later, André Breton lamented the exploitation of a pathetically sick artist, and another writer deplored the 'atrocious bad taste in the exhibition of such misery'.[56] While some in the theatre had responded by tittering nervously, a 'partial panic

[53] The manuscripts read out in Tête-à-tête appear in Antonin Artaud's 'Histoire vécue d'Artaud moma', *Oeuvres completes*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 121-143.
[54] André Gide, *Feuillets d'automne* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1949) pp.132-134
[55] Paule Thévenin, editorial notes to Antonin Artaud's *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. XVI, p198. Further references in text.
[56] André Breton and an unnamed source are quoted in James Miller's *The Passion of Michel Foucault*, p.96.

convulsed the audience,'[57] particularly as Artaud himself seemed lost, repeatedly falling silent and starting over again. After nearly three hours of this excruciating performance, Artaud's wild gestures knocked over the papers he was reading from, his glasses fell off, and he dropped to his knees. Gide, who was in the front row, tried to help pick up his scattered manuscript, but Artaud unsteadily sat down, saying 'I put myself in your place and I can see what I tell you isn't at all interesting. It's still theatre. What can one do to be truly sincere?'[58] While Thévenin quietly observed that the audience had the 'impression that he was prevented from saying what he wanted',[59] Gide remarked that the audience leaving the theatre themselves 'remained silent', not laughing or mocking Artaud the way they had in his earlier 1932 lecture on 'Le Théâtre et le peste'. Reflecting on this unusual silence, Gide pointed out, 'What could they say? They had just seen an unhappy man, fearfully shaken by a god...Never before had he seemed so admirable to me'.[60] Roger Blin, who was later recruited to perform in *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*, said that 'We were all in extreme anguish. He told us afterward that the void in the room made him afraid'.[61] Presumably, Artaud's final major project on the radio allowed him to face his fear of a 'void'-like and invisible audience.

By this time Artaud was well known for his extraordinary voice and he received an enticing offer of absolute artistic freedom from Radio Diffusion Française for the series 'La Voix des poètes'. He immediately submitted the proposal for *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*, which was accepted without any administrative obstacle. Artaud was fascinated with the radio as he considered that it offered the possibility of a peculiarly intimate encounter with the listener. While Adorno dismissed radio as an instrument of propaganda, and mere 'soporific entertainment',[62] others had a more positive view. In 'Theatre and Radio', for instance, Walter Benjamin had written:

> In comparison to the theatre, radio represents not only a more advanced technical stage, but also one in which technology is more evident...The masses it grips are much larger; above all, the material elements on which its apparatus is based are

---

[57] Jacques Audiberti, 'Antonin Artaud', *La Fortresse et la marmaille: écrits sur la literature et les écrivains 1938-1964* (Paris: Seuil, 1996) 97-100, p.100.
[58] André Gide, *Feuillets d'automne*, p.133.
[59] Paule Thévinin, editorial comments, to *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. XXVI, p.198.
[60] André Gide, *Feuillets d'automne*, p.134.
[61] Roger Blin, *Souvenirs et propos*, ed. Lynda Bellity Peskine (Paris: Gallimard, 1986) p.86.
[62] Theodor Adorno, 'The Schema of Mass Culture', *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays*, ed. J. M. Bernstein (New York: Routledge, 1992) p.43.

> closely intertwined in the interests of its audience. Confronted with this, what can the theatre offer? The use of live people – and apart from this, nothing.[63]

Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu is Artaud's most electrifying project stretching the limits of the human body, or of 'live people'. It is also the work in which he most strategically aimed to elude the process of media or theatrical representation, which he had railed against in his early film writings, and which he considered paradoxically cancelled out, or made absent, the body. Francis Dyson argues that Artaud was influenced by his contemporary Varèse's ideas for sound and music in the theatre, so that 'sound emerges for Artaud as a counter to the despised voice speaking language'.[64] As Artaud prefaces in the 'Le Théâtre de la cruauté', sound is the 'rupture between things and words, between things and ideas and the signs that are their representation.'[65] To escape this, Artaud theorised the invention of a new 'concrete language' intended for the senses and independent of speech but made up of voice, music, gesture, movements and noise-levels. The sound of this language is not music, rather 'it wildly tramples rhythms underfoot. It pile-drives sounds. It seeks to exhalt, to benumb, to charm, to arrest the sensibility'(109). Dyson argues that Artaud goes back and forth between the materiality and the metaphoricity of sound, between its ability to penetrate and vibrate, its communicative function via the speaking voice and its inseparability from noise.

Of the five 'poems' that made up *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*, two were already written, and the others were composed in the same month in which they were rehearsed and recorded. In November 1947, Artaud directed rehearsals and made the studio recordings with Roger Blin, Paule Thévenin, and Maria Cesarès. With Blin he later recorded the additional *bruitages* or 'noise effects': the screams, ferocious invective, glossolalia, percussion and bangs. The program was to be aired on French radio on the 2nd February 1948 but a decision was made the day before by the radio station to cancel it because of its obscenities and offensive political and religious content. The program was never broadcast although it was published as a text in April 1948 shortly after Artaud's death, and the recordings were kept clandestinely by Thévenin. A description of *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* is extremely problematic, since this work exists in several

---

[63] Walker Benjamin, 'Theatre and Radio' (1930) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Vol. II., eds. Marcus Bullock, Michael Jennings et al., trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 583-6, p.585.
[64] Frances Dyson, 'The Last Pulse: Artaud, Varèse and the Exhaustion of Matter', *One Hundred Years of Cruelty: Essays on Artaud*, ed. Edward Scheer, (Sydney: Power Publications, Artspace, 2000) 82-96, p.83. Further references in text.
[65] Antonin Artaud, 'Le Théâtre de la cruaté: premier manifeste', *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. IV, 106-119, p.106. Further references in text.

different media states, each highly incompatible with the others.[66] Its three major guises are the audio recording made for broadcasting, the published text, and the documents that surround the broadcast assembled by Thévenin and published in volume XIII of Artaud's *Oeuvres complètes*. Stephen Barber observes that Artaud's final recording is 'a polyphony of screams and language, of assonant and obtuse rhythms, of insurgent elements of chance, and of outbursts of black, apocalyptic laughter which mocks religion.'[67] He finds that sound was used by Artaud as both aural and visual assault, in a kind of unmediated self-expression. However, the notes, drafts and letters which make up the dossier of *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* reveal how meticulously crafted the recording was, with Thévenin careful to note in her editorial comments that even the sections of glossolalia were 'as carefully prepared in advance as the scripts themselves'.[68] In fact, the first section of the recording is highly rhetorical, with Artaud seeming to parody political speech. It starts simply with an aside modelled on a radio news brief: 'I heard yesterday.'[69] Nancy Barr points out that the cadences in this first section are measured and determined, bringing to mind De Gaulles' war-time speeches and then further on becoming reminiscent of Hitler's rants.[70] Later the sonic space of the recording expands with glossolalia forcing the listener to hear as if listening to music. At first Artaud speaks directly to the ear of the listener, with frequent asides insisting on an implied intimacy: 'as I have previously spoken to you about'.[71] The long preliminary to the recording is performed by Artaud alone, and denounces American capitalism and consumerism, reporting an imagined American government practice of stockpiling sperm from schoolboys, to be used to generate an army of soldiers. In the following sections, Artaud effectively depersonalised his own poetic voice amongst the three other performers, who were instructed to sound like him. In this way, Artaud degrades the speaking subject, cancelling out differences so that it no longer matters who is talking. The recording's closing text has Artaud again performing alone. In this section, he cuts across his own voice, as if responding to an anticipated series of hostile questions of an assumed critical reporter and interrupting dismissively, 'and what is the point, M. Artaud, of this Radio Diffusion?'(102).

---

[66] See the chronological list in Allen W. Weiss, 'Radio Death and the Devil', pp.273-4.
[67] Stephen Barber, *Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs*, p.104
[68] Paule Thévenin, editorial comment to *Oeuvres complètes* Vol.XII, p.239n1.
[69] Antonin Artaud, 'Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu', p.71.
[70] Nancy Barr, *Artaud the Orator*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of California Berkeley, 1997) p.59.
[71] Antonin Artaud, 'Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu', p.236. Further references in text.

After replaying the complete recording, Artaud wanted to shorten some of his own readings, but otherwise was unusually satisfied with the finished product, celebrating the way that it had finally accomplished his aim of meshing the body with language. In the days before the scheduled transmission of his recording, Artaud gleefully anticipated that it would attack and jolt the people of Paris, but would also bring them deliverance and 'corporeal glory'.[72] The cancellation of the broadcast was therefore terribly disappointing, and strenuously objected to by Artaud and his supporters. It is ironic that on the evening of the 2nd of February, Parisian radio listeners heard a broadcast about the Marshall Plan and the growing need for awareness of, and adaptation to, American popular culture. Paris needed, in the era of the Marshall Plan, to be aware of American popular culture and to adapt their lives to it. Despite newspaper pressures and private hearings of Artaud's recording — at which writers such as Jean Cocteau and Paul Éluard declared that it should be transmitted — the ban stayed in place. Artaud was enraged by this censorship. He perceived it as linked to representation itself which was allied to processes of social sabotage, and so concluded that:

> wherever the machine is
> there is always the abyss, nothingness. (146)

It follows, as Nancy Barr points out, that this summary censorship 'would almost seem to have been the scripted response to Artaud's text'.[73] It was certainly an event which drew a lot of publicity and a highly polemicised public reaction which, in its way, ensured its success. Outrage and expectation of censorship had set the tone of *Pour en finir de jugement de dieu,* and this is evident in the public dismissal that Artaud anticipates in the last section of the radio-play: 'You are delirious, M. Artaud. You are mad'.[74] Artaud had always relished and cultivated his reputation as a noisy troublemaker. For all his exaggerated individuality, Artaud made himself into an aesthetic prototype, and was profoundly interested in the construction and mediation of his 'fantômatique' public celebrity. His disquieting performances in a surprisingly wide range of silent and sound films, radio, and other popular mass-media events effectively amplified his subversive presence on the literary avant-garde scene.

---

[72] Antonin Artaud, 'Lettre à Paule Thévenin' (24 February 1948) *Oeuvres complètes* Vol. XIII: 146-47, p.147.
[73] Nancy Barr, *Artaud as Orator*, p.49.
[74] Antonin Artaud, 'Pour en finir avec le judgement de dieu', p.103.

8.

DISARTICULATING THE AVANT-GARDE

If we had the right sort of brains we would receive a definite message from (Art) like dots and lines ticked off by one receiving station, received and translated into definite thought by another telegraphic centre.
H.D. *Notes on Thoughts and Vision* (1919)

She listened, she listened about everything and helped him to hear it. She helped him to hear everything. She heard everything.
Gertrude Stein, *Blood on the Dining Room Floor* (1933)

The human body is an electric battery whose discharges have been repelled and castrated.
Antonin Artaud, *Artaud le Môma* (1947)

The development of sound technologies in the early twentieth century meant that the ear had become a more active processor of information from the modern world. Leopold Stokowski, an avant-garde artist deeply committed to the new aural technologies, enthused that these developments extended the possibilities of perception enormously:

> Now they are really only limited to the intake of the human ear and by the brain centres to which the ear reports and in which the sensations of sound are received and in some way changed into emotion, mood and states of being.[1]

Everybody was 'mediated' in increasingly complex ways, and was listening in to the new technologies that sought to amplify, reproduce, project and store sound and the speaking voice. The avant-garde writers discussed in this thesis projected themselves as literary celebrities through this newly mediated acoustic world. While the distinction between avant-garde and modernism has been the subject of much critical and theoretical attention, H.D., Gertrude Stein and Antonin Artaud unsettled this polemic in very different ways, as they were distressed or inspired by the new aural media. Their experimentation with both silent and sound film, telephones and radio crossed borders that were initially understood to mark out popular cultural forms from the other arts, such as literature, music, painting

---

[1] Leopold Stokowski (1935) 'New Vistas in Radio' *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 155, p. 910, quoted by Frank A. Biocca, 'The Pursuit of Sound: Radio, Perception and Utopia in the Early Twentieth Century', *Media, Culture and Society*, 10 (1988): 61-79, p. 62. Stokowski combined his commitment to the avant-garde and the new aural technologies with a populist and commercially astute embrace of mass culture, such as his participation in Disney's *Fantasia* (1940)

and theatrical performance. Cinema, as Anne Friedberg observes, holds a curious place in the critical discourse about modernism, as it has its own convoluted history of allegiance to the avant-garde, and does not neatly fit into critical discussions of the avant-garde attacking or undermining the institutions of 'high' or 'low' culture.[2] The advances in sound-film in the late twenties and early thirties were particularly unsettling, with their disquieting asynchronisation provoking both a reconceptualistion of the field of perception and a restructuring of the cinematic body. This suturing together of visual and acoustic registers in popular cinema seemed to restore the perceptual unities that previously separated its constituent parts, silent images and recorded voices. However, H.D., Stein and Artaud were all concerned that sound-film was 'too perfect', and that its potential for representation and replication threatened their own constructions of identity.

Steven Connor has pointed out that it was the 'very dominance of the visual paradigm in conceptions of the self' that meant that the aural is relatively unexplored field in modernist studies, no doubt because 'the auditory or acoustic has often been experienced and represented, not as a principle of strength, but as a disintegrative principle'.[3] This degenerative aspect of acoustic media is precisely what recommended it to the early experimental sound work practiced by the Futurists and Dadaists. It also explains why the authors I discuss in this thesis initially approached it warily, in 'asides' from their larger literary projects. The'talkies' disquieting asynchronisation of aural and optic particularly concerned them, as it provoked a re-conceptualisation of the field of perception. It was paradoxically the yoking of silent images to sound that triggered H.D., Stein and Artaud's unease about the projection of their own critical and public voices and this provoked the various frustrations, disconnections and disarticulations apparent in their writings.

The writers' blocks affecting the three avant-garde authors discussed in this thesis seem oddly connected to the projection of their public identities through modern technologies and the dissemination of their 'voice'. Gertrude Stein reported being afflicted with writer's block upon her sudden realisation of a public audience, following the fame and publicity that accompanied the success of her bestseller *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. She also struggled with writer's block on her return from her lecture tour of the United States,

---

[2] Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1993) p.164.

[3] Steven Connor, 'The Modern Auditory I', *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 202-223: p.213.

where she was thoroughly processed through the media, appearing herself in sound-film and radio. Distressed by the thought of an undifferentiated mass of listeners and readers, she explored the effects of publicity in her later writings, but was frustrated from finding expression of her public voice by the advent of war, when she was disconnected and isolated in Occupied France. H.D. also found herself blocked from expression by the advent of war. Not only did she undermine her own 'talking cure' with Sigmund Freud by finding it impossible to discuss the matter that she later claimed had most concerned her at the time, the threat of the Nazi holocaust, but her later breakdowns were triggered by war-time bombing in the London blitz. While earlier H.D. had seemed to call for a mind like a 'receiving station'[4] that would accept transmissions from her artistic muse, she was to find that her wartime writer's block was relieved by her uncanny reception of radio transmissions from the dead. Overcome by a series of personal betrayals and the reported deaths of several friends, H.D. had found consolation in the public lectures of Lord Hugh Dowding, a retired RAF Air Chief Marshall, who was an advocate for spirituality and lectured on his communiqués with dead pilots. H.D. was fascinated and a friendship blossomed, only to founder when she started to report receiving messages in her turn from Dowding's spiritual guides, who offered her warnings of the terrors of atomic war.[5]

Artaud, in the meantime, was never at a loss for words — despite Lacan's diagnosis of him as *fixé* and unlikely ever to write again. After his prolonged sessions of electroshock, Artaud had reported that he too was haunted by snatches of lost conversations or transmissions from the dead. When he emerged from the asylums, Artaud realised that he could still exploit his reputation as an avant-garde figure, and was encouraged by the publication of the first volume of his *Oeuvres complètes*. Asked to write a brief autobiographic 'préambule', Artaud was distracted in asides and marginalia by recollections and conversations about three mysterious deaths that still haunted him: Germaine Artaud, found strangled at seven months of age; Yvonne Allendy, drowned although far from water, and found 'with unexplained marks on her throat'; and Neneka Chilé, who died with bizarre bruises on her neck.[6] Artaud's preoccupation with the stifling or violent silencing of his own agonised critical voice was of course justified when he was

---

[4] H.D., *Notes on Thoughts and Vision* (London: Peter Owen, 1919) p.26.

[5] See the account of H.D. receiving messages via table rapping from dead pilots and Lord Dowding's hostile reception in Susan Stanford Freidman, *Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) pp.173-175.

[6] Antonin Artaud, 'Préambule'(1946) *Oeuvres completes*, Vol I, tome 2: 7-12.

emphatically and finally shut up by the banning of his radio broadcast *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu.*

Stein had been hopeful about developing acoustic technologies, suggesting that they might circumvent war: 'Now they can do the radio in so many languages that nobody any longer dreams of a single language, and there should not any longer be dreams of conquest because the globe is all one, what is the use of conquering.'[7] She had earlier discussed the influence of war on modern art, linking the 'avant-garde' – originally a military term – with both warfare and modernism. She believed that the experience of World War I had created a way of 'seeing' that artists and their audiences could appreciate and understand. In her 1926 essay 'Composition as Explanation', Stein wrote:

> And so there was the natural phenomenon that was war, which had been, before war came, several generations behind the contemporary composition because it became war and so completely needed to be contemporary…And so the art creation of the contemporary composition which would have been outlawed normally outlawed several generations more behind even than war, war having been brought so to speak up to date art so to speak was allowed not completely to be up to date, but nearly up to date, in other words we who created the expression of the modern composition were to be recognised before we were dead some of us even quite a long time before we were dead. And so war may be said to have advanced a general recognition of the expression of contemporary composition by almost thirty years.[8]

This first world war synchronised the reception of art with those, including Stein herself, 'who created the expression of modern communication'(501). In other words, the audience for modern art had caught up with the artists, helped by shock and by new perceptual fields opened up by developing technologies.

On the other hand, as Alice Kaplan has pointed out, the military and political imperatives of World War II meant a return to the separation of sight and sound and another disconnection or disarticulation of the talking and moving image. [9] Kaplan compares the development of sound-film with the contemporaneous advances in war technologies, which were opening up perceptual fields with vast overviews seen from planes, caught by cameras and reproduced in moving film, but were also attacking the senses, with grenades

---

[7] Gertrude Stein, *Wars I Have Seen* (London: Batsford, 1945) p.10.
[8] Gertrude Stein, 'Composition as Explanation' (1926) *A Stein Reader*, ed. Ulla E. Dydo, (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1993) 493-503: p.501.
[9] Alice Yaeger Kaplan, *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) p.4. Further references in text.

that shredded people at a distance, and newly sophisticated chemical warfare. Kaplan points out that the political situation of the period benefited from all of this, with an exploitation of propaganda in photos, newsreels, radio broadcasts and talking films(4). However, silent and sound media were once again radically divided by the separate industries of radio and photography, which were most effective as they were harnessed separately to the Fascist desire to control political messages. Kaplan concludes, ominously, that 'there is no separation *by* technology, the desire to separate has become automatic'(7). Paradoxically, the advances in acoustic and visual technologies that culminated in sound-film in the early twentieth century were appropriated by the technologies of war, broken down again, and used to narrow the field of perception of the mass listening and viewing audience.

I have argued that very different avant-garde authors discussed in the three sections of this thesis all employed a variety of literary and linguistic strategies to account for the after-effects of audio and filmic technologies. These after-effects, which I locate amongst a range of disarticulated images and disquieting acoustics from their media projects, offer a reading of the new modes of perception opened up by developments in radio and sound-film. H.D., Stein and Artaud all found ways to redirect textual attention with distracted viewing, reading and listening practices appropriated from the new media. This thesis has therefore addressed the activities of these avant-garde *causes célèbres* in and out of their coteries, as they experimented with, subverted and resisted the hegemony of the visual. However, rather than arguing for a displacement of the visual by the aural, this thesis has investigated the tensions or frictions between looking, hearing and speaking across a variety of media. Its focus on the 'out of synch' and sometimes grating quality of H.D., Stein and Artaud's experimental and often self-promoting forays into the use of media technologies illuminates the ambivalence of the relationship between mass culture and the traditions of high modernism.

FILMOGRAPHY

Salpêtrière Hospital (1910-1912 silent) short doc. film of patients from *Salpêtrière*

Dancing Girl (1911 silent) dir. Jean Durand, about an epileptic cabaret singer

Le Mort qui tue (1913 silent) dir. Louis Feuillade, with René Navarre as Fantômas

Fantômas contre Fantômas (1914 silent) dir. Louis Feuillade

Les Yeux qui fascinent (1916 silent) dir. Louis Feuillade and Georges Meirs, with Musidora as leader of the 'vampyre' gang

Fait divers (1924 silent) dir. Claude Autant-Lara, with Artaud as the lover, 'Monsieur II'

Entr'acte (1924 silent) dir. René Clair, musical score by Eric Satie

Ballet mécanique (1924 silent) dir. Fernand Léger, industrial music score Georges Antheil

Light Rhythms (1925 silent) dir. Francis Brugière and Oswell Blakeston

Joyless Street (1925 silent) dir. G.W. Pabst, with Greta Garbo

Surcouf (1925 silent) dir. Luitz-Morat, with Artaud as the traitor Jaques Morel

Graziella (1925 silent) dir. Marcel Vandal, with Artaud as the fiancé

Emak Bakia(1926 silent) dir. Man Ray

Le Juif errant (1926 silent) dir. Luitz-Morat, with Artaud as Jacques Dupuis

The Student of Prague (1926 silent) dir. Henrik Galeen

The Jazz Singer (1927 sound) dir. Alan Crosland with Al Jonson

Napoléon (1927 silent) dir. Abel Gance, with Artaud as Marat

I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside (1927 silent) dir. Oswell Blakeston, with H.D., Kenneth Macpherson, Robert Herring, Bryher and Sybille Schmidz

Wingbeat (1927 silent) dir. Kenneth Macpherson, with H.D.

Gertrude Stein Home Movie (1927 silent) dir. Julien Stein, with Gertrude Stein and Alice B, Toklas at Hotel Pernollet, Belley

Man with a Movie Camera (1927 silent) dir. Dziga Vertov

L'Argent (1928 silent) dir. Marcel L'Herbier, with Artaud as secretary Mazaud

La Coquille et le clergyman (1928 silent) dir. Germaine Dulac, screenplay by Artaud

L'Étoile de mer (1928 silent) dir. Man Ray

Monkey's Moon (1928 silent) dir. Kenneth Macpherson, with H.D.

Pandora's Box (1928 silent) dir. G.W. Pabst, with Louise Brooks

La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc (1928 silent) dir. Carl Dreyer, with Artaud and Renée Falconetti

Verdun (1928 silent, 1931 sound remake) dir. Léon Poirier, with Artaud as intellectual

Foothills (1929 silent) dir. Kenneth Macpherson, with H.D. as hotel guest

Tarakanova, (1929 silent, 1930 sound remake) dir. Raymod Bernard, with Artaud as gypsy

Diary of a Lost Girl (1929 silent) dir. G.W. Pabst, with Sybille Schmidt and Louise Brooks

Borderline (1930 silent) dir. Kenneth Macpherson, with H.D., Bryher, Macpherson, Paul and Eslanda Robeson

Un Chien andalou (1930 silent) dir. Louis Bunuel

The Blue Angel (1930 sound) dir. Josef von Sternberg, with Marlene Dietrich

Animal Crackers (1930 sound) dir. Victor Heerman, with the Marx Brothers

L'Age d'or (1930 sound) dir. Louis Bunuel

Le Sang d'un poète (1930 sound) dir. Jean Cocteau

L'Opéra de quat'sous (1931 sound) dir. G.W. Pabst, with Artaud as apprentice beggar

La Femme d'une nuit (1931 sound) dir. Marcel L'Herbier, with Artaud

Les Croix de bois (1931 sound) dir. Raymond Bernard, with Artaud as mad soldier

Fauboug Montmartre (1931 sound) dir. Bernard, Artaud as leader of revolt

Vampyr (1931 silent, later dubbed sound) dir. Carl Dreyer, with Sybille Schmidz as vampire

Grand Hotel (1932 sound) dir. Edmund Goulding, with Greta Garbo

Coup de feu à l'aube (1932 sound) dir. Serge de Poligny, with Artaud as an assassin with nervous tics

Mater Dolorosa (1932 sound remake of 1917 silent) dir. Abel Gance, with Artaud as Hornis, the singing teacher

L'Enfant de ma soeur (1932 sound) dir. Henry Wulschleger, with Artaud as bohemian

Fantomâs (1932 sound) dir. Paul Fejos

Queen Christina (1933 sound) dir. Rouben Mamoulian, with Greta Garbo

Sidonie Plume (1933 sound) dir. Henry Wulscheger, with Artaud

Le Testament du Docteur Mabuse (1933 sound) dir. Fritz Lang

Gertrude Stein Pathé Newsreel (1934 sound) with Gertrude Stein in an interview and reading an extract from *Four Saints*, 'Pigeons on the Grass Alas'

Liliom (1934 sound) dir. Fritz Lang, with Artaud as guardian angel

Le Zouave Chabichou (1934 sound) dir. Henry Wulschleger, with Artaud as Abd el-Kader

Lucrèce Borgia (1935 sound) dir. Abel Gance, with Artaud as Savonarole

Koenigsmark (1935 sound) dir. Maurice Tourneur, with Artaud as chemist Cyrus Beck

Monsieur Fantômas: 280, 000 chapitre (1936 sound) dir. Ernst Moerman

The Wizard of Oz (1939 sound) dir. King Vidor, with Judy Garland

Fantasia (1940 sound) dir. Walt Disney

Escape (1940 sound) dir. Mervyn le Roi, with Conrad Veidt

A G.I. Sees Paris (1945 sound) dir. Norman Rockwell, U.S Army Information and Education Film, with Gertrude Stein

Fantômas contre Fantômas (1949 sound) dir. Robert Vernay

Paris Was a Woman (1996) dir. Greta Schiller and Andrea Weiss, with archival silent footage of Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas dog-walking in Paris circa 1927-29

Gloomy Sunday: The Suicides' Anthem (1999) dir. Rolf Scheubel, screened on SBS Australia 30th May 2003

RADIOGRAPHY

Radio Broadcasts for Children (1927-33) scripted and read by Walter Benjamin, for Funkstunde AG Berlin and Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk Frankfurt

Information et Publicité (1933-4) contributions by Antonin Artaud for Paule Deharme's program 'Radio-Information' for Radio-Paris and the Paris post of Radio-Luxembourg

Gloomy Sunday (1933) song composed by Resos Serres, interpreted by Billy Holiday, Paul Robeson, Sarah Vaughn

Christophe Colomb (1933) dir. by Paul Claudel, performed by Antonin Artaud in the role of General Malet for Radio Luxembourg

La Complainte de Fantômas (3 November 1933) dir. Antonin Artaud, scenario by Robert Desnos, music by Kurt Weil for Radio-Paris, Radio-Luxembourg, Radio-Toulouse, Radio Normandie, Radio Agen and Radio Lyon

Gertrude Stein: An Interview (12 November 1934) interview with William Lundell (NBC) for WJZ and WNET

Marie Stuart (1934) dir. and performed by Antonin Artaud, Radio Luxembourg

Gertrude Stein's Recordings (1935) Stein reading excerpts of *The Making of Americans*, *Madame Recamier: An Opera*, 'A Valentine to Sherwood Anderson', 'If I told him', 'Matisse'. Recordings Columbia University, Millbank Hall and The National Council of Teachers of English, Erpi Studios New York

The Islands (1937) reading of H.D.'s poem 'The Islands' (1921) on Radio City, New York

The War of the Worlds (1938) dir. and performed by Orson Welles, Mercury Theatre of the Air, CBS

Marechal Pétain speeches (1938-42) wartime broadcasts, Radio Paris

What a Day is Today: *Gertrude Stein's Liberation Broadcast* (3 September, 1945) with Gertrude Stein, transcribed in Eric Severeid's *Not So Wild a Dream*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946, 461-462

Les Malades et les médicines (8 June 1946) written and performed by Antonin Artaud for 'Club d'Essai', Audio-visual Archive, Bibliothèque Baty, Paris

Aliénation et magie noir (16 June 1946) written and performed by Antonin Artaud for 'Club d'Essai', Audio-visual Archive, Bibliothèque Baty, Paris

Hommage à Antonin Artaud (7 June 1946, broadcast 16 July 1946) recording of gala organised in honour of Artaud's return to Paris, at Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt

Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu (22-29 November 1947) written, directed and performed by Antonin Artaud, with Roger Blin, Maria Casarès and Paule Thévenin. Audiocassette: Lyon, La Manufacture, 1986

Helen in Egypt (1955) written and recorded by H.D. in a Zurich studio, Audiocassette: Watershed Tapes, 1981

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, Richard. 'Exploring the Discursive Field of the Surréaliste Film Scenario Text', *Dada and Surrealist Film*, ed. Rudolf W. Kuenzli, New York: Willis Locker & Owens, 1987: 58-71

——. *French Cinema: The First Wave 1915 -1929*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984

——. and Rick Altman. *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001

Adamowicz, Elza. 'Bodies Cut and Dissolved: Dada and Surréaliste Film', *Gender and French Cinema*, eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan, Oxford/New York: Berg, 2001: 19-34

Adamson, Walter L. 'Futurism, Mass Culture, and Women: The Reshaping of the Artistic Vocation, 1909-1920', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 4.1 (1997): 89-114

Adorno, Theodor. 'On Jazz' (1931) *Discourse: Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, 12.1 (1989-90): 38-69

——. 'The Schema of Mass Culture', *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays*, ed. J. M. Bernstein, New York: Routledge, 1992

——. *The Stars Fell Down and Other Essays on the Irrational in Culture*, ed. Stephen Crook, London and New York: Routledge, 1994

Allen, Richard. 'The Aesthetic Experience of Modernity: Benjamin, Adorno and Contemporary Film Theory', *New German Critique*, 40 (1987): 225-40

Altman, Rick, ed. *Sound Theory, Sound Practice*, New York and London: Routledge, 1992

Angenot, Marc. *Le Roman populaire: recherches en paralittérature* Montreal: Presses l'Université du Quebec, 1975

Apollinaire, Guillaume. 'Fantomâs', *Mercure de France* (16 July 191): 422-23.

Apter, Emily. *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991

Aragon, Louis. *Le Paysan de Paris* (1926) trans. Simon W. Taylor, London: Cape, 1971

——. and André Breton, 'La Cinquantenaire de l'hystérie (1878-1928)', *La Révolution surréaliste* 11 (March 15, 1928): 20-22

Aranda Francisco. 'Appendix: Buñuel's Film Criticism' *Luis Buñuel: A Critical Biography*, trans. David Robinson, New York: Da Capo, 1976: 271-72

Arens, Katherine. 'H.D.'s Post-Freudian Cultural Analysis: Nike Versus Oedipus', *American Imago*, 52.4 (1995): 359-404

Armstrong, Nancy. 'Modernism's Iconophobia and What It Did to Gender', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 5.2 (1998): 47-75

Armstrong, Tim. *Modernism, Technology and the Body: A Cultural Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

Arnheim, Rudolph. *Film Essays and Criticism*, trans. and ed. Brenda Benthien, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997

——. *Film as Art*, London: Faber & Faber, 1983

——. *Radio: An Art of Sound*, London: Faber & Faber, 1936

Artaud, Antonin. *Oeuvres complètes Vol. I -XIX* ed. Paule Thévenin, Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978

——. 'A la grande nuit ou le bluff surréaliste' (1938) *Oeuvres completes Vol. I*: 363-72

——. 'Alienation et magie noire' (16 July 1946) *Oeuvres complètes Vol.* XII: 57-60

——. 'Animal Crackers' (1931) with Salvador Dali, *Les Cahiers de la Cinemathèque* 25: 13-15

——. '*Cinémonde* interview' (1 August 1929) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. II:* 305-307

——. 'Cinéma et réalité' (1927) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 18-20

——. *La Coquille et le clergyman* (1927) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 20-25

——. 'Distinction entre avant-garde de fond et de forme' (1927) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III:*

——. *Les Dix-huit secondes* (1925/6) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 9-13

——. 'En finir avec les chefs-d'oeuvres' (1933) *Oeuvres complètes, Vol. IV*: 154-64

——. *Fragments d'un journal d'enfer* (1925) *Oeuvres complètes, Vol.1:* 133-44

——. 'Histoire vécue d'Artaud Môma', *Oeuvres completes, Vol. XXVI:* 121-143

——. 'Les Frères Marx' (1 January 1932) *NRF* 220, *Oeuvres complète Vol. IV*, 133-135

——. 'Lettre à Anaïs Nin' (April 1933) *Oeuvres complète Vol. VII:* 180-181

——. 'Lettre à Abel Gance' (November 27, 1927) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 129-130

——. 'Lettre à Fernand Pouey' (11 December 1947) *Oeuvres completes Vol XIII:* 123-125

——. 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (3 January 1931) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 190-191

——. 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (23 September 1931) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. IV:* 223-224

——. 'Lettre à Jean Paulhan' (22 January 1932) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 257-262

——. 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (27 April 1931) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 199-200

——. 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (26 June 1931) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 212-213

——. 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (20 October 1930) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III:* 185-86

——. 'Lettre à Louis Jouvet' (20 May 1932) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 283

——. 'Lettre à Marcel Darlio' (29 June 1932) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. V*: 94-99

——. 'Lettre à Paule Thévenin' (24 February 1948) *Oeuvres complètes Vol.* XIII, 146-47

——. 'Lettre à Robert Desnos' (15 March 1937) *Oeuvres complètes Vol VII:* 206-207

——. 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (June 7, 1928) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 135

——. 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (26 March 1929) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 144-145

——. 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (19 April 1929) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 150-151

——. 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (21 April 1929) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 151-154

——. 'Lettre à Yvonne Allendy' (5 June 1930) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 180-182

——. 'Lettre au Secrétaire Général de l'Alliance Française' (14 December 1935) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. VIII*: 349-353

——. *Le Maître de Ballantrae* (1929) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 46-53

——. *Les Malades et les medécins* (9 June 1946) *Oeuvres complètes, Vol.XXII:* 67-69

——. 'Manifeste pour un théâtre avorté' (1926/7) *Oeuvres complétes Vol. II*: 28-33

——. *Le Pèse-Nerfs* (1925) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. I:* 99-123

——. *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. XIII*: 67-104

——. 'Préambule'(1946) *Oeuvres complètes Vol I, tome* 2: 7-12.

——. 'Réponse à une enquéte' (1924-5) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III:* 63-64

——. 'Sorcellerie et le cinéma' (1927) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 65-67

——. 'Les Souffrances de dubbing' (1933) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III:* 85-87

——. 'Le Théâtre de la cruauté: premier manifeste' (1932) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. IV*: 106-19

——. 'Van Gogh le suicidé de la société (1947) *Oeuvres complètes Vol. XXXIII:* 9-64.

——. 'La Veillesse précoce du cinéma' (1933) *Cahiers jaune*, 4 'Cinéma 33', *Oeuvres complètes Vol. III*: 81-84

Arthur, Marylin B. 'Psychomythology: The Case of H.D.', *Bucknell Review*, 28.2 (1983): 65-79

Ashton, Jennifer. 'Gertrude Stein for Anyone?', *ELH*, 64 (1997): 289-331

Attali, Jacques. *Noise*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985

Audiberti, Jacques. 'Antonin Artaud', *La Fortresse et la marmaille: écrits sur la literature et les écrivains 1938-1964* (Paris: Seuil, 1996) 97-100

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953

Austin, J.L. *How To Do Things With Words*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975

Avril, Jane. 'Mes Mémoires', *Paris-Midi* (7-26 August, 1933) suppl. 1644: 22-24

Azoury, Philippe and Jean-Marc Lalanne. *Fantômas: style moderne* Paris: Éditions Centre Pompidou, 2002

Baer, Ulrich. 'Photography and Hysteria: Toward a Poetics of the Flash', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 7.1 (1994): 41-77

Baker, George. 'The Artwork Caught by the Tail', *October*, 97 (2001): 51-90

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986

Baldwin, Neil. *Man Ray: An American Artist*, New York: Da Capo, 2000

Balsamo, Anne. 'On the Cutting Edge: Cosmetic Surgery and the Technological Production of the Gendered Body', *Camera Obscura*, 28 (1992): 207-37

Barber, Stephen. *Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs*, London: Faber and Faber, 1993

Barnes, Walter. *The Photoplay as Literary Art*, Newark, NJ: Educational and Recreational Guides, Inc., 1936

Barossa, Julia and Caroline Rooney. 'The Poet and the Psychoanalyst: Mediums of Transmission', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 3.3 (1998): 167-176

Barr, Nancy. *Artaud as Orator*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1997

Barthes, Roland. *A Lover's Discourse: Fragments* trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1978

——. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1981

——. 'The Face of Garbo' (1955) *Roland Bathes: Selected Writings*, ed. Susan Sontag, Oxford: Fontana, 1983: 82-88

——. 'The Grain of the Voice', *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, New York: Hill and Wang, 1977: 179-89

——. 'Listening', *The Responsibility of Forms*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1985: 240-252

——. *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller, New York: Hill and Wang, 1975

——. 'The Third Meaning: Research Notes on Some Eisenstein Stills', *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, New York: Hill and Wang, 1977: 52-68

Bate, David. 'The Mise-en-Scène of Desire', *Mise en scène*, ed. François Leperlier, London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1997: 34-48

Baucum, Ian. 'Frantz Fanon's Radio: Solidarity, Diaspora and the Tactic of Listening', *Contemporary Literature* (Spring 2001)

Baudry, Leo. *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and its History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986

Bay-Cheng, Sarah. 'An Illogical Stab of Doubt: Avant-Garde Drama, Cinema and Queerness', *Studies in Humanities* (June-December, 2001): 82-95

——. *Mama Dada: Gertrude Stein, Cinema, Queerness and Avant-garde Drama*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2001

Bazin, André. 'Theatre and Cinema', *What is Cinema?* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966

Becquer, Marcos and José Gatti. 'Elements of Vogue' in *The Subcultural Reader*, ed. Ken Gelder, London and New York: Routledge, 1997: 445-453

Beach, Sylvia. *Shakespeare and Company*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1959

Bean, Jennifer M. 'Technologies of Early Stardom and the Extraordinary Body', *Camera Obscura*, 16.3 (2001): 9-57

Benjamin, Walter. 'A Small History of Photography' (1931) *One Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Kingsley Shorter, London: Verso, 1979: 240-257

——. *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1999

——. *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin* eds. Gershom Scholem and Theodore Adorno, trans. Manfred Jacobsen, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994

——. 'Gespräch mit Ernst Schoen' (1929) *Gesammelte Shriften*, Vol. IV, eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974: 548-51

——. 'Hashish in Marseilles' (1932) *Reflections, Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, New York: Schocken, 1978: 137-45

——. 'Hörmodelle' (1930-31) *Gesammelte Shriften*, Vol. IV, eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974: 628

——. 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire' (1939) *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, London: Fontana, 1973: 152-196

——. 'Paris Capital of the Nineteenth-Century: Exposé of 1935', *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999: 3-13

——. 'Reflections on Radio' (1930-31) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Vol. II, eds. Marcus Bullock, Michael Jennings et al., trans. Rodney Livingstone, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999: 543-4

——. 'Surrealism' (1929) *Reflections, Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, New York: Schocken, 1978: 170-184

——. 'Theatre and Radio' (1930) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Vol. II., eds. Marcus Bullock, Michael Jennings et al., trans. Rodney Livingstone, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999: 583-6

——. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936), *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, London: Fontana, 1973: 211-244

——. 'Zweirerlei Volkstümlichkeit' (1932), *Gesammelte Shriften*, Vol. IV, eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974: 671-73

Benstock, Shari. 'Paris Lesbianism and the Politics of Reaction, 1900-1940', *Hidden from History*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vinicus and George Chauncey, New York: New American Library, 1989: 332-46

——. *Women of the Left Bank, Paris: 1900 -1940*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986

Berger, Maurice, ed. *The Crisis of Criticism*, New York: The New Press, 1998

Bergstrom, Janet, ed. *Endless Night: Cinema and Psychoanalysis, Parallel Histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999

Bernstein, Charles. 'Stein's Identity', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 42.3 (1993): 485-88

Berry, Ellen E. *Curved Thought and Textual Wandering: Gertrude Stein's Postmodernism*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992

——. 'Modernism/Mass Culture/Postmodernism: The Case of Gertrude Stein', *Rereading the New: A Backward Glance at Modernism*, ed. Kevin Dettmar, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992

Bersani, Leo. *The Freudian Body: Psychoanalysis and Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986

Betts, Ernest. 'Going Talkie', *Close Up*, 5.4 (1929): 272-77

——. 'Why "Talkies" Are Unsound', *Close Up*, 4.4 (1929): 22-24

Bhabha, Homi and Sander L. Gilman, 'Just Talking: Tête-à-Tête', *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamenksi. New York and London: Routledge, 2001: 2-14

Biers, Katherine Laura. *Afterimages of the Feminine: The Emergence of Modernist Mass Culture*, unpublished PhD thesis, Cornell University, 2002

Biocca, Frank A. 'The Pursuit of Sound: Radio, Perception and Utopia in the Early Twentieth Century', *Media, Culture and Society*, 10 (1988): 61-79

Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*, London: Little, & Co, 2001

Blakeston, Oswell (Mecurius). 'Art Fact and Abstraction: Borderline, a Pool Film', *The Architectural Review*, 68 (1930): 258

——. 'Freud on the Films', *Close Up* 5.1 (1929): 399-402

——. 'I Do Like To Be Beside The Seaside', *The Architectural Review*, 67 (1929): 341-342

——. 'Syno: I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside', *Scrapbook 4* (1929-30) Blakeston Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas, Austin

——. 'Typescript: Film Stills for Filmmakers', *Scrapbook 4* (1929-30) Blakeston Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas, Austin

Blanchot, Maurice. 'Two Versions of the Imaginary', *The Gaze of Orpheus*, ed. Adam Sitney, New York: Station Hill, 1981

Blin, Roger. *Souvenirs et propos*, ed. Lynda Bellity Peskine, Paris: Gallimard, 1986

Bonduelle, Michel and Toby Gelfand. 'Hysteria Behind the Scenes: Jane Avril at the Salpêtrière', *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences*, 7.1 (1998): 35-42

Bonney, Therese. 'Gertrude Stein in France', *Vogue* (1 July 1942) reproduced in *Gertrude Stein Remembered* ed. Linda Simon, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994: 176-180

Bordwell, David. *The Films of Carl-Theodore Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981

——. 'The Musical Analogy', *Yale French Studies*, 60 (1980): 141-56

——. *On the History of Film Style*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997

——. ed. *Post Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996

Bornstein, George ed. *Representing Modernist Texts: Editing as Interpretation*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991

Borossa, Julia and Caroline Rooney. 'The Poet and the Psychoanalyst: Mediums of Transmission', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*, 3.3 (December 1998): 167-77

Bowers, Jane Palatini. *They Watch Me as They Watch This: Gertrude Stein's Metadrama*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991

Brennan, Teresa and Martin Jay, eds. *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, New York: Routledge, 1996

Breton, Andre and Paul Eluard. *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme*, Amsterdam: French and European Publications Inc., 1938

Breslin, James. 'Gertrude Stein and the Problems of Autobiography', *Critical Essays on Gertrude Stein*, ed. Michael J, Hoffman, Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1986: 149-59

Bridgman, Richard. *Gertrude Stein in Pieces*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Brinnin, John Malcolm. *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and her World*, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1987

Bronfen, Elisabeth. *The Knotted Subject: Hysteria and Its Discontents*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998

Brown, Chris. 'A Filmography for H.D.', *H.D. Newsletter*, 2 (1988): 19-24

Bryher. 'Berlin, April 1931' *Close Up*, 8.2 (1931): 132-33

——. 'Defense of Hollywood', *Close Up*, 2.2 (1928): 44-51

——. 'Dope or Stimulus', *Close Up*, 3.3 (1928): 59-61

——. *The Heart to Artemis: A Writer's Memoirs*, New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1962

——. Letter to H.D. and Kenneth Bryher (c.1927) quoted in Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World*, London and New York: Routledge, 1991, 291

——. Letter to Kenneth Macpherson (November 1933) quoted in Peter Gay, *Freud, A Life for Our Times* New York and London, 1988, 388-389

Buck, Claire. *H.D. and Freud: Bisexuality and a Feminine Discourse*, New York: St. Martins, 1991

Buck-Morss, Susan. 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered', *October*, 62.3 (1992): 3-41

——. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, Cambridge,

Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991

Burger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1974), trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984

Burnett, Ron. *Cultures of Vision: Images, Media, and the Imaginary*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995

Burns, Edwards ed. *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten Vol. 1 (1913-1935)*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986

——. and Ulla E. Dydo eds. *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996

Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*, New York: Routledge, 1993

——. *Gender Trouble*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990

Cahun, Claude. 'Aveux non avenus' (1930) *Ecrits*, ed. François Leperlier, Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 2002: 173-424

Callahan, Vicki. 'Zones of Anxiety: Movement, Musidora, and the Crime Serials of Louis Feuillade', *The Velvet Light Trap* 37 (1996): 37-50

Calinescu, Matei. *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (1977) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987

Carroll, Noël, 'Language and Cinema: Preliminary Notes for a Theory of Verbal Images', *Theorising the Moving Image*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 87-111

Cavell, Stanley. 'Nothing Goes Without Saying: The Marx Brother's Immigrant Talk', *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamensky, New York and London: Routledge, 2001: 95-104

——. *World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*, New York: Viking, 1971

Castle, Terry. 'Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie', *Critical Inquiry* 15.1 (1988): 26-61

Cazal, Patrick. *Musidora: la dixième muse*, Nancy: Editions Henry Veyrier, 1978

Chadwick, Whitney, ed. *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism, and Self-Representation*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: MIT Press, 1998

Charcot , Jean-Marie. *Nouvelle Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Paris, 1889

Charney, Leo. *Empty Moments: Cinema, Modernity and Drift*, Durham: Duke University, 1998

——. and Vanessa R. Shwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Chessman, Harriet Scott. *The Public Is Invited to Dance: Representation, the Body, and Dialogue in Gertrude Stein*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989

Chion, Michel. *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994

——. 'Wasted Words', *Sound Theory, Sound Practice*, ed. Rick Altman, New York and London: Routledge, 1992: 104-10

Chisolm, Dianne. *H.D.'s Freudian Poetics: Psychoanalysis in Translation*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992

Cixous, Hélène and Catherine Clement. *Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975

Cohen, Margaret. 'Panoramic Literature and the Invention of Everyday Life', *Cinema and the Invention of Everyday Life*, eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1996

Collecot, Diana. 'Images at the Crossroads: H.D.'s Scrapbooks', *Signets: Reading H.D.*, eds. Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis, Madison, WC: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990: 155-68

Conley, Tom. *Film Hieroglyphs: Ruptures in Classical Cinema*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991

——. 'The Talkie: Early Cinematic Conversation', *Talk Talk Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. S.I. Salamensky, New York and London: Routledge, 2001: 83-94

Connor, Steven. 'The Modern Auditory I', *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* ed. Roy Porter, London/New York: Routledge, 1997: 202-223

——. 'Satan and Sybil: Talk, Dispossession and Dissociation', *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation* ed. S.I. Salamensky, New York and London: Routledge, 2001: 163-180

——. 'Sounding Out Film', unpublished paper for the *Film, Literature and Modernity* conference, Institute of English Studies, London, January 2000, <http://www.bbk.ac.uk/eh/eng/skc/soundingout> (retrieved 1st June 2003)

Conrad, Bryce. 'Gertrude Stein in the American Marketplace', *Journal of Modern Literature* 19.2 (1995): 215-33

Conway, Kelly. 'Diva in the Spotlight', *Gender and French Cinema*, eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan, Oxford/New York: Berg, 2001

Cooper, Simon. *Technoculture and Critical Theory: In the Service of the Machine?* London/New York: Routledge, 2002

Cosandey, Roland. 'Autour de Borderline', *Les Cahiers de la cinemathèque*, 49 (1988): 51-65

Cook, David. *A History of Narrative Film*, New York: Norton, 1981

Crafton, Donald. *The Talkies: American Cinema's Transition to Sound, 1926-1931*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997

Craik, Jennifer. *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion*, New York: Routledge

Crary, Jonathan. *Suspension of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001

——. 'Techniques of the Observer' October, 45 (1988) 3-35

——. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996

——. and Sanford Kwinter, eds. *Incorporations*, Vol. 6, New York: MIT Press, 1992

Craven, David. *The Aesthetics of Disturbance: Anti-Art in Avant-garde Drama*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995

Crown, Kathleen. 'H.D.'s Jellyfish Manifesto and the Visible Body of Modernism', *Sagetrieb*, 14.1-2 (1995): 217-41

——. 'H.D. And the Public Sphere of Modernist Women Writers, 1913-1946', *Modernism/Modernity*, 9.3 (2002): 510-12

Curnutt, Kirk. 'Inside and Outside: Gertrude Stein on Identity, Celebrity and Authenticity' *Journal of Modern Literature* 23.2 (1999): 291-308

Cutler, Carolyn. 'Words and Images in H.D.'s *Tribute to Freud*', *Psychoanalytic Review*, 76.1 (1989): 107-13

Danius, Sara. *The Senses of Modernism: Technology, Perception, and Aesthetics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002

Davidson, Cathy N. 'Photographs of the Dead', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 89 (1990): 667-701

Davidson, Michael. 'The Romance of Materiality: Gertrude Stein and the Aesthetic', *Ghostlier Demarcations: Modern Poetry and the Material World*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997: 35-63

Davis, Kathy ed. *Embodied Practices: Feminist Perspectives on Body*, London: Sage Publications, 1997

Davis, Phoebe Stein. 'Even Cake Gets to Have Another Meaning: History, Narrative and 'Daily Living' in Gertrude Stein's World War II Writings. *Modern Fiction Studies*, 44.3 (1998): 568-607.

Deharme, Paul. 'Fantomâs à la Radio', *Le Petit Journal* (November 1933) reproduced in Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *Fantomâs* Vol. II 'bouquins' series, Paris: Laffont, 1988: 1221-1224.

DeKoven, Marianne. *A Different Language: Gertrude Stein's Experimental Writing*, Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983

——. *Rich and Strange: Gender, History, Modernism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991

Deleuze, Gilles. *Masochism: An Interpretation of Coldness and Cruelty*, trans. Jean McNeil, New York: George Brazilier, 1971

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guttari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi, London: The Athlone Press, 1992

——. *L'Image-mouvement*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1983

Derrida, Jacques. 'All Ears: Nietzsche's Otobiography', trans. Avital Ronell, *Yale French Studies*, 63 (1982): 245-250

——. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996

——. *Artaud le moma: interjections d'appel*, Paris: Galilée, 2002

——. 'Freud and the Scene of Writing', trans. Alan Bass, *Writing and Difference*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978: 196-231

——. *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976

——. 'Plato's Pharmacy', trans. Barbara Johnson, *Dissemination*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (1981): 61-171

——. 'The Rhetoric of Drugs: An Interview', trans. Michael Israel, *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 5.1 (1993): 1-25

——. 'Signature, Event, Context', *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*, trans. and ed. Peggy Kamuf, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991: 80-111

——. *Speech and Phenomena*, trans. and ed. David B. Allison, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973

Desnos, Robert. 'Fantômas, Les Vampyres, Les Mystères de New York', *Le Soir* (27 February, 1927): 19-22

——. 'La Complainte de Fantomás', *Fortunes*, Paris: Gallimard, 1945: 101-109

Desnos, Youki. *Les Confidences de Yourki*, Paris: Fayard, 1957

Dettmar, Kevin, ed. *Rereading the New: A Backward Glance at Modernism*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992

——. and Stephen Watts, eds. *Marketing Modernisms: Self Promotion, Canonisation and Rereading*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996

Detweiler, Jane A. 'A Piano in the Margin: Gertrude Stein "Detected"in Blood on the Dining-Room Floor', *Kentucky Philological Review* 7 (1992): 12-16

Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of Salpêtrière*, trans. Alisa Hartz, Cambridge Mass./ London: The MIT Press, 2003

Diepeveen, Leonard. 'H.D. And the Film Arts', *Journal of Aesthetic Education,* 18.4 (1984): 57-65

Douglas, Susan J. *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*. New York: Times Books, 1999

Doane, Mary Ann. *The Desire to Desire: The Woman's Film of the 1940's*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987

——. *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002

——. *Femmes Fatale: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis*, New York: Routledge, 1991

——. 'Screening Time', *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production,* London and New York: Routledge, 1997: 137-160

——. 'Temporality, Storage, Legibility: Freud, Marey, and the Cinema', *Critical Inquiry,* 22 (1996): 313-45

——. 'The Voice in the Cinema: The Articulation of Body and Space', *Yale French Studies,* 60 (1980): 33-50

Docker, John. *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994

Donald, James. 'Introduction: Enthusiasms and Execrations' *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg, and Laura Marcus. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998: 28-35

Dubnick, Randa. *The Structure of Obscurity: Gertrude Stein, Language, and Cubism*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984

DuPlessis, Rachel Blau. *Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth Century Women Writers*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985

——. *H.D.: The Career of That Struggle*, Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1986

Dusen, Wanda Van. 'Portrait of a National Fetish: Gertrude Stein's Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain', *Modernism/ Modernity* 3.3 (1996): 69-92

Dusinberre, Deke. 'The Avant-Garde Attitude in the Thirties', *Avant-Garde Film,* London: University of Luton and Arts Council of England, 1996: 66-83

Dyson, Frances. 'The Last Pulse: Artaud, Varèse and the Exhaustion of Matter' *One Hundred Years of Cruelty: Essays on Artaud*, ed. Edward Scheer, Sydney: Power Publications, Artspace, 2000: 83-96

Edmunds, Susan. *Out of Line: History, Psychoanalysis and Montage in H.D.'s Long Poems,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994

Egger, Rebecca. *Reading by Half-Light: Cinematic Spectatorship in Modernist Women's Writing*, unpublished PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1995

Eisenstein, Sergei. *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, trans. Jay Leda, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1977

Eisenstein, S.M., W.I. Pudovkin, and G.V. Alexandroff. 'The Sound Film: A Statement from the USSR', *Close Up* 4.1 (1928): 10-13

Eliot, T.S. 'The Waste Land' *Collected Poems: 1909-1962*, London and Boston: Faber & Faber, 1968: 61-86

Ellis, John *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992

Elsaesser, Thomas. 'Dada/Cinema?' *Dada and Surrealist Film*, ed. Rudolf E. Kuenzli, New York: Willis Locker and Owens, 1987: 13-27

Evans, Martha Noel. *Fits and Starts: A Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991

Eyman, Scott. *The Speed of Sound: Hollywood and the Talking Revolution, 1926-1930*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1997

Felski, Rita. *The Gender of Modernity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995

——. *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture*, New York: New York University Press, 2000

Finter, Helga. 'Antonin Artaud and the Impossible Theatre: The Legacy of the Theatre of Cruelty', *TDR*, 41.4 (1997): 15-40

Flint, F.S. 'The Poetry of H.D.' *The Egoist*, 2 (1915): 72-73

Flitterman-Lewis, Sandy. 'The Image and the Spark: Dulac and Artaud Reviewed', *Dada and Surrealist Film*, ed. Rudolf E. Kuenzli, New York: Willis Locker and Owens, 1987: 110-127

——. *To Desire Differently: Feminism and the French Cinema*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996

Forster, Hal. 'Blinded Insights: On the Modernist Reception of the Art of the Mentally Ill', *October*, 97 (2001): 3-30

Foucault, Michel. *Folie et déraison*. Paris: Plon, 1961

Freud, Sigmund. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey et al. 24 vols. London: Hogarth Press, 1955-64

——. 'A Note on the Mystic Writing Pad' (1925) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XIX: 227-32

——. 'Case Study IV: Katharina' (1894) *The Standard Edition* Vol. II: 125-134

——. 'Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria' (1905) *The Standard Edition* Vol. VII: 3-122

——. 'The Handling of Dream-Interpretation in Psychoanalysis'(1912) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XII: 91-96

——. 'Letter of 31 August 1898', *Correspondence: The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Masson, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985: 325-326

——. 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XIV: 243-58

——. 'New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis' (1933) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XXII: 3-153

——. *On Aphasia: A Critical Study* (1891) ed. E. Stengel, London: Imago, 1953

——. 'The Origin and Development of Psycho-analysis' (1895) *The Standard Edition* Vol. II: 362-365

——. 'Report on my Studies in Paris and Berlin' (1886) *The Standard Edition* Vol. I: 5-15

——. 'Screen Memories' (1899) *The Standard Edition* Vol. III: 301-322

——. 'Recommendations to Physicians Practicing Psychoanalysis' (1913) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XII: 109-120

——. 'Remembering, Repeating and Working Through (Further Recommendations on the Technique of Psychoanalysis)' (1913) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XII: 147-56

——. 'The Uncanny' (1919) *The Standard Edition* Vol. XIV: 219-56

Freud, Sigmund and Joseph Breuer. 'On the Psychical Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena: Preliminary Communication' (1893) *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-95) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. II: 3-17

Friedberg, Anne. 'Approaching Borderline', *H.D.: Woman and Poet*, ed. Michael King Orono: University of Maine Press, 1986: 369-390

——. 'Introduction: Reading Close Up', *Close up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. Anne Friedberg, James Donald and Laura Marcus, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998: 1-27

——. 'On H.D.: Woman, History, Recognition', *Wide Angle: A Film Quarterly of Theory, Criticism, and Practice*, 5.2 (1982): 26-31

——. *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993

——. *Writing About Cinema: Close Up 1927-1933*, unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, 1983

Friedman, Susan Stanford. 'Against Discipleship: Intimacy and Collaboration in H.D.'s Analysis with Freud', *Literature and Psychology*, 33 (1987): 89-108

——. 'H.D. (1886-1961)', *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Bonnie Kline Scott, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990: 85-92

——. 'Modernism and the "Scattered Remnant": Race and the Development of H.D.'s Modernist Vision', *H.D. Woman and Poet* ed. Michael King, Orana: University of Maine Press, 1986: 91-116

——. *Penelope's Web: Gender, Modernity, H.D.'s Fiction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990

——. *Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987

Friedman, Susan Stanford, and Rachel Blau Du Plessis, eds. *Signets: Reading H.D.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990

Fritz, Angela DiPace. *Thought and Vision: A Critical Reading of H.D.'s Poetry*, Washington DC: Catholic University Press, 1988

Frizot, Michel, ed. *Nouvelle histoire de la photographie* Paris: Bordas-Adam Biro, 1994

Fronval, Georges. 'Interview with Antonin Artaud for Cinémonde', *Le Charivari* (February 18, 1928) in Antonin Artaud's *Oeuvres completes*, Paris Gallimard, 1978, Vol III: 326-327

Gabbard Glen O. and Krin Gabbard, *Psychiatry and the Cinema*. Washington, DC.: American Psychiatric Press, 1999

Gallagher, Jean. 'H.D.'s Distractions: Cinematic Stasis and Lesbian Desire', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 9.3 (2002): 407-22

——. *The World Wars through the Female Gaze*, Carbondale, Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998

Garber, Marjorie. *Quotation Marks*, New York and London: Routledge, 2003

Gargett, Andrew. 'Cinema of Cruelty', *Bright Lights Film Journal*, Issue 39, February 2003, <http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/39/artaud1.htm> (retrieved 18 Nov 2003)

Gay, Peter. *Freud: A Life For Our Times*, New York and London: Norton, 1988

Gelder, Ken. 'Introduction: Sounds, Styles and Embodied Politics', *The Subculture Reader*, ed. Ken Gelder, London/New York: Routledge 1997: 371-470

Gelley, Alexander. 'Contexts of the Aesthetics in Walter Benjamin', *MLN*, 114.5 (1999):

933-961

Gendron, Bernard. 'Jamming at Le Boeuf: Jazz and the Paris Avant-Garde', *Discourse*, 12.1 (1989-90): 3-27

Gergen, Kenneth J. 'The Challenge of Absent Presence', in *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 227-241

Gerould, Daniel. *Guillotine: Its Legend and Lore*, New York: Blast Books, 1992

'Gertrude Stein Arrives and Baffles Reporters by Making Herself Clear' (no author) *New York Times* (25 October 1934): 25

'Gerty Gerty Stein Stein is Back Home Home Back' (no author) *New York Herald Tribune* (26 October 1934): 17

Gide, André. *Feuillets d'automne*, Paris: Mecure de France, 1949

Gill, John Herbert. 'The Music of Gertrude Stein', Program Notes for the 1983 concert *Gertrude Stein: Words and Music*, 1983, <http://www.gertrude-stein.com> (accessed 10th December 2003.

Gilloch, Graeme. *Walter Benjamin: Critical Constellations*, Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell, 2002

Gledhill, Christine, ed. *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, London and New York: Routledge, 1991

Gobel, Mark. *Beautiful Circuits: The Mediated Life in America, 1900-1940*, unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2002

——. 'Cameo Appearances; or, When Gertrude Stein Checks into Grand Hotel', *Modern Language Quarterly* 62.2 (June 2001): 117-163

Goldstein, Jan. *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987

Goodeve, Thyraz Nichols. 'Lipschtick Traces', *Art Forum International*, 35.2 (1996): 9-10

Gordon, Rae Beth. 'From Charcot to Charlot: Unconscious Imitation and Spectatorship in French Cabaret and Early Cinema', *Critical Inquiry* 27 (Spring 2001): 515-549

Gournay, Chantal de. 'Pretence of Intimacy in France', *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 193-205

Graver, David. *The Aesthetics of Disturbance: Anti-Art in Avant-garde Drama*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995

Greenberg, Clement. 'Avant-garde and Kitsch', *Partisan Review*, 6.5, (1939): 34-49

Gronowisz, Antoni. *Garbo: Her Life Story*, New York, Verso, 1990

Grosz, Elizabeth. 'Naked', *Impossible Presences: Surface and Screen in the Photographic Era*, ed. Terry Smith, Sydney: Power Publications, 2001: 209-222

Guest, Barbara. *Herself Defined: The Poet and Her World*, London: Collins, 1985

Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich. *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997

Gunning, Tom. 'The Aesthetics of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)credulous Spectator' *Art and Text* 34 (Spring 1989): 31-45

——. 'The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle: A Film Quarterly of Theory, Criticism, and Practice*, 8.3/4 (1986): 63-70

——. 'In Your Face: Physiognomy, Photography, and the Gnostic Mission of Early Film', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 4.1 (1997): 1-29

H.D. 'An Appreciation' *Close Up* 4:3 (March 1929): 56-68

——. 'Art and the Screen: The Stranglehold of Mediocrity' (n.d.) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library YCALmm24 box 42 folder1078

——. 'Boo (Sirocco and the Screen)', *Close Up*, 2.1 (1928): 38-50

——. 'The Borderline Essay' (1930) reproduced in *Close Up, 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998: 221-236

——. 'The Cinema and the Classics I: Beauty' *Close Up* 1.1 (July 1927): 22-33

——. 'The Cinema and the Classics II: Restraint' *Close Up* 1.2 (August 1927): 30-39

——. 'The Cinema and the Classics III: The Mask and the Movietone', *Close Up* 1.5 (November 1927): 18-31

——. 'Confessions-Questionnaire', *The Little Review*, 12 (1929): 38-40

——. 'Do You Give Critics Three or Four Years to Catch up with Borderline?' advertisement in *Close Up* 8.1 (March 1931): 77

——. 'Dream of a Book' (1941) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, YCALmss 24 box 38 folder 489

——. *End to Torment: A Memoir of Ezra Pound by H.D.*, New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1979

——. 'Escape' (1941) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University YCALmss 24 box 38 folder 991

——. 'Expiation' *Close Up* 2.5 (May 1928): 38-49

——. *Helen in Egypt*, (1952-55) Manchester: Carcenet Press, 1985

——. *Helen in Egypt* (1955) Audiocassette, Watershed Tapes, 1981

——. 'Is Borderline Too Intellectual?' (1930) *Close Up* advertisement 7.1: 85

——. 'The Islands' (1921) *Collected Poems 1912-1944*, ed. Louis L. Martz, New York: New Directions, 1983: pp.124-128.

——. 'Joan of Arc' *Close Up* 3.1 (July 1928): 15-23

——. 'Letter to Norman Holmes Pearson' (3 February 1955) H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University YCALmss 24 box 451-71

——. 'Letter to Norman Holmes Pearson' (25 February 1955) H.D. Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University YCALmss 24 box 451-71

——. 'Libretto' (Program for *Borderline*) (1930) reproduced in Anne Friedberg's *Writing about Cinema: Close Up 1927-33*, unpublished PhD thesis, New York University 1983: 150

——. 'The Master' *Collected Poems 1912-1944*, ed. Louis L. Martz, New York: New Directions, 1983: 451-461

——. *Notes on Thought and Vision* (1919) London: Peter Owen, 1988

——. 'Projector' (1927) *H.D. Collected Poems, 1912-1944*, New York: New Directions, 1986: 349-352

——. 'Projector II: *Chang*' (1927) *H.D.: Collected Poems, 1912-1944*, New York: New Directions, 1986: 353-59

——. 'Russian Films' *Close Up* 3.3 (September 1928): 21-32

——. *Tribute to Freud* (1944 - 1948) 1956, Boston, Mass.: David R. Godine, 1974

——. 'Wing Beat Essay' (n.d) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University YCALmss 24 box 43 folder 1102: 1-2

H.D. and Bryher 'Foothills Transcript' (1927) unpublished manuscript, H.D. Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University GENmss97 series VIII box 170 folder 5670

Haas, Robert. *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein*, Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1973

Hansen, Ellis. 'Technology, Paranoia and the Queer Voice', *Screen*, 34.2 (1993): 137-61

Hansen, Miriam Bratu. *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991

——. 'Mass Culture and Hieroglyphic Writing: Adorno, Derrida, Kracauer', *New German Critique* 56 (1992): 43-73

——. 'The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 6.2 (1999): 59-77

Harris, Dan. *Film Parody*, London: BFI, 2000

Harris, Adrienne. 'The Analyst as (Auto)Biographer', *American Imago*, 55.2 (1998): 255-75

Hayles, Katherine. *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature and Informatics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999

Hebdige, Dick. 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses: Youth Surveillance and Display', *SubStance* 37/38 (1983): 401-412

——. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London and New York: Methuen, 1979

Herrmann, Anne. *Queering the Moderns: Poses/Portraits/Performances*, New York: Palgrave, 2000

Herwitz, Daniel. *Making Theory, Construction Art: On the Authority of the Avant-Garde*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994

Hirsh, Elizabeth A. 'Imaginary Images', *Signets: Reading H.D.*, eds. Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990: 430-451

Hollenberg Donna. 'Abortion, Identity Formation and the Expatriate Woman Writer: H.D. and Kay Boyle', *Twentieth Century Literature* 40.4 (Winter 1994): 499-517

Hollier, Denis. 'The Death of Paper, Part Two: Artaud's Sound System', in Edward Scheer ed. *Antonin Artaud: A Critical Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004: 159-168

Hughes, Alex and James Sullivan, eds. *Gender and French Cinema*, Oxford/New York: Berg, 2001

Hulten, Pontus, ed. *Futurisme & Futurismes*, Milan: Bompiani; Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, 1986

Humm, Maggie. *Modernist Women and Visual Cultures: Virginia Woolf, Vanessa Bell, Photography and Cinema*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002

Hunter, Dianne. 'Hysteria, Psychoanalysis, and Feminism: The Case of Anna O', *Feminist Studies*, 9.3 (1983): 464-88

Hunter, William. *Scrutiny of Cinema*, London: Wishart & Co., 1932

Hutchinson, Beth. 'Gertrude Stein's Film Scenarios', *Literature/Film Quarterly* 17:1(1989): 35-39

Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986

——. 'Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other', *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*, ed. Tania Modleski, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986

——. 'Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia', *Public Culture*, 12.1 (2000): 21-38

——. 'The Vamp and the Machine: Technology and Sexuality in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*', *New German Critique*, 2 (1981): 221-37

Iampolski, Mickhail. *The Memory of Tiresias: Intertextuality and Film*, trans. Harsha Ram, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998

Ihde, Don. *Listening and Voice: A Phenomenology of Sound*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976

Jacobs, Karen. *The Eye's Mind: Literary Modernism and Visual Culture*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001

Jay, Martin. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994

Jones, Amelia, 'The Body and Technology', *Art Journal*, 60.1 (2001): 20-21

——. 'The Eternal Return: Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 27.4 (2002): 947-122

Justice-Malloy, Rhona. 'Charcot and the Theatre of Hysteria', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28.4 (1995): 133-38

Kahn, Douglas. 'Introduction: Histories of Sound Once Removed', *The Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992: 1-30

——. *Noise, Water, Meat: A History of Sound in the Arts*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999

Kaplan, Alice Yaeger. *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature and French Intellectual Life*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986

Kaplan, Ann E., ed. *Psychoanalysis and Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 1990

Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus, eds. *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002

Kaufman, David. 'Desperate Seriousness and the Avant-garde (Mis)recognition in Some of Stein's Sentences', Modern Philology (November 1999) 97.2, 220-231

Kellner, Bruce, ed. *Letters of Carl Van Vechten*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987

Kibble, Matthew. 'Sublimation and the Over-Mind in H.D.'s Notes On Thought and Vision', *ELT*, 41.1 (1998): 42-57

King, Barry. 'Articulating Stardom', *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, ed. Christine Gledhill, London and New York: Routledge, 1991: 167-182

King, Michael, ed. *H.D. Woman and Poet*, Orano, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1986

Kittler, Friedrich A. *Discourse Networks 1800-1900*, trans. Michael Metteer and Chris Cullens, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990

——. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz, Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 1999

——. *Literature, Media, Information Systems*, ed. and intro. John Johnston, Amsterdam: Overseas Publishing Association, 1997

Kline, Katy. 'In or Out of the Picture: Claude Cahun and Cindy Sherman', *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism and Self-Representation*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998: 66-8

Knapp, Bettina. 'Artaud, A New Kind of Magic', *Yale French Studies*, 31 (1964): 87-98

——. *Gertrude Stein*, New York: Continuum, 1990

Kostelanetz, Richard. *A Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes*, New York: Schirmer Books, 2000

Kovács, Steven. 'The Poets Dream of Movies', *Anxious Visions, Surréaliste Art*, ed. Sidra Stich, New York: Abbeville Press, 1990: 223-31

Kovacs, Yves, ed. 'Surréalisme et cinema' special issue, *Etudes Cinematographiques*, 38/39 (1965): 9-28

Kracauer, Sigfried. 'Cult of Distraction: On Berlin's Picture Palaces', trans. Thomas Levin, *The Mass Ornament*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995

Krauss, Rosalind. 'Antivision', *October*, 36 (1986): 147-154

——. *Bachelors*, Massachusetts: October and MIT Press, 2000

Kuenzli, Rudolf E., ed. *Dada and Surrealist Film*, New York, NY: Willis Locker & Owens, 1987

Kuhn, Annette. 'The Body and Cinema: Some Problems for Feminism', *Grafts: Feminist Cultural Criticism*, ed. Susan Sheridan, 1988: 11-23

——. *Women's Pictures: Feminism and Cinema*, London: Verso, 1993

Kuspit, Donald. *The Cult of the Avant-Garde Artist*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993

Kyrou, Ado. *Le Surréalisme au cinèma* Paris: Le Terrain vague, 1963

'La Vie d'un vamp' (no author). *Ciné Mondial* 47 (July 1947) 172-173

Lacassin, Francis. *Fantômas*, Paris: Laffont, 1989

Laplanche, J. and J-B. Pontalis. *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973

Lebeau, Vicky. *Lost Angels: Psychoanalysis and Cinema*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995

L'Ecotais, Emmanuelle de. *Man Ray: Photography and Its Double*, ed. Alan Sayag, trans. Deke Dusinberre, Corte Madera, Cal.: Gingko Press, 1998

Léger, Fernand. 'Speaking of Cinema' (1933) *The Function of Painting*, ed. Edward Fry, trans. Alexandra Anderson, New York: Viking, 1973:100-108

Leslie, Esther. *Hollywood Flatlands: Animation, Critical Theory and the Avant-Garde*, London and New York: Verso, 2002

Levin, David Michael, ed. *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993

Levin, Jonathan. ' "Entering the Modern Composition": Gertrude Stein and the Patterns of Modernism', *Rereading the New: A Backward Glance at Modernism*, ed. Kevin Dettmar, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992

Lindsay, Vachel. *The Art of the Moving Picture* (1915), ed. Martin Scorsese, New York: Random House, 2000

——. 'The Progress and Poetry of the Movies', in *A Second Book of Film Criticism by Vachel Lindsay*, ed. Myron Lounsbury, Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995

Loftus, Brian. 'Speaking Silence: The Strategies and Structures of Queer Autobiography', *College Literature* 24.1 (February, 1997): 28-45

Lury, Celia. *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998

Lyon, Janet. *Manifestos: Provocations of the Modern*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999

——. 'Women Demonstrating Modernism', *Discourse*, 17.2 (1994-1995): 6-25

MacDonald, D.P. 'Overture to Death' *Cincinnati Journal or Ceremonial Majik*, 1.1, 1976, republished in *phespirit* <http://www.phespiritinfo/gloomysunday> (retrieved 18 December 2003)

Macpherson, Kenneth. 'As Is', *Close Up*, 7.5 (November 1930): 295-97

Maholy-Nagy, Laszlo. *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925) trans. Janet Seligman, Cambridge MA.: MIT Press, 1987

Mandel, Charlotte. 'Garbo/Helen: The Self-Projection of Beauty by H.D.', *Women's Studies*, 7.1/2 (1980): 127-35

——. 'H.D.'s 'Projector II and *Chang*, a Film of the Jungle', *H.D. Newsletter*, 1.2 (1987): 42-45

——. 'Magical Lenses: Poet's Vision Beyond the Naked Eye', *H.D.: Woman and Poet*, ed. Michael King, Orona Maine: University of Maine Press, 1986: 299-317

——. 'The Redirected Image: Cinematic Dynamics in the Style of H.D.(Hilda Doolittle)', *Literature/Film Quarterly*, 11.1 (1983): 35-45

Mann, Paul. *The Theory Death of the Avant-Garde*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991

Marcus, Greil. *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989

Marcus, Laura. 'Introduction: The Contribution of H.D.' *Cinema and Modernism: Close Up 1927-33*, eds. James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus, London: Cassell: 96-104

——. 'How Newness Entered the World: The Birth of Cinema and the Origins of Man', *Literature and Visual Technologies: Writing After Cinema* eds. Julian Murphet and Lydia Rainford, Hampshire/New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003: 29-45

Marek, Jayne E., *Women Editing Modernism: 'Little' Magazines & Literary History*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995

Marinetti, F.T. 'Destruction of Syntax-Wireless Imagination- Words in Freedom, *Lacerba* (11 May- 15 June 1913) translated in Richard J. Pioli *Stung by Salt and Water: Creative Texts of the Italian Avant-gardist F.T. Marinetti* New York: Peter Lang, 1987: 45-46

Marinetti, F.T. and Pino Masnata. 'La Radia' (1933), *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992: 265-68

Mast, Gerald, Marshall Cohen, and Leo Braudy, eds. *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings, Fourth Edition*, New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992

Matisse, Henri with Georges Braques, Eugene Jolas, Maria Jolas, André Salmon and Tristran Tzara, 'Testimony against Gertrude Stein', *Transition* (supplement February 1935): 1-14

Matsuda, Matt K., *The Memory of the Modern*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996

Mattelart, Armand. *The Invention of Communication*, trans. Susan Emanuel, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996

Matthews, J. H. *Surréalisme and Film*, Anne Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971

McAlmon, Robert. *Being Geniuses Together, 1920-1930*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997

McCabe, Susan. 'Borderline Modernism: Paul Robeson and the Femme Fatale', *Callaloo*,

25.2 (2002): 639-53

——. *Cinematic Modernism: Modernist Poetry and Film*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005

——. ' "Delight in Dislocation": The Cinematic Modernism of Stein, Chaplin and Man Ray', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 8.3 (2001): 429-53

McCarren, Felicia. *Dance Pathologies: Performance, Poetics, Medicine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998

McCracken, Allison. 'Real Men Don't Sing Ballads: The Radio Crooner in Hollywood 1929-33', *Soundtrack Available: Essays on Film and Popular Music*, eds. Pamela Wojckik and Arthur Knight, Durham: Durham University Press, 2001

McQuire, Scott. *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Cinema*, London: Sage Publications, 1998

Mehlman, Jeffrey. *Walter Benjamin for Children: An Essay on his Radio Years*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993

Meskimmon, Marsha. 'The Critic's Performance: Body Art and Embodied Knowledge', *Association of Art Historians* (1999): 142-48

Metz, Christian. 'Aural Objects', *Yale French Studies*, 60 (1985): 24-32

——. *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982

Meyer, Steven. 'Gertrude Stein Shipwrecked in Bohemia', *Southwest Review*, 77.1 (1992): 12-33

——. 'Writing Psychology Over: Gertrude Stein and William James', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 8 (1995): 133-63

Middleton, Peter. 'Nurture and Culture: Reading and Readers in H.D.'s *Helen in Egypt*', *Textual Practice*, 5.3 (1991): 352-62

Miller, James. *The Passion of Michel Foucault*, London: Harper Collings, 1993

Milutis, Joe. 'Radiophonic Ontologies and the Avant-Garde', *TDR*, 40.3 (1996): 63-80

Mitchell, W.J.T. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986

Monhanan, Laurie. 'Radical Transformations: Claude Cahun and the Masquerade of Womanliness', *Inside the Visible* ed M. Catherine de Zegher, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996: 125-134

Morris, Adalaide. 'The Concept of Projection: H.D.'s Visionary Powers', *Contemporary Literature*, 25.6 (1984): 411-36

——. 'Sound Technologies and the Modernist Epic: H.D. on the Air', *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies* ed. Adalaide Morris, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997: 32-55

Morrisson, Mark. 'Selling Modernism', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 5.2 (1998): 155-62

Morton, David. *Off the Record: The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000

Mulhern, Francis. *Culture/Metaculture*, London: Routledge, 2000

Mulvey, Laura. 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Film Theory and Criticism*, eds. G. Mast, M. Cohen and L. Braudy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992: 746-757

Münsterberg, Hugo. *The Film: A Psychological Study* (1916) ed. Richard Griffith, Harvard University Press, New York, 1970

Murphet, Julian. 'Gertrude Stein's Machinery of Perception' in *Literature and Visual*

Technologies: Writing After Cinema eds. Julian Murphet and Lydia Rainford, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003: 67-81

Murphy, Marguritte S. ' "Familiar Strangers": The Household Words of Gertrude Stein's Tender Buttons', *Contemporary Literature*, 32 (1991): 383-402

Murphy, Richard. *Theorising the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism and the Problem of Postmodernity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

Murray, Edward. *The Cinematic Imagination: Writers and Motion Pictures*, New York: Ungar, 1972

Neel, Eric S. 'The talking being listening: Gertrude Stein's "Patriarchal Poetry" and the sound of reading', *Style*, 33.1 (Spring 1999): 88-108

Neveux, Georges. 'De Judex à l'Étoile de mer', *Etudes cinématographiques*, 38-39 (Spring 1965): 47

Neuman, Shirley. 'Would a Viper have stung her if she had only had one name?: Dr Faustus Lights the Lights' in *Gertrude Stein and the Making of Literature*, eds. Ira Nadel and Shirley Neuman, Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1988: 168-193

Nin, Anaïs. *The Journals of Anais Nin, 1931-1934*, ed Gunther Stuhlmann, London: Peter Owen, 1966

North, Michael. *Camera Works: Photography and the Twentieth Century Word*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005

——. 'International Media, International Modernism, and the Struggle with Sound', *Literature and Visual Technologies: Writing After Cinema* eds. Julian Murphet and Lydia Rainford, Hampshire/New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003: 49-66

——. *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999

——. 'Words in Motion: The Movies, the Readies and the "Revolution of the Word"', *Modernism/Modernity*, 9.3 (2002): 205-224

O'Connor, Mary. 'The Objects of Modernism: Everyday Life in Women's Magazines, Gertrude Stein and Margaret Watkins', *American Modernism across the Arts*, eds. Jay Bochner and Justin D. Edwards, New York: Peter Lang, 1999: 97-123

O'Leary, Brian. 'New Critical Methods and the Films of the First Avant-Garde: Symphonie Diagonale and Entr'acte', *Film Criticism*, 22.3 (1998): 22-38

O'Pray, Michael, ed. *The British Avant-Garde Film, 1926-1995: An Anthology of Writings*, Luton: University of Luton Press, 1996

Ong , Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word*, London and New York: Methuen, 1982

Owens, Craig. 'Posing', *Recognition: Beyond Representation, Power and Culture*, ed. Scott Bryson, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992

Patt, Lise, ed. *Benjamin's Blind Spot: Walter Benjamin and the Premature Death of Aura*, Topanga: The Institute of Cultural Inquiry, 2001

Pease, Alison. *Modernism, Mass Culture and the Aesthetics of Obscenity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

Penley, Constance, ed. *Feminism and Film Theory*, New York: Routledge, 1988

——. *The Future of an Illusion: Film, Feminism and Psychoanalysis*, London and New York: Routledge, 1989

Penot-Lacassagne, Olivier, ed. *Antonin Artaud 1: Modernités D'Antonin Artaud*, Paris and Caen: Lettres Modernes Minard, 2000

Perelman, Bob. *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein and Zukofsky*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994

Perloff, Marjorie. 'Grammar in Use: Wittgenstein/Gertrude Stein/Marinetti', *Wittgenstein's Ladder: Poetic Language of the Strangeness of the Ordinary*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996: 83-112

——. *The Poetics of Indeterminacy: Rimbaud to Cage*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999

——. 'Poetry as Word System: The Art of Gertrude Stein', *American Poetry Review* 8.5 (1979): 33-35

——. *Radical Artifice: Writing Poetry in the Age of Media*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991

——. *21st-Century Modernism: The 'New' Poetics*, Malden, Mass. and London: Blackwell Publications, 2002

Pétain, Henri Phillipe. *Paroles aux Français: Messages et ecrits*. Lyon: H. Lardanchet, 1941

Petro, Patrice. *Aftershocks of the New: Feminism and Film History*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002

——. 'Film Censorship and the Female Spectator: The Joyless Street [1925]', *The Films of G.W. Pabst: An Extraterritorial Cinema*, ed. Eric Reutschler, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990: 30-40

Phelan, Peggy. 'Performing Talking Cures: Artaud's Voice' *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997: 233-251

——. *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, London: Routledge, 1993

——. *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories*, New York: Routledge, 1997

Pitchford, Nicola. 'Unlikely Modernism, Unlikely Postmodernism: Stein's Tender Buttons', *American Literary History*, 11.4 (1999): 642-67

Poggi, Christine. 'Dreams of Metallized Flesh: Futurism and the Masculine Body', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 4.3 (1997): 19-43

Poggioli, Renato. *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968

Pontalis, J-B. *Frontiers in Psychoanalysis: Between the Dream and Psychic Pain* trans. Catherine Cullen and Philip Cullen, London: Hogarth Press, 1981

Poulet, Robert. 'La Nation Belge', reproduced in Antonin Artaud *Oeuvres completes* Vol. VII Paris: Gallimard, 1978: 438

Pound, Ezra. 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste', *Literary Essays*, ed. T.S. Eliot, London: Faber, 1954: 4-5

Prevel, Jacques. *En Compagnie d'Antonin Artaud*, Paris: Flammarion, 1974

Rainey, Lawrence. 'Taking Dictation: Collage Poetics, Pathology, and Politics', *Modernism/ Modernity*, 5.2 (1998): 123-53

Rakow, Lana F. 'Feminist Approaches to Popular Culture: Giving Patriarchy Its Due', *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, ed. John Story, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998: 275-91

Rand, Nicholas. 'The Talking Cure: The Origin of Psychoanalysis' *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, ed. Salamenksi, S.I., New York and London: Routledge, 2001: 181-190

Ray, Man. 'Letter to Gertrude Stein' (July 1933) Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript

Library, Yale University, Gertrude Stein Papers, Correspondence and Manuscript Notebooks, Gen MSS 97 series VIII Box 170 Folder 5670.

Reader, Keith. '"Mon cul est intersexual?": Arletty's Performance of Gender' *Gender and French Cinema*, eds. Alex Hughes and James Sullivan, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001: 63-76

Rabatet, Lucien. *Les Memoires d'un Fasciste: les décombres*, Denoël: Paris, 1942

Reid, B.L. *Art by Abstraction: A Dissenting Opinion of Gertrude Stein*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958

Richardson, Robert. *Literature and Film*, New York: Columbia University Press 1990

Riddel, Joseph. 'H.D.'s Scene of Analysis - Poetry as (and) Analysis', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 12.1 (1979): 41-59

Riviere, Joan. 'Womanliness and Masquerade', *Formations of Fantasy*, eds. Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan, New York: Methuen & Co, 1986: 35-44

Robinson, Janice S. 'What's in a Box?: Psychoanalytic Concept and Literary Technique in H.D.', *H.D. Woman and Poet*, ed. Michael King, Orono, University of Maine Press, 1986: 237-57

Rodger, Ian, *Radio Drama*, London: Macmillan, 1982

Rodowick, D.N. 'Reading the Figural', *Camera Obscura*, 24 (1990): 11-44

Rogers, William G. 'Letter to Gertrude Stein' (November, 1934), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MSS 76, Series II, Box 121, Folder 2611.

Ronell, Avital. *Crack Wars: Literature Addiction Mania*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992

——. 'Our Narcotic Modernity', *Rethinking Technologies*, ed. Verena Conley, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993: 59-73

——. *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989

Roof, Judith. *Reproductions of Reproduction: Imagining Symbolic Change*, New York: Routlege, 1996

Rotha, Paul. *The Film Till Now: A Survey of World Cinema*, London: Vision Press, 1949

Rosenbaum, J. *Placing Movies: The Practice of Film Criticism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995

Roustang, François. *Psychoanalysis Never Lets Go*, trans. Ned Lukacker, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1983

Ruddick, Lisa. *Reading Gertrude Stein: Body, Text, Gnosis*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990

Rule, James B. 'From Mass Society to Perpetual Contact: Models of Communication Technologies in Social Context', in *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 242-254

Russolo, Luigi. 'The Art of Noise', *Futurist Performance*, eds. Michael Kirby and Victoria Kirby, New York: PAJ Publications, 1986: 166-74

Rutsky, R. L. *High Techné: Art and Technology from the Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman*, Electronic Meditations, Vol. 2, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999

Saalschutz, L. 'Film in its Relation to the Unconscious' *Close Up* 5.1 (1929): 31-37

Sachs, Hans. 'Film Psychology', *Close Up*, 3.5 (1928): 8-15

Sadoul, Georges. 'Souvenirs d'un témoin', *Etudes cinématographiques*, 38/39 (1965): 9-28

Salamenksi, S.I. ed. *Talk, Talk, Talk: The Cultural Life of Everyday Conversation*, New York and London: Routledge, 2001

Sardoff, Dianne F. *Sciences of the Flesh: Representing Body in Psychoanalysis*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998

Sarris, Q. 'Dreyer's Textual Realism', *Carl Th. Dreyer*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1988

Sartillot, Claudette. *Citation and Modernity: Derrida, Joyce and Brecht*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993

Savarese, Nicola. '1931: Antonin Artaud Sees Balinese Theatre at the Paris Colonial Exposition', *The Drama Review*, 45.3 (2001): 51-77

Savran, David. 'Whistling in the Dark', *Performing Arts Journal* 15 (January, 1993) 25-27

Schaefer, James F. 'An Examination of Language as Gesture in a Play by Gertrude Stein', *Literature in Performance* 3 (1982) 1-14

Scheer, Edward ed. *Antonin Artaud: A Critical Reader*. London & New York: Routledge, 2004

——. ed. *One Hundred Years of Cruelty: Essays on Artaud*. Sydney: Power Publications, Artspace, 2000

Schiller-Lerg, Sabine. *Walter Benjamin und der Rundfunk*, Munich: K.G. Verlag, 1984

Schlegoff, Emanuel A. 'Beginning in the Telephone', in *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, eds. Katz, James E. and Mark A. Aakhus, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 284-300

Scholem, Gershom and Theodor Adorno eds. *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, trans. Manfred Jacobson and Evelyn Jacobson, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994

Schwartz, Hillel. 'The Indefensible Ear' *The Auditory Culture Reader*, eds. Michael Bull and Les Back, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003: 487-502

Schwartz, Vanessa R. *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999

——. 'Cinematic Spectatorship Before the Apparatus: The Public Taste for Reality in Fin de Siecle Paris' *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* ed. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, Berkeley: University of Stanford Press, 1995: 297-319.

Scott, Bonnie Kime. ed. *The Gender of Modernism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990

Sedgewick, Eve Kosofsky. 'Epidemics of the Will', *Incorporations, Zone 6*, eds. Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter, New York: Zone Publications, 1992: 582-95

——. *Epistemology of the Closet*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990

Sekula, Allan. 'The Body and the Archive', *October* (1986): 3-64

Seltzer, Mark. *Bodies and Machines*, New York: Routledge, 1992

——. 'The Graphic Unconscious: A Response', *New Literary History*, 26.1 (1995): 21-28

——. 'The Postal Unconscious', *The Henry James Review*, 21 (2000): 197-206

Severeid, Eric. *Not So Wild a Dream*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946

Shaviro, Steven. *The Cinematic Body*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993

Showalter, Elaine. *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture*, London: Picador, 1997

Silverman, Kaja. *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988

——. 'Masochism and Male Subjectivity', *Camera Obscura* (1988): 31-66

——. *Thresholds of the Visible World*, New York: Routledge, 1996

——. '"The World Wants Your Desire": Martina Pachmanova Interviews Kaja Silverman', *n.paradoxa* 6 (2000): 5-11

Singer, Ben. 'Modernity, Hyperstimulus and the Rise of Popular Sensationalism', in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, ed. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995: 72-99

——. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001

Sitney, Adams P., ed. *The Avant-Garde Film: A Reader of Theory and Practice*, New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1978

——. *Modernist Montage: The Obscurity of Vision in Cinema and Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990

Skinner, B.F. 'Has Gertrude Stein a Secret?' *Atlantic Monthly* (1934): 50-57

Sklarew, B. 'Freud in Film: Encounters in the *weltgeist*' *Journal of American Psychoanalyst Association*, 47 (1999): 1239-1247

Slide, Anthony, ed. *They Also Wrote for the Fan Magazines: Film Articles by Literary Giants from E.E. Cummings to Eleanor Roosevelt 1920-1939*, Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1992

Smith, Murray. 'Modernism and the Avant-Gardes', *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, eds. John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998: 395-412

Smith, Terry. ed. *Impossible Presence: Surface and Screen in the Photogenic Era*, Sydney: Power Publications, University of Sydney, 2001

Sobchack, Vivian. *The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience*, Princeton: University of Princeton, 1992

Solomons, Leon and Gertrude Stein. 'Normal Motor Automatism', *Psychological Review* (1896): 492-510

Souvestre, Pierre and Marcel Allain, *Fantômas* Vol. I, Vol. II and Vol. XIV 'Bouquins' series, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1988

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *Gossip*, New York: Alfred Knop, 1985

Spiro, Joanna. 'Weighed in the Balance: H.D.'s Resistance to Freud in "Writing on the Wall" ', *American Imago*, 2.2 (2001): 597-621

Squiers, Carol. 'Introduction: The Critical Image', *The Critical Image: Essays on Contemporary Photography*, Seattle: Bay Press, 1990: 7-15

Stein, Gertrude. 'A Movie' (1932) *The Gertrude Stein Reader* ed. Richard Kostelanetz, New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002: 432-435

——. 'A Radio Interview: Gertrude Stein and William Lundell, NBC' (12 November, 1934) WJZ and WNET, ed. Stephen Meyer, *Paris Review*, 32 (1990): 85-97

——. 'A Transatlantic Interview', *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas, Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1946: 15-35

——. *Blood on the Dining Room Floor* (1933) London: Virago, 1985

——. *Brewsie and Willie* (1945) New York: Random House, 1946

——. 'Composition as Explanation' (1926) *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten, New York: Vintage, 1990: 511-524

——. 'Cultivated Motor Automatism: A Study of Character in Relation to Attention', *Psychological Review* (1898) 295-306

——. *Dear Sammy: Letters from Gertrude Stein to Alice B. Toklas*, ed. Samuel M. Steward, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977

——. 'Doctor Faustus Lights the Lights' (1938) *A Stein Reader*, ed. Ulla E Dydo, Evanston Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1993: 595-624

——. *Everybody's Autobiography* (1937) London: Virago Press, 1985

——. 'Film: Deux soeurs qui ne sont pas soeurs' (1932) *The Gertrude Stein Reader* ed. Richard Kostelanetz, New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002: 436-438

——. *Four Saints in Three Acts* (libretto 1929, music by Virgil Thomas 1934) *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten, New York: Vintage, 1990: 577-612

——. *Geographical History of America or the Relation of Human Nature to the Human Mind*, New York: Random House, 1936.

——. 'Gertrude Stein Interviewed by William Lundell' (12 October 1934) transcript, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University YCALmss77, box 140, folder 3293

——. 'How Writing is Written' (1935), *The Gertrude Stein Reader*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz, New York N.Y.: Cooper Square Press, 2002: 438-449

——. 'I Came and Here I Am', *Cosmopolitan* (February, 1935) reproduced in *How Writing Is Written*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas, Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1974: 67-72

——. 'Introduction to the Speeches of Maréchal Pétain', reproduced in *Modernism/Modernity* 3.3 (1996): 93-97

——. *Lectures in America* (1935) London: Virago, 1988

——. 'Les Mois' (1941) ed. René Tavernier, *Confluences* vol 7

——. Letter from a fan 'Your Autobiography…was fun!' (1935) Gertrude Stein Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, YCAL mss76, box 105, folder 2091

——. Letter to Carl van Vechten (11 April 1934) *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten 1913-1946* Vol. 1, ed. Edward Burns, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986: 351

——. Letter to Carl van Vechten (8 December 1934) *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten 1913-1946* Vol. 1, ed. Edward Burns, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986: 359

——. Letter to Kenneth Macpherson, 'Did *Close Up* get the telegram?' (July 1927) Gertrude Stein Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University GENmss 97, series VIII box, 170 folder 5670

——. Letter to Kenneth Macpherson, 'Thanks for *Close Up*' (July 1927) Gertrude Stein Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University GENmss 97 series VIII, box 170, folder 5670

——. 'Listen to Me. A Play' (1936) *Last Operas and Plays*, ed. Carl van Vechten, New York: Vintage, 1975, 387-421

——. *Look at Me Now and Here I Am: Writings and Lectures, 1909-1945*, ed. Patricia Meyerowitz, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971

——. 'Mrs Emerson', *Close Up*, 1.2 (August 1927): 23-29

——. *Narration: Four Lectures*, intro. Thornton Wilder, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935

——. 'Off We All Went to See Germany', *Life* 19 (6 August 1945): 54-58

——. 'Pathé: 1934' in *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder*, ed. Edward Burns and Ulla E. Dydo, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996: 351-353

——. 'Photograph: A Play in Five Acts' (1920) *A Stein Reader*, ed. Ulla E. Dydo, Evanston Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1993: 343-346

——. 'Pictures', *Gertrude Stein: Writings 1932-1946*, New York: The Library of America, 1998: 224-43

——. 'Plays' (1934-5) *Lectures in America*, London: Virago, 1988: 93-131

——. 'Portraits and Repetition' (1934-5) *Lectures in America*, London: Virago, 1988: 165-206

——. 'Practice of Oratory' (1923) *A Stein Reader*, ed. Ulla E. Dydo, Evanston Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1993: 443-448

——. 'Studies in Conversation' (1927) *Reflections on the Atomic Bomb: Vol. 1 of the Previously Uncollected Works of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas, Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1975: 142-145

——. *Tender Buttons* (1914) Toronto, Ontario: Dover Publications, 1997

——. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933) London and New York: Penguin Twentieth Century Classics, 1966

——. *The Making of Americans* (1905) selected passages in *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten, New York: Vintage Books, 1990: 259-326

——. 'The Winner Loses: A Picture of Occupied France' (November 1940) *Atlantic Monthly*, reproduced as an appendix to *Wars I Have Seen*, London: Batsford, 1945: 176-191.

——. 'They Must. Be Wedded. To Their Wife'(1932) *Opera and Plays*, Barrytown, New York: Station Hill Press, 1998

——. 'Three Sitting Here', *Close Up* 1.3 (September 1927): 17-28

——. *Wars I Have Seen*, London: Batsford, 1945

——. 'What Are Master-Pieces' (1936) *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* ed. Bonnie Kime Scott, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990: 495-501

——. *Writing 1932-1946*, New York: Library of America, 1998

——. 'Yes Is For A Very Young Man' (1944-5) *Last Operas and Plays*, ed. Carl van Vechten, New York: Vintage, 1975, 3-51

Stein, Gertrude and Virgil Thomson. *Film: Deux soeurs qui ne sont pas soeurs* (1930) music score, New York, Southern Music Publishing Co., 1981

Stendhal, Renate, ed. *Gertrude Stein in Words and Pictures: A Photobiography*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995

Stern, Lesley. 'All Writing is Pigshit', *One Hundred Years of Cruelty: Essays on Artaud*, ed. Edward Scheer, Sydney: Power Publications, Artspace, 2000: 75-82.

Stewart, Garrett. *Between Film and Screen: Modernism's Photo Synthesis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999

——. 'Modernism's Sonic Waiver: Literary Writing and the Filmic Difference', *Sound States: Innovative Poetics and Acoustical Technologies* ed. Adalaide Morris, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997: 237-273

——. *Reading Voices: Literature and the Phonotext*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990

Stewart, Susan. *Crimes of Writing*, New York: Duke University Press, 1991

——. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1984

Stott, Rebecca. 'Posting Signs on the Bog: Fixing and Unfixing H.D., Imagiste', *Journal of Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Identity*, 2.1 (1997): 27-46

Stratheusen, Carsten. 'Benjamin's Aura and the Broken Heart of Modernity', *Benjamin's Blind Spot: Walter Benjamin and the Premature Death of Aura*, ed. Lise Pratt, Topanga, CA: Institute of Cultural Inquiry, 2001

Studlar, Gaylyn. *In the Realm of Pleasure: Von Sternberg, Dietrich and the Masochistic Aesthetic*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988

Suàrez, Juan A. 'T.S. Eliot's *the Waste Land*, the Gramophone, and the Modernist Discourse Network', *New Literary History*, 32.3 (2001): 747-68

——. *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture, and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996

Suleiman, Susan Rubin. *Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993

Thévenin, Paule, and Jacques Derrida. *Antonin Artaud: dessins et portraits*, Paris: Gallimard, 1986

——. Paule Thévenin, editorial comment for *Antonin Artaud's Oeuvres complètes Vol. I –XIX* Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978

Thompson, Emily. *The Soundscapes of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America 1900-1933*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002

Thornham, Sue. *Passionate Detachments: An Introduction to Feminist Theory*, London: Arnold of the Hodder Headline Group, 1997

Thornton, Sarah. *Club Cultures: Music Media and Subcultural Capital*, Hanover, New Haven: University of New England Press, 1996

Tiffany, Daniel. *Radio Corpse: Imagism and the Cryptoaesthetic of Ezra Pound*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995

Toklas, Alice. *What Is Remembered*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963

——. *Staying on Alone: Letters of Alice B. Toklas*, ed. Edward Burns, London: Angus and Robertson, 1974

Trask, Michael. 'Merging with the Masses: The Queer Identity Politics of Leftist Modernism', *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 8.1 (1996): 94-131

Trillat, E. ed. *L'Hystérie: Textes Choisis*, Toulouse: Privat, 1971

Tzara, Tristan with Georges Braques, Eugene Jolas, Maria Jolas, Henri Matisse and André Salmon. 'Testimony against Gertrude Stein', *transition* (supplement 1935): 1-14

Vaisse, Pierre. *Nouvelle histoire de la photographie*, ed. Michel Frizot, Paris: Bordas-Adam Biro, 1994

Vechten, Carl Van. *Letters of Carl Van Vechten* vol I and II., ed. Bruce Kellner. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1987

Virilio, Paul. 'The Third Interval: A Critical Transition', *Rethinking Technologies*, ed. Verona Conley, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993: 3-12

Virmaux, Alain. 'Artaud and Film', *Tulane Drama Review*, 11.1 (1966): 156

Virmaux, Alain and Odette. *Antonin Artaud: Qui êtes vous*? Lyon: Eds La Manufacture, 1996

——. *Artaud vivant*, Paris: Néo, 1980

——. 'Artaud and Film' *Tulane Drama Review* 11.1 (1966): 16-21

——. 'L'Heritage du dandisme et le gout de la provocation', *Les Surréalistes et le cinèma*, Paris: Seghers, 1976: 110-123

Wagner-Martin, Linda. *Favoured Strangers: Gertrude Stein and her Family*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995.

Walker, Janet. *Couching Resistance: Women, Film, and Psychoanalytic Psychiatry*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993

Walker, Ruth. 'Dissecting Agony: La Passion de Jeanne D'arc', *Masochism: Disciplines of Desire, Politics of Power*, eds. Natalya Lusty and Ruth Walker, Sydney: PGARC Publications, University of Sydney, 1998: 111-126

——. and Kylie Brass, John Byron, eds. *Anatomies of Violence: An Interdisciplinary Investigation*, Sydney: Research Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sydney, 2000

Walton, Jean. '"Nightmare of the Uncoordinated White Folk": Race, Psychoanalysis, and *Borderline*', *Discourse*, 19.2 (1997): 88-109

——. 'Re-Placing Race in (White) Psychoanalytic Discourse', *Female Subjects in Black and White: Race, Psychoanalysis, Feminism*, eds. Elizabeth Abel et al. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press: 223-251

——. 'White Neurotics, Black Primitives, and the Queer Matrix of *Borderline*', *Out Takes: Essays on Queer Theory and Film*, ed. Ellis Hanson, Durham: Duke University Press, 1999: 243-70

Walz, Robin. *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000

——. 'Serial Killings: Fantômas, Feuillade, and the Mass-Culture Geneology of Surréalisme', *The Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film and Television*, 37 (March, 1996): 51-57

Watson, Steven. *Prepare for Saints: Gertrude Stein, Virgil Thomson and the Mainstreaming of American Modernism*, New York: Random House, 1998

Weis, Elizabeth and John Belton, eds. *Film Sound: Theory and Practice*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1985

Weiss, Andrea. *Paris Was a Woman: Portraits from the Left Bank* San Francisco: Harper, 1995

——. *Phantasmic Radio*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995

Weiss, Allen S. 'Radio, Death and the Devil: Artaud's *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu*', in *The Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992: 269-308.

——. 'Radio Icons, Short Circuits, Deep Schisms (Experimental Radio)', *TDR*, 40.3 (1996): 9-16

——. *Shattered Forms: Art Brut, Phantasms, Modernism*, Albany: University of New York Press, 1992

Weitzel, Eric James. *Stein and Steinese: Experimental Literature and Popular Culture*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, 2002.

Whitehead, Gregory. 'Out of the Dark: Notes on the Nobodies of Radio Art', *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio and the Avant-Garde*, eds. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994 : 253-264

Whittier-Ferguson. John, 'Stein in Time: History, Manuscripts, and Memory', *Modernism/Modernity*, 6.1 (1999): 115-51

Wicke, Jennifer. 'Celebrity Material: Materialist Feminism and the Culture of Celebrity', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 93.4 (1994): 751-79

Williams, Alan. 'Historical and Theoretical Issues in the Coming of Recorded Sound to the Cinema' in Rick Altman ed. *Sound Theory, Sound Practice*, New York and London: Routledge, 1992

——. 'Is Sound Recording a Language?' *Yale French Studies*, Cinema/Sound 60 (1980): 51 -66.

Williams, Linda. *Figures of Desire: A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Films*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984

——. *Viewing Positions: Ways of Seeing Film*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994

Williams, Raymond. 'Culture and Technology', *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, ed. Tony Pinkley, London: Verso, 1989: 119-39

Wilson, Leon. *Merton of the Movies*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922.

Wilson, Sarah. 'Gertrude Stein and the Radio', *Modernism/Modernity* 11. 2 (2004): 261-278

Wolin, Richard. 'Walter Benjamin's Failed Messianism', *The New Republic* 7.1 24 (2000): 33-35

Zizek, Slavoj. *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan Through Popular Culture*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991